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II

The Complaynt of Scotland.

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*Ribald
Scribbled*

The
Complaynt of Scotland

by

ane Exhortacione to the Thre Estraits to be vigi-
lante in the Defens of their Publick weyl.

1549.

WITH AN APPENDIX OF CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH TRACTS,

VIZ.

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

RE-EDITED FROM THE ORIGINALS

with Introduction and Glossary

BY

JAMES A. H. MURRAY.

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Extra Series,

XVII.

JOHN CHILDS AND SON, PRINTERS.

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THE COMPLAYNT

it dois of presumptione or vane gloir, thy che-
retbil correctione maye be aine provocati-
one to gar me thudye mair attentively in the
nyxt verkeis that i intēd to set furtht, the quhilk
i belif in gode fal be verray necessair tyl al
them that desiris to lyue verticouslye indurād
the shourt tyme of this oure fragil peregrina-
tione, & fa fayr veil.

The complaynt of scotland.

HE FYRST CHIE
PROVR DECLARIS THE
caufe of the mytations of mo-
narches. Chap. I.

S the hie monarchis, lord-
schips, and autoriteis, ar ita-
blit be the infinite diuyne or-
dināce, and menemint be the
fempeternal prouidēs, siclyk
ther ruuyne cummis be the fantence gyffin he
the fourane comēl of the diuyne sāpiens, the
quhilk dounē thringis them fra the hie trone
of ther imperiale dominacions, ande garris

OF SCOTLAND.

16

them fal in the depe fosse of feruitude, ande ther magnificens in ruuyne, ande caufis cōque-
riours to be cōquest, ande til obeyc ther vni-
qubile fibiectis be dreddour, qubone of be sit prop̄er
for thai commādit be autorite. This decreit *in his tūcias*
procedis of the diuyne justice, be rafon that & *vni-*
sos dolos.

perfluite of veilth: ther for he dois cheſſe the ēccle. 10.

be the abſtracione of that perfluite, that is
to say, he poſſedis vthir pure pepil that knauis
his gudnes, vith the fannyn recles that he
hes tane fra the that has arrogantly miskna-
uen hym. Ane portar vil mak of aine maffe of
mettal diuerse portis of defferent fassions, &
lyne he vil brak the grite portis quhen that
pleyſe hym nocht, ande he makkis ſinal pot-
tis of the brokyn verk of the grite pottis, ande
alife of the mettal ande mater of the final pot-
tis he formis grit pottis, this exemplil may be
applyit to the ſubuertions ande mutations of
realmis ande dominions, ande of al varldly
proſperite. childir that ar neu borne grouis &
increffis quhil thair be aſcendit to the perfyt
ſtrynth of men: bot ther eftir, tha begyn to
decreife ande declinis til eild ande to the dede.



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 ouir young 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 Ingland” 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 jorck was sett baith tyme and place :
Bot our Prelatis nor I wald never 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 athen syde did mony lose thare lyfe.
Geue I wald mak ane trew Narratioun,
I causit all that tribulatioun :
For tyll tak peace I never wald consent,
Wythout the kyng of france had bene content.

Duryng this weir war takin prisoneris,
Off nobil men fechtyng full furiouslie,
Mony ane Lorde, Barrone, and Bachileris,
Quhar throuch our king tuke sic melancolie
Quhilk draue him to the dede, ryeht 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 subscryue,
Into the quhilk I wrait all that I plesit
Efter his deth—quhilk lang war tyll diseryue.
Through that wrytting I purposit, belyue,
With supporte of sum Lordis beneuolens,
In this Regionn tyll haue Preemynens.

Lyndesay, *Tragedie of the Cardinall*, 97—126.

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

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

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

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

justice to one another, to make common cause against their merciless enemy. Pamphleteering was the order of the day, and England had led the way in carrying on the contest with the pen no less eagerly than with the sword. When Henry VIII. declared war in 1542, he had issued an elaborate vindication of his conduct, detailing the provocations of the Scots, and at the same time raising anew the title of the English kings to the supremacy of Scotland.¹ After the expedition of Hertford, a narrative of “the late 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, Scottisheman”—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 Ingland 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*, deplored 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 Bodrugan, *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 prefaced 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 Harleianaæ 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 Scotalnde, vyth ane Exortatione to the thre Estaits to be vigilante in the Duffens 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 Exortatione 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 Excellency 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 Scott: 'For that mutilated copy of the *Complaynt of Scotland*. I sat out the drinking of two dozen bottles of strong ale with the late learned proprietor, who, in gratitude, bequeathed it to me by his last Will.'—*The Antiquary, Chap. III.*"

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

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

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

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

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

² In the late rebinding these brittle parts have disappeared.

by these surviving copies, is a small book about the size of a modern foolscap 16mo, the pages measuring $4\frac{1}{4}$ by $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches, and the printed matter $3\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{1}{8}$ (exclusive of heading, marginal notes, and signatures), consisting of 26 lines Long Primer Roman type. The Headings, which are in capitals of the same size, run across the folio, and are from leaf 2, back, to 7, ANE EPISTIL / TO THE QVENIS GRACE ; from 7, back, to 15, PROLOG / TO THE REDAR ; then, on to the end of the book, simply THE COMPLAYNT / OF SCOTLAND. (In the present edition, for the convenience of the reader, a heading to each chapter has been supplied on the right-hand page.) The titles of the chapters are, with exception of the first (for which see fac-simile), uniformly in italics, small Bourgeois or Brevier, as are also the side-notes, which are mainly the Scriptural or Classical texts quoted in the subject matter. (They are retained in this edition in italics, and thus distinguished from the modern marginal notes.) With the exception of the words "To the EXCEL," on leaf 2, and "THE FYRST CHE," on leaf 15, back, which are larger, no other types than the two mentioned occur ; no old English or Black letter is used in the book. The Roman fount has no w, using a single v instead, nor, so far as the Scotch is concerned, any j, although that letter occurs in numerals, as iij, and Latin words like filij. The letter z does not occur, the ȝ being used alike for z and y consonant, as in "ȝenyth" and "ȝou." 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 iiiij) 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 bis—5	116 bis, 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 <i>soi disant</i> 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 language."

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 Princeassis," 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 illustir potent prince of the most fertile and peacable realme under the machine of the supreme Olimp.” In short, Ysierata 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 tuycheying the wrytting of vulgare and maternal langage*, at the beginning of the *Monarché*. He first quotes with approbation ancient decrees against illness, 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 "exemplil" 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 afflit 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 honorificabilitudinitatis*;" 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 ȝit, 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 ȝit 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*, Frensch, or Ynglis ois
 Quhare scant wes Scottis, I had nane vther choise;
 Not that oure young is in the seluin skant,
 Bot for that I the fouth of langage want,
 Quhare as the culour of his propirté
 To keip the sentence, thareto constrenit me,
 Or that to mak my sayng schort sumtyme,
 Mair compendius, or to likly my ryme.”

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

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

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

Probably the latest example of such apologizing for a plain style is to be found in the preface to the *Rolment of Courtes*, written by Abaeuc 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 wordlis, be paraphrases, and circumloquition of speich, silogismes, and refutatioun of argumentes be parablis or comparisouns. Nor haue I adhered to auld proverbis, or bywordlis, fair flatterand fenzeit and allurand fictiouns, uttered by archidiaciens, maid up, contrefait, and fraising langaige, nor haue I used minzearde nor effeminate tantting invectiue, nor skorneful wordlis, vane saterik, or lowse wowsting and waunting speiches. Nor haue I ower fauerable or lufinglie loved or prased, or zit haue I ouer disdainefullie detracted, lakked, or outbraided in ony wayiss. Nather zit haue I prophained nor abused the halie and sacreit scriptouris, be vnlerned and vnskilfull applicatiounis, as sum of the vulgar and raschest, railing, simpilest comounis dois, eftir yr awin vaine fantasticall fantasies, with[out] ony authoritie, schame, understanding, or knowlege. Bot be the contrare, I haue writtin reuerendlie and spairnglie, usand my awin maternal Scottis langaige, or mother young as we call it, in als pithie, schoirte, and compendious termes, and clene dictionare, according to my simpill iudgment & knowlege for oppynning up and declaratioun of the truth of my intensiounis of the mater or purpoiss in hand, and making it sensabill to unlerned 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 *illust'ir* princess to allow that she can be in any way associated with her country's woes, and consequently quotes "diverse of the maist famous doctours of the kyrk," to show that this particular curse must not be taken literally ; it means a prince not young in years, but lacking in discretion. The chapter concludes with a vigorous lunge at the sceptical readers who might perversely hint that the threatenings of Moses and Isaiah referred perhaps not to Scotland but to Israel.

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

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

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

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

Bot be the sentence of Elie,
The warld denydit is in thre ;
As cunnyng Maister Carioun
Hes maid plane expositiou,—
How Elie sayis, withouttin weir,
The warld sall stand sax thousand ζ er,—
From the Creatioun of Adam,
Two thousand ζ er tyll Abraham :
Frome Abraham, be this narratioun,
To Christis Incarnatioun,
Rychtso, hes bene two thousand ζ eris ;
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 *Practicae Astrologicae*; 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 Bonnus gave a later version of Melanchthon's, and Jean Leblond translated into French that of Carion, Paris, 1556. That quoted in the *Complaynt* by Lyndesay is Melanchthon's “Chronicon absolutissimum ab orbe condito vsque ad Christum deductum; in quo non Carionis solum opus continetur, verum etiam alia multa eaq: insignia explicuntur, adeo ut iuste Historiae loco occupatum esse possit.” An English version appeared in 1550, “The thre bokes of Cronicles, whyche John Carion (a man syngularly well sene in the Mathematycall sciences) gathered wyt great diligence of the beste Authours that haue written in Hebrue, Greke, or Latine. Whervnto is added an Appendix, conteyning all such notable thynges as be mentyoned in Cronicles to haue chaunceid in sundry partes of the worlde from the yeare of Christ 1532 to thys present yeare of 1550. Gathered by John Funcke of Nuremborough, whyche was neuer afore pryned in Englysh. Ded. to Ed. VI. by Gwalter Lynne.”

Frome Christ, as thay mak tyll us kend,
 Two thousand tyll the woldis end,
 Off quhilke is ar bygone, sickirlye,
 Fyue thousand, fyue hundredth, thre & fyfthe ;
 And so remanis to cum, but weir,
 Four hundredth, with sewin and fourte 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 woldis 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 wold 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.—*Rer. 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 prosperitee" 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 to forn,
 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 rammascbe (*rammassé*) foulis, ande of beystis that made grite beir,” which answered each other even as if blabbering Echo had herself been hid in a “hou hole” crying her half-answer to Narcissus. In the description of these natural scenes, the author displays an eloquence to which he never attains in the Complaynt; all the resources of alliteration and of assonance are called in to aid him in telling how “the grene feildis for gret *droutht*, drank up the drops of the deu, quhilk befor hed maid *dikis* and *lailis* 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 *lanks*” to seek their food. The enumeration of the cries of animals which follows is exceedingly curious, almost every species having a verb appropriate to itself. Some of these are also to be found in Holland's *Houlate*, Montgomery's *Cherry and the Slae*, and here and there in Lyndesay.

Passing on through the fragrant fields the author met many ‘landuart grumis’ or rural hinds going forth to their morning labour, and himself, contented with his night's recreation, turned his steps toward, 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 prolix 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 prolix 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 ſe my thre ſonnis,” or the labourer’s “o my dolorus mother.”

Chap. VII., however, presents us with very characteristic portraits of the “afflit 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 Estaits,” we find *Comoun 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 lancer 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, β it 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 weleum to my mother,
 Gif I micht speid ;
 I wald gif baith my coat and bonet,
 To get my Lord Lyndesayis broun Ionet;
 War he beyond the watter of Annet
 We sould nocht dreid.

The salutary severity of the king in his raid of 1531, when he executed Johnnie Armstrong and his retinue, as well as Cockburn of Henderland, and Adam Scott of Tushielaw, all renowned chiefs of freebooting clans, quieted the Borderers for the rest of his life, rendering property so safe that, according to Lyndesay, he “gairt 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 thefis
 Sa peartlie stelis now and reifis,
 That nane may keip
 Hors, nolt, nor scheip,
 Nor β eit 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 β et
 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 Lowthianie,
 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 Sept., 1547, namely: the lairds of Cessforth, Fernyherst (ancestors of the noble families of Roxburgh and Lothian), Grenehed, Hunt-hill, Hundely, Makerston, Bymerside, Bounjedworth, Ormeston, Mellestains, Warmesay, Lynton, Egerston, Merton, Mowe, Rydell. Of gentlemen, George Tromboul, Ihon Haliburton, Robert Car, Robert Car of Greyden, Adam Kirton, Andrew Meyther, Saunders Purvoise of Erleston, Mark Car of Littledean, George Car of Faldenside, Alexander Macdowal, Charles Rutherford, Thomas Car of the Yeir, Ihon Car of Neynthon, 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; Hemps-field, 163; Home Ends, 162; Wamfrey, 102; Dunwoody, 44; Newby and Gratney, 122; Tinnel (Tinwald), 102; Patrick Murray, 203; Christie Urwin of Coveshawe, 102; Cuthbert Urwin of Robbgill, 34; Urwens of Sennersack, 40; Wat Urwen, 20; Jefrey Urwen, 93; T. Johnson of Crackburn, 64; James Johnston of Coites, 162; Johnstons of Craggyland, 37; Johnstons of Dries-dell, 46; Johnstones of Malinshaw, 65; Gawen Johnston, 31; Will Johnston, the laird's brother, 110; Robin Johnston of Lochmaben, 67; Laird of Gillerbie, 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 (Elliotics), 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 Kireubrie, 36. TIVIDALE—Laird of Drunlire, 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 “afflit 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 poitical 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 Higlen’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 “poetical beuk” seems to be due to a confusion with the Merlyne prophecies quoted at the same time. But as we have seen in the historical section (p. xv), four English pamphlets have come down to us (besides the appeal to the Scots in Patten’s narrative of Somerset’s campaign), the contents of which answer to the description here given, and are evidently in the author’s mind here and elsewhere in the Complaynt. These are printed in the Appendix ; and it will be seen that the Exhortacion of the “Scottisheman,” the Epistle of the Lord Protector, and the “Epitome” of Bodrugan, as well as Patten’s Preface, all have as their “tenor, that it var verra necessare for the veilfare of ingland and Scotland, that baytht the realmis var coniunit togiddir, to be vndir the gounernyng of ane prince, and the tua realmis to be callit the ile of bertan as it vas in the begynnyng.” The “Just Declaracion” of Henry VIII., and the tracts of the “Scottisheman” and Bodrugan further profess as here described, “to preue that Scotland was an colone of Ingland, quhen it was first inhabit ; and to gar ther cruel inuasions contrar our realme, apeir in the presens of forrain princis that they haue ane iust titil to mak veyr contrar vs.” They also refer to “the begynnyng quhen the troian brutus conquest the ile fra the giantis.”

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

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

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

Ro connarb a brathair bras,
 Briotus tar muir n-Icht n-amhnas,
 Ro gabh Briutus Albain ain,
 Go rinn fhiadhnaech 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 Isaeon,
 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 Loerinus, the first born, that part of Britain which is now called Anglia;

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

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

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

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

In the equally elaborate reply of the Scottish nation, no attempt is made to combat Edward's assertions by producing the older legend of the Duan Albanaech, 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 Myrdlin," written partly in the reign of Hywel dda in the 10th century, and partly in the reign of Henry II., is given in the shape of a prophecy supposed to

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

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

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

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

K.	K.	Q.	K.	Q.
Henry	Edward	Mary	Philip	Elizabeth
the VIII.	the VI.		of Spain, Q.	

M. 's husb.
H E M P E

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

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

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

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

THE PROPHIECIE OF BERTLINGTON.

Of Brucees 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.

* * * * *

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 meruellous Merling, Beid, Bertlington, Thomas Rymour, Walkhaue, Eltraine, Banester, and Sibbilla, all according in one. Containing many strange and meruelous things. Printed by Robert Waldegrave, 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 Brucees 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 sehaw thy eelsitude,
 Quhat berne sould bruke all *Bretane* be þe see ?
 The propheeie expreslie dois conclude,
 The *Frensch* wyfe of the *Bruceis* blude suld be :
 Thow art be lyne fra him the nynte degree,
 And wes King *Frances* partyr maik and peir ;
 So be discente, the same sowld spring of þe,
 By grace of God agane this gude new-ȝeir.

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 meeet in the mid-way,
 All the Grooms shall gronch 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 weyl & the wealth before then was wrought ;
 With Hunger and Heirship 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 keepe 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 suæ,
 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 Tuskan but trety 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 scene, 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 prophesy cited in the Complaynt as a set-off to the

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

For Bedis buke have I seyn, & Banysters als ;
 And Merwelus Merlyne is wastede away
 Wytht a wykede womane,—woo mycht sho bee !—
 Scho has closede him in a 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 proceede 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 tyme by the Scottes that they hold the most wretches, and least worth of all other, They shall bee overcome and vineust. Then the world shall be unstabell.

“ During the unsuccesful wars of the English against Robert Bruce, this propheey 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 thyrtty yeres togyder, unto Kyng Edwardes tyme, the thyrde after the Conquest, and bete down Englyshemen oft, and Englyshe places, that were nygh to theyr marches. Some seyd that that myshappe fell for softnesse of Englyshemen ; and some seyde, that it was goddes own wreche, as the propheey 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 : “ Theroft propheeyd an holy anker in king Ezelfredus tyme in this maner (Henricus libro sexto) Englyshemen for as muche as they use them to dronkelewnes, to treason & to rechelesnes of goddes house, fyrste by Danes, and thenne by Normans, & at the thyrde tyme by Scottes, that they holde moost wretches, and lest worth of al other, they schal be ouercome.”

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

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

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

A month later,

“Vpoun the xxij day of Februar, the lord Gray come to Hadintoun with tua thowsand men, *with all the Merss and Teviotdaill*, and gat all the houssis on Tyne, and tuke plegis of all gentilmen thaj gat, quha did na skaith, bot pait for the thing thaj tuke, and depairtit hame eftir that thaj had remaynit four dayes; and in this tyme, the cuntrie for the maist pairt, was of the opinioun of Inglysmen. The Inglysmen 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 Inglysmen being all out of Scotland, the governour past & brynt Ormistoun, and wan the hous of Saltounhall; and heirefter Hallis was randerit to the Scottis agane.”

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

“1547. xix Apryle. Thairefter the governour *ȝeid* at Ewis Durris, and doun the watter of Ewis, bot our awin thevis of Tindail and Ewisdail come to the governour, quha war sworne Inglysmen, for he brynt all thair cornis and houssis, quhair the governour remaynit ten dayis; bot in thair returnyng, they had ewill wedder.”

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

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

In Chap. XIII. the “afflit 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 thynge, 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 unseemely ynough with theyr owne clothynge. They prayse faste the usage of theyr owne forfaders, and despisen other mennes doyng. Theyr londe is fruytfull ynough in pasture, gardyns and feldes.” 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 wynnynghes, Argy; in trauayll, Tantaly; in talkynge lude, Dedaly; in beddes, Sardanapaly; in chirches, mawmetes; in courtes, thonder; onely in preuelege of

clergye and in prebendes, the knowledge themselfe clerkes." An amusing speech of the Duke of Exeter to Henry V., in 1414, on the character of the Scotch and their dependence on France, is recorded in Hall's Chronicle (Edn. 1809, p. 55): "Scotland is like a noun adjective 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 england.” Like a dull ass he is kicked and prodded, and obliged like a body-slave to “rym & 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 *ȝe* gif me *ȝour* charitie,
 And I sall declar *ȝow* the black veritie.
 My father was ane auld man and ane hoir,
 And was of age fourscoir of *ȝeirs* and moir ;
 And Mald, my mother, was fourscoir and fyftein ;
 And with my labour I did thame baith susteine.
 Wee had ane Meir that caryit salt and coill ;
 And ever ilk *ȝeir* 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 micht mak na debeat,
Bot, with my bairns, past forth till beg my meat.
Now haue I talde ȝow the blak veritic,
How I am brocht into this miserie.

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

PAUPER. The deuil stick *him!* He curst me for my teind,
And halds me ȝit 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 “Mirrour” thus addressed the gentry :

ȝour gredynes! it stinkis and fylis the air!
I vg ȝour Murther and Hirschip to declair!
For thocht ȝe sla nocht pure men with ȝour knyues,
ȝit with ȝour dearth ȝe tak from thame the liues!

The pure Plewmen and lauboraris of ȝour lands,
Quhen tha haue nocht to fill ȝour gredie hands,
Quhair ȝe can spye a man to geue ȝow mair,
ȝe schute thame furth; syne puts aue vther thair.
Howbeit the first haue Bairnis aucht or nyne,
ȝe tak no thocht, thocht man and all sulde tyne;
Within few ȝeris ȝe herye him also,
Syne puts him furth; to beggin most he go;
Thus schift ȝe our, in to most gredie wyse,
The quhilk aue Vengeance from the Heauin cryis.
ȝit for all this ȝe neuer ar content!
Howbeit ȝe haue, be fer mair land and rent
Nor euer had ȝour Fatheris ȝow before;
Bot cuer gredic, 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 micht be set out in Fewis, eftir ye fassoun of sindrie vthir Realmes, for the incres of policie and riches. Bot quhat hes he profitit? Quhen aue pure man with his haill 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 enjoy 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 eace yai big yame selfis out. Bot althoucht men wink at yis, zit He sitts abone yat seis it, and sal iuge it. He yat heiris ye sichis and complaintis of ye pure oppressit, sal not for euer suffer it vnpunischit. Quhat hes he alswa written aganis yis Heriald hors, deuyset for monie pure mannis hart ? Bot quha hes dimittit it ? And gif he had leift 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 personnes 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 lieutennant past to Haddingtoun, quhair thair suld haue met him the lardis of Lowthiane, quha com noct ; and thairefter past to Tamptalloun, and thair held his zule, and tuke litill heid to the cuntrie, but let thame doe for thameselfis, quhilk causit the cuntrie to be clene herijt ; the cuntrie seiand na helpe of the lieutennant, maid bandis amang thame selfis that ilk ane soould help vtheris, quhairamang was gretit watches, ilk ane efter his degrie."

No wonder the narrator has to add, "And the cuntry was all Inglyssmen 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 Complaint, thus analyzed, forms one of the most important and interesting chapters in the book, and no one can read it without feeling that the author thoroughly felt the force of the sentiments which he put in the mouth of the commonalty, albeit in the next chapter he points out that they are by no means themselves devoid of fault.

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

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

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

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

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

of the Nobility,

“Quhairfoir and quhy, and quhat is the cais,
Sa worthie Lords war in my eldaris days ;
Sa full of fredome, worship, and honour,
Hardie in hand to stand in everie stour,
And now in yow I find the 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; “quhairfair 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 Glenearne ; quhair the gouernour was dischargetit of his anctorite and maid proclamatious, throw the realme that nane obeyit him as gouernour. And als thair thai chesit thrie erlis, thrie lordis, thrie bischopis, thrie abbotts, to be the secreit counsale ; quhilke lastit nocht lang, for euerie lord did for his awne particulare proffit, and tuke na heid of the commounweill, but tholit the Inglysmen and thevis to overrin this realme. *Thair was na credit amang the nobilitie at this present.*”

Little wonder ! When they did show themselves busy at an occasional time, men knew there was sure to be a carcase 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 befoir. In this Parliament was foirfaltit the erle of Lennox, his brothir, the bischope of Cathnes, and the laird of Tulibarden wes respletit. Thair landis was delt, pairt to the erle of Argyle, maister of Sympill, and pairt to the erle of Huntlie, quha gat the bischoprik of Cathnes at this parliament. The lordis made ane taxt throw the realme, of ilk pund land of ald extent, to pay viij shillingis to fie men on the bordouris.”

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

“If this miserie fell onely vpon the mouers and mainteiners of suche mischief, it were lesse to be lamented, but thei sitte safe at home, and kepe holy daie, when the feldes 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 drinen to suffre, thei would not be halfe so hastie to ryng alarmes.”

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

that their ancestors had been of plebeian rank,—evidently Scotland had already some who would have been glad to believe, like the Highland Laird, that at the general Flood his ancestor had a “private airk o’ his nain,” when Noah’s more vulgar vessel contained the ancestors of common mortals. To teach them better manners, our author relates the conduct of Agathocles, king of Sicily, who boasted of his father having been a potter. Moreover, the longest line begins in mud and clay, and in this clay there is no distinction of ranks, as indeed there will not be when dust shall have received back its own. To enforce this, we have an anecdote of Cyrus and Croesus, and diverse quotations from the Sacred Scriptures and apocryphal Wisdom of Solomon. A chief form taken by the prodigality of the Scottish nobles is said to have been costly clothing above their means—for which, see the monstrous hose denounced by William Lauder—and the keeping of large numbers of horses and dogs. Like the horses of Diomede 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 Spiritualitie 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 ministracion,” 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 Pupynge and her Holye Executoris* ; the *Tragedie of the Cardinall in toto* ; *Kitteis Confessioun* ; the *Monarche*, 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 sauagarde 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 reueld, or euill gotten possessions to be translated would haue no peace nor concord. . . . These be thei whiche professyng knowledge, abuve the ignorauance of the nobilitie, and commonaltie, to y^e destruccion of bothe, haueyng peace in their mouthes, and all rancor and vengeance in their hartes, pretendyng religion, perswade rebellion, preachingy obedience, procure al disobedience, semyng to forsake all thyng, possesse all thyng, eallyng themselves spirituall, are in deede moste earnall, and reputed heddes of the churche, bee the onely shame and slander 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 Scotlände be led, I am in despaire of any amitie or frendeskip betuene these two realmes. God bryng their falsched 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 “seismas 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 mailȝe,” 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,
Cuhilk hes the wytē that brak the peace
For to put downe the word of Christ.
Ane hundreth thousand thay wald se
Zockit in till aне feild,
Under the speir and sheild ;
Bot with the wyfis thay wald be
At hame, to smoir the word of Christ.

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

Defend na mair thir wolfis sa wylde,
Sa ful of cruelnes,
Thair cloikit halynes,
Baith men and wytis sa lang hes fyldie,
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 Scottisheman, in 1547, had deplored the fruite which the “warre bryngeth furthe, whiche is sackyng of tounes, subuersion of holdes, murder of men, rauishment of women, slaughter of olde folke and infantes, burnyng of houses, and corne, with *hunger and pestilence, twoo budles 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 xiiiij day (of Septr), the Inglymen past out of Haddingtoun, and brunt it and Leidingtoun, and past away without ony battell, for the Pest and hungar was rycht evill amangis them, quha mycht remayne na langer thairin.”

And in November, 1548, the following entry occurs in the Treasurer’s Accounts (Comptot. 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, ijli. xixs. ijd.”

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 þurh, 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 Infaney,” 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 “afflict 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 subtlety 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 Scotish 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 *exempil*. 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, *Polities* ; St Augustine ; Boecacio ; Boethius ; Carion's Chronicle ; Cato ; Cicero, *De Officiis*, *Parod.*, *De Finibus*, *Epistolæ* ; Diodorus ; Josephus ; Justin ; Juvenal ; Laetantius ; 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 *raibands*, i. e. yard bands, *gaskets* (flat small yarn plaited flat like ladies’ hair, bending the sails to the yard), and let fall the *fore sail*; haul down the *starboard luff* (we say *tuck* 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 *sheare* 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 *heal 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 *tiars*—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 *clers* 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; *holubar*’—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 artaillarie, that is to say, myand and battert falcon and quarter falcon, slings, pestilent serpentens, and double dogs, with hagtor and culvering, corsbows and handbows. She had three hundred marinellis to gouerne hir, six scoir of gunneris to vse hir artaillarie,

& 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 "prolix orison" of their leader. These lists are of the utmost value in connection with the history of Scottish Popular Literature—indeed, of the ballad literature of Great Britain as a whole, giving us our earliest data for the existence of many tales, ballads, and tunes. To them is, without doubt, due the chief part of the interest which the *Complaynt* has for the modern reader; and we cannot but be grateful to the author for the afterthought which led him to make this welcome addition to his book. The work of analyzing these

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

THE TALES.

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

(2) *Robert le dyabil, due of Normanlie.* The prose Life (from the French *Romant de Robert le diuble*) 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 woldis 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 deyyl.* The story is probably the same which is related by Gervase of Tilbury, “de Domina castri de Espervel¹,” and by Bournaker, of the ancestor of

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

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

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

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

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

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

(5) *The tayl of the reyple eyttyn rith the thre heylis*. 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-etiin and the gyre earlin.'" *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 diseryne	
Off Hectour, Arthour, and gentyll Iulyus,	
Off Alexander, and worthy Pompeyus,	
Off Iasone and Media, all at lenth,	36
Off Hercules the actis honorabyll,	
And of Sampson the supernaturall strenth,	
And of leill Luffaris storeis amiabyll;	
And oft tymes haue I feinges mony fabyll,—	40
Off Troylus the sorrow and the Ioye,	
And Seigis all, of Tyir, Thebes, and Troye.	
The Prophiseis of Rymour, Reid, & Marlyng,	44
And of mony vther plesand storie,—	
Off the reid Etin, and the gyre 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 andromeda 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 ante, p. xlvi-xlv.]

(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 (*Hazlit'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) *Ipomedon.* "The Life of Ipomydon." Colophon: "Enprynted 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[oplard] 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 tayl of the three futilt dog of norroway.* 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 mareit the kyngis dochfir of vest mire 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 sonnis of aymon.* A translation by Caxton about 1489, of one of the French Romances of the Charlemagne cycle. Of Caxton's edition no perfect copy is known. The colophon of the 3rd edition by Wylliam Copland in 1544, now in Bridgewater House, is the only evidence we have of the existence of a second edition by Wynkyn de Worde in 1504.

For story see Mr Furnivall's *Captuin Cox*, 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 Scandic MSS. in the Royal Library of Stockholm, besides a metrical history of King Arthour, which records his league with Charlemagne, the following titles occur: *Sagan af Ievent, Einglund 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 Herru Bevus*, the Romance of Sir Bevis."

(20) *Rauf collzar.* 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 Collȝear, how he harbreit 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
Quhill he stakkerit thair-with-all
Half the breid of the hall.

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

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

(22) *Gavien 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 knyght, 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 *Roswull and Lilian* (Edinb. 1663, blk. I., 846 lines; and Laing's *Early Metrical Tales*, 1826):—

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

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

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

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

(29) *Arthour of litol bertangze.* This is the book reprinted in 4to by Utterson in 1814 as “Arthur of Brytayn. The hystory of the moost noble and valyaunt knyght Arthur of lytell brytayne, translated out of 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 churche yead at the sygne of the

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

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

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

(32) (33) *The tayl of the zong tamlene, and of the bald braband.* Leyden identifies Tamlewe 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. exxvii.

(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 "Durceng the reigne of the Royal Robert." *Leyden*, p. 231. It is also reprinted "in two different publications of Mr Laing, *Fugitive Scotch 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 Scotch 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 "Frensch boke," is in the Auchinleck MS. ab. 1320-30 A.D. and was printed by the Maitland Club in 1838. Other MSS. are in the University Library, Cambridge, and the Library of Caius College, Cambridge, &c. The first printed version that we know, is from the press of Pynson, without date, and the only copy known is among Douce's books in the Bodleian. Of the next print that we know, Wynkyn de Worde's, "a fragment of two leaves is in the Bodleian among Douce's books." Of the third print, William Coplande's, a copy is among Garrick's books in the British Museum.

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

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

(39) *The tayl quhou acteon was transformit in ane hart, and synے slanc be his aven doggis*. Ovid's Metamorphoses, iii. 155, &c.

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

from some lost translation of Ovid (*Met.* iv, 55-165). Golding's translation was not publisht 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 Grammarien, *De Amore Herois et Leandri*, is a marginal note in Abraham Fleming's translation of Virgil's Georgies, 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*, Dee. 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 Jupiter 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 valianut 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 portugal.* This cannot be the romance of Orfeo and Heurodis in the Afileek 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 Pelens 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 tayl 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 laborynþ to keip the monster minotaurus.* Ovid, *Met.* viii.

(48) *The tail quhou kyng midas gut tua asse buggis on his hede,*

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

Ballad on the same subject among the broadsides of the Society of Antiquaries, written by T. Hedley, and imprinted at London, by Harry 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 witht gode compayne.* 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 kynge. H. viij.

(1)

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

(2)

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

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

(3)

Company with honeste
is vertu, vices to flee ;
Company is good & ill,
but every man hath hys fre wyll ;
the best ensew,
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 leyvis 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 ryit zour tua fayr ene!*¹ i. e. I blame your two fair eyes.

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

(55) *Lady, help zour presouein!*¹

(56) *Kyng villzumis note.*

(57) *The lund nouenou [= nonny no].*

(58) *The cheapel valk.*

(59) *Fayght is there none.*

(60) *Skald abellis nou.*

(61) *The abirdenis nou.*

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

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

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

(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 eat) 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 Kimbault has printed in his *Little Book*, p. 87-94, three versions of the wedding of the Frog and Mouse,—one Scotch, from Mr C. K. Sharpe's *Ballad Book*, 1826,—and mentions another old "Frogge Song" in Halliwell's *Nursery Rhymes*, ed. 1843, p. 87, and a parody upon the same in Tom d'Urfey's *Pills to purge Melancholy*, 1719, vol. i, p. 14.

(67) *The sang of gilquhiskar.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

Leyden, p. 279.

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

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

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

(74) *The battel of the hayrlau*¹. The battle was fought in 1411 by the Earl of Mar and his force against the plundering Douald 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 renounit 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 remeidyless."

Irving's *Hist. of Scotish 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-Addit. MS. 10,444, leaf 4, back, No. 8).

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 recoking 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 huntis of cheuet*. This is the older and far finer version of the well-known ballad of *Chevy-Chase*. A noble ballad it is, this *Hunting of the Cheviot*,—no doubt that which stirred the heart of Sidney more than a trumpet,—though it's not known nearly so well as its poorer modernization, *Chey-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 Rycharde 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, *Chey-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 *Scotish 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 witht zon 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 *Bowe of Court*:

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

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

Maydins of England, sore may ye morne
For your lemmans ye haue loste at Bannockysborne,
Wyth heue a lowe.
What wenyt the kyng of England
So soone to have wonne Scotlaunde,
Wyth rumbylow?

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

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

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

(78) *Turne the, sneit ville, to me.*

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

I suppose these two lines belong to one song. '

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

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

(81) *The perssee & the mongunrye 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 they twa swat,
And ay 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. Bul. & Rom.* ii. 2), that the “That day, that day, that gentil 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, I, the *Complaynt* has already put *The Huntis of Chenet* in its list of “sueit sangis,” eight above “That day, that day, that gentil [or dredfull] day,” and would not, of course, repeat it: 2. Why should we suppose the careful writer of the *Complaynt* to have put “gentil” for “dredfull,” and thus made a double fool of himself, when the natural supposition that the ballad—like so many others in the list—has not come down to us, removes all difficulty? It is true that Dauney (*Ancient Scottish Melodies*, Edinburgh, 1838, p. 53) runs the two lines together as part of one song or ballad,

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

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

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

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

(85) *In ane myrthful morou.*

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

THE DANCE TUNES.

(87) *Al cristyn mennis dance.*

(88) *The northt 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 Hagon, 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 unto with the same king Henry [VIII], and afterward with the Duke of Sommerset, Protectour, for making certaine merry Bal-lades, 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 *Gowrie Ballates*, p. 153, ed. D. Laing, 1868: "With huntis vp, with huntis vp." Any song intended to arouse in the morning, even a love-song, was formerly called a *hunt's-up*. *Chappell*.

(90) *The comonut entray*.

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

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

But haddeſt thou knownen 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 becomme a Jacobyn.

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

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

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

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

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

Tom a lin and his wife, and his 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. exxvii.

- (94) *Freris al.*
- (95) *Ennyrnes* [= *Inverness, Gael. Ionar nis*].
- (96) *The loch of stene* [= *Slyne*].
- (97) *The gosseps dance.*
- (98) *Leuis greue.* See No. (51), ante.
- (99) *Makky.*
- (100) *The speyde.*
- (101) *The flail.*
- (102) *The lammes rynde.*

(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 vantoyn.*
- (105) *Schayke leg fut befor gossep.*
- (106) *Rank at the rute.*
- (107) *Baglap and al.*

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

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

Popular Music, i. 260, note.

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

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

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

Heir is ane coird baith great and lang—
Quhilk hangit Johne the Armistrang—
Of gude hemp, soft and sound.

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

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

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

(109) *The alman haye.* The Almayne or German haye. The *Hay* was a country-dance, of which the reel was a variety. "In Sir John Davie's *Orchestra*, 'He taught them rounds and winding heys to tread.' (In the margin he explains 'rounds and winding-heys' to be country dances.) In *The Dancing Master* the hey is one of the figures of most frequent occurrence. In one country-dance, 'the women stand still, the men going the hey between them.' This is evidently winding in and out. In another, two men and one woman dance the hey—like a reel. In a third, three men dance this hey, and three women at the same time—like a double reel. In *Durgason*, 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 *Puppe with a Hatchet*, 1589; in Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse*, 1579; by Rowley, Middleton, Taylor the water-poet, Marston, Massinger, Heywood, Dekker, Shirley, &c., &c. "There are two tunes under this name, the one in William Ballet's Lute-Book, which is the same as [that] printed by Sir John Hawkins in his *History of*

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

- (114) *The dance of kylynnne.*
- (115) *The rod and the val.*
- (116) *Schaik a trot.*

THE MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.¹

“The enumeration of musical instruments used by the shepherds not only supplies an important chasm in the history of Scottish music, by informing us what instruments were popular at that period, but enables us, from the compass of these, to appreciate the comparative antiquity of our most popular airs.” The musical instruments are eight in number; “*the drone bag-pipe,*” “*the pipe maid of ane bleddir and ane reid,*” “*the trump,*” “*the corne pipe,*” “*the pipe maid of ane gait horn,*” “*the recorder, the fiddil, and the quhissil.*” The bag-pipe, in some form or other, has been known in almost every country; at this time it appears to have been as great a favourite among the Italian peasantry, especially the shepherds of Calabria, as among the peasants of Scotland. It seems also to have been the favourite instrument of the French peasantry. It is mentioned in a pastoral dirge on the death of Charles VII. of France, in which many traits of the shepherd-life of that country are exhibited. Although now usually associated with the Scottish Highlands, it is only in later times that the bagpipe has there become the favourite instrument, superseding the ancient Celtic harp. Giraldus Cambrensis, about 1188, notices it as a Welsh instrument, but does not include it among the musical instruments of Scotland and Ireland. “Ireland,” he says, “makes use of only two, the harp and the drum; Scotland hath three, the harp, the drum, and the chorus (probably the *crwth*); and Wales has the harp, the *pipes*, and the chorus.” The same instruments are enumerated in one of the institutions of *Howel Ddu*, 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 *pìob*, *pìobair* (pronounced *peep*, *peeper*), simply the old English pipe, piper, whence *pìobaireachd*, pipership, in recent times imported back from the Gael as *pìbrog*. 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 *fullill*, a musical instrument of great antiquity, has, in the Scottish Lowlands, supplanted the bagpipe. From the number of

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

THE DANCES consisted of dancing “in ane ring,” “licht lopene (leaping), galmonding (gambolling), stendling (striding) bakuart & forduart, dansand *base dansis*, pauuans, galȝardis, turdions, braulis, and branglis, buffons, vith mony vthir licht daneis.” “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 daneed with peculiar glee by the reapers of that farm where the harvest was first finished in any district. On such oecasions, they daneed on an eminenee, 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 daneing 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 danee 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 Rinceadheda, Rinkey, or field dance of the Irish.”

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

“ Castand galmondis, 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 daunses, bargenettes, pauyons, turgions and roundes.*” A little later Webbe, in his “Discourse of English Poetry,” 1586, says, “neither is their anie tune or stroke which maye be sung or plaide on instruments which hath not some poetical ditties framed according to the numbers thereof; some to Rogero, some to Frenchmore, to downe right Squire, to *Galliardes*, to *Pauines*, to *Iygges*, to *Brawles*, to all manner of tunes which euerie Fidler knowes better then myselfe.” (*Arber's Reprint*, 1870, p. 61.)

At the conclusion of “The Introductory to wryte and to pronounce Frenche compylyed by Alexander Barcley” (London, 1521, 4to), a spare leaf is occupied by a treatise “Here foloweth the maner of dauncyng 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: reprise & braule. And ye ought fyrst to make reuerence ‘towarde the lady / & than make .ii. syngles .i. double / a reprise / & a braule.’” Also “ye ought to wyte that in some places of fraunce they call the reprises / 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 euery 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 'Certayne wise sentences of Salomon, to the tune of Wigmore's Galliard.' But Mr Chappell says, " *Pavana*, according to Italian writers, was derived from *Puduana*—and not from *Pavo*—a peacock." *Pop. Mus.* ii. 772. " Morley says, 'The *pavan* for grave dancing; *galliards*, which usually follow pavans, are for a lighter and more stirring kind of dancing. . .' Baker, in his *Principles of Musick*, 1636, says, 'Of this sort (the Ionic mood) are *pavans*, invented for a slow and soft kind of dancing, altogether in duple proportion [common time]. Unto which are framed *galliards* for more quick and nimble motion, always in triple proportion; and therefore the triple is oft called *galliard* time, and the duple, *pavan* time.' "—*Pop. Mus.* i. 157. " The *Galliard* was not introduced into England till about 1541 A.D. It is mentioned in the ballad of John de Reeve, in the *Percy Fol. Ball. & Rom.* ii. 579, l. 529."—*F. J. Furnivall*. " Cotgrave has ' *Gulop gaillard*. The Gallop Galliard; or a Passasalto; or one pace and a leap;' and ' *Baladinerie*: f. High, or lively daneing, as of *Galliards*, Corantoes, or Jigges.' *Tourdion* he explains as 'the daunce tearmed a Round. *Dancer les Buffons*: to daunce a morris.' The latter name was also known in Scotland, for in *Christes Kirk of the Grene*,

Auld Lychfute thair he did forleit,
And counterfutet Franss
He vset him self as man discreet
And vp the Moreiss danss He tuik
At Christes Kirk of the Grene."

Some of the musical terms employed in the Monologue are illustrated by the following passage from Higden (*Polychronicon*, I 495, 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 smytyng of foure hamers vpon an anuelt, & therefore he lette weye the hamers, & found that one of the hamers weyed twytes 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 pounde, 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 eyggeth 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 *par excellence*. But after the Wars of the Roses, the invention of printing, and more compact welding of England into a national unity, the Midland dialect, the tongue of London, Oxford, and Cambridge, of the court and culture of the country, assumed a commanding position as the language of books, and the Northern and Southern English sank in consequence into the position of local *patois*, heard at the fireside, the plough, the loom, but no longer used as the vehicles of general literature. But while this was the fate of the Northern dialect in the English portion of its domain, on Scottish ground it was destined to prolong its literary career for two centuries more, and indeed to receive an independent culture almost justifying us in regarding it, from the literary side, as a distinct language. At the same time, the shifting of its centre of gravity from Lindisfarne and Durham to the banks of the Forth, where the Angle blood was mixed with that of the Celts of the original Scotia, north of that river estuary—and where the speech would in consequence be affected by Celtic pronunciation—as well as the influences exercised by a distinct ecclesiastical and legal system, a foreign alliance, and a national life altogether severed from that of England, began to produce modifications in the original North Anglian type of the lan-

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

The differences between the Middle Scotch of the 16th century and the Early Scotch or Northern English—call it which you like—of the 14th century, was not one of inflections or grammatical forms. Before the date of the very earliest connected specimens of the Northern dialect in the 12th and 13th centuries, that dialect had stripped itself of the trammels of inflection almost as completely as Modern English. The plurals of nouns, the tenses and persons of the verb, the cases of the pronouns, and uninflected state of the adjectives in *Cursor Mundi*, *Burhour*, 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 ze*. In the Old North Anglian *Cumes*, and *Cume ze*. In Early Scotch *Cums*, and *Cum ze*. 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 *Anceren Riwle* and *Ayenbite of Invryt*. 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, throuch, 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, wif*. In the Middle period these simple long vowels were written as diphthongs, *quhay, auld, cauld, bairn, thaim, gayme, weill, keyp, deim, rois, roys, thoill, flouir, muir, buik, wyif*. The indefinite article was in the Early period *an* or *ane* before a vowel, *a* before a consonant, as *ane ald man, an ere, a kyng*; in the Middle Scotch it was *ane* always, *ane auld man, ane eyre, ane kyng*. The relative in the Early period is *þat*, more commonly *at, þa landis at war gottyn*; in the Middle Scotch *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, assemlyd, 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 Scotland* 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*,” “*ȝour 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 *thir*, *tha* (confused with the pronoun *thai*, *thay*), and *ȝone* of both numbers. In the adjectives we find the distinction between *mair*, the comparative of *mykil*, and *ma*, comparative of *monie*, still observed in the folk-speech of the South of Scotland: “ther is *maye* of the sect of sardanapalus among vs nor ther is of scipions;” “ane pure vedou that hed na *mair* moneye.”

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

The personal pronouns are as still used in Scotland. In the plural of the 2nd person *ȝe* is of course always nominative, *ȝow* 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 sounie is in oure hemispere, ande it elosis *the* leyuis quhen the sounie pass vndir our orizon” (p. 57. 14).

The Relative *at*, so common in the Early writers, nowhere appears; the usual Relative pronoun being *quhillk*, *quhilkis* (compare French *lequel*, *lesquels*). The use of *quha* as a relative—unknown to the spoken dialects of Scotland, the earliest instance of which that I have found in Scottish literature is in the Acts of the Scots Parliament for 1540—is also familiar to the author of the *Complaynt*; thus, p. 5, “Siclyke that maist sapient prince ande prelat fadir in gode, Ihone of Loran, *quha* is ȝour fadir broder, *quhillk* be his prudens hes bene mediatour betuix divers forane princis, *quha* hes nocht alanelry vset him lyik ane vailȝeant 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 vieis that *his* self committis.” There is also, as still in Scotland, a distinction between *our self* and *ourselves*, the former being collective, the latter distributive: “the quhilk misknaulege of *themself* and of god sal be occasione of there auen ruuyne;” “grete familiarite betuix inglismen and scottismen amang theme *selfis*.”

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

I bryng.	We bryng.
Thow bryngis.	ȝe bryng.
He bryngis.	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 sonnis that *standis* heir in my presens.”

“It aperis that the lau of nature is mair perfylytly accompleist in brutal beystes, nor it is in ȝou that *professis* to be natural men; for

ȝour werkis *testifeis* that ȝe ar mair disnaturellit nor *is* brutal beystes
that *hes* na vndirstanding of raison."

"ȝe, vndir the colour of frendeschip, *purchessis* my final exterminatione."

"Sum of ȝou remanis in ȝour auen housis."

"Quhen ȝe haue fulillit the inglismennis desyre, & *hes* helpit to distroye ȝour natyue cuntre."

"Al thir thingis befor rehersit *is* said to gar ȝou 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.	ȝe 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, thou sal*, &c.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Arestotill thow did preeell
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 princeis entrit *in* the acha-demya;” “he garris them fal *in* the depe fosse of seruitude, ande fra magnificeens *in* ruuyne;” “when the sune eummis *in* the fyrist degré 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, sygen'*; 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 *roopen* of the rauens;” “the *jargolyne* of the snallou;” “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, latinge, garding, gardene*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

conteneu, tenor.	pasuolan, Fr. <i>passevolant</i> .
contrair, against.	paveis, Fr. <i>pavoise</i> .
corbeis, ravens.	paunan, Fr. <i>parare</i> .
cordinair, shoemaker.	perdurabil, lasting.
eronic, elchronicle.	pissance, power.
curtician, courtier.	plasmatour, creator.
diffieil, difficult.	popil, poplar.
disjune, breakfast.	potent, stake, gibbet.
dyte, to word, <i>dit</i> .	prochane, neighbour.
ensens, incense.	prodig, prodigal.
escarmuschis, skirmishes.	pulce, push, <i>poulser</i> .
eschet, forfeiture.	puldir, powder, <i>pouldre</i> .
euoir, ivory, <i>ivoire</i> .	raminaschie, collected, <i>rammassé</i> .
expreme, express.	rammel, branching, <i>ramel</i> .
facil, easy.	rasche, pull, <i>arracher</i> .
fard, paint, <i>farder</i> .	repreme, repress.
fasson, fashions.	renʒe, rein.
felloun, fierce.	reprocha, reproach.
fleurise, blossom.	reu, street.
freuole, frivolous.	roy, king.
fumeterre, fumitory.	rondellis, Fr. <i>rondelles</i> .
fyne, end.	rotche, rock, <i>roche</i> .
galmound, gambol.	salut, safety.
galȝard, galliard.	salutifere, healthful.
garnison, garrison.	sermons, ceremonies.
gloire, glory.	scisma, schism.
gre, degree.	siege, seat, see.
iimpesche, hinder.	siecle, age, century.
importabil, unbearable.	sklaue, slave, <i>éslave</i> .
lasche, base, <i>lâche</i> .	solist, solicitous.
loue, praise.	spacier, to walk, Ital. <i>spaziare</i> .
maculat, spotted.	succur, sugar, <i>suere</i> .
maltaient, ill-will.	suppedit, assist.
manneis, threat.	suppreme, suppress.
marbyr, marble.	temerair, rash.
merle, blackbird.	turdion, a dance, <i>tordion</i> .
mel, mix.	turques, pincers.
mistir, need, <i>mestier</i> .	vaig, to ramble, <i>voguer</i> .
mue, bushel, <i>moid</i> .	veschel, vessel.
murdresar, murderer.	vertu, virtue.
neurise, nurse.	vilit, vileness.
nouvelles, news.	ulye, oil, <i>huyle</i> .
obfuscis, darkens.	vollage, fickle, <i>volage</i> .
olymp, olympus.	unetit, anointed, <i>oineté</i> .
oultraige, outrage.	visye, visit.
pastance, pastime.	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, proprieté, astrologien, damyselle, Inde, Perse, Crisp Salust, Absolon, Hieremye, Deutronome, Levitic, Capes (Capua), Cartagiens, Seneque, Italie, Mathou, Marc, Luc.* To the French influence we may also refer the plural form taken by adjectives of Romance origin, as in *batellis socialis, batellis intestynis, 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 *Lymdesay*. These consist mainly in the confounding of *t* and *c*, of *n* and *u*, *j* and *f*, *in*, *ni*, *iu*, *ui*, and *m*, &c., errors very natural for a compositor who did not know the language setting from MS., but, as it appeared to me, impossible for a native printer to make, and a native reader to pass. At least they were such as native printers *did not* make in other works of the day, as may be seen from the typographical productions of Chepman and Millar, John Skot, Henrie Charteris, and

Robert Bassandync, all of which are very accurately printed ; one really could not imagine any of these repeatedly printing *che, chem, chat, bernik, hanyn, nocht, mitht, faych, slandris, ruinersal, enyl, uoht, hane, enryie, laundart, nouch, nenreisuiig, anareis, sterius, soucht, ȝenyh, muue and muue, snet, prysomt, scettis, saythtful, for the, them, that, Beruie, hanyn, nocht, micht, fayth, Flandris, vniuersal, euyl, nocht, hane, euryie, landhart, mouth, neurising, auareis, sternis, foucht, ȝenyth, mune, suet, prysonit, Scottis, faythful*, with hundreds of similar blunders, which have their parallels in Jaseuy'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, univers, vow, mure* ; and that the entire book contains no vestige of the black letter in which all the Old Scotch books that I had seen were printed.

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

¹ I may mention as a work in question an edition of Iaques 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 ingratuated 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 breuis lustely, and layis ;
Quhilkis to our prince daily thay do present ;
Quha can say mair than Schir Iames Inglis sayis,
In ballatis, farses, and in plesand playis ?
Bot Culros hes his pen maid impotent.

The Maitland MS. also attributes to "Schir James Inglis" a poem entitled "A General Satire," which the Bannatyne MS. has with the name of "Dunbar" affixed. This Sir James Inglis,¹ a "Pope's Knight," was a churchman of considerable distinction at court in the reign of James V. He is shown from the Treasurer's Accounts to have been attached to the Royal household in 1511, was subsequently "Chapellane to the Prince," James V., while Sir David Lyndesay was Gentleman Usher, Secretary to Queen Margaret (1515), Chancellor of the Kingis chapell at Stirling (1527). The earliest and almost the latest entries we have in regard to him concern expenses for materials "to be hym and his collegis *play-coitis*, agane ȝule," 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 eruell 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 Iames Inglis also in priest's orders, who from about 1508 to 1550 was chaplain of the Abbey of Cambuskyneth, in connection with which his name occurs repeatedly in the Treasurer's books—in the not very literary

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

capacity certainly of singing masses “for the saullis of vñquhile our souerane Lord, (quham God assolȝe!) 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 Cambusknyneth. 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 succeid; see that you act your part faith-

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

fullie." The second brother John took priest's orders, but soon beginning to profess the reformed doctrines, was summoned on a charge of heresy, and escaped to Germany (ab. 1538), where he sat at the feet of Luther and Melanchthon. "He translated manie of Luther's dytements into Scotish meter, and the Psalmes of David. He turned manie bawdie songs and rhymes in godlie rymes. He returned after the death of James V. in Dec. 1542, but was again pursued by the Cardenall, and fled to England," where we hear no more of him. The yonngest 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 continual 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 theron. They accuse him, condemne him, and burne his statue in a great fire of timber. The Cardinall was slaine that verie day, in the morning, in his own Castell of Sanct Andrewes." *Calderwood*. Notwithstanding these opinions Robert Wedderburn succeeded his mother's brother, Mr Robert Barry, as Vicar of Dundee (Scottish benefices were even more directly hereditary than this in the 16th century), which office he still held in 1553, and to him are ascribed, as to his brother John, a large part of those parodies or alterations of Popular Songs or Ballads, found in the collection of the "Gude & Godlie Ballates," recently reprinted by Mr Laing from the original edition of 1573.

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

clusion, we have his residence in the vicinity of St Andrew's, the general tone and character of the book, as conveying the sentiments of one who was, perhaps, inclined in his heart to be a Reformer, although retaining his connection with the Romish Church, and who imitated Sir David Lyndesay in exposing (with a deal of pedantic learning) the prevailing abuses of the time ; and more especially his familiarity with the popular literature of the time, while enumerating the names of songs, dances, &c., of which Dr Leyden mentions seven among those which Wedderburn himself is supposed to have 'metamorphosed' in the present collection of GUDE & GODLIE *BALLATES*." The argument from St Andrew's of course (as I think that the writer of these words saw, when we examined the early Scotch printed remains in 1870) falls to the ground. But independently of that, and while disposed to give every weight to the authority of the Harleian Catalogue as to "Vedderburn"—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, tryne 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 Papynge—the C. of Sir D. Lyndesay—the C. of Babsche—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 thrinfull wand of flagellation, mortal weiris, hunger and peste;” quotes the proverb, “Wo to the realme that hes ouir ȝoung 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 Commonweil* 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 Inglisch 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 þe 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 publice," 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 *ȝ* of the original, occasional omissions of the sign of contraction, which Leyden did not expand, &c., the work is a creditable piece of scholarship for the beginning of this century, when such low feelings prevailed generally as to the importance of literal accuracy—indeed the editor was attacked by no less an authority than Pinkerton, for not printing the text “as a classic,” i. e. cooking the spelling, &c., as he himself would have done. A long and valuable Introduction, though badly arranged, and sometimes irrelevant, displayed an immense acquaintance with early literature, and by the accounts and specimens which it furnished of works only existing in MS. or unique old impressions did much to stimulate the formation of the great printing clubs of Scotland a generation ago, which again in their turn paved the way for the Early English Text and kindred popular Societies of the present day. Remarks on the language, for which Leyden was specially fitted, and which would have been a real gain to Scottish Philology, clearing the subject of the fantastic nonsense with which Pinkerton and his followers managed to invest it, he was obliged for want of space to omit. His glossary, however, is of very considerable value, and the information contained in it has been largely used by others with and without acknowledgment.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

No. II. "An Exhortacion to the Scottes to conforme themselves to the honorable, Expedient, & godly Vnion betweene the two Realmes of Englande & Scotland." This is a longer document than the preceding; it was published in 1547, when the Duke of Somerset was already approaching the Scottish frontier on the expedition which terminated at Pinkie, by "James Harryson, Scottishe-man," who therein implores his countrymen to pause in their career of blind antipathy to England, before they feel the weight of the Protector's arm. The writer displays especial antagonism to the [Roman] clergy of Scotland, whom he accuses again and again of being the instigators of the deplorable hostilities between the two countries; he was probably himself one of the refugees who had fled to England to escape the tender mercies of the Cardinal. One sentence in the tract ought to help us in identifying the author and his share in the events of the time; it is this (p. 225): "If I should here entre into declaracion of the righte & title, wherby the kynges of England claime to be superior lordes of Scotland, I should of some be noted, rather a confounder of our liberties and fredomes, then a conseruator, (which name I had late)." As in the Declaracion 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 "Coecle which their father Sathan had sownen emong the Corne," wherewith the priests "have fedde the silly people, utteryng their dreames and inuencions, in stede of trouthes & verities." He raises his voice, too, against the Scottish league with France, holding up to ridicule the sorry figure cut by poor *Jehan de Escoce*, when "as a Cypher in Algorism," he serves but as Jupiter's block for the contumely and insults of the Frogges of France. It is noteworthy

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

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

No. III. The "Epistle or Exhortacion to vnitie and peace" appeared in the year following the "Scottisheman's" Exhortation, after the battle of Pinkie, foreshadowed in it, had been fruitlessly fought and won. It differs greatly from the manifestoes that had preceded it, in its moderation of tone, persuasive reasoning, and omission of all claim to supremacy over Scotland, leaving us with the impression that had it appeared first rather than last, its results might have been more satisfactory. From it we learn that the preceding pamphlets had been by the leaders of affairs in Scotland kept from the knowledge of the people ; to this the Protector attributes in part the necessity for the recent battle, which he professes to deplore as deeply as the Scots can. The main part of the argument is devoted to showing the advantages which would result to Scotland from a union of the two realms, by the marriage of the sovereigns, for which he vainly implores the Scottish nation to renew the contract. Great attractions are also held out to individual Scotchmen who will adhere to the English interest, and further the reasonable aims of the English statesmen. The pamphlet is reprinted from the copy in the Grenville Collection, No. 5912, a small 8vo of twenty-eight leaves, black-letter. That foreign nations might be enabled to judge of the righteous character of the English demands, this pamphlet appeared simultaneously in English and Latin, the title of the latter being "Epistola exhortatoria ad pacem missa ab illustrissimo Principe Domino Protectore Angliae, ac eacteris 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 Englannde hath to the souereigntie of Scotlandne, 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 Bodrugan, otherwise Adams, and the contents of his pamphlet, no less than his name, testify to his being a Welshman. His history is an abridgment of that of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and it is amusing to see how in vindicating the rights of the English kings, he ignores the fact that the English are not descendants of the ancient Britains, mentioning indeed Hengist and Horsa and the false Saxons' blood as invaders, against whom the English kings had to contend, while Alfred and Athelstan are lineal descendants of Arthur and the old British princes. To this fiction the author of the *Complaynt* probably refers in Chapter XI. p. 86, top. As the pamphlet is very lengthy, I have not thought it necessary to print his tedious abstract of Geoffrey, and have therefore cut short his "history" at Ferrex and Porrex, and returned to him when he returns to Scottish matters (see p. 251). The author says that one objection alleged by the Scotch to the proposed union was their dread of the severity of the English laws; in reply to which he volunteers to show that those of Scotland are much more iniquitous. But the objection in any case was untenable, as it would be quite possible for Scotland to retain her own laws, as indeed "divers places of England have sundry laws to this day." Taking up the figure of the "Scottisheman," he concludes with a personification of "oure countrey the common parent to vs all," calling upon her rebellious children of Scotland to deport themselves no longer as a Viper's brood, rending and tearing the mother who had brought them forth; and asking "the whole members of her family of all great Briteigne" henceforth to cultivate friendship and mutual love, as zealously as they had aforetime persecuted one another with fire and sword. Two copies of Bodrugan's "Epitome" are in the Library of the British Museum. One of these ^{c. 21. b.} ₁ has

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

Such were the works “set furth by the oratours of ingland at ther protectours instance,” which, along with the prophecies of Merlin 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
princessis.

THIE immortal gloir, that procedis be the rycht lyne of vertu, fra ȝour magnanime auansing of the public veil of the afflit realme of scotlande, is abundantly dilatit athort al cuntreis; throught the quhilk, the precius germe of ȝour nobilit 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 medicyne, to cure & to gar conualesse al the langorius desolat & afflit 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 afflictio'ne hes procedit of thre vehement plagis quhilk hes al maist succumbit oure cuntry in final euerctione. that is to saye, the cruele inuasions of oure ald enemeis, the vniuersal pestilens ande mortalite, that hes occurrit mercyles amang the pepil, ande the contentione of

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

producing not
only branches and
leaves of virtue,
but salutary fruit
of honour;
a sovereign
remedy for the
affliction of
the people,
who are almost
driven to despair
by the invasions
of our old
enemies.

13

[* leaf 2, back]
Our afflictions
proceed from
three chief
causes:
the inroads of the
English, the
pestilence, and
domestic
dissension.

diuerse of the thre estaitis of scotland. throught the
quihilk thre plagis, the vniuersal pepil ar be cum disti-
3 tute of iustice, policie, ande of al verteus bysynes of
body ande saul. Ande nou, illustir princes, engendrit
of magnanime genoligie, & discendit of Royal pro-
genituris, ȝour regement ande gouernyng, ande also
ng. ȝour honorabil amplitude of verteouse dignite inressis
8 daly in the contensual auansing of the deffens of oure
cuntry; quhar for ȝour heroyque vertu is of mair admira-
- ratione, nor vas of valeria the dochter of the prudent
he consul publicola, or of cloelia, lucrezia, penelope, cor-
2 nelia, semiramis, thomaris, penthasillie, or of ony vthir
- verteouse lady that plutarque or boechas hes discriuit,
- to be in perpetual memore. for al thair nobil actis ar
- nocht to be comparit to the actis that ȝour prudens
- garris daly be exsecut, contrar the cruel voffis¹ of ing-
- land. The quihilk; voffis ar nocht the ra' uand sauage
- voffis of strait montanis ande vyild fforrestis, that
- deuoris nolt ande seheip for ther pray: bot rather tha
- ar dissaitful voffis quihilkis hes euir been oure ald
- enemeis. Ande nou sen the deceis of oure nobil illustir
- prince kying iames the fyift, ȝour vñquhile faythful
- lord and hisband, tha said rauisant voffis of ingland hes
- 24 intendit ane oniust veyr be ane sinister inuentit false
- til contrar our realme, in hope to deuoir the vniuersal
- floe of oure scottis natione, ande to extinete oure genera-
- tion furht of rememorance: Bot nocht heles, gode of
- his diuyne bounte, heffand compassionie of his pure
- afflilit pepil, ande also beand mouit contrar the rauisant
- voffis of ingland, he of his grace hes inspirit ȝou to be
- 29 ane instrument to delyuir vs fra the captiuite of the
- cruel philaris the protector of ingland: as he inspirit
- queen esther to delyuir the captive ieuis, quhen thai &
- mordochaeus var sinistly accusit, and also persecutit,
- be amman, befor² assuerus kyng of inde.³ and as the

Illustrious
princess!

Your rule daily
adds to the
public well-being.

Your virtue surpasses that of the ancient heroines

12 nelia, semiramis, thomaris, penthasillie, or of ony vthir
verteouse lady that plutarque or boechas hes diseriuict,
to be in perpetual memore. for al thair nobil actis ar
nocht to be comparit to the actis that ȝour prudens
garris daly be exsecut, contrar the cruel voffis¹ of ing-

recorded by Plutarch or Boccaccio, 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
Hainan,

1 misprint for volfis?

2 be for

3 jude

holy vedou iudich vas inspirit to delyuir the ieuis fra
the cruelte of that insideil pagan¹ oliphernes. Ther is
na prudent man that vil iuge² *that this pistil procedis
of assentatione or adulatiorne, considerant that ve maye
see perfylye quhou that ȝour grace takkis pane to
duelle in ane straynge euntre distitute of iustice. Ande
als ȝour grace beand absent fra ȝour only ȝong dochter,
our nobil princes, and rychteous heretour of scotland :
quha is presentlye veil tretit in the gouernance of hyr
fadur of lau, the maist illustir potent prince of the maist
fertil & pacabil realme, vndir the machine of the
supreme olimp, quhar that ȝour gracie mycht remane &
duel amang the nobil princis & princessis of France,
quhilkis ar ȝour natine frendis of consanguinitate
affinite, ande ther ȝe mycht posses abundance of al
pleiseirs most conuenient for ȝour nobilitate, bot ȝit, the
ferment loue that ȝour grace baris touart that tendir
pupil ȝour only dochtir, ande for the delyuering of hyr
heretage³ furth of captiuite, ȝe daly of ȝour gudnes
induris as grit pane, as the queen ysierata indurit vith
hyr lorde metredates. ȝour grace deseruis noct to be
callit ane nobil, alanelry throcht⁴ ȝour verteous verkis,
bot as veil ȝe suld be callit ane nobil of genolligie, be
rason that ȝe ar discendent of the maist vailȝeant princis
that ar vndir the cape *of hauyn.⁵ ther can noct be
ane mair ample probatione, nor is the famous atentic
croniklis of diuers realmes, ande also the verteous
verkis dune be ȝour antecessours in oure dais ar
evident til vs in this present seicle. In the fyrist, ȝour
grace is discendent of them, quhilkis be ther vertu ande
be ther victoreus⁶ actis hes kepit ande deffendit the
liberte of ther subiectis in sure pace ande tranquilitate,
ande hes repulsit vailȝeantly al externe violens. ȝour
foir grandscheir godefroid of billon kyng of iherusalem,

<sup>and Judith from
Holophernes.</sup>
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),

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

where you also
might dwell in
comfort,

but for your
interest in your
daughter's
heritage.

You are also noble
by genealogy,

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

Your ancestors
defended the
liberties of their
people.

Your great-grand-
father, Godfrey
de Bouillon,

¹ pagam ² inge ³ here age (*not* heruage, as L. says).

