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The

Complaynt of Scotland

by

an Exhortation to the Three Estayts to be vigi-

lante in the Defenss of their Publicke veil.

1549.

WITH AN APPENDIX OF CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH TRACTS,

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

RE-EDITED FROM THE ORIGINALS