⁴ trocht

⁵ hanyu

⁶ victore*

- defended Lor-
raine,
and delivered the
Holy Land.
Think how he was
withstood by the
Paynim hosts!
[• leaf 4, back]
His brother
Baldwin, and his
successors, kings
of Sicily, dukes of
Anjou, Calabria,
and Lorraine.
Your grandfather
René, king of
Sicily, slew
Charles the Bold
at Nancy.
*Charlis due
of burgungȝe
wasthegrand-
scheir to this
empriour
Charlis the
fyfth kyng
of spangȝe.*
Your father's
brother Anthony,
duke of Calabria,
Lorraine, and Bar,
[• leaf 5]
- hes nocht alanelry kept ande deffendit his pepil ande
subiectis of loran, fra his prochane enemeis that lyis
3 contigue about his euntry : bot as veil be his magnanyme
proves ande martial exsecutione, he delyurit the holy
land of iudia furtht of the handis & possessione of the
infideil pagans : quhar for the vniuersal¹ historiagraphy
ours hes baptist hym to be ane of the principal of al
8 the nyne noblis. for quha vald considir the longinuite
of his martial voyaige, ande the grite forse of the
oriental pepil, ande the multitude of infidelis ande
pagan princis, quhilkis impecschit hym in that barbir
12 straynge euntry be diuerse cruel battellis: this veil
considrit, thai sal fynd that his magnanyme he'roique
ande martial entreprise, vas conuoyit & succurrit be ane
diuyne miracle, rather nor be the ingyne of men. it vil
16 be ouer prolix to rehers all the vailȝeant actis of
baudouyne² his broder ande successor to the realme of
ierusalem, ande na les prolix to rehers of his successors,
quhilkis var ȝour predecessours, kyngis of seclie,
dukis of aniou, calabre, ande of loran. i suld nocht forȝet
the tryumphant victore, exsecut ande conqueist be the
vailȝeant ande nobil rene inquietissime kyng of seclie,
duc of calabre, ande loran, ȝour gudscheir, contrar that
potent prince Charles due of Burgungȝe, quhilk vas
repute to be ane of the maist nobil men of veyr in
cristianite: ȝit nochtheles, he vas venqeist ande slane,
be syde the toune of nancy, be the fair said rene ȝour
gudscheir: quhar for it aperis veil (illustir princes) that
ȝe ar discendit doune lynyalye of them that hes been
propungnatours for the libertee of ther euntry ande
subiectis. Siklyke the nobilnes of ȝour vñquibile fadir
broder antonius, due of calabre, loran, ande of bar, quha
maye be comparit to the deuot kyng, Numa pomplius,
the sycond kyng of rome, for his prudens ande dixtrite,
be rason that he hes keptis his subiectis in liberte but

¹ vñiversal² baudouyne

oppressione, quhoubeit his cuntry lay betuix tua of the
maist potent princis that ringis in this varld: that is to 2
say, the catholie kyng of spanȝe eleet empriour on ane
syde, ande the maist potent eristyn kyng of France on
the tothir syde, the quhilkis tua riche kyngis hes hed
diuerse tymes birnand mortal veyr contrar vthirs, ȝit
nochtheles ȝour nobil fadir broder, due of calabre ande
loran, hes kepit his landis in liberte fra ther oppressione, 8
the quhilk he did be vailȝeantnes ande prudens.
Siklyke that maist sapient prince ande prelat fadir in
gode, ihone of loran, be the permissione diuyne, Cardi-
nal of the apostolic seige, archebishop of narbon, abbot
of cluny, fekkem, ande of sanct ouyne, quha is ȝour
fadir broder, quhilk be his prudens for the public veil
off cristianite, hes been mediatour betuix diuers forane
princis, to treit pace ande concorde in diuerse cuntrieis,
as in ytalie, germanie, flandris,¹ ande spanȝe, quha hes
nocht alanelry vsit hym lyik ane sperutual pastor, bot
as veil he hes vsit hym lyik ane vailȝeant captan, for
ane verteous captain can nocht exsecut ane mair vail-
ȝeant act as quhen he purchessis pace ande coneord, 21
vytht out diminutione of his ryght, an'dle viht out [*_leaf 5, back]
domage slaunchir 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 ȝour nobil ande vailȝeant fadir,
the due of guise, lieutenant general to the kyng of
France, of all the cuntry of champayngȝe ande brie:
his actis vald be prolix to reherse, quhilkis hes been
laity exsecutit in oure dais. The memor of ane of his
actis is recent, quhen he pat ane garnison of tua thou- 31
sand men viht in the toune of sanct quintyne, ryeht
vailȝeantly, contrar the vil of thretty thousand of his
enemicis, quhar he gart mony of his enemicis resaue 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,
Fecamp, and St
Ouen, your
uncle,

15

renowned both in
spiritual and
temporal matters.

Your father, the
Duke of Guise,

relieved St
Quentin,

¹ slandris

- hurt til his men of veyr, quhar for euery man maye
 2 meruel of his dexterite, vertu, ande martial sciens. his
 magnanyme proues did ane vthir vailȝeant act, he
 beand bot sex thousand men, he held in subiectione
 fourty thousand at the seige of perone, ther durst none
 of that grit compayne pas bakuart nor forduart, be rason
 7 of the mony assaltis ande escarmuschis that he maid
 contrar them, quhar that he sleu mony of them, vytht
 [*leaf 6] out damage tyl his men of veyr; be that *industreus
 martial act, he renforsit the toune viith victualis, hag-
 butaris, ande munitions. for the hagbutaris past neir to
 12 the camp of ther enemeis, ande entrin in the toune but
 while he kept the enemy awake on
 the other side.

 The town of
 Saverne bears
 witness of his
 prowess,

 in the Peasant
 war.

 You are thus
 truly noble both
 by virtue and
 descent.

 [*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.
- assaltis ande escarmuschis that he maid contrar them. The toune of sauern baris vytnes of his de-
 legent vailȝeantnes, that he maid contrar the imminent
 dangeir that vas cummand on the realme of France, at
 that tyme quhen ane multitude and infinit nummir of
 men of veyr, ande vthirs that lyuit viith out lau, dis-
 cendit fra the hicht of germanye. thai var of diuerse
 sectis, haldant straynge opinions contrar the scriptour.
 thai purposit to compel al cristianite tyl adhere to ther
 peruerst opinione : ȝit nochtheles ther disordinat inten-
 tione vas haistly repulsit ande extinct be the martial
 sciens of ȝour nobil & vailȝeant fadir. Thir vailȝeant
 actis of ȝour predecessors (illustir princes) ande ȝour
 grit prudens, makkis manifest, that ȝour grace is ane
 rycht nobil, baytht of vertu ande of genolie. al thir
 30 thingis befor rehersit, i beand summond be institutione
 of ane gude ȝeil,¹ hes tane ane teme rare consait to
 present to ȝour nobil grace ane tracteit of the fyrst
 laubir of my pen. bot ȝit i vas lang stupefact ande
 timide, for falt of ane peremptoir conclusione, i nocht
 heffand ane perfyte determinatione of quhat purpos or

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 reuolve the librarye of I searched the treasury of my brain,

my vndirstanding, ande i socht all the secreit corneris¹ of my gazophile, ymaginant viht in the cabinet of my

5

interior thoechis, that ther var na mater mair conuenient ande necessair for this present dolorus tyme, nor to reherse the cause ande occasione of the onmersiful afflictione of the desolat realme of scotland. the quhilk desola-

tion 10

lotion hes occurrit be the mischance of fureous mars, that hes violently occupeit the domicillis of tranquil

pace, that sueit goddes of humaine felicite. the quhilk tracteit i hef dediet ande direekyt to ȝour nobil grace,

Deign to accept
of my poor
tractate!

in hope that ȝour gracie vil resane it as humainly as it var ane riche present of grit consequens. it vas the 15

eustom 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} for ther

qualite. the historigraphours rehersis of ane pure man of perse, quha be chance reneountrit² kyng darius. this

pure man throught grit pouerte hed no thyng to present tyll his kyng effir the eustom 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 hartyly obediens of this pure man, he resauit that litil

quantite of cleen vattir as humainly as it hed been ane riche present of gold, ande he gart delyuir to the said

pure man sex thousand peees of gold, and ane goldin vattir lauar. fra this exemplil cummis ane vlgare adagia,

quhilk sais, that quhen ane pure man makkis ane sacrefeis, & throught his pouerte he vantis ensens to mak the seremons of his sacrefeis, that sacrefeis sal be

acceptabil befor the goldis, be cause that he dois samekil as his pissance maye distribute. it is vrytin in

27

*Eriguum
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 *mis.p. cornetis*

² *recontrit*

³ *pso*

St Mark tells
how our Saviour
commanded the
poor widow more
than the rich men.
*Cum renisset
autem una ri-
[*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!

Sanet mare, quhou oure saluiour estemeit ande com-
mendit 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 conelusione
(illustir princes) my esperance is sa grite, that i beleif
that zour gracie vil resane this tracteit as humainly, as
kyng darius resauit the clene vattir fra the pure man of
perse. this tracteit is na bettir nor as mekil vattir, bot
zit my gude vil & harty intentione, ande my detful
obediens, exceedis the harty intentione of the pure man
that offrit the fayr vattir to kyng darius, prayand to
god to preserue zour grace in perpetual felicite. 13

PROLOG TO THE REDAR.

Amasis II., king
of Egypt, made an
ordinance against
idleness,
*Indigetes var
goddis of egypt
quhilkis hed
beene verte-
ouse princes
quhen thai
lyuit.*

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

The Gymnoso-
phists allowed no
man refreshment
until he could
show that he had
justly earned it.

*Gymnioso-
phistes var
philosophours
of inde,
quhilkis rar
ay nakyt*

AMASIS the sycond, quhilk vas the last kyng ande
indegete of the egiptiens, (ande, as diodore rehersis,
he vas the fyift legislator of egypt), maid ane
ordinance contrar the vice of ydilnes, that al his sub-
iectis of egypt var oblist, vndir the pane of dede, to
bring euery zeir 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 maner
of ther lyuing. be this politie ordinance, the egiptiens
var inducit tyl adhere to vertu, ande to leyrne sciens,
crafis, ande mecanike occupations, maist comodius
ande conuenient for the public veil of egypt. Than effir
this ordinance of amasis, the Gymniosophistes institut
ane mair strict ordinance amang the pepil of inde: that
is to say, that ane person suld noct be admittit to re-
sauie his corporal refectione quhil on to the tyme that
he hed manifest realye, or ellis be certan testificatione

¹ Read mair nor

the frutis of his laubours of the daye precedent. the *witht out any sort of clet-*
seuerite of thir strict ordinance var augmentit be ane yng, ther doc-
edict of sesostris the grit kyng of egip: for he statut trine aperit
ane ordinance til excerce his propir childir ande the to be rather
3ong princeis ande gentil men of his court to vse them ciuil lau nor
philosophie.

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

throught sic excerce, ther membris mycht be purgit fra

corruppit humours, the quhilkeis humours nocth beand

degeistit,¹ mycht be occasione to dul ther spreit, ande to

mak ther body onabil² to resist ydilnes. thir ordinances

of the egiptiens are verray necessair to be vsit in al

realmys, be rason that the maist part of the pepil,

throught ther natural fraigilit, consumis the maist part

of ther dais in ydilnes. This detestatione that i haue

re hersit of ydilnes, par chance maye be iugit be innuyful

ignorantis, that i condampe my self, in sa far as thai

persaue me nocth oceupei witht mecanyc byssynes. nou,

to confound ignorant detrakkers, i vil arme me witht

the vordis of publius scipio, as cicero re hersis 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 neiyr les solitair as quhen he aperit to be

solitair ; for quhen he aperit to be ydil, than he vas

solist in his mynde ament the gouernyng of the public

veil, ande quhen he aperit to be solitar, than he vas

speikand witht hym self ament his auen byssynes,

& sa he vas neuir ydil nor solitair, quhoubeit that

he aperit sum tyme in the sycht of the vulgaris to be

ydil & solitair. nunquam se minus ociosum quam

cum ociosus, nec minus solum quam cum

solut esset. i vil apply thir vordis to my self. for

quhonbeit that the laubir witht the pen & the studie

on speculacione of vertu apeir to be ydilnes, ȝit thai ar

sort of clet-
yng, ther doc-
trine aperit
to be rather
civil lau nor
philosophie.

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

10

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

Most people are
still lazy.

17

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

Let them
remember the
words of Scipio
Africanus.

22

28

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

[* leaf 9] *no ydilnes, bot rather ane solist byssynes of the body

It is my proper talent.
The pen did more for the Romans than the sword.
Every craft is necessary,

2 & of the spreit. ande nou, sen gode hes noctit dotit me
vitht speculacione of liberal sciens nor philosophie, nor
vitht stryntth of my body til indure seruile subiectione,
nor zit vitht no art nor mecanye craft, ther for i vil

6 help to the auansing¹ of the publicle veil vitht my studye
& vitht my pen. In the antiant dais, the romans var
mair renforsit in curageus entreprisis be the vertu of
the pen, ande be the persuasions of oratours, nor thai
var renforsit be the sourdis of men of veyr. Euerye craft
is necessair for the publicle veil, ande he that hes the gyft
of traductioun, compiling or teching, his faculte is a honest,

13 as crafty, ande as necessair, as is to be ane marynel, ane
marchant, ane cordinar, charpenteir, captan, ciuilist, or
ony vthir craft or sciens. ther is na degréis 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 :
siclyik, gyf ane craft be gude, than it is as gude as ony

and equally Honourable.

[* leaf 9, back]

24 detest ane vthir sort of craft, considerand that oure
hurt nature hes noctit dotit ane man til vse al craftis.

Man is not a *gladius delphicus*, Aristotil sais in the fyrist beuk of his politiques, that

Nihil enim natura facit tale quale statuarij delphicun gladium ob indiciam sed rnum ad rnum. nature hes noctit maid ane man lyik *gladius delphicus*. The significatione of *gladius delphicus* is of this sort. *delphos* is ane solemnit place, on the hyl of *pernassus*, quhar ther standis ane tempil dedicat til appollo. ther cam daly to that tempil diuerse pure men in pilgrimage. ther duelt on that hil, smythis, & forgearis of yrn ande steil, the quhilgis euld mak ane instrument of yrn conuenient for mony officis, for tha vald gar ane instrument serue for ane hammyr, ane turkes, ane file, ane

Polit. I.

which was hammer, pincers,

sourd, ane knyf, ande ane borrel. this sort of instra-
mentis var sellit to pure pilgryms that hed nocthmekil
moneye to by ilk instrument be the self: ande be cause 3
that instrument seruit til mony officis, ther for it vas
callit gladius delphiens. of this sort aristotil makkis ane
comparisone, sayand, that nature hes nocth 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 9
craftis man, be rason *that oure hurt nature hes diuidit
oure complexions to be of diuerse qualiteis; ande for
that cause ve sal fynd amang ane thousand men, ane
thousand consajis 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 ordland til help vthirs in necessite. Cicero
gyuis ane exemplil in his retoric, 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 ȝong vemen of that cite cum in his presens,
ande than he chesit fife of the best lyik amang them al,
to be his patron.² quhen he hed contemplit & spiyit 25
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 patron of the ymage of iuno, efftir the pro-
portionis of diuerse of the membris of thir foirsaid fife
ȝong ladeis, be cause he euld nocth *get al his patron
in ane special lady. for sche that vas pleysand of hyr
face, vas nocth pleysand of hyr hayr, ande sche that
hed plesand handis, hed nocth pleysand een, ande sche

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

Each man has his
faculty;

[*leaf 10]

*Mille homi-
num species &
rerum discolor-
vsus; velle
suum cuique
est, nec voto
viuitur uno.
persicus.¹*

*Quot homines,
tot sententie.
Ci. de fini.*

Heracleon in
painting a Juno,
chose the select
beauties of five
maiden.

[*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 that hed ane veil proportionet body, hed euil proportionet feit; ande to conclude, he euld nocht get ane

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

5 vas ane instrument that seruït til mony officis. be this

So no man can
practise all crafts,

but each must
contribute his
own talent.

11 for rehersit, ar ane preparatiue, contrar the detractione

This to prevent
the detraction of
critics,

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

Cic. de ora.

[* leaf 11]
who are reader
to carp at those
who do their best,
than to try
themselves.

He who would
please everybody,
should first drink
the ocean dry.

Dificile in
dicendo
omnibus sa-
tisfacere.

Yet I will not go
beyond my
capacity.

29 sall apply ane exemplil conformand to this samyn purpose, as aftir followis.

Hannibal in his
adversity was
the guest of
Antiochus.

This storie is
in the apothig-
mes of plu-
ture.

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

can nocte 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 afflit 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 nobilit. at sum tyme thai vald pas
 to the sculis, to heir the leecture of ane philosophour
 callit phormion, quha remanit in the toune of ephisye,
 ande techit natural ande moral philosophie to the 3ong
 men of the cuntry. on ane day, thir tua princis be
 chance entrit in the aehademya, to heir ane lesson of 12
 philosophie techit be the said phormion, philosophour.
 he persauand thir tua princis entir in his seule, 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 profondly
 the maneir of the ordoryng of battellis in presens of thir
 tua princis, that thai that herd hym neuyr of befor,
 meruellit nocte alanelry 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 anthioeus tuke grit gloir be
 cause he hed sie ane prudent philosophour *in his cun- 27
 tre : quhar for he inquirit annibal, quhat iugement he
 hed of his philosophour phormion. Annibal ansuert but Hannibal
 viht as hardy curage as quhen he venqeist the romans
 at the battel of cannes ; for ane vailzeant prince tynis
 nocte his curage, quhoubeit that aduerse fortune resist
 his felicite, bot rather hes gule hope that dame for-
 toune¹ vil mittigat hyr auen erualte. this vas the ansuer 33
 of annibal tyl anthioeus, in the presens of phormion :
 Nobil prince anthioeus,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]

¹ fortoune

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 the mirroure of folye. ther can nocht be ane mair folye,
and presumption; as quhen ane ydiot, distitute of knaulage, presunis 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 see, or heris tel, of the presumpteous consait of thy

9 vane philosophour, quhilk hes been neurest al his dais in
who dared to
treat of the
theory of battles
before him, who
[* leaf 12, back]
had been so
much in the
practice.
ane solitar aehademya of greice,¹ ande \exists it he dar be sa
bold to present hym befor princie annibal, to disput ande
tyl indoctryne the² maneir of the *veyris ande of the
batellis, as he var princie of affrica, or captan of rome:
for verite he hes ane smal iugement of sic maters, or

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 conquesingis of realmis. o kyng an-

thiocus, al the goddis vait, quhat differens is betuix phi-
losophie techit in sculis, ande betuix the stait of captans
in the ordoring of batellis on the feildis ; ande quhat
differens is to vrit viht ane pen, & the vsing of ane
speyr vailzantly in battel ; ande quhat differens is ther

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

Your philosopher
never saw
service;

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

31 rais : he sau neuyr the array of men of veyr brokyn,
ande tua armes myxt amang vthirs, fechtand be fellowe
forse, quhar the defluxione of blude *hed payntit ande
culourt all the feildis : he herd neuyr the dolorus
trompet sounde befor the iunyng of ane battel, nor \exists it

he harde it neuyr sound to gar the men of veyr retere 1
 fra ane dangeir: he persauit neuyr the trason of ane
 party, nor the couuardeis of ane vthir party : he sau
 neuyr the litil nummir of them that fechtis, nor the
 grite nummir of them that fleis for dreddour. O an- 5
 thioeus, thy philosophour suld teche the thyng that he
 hes studeit at the sculis, & the thing that he hees seen
 vitht his een, to them that vas neuyr at the sculis, ande
 to them that vas neuyr pretykkit in the veyris, rather
 nor til vs, that hes been experimentit in the veyris al 10
 oure dais. the prettik of the veyris is mair facil to be
 leymit on the feildis of affrica, nor *in* the sculis of
 greice. Thou vait, kyng anthioeus, that this sex ande
 thretty ȝeiris i hef beene excersit in the veyris, baytht in
 ytalie ande in spangȝe, quhar that fortoune hes schauen 15
 hyr ryght 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 20
 quhyt, i am be cum ane seruand. i sucir to the (kyng
 anthioeus) be the gode mars, that gyf ony persone vald
 speir at me the maneir of the gouernyng of ane battel,
 i vait nocht quhat ansuere to mak, be raison that
 battellis consistis vndir the gouernance of fortune, ande
 nocht in the ingyne of men, nor in the multiplie of
 pepil. all veyris ar begun be princis on ane iust titil, 25
 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 30
 auen professione ande faculte, nor to mel vitht ony
 faculte that passis his knaulage. annibal said mony
 vthir gude purposis tyl anthioeus, anent this samyn
 purpose, as plutarque rehersis in his apothigmatis.
 ¶ This exemplil tendis, that al prudent men hes 35

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
expond the
proper mode of
ordering a battle,

which depends on
fortune.

Ne sutor ultra
erepidam!

mair occasione to condamp & repreif this raggit naykyt

- 2 tracteit, nor annibal hed occasione to repreif the philo-
sophour phormion ; for my dul rude brane suld nocht
hef been sa temerair as to vndirtak to correct the imper-
fectione of ane comont veil, be cause the maist part of

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

[*leaf 14]

but for my ardent
patriotism.

Pray excuse my
rustic speech!

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

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

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

*Sermone, co-
debeamus eum,
qui notus est
nobis.*

Cic. qđ.

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

[*leaf 14, back]

.27

but such things
proceed from vain
conceit.

- 32 antiquis : that is to saye, thou sal speik comont lan-
gauge, ande thou sal lyue estir the verteous maneirs of.
antient men. ſit nochtheles ther is mony wordis of
antiquite that i hef rehersit in this tracteit, the quhilkeſ

Yet I have been
obliged

¹ morib.

culd noct be translatit in oure scottis langage, as to use some classical terms where Scots was deficient.
 auguris, auspices, ides, questeours, senaturus, censours, pretours, tribuns, ande mony vthir romane dictionis : ther for gyf sic vordis suld be disusit or detekkit, than the phrasis of the antiquite vald be confundit ande adnullit : ther for it is necessair at sum tyme til myxt oure langage vith part of termis dreuyn fra lateen, be rason that oure scottis tong is noct sa copeus¹ as is the lateen tong, ande also ther is diuerse purposis & propositions that occurris in the lating tong that can noct² be translatit deuly in oure scottis langage : ther for he that is expert in latyn tong suld noct put reproche to the compilation, quhoubeit that he fynd sum *purposis translatit in scottis that accords noct vith the lateen regester : as ve hef exempli¹⁵ of this propositione, homo est animal, for this terme for idioms differ. homo signifeis baytth man ande woman : bot ther is noct ane scottis terme that signifeis baytth man ande woman : ande animal signifeis al thyng that hes lyue ande is sensibil, bot ther is noct ane scottis terme that signifeis al quyk sensibil thyng, ther for this propositione, mulier est homo is treu, ande zit ve suld noct saye that ane woman is ane man. Ande sielyik this propositione, homo est animal is treu, ande zit ve suld noct say that ane man is ane beyst. of this sort ther is baytth termis ande propositions in lateen tong, the quhilk vil be difficil to translait them. i hef rehersit thir vordis, in hope to eschait the detractione of inuyful gramariaris, quhilkis ar mair prompt to reprehende ane smal falt, nor tha ar to commend ane vertouse act. Nou for conclusione of this prolog, i exhort the (gude redar) to correct me familiarly, ande be cherite, ande til interpreit my intentione fauorablye, for doutles the motione of the compilatione of this tracteit procedis mair of the compassionie that i hef of 35

*Verba in-
uenta sunt,
non que im-
pedirent, sed
que indica-
rent volunta-
tem.
Cic. pro a.
cecin.*

There are phrases that cannot be accurately translated,

[*leaf 15]

*Homo and
animal have no
exact equivalents.*

*Non tam ea
que recta sunt
probantur,
quamque
prava sunt
fastidiis ad-
herent.*

Ci. de ora.
Then, let me not be blamed for a small fault;

look favourably upon my intentions.

¹ cope¹

² non

[*leaf 15, back] the public necessite, nor *it dois of presumptione or
2 vane gloir. thy cheretabil correctione maye be ane pro-

It will encourage
me in my next
works.
uocatione to gar me studye mair attentiulye in the nyxt
verkis that i intend to set furtht, the quhilke i beleif in
gode sal be verray necessair tyl al them that desiris to
lyue vertuouslye indurand the schort tyme of this oure
fragil peregrinatione, & sa fayr veil.

So fare-well!

THE COMPLAYNT OF SCOTLAND.

The Fyrst Cheþtovr
declaris the cause of the
Mutations of Monarches.

CHAP. I.

AS the hie monarchis, lordships, ande autoriteis, ar¹ stablit be the infinite diuyne ordinance, and menteinit² be the sempeternal prouidens, siclyik 3 ther ruuyne cummis be the sentence gyffin be the souerane consel of the diuyne sapiens, the quhilk doune thringis them fra the hie trone of ther imperial dominations, and garris *them fal in the depe fosse³ of seruitude, ande fra magnificens in ruuyne, ande causis conqueriours to be conquest, ande til obeye ther vñquhile subiectis be dreddour, quhome of be for thai commandit be autorite. This deccrit procedis⁴ of the diuyne iustice, be rason that princis ande vthirs of autorite becummis ambitius ande presumpteous, throught grite superfluite of veltjt: 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 gadnes, vith 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
gentibus tran-
sit propter in-
iusticias &
vniuersos
dolos.
Eccl. 10.*

This is divine
justice.

¹ at

² menteinit

³ fosse

⁴ 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 werk

3 of the grite pottis, ande also of the mettal ande mater
of the smal pottis he formis grit pottis. this exemplil
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 & incressis quhil thai
be ascendit to the perfyt strynht of men: bot ther
after, tha begyn to deeresse ande declinis til cild ande
to the dede. *siklyik lordschips ande digniteis hes in-

[*leaf 16, back]

11 cressing, declinatione, ande exterminatione. the mutations
of euerye varldly thyng is certane, quhoubeit
that prosperus¹ men prouidis nocht to resist the occasions
of the mutabiliteis: quhilk occasions ar ay vigilant

This appears
alike from the
Scriptures and
profane history.

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.

Where is now
Nineveh?

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

where Babylon?

21 this tyme ther is nocht ane stane standant on ane vthir.
Quhar is the grite tour of babilone? the quhilk vas
biggit be ane maist ingenius artifeis, of proportione,
quantite, ande of strynht. it aperit to be perdurabil
ande immyncibil, bot nou it is desolat, ande inhabit be

What has been
the fate of Troy?

serpens ande vthir venemuse beystis. Quhat sal be
said of the riche tryumphant toune of troye, ande of

[*leaf 17]

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

What has become
of Thebes?

Quhar is the grite toune of thebes? quhilk vas foundit
be eadimus the sone of agenoir, the quhilk vas at that

35 tyme the maist pepulus toune abufe the cird. it hed ane

¹ prosper'

² palec is

hundretht tourettis ande portis, bot nou at this tyme 1
 ther is no thyng quhar it stude bot barrane feildis.
 Siklyik lacedemonya, quhar the legislator ligurgus gef and of Sparta?
 to the pepil strait famous lauis, of the quhilk ame grit
 part ar vsit presently in the vniuersal varld, is noct 5
 that nobil toune extinet furtht of rememorance? Quhat
 sal be said of athenes, the vñquhile fontane of sapiens,
 ande the spring of philosophie: is it noct in perpetual
 subuersione? Quhar is the toune¹ of cartage that dantit or of Carthage?
 the elephantis, ande vas grytumly doutit & dred be the
 romans? vas it noct brynt in puldir ande asse? ande 11
 nou the grond of it is pastour for bestial. quhat sal be
 said of the riche monarcke of rome, quhilk dantit ande
 subdeuit al the varld? is noct nou the superiorite of
 it partit ande diuidit in mony ande diuerse partis, con-
 formand to the wordis of lucan, quha said that the 16
 vecht of rome suld gar it ryue in mony partis: the
 vecht of it signifeit noct the vecht of hauy vallis,
 housis, stonis, ande vthir *materials: bot rather it [*leaf 17, back]
 signifeit the vecht of the inexorbitant extorsions that it
 committit on the vniuersal varld, quhilk is the cause 21
 that the monarcke of it is diuidit amang mony diuerse
 princis. of this sort euere thyng hes ane tyme, for
 mutations of varldly felicite is ane natural habitude,
 quhilkis is the cause that na thyng remanis lang con-
 stant in ane prosperus stait: ande that is the special 26
 cause that al dominions altris, dechaeis, ande cummis
 to subuersione. The fyrist monarcke of the varld was
 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 noct 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

What shall be
said of Athens?

yea, even of
Rome herself?

Every worldly
thing has its day.

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

*Quis enim
cogitat
sensem do-
mini aut
quis consi-
liarius eius
& pien. 9.*

¹ toune

The ways of God
are inscrutable.

passis humaine ingyne to comprehendre the grounde or
limitis of it : be cause oure vit is ouer febil, oure ingyne
ouer harde; oure thochtis ouer vallage, ande oure ȝeiris

The ignorant
impute it to

[* leaf 18]
fortune, a pagan
idea.

*Intellexi
quem omnium
operum dei
nullam possit
homo invincere
rationem
corum que
fiunt sub sole.*
Eeccl. 8.

Every thing is of
the divine power.

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

Eeccl. 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 table
to fortune as
your goddess.”

[* leaf 18, back]
The ignorant
have imputed our
late defeat at
Pinkey to
fortune.

3 ouer schort. Ther is mony ignorant pepil that imputis
the subuersions ande mutations of prosperite to pro-
ceed of fortoune : sic consaitis procedis of the gentilitie
ande pagans doctryne, ande nocht of goddis lau, nor ȝit
of moral philosophie: quhou be it that iuuenal hes
said, that fortoune is the cause that ane smal man
ascendis to digniteis, ande that ane grito man fallis in
ruuyne. Sic opinions suld nocht be haldin nor beleuit ;
for ther is no thing in this varld that cummis on man-
kynde as prosperite or aduersite, bot al procedis fra tho

dyuyne pouer, as is vrityne in the xi. cheptour of
ecclesiasticus, bona & mala, vita & mors, pauper-
tas & honestas, a deo sunt. Ther for it maye bo
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 prophetijit in the syeond epistil
to tymothie, erit enim tempus, cum sanam doc-
trinam non sustinebunt, & co. Ande also the
prophet esayc, spekend be the spreit of gode, he gyffis
his maledictione on al them that beleuis that fortoune
hes ony pouuer, quhar he vritis in the lxv. cheptour,¹
ve qui fortune ponitis mensam tanquam dee.²

This contradictione that i hef rehersit contrar fortoune, is be cause that mony ignorant pe'pil hes con-
fermit ane ymaginet onfaythful opinione in ther hede,
sayand that the grito afflictione quhilk occurrit on oure
realme in september m.v.xlvii. ȝeiris, on the feildis be-
syde mussilburgh, hes procedit fra the maltaent of
dame fortoune, the quhilk ymaginet opinione suld be
33 detestit ; for fortune is no thyng bot ane vane consait
ymaginet in the hartis of onfaythful men. ȝit noch-
theles, quhen i remembir on the cruel dolourus distru-

¹ chetour

² die

tione of oure nobil barrons, & of mony vthirs of the 1
 thre estaitis, be cruel ande onmercyful slauthyr, ande
 also be maist extreme violent spulȝee ande hairschip of
 ther mouabil gudis in grite quantite, ande also oure ald
 enemeis, be traisonabil seditione, takkand violent pos-
 sessione of ane part of the strynthis ande castellis of 6
 the bordours of oure realme, ande also remanent witht
 in the plane mane landis far witht in oure cuntre, ande
 violentlye possessand ane certan of our burghis, villagis
 ande castellis, to ther auen vse but contradictione;
 ande the remanent of the pepil beand lyik dantit 11
 venqueist slauis in maist extreme vyle subiectione,
 rather nor lyik prudent cristin pepil, quhilkis suld lyue
 in ciuilite, policie¹, & be iustice vndir the gouernance
 of ane christin prince. Al thir thingis considrit, causit
 me to reuolve diuerse beukis of the holy scriptur, & of
 humanite, in hope to get ane iust iugement, quhiddir
 that this dolorus² afflictione be ane vand of the fadir to 18
 correct & chestie the sone be mercy, or gyf it be ane
 rigorouslye mereyles decreit of ane iuge, to exsecute on vs
 ane final extermintatione. than efftir lang conteneuatione
 of reding on diuerse sortis of beukis, i red the xxviii. of 25
 deutrono, the xxvi. of leuitic, & the thrid of ysaye, the
 quhilk causit my trublit spreit to trymmyl for dred-
 dour, ande my een to be cum obscure throught³ the
 multiplie of salt teyris, ande throught the lamentabil
 suspiring that procedit fra my dolorus hart, be rason
 that the sentens ande conteneu of thyr said cheptours
 of the bibil, gart me consaue, that the diuyne indigna-
 tione hed decretit ane extreme ruuyne on oure realme; 31
 bot gyf that ve retere fra oure vice, ande also to be cum
 vigilant to seik haisty remeide & medycyne at hym
 quha gyffis al grace ande comfort to them that ar maist
 distitute of mennis supple.

I have pondered
over the national
calamities,

[*leaf 19]

and searched the
Scriptures, &c.,
to see whether
they are of mercy
or judgment.

I read Deuter-
onomy xxviii.,
Leviticus xxvi.,
and Isaiah iii.,

which filled me
with trouble and
dismay.

¹ The original has only *poli*, the *cic* having fallen away and been erroneously added to end of leaf 20, which thus reads *straicie-kis* for *straikis*.

² dolor

³ throught

[leaf 19, back]

Thir cheptours that estir followis, ex-
planis the thretnyng ande menas-
sing of Gode contrar obsti-
nat, vicius pepil.

CAP. II.

Deuteronomy
xxviii. (translation
from the
Vulgate).

*Quod si
audire no-
lueris voce
domini dei
tui, renient su-
per te omnes
maledicti-
ones, eris in
cinitate,
maledictus.
Deut. 28.*

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

[* leaf 20]
Leviticus xxvi.
(from the Vul-
gate).

TIT is vrityne in the xxviii. of deutronome, thir vordis:
Gyf thou obeyis nocth the voe of the lorde thy
gode, ande kepis nocth 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 send male-
dictione ande tribulatione on al thy byssynes; the lord
sal sende pestilens on the, the heyt feueir, droutht, the
sourde, tempest, ande all euil seiknes, ande he sal
persecut the, quhil he hef gart the perise: thou sal
thole iniuris & spulȝe, ande ther sal be na man that
can sauie the: thou sal spouse ane vyfe, bot ane vthir
sal tak hyr fra the be forse: thou sal big ane house,
bot thou sal neuyr duel in it: thy ox sal be slane befor
thy eene, & thou sal get nane of hym tyl eyt: thy
flokkis of scheip sal be gyffin to thy enemeis; the
oncoulht ande straynge pepil sal eyt the frute of the
eyrd that thou hes lauborit. Leuie. xxvi. *moyses
sais, be the spreit of gode,¹ gyf ȝe obeye nocth my
command, i sal visee ȝou viith dreddour, viith fyir,

24 ande viith suellieg: ȝe sal sau the cornis on ȝour
feildis, bot ȝour enemeis sal eit it: ȝour enemeis sal be
ȝour masters, ande ȝe sal flee fast for dreddour, quhen
ther sal be litil dangeir, & there sal be no man follow-
uand ȝou; ande gyf ȝe remane obstinat ande vil nocth
29 be correckt, i sal strik ȝou viith ane plag, seuyn tymes

¹ go, degyf

mair vehement ; for i sal gar the sourde cum on ȝou to
reuenge my alliance ; ande quhen ȝe ar assemblit to-
gyddir viht in ȝour tounis, i sal send the pestilens 3
amang ȝou, ande i sal delyuir ȝou in the handis of ȝour
enemeis.

¶ It is vritin in the thrid cheptor of esaye thir
wordis : 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 ȝong 13
childir to be ther kynges, ande effemenet¹ men sal be
ther dominatours ; ande the pepil ilk ane sal ryise con-
trar vthirs, ande ilk man sal be aduersair tyl his nycht-
bour : ȝong childir sal reproche ald men, ande mecanyc
lauberaris sal reproche *gentil men. Esaye iii.

*Ecce enim
dominator
dominus ex-*

circituum au-

feret a hie-

rusalem & a

iuda validum

& fortem, in-

dicem & pro-

phetam.

Esaye 3.

Isaiah iii. (from

the Vulgate).

[* leaf 20, back]

Actor.

CHAP. III.

THE kyng anchises lamentit the distruktione of the
superb troy, exsecutit be the prineis of greice : Anchises,
Rosaria, Jere-
miah, David,
Cleopatra, &c.,
have all had
causes for regret;

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 captiuuite :
kyng dauid lamentit his sone absolon, quhen Ioab sleu-
hym : cleopatra vas lyike to dee in melancolie, quhen
hyr loue marcus antonius vas venquest be the empriour
agustus : the consule marcus marcellus regrettit hauyly
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

¹ effement

² dari¹

³ enyl

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

[* leaf 21]

5 strai'kis¹ 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, throught the vice of the pepil. & quhoubeit that the thretnyng of

9 gode contrar vs be verray seueir ande extreme, ȝit nochtheles i hope that his auful seurge of aperand extermitione sal change in ane faderly correccione, sa that ve vil knau his mageste, ande to retere fra ouer vice ; for he hes promest grace tyl al them that repentis, ande til al them that kepis his command, as is vrityn in the xxvi. cheptor of leuitic thir vordis as followis : Gyf ȝe keip my ordinance, i sal send ȝou rane on ȝour grond in conuenient tyme ; ȝour feildis sal bryng furth cornis ; ȝour treis sal bayr frute ; ȝe sal eyt ȝour breyde in suficiens ; ȝe sal sleipt at ȝour eyse. i sal sende pace amang ȝou, the sourde of vengeance sal nocht pas throught ȝour cuntry ; ȝe sal follow ȝour enemeis, ande

Yet I hope the rod is that of a father.

Si in preceptis meis ambulaueritis, dabo robis pluvias temporibus suis, & terra giget germen suum dabo pacem in finibus vestris.

Leui. 26.

Moses 'olds out promises to all that repent.

22 ȝour sourdis sal gar them fal befor ȝou ; fife of ȝou sal follow & chaisse ane hundredth, & ane hundredth of ȝou sal chaisse ten thousand ; ande ȝour enemeis sal fal to the grond 'venquest in ȝour presens, sa that ȝe 26 vil obeye to my command.

Regnum a gente in gentem transit, propter iniusticias & universos dolos.
Eccle. 10.

I hope that we shall come to repentance.

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

32 sum vthir straynge natione, til oecupie & posses our natural natvie cuntry. bot ȝit i hope in gode that our obstinatione sal altir in obediens, quhilk sal be occa-

¹ Original reads *straicle-his* for *straikis*, the *cie* having fallen away from end of leaf 18, leaving *poli* for *policie*.
² prouincist

sione that fine 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 cuntry, as is rehersit in the
 foir said xxvi cheptour of leuitie. for quhou be it that
 god hes permittit the inglis men to seurge vs, as he
 permittit sathan to seurge the holy man Iob, it followis
 nocht that god vil tyne vs perpetualye, nor ȝit it fol-
 louis nocht that the cruel inglis men, quhilkis ar 8

boreaus ande hang men permittit be god to puneis vs,
 that thai ar in the fauoir of god, for the exsecutione of
 goddis punitione on vs, as i sal explane be ane exempl
 of comparisone. ane boreau or hang man is permittit
 be ane prince to seurge ande to puneise transgressours,
 ande ther esfuir that samyn boreau is stikkit or hangit
 esfuirart 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 seurgit vs, hes
 nocht dune it of manhede or visdome, nor of ane gude
 ȝeil: bot rather the supreme plasmator of hauyn ande
 eird hes permittit them to be boreaus, to puneis vs for
 the mysknaulage of his magestie. Quhar for i treist 21

that his diuine iustice vil permit sum vthir straynge
 natione to be mercyles boreaus to them, ande til extint
 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 hundreth ȝeir by past. quha listis
 to reide the prophesye of ysaye, tha sal fynd ane 28

exemplil conformand to this samyn purpos, quhou that
 the realme of the assiriens vas the seurge of gode to
 puneise the pepil of israel for ther disobediens. bot fra
 tyme that the pepil of israel vas reterit fra ther vicerie,
 gode distroyit there seurge, that is to saye, he distroyt
 assure the kyng of the assiriens, ande transportit his 33
 realme in the subiectione of the kyng of perse ande
 meid. Sikliyk the grite toun of babillon vas permittit

The English have
 been divinely
 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 afterwards.

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]

be gode to scourge the pepil of israel: ande ther esfir
quhen the israeliteis var reterit fra ther innuite, gode
delyurit them fra the captiuite of babillon, ande dis-
4 troyit that grite toune, ande maid it ane desert inhabit-
abil for serpens ande vthir venesum¹ beystis. Euyrie
thing is corruppit be ane vthir corruppit complexione.
ane file is ane instrument² to file doune yrn, ande ane
synnar is maid ane instrument of the diuine 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 smyht, is kept to serue to the
necessite of men. the father takkis the vand or the
seurge 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 fyir: bot
ȝit gyf his sonne rebellis contrar the correctione of the
vand, than the father takkis ane batton or sum vthir
sterk vappin to puneise his sonne, & forȝet'tis fatherly
20 discipline, ande vsis rigorus extreme punitione. ane ox
that repungnis the brod of his hird, he gettis doubil
broddis, & he that misprisis the correctione of his pre-
ceptor, his correctione³ is changit in rigorus punitione.

Quhou the Actor conferris the passagis of the thrid⁴ cheptour of Psaye vith the afflictione of Scotland.

CHAP. III.

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

WE maye persau for certan, that we haue bene
scurgit vith 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 venemsum.

² instrumento • ³ correctione ⁴ thrid

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

Siclyik as it is befor rehersit in the xxvi of le-
uitic, ve hane sauen oure feildis to the behufe of
oure enemeis, ve hane fled fast fra oure enemeis, 6
quhen ther vas nocht mony of them perseuuand vs,
ande also ve maye persaue that ve hau beene scurgit
vitht the plagis that ar *contentit in the thrid cheptour
of esaye, quhilk sais that the lord sal tak auaye the
mychty men & the sterke men fra hierusalem ande fra 11
iuda, that is to saye, the lord hes tane fra vs oure We have lost our
lordis ande barons ande mony vthir nobil men that
vald hau defendit 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 euntry, god maye sende vs bettir quhen
he pleysis. ande as to the precheours, i reffer that to
the vniuersal auditur 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 euntry. the
said cheptour of esaye sais that effemmenet men sal
be superiors to iherusalem ande iuda. that passage is
ouer euident in oure euntry, for ther is maye of the
sect of sardanapalus amang vs, nor ther is of scipions
or eamillus. the foir said cheptour of esaye sais that the
lord sal gyf to iherusalem ande iuda ȝong 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 ȝong
illustir princeis be ane tendir pupil, ande nocht entrit 35
in the aige of puberte, that followis 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 justices!

not to talk of
preachers.
Sardana-
palus kyng
of sirrie
clethit hym
in remens
claitis, &
span on ane
roec.

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 ȝouthed is ane plage sende be god to scourge vs, for the ȝouthed of ane prince or of ane princesse is nocht the cause of the ruuyne of ane realme, nor ȝit the perfyit
4 aige of ane prince is nocht the cause of the gude gouernyng of ane public veil.

Reg. 12.
but, as shown by
the contrast of
Rehoboam

Para. 16
and Josiah,

Virtus quam
etatis, cursus
celerior.
Cic. phi-
lip. 5.

Roboam kyng of israel beand fourty ȝeir of aige, he tynt ten tribis of his realmis throught misgouernance that procedit of euil counsel. Ande in opposit, Osias vas bot aucht ȝeir of aige quhen he vas vnetit kyng, & quhou be it of his ȝouthed, ȝit he gouernit veil the cuntry ande the public veil. ther for as the eloquent cicero sais, ve suld nocht leuk to the aige, nor to the ȝouthed of ane per-

13 son,¹ bot rather to ther vertu. ve haue diuerse uthir exemplis, quhou that realmis hes beene veil gouernit

as well as many
instances in
history,

[* leaf 24, back]
Eccle. 10.

it refers to a
fickle and discord-
ant government,

quhen the princis var in tendir aige, as of spangȝe ande flandris, quhen charlis elect empriour vas bot thre ȝeir of aige. ande quhou be it *that Salomon hes said, cursit be the eird that hes ane ȝong prince, thai vordis ar to be vndirstandin of inconstant superiors of ane cuntry that ar nocht in ane accord to gouerne the public veil,

21 nor ȝit hes ane constant substanciall counsel to gouerne ane realme quhen the prince or princes ar in tendir aige, ther for, that terme ȝouthed suld be vndirstandin for ignorance & inconstance, ande nocht for ȝong of ȝeiris, for euyre inconstant or ignorant person

not to a prince
young in years.

26 is aye repute ande comparit to ȝong childir that hes na discretione. Sanct paul vritis to the corinthiens that var pepil in perfect aige. quod he, my bredis, be ȝe nocht in ȝour vit lyik childir, bot ȝe sal be of litil maleise, ande of profond knaulage. parchance sum innyful detrakkers vil maling contrar me, sayand that i

Corin. 14.
Detractors may
malign me,

and say that
these portions
of Scripture
referred to Israel,
and not to Scotland;

32 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 cuntry, be rason that the contenu of thir for said cheptours var said to the pepil of

¹ pson

² nocht

³ conferrit

israel, ande nocht to the pepil of scotland. thir detrakkers 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 kepit be cristin men. siclyik thai may saye that the epistylis of paul suld be kepit be the romans, corrinthiens, epheseis, & be vthir nations that he vrit to in his dais, ande nocht to be kepit be vs that professis vs to be cristin men. Sic opinions ande allegiance suld nocht hane 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 zoilk 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 vordis maye suffice til adnul the peruerst opinions of inuyful calumniaturis ande of secret detrackers.

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

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

Quaecunque scripta sunt ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt: ut per patientiam & consolationem scripturarum spem habemus.

Rom. 15.

All Scripture is given for our edification.

17

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

CHAP. V.

THE special cause of the scourge that hes afflitit vs, hes procedit of our disobediens contrar the command of god. Ande the cause of our disobediens hes procedit of ane varldly affectione ande cupidite that ve hane 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 robis amicos de mamonam iniquitatis.
Luce. 16.

¹ opinious

and our worship souerane felicite, bot nochtheles it is bot ane corruptit of mammon.

Non potestis deo servire et mammone. 2 poison, in sa far as ve can nocht serue gode ande it to gyddir. as Sanct mathou hes said, $\exists e$ may nocht serue god 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

Mat. 6. ca. Many believe that nothing but the world is lasting, and value temporal good above eternal well-being. 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 constrenzeis vs to desire prolongatione of oure dais, that ve maye vse the blynd sensual felicite of it, quhilk mony of vs thynkis mair comodius ande necessair for our veifayr, nor ve thynk of the sem-peternal olimp. Bot vald ve considir the diffini-

[*leaf 26]

16 tione of the varld, than i beleue that oure solistnes ande vane opinione vald altir in ane faythful consait. Ther is mony that speikis of the varld, & \exists it thai vait nocht quhat thing is the varld. the pagan philosophours held mony vane opinions, & tyntmekil tyme in vane questions & speculations, ande hes tormentit¹ the[r] spreitis, drauand & compiland mony beukis, quhilkis

23 ar set furtht in diuerse cuntreis : bot \exists it ther vas neuyr ane final accordance concludit amang them :² for of the final verite that thai socht, thai gat litil, ande the ignorance that thai haue put in vrit, is verray mekil, be rason that the smallest part of ther ignorance in super-

28 natural cacieis, exceedit the maist part of ther knaulage. Plato, aristotel, pithagoras, empedocles, epecurius, thales, & mony vthir of the pagan philosophours, hes hed grito defferens ande contentione to paynt ande discriue the origyne ande propriete of the varld. Pithagoras 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-

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

Pythagoras distinguished between the world and the universe; Thales and

Metrodorus differed as to the plurality of worlds;

¹ tormentir

² chem

³ vardl

dore affermit that ther is mony & infinit varldis. se- 1
 *leueus¹ the philosophour said that the varld² is eternal. Plato said that the varld hed ane begynnyng, ande sal haue ane end. epicurius said that the varld is ronde lyik ane boule, & empedocles said that the varld is lang & ronde lyik ane eg. Socrates techit in his achademy, sayand, that eftir senyn ande thretty thousand zeiris, al thingis sal retourne to that sammyn stait as thai began, ande he to be borne agane in his mother 9
 voymbe, ande to be neurist til his aige, ande sal teche philosophie³ in athenes. dionisius sal exsecute his ald tirranye in siracuse. Iulius cesar sal be lord of rome, ande annibal sal conques ytalie. scipio sal put cartage to sac ande to the sourde, ande grit Allexander sal 14
 venques kyng darius. of this sort, al thingis that ar by past sal returne agane to there fyrst stait. My purpos is nocht to speik of this material varld that is maid of the four elementis, of the eird, the vattir, the ayr, ande 18
 the fyir : bot rather i vil speik of the varld that garris vs mysknau gode, ande [be] disobedient tyl his command. quhen the creator of al thingis cam in this varld to redeme vs fra the eternal captiuite of sathan, he 22
 complenit ande repreuit the varld, bot ȝit *he repreuit nocht the eird, the vattir, the ayr, nor the fyir, for thai foure elementis brae nocht his command. i haue⁴ herd diuers pepil regret, maling, ande mak exclamations contrar the varld, sayand, o false varld ! o miserabil varld ! o dissaitful varld ! o inconstant varld ! o malicieus 28
 varld ! ande ȝit thai kneu nocht quhat thing is the varld. eftir my purpos, that varld⁵ that the pepil malingnis, is nocht ane substancial material mas, maid of eird, vattir, ayr, & fyir, bot rather it is the euyl lyfe of the pepil that conuersis viciuslye, ande the prince of this last varld is the deuyl, the quhilk sal be cassin furtht, as is rehersit in the euangel of Sanct ihone. 35

[*leaf 26, back]
Seleucus and
Plato as to its
eternity ;
Epicurus and
Empedocles as
to its shape.

Socrates taught
that all things
should repeat
themselves in
37,000 years ;

Dionysius, Caesar,
Scipio, Alexander,
&c., play their
parts over again.

I don't mean to
speak of the
material world,
but of the world
in its theological
sense.

[*leaf 27]

I have heard
many malign the
world, calling it
false, deceitful,
&c.,

*Nunc iudi-
cium est
mundi : nunc
princeps
huius mundi.
Iohan. 12.*
when they meant
the evil life of the
people in it.

¹ seleucus² varld³ philosphie⁴ hane⁵ vard

This world is not composed of the four elements,

but of seven elements (the seven cardinal sins).

Alas! they super-abound in our afflicted realm.

[*leaf 27, back]

Cumque me conuertisseam ad eniuersa opera que fecerent manus mee ridi in omnibus rauitatem & afflictionem animi.

Ecole. 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.

[*leaf 2-1]

this varld is nocht formit of the four elementis, as of eird, vattir, ayr, ande fyir, as gode creat the material varld in the begynnyng, bot rather it is creat of seyn elementis of sathans creatione, that is to saye, auereise, ambitione, luxure, crualte, dissait, onfaythfulnes, dis-

simulatione, & insaciabil cupidite. allace! al thir seyn

elementis that this last varld is creat of, ar¹ ouer abundand viiht in oure afflilit realme, quhilk is the cause of the calamite that it induris. bot var ve as solist to considir the vanite of this last varld as Salomon considrit it, than doutles ve vald be verray solist to resist the inuasions of it, quhilk prouokis vs to vice: or var ve as solist til impung the occasione of syn, as ve ar solist to seik remeid contrar the exterior accidentis that oft occurris til hurt oure body, than doutles our sensual cupidite vald be cum mortefeit ande venqeist. Oft tymys ve seik remeide to keip vs fra euyl accidentis that hurtis oure body, as, quhen the sune castis oure grite heyt, ve pas vndir the vmbre or the schaddou: quhen ve ar tirit to gang on oure feit, ve ar solist to seik horse to ryde: quhen the rane cummis, ve pas

22 vndir the thak, or vthir conuert place: quhen ve ar thirsty,² ve seik drynk: quhen the plag of pestilens occurris, ve ar solist to seik ane cleene duelling place vndir ane temperat climat. Bot in opposit, quhen auereise assaileis vs, ve seik nocht the vertu of liberalite, nor quhen vyle 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 humilit. ande nou, be cause that ve seik na remeid contrar our disordinat epidite,

33 nor ȝit resistis the occasions ande temptations of the prouocations of vice, ve becum haistylye venqeist, be rason that oure smal resistance generis grit hardynes in

the aduerse party of oure saul. ther is ane mair odius worse than that,
thing amang vs ; for al the viciis that oure cupidite pro- our moral blind-
nokis vs to commit, our blynd affectione garris vs be- ness makes us
leue that tha ar supreme vertu ande felicite, be cause believe these
thai ar pleisand tyl oure fragil nature ; the quhilk is vices to be
the principal occasione that ve conuerse sa viciusle, as virtues ;

they are pleasing to our frail nature.

this miserabil sensual lyif var perpetual, ande as the 7

dede hed na pouuer to sla oure bodeis, & as there var *Iam riuunt homines tua- quam mors nulla sequatur & velut in- fernus fabula ficta foret.*
nocht ane hel to torment oure saulis, bot as ther var
ane fenȝet hel of the poietis fictions, as virgil hes set
furth 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 *Too many expect the world to last 37,000 years :*

the varld sal indure seuyn ande thretty¹ thousand
ȝeiris. bot admittand, vndir p[r]otestatione, that Socrates
opinione var of verite, ȝit 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 ȝeir. 18 *[* leaf 28, bac.]*

*ve haue experiens daly, that quhar ane man lyuis ane
hundretht ȝeir in ony cuntry, 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 23 *But I will dis- prove this idea :*

arme me vitht the croniklis of master ihone carion,
quhar he allegis the prophesye of helie, sayand, that
fra the begynnnyng of the varld, on to the consummatione
of it, sal be the space of sex thousand ȝeir. the
quhilk sex thousand ȝeir sal be deuydit in thre partis.

the fyrist tua thousand ȝeir, the varld sal be vitht out
ony speecheit lau *in* vrit, quhilk vas the tyme betuix

adam ande abraham. the nyxt tua thousand ȝeir vas
the lau of circuncisione, vitht ane institutione of diuyne

policie, ande vitht adoratione of god, quhilk vas the
tyme betuix Abraham ande the incarnatione, quhen

erist ihūs resauit our humanite for our redemptione. 35

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.

* thtetty

1 the thrid tua thousand ȝeir sal be betuix the incarnatione & the last aduent, quhilk sal be the consummatione of the varld. bot thir last tua thousand ȝeir

The last two
thousand shall be
shortened for the
elects' sake,
[* leaf 29]

as written by
Saint Matthew.

(as master ihone carion allegis in the prophesy of helie) sal nocht be completit, be rason *that the daye

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

11 xxiiii cheptour of Sanct mathou, tha sal persue euidently 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 remenant ar nou presently in oure dais: ther for, effir the supputatione of helie, as

The world is very
near an end;

most of the signs
are already past.

1548 of the last
two thousand
years are past;

the remaining
452 shall be
shortened;

the exact date is
not fixed

17 mastir ihone carion hes rehersit, the varld hes bot four hundretht fyfty tua ȝeir tyl indure, be cause that ther is fife hundrethe fourty aucht ȝeir by past of the foir said sex thousand ȝeir; bot effir the vordis of Sanct mathou, the consummatione of the varld sal be haistiar nor foure hundretht fyfty & tua ȝeir; zit god hes

23 nocht affixt ane certain daye to fal witht in the said terme of iiiii. e. lii ȝeir, as is rehersit in Sanct mathou, de die autem illa & hora, nemo scit neque angelis celorum, nisi solus pater. ther for ve haue mistir

27 to be vigilant ande reddy, sen the terme of cristis cumming is schort, ande *the day oncertane, as is said in the foir said euangel. vigilate ergo quia nescitis qua hora dominus vester venturus sit. this veil considrit, maye be ane probabil rason that the varld is neir ane ende, quhilk suld be occasione til haue it in detestatione, ande til haue premeditatione of the future

[* leaf 29, back]

Therefore,
detest the world,
which is so near
an end.

34 eternal beatitude & felicite, that gode hes promeist til al them that haldis it in abominatione.

Ane Monolog of the Actor.

CHAP. VI.

THE solist ande attentive laubirs that i tuke to vrit The labour of writing the above chapters fatigued the author. thir passagis befor rehersit, gart al my body be cum imbecille ande verye, ande my spreit be cum sopit in sadnes, throught the lang conteneuacione of studie, quhilk did fatigat my rason, ande gart al my membris 5 be cum impotent. than, til eschaip the euyl accidentis that succedis fra the onnaturall dais sleep, as caterris, hede verkis, ande indegestione, i thocht it necessair til excese me vitht sum actyue recreatione, to hald my spretis To avoid the evil effects of sleeping by day, valkand fra dul'nes. than, to exsecute this purpose, i past to the greene hoilsum feildis, situat maist comodly be thought he would take some active recreation. fra distemprit ayr ande corruppit infectione, to resaue the suet fragrant smel of tendir gyrssis, ande of [* leaf 30] 13 hoilsum balmy flouris maist odoreferant. besyde the fut of ane litil montane, there ran ane fresche reueir as cleir as berial, quhar i beheld the pretty fische vautounly stertland vitht there rede vermeil fynnis, ande there skalis lyik the brycht siluyr. on the tothir syde of that He walked out to the green fields, 18 reueir, there vas ane grene bane ful of ranimel grene treis, quhar there vas mony smal birdis hoppan^d fra busk to tuist, singand melodius reportis of natural music in accordis of mesure of diapason prolationis, tripla ande dyatesseron. that hauynly ermonyie aperit to be artificial to the foot of a hill where there was a stream, abounding in fishes, 23 music. in this glaidful recreatione i conteneuit quhil phebus vas discendit vndir the vest northt vest oblique oriszone, quhilk vas entrith that samyn daye in the xxv. degree of the sing of gemini, distant fwe degreis fra oure symmyr solstice, callit the borial tropic of cancer, the overhung by a wooded bank, melodious with the songs of birds. 28 quhilk, be astrolog supputatione, accordis vitht the sext daye of iune. there eftir i entrith in ane grene Forrest, to contempil the tendir ȝong frutes¹ of grene treis, be Amid these scenes he lingered till sunset, (it was the 6th of June), and then entered a forest, [* leaf 30, back]

¹ frutss

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

Iamque rubebeat stellis aurora fugatis,
Envo 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
[* leafs] dew.

Birds and beasts began their din,

making the welkin ring with their various noises,

Methamorpho. 3.

To tell of the beasts and fowls, there were

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

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

15 cleuat iiiii. degres abufe oure oblique oriszone, every planeit of oure hemespeir be cam obscure, ande als al corruptit 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 ane sycht of his goldin scheaip. the grene feildis, for grite droutht, drank vp the drops of the fresche deu, quhilk of befor hed maid dikis & dailis verray done. there eftir i herd the rumour of rammasche 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 caueris of cleuehis & rotehe craggis ansuert vith ane hie not, of that samyn sound as thay beystis hed blauen. it aperit be presumyng & presupposing, that blaberand echo hed beene hid in ane hou hole, eryand hyr half ansueir, quhen narcis-

32 sus ryght sorye socht for his saruandis, quhen he vas in ane forrest, far fra ony² folkis, & there eftir for loue of echo he drounit in ane drau vel. nou to tel treuth of the beystis that maid sic beir, & of the dyn that the

¹ titan

² ony

foulis did, ther syndry soundis hed nothir temperance 1
 nor tune, for fyrist furth on the fresche feildis, the nolt the neat-eattle,
 maid noyis witht mony loud lou, baytht horse & meyris ^{horses and mares,}
 did fast nee, & the folis nechyr. the bullis began to bulls, sheep,
 bullir, quhen the scheip began to blait, be cause the 5
 calfis began tyl mo, quhen the doggis berkit. than the calves and dogs,
 suyne began to quhryne quhen thai herd the asse rair,¹ swine, the ass,
 quhilk gart the hennis 'kekkyll quhen the eokis creu. [* leaf 31, back]
 the chekyns began to peu quhen the gled quhissillit. fowls and
 the fox followit the fed geise, & gart them ery claike. chickens, the
 gaislingis eryit quhilk quhilk, & the dukis eryit quaik. kite,
 the ropeen of the ranynis gart the crans crope, the
 huddit crauis eryit varrok varrok, quhen the suannis
 murnit, be cause the gray goul man pronosticat ane
 storme. the turtel began for to greit, quhen the enschet
 3oulit. the titlene followit the goilk, ande gart hyr sing
 guk guk. the don crontit hyr sad sang that soundit lyik
 sorrou. robeen and the litil vran var hamely in vyntir.
 the iargolyne of the snallou gart the iay iangil. than the
 maneis maid myrht, for to mok the merle. the lauerok
 maid melody vp hie in the skyis.² the nyctingal al
 the nycht sang sueit notis. the tuechitis eryit theuis
 nek, quhen the pietis elatrit. the garruling of the stir-
 leue gart the sparrou cheip. the lyntqulit sang cun-
 point quhen the oszil zelpit. the grene serene sang
 sueit, quhen the gold spynk chantit. the rede schank
 eryit my fut my fut, & the oxee eryit tueit. the³ herrons
 gaif aue vyild skrech as the kyl hed bene in fyir, quhilk
 gart the quhapis for fleystnes fle far fra hame. Than 29
 aftir quhen 'this dyn vas dune, i dreu me donne
 throught mony grene dail; i beand sopit in sadness, i
 socht neir to the see syde. than vndir aue hingand
 heuch, i herd mony hurlis of stannirs & stanis that
 tumlit donne witht the land rusche, quhilk maid aue
 felloune sound, throcht virkyng of the suelland vallis of

[* leaf 31, back]
 fowls and
 chickens, the
 kite,
 the fox, geese,
 goslings, and
 ducks;
 ravens, cranes,
 hooded crows,
 swans,

the grey gull
 may, the turtle
 and enchat-dove,
 the hedge-
 sparrow and
 the enkoo,
 the dove,
 robin and the
 little wren, the
 swallow and the
 jay, the thrush
 and blackbird,
 the lark and the
 nightingale,
 the lapwings and
 magpies,
 the starling and
 the sparrow,

the linnet and
 onzel,
 the greenfinch
 and the goldfinch,
 the red-hank and
 ox-eye tom-tit,
 the herons and
 the curlews.

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

Leaving this the
 author next pro-
 ceeded to the
 sea-side.

34

¹ tair

² skryis

³ the

1 the brym seye. than i sat doune to see the flouyng of
 Gazing across the the fame. quhar that i leukyt far furth on the salt
 flood he saw a galiasse accounted flude. there i beheld ane galiasse gayly grathit for the
 for war.

What happened 5 herd mony vordis amang the marynalis, bot i vist nocht
 on board; quhat thai menit. ȝit i sal reherse and report ther ery-
 ing and ther cal. in the fyrst, the master of the galiasse
 gart the botis man pas vp to the top, to leuk far furth
 gyf he culd see ony schips. than the botis man leukyt

10 sa lang quhil that he sau ane quhyt sail. than he eryit
 a sail deseried, vitht ane skyl, 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
 the anchor weighed. ane eryit, al the laif eryit in that samyn tune, as it hed

16 bene ecco in ane hou heuch. and as it aperit to me, thai
 [* leaf 0 (32) back] cryit *thirvordis as eftir followis. veyra veyra, veyra veyra.
 The words to gentil gallandis, gentil gallandis. veynde i see hym, veynd
 which the sailors i see hym. pourbossa, pourbossa. hail al ande ane, hail al
 kept time. 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
 eryit, and al the laif followit in that sam tune, caupon
 capona, capon capona. eaupun hola, eaupun hola.
 eaupun holt, caupon holt. sarrabossa, sarrabossa. than
 thai maid fast the schank of the ankyr. And the maistir

26 quhislit and eryit, tua men abufe to the foir ra, cut the
 raibandis, and lat the foir sail fal, hail doune the steer
 burde lufe harde a burle. hail eftir the foir sail scheit,
 hail out the bollene. than the master quhislit ande eryit,
 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

The sailors again 80 to keep time to
 words. to cry, and al the marynalis ansuert of that samyn sound.
 hou hou. pulpela pulpela. boulena boulena. darta darta.
 harl out steif, hard out steif. afoir the vynd, afoir the

vynd. god send, god send, fayr vedthir, *fayr vedthir. [* leaf 0 (33.)
 mony pricis, mony pricis. god foir lend, god foir lend. 2
 stou, stou. mak fast & belay. Than the master eryit,
 and bald renȝe ane bonet, vire the trossis, nou heise.
 than the marynalis began¹ to heis vp the sail, cryand, The unfurling of
 heisau, heisau. vorsa, vorsa. vou, vou. ane lang draucht,
 ane lang draucht. mair maueht, mair maueht. 7
 ȝong blude, 7
 ȝong 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. ȝallou hayr,
 ȝallou 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 eryit, top ȝour
 topinellis, hail on ȝour top sail scheitis, vire ȝour
 listaris² and ȝour top sail trossis, & heise the top sail
 hiear. hail out the top sail boulene. heise the mysȝen, 17
 and change it ouer to leuart. hail the linche and the
 scheitis, hail the trosse to the ra. than the master eryit
 on the rudir man, mait keip ful and by, a luf. cumna
 hiear. holabar, arryua. steer clene vp the helme, this
 and so. than quhen the schip vas taiklit, the master 22
 eryit, boy to the top. schaik out the flag on the top The flag hoisted.
 mast. tak in ȝour top salis, *and thirl them. pul doun [** leaf 0 (33), back]
 the nok of the ra in daggar vyise. marynalis, stand be
 ȝour geyr in taiklene of ȝour salis. euery quartar master 26
 til his auen quartar. boitis man, bayr stanis & lyme They prepare for
 pottis ful of lyme in the craklene pokis to the top, and
 pauies veil the top viht pauesis and mantillis. Gunnaris,
 cum heir & stand by ȝour artailȝee, euyrie gunnar
 til his auen quartar. mak reddy ȝour cannons, culuerene 31
 moyens, culuerene bastardis, falcons, saikyrs, half saik-
 yrs, and half falcons, slangis, & half slangis, quartar
 slangis, hede stikkis, murdresaris, pasuolans, bersis, The artillery
 doggis, doubil bersis, hagbutis of croche, half haggis, brought into
 readiness.

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

1 culuerenis, ande hail schot. ande þe soldartis & compangonis of veyr, mak redly þour corsbollis, hand bollis, fyir speyris, hail schot, lancis, pikkis, halbardis, rondellis, tua handit sourdis and taigis. than this gaye galliasse, beand in gude ordour, sche folleuit fast the samyn schip that the botis man hed sene, and for mair

The galliasse
bears down on
the ship,

7 speid the galliasse pat furtht hir stoytene salis, ande ane hundredth 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, stoppis hyr of *lyr faird. of this sort the said galliasse

[* leaf 0 (34)]
12 in schort tyme cam on vynduart of the tothir schip.
and engages her. than efir that thai hed hailsit vthirs, thai maid them reddy for battel. than quhar i sat i hard the cannons and gunnis mak mony hiddeus erak duf, duf, duf, duf, duf. the barsis and falcons cryit tirduf, tirduf, tir-

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

The author
returned to the
fresh fields,

24 hudit hirdis blanuand ther buc hornis and ther corne pipis, calland and conuoyand mony fat floe to be fed on the feildis. than the scheiphirdis pat there scheip on bankis and brais, and on dry hillis, to get ther pastour. than i beheld the scheiphirdis vyuis and ther childir that brocht there mornynge braefast to the scheiphirdis. than the scheiphyrdis vyuis cuttit raschis and seggis,

and saw the
shepherds taking
out their flocks.

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

31 and gadrit mony fragrant grene meduart, vitht the quhilkis tha comurit the end of ane leye rig, & syne sat they sat down on a bed of rushes [* leaf 0 34 ,back] dounie al to gyddir to tak there refectione, quhar thai and meadowt, and partook of all maid grit cheir of enyrie¹ sort of mylk, baytht of ky kinds of milk, curds, mylk & ȝoue mylk, sucit mylk and sour mylk, curdis

¹ enyrie

and quahye, sonrkittis, fresche buttir ande salt buttir,
reyme, flot quahye, 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 rycht plesand to
be hard. in the fyrist, the prencipal scheiphirde maid
ane orisone tyl al the laif of his compangjons as eftir
folonis.

whey, butter,
cream, and
cheese;

3

their bread was
rye-cakes and
scones;then followed
mirth and glee,
and the chief
shepherd made
an oration.

9

¶ O þe 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 pref-
ferris al vthir faulcete of this varld, baytht in honour
and in profeit. for sen the varld vas ereat, scheiphirdis 14
preferrit al vthir staitis. quhar for the maist anciant
nobilis that hes bene in ald tymis, tha detestit vrbanite,
and desirit to lyue in villagis and landuart¹ tounis to be
scheiphirdis, or to laubir rustie occupation on the hoil-
sum feildis, as diuerse historigraphours hes maid men-
tione. for in ald tymis pastoral and rustical occupatione
vas of ane excellent reputacione, for in thai dais quhen
the goldin varld rang, kyngis and princeis tuke mair
delyit on the feildis and forestis to keip bestialite and
to manure corne landis, nor thai did to remane in pre-
torial paleis 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 28
kyng dauid hed mair affectione to play on his harpe
amang his flokkis of scheip, nor he hed to be gouuer-
nour of the pepil of Israel. ande appollo, that the King David,
poietis callis the god of sapiens, he vas scheiphird to
keip kyng admetus scheip. siklyik the nobil romans in 33
ald tymis var nocht eschamit to laubir and to manure
the baran feildis viht there auen handis, to gar the

He pointed out
the excellency of
the pastoral life;quoting the
ancients,

19 [* leaf 6 (35)]

and the manners
of the golden age;citing also the
examples of
Amphion,

Apollo,

¹ landhart² enyn

- 1 eird becum fertil to bayr al sortis of corne, eirbis, gyrs
 & spiece, as ve hef exemplil of the prudent quintus
 Cincinnatus, cincinatus, quha vas chosyn be the senat to be dictator
 of rome, at that samyn tyme he vas arand the land
 5 vitlt his auen hand at the pleuch. siklyik the sapient
 Porcius Cato, poreus cathon censor of rome vas verray solist on the
 Romulus, art of agreeulture. Siklyik romulus the fyrt kyng of
 [* leaf 0 (35), back] ro'me set his hail felicite on the manuring of the feildis.
 Fabricius, &c. ande also the tua vailȝeant romans, fabricius and curius
 10 dentatus, var nocth eschamit til excerce 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, pascebatque suas ipse senator
 Paris son of oues. Siklyik paris the thrid soun of kyng Priam of
 Priam, troy vas ane scheiphird, and kept bestialite on montht
 Scipio Africanus, ydea. And also the nobil Scipio, quhilk vas vailȝeant
 ande no les prudent, he conqueist affrica, and pat cart
 19 age to sac, and subdeuit numance, and venqueist
 Annibal, and restorit the liberte of rome, than *in* his
 aige of ij ȝeir, 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
 Lucullus, keping of bestialite. Ande also lueullus, that prudent
 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
 [* leaf 0 (36)] ande on be'stialite. Siklyik the nobil Empriour
 Diocletian, dioclesian, eftir that he hed gouernit the empire xvij
 ȝeir, he left the tryumphand toune of rome, & past til
 ane village be syde florens, and ther he vsit the lauboring
 34 of the cornis and vynis, & on bestialite. Ande also
 an Pericles, the prudent due perecles, quha hed the gouerning of
 the comont veil of athenes xxxvj ȝeiris, ȝit in his aige

of lx ȝeiris, 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, Isaace & Iacob, and of the princeis & prophetis
of Israel? var thai noct hirdis & scheiphirdis? for ther
prencipal vacatione vas on the neuresing¹ of bestialite.

Ther for (O ȝe my compaȝons, 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
conparit til oure stait. for al vthir staitis of al degréis,

baytȝt temporal and speritual, that remanis in tryumphi- 12

and citeis and burroustounis, ther ringis na thing amang
them bot auarcis, inuy, hatrent, dispÿit, discention, &
mony vthir detestabil viciis: and also there bodeis *ar [*leaf 0 (36), back]

subject tyl al sortis of seiknes, be rason of the corrupt Cities engender corruption

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 contagius maladcis, & also

ocasione that the maist part of them endis ther the in-

temperans of ther moutht² in eyting & drynkyng, con-

sumis ther stomakis & al ther membris, quhilk is oca-

sione that the maist part of tham endis ther dais in 23

there green ȝouthed. bot it is noct 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, & lone tyl our

nychtbours, and the maist part of vs hes gude hail in

our body quhil ve be ane hundreth ȝeir. ande also to an old age.

quhou be it that the riche and opulent potestatis that

dueillis in citeis and burroustounis, reputis vs that ar 33

scheiphirdis⁵ to be ignorant, inciuil, & rude of ingyne,

ȝit 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

City-dwellers
account them
rude,

¹ nenresing

² moucht

³ nenreist

⁴ auareis

⁵ scheiphis

aseribe and professis to be dotit in them, hes fyrst pro-
 credit fra our faculte, nocht alanelry in the *inuentione
 of natural mecanye consaitis, bot as veil the speculacione
 of supernatural thingis, as of the firmament and of the

5 planetis, the quhilke knauage ve hef prettikyt throught
 the lang contempnene of the motions and renolutions of
 the nyne hauynis. Siklyk phisic, astronomye and
 natural philosophie, var fyrst prettikit and doctrinet be

9 vs that ar scheiphirdis, for our faculte knauis the natur
 and the vertu of the stermis and planetis of the spere,
 and of the cirelis contenit in the samyn : for throught
 the lang studie and contempnene of the stermis, ve can
 gyf ane ingement of diuerse futur accedentis that ar

14 gude or euyl, necessair or damageabil for man or beyst :
 for it is manifest that scheiphirdis hes discriuit and
 definit the cirelis and the mouyng of the speris, as i sal
 reherse to you that ar ȝong scheiphyrdis, to that effect

18 that ȝe may hef speculacione of the samyn. In the
 fyrst, ihocephus the historigraphour that treittis of the
 antiquite of the ieuis, rehersis in his fyrst beuk, that
 the childir of seth (quhilke vas the soun of Adam) var
 the fyrst inuentours of the art of astronomic, and in-

23 uestigatours of the celest coursis & mouimentiis, the
 (*leaf 0/37, back) quhilke art thai granit viith 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 quhilke thing thai did be cause thai hed herd

28 ther father seth reherse, that his father Adam hed prophetyȝit 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 onecon-

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

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

Cosmography
treats of the
universe,
and four
elements;

4

iugement of cosmagraphie, he suld fyrist contempil and considir the cirlis of the spere celest: for be that distinctione of the said cirlis, it sal be facil to knau the distance of diuerse euntries that lyis vndir the said cirlis, baytht of there longitude and of ther latitude, and the proportione of the climatis, and the diuersite of the dais & nychtis of the four quartars of the varld, and it sal declar the mouyng, eleuatione, and declinatione of the sone, mune, and of the sternis fixt, and sternis erratic. and it sal declar the eleuatione of the polis, and the lynis parallelis, and the meridian cirlis, and diuerse vthir documentis and demonstrations mathe- matikis.

the great circles
of the sphere;

[* leaf 9 (38)]

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

9

¶ Nou fyrist to speik of the mouyng of the spere, and of the diuisione of the hauynis, þe sal knau that

19

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

The world con-
sists of two parts,
a terrestrial and
celestial.

24

callis quinta essentia) vitht in the concuite 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

The celestial
world consists of
ten spheres,

spere, inclosis in it the spere that is nyxt til it, & sa be

progressione and ordur, euyrie spere inclosis the spere that is nerest tyl it. in the fyrst, the regione elementair

29

is inclosit vitht in the spere of the mune, and nyxt it is the spere of mercu'rius, and syne the spere of venus,

[* leaf 9 (38), back]

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

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.

(* leaf 0 (39.)

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 mousis in
the zodiac contrar the muuyng of the fyrist mobil that
ve cal the tent spere. nyxt thir speris is the firmament,
quhilk is callit the hauyn, or the spere of the sternis,
and about it is the nynte spere, callit the hauyn cristel-
lyne, be cause¹ that there can nocht be na sternis seen
in it. Al thir nyne speris or hauynis ar inclosit witht
in the tent spere, quhilk is callit the fyrist mobil, the
quhilk makkis reuolitione 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 fyrist mobil. Sit nochtheles the
mouyng of the fyrist mobil is of sie violens, that it con-
strençis the tothir nyne speris or hauynis to pas witht
it fra orient tyl occident, quhilk is contrar to there auen
natural mouyng, there for the compulsit retrograuid
mouyng is callit be astrono'mours, motus raptus
accessus, & recessus stellarum fixarum. al the
21 thyngh that circuitis this last tent hauyn or fyrist mobil,
is immobil and mousis 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 fyrist, ȝe sal ymagyn ane lyne that passis throught the
spere lyik til ane extree of ane cart, callit axis spere,
quhilk is the ryght dyametre of the spere, on the quhilk
lyne or extre the speris & hauynis turnis on. than at
30 the endis of the said lyne, ȝe sal ymagyne tua sternis,
quhilk ar callit the tua polis of the firmament. ane of
them standis at the northt, quhilk is callit the pole
artic, boreal, or septemtrional. it aperis til vs in our
habitatione, be rason that it is eleuat abufe our orizone.
35 the tothir sterne standis at the southt, and it is callit

¹ caufe

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 oriȝon. ȝe sal vndirstand, that the sterne quhilk the scheiphirdis and marynalis callis the north sterne, that sterne is nocth the pole artie, for the pole artie is bot ane ymaginet point, distant *iiij degréis fra that sterne that ve cal the northt sterne, the quhilk sterne is callit alrukaba. and also ȝe sal vndirstand, that the southt¹ sterne that is eleuat abufe the oriȝon of them that duellis besyond the equinoctial, it is callit canapus. ther for it suld nocth be callit the pole antartic, for the pole antartic is bot ane ymaginet point, quhilk standis iiij degréis fra the sterne that is callit canapus.² There is ane vthir circle callit oriȝone, the quhilk cuttis the spere in tua partis. there is tua sortis of oriȝons, ane is callit the ryght oriȝon, the tothir is callit the oblique oriȝon. thai that hes there zenith in the equinoctial, thai hef the ryght oriȝon, be rason that the tua polis ar in there oriȝon, ande thai that hes ane oblique oriȝon, ane of the polis is eleuat abufe ther oriȝon, ande the tothir pole is hid vndir there hemispeir and oriȝon. Ther is ane vthir circle in the spere callit meridian, the quhilk gais betuix the tua polis ryght 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 oriȝon, 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 nyeht ar of ane lynht in euerye³ part of the varld, and that occurris tua tymis ilk ȝeir, that is to say, quhen the sune cummis in the fyrst degré of aries, quhilk is the xj daye of marchie, & in the

The south pole
we never see.

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 sought
COMPLAYNT.

² canap'
4

³ enyrye

- The zodiac and its twelve signs.**
- 1 fyrst degré of libra, quhilk is the xiij day of september. Ther is ane vthir grit circle in the spere, callit the zodiac, the quhilk denidis 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 singnis, callit Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricornus, Aquarius, Pisces. Ande euyrie sing is diuidit in xxx degréis. Ther is tua vthir cirlis in the spere callit colures. ane of them passis be the zodiac in the begynnyng of Aries and Libra, quhilkis ar tua singnis equinoctialis. the tothir circle passis in the begynnyng of Cancer and capricorn, quhilk ar tua solstice singnis. Ther ar four vthir litol cirlis in the spere. ane is callit the tropic of Cancer, quhilk is the solstice of symmyr.
- The colures.**
- [*leaf 0(40),back]
- 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 litol cirlis in the spere. ane is callit the tropic of Cancer, quhilk is the solstice of symmyr.
- The tropics.**
- 17 17 it is distant xxijj degréis xxx munitis fra the equinoctial touart septemtrion. quhen the sune cummis til it, than it is the largest day of the zeir to them that duellis betuix the pole artie and the equinoctial. The circle of capricorne is callit the solstice of vnytir. quhen the sune cummis til it passand touart the pol
- The summer and winter solstice.**
- 22 antartie, than thai that duellis betuix the equinoctial and the pole antartie, hes ther langast day of the zeir, & than ve hef the schortest day of the zeir. The circle artie is xxijj degréis xxx munitis fra the pole artie. sielyik the circle antartie is xxijj degréis xxx munitis
- 27 fra the pole antartie. & also the septemtrional solstice callit the tropic of cancer, is xxijj degréis xxx munitis fra the equinoctial, and the meridional solstice of capricorn is xxijj degréis xxx munitis fra the equinoctial. The point that is ryght aboufe our hede is callit zenyth,¹ the quhilk is iiiij seoir and ten degréis distant fra our
- The zenith is right above our heads.**
- 33 orizon, ande as oft as ve change fra place to place, as oft ve sal hef ane vthir zenyht,² and the place that is direct contrar til our zenyth¹ is callit antipodes. tha

¹ zenych² zenyht

that duellis in thai partis, thai hef ther solis direct 1
 contrar til our solis, ande thai hef the hauyn for ther
 ȝenyh¹ as veil as² ve, & quhen ve hef the langest day of
 sy'myr, than thai hef the schortest day in vyntir, 10
 ande quhen thai hef symmyr, than ve hef vyntir. ȝit 5
 nochtheles, lactantius firmien, that famous docto[r] of the
 holy kyrk, in his thrid beuk, in the xxiiij cheptor, lie
 seornis the mathematiciens that effermis antipodos : &
 syklyik Sainet agustyne de ciuitate dei, in the ix chep-
 tour of his seuylt beuk, allegis mony freuol arguments 10
 contrar the antipodos : quhar for it aperis veil that thir
 tua doctours, agustin & lactantius, var mair expert in
 theologie nor thai var in cosmographie, considerand
 that ther is sa mony probabil rasons that preuis that
 the cird is round, ande that the cird 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 oriȝon,
 than it ascendis quhil it cum til our meridian, and ther
 eftir it declynis and passis vndir our vest oriȝon, 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 us.
 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 syn[e] this man departand in ane schip fra that
 mark, sailand quhil he be furtht of the sycht of the said
 mark, than he beand in the body of the said schip
 quhen he hes tynt the sycht of his mark, than he 29
 montis and passis vp to the top of the schip, and than
 he persauis his mark perfyfly, the quhilk he culd noct 31
 persaue 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 exemplil makkis plane that the eird is
 rond. Siklyik ane man beand on the hede of ane hil, 35

[*leaf 0 (41)]

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 described at
sea shows the
earth is round.¹ ȝenyh² rs³ 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
re hersit 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 re hersit of befor,
- 7 quhou that thai that hes the equinoctial for ther $\text{\textcircumflex} \text{zenyth}$,¹
ande hes the tua polis in ther orizion, thai hef tua sym-
myrs and tua vintirs euyrie $\text{\textcircumflex} \text{zeir}$. for ther fyrist symmyr
is quhen the sune entris in the fyrist degré of aries,
- 11 quhilk is in the xj day of marche, and ther fyrist vintir
is quhen the sune entris in the fyrist degré of *cancer,
quhilk accordis viith the xij. day of iune; and ther
seyond symmyr is quhen the sune entris in the fyrist
degré of libra, quhilk accordis viith the xiiij. daye of
- 16 september; & ther syeond vintir is quhen the sune
entris in the fyrist degré of capricorn, quhilk accordis
viith the xij. day of december. the tua vintirs that thai
hef ar nocth verray vehement cald, bot ther tua sym-
myrs ar vondir birnand heyt, quhilk is occasione that the
- 20 pepil that duellis vndir the equinoctial ar blac of ther
cullour. And fra tyme that the sune be past the equinoctial,
touart the meridian tropic of capricorn, than
thai that ducillis vndir the northt pole, thai hef ane
- 25 conteneual nycht and no day, quhil on to the tyme
that the sune return, & is entrit in the fyrist degré of
Aries. the rason of thir lang nychtis is, be cause that
the sune beand past the equinoctial, touart² the meridi-
onal tropic, than it is al that tyme vndir the orizion
- 30 of them that hes the northt pole for ther $\text{\textcircumflex} \text{zenyth}$.³
Siklyik, quhen the sone cummis fra the eqminoctial,
passand touart the septemtrional tropic of cancer, than
and south pole, thai that duellis vndir the meridional pole, hes con-
- 34 tenenal nycht quhil the sone returne agane to the fyrist
degré of libra, be rason that quhen the sone is northt

Let the obstinate
be convinced
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)]

fra the equinoctial, than it is vndir the oriōn of them 1
 that hes the meridional pole for ther ȝenyl¹; & sa be
 this narratione, thai that duellis vndir the pole artie,
 hes ane conteneual nycht half ane ȝeir to gyddir, and ^{lasting half a}
 the tothir half ȝeir thai hef conteneual day and no ^{year}
 nycht half ane ȝeir to gyddir; and it is of the samyn 6
 sort to them that duellis vndir the pol antartie. 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 ȝe scheiphirdis,² ȝe sal contempil in the
 firmament ane sterne callit saturn, quhilk is lie 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 ȝeir, and returnis to the samyn point that it ^{revolves in 30}
 cam fra. it makkis ane circle fra occident til orient, ^{years,}
 contrar the fyrist mobil. it is of ane cald frosty natur.
 Nyxt saturne standis the spere & hauyn of Iupiter, 17
 quhilk makkis the cours & circuit in tuelf ȝeiris. it is *Iupiter.*
 of ane temperat natur, be cause it standis in the myd ^{in 12 years.}
 vay betuix the caldnes of Saturn & the byrnand heyt
 that Mars induris throught the vicinite of sol. Ande 21
 nyxt to Iupiter standis *the hauyn and spere of Mars, ^[*leaf 0 (13)]
 quhilk sum men callis³ Hercules. it reuoluis in ane *Mars.*
 circle in tua ȝeiris. it is inflammit in ane feruent heyt ^{revolves in two}
 that ascendis fra the sone. Nyxt to Mars standis the 25
 hauyn of the sone, the quhilk makkis reuolutione in *Sol.*
 thre hundreth thre scoir of degreis, quhilk is the space ^{the Sun, in one}
 of ane ȝeir. the verteous heyt of it temperatis al the ^{year;}
 sternis of the firmament. Nyxt vndir the spere of the 29
 sounē standis the spere & hauyn of *Venus*,⁴ quhilk is *Venus.*
 ane grit sterne of ane meruelous lustir. in the mornyng ^{sometimes a}
 it aperis ane lang tyme or the sounē ryise, and gyffis ^{morning star,}
 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 sounē

¹ ȝenylch² sheiphirdir³ callis⁴ Ven'

- 1 descendis vndir the vest orizon : at that tyme it is callit
 sometimes an
 evening star ;
 5 fresche deu that descendis fra it. it makkis ane onstabil
 revolves in 318 reuolution in thre hundretht xlviij dais, and ay it is
 days ;
 10 tione nyne dais mair haistiar nor dois venus, bot it
 aperis noctis as grit as Venus. it is ay sene befor the
 soune rysing, and haisty estir 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
Mercurius. the mune, the quhilk is ane familiar frende to the cird,
 [*leaf 0, 13, back] the creator of al thingis ordand it to be ane remeid
 contrar mirknes of the nyght. it is the maist admirabil
 sterne of the firmament. the diuersite & the variance of
 19 it hes trublit the vndirstanding of them that contemplit
 having many it, be rason that sum tyme it grouis & sum ¹tyme it
 phases, decressis,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 nyght, and sum
 tyme it vald schau lycht al the nyght, & sum tyme it
 vald be thre dais to gyddir noeht sene ; & also the
 reuolutione & circuit of it maid as lang passage in xxvij
 28 dais & viij houris, as the planet saturn did in thretty
 which I shall
 explain. ³ceir. Nou i vil rehers the cause of the variance ande
 the mutations of the cours of the Mune. ³o sal vndir-
 stand, that the mutatione and variance of the mu'ne,
 [*leaf 0 (44)] in sa mony diuerse sortis, procedis as i sal reherse. The
 33 mune is ane thik masse, round lyik ane boule or bal,
 The moon has no
 light of her own, heffand no lycht of hyr self ; for sche and al the vthir
 sternis resauis ther lycht fra the soune. there for, sa

^{1—1} it decressis tyme² lycht

mekil of the mune that hes hyr aspect touart the sounē, 1
 hes lycht; bot the tothir half of the mune, that hes no
 aspect to the sounē, resauis no lycht. The cause quily
 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 sounē is: for of hyr auen 6
 propir mouyng fra occident til orient in the zodiac,
 sche cummis euyrie xxvij dais viij houris vndir tho
 samyn degré that the sone is *in* til. at that tyme the
 vulgaris sais that the mune is in the *coniunctione* with
 the sone. Sum tyme the mune is in oppositione, that 11
 is, quhen the mune & the sounē ar in apposit degréis.
 than ve see the maist part of the lycht that the mune
 hes resauit fra the sounē. the vulgaris sais, at that
 tyme, that the mune is ful, *ȝit* nochtheles the mune is
 ay ful, as veil at the coniunctione as at the appositione,
 bot quhen the mune is in the eclipis. for in the tyme 17
 of the eclipis, 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 sounē 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 sounē, nor
 aperis tyl vs. The quhilk i sal preif be this rason.
 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
 sounē is of ane gritar quantite nor is the mune, be that
 cause, mair nor the half of the mune resauis lycht fra
 the sounē. bot *ȝit* ve see nocth sa mekil lycht in the 31
 mune as sche hes resauit fra the sounē in hyr appositione. Ane parson that behaldis ane roundnes of ane
 gritar quantite nor is the space betuix his tua een, that
 parson sal nocth see sa mekil as is the half of that

but receives her
light from the
sun.

The moon is
always full.

She receives more
light than
appears to us.

¹ muue

² can

Concerning eclipses.

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

The eclips of the sounē.

¶ Nou i vil reherse the cause of the eclipsis of the sounē and mune. ve may persauie manifestlye, that the eclips of the sounē cummis ^{*}be the interpositione of the mune betuix vs and the sounē, the quhilk empeschis and obfusquis the beymis of the sounē fra our sycht.

Eclipsis of the mune.

Siklyik, the mune is in eclips be the obiectione of the eird, the quhilk eird empeschis the sounē to gyf lycht to the mune¹. of this sort, the sounē is maid obseure til vs quhen it clips, be cause the vmbre and schaddou of the bak of the mune is betuix vs and the sounē. And also the mune is maid obseure quhen it clips, be rason that the vmbre and schaddou of the eird empeschis hyr to resane lycht fra the sounē. ther for i may efferme, that the myrk nycht is na vthir thyng bot quhen the sounē and mune ar vndir our orizon

The influence of the stars.

¶ Nou, to speik of the influens and constellation of the sounē and mune, and of the sternis, doutles man &

21 beyst, ande al vthir² thyng that euyr vas proereat on the eird, ar subiect to ther operatione, & rasauis alteratione throught there influens. The speculatione and contemplatione of mennis ingyne culd neuyr consaue ane final determinatione of the sounē, mune, and of the sternis. fra ther operations and constellations pro-

They cause all mundane changes,

27 cedis tempest, stormis, fayr veddir, foul veddir, heyt, cald, pestilens, conualeseens, rane, frost and snau, and al vthir accidentis that cummis on the eird, and on man 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 amang the pepil. ve ar veil experimentit, that quhen ther multipleis ane grit numir of sternis in the equi-

[* leaf 0'45, back]

yet the Almighty overrules them.

¹ muue

² vrhir

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 maledis, as of fluxis, caterris, collie and gut, and to diuers vthir contagius seiknes. Sic lyik, throught the operatione of the sternis, the olyue, the popil, & the oszer tree changis the culour and ther leyuis, at ilk tyme 8 quhen the sounē entris in the tropic of Cancer. sic in Cancer, lyik, the dry mynt that hingis in ane house, resauis sum vertu of the cird, quhen the sounē entris in the fyrist degré of capricorne. Siklyik, ther is ane cirb in Capricorn. callit helytropium, the quhilk the vulgaris callis 13 soueye ; it hes the leyuis appin as lang as the sounē is in our hemispere, and it closis *the leyuis, quhen the sounē passis vndir our orizon. Siklyik, oistirs and mussillis, & al vthir schel fysche, grouis and incressis in ther natural qualite, eftir the coniunctione of the 18 mune, quhil on to the tyme of the appositione. than eftir the appositione, thai schel fishe dimuneus and grouis les, and of ane var qualite.

Siklyik ther is ane sterne callit canis. the euyl constellacione 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 cird. 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 sounē 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, feurys, & mony vthir contagius seikness quhen it ringis in our hemispere, than dogis ar in dogs run mad. dangeir to ryn vod, rather nor in ony vthir tyme of the 30 zeir. 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

[* leaf 0 (46)]

Shell-fish increase
and decrease with
the moon.The evil influence
of the dog-star.

In the dog-days

dogs run mad.

1 altirs oft tymis fra ther auen natural course, quhilk is

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

ane taikyn and sing of *prodigeis precedent euyl accidentis that ar tyl occur¹ on princis or superiors of ane realme. the historigraphours rehersis, that there vas

5 thre sonnis sene at one tyme in the lyft, befoir the ciuil veyris that occurrit betuix anthonius² and agustus cesar; and also ther vas thre munis sene in the lyft, quhen domitius caius and flauius 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 noctht oft in

especially the star
called *Comet*,

our hemispere, callit ane comeit. quhen it is sene, ther occurris haistlyly 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

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

17 hayr, sum tyme lyik ane dart, sum tyme lyik ane bludy speyr. it aperit in the lyft lyik ane sourd be for the deht 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 generatione of the rane. it is ane exalatione of humid vapours, generit in calme veddir abuse the vattirs on the *eird,

25 and syne ascendis in the sycond regione of the ayr, quhar that it coagulatis in ane thik clud: than the sternis of ane euyl constellacione 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 signifeit prodiges 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. siclyik, quhen

of the cause of
the rain.

[* leaf 0 (47)]

In ancient days

It rained milk,
blood,

¹ occur

² anthoni^r

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 generatione of the deu, it is ane of the dew.
 humid vapour, generit in the syeond regione of the ayr
 in ane fair calme nyeht, & 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]
 vapours, and syne it fresis on the eird. the myst, it is The hoar-frost,
 the excrement or the superfluite of the cluddis, the
 quhilk fallis fra the ayr in ane sueit rane, quhilk rane 15
 can nocht be persauit 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 nyeht. The snau is ane congelit rane, frosyn and snow,
 congelit in the syeond regione of the ayr; bot it is 20
 nocht sa ferme and hard congelit as is the hail stonis;
 ȝit nochtheles it remanis langar onmeltit, be rason that
 it fallis aye in cald vedthir, ande the hail stonis fallis
 comontly in symmyr. The thoundir is ane corrupt thunder.
 fume generit on the eird, of vapours, and syne it as- 25
 cendis in the syeond regione of the ayr, and congelis in
 diuerse massife cluddis, quhilk stoppis and empeschis
 the operatione of the planetis to excerce 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 fyrist the fyir, quhou be it
 that thai proceid at ane instant tyme. the cause that [*leaf 0 (48)]
 ve see the fyire or ve heir the thoundir, is be rason 35

¹ nilo

Light travells
more swiftly than
sound.

that the sycht 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 dune 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
ande beyst, quhen there cummis na rane vitht it. The
fyir slaucht vil consume the vyne vitht in ane pipe in

12 ane depe caue, & the pipe vil resae na skaytht. the fyir
slaucht sleu ane man on the feildis, and it meltit the
gold that vas in his bag, and it meltit nocth 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 nocth, bot ȝit it

Three things safe
from thunder—

sleu the child in hyr voyme. There is thre thyngis
that ar neuyr in dangeir of thoundir nor fyir slaucht,

the laurel,

that is to saye, the laurye² tree: the sycond is the

[* leaf 0 48°, back]
the seal, and
the eagle.

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

25 rome, hed euyr ane hat of laure tree on his hede, and
also he gart mak his pailȝons and tentis on the feildis,
of seleht skynnis, 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 caueris vndir the eird, or in

31 depe cauis, be cause the thoundir dois maist damage tyl
hic placis.

The winds.

¶ Nou, to speik of the cause and of the natur of
the vynd, eftr the discriptione of the scheiphirdis and
hirdis of the antiant dais. ȝe sal undirstand, that the

¹ sundin

² laury e. *perhaps should be lauryre*

vynd is no vthir thyng bot ane vapour or exalatione, 1
 heyt and dry, generit in the concuiteis and in the
 bouellis of the eird, the quhilk ascendis and descendis
 vp and doun betuix the eird and the syeond region of 4
 the ayr. The marynalys at this present tyme hes set
 furth and discruiet 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 fyrist cardinal vynd is callit austor 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 subsolanus¹ or oriental, quhilk
 the vulgaris callis estin vynd, quhilk, throught the
 vertu of the soun, 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 eald and dry, of ane me-
 lanceolic natur. it is hoilsum for man and beyst that
 ar kepit fra excessif² caldnes, bot it is verray contrar
 & noysum to the frutis of the eird. The feyrd cardinal 24
 vynd is callit faunius or occidental, quhilk vulgaris
 callis vestin vynd. it is eald and humid, of ane flegmatic
 natur. it is neuresant for the frute of the eird, bot it is
 contrar tyl tendir complexions that ar subiect tyl seik-
 nes. Nou, to speik of the iiij. collateral vyndis. the The four col-
lateral winds
 fyrist is callit austor aphricus, quhilk is betuix austor
 and faunius. it is callit be the vulgaris southt vest. 31
 it generis bayht humi'diteis & maledeis. The nyxt [* leaf 0 (49), back]
 colateral vynd is callit furo austor, quhilk is betuix
 austor & subsolanus. the vulgaris callis it southt est.
 it is heyt and dry of natur, and it generis cluddis and and their in-
fluence.

¹ subsolan'² excessis

1 maladeis. The thrid collateral vynd is callit aquilon, quhilk is betuix septemtrion and subsolanus. the vulgaris callis it northeast. it is eald and dry of natur. it is mair hoilsum tyl ane¹ person nor it is pleysand. 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 faunius. the vulgaris callis it nortuest. it is eald & 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
 From the foregoing it appears that mankind are subject to the influence of the planets.
Sapiens dominabitur astris.

15 ther euyl constellations. for qnhou 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.

Actor.

[* leaf 6 (50.)
The author mar-
velled at the
shepherd's
scientific lore,

but the shepherd's
wife bade him
cease his prosing,

and proposed
some lighter
recreation;

*¶ Quhen the scheiphird hed endit his prolix orison to the laif of the scheiphirdis, i meruellit nocht litil quhen i herd ane rustic pastour of bestialite, distitut
 22 of vrbane, and of speculacione of natural philosophie, indoctryne his nyehtbours as he hed studeit ptholome, auerois, aristotel, galien, ypoerites or Cicero, quhilk var expert practicians in methamatic art. Than the scheiphirdis vyf said, my veil belouit hisband, i pray the to
 27 deceist fra that tideus melaneolic orison, quhilk surpassis thy ingyne, be rason that it is nocht thy facultee to disput in ane profound 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 sie recreatione i thynk it best

¹ ane

² ȝon

that euyrie ane of vs tel ane gude tayl or fabil, to pas
the tyme quhil euyn.¹ Al the scheiphirdis, ther vynis
and saruandis² var glaid of this propositione. than the
eldest scheiphird began, and al the laif followit, ane be
ane in ther auen³ place. it vil be ouer prolix, and no
les tideus to reherse them agane vord be vord. bot i sal
reherse sum of ther namys that i herd. *sum vas in
prose, & sum vas in verse: sum var storeis, and sum
var flet taylis. Thir var the namis of them as eftir
followis. 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 deuyl, the
taiyl of the reyde eyttyn witht 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 euld found, vallace,
the bruce, ypomedon, the tail of the thre futtit dog of
norrouay, the tayl quhou Hercules sleu the serpent 18
hidra that hed vij heydis, the tail quhou the kyng of
est mure land mareit the kyngis dochter of vest mare
land, Skail gillenderon the kyngis sone of skellye, the
tayl of the four sonnis of aymon, the tail of the brig of
the mantribil, the tail of syr euan, arthours knycht,
rauf collbear, the seige of millan, gauen and gollogras, 24
lancelot du lac, Arthour knycht he raid on nycht witht
gyltin spur and candil lycht, the tail of floremond of
albanye that sleu the dragon be the see, the tail of syr
valtir the bald leslye, the tail of the pure tynt, claryades
and maliades, Arthour of *litil bertangze, robene hude
and litil ihone, the meruellis of mandueil, the tayl of
the ȝong 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 syn
slane be his auen doggis, the tayl of Pirramus and Pyramus 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 Wallae and
the Bruce;

How the king of
Estmoreland
married the
princess of
Westmoreland;

Sir Evan, Ar-
thur's knight;
24

Lancelot du Lae;
Arthur knight,
he rode on night;

the Bold Lesley;
[* leaf 0 (51)]
Arthur, of Little
Britain;
Mandeville's
wonders;

32
Bevis of
Southampton;

Pyramus and

¹ enyn ² sarnandis ³ auen ⁴ should probably be volle or velle

Thisbe;

The transformation
of Io;The Golden
Apple;how Midas got
two ass's ears.They next began
to sing songs,
of ancient native
music.

[* leaf 0(51), back]

They sang in
parts, and in
harmony.The names of
some of the
songs:Pastance with
good company;King William's
note.The frog came to
the Mill door.

tesbe, the tail of the amours of leander and hero, the tail quhou Iupiter transformit his deir loue yo in ane
 3 cou, the tail quhou that iason van the goldin fleice,
 Ophieus kyng of portingal, the tayl of the goldin appil,
 the tail of the thre veird systirs, the tayl quhou that dedalus maid the laborynth to keip the monstir minotaurus, the tail quhou kyng midas gat tua asse luggis 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 sueit melodius sangis of natural music of the antiquite. the fourre marmadyns that sang quhen thetis was marcit on month pillion, thai sang nocth sa sueit as did thir
 14 scheiphyrdis, quhilkis ar callit to name, parthenopie, leucolia, illigeatempora, the feyrd callit legia, for thir scheiphirdis exceedit al thir fourre *marmadyns in melodius music, in gude accorddis and reportis of dyapason prolations, and dyatesseron. the musician amphion¹ quhilk sang sa dulce, quhil that the stanis mouit, and
 20 also the scheip and nolt, and the foulis of the ayr, prouuncit there bestial voee to sing vith hym. zit nochtheles his ermonius² sang prefferrit nocth the sueit sangis of thir foir said scheiphirdis. Nou i vil reherse sum of the sueit³ sangis that i herd amang them as efir fol-louis. in the fyrist, pastance vith gude companye, the
 26 breir byndis me soir. Stil vndir the leyuis grene, Cou thou me the raschis grene, allace i vyit zoour tua fayne, gode zoou gude day vil boy, lady help zoour presoneir, kyng villjamis 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, trolee lolee lemmen dou, bille vil thou
 33 cum by a lute and belt the in Sanct Francis cord, The frog eam to the myl dur, the sang of gilquhiskar, rycht soirly musing in my mynde, god sen the duc hed byd-

¹ amphion² ermoni¹³ 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 witht flora quene, O myne hart
 hay this is my sang, the *battel of the hayrlau, the [*leaf 0 (52)]
 huntis of cheuet, Sal i go witht 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-
 gumrye met, that day, that day, that gentil day; my
 luf is laid apon ane knycht, 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 melodius² sangis, the quhilkis i hef nocth in other songs;
 memorie. than eftir this sueit celest armonye, tha began 15
 to dancee 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 fyrist hed ane drone bag pipe, the nyxt hed ane instruments on
 pipe maid of ane bleddir and of ane reid, the thrid played.
 playit on ane trump, the feyrd on ane corne pipe, the
 fyft playit on ane pipe maid of ane gait horne, the sext
 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 kepit his scheip, Apollo could not
 nor 3it appollo the god of sapiens, that kepit kyng ad- have surpassed
 metus scheip, *witht his sueit menstralye, none of thir them,
 tua playit mayr cureouslye nor did thir viij scheiphyrdis [*leaf 0 (52), back]
 befor rehersit; nor 3it al the scheiphirdis that virgil
 makkis mention³ in his bucolikis, thai euld nocth be
 comparit to thir foir said scheiphyrdis; nor orpheus nor Orpheus,
 that playit sa sueit quhen he socht his vyf in hel, his
 playing prefferrit nocth thir foir said scheiphirdis; nor 34
 3it the scheiphyrd pan, that playt to the goddis on his

¹ neny^r
COMPLAYNT.

² molodi^r
5

³ mentnon

nor Pan with his
bag-pipe.

They began with
two becks and a
kiss.

It was a celestial
sight to see.

[* leaf 0 (53)]

The names of the
dances.

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

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

bag pype, nor mercurius that playit on ane sey reid,
none of them culd preffer thir foirsaid scheiphirdis. i

3 beheld neuyr ane mair dilectabil recreatione. for fyrist
thai began vith tua bekkis and vith a kysse. euripides,
iuuenal, perseus, horasse, nor nane of the satiric poiettis,
quhilkis mouit ther bodeis as thai hed bene dansand
quhen thai pronuncit ther tragedieis, none of them
8 kepit moir geomatrial mesure nor thir scheiphyrdis did
in ther dansing. Nor ludius that vas the fyrist dansar
of rome, culd nocht hef bene comparit to thir scheip-
hirdis. it vas ane celest recreation to behald ther lycht
lopene, galmonding,¹ stendling bakuart & forduart,

13 dansand base dansis, pauuans, galzardis, turdions,
braulis and branglis, buffons, vith mony vthir lycht
dancis, the quhilke ar ouer prolix to be rehersit. zit
nochtheles i sal rehers *sa mony as my ingyne can put
in memorie.² in the fyrist, 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, emyrnes, the loch of slene, the gosseps
dance, leuis grene, makky, the speyde, the flail, the
lammes vynde, soutra, cum kyttil me naykyt vantounly,
schayke leg, fut befor gossep, Rank at the rute, baglap
and al, ihonne ermistrangis dance, the alman haye, the
25 bace of voragon, dangeir, the beye, the dede dance, the
dance of kylrygne, the vod and the val, schaik a trot.

than, quhen this dansing vas dune, tha departit and
past to cal there scheip to ther scheip cottis. thai bleu
vp there bagpiper. 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 followit on
the fellis baytht zouis and lammis, kebbis and dailis,
gylmyrs and dilmondlis, and mony herueist hog. than i
departit fra that compayne, and i entrit in ane onmauen
medou, the quhilke abundit vith al sortis of hoilsum³

¹ galmonding

² memorie

³ holism

flouris, gyrsis, and eirbis maist conuenient for medyeyn. 1
 in the fyrist, i sau ane erb callit barba aaron, quhilk vas Among them were
 gude remeid for emoroyades of the fundamant. 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),
 sau the vattir lille, quhilk is ane remeid contrar go- green sedges
 moria. i sau tansay, that is gude to purge the neiris, water-lily,
 and ennetseidis that consumis the ventositeis of the tansy, good for
 stomach. i sau mugwart, that is gude for the suffocatione mugwort,
 of ane womans bayrnis hed. i sau veyton, the decoctione whitten,
 of it is remeid for ane sair hede. i sau betis, that is beet,
 gude contrar constipatione. i sau borage, that is gude borage,
 to confort the hart. i sau cammauyne, quhilk is gude camomile,
 for ane scabbiit mouth. i sau hemp, that coagulis the hemp,
 flux of the sparne. i sau madyn hayr, of the quhilk maiden-hair,
 ane sirop maid of it is remeid contrar the infectione of 17
 the melt. i sau celidone, that is gude to help the sycht celandine,
 of the enc, & cipresses, that is gude for the fluxis of cypresses,
 the bellye. i sau corriandir, that is gude for ane ald coriander, good
 hoste. i sau finkil, that slais the virmis of the bellye. i against an old
 sau fumeterre, that tempris ane¹ heyt lyuyr. i sau cough;
 brume, that prouokis ane person to vomfe ald feume. i broom,
 sau raschis, that prouokis men to sleip. i sau ysope, rushes,
 that is gude to purge congelit² fleume of the lychtis.³ hyssop, which
 i sau mony vthir eirbis on thai fresche fragrant feil'dis. brings phlegm
 ande als i sau mony landuart grumis pas to the corne from the lungs,
 land to laubir there rustical oecupatione. al this be me [* leaf 32 (54)]
 veil contemplit, ande beand contentit of that pleysand
 nychtis recreatione, i maid me reddy to returne to the
 toune that i cam fra, to proceid in the compiling of my
 beuk. Bot morpheus that sleype gode, assailȝeit al my
 membris, ande oppressit my dul melaneolius nature,
 quhilk gart al my spreitis vital ande animal be cum
 impotent & paralitic: quhar for on neid forse, i vas
 28
 Contended with
 his night's recre-
 ation, the author
 prepared to return
 to the compilation
 of his book,
 but he was over-
 powered with
 sleep,

¹ ame² congelit³ lychtnis

and in his
slumbers

dreamed the fol-
lowing dream.

1 constrenzeit to be his sodiour. than in ane takyn of
obediens, i maid hym reuerens on my ryght 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 throught 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 vith
glar or vith glen. i beand in this sad solitar soun
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.

[*leaf 32 (54), back]

* The Visione that aperit besor the Actor in his Sleipe.

CHAP. VII.

In his dream he
saw a lady

in great trouble.

Her shield had a
red lion rampant
in a field of gold,
bordered with
double fleurs-
de-lis.

15 **T**N my dullit dreyme ande sopit visione, i thocht
that ther aperit to me ane lady of excellent ex-
tractione ande of anciant genolygie, makkand ane
melancolius cheir for the grite violens that sche hed
sustenit & indurit. it aperit be hyr voful contenens,
that sche vas in grite dout ande dreddlour for ane mair
dolorus future ruuyne that vas aperand to sucumb hyr
20 haistylye, in the maist extreme exterminatione. hyr
hayr, of the cullour of fyne gold, vas feltrit & trachlit
out of ordour, hingand ouer hyr² schuldirs. 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
doublil floure delicis. This rede lyon vas hurt in mony
placis of his body. the accoutrementis ande clethyng of

¹ cam

² byr

³ viht

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.¹ the fyrist 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 the middle part
 vaupynis ande munitions of veyr. in the middis of that (the spirituality),
 mantil, there vas grauit in carreeters, beukis, ande
 figuris, diuerte sciensis diuyne 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, cyrbis, plantis, grene treis, schips, marchant-
 dreis, ande mony politie verkmankunmis for mecanye 15
 craftis. This mantil, quhilk hed bene maid & vrocht
 in ald tymys be the prudent predecessours of this foyn
 said lady, vas reuyn & raggit in mony placis, that This mantle was
 skantly mycht i persaue 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 fyrist part of it vantit (the nobility were
 mony of the scheildis ande harnes that vas fyrist vrocht
 in it, ande ane vthir part of *the schieldis & harnes [*leaf 33(55),back]
 var brokyn ande roustit, ande reddye to fal ande tyne
 furtht of the bordour of that mantil. Siklyik the 25
 pleisand verkmenschips that vas in the middis of hyr
 mantil vas seperat fra vthirs, ande altrit fra the fyrist
 fassone, that na man euld extract ony profitabil sentens
 nor gude exemplil furtht of ony part of it. Nou to
 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
 the grene treis, cornis, bestialite, mecanye craftis, ande 33
 schips, ande marchandreise, that hed bene euriouslye
 vrocht in ald tymis in the bordour of the tail of that
 (the spirituality had left their first fashion),
 of all).

¹ read On the fyrist part

- 1 mantil, vas spilt ande distroyit, ande the eird vas becum
barran & stirril, ande that na ordinance of policye culd
be persauit in it, nor esperance of releif. Nou to con-
clude of the fassone of this ladeis mantil, it vas baytht
5 altrit in culour ande in beaulte,¹ and reuyn in mony
placis, hingand dounre 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 rasone that it vas sa mekil altrit fra the fyrt fassone.
The first makers
would not have
recognized their
handiwork.
- [*leaf 34 (56)] This *afilit lady beand of this sort troublit ande dis-
11 aguisit, ande al hyr gaye clathis reuyn & raggit,
throught the grite violens that sche hed sustenit, sche
began to suspire lamentabil regrettis, vith mony salt
teyris distillant dounre fra hyr piteous ene. this desolat
15 afflit lady beand in this perplexite, ande disparit of
remeid, sche began to contempil the vidhrid barran
feildis, quhilkeis in vthir tymis hed bene fertil in al
prosperiteis, quhar sche persauit cummand touart hyr
thre of hyr auen natvie natural sonnis. 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.
- 24 heffand ane beuk in his hand, the glaspis var fast lok-
kyt vith rouste. hyr ȝongest sone vas lyand plat on
his syde on the cald eird, ande al his clathis var reuyn
ande raggit, makkand ane dolorus lamentatione, ande
ane piteouse complaynt. he tuke grite pane to ryise vp
29 on his feit, bot he vas sa greuouslye ouer set be violens,
that it vas nocht possibl til hym to stand rycht vp.
[*leaf 34 (56), back] Than quhen this lady persauit hyr thre sonnis in that
langorius stait, sche began to reproche them inuectyuely
33 of ther nelegenes, couardeis ande ingratitudo vist
contrar hyr: the quhilk reproche sche pronuncit vith
mony dolorus suspiris, the quhilk be apercens procedit

¹ i.e. beauty; so in *Lindesay*.² clehd

fra ane trublit spreit, desolat of consolatione, ande dis- 1
parit of remedē. than i beand in my sopit melancolius
dreyme, i thocht that i inquirit of hyr stile, of hyr
duelling place, & of the dolorus cause of hyr lamentabil
regrettis. Sche ansuert vitht ane dolorouse contenens,

5 quod sche, my name is callit the affligit lady dame scotia. vthir tymis i haue tryumphit in gloir ande

Her name was Dame Scotia.

prosperite, bot nou aduerse fortoune hes bene inuyful

contrar my veil fayr, quhilk is the cause that my triumphant 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

that hes persecutit me. for i that hes bene in maist
fortunat prosperite, nou i am inuadit ande affligit be my
all mortal enemeis be the maist extreme assaltis that

ther pouer¹ can exse'cute, the quhilk i beleuit til
haue resistit be the support ande supple of my thre

sonnis,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 pronounce to them in thy presens,
as eftir followis.

Nichil est tam mirabile quam ex beato effici miser.
Cic. part. ora.

Persecuted by
her foes,
abandoned of her
cowardly sons,

Cari sunt
[*leaf 35(57)]

liberi, propinquui familiares, sed omnes omnium charitates patria complectitur, pro qua nemo bonus dubitat mortem oppetere si ei sit profuturus. *Cic.*

qff. 1.

¹ ponuer

² somnis

³ in grat

Quhou the assilit Lady, Dame Scotia,
 reprochit h̄yr thre Sonnis, callit
 the Thre Estaitis of
 Scotland.

CHAP. VIII.

Degenerate
children!

- O** IGNORANT, abusit, ande dissaitful pepil, gone
 2 by the path¹ vaye of verteouse knaulage, beand of
 ane effemenet courage, degradit fra honour, ande
 degenerit fra the nobilito of ȝour fadir & predeces-
 sour, O quhat vanhap, quhat dyabolic temptatione,
 6 quhat misire, quhat maledictione, or quhat vengeance is
 [^{*leaf 35 (57), back}] this that hes succumbit ȝour honour, *ande hes blyndit
Vim neque parenti neque patrie offerre uortet. ȝour ene fra the perspectione of ȝour extreme ruuyne ?
Cic. lentulo. allace, quhy haue ȝe nocth pytie of me ȝour natural
 have ye forgotten
the claims of
nature? mother, or quhy haue ȝe no pytie of ȝour selfis ? allace,
 quhat oratour can dyseryue, blame, or repreue ȝour
 neelegens, couuardeis, ande ȝour ingratitudine ? allace,
 quhy remembir ȝe nocth that natur hes oblist ȝou til
 14 auance the salute ande deffens of ȝour publice veil ? ande
Non est magis vituperandus proditor pa- quhat thai be (as Cicero sais) that hurtis the public
trie, quam communis utilitatis aut salutis veil, tha deserue as grite reproche as tha hed sellit
descr̄ptor propter suam sa- treasonablye the realme to there enemeis; for the pro-
luteum aut utilitatem. ditione of ane realme succedis to the hurt of the public
Cic. de fini. veil. allace, than, quhy vil ȝe nocth haue misericord &
 auen singulair vtilite, ande nocth for the public veil.
 have ye no
patriotism? allace, the natural loue of ȝour nativie cuntry suld be
 inseperablye rutit in ȝour hartis, considerand that ȝour

¹ paht

lyuis, ȝour bodeis, ȝour habitatione, ȝour frendis, ȝour 1
 lyuyngis, ande sustenan, ȝour hail, ȝour pace, ȝour [*_leaf 36(58,)]
 refuge, the reste of ȝour eild, ande ȝour sepulture is in
 it. than allace quhy ar ȝe nocth solist to deffende the
 liberte, ande to sauе 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 nocth, at there pouer, to purches & til auancee the
 publice veil of there natvie cuntry, it beand distitut of
 supple, & desolat, throught grite persecutiōne of mortal 10
 enemeis; for thai that vil nocth expose there bodeis Those that wil
 ande gudis to perrel ande dangeir, for the iust deffens not defend their
 of there honour, lyuis, frendis, ande gudis, bot rather
 vil thole them selfis, ther publice veil, & ther natvie
 cuntry, to perreis al to gyddir, thai ar mair brutal nor 15
 brutal beystis. it aperis that the lau of nature is mair
 perfytytly acompleist in brutal beystis, nor it is in ȝou
 that professis to be natural men; for ȝour verkis testi-
 feis that ȝe ar mair disnaturellit nor is brutal beystis *sueh are ye.*
 that hes na vndirstanding of raison. the foulis of the *Bestie pro suo*
 ayr vil deffende ther nestis viht there nebbis ande *partu ita pro-*
 feit: the beiris, lyons, voluis, foxis, and dogis, vil deffende *pugnant, et*
 there cauerne & there quhelpis, viht there *tethe & *vulnera exci-*
*[*_leaf 36(58),back]* feit. Allace, this sair complaynt is to me rycht hauy, *pianit, nullos*
 bot the litil support that i vil get of ȝou is far hauyar; *impetus nul-*
 for ȝe quhilkis suld sustene, deffende ande releif me, ȝe *los easus re-*
 ar the aduerse party of my prosperite; for in the stede *formident.*
Cic. 5. tus.
 of reuarde ande gratitude that ȝe ar oblist to gyf to me, 28
 ȝe purches ande auancis my destructione for ȝour par- You sacrifice your
 ticular veil. My ald enemeis hes persecutit me outuartly
 in eruel veyris be fyir ande sourde; bot the veyr that
 ȝe mak inuartly contrar me, be auereise & ambitione, is
 mair eruel. my mortal enemeis purchessis to raif my 33
 liberte, ande to hald me in ane miserabil subiectiōne;
 bot ȝe hald me in ane mair seruitude, be ȝour disordinat
 neclegens ande couuardise. my ald enemeis dois me

1 grite damage vitht ane grite armye of men of veyr, be
 see ande be land ; bot ȝe, vndir the culour of frend-
 schip, purchessis my final exterminatione, for falt of
 gude reul ande gouernance. Ande also, ȝe ar sa di-
 uidit amang ȝour selfis, that nocht ane trouis ane vthir ;
 6 for throught the suspetione that ilk ane of ȝou hes of
 vthirs, euyrye ane of ȝou seikis his particular releif : for
 sum of ȝou ar fled far vitht in the cuntry, sum of ȝou
 [* leaf 37 (59)] ar fled to the hillis, * ande sum of ȝou remanis in ȝoure
 10 auen housis on the inglis mennis assurance, ande sum
 of ȝou ar be cum neutral men, lyik to the ridars that
 dueillis on the debatabil landis. of this sort ȝe haue run
 to ȝour auen destructione. ande quhou be it of al thir
 Some of you have
 yielded to the
 English,
 and have become
 vile slaves.
 particular onleiful consaitis that ȝe haue vsit to sauie
 15 ȝou fra the cruelte of england, ȝit the maist subtel nor
 the maist dissymilit of ȝou al is nocht sauie ; for as sune
 as the inglis men dreymis that ȝe haue failȝet to them,
 than thai repute ȝou for there mortal enemeis far mair
 nor thai repute ony scottis man that vas neuyr assurit.
 20 ande quhen ȝe haue fulfillit the inglis mennis desyre, &
 lies helpit to distroye ȝour natyue cuntry, ȝit the inglis
 men sal neuyr¹ cal ȝou ane vthir vord bot renegant
 scottis, and ȝe sal neuyr be reput bot for barbir slauis,
 as ȝour croniklis vil testifee ; and also the practie of
 25 yis² present tyme makkis it manifest, al the gude treit-
 tyng that scottis men gettis in england changis in ane
 vile seruite.

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 exemplil of diuerse
Cuntrieis that Gode hes rele-
uit fra Persecutione.

[*leaf 37 (59), back]

CHAP. IX.

OME my thre sonnis, i exort ȝou to praye to re-
leif ȝou of ȝour afflictione, & also to put ȝour
handis to werk to help ȝour selfis, than doutles 3
god sal be mersyful to ȝou, & he sal fulfil his promes
that is vrityn in the xxvi of leuitic. that is to saye, fwe
of ȝou sal chaisse ane hundretht of ȝour enemeis,¹ & ane
hundretht of ȝou sal chasse ten thousand of ȝour en-
emeis ; 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 sauе
ȝou : nor his eyris ar nocth stoppit, bot he maye heir
ȝou : bot ȝour iniquiteis hes maid divisione betuix ȝou
ande hym, ande ȝour synnis hes hid his face fra ȝou. 13

Pray to God, and
help yourselves.

¶ ȝe maye persauie be thir vordis of Esaye, that the
seurge that hes affligit ȝou, is ane pu'nitione for ȝour
demeritis ; ande also ȝe maye persauie be this sammyn
text, that ȝour grite afflictione ande tribil sal turne in
ioye ande prosperite, gyue sa beis that ȝe vil retere fra
ȝour vice. ȝe haue mony manifest exemplis of diuerse
cuntrieis that hes bene scurgit be the hand of gode, ande 20
hes bene in dangeir of final extermynatione ; ȝit noch-
theles gode of his grace hes restorit them estiruart in
ane mair abundand prosperite nor thai var of befor, fra 1 Machabe. 2.
tyme tha be cam obedient til his magestie. Quhar is
there ane mair euident exemplil nor is in the bibil in
the fyrist beuk of the machabeis, quhou anthioeus kyng
of sirrie, be vsurpatione ande tirranrye, subdeuit the 27
cuntrie of iuda ande the cite of ierusalem ? he spulȝeit

*Ecce non est
abbreviata
manus domini
et salvare
nequit.*
Esaye 59.

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

Repent, and
prosper.Remember the
example of the
Maccabees.¹ ȝour renemies

1 the tempil, ande reft the goldin alter, the chandelieris of
 lyeht, ande al the goldin veschel, ande the tabl of pro-
 positione, the coupis, tassis, crouettis, crounis, ande al
 the goldin ornamentis of the sanctuar. he sleu men,
 5 vemen ande childir, ȝong ande ald, ande brynt there
 housis. the remanent of the pepil var constrenȝeit to fle
 to strait montanis ande desertis for refuge ; for al iher-
 usalem ande mekil of iuda vas put tyl extreme desola-
 tion. At that tyme, ane man of Israel callit matathias,

[*leaf 40 (60), back]
 How Matathias
 Machabeus

11 the hil of modin, ande his fwe sonnis besyde hym, callit
 Iohannam gaddes, symon thasi, iudas machabeus, eleazar
 abaron, ande iehonathan aphas. thir fwe bredis var soir
 vepand for the desolatione of iuda ande iherusalem.
*Ioseph' de
 anti.*
Li. 12. c. 8. Than matathias there father said to them, vanhap¹ be
 on me, allace that euyr i was borne, to see the distrue-
 tione of my pepil, & the tribulacione of the holy eite of
 18 iherusalem, quhilk is violentlye possest be my enemeis.
 ald ande ȝong ar slane on the reuis but mercy, & the
 remanent of the cuntry 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
 exhorted his five sons,
Genesis 22. that is fallin on oure cuntry. Allace, my fwe sonnis, i
Gene. 41. praye ȝou to be ȝelaturs of the lau of gode, ande to
 gyue ȝour saulis for the alliance of ȝour foir fathers,
 26 ande remembir of the verkis thai haue dune to there
 generations, ande than ȝe sal resaue grite gloir ande
 eternal name. tak gode for ȝour protector, ande ȝe sal
 prospir. vas nocht oure father Abraham faythful in
 temptatione, quhilk vas repute til hym for iustice ?
 [*leaf 41 (61)] 31 Ioseph keipit the command of the lau, quhen he vas per-
Gene. 4. secutit, there for he vas maid lieutenent to pharon
 kyng of egypt. phinches oure foir father vas maid hie
 preist of the tempil for the ȝeil that he hed to the lau
Issue. 1. of god. Iosue for the keping of his promis vas maid

¹ van hap

captan of Israel. Dauid, 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, Aʒarias and misael, *Danyel* 3.
 var delyuerit fra the flam of the fyir, throught the faith
 that tha hed to god. Danyel, throught his simplicite *Daniel* 6.
 and meiknes, vas delyuerit fra the throttis of the lyons. 6
 Of this sort (o ȝe my fwe sonnis) ȝe may beleue, that
 fra generation to generatione, that al thai that puttis
 there hope in god sal nocht be distroyit. quhen mata-
 thias hed endit his miserabil and piteous regret, in
 presens of his fwe sonnis, than his thrid sone, callit 11
 Iudas maehabeus, past athort the montanis and desertis,
 and gaddyrtyt to giddyr al the desolat bannest pepil,
 and vitht ane gryt eurage, heffand hope in god, thai
 cam contrair anthioeus, and venqeist hym vailȝeantly,
 and also venqeist al the israliates that var part takers 16
 vitht hym ; and ther eftir thai reformat the distruc- [*leaf 41 (61), back]
 tione of the templ, 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,
 throught the myeht¹ of god, venqeist men be cam
 conqueriours, and fugityuis be cam assailȝeours, and
 humil affligit pepil of ane lytil nummer be cam lordis
 and maisters of ane gryt multiplie of tirrans. There is 25
 ane vthir exempl 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 twenty thousand men, and he dely-
 uerit the remanent of the pepil of Israel fra captiuiae 30
 and misere, ȝit nochtheles he vas ane pure lauberar of
 lytil reputatione, and disseendit of smal linage of the
 tribe of menasses. quhar for ve may persause, that quhar
 the graee of god and the vertu of men ar coniunit to
 giddir, there is no leiful thing onpossibil to be exsecut. 35

and Judas was
stirred up to
deliver Israel.

¹ myth

1 And oft tymis god puttis in the pouer of men the thing
 that memnis vit can nocht beleue that it is possibil to be
 done. There is ane vthir exemplil of darius kyng of
 perse, *that entrit in grece viith ane hundreth thou-
 sand fut men, and ten thousand men of armis. At that
 tyme thair vas gryt sedition and disseentione 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 due in athenes callit miltiades, quhilk,
 viith ten thousand men, discumfeist al kyng darius
 12 gryt armye, and delyuerit al grece furtht of captiuite.

When Darius invaded Greece
[* leaf 42 (62)]
he was discomfited by Miltiades.

Xerxes and his great host
¶ Thair is ane vthir exemplil, of xerxes kyng of
 perse, the sone of kyng darius, quha gadlerit ane armye
 of thre seoir and ten thousand men of armis of his auen-
 16 realme of perse, and also he hed of stranglearis that var
 his frendis, and of his allya, to the nummer of thre hun-
 dredth thousand men, as iustin rehersis; and also he
 brocht sa mony schipis to grece viith al ordonnance,
 20 quhilkis closit al the reueirs, quhairfor it vas moist lyk
 that he hed maid ane brig of tre to couuer al the see.
 ¶it nochtheles¹ his pride vas sune put doun; for le-
 onides, kyng of lacedemonia, cam be hynd the gryt
 armye of perse viith four hundredth lacedemoniens, and
 was checked by Leonidas and his four hundred.
[* leaf 42 (62), back]
escharmouschit xerxes gryt *armye, and sleu twenty
 26 thousand persuns betuix tua hillis. ¶it nochtheles,¹ the
 Passing to Athens remanent of his gryt armye past til athenes, quhilkis
 var reddy to be randrit til xerxes, throught the coun-
 sel of ane prince of athenes callit circisus, quha hed
 30 secret intelligens viith xerxes kyng of perse, quhilk vas
 occasione that he seducit diuerse grit personagis to rebel
 contrar athenes. bot the prudent themosticles vas con-
 traire til his opinione (sayand) O nobil vailȝeant pepil of
 athenes, þe suld keyp the liberte of þour euntry, &
 35 nocht² to thole the persans to be þour superiors; for

¹ nochtheles

² nocht

fra tyme that þe be subiect til xerxes, al þour honest 1
 policie sal be aboleist, & al verteouſ¹ industrie sal bo
 brocht to nocht;² for the persans sal do vitht þour
 vyuis and cheldyr at there plesair, 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 þour 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 toun 10
 stanet eysilus to deitht be cause of his euil counsel. by the skill of
 Than the atheniens and ther allya, *be gryt vailȝeant- [*leaf 43 (63)]
 nes, assailȝet the persans be escharmouschis and incur-
 sions, quhil that exerxes and his gryt armye var con- Themistocles.
 strenȝetit to depart fra grece. of this sort god turnit the 15
 hazard of fortoune, and tuke vengeance on xerxes gryt
 pryde, quhilk suld be ane gryt exemplil 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 hundreth thousand men, 20
 purposit til vsurpe the dominione of al grece ; bot fra
 the tyme that the greikis accordit amang them selfis,
 ane sobir companye of greikis chaissit the persans
 furtht of grece. It is nocht² sex scoir of ȝeiris sen the
 inglismen var violent dominatours of mekill of Pic- Consider how the
 cardye, and of al Normandye, Gascunȝe, 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 exemplil of the
 persecutione of oure auen cuntre is manifest til vs al, 31
 quhou the inglismen var violent vsurpatours of al scot- They also usurped
 land, est, vest, and northt, quhar thai duellit paciable,
 and vsit thare auen *lauis. thai biggit triumphand [*leaf 43(63), back]
 eleficiis in al the burrous of scotland, as the grondis of

¹ verteo'² nocht

- 1 there fundatione makis manifest presently at this tyme.
 in the days of Edward I., kyng eduard, throught supple and trason of ihone Balȝol
 and vthir scottis tratours, vas eronit kyng of scotland,
 vitht in the toune beruie ;¹ and the rychteous kyng of
 5 scotland, Robert bruce, durst nocht remane in no pace-
 bil place. he tint threttyne battellis contrar inglismen :
 then² he fled furth of scotland to norouay to sauie his
 lyue. ȝit nochtheles god almychty³ hauand pitie of our
 affligit euntry, he restorit Robert bruce to the crone,
 10 quha ryght⁴ vailȝeantly brocht the realme in guid or-
 dour, vitht gryt confusion til our ald enemis. Be thir
Ad generum eeveris sine eede & rul-nere pauci descendunt reges, & sicca mortetiranni. Iuuenal.
 exemplis ȝe maye evidently persaue, 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.
 The famous historiographours and croniklis of al cun-
 treis makis manifest of the miserabil ruynis that god
 Ambition and tyranny meet their doom,
 [* leaf 44 (64)]
 as in Queen Semiramis,
 17 treis makis manifest of the miserabil ruynis that god
 sendis on vrangus conquestours, quhilkis be ambitione
 and oultraceus pryd hes be thair tyranny inuadit vthir
 euntrays, and eftiruart hes tint there auen euntray,
 and there self hes maid ane euil end. The queen se-
 meramis vas nocht contentit vith sirrie and babillon,
 23 bot sche vald pas to mak veyre contrar ethiope and
Hercules, Inde ; sche vas slane vitht hyr auen son. Hercules vas
 nocht content vitht the gryt euntry of libie and of
 creit, bot vald pas to conques the occian see ; than ane
Mithridates, woman poysonet⁶ 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 be poysen, quhair for⁷ he bure ay apon hym twenty
 leyuis of reu, tua kyrnellis of nutis, & tua feggis, and
 ane lytil quantite of salt, the quhilkis he mixt al to
 giddyr, and thai mixtions he eit euyrie daye vitht ane
 fastan stomak, to keip hym fra poysonyng. that con-
 fectione vas callit to name eftiruart, antidotum mitri-

Regemen mitridates contra re-nenum.

¹ breuie ² them ³ almychty ⁴ ryght ⁵ nocht ⁶ pryonit ⁷ fot

dates. bot ³it that¹ drog euld noct² sau his lyif fra his 1
 sone that sleu hym. kyng philip vas noct² content of Philip of
 the ryche realme of macedone, quharfor he past and Macedon,
 perturbit al greice; bot syne he vas slane vitht ane of
 his auen sodiours. Grite alexander vas noct² content Alexander the
 of al the varld, bot syne ane drynk of poyson gart hym Great,
 be content of ane sepulture of fwe fute of lyntht ^{*or [leaf 44(64), back]}
 there by. xerxes vas noct² contentit of tua realmys, Xerxes,
 perse and meid, bot ane of his officiaris contentit hym
 vitht ane dagar throught the hart. kyng cirus vas noct² 10
 contentit of his auen realme, bot vald pas to conques Cyrus,
 sithia; ³it thomaris gart hym be content, quhen sche
 pat his hede in ane pipe ful of bluid, sayand til it, O
 cirus, thou euld neuyr be saciat of menis blude, bot nou Justin.
 thou maye drynk thy fil of blude. Annibal, that ^{and Hannibal.}
 redoutit capitán, triumphit in conquessing of vthir
 realmis, bot in his last days he vas fugitive fra al cun-
 treis, and for melancolye he poysomnit hym self. It is 18
 noct 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 runyne of Bocchas.
 nobillis, thai sal fynd al cruel vsurpatours of vthir cun- Seneque, in
 treis mak ane mischeuous ende. There for i hope in his tragedeis.
 god that vitht in schort days the protectour of england,
 and his cruel counsel, sal be put in the croniklis in as
 abhominabil stile as vas philaris, dionysius, nero, cal-
 lugala, or demician, the quhilkis maid ane mischenous 27
 ende, for the violent imusions of vthir princis cuntreis
 but ony iust titil.

¹ tsiat² nocht

[leaf 45 (65)]

The Actor declaris quhou the Englismen
gifs vane credens to the prophesies of Merlin.

CHAP. X.

Civitates a maioribus civitatibus relud populorum examinibus condite, colonie nuncupantur. Augu. de ciui. 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.

[*leaf 45, 65, back]

This book says it is necessary for England and Scotland to be united into one country, and again called Britain.

The English give great credence to pretended prophecies of Merlin,

who has predicted this union.

THE oratours of Ingland, 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 fyrt inhabit. there rasons that thai allege aperis to them to be inuincibil, quhoubeit thai be bot freuol. there speciale intentione is to gar there eruel iuasions perpetrat contrar oure realme, apeir in the presens of forrain princeis, that thai haue ane iust titil to mak veyr contrar vs. and quhoubeit that the said poitical beuk be dytit oratourly to persuaid the vulgar ingnorans til adhere til inuentit fablis contrar the iust verite, s̄it notheles realmis ar nocht conquest be buikis, bot rather be bluid. there is ane passage in the said beuk, the quilk the englismen hes ane

15 ardant desyr to se it cum til effect. The tenor of the passage sais, that it var verray necessare *for the veillfayre of ingland and scotland, that baytht the realmis var coniunit to giddir, and 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, quhen the troian¹ brutus conquest it fra the giantis. and also the englismen

gifs ferme credit to dinerse prophane propheseis of merlyne, and til vthir all corrappit vaticinaris,² to quhais ymaginet verkis thai gyne mair faitht nor to the prophesie of ysaye, Ezechiel, Ieremie, or to the euangel : the quhilkis prophane prophetis and vaticinaris hes affermitt in there rusty ryme, that scotland and ingland sal be vndir ane prince. The ardant desire, and the disordinat auerisius affectione, that englismen hes to be violent

¹ torfan

² vaticuaris

dominatours of oure cuntray, hes prouokit them to mak
cruel veyris contrar vs thir mony ȝeiris bypast, to that
effect that there diabolic prophane propheseis may be
fulfillit, nocht regardand gyue the vil of god hes per-
mittit be his diuyne gudnes that sic propheseis cum til
affect: Nor ȝit thai considyr nocht that al propheseis 6
hes doutsum and duobil expositionis. ȝit nochtheles i
hope in god that the ryght sens of there prophane pro-
phesye sal be ful'fillit in this generatione, and that [*leaf 46 (66)]
inglismen sal get there desire to there perpetual confu-
sione. the inglismen exponis the prophesyce of merlyne 11
to there auen affectione, as the inewis exponit the pro-
phesie of cayphas. Cayphas of ane euyl intent spak
treu prophesye; bot ȝit he and the inewis interpret it to
the vrang sens, quhilk vas cause of there auen condam-
nation. Of this sort, cレスus kyng of lidie exponit and
interpret the answer of apollo to the vrang sens, quilen
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 cレスus past to the oracle of appollo in the the oracle
tempil of delphos, desyrand to knau the fyne of the of Apollo at
veyris that vas sa cruel betuix hym and kyng cirus. 24
Appollo gaue to kyng cレスus ane doutsum ansuere of
ambiguite. this vas his answer. cレスus 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
Dauid, perdes omnes qui loquuntur mendacium. psalm v. 6.
the expositione of this passage signifieis nocht that god [*leaf 46 (66, bk)]
tynis them that arlearis; 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 cレスus exponit the cレスus per-
ansuer of appollo of ane sens, and appollo said his det almi
transgressa

Therefore have
they made cruel
wars.

I hope the pro-
phecy will be ful-
filled in a differ-
ent way from that
which they expect.

[*leaf 46 (66)]

The Jews inter-
preted the pro-
phecy of Caiphas
to their own
condemnation.

Cレスus misin-
terpreted the
response of

the oracle
of Apollo at
Delphos.

"If Cレスus cross
the Almis he
will destroy
mighty king-
doms."

psalm v. 6.

[*leaf 46 (66, bk)]

cレスus per-
det almi

transgressa

*maxima
regna.*

and so brought
mischief on
himself.

It happened
similarly to
Pyrrhus, king
of Epirus,

[*leaf 17 (67)]
and to Ferrand,
Earl of Flanders.

*Augure is,
ane person
that tellis
of thyngis
that ar to
cum, throu-
cht the iu-
gement that
thai have of
birdis vocis,
& of ther
fleing*

So may it be
with these
prophecies of
Merlin,

ansuer of ane vthir sens. Cresus interpret that verb perdet for to distroye ; and for that cause he and his

3 gryt armye past ouer the reueir of almi, in hope to distroye kyng cirus. bot cirus venquest cresus and al his gryt armye ; the quhilke 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, quhilke hed ane expositione of ambiguite.

There is ane syklik exemplil of pirrus kyng of eporite, that past to the oracle of appollo til inquyre of the fyne of the veiris 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 eftyuart, for the romanis venquest kyng pirrus, and chaissit hym furth of Italie. There is ane vthir exemplil 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 inquyre of the fyne of the veiris betuix hym and the kyng of France. the augure ansuert, quod he, thou sal entir in Paris, quhair that gryte tryumph and ioye sal be maid at thy entres. ferrand beand ryght glaid of the ansuere of his augure, he enterit in France vith² ane gryt armye ; bot or he cam to Paris, he and his armye var venqueist, and he 28 vas tane prisoner and led to paris. than al the parisiens maid gryt triumph and ioye for blythnes 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 vith the prophesies of merlyne, to the quhilke the inglismen giffis mair confidens nor thai gif to the

35 euangel, be cause that there ald prophane propheseis

¹ ykng

² vilit

sais, that england 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 belene that there prophesie sal enum til effect, bot nocht to their intent, and that england and scotland sal be ane monarche vndir ane prince in this generatione, conformand til ane prophesie that i haue red in the inglis chronykis, in ane beuk callit polichornicon, the quhilk prophesie sais, that england sal be first conqueist be the scottis,² quhome 12 inglismen haldis maist vile; and fra that tyme furth, england and scotland sal be bot ane monarche, and sal lyue vndir ane prince; and sa inglis men sal get there prophesie fulfillit to there auen mischeif.³

[* leaf 47 (67), bk]
1 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
practikyt ane crafty dissait
contrar Valis and Yrland.

CHAP. XI. [AND XII.]

THIR vordis befor rehersit (O ȝe my thre sonnis) These words
suld prouoke ȝou to tak curaige; ther for i vald ought to arouse
that hope of victoree var augmentit, & dreed var your courage.
'banest fra ȝou. vald ȝe al perpend ȝour iust defens and [* leaf 53 (68)]
querrel, than hardines⁵ and curage vald returne with in 21

¹ prophesels² scootis³ mischeif⁴ hee⁵ hrrdines

Examine the title of your persecutors:

they are the descendants of Sergest and Hengest, the two Saxons, who came to assist the king of Great Britain in his wars,

and treacherously dispossessed him.

Most of the English kings have murdered their predecessors:

King John was a murderer:

[*leaf 53 (68), bk] Edward II. and Richard II. perished 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

ȝour hartis. and fyrst ȝe suld considyr the pepil, and the titil of them that persecutis ȝou be on iust veyris.

3 quhen ȝe hef veil socht the verite, ȝe sal fynd that it is the false blude that discendit of sergestes and engestes,¹ quhilk var tua saxons that cam viith aleuin thousand saxons fra thair auen cuntra to support and supple the kyng of grit bertanȝe, 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 bertanȝe, thai trasonable banest the ryghteus² kyng and his posterite fra the realme. and sen syne that false blude hes possest that cuntre violently be tyrranye, and the maist part of thay tirran kyngis that hes succedit of that fals blude hes beene borreaus to their predecessors, 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 predecessors, and brukit the realme twenty ȝeirs, and syne ther eftir he vas ba'nest, and eftir that kyng eduard vas gart dee meserablye in preson. syklik Richart the sycond vas cruelly slane be his auen men ; and ther eftir henry the sext

24 lososit his lyf 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 ryght⁴ to the crone of ingland : ergo, thai hef na tilit to the crone of scotland. Al this veil considerit, suld inflam ȝour hartis viith curage to resist

33 ther cruel vrangus assaltis, & to menteine⁵ be vailȝeantes the iust defens of ȝour natyf cuntry. ȝe knau quhou thai and there forbears hes beene ȝour ald mortal

¹ eugestes

² ryghteus

³ de

⁴ ryght

⁵ menteine

enemes tuelf hundredthȝeiris by past, makand cruel enemies for
 veir contrar ȝour predecessours be fyir and suerd, dayly twelve hundred
 distroyand ȝour feildis, villagis and buroustounis, vytht years,
 ane ferme purpos to denud scotland fra ȝour genera- 4
 tione; and there vas neuer faitht nor promes kepit be
 them, bot aye quhen ȝe beleifit til hef hed maist sure
 pace betuix ȝou and them, than thai lay at the vatch,¹ laying wait
 lyik the ald subtil doggis, bydand *quhil consiratione
 or discentione suld ryes amang ȝou. than be there
 austuce and subtilite thai² furnest vitht money baitht [* leaf 54 (69)]
 the parteis aduersaris to slay doune vderis, quhilk vas
 ane redly passage to gar them conqueis our realme
 vithtout straik or battel, throcht the occasion of the
 social ciuil and intestyne veyre that rang sa cruelly 14
 throught our euntrē. Valerius maximus rehersis ane
 exemplil 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 tasiferneis sending Tissop-
 vitht gold and siluer to lacedemonia to furneis them in phernes to the
 there veyris contrar the atheniens. at that tyme, alcibi- latter with gold
 ales vas bannest fra athenes, and excommunicat be the and silver,
 prestis of there templi, eftir the consuetude of there 28 [* leaf 54 (69), bk]
 lau. than alcibia'des past for refuge to the lacede-
 moniens, quha var mortal enemes to the atheniens: he
 vas resauit ryght⁴ honorabilye, and gat gryt credit
 amang them, quhilk vas occasion that throcht⁵ his con- 33
 sel, and throu the gold that the prouest taciferneis hed through which
 brocht to lacedemonia fra his maister kyng darius, 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, ȝe suld nocht furneis the lacedemoniens

vitht sa grit quantite of gold and siluer contrar athenes ;

Then, by advice
of Alcibiades,

for gif athenes be conquest be the lacedemoniens, than the lacedemoniens sal be superiors of al greice ; and fra tyme that thai be pacibil gouernours of greice, and hes

9 no ciuil veyris, discord, nor discention amang them, than doutles thai sal intend veir contrar ȝour 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 eun'trey of greice

[* leaf 55 (70)]

he subsidized the
Athenians also,

hef perdurabil veyr amang them selfis, and than kyng darius may eysily conqueis greice, vitht litil dommage

20 to his eun'trey. 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 ȝit he send nocht so litil money that throcht necessite thai suld leave 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 hundredth 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

and so had his
purposes served
by both parties.

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

ingland did to the empriour & to the kyng of France³ *in* the ȝeir of gode ane thousand fwe hundredth twenty four ȝeris : he professit hym self to be neutral, bot ȝit

35 he furnest the empriour vitht sex thousand fut men,

¹ myght

² menteine

³ Frēce

and tua hundredt lycght horse, on his auen expensis, 1
 quhen the kyng of France vas past ouer the alpes to
 seige pau. ande also that samyn kyng hary lent to the
 kyng of France aucht scoir of thousandis engel noblis,
 of 'the quhilk the empriour vas surly aduertest ; for
 quhen the kyng of France ande his armye var defait
 be the due of Burbon, the viceroy of naples, the mar-
 quis of pesquaire, and the marquis of gonnast, thir said
 princeis 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 pau.
 of this sort the kyng of ingland playit vith baytht the
 handis, to gar the empriour and the kyng of France ilk
 ane distroye vthirs. (O ze my thre sonnis) the discen- 15
 tion & discord that ryngis amang ȝou hes done mair
 destructione til our realme nor quhen the gryt armye &
 pouer of ingland inuadit ȝou. the experiens of this
 samyn is manifest, quhou that the kyngis of ingland
 hes bene mair solist to hef pace & fauoir of scotland,
 quhen iustice & concord gouernit the thre estaitis of
 scotland, nor tyl hef hed the fauoir & pace of al the
 riche realmis that the empriour possessis. and in oppo- 23
 sit, quhen the kyngis of ingland persauis discord, dis-
 centione, ciuil veyris, iniusteis & diuisione, vith in
 scotland, than thai forgit³ fenȝet querrellis contrar our
 realme, in hope that ilk scottis man sal be mortal
 enemye til his nychtbour. Quhar for i exort ȝou ȝou
 my thre sonnis, that ze be delegent to remeide ȝour
 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 ȝou ; for gyf ze be
 enemeis to ȝour selfis, than quhy suld the kyngis of
 ingland be accusit quhen thai intend veyris contrar ȝou,
 considerant that thai hef bene euyr ȝour ald enemeis ? 35

while secretly
subsidizing both;

[* leaf 55 (70), bk]
as was discovered
on the defeat of
Francis.

The English
kings have been
glad enough to
have peace with
Scotland, when
it was united
and strong ;

putting forward
their false claims,
[* leaf 56 (71)]
only in times of
intense dis-
sension.

Be diligent, then,
to remove the
causes of discord.

¹ France

² the

³ forgiſe

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 kepit, quhen the enemeis seigs it cruelly viht out, and viht in the said castel ther ringis mortal feyr¹ amang the soudaris, men of feyr, quhilkis suld lyf in ane mutual & faythtful accord in defens of the said castel contrar externe violens? this veil considrit, suld be occasione to gar

5 3ou expel hatrent, diuisione, & auaricius lyffing furth of 3our hartis, & also it suld prouoke 3ou to remembir of the nobil actis of 3our foir fathers & predecessours, quha deffendit this realme be there vailzeantnes, & also reducit there liberte, quhilk vas ane lang tyme in cap-

12 12 tiuite, be the machination of 3our ald enemies, as 3e may reid in diuersis passis of 3our eronikillis. And sen 3e knau² that god hes schauen sic fauoir to 3our foir-bearis, throcht the quhilk thai hef venquist thair enemies, and brocht the realme, be visdome & manhede,

17 17 in sykkyr pace, quhou beit thai var onequal, baytht in nummer & puissance, to 3our ald enemies, 3e suld mak ane mirror of there nobil actis; for sen 3e knau³ that 3our ald enemies hes intendit to conqueis & to subdieu 3ou to there dominione, nocht throcht there manhede

22 22 & visdome, bot rather throcht the disceintione that ringis amang 3ou, 3e suld schau 3ou verteous & vailzeant in 3our ryght⁴ defence. for quhen 3e ar in accord, & lyuis in tranquilitate, 3our ald enemies sendis ther imbastadours⁵ to desyre pace & fauoir, quhilk is mair necessari to them nor it is honest, considering of there grit pouer & mycht⁶ be see & be lond. bot nochtheles, the mair reches that thai posses, the mair schame redondis

30 30 to them, & the mair gloir is 3ouris, sen thai hef beene venquist be 3ou diuerse tymes, quhome thai held maist vile and febil. and nou, sen 3e knau the apering dangeir of 3our natif cuntry, 3e suld prudently consult to eschew al dangeir; and to begyn sic gude ordour, 3e suld prouide al ways to remoue disceintione, sedetione,

¹ feyr ² knau ³ knan ⁴ ryght ⁵ imbastadpur ⁶ mycht

and auaricius lyffyng, quhilk may induce hatrent, inuy 1
 and raneor amang ȝou, to that effect that ilk persone
 may lyf eyslye on his auen iust conques, and that
 none of the realme hef occasione to do extorsions til
 vthyris; for sic gude pollycie, veil ordorit, sal cause
 the euntre to increse in gloir, honour and reches, and
 dredor to ȝour enomes, quha ar verray solist and 7
 vigilant to conques ȝou. ther prouisione of diuerse sortis
 is vonder grit, nocht alanelry be gryt multitude of men
 of veyr, and ane grit nauen of schipis be seey burde,
 bot as veil be secret machinatione to blynd ȝou be
 auereis, presentand to ȝou gold, siluyr, and grit pro-
 messis of heretagis, to persuaid ȝou to commit traision 13
 contrar ȝour faitht, honour and comon veil, quhilk is
 ane ryght passage to bring ȝou and ȝour posterite til
 ane vile & final exterminatione. vald ȝe maturely con-
 sydir the subtilite of inglismen, ȝe sal fynd them aper-
 and faithful and humain in thair aduersite; bot quhen they are tyrants,
 thai ar in prosperite, thai ar ingrat tirrany 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 tirranny ȝour forbears hes
 debatit ȝour cuntry this mony ȝeiris be grit manhede How your fore-
 and visdo'me, quhou beit it vas in dangeir to be in final [*leaf 57 (72), bk]
 euersione. the croniklis vil certifie ȝou quhou that¹ ȝour 25
 nobil predecessours and fair bears var slane, and the
 comont pepil brocht to vile seruitude ane lang tyme be and slavery of
 the saxons blude. and ȝit sic calamite and persecutioone
 indurit bot for ane tyme. for god almychty,² that
 knauis ȝour iust defens, hes euer schauen gryt faoir
 touart ȝou, therfor ȝe suld tak curage in ȝour iust quer- 31
 rel. ȝe hef no cause³ to dispayr for falt of supple, for
 ȝour predecessours hes been in mair dangeir quhen ȝour They were harder
 strynthis and castellis hes nocht been sa defensabil, nor pressed than
 ȝit the cuntry heffand supple of na forane prince. It is 35
 you are,

¹ thae² almythty³ canse

1 tideous to rehers the grit calamiteis, the sair battellis,
 and the cruel slaunchtyr that vas cruelly exsecutit on
 scottis¹ men ; and to conclude, al the cuntry vas in ex-
 treme subiectione fourty ȝeirs, and possest be our ald
 enemes. But nochtheles, god almychty² valknit vith
 6 his grace the hartis of ȝour predecessours, as he did to
 sampson, Dauid, and iudas maccabaeus, contrar the
 enemes of Israel, quhair for al ȝour cuntry vas delyuerit
 fra captiuite, to the grit damage of reches, and effusione
 of blude on ȝour ald enemes. ȝe vait veil that the ciuil
 11 and intestyne veir, and the discentione and discord and
 rancor that ryngis amang ȝou, is the speciale cause of
 the inglisme[n]is inuasions and of ȝour miserte ; for
 ȝour ald enemes, quhou leit of ther puissans, vald never
 hef maid sic incursions ande hairschips on the bordours
 and limitis of ȝour cuntry, var nocth ȝour selfis maid ane
 17 reddly passage to them throcht the occasione of ȝour
 auen discentions that ryngis amang ȝou. ther for it is
 necessair that ȝe sal³ perpend that sic discentione be
 nocth the cause of ȝour auen destructione and final
 ruyne of ȝour nacione. the kyng of ingland knauand
 22 the discention that ryngis amang ȝou, he vil tret, cheris,⁴
 and promes grit reches til ony of ȝou that vil adhere
 til hym contrar ȝour comont veil ; bot fra tym that he
 get dominione of the cuntry, ȝe sal be his sklaus in ex-
 treme seruitude, ȝour vyfis and dochteris⁵ deflorit be
 the onbridilit lust of ȝour ald enemes, and violently led
 28 away befoir ȝour facis be the extreme lanis of the veir.
 ȝour gold and siluyr, and vthir gudis, public and priuat,
 sal be distribut and disponit amang them, the frutis
 and cornis of ȝour grond to be vsit at ther dispositione,
 and ȝe sal be compellit to laubir the naikyt feildis
 vitht ȝour auen handis to there proffet. ȝe sal nocth
 alannerly be iniurit be euil vordis, bot als ȝe sal be
 35 violently strykkyn in ȝour bodeis, quharfor ȝe sal lyf in

and subiected
for 40 years;but God de-
livered them.

[* leaf 58 (73)]

Your enemies
would not again
have troubled
you had not your
discord opened
the way.Reflect before
your ruin be
final,yourselves en-
slaved, your
wives and
daughters
ravished,your property
seized.

[* leaf 59 (73), bk]

1 scottis 2 almychty 3 thai ȝeal 4 tretcheris 6 dochteris

mair thirlage nor brutal bestis, quhilkis ar thirlit of 1
nature. And ony of þou that consentis til his fals con-
ques of þour cuntry, þe sal be recompenssit as þour for-
bears var at the blae perliament at the bernis of ayre,
quhen kyng eduard maid ane conuocacione of al the
nobillis of scotland at the toune of ayre, vndir culour
of faught and concord, quha comperit at his instance,
nocht heffand suspitione of his treasonabil consait. than 8
thai beand in his subiectione vndir culour of familiarite,

Bear in mind the
Barnes of Ayr,

he gart hang, cruelly and dishonestly, to the nummer
of sexten seoir of the maist nobillis of the cuntry, Tua
and tua ouer ane balk, the quhilk sextene seoir var
cause that the inglismen conquest sa far vithin þour
cuntry. ȝe may reid the croniklis of al cuntrieis, and 14

where Edward I.
murdered sixteen
score of your
leaders.

ȝe sal fynd, that quhen forain princis hes violentlye,
but iust titil, gottin dominatione on vthir cuntrieis, than
in the begynnyng thai haue tretit and flatterit the
principal inhabitans, quhil on to the tym that thai var
pacebil domina'tours: and there efir thai haue vsit
there dissymilit intent on the pepil, and hes distroyit 20

Foreign con-
querors are ever
deceitful and
cruel:

them, as kyng eduard did at the bernis of ayre befor
re hersit. There is ane exemplil conformand to this samen

Titus liuius
Libro. 1.

purpos rehersit be valerius maximus, and in *titus*
liuius, quhou that tarquinus superbus the sext kyng of
rome, quhilk maid eruel veyre contrar the eite of gabine
til hef hed it subdeuit to the dominione of rome. bot

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

that nobil eite deffendit there liberte ryeht¹ vail;eantly.
his sone sextus tarquinus vas in grit melaneolye be
cause his father euld nocht conques that eite be fors, 29

nor be loue, nor ȝit be flattery. ther for he departit fra
his father vitht ane fenȝet displesair, and past to the
eite of gabine, makand ane pitteus complaint² on the
erualte of his fader contrar hym, prayand to them of
gabine that thai vald be his deffens contrar his father,
and he sal be subiect to that eite in perpetual.³ the 35

¹ ryght

² complanit

³ imperpetual

- 1 cite of gabine, throcht there facilnes, gef hasty credit
 to sextus tarquinus, and resauit hym and trettit hym
 be grit familiarite. than day be day be his fayr vordis,
 thai gef hym credens in sic ane sort, that al the pepil
 be cam obedient til hym. than he send ane of his
 [*leaf 59 (74), bk] familiaris til 'his fader tarquinus superbus, declarand
 quhou he hed conqueist the fauor of al the pepil, 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
 The dumb show,
 by which Tarquin
 intimated what
 should be done
 to the chief men.
 gat ald tarquine *in* ane garding. bot ald tarquine gef
 nay answer to the messanger, 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
 viith his staf, and did no thyng to the litil chasbollis.
 16 the messengeir gat nay answer be tong fra ald tarquine,
 bot returnit til gabine til his maister sextus tarquinus,¹
 quha askit ane answer of his message. the messenger
 tald quhou his father send nay answer be tong, bot past
 vp and doun his gardyng viith his staf cuttand doun
 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 nocth renolt contrar 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
 [*leaf 60 (75)] 'distroyit and sleu al the principal lordis of gabine, as
 kyng eduard did to the lordis of scotland at the bernis
 of ayre. The onfaithful cruel act that kyng henry the
 aucht vsit contrar yrland and valis quhen he becam
 ther superiors, suld be mirrour and ane exemplil 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 exsecut on the barrons of

Take warning by
 the treatment of
 Ireland and
 Wales.

¹ tarquin*

scotland at the bernis of ayre : for quhoubeit that the
 kyng of england nou present be discendet of the blude
 of valis, ȝit nochtheles the pepil of valis ar in sic sub-
 iectione that thai dar neuer ryde bot iiij to giddir, and 4
 als that name of them sal cum vitht in the mane cuntre
 of england vitht out ane certificat fra the se[h]eref to
 gar it be knauen that thai hef sum speciale byssynes
 vitht in england. and als ther¹ sal nane that is borne in [Pther]
 valis beyr office in valis, nor ȝit in england. and also
 the principal men of valis ar subiect to pas to the
 veyris in propyr person contrar scotland or contrar
 France quhen euer thai ar chargin be the kyng of ing- 12
 landis lettris. Bot at the first apoyntement that vas
 accordit betuix the kyng of england and the lordis of
 valis, he promest them grit liberte, quhil he hed re- [leaf 60 (75), bk]
 sauit the castellis and strynthis of valis, and hed put
 inglis captans in them. bot incontinent ther after, he 17
 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 england vas accordit vitht the lordis 50
 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 vordlis, and 23
 gef them riche gyftis, quhil he be his subtilite gart
 tue[1]f of them cum to london, quha cam at his com-
 mand, be cause thai dreid na cruelte. than incontynent
 he gart strik the hedis fra the said tuelf lordis of irland.
 and sen sine al the irland men ar sklausis til hym, ex- 55
 cepand ane certan that kepis them sel on the strait
 montanis of irland, quhilkis vil noct obeye to his
 tyrranye, for thai hed rather remane in cald and hunger
 in the vyild forestis ande hillis at there liberte, nor for
 to be in his captiuuite to be hangit and hedit as he hes
 dune causles til mony vthyrr innocent men. The extor- 60
 tione that the kyngis of england hes dune to ȝour pre- 35
 decessours, is manifest to you al. the chro'niklis makis
 [* leaf 61 (76)]

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

[Pther]
 the Welsh are
 subjected to all
 kinds of
 oppression.

So have the
 English op-
 pressed Ireland;

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

except those that
 have found
 refuge in the
 wilds.

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

He invaded
Scotland with
100,000 men,

bringing one
Conraldus, a
friar, to write a
chronicle of his
acts.

Before Bannock-
burn he made
sundry statutes,

as to how he
would deal with
Scotland,

[* leaf 61 (76), bk]

after gaining
the victory.

manifest quhou that kyng eduard, aftir that he hed ouer run al ȝour 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 erualte of this said kyng eduard, noctht satesfet nor saceat, he brocht fra ingland ane hundreth thou-

7 sand men, and als he brocht¹ ane freir witht hym callit conraldus, the quhilk freir hed commissione to mak ane chronikil of the actis that kyng eduard and his hundreth t[h]ousand men suld do in scotland. this said grit armye of ingland beand befor bannochtburne, kyng eduard maid ane perlament witht in his camp witht 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-schauyngis 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 vappynschauyngis, al the

20 vaupynis and armour of scotland to be delyuerit to the inglismen to be kepit in castellis quhil on to the tyme that the kyng of ingland intend to mak veir aganis vthyrs cuntres. the nixt statut he ordand that na scottis man suld veyr na vaupyn bot ane knif of fife inche of lynht, witht cut ane point. in the thrid statut, he

26 ordand that na scottis man suld duel in ane house that vas lofit, bot rather in ane litil eot house. in the ferd he ordand that na scottis man suld veir ony clais bot hardyn eotis. 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 lecens to pas in ony straynge

¹ brocht

² scoctis

cuntry to seik ther gude auenture. This eruel ordinance was maid in the kyng of england campt befor bannochburne.¹ he beleifit at that tyme that al vas his auen. than god almyghty² quhilk beheld his pryde and arrogance and his onmerefiful intent, he valknyt vitht his spreit the hartis of the nobil men of scotland, the quhilkis in ane feu numer cam vitht ane hardy eurage contrar kyng eduard, and sleu thretty thousand of his men, and chaissit hym self thre scoir of mylis vitht in england. And in ther returnyng hamuart, thai vaistit and brynt northt humyrlond and mony vthir plaicis of england. this battel vas fochtyn at bannochburne,³ as the inglis croniklis rehersis mair large. then quhan the tentis, pailsons, & spoulze of the inglis armye was tane & gaddrit vp be scottis men, thai gat the forsaide inglis freir conraldus vithtin kyng eduardis tent, & als thai gat thyr forsaide artiklis & ordinance quhilk the inglis-men purposit to execut on the scottis men. bot inglis-men tuik nocth god to be their cheiftane, bot rather vset there auen arrogant mynde; therfor their gryt pouer hed na grace to fulfil ther entreprice. this exemplil is vondir probabil that inglismen vil vse this samyn crualte on zo al, gif sa leis that ze cum subiect to them. ze knau that thir tuelf hundredlit zeirs thai leit zo neuyr hef pace xvi zeir to giddir, bot zit ther tyrrany redondit aye to their auen dishonestye and domage. and quhou beit at sum tyme zoour cuntry gat grit skaytht be them, sic thing suld nocth gar zoour tyne zoour curagis, for the chaneis of veir ar nocth certan to na party. *al thir vordis befor said ar rehersit, to that effect that zoour facilnes be nocth sedusit be ther astuce and subtil persuasions. Titus Ilinius rehersis ane exemplil in his nynt beuk conformand to this samyn purpos, quhilk vas eftir the fundatione of rome 420 zeiris. at that tyme their vas in rome tua consulis, ane

[*leaf 62 (77)]

[*leaf 62 (77), blk]

[Incerti sunt
exitus pu-
gnarum
mursque est
communis qui
sepe spolian-
tem iam &
exultantem
uerunt &
percutit ab
abieco.
Cic. pro
milo.]

1 bannothburne 2 almythy 3 bannothburne

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

Titus liuius
Lib. 9.

- callit titus viterius, and the tothyr callit spurius¹ 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 therty ȝeir to giddir [eon]trar rome. the captan of the samnetis vas callit pontius, quhilk vas the sone of ane vailȝeant man callit hereneus, quha vas exemptit fra the veyris, and fra the
- 8 gouernyng of the public veil, be raison of his grit aige. The grit armye of the sammites campit them secretly besyde ane place callit furce caudide, the quhilk place hed ane narrou entres & narrou isching, and vitht in it their vas mony cragis and vyild treis. that place stude
- 13 betuix tua strait montanis inhabitabil and onmontabil. In the myddis of it their vas ane large grene plane feild. than quhen the samnetis var their legit and campit, thai var aduertist be ther exploratours and spyis, quhou that the romans var campit neir them in
- 18 ane place callit calacia. than pontius the captan of the samnetis causit ten of his 'knychtis to eleighth 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 ȝou quhair our armye is campit, ȝe 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 com-mand; 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

[* leaf 63 (78)]

cendit in ane ansuer. than¹ the romans heffand sic ane *storiam corroborat.*
feruent loue to the eite of lucere, quhilk vas of their an-
ciant alya, thai raisit ther camp to pas to reskeu lucere
fra the sammetes. 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), b.k]
the nixt passage vas ful of roche eragis, and verray
strait and narou, bot ȝit that passage vas verray schort.
than the romans, for haist that tha hed to saif that eite 9
of lucere,² thai tuke that narrou strait passage, and
quhen thai var entrin in it, the sammetes be grit sub-
tilite hed gart eut doun grit treis, & brac doune roche
eragis, quhilkis thai pat in grit numer at the entres and
at the ischyg 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
ȝit to pas forduart. quhen the romans var disauit of this
sort, thai var lykly to dispayr for the displescir³ and
melancole that affligit them. bot the sammetes var 19
vondir glaid fra tyme that thai hed the romans in that
pundfal, quhar thai culd nothir fecht nor fle, deffend
nor resist, bot on verray neid thai behuffit to remane
vencust vithout straik or battel. the sammetes beand
in this grit blythnes 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 conseil quhou thai suld vse them contrar
the romanis that thai hed closit vithin them. this ald
herenius send his ansuer and conseil, and bald the
sammetes gyf the romans ther fre liberte to pas hame
sause, vith out hurt of ther honour, bodys or guidis.
the armye of the sammetes nocth beand satesfit nor
contentit of this ansuer of herenius, thai send the mes-
senger agane til hym til hef anebettir conseil. than ald
herenius send ane vthir ansuer, and bald them slaye al 35

Titus liuius

[*leaf 64 (79)]

How the Sam-
nites consulted
what they should
do with their
captives.

¹ thau² lutere³ displesier

1 the romans, and nocth to lat ane of them return viith
 ther lyif. quhen the samnetes herd the tua discordabil
 consellis of herenius, thai euld nocth meruel aneucht¹
 of his oneconstant ansuer, quhar for pontius his sone
 suspekit that his father dottit in folie throcht his grit
 6 aige, ȝit noththeles he vald nocth conclude na exsecu-
 tione contrar the romans quhil he hed spokyn viith his
 father: therfor viith the consent of the samnettes, he
 send for his father to cum to their camp, quha cam at
 his command in ane charriot, be cause he mycht² nothir
 11 ryde nor gang be cause he vas decrepit for aige. he
 beand aryuit, his sone pontius sperit quhou he suld vse
 hym contrar the romans that var inclosit betuix the tua
 strait montans. the ald herynyus changit nocth his tua
 fyrst consellis that he hed send to them: bot ȝit he de-
 clarit *to them the cause of thyr tua defferent consellis,
 [* leaf 64 (79), bk.]

17 sayand; my sone pontius, and ȝe my frendis of samnete,
 the first conseil that i send to ȝou the quhilk i think
 for the best, that is to say, i consellit ȝou to thole al
 the romans and ther guidis depart saifly in liberte but
 ony hurt or dispieseir; than throcht³ that grit benefico
 22 that ȝe hef schauen to them of ther free vil & viith ane
 guide mynde, thai vil allaya them viith ȝou, quhilk sal
 cause ferme and perpetual pace to be betuix rome and
 samnete. the tothir conseil that i send to ȝou, i ordand
 ȝou to slay doune al the romans, and nocth to saif ane
 27 of them, for than it sal be ane lang tyme or the romans
 can purchies sa grit ane armye contrar ȝou. & sa ȝe maye
 lyif in pace and surete ane lang tyme, considerand that
 the grit pouer and the maist nobilis of rome ar in this
 present armye inclosit to giddir. ane of thir tua con-
 sellis is necessar to be vsit, and the thrid conseil can
 32 noelht be gifin to ȝou for ȝour veilfair. than pontius and
 the princeis of samnete nocth beand contentit of thir tua
 consellis, inquyrit at ald herenius, sayand, ye think it

The two counsels
of Herenius

[* leaf 64 (79), bk.]

are disregarded

and a middle
course chosen.

¹ aneucthe

² myth

³ throcht

bettir to tak ane myd vaye betuix vs and them to saif 1
 their lyffis, 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 reconsiliatiōne of enemes, therfor ȝe suld 6
 animaduert varly to quhat pepil that ȝe purpos to vse
 sic iniurius rigor, for ȝe knau the nature of the roman
 pepil is of sic ane sort, that gif thai resaif oulfrage, and
 beis veneust be rigor be ȝou, thai can neuer hef rest in
 ther spreit quhil that thai heif reuengit ȝour cruelte, 11
 for thai ar of ane vendicative nature, and the displesair
 that thai sal resaif be ȝou sal euer remane in their hartis
 quhil thai hef reuengit the iniurius defame that ȝe haue
 perpetrat contrar¹ them. thyr tua sentensis of herynyus
 var repulsit and nocth admittit, therfor he departit and 16
 returnit in his chariot to sammite to end the residu of
 his days. the romans beand inclosit betuix thir tua
 montans, thai purposit mony maneyrs to ische furtht
 fra that strait place, & to pas to fecht in fair battel
 contrar the samnetes; bot al ther laubyr² vas in vane, 21
 for thai var sa strait closit that thai euld 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; & quhoubeit that ȝe ar al veneust, ȝit none
 of ȝou vil confesse ȝour euil fortoune, ther for ve gif
 ȝou for ane final answer, that al ȝour armye sal be spul-
 ȝit of ȝour armour and of ȝour elais, except ilk ane sal
 hef ane singil coit on ȝou, & ther eftir ve sal put ȝour
 cragis in ane ȝoik to be ane perpetual takyn that ȝe ar
 veneust be vs, and also ȝe sal delyuer til us the villagis,
 castellis, and vthir placis, the quhilkis ȝour predeces-
 sour conquest fra vs in ald tymis, and also ȝe sal lyif 35

Of the Igno-
minious terms
imposed upon
the Romans.

¹ contrat² lanbyr

1 and obeye til our lauis. and gif this answer vil nocth content the romans, i gif ȝou expres charge that ȝe returne nocth heir agane. the legatis of the romans returnit to the camp of the romans vitht the answer of pontius, the quhilk answer did mair displesir to the 6 romans nor that pontius answer hed been to sla them al cruelle ; for in ald tymes ther culd nocth be ane gritar defame nor quhen ane mannis crag vas put in the ȝoik 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 ȝit ther

[* leaf 66 (S1)]

*In duobus
malis, fu-
giendum ma-
jus, leuius
est eligendum.
Cice. [ad]
Quintum
fratrem.*

that vile punitione rather nor til hef been cruelly slane. than the cruel sammetes ordand the instrument of the ȝoik 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 constrenȝet to pas vndir that ȝoik ane and ane ; bot the tua consellaris, quhilkis var captans to the romans, 24 thai var compellit to pas fyrst vndir that ȝoik vitht out their harnes or vaupynnis. than the remenant of the romans followit ilk ane estir his auen degré. on euerye syde of this ȝoik ther vas ane legione of the armye of sammetes vitht ther sourdis drauen in ther handis,

29 quhar thai mauniest and scornit the sillie romans that var in that gryt vile perplexite. O ȝe my thre sonnis, this defame and vile punitione of the sammites perpetrat

This was cruel
punishment,

but a still straiter yoke shall be put on the necks of Scots

[* leaf 66 (S1), bk.] who help England;

contrar¹ the romans, vas verray cruel : bot doubtles, thai that ar participant of the cruel inuasione of inglis men contrar their natyue cuntreye, ther craggis sal be put in ane mair strait ȝoik nor the sammetes did to the

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 protector of ingland purposit til vse this samyn crualte in the ȝeir of god ane thousand fyfe² hundretht fourty sewyn ȝeris, 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 venquest vailȝeantlye, and sleu ane grit part of them, and tuke ane vthir part of them prisoners, and chaissit the thrid part of them ten myle vithtin ingland : and ther eftir the barronis & gentil men of oure vest cu[n]tre gat the inglismens spulȝe, vitht in the quhilk *spulȝe thai gat tua barrellis ful of cordis, and euerie cord bot ane faldome of lyncht,⁴ vitht ane loupe on the end al redy maid, quhilk thai ordant til hef hangit sa mony scottis men as thai purposit til hef venquest at that iournay. Than to quhat effect suld ony scottis men gif credens, or til adhere til inglesmen ? our croniklis rehersis of diuerse scottis men of al staitis that hes past in england. 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 denunxit rebellis be the authorite, quhilk vas occasione that thai past in england for refuge, quhom the kyngis of england hes resauit⁶ fameliarly, and hes trefft them, and hes gifin them gold and siluir, the quhilk he did nothir for piete

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

The Protector
Somerset in-
tended to repeat
thisfeat 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
spoile
[* 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 \exists it he vald neuer gif them heretage nor credit, for the experiens of the samyn is manifest presentlye. for quhoubeit that there be abufe thre thousand scottis men, and there vyfis and childir, that hes duellit in england thir fyftyne \exists eir by past, and

There are more than 3000 Scots-men 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;

hes conquest be there industre batht heretage and guidis, \exists it nocht ane of them dar grant that thai ar scottis men, bot rather thai man deny and refuse there cuntry, there surname, and kyn & frendis. for the scottis men that duellis in the southt part of england, thai suere and menteinis¹ that thai var borne in the northt part or in the vest part of england ; and scottis men that duellis in the vest or in the northt of england, thai man suere and menteine² that thai var borne in kynt schire, \exists oirke schire, in london, or in sum vthir part of the southt partis of england. than to quhat effect

18 suld ony scottis men adhere til inglis men, to gar them selfis be cum sklausis, and to remane in perpetual scrutitude? ther for ve may verray veil beleif, that quhoubeit that the kyng of england garris tret scottis men vitht gold and siluer as thai var his frendis, \exists it 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 tranquilitate amang princis, thai that ar

26 maist familiar vitht the protector sal be haldin maist odius in england, and euerye inglis knaif sal cal them, dispytfully, renegat scottis ; and gif ony of them passis to the protector, to regret and lament the abstractione of his familiarite that he scheu to them in the begynnyng of the vey'ris, he vil answer 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

¹ mentemis ² menteime ³ ryght ⁴ agust¹ ⁵ anthoni²

cesar ve[n]uest antonius. than quhen the veyris varendit 1
 betuix cesar and antonius,¹ rhymirales vas nocth 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 cuntry and my maister anthonius for ȝour plesir, and
 i hef been the cause that ȝe hef venquest my maister 6
 anthonius, & nou ȝe schau me nocth sa grit loue and
 familiarte as ȝe scheu me in the tyme of the veyris,
 quharfor ȝe haif schauen ȝou rycht ingrat contrar me.

Cesar ansuerit to rhymirales, i vil hef na familiarte 13
 vitht ȝou, for i loue bot the trason that cumis to my
 effect, and louis nocth the tratours that committis the
 trason. this forsaid exempl maye be veil applyit til al

scottis men that beleuis to get mair liberte and honor
 in england nor thai did in scotland ; for this exempl
 hes been preetykit thir fyfe hundreth ȝers bygane til

al scottis men that hes adherit til inglis men contrar 17
 ther natyfe cuntry, as the croniklis *makis manifest ; [*leaf 68 (83), bk.]
 for quhou be it that the kyng of england louis the
 treason that scottis men committis contrar ther prince,
 ȝit he louis nocth the tratours that committis the
 treason.

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

22

¹ antoni*

Quhou the affligit lady declaris til hyr thre
 sonnis that the familiarite that is betuix inglis
 men & scottis men in ane pace varld¹ at mer-
 cattis² and conuentions on the tua bordours,
 is the cause of the treason that the
 scottis men committis contrar
 ther natyfe euntre.

CHAP. XIII.³

Your attaehment
to England arises
chiefly from
familiarity on the
borders,

which is un-
lawful.

[* leaf 69 (84)]
Different nations
count each other
barbarous.

No two nations
more diverse than
English and
Scotch, though
neighbours, and
speaking the
same tongue.

THREE is no thing that is occasione (O ȝe my thre
 sonnis) of ȝour adhering to the opinione of england
 contrar ȝournatife euntre, bot the grit familiarite that
 inglis men and scottis hes hed on baitht the boirdours,
 5 ilk ane witht 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 england and scot-
 land. in the dais of moises, the ieuis durst nocht haue
 familiarite witht the samaritanis, nor witht the philistiens,
 nor the romans witht the affricans, nor the grckis witht
 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 witht 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 subiekit be forse

¹ so original; probably misread for *baitht* in MS.
³ so original.

² *morcattis*

⁴ *nythbours*

and violence, and scottis men ar furious quhen thai ar 1

violently subiekit. inglis men ar cruel quliene thai get victorie, and scottis men ar merciful quhen thai get victorie. and to conclude, it is onpossibil that scottis

men and inglis men can remane in concord vndir ane 5

monarche or ane princee, be cause there naturis and con-

ditions ar as indefferent as is the nature of scheip and

volius.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 sonnis and

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

ment. This exemplil 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 sonnis and tua munis 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 amang them, nor

scottis men *til entir on inglis grond vitht out the kyng

of ingland sauе conduct, nor inglis men til entir on

scottis grond vitht out the kyng of scotlandis sauе con-

duct, quhoubeit that there var sure pace betuix the

They behave
differently in
prosperity and in
adversity.

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

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 parleying castle shall not end with honour."

[* leaf 70 (55), bk] Familiarity between enemies begets treason.

Hannibal and other ancient captains acted upon this,

as did Jugurtha, who, after having been repeatedly defeated by the Romans in Africa,

tua realmis. bot thir seuyn ȝeir bygane, thai statutis and artiklis of the pace ar adnullit, for there hes been as grit familiarite & conventionis, 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 england gat intellegens vitht diuerse gentil men of scotland. it is nocht possibil to keip ane¹ realme fra conspiracione 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 vith honour; for the damysele that heris and giffis eyris to the amourus persuasions of desolut ȝong men, sal be eysile persuadit to brac hyr chaistite. siklik ane

17 spekand castel, that is to saye, quhen the captan or sodziours of ane castel vsis familiar speche and comonyng vitht there enemeis, that castel sal be eysylie conquest, be rason that familiarite and speche betuix enemeis generis trason. in ald tymis, the vailȝeant anibal, 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 entrepree 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 fortone, he past in Italie vitht ane fresche armye

¹ sne

of men of veir, and also he tuik vith hym aine riche 1
 quantite of gold and siluyr, eunȝet & oneunȝet. 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 vith sum of the romans that hes authorite,
 i beleif to venques them vith gold and syluyr rathere believing
 nor vith forse of men of veir, for euyrie thing is to sel everything to be
 in rome for monye : ther for i dout nocht bot i sal gar
 them sel there liberte for gold, for the auariese that is venal at Rome.
 amang the romans vil gar ilk aine betraise vthers. Thir
 wordis of iugurtha makkis manifest that there is nay
 thing that bringis ane realme to ruyne sa sune and sa 15
 reddy as dois the familiarite that the pepil hes vith
 there enemeis, throught the quhilk familiarite there is Avarice makes
 sum euil persoune that knauis the secret determinations one betray
 of the lordis of the counsel, & there eftir he reuelis it to another.
 sum traisionabil man that hes intelligens vitht the kyng
 of england. i can nocht expreme ane speciale man that
 perpetratis this traisionabil act, bot ȝit i am sure that as There is some
 sune as the lordis of the counsel hes determit ony guide traitor that
 purpos for the deffens & veilfair of the realme, incon- reveals the
 tinent vitht in tuenty houris there eftir, the sammyn secret plans of
 counsel is vitht in the toune of beruik, & vitht in thre the Scottish
 dais there eftir the post of beruyk² presentis it to Council to the
 london to the counsel of england, quhilk is occasione King of England.
 that the inglismen hes there deffens redly contrar *our 21
 purpos, or ve begyn to exseent the counsel that vas
 determit. It var verray necessair that the committers
 of that reuelen var punest mair realye nor hes been ony
 punitiōne that hees been exsecut contrar ony scottis
 man that hes cum vitht inglis men in plaine battel til
 inuaid scotland. thir secret reuelaris of the counsel of

¹ noththeless² bernik

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.

They have not
the heroism of
Pompeius and
Quintus
Metellus.

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

When the former
was taken
prisoner by a
hostile king,

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

*Valerius
maxim'.*
Libro. 7.

extract from him
the secrets of the
Senate.

Alas! there are
Scotsmen who
would reveal
every secret of
their country
before they would
burn a finger of
their glove!

When Quintus
Metellus besieged
Trebia,

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

scotland takkis nocth exemplil of the tua vailȝeant
romans pompeus and quintus metellus, quhilikis 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 enemies of rome.

valerius maximus rehersis, in the t[h]rid cheptour of
his thrid beuk, quhou the romans send pompeus in im-
bassadre til aysia, quhilk vas of the allya of rome, and
be chance he vas tane presoncir in his voyage be gen-
thius the kyng of esclauonia, quha vas mortal enemye¹
to the romans: the said kyng genthius coniurit, per-

12 suadit, solistit, and also he manneist nobil pompeus to
reueil the secret counsel of the senat. pompeus behald-

and his onrasonabil request, he pat his fingar in the
heyt fyir,² and tholit it to birn; and be the tollerance
and paciens of that cruel pane, gentius kneu that there
vas na torment that culd gar pompeus reueil the secret
of the senat. bot allace, there is sum men that knauis
the secret of scotland that vil reueil it til inglismen
rather nor to birn the fingar of ther glufe. Valerius
maximus³ rehersis ane vthir exemplil quhou that quintus
metellus beand proconsul of rome, vas send vitht ane
armye in to spanȝe contrar the celtibriens, quhilikis
duellit in the realme of nauerne. he set ane seige about
the toune of tribie, quhilk⁴ is the methropolitane &
capital cite of that cuntry. that cite resistit and def-
fendit vailȝeantly contrar quintus metellus. than he

28 beand in melancole be cause he culd nocth conqueis
that cite, he deuisit ane subtil consait to desauie the
celtibriens. he gart rais his camp and departit fra that
cite, and past til vtheris diuerse tounis of nauern, sum
tyme bakuart, sum tyme forduart, sum tyme he past to
the montannis, and sum tyme to the valeis, and remanit
neuer in ane stedefast place, and he gart al his armye
35 keip them in arraay. the cause of this agitatione and

¹ enyeme

² fyit

³ maxim'

⁴ quhilki is

commotione of his army vp and doun, was nocht knauen 1

be none of his men of veyr, nor ȝit knauen be *his [*leaf 75 (87), bk]

enemes, quhar for ane of his familiar frendis inquyrit hym of the cause of his inconstant vagatione, quha A familiar friend asked to know his plans;

ansuert, quod he, decist and inquyre na mair of that

purpos, for gif that i vndirstude that my sark hed knau- but Metellus would not that
lege of my secret, or of the deliberatione of my mynde, his own shirt
doutles i suld birn it hastelye in ane bald fyir. than should know his
quhen metellus hed vagit vp and doun there ane lang mind.

tyme, and hed put his host and armye in ignorance, 9

and his enemes in errour, eftir diuerse turnand coursis

athoureht¹ 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

dissimilatione, and be the keping of his counsel secret

fra his frendis and fra al vtheris, he conquest the said By keeping his
secret, he gained
his object;

toune. vald god that the counsel and deliberatione of would God
scotland var keptit as secret as metellus keptit his secret Scotsmen could
do the same!

fra his men of veyr, than doutles the inglis men vald

nocht be so bold. There is na thing that is cause that 20

the counsel of england gettis sa haisty aduertessing of

the priuitate that is amang the lordis of scotland, bot

the vice of auareis that hes blyndit the raison, & hes

infekkit the hartis of diuers grit men of scotland. the But avarice has
infected diverse
of our great men;

ald *prouerb is treu that sais that it is as onpossibil to

gar ane auaricius man be faythful, as it is onpossibil

to gar ane fische of the depe flude speik hebreu or greik.

Quhar for (o ȝe my thre sonnis) i exort ȝou to tak ex-

empil of diuerse nobil men that culd neuir be seducit

nor persuadit to tak gold nor reches fra there enemeis.

There is ane exemplil of alexander kyng of macedon,

quha hed mortal veyr contrar the grekis. he sende ane 32

riche present extendant til thre seoir of thousandis

peces of gold, til ane nobil man of athenes callit

phosion, ane man heffand gret autorite in athenes. Such was
Phocion
of Athens,

¹ athourth

- 1 Than phosion said to the inbassadoris of kyng allexander, *quod he, my frendis, for qnhat cause hes kyng allexander sende this riche present of gold to me alamerly, ande hes sende na thing to the remanent of the lordis of athenes?* The inbassador ansuert, our master kyng allexander hes sende *zou* this present of gold, be
- 7 *raison that he hes iugit *zou* 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, *ze sal praye hym to thole me to remane prudent & verteous.* for gyf i tak his present [* leaf 76 (ss), bk] 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 *ze sal tel to *zour* master kyng allex-*
- 16 *ander, that he sal nocth corrupt me vitht gold, nor venqueis me in battel, nor git he sal conqueis na thing in grece bot sa mekil eird as vil be sepulturis til his men of veyr.* this exempl makis 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 natvie cuntry.* quhar for i exort *zou* (my thre sonnis²) that *ze detest anerese, ambicion, ande traision, ande that *ze gar *zour* solistnes of the deffens of *zour* comont veil preffer the solistnes of *zour* particular veil:* for quhen *zour* particular veil is*
- 27 *spulȝeit or hurt be *zour* enemeis, it maye be remedit be *zour* comont veil. ande in opposit, gyf *zour* comont veil be distroyt, than it sal neuyr be remedit be *zour* particular veil, for *zour* particular veil is bot ane accessor of *zour* comont veil, ande the accessor followis the natur of the prencipal. accessoriū sequitur naturam*
- 33 *sui prencipalis.*

Let your regard
for the common
weal precede
private interest.

¹ regurgnant

² sonnis

¶ Quhou the actor declaris that conspiratours
ar ay punest to the deth be the princeis that
gat profit of there con-
spiration.

[leaf 77 (89)]

CHAPTER XIII.

THER is ane exemplil, quhou that eftir the dolorus battel of cannes, quhilk i hef oft rehersit of before, quhar that the nobil counsil emilius paulus vas slane vitht 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 testimonial of his grit victorie. and eftir this dolorus battel, diuerse citeis and castellis of Italie randrit them to annibal, 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 resauit fra annibal, as did the nobil cite of capee : zit noetheles inconstant foyrton alterit the prosperite of the cartagiens, quhilk vas occasione that the romans be grit vailzeantnes recouerit & conquest diuerse * 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 annibal. than thir nobil romans heffand grit affectione to be reuengit on annibal for the grit slauchtir committit at cannes, past vitht ane armye of xxxiii legions befor the toune of cape, and be grit industre thai maid tua lang depe fosses about al the toune in sic ane sort, that nane of the men of veyr of cape culd ische furth bot gif thai

How after the
battle of Cannæ,many Italian
cities surrendered
to the Carthaginians;among others
Capua.

[* leaf 77 (89), bk]

How Capua was
recaptured by the
Romans.

1 cam vitht in the romans camp. at that tyme fulius flaccus vas captan and due of the romans armye. the romans hed nocht monye hors to ryde in forrais and in prikyng 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 16 tha that Reid behynd⁴ on the hors discendit 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 cartagiens that var nocht slane fled vithtin the toune to saif them, bot al the romans armye followit sa haistylye quhil thai gat entres vitht in the toune, and pat it to sac; and ther eftir the nobil consul fulius flaccus past to the tribunal, & gart al the principal lordis of capes compeir, and than he gart bynd ther handis in iryn chenȝeis, be cause of the trason that thai committit
 21 21 contrar ther natvie euntre. and syne he send ane certain of them to be put in preson in the toune of theane, and ane vthyrr certain 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 exseecut iustice on the conspiratours of capes, quhar he gart strik the *heydis fra them of capes that var in
 28 28 preson in theane, and syne past to calles to gar exseecut
 [• leaf 78 (90), bk] 35 preson in theane, and syne past to calles to gar exseecut

How the town
was put to sack,

and the chief
traitors punished.

¹ munydiens ² nummir ³ mycht ⁴ behynd

justice on the remenant. he beand ther aryuit, he gart 1
 bryng furtht the presoners to be iustifiet. at that samyn instant hour, the senat ande faders conscript of rome send ane post in message vitht ane closit vryting to fulius flaccus, chargeand hym to be mercyful, and nocth ouer rigor in exsecutione of his iustice. he hef- 6
 and suspitione of the contineu of ther vrytingis, and als heffand ane feruent affectione to puneis tratours, he re-
 sauit the vryting in his kar hand, and vald nocth apin it nor Reid it quhil the boreau hed strikyn the heydis fra the presoneris of calles quhilkis hed conspyrit contrar capes. this exsecutione of iustice beand endit, he 12
 apnit the vrytingis, and eftir that he hed red the contineu of it, he said to the post, my frend, this vryting is cum ouer lait and behynd the hand. of this sort the traturs of capes var punest; for this nobil consul fulius flaceus 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 fulius flaceus var diligat iuge to pu'neis them as he punest the conspirators of capes; for the forsaid fulius¹ flaceus gat as grit commendatione for the extreme iustice that he gart 23
 exsecut on treasonabil tratours, as he gat for his vail-
 geantnes quhen he conquest the toun of capes fra annibal.

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

How when Fulvius Flacceus 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 Flacceus to punish those Scottish towns, &c., that have surrendered [^{* leaf 79 (91)}] to England!

How Pausanias entered into treasonable correspondence with Xerxes,

¹ fuluins

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

and wrote him
the following
letter.

- 14 ¶ Pausanias duc of spart, to the kyng xerxes salut.
 i hef send to the thir prisoners, 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 dochтир, gif it be thy plesir : therefor,
 gif thou vil consent to this mariage, i sal put al greice
 in thy subiectione ; the quhilk i can do ryght² 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
 To which Xerxes
replied.
- ample of this byssynes. Quhen exerxes hed red this
 vryting of pausanias, he send ane answer 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 exerxes vryting. Kyng exerxes of meid
 to pausanias salut. i thank the of the plesir and be-
 'nefice that thou hes done to me in the sendyng hame
 [* leaf 80 (92)] the prisoners³ quhilk thou conquest in my cite of bez-
 ance, the quhilk i nor myne sal neuer forȝet quhil ve
 dee. i exort the that thou be solist nycht⁴ and daye til
 35 exsecut and to fulfil thy promes, and i sal nocth spair

¹ original has rome

² ryght

³ persons

⁴ nyght

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 exerxes
kyng of meid, he began euere day to prattik his intent
contrar the grekis, and als he be cam familiar vith the

barbariens, the quhilk familiarite vas occasione that the
grekis tuke ane real suspetione and ane vehement im- 9

agatione of his coniuratione and conspiratione. quhar
for til eschaip the danger and damage that mycht² suc-

cceede fra his trason, the ephores of laeedemonia 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 hefand hope to purge hym of al
erymes throcht giftis and moneye that *he thocht to

[*leaf 80 (92), bk] distribut amang the senaturis of laeedemonia, he past
forduart vith the sergent to the toune of spart. than 19

incontenent the ephores constitut hym presoneir, for
the ephores of laeedemonia var of sa grit authorite,

that thai mycht constitut and compel ther kyng or ther
due to be presoneir. the senaturs & inhabitaris of spart

hed nocti sufficient probatione to condamp hym. ther- 24
for thai dred to execut vengeance on hym, be cause he

vas discendit of hie geneologie, and of the blude ryal of
lacedemonia, and als he vas of hie dignite. at that instant

tyme he hed ane domestik seruitour quhilk he
hed abusit carnalye lang of befoir in his zoutheid,

quhilk seruitur hed borne the last vrytingis that he 30
hed vrytin to artabasus the secretar of kyng exerxes.

than this seruitur persauand that nane of the messengeris
that hed past of befoir vith vrytingis to artabasus,

returnit agane vith 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.

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

¹ thon

² myght

1 them, quhar he gan the samyn thing in them quhilk he
 suspekit & doubtit of befor¹: that is to say, quhou that
 pausanias vrit to artabasus to resaif his vrytingis & ther
 [*leaf s1 (93)] eftir to sla the messengeir. this said seruitur *brocht
 6 the vrytingis to the ephores of lacedemonia, the quhilk
 vryting maid the traision of pausanias manifest, ȝit
 nochtheles thai vald nocht exsecut punitione quhil that
 the verite of his cryme var mair manifest. than be ane
 subtile cauteil thai gart pausanias seruitur pas to the
 tempil to tak gyrtht and protectione, as dois ane tres-
 11 gressor that hed committit cryme in ald tymes. it vas
 vsit in greice that ane seruand that offensit his maister
 vas punest be the iugis as ane trespassar that hed com-
 mittit cryme. and syne thai gart ane of ther familiaris
 aduerteis pausanias, quhou that his seruitur hed tane
 16 gyrtht in the tempil for sum cryme that he hed com-
 mittit, and als thai hed gifin sufficient informatione to
 the seruitur of pausanias quhou he suld vse hym
 tonart 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 seruitur. Pausanias
 beand aduertest of the presonyng of his seruand, past
 incontenten to the tempil to inquyre his seruitur of
 [*leaf s1 (93), bk] the cause of his cummyng to gyrtht in that *said
 tempil. his seruitur ansuert, schyr, i hed suspitione
 and dred my lyif, be cause that the messengeris that ȝe
 29 send of befoir to xerxes returnit nocht agane. therfor i
 apnit ȝour vritingis quhair that i hef fundyn the thyng
 that i doubtit, quharfor i meruel that ȝe haif vrytin to
 gar sla me, considerand that i hef been ane faithful
 seruitur, and ȝe vait veil that i hef kepit ȝour conseil
 in secret of al ȝour byssines that ȝe hef vrocht vith
 35 kyng exerxes contrar the grekis, ther for ȝe hef com-

¹ hefor² mycht

mittit ane onhumain act in sa far as ȝe vald gar 1
 sla me for my guide seruice. pausaniaς 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 faithful maister to the, 6
 and i sal recompens the for thy grit faithful labouris.
 therfor i pray the to depart incontenten, 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 curtnis knauand and herand the manifest trason
 of pausaniaς, 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 pausaniaς vas recompensit & reuardit 17
 for his trason that he committit contrar his native
 cuntre.

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

¶ T[h]er is ane vthir exempl³ 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 ȝong man of the amalekytes blude fra the camp of
 saul, quha presentit hym on his kneis befoir dauid.
 than dauid said til hym, quhar fra ar thou cum? pre-
 sentlye the ȝong 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 ȝong man
 ansuert, the pepil ar fled fra the battel, and ther is ane
 grit nummer of the pepil deid, & als saul and his sone
 iehonathan ar dede. dauid said to the ȝong man that
 brocht the nouuelles, quhou knauis thou that saul and
 iehonathan his sone ar dede? the ȝong man ansuert, 35

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

¹ ryght

² hit

³ exemplif

1 quod he, be chance i arryuit on the montan of gelboye,
 [* leaf 82 (94), bk] quhar i beheld 'saul leynard 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 assailȝet me, bot
 6 notheles my lyif is ȝit in my body. than i past and i
 sleu hym, be cause that i kneu that he culd nocth es-
 chaip witht 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 hauylye
 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 ȝoung man
 that hed brocht hym the nouuellis, quhy dred thou
 nocth to put thy handis in the vncit kyng of the lord ?
 16 than dauid callit on ane of his sodiours, and gart hym
 sla that ȝong man in his presens, sayand, thy blude sal
 be on thy hede, for thy moutht hes testifet contrar¹ thy
 self, quhen that thou confessit that thou sleu the vncit
 kyng of the lord. of this sort this ȝoung man vas punest
 for the slauchtyr of kyng saul. Ther is ane vthir ex-
 22 empil of the punitione of trason, as is vrytin in the fyft
 be cheptor of the second beuk of samuel. quhen that
 rechab and banach his *brudir entrit² in the house of
 isbosetht the sone of kyng saul, & thair thi strak hym
 t[h]rocht the fyft ryb of his syde witht ane dagar, quhen
 he vas slepand in his bed, and ther eftir thai cuttit³ his
 hede fra his body, & brocht it to dauid til ebron, say-
 29 and, behald heir the hede of isbosetht the sone of kyng
 saul thy mortal enemye : the lord hes tane vengeance
 on kyng saul and on his seid. dauid ansuert to rechab
 and baanach and said, syklik as the lord quhilk de-
 lyuerit⁴ me fra tribulatione is lyuand, and als sykilic
 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
Ishboseth.

¹ contrat ² entriir ³ enttit ⁴ delynerit ⁵ rytht

that hes slane the iust isboseth quhen he vas lyand 1
 slepand in his bede. than kyng dauid gef command til
 his sodiours to sla rechab and baanacht.¹ than the
 soudiours at dauid command fyrst cuttit the feit and
 the handis fra the tua tratours that sleu isboseth 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 exempl
 of the punitione of tratouris that betrasis ther natyf
 prince. quhen the cruel veiris var betuix darius kyng of
 perse and grit alexander of macedon, ther vas ane
 captan * of kyng darius quha vas verra familiar & in [*leaf 83 (95), blk]
 grit fauoir vitht darius, callit bessus, quha sleu his How the traitor
 maister kyng darius,³ in hope to get ane grit reuard fra in pieces
 kyng alexander. kyng alexander cam at that instant 15
 tyme quhen darius vas in the agonya and deitht thrau,
 t[h]roch the mortal vondis that he hed resauit fra bessus
 his seruituir. than alexander maid ther ane solempnit
 vou to reuenge the trason committit be the said bessus.
 than he⁴ gart his sodiours serche & seike bessus, quha 20
 vas gottyn in the forest, and vas brocht and led bundyn
 in ane chenze befor kyng alexander.⁵ this nobil alex-
 ander gart his sodiours pul doune the crops of the green
 treis, and ther eftir tha band his tua armis vitht cordis
 to the crops of ane of the treis, and he gart bynd his between two
 feit to the crops of the tothir tre, & than gart lat louse trees.
 the erops of the tua⁶ treis, and tha sprang vp rycht⁷ of 27
 ther ald fasson, & in the rysing vp thai drew the body
 of bessus in peces. of this sort bessus vas reuardit for
 his trason committit contrar his ryghteous⁸ prinee. Ther
 is ane exempl of the trason that ane blae iacopyne frere How a Black
 committit contrar henry the seuynt of that name. Jacobin Friar,
 the toune of florens vald noctt obeye to the empir,
 quhar for the said *Empriour Henry brocht⁹ ane grit [*leaf 84 (96)]

¹ baanath^t
⁶ rua

² syne
⁷ ryght

³ darlus
⁸ ryghteous

⁴ ge

⁵ alexender
⁹ brocht

- 1 armye to seige the tounne of florens. than ane blae
 who, bribed by
 the Florentines,
 8 iacopyne frere gat ane grit some of moneye fra the
 florentynis to tak on hand to sla the empriour, be cause
 this said frere vas familiar vitht the said empriour. than
 he t[h]rocht auereis, he poysont the host of the sacra-
 ment vitht poysen. ther eftir that nobil empriour past
 to resaif the body of god vndir the forme of brede, and
 13 as sounre as he hed resauit it in his moutht, his body
 began to suel, and sa he decestit. The verite of this
 was torn in
 quarters by
 horses.
 18 trason vas persauit be the phieisians and medicinaris :
 quhar for the men of veyr of this nobil empriour gart
 quartyr that fals frere betuix iiiij hors, and sa he vas
 reuardit for his trason. There is diuerse vthirs exemplis
 of the myscheif that god sendis on conspiratours.
 there for i exort ȝou my thre sonnis, that gyf ony of
 ȝou hes faltit contrar ȝour comont veil throught ignor-
 ance or abusione, that ȝe correct ȝour selfis, than god
 sal be ȝour frend.
-

[leaf 84 (96), bk.] ¶ Quhou the thrid sone of this fayr lady callit
 laubir ansuert vitht ane lamenta-
 bil complaynt.

CHAP. XV.¹

- 19 O MY dolorus mother, quhilk sum tyme aboundit in
 prosperite, and nou thou art spulȝet fra al felicite
 t[h]rocht grit affliction of langorius tribulacione,
 resaif thy repreif in paciens for ane correctione, and
 24 nocht for ane inuectyf dispyit. i knau that thy com-
 playnt is nocht disrasonabil nor vitht out cause, ȝit
 nochtheles my dispieseir 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 deserne nocht til hef be rason of my 1
 innocens. Allace, the aduersite of ane innocent is mair
 nor cruel quhen he induris punitione for ane cryme
 that ane transgressor committis. i may be comparit to
 the dul asse in sa far as i am compellit to bayr ane im-
 portabil byrdyng, for i am dung and broddit to gar me 6
 do & to thole the thing that is abuif my pouer. allace,
 i am the merk of the but, contrar the quhilk euere man
 schutis arrous of tribulatioun. allace, quhou is iustice
 sa euil trettit quhilk is occasione that euere man vsis al
 extreme extorsions contrar me as far as ther pouer can 11
 exsecut. allace, i laubyr nyeht and day vitht my handis
 to neureis lasche and inutil idil men, and thai recom-
 pens me vitht hungryr, and vitht the sourd. i susteen
 ther lyif vitht trauel & vitht the suet of my body, and
 thai parsecut my body vitht oulfrage and hayrschip,
 quhil i am be cum ane begger. thai lyf t[h]rocht me, and
 i dee t[h]rocht them. allace, o my natural mother, thou 19
 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 england. tha ar my natural
 brethyr, bot thai ar my mortal enemies of verray deid.
 Allace, quhou can i tak paciens considerand that ther 24
 can na thing be eikkyt to my persecutione 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 laubyrs. my 1 die daily;
 cornis and my cattel ar reft fra me. i am exilit fra my
 takkis and fra my steddyngis. 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 alanelry hychtit abufe 32
 the fertilite that the grond maye bayr, bot as veil thai
 ar tane furtht of my handis be my tua tirran brethir,
 and quhen i laubyr be marchandres or be mecanik

Like a dull ass I
am kicked and
prodded.

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

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

who, in their
turn, oppress me
to beggary.

They live through
me, and I die
through them.

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

my corn and
cattle are reft
from me;
and I am turned
out of my
holding.

[* leaf 85 (97, bk)]

I am compelled
to lend to my
two tyrant
brothers;

¹ hychtir² bayrus

- 1 craftis, i am compellit to len and to fyrst it to my tua
when I dun them
for the debt, I
am cuffed or
killed.
- 7 nay thing on the lauberaris of the grond to burcht¹ and
land, bot arrage, earage, taxationis, violent spulȝe, and
al vthlyr sortis of aduersite, quhilke is ommercifully ex-
seent daly. the veir is cryit contrar england, bot the
actis of the veir is exsecutit contrar the lauberaris, and
consumis ther miserabil lyif. O my natural mother,
my complaynt is hauy to be tald, bot it is mair disples-
- 14 and to susteen my piteous desolatione. i am banest fra
my house, i am boistit and maniest be my frendis,
and i am assailit be them that suld defend me. the
lauberaris ar ane notabil membry of ane realme, viht
out the quhilke the nobillis^{*} & clergie can nocht sustene
ther stait nor ther lyif, ȝit notheles thai ar baytht be
- 20 cum my mortal enemeis, the quhilke vil be the final
euersione of ther auen prosperite. therfor i may compair
them til ane man in ane frenyse, quhilke bytis his auen
membris viht his techt,² through the quhilke 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 lie senat, or ony vthir grit
man of grit stait. bot allace it is nocht nou of that sort
viht me, for i am left desolat viht out supple or def-
fens amang the handis of vrangus oppressours quhilke
professit them to be my brethir and defendouris, for i
- 35 indure mair persecutio be them nor be the cruel veir

¹ burtht² techt³ he

The working
classes are an
*[leaf 86, 98.]
important part of
the body politic;

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;

of england, for my takkis, steyding, and teyndis ar 1
 nocht alanelry tane fra me or ellis hychtit¹ til ane
 onrasonabil price, bot as veil i am maid ane slane² of I am made a
body slave.
 my body to ryn and rashe in arrage & carraige. ther for
 i am constrenȝet to cry on god for ane venȝeance con- [*leaf 86 (98), bkl]
 trar them for the importabil³ afflictione quhilk thai con- 6
 strenȝe me til indure, the quhilk i beleif sal cum
 hastyly on them be the ryght iugement of god, conform- God will take
vengeance on
them,
 and to the vordis of the prophet, propter miseriam
 inopum & gemitum pauperum nunc exurgam
 dieit dominus: that is to say, be the expositione of
 the doctoris, for the misere of mistirful men, and for 12
 the veyng of pure men, the diuyne iustice sal exseent
 strait punitione. therfor thir potestatis and men of stait
 that dois extorsions to the pure pepil thai hef mistir to
 be verra var and to abstrak them fra the violence quhilk
 tha parpetrat on the pure pepil. for it is to be presumit 17
 that the lamentabil voce and cryis of the affligit pepil
 complenant to the hanyn, vil moue to pitie the clemens
 of the maist merciful and puissant diuyne plasmator,
 the quhilk t[h]rocht his eternal iustice, vil succumb in
 confusione al violent vsurpatours quhilkis parpetratis 22
 sic cruel iniquiteis on the desolat pure pepil. Therfor
 (o thou my mother) sen i am in dangeir of the deitht, I appeal to His
eternal justice!
 and disparit of my lyif, necessite pulsis and constrenȝes
 me to cry on god, and to desire vengeance on them that
 persecutis me, in *hope that he vil releif me, or els to
 tak me furtht of this miserabil lyif, for the ingratitudo
 of my tua brethir. ther dissolutione, and the misknau- [*leaf 87 (99)]
 lage of god, and ther disordinat misgouernance, is the
 cause of my impatiens, and cause of al my afflictione ; The wickedness
of my two
brothers is the
cause of my
afflictions.
 for as ther euil conquest reches multiplies, ther disord- 31
 inat pompe and ther delicius ydilnes, vith misknaulage⁴
 of god augmentis, quhilk is occasione that tha ar am-
 bitius in ther stait, couetuse of gudis, and desirus to be 35

¹ hychtill² slane³ importabil⁴ misknaulage

1 gouernouris of the realme. i suld hef said misgouernouris of the realme, the quhilk foliful affectionis vil be ther auen confusione quhen god pleysis, be rason that nane of ther verkis ar conformand to the comand of god. bot al the mannessing that is maid to them, nor

6 ȝit 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 erualte, bot ȝit nane of them decistis fra the vice quhilk gifis me occasione

13 to murmyr. it is nocht possibil to gar extorsione be viht out murmur, *nor murmur to be viht out rumour of the pepil, nor rumour to be viht out diuisione, & diuisione viht out desolatione and sklandyr. therfor my impaciens suld be supportit be cause that the occasione of it hes suppedit my rason. o my desolat mother¹, thou suld nocht reproche al thy thre childir in general, bot rathere to reproche sa mony² in special that ar occasione of thy afflictione. thou vait that ane man vil haue childir of deferent conditionis, sum gude, and sum euil. the patriarch Iacob hed tuelf sonnis, of the quhilk his ȝongest sone beniemyn vas indeole and innocent, and Iosept vas faitful and merciful, and ruben vas pieteabil and humain, and the tothir nyne brethir var cruel and

21 dissaitful, quhen thai condampnit there brother 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.

27 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.

You should not
blame all your
children alike.

There are good
and baile in all
families.

and in all
conditions.

¹ nother

² mouy

³ ro

[* leaf 57 (99), bk]

*balaam vas euil. & amang the vedous, iudicht vas [*leafss (100)]
 gude, and Ihesabel vas euil. amang the pastoires and
 hirdis, abel vas gude, and abimelech vas euil. amang
 the staitis of reche men, Job vas gude, and nabal was
 euil. and amang the religion of the apostolis, Sancte 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 acceptancee of personis, nor puttis
 defferens betuix qualites of conditionis of men. it is
 concludit be al lauis, diuyne and humain, that euere Every person
 person sal bayr his auen birding, and that euere person shall bear his
 sal be commendit or detestit efferand for his conuersa- 12
 tione. therfor thou suld noct condamp innocentis and
 transgressouris baytht to giddir. sic punitione excedis
 the limitis of discretione and of iustice. it is vrytin in
 the 7 cheptor of genesis, that god sauit lotht and his
 famile, be cause of there obediens, quhen he distroyit 17
 the vicius pepil of sodome and gomore. O my velbelouit
 mother, thou knauis that i am innocent of thy inuectiue You know that I
 accusatione, and that my tua cruel brethir ar the cause
 of thy desolatione, & of my destructione. for i am sa
 violently ouerset be them, that throcht pouerte of gudis
 and *t[h]rocht debilitate of my persone, i can nothir do gude [*leafss (100), bk]
 to my frendis, nor euil to my enemes. quharfor i exort 24
 the til altir thy seueir accusatione in ane cheritabil con-
 solatione. there is ane prouerb that sais parce sepulto ; A proverb says
 that is to saye, spair hym that is in his sepulture. this "Spare the
 prouerb maye be applyit to my dolorus fortoun, for i dead;"
 maye be comparit til hym that is dede in his sepulture,
 considerand that ther can be na dolour eikit to my ad-
 uersite, except cruel deith. there for thou suld abstrak
 thy inuectiue reprocha, quhilk is rather crualte nor 32
 correctione, conformand til ane adagia of ane of the
 seuyn sapientis of rome, callit minus publianus, that
 said, crudelis in re aduersa est obiurgatio.
 Allace my deir mother, thou consideris nocth quhou 36

I pass for the youngest brother,
but am in truth the eldest.
that my brethir ar becum onmerciful tirranc touart me.
i am haldyn be the v[u]llgar pepil for there ȝongest
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 police that
vas inuentit be me & my predecessouris estir the crea-
tione of the varld, hes procreat the stait of my brethir.
the faculteis and the begynnnyng of nobillis and

I created their state;
[* leaf 89 (101)] *spiritualite, hed bot pure lauboraris to there predeces-
0 souris. bot nou sen thai ar cum to stait and digniteis

t[h]rocht me, thai ar be cum ingrat, and lychtleis me. my
tua brethir professis them to be gentil men, and reputis
me and al lauberaris to be rustical and inciuile, ondantit,
ignorant, dullit slauis. thai vil nocht consider that al
there gentreis hes procedit and discendit fra me. ther
for quhair thai compt the degreis of there genologie,

17 17 thai suld fyrst begyn at adam oure fair father, and
quhen thai prude them, and aseribis in there reches
faculteis or digniteis, thai suld fyrst begyn at the suc-
cessouris of ouer fair father Adam, quhilkis var lauber-
aris of the grond, and be there prudent inuention and
police, hes procreat the stait that thai posses. therfor

23 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-
ceudlit fra the angellis and archangellis, & nocht fra

30 ouer for father adam, quhilk is the speciale cause that
[* leaf 89/101, bk.] *thai lychtie the lauberaris that fundit them. i meruel
What illustrious men have been of poor origin:
David,
Tarquin the elder, pure lauberar of the grond. tarquinius priscaus the fyift

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

Adam and his
successors we
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,

¹ lanberaris

kyng of¹ rome, vas the sone of ane pure marchant. varro Varro,
 that prudent² consul and dictator of rome, vas the
 sone of ane flaschar. the vailȝeant consul of rome per- 3
 penna, quha reuengit the slauethfir of crassus, vas the Perpenna,
 sone of ane pure greik. marcus cato vas the sone of ane Mareus Cato,
 pure man of tuscan. the philosophour socrates, quhilk Socrates,
 vas iugit to be the maist prudent man in the vniuersal
 varld, vas the sone of ane pure man callit sophonistus,³ 8
 quhilk vas ane grauer of imagis of marbyr stone, and
 his mother vas ane meyd vyf. euripides vas the sone of Euripides,
 ane pure man that sellit frut & cirbis. demostenes that Demosthenes,
 prudent duc of athenes, vas the sone of ane pure mar- 12
 chant that sellit ald knyuis. agathocles kyng of cecille, Agathocles,
 vas the sone of ane pottar that formit clay pottis. marcus
 tulius cicero vas the sone of ane pure lauberar of ar- Cicero.
 pyne. quhar for i meruel of the vanete of my tua
 brethir that ascribis and professis them gentil men be [*leaf 90 (102)]
 successione of ther predecessouris. and thai vil nocth 18
 considir that the stok of the fyrst genologe of al the
 nobillis that hes bene sen the varld began, hes been
 pure lauberaris and mechanik craftis men : therefor it is
 grit abusione to them to gloir in there nobil blude ; for How baseless the
 i trou that gif ane cirurgyen vald drau part of there boast of "blood!"
 blude in ane bassyn, it vald hef na bettir culour nor
 the blude of ane plebien or of ane mechanik craftis man. 25
 the vane gloir that my tua brethir takis in sic vane
 gentilnes, is the cause that thai lichtlye me, t[h]rocht the
 quhilk arrogant mynde that thai hef consauit,⁴ thai
 mysken god and man, quhilk is the occasione that i and
 thou sal neuyr get releif of our afflictione. quharfor i 30
 pray to god to grant them grace to ken them selfis ; for God grant that
 as lang as thai ken nocth them selfis, thai sal neuyr
 ken god, nor ȝit sal hef pitie of pure affligit pepil. the these arrogant
 quhilk misknaulege of themself and of god, sal be occa- ones may have
 sione of there auen ruuyne, bot gif thai correct them 35 grace to know
 themselves!

¹ pf
COMPLAYNT.

² prudent

³ sophonistus

9

⁴ consanit

1 selfis haistylye. O my dolorus mother, this prolix lamentabil complaynt procedis fra ane afflit hart,
 quhar for i exort the to mettigat thy inuectiue vehement accusatione, and to considir the *verite of my innocens. the prudent seneque gyuis cumannid to repreif
 6 vitht out iniure, and to loue vitht out flattery; bot thou passis the limitis¹ of baytht thir documentis, for thy vordis ar verra iniurius, vitht out perspectione to the verite. thou accusis me ouer rigourouslie of conspiracione 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 consause² ane grondit maleis contrar ane prince that hes perpetrat exactionis on the pepil, zit notheles thai hef nothir prudens nor knaulege til conuoye and til exsecut ony point of trason. there for, quhen the committaris of trason ar tryit furtht, it sal be fundyn
 18 that i and al vthir of my faculte sal be clene and innocentis of that foule cryme, be rason that it is nocht possibil that ane pure man can haue oportunitie til exsecut ane traisionabil act contrar ane prince, be cause of sa mony dificil 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 alannerly in the conuoyng * and in the diuising diuerset
 [* leaf 91 (103)]
 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 esfir that it be exseent. therefor i think that ane pure man can commit na
 31 trason contrar ane prince, bot gif that he vald has;ard his lyif in ane disparit vilfulnes; and quhar ony man takis hardynes to commit trason of that sort, it is ryght seyndil sene that he eschapis the deitht in the present
 35 tyme of his exsecutione. ther for i can nocht beleif that

¹ liuitis² cansause³ notht

It is not the
commonalty that
are guilty of
treason.

They have no
opportunity.

ony person vil offir hym self til aне certan detht vil- 1
 fully. for quhoubeit that pausanias sleu philip kyng
 of macedon passand to the tempil quhar he hed aне
 thousand of his men of armis about hym in the presens
 of his sone and of his gude sone, ȝit noththeles that act 5
 culd neyur hef been exsecut, hef nocth been that pau-
 sanias hed familiarite vith kyng philip. and siklyik
 aне spangȝard of aне pure stait strak ferrand kyng of
 spangȝe vith aне knyf on the erag, quhilk vound vas
 nocth mortal ; ȝit noththeles this spangȝard culd nocth 10
 hef dune it, hef nocth been that he hed aне hardy hart,
 and also heffand commodite and tyme oportune to com-
 mit that act. *Siklyik aне preist of turque callit deruis [*leaf 91 (103), bk]
 schot aне bolt befoir the port of tempil contrar basit,
 quhilk vas fathere to solomanus the grit tuk that 15
 ringis nou presentlye. that schot sleu nocth basit, bot
 ȝit the exsecutione of that act culd nocth hef been vitht
 out hardynes and oportunitate. therfor O my desolat
 mother, ve that ar pure lauberaris suld neuir be suspek-
 kit of trason, considerand that ve haue nothir tyme, 20
 oportunitate, reches, credens, hardynes, prudens, nor
 familiarite vith aне prince. therfor, al historiograph-
 ours rehersis that al coniurations hes been exsecut be
 grit personagis of aне realme, or ellis be the familiaris
 seruandis of aне prince. there for ve that ar pure com- 25
 ontis, distitut of credit, prudens, and autorite, and
 nocth heffand familiarite vith the maieste of aне
 prince, ve can hef na comodite of the necessair thingis
 that ar requirit to put aне trasonabil act til exsecutione.
 for quhoubeit that our ignorance vald gar vs consaue 30
 aне malicieus intent contrar our prince, ve behufit fyrst
 to reueil it til diuerse men to gar them be participant
 vitht vs, t[h]roucht the quhilk reuelatione sum of them
 vald aeeuse vs til our prince. for it is nocth possibil *to [*leaf 92 (101)]
 gar thresum keip consel, and speciale in causis of
 trason ; for euere person hes sum frenȝ that he louis as 36

All conspiracies
have been
fomented by the
great.

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 feyrl frende ; and of this sort there
4 intreprieis 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 companson, or to there vyfe, or to there
familiar seruandis ; and alsa indiscretione of sum con-
9 iuratours causis there entreprisis to be discouert be
there seruandis or childir, t[h]rought suspectione and
coniecture that occurris 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 fyrist beuk of
titus liuius, that quhen the sonnis of brutus var mak-
and ane sedicius pactione viith the imbassadours of
17 tarquinus, quhilk there father brutus hed bannest fra
rome, at that tyme ane seruand of the sonnis of brutus
herd al the pactione of the coniuratioun, the quhilk
[*leaf02(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 sonnis, nocht heffand regarde
to the pitie that fathers hes touuart there natural sonnis,
bot rather he did preffer the public veil befor natural
loue, quhen he gart strik the heydis fra his tua ȝong
sonnis. Sum tyme coniuratioun is reuelit throught
27 facilnes of the coniuratours that schaus there secret til
ane woman or til ony frende that thai loue hartfully, as
did ane gentil man callit dinus, quha vas participant
of the coniuratioun that philotes intendit til exsecut
contrar kyng alexander. this foirsaid dinus reuelit his
32 secreat til ane ȝong child that he louit callit nicomacus,
ande nicomacus reuelit that samyn secreat til his brother
ciballinus, and ciballinus reuelit it til kyng alexander,
quhilk vas occasione that the coniuratours suffrit tho
36 deth. Therefor (o my dolorus mothere) thou may con-

How the treason
of the sons of
Brutus was
detected.

[*leaf02(104),bk]

How the plot of
Philotes against
Alexander was
disclosed.

sidir that the defeculte of the comitting of trason is Treason is not
 vondir grit, and the perrel and the dangeir that succeedis easy, even for the
 is na les; quharfor grit men, and also the familiaris of great;
 princis that coniuris, ar affligr in there hart wtht ane 4
 thousand defseculteis or tha tak on hand til exsecute
 there entrepri'ce. than be mair rycht ve that ar poure [*leaf 93 (105).]
 comontis can nothir hef oportunitate nor comodite to virk how impossible
 trason contrar our prince. and quhoubeit that sum for the poor!
 tyme ve resaue iniuris throught exactions that ane euil 9
 gouvernit prince exsecutis on the pepil, zit nochtheles
 ve indure tha exactions patientlye, and exsecutis no trai-
 sonabil vengeance, be cause ve hef nothir knaulage,
 reches nor subtilite to conuoye vs til exsecut sic trason.
 there for, quhen ve commit no traision, our ignorance 14
 deseruis mair louyng nor dois our prudens. the maist The worst we can
 cruel vengeance that pure comontis can exsecut contrar do against a bad
 ane euil prince, is to gar our vyuis & bayrnis pray prince is to cause
 nyght and daye to send ane mischeif on hym, and to our wives and
 send hym schort lyue dais, & to send ane vthir gude 19 children to pray
 prince in his place, conformand to the prayer of sanct against him;
 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 contentit at mair lyntht in the psalme callit 24
 deus laudem; bot ve nor our vyuis and bayrnis dar and that we dare
 neuyr pray appynly to send sic vengeance on ane euil not do openly.
 prince, in drede that sum curtiian alege trason on vs,
 and therrefter to *by our eschet. ther for ve praye for [*leaf 93 (105), bk]
 vengeance quhen ve ly doune at euhn, 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 In company we
 pray deuotly wtht ane fenȝet hart to sauve his grace, and must say
 to keip hym in lang lyue dais and in gude prosperite. fervently "God
 as valerius maximus rehersis ane exemplil quhou there save his Grace!"
 vas aye vyfe of syracuse in cecille quhilk prayt daly in Valerius
 the templ in presens of the pepil to sauve and to keip Maximus,
 li. 2. ca. 6.

1 dionisius the kyng of cecille, quha vas ane prince that committit mony exactions on the pure pepil. the deuotione of this ald vyif vas reportit to¹ kyng dionisius,
 Of the old women
 of Syracuse, who
 prayed for
 Dionysius,

quha euld nocth 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 admiratione 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 princee, i vse nocth sic deuotione to desir ȝour lang lyif dais, bot for ane grit rason as i sal reherse. in the begynnyng quhen i vas ane
 16 ȝong damysel, ȝour gudscheir molestit the pepil witht 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 succeedit his sone quha vas ȝour 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 seeret chalmyr. and nou ȝo succeed to ȝour fatheris heretage and til al his vies, for ȝe commit dayly mair insupportabil exactions nor did ȝour father or ȝour gudscheir, quhar for i pray dayly to
 27 the goddis to send ȝou lang lyif dais; for i vait veil sen that iniquiteis and vies succeedis gre be gre fra princis witht augmentation of the samyn, doutles i suspect that ȝour successour sal be the master deuyl; there for i hed leuyr indure ȝour exactions nor til hef ane var prince in ȝour place. Of this sort (o my dolorus mother) ve that ar comont pepil vsis na vthir trason bot murmuris, and
 34 bannis our prince secretlye quhen he gouernis nocth
 [•leaf 94 (106), bk] veil the real'me witht iustice, and puncissis transgres-

lest his successor
 should be still
 worse.

Our treason does
 not go beyond
 murmurings.

souris. And quhoubeit that thou vald alege that ve 1

can nocht purge vs of trason in sa far as ve hef tane
assurancee 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

we cannot help
ourselves;

resist the inglis men ; for ve that hed our vynis and
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

and the nobles
and clergy won't
help us,

veil knauen that sum of vs vald nocht be assurit, in
hope that my tua brethir nobilis and speritualite vald

hef defendit vs, and til hef resistit our enemeis. bot sie

vane hope that ve hed of my brothers supple hes gart 14

mony of vs be hareyt furtht of house and herberye,
quhilk is occasion that mony of vs ar beggand our meit

as some of us who
have tried, have
found to our
cost.

athourt the cuntry, and there is nocht ane of vs that ar

herey whole inglis men that can get othir tak or steyding,

or kou or ox, fra our tua bredis to help vs in this ex-

[* leaf 95 (107)]

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-

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

but at present we
have no choice,

scotland that vas neuyr assurit. bot nou at this dolorus

tyme ve ar constrenȝet to be assurit, the quhilk assurance

is bot ane dissimulatione, tariand quhil the tyme

virk ane bettir chance. and i think that our dissimila-

our assurance is
no crime.

tione is nothir cryme nor syn, considerand as the bissyn-

nes of the euntry standis presentlye. for ane dissimila-

tione that procedis nocht of ane astuce intent suld be

callit ane hie prudens rathore nor dissymilatione. the 36

The dissimula-
tion of Junius
Brutus

3 dissymilatione of that vailȝeant romane iunius brutus conquest til hym mair reputacione and gloir nor did his
Titus liuius,
Libro i. 3 vailȝeant actis that he committit quhen he bannest the tirran kyngis furth of rome. Titus liuius rehersis that tarquinus superbus the sext kyng of rome vas verra cruel contrar them that var reput vise and prudent, & [*leaf 95 (107), bk] also he perpetrat daly intollerabil exactions *contrar the comont pepil. quhen euyr it vas reportit til hym of ony

Valerius
maximus
li. 7. ea. 3.

9 speciale person that vas reput prudent, he gart put that person in his beuk of proscriptione. quharfor ȝoung iunius brutus, quha vas sistir sone to tarquinus, heffand dredlor to be slane be his oncle, and to tyne his patri-
 monie, he of ane prouidit mynde dissimilit his prudens, & changit his outuart vertuous conditions in actis of
 15 folye lyke ane natrual fule, quhar for it vas beleuit be al the romans that he vas be cum freuetic and glaykit, quhilk vas occasione that tarquinus vald nocth exexecut his crualte contrar hym, be cause he iugit hym to be ane fule. iunius brutus conteneuit in his dissimilatione

saved himself

20 quhil on to the tyme that sextus tarquinus violet be forse the cheist lucrecia, the quhilk vyle act generit ane dispyit and ane rancor vithtin the hartis of the romans. than iunius brutus persauand the commotione of the pepil, he thocht it conuenient tyme to leave his dissimi-

and Rome.

25 latione 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 togidhirl¹ in ane purpose contrar the crualte of *tarquinus superbus. this serment vas veil maid & bettir kepit, for brutus and the vail-

[*leaf 96 (108)]

31 ȝeand 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 exemplis the pure comontis of scotland that hes there vyuis, bayrnis, & there gudis lyand vndir the ingle mennis

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

¹ togidhirl

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 sterke
 aneucht to defend them and there gudis contrar the
 inglis men, in that eace thay ar oblist til haszard there
 lyfis and there gudis to deffend the cuntry, quhoubeit 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
 erualte of ingland, quhil on to the tyme that thai maye 14
 be strynthit be the autorite to cum to resist the *inglis [* lf 96 (108), lk]
 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 fyrist stait; for god knauis veil
 that i am innocent of thy accusacione, and the remeid
 of thy afflictione lyis nocht in my possibilite. 22

till prudence tells
them

that they are
strong enough to
resist the yoke.

Then accuse not
the commons of
treason.

¶ Quhou the assilit lady dame scotia ansuert
 til hyr zongest soun, ande quhou sche re-
 prochit hyr tua eldest sonnis²
 for there nelegens in the defens
 of there comount heil.

CHAP. XVI.

O THOU my zongest soun, callit lauberaristo burgh
 ande land, i vil nocht gyf eyris to thy excusations
 nor to thy purgations, be cause, as cicero vritis in

[* leaf 97 (109)]
 Dame Scotia will
 not listen to
 these excuses.

¹ couisaitis

² sonnie

- Cic. pro
font.*
- The guilty must
not accuse others
of guilt.
- Johannes 8.*
- He that is without sin let him cast the first stone.
- Math. 7.
Luce. 6.*
- Take the rafter out of your own [* If 97 (109, bk) eye, and then the straw out of your neighbour's. People carry their neighbour's faults before their eyes, their own behind their back.
- Persens sa-
tiric. 4.*
- 1 ane orison, that na man suld be admittit to be vytnes in his auen cause. Noluerunt maiores nostri, hanc patere inimicitias viam, vt quem quisque odisset, eum¹ testimonio posset tollere. ementiuntur enim sepe in eos, quos oderunt. norȝit 6 i vil nocth adhere to thy accusations contrar thy tua brethir, be rason that ane gilty man suld accuse no man of eryme, as erist ihesus hes gyffin ane exemplil quhen the pharaseis accusit ane woman that vas tane in 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. erist ansuert to the accusaris sayand, he that is vitht out 14 syn sal east the fyrst stane at hyr. this exemplil makkis manifest that ane accusar suld be cleene but vice. ande also erist ihesus hes said in ane vthir passage to the ypocritis that accusit pure synnaris, quod he, ȝe sal tak furtht ane grit balk furtht of ȝour auen ee, ande there eftir ȝe maye tak furtht ane litil strey furtht of ȝour nychtbours ee. *The poiet confermis this samyn purpos, sayand, that euery man of this varld baris tua sakketis 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 nocth see nor persae his auen vicis, because he seis nocth the sakket that hyngis behynd his bak, bot he seis his nychtbours faltis in the sakket that hingis befor hym, vt nemo in sese tentat discende[re] nemo, sed precedente 31 spectatur mantica tergo. There for (o thou my ȝongest soun) 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

peccata demonstrare possint. Nor ȝit i vil nocht 1

adhere to the accusations that ony ane of ȝou hes contrar vthirs. Thy accusatione is vondir inuectyne contrar thy tua brethir.

the fyifteen inuectyuis philipiues of cicero contrar anthonius, excedis nocht the accusations ande calumniations that thou hes pro*nuncie[n]t contrar them, ȝit nochtheles i discomend there crualte,

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

as hes thy tua brethir, doutles ȝe vald be mair cruel, 12

nor the vyild beystis of the desertis of arabie. the practie of this samyn is presently, ande euer hes been in tymes by past, sen the varld began. for as sune as

ȝe that ar comont pepil ar onbridilit and furtht of subiecione, ȝour ignorance, inconstance, ande inciuilite,

puleis ȝou to perpetrat intollerabil exactions. for al the 18

insurrectionis that euyr occurrit in ony realme contrar the prince & the publie veil, hes procedit of the ignor-

ance & obstinatione of the comount pepil. There for none of ȝou suld haue liberte, bot rather ȝe suld be

daly dantit & haldin in subiecione, be cause that ȝour hartis is ful of maleis, ignorance, variance & inconst-

ance. for the maist part of ȝou al gyffis louyng tyl vicius men, and ȝe hald verteous men abhominabil, and quhen

ȝe ar al conuenit to gydthir for the auansing of ane gude purpose, ȝe cry & ber kis ilk ane contrar vthirs,

that nocht ane of ȝou knauis quhat ane vthir sais. ande quhen ȝe hef flyttyn ande berkit but ryme or rason al the lang daye, ȝe accord nocht nor condiscendis pru-

dently on ane substancial constant purpose, and he that is the maist cummirsun eryar, ande maist obstinat contrar raison, ȝe reput hym for the maist prudent man of

the realme. than quhen he gois, al the leaue rynnys & followis hym, lyik the brutal scheip that vil nocht pas

*Cicero de
diuinatione
vera.*

[* leaf 98 (110.)]

The commonalty
deserve punish-
ment as much as
their betters.

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

They are not fit
for liberty.

24

Their meetings
are scenes of
[* If 98 (110), b:k]
uprear.

They follow the
most blatant
prater, like sheep.

31

36

1 throught the slop of ane dyik for the mannessing of there hyrd, quhil ane of the verst of the flok mak fair gait, than al the leane followis. ande al this procedis of your variance and inconstans. i vait nocht quhiddir ane calme sey in vyntir, or the course of the mune, or ane mysty mornynge in symmyr, or the comont pepil, quhilk of them suld preffer vthirs in varianee. Cicero con-

*They are fickle
in their minds.*

*Cicero pro
domo sua.*

mysty mornynge in symmyr, or the comont pepil, quhilk of them suld preffer vthirs in varianee. Cicero con-

fermis this sammyn purpos, sayand, in imperitia multitudine est varietas, & inconstantia, &

10 crebra tanquam tempestatum, sic sententiarum

Better the conseyl of ten prudent men, than all the wisdom of the commonons.

[* leaf 99 (111)] *Cicero pro
plancio.* 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 mutiplie of countis can pronounce. Cicero confermis this samyn purpose. grauior & validior est decem virorum bonorum prudentia, quam totius multitudinis

17 impericie. 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 fyrist apprehensions. there for gyf the entrepricis of the comont pepil cummis tyl ane gude fine,

23 fortone 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 een. for this cause the ciuil lausis deffendis & forbiddis al monopolies and conuentions of the comont pepil, be cause the maist part of them ar euil² con-

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

*The civil law
forbids all com-
binations of the
common people.*

*They are worse
than brute beasts,*

¹ lonyng

² enil

³ tyl onbeistis

beystly nature nor dois onbridilit co*mount pepil that [^{* If 99 (111), b5]}
 ar dotit viht rason. ve maye see be experiens, that which defend
 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.
 cipient, nullos impetus, nullos casus formi- tuse. 5.
 dent. Bot it is nocht siklyik amang the pepil, for
 euerye man settis his felicite to distroy his nyctbour.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- and eat, drink,
 quiris. nor the mail viht 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 But the people
 selfis to saciat ony sperk of the foul lust, that there are intemperate,
 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- iustful,
 nicatione, adultere, homocide, ande diuerse vthir ex-
 torsions & iniuris contrar there nyctbour, there for unbridled.
 tha *deserue to be reput mair brutal, nor beystis that [^{* leaf 100 (112)]}
 ar brutal of natur. Ande quhou beit that sum of them Some are steady
 applyis them to vertu, quhen thai ar haldin in subiec-
 tion, throucht the quhilk thai be cum industreus in when forced.
 policie ande in conquessing of reches, be marchandreise, 28
 or be mechanyc craftis, or be lauboryng of the corn
 landis, or be seruise,² *ȝ*it nochtheles, as sune as ony of
 them, be sic honest industreus occupations, hes conquerist But when they
 grit reches or heretagis, thai be cum mair ambicius ande rise in the world,
 arrogant nor ony gentil man sperutual or temporal, that they are worse
 ar discendit of the maist nobil barons of the cuntry. than the higher
 ande there childir, distitut of ciuilite, throucht the 35
 classes;

¹ mychtbour² sernise

1 ignorance of there fathers, ande for falt of educatione and eruditione, thai be cum vane, prodig, ande arrogant, be cause thai succeed sa cysilie to reches witht out the suet of there brouis, or pane of there body, nocht heftand regarde to the fyrist pouerte of there predecessours, nor of the cald, hungir, ande punirite that

7 there fathirs and mothers indurit in the conquesing of sic reches. ande gyf sa beis that ony of the successors of mecanyc men (that is to saye the successors 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 princeis,

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

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

31 name, and clamis to be of the blude of nobilis ande gentil men. than quhen thai ar repute be the vulgaris to be discendit of sic genoligie, thai gloir in there pretentit kyn ande blude, quhilk is occasione that there arrogance & there vane gloir garris them commit mair extorsions contrar the pepil nor dois ony vthir tirran

and their chil-
dren are ignorant,
vain, prodigal,
Philistinish.

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

The stone tests
the gold, the
gold the man.

There is nothing
more odious than
a parvenu who
misknows him-
self;

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

[* leaf 101 (113).]
They become the
worst of tyrants.

that ar discendit of the grytest nobilis of the cuntry. 1
 the preist of peblis speris aне questione in ane beuk of the question
 that he compilit, quhy that burges ayris thryuis noct^h of the Priest
 to the thrid ayr: bot he mycht hef sperit as veil, quhy of Peebles,
 that the successors of the vniuersal comont pepil
 bayt^h to burght & land, thryuis noct^h to the thrid 6
 ayr. the solutione of this questione requiris noct^h aне
 allegoric expositione, nor ȝit aне close, be rason that how burghers'
 the text of yis¹ questione is noct^h obscure. aне person heirs thrive not
 that hed neuyr aduersite & hes velt^h that procedit to the third
 neuyr of his auen industrie, & syne hes liberte, and hes 11
 neuer knauen education, eruditioне, nor ciuilite, it is
 onpossibil that he can be verteous, and he that heytis wealth, without
 vertu, sal neuyr² thryue. (O my ȝongest sounе) this culture, only
 answer maye be sufficient to the seueir accusatione that ends in vice.
 thou hes pronuncit contrar thy tua brethir. in tyme to
 cum thou sal fyrst correct thy self or thou accuse thy 17
 nyghtbour.³

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

CHAP. XVII.

O MY eldest sonne (nobilis) this seueir reproche
 contrar thy ȝongest brother, is no occasione to
 gar the gloir, for gyf thou hed grace to ken thy-
 self, thou vald sune persau^e, that thy vicius lyif de-
 seruis aне mair extreme reproche. for the vice of thy 25
 ȝongest brother suld be supportit be rason of his ignor-
 ance ande of his pouerte, bot thou can haue na excusa-
 tione to culour thy mischeuous conuersation, ande the
 violent extorsions that thou daly committis contrar thy
 tua brethyr, lauberaris & clergie. ande also thou art 30

The faults of the
commonalty
must not make
the nobles glory.

¹ read þis, i.e. this² neny^r³ myehtbour

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

Wherein consists nobility.

[* leaf 102 (114)]

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

Of the origin of gentlemen.

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

Habits were simple, and tastes natura .

the special cause of my runyne, for thou ande thy seet that professis ȝou to be nobilis ande gentil men, there is nocht ane sperk of nobilnes nor gentrice amang the maist part of ȝou. Ande nou be cause mony of ȝou ascribis sa grit gloir of ȝour pretendit gentreis ande nobilnes, i vil discriue the stait of nobilnes ande gentilnes, to that effect that ȝe may persauie ȝour grit error.

¶ THE PHILOSOPHORS 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 earl in our scottis langage) manifest the conditions of ane gentil man. siclyik thai gart the discriptione of ane gentil man 14 manifest the condicione 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 seruite. And 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 ȝe may knau, quha is ane vilaine. Bot fyrst i man reherse the stait of the pepil that var in the gude anciant dais, quhilk sum men callit the goldin varld. there vas na defferens of staitis at that tyme amang 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 communitate, ande thai left no thing to there posterite bot regrettis for the alteratione of that gude varld. in thai dais, the pepil eit nor drank nocht bot quhen hungir constrenȝet them, & than there maist delegat refectione vas acquorns, 36 vyild berreis, green frutis, rutis & cibis, ande thai

[* lf 102 (114), bck]

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 complexion, couurit
 them viht the skynnis of tha vyild beystis to keip
 them fra cald. At that tyme ther vas no ceremonial
 reuerens nor stait, quha suld pas befor or behynd,
 furth or in at the dur, nor \exists it quha suld haue the 8
 dignite to vasehe ther handis fyrst in the bassine, nor
 \exists it quha suld sit doune fyrst at the tabil. at that tyme
 the pepil var as reddy to drynk vattir in ther bonet, or
 in the palmis of ther handis, as in ane glas, or in ane
 tasse of siluyr. At that tyme thai lay al to gydthir in 13
 ane cauerne, as dois presently the sophistic egipciens.

thai purgit ther belleis, ande excercit the ver�is of There was no
 nature, ilk ane in vthirs presens viht out schame, re- shame, nor
 proche, or offens. than ane lang tyme there aftir, natu're [* leaf 103 (115.)]
 prouokit them to begyn sum litil police. for sum of

them began to plant treis, sum to dant beystis, sum 19

gadthrid the frutis, ande keptit them quhil on to the

tyme of necessite, ande sum neurist there childdir. at

that tyme the pepil drank nothir vyne nor beir, nor na

vthir confekkit drynkis. at that tyme straynge euntreis They drank no
 wine nor beer,

var noct socht to get spicis, eirbis, drogis, gummis, & nor fetched spicis,
 succur for to mak exquisit electuars to prouoke the herbs, drugs,
 pepil til ane disordinat appetit. At that tyme, there gums, or sugar,
 vas no sumpteous clethyng of fine claytht and of gold from distant
 & silk of diuerse fassons. at that tyme in the begyn- lands to spoil
 nyng of ther police, coppir, bras, and yrn and vthir their appetites.

mettellis var meltit to mak vtensel veschel neecessair to The metals were
 serue ane houshald, and var noct meltit to be gunnis used for domestic
 ande cannons to sla doune the pepil. Ande nou sen utensils,

that goldin varld is past, ther hes succedit ane yrn not for cannons
 varld, quhilk hes altrit euerye gude thing in infelicitie 34 and guns.

and myscheif, for meiknes is changit in maleis, trauail The Iron age
 in ydilnes, rest in excessse, pace in veyr, eyse in pane, reigns now.

- 1 loue in hatrent, cherite in erualte, justice in extorsions,
 almis in thyft, kyndnes in persecutione, supporting of
 ignorance in detractione, pitie in rigor, ande faytht in
 [* If 103 (115), bk] Everything is
perverted.
 *hypocracie, and sa euyrie thing is altrit fra ane gude
 stait in ane abhominabil qualite. The cause of this
 6 alteratione hes procedit fra the euyl conditions of men
 that began tyl oppresse there nyghtbours.¹ ande til
 eschaip sic oppressione, the pepil chesit ane certan of
 gouernours of the maist robust & maist prudent to be
 there deffendours, ande also thai randrit them tributaris
 ande subiectis to there said gouernours & there gou-
 12 uernours gat for ther panis and laubyr, the butin and
 spulȝe that thai conqueist fra the tirran oppressours.
 Thai gouernours var sa nobil in there auen curage,
 that thai distribut the maist part of the butine ande
 spulȝe amang the pepil that hed vsit them maist
 vailȝeantly contrar there enemeis, ande thai that var
 18 lasche couuardis gat nothing. Of this sort began the
 fyrst nobilnes ande gentreis in the varld, for thai that
 Thus began nobility. var vailȝeant, thai var reput for nobilis ande gentil
 men, ande thai that var vicius & couuardis, var reput
 So it was among the Cartha-
 ginians, for vilainis ande carlis. The chartagiens vsit that
 sammyn fassoune ane lang tyme, for thai gane to the
 soudours that bure them maist vailȝeantly contrar there
 [* leaf 104 (116).] enemeis, ane certan of gold ringis, for ane takyn of
 the Romans, perpetual nobilit. Siklyik euyrie vailȝeant roman
 27 soudour vas crounit viht ane croune on his hede in
 the Macedonians, takyn of nobilit. The macedoniens vsit that sammyn
 vse ane lang tyme; ande quhen ane macedonien hed
 nocht venqueist ane of his enemeis, he vas bundin til
 ane post, ande degradit fra his nobilit. in ald tymis
 in germanye, ane alman vas ay repute for ane villain
 quhil on to the tyme that he vas mareit. and he gat
 neuyr lecens to marye quhil on to the tyme that he hed
 35 presentit the hede of ane of his enemeis to the kyng of

the ancient
Germans,

¹ myghtbours

germanye. Siklyik in sythia at ane banket of tryumph, the kyng presentit ane goldin tasse ful of vyne to the companye at the tabil. bot none 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 vailȝeant act contrar his enemeis, vas reput for ane inciuile villaine. Mardocheus¹ conqueist the gre of nobilitē fra artaxerxes throught his vertu, ande Ioseph² vas maid ane gentil man be pharaon for his vertu. Than the successors of thir nobil men var 10 repute for gentil men as lang as thai vsit verteous ver�is of nobilitē, as did *there predecessours. Bot fra [*_leaf 104 (116), bk] tyme that the successors of thir nobil men be cam vicius, than tha var degradit fra there nobilitē ande fra there gentreis, and thai var repute for inciuile vilaynis. 15

Valerius maximus rehersis the nobilitē of scipio the african, quha hed ane soun that vas nothir vailȝeant nor verteous.³ on ane daye, he beaud clethid in ane lang quhyt goune as the vse vas to be borne at the distributione of the officis of rome, he desirit the office of pretoir at the senat, on ane place callit campus martius. 21

At that tyme, his frendis cam til hym, & but reuerens thai reft fra hym ane signet of gold that vas on his fingare, vitht in the quhilk vas grauit his fathers hede, sayand til hym, o imperfect ande vicius contrafait gentil man, thou deseruis nocth to veyr this nobil signet, vitht in the quhilk is grauit thy fathers hede, considerand that thou hes nothir vertu nor vailȝeantnes ; there for ve degraid the fra the nobilitē ande gentreis, that thou pretendit to succeedit to, be the deceisse of thy fathere. This exemplil of scipio makkis manifest, that na man can mereit or can be capabil of nobilnes or gentreis bot gyf tha be verteous. There for that stait of gentreis is ane accidental qualite, in sa far as it may cum til ane personoune be his vertu, ande he maye be 35

and the
Scythians.

So Mordecai and
Joseph were
ennobled.

*Valerius
maximus,
Li. 3. ca. 5.
Of the degenerate
son of Scipio
Africanus.*

True nobility
not hereditary.

¹ Mardochens

² Ioseph

³ verteons

[*_leaf 105 (117)]

The true use of
Armorial
bearings.

degradit fra it for his vice. (O my eldest soun nobilis
and gentil men) the armys that \ge e bair in \ge our scheildis

and in \ge our seylis in \ge our signetis, and also is payntit
on \ge our vallis, & in \ge our glasyn vindois, thai var gyuyn

5 to \ge our predecessours be the prince for ane takyn of
nobilnes, for the nobil actis that thay hed dune for the

comont veil of the realme, & \ge e that ar there succes-
sours \ge e bayr the samyn armis for ane takyn that \ge e ar

obleist to follow the futsteppis of \ge our predecessours in
10 vertu, or ellis \ge e merit to be degradit fra the armis that

\ge e bair, & fra the gentreis that \ge e professe, as vas dune
tyl \ge ong scipio befor rehersit. There is dinerse princis

that gyffis the tryumphe of knyghted and nobilit, vitht
leuerairis, armis ande heretage¹ to them that hes com-

mittit vailȝeant actis in the veyris, siklyik as the
16 empriour makkis the ordur of knychthed of the fleise,

the kyng of France makkis the ordour of the cokkil,
the kyng of Ingland makkis the ordour of knychthede

of the gartan. None of thir knychtis resauis thir hie
digniteis, throught aне affectyue² loue that there prince

[* If 105 (117), bk] hez touart them, bot rathere for the vailȝeant actis that
there prince hez knauen them til hauie committit for

*Valerius
maximus
in the cheptor
of tryumph.* ther public veil. The romans in the anciant dais
ordand aне tryumphe of nobilit to be gyffin to them

25 that hed borne them maist vailȝeantly contrar the
enemeis of rome. The ordour of there tryumphe vas

of this sort. quhen ony romane hed dune aне vailȝeant
act, he vas set in ane charriot veil acoutreit, quhilk vas

drauen vitht foure horse, be cause in the anciant dais

30 the romans vsit to fecht in battel in charriotis. Than
he that hed venquist his enemye be straikis ande

strang battel, he vas crounit vitht aне palme of gold,
be rason that the palme tre hez schearp broddis and

pikis. And he that hed venquist his enemye be
35 practik of veyr, ande slen and tuke his enemeis fleand

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

crowning them
with palm,

1 hertetage
2 affectyue

fra the battel vitht out hurt til hym, he vas crounit 1
 vitht ane eroune of laure tre, be cause the laure tre hes or with laurel,
 no secharp 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 enemicis
 are venquest vitht out damage to the venquesair. 6
 quhen thir romans entrit in rome to *resaue there [* leat 106 (11S)]
 tryumphe for ther vailȝeant 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 resaue there 11
 tryumphe of dignite, as tha hed deseruit. Bot allace
 (o ȝe my eldest sone nobilis ande gentil men) there is None of the
 nocht mony of ȝou that meritis to veyr the ensenȝe of Scottish nobles
 the fleise, of the cokkil, nor of the gartan, nor ȝit there
 deserve any such
 ensigns or
 honours.
 is nocht mony of ȝou that meritis to be borne in ane
 charriot to resaue the tryumphe of the palme tre nor of 17
 the laure tre ; for ȝour imbecilite, auereis, ande conten-
 tione that ringis amang ȝou, rather deseruis degrading
 fra ȝour pretendit gentreis, nor ȝe deserue¹ louyng or
 commendation for vertu. There for ȝe ar in grit error
 quhen ȝe professe ȝou to be gentil men, & syne com- 22
 mittis no actis efferand for ȝour professione ; bot vald
 ȝe considir the origine of ȝour gentreis, than ȝe vald
 nocht be sa arrogant as to desire the gloir and the stait They are
 of ane dignite that ȝe deserue nocht. There is mony unworthy of
 of ȝou that professis to be gentil men be successione of
 ȝour predecessours, bot ȝe considir nocht that 'the gre [* lf 106 (11S), 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 successors of verteous men. An verteuous
 man beand discendit of ane verteuous genoligie, doutles
 he is ane ryeht gentil man. and in opposit, ane viceius
 man beand discendit of verteuous genoligie, he suld be 35
 It is better to be
 virtuous one's
 self than draw
 one's lineage from
 the virtuous.

¹ deserue

- 1 reput mair vile and odius nor ony infamous vilaine
 plebien: ande also thai suld be degradit fra there
 gentreis¹ that thai haue aseribit 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 nocth maculat vitht the vice ande inciuilite 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 verteuos³ conuersatione, nor to be the sone of the vailȝeant
 achilles, i beand vicius. The philosophour plutarque
 [• leaf 107 (119)] rehersis, that iphierates vas ane pure mecanyk craftis
 man discendit of inciul plebiens, zit nochtheles throucht
 17 his vertu he vas elect to be kyng of the euntry. there
 vas ane vicius gentil man at that tyme callit hermodius,
 quha reprochit iphierates, sayand, o iphierates, it efferis
 nocth for thy stait & faulente to be ane kyng, be rason
 that thy father vas ane mecanye tailȝour discendit of
 inciule pure pepil; there for thou art nocth ane gentil
 22 man. iphierates ansuert, o hermodius, throucht my
 vertu my successours sal be reput gentil men, and sa
 my gentreis begynnis at myself; bot thou ande thy
 gentreis sal end to gylthir, & thy successours sal be
 reput for vilaynis, be cause of thy vicius conuersatione.
 This exempl makis manifest, that ane person may
 29 succeid to heretage and to mouabil gudis of his prede-
 cessours, bot no man can succeid to gentreis nor to
 vertu; for vertu⁴ & gentreis most proecid fra the spreit
 of hym self, and nocth fra his predecessours. iuuenal
 the poiet rehersis, that bucephalus the grit horse of
 alexander hed mony comodius propreteis, for as sune
 35 as he sau alexander, he knelit ande maid hym reuer-

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

[• leaf 107 (119)]

The answer of
 Iphierates to
 Hermodius.

The contrast be-
 tween Bucephalus

¹ gantreis

² apposit

³ verteuons

⁴ vertie

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

and another
horse from the
same sire and
dame.

This exempl 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
 the tother beand vicius, suld be estemeit and treittit 19
 lyik ane barbir inciuil vilaine. There hes been dinersome Some gentlemen
 gentil men that thynkis schame that there fathers and are ashamed that
 mothers, gudschers and grandscheirs, hes bene mechanye
 plebiens.³ Bot sie vane gentil men takkis nocht ex- their ancestors
 empil of agathocles the kyng of eecile, quha vas the were plebeians ;
 sone of ane pottar that formit clay pottis ; zit nochtheles [* leaf 108 (120)]
 quhen he vas elect in dignite royal, he gart gold smythis 26
 graue ane pot in his armys on euerye pece of his siluyr
 veschel, and also he gart paynt the vallis of his palleis
 vitht pottis, the quhilke thing he did to manifest to the
 pepil that he thocht no schame that his father hed who boasted that
 been ane mecanye craftis man discendit 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 reches. iuuenal, Satiric. 7.
 confirmis this samyn purpos, nobilitas sola est animum
 que moribus ornat ; and the vordis of ouid ar con- 35

¹ reuertens

² manerir

³ mechanyt blebiens

⁴ innenal

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

How vain the
boast of high
ancestry!

*Boiecius de
consolatione
philosophic.
li. 3.*

The longest line
begins in mud
and clay.

[* lf 108 / 120], bk
Ecclesiastic. 10.9.

Genesis 18. 27.

Ecclesiastic. 17.
32.

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

The dust makes
no respect of
persons.

[* leaf 109 (121)]

There for it is grit arrogance, and na les folie,
quhen ony person gloris in his hie genoligie, consider-
and that euyre person is discendit of ane origyne, 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 fyrist
origyne, he sal fynd that al man kynd ar creat of mud
and clay, as is vritin in the sycond cheptour of genesis,

14 Formauit igitur hominem de limo terre. ande
Ecclesiastic. 10.9. 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 \exists e becum predeful & takkis gloir in this varld, con-
siderand that \exists e ar bot eird ande puldir? it is vrityn
on the 18 cheptour of genesis, loquar ad dominum
cum sim puluis & cinis¹. that is to say, i sal speik

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

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

27 that fra tym 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
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
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 How Crœsus told Cyrus
 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 aseribis grite gloir for the
 vailȝeant actis that thou hes committit for the public
 veil of perse ande meid, ȝit nochtheles thy father that he did not come up to his father Cambyses in valour.
 cambises¹ did mair vailȝeant actis in his tyme nor thou
 hes dune. kyng cesus 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, Cyrus was displeased,
 nobil prince, gyf thy nobil grace vil gyf me lecens to
 rason the mater, thou sal sune persaue that i said no- 15
 thing tyl offend the, bot rathere til augment thy gloir.
 i said that thy grace hed nocht dune sic ane vailȝeant but Crœsus ingeniously explained away his remark.
 act as thy fathere cambises did in his tyme, for he did
 ane nobil act quhen he engeneret the on thy mothere
 to gouerne this realme eftir his deceisse, bot thou hes 20
 nocht dune sic ane nobil act as *to genner ane nobil [* If 109 (121), bk]
 prince lyik thy self to gouerne the realme quhen thou
 art dede.

Quhen kyng cirus herd the subtil diseymilit pleisant 24
 interpretatione of cresus vordis, he smylit and leuch,
 and changit his collar in glaydnes. bot ȝit kyng cirus
 exortit cresus familiarye tyl expone the iust verite of
 his vordis. Cresus ansuert, nobil prince, sen thou hes
 coniurit me sa extremly to declair the verite, doutles i
 sal hald no thing obscure, quhou be it thou gar me 30
 suffer the eruel deith. the occasione of my vordis pro-
 cedit, be cause i iuge that thou art nocht sa quyk
 spretit, sa prudent nor sa nobil as vas thy fathere cam-
 bises, ande to conclude, thon hes nocht sic ane hede as
 he had in al his byssynes. kyng cirus ansuert, i sal

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

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

¹ cambises

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 deth pepil furth of there sepulture, and keist ouer euyrye bane, ande contemplit euyry hardyn pan, ane be ane. than cressus & vthir gentil men meruelit

6 nocth litil of his consait, sayand, ve exort the, nobil
 cyrus tried to
 discern his
 father's skull from
 the others in the
 [* leaf 110 (122.)]
 family vault,
 but all were alike,

prince, to tel thy intentione of that byssynes. Cirus ansuert, o cressus, thou said, nocth lang syne, that my hede vas nocth *to be comparit to my fathers hede ; there for i am leukand gyf i can fynd my fathers hardyn pan amang thir dede mennis banis, bot i can nocth 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 persaue that al

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

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

Sapien. 7.
 Wisdom of Solomon 7. 1-5.
 [* lf 110 (122.) lk]

27 enim ex regibus aliud habuit nativitatis initium. 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 remedie ande salutair medycyn to repreme and distroye the

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

The root of all
 nobility is in
 Adam.

succeedit fra adam. ande quhen ve entrit in this mortal 1
lyif ve var naikyt and vepand, and quhen ve depart ve
sal be vile and abhominabil, ande ve sal earye no thing
furht of this varld bot the couple of our synnis, or the
meritis of our vertu.

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

¶ O my eldest soun, nobilis & gentil men, quhy 6
vil þe nocth considir thir vordis befor rehersit? quhilk
vordis suld be occasione to gar þou mortife þour vane
consait of þour pretendit gentreis. þe professe þou to be
gentil men, bot þour verkis testifeis that þe ar bot inciuile
vilainis. þe vald be reput & callit vertuous and
honest, quhou be it that þe did neuyr ane honest act; 12
and þe reput vthir men for vilanis, that did neuyr ane
vilaine act. it aperis that quhen þour nobil predeces-
sours decessit, thai tuke ther vertu and gentreis with
them to ther sepulture, and thai left na thing witht þou
bot the stile of there gentreis. the *vordis of the holy [*leaf 111 (123)] 18
man Iob maye be veil applyit to this samyn purpos
quhen he said, mortui sunt nobiles, & innobiles
sunt filij eorum. quod he, al nobil men ar decessit,
& ther sonnis ande successours ar bot vilanis. the vordis
of Iob ar ouer manifest in our cuntry, for i see no thing
amang gentil men bot vice. for honestee is maculat, The vices of the
nobles.
ignorance is prisit, prudens is scornit, chesitie 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, nocth alanelry 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 What they spend
on horses and
dogs.
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 vyse & bayrnis. The poietis fenȝeis that 35

¹ eommit

Diomedes was
devoured by his
horses,

and Acteon by
his dogs.

[* If 111 (123), bk]

the grecian dyameid hed horse that eit men, & also thai hef fenȝet 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 poietis fenȝeis 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 nocth trans-
formit in ane hart, nor ȝit his doggis sleu hym nocth.
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 her-
itage til entretene his vane plescir, & ther eftir he fel in
pouerte. ther for the poietis fenȝeis that his doggis dis-
troyit hym. alace ther is ouer mony horse in scotland
lyik dyamedis horse that eitis the pure pepil, and there
is ouer mony doggis in scotland that virreis there
23 master as acteon vas virreit. i repreif nocth gentil men
for the halding of horse & doggis ; for horse ar neces-
sair, and doggis ar for recreatione. bot i repreif the ouer
[* leaf 112 (121)] 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 rehersis,
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 exerceis 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.

¶ O ze my eldest soun, nobilis and gentil men, i 1
 exort ȝou to correct ȝour selfis of the artiklis of this ac-
 cusatione, and also that ze adhewe til al verteous byssy-
 nes, and that ze accord and agre vithit ȝour tua brethir
 lauberaris ande clergie, to that effect that ze may releif
 me of my afflictione. for doutles gyf that discentione 6
 ande rancour remanis amang ȝou, in schort dais ȝour ald
 enemeis sal occupie ȝour heretagis and duelling placis, &
 the posterite of ȝour generatione sal be put furtht of re-
 memorance. Nou i vil saye ane familiar reproche, be the
 vay of correctione to my sycond soun, callit speru- 11
 alite, to that effect, *to gar ȝou al thre brethir concur to [*If 112 (124), b4]
 gyddir on ane substancial constant gude purpos, for the
 deffens of ȝour nativie cuntr^e!¹

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

¶ Quhou the afflit² lady Dame scotia repre-
 uis hir sycond soun, callit sperutualite³.

CHAP. XIX.

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

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

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

but priests sin against light.

¹ cuntr^e ² afflit^t ³ sperualite ⁴ deseruie ⁵ demerritis ⁶ chere

1 dотis 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 syeond sounē,
 this autorite that god hes gyuyn to the, is vondir grit.

God has given the
clergy many
talents;

ther for sen god hes dotit thy faculte in maist honorabil
 dignite and autorite, abufe the stait of thy tua brethir,
 nocht alanelry in the knaulege of diuynē 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

let them be
solicitous to use
them;

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 suлd supreme ther ignorant 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 ruuyne.

[*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 lasȝar nor oportunitate to
 27 remede thy abusion.

and reform their
own negligence,

Let them correct
their long-standing
abuses.

And fyrst, to begyn, thou suлd set al thy felicite, to
 correct thy self of thy lang abusione, that is to say,
 thou suлd gyf gul exemplil in thy conuersatione, con-
 formand to thy professione and to thy doctryny, to that
 effect that the pure pepil may follow thy futsteppis, as

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

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

euyl exemplil, suld be mair realye puneist, nor the pepil
suld be that contemnis and disobeys ther autorite. it
is vritin in the brasyn tablis of the antiant laus of
rome, that there vas mair rigorun punitione exsecutit on

An evil example
more culpable
than disobed-
ience.

4
ane man of autorite that gef euyl exemplil, nor vas ex-
secutit on murdresaris and tratours. Romulus the fyrst
kyng of rome, institut ane lau amang the ytaliens, that
transgressours suld be puneist mercyfullly efferand for

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

the qualite of ther crymis ; and also he statut, that

9
[* leaf 114 (126)]

quhen men of autorite and dignite committit thai samyn

crymis, tha var led and con'uoit dishonestly to the

plane marcat befor the capitol, quhar thay resuit

doubil punitione, be cause the euyl. exemplil of ther

maluersatione prouokyt the pepil til adhere to vice, &

14

to detest vertu. Hermes the philosophour said, that

the error & the euyl exemplil of ane man of autorite

maye be comparit til ane onexpert master of ane schip,

quhilk, throught his misgouvernance, is occasione that

the schip perescis, and tynis noct hyn self alanelry,

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 exemplil in ther con-
uersation, to that effect that the ingorant pepil may

folou ther futsteppis. The philosophour plutarque re-
hersis ane exemplil of the partan, quhilk repreuit ane of

hyr ȝong partans, be cause the ȝong partan vald noct

gang euyn furtht, bot rather sche ȝeid erukit, bakuart,

27

and on syd. than the ȝong partan ansuert, quod sche,

mother, i can noct gang of my auen natur as thou

biddis me, bot nochtheles, vald thou gang furtht rycht

befor me, than i sal leyrn to folou thy futsteppis. This

exemplil tendis, that the discipil followis the conuersa-
tion of his preceptor, rather nor he *followis his

doctrine. allace o my sune sper[if]ualite, the abusion of

thy office is the cause of the discentione that is betuix

the and the temporal stait, for ȝe tua ar lyike cattis and

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

The fable of the
crab and her
young ones,

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

The clergy and
temporal rulers
live like cats and
dogs.

- There is none to better another, for there is none good to start with.**
- Your abuses and maladministration are the special cause of the great schism in Christendom.**
- [* leaf 115 (127)]
The sects have their roots in Germany, Denmark, and England, but are widely diffused.
- The schism will never be healed by persecution or burning.
- Till the spirituality amend themselves.
- 1 doggis berkkand on vthirs, ther for ther is nocht ane of ȝou bettir nor ane vthir. for that cause the gramariaris can fynd na greis of comparaison in ȝour gudnes, for that terme¹, bettir, is of the comparatyue gree, and that terme gude, is of the positive gree, the quhilke positive gree is nocht in mony of ȝou conformand tyl ane reul of the lau. L. cum furti. ff. de condi. furti. the quhilke reul sais, comparatiuus presupponit posituum. Quhar for i exort the (o my veil belonit sone speritualite) to correct thy maluersatione. for quhen the pepil disobeyis thy gude doctryne throught the euyl exemplil of thy maluersatione, thou sal be mair doublil puneist
 - 8 13 nor tha sal be for the disobedientiess of thy gude doctryne, be rason that god hes gyffin to the, baytht knaulage and autorite to gouerne ther ignorance. doutles thy abusione, and the sinister ministratioun of thy office, is the special cause of the scisma and of diuers sectis that trublis al cristianite. & quhou beit that the rute of thir scismes and sectis be *in germane, denmark and ingland, ȝit 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 28 35 ane part of the temporal patrimonye of the kyrk, be cause of the abusione and euyl exemplil of the kyrk men. And this plag and scisma sal neuyr be reformat for na statutis, lauis, punitions, bannressing, byrnyng, hayrschip, nor torment that can be deuisit, quhil on to the tyme that the speritualite reforme ther auen abusion. ther for, gyf the speritualite var as solist to reforme and to correct ther auen maluersatione as tha ar solist to puncise them that detrakkis & murmeris ther obstinat abusione, than for certan the gude exemplil of ther gude conuersatione vald extinct and supedeit mair haistyar al pernurst opinions & scismas nor al the punitione that al cristianite can execut. The punitione that the

¹ terme

sperutualite remanent in ther abusione exsecutis on
 scismatikis, maye be comparit til ane man that castis
 vlye on ane heyt birnand fyir, in hope til extinet 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, [*if 115 (127), bk]
 brynt, or bannest for the halding of perue[r]st opinions,
 incontinent ther rysis up thre in his place ; ther for sie
 punitione maye be comparit tyl ane serpent callit
 hydra, quhilk hed seuyn heydis. The poietis rehersis, 10
 that quhen this said serpent vas assailȝet 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 grounen on hyr as
 of befor, and of this sort sche did grit domage baytht
 to man and beyst, quhil on to the tyme that nobil
 Hercules venqueist hyr ; than he straik al byr seuyn 17
 heydis fra hyr. fra that tyme furtht sche lyuit neuyr
 agane. this exemplil tendis, that the seisma that ringis
 in this varld sal neuyr be extinct for na punitione that
 can be exsecurit, bot gyf al the heydis of the vniuersal
 cristianite be strikkyn fra them, or ellis bot gyf the
 ministers reforme & correct ther auen abusione.
The schism will
only be "stamped
out" by a
universal
massacre, or
cured by a self-
reform of the
clergy.

Quhar for (o my sone speritualite) i exort the that 24
 thou cause al thy membris concur to gyddir to mak
 reformatione of the sklanderous abusione that ringis
 amang them, ande ther efir thou sal treit vnite and
 concord be'tuix the uniuersal leigis of scotland be the
 maist familiar ande cheritabil vaye that thy ingyne 29
 can inuent or ymagyn, to that effect that ȝe my thre
 sonnis, nobilis, clergie, & lauberaris, may pas in ane
 faythal accord to resist the cruel innasions of ȝour dis-
 saitful and ineredule ald enemeis. Thou hes mair occa-
 sione and mystir to be vigiland in the deffens of the
 liberte of thy faulte, nor hes thy tua brethir ; for gyf
 the kyng of england prospir in his oniust veyris, and 36
Let them then
unite to reform
their scandalous
abuses,
[*leaf 116 (128)]
and thereafter
try to promote
national unity.
The clergy have
more cause to
fear the influence
of England than
the laity.

1 conquesisis our realme, doultes 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 gracie that kyng henry the eycht
 gaeue to the sperutualite of england, that is to saye, in
 the fyrist he tuke the patrimone & the temporal landis of

8 the kyrkis of england, & anext ane part of them to the
 proprie of his croune, & ane vthir part he distribut
 amang ane certan of grit personagis of his realme,
 quhilkis adherit til his tirran opinion, & synce he chesit
 furth¹ ane certan of the hiest genologie of england that

13 hed bene promouit to cathidral² digniteis, and til vthir
 [¶ lf 116 (128), bk] sperut[u]al be'neficiis, quhome he gart his flaschar lay
 ther craggis on ane stok and gart heyle them, and synce
 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, bayt[er] regular and religiouse preistis,
 monkis and freris, to pas to leym mecanye hand
 laubyrs, sum to be eordinaris, sum to be tailours, sum
 to be marynalis, and sa to proceid to diuerse vthir
 craftis; and thai that var obstinat and disobedient tyl his
 24 cruel statutis he gart bannes ane part of them, and presone
 the bodeis of ane vthir part in perpetual captiuite.

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

There for (o thou my sycond sone sper[it]ualite) thou
 may belene surly that the kyng³ of england vil be na
 mair gracius, curtas nor merciful to the, quhome he
 reputis for his mortal eneme, nor he hes bene to the
 30 sperutualite of england, quha vas his faythful natyne
 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 consanguinitate, bot rather he vsit his mercyles crualte con-
 35 trar them, to that effect that his auarieus affectione

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 [* leaf 116 bis (129)]
be saciat. O ȝe sperutualite of scotland, ȝe hef grit 2
cause to tak exempl be ȝour nychehtbours, and nocht be
ȝour selfis, conformand to thir tua versis ; felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum. easus de-
mentis correctio fit sapientis. Al this veil con-
sidrit¹, suld be an animaduertens to gar ȝou be vigilant 7
and delegend to keip and to deffend the liberte of ȝour
faculte, the quhilk sal neuyr be veil keptit nor deffendit,
bot gyf ȝe put ȝour handis to werk, that is to saye, that sa mony of ȝou that ar defensabil men sal pas in propir person in battel vitht my lord gouernour and vitht the nobil lordis and barrons of scotland contrar the eruel inuasions of ȝour ald enemeis of ingland. There 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 ȝour faculte and liberte, or ellis to be tormentit in captiuite be ȝour ald enemeis, ȝe suld cheis the smallest of thir tua euyllis, conformand to the vordis of cicero that he vrit ad quintum fratrem, sayand, in duobis malis 20
fugiendum maius, leuius est elegendum. for it is les domage and dishonour to fecht in fayr battel for the deffens of ȝour liberte, *nor to be tormentit in ane miserabil captiuite. Quhar for i exort ȝou that ȝe change ȝour sperutual habitis, bayth coulis and syde gounis, in steil iakkis and in cotis of mailȝe, to deffend ȝour bodeis fra the erualte of ȝour enemeis ; and thai that ar agit and nocht abil for the veyr, thai heffand patrimone and beneficis, thai suld furneis pure preistis, 29
monkis and freris, vith al necessair thingis conuenient for the veyris. And than quhen the veyris ar endlit, thai maye cleilith them agane vitht there spirutual habit, conformand to ther professione. And name of the sperutualite suld be scripulus in this byssynes, considerand that goddis lau, the lau of natur, positie lau, 35

The wise take warning from the dangers of others.

Such of the clergy as are able-bodied, ought to serve personally in war.

It is the less of two evils.

[* leaf 116 bis (129), back]
Let them exchange their cowls and long robes for steel jacks and coats of mail.

¹ couisdrit

1 ciuil and cannon lau, hes condiscendit in ane purpes

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

Why should priests urge exemption?

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

The canon law says,

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

also against Saracens.

Englishmen more Saracens than Christians.

Wars undertaken against the excommunicated and infidels are [^{* lf 117. 130., bk]} meritorious.

The English are excommunicated for

that¹ al staitis and faculteis, viht out ony acceptione of persons, ar oblist to pas in battel for the deffens of ther publice veil, and of ther natvie euntre. Than quhy suld preistis or freris allege exemptions, sayand that there professione oblicis them to sing and say, to preche and

7 praye, and nocth to fecht in battel. allace sic exemptions suld be repellit and adnullit, considerand that the contrarie of ther allegiance is of verite. The bibil is ane real probatione, that kyng dauid that royal prophete vas ane preist, moises vas ane preist, aaron vas ane preist, ande al the prophetis of Israel var preistis; ȝit nochtheles thay var ay fyrist 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 serupulus consciens viht sum cheptours of the canon lau. in the fyrist, it is vrityn in the xxij distinctione in the feyrd questione

20 in the cheptour Si non, as efir followis, sicut antiquitus ducibus concessum fuit bellare: sie & modernis, dummodo non bellent desiderio fundenti sanguinem: sed rem publicam ampliando. it is vrityn in the xxiii distinctione in the viii questione as efir followis. Saraceni bellantes contra cristianos, iuste a cristianis impug-

27 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 distinctione in the fyifte question, bella sumpta contra excommunicatos & infideles meritoria sunt. i reffer the expositione of this text to be iugit be al cristin princis, quhiddir that inglis men be excommunicat and denuncit goddis rebellis be al lauis for ther infidilit,

¹ thac

² sateiffe

³ bo

⁴ this

incerudilite, crualte, tirranrye, sacreleige, & for the
vsurpatione of vthir princis dominions vitht out ony
occasione or iust tilil. 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 lecens of the pape. i vald thir ignorant preistis
vald reid ane cheptour of the canon lau in the xxiii 7
distinctione in the viii questione, callit, an episcopo
liceat ad bellum proficisci sine licentia pape.
i exort ȝou, my sone sper[it]ualite, to put al ceremonial
scrupulnes furtht of ȝour hartis, & that ȝe pas in propir
person contrar ȝour ald enemeis; & than doutles ȝour
faulfe sal nocht be spulȝeit¹ fra the liberte that it
possessis.

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

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

This is no time
for ceremonial
scruples.

14

¶ Quhou the afflit lady dame scotia makis
ane exhortatione til hyr thre sonis, quhilk is
the conclusione of this buik.

CHAP. XX.

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

[*leaf 126 (131)]
Intestine strife
has injured
Scotland
more than the
arms of England
have done.

¹ spulȝelt

² pericularly

1 on the ruuyne of ȝour prosperite, and on the demolitione of ȝour comont veil? ȝour conditions & conuersations is mair lyik til barbarien pepil, nor it is to eristyn pepil. ȝe lament hauyly the cruel veyrs, and ȝe cry & desyris pace at god, ȝe heffand rancor in ȝour hartis contrar ȝour nyghtbours. ȝe desire mercy at god, ȝe heffand ane drauen sourd in ȝour hand to slay ane innocent. ȝe vald be louit vith al men, and ȝe hef na cherite to na man. Quhy suld god delyuyr ȝou fra ȝour enemeis? sen that ȝe ar mortal enemeis to ȝour selfis, ȝour honour is tynt; sen that ȝour vailȝantnes
 [* lf 126 (131), b1c]

Ye are more like barbarians than Christians.

Ye are become pensioners of your enemies.

Math. 12.
Luce. 11.

The wars that ruined Rome.

Justin.
Lib. 1.

Frontier Wars.
 [* leaf 127 (132)]

11 is changit in berkyng on vthirs lyik cattis and *doggis, ȝe hef left the protectione of ȝour comont salut, and ȝe ar be cum sodiours & pensionaris to ȝour enemeis, and also ȝe ar be cum enemeis to ȝour auen veifair and prosperite. allace, vald ȝe considir the grit ruuyne & perditione that hes cum on diuerse realmis throught the 18 discentione and diuisione that rang amang the pepil. than i beleue that ȝe vald treit pace in ȝour consciens, and cherite to ȝour nyghtbours. the holy scriptour confermis this samyn purpos, quhar crist Iesus said, Omne regnum in se diuisum desolabitur: al realmis that ar diuidit vithin them selfis be discentione and contentione, sal be left desolat. there for (o 25 ȝe my thre sonnis) it is na meruel that ȝour euntre cum to ruuyne and desolatione, considerand that al sortis of detestabil and onleful veyrs and battellis that distroyit the romanis in the anciant dais, ringis presently amang ȝou, throught the discentione, diuisione, inuy, rancor,
 30 and auareis that ringis vniuersaly throught al scotland. the fyrst sort of battellis and veyris that brought the romans to ruuyne, vas callit battellis finityuis, A finibus: that is, quhen ane man vndir takkis to conques be violence and tirrany the landis *of his nyghtbours that marchis and lyis contigue vith his landis, as did 36 Ninus kyng of the assiriens, quha vas nocht contentit

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

1 thai obeit nocht to their dukis and superioris, than the
 due of saxon and the langraue of hasse venqueist and
 distroyit them, sielyik as did the comontis of ingland
 the ȝeir of 1533 ȝeris, quhilkis var distroyit vndir the
 5 trettye of concord. this samyn sort of veyris ringis
 [* leaf 128 (133)] instantly in scotland; for i hef sene nyne or ten thou-
 sand gadyr to giddir viith out ony commissione of the
 kyngis letteris, the quhilk grit conuentione hes been to
 put there nyctbours furtht of ther steding and takkis
 on vytson veddyinsday, or ellis to leyd auaye ane pure
 manis teynd in heruyst; bot thai vald nocht be half
 12 sa solist to conuene thre hundretht at the command of
 the kyngis letteris to pas to resist our ald enemeis of
 ingland. al thir forsaid veyris hes occurrit throucht
 the discentione and diuisione of the pepil of ane
 16 realme.

Ye know that
these words are
true.

¶ O ȝe my thre sonnis, ȝe knau that thir vordis
 befor rehersit ar of verite. also ȝe knau¹ that ȝour ex-
 treme ruuyne approchis verra neir, the quhilk maye be
 eysylie remedit, sa that ȝe vald nocht be obstinat and
 21 obdurit in the raneor and discentione that ringis amang
 ȝou. it aperis to me, that sum so[r]seris and vytchis,
 quhilkis ar instrumentis of the ald eneme of mankynd,
 hes tempit ȝou, and hes venqueist ȝour natural rason. i
 vait nocht quhiddir that i sal inge ȝou to be cum
 frenetic or brutal, for ȝour conuersations in general is
 27 ane monstreus thyng rather nor humain, as ȝour verkis
 testifeis. the historiographoris rehersis that the tua
 [* If 125 (133), 1M]
 How Heraclitus
 and Democritus
 passed through
 the world to
 survey mankind.
 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 euntre, &
 also persauand the grit solistnes of diuerse staitis in
 35 conquesing reches, heretagis, digniteis, officies, and

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 spulȝe, and sum be trason,
 and sum be discentione & mortal fede, nocht heffand
 respect nor rememorance of the schort peregrinatione of
 this miserabil lyif, norȝit heffand premeditatione of the 6
 future eternal beatitude that god hes promest til faytht-
 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-
 sand throught the realme of scotland, heraclites vald
 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 syklyik democrites, persauand our would both find
 folyful mysgouernance and our miserabil obstinat con-
 uersatione, he vald laucht and scorn vs be grit derisione.
matter to occupy them in Scotland.

for doutles thir tua philosophours vald fynd mater 19
 aneucht to veip for vs, and also 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 : Verses composed
on this subject by
Philiremo
Fregoso.
 Coneute maiori splenem demoerite risu,
 Et toto resonans ore cachinus hiet.
 Vita fuit mundi post condita secula nuncquam,
 Et risu, pariter dignior, & laehrymis. 31

To the reader.

Gude readar, veip and murne this mortal lyif,
 As did the vyise philosophour heraclite ; The same in
Scotch.
34

¹ phiremo² scettis³ plnsquam

- 1 And thou sal laucht for scorne recreatyfe,
 As fast as did the prudent demoerite.
 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
 'That tha vald laucht and veip our misire.

[* lf 129 (131), bk]

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 heraclites regrettit and vepit our folyful conuersatione, and that democrites leucht and scornit our solist abusione,
- 14 considerand that quhen baytht thir philosophours past throught the varld, tha culd persauie nay thing bot vanite. the prudent Solomon 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 deuisit, al vas bot vanite and afflictione of the spreit. Therfor, o ze my thre sonnis, nobilis,
- 21 clerge, and lauberaris, i exort zoou to retere fra vanite, & til adhere to vertu, & ony of zoou that thynkis zoou of maist reputation throught zoour superflie veltlt,¹ ze suld be solist to ken zoour selfis, & to be humil to zoour nychtbours, or ellis al zoour gloire, veltlt, and dignite,
- Know yourselves. [* leaf 130 (135).] sal *change in vilite. ze haue grit occasione to fle thir
- 27 varldly caduc honouris, the quhilkis can nocht be possest viith out vice, and also as vincentius says in his 34 beuk, the mair eleuat that ane person be in superflue digniteis, his fal & ruuyn sal be the hauyar. quanto gradus altior, tanto casus grauior. for the gritest green tre that standis liest on the montane, is haistyar blauen doune viith the vynd, nor is the smallest treis
- 34 that grouis in the valeyse. summa petit liuor: per-

The greater the pride the greater the fall.

¹ veltlt

fluant altissima venti. i haue rehersit thir vordis, 1
 be cause of the vane arrogance that ringis in the hartis This specially
 of my tua eldest sonnis, nobillis and clergie, quhilk vil for the nobles
 be occasione of there ruuyne, bot gif thai mittygat and and clergy,
 mortife there detestabil pride, inuy, and auereis. i
 mernel that thai considir nocht that god behaldis al 6
 there abhomination.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 puncis 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 Lue. Nihil enim est tectum quod
 non sit retegendum & nihil occultum, quum [*lf 130 (135), bk]
 futurum sit vt sciatur. there for it is grit folye to
 my thre sonnis to couuer there vice witht 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
 the philosophour tales, gyf that the goddis kneu the as to the know-
 verkis that men dois in this varld? he ansuert, quod 25
 he, the goddis knauis nocht alanelry 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 30
 couuers ther false hartis witht verkis aperand to be ver-
 teous & faythful. bot there is na dissymilation, O ze
 my thre sounis, amang ȝou, considerand that ȝour hartis
 & ȝour verkis condiscendis on ane purpos, bot rather til
 euil nor to gude. O my thre sonnis, sen god kennis
 that ȝour hartis ar euil, and that men kennis that ȝour 35

¹ abhominatioun² obscnre³ enerye

Turn your hearts verkis ar euyl, i exort ȝou that¹ ȝe gar ȝour hartis con-
unto God,
[* leaf 131 (136)] saue the co'mandis of god, and that ȝour verkis be con-

3 formand to the sammyn; & than doutles god sal schau
who can deliver his mercy, and sal releue ȝou of the grit afflictione of
you from the the thre plagis that hes almaist succumbit ȝour cuntry
three plagues.
in extreme ruuyne, that is to saye, fra veyr, fra pest,
and fra hungrir. and sic gude pollice sal neuyr cum til
effect quhil that ȝe haue treittit pace and concord amang
9 ȝour selfis, the quhilk concord amang ȝour selfis vil be
ane mair auful scourge til ingland, nor that the realme
of France and the empire hed tane querrel contra[r]
ingland. ȝour cronik[lis] makkis manifest that the
inglis men van neuyr na thing at ȝour handis, bot
14 rather lossit, quhen thai intendit veyr contrar ȝou, ȝe
Cirillus and the beand of ane accord. there is ane exemplil of cirillus,
bundle of twigs. quikilk vas ane nobil prinee. in his grit aige he be cam
seik to the detht. he hed iiij scoir of sonnis, the
quhilkis he gart compeir in his presens. than he de-
lyurit to them ane certain of smal green treis bundyn to
20 giddir, extendand to the numer of iiij scoir. fyrist he
ordand his eldest soun to brak that bunche of treis at
ane tyme, the quhilk he culd noct. than he gart al the
remanent of his sonnis, ilk ane be them self, tak the
[* lf 131 (136), b6] said bunche of green treis and to 'brak them al to
giddir, the quhilk nane of them culd do it. than he
26 lousit the bunche of green treis, and gaue til euerye² ane
of his sonnis ane of the said green treis to brak, the
quhilk thai did eyslye. than he said til his iiij scoir
of sonnis, i exort ȝou that ȝe remane al to giddir in gude
accord amang ȝour selfis but diuisione, and than ȝour
31 enemeis sal nocth venqueis ȝou. & in opposit, gyf that
contentione and diuisione cummis amang ȝou, ȝour
enemeis sal venqueis ȝou as eyslye as ony of ȝou hes
brokyn ane of the green treis. syklyik, O ȝe my thre
35 sonnis, gif that ȝe remane to giddir, & beis nocth

¹ chat² enercy

separat nor deuidit fra vthirs, it sal be as onpossibil to 1
 inglis men to venqueis ȝou, as it vas onpossibil til ane
 of the sonnis of cirillus to brac the hail bunche of green
 treis at ane tyme. ȝe suld al tak exemplil quhou that
 grit Alexander conqueist mekil of al the varld, and he
 left the gouvernyng of his cu[n]tre on his dede bed to be
 gouernit 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)]
 sklausis of his pepil. syklyik 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 verys 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.
 sielyik the triumphand cite of cartage, quhilk dantit al
 affrica, spangȝe & cecil, and did mony vailȝeant 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 ȝou, my thre sonnis, that ȝe
 expel discentione, discord, and ald fede that ringis
 amang ȝou, quhil the veyris be dune, and than ȝe sal 30
 triumphe contrar ȝour enemeis. i vald ȝe tuke exemplil
 of, diuerse nobil romans and grecians that hed mortal
 fe*de contrar vthiris, ȝit nochtheles quhen there enemeis [* If 132 (137), bk.]
 assailȝet there natvie cu[n]tre, than al thir nobillis con-
 currit in ane accord, and set there particular rancor and
 fede on syde, as did the tua vailȝeant consulis of rome; 36

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

as well as among
the Romans!

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 Annibal conqueist eannes, at the dolorus battel quhar that the consul emelius Paulus vas slane, quhar that Annibal gat, at the spulȝe of the romans, thre muis ful of gold ringis that var on the fingaris of the romans that var slane. Than eftir this dolorus discumfiture of the romans, diuerse eiteis 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 natuine cunte in 16 dangeir of ruuyne, thai said til vthirs, It is necessair that ve forȝet 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 viith xxxij legions of men of veyr, and conqueist vailȝeantly the toune of capes, & slev al the chartagien sodiours that annibal hed left in garnison viith in the toune of capes, and also tha gart iustifie to the deht xxv of the prencipal citinaris, be cause of 26 there trasonabil seditione committit contrar ther comont veil. There is ane vthir exemplil 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 viith 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 spangȝe and France, and cumand our the alpes 35 of ytalie viith ane grit armye to succur his brothir

Marcus Emilius
Lepidus and
Fulvius Flaccus.

[* leaf 133 (135)]

Claudius Nero
and Livius
Salinator.

¹ salinator

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 forȝet 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 witht 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 vailȝeantly sleu hasdribal and xlvi thousand of his
 men, and also thai tuke viij thousand prisoners, and
 thai cuttit the hede fra hasdribal. & in there returnyng
 to rome, thai keist the heyde befor them on the gait, &
 playt witht it witht 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 exempl of the dedly fede and hatrent that
 vas betwix Munitius, maister of the hors men, and the 25
 consul fabius. *Munitius and*
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 self, and also in his veyrs he vas mair furius nor pru-
 dent, bot his collig fa*blius vas eald, graif, and pacient [*leaf 134 (139)]
 in his bissynes. Munitius, in his furour, vald haue oft
 gyffin battel til Annibal, bot fabius vald neuyr consent,
 be cause he sau the aperand danger that vas to succeed
 throught the subtilite of Annibal. than Munitius desirit 31
 at fabius that he vald thole hym to haue the hail gou-
 uernyng of the armye ane daye, and fabius to hef it ane
 vthir daye, and sa euerye ane of them to haue the
 gouernyng of the armye his day about, to the quhilk 35

¹ salsinator

1 fabius vald nocht consent, sayand, i vil nocht thole ȝou
 til hasȝard al the grit armie of rome in dangeir throught
 ȝour ignorant furius consait, bot i am content that the
 grit armye be partit in tua partis, and ȝe to haif the
 half of the armye, and i sal haue the tothir half in
 6 gouernyng. than ȝe maye hasȝard and fecht quhen that
 ȝe think ȝour comodius tyme. Munitus vas verra glaid
 of this answer. 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 venqeis
 [* 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 stryntit of fabius vas dymnischid,
 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 euyr hed gottyn it, he
 suld haue been able to do mekil displesir til his ene-
 meis. bot ȝit Annibal desyrit it to mak occasione of
 22 battel to munitius,¹ quhome, he knen veil, that throught
 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 diuerse cauis and eauernis, and grit holis vithin
 the rocche craggis, vithin the quhilk he pat fwe
 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 forsayd hil. Munitius persauand
 that ane feu number 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 fyrist Muni-
 tius send lycht harnessied ȝong men, and syne he send
 ane grit numir of horse men contrar Anniballis men. &
 [* leaf 135 (149)] *Annibal send syklyik fut men & horse men to reskeu

¹ munitus² munmir

his men that he hed send to the hil. than Munitius, in 1
 grit furor, cam viht the remanent of his armye contrar
 the hil takkaris. than Annibal seand occasion and
 tyme oportune to gyf battel, he past forduart viht his
 armye contrar the romans. on the tothir syde, al the
 fwe thousand men that var hid in the canis and holis 6
 of the hil, ischit furtht on the bakkis of the romans,
 viht mony hiddleous cryis. the romans beand in this
 grit perplexite, beand closit betuix tua armeis, thai be
 cam discuragit, quhilk gart them fle fra the battel, bot
 Anniballis armye followit, and sleu mony romans. At 11
 this instant tyme, fabius, the collig of Munitius, per-
 sauand the grit discumfytur of the romans throught the
 misgouernance and furor of Munitius,¹ he said, fortoune
 hes schauen hir folie na soner nor i belenit. Munitius,
 throcht his fule hardines, hes lossit the half of the gryt 16
 armye of rome ; he hes euyr been my mortal enemie,
 and nou i haue tyme oportune to reuenge me on hym ;
 bot at this tyme i vil nocht thole the comont veil to
 perreise for my vendicatyue particular affectione. there
 for i vil conteneu our quer'rel and ald fede til ane moir [* If 135 (140), bk]
 oportunite. 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 cument to help
 them, thai returnit fra there fleynge, and cam and iunit 27
 viht the armye of fabius in Arraye, & rycht vailȝeantly
 thai venqueist and sleu the maist part of Anniballis
 men, and chaissit hym self to tuscan.

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

¹ munitius

- 1 trar vthirs, and to gar ȝou tak eurage til accord witht
 ane consent to resist ȝour ald enemicis of ingland. for
 doutles ȝe 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, witht sex
 6 hundreth thousand men of veyr, and ȝe heffand as
 gude captans as grit alexander or Iudas Machabeus.
 [¶ leaf 136 (111)] and ȝe heffand al the munitions for 'veyr that is in
 europa, al thir thingis be for rehersit sal be confusione
 to ȝou, rather nor supple, as lang as ȝe haue hatrent
 and secret fede amang ȝour seluis. quhar for i exort ȝou
 12 to coneur to giddir in vnite for the defens of ȝour
 cuntry, as did thir romans befoir rehersit. and in
 opposit,¹ gyf ȝour particular fede contrar vthirs remainis
 in ȝour hartis, than doutles twenty thousand of ȝour
 enemicis sal venqueis ane hundreth thousand of ȝou, &
 17 thai sal put ȝour generatione and ther posterite furth
 of rememorance, and ȝour mortal enemicis sal inhabit
 and ocupe ȝour placis.

Of the treason
practised in
Scotland.

- ¶ O my thre sonnis, i hef oft tymis rehersit of be-
 for, of the trason that occurris in scotland. and quhou
 22 beit that ther be mony trasonabil actis manifest in
 scotland, ȝit 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 ȝour
 ald enemicis, for ane dispyt that tha haue ymaginet
 [¶ leaf 136 (111), bk] contrar 'ȝou, be cause that thai dreid ȝour vailȝeantnes,
 and for that cause thai haue gart ane secret brute pas
 in scotland that sum of ȝou hes intelligens witht them ;
 and to gar ther inuentit subtil cauteil contrar ȝou entir
 35 mair large in the vulgaris hartis, thai haue gart ther

¹ apposit

borderaris mak incursions and forrais far vitht in scotland, quhar thai haue spulȝeit and reft grit multiplie of mouiabil gudis, as scheip, nolt and horse, and thai haue dune na damage nor hayrschipis to sum of ȝour sted-
ingis and takkis, the quhilk thing thai haue dune to
that effect that ȝe maye be haldin odius and suspectius 6
be ȝour princee, throught the quhilk suspitione ȝour
princee maye gar preson ȝour bodeis; than ȝe beand in
varde or in preson, ȝe can nothir resist nor defend
ȝour euntre fra the onmerciful inuasions of ȝour ald
enemeis. Quhair for it is necessair for ȝour veilfayr 11
that ȝe¹ commit sum vailȝeant act contrar ȝour enemeis,
to that effect that the princee and superioris, and also the
comont pepil of the realme, maye knau ȝour innocens.

Ther is ane exemplil conformand to this samyn
purpos in the feyrd cheptor of the syeond beuk of 16
tucidides, 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 begynning 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 lacede-
monyens vil reserue my villagis and steydingis fra 26
birnyng and fra damage, and that thai vil be cruel con-
trar my nythbours,² to that effect that ȝe maye suspect
that i haue intelligens vitht archedamas, throught the
ald familiarite that vas betuix vs: therfor to purge me
of sic suspectione, heir i renunce ouer my takkis and 31
steydingis, and resingis them to be in proprie to the
comont veil of athenes, and also i sal be the fyrist person
that sal entir in plane battel contrar the lacedemoniens,
to that effect that the pepil maye knau my innocens. 35

The incursions
of the Border
freebooters.

[* leaf 137 (112)
The example
of Pericles,

¹ the

² nythbours

1 there is ane vthir exemplil of Annibal, that vrocht ane
 grit subtilite to cause the romans to haue ane euil con-
 sait contrar the nobil fabius. *Annibal send ane grit
 number of lycht¹ horse men to spulȝe the territoris
 and villagis pertenand to rome, resaruant the villagis
 6 and stedlingis pertenand to fabius, quha vas captan of
 the romans armye. this crafty subtel act of Annibal
 causit the romans to consaue ane vehement suspectiōne
 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 stedlingis for reddy monye, and also vrit ane lettir
 to the senat of rome of this effect. fathers conscript, i
 am suspekkit of trason throcht the machinatione of
 Annibal, bot doutles my innocens sal be haistyly mani-
 fest to ȝou al, for as sone as i see oportunite and
 convenient 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 vailȝeant act pat hym
 21 nocht alannerly furtht of suspectiōne, bot as veil it aug-
 mentit his honour and gloir. (O ȝe my thre sonnis)
 ony of ȝou that is suspekkit of trason suld do sum
 [* leaf 138 (113)] vailȝeant act contrar ȝour enemeis as did pere'cles and
 fabius befor rehersit, to that effect that the remanent of
 26 the pepil maye gyf confidens to ȝou, quhilk vil be
 occasione that the hail body of the realme vil hasȝard
 there lyuis and there gudis in ȝour compayne for the
 iust defens of ȝour comont veil and ȝour natyne cuntry.
 Allace the suspectiōne that the pepil hes contrar sum of
 ȝou is nocht causes, for men of smal experiens maye
 persauie that ther is diuerse men of scotland that ar be-
 cum neutral; that is to say, thai vil nothir tak ane
 plane part vith england nor vith scotland, for quhen
 35 thir neutral men speikis vith inglis men, thai lament

The suspicions
 against the
 Scotch nobles
 not groundless.

¹ lychi

hauyly the inconstance of the lordis of scotland that 1
 hes brokyn ther promit & band, the quhilk vas honestly
 contrakkit, to compleit ane mariage betuix our nobil
 princes heretour of scotland, and eduard the ȝong kyng <sup>of their double
dealing.</sup>
 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
 viith scottis men, thai regret and lamentis hauyle the
 discentione and diuisione that ringis amang the nobilis
 of scotland, quhilk is occasione that the *inglis men be [*if 138 (143), bk]
 ther falsoed and subtilite persecutis our realme viith out 11
 ony iust titil. Of this sort the neutral scottis men
 entretenis baytht the realmis quhil on to the tyme that
 ane of the realmis conqueis the tothir, and than thai
 vil adhere til his opinione that conquesis the victore.
 bot sic dissymilit and subtyl neutral men at the end of 16
 the veys vil be reuardit as the cordinar of rome vas
 reuardit be augustus cesar, as i sal rehers. The beuk
 of the annales of rome rehersis, that in the tyme of the
 ciuil veysis that vas betuix Augustus Cesar and An-
 thonius, quhilkis tua contendit for the empire. the 21
 iugement of the victore that vas aperand to be betuix
 them, vas verray incertan to the vniuersal pepil of
 ytalie, be rason that thai var profond lie spretit vail-
 ȝeant men, and verray opulent in reches, & of grit
 alya, quhilk vas occasione that the romans var deuidit 26
 in tua aduerse parteis. at that tyme ther vas ane cor-
 dinar of rome, ane verray subtil riche villane, quha be
 cam neutral induring the tyme of the veysis betuix
 Augustus and Anthonius, tariand quhil on to the tyme
 that ane of them var superior ^{*of the tothir, ȝit he} [*leaf 139 (141)]
 nocht beand certan quha suld be superior of rome, and 32
 also beand desirus to haue the grace and faouris of
 hym that hapnit to be imperiour, he be grit¹ subtilite
 neurissit tua ȝong corbeis in tua eagis, in tua syndry <sup>He reared two
young ravens.</sup>

How a shoemaker
in Rome was
rewarded for
double dealing.

¹ grir

1 housis, and he leyrnit them baytht to speik. he leyrnit
 ane of them to saye, god sauē thy grace, nobil victoreus
 augustus cesar. and he leyrnit the tothir to saye, god
 sauē 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 quhilke 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 soud wtht
 the tua edgis. that quhen Augustus cesar venquest
 anthonius, & vas pacebil empriour, this subtel cordonar
 presentit the corbe til Augustus, quhilke gef hym louyng
 [* If 139 (141), bk.] in hyr artificial speeche, of 'the quhilke cesar vas verray
 18 glaid, quhar for he gef to the cordonar fyftene hundredreth pees 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 ſe my thre sonnis) ony of þou
 28 that is be cum neutral to scotland and ingland, and is
 tariand quhil there be ane prince superior to baytht
 the realmis, doultes ſe ſal be recompensis be that prince
 for þour astuce dissymilitnes, as the cordinar vas re-
 compensis be augustus cesar. Ther for i exort þou to
 33 reuoke þour neutralite, and that ſe be cum ſpecial vail-
 ſeant deffendours of þour natyue cuntry. it vas ſperit
 at cicero in the tyme of the ciuil veyris betuix Iulius

of Cicero's
conflict in the
civil war.

¹ brocht

Cesar & pompeus, quhais querrel and part that he vald 1
 tak. cicero ansuerit, quem fugiam scio, quem
 sequar nescio. this is to say, i vait quhais part i sal
 refuse, bot vait nocht quhais part i sal tak. this
 *ansueir of ambiguite, declarit that cicero vas be cum [¶ leaf 60 (115)]
 neutral in the ciuil and intestine veyris that vas betuix
 iulius Cesar and grit pompeus. ȝit nochtheles the 7
 romans murmerit his ansueir of ambiguite to the vrang
 part, allegeand that he hed mair fauoir to pompeus
 querrel nor to Iulius Cesar; bot it is the natur of
 inciuil comont pepil to iuge euirye purpos to the vrang
 face. Ane propositione or ane responce of ambiguite
 suld be ay interpreit and exponit to the best sens, con- 13
 formand til ane reul of the lau, de vsu L. creditor,
 cum ibi no. C. & L. fi vsuras. the quhilkis cheptours
 sais, Ambigua solutio pro meliori & certiori 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 [¶ lf 60 (145), bk]
 rycht and ane vrang. thir freuole sophistarlis that
 marthirs and sklandirs the text of aristotel, deseruis 30
 punitione; for quhou beit that ther be comparison of
 greis in euyrie thyng, that followis nocht that the
 positive gre and the comparatiue gre ar contrar tyl
 vthir, for gude and bettir ar defferent in greis, & ȝit
 thai ar nocht contrar til vthirs. siklyik euyl and var ar 35

¹ argon

- 1 of defferen greis, bot ȝit thai ar nocth contrar til vthirs. ȝit 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 real 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 nocth ane of them hed ane iust titil in ther contrare querellis, nor ȝit the opinion of Iulius vas na var nor the querrel of pompeus,
[* leaf 116 (146)] considerand that ther contraire debait var baytht 'of ane euyl equal qualite. Nou to mak ane end of this
17 degresseione, i vil conclude that the neutralite of cicero deseruis recommendatione, quhen Iulus and pompeus contendit quhilk of them suld be kyngis of rome. Bot it is nocth sielyik betuix england and scotland ; for quhou be it that forane princis that ar indefferent til
22 england and scotland, and also ther subiectis, vil remane neutral in our veyris contrar inglis men, that followis nocth that scottis men can hef ony iust titil to remane neutral quhen our euntre is inuadit be our dissaitful ald
26 enemeis.

Let any that have been neutral heretofore choose their side now.

- Quhar for i exort ȝou (o ȝe my thre sonnis) that gyf ony of ȝou be suspekkit that ȝe hef bene neutral in tymis by past, that nou ȝe purge ȝou vith sum vail-ȝeantnes contrar ȝour enemeis, to that effect that ȝe
31 maye reuenge the extreme violent damage that ȝe hef sustenit be the oniust veyris of england. And quhou be it that ȝour ald enemeis vald decist fra ther oniust veyris, and that thai vald treit pace vith ȝou, ȝit nochtheles ȝe suld nocth condiscend to sic pace, bot gyf the
36 kyng of england vald restoir ande reforme the damage

& violens that þe haue indurit. And also doules the 1
 inglis men vil offir þou no pace, bot ane dissy'milit pace [* leaf 116 (116), bk]
 for ther auen auantage, ande to disane þou eftirnart be
 ane mair cruel veyr. it is knauen throught 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 succeed veyr, suld¹ noct be resauit, 10
 bot rather veyris suld be maid, in hope that sure pace War preferable
 maye succeed, conformand til ane cheptour in the xxijij to insecure
 distinctione in the fyrist 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 þou ane dishonest pace, fra
 the quhilk maye succeed ane mair cruel veyr, þe suld
 refuse it, conformand to the wordis of Cicero, in his *Philip.* 12.
 inuectyne philipiques contrar² anthonius, sayand, pax
 est repudianda, si sub eius nomine latitet 20
 bellum. There for, (o þe my thre sunnis) þe haue ane
 iust titil to refuse pace, and til intend cruel veyr con-
 trar þour enemeis. for as tucidides sais in the thretten Tucidides
 cheptour of his fyrist beuk, quod he, as it is conuenient
 tyl honest & prudent men to lyue in pace, quhen there Libro 1.
 nycthbours dois them na oulraigie nor violens : Sik- 26
 lyike it is honest and conuenient to verteous men to
 change there pace, and rest in cruel veyr, fra tyme that
 thai haue resauit oulrage and violens fra there nyct-
 hbours. for the changeyng of ane dissymilit pace in ane
 cruel veyr, sal be occasione of ane ferme and faythfyl³ 31
 pace. Cicero confermis this sammyn purpose in the *Cice. affi.*
 fyrist 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 saythfyl

- Tucidides*
li. 2. ca. 9.
- 1 rest and pace var verray necessair for vs, i confesse that honest pace suld preffer oniust veyris. for that cause the empriour traian said, that it var les skayht 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 anteceestres and for-
- 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 anteceestres and forbearis hes conquiest be grite laubours, nor it is dishonour
- 11 quhen he failzeis in the conquessing of ane thing that
[* If 143 (147), bk.] he intendit 'tyl haue conquesit fra his mortal enemye.
- 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 nyghtbour, siklyik ane honest man offendis & hurtis his consciens, quhen he deffendis hym nocth in his iust querrel contrar his enemeis, & also reuengis hym nocth of the violens and damage
- 20 that his enemeis hes perpetrat contrar hym. Quhar for i exort *ȝou* my thre sonnis, that *ȝe* condiscend in ane faythal aecord : than doutles god sal releue *ȝou*¹ of the grit afflictione that *ȝe* haue indurit be the incredule seid of ingland, & also i beleue that he sal mak *ȝou* ane instrument til extinet that false generatione furtht of
- 26 rememorance : & sa fayr veil.

God will help you when you help yourselves.

¹ *ȝou*

¶ 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 fyrist cheptour declaris the cause of the mutations of monarchis	fo. xv.	[page 19]
The sycond cheptor declaris the thretning of god contrar obstinat vicius pepil	fo. xix.	[p. 24]
The thrid cheptor is, quhou the actor regretis the thretning 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 fyift cheptour declaris the opinions that the pagan philosophours held anent the terminatione of the varld	fo. xxv.	[p. 31]
The sext cheptor rehersis ane monolog recretayue of the actor	fo. xxx.	[p. 37]
The 7 cheptor is of the visione that aperit to the actor in his sleip	fo. xxxij.	[p. 68]
The 8 cheptor deelaris 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 exemplil of diuerse cuntrieis 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 afflit 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 soun, callit lauberaris, ansuert vith
ane lamentabil complaynt fo. lxxxv. [p. 122]

Ch. xvi. Quhou the afflit lady ansuert tyl hyr ȝongest soun
fo. xevj. [p. 137]

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

Ch. xix. Quhou the afflit lady accusit hyr syeond soun,
callit sperutualite fo. exii. [p. 157]

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

FINIS.

¹ Should be lii.² souhe.³ souuis.

APPENDIX
OF
CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH TRACTS,

COMPRISING :

I.

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

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 Scotland.

1548.

IV.

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

1548.



A DECLARATION, CONTEY-
NYNG THE IVST CAVSES
and consideracions, of this
present warre with the
Scottis, wherin al-
soo appereth the
trewe & right
title, that
the kin-
ges
most royll 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 behanour in the prouocation of this warre, and lykewyse the meanes and wayes by vs vsed to exchane and aduoyde it, and the iust and true occasions, wherby we be nowe prouoked to prosecute the same, and by vtterance and diuulgynge of that matier, to disourden som part of our inwarde displeasure and grieve, and the circumstancess knownen, 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 Scottis our Nephieu and neighbour, whom we in his yonth & 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 preseruation of our honoure and right, to vse our puissance and power agaynst hym. The like vnkindenes hath ben heretofore shewed by other in semblable eaces against goddis lawe, mans lawe, and al humanitie: but the oftener it chauneeth, the more it is to be abhorred, & yet in the persons of princis for the raritet of theym can so happen but selldome, 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 kynge our fathers acte therin, but lament and be sory it toke no better effecte. The kynge our father in that matier intended loue, amitie, and perpetuall friendshyp 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 vnykyndenesse 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 forgetting the dyspleasure that shuld haue worthily prouoked vs to inuade that realme, nurrisched and brought vp our Nephieu to achieve his fathers possession and government, wherein he nowe so vnykndly vseth and behaueth hym towrades vs, as he compelleth vs to take armour and warre agaynst hym.

¹ A ij. back.

IT IS speiallly to be noted, vpon what groundes, and by what meanes we be compelled to this warre, wherin among other is our chiefe griefe and displeasure, that vnder a colour of faire spech and flattering woordes, we be in dedes so iniured contempned and dispisid, as we ought not with sufferaunce to pretermite and passe ouer. Wordes, wrtinges, letters, messages, ambassiatis, excuses, allegations, coulde not ¹more pleasantly, more gently, ne more reverently 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 appearance put forth so fayre buddes: and therfore wolde hardly bylene or gyne care to other, that euer alledged the dedes to the contrary, being neuerthelesse the same dedes so manyfest, as we muste nedes haue regarded them, had we not haue ben so lothe to thinke euell of our Nephieu, whom we had so many wayes bound to be of the best sorte towarde vs. And therefore hauyng a message sente vnto vs the yere paste from our sayde Nephieu, and a promisse made for the repayryng of the sayd kynge of Scottis vnto vs to Yorke, and after great preparation on our part made therfore, the same metyng was not onely disappointyd, but also at our being at Yorke, in the lieu therof, an iuasion 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 iuasion to the lewdnes of his subiectes: and according thervnto gaue as benigne and gentyl audience to suche Ambassadours, as repayed hither at the Christmas afterwarde, as if noo suche causes of displeasure had occurred, specially consyderynge the good woordes, swete woordis, pleasant wordis, eftsones proponed by the sayd Ambassadours, not only to excuse that was past, but also to perswade kindnes ²and perfect amitie to ensue. And albeit the kyng of Scottis hauyng contrary to tharticle of the leage of amitie, receyued and entreaigned 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 ambassadours, 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 forbearc to presse them oner extremely in the matier of rebels, Albeit we neuer remitted the same, but desyrous to make triall of our sayde Nephieu in some correspondence of dedes, condescended to the sendyng of commissioners to the borders, whiche to our great charge we dyd, and the kynge of Scottis our said Nephieu the semblable. Wher after great trauaile made by our Commissioners, this fruite ensued, that being for our part chalenged a piece of our grounde,

¹ A iiij.² A iiij. 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 reected, that it was made (as they alledged) by Englishmen. And yet it was soo auncient, as it coulde not be counterfaite nowe, and the value of the grounde so lytell, and of so smal ¹wayte, as no man wolde haue attempted to falsifie for suche a matier. And yet this denyall being in this wyse made vnto our Commissioners, they neuer the lesse by our commandement departed as frendes, from the Commissioners of Scotland, takyng order as hath ben accustomed for good rule vpon the borders in the meane tyme.

AFTER whyche theyr recesse, the lorde Maxwell, warden of the west marches of Scotland, made proclamation for good rule, but yet added therwith, that the bourderers of Scotland shuld withdrawe their goodes from the bourders of England : And incontinentely after the Scottishe men bordurers, the fourth of July, entred into our realme sodeynly, and spoyled our subiectes, contrary to our leages, cuen after suche extremitie, as it had bene in tyme of open warre. whereat we moche meruayled, and were compelled therfore to fur-nishe our bourdour with a garrison for defence of the same. Wher-upon 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 continue ²our sayde displeasure, but that we gaue benigne audience to the sayde Leyrmouth, and suffered our selfe to be somewhat altered by his wordes and fayre promyses, tendlyng to the perswasion that we euer desyred, to fynde the kynge of Scottis suche a Nephieu vnto vs, as our proximitie of bloude, with our gratuitie vnto hym, dyd require.

IN THE meane tyme of these fayre woordes, the dedes of the borders were as extreme as myghte be, and our subiectes spoyled : and in a rode made by syr Robert Bowes for a reuenge therof, the same syr Robert Bowes with many other taken prysoneers, and yet deteyned in Scotland, without puttynge them to fyne and raun-some, as hath ben euer accustomed. And beinge at the same tyme a surecaunce 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 consyder the kyng of Scottis dedes,

¹ A iv.

² A iv. back.

whiche appered vnto vs of that sort, as they ought not for our ductie in defence of our subiectes, ne could not in respecte of our honour, be passed ouer vnreformed; and therfore 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 eftstones their accustomed ¹effect, euermore desirous to fynd in the kyng of Scottis such a regard and respect to be declared in dedes, as the correspondence of naturall loue in the Nephieu to suche an Uncle, as we haue shewed our selfe towardes 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 conelude, with the Ambassadours of Scotlande, for an amitie and peax vpon suche conditions, as by reason and equitie were indyfferent, wherby the warre might be exchued, 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 agreeable to reason, as the commissioners of Scotlande sayd, they doubted not, but yf it myght ones be broughte to passe, that the kynge of Scottis our Nephieu might haue a meting with vs, all matiers shulde easly be componed and determined. Whervpon they lefte speakyng 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 behauor, 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 coneluded, and most certayn to take effect, and only desyred .vi. dayes to obteigne awnser 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 metyng 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 relieu 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 metynge with men, hauyng no commission therunto, the ambassadours of Scotland vpon pretence to send for a more ample and large commission, agreeable to their instructions for appoyntment of the place, obteined a delay of other .vi. days, to sende for the said ample commission without restraint of place. And after those .vi. dayes they brought forthe a newe commission, made in a good fourme, and without exception. But therwith they shewed also newe instructions, conteynynge suche a restraynte as the former commission dyd conteyne, so as the libertie gyuen to ¹the Commissioners in the commission was nowe at the last remoued and taken away by the instructions, with addition of a special charge to the ambassadors not to excede the same.

AND thus fyrste the ambassadours of Scotlante semed to haue wyll and desyre to conclude of a place semly and conuenient, whiche for want of commission they myght not do, and at the laste myght haue concluded a metynge 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 secrectely 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 therin their kyng, whose faulte they disclosedit to dyscharge them self, trusting that by benefite of the winter approchynge, 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 deliniered vpon any ransome, contrary to al custome and vsage of the border in the tyme of peax & warre, and in this meane tyme staied a great part of our army alredy prested, and in our wages to go forwarde. ²In this tyme ambassadours (as ye haue herde) assembled to talke of an amitie and conclude it not. The treatyng of amitie was put ouer by communicacion of a metynge.

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

¹ B ii.

² B ii, back.

indissoluble amitie, he alledgedeth 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 obteigne bothe quiete for our subiectes, & also that is due vnto vs by right, pactes, and leages.

WE HAVE paciently suffred many delusions, and notably the laste yere, when we made preparation at Yorke for his repaire to vs: But shuld we suffer our people and subiectes to be so ofte spoyled without remedy? This is done by the Scottis what soo euer theyr wordes be. Shulde we suffer our rebelles to be ¹deteyned contrary to the leages without remedye? This is also done by them what so euer theyr wordes be. Shuld we suffer our lande to be vsurped contrary to our most playne euidence, onely vpon a wylle, pryde, and arrogancye of the other partie? This is done by them what so euer theyr wordes be. And all these be ouer presumptuously done agaynst 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 evidently perceyued the lacke of suche affection as proximitie of bloud shulde require, we wold muche rather haue remitted these iniurys in respecte of proximitie of bloud to our Nephieu, than we dyd heretofore the inuasion of his father. But consyderyng we be so surely ascertayned of the lacke therof, and that our bloud is there frorne with the cold ayre of Scotlande, there was neuer prynce more vyolently compelled to warre then we be, by the vnykynde dealyng, vniust behauour, vnprincely demeanour of him that yet in nature is our Nephieu, and in his actes and dedes declarcth hym selfe not to be moued therwith, ne to haue suche ernest regarde to the obseruation of his pactes and leages, ne such respect to thintretaynment of the administration of Justice, as naturall equitie byndeth, and conseruation of amitie dothe require: whiche we muche lament and be sory for, and vse nowe our force and puissaunce againste hym, not ²for 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 iniurys, and the obseruation of such leages as haue passed betwene vs, firmly trusting, that almighty god, vnder whom we reigne, woll assist and ayde our iust procedinges herein to the furtherance and aduancement of the right, whiche we doubt not shal euer preuayle againste 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 alwaies 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 mynistred by the Nephieu to the Uncle most vnmaturally, and supported contrary to the desernes 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 princee that hath more iuste title, more euident title, more certayn title, to any realme that he can clayme than we haue to Scotland, not diuised by pretense of mariage, not imagined by couenaunt, or contriued by inuention of argument, but lineally descended from the begynnynge of that astate established by our progenitours, and recognisid to successiuely of the Kinges of Scotalnde by dedes, wordes, actes & writings continually almost without interruption, or at the leest intermission, til the reigne of our progenitor Henry the .VI. in whose time the Scottis abused the Ciuite warre of this realme, to theyr licence and boldnes, in omitting of their dutie: which for the proximitie of bloudde betwene vs, we haue ben slacke to require of them, being also of our selfe inclined to peace, as we haue euer been alwayes glad, rather without preiudice to omryt to demaunde our right, if it myght conserue peace, than by demandyng therof to be sene to moue war, specially against our neighbour, against our Nephieu, agaynst hym, whom we haue preserued from daungier, and in such a tyme as it were expedient for all Christendome to be vnite in peace, wherby to be the more able to resist the common ennemy the Turke.

BUT for what so euer considerations we haue omitted to speake hitherto of the matier, it is neuer the lesse true that the kynges of Scottes haue always knowledged the kynges of Englannde superior lordes of the realme of Scotalnde, 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 Scotalnde, at dyners and sundry times sealed with theyr seales, and remaynyng in our Treasorye. ²THIRDLY it appereth by regesters and recordes judicially and autentiquely made, yet preserued for confyrmation of the same. So as the matier of title being most playne, is furnished also with all maner of evidences for declaration therof.

FYRST as concerninge 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 wyshed or required, with such a consent of writers, as coulde not so agree vpon an vntruth, conteynynge declaration of

¹ B iiiii.

² B iiiii, back.

such matier as hath most euident probabilitie and apperance. 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 beginnyng it was so ordred for auoydinge discension, that there shuld be one superiour in righte, of whom the sayd astates shuld depend. Accorlind whervnto we rede how Brutus, of whom the realme than eallyd Brytayn toke fyrist that name (being before that tyme inhabited with gyauntes, people without order or ciuilite) had thre sonnes, Loerine, Albaact, and Camber, and determinyng to haue the whole Isle within the Oceaan sea to be after gouerned by them thre, appoynted Albaact 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, recognisynge and knowleagynge hym as theyr superior. Nowe consider if Brutus conquered all this Ilande, as the hystorye sayeth he dyd, and then in his owne tyme made this order of superioritie as afore: Howe can there be a title diuised of a more playn begynninge, a more iuste begynninge, a more conuenient begynninge for the order of this Ilande, at that tyme specially when the people were rude, which can not without continual strife and variaunce conteine two or thre rulers in all poyntes equall without any maner of superioritie, the inwardre conscience and remorse of whiche superioritie shulde in some part dull and diminishe the peruerse courage of resistence and rebellion. The fyrist diuision of this Isle we finde it writen after this sort without cause of suspicion why they shulde write amysse. And accordyng herevnto we fynde also in hystory set forth by diuers how for transgression against this superioritie, our predecessours haue chastised the kynge of Scottis, and some deposed, and put other in their places.

VVE will here omlyt 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 diligently enserchynge, what he might truely write of all Europe, and the Ilandes alioynyng, 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 Scotlante part of Englande, which is agreeable 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 Hembre, the actes of Dunwalde king of this realme, the diuision of Belyn & Brene, the victories of king Arthure,

we shal begyn at the yere of our lord .cccc. which is .xciiij. yeres by past, a tyme of sufficient auncientie, from which we shall make speciaill declaration and euidence of the execution of our right and title of superioritie cuermore contynued and preserued hythero.

EDWARDE the fyrist 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 wryting that storye in those dayes, graunteth confesseth and testifieth the same, and this dominion continued in that state xxiiiij. 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 gouverne the countrye of Scotlande vnder hym, addyng this prineely woord, That it was more honour to hym to make a kyng, than to be a kyng.

¹ xxiiiij. yeres after that, whyche was the yere of our lorde .cccc. xlviij. 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 .cccc. lxxvii. kyng Edgar our predecessor toke homage of Kynalde king of Scottis. Here was a lytell trouble in Englande by the death of saynte Edwardre kyng and martyr, distroyed 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 lorde .m. xvii. Malcome the kyng of Scottis dydde homage to Knute our predecessor. After this homage done the Scottis vttered some piece of their naturall disposition, whervpon by warre made by our progenitour sainte Edwardre the confessour, xxxix. yere after that homage done, that is to say, the yere of our lorde .m. lvi. Malcolme kyng of Scottis was vanquished, and the realme of Scotlande gyuen to Malcolme his sonne by our sayd progenitour saynte Edwardre: 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, vnyll he had lykewise subdued the Scottis, and therfore in the sayd yere, whiche was in the yere of our lorde .mlxviii. the sayd Malcolm 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 mxclii. 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 therfore was ordeyned in that astate by the sayd William Rufus, Edgare brother to the laste Malcolme, and sonne to the fyrist, who dyd his homage and fealtie accordingly.

¹ C ii.

² C ii. back.

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

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

xiii. yeres after that, whiche was in the yere of our lorde .mcl. William King of Scottis, and Dauid his brother, with al the nobles of Scotland made homage to HENRY the secondes sonne, with a reseruation 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 Seotlande, 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 seals of the Nobilitie of Scotlande, makynge therwith his homage and fealtie.

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

xiii. yeres after that, the sayd William dyd homage to our progenitour kyng Iohn, vpon a hyll besides Lincoln, makynge his othe vpon the crosse of Hubert than archbyshop of Canturbury, being there present a meraylous multitude assembled for that purpose.

xxvi. yeres after that, whiche was in the yere of our lorde .mcc xvi. 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 therfore betwene the homage made by the saide Alexander kyng of Scottes, and the homage done by Alexander, sonne to the sayd kyng of Scottis, to Edwarde the fyrst at his coronation at Westmester, there was about fyfty yeres, at whyche tyme the sayde Alexander kyng 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 .mcc lxxxii. Joh̄n Balliol kynge of Scottes, made homage and fealtie to the sayde kynge Edwarde the fyrst, our progenitour.

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

¹ C iii.

² C iiij. back.

homage: but yet no intermission without the termes of memory. For within .XLIII. yere after, whiche was the yere of our lorde .MCCCCXXVI. Edwarde Balliol, after a great victory in Scotlante agaynst thother fation, and enjoyenge the crowne of Scotland, made homage to our progenitour Edwarde the thyrde.

AND .XX. yeres after that, which was in the yere of our lorde .MCCCC XLVI. David Bruse, who was euer in the contrary fation, did neuert helesse in the title of the crowne of Scotland, wherof he was then in possession, made homage to our sayde progenitour Edwarde the thyrde.

WITHIN .IX. yeres after, this Edward the thyrd, to chastise the infidelites of the Scottis, made warre agaynst them: where after great victories, Edwarde Balliol hauyng the iust and ryght title to the realme of Scotlante, surrendred clerely the same to our said progenitour at the towne of Rokysbrough in Scotlante: where our said progenitour accepted the same, and than caused hym selfe to be crowned kynge of ¹Scotlante, and for a tyme enterteyned it, and enjoyed it, as very proprietary & owner of the realme, as on thone parte by confisfaction acquyred, 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 Ryeharde, 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 manier. And yet Henry the V. for recouery of his ryght in Frane, commaunded the kyng of Scottis to attende vpon hym in that iourney. And in this tyme the realme of Scotlante being descended to the house of the Stewardes, of which our Nephieu directly cometh, James Stuard kyng of Scottis, in the yere of our lorde .MCCCC XXIII. made homage to Henry the VI. at Wyndesour, Whiche homage was distaunt frome the tyme of the other homage made by David 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 seals of the kynges of Scotlante 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 recovered 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 cancellation and contriued evasione of the Scottes, alleaginge the homage to haue benne made for the Erldome of Hunt-

¹ C iv.

² C iv, back.

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

I John N. kynge of Scottes shall be trewe and feythal vnto you lord Edward by the grace of god kynge of Englanle, the noble and superior lord of the kyngdome of Scotland, and vnto you I make my fydelite 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 fidelite of lyfe and lymme and worldely honour agaynst all men, and feythal I shall knowlage, and shal do to you seruice due vnto you of the kyngdome of Scotland aforesayl, as god so helpe me & these holy euangeliess.

NOWE for the thyrde parte touchinge recordes and regestres, we haue them so formall, soo autentiquall, so seriously handled, and with suche circumstauncess declaraynge the matiers, as they be & ought to be a great corroboration of that hath ben in stories wrten and reported in this matier. For amonges other thynges we haue the solempne acte, and iudiciale 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 whervunto he enjoyed the realme. But for confirmation of the ducie 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 muche as the auctorite of the iudgement to be gyned depended therupon : 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 Scotland 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 wrytings and letters of foreyn princis, at that tyme recytyng and rehersyng the same. Whervpon the sayde parlyament dyd there agree to this our superioritie, and ensuynghe theyr determination dyd particularly and seuerally make homage and feaultie with proclamation: That who soo euer withdrawe hym selfe from doinge his dutie therin, shulde be taken and reputed for a rebel. And so all made homage & fealtie to our progenitour Edward 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 vacatin, benefices, officis, 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, wriftis & preceptes made obeyed and executed: and finally al that we do now in the Duchy of Lancaster, the same ¹dyd our progenitour for the tyme of contention for that title in the realme of Scotlande, by the consent and agrement of all astates of the realme assembled and consulted with for that purpose. At whiche tyme the byshoppes of saynt Andrewes and Glascoo were not as they nowe be archebyshoppes, but recognisid the prouince of our archbishop of Yorke, whiche extended ouer al that country.

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

THVS APPERETH vnto you the begynnyng of the righte of superiortie, with a perpetuall contynuance, without intermission within memory, certayne omission and forbearynge vpon the groundes and occasions before specified we deny not. Wherby they haue many tymes sought and taken theyr oportunitiess, to withdrawe the doinge of theyr dutie in knowlege of our superioritie ouer them, whiche to annoyde, they haue not cared what they sayde or alleged, though it were never so vntrue: lyeng alwayes ²in awayte whan they might annoye this realme, not without theyr owne great dangier, peril, and extreme detriment. But as they detrected the doinge of theyr dutie, so god euer graunted vnto this realme force to compell them thervnto

¹ D ii.

² D ii, back.

within memory, not withstandyng any theyr interruption by resistance, which vnto the tyme of our progenitour Henry the VI. neuer injured 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 seventh yere of our reigne, how our realme hathe ben for a season lacerate and torne by diuersitie of titles, tyl our time and syns by warre outwardly vexed and troubled, The story is so lamentable for some parte therof, as were tedious to reherse.

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

RICHARDE the III. than vsurped for a smalle tyme in yeres, whome the kynge our father by the strength of goddis hand ouerthrew in battaile, and moost iustly attayned the possession of this realme, who neuertheles after the great tempestious stormes fyndyng all matiers nat yet broughte to a perfecte quite and reste, ceassed 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 constraine and compell them.

AND thus passed ouer the reygne of our father, without demaunde of this homage. And beinge our reygne nowe, .xxxiii. 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. Wherfore 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 .xxviii. 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 Steward, suche as the silence in them had they ben neuer so longe, coulde not haue engendred preiudice to the losse of any right, that may yet be declared and proued due. For what can be imputed to kyng Edward for not demandyng homage, beinge in strife for that estate, whervnto the homage was due? What shulde Rycharde the III. serche for ²homage in Scotlande, that had neither right ne leysure to haue homage done vnto hym in Englande? Who can blame our father,

knowynge the Scottis nature, neuer to do their duetie but for feare, if he demaunded not that of them, whiche they wold exchue if they might, being his realme not elerely 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 ceassed and forborne to demaunde our duetie, lyke as the Scottis haue lykewyse cessed to offer and tende the same. For whiche cause neuerthelesse we do not enter this warre, ne mynded to demaunde any suche matier: Nowe beinge rather desirous to reioyse and take comfort in the frendlshyppe 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 knownen, 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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ANNO .M. D. XLII.

An
Exhortacion to the Scottes
to conforme themselves
to the honorable, Expedient, & godly Union
betweene the two Realmes of
Englaund & Scotland.

Dedicated
to
Edward Duke of Somerset
by James Harryson, Scottisheman.

LONDON:
Printed by Richard Grafton.
1547.

AN EXHORTATION TO THE SCOTTS.

¶ TO THE RIGHT HIGH AND
mighty prince, Edward, Duke of
Somerset, Erle of Hertford, Viscount
Beauchamp, lorde Seymour, Gouernor of the
persones of the Kynge Maiestie of Englande,
and Protector of all his Realmes, Dominions
and Subiectes, his lieutenaunt generall of all
his armies, bothe by lande and by sea, Tresorer
and Erle Marshall of Englande, Gouer-
nor of the Isles of Germsey and Ger-
sey, and knight of the moste noble
ordre of the Garter: Iames
Harryson Scottisheman
wishes health, ho-
nor, and felicitie.

Allyng to mynde (as I do oft) moste excellent Prince, the ciuell
discencion and mortal enemiti, betwene the twoo Realmes of
Englande and Scotlande, it bryngeth me in muche maruell, how
betwene so nere neighbors, dwellyng with in one land, compassed
within one sea, alied in bloude, and knitte in ²Christes faithe, such
vnnaturall discourse should so long continue. Vnnaturall, I maie
wel call it, or rather a Cimill warre, where brethren, kynsmen or
countrymen be diuided, and seke ¹e blond of eche other: a thyng
detestable before God, horrible to the worlde, and pernicious to the
parties, and no lesse straunge in the iyes of reasonable men, then if
the lymnes and membres of mannes body, should fall out within
them selfes, as the hand to hurte the foote, or the fote the hande. If
any vtilite or gain should growe thereby, it were the lesse maruail,
but when there doth nothyng ensue, but suche fruite as warre
bryngeth furthe, whiche is sackyng of tounes, subuersion of holdes,
murder of men, rauishment ³of women, slaughter of olde folke and
infantes, burnyng of houses and corne, with hunger and pestilence,
twoo budles of the same tre: and finally, the vtter ruyne of the
whole kyngdom, I wonder that emongest so many pollitiqe rulers
as be, and haue been in both realnes, the mischief so long spied, the
remedy hath not yet bee sought. Who is so blynd that doth not
see it, or who so hardle hارتed, that doth not pitie it? I omitte here
to speake of the greate affliccions 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 ij

reliued, how the countrey hath been ouer runne, spoyled and herid by Englishmen on the one side, and by our awne warremen or rather robbers on the other side (to speke nothyng of the plague of God) it would greue any harte, to thinke. If this miserie fell onely vpon the mouers and mainteiners of suche mischief, it were lesse to be lamented, but thei sitte safe at home, and kepe holy daie, when the feldes 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 loule 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 profess, or zeale of Iustice, whereunto thei are sworne, either feare of God, or loue to their countrey, did any thynge woorke, thei would refuse no trauaill, nor torment of body nor mynde, no, nor death (if it wer offered) for y^e sauegarde of theim, whose distruction thei haue wrought. And these 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 : ³the other bee suche as for a lawelesse libertie and doyng wrong vnpunished, would pull out their hedges from all lawe and obedience. Such and none other be aduersaries to our cause. If these ij sortes (I saie) should fele but half the miserie, whiche the poore people be driven to suffre, thei would not be halfe so hastie to ryng *alarmes*. These be thei whiche professyng knowledge, abuse the ignorauence 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, preachingyng obedience, procure al disobedience, semyng to forsake all thynge, possesse all thynge, callyng themselves ⁴spirituall, are in deede moste carnall, and reputed hedges of the Churche, bee the onely shame and slander 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 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 iniquite vpon their awne hedges.

Byt to my purpose, seyng the mischief so great, the auethors so many, the mainteinaunce so strong, ⁵and so few that seke amendment : in declaracion of mine earnest zeale and vnfained affeccion towardes 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 iiiij ³ a iiiij, 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 procedlynge 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 wisedom, pollieie, & other Princeely vertues, the stormes of this tempestiuous 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 towards GOD or the worlde, then to put your helpynge 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 governe any kyngdom, whose excellent giftes of nature, and inclinacion to all Godlinesse considered, the world is in opinion, that he shalbee nothyng inferior to the greate honor and glorie of ²his father, whose praises I ouer passe, fyndyng my selfe vnable to expresse theim in any degree. But sith your grace, as a person moste electe, is called to the gouernaunce and tuicion of his persone, and proteccion of his realmes and dominions, all mennes expectacion is, that hanynge so apte a moule to worke vpon, you shall so frame his youthe with verteous preceptes, Godly examples, and sincere educacion, as he shall prove a Kyng equal with those, whom old histories, do moste commend. Wherin your graces laude cannot wante, beyng so worthie a gouernor of so noble a kyng: and mucche more if by your pollieie, diligence, and circumspeccion, he shal at his perfect yeres bee restaured to the whole ³isle of Britayn, where unto as he is iustly entitled: So God the protector of al iust causes, shal bryng your attemptes therin to good successe. For the furtheraunce whereof, I haue declared myne opinion in writyng, whiche, with humble harte I offre and dedicate vnto your good grace: not as a gyfte worthie so greate an estate, but yet not vnmete for my purpose, ne for the tyme & occasion present, wherin though I neither perswade my cause so pithihely, ne open it so liuely, as to so weightie a matter is requisite: Yet it maie serue either for a testimonye of myne honest meanyng, or minister occasion to better learned men, to dilate this argument more largely, whereby all warre and hostilitie maie cease ⁴and peace and concord take place. GOD the verie anthon 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 vj² a vj, back³ a vij⁴ a vij, back

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

¹THE CAUSE WHER of I treate beeing so weightie, the disconurse so large, & my witte and cunnynge so small to set it furthe, I might well be discoraged 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 cunnynge. For like as in an euill cause, muche arte and conneyaunce 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 ³e more eloquent, so much the more suspiciois. 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, seyng my cause is suche, as all good men will further, all wise men fauor, and all Godly men defende, as that whiche beeing embraced, shall doo good to many, and hurt to none, and beyng neglected, shall hurte a multitude, and auayle no man, tendyng no lesse to the commoditie of the aduersaries, then of of the ³fauorers. Thus the ground beyng so true, the occasion so honest, and the querell so righteous, there wanteth nothyng but one that could set thesame furth accordyngly. And seyng 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, vnlerned, and most barayn of all orators arte and perswasion, yet armed with truth, moued with honestie, and prouoked by loue, towardes God and my countrey, (as Dauid against Golias) entre the felde against the mightie Giauntes, enemies of concorde and vnitie, desiryng all my countreymen of Scottlande (whose cause I now ⁴specially entreat) to geue me pacient hearyng, whilst I snade theim 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 woerde, takynge this texte for my purpose. *Omne regnum in se diuisum desolabitur:* that is to saie: every kyngdom diuinded 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 perswalyng you to beleue it. The woordes be ⁵true: for he that spake them, cannot lye, whiche is Christ himself the author of al truth and veritie. But though Christ had not spoken them, let vs se whether comon reason dooth not affirme theim, and the experiance of all

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

realmes and countreis, in al tymes and ages, hath not approued theim. And to set 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 theim, with the histories of other nacionis, and you shal not lightly heare or read of any one countrey sithe the worldes creacion, more inuaded, wasted, and destroyed, then this Isleande, ne ¹of people more often, ne more cruelly spoyled, exiled, or afflicted, then the inhabiteris thereof, and all by diuision and discord: the sedes wherof, beyng laied in by the deuil as pouder vnder a walle, after it once toke fire, did so terribly shake the foundacions of their common weale, that it riued a sunder their kyngdome and monarchie, and diuidyng it into partes, broughte the whole at last to ruyne and desolacion, which hath not been fully recovered to this daie, nor in my iudgement like to be, so long as the islande is diuided into two partes, and knownen by two names, that is to saie, England & Scotlande, and vnder twoo severall gouernours. The cause whereof ²though it maie chiefly bee ascribed to the iuste vengeance of God, prouoked with the synnes of the people, as Gildas witnesseth; yet is it clere that the onely meane thereof, was discord and diuision, emong the Insulanes, wherby it came to passe, whylest every one striued, all were ouer comen, and made an easy prey to straunge nacionis. For althoughe outward enemies, ypon tiranny and conquest, as the Romayns, or els expulsed from their countreys, and driuen to seke newe dwellynges as the Pictes, or allured with y^e fertilitie of y^e soyle as the Scottes inhabiting, the north partes of Irelands, inuaded this islande: Yet could those people neuer haue kepte ³possession, ne reigne so long as thei did, but through diuision and discord emong the Britaynes, whiche beyng stiffe necked against God, and ingrate eche to other (as the said auuthor writeth) by their demerites, wer not onely ouercome with outwarde inuasions, but finally lost their name and Empire, whereby 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 ⁴tyme. But if God of his goodnesse, without our deserthes hath in these latter daies, prouided 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 wilfulness 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 doo 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 iiij, back² b iiiij³ b iiiij, back⁴ b v

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

Bvr afore I will stirre that vnsauery sinke of treson and trecherie, as one that intendeth to make a greate lepe, I muste bee forced to ronne backe to fetche my course, wherefore, omittynge the mattiers of the tyme present, I must repeete the estate of this island from the beginnyng, and what were the causes of this diuision 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 blindfold, & so would kepe them, to the perdition both of their soules and bodies, and then shal we se, whether this sayng of Christ afore reeited, maie not be wel verefied in vs of Britayne. In the discourse whereof, because the right & title whereby the kynges of Englannde claime to be superior Lordes of Scotland, is incidently touched: I wil ³vse for the more parte the testimonies either of Scottishe 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 Englannde proue their title to Scotland, onely by Englishe authours.

THE opinion of moste writers, and specially of Latins (at whom, aswell for auncientie, as indifferencie, I take my ground) is, that this islaunde of Britayn, whiche conteineth bothe realmes of Englannde 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 Cleunes, whiche appere vpon the sea costes of the saied islaunde, euen as we at this daie call the countrey from whence the Brasill wood commeth, Brasilia: whiche opinion is more probable then the devise of a late Welshe Poete, ymaginyng how it was called *Albion*, of one *Albina*, eldest of the fiftie daughters, of one Dioclesian kyng of Syria, whiche hauyng killed fiftie kynges, beyng their husbands, wer for the same exiled. And after long wanderyng in y^e seas, arriued at laste in this Islande, where thei engendered with spirites, & brought furth L ⁵Gianutes, whiche wer Gog Magog and his felowes, with suche poeticall fables, not onely without good foundacion, but also mere contrary to all auncient stories, and welnere against al possibilite of nature. But as the beginnyng of all nacions for the more part be fabulous and vncertain, some fetchyng their pedigree 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 the same, & 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 such 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 pedigree, 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 xlij. and as writers affirme, had three sonnes, *Loerinus*, *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 Loerinus his eldest sonne, of whom it was called *Logres*, and now England. To the second sonne, named Albanactus, he assigned another part towardes the Northe, whiche at this day the Scottes possesse; by which Albanactus, the countrey was called *Albania*, and the people, *Albanetas*, as shalbe shewed hereafter. The iij. part, liyng West, & towardes 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 subiection: So that admittynge 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 viij

² b viij. back

³ c j

⁴ c j, back

the people, Brytons, neither was there ¹any other state or Kyngdome in the Isleande at those daies, but onely of Britons. In so muche, that the Romaines, beyng most diligent reporters of the names of Princes by them subdued, and countreys conquered, whereas thei make particular meneion of dimerse kynges of the Britaines and of sundery cities in Britain, yet do thei never name any people called Scottes, ne make mencion of any suche Princes, as is pretended to haue ruled ouer them whiche, if thei had been so glorious, bothe in warre and peace, as thei be set furthe: how should their actes haue been hidden to the Romaines, which contended with all men for glory, for thirst whereof, thei sometymes sought ²enemies at y^e worldes ende. And though it maie be said, that *Cesur* and diuerse other never came so farre as Scotland, by a great distaunce: yet, how could it be, y^t *Iulus 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 *Grampus*, now called Granzeben, fought against *Galyacus* with ten M. Britaines, whom he there ouerthrew: how (I saie) could he bee ignorauant of the Scottes or of their warres? So that it muste be graunted, that at those daies, either thei wer not in Britayne, or if thei wer in Britayne, their ³name and power was nothyng suche, as we pretend. For who so diligently considereth the course of the said stories, shall well se, y^t neither Pictes ne Scottes had any dominion in Britayn, vntil about the declinacion of the Romain Empire: and that the Pictes entered into Britayn before the Scottes, in the time of kyng Marius, whiche was aboue the yere of Christe .lxxii. After whiche tyme, with the helpe of the Irishe Scottes, thei vexed the Britaines with continuall incursions. These Pictes wer a people of Scithia, now called Tartarie, & driven out of their countrey, sought herberough emonges Irish Scottes, who beyng nothing glad of such gestes, procured theim to set foote in Brytayne as thei did in deede, and ther continued many yers after. This people wer called Pictes, because in stede of garmentes, thei vsed to paint their skynnes with sundery figures of beastes and birdes, hauing collers of yron about their neckes, and girdelles of thesame, aboue their wastes, and specially the nobilitie of theim, whiche estemed the same for a greate poynt of brauerie. This doth Herodian write in the life of Seuerus themperor, whiche came into Britayne, and repaired the walle, begonne afore by Adrian his predecessor, by whiche walle, the Prouince of the Romaynes was diuided, from the residue of Britain, and ⁵was made firste to resist the incursions of suche Britaynes as thei accompted sauage and barbarous. The ruynes of this wal, are to be seen at this present: wherefore it semeth to me, that afore the time of thesaied Adrian, the name, neither of Pictes ne Scottes, was never knownen in Britayne, so that if thei had any possession there afore,

¹ e ij² e ij, back³ e iij⁴ e iij, back⁵ e iiiij

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 inhabitors of this island, wer al Britaines, 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 Scotland, 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 descended of Britaynes. For though the Islande hath been often inuaded by sundry nacions as Romaynes, Pictes, Scottes, Saxons, Danes, and lastely by Normaynes: yet doth it not folowe, y^t the whole bloud of Bri²taynes was so extincte thereby, but that there must great numbre remain in euery parte of the island, wherby it maie be said y^t the race of them is mixte, but not merely fordoen and extirped: for no countrey can bee so inuaded by straungers, y^t the whole race of the olde inhabiters, can bee worne all out, but that the substaunce or more parte, shall still remain. As for example, Italie hath been invaded by Gothes, Vandales, Honnes, and other barbarous nacions, can it therfore be saied that the whole Romain bloud is vtterly extinet? no verely: for of necessitie y^e stocke dooth still abide, thoughe not wholy, yet in the more part. And likewise of Englande and Scot³lande, I doubt not to saie, and am able to proue, that the great parte of bothe realmes, is come of y^e old Britayns. And thoughe 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 toungue, whiche thei speake in the North partes of Scotland, dooth no more proue them to be mere Irishe, then the Englishe toungue vsed in all the South partes of Scotlande, proueth the people there to be Englishe.

BVR to resorte to our purpose, how can it stand with reason, that the Pictes and Scottes, two strong nacions should make great warres, should so often infest and vexe bothe Brytains & Romaines, ye and ouercome them and at length stablish two kingdome 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 Caesar, Tacitus, Ptholomaeus and Plinius, Romayne authours (thoughe we speake of no mo) & on the other syde, Gildas, mooste auncient writer of the Brytaines, though euery wher in their histories, they make special mencion of all the people, then dwelling in Britayne, yet speake thei nothing of those twoo nacions, whiche if thei were chefe & strongest (as oure writers pretende) how couldle their names be pretermittid of so many authers, wherby one of

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

these two thinges 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 gouerned somwhiles by one, and somwhiles by mo, (as the Romayne stories deelare) 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 Bri^ttaynes, ne enforeceth any title for them, to be no subiectes to England: for it may stand together, that the estate of Britayne was suche at the beginninge, as the Englishe cronicles mencion: & as in time all thinges chaunge, so by occasions ensuyng, the first ordre might be broken, and from one intier kyngdome, to be diuided into partes, as it should seme, that it was about the coming of Caesar, who writheth, that at his arryuall in Britayne, the cities by common assente, elected *Cassibilanus*, to their king, wherby it maye be gathered, that the Monarchie therof, was then broken by some faccion within the Islande, which caused it to be a more easy prey to enemies. And ²this verefith my woordes spoken afore: that diuision and discorde of the people brought this Island first, into subiection of other nacionis. This is confirmed by the Romayn stories, but namely by *Cornelius Tucitus*, saiyng that Britaynes at the first were vnder Kynges, and afterwardes by faccions and sedicions of Prynnes and great men, were so diuided in themselves, that to resist an vniuersal peril, scarcely twoo or three countreys at the most, would agre together: so fighting in partes, at last the whole was ouercome. And by this meane was Britayne fyrste subdued, & made tributarie to the Romayns, vnder whome it continued in fourme of a prouince, ³vntill the tyme of great Constantine the Emperour, by whome it was restored to libertie: yet was it not so broughte in subieccion al this tyme, but that there were for the most part, kinges in Britayne, as our stories testifie, and likewise the Romayne: wherein we reade of *Aruiragus*, whome Iuuenal writing to Nero, signifieth to be a kyng by these woordes: *De tērmine Britanno, exēdet Aruiragus*, that is to saye: Aruiragus shall fall frome the stem of Britayne. And after hym, of *Lucius*, y^e first christen King, whom Elutherins 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 ha^{ue} been suche at the beginning, as the English story affirmeth, (which we must admitt, because the contrarye appeareth not) though there happened som interrupcion of the monarchie by the Romayns, or otherwyse: yet when the people atteyned their libertie, and were gouerned by Kynges of their awne: we muste presume, that thei obeyed them & their lawes, & the people to hold their lands in like

¹ c viij² c viij, 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 styeke, consideringe the name of Scot^ttes was not then knownen, as I said afore. And though our writers dreame diuerse thynges to the contrary, we cannot admittie their bare allegacions in disprofe of so many stories, of so grane writers, in whom, as there is lesse suspicion of parcialitie, so was there more certaintie of knowledgement, then in the other, whiche were vnborne after theim, by a great numbre of yeres. But admit no suche ordre to haue been prescribed in gouernement of the kynglome, as the Englishe storie alledgedeth: and though there had been, yet the interrupcion to be sufficient cause, to breake the same: and admit the Scottes to have been then in Britayne as thei were not: Let vs se whether ²we cannot vnyte 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 invaded the Northe partes of Britayne, and ceased not, till thei came to the Orcades, and so in fine, brought the whole islande in subieccion: their stories herein bee playne.

AND no lesse plain is it, that Constantius themperor, who died at Yorke, maried Helene, called sainete Helene, daughter & heire to Coyll kyg of the Britayns, of whom he begatthe the greate Constantyne, afterwardes 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 vnitid & 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, themperor beyng begotten in Britayn, sonne of her, that was heire of Britayne, borne in Britayne, and create Emperor in Britayne. Now if Scottes wer then in Britayn (as our writers alledge) then wer thei subiectes to Constantine, because the stories be evident, 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 Englannde but one Empire. In confirmacion wherof, besides the testimony of old histories, there be two notable thynges yet obserued in Englannde, by all the kynges successiuely, euen sithe y^e saied Constantine. The one is y^t thei ware 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 bear 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 twoo monumementes 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, Constanceins, Constans, and Constantyne, to whom beyng youngest, there fell for his porcion Britain, Spayne, Fraunce, and the Orcades. This Constantyne was ¹after slayne in Italye, by whose deathe, the Empire of Britayne came to his brother Constanceius whiche reigned twenty yeres, in whose bloud, it remained .xxiiij. yeres after, ²is to saie, vntil the v^e yere of the ii^e brethren, *Gracian* and *Valentinian*, Emperors, what tyme by fauor of the people, *Maximus* was creat emperor in Britain. This Maximus as *Hector Boetius* alledgedeth, in y^e.vij. boke of his historie, discended of y^e bloud of greate Constantine, & reigned ouer the whole islaunde of Britain and the Orcades, senentene yeres without interrupcion. And being desirous of more empire, with a greate numbre of Britaines, entered into Fraunce, & slewe Gracian the Emperor at Lions, and ²forced Valentinian the other brother to flee to Constantinople, for ayde of the Emperoure ther. Neuertheles (as al worldly thynges be mutable) hys fortune was to be slayne in Italy, leuyng behynd hym a sonne named *Victor*, who was slayne in Fraunce: whereby the state of Britayne, drew euery daye into worse. It were longe to reherse the mutacions of 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 naeyon 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 Seithia 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 belene Beede, a man for hys liuing and learning, reckoned in the numbre of saintes, and of ecclesiasticall writers, called *Venerabilis*, the comming of the Scottes into Britayne was not vnytill 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, back² d iiiij³ d iiiij, back⁴ 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 Lueius, whiche was the firste christen Kynge of the Britaynes, as is said afore: ther were in Britayne iij. high Prestes, or Bishoppes, Idolaters, of the Heathen religion, called *Archiflamines*, and xxvij. other inferiour Bishoppes of the same supersticion, called *Flamines*: In stede of whom, this godly King,ordeined as many Bishoppes of Christes religion, & thre Archebischoppes, 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 ealled Scotlande with the oracles. And notwithstanding all the mutations, happening in processe of yeres, yet al the Bishops of those countreyss, came vnto Yorke to be consecrated of y^e Arch^bbisshop 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 Englannde, whiche was about the yere of Christ a M.C. & Iv. the Englishe historie sheweth, that Michuell Bishop of Glascow, and after him, Tothatus 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, Innocentins, Eugenius and Adrianus, Bishoppes of Rome, written to the Bishops of Scotlande, So often ³as any of theym were rebell, or would not acknowledge the Archebishop of Yourke, Primate of Scotland, for their head Bisshop. This I alledge to shewe, that the two realmes at the first were not onely united in one Empire, but also in one Religion the superioritie wherof, seyng it so longe continued in the English side, proneth in that part a certayn kynde of subieccion in Scottes, whyche I passe ouer: But nowe hauinge sufficiently alleged to proue, that al we were Britaynes at the beginning, come of one kynde, and liuinge vnder one Monarchie, broken by diuision and ciuil discorde, as is shewed before: there restethe to disproue the fayned alligacions ⁴of the contrary part, which conuey you from Pharao, the tyraunt of Egyp. And as it is to conjecture, if their willes might take place, thei would bryng you vnder the seruite of Egyp again. But before I touche y^t argument, according to my promisse at y^e beginning, I must in part disclose the authours therof, whose vntrouthes, though I passe ouer, yet will they bewray it them selfes: for it is not unknowne 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, such as in name professe Religion, beyng in dedo the peruerters of all true Religion. These men, is-⁵uyng from the prince of darkenesse, broughte vp in darkenes, &

¹ d v, back ² d vi ³ d vi, back ⁴ d vij ⁵ 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 worlde, weded out of his realme those wicked plantes, not onely vnprofitable to his common wealth, but also enemies to all veritie and true Religion, whose example, if ¹we of Scotlande, had the grace to folow, I would nothingy dispaire of an honourable and Godly concorde, betwene bothe realmes in shorte time: & that without such 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, nestled themselfes in the nighte of that ignorauzt worlde, hauyng as mete a tyme to crepe into the conscienties of the simple Britaynes, as euer Saxons or Danes had, to inuade their laud ²and countrey. So apperyng to them with a visor of simplicitie and holines, semyng lynes outwardly, and neuerthelesse Wolues inwardlie, gat credite of vertue and Godliness: And seeing the Coele, whiche their father Sathan had sownen emong 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 breading hane thei fedde the silly people, vtteryng their dreames and inuencions, in stede of trouthes & verities. For as Kyttes bryng furthe no culuers, no more can the father ³of falso ded bryng furthe children of truthe, *qualis pater talis filius*: thei then beyng the impes of so euill a tree, muste of congruence bryng furthe fruite, like to them selfes, whiche was well sene in those dayes: For what through mischiefe & mortalitie, raised by them on the one side: And what through preaching lies & phantasies, on the other side, not only Gods woerde, but also all other knowledge, hath been obscured: whereof ensued vniuersal ignorauunce, who, being ioyned with error, brought furth an vnhappy 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 powdered 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 happily be borne and yet searse in astorie, the law wherof, is to affirme nothyng that is false, to lyde nothyng ¹that is true, neither to bee ledde with fauor, ne hatered. But seyng the thyng is doen of a sette purpose, for norisshyng diuision in the twoo Realmes, I cannot ouer passe it with silence.

"GATHELVS sonne of Ceecrops, kyng of Athens or Argues, "beeyng banished oute of Greece, with certain other fugitives cam "into Egipt, in the time of the greate tyraunt Pharao, whiche per- "secuted the children of Israell. In his daies, the Moores entered "into Egipt, and had broughte the lande vnto vtter ruine, had not "the kyng by gods commanndement, committed his armie vnto "Moses: But after that Gathelus was come, and had wonne a bat- "tail against the ²Moores, Moses and his company grewe out of "fauor, and were fain to flee out of Egipt into Iude. Then was "Gathelus made lieuetenaunt of Pharaos army, and for his valeaunt "seruice, obteined Seota the Kynges sister in mariage, with all the "landes lately taken from the people of Israell. After the deathe 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 "Egipce, & in the yere of the creacion of the world .iii. M .vj. C "xliij : He with Seota his wife ³their children & seruautes, Grekes "and Egipcians, came out of the mouthe of Nilus, and passing by "the sea, called Mediterraneum, toke land in Numidie, and after, he "arrived into a part of Spayne, then called, Lusitania, whiche be- "cause of his arrial there, had the name of Portyngale, as one "would saie, the porte of Gathelus."

THIS is a greate stomele at the threshholde 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 circumstaunes of the persone, time and place. And for the persone, we will admit Gathelus to ⁴be the kyng of Athens sonne, although no suche name is found in the Greke histories, and wee will admittre Pharao to haue a daughter, though no historie, Greke or Egipt, mencion of any suche. But when wee haue admitted the persons, al the doubt is, how we shall couple them in mariage. For accomptyng the tyme of Pharaos reigne, father of Scota, after y^e Hebrunes, then was she in the yere of the creacion of the worlde, twoo thousand four 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 differente, twelfe hundred yeres and more.

⁵This beinge true, here were a very vnsitte mariage betwene these

¹ e ii

² e ii, baek

³ e iij

⁴ e iij, baek

⁵ e iiiii

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

And in the tyme that Gathelus liued, which is alledged to be in the yeare of the worlde .iii. M vi. C. xliii. 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 judge in the sequele, which is of their comming into Spaine, and of their sonne *Hyper* afterwardes 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 comine of Grekes or Egyptians, then of likelyhode, some parte of their speache or language, shold remaine there. The vocables & soundes of which tongues, beasmuch differente in sounde, as the voices of men, and the noise of dogges. But seinge this priuiledge hath been geuen vnto antiquitie, that to make their fame moore highe and honorable, they myghte referre their beginninge to the Goddes: and though the same were more like Poetes fableis then syncere histories, yet to be taken for true: Soo woulde not I trauaile so muche in disprofe of these trifles, but because ⁴I se, that as thei were at the first inuented for diuision by new diuersitie of names, so thei be continued at this daie for like purposes. Suche practises haue bene vsed in Italie, betweene Guelfes and Gibilines, and in Hollande betwene Hukeis and Cabellawes, and otherwhere by newe founde names, inuented by the chyldren of perdition, to set vs at diuision, euen as they, by diuersitie of sectes & names are diuided from the vnitie of Christes religion. I nede not to name them, for those companions, be wel enough knowne by their coates and hodes, whome as I do not reprove of hatered to their persones, no moore do I impugne their histories for enuy at oure ⁵nacion, whose honor if I should not earnestly seke, I mought be compted moste vnnaturall, but that I se what sedicion is sowen by ouer muche 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 beginnings of people cannot be certainly knownen, but

¹ "The Bridegrome being elder than ye Bride." ² e iiiij, back

³ e v ⁴ e v, back ⁵ e vi

onely vnto God, whiche was afore al beginning, it shalbe better to admitte some things 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 & ¹againste the scripture, founded vpon falschode, mainteined vpon malice, and sette forthe to the diuision of two Realmes: I thoughte it no vnprofitable labor, to impugne, lamentinge, that in a Chronicle so exactelie written, & so eloquentelie set furthe, there shoulde wante veritie, the cheife grounde of al historie: whishing vnto the auuthor,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 Pletes, thei with their wifes & children, fledde into Ireland, where thei continewed xlvi. yeares together. Duringe ²which time, by reason of biyng and selling, marriyng, and other trauffique with the Irishe people, their name & tonge was a great part altered & lost. Yet, as our histories shew, the posteritie of those people, comming afterwardes vnto y^e possession of their countrey, to kepe in memorie of what kinde thei were come, called them selfes *Realbines* y^t is to saye: *Albines again*, for a knowledge (as it should seme) aswel of their kindred, as of their restituition & comming againe: which is a better profe to shew vs discended of Albanaetus (according to y^e English historie) then to saie, y^t *Realbines*, is vnderstandinge, *Kinges of Albion* (as the translator of Boetius historic 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 Chapiter 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 theim that saile, muste of likelyhode haue inhabitters, before the inner parte of the countrey. I ⁴saie no more, but, *Mendacem oportet esse memorem*: He that should tell a lye, had nede to haue good memory, least his matter appere like a Mermenaid, beginnyng with a woman, and ending with a Fishe, as when the ende of the tale is repugnat to the beginnyng, and the middes agreeable to neither of bothe. And doubtles it is no smal masterie to hide a lye: for apparell hym never so faire, his ragges will appeare, packe hym never so close, the bundell will breake, write hym or speake hym, and his auuthor 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 preindice to the

¹ e vi, back² e viii³ e vii, back⁴ e viii

au^lthor: For though he saie afterwardes true, none will belue 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 Lorle 1542 at the beginninge of these warres, called: "A DECLARATION, conteynyng the iust causes and consideracions, of this presente warre with the Scottes, wherin alsoo appereth the true ²and right title, that the kynges most royll 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 nedlesse to spende any more time, in a matter so well proued: Nenerthelesse I will somewhat touche a point or two, to gene occasion to all suche my contreymen, as minde the honor and quiet of Scotlande, to conferre my saiynge, with our histories, and to iudge the matter without affeccion. Wherof settinge a parte the order denised by *Brndus* at the first concerning the diuision of Brytayne, betwene his sonnes, with the Superioritie supposed in y^e ³eldest, and subiection of the other two, pretermittig also the conquest of the whoole Islande by Romaines, and the title d^rived frome the greate *Constantine*: letting passe also the sundry homages and recognicous of subieccion, made to Arthur, and other kynges of the Britaynes, and after him to Osbright, and the Saxon Kynge successiuely, 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 soever we esteme them) yet in my iudgement our awn writers, wherin they labor most to impugne the ⁴cause of England, do moste aduaunce it: and therfore in thyss parte, I will grounde me vpon them. They agre al vpon .xviii. homages & knowledges of subieccion and allegiaunce, made by the kynges of Scotland successiuely, vnto the kinges of Englande, and many of them within late memorie. Which homages, though some of them, either folowing their phantaseis, or fearing to offende our kynges, alledge to hane been done, somewhiles for Cumberland & somewhiles for the Erledome of Huntington: 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 emong other, kynge Iames the first, did homage, to kyng Henry the fourthe of Englande. The woordes and forme of whose homage, who so liste to peruse, shall well perceiue the same

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

to haue been made, neither for any of those Erledomes, neither yet for any other holde, but merely, for the crowne of Scotlande, whiche as wel he as other, knowledged to hold of y^e king of Englannde, as superior lorde, The recordes remaine, the seales & sublscriptions 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 so done, yet all could not be. For our Cronicles specifie y^t those .xviii. kinges were in Englannde, 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 croune of Scotlande, if we beleue the recordes of Englannde. And if any saye, that they be counterfeited, I thinke it soner said, then proued. And touching the compulsion & force, I saye, though some of our kynges might be compelled by feare, yet howe coulde all be: or coulde an whole Parliament be compelled? Is it not manifest, that when question arose, vpon the title of the croune of Scotlande, betwene *Belliol*, *Brus*, and *Hastynge*, was it not decided by Edward the fyrist, kinge of Englannde, as competent iudge in that ease? But here it is sayde agayn, that he was iudge in that ease, 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 *Solomon*, (whose iudgementes in histories be so celebrete) dyd energe 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 aduisied, what we saye, leaste by fleyng the smoke, we fall into the fyre. For oncee admittinge hym superior kynge, 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 prejudice a Kyng.

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

¹ f iii ² f iii, back ³ f iv, back ⁴ f iv, 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 have it seme, and therfore, I would y^t men should weigh the querell indifferently, and without affeccion, and not to leane more on the one side, then on the other. For the title, which I alledge, is neither deuided 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 justice, 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 kynes maiestie of England, kyng Edward the VI. (then beyng prince) was fully concludid by auuthoritie 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 seal of Scotlande. Maie there be any thyng of greater auuthoritie, force, or euidence, any title more righteous, then this? graunted, not by our auncestors, but by our selfes, and to a prince now liuyng, not in tyme oute of mynde, but ³even now these so few yers freshlye 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 almighty, 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 realnes, by that vnioun and knot of mariage. And what madnes or deuill (O moste dere countremē!) 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 deuil, 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 Frenchmen. And when we shall haue well considered, this attacement 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

pereine y^t the one calleth vs to an euerlasting peace & quietnes, and the other hath, and w[i]ll kepe vs (if wee forsake it not in tyme) in continual miserie and warres. And that maie we easily iudge, in repeting from the beginnyng ¹the causes of the one, and of the other. The Frenchmen, fearyng more and more y^e power of Englande, whiche had so many tymes dooen them so notable displeasures, as not onely to haue wonne of them sundry battailes (wherof for briefnes sake, I reporte me to the stories) but also, for that the Englishmen, hane (as ye knowe) these many yeres, kepte foote and possession of ground in Fraunce, did besides and emong many other thynges, denise this one, as a chief staye for theim, to make vs of their faccion against Englande, thinkyng therby at all tymes, when either for iust causes, Englande should haue to do with theim, or thei with Englande, wee should ²set on the backes of the Englishmen, or otherwise anoye theim, 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: even as it hath come to passe, that the Englishmen, haue so been forced to doo, when neuerthesesse, it hath redounded to no lesse discomfiture of our nacion, then of the Frenchmen, their principall enemies. An euident proife and triall whereof, (partely because thynges of farther tyme and memorie, hauyng been so many and so often, nele not therin to be narrowly sought for, and partly because this example, beyng freashest in mynd, maie, if it ³please God, worke moste best effect) did right well appere, in the first voyage of Kyng Henry the VIII. a Prince of mooste worthy & famous memorie, against Fraunce, when we inuaded England, to haue hyndered his enterprise, and doen there some displeasure, if wee had might, supposyng to haue founde at home, but shepherdes, priestes and women. At one time we lost the feld & our kyng, (beyng otherwise a noble Prince and a valeaunte Knight) besides an infinite numbre of our countreimen, few of y^e English 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 Frenchmen, and all the successes, that haue chaunced to vs syns the conclusion of thesame, we ca[n]not recken how to adauant 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 Frenchmen, 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 beeuyng 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 behalfe, attempted to do hurte to

¹ f vii, back ² f viii ³ f viii, back ⁴ g j ⁵ 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 aunswere, to our misaduisid willes: And so farre did we estrange our selfes, that wee could finde in our hartes to become seruile, and to bee as common hirelynges, to a forrein nacion. For what other thing do we but serue theim for their money, to our awne vtter destruccions, to y^e spillyng of our awne blond to the burnyng of oure tounes, and to the waste and spoyle of our whole natvie countrey? And at this, do the Frenchmen laugh; thei take pleasure, sittynge at ¹home in securitie, excepte peraduenture thei sende a few of their east souldiors, of whom thei make lesse accoumptes or estimacion, then of so many shepe or hogges: Howbeit, to bring vs in belefe, that we bee in some parte of estimacion with theim, 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 little he trusteth, God knoweth, and daily experience teacheth. By this he maketh vs silly soules beleue, that he hath vs in singular trust, when in deede it is but a golden and glisteryng bayte, alluryng our simplicitie and credulitie, to that Iron hooke, 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 & auctorite, 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 countreymen 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 Escoce*. 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 receiuied ³whiche was when at thentre of a league, with Charles y^e greate Kynge of Fraunce, wee receiuied for an encrease of the Armes of our realme, a trace of flour de luce, not considering how shamefull and dishonorabile it was to vs, being so noble a ⁴people, to deface our auncient Armes, and receive the note and token of nobilitie and worthines, of straungers: On thoother 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 subiectes moré renouned, more happy and more quiet: the realme more sure, and formidable to the enemies: and thei lesse eshuned and feared.

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

¹ g ij² g ij, back³ g iii⁴ pleople⁵ g iii, back

occasion (for I wil not now speake of all thynges) to make vs fre & sure from outward invasion wherof (peace beyng first betwene vs and Englande) should folowe peace with al others: In sort, as the laboryng man might safely till his grounde, and as safely gather in the profites and fruities therof: the marchaunt might withoute feare goo abrode, and ¹bryng in forreine commodities, into the realne: the gouernours beeyng in tranquilltie, and not hauyng their thought and cure diuided into many sundery partes, should, with lesse carefullnesse 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 succeede peace, wealth, quicke ordre, and all other graces and good happenes. 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 helllong, into the fury of warre, lette vs recken with our selfes, (whose cause is moste iniust and wrongfull) what is to be loked for, towarde vs, at the conquerors handes, seing, that we haue refused so honorable, so equall, and so easie, yea, and frenldy condicions of peace: specially being called, not into subieccion or seritude, but into one societie and feloweship 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 selfes, more at his maiesties hand, then peraduenture were lawfull to looke for, of a mortall man. Then, what should wee feare at the handes of such a Prince hauing maried our natural quene but all grace, clemencie, and benignitie, as well for her graces sake, whom he shall haue maried, as also for those vertues, which be to his Maiestic 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 & Englishmen, 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 experiance wherof we haue seen, enen from

¹ g iiiii² g iiiii, back³ g v⁴ g v, back

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

To haue mani gouernors is not good

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

SURELY, the aunswere of *Cerbune Lylygne*, wherof *Serimus* maketh mencion in his commentaries, was of no small grauitie & importaunce. For when Crœsus would haue ioynel his brother with hym in the kyngdome : the sonne (saied he) is auuthor of all good thynge in the yearth, but if there should bee twoo 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 theim that reade the story. Herefore dare I boldly saie, if these twoo realmes wer ⁴brought vnder one Empire and gouernaunce, wee should see an ende of al strief and warre, whiche will never 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 & condicione to bee moste happie and mooste florishing. The whiche thynge to attein, it lieth onely in you (O moste dere countreymen) : yours is the faulte, you must make the amedes. And other condicions of recompense, then your selfes haue agreed vnto, wil vndoubtedly none bee allowed. For what other condicions should Englande receiue of vs, (hauing had so often experiance of oure breaches of peace, of truce, and of our promises, which yet vnto ⁵this daie, we haue never truely kept towardes 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 such sorte, as they maie be assured to fynd vs constaunt, firme and stedfaste in oure promise. Wherfore, if there remayn with you (O dere countreymen) any remoree or pitie of our torne and woful countrey, or of your selfes, 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 deuelish enterprise, beyng vterly contrary to your faithefull 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 weeping to you with bloody teares, which your selfes 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 wooffull tragedy in her perfect colours : but seyng the same doeth not serue to my wyshe, Imuste vtter such matter, as the dolor of my hart, and natural pitie, may minister vnto my penne, whiche if it could as lively depaynt the greatnes of this euill, as myne harte doth Imagine and conceine the same, the multitude of teares shoulde let mens iyes 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 senered 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 four, 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 tear me, pñll me, & ryue ³me in peces ? were their euer children so vnmaturall (if they were not of the vipers nature) to rend their mothers wombe ? yea, were there euer beastes so salvage, or cruel, to denour the dame ? If birdes, beastes, and all thinges naturall haue this reason, not to destroy their kynde, how chaunceith it then, that you beyng men endewed with reason, breddle in one lande, ioyned in one faithe, shoulldthus vnkindly, vnmaturally, and vncristenly, bathe youre swoordes in eche others blode ? May not the example of other landes teache you to beware of diision, to hate all discorde, to abhorre intestine warre ? May not the ruine of y^e Grekes, the falle of the Romaynes, and the subuersion of soo many ⁴countreyss, common weales, and states in the worlde, suffyce for your ensample ? yea, may not the present sighte of my ruyne and decay, teache you to take heede ? If the counsailes of wyse men, experiance of other countreyss, nor y^e pytie of me your mother, your nutryee, 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 towards your selfes. Haue you not shedd enough of your awne blodde? what folye, or rather what fury is this, thus to ruynate your selfes, and to deuoure one an other, to the discomforde 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 judge it sufficente, & more then enoughe, not onely to conquere 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 ech other, emonge youre selfes. 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 am vnhappy mother of suche children: how longe shall these furies leade you? how longe will you that my wyde fyeldes lye wasted, that my townes be desert and vnpeopled, that my ²fayre houses and Castels be spoiled and burnt, & my people famished? I cannot accuse Romaynes, Pictes, ne yet Normanis, but myne awne rebellious, discordant and graceles chil-
dren. O hateful discord, no where doest thou begyn, but all goeth to wrecke, ere thou makest an end. O priuy poysone, O familiar foo, O dissembling traitor, O couerte pestilence: what coulde *Cesar* haue preuailed agaynst me, if *Mandubatius* 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 blode, be wroken vpon them, kyl them, & ouercome them, & when thei be all killed, ouercome and subdued, then turne the swoordes point against ech other, but not afore: and then shall you neuer soo doo, for you neuer yet to this daie, haue wanted enemies. But to returne to you again my countremen, whom, for y^e natural loue, I beare to you, I cannot leaue to blame for your folyes, or rather madnes, & exhorte you to this moste honorable, most godly and profitable attonement with Englande, who wynkyng at our transgressions, bearynge with our peruerse waiwardenes & pardoning our to much ingra⁴titude hitherto, doth to her vtter moste strength & power, seke with al possible gentlenes, to reconcile vs, & with all her endeououre continuallye laboureth to make vs partakers of her concorde and vuitie, her tranquilitate & 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 auuthoritie ouer y^e chyldren may) adiure you by God y^e very auuthor of all peace, Loue, Charitie, & concorde, to returne into y^e

¹ h ij, back² h ij³ h ij, back⁴ h iiij

right waie, out of the whiche, ye haue so long gone a straigh. Remember (I beseech you, o most dere countreymen) how that by this calling of vs into this vnitie, proceeding plainly from god him selfe ¹ he 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, sincere & incorrupt religion of christ, setting a part all fonde supersticions, sophistications, & other thousandes of deuilries brought in by the bishop of Rome & his creatures, wherby to geue glosse to their thizges & darknes to Gods true worde, for y^e onely purpose, to aduaunce their glory, & treade Gods word vnder fote, to vtter their fylthy mercchaundise, & to sclaunder y^e precious ware & Iewels of y^e scripture: & emonges y^e rest, to destroye Gods peace, & ringe their awne alarmes, against his moste glo^rious victory on y^e Crosse, thronout 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 repeate vnto vs, peace, peace: loue, loue: charitie, charitie: & reproueth warre, hatred, & discord, seedes doubletesse scattered by y^e deuil, through those monsters of men, that professe preposterous religion, to stirre aswell all others, as also most specially, you my countreymen most of all, to this diuision & roare, wherin thei (fearinge the worthy fall, wher with God threateneth them, which they now perceine by others examples to hang ouer their heades) deuise by hooke & by croke to kepe you ²styl occupied in mistrust of your best frendes, casting before your eyes, mystes, shadowes, & colors (suche as Iuglers vse to doo) to thende, lest if you should once se the clearnes of Gods worde, you should then encline to y^t of your selfes, 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 furder, then at the first I purposed: wherfore I wil make an ende, if fyrist I shall repeate 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 geneⁿ to the eldest, which forme of gouernance, was also ⁴vnder Constantyne. I haue also proued, y^t these two realmes ought to come vnder y^t fourme, & y^e kinges Maiestie y^t now is, to be Monarch of the same: aswel for the superioritie, which was in his auⁿcestors proued by y^e homages & other thinges afore alleged, y^e claim wherof did yet never cease as also specially by force of your awn late act of parliament, wherby he ought of right to mary our Princesse, thineritrice of y^e crown of Scotlaunde: by occasion wherof we shalbe receuied, 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 euerlasting peace, quiete & tranquillite: vnto whiche effectes there is verely none other meane. And y^e thing selfe (though I should holde my peace) doth sufficiently speake & avouche y^e same to be a waye vnto both Realmes most honorable, because not only the Empire shal by y^t occasion be y^e more large & strong in it self, & the King y^e more puissant & famous: profitable, for y^t discorde shal ceasse, & concord come in place, & thereby the people & common weale florish & prospre: & godly for y^t we shal agre all in one, & y^e same 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 Englannde, & protector of all his realmes, dominions, & subiectes his lieuetenaunt general of al his armes, 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 worthiness, well knownen to the world, & you, of whom you haue had late experiance to your peines, & his dolour, for that, as the louyng mother, in beatyng her ³childe weepeth, so in punishyng you, he did it lothely, and to his grief, because he pitied your case. The said lord protector is comyng towardes you, with a puissaunt & invincible army, hauing on his side God, & the iust cause, and an intent, to receiue to mercy grace & fauor, so many of you, as for y^e furthering of this mariage & his other Godly purposes, wil come in to him. And contrarilly, to punish & correct y^e rest, y^t shal remain in their stubburn & wilful disobedience. Wherfore (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, callynge God & his angels, vnto witnes therof, who knoweth our infidelitie, & will not leaue the iniury doen to hym & them, vnreuenged. For the regard of God, for your awn sakes, & for the tendre respecte of our countrey, cast wisely doune y^t armour & weapons y^t you haue so fondely put on & taken in hand: & submit your selfes humbly, to the mercy & clemencie of so noble & benigne a Prince: who is rather come thither, louingly to embraco & receiue you, yea, & as your protector, to defend & assist you: then to punish you according to your desertes. But, if you shal despice my counsail & abuse his humanitie & good offers, how gentle & clement soever he be of his awn nature, thinke you for sure, y^t God, who wil not suffre infidelitie, tescape long inchastised, wil stirre vp ⁵hys corage to do

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

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

Au Epistole
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 Vertforde, Vicount Beauchamp,**
lorde Seimour, buncle to the kynges highnes
of Englande, Gouernor of his moste royll
persones, and Protector of all his Realmes,
dominions and Subiectes, Lieuetenant ge-
nerall of all his Maiesties Armies, bothe by
lande and sea, Threasuror and Erle Mar-
shall of Englande, Gouernor of the Isles of
Gernesey & Jersey, and Knight of the moste
noble ordre of the Garter, with others the
Counsaill of the said moste high and noble
Prince EDVVARD, by the grace of God
of Englande, Fraunce and Irelande, kyng,
defender of the Faith, and in earthly bnder
Christe the supreme hedde of the Churche of
Englande & Irelande: To the nobilitie,
and counsaillors, gentlemen and the
commons, and all others the in-
habitantes of the realme
of Scotland: Gretyng
and Peace.

CONSIDERyng with our selfes the present state of thynges, &
weiying more depelye the maner and termes, wherein ²we and
you do stamde: It maketh vs to merueile what euil & fatal chaunce
dooth so disseuer youre hertes, & maketh them so blinde and vnmindfull of your profite and to still conciliate and heape to your self
mooste extreme mischieves: the whiche, we (whom you will nedles 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 affliction and miserie) then
that we, beyng superiours in the feld, ³Masters of a great part of
your realme, should seke vpon you: Yet to thintent that our 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,
even as the father to the sonne, or thelder brother would do to the

¹ Sign. A ij² A ij, back³ A ij

yonger brother: And as the louyng Phisicion, would do to the mistrustfull and ignorauant pacient, we are content to call and crye vpon you, to looke on your state, to auoyde the greate calamitie your Countrey is in: To haue vs rather brothers, then enemies, rather Countreymenne, then Conquerours. And if your Gouvernor or Capitaines, shall reteigne and kepe from you this oure exhortacion, as heretofore ¹ thei haue doen our Proclamacion tending to the like effecte, for their awne priuate wealth & commoditie, not regarding 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 accordingy to the doctrine thereof doo not cease to call & prouoke you, from the effusion of your awne blood, from the destrucion of the realme of Scotland, from perpetuall enemietie and hatred, from the finall eradication of your nacion, and from seruitude to foreyne nacions: to libertie, to amitie, to equalitie with vs, to ²that whiche your writers hath alwayes wissched, mighte once come to passe. WHO that hath red thistories of tyme paste, and doth marke and note the greate battailes, fought betwixte Englannde and Scotland, thineur-sions, roades, and spoyles, whiche hath been doen on bothe the parties: The realme of Scotlande fwe tymes wonne by one kyng of Englannde: The Scottishe kynges, some taken prisoners, some slain in battaill, some for very sorowe and discomforde vpon losse, diying and departing the world: and shall perceine 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 vncristian that there shold be betwixte vs so mortall warre, who in respect of al other nacions, be, & should bee, like as twoo brethiren of one Isle 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 indefeable right genen of bothe to one, without the destrucion 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 chaneed, but by his infinite mercie and moste inscrutabla prouidence, as carefull for you, he hath genen 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 iiij, back² A iiiij³ A iiiij, back⁴ A v

leneie and young, (whom you know, after a promise broken contrary to his honour: ¹ And a misfortune by iust iudgement of GOD folowing 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 almighty GOD, as it were to shewe his will and pleasure to be, that the long continued warre and ennemitie, of bothe the nacions should be taken awaie, and knit in perpetuall loue and amitie, take the two men children of those babies, beyng distaunt the one from the other, and in diuerse placees, 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 victorius Prince, late our Kyng and Master, kyng Henry theight ² in other of his mariages not most fortunate, had by his most lawful and moste vertuous wife Quene Jane, his other two wifes before that mariage departed this worlde, and neuer surmisse 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 & vndoubtēd heire of the Realme of England, and his maiestie, onely of male issue, left behynd hym to succede the imperial Croune: 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, ³ thinke otherwise, but that it was Gods pleasure it should bee so, that these twoo realmes should ioyne in mariage, and by a godly Sacrament, make a Godly, perpetuall, and moste frendly vnitie and concord, wherby suche benefites, as of vnitie and concord commeth, may through his infinite grace, come vnto these realmes. Or if any man of you, or of any other nacion doubteth hereof, excepte that you loke for miracles to bee doen herein, and yet if ye marke all the possibilities of the natures of the twoo princes, the children alredy had, the doubtfull chaunce, least eche of them should haue a sonne, or bothe daughters, or not of mete ages, with other circumstaunes both of the partie of this realme ⁴ of Englannde, and that of Scotland, whiche hath not chanced in eight hundred yeris, it muste nedes bee reckoned 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 Prophesies 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 prouidentes or chaunees? 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 ⁵ the one, and a Princesse to the other, to bee ioyned in my holy Lawes, and by the Lawe of nature, and the worlde, to haue made an vnitie, concorde, and peace, in the whole Isle of bothe the realmes: you

¹ A v, back ² [A vij] 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 therfore 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 apereth Gods prouidence herein, and opportunitie and occasion geuen, to vnite both the realmes: yet may here after saie, and heretofore hath saied, that the faulfe herein is,¹ that wee seke not equalitie, nor the mariage, but a conquest, wee would not be frendes, but be lordes. Although our Proclamacions at the laste warres, dooeth enough declare the contrary, yet here wee proteste and declare to you, and all Christian people, to be the kynges Maiesties mynd, our Masters, by our aduise and counsall, 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 sauе 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 drieve vs to conquer, who is giltie of the blood² shed? 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 Scotlannde, graunted by the Parliament of Scotlannde, for the mariage whiche should bee made, with assuraunccs and pledges, vntil the performance? 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 dooer and laborer therein, for the high & inestimable benefite of that realme. So sone as he was by the late Cardinall of S. Andrews and o³thers, with certain vain feares & hopes, and gredines of dignitie peruerted, reuolted from his first agrement, and put al the realme to the losse of suche holdes and fortresses, as be now taken from you: and to the losse of a foughten feld, for the which we are sory, if otherwise peace could haue been concluded, for his awne priuate lucre, & rechelesnes of that noble Realme. And what ende canne you loke of this maner of procedynges, but suche successe as heretofore hath been experimeted and assaied: 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 Englannde: What can be more offered and more profred, then entercourse of merchauisides, enterchaunge of mariages the abolishyng of all suche our lawes, as prohibitheth thesame, or might bee impediment to the mutuall amitie. We haue offerd not onely to leaue thauthoritie, name, title, right, or chalenge of conquerours: but to receiue that whiche is the shame of men ouercomed, to leane 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 nothing should

¹ [A viij.]² [A viij. back]³ B. j.⁴ 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, ¹after 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 conclude an eternall and perpetuall peace, whiche to confirme, wee shall fighte, and you to breake, is it not easie to decerne who hath the better parte? GOD and the sworde, hath all ready, and shall hereafter, if there bee no remedie ²trie it. Who so willeth the mariage to goo forwarde, who myndeth the peacee and tranquilitie of both the Realmes, who willett 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 received to y^e amitie, but shal haue sufficient defence agaynst the aduersaries: WE neither do nor intend, to put any man from his takkes or offices, onlesse he will needes resist, & so compell vs thereunto, what face hath this of conquest? We intend not to disherit your Quene, but to make her heires inheritors also to England. What greater honor can you seke vnto your Quene, then ³the mariage offred? What more meter mariage then this, with the kynges highnes of England? What more sure defence, in the nonceage 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 sustain. IN the realme of England, diuerse lawes and customes be, accordyng to the auncient vsage of the parties thereof. And likewise in Fraunce, Normandy, and Gascoigne, hath sundery kynd of ordres: Hath al the realmes and dominions whiche the Emperor now hath, one and one sorte of lawes? These vain feares and phantasies, of expul'sion of your nacion, of chaungyng the lawes, of makynge a conquest, bee driven into your heddes, of those who in deede, had rather you were all conquered, spoyled, & slain, then thei would lose any poynte of their will, of their desire of rule, of their existimacion, which thei knowe in quietnes would bee sene what it wer, as it were in a calme water. Now in this tumulte of discord when the realme is tossed vp and doun, with wanes and sourges of battaill, famyne, & other mischief, whiche the warr bringeth, thei thynke thei cannot be espied. But looke on them, you that haue wit and prudence, and consider the state of your Quene and realme: YOV wil not kepe her sole and vnmaried, the whiche were ⁵to 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 iiij

haue to the Croune of Scotlande: and what dissencion, enuie, grudge, and malice, that shall brede emonges you, it is easy to perceue. 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 subieccyon, 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 ¹faithefull & true to the realme of England, in y^e way of this moste Godly vnion by mariage. And if any forein power, Prince or potente, 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 vitaill, holde you in subieccyon, and regarde you as slaues, which without them could not live, take your Quene to bestowe as thei list, and leaue your realme, especially if their Kyng or ruler (as perchaunce he maye be) in other warres, be otherwise occupied, to be a pray to vs & a true conquest. Then it shalbe to late to saie, we will haue a mariage and no conquest, wee wishe peace and amitie, we are very of ²battaill and miserie. The stubborne ouercomed must suffre the victours pleasure, and pertinacie will make the victory more insolent, whereof you your selfe haue genen 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 numbre is that, that shalbee slain, whose bloodde shalbe shed? Their money peraduenture shalbe consumed, and their comauandementes 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 iyes, your wifes and daughters in dannier 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 theim wer put out? Where bee the Pictes, once a great nacion betwixt you and vs? Howe did the nacion of Fraunce put out the Galles out of all Fraunce? Howe gotte the Turke first all Grecia, and now a late Hungarie, but beyng called in for to aide and helpe?

¹ B iiij, 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 eneroche vpon you? What will thei not thynke thei ¹maie dooe? And what will thei thinke that you dare doo? This forein helpe is your confusion, that suecour is your detriment, the victory so had, is your seruitude, what is then to be thought of losse taken with theim? 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 holdeth ²the Frenche king Briteigne, now lately adnexed to that Croune, not by title of mariage? Howe hath al the greate princes of the worlde happily, 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 makynge one rule, whereto title is pretended, and perfite agrement 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, you ³enforce it vpon you: you wil not haue peace, you will not haue aliaunce, you will 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 goodles, 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 behauior, who should rule ouer you, and take you to be but their slaues. But we eftesones and finally declare, and protest vnto ⁴you, that although for the better furtherance of this godly purpose, of vniting the realmes, and for the sure defence of theim, whiche fauoreth the mariage, we are compelled for the tyme, to kepe holdes, to make fortificacio/n/s 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 receive this amitie offered, not to followe conquest, we desire loue, vnitie, concord, peace and equalitie: let neither your Gouernour, nor your Kirkmen, nor those who so

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

often hath falsefied their faithe & promise, and by treacherie and falshed, be accustomed to prolong the ¹tyme, fede you further with faire wordes, and bryng you into the snare, from whence thei cannot deliuer you. Thei wil peraduenture prouide for themselves, with peneions in some other Realme, and sett souldiours straungiers in youre holdes, to kepe you in subiecccion, vnder pretense to defende them against vs. But who prouideth peneions for you? How are you defended, when thei bee fled awaie? Who conquereth you when the straunge souldiours or Capitaines hath your holdes? When your land is wasted, and the realme destroyed, & the more part kept from you? Who will set by the mariage of the Quene, to buye a title with the war of Englande, to mary the name, another mightie Kyng holdyng the ²lande? If we twoo beyng made one by amitie, bee moste hable to defende vs against all nacions: and hauyng the sea for wall, the mutuall loue for garrison, and God for defence, should make so noble and wel agreyng Monarchie, that neither in peace wee maie bee ashamed, nor in warre affraied, of any worldely or forrein power: why should not you bee as desirous of thesame, and haue as muche cause to rejoyse at it as we? If this honour of so noble a monarchie, do not mone 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 Scotlaunde either to famyne and miserie, or to subiecccion and seruitude of another nacion. Wee require but your promised Quene, your offred agreement of vnitie,⁴ the ioynynge of bothe the nacions: 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 & prouocacion, we haue & will followe, to the beste of oure powers, and in his name, and with his ayde, admonicion, exhortacion, requestes, and Embassairies, not beyng hable to do it, and to finde stablenes in promises: We shal not willyng, but ⁵constrained, pursue the battaill chastice the wicked and malicious, by the angrie Angelles of GOD, the Fire and Sworde. Wherefore, wee require & exhort all you, who hath loue to youre Countrey, pitie of that realme, a true hart to your quene & Maistresse, regarde of youre honors and promises, made by y^e greate Seale of Scotlaunde: And who fauoreth the peace, loue, unitie, and concord, and that most profitable mariage, to entre and to come to vs, and declaryng your true and godly hartes theruntō, to ayde vs in this moste Godly purpose & enterprise: be witnessesse of our doynges, 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 viii, 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 theim that bee well willers and ayders, of this Godly enterprise, hath by oure aduise and counsail graunted, &¹ by these presentes doeth graunt, that from heneefurthe, all maner of merchauntes, and other Scottishmen, who will entre their names, with one of the lieuetenauntes or wardens of the Marchies or any other of the Kynges maiesties officers hauyng auctorite, 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 as² freely, & with thesame, & no other custome or paimentes 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 enterprise and vniōn, that all the world may be witnes of y^e great zeale and loue, whiche his highnes dooeth beare, towardeſ you and your nacion. And all this the Kynges highnes by our aduise and counsaill, hath willed to bee declared vnto you, and geuen in commaundement to vs, and all his Lieuetenauntes, Wardens, Rulers, and other hed officers, ministers & subiectes, to see executed and doen, according to the true purporre, 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, defendor of the faith,
and in yearthe vnder
Christ the supreme
holde 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 iiij

² C iiij, back

³ [C iiiij]

A N E P I-
 tome of the title that the
 Rynges Maiestie of Englande,
 hath to the souereigntie of
 Scotlande, continued
 vpon the auncient 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 Englaunde,
Fraunce, and Irelande, defender of the faithe
and vpon yearth supreme hed, of the Churche
of Englaunde, 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 Scotlaunde 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 perteinyng to all menne, whiche doo
professe obedience to youre highnes, that no mannes studie ought to
be taken as vain or vnthankfull, whiche humbly bryngeth furthe to
that common vse, whatsoeuer iudgement, profite, or knowledge, he
supposeth to haue founde, either by studie, or inquisicion: foreseyng
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
deliner vs from the perill objected. Herefore, most noble prince,
pervsing² 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 dentie to offre vp thesame vnto youre highnes, [ainst
the obstinacie of Scottis a nacion often vanquished by the valiant
manhood of your noble progenitor/s, & only left in lyf by theire
mercie], which histories like as almighty 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 auncest^r Eldulph de Samour beeing then Erl of Gloucester, many hundreth yeres a gone, in the tyme of kyng Aurelie Am^lbrose 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 Briteaigne; 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 restitucion of the name and Empire of greate Briteaigne vnto your highnes, shew themselfes the worthie successors of such an auncest^r. Neither haue I purposed herin, with opprobrious wordes to skold with the Scottes, and thereby to wipe of one durt with ²another. Neither do I intende to builde vpon our awne Englishe authours, 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 defencie, folowing therein for the more part Ueremund, Camphil, Cornelius de Hibernia, and Boccius their awne authours: whiche peines because I haue assumed rather as a necessarie seruice to my countrey, then for mine awne glory, I truste I shall offend 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 glitering ouverture, 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 assencion 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 recovery whereof, vndoubtedly almighty God, for your syncere fauor to the auancement of his holy woerde, 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 iiiij.

³ A iiiij, 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 doun their weapons, thus rashely receiued, to fight against the mother of their awne nacion: I mean this realme now called Englaude the onely supreme seat of thempire of greate Briteigne. In whose bosome cast with vs, as bothe in one moulde, thei haue receiued thesame toungue, lawe and language: forasmuche therefore, as nowe touchyng the mariage of their Quene, there is nothyng of ²our part left vndoien, that ought to perswade theim to concorde, and thesame by diuerse of theim hetherto wholy negleeted, thei shall of my parte easely perceiue that to increase their errour, approue their folly, or allowe their obstinacie, I am not disposed; but contrarily by y^e veritie (wher in their awne writers shalbee no defence to theim, 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 ^{iii.} M. xxvii. had ar*riued* in this Isle, and after his awne name had called it Briteigne, he had issue thre sonnes, Loeryne, Albanaetus, 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, Albanaetus 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,⁵ is sufficiently testifid vntill this daie. The particion in this wise established, Albanaetus possessing Albania was by Humber, his subiect miserably slain, with out issue of his body: to punishe whiche traitery, Locrine and his brother Camber assembled their power and entered Albania, and there slewe this Humber, whose body thei threwe into a great riuier. Some write that this Humber beyng desperate, threw hymself into this

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

⁵ A vii.

Riuver, 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 wholy to hymself, not yeldyng any part therof vnto Camber his ¹brother, whereby also euidently appereth the entier seigniory ouer it to consist in hymself, accordyng to whiche example, like lawe emong brethren euer since hath contynued, preferrynge the eldest brother to the onely benefite, of the collateral asseneion from the youngest, aswell in Scotlande as in Englannde vnto this daie. Loeryne reigned in this state ouer them .xvii. yeres. Ebranke the lineall heire from the bodie of this Loeryne, that is to saie the sonne of Membris, soone of Madan, sonne of thesame Loeryne, buylded in Albania the castle of Maidens, nowe called Edenbrough: and the Castle of Alcluth or Alclude, nowe called Dunbriton, as the Scottishe Hector Boecius confesseth: wherby moste euidently 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 Britaigne, discended to the onely kyng of Britons, vntil the dissent to the twoo sisters sonnes, Morgan and Conedage, lineall heires from thesaied Ebranke, who brotherly vpon the first example denuded the realme. Morgan had Logres, and Conedage had Albania: but shortly after Morgan the elder brother³ ponderyng in his hed, the loue to his brother,³ with the loue to a kyngdome, excluded nature and gaue place to ambieion, and ther upon denounced warr to his brother:³ in whiche warre as the reward of his vntruthe, death miserably ⁴ended his life: wherby Condage obteined the whole Empire of al Britaigne, 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 requirynge 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 elaine 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 theim to prescribe.

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

¹ A vii, back.

² A viij.

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

⁵ G iiiij, back.

⁶ sic.

⁴ A viij, back.

of great Britaigne in xlvi. discentes of kynges almost vi .c. yeres
¹ before any Scottisheman came within it. I haue also proued vnto
 you how after their commynge 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 ceasse against them vntill
 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 of ²this realme, whiche is
 the dutie of onely subiectes. I haue also proued vnto you howe
 the generall iurisdiccion ecclesiastical of Scotland many hundredth
 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 likwise proued
 vnto you that Willyam called the Conqueror, of whom our king is
 linially descended, was heire testamenteary 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 beginningny
 inseparably appendaunt to the croune 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 the arldome of Hunt-
 ynglon was only atteined 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 croune 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 theim 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 of ⁴Englande, the noble and
 superior lord of the kyngdome of Scotland and vnto you I make my
 fidelitie for the same kingdome, the vwhich I hold and claime to
 holde of you, and I shall beare you my fayth and fidelitie of life and
 lymme and vworldly honor against all menne, faythfully I shall
 knowledge and shall do you seruice due vnto you of the kyngdome
 of Scotland afore sayd as God so help and these holy euangelies.”

I wyl not here plede the severall resignacions and surrendres of
 the mere possession of y^e kyngdome of Scotland made by their law-
 full kynges, to our kynges Edwarde the first and Edwarde the third:
 nor yet allege our kynges pedugre from Mawde the daughter of
 Malcolme their ⁵kyng, 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 Dauid and Jane so entailed by thesame Dauid then kyng thereof as is before declared: nor yet obiect a forfaiture vpon their rebellion, for our kinges maestie 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, notwithstandingyng 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 condempnaacion, 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 theim all bothe old and new and therfore 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.

Wherfore if they mistrust the seueritie of our lawes, chiefly as they bee mitigated at this day, none can better trust, then they y^t so do mistrust: but the likyng of their lawes standeth to them selfes, in them there is none alteracion sought: for policie in sondry places must of necessitie require sondry lawes, like as in divers places of Englande to this daye be enjoyed diuersitie in customes & haue been without alteracion offred³ since 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 euill⁵ concord is, as that wherby all things 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 distrencion and desolacion, as by the ciuill warres betwene Silla and Marius, y^e ruine of Rome is sufficient example to all the worlde. Wherfore I would nowe wishe & desire, whiche is all that I am able to dooe, that these cruel and bloudy 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 it selfe hath closed vppe the iyes of your reason, and ledd your selfes

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 thynge, when she ordeined all beastes with some natural municion, as horne, spurre, tothe or naile : she wold not create man either eruel or vengeable by any of this outward thinges, but gaue him reason, & so to rule without angre or armour : she endowed you with giftes to the maintenaunce of concorde, & will you vse theim 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 einiis ? but that it exeedeth in malice : your cause that produeeth war is neither honest nor iust, neither godly, nor necessarye, but against honestie, vice : against iustice, iniust : against godlynes, wicked, against necessarie, wilful obstinaey : the fruites whereof be so horrible y^t of wise men they be with more lamentacion bewailed, then of your vnwisedomes with painefulnes suffered. If maymes, if pouertie, if sickenes, if woundes, if lamenes, if robbery, if manqueling (I omit death, as to gentle a thyng among these miseries) did appere either pleasaunt or profitable, I would sumwhat stay my penne ? Further, what properties procedeth of warre, but outragious costes, vnmesurable labor, ineui²table perilles, consumyng anger, vnrestfull quietnes : the baner whiche you folow is a guide but to misery and death, either to kil other vnmercifully, or els to dye wickedly : but let shame do y^t in you which wisidome should do, or els amende by wisidome that shame compel you not : if profite & quietnes that is in peace cannot moue you, yet let trouble & horror that is in warre with the iniustice of your cause feare you, if your magistrates be enemies to this honorable & godly vnion, their cause is neither amitie nor loue, either to you or their countrey, nor honorable to themselves repugnyng their owne Acte of Parliament lately made for confirmation 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 theim selfes, for nature neuer gaue like vertue to thinges counterfieete, 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 hypoerisy 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 injuries, whom no man may doubt shortly to open all your eyes, and he in the meane tyme I trust will make your gouernor (beyng naturally ⁴descended of an English house in kyng Edwarde the second his dayes as your owne writers confesse) againe to become a good Englishman, which vndoubtedly he shalbe, & a Scottishman also, whensooner he shall devely consider

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

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

And nowe me² thinketh I here our countrey the common parent to vs all, say vnto you in this wyse. Ah Scottishemen, how long shall I beare your vnnaturall cruelties, howe long will ye remaine rebellious children, when shal there be end of your malice? Alas what wickednes is it among christen men, and those the neighbors in one kyngdome, that the greater part cannot be contented with the best thynge, but by the light argument of euil leaue the way that leadeth to perpetuall tranquilitie. 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 the same nature that other vices be: alway at discencion within themselves makynge the man vnmete for all other thynges, and at last vnmete for discord it selfe; though nature to the obtainyng of foly gane euery man to many giftes, and to the foloyng of vertue to fewe, yet she neuer better deserued to warde 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 lye by reason: & who of you by reason or otherwise is able to desist my persuation 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 perfityle 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 Godhede called perfeccion: can menne offre more then your lawfull libertie, peace, tranquilitie and amitie: do not these bryng forth wealth, securitie, and perpetual concorde; and do not all thinges in the worlde, yea, and the worlde it selfe stand and agree together by concorde: where is your reason, where is y^e loue 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 tranquilitie thassuraunce of your wealth, and my trouble thassuraunce of you[r] miserie? The wicked moath bred in the clothe destroyeth the same. The eruel Vipar in procreacion killeth his mother, and yet he that beleuneth their ciuitie to be lesse

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

then yours, little considereth their cause to be of nature, and yours of wilfull disposicion. I did sowe you the good seedes of concorde, but there is sprong vp among you cockle and fatche, the wedes of discorde, and thus your corrupcion of a good thyng hath engendred an euil, whervpon your ¹infelicitie is ye more, because you see it not, but if you sawe it with reason aswell as reason seeth you, you would consider the peril, for I say it is your owne cause, therfore 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 pitiyng my long affliccion hath offred the occasion, which beyng of your partes thankfully receiued, bringeth wealthful securtie to your selfes, your wyues, children, your goodes, & all your posterite, and wherby you shall auoid calamitie, misery exilement or death, whiche otherwise by the ²injustice of your cause, will vndoubtedly folow; therfore 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 hundredth 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 ease 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 ³frendshippe of the other, to the glorye of God, the tranquilitie and wealth of your selues, and vtter discourage of my common enemies.

F I N I S .

[II viij]

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. Icelandie ; 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.

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

- aganis, 96, against.
 Agenoir, 20, Agenor.
 agonya, 121, agony.
 Agrest, 16, rustic (Fr. *agreste*).
 agust, 57, August.
 aige, 29, age.
 al, all, 4.
 alamerly, 1, only.
 ald, 1, alld, 88, old (A.S. *eald*, *ald*).
 aleuin, 86, eleven.
 allace, 34, alas.
 allegiance, 31, *n. pl.* allegings, allegations.
 allegis, 35, alege, 133.
 Allexander, 25, 33.
 alligorie, 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.
 also, 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; animaduertens, 163, attention.
 Aniou, 4, Anjou.
 ankir, ankyr, 40, anchor.
- Annibal, 12, 13, 14, Hannibal.
 ansuer, ansuere, ansueir, 83, answer; ansuert, 13, answered.
 antartic, 49.
 anteeessours, 3, anteceestres, 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; aperens, 70, -ance.
 Apothigmatis, 15, Apophthegms.
 appin, 57, apin, 115, open; appynly, 133, openly.
 Apollo, 10, Apollo, 83, a name of the planet Mercury, 54.
 apposit, 55, opposit, 172, opposite; appositione, 55, opposition.
 Apuluya, 98, Apulia.
 ar, 1, are.
 Arabie, 139, Arabia.
 arage, arrage, 124, 125, feudal service with *arers* or draught-cattle (Low Lat. *aceragium*).
 arand, 44, *pr. ple.* ploughing, tilling (O.E. *earing*, Lat. *arans*).
 archebischop, 5.
 ardant, 16, ardent.
 argon, 183, *vb.* argue.
 aris, 42, (A.S. *ár*) *n. pl.* oars.
 armit, 12, armed.
 armye, 6, army.
 armys, armis, 148, *n. pl.* arms.
 artailzee, 41, artillery.
 artie, 48, arctic.
 artifeis, 20, artifice.
 artikil, artiklis, 97, article, -s.
 as, *after comparative* = than, 5, 13, 14, 71; mair as, *comp.* German *mehr als*.

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

- bayrdit, 69, (Fr. *bardé*) caparisoned, harnessed with armour, &c.
- bayrn, 41, (A.S. *bearn*) *pl.* bayrns, 123, child.
- bayrnished, 67, *should probably be* bayrnis bed, child-bed, the matrix. Suffocatione of the b = suflation of the womb.
- baytth, 6, both.
- be, 2, *prep.* by.
- bean, 174, been; beand, 2, 72, being.
- beaulte, 70, (O.Fr.) beauty.
- becum, 34, become, *p.t.* became.
- befoir, 117, befor, 2, before; of befoir = d'avant.
- beggand, 135, begging.
- begynnyng, 12.
- behald, 66, *vb.* behold.
- behufe, 29, *n.* behoof; behuvit, 131, *vb.* behoved.
- behynd the hand, 115, behind hand.
- beir, 38, *n.* a shrill or whizzing noise (M.Sc. *burr*).
- beir, 145, *n.* beer.
- beir, *vb.* bear; beiris, 73; *p.t.* bure, *p.p.* born.
- beis, 75, 97, (if it) be.
- bekkis, 66, *n.* bows, curtsies.
- belay, 41.
- beleif, 8, *vb.* believe; *p.* beleifit, 97, beleuit, 22.
- bel-veddir, 66, bell-wether.
- benefice, 116, benefit, good deed; *pl.* benefice, benefyis, beneficis, 20.
- Beniemyn, 126, Benjamin.
- berial, 37, beryl.
- berk, berkis, 139, to bark; *p.* berkit.
- bern, *pl.* bernis, 93, (A.S. *bern*) barn.
- bersis, 41; "F. *barces*, *berches*,
- a species of cannon formerly much used at sea, resembling the *faucon*, but shorter and of larger calibre." L.
- Bertan, bretan, 82, Britain.
- Bernie, 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.
- blae, 52, black.
- blait, 39, *vb.* bleat.
- blason, 14, blazon, blab.
- blasphematione, 155, blasphemy.
- blau, *vb.* blow, *p.t.* bleu, *p.p.* blauen, 38; blaunand, 42, blowing.
- bleldir, 64, bladder (M.Sc. *bleær*).
- bleythit, 66, blythe.
- blude, bluid, 81, blood.
- blyind, 140, blind.
- blythnes, 84, blitheness.
- Bocchas, 281, Boccaccio.
- boggis, 38, *n.* bogs.

- boirdours, bordours, 106, borders.
 boldsyir, 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.
 borouing days, 38, the three last days of March, supposed to be borrowed from April, to give the "rough month" a chance of blowing its worst,¹ and therefore specially boisterous.
 boroustone. *See* buroustoun.
 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.
 brae, 33, 99, 108, to break ;
- brakkis, 58, *p.t.* brae; *p.p.* brokyn, 14, brakkyng, breaking.
 braefast, 42, *n.* breakfast.
 brais, 42, *pl. of* bra, bras.
 brakkis, 58, *rb.* breaks.
 brane, 16, brain.
 brangland, 68, (Fr. *bravant*) *pr. ple.* wavering, tottering.
 branglis, 66, a kind of dancee. *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. *brēr*).
 brig, 63, bridge (A.S. *brig*).
 brocht, 120, brought.
 brod, -ddis, 28, prick, -s ; *rb.* to prick, 148; *p.* broddit, 123, prodded.
 broder, 4, brother ; brudir, 120 ; *pl.* bredir, 76, 135 ; brethir, 123, 124, 125, 129, 139, 151, 157, brethyr, 143, bredther, 187 ; *gen. pl.* þ brothers, 135.
 brodrut, 69, (em)broidered.
 brokyn, 14, broken.
 brudir. *See* broder.
 brunit, 116, (Fr.) report, rumour.

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

' March borrowit fra Averill
 Three days, and they war ill.'

' March said to Aperill,
 I see three hoggs upon a hill;
 But lend your three first days to me
 And I'll be bound to gar them dee.
 The first it sall be wind and weet,
 The neist it sall be snaw and 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' haime.'

- brukit, 86, (A.S. *bruecan*, 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, Bucolies.
 buffons, 66, morris daunces, p. xev.
 buik, beuk, 82, book.
 bullir, 39; to bellow, boom, as a bull or bittern.
 bullis, 39, bulls.
 bundin, 146, bundyn, 102, (*p.p. of bynd*) bound (M.Sc. *bun*).
 Burbon, 89, Bourbon.
 burcht, 124, burght, 143, burgh.
 bure, 68, *vb. p.* bore.
 burght, burcht, *n.* burgh, borough.
 Burgungȝe, 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, 165, bygone.
 bynd, 121, bind; *p.t.* band; *p.p.* bundyn, 102.
 byrdlyng, 123, birding, 127, (A.S. *byrden*) burden.
 byrnand, burning.
 byssynes, 9, 95, bysynes, 2, business, state of being busy.
 bytis, 125, *vb.* bites.
 cabil, cabil-stok, 40, cable, capstan.
 cabinet, 7, recess.
 eace, 137, case.
 eadue, 170, (Fr.) frail, fleeting.
 eald, 52, cold; ealdnes, 59.
 caliginus, 38, *adj.* dark, gloomy.
 calkil, 167, (Fr. *calcule*) *vb.* calculate.
 calland, 42, calling; callit, 3, called.
 calumniaturis, 31, calumniators.
 cam, 10, *vb. p.t.* came.
 cammauyne, 67, camomile or "cummin, sometimes spellit *commayne*." L.
 campit, 83, 98, encamped; campit, 97, camp.
 Cannes, 13, Cannæ.
 cannonlau, 164, canon law.
 cape, 3, cope, summit of vault.
 Capes, Capee, 113, Capues, 44, Capua.
 captan, 95, captain.
 captiuite, 1, captivity.
 carage, carraige, 125; "a servitude still customary in various parts of Sc., by which a tenant is bound to carry for the proprietor a stipulated quantity of coals, grain, &c., or to serve him with men and horses a certain number of days in the year." L.
 carion, -s, 119, (Fr. *caroigne*) carcasse.
 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. lxix.
 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.
 Champayng̃e, 5, Champagne.
 chandelieris, 76, chandeliers.
 chantit, 39, *vb.* *p.* chanted.
 charpenteir, 10, (Fr.) carpenter.
 Chartagiens, 146, Carthaginians.
 chasbollis, 94, (Fr. *ciboules*, It. *cipollo*, L. *ceppula*) 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.
 cheretabyl, 18, charitable; cherite, 17, charity.
 cheris, 91, to cherish.
 chesit. *See* cheis.
 chestee, 19, chestie, 23, *vb.* chaste (O.F. *chastie*, -r).
 child, 60, 145, *pl.* childir, 9, 20, 25, 30, 42, 47, 72, 76, 79, 86, 104, 119, 126, 132, cheldyr, 79, children (A.S. *cildru*, *cildre*).
 Christin, cristin, 23, Christian.
 cipressis, 67, cypress or cyperus?
 circoncisione, 35, circumcision.
 circuitis, 48, *vb.* revolves; *p.t.* circuit, 167, surrounded.
 cirurgyen, 129, (Fr. *chirurgien*) surgeon.
 cite, 11, city, *pl.* citeis; citinar,¹
 pl. citinaris, 11, 167, citizen, -s.
 ciuilis, *adj.* *pl.* civil.
 civilist, 10, *n.* civilist.
 claike, 39, cry of the geese.
 clair, 70, cleir, 73, clear, (Fr.)
 clais, 96, 101, clathis, 70, clothes.
 claytht, 145, cleitht, 98, clethd,
 70, clad; clethyng, 68, clothing.
 cleene, 34, 138, clene, 7, clean.
 cleuchis, 38, cloughs, dells.
 clips, 56, *vb.* eclipses.
 close, 60, (Fr. *clos*) *p.p.* closed;
 closit, 47.

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

- clud, -ddis, 88, cloud, -s.
 Cluny, 5, Clugny.
 coagulis, *vb.* coagulates (Fr. *co-aguler*).
 cod, 68, (A.S. *codde*) pillow.
 eokis, 39, cocks.
 cokkil, 148, cockle, scallop, the badge of the order of St Michael.
 collere, collar, 153, wrath (Fr. *colère*).
 collic, 57, colic.
 colone, 82, colony.
 comeit, 58, comet.
 comionyng, 107. *See* 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.
 compear, 114, to appear formally; comperit, 93.
 compilaris, 16, compilers.
 complein, 126, *vb.* to complain; complenant, complaining.
 compleit, 181, complete.
 complexion, 11, 106, mental character, disposition.
 compt, 129, account.
 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.
 coniune, to conjoin; coniunit, 77, 82, conjoined.
 coninris, 133, conspires; coniuracione, 117, conspiracy.
 compair, 140, compare.
 compangzons, 42, companions.
 compilit, 143, compiled.
 compulsit, 43, compelled, forced.
 conqueriours, 19, conquerors.
 conqueis, 4, 87, conques, 80, 91, to conquer, acquire, gain; *p.* conquest, 77, conquest, 82; conquesing, 14, 81, 85; conquestours, 80, conquerors.
 conques, *n.* (Fr. *conquis*) 91, 93, acquisition, possession.
 consait, 6, 32, 137, conceit, concept.
 consaue, 52, conceive, *p.* consault.
 consel, 19, consellis, 99, counsel, -s.
 considir, 4, *p.* considrit, 90, considered; *pr. ple.* considerant, 3, 89.
 conspiratione, 113, 117, (Fr.) conspiracy.
 constellation, 56, stellar aspect (in astrology).
 constrenze, to constrain; *p.* constrenzeis, 48, constrenzeit, 68, constrenzet, 125, constrained.
 consuetude, 87, -is, 106, custom, use.
 contempil, 37, 47, to contemplate (Fr. *contempl-er*) *p.* contemplit, 47, 61.
 contemplene = -yng, 46, contemplating, contemplation.
 contenens, 34, countenance.
 conteneu, 23, 115, content, tenor.
 conteneuacione, 23, continuation.

- contigue, 4, (Fr.) *adj.* contiguous.
 contrafait, 147, *adj.* counterfeit.
 contrair, 77, contrar, 2, (Fr.)
prep. against.
 contrakk, to contract ; contrakkit,
 107, contrakkit, 181, contracted.
 conualesse, 1, to recover.
 conueen, 116, convene.
 conuoye, 130, *vb.* (Fr.) to con-
 duct, guide ; connoyand, 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, corrupt, 152.
 cosmagraphie, 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.
 couple, 155, (Fr. *coultre*, 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.
 craft, 10, craft, trade ; craftis-
 man, 11.
 crag, 102, neck ; *pl.* craggis, 102.
 cragis, 98, craggis, 38, crags, rocks.
 craif, 124, crave.
 erak, 42, crack.
- eraklene pokis, 41, " crackling-
 bags, bags for holding fireworks
 and combustibles employed in
 naval warfare." *L.*
- erans, 39, cranes.
 erau, to crow, *p.t.* creu, 39 ; *p.p.*
 crauen.
- erauis, 39, *n.* crows.
- creat, 34, 43, *vb. p.* created.
- credens, 131, credit, belief.
- Credit, 80, Crete.
- crepusculine, 53, -yne, 38, dawn-
 ing.
- creu, 39, *vb. p.t.* crew.
- eristellyne, 48, crystalline.
- Crist Ihesus, 35.
- christianite, 4, 160, Christendom
 (M.Sc. *christendee*) ; cristyn, 5,
 Christian.
- crone, 103, croune, 68, crown ;
 cronit, 80, crowned.
- croniklis, 3, 35, *pl. of* cronikyl,
 56, chronicle.
- crope, 39, (Goth. *hroppjan*) to croak.
- crops, 121, tops, summits.
- crouettis, 76, cruets.
- eroutit, 39, cooed as a dove.
- erualte, 3, cruelty.
- erukit, 159, crooked.
- eryar, 139, crier, shouter.
- culd, 56, could.
- culd, 63, = did. The old aux-
 illary *gan* = *began, fell a-*, *did*, was
 confounded with *can*, and then
culd used as its past.
- cullour, 129, 143, culour, 93,
 cullurs, 171, colour ; cullourit, 14,
 coloured.
- culuerene, 41, (Fr. *couluevrine*,
 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.* cunyn; cumna, 41, come not! cummand, 6, coming.
- cummand, 6, *pr. p.* coming.
- cummand, 130, command.
- cummirsum, 139, troublesome, pertinacious.
- cuntirpoint, 39, counterpoint.
- cuntra, 86, untray, 78, cuntre, 90; *pl.* euntreis, 1, country.
- cunȝe, *n.* coin; cunȝet, 109, coined.
- cupidite, (Fr.) 31, cupidity.
- eurage, 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.
- euschet, 39, eushat, wood pigeon.
- custum, 7 (O.Fr. *coustume*).
- cuttand, 94, cutting; cuttis, 12, cuts; cuttit, 120, *p.* cut.
- dagar, 81, dagger.
- daggar vyise, 41, dagger-wise, in form of a dagger.
- dail, 39, a dale; dailis, 38.
- dailis, 66, "ewes which miss lamb, and are fattened for slaughter." *L.*
- daly, 175, dayly.
- damysel, 134, damysele, 108, damsel.
- dangeir, 14, danger.
- dansand, 66, daneing (Fr.).
- dant, 145, (Fr. *domte*) to tame, subdue; *p.* dantit, 21; dantar, 151, tamers.
- Danyel, 77.
- dar, 14, dare.
- Dauid, *gen. sing.* David's, 121.
- day about, 175, a day alternately.
- debaith, 184, debatit, 91, struggle, contention.
- deceis, 2, deceisse, 147, decese, 173, *vb.* decease; *p.* decessit, 122.
- dechacis, 21, dechavis, 71, falls, decays (Fr. *dechoir*).
- decist, 12, *vb.* desist; *p.* decist, 108, desisted.
- declair, 47, declaris, 154, to explain, clear up, make plain.
- declinatione, 20, *n.* decline.
- decreit, 19, *n.* decree.
- decresse, 20, decrease.
- decretit, 23, *p. of* decreit, to decree.
- dede, deid, 123, *n.* deed, *pl.* dedis.
- dede, 8, 35, deid, *n.* death; dedebd, 173; dede dance, 66, danee 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.
- deflait, 175, *p.p.* defeated (Fr. *defait*).
- defendit, 3, defended.
- defens, 2, defence; defensabil, 163, able to defend, ablebodied.
- differens, 107, difference.
- deflorit, 92, deflowered.
- defluxione, 14, *n.* flow.
- degeistit, 9, digested.
- degenerit, 72, *p.p.* degenerated.
- degressione, 184, digression.
- deid, 123, deed.
- deickkit, 17, *p.p.* expelled, cast out.
- deipnes, 21, depth.

- deir, 156, deer.
 deit, 156, died.
 deitht thrau, 121, death throe,
 contortion of death.
 delatit, 144, dilated, spread abroad.
 delegat, 144, delicate.
 delegent, 6, 89, diligent.
 delicius, 125, dainty, delicate.
 delue, 154, (A.S. *delf*) delve, dig.
 delyit, 43, delight.
 delyuir, 2, *vb.* deliver.
 demeritis, 27, demerits, deserts.
 denud, 87, *vb.* strip.
 denuncit, 164, denunxit, 103, de-
 nounced.
 deploir, 26, deplore; *p.* deplorit,
 26.
 depone, 136, to depose, make oath.
 deseruit, 2, described.
 desolat, 1, desolate.
 desolut, 108, dissolute.
 desyr, 82, desyir, 87, desire.
 detekkit, 17, *read* deiekkyt, *v. p.*
 rejected, cast out.
 determe, *v.* determine, *p.* deter-
 mit, 109.
 detestatione, 9.
 detful, 8, *adj.* due, dutiful.
 detht, 58, death.
 detrakkers, 9, detraekers, 31, de-
 tractors.
 den, 54, dew.
 deuly, 17, duly.
 devoir, deuoris, 2, *vb.* devour.
 deuot, 4, devoted, devout.
 Deutronome, (Fr.) 24, Deuter-
 onomy.
 deuyl, 33, devil.
 dextirite, 6, dexterity.
 dictionis, 17, words, vocables.
 did, 39, made.
 dificil 130, diffeil, 15, (Fr.) dif-
 ficult.
 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. r.*
 dimineuis, 56, diminishes (Fr.
 diminue).
 direckyt, 7, directed.
 dirrogatione, 5, derogation.
 disaguisit, 70, disguised.
 disauit, 94, deceived.
 discendit, 1, descended.
 discention, -e, 45, 78, dissen-
 sion.
 discipulis, 16, disciples.
 discomend, 139, disapprove.
 disconfeist, 84, 144, discumfeist,
 77, discomfited, discumfytur, 177.
 diserine, 32, *vb.* describe.
 deseruit, 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 un-
 natural, denaturalized.
 disordinat, 6, 125, 145, inordi-
 nate, disordered.
 disparit, 1, desperate; dispayr,
 77, despair.
 dispensatour, 158, (Fr.) dispenser.
 displeseir, 93, displeasure, un-
 pleasantness.
 disponit, 92, disposed of, divided.
 dispit, 122, dispute, spite.
 disrasonabil, 122, unreasonable.
 dissaitful, 2, deceitful.

- dissymilit, 71, dissembled, pretended.
- distemprit, 37, intemperate.
- distitut, 1, destitute.
- distribuit, 88, *p.t.* distribut, 92; *p.p.* distributed (*vb.* distribue).
- disusit, 17, disused.
- diners, -e, 3, 5, divers, various.
- diuidit, 11, divided.
- dixtirite, 11, dexterity.
- dochtir, 2, 63, daughter.
- doementis, 47, 130, teachings, instructions.
- doggis, dogis, 39, 57, dogs; 41, a species of artillery.
- dois, 139, does.
- dolour, 7.
- damage, 5, 61, (Fr.) hurt, damage; damageabil, 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, dred, 85, dread, terror.
- dreyn, 16, driven, derived dryve, drove, dreyn).
- dreyme, 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.
- due, dukis, 4, duke, -s (M.Sc. *duik*).
- dueillis, 45, duel, duelle, 3, dwell.
- dukis, 39, ducks (M.Sc. *duiks*).
- dul, 9, *vb.* to dull, *p.* dullit, 68, blunted.
- dulce, 64, (Fr. *douce, doulce*) 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.
- eclipis, *pl.* eclipse, 56.
- eleficiis, 79.
- edropie, (Fr. *hydropique*) dropsical.
- ee, 14, eye; *pl.* een, 11, ene, 72, eene, 24, eyes.
- effeir, to be meet, proportionate; effeiris, 150, effeirand, 56, proportionate, conformable.
- effemenet, 29, effeminate.
- effermis, 48, affirms.
- eftfir, 7, eftir, 113, after; eftiruart, 27, afterward.

- eg, 32, egg.
 egal, 144, (Fr.) equal.
 Egift, Egiptiens, 8.
 eikit, eikkyt, 123, (A.S. *écod*)
 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.*
 Encados, 35, the *Aeneid*.
 eneme, 1, enemei, 111; *pl.*
 enemeis, 1, enemy.
 engel, 89, angel (a coin).
 engeneret, 153, engendrit, 2, be-
 gotten.
 ennetseidis, 67, anise-seed (*Ani-
 sum*).
 Ennyrnes, 66, (Celtie) Inverness.
 ensens, 7, incense.
 ensenze, 149, ensign, insignia.
 entrepricis, 146.
 entres, 29, entrance.
 entretenis, 179, entertains.
 entrit, *v. p.* entered.
 ephores, 107, Ephori.
 Eporite, 84, Epirus.
 erb, eirb, 67, herb.
 erl, 63, earl.
 ermonyie, 37, armonye, 63,
 harmony; ermonius, 64.
- erris, 57, errs.
 Esaye, 22, Ysaye, 27, Isaiah.
 escarmuschis, 6, escharmouschis,
 79, (Fr.) skirmishes; escharmou-
 schit, 78, skirmished.
 eschaip, 37, to escape; eschapis,
 130; *p.* eschaipt, 17.
 eschamit, 43, ashamed.
 eschet, 133, forfeiture (O.Fr.
 eschéoir, to fall out, fail).
 escheu, 90, eschew.
 esperance, 70, (Fr.) hope.
 est, 38, east; estin, 61, eastern.
 estaitis, 2, estates (of the realm).
 estime, 165, (Fr.) think, estimate;
 estemeit, estimated.
 euangel, 33, Gospel.
 euertione, 1, overthrow.
 euil, 12, euyl, 83, evil, ill.
 euir, 2, euyr, 90, ever, always.
 euoir banes, 20, ivory (bones),
 (Fr. *ivoire*).
 euyn, 43, even, evening.
 euyn furtht, 159, straightforward.
 excedis, 8, exceeds.
 excepand, 95, excepting.
 excerce, 9, *n.* and *v.* exercise, *p.*
 exersit.
 excommunicat, *p.p.* 87, excom-
 municated.
 excusatione, 137, *n.* excuse.
 exemnit, 98, examined.
 exempli, 7, example, instance.
 Exerxes, Exerxes, 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*.
 exseent, 2, *v. p.* executed ; exseentit, 25, exseetione, 4.
 extendant, 111, extending.
 externe, 3, external, foreign.
 extinct, 2, *vb.* extinguish, 26, extinguished.
 extorsions, 21.
 extre, -e, 48, axle, axle-tree (M. Sc. *aixtree*).
 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 ; eyttyn, 63, eaten.
 eyttyn, 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.
 failȝe, (Fr. *faillir*) to fail ; failȝeis, 186, *p.* failȝeit.
 faird, 42, passage (Sw. *färd*, 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.
 fantastenes, 16, fantasy.
 fardit, 16, (Fr. *fardé*) painted, embellished.
 farrar, 52, farther.
 fasson, -e, -oun, 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, felicite, 7, (Fr.) happiness.
 fellis, 66, fells, hills (Isl. *fjeld*, Sw. *fjäll*).
 fellowne, 39, -one, 14, (Fr.) fierce, cruel.
 feltrit, 68, entangled, dishevelled (Fr. *feultréer*, *feltréer*).
 femmel, 141, (Fr.) female.
 fenȝet, 35, feigned (*p. of v.* fenȝe, Fr. *feigne*).
 ferd, 96, ferde, 40, feyrd, 11, fourth.
 ferme, 59, (Fr.) *adj.* firm ; *n.* farm ; fermis, 123, farms.
 Ferrand, 131, Ferdinand.
 fertil, 3, fertile.
 feu, 175, few, small, ane feu nummir, a small number.

- feueir, 24, fever.
 feume, 67 (? misp. for flume, *q. v.*).
 fife, 9, fife, 26, five.
 fine, 140, *n.* (Fr.) end.
 fingare, 147, finger.
 finityuis, 166, *adj. pl.* frontier.
 finkil, 67, fennel (*Foeniculum vulgare*, *Ælf. Gloss. syncl.*).
 fische, 37, fish.
 five, 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.
 flotquahaye, 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.
 fochtyn, 97, *p.p.* fought.
 foir, fore, 4.
 foir bears, 91, predecessors.
 foirfadirs, 72, forefathers.
 foigrandscheir, 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.
 fornit, 11, formed.
 forrais, 114, forays ; forreours, 98, forayers, marauders.
 forrest, 37, forest.
 forse, 4, 19.
 Fortht, 63, Forth.
 forȝet, 4, forget.
 fouer, 34, four.
 foulis, 39, fowls.
 found, 63, go (A.S. *fundian*).
 fourty, 6, forty.
 foysaid, 69, aforesaid.
 fra, 4, from.
 fragil, 35, frail ; fragilite, 9, frailty.
 franchise, 21, French.
 freir, 96, frere, 121, (Fr.) friar ; *pl.* freris, 66.
 frende, 54, friend.
 frenetic, 13, frantic ; frenyse, 124, frenzy.
 fresche, 7, fresh.
 fressis, 59, *vb.* freezes ; *p.p.* frosyn, 59.
 freuol, 51, -e, 183, (Fr.) frivolous.
 frosyn, 59, frozen.
 frute, 1, fruit.
 ful, 7, full.
 fumeterre, 67, Fumitory (*Fumaria officinalis*).
 fumis, 38, smoke.
 fundatione, 97, foundation.

- fundin, 60, fundyn, *p.p.* found.
 fundit, 129, founded ; fundaturis, 129, founders.
 furneis, 87, *vb.* furnish.
 furor, 177, fury.
 furtlit, 1, 60, forth, out.
 fustean-skonnis, 43, "eakes 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, fyft, 2, fifth ; fyftye, 36, fifty ; fyftein, 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*).
 fyrist, 3, first ; fyrist mobil, 48, *primum mobile*.
 fysche, 57, fish.

 ga, gang, *vb.* go, gais, 50.
 Gabine, 93.
 gadir, *v.* gather ; *p.* gadrit, 42, gaddirit, 75, gaddrift, 77, gadthrid, 145 (A.S. *gadriu*, *gaderod*).
 gait, 175, way, road.
 gait, (A.S. *gāt*) *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.
 galmonding, 66, gambolling (O.Fr. *jalmē*, leg, whence *jalmude*, *geal-made*, *gatmbade*).
 galzardis, 66, (Fr.) galliards.

 gammis, 13, games.
 ganestand, 175, withstand, oppose.
 gang, 34, *or ga, vb.* go, 3 *sing.*
 gais ; *p.t.* *ȝeid* ; *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*).
 Gascunȝe, 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.
 genoligie, 2, genolligie, 3, genolygie, 68, genealogy.
 gentilite, 22, Gentile world, heathendom.
 gentil men, 9 ; gentricee, 144, gentreis, 128, gentility, gentle rank.
 geyr, 41, gear.
 gif, giue, gyf, gyue, *vb.* give, giftis, 32, giftis, 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.
 gleu, 68, glue ; gleuit, 68, glued.
 gloir, 1, gloire, 170, glore, 143, (Fr.) *n.* glory, *vb.* to glory, boast, 142 ; gloriis, 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 gon-noria), gonorrhœa.
 gottyn, 128, gotten.
 gouernance, 3, government ; go-uernyng, 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, accoutried (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.
 grouien, 130, grown.
 gruminis, 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, beau-fils.
- gudscheir, 4, gudschers, 151, grandfather, gutscher.
 gulset, 67, jaundice (M.Sc. *gul-soch*, Fr. *gueule*, yellow, A.S. *gealwe-seóc*, 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.
 gyrsse, 20, grass, (M.Sc. *gerss*) *pl.* gyrssis, 67, gyrssis, 37.
 gyrrh, 115, shelter, sanctuary, asylum (A.S. *gryth*).
 gyue, give, if ; gyuyn, 148, given.
 habitis, 163, (Fr.) clothes, garments.
 habitude, 21, (Fr.) custom, habit.
 hagbutaris, 6, musqueteers.
 hagbutts of croche, 41, the *Arquebus-a-croc*, or arquebus with a hook cast along with the picce, serving to fix it to a tripod or carriage. It varied in size from a small cannon to a musket.
 haggis, 41, haques or hauebutts, guns with crooked butts, according to 33 Henry VIII. of one yard in length. Half-haggis (*demi-haques*) were smaller.
 haif, 118, hef, 13, to have ; *p. hed*, haid.
 hail, 40, *vb.* to haul, hale ; *p. halit*.
 hail, 173, *adj.* whole (A.S. *hál*).
 hail, 73, *n.* well-being (A.S. *hælu*) ; gude hail, 45, good health.
 hail, 59, *n.* hail ; hailschot, 41.
 hailsit, 141, *v. p.* hailed, saluted (A.S. *hælsod*).

- hairschip, 23, hayrschip, 5, harry-ing, plunder, pillage.
 haistiar, 36, more hastily; haistily, 6.
 halbert, 70, halbardis, 42, halberd, a long-handled axe.
 hald, *vb.* hold; haldant, 6, holding; haldin, 22, haldyn, 128, held, holden.
 halit, 40, hanled.
 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*, *hai'ns*, brains).
 hareyt, 135, harried, spoiled.
 hart, 14, heart; hartly, 7, cordial.
 Hasse, 168, Hesse.
 haszarde, 14, chance.
 hatrent, 45, heyrent, 174, hatred.
 hauy, 21, heavy; hauyar, 73, heavier; hauyly, 25, heavily.
 hauyn, 3, heaven.
 hayr, 40, hair.
 hayr ryim, 59, hoar rime, hoarfrost.
 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.
- herbery, 155, (A.S. *hereberȝe*) harbour, refuge, place of shelter.
 herd, 13, *vb.* heard.
 heretage, 3; heritour, 3, heir, heiress.
 heroyque, 2, heroie.
 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.
 heyrent, 174, hatred.
 hicht, 6, *n.* height; *vb.* to raise, *p.* hiehit, 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.
 husband, 2, husband.
 his self, 138, himself.
 historiagrephours, 4, historiographours, 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.
 honorificabilitudinit, 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.
 hundreth, 21, hundred.
 houshald, 145, household.
 hudit, 39, hooded.
 humiditeis, 38, moistures:
 humil, 106, (*Fr.*) humble.
 hurlis, 39, *n.* hurls, rushes.
 hychtit, 123, raised in price.
 hyl, hil, 10, hill.
 hym, him, 118, *ref.* himself.
 hyngis, 138, *vb.* hangs.
 hyr, her.
 hyrdis, 98, shepherds.
- Iacopyne, 121, Jacobin.
 iakkis, 163, mail jackets.
 iangil, 39, jangle, the cry of the
 jay.
 iargolyne, 39, jargoning, chatter-
 ing.
 Ieremie, 82, Jeremiah.
 Ieuis, 2, Jews.
 Iherusalem, 3, Jerusalem.
 Ihesus, 35, Jesus.
 Ihone, 5, John.
 ile, 82, *n.* isle.
 ilk, 11, each; ilkane, 12, every
 one.
 illustir, 1, (*Fr.*) illustrious.
 imbassadre, 110, ambassador;
 imbassadoris, 90.
 impung, 12, impugn.
 impedimentis, 130.
 imperiour, 181, emperor.
- impesche, 130, (*Fr. empesche*)
 hinder, prevent, *p.t.* impeschit, 4.
 importabil, *adj.* unbearable.
 in = into, 33, 133, 145.
 inbassadours, 112, ambassadors.
 inche, 96, *n. pl.* inches.
 inciuil, 45, -e, 128, uncivilized.
 incontinent, (*Fr.*) *adv.* immedi-
 ately.
 incredule, 27, 186, infidel, faith-
 less; incrudilite, 165, infidelity.
 incressis, 2, *vb.* increases, in-
 cressyng, 20.
 Inde, 2, India.
 indifferent, 184, neutral.
 indroctryne, 14, *vb.* teach, in-
 struct.
 indole, 126, (*L. indoles*) *adj.* well
 disposed.
 inducit, 8, *p.p.* induced.
 induris, 3, endures; indurit, 9.
 induring, 31, 181, *prep.* during.
 inexorbitant, 21, *adj.* exorbitant.
 infang and outfang, 106. “ In
 the auld lawis of the Brittons made
 by King Edward, *infang* thieve is
 a liberty or power pertaining to
 him quha is infect therewith, to
 cognosce upon theft committed by
 his awin man, takin within his
 awin dominion and landis; and
 thieve is an forau thefe,
 quha cumis fra another man's land
 or jurisdiction, and is takin and
 apprehended withtin the lands
 pertenant to him quha is infect
 with the liberty.” *Skene.*
 infekk, *vb.* infect; infekkit, 38,
 infected.
 infideil, 3, faithless; infidilite,
 164.
 inflam, 86, *vb.* inflame.
 Ingland, England; inglis, English.
 ignorant, 159, ignorant; *pl.*
 ignorans, 82, ignorant people.

- ingrat, 71, ingrate, 20, ungrateful.
 ingyne, 4, 46, (*L. ingenium*)
 genius, wit, intellect.
 inhabit, 20, 82, *p.p.* inhabited;
 inhabitaus, 93, inhabitaris, 117,
 inhabitants.
 inhabitabil, 28, 98, *not* habitable,
 uninhabitable.
 iniuris, 141, injuries.
 innocentis, 130, innocents.
 insaeabil, 34, insatiable.
 inspirit, 2, *p.p.* inspired.
 instantly, 169, *adv.* at this instant, 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.*
 inwardly, 73, inwardly.
 inuictissime, 4, most unconquerable.
 inutil, 123, (*Fr. inutile*) useless.
 inuy, 12, envy, -ful, 9, envious.
 Iosue, 76, Joshua.
 iournais, 20, journeys.
 iryn, 114, *adj.* made of iron
 (*yrn*).
 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.
 kekkyl, 39, eackle.
 ken, 143, to know.
 knaif, 104, knave.
 knau, *vb.* know, *p.* kneu, *p.p.* knauen, 135, know; knaulage, 14.
 knychthed, 148, knighthood.
 knyf, 10, knife.
 kou, 135, cow; *pl.* ky, 42, kine.
 kyl, 39, kiln.
 kyn, 104, kin.
 kyng, 89, kying, 2, king.
 Kynt, 104, Kent.
 kyrk, 163, (*A.S. cyrce*) church.
 kyrn, 43, (*A.S. cyrn*) churn.
 kyrnellis, 80, kernels.
 kyttil, 66, *vb.* tickle.
 ladeis, 11, ladies.
 laif, 40, 66, remainder (*A.S. lāf, M.Sc. laive*).
 laitly, 5, lately.
 landrusche, 39, landslip.
 landuart, 43, 67, landward, inland, rural.
 lang, 32, long.
 language, 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; *pt.* 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, *pt.* leuch, 153, leucht, 169, laughed (M.Sc. *leuch*); *p.p.* leuchyn.
 lauerok, 39, lark, laiverock (A.S. *laferc*).
 laure, laury(r)e, 60, laurel.
 learis, 83, liars.
 leaue, 139, leave.
 lecens, 146, licensee.
 leiful, 77, 164, = leaveful, allowable, permissible.
 leit, 97, *pt. of* lat, let.
 leiuit, 65, *v.p.* left.
 lemmen, 64, lemmen (A.S. *leof-man*).
 len, 124, *vb.* lend; *p.* lent, 89 (A.S. *len*).
 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.*
 leyinand, 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. *locp*, *lowpin'*).
 Loran, 4, Lorraine; in M.Sc. *Deloraine* is pronounced *Delóran*.
 lossit, 108, lost.
 Lotht, 127, Lot.
 lou, 39, *n.* lowing.
 loue, 130, (Fr.) praise; louyng, 182, praising; louit, 166, praised.
 loue, 3, love; louyng, 133; louit, 131, loved.
 loupe, 103, *n.* loop.
 louse, 121, *vb.* loose (M.Sc. *louse*).
 ludgens, 43, lodgings.
 lufe, 40, luff, loof.
 lufe, 65, *n.* love.
 lug, 43, luggis, 64, handles, ears, properly of a thing (that has to be *lugged*) or an animal, extended also in Sc. to persons.
 lukit, 120, *v. p.* looked.
 lustrant, 38, *pr. ple.* shining.
 luxure, 34, luxury.
 ly, lyis, 4, *vb.* lie; lyand, 121, lying, *p.t.* lay, *p.p.* lyne.

- lyeht, 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.
 lynht, 81, length.
 lyntquhit, 39, the linnet.
 lynyalye, 40, lineally.
 lyon, 68, 141, lion.
 lyue, 35, *n.* life, *vb.* live; lyuit, 6, lived, lyuing, 8, lyuyngs, 73.
 lyuyr, 67, *n.* liver.
- Machabeis, 75, Maccabees.
 machine, 3, the structure, fabrie.
 maeulat, 150, *p.p.* spotted.
 Madynhayr, 67, Maidenhair (*A-diantum?*).
 mageste, 26, -tie, 27, majesty.
 magnanime, 1, (Fr.) magnanimous.
 maid, 6, made.
 mail, 141, male.
 mailȝe, 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.
 mautillis, 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. *meare*) marches, border.
 mareit, 63, married.
 margareit, 1, (Gr. *μαργαρίτα*, A.S. *mergrót*) 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; massive, 59, massive.
 mater, 7, matter.
 inathematikis, 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. *múr*) more, plus.
 mecanyc, -yke, 25, 8, mechanic, -al.
 Medas, 178, Midas.
 Medicinaris, 122, physicians,
 medycine, 23.
 medo, 66, meadow.
 meduart, 42, meadowort, meadow-sweet (A.S. *meduycrt*).
 Meid, 27, Media.
 meit, 135, meyt, 12, food.
 mekil, mekill, 7, 79, (A.S. *mycel*) great, much.
 mel, 15, (Fr. *méler*) to mix, meddle.
 melancolie, 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.
 meydyfyf, 129, midwife.
 meyris, 39, mares.
 meyt, 12, food.
 middis, 69, midst.
 mirknes, 54, darkness.
 mirrour, 14, mirror.
 mischance, 7, bad fortune.
 misericord, 72, (Fr.) mercy.
 miserite, 92, misire, 72, misery.
 misprisis, 28, (Fr. *mesprise*) despises.
 misteous, 85, dinn, 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, Mordeai.
 morne, the, 83, to-morrow.
 mortel, 84, mortal; mortalite, 1.
 mortife, 155, vb. mortify; p.

- mortefeit, 34, mortifet, 109, mortifcit, 16.
 motione, 27, *n.* motive.
 mouiabil, 179, moveable.
 mouimentis, 46, motions.
 mouit, 2, moved ; mouyng, 47, moving.
 mude, 40, (*A.S. móð*, *Ger. Muth*) mood, courage, pith.
 muguart, 67, mugwort (*Artemisia campestris*, *A.S. mugeyrt*).
 muis, 113, (*Fr. muids*, *Lat. modius*) bushels, measures, mows.
 multiplie, *n.* 15, 23, multitude.
 mune, 47, moon.
 munetis, munitis, 50, minutes.
 murdresaris, 159, (*Fr. meurtrisseur*) 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. möglynge*) 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*).
 nelegens, 72, negligence.
 nec, 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 *nudder* and *an adder*.
 neiuyr, 9, never.
 nerar, 52, nearer.
 neu, new ; neu maid, 98, new-made.
 neukyt, 54, nooked, cornered.
 neuo, 76, (*Fr. neveu, nero*) nephew.
 neureis, 123, *vb.* nourish ; neuresing, 45 ; *p.* nearest, 14, neurist, 33, neurissit, 181.
 neuyr, neuir, neiuyr, 9, never.
 nixt, 96, next.
 nobil, 2, noble ; nobilnes, 4, nobilitie, 1.
 nocht, 1, not, nothing.

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

- ordinans, -ance, -ances, 8, 9,
ordonnance, 78, *n. s.* *§ pl.* ordinances, orders.
- ordour, 13, order; ordoryng, 13.
- orient, 46, east.
- orison, 138, oration.
- oriszone, 37, horizon.
- oszer, 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. outrage*) outrage; oulfrageus, 80, outrageous.
- oure, 1, our.
- outfang, 106. *See* Infang.
- outuartly, 73, outwardly.
- oxee, 39, the ox-eye titmouse.
- pace, 3, peace; pacibil, 3,
pacibil, 87, peaceable; paciable, 79.
- pactione, 132, *n.* compact.
- pail, 38, *adj.* pale.
- pailsons, 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*) pertains, belongs.
- participant, 131, *pr. p.* participating.
- particular, 79, private, individual;
particular profit = private interest; particularite, 158.
- partit, 21, parted.
- part-takers, 77.
- pas, 6, *vb.* pass, pace; *p. past.*
- passis, 90, passages, places.
- pastance, 64, (*Fr. passetems*) pastime.
- pasuolans, 41, (*Fr. passevolans*) a small species of artillery.
- pat, 5, *vb. p. t. of* put.
- patrone, 11, pattern.
- pauois, -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,
piece, -s.
- penneis, 8, pence.
- pepil, 1, people; pepulus, 21.
- perce, 87, pierce.
- perdone, 119, pardon.
- perdurabil, 20, lasting, permanent.
- perell, 130, peril.
- peremptoir, 6, (*Fr.*) peremptory.
- pereseis, 159, perishes.
- perfytit, 20, perfect; perfytlyle, 3.
- perise, 24, perreis, 73, (*Fr. perisse*) *vb.* to perish.
- perlament, 96, perlament, 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; Persian, 8, Persian.

- persauand, 13, perceiving.
 perseuand, 29, pursuing.
 perspectione, 72, *n.* view, sight.
 perturbit, 68, disturbed.
 peruerst, 6, 32, *p.p.* perverted.
 peste, (Fr.) *n.* the plague.
 pestelens, 29, pestilence.
 pen, 39, the plaintive cry of
young fowls.
 Pharaon, 147, Pharaoh.
 phicisians, 122, physicians.
 Philistiens, 76, Philistines.
 philosophie, 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.
 piissance, 7, puissans, 92, puis-
sance, 90, (Fr.) power.
 pistil, 3, epistle.
 pitteus, 93, piteous.
 plag, 24, -is, 1, plague, -s.
 plait, playt, playit, 65, played.
 plane, 23, plain.
 planeit, -etis, 38, planet, -s.
 plasmatour, 27, creator.
 plat, 70, flat ; platfut, 66, flatfoot.
 plesand, 99, pleasant.
 pleseirs, 3, pleasures.
 pleys, 167, *n. pl.* pleas (in law).
 pleyse, 20, please ; pleysis, 29,
pleysand, 11, 12, pleasant.
 Plutarque, 2, Plutarch.
 poiet, 43, poietis, -ettis, 66,
poet, -s ; poetical, 82.
 policie, 1, police, 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.* possest, 178.
 possibilite, 137, power, ability.
 post, 109.
 potent, 182, *n.* (Fr.) a stake ; 3,
adj. powerful.
 potestatis, 125, authorities.
 pottis, 19, pots.
 pouerte, 7, poverty
 poure, 133, poor.
 poysont, 122, poisoned.
 practic, 139, *n.* practice.
 practitioners, 62, practitioners.
 praktikyt, 85, practised.
 pray, 2, *n.* prey.
 prayand, 8, praying.
 precedent, 9, 58, *pr. ple.* pre-
ceding.
 precheours, 25, preachers.
 prectykit, 105, practised.
 predeful, 152, proud, haughty.
 preffer, *vb. neut.* 43, 186, to out-
weigh, excel, surpass.
 preif, 55, *vb.* prove ; preuis, 51,
proves.
 prelat, 5, prelate.
 prencipal, 43, principal.
 preparatiue, 12, *n.* preparation.
 presens, 7, presence.
 presentlye, 3, at present, now.
 presone, 162, *vb.* to imprison ;
presonyng, 118.
 prestis, 87, priests.

- pretoir, 147, pretor ; pretoral, 43.
 prettie, 68, prettik, 14, (Fr. *pratique*) practicee, 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.
 prikyng, 114, spurring, riding.
 princes, -se, -essis, 2, 30, prin-
 cess, -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 ; pro-
 meist, 26, promest, 11, promised.
 promissione, 164, promit, 181, *n.*
 promise.
 promoue, *vb.* promote ; *p.p.* pro-
 mouit, 142.
 pronosticatis, 58, prognosticates.
 pronuncieit, 64, pronounced.
 prophane, 82, profane.
 prophesye, 7, prophecy.
 prophetize, to prophesy ; pro-
 phetizit, 22, prophetys;it, 46, pro-
 phesied (Fr. *prophétiser*).
 propir, propyr, (Fr. *propre*, L.
 proprius) own, personal ; in propyr
 person, *in propriâ personâ*, 163.
 propreteis, 11, properties, cha-
 racteristics.
 propriete, 32, (Fr.) proprete, 162,
 property.
 propungnatoours, 4, defenders.
 prospir, 9, prosperous.
 proues, 4, prowess.
 prouest, 8, provost, prefect.
 prouidit, 12, provided.
 prouision, 13, pre-arrangement.
 prudens, 2, prudence.
 Ptholome, 62, Ptolemy.
 puberte, 29, puberty.
 pulce, *vb.* pulcis, 139, pulsis, 125,
 (Fr. *pouler, pousser*) push, drive.
 puldir, 21, 42 ; powder, dust
 (O.Fr. *pouldre*).
 pundfald, 98, pound, poundfold.
 puneis, -e, *vb.* punish ; *p.p.*
 punest, 118.
 punirite, 142, penury
 punition, 27, (Fr.) punishment.
 pupil, 3, child.
 purches, 5, 73, *vb.* to get, pro-
 cure, 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.
 quaha, *interrog.* & *rel.* who, 3, 87; *gen.* quahais, 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 ery 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; rai-bandis, 40, *robbins* which fasten the sail to the yards.
 raggit, 69, ragged.
 raid, 63, *p.t. of ride*, = rode.
 raif, 73, *rb.* reive, spoil; *n.* robbery, plunder.
 rair, 39, *rb.* 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*) branched.
 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. *rasce*) rushes.
 rason, 1, raison, 15, (Fr.) reason.
 rau, 59, raw.
 rauand, 1, rauisant, 2, ravening.
 ranynis, 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.
 reddy, 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, *rb.* to read; *p.* red, 23.
 reid, 64, *n.* reed.
 reid, 117, *p.t. of ride*, = rode.
 reik, 42, smoke.
 remane, 3, *rb.* remain; *p.* re-

- manit, 13, remanent, 23, 94, *n. & adj.* remnant, remainder.
- remeid, 34, *n.* remedy ; remeide, *r.* 89.
- rememorant, 175, mindful.
- rememorance, 2, *n.* remembrance.
- renegat, 104, renegant, 74, renegade.
- renforsit, 6, reinforced.
- renunce, 179, renounce.
- renȝe, *vb.* to rein.
- repreif, *vb.* 12, reprove ; *n.* 122, reproof.
- repreme, 154, *vb.* (Fr. *reprimere*) repress.
- reprocha, 127, *n.* ; reproche, 153, *vb.* reproach.
- repulsit, 70, repelled.
- repugnant, 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.
- reucir, -e, 37, 7, river.
- reuelen, 109, *n.* revealing, revelation.
- reuerens, 12, reverence.
- reul, 183, rule.
- reuolve, 23, revolve.
- reuyn, 16, *p.p.* riven.
- reyde, 63, red.
- reymie, 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.
- roiāl, 126, ryal, 117, royal.
- rond, 51, round.
- rondellis, 42, (Fr. *rondelles*) "small round targets, usually borne by horsemen." *L.*
- roopeen, 39, hoarse crying (A.S. *hreop*, Isl. *hropja*, Dutch *roopen*).
- rotche, 38, roche, 99, (Fr. *roche*) rock.
- roustit, 69, rusted.
- roy, 63, (Fr.) king.
- rudirman, 41, helmsman.
- rustical, 128, rural, rustic.
- rute, 66, *pl.* rutes, 144, root, -s ; rutit, 73, rooted.
- ruuyne, 19, ruyne, 80, ruin.
- ry caikis, 43, rye cakes.
- ryal, 117, royal.
- rycht, 1, right.
- rychteous, 3, righteous.
- ryde, *vb.* ride ; ryding, 14 ; *p.t.* raid, reid, *p.p.* rydden.
- ryes, ryse, 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.
- sacrēcis, 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, aforesaid (Fr. *les dits*).
- saidlyt, 151, saddled.
- saif, saue, *vb.* 114, to save.
- saifly, 100.
- saikyrs, 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.
- samekil, 188, so much.
- sanct, 32, saint.
- sanctuar, 76, sanctuary.
- sang, 39, *n.* song.
- sapiens, 43, wisdom ; sapientis, 142, sages.
- sarabossa, 40, "a sea cheer, ? 'ser the bus a.'" L.
- sark, 80, (A.S. *syrce, 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 ; sauuen, 29, sown.
- sau, 74, 107, saife, *adj.* safe.
- sau, 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.
- scheme, 7, shame.
- schapis, 91, *n.* shapes.
- schank, 40, shank, stalk, handle.
- schau, 13, *vb.* show ; *p.t.* scheu, 104, *p.p.* schauen, 105.
- sche, 11, scho, *pron.* she.
- scheaip, 38, shape.
- scheildis, 148, shields.
- scheip, 24, *n. s. & pl.* sheep ; -hirdis, 42, shepherds ; -cottis, 43, sheep-cotes.
- scheitis, 40, sheets.
- scheortar, 75, *adj.* shorter.
- sc[h]eref, 95, sheriff.
- scheu, 105, showed, *vb. p. of* schau.
- schir, 88, sir.
- schirefdome, 103.
- schort, 36, *adj.* short.
- schort, 134, *vb.* shorten ; *p.* schorrit, shortened.
- schot, 131, shot.
- schouris, 58, *n. pl.* showers.
- schutis, 123, *vb.* pushes.
- sciens, 6, science.
- Scipion, 29, Scipio.
- scisma, *pl.* -as, -es, 160, schism.
- scoir, 50, score.
- scraipe, 12, scrape.
- scriptur, 31, -our, 32, scripture.

- scripulus, serupulus, 163, serupulous.
 seroggis, 20, low stunted bushes.
 scule, sculis, 13, school, -s.
 scourge, 26, scourge.
 Sicilie, 4, Sicily.
 secretar, 117, secretary.
 sedicetus, 172, sedetione, 90.
 se, see, *vb.* see; *p.t.* san, *p.p.* sene.
 see, 12, seye, 52, sea; seeburde, 124, seyburde, 91; seye syde, 60.
 see value, 40, sea-wolf.
 sege, 77, (Fr. *siege*) seat.
 seggis, 42, 67; *sedges*, but in Scotland the name is applied to the Yellow Waterflag (*Iris pseudocorus*).
 seicle, 4, (Fr. *siecle*) age, century.
 seid, 186, seed.
 seige, 5, *n.* see (Fr. *siege*).
 seige, 6, *n.* siege.
 seigis, 90, *vb.* besieges.
 seik, 12, *vb.* seek, *p.* socht.
 seik, 164, *adj.* sick; seiknes, 24.
 selchit, 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.
 septentrional, 48, north.
 sepulture, 5, grave.
 seremons, 7, ceremonies.
 serment, 136, (Fr.) oath.
 serpens, 20, 28, (Fr.) *n. pl.* serpents.
 seruand, 11, seruitour, -ur, -uir, 117, servant; seruitude, 19.
 seuerite, 9, severity.
 seuyn, 24, seven; seuynt, 51, seventh.
 sex, 6, six; sext, 35, sixth; sexten, 93, sixtene.
 seye, 40, sea.
 seyl, 60, 148, seal, *sigillum* (O.Fr. *scel*).
 seydil, 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.
 singulair, 72, separate, individual.
 sirop, 67, syrup.
 Sirrie, 12, Syria.
 sistir, 136, *gen.* sister's.
 Sithia, 81, Seythia.
 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.
 sklanderous, 161, scandalous.
 sklandyr, 126, -irs, 183, slander.
 sklauis, 92, (Fr. *esclaves*) slaves.

- skonnis, 43, flat cakes of wheat or rye; usage distinguishes flour
skonns, barley *banno's*, oat *cakes*.
- skrech, 39, shriek, screech.
- skynnis, 145, skins.
- skyrl, 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, sleah*, Ger. *schlacht*).
- slauchtir, 5, slauthyr, 23.
- sleipt, 26, *vb.* sleep.
- slep, *rb.* sleep; slepan, sleipand, 60, 120, sleeping.
- sleu, 6, slew.
- slop, 140, *n.* gap, breach.
- smal, 12, small.
- smeuk, 42, smoke.
- smytht, 28, 153, smith.
- snau, 59, *n.* snow.
- sobir, 79, sober.
- socht, 65, sought.
- socialis, 167, *adj. pl.* social.
- sodiour, 68, soldier.
- soir, 76, sore.
- soldartis, 42, soudartis, 90, soudiours, 121, sodiours, 68, soldiers.
- solempnit, 121, solemnit, 10, solemn.
- solist, 9, *adj.* solicitous, anxious; *rb.* to solicit, *p.t.* solistit, 110, solistnes, 32, eagerness.
- solitair, solitar, 9, (Fr.) solitary.
- some, 11, *n.* sum.
- sone, 78, soun, son.
- sone, 47, soun, sun.
- sophistar, 183, sophists.
- sophistic, 137, *adj.* wise, skilful.
- 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.
- soun, 53, 147, (A.S. *sunne*) sun.
- soun, 137, (A.S. *sunu*) son.
- soume, 68, (A.S. *sweofn*) swoon, sleep.
- sourakkis, 67, sorrel-leaves (*Rumex acetosa*).
- sourd, 10, sourde, 26, sword.
- sourkittis, 43, a species of clouted cream, a pastoral dish.
- southt, 48, south; southyn, 60, southern, southest, 61.
- spacier, 38, to walk (L. *spatiari*, It. *spaziare*, Ger. *spazieren*).
- Spanze, 5, Spangze, 30, Spain; Spangzard, 131, Spaniard.
- sparme, 67, *n.* spermata.
- sparrou, 39, sparrow.
- Spart, 116, Sparta.
- specfeit, 35, specified.
- speik, spek, 95, speak; spekand, 108, spekend, 22, speikand, 9, speaking; *p.t.* spak.
- speir, 15, (A.S. *spýrian*) *rb.* ask, inquire; speris, *p.* sperit, 143, inquired.
- spere, 46, speris, 143, sphere, -s.
- speritual, -utual, 45, spiritual; sperutuality, 161, spirituality, elergy.
- sperk, 144, *n.* spark.
- speyle, 66, spade.
- speyr, 14, spear.
- spoulze, 97, spulze, 89, (O.Fr. *esponille*) spoil.
- spouse, 24, *vb.* espouse.

- spreit, 7, spretis, 37, (Fr. *esprit*) spirit, -s; spretit, 181, spirited.
- spulȝe, 89, spulȝee, 23, spoil; spulȝit, -ȝit, 75, 101, spoiled, plundered.
- spune, 43, spoon.
- spyis, 98, spies; spyit, 11, spied.
- spylt, 60, spilt, 70, spoiled.
- stablit, 19, (Fr. *establit*) established.
- stait, 8, staittis, 103, n. state, -s.
- standant, 20, *pr.p.* standing.
- stane, stanis, 20, stonis, 21, stone, -s; stanet, 79, stoned.
- stannirs, 39, "rough projecting stones on the sea shore, banks of rivers," &c. L.
- statut, *vb. p.* 9, 189.
- steddyngis, 123, steding, 168, a farm house and outhouses.
- stele, 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. *steare*) strong.
- sternis, 30, stars.
- sterlond, 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.
- straynege, 3, 4, strange, 24.
- strey, 138, n. straw (A.S. *strew*).
- strik, 24, 94, *vb. pr.* strike; *p.t.* straik, strak; *p.p.* strykkin, 92.
- strynth, *rb.* strengthen, *p.* strinhtit, 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.
- subieekyt, subiekit, 106, 171, *p.p.* subjected.
- subtel, 182, *adj.* subtile.
- subuertione, 20, n. overthrow.
- succeed, 72, to result, come down, *p. succedit*, 155.
- succumb, *vb.* to crush, overpower, *p. succumbit*, 1.
- succur, 145, n. (Fr. *sucré*) sugar.
- succur, 174, *vb.* succour, *p. succurrit*, 4.
- sueit, 7, suet, 123, sweet.
- sulland, 39, swelling.
- suellieg, 24, (A.S. *swélan*) heat, burning fever.
- suerd, 87, sword.
- suere, 104, swear.
- suficiens, 26, n. sufficieney.
- suld, 31, *vb. p.* should.
- sum, 7, some.
- summond, 6, *vb.* to summon (O.Fr. *soumander*).
- sune, 68, *adv.* soon.
- sune, 34, 50, 145, sone, 47, soune, 53, 147, n. sun.
- suorne, 162, sworn.
- supedeit, 160, *vb.* supplant, eradicate.

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

- thair, 87, ther, there, *adv.* there.
 thak, 34, *n.* thatch.
 than, 8, 39, 88, *mlr.* then.
 the, *dem.* the ; used instead of
 the unknown *its*, 57, thesef, 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.
 therfty, 98, thirty.
 theuis nek, 39, thief's neck, *i.e.*
 'take him to the gallows', the ery
 attributed to the lapwing in
 Holland's *Houlate*¹.
 theyrs, 41, "tiers or yard arms of
 a vessel." *L.*
 thik, 58, thick.
 thir, 6, these, *pl. of* this.
 thirl, 41, *rb.* to furl.
 thirl, *rb.* to enslave, enthrall ;
 thirlit, 93, thirlage, 93, thraldom.
 thocht, *n.* & *p.p.* thought,
 thoichtis, 7.
 thole, 14, 24, (A.S. *þolian*) to
 endure, suffer.
 Thomaris, 81, Tomyris.
 thoundir, 59, thunder.
 thrau, 121, *rb.* throw.
 thre, *num.* three ; thresum, 131,
 three in company, triple, a triplet.
 thretten, 184 ; threttyne, 80,
 thirteen.
 thretty, therfty, 5, 53, thirty.
 thrid, 23, 86, 96, third.
 thring, 19, *rb.* (A.S. *þriugan*) 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, *rb.* think ; *p.thocht* ; thynk
 shame, 151, feel ashamed.
 thyr, thir, 23, 100, *dem.* these,
 pl. of this.
 tidens, 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 at-
 tends the cuckoo ; "As grit as the
 gouk and the titlene." Isl. *tít-
 lingr*, a small bird ; Sw. *tyta* and
 gökttyta.
 togiddir, 82, togydder, 12, 25,
 togidther, 136.
 tong, 14, 94, tongue.
 tother, tothir, the, 42, 70, (A.S.
 þat oþer, O.E. *þet other*, the-t-
 other) that other, the other.
 touart, 3, toward.
 toune, 4, townis, 87, town, -s.
 tour, 20, tower.
 tourettis, 21, turrets.
 trachlit, 68, *p.p.* bedraggled, dis-
 hevelled.

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

- tracteit, 6, treatise.
 traductione, 10, translation.
 traïson, 105, trason, 14, (Fr. *trahison*) treason; traïsonablye, 72.
 traland, 70, *p.p.* trailing, dragging.
 trans, 123, *n.* tranee.
 translatit, 17, translated.
 tre, 78, *n.* tree, wood.
 treist, 27, *rb.* 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.
 trumpet, 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, *rb.* trust, believe.
 trublis, 57, *rb.* trouble, *p.t.*
 trublit, 27, 33.
 trump, 66, Jew's harp.
 trymmyl, 23 (*I. tremulo*), tremble.
 tryumphand, 20, triumphing.
 tua, 5, two.
 tuehit, 39, *also* tuquheit, *n.* the
 pee-weet, or lapwing.
 tueit, 39, twit, twitter.
 tuelf, 50, twelf.
 tuike, 94, tuk, 79, tuke, 13, 57,
rb. *p.* took.
 tuist, 37, = quist, a twig, a bend-
 ing branch.
 tumland, 39, *p.p.* tumbling.
 turdions, 66 (Fr. *tordions*).
 turkes, 10, pincers, nippers.
 turtill, 39, turtle dove.
- tyl, 6, tyll, 7, *prep.* to. *See til.*
 tyme, 9, *n.* time.
 tyne, 3, 27, 69, 83, (Isl. *tine*) *rb.*
 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, *rb.*; *p.t.* vastit, 97, wasted.
 vait, *rb.* to know, wit, 14, 32,
 97, thou vait, 126, thou knowest.
 vald, *rb.* *p.* *qf.* vil, would, 4, 15,
 29, 79.
 valeis, 110, valeyse, 170, valleys.
 Valis, 85, 94, Wales.
 valk, *rb.* to wake (M.Sc. *wank*);
p.t. valknit, 92, wakened; *pr. p.*
 valkand, 6, 37, 60, waking, awake
 (M.Sc. *wauhan'*, *wcuykan'*).
 vallis, 20, walls.
 vallis, 39, (A.S. *weal*, Ger. *welle*)
 waves (Gaw. Douglas has *vallis*,
waxs).
 van, 64, 172, *rb.* *p.t.* of vin, won.
 vand, 23, wand.
 vane, 14, vain.
 vanliap, 72, misfortune, unhap.
 vanitis, 7, wants.
 vantounly, 37, wantonly.
 vaye, 72, way.
 var, 11, 87, *rb.* *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
 carion crow.

vas, 2, was.	verite, 14, (Fr.) <i>n.</i> truth.
vaticinaris, 82, soothsayers.	verk, -is, 3, 37, <i>n.</i> work, -s; ver-
Vatland Streit, 58, Watling Street, ¹ the Milky Way.	manlumis, 69, workmen's tools;
wattir, 7, 33, water.	verkmenschipis, 69, workmanship.
vaupyn, weapon; <i>pl.</i> vaupynis, 96, vaupnys, 69; vaupynschau- yngis, 96, weaponshaws, reviews of armed men.	vermeil, 37, (Fr.) vermillion.
vderis, 87, others.	verray, 9, 26, 61, verra, 121, 125, very, truly (Fr. <i>verai, vrai</i>).
ve, 3, we.	verst, 69, 140, worst (M.Sc. <i>warst</i>).
vecht, 21, weight.	vertu, 2, (Fr.) virtue; verteus, -ouse, 2, virtuous.
veddir, 56, vedthir, 41, 59, weather.	verye, 37, weary.
vedou, 3, widow.	veschel, 76, 145, <i>n. sing.</i> & <i>pl.</i> vessel, -s.
veil, 1, well, weal; veifair, 100, -fare, 71, -fayre, 82, welfare.	vestin, 61, western.
veird, 64, weird, destiny, fate (A.S. <i>wyrd</i>).	Vestmureland, 63, Westmoreland.
veltht, 19, 170, wealth, well- being.	veye, 40, 137, <i>vb.</i> weigh.
vemen, 11, 67, women.	veynde, 40, <i>vb.</i> wind.
vendicative, 101, -atyue, 177, vindictive.	veyr, 2, -is, 15, <i>n.</i> war, -s.
venesum, 28 (? for venemsum or venemus), venomous.	veyr, veir, 96, <i>vb.</i> to wear.
venques, -queis, <i>vb.</i> vanquish; <i>p.</i> venquest, 12, venqueist, 4, ven- eust, 99.	veyra, 40, a sea cheer, “ware a’!”
venquesair, 149, conqueror.	veyton, 67, the whitton tree or water elder.
ventositeis, 67, flatulence.	victore, 4, <i>n.</i> victory.
vepit, 25, <i>vb. p.</i> wept.	victuelis, 25, victuals.
	viddeful, -fullis, 41, one deserving to fill a <i>widly</i> or halter, a gallows's bird.
	vidthrid, 69, <i>p.p.</i> withered.
	vil, 3, <i>vb.</i> will; <i>p.</i> 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,” *Strat.* 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,
Arthurys huse, and Hyades, betaikning rane,
Syne Watling Strete, the Horne, & the Charle wane,
The feirs Orioun with his goldin glaue.”

- vilite, 170, (Fr. *vilete*) 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.
 witht, 3, *vytht*, 5, *prep.* with.
 vlgar, 128, -e, 7, vulgar, common.
 vlye, 161, (Fr. *uelle*, *huile*) oil.
 vmbre, 56, (Fr. *ombre*) shadow.
 vñquuhile, 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.* understood.
 vniuersal, 1, universal.
 voce, 24, -is, voice, -s.
 vod, 57 (A.S. *wód*), mad (M.Sc. *wud*, *wuth*).
 voffis, volfis, volffis, 2, wolves (M.Sc. *wouffs*).
 woful, 68, woful.
 vol, 59, *n.* wool.
 volfe, 63, value, 60, voluis, 73, wolf, -ves.
 vollage, 22, (Fr.) fleeting, transient.
 vomé, 67, *vb.* (Fr.) to vomit.
 vondit, 121, wounded.
 wordis, 9, words.
 vorne, 28, *p.p.* worn.
 you, 41, wow! an interjection of surprise.
 voyaige, 4, journey, expedition.
 voymbe, 33, *voyme* = wayme, 60, *n.* womb.
 vran, 39, wren. (In N.E. Scotland called the *vran*, *vraannie*.)
 vrang, 83, 87, wrong; *vrangle*, 103, wrongly; *vrangus*, 80, wrongful.
 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. *vrait*); *p.p.* *vrytin*, 7, *vritin*, 31, *vrityn*, 36, *vrityne*, 24, written.
 vrocht, 69, *rb.* *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, viuntir, 52, winter.
 vyt, 14, wit, wits.
 vytches, 168, witches.
 vytnes, 6, witness.

vytson veddyinsday, 168, Whit-	ȝe, 3, 72, 73, <i>pron. nom.</i> ye, you.
sun Wednesday.	ȝeid, 159, <i>vb. p. of ga, gang,</i> went,
vythout, 5, without; vythtin,	vode (A.S. <i>eóde</i> , O.North. <i>geeade</i> ,
within.	M.Sc. <i>geade, gaed</i>).
Ydea, 44, Ida.	ȝeil, 6, zeal.
ydil, 9, idle, -nes, 8.	ȝeir, 8, ȝers, ȝeris, 105, year, -s.
ydiot, 14, idiot.	ȝelaturs, 76, (Fr.) zealots, zealous
yis, 74, 143, <i>for þis</i> , this. This	men.
is the only instance in which the	ȝelpit, 39, <i>rb. p.</i> yelped.
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common in Scotch of the 16th	ȝit, 3, yet.
century, is found in the <i>Complaynt</i> .	ȝodiac, 48, zodiac.
ymagyn, -e, 47, imagine; ymagin-	ȝoik, 101, ȝoilk, 31, (A.S. ȝeoic)
ant, 7, imagining; <i>p.p.</i> ymaginet,	yoke.
22, imagined.	ȝoirke, 104, York.
ymage, 11, image.	ȝong, 3, young.
ypoerysie, 146, hypocrisy.	ȝou, 74, <i>pron. obj.</i> you.
Yrland, 85, Ireland.	ȝoue, 12, ȝouis, 66, ewe, -s (A.S.
yrn, 10, yrne, 28, <i>n.</i> iron.	ȝow).
Ysaye, 23, Isaiah.	ȝoue mylk, 42, ewe milk.
Ysierata, 3, Isierata.	ȝoulit, 39, <i>vb. p.</i> howled (M.Sc.
ysope, 67, hyssop.	<i>yowled</i>).
Ytalie, 5, Ytalye, 11, Italy.	ȝour, 1, 73, your.
Ytaliens, 159, Italians.	ȝouris, 90, yours.
ȝallow, 41, (A.S. ȝealew) yellow.	ȝouthed, 30, ȝoutheid, 117, <i>n.</i>
	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. ex), 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.







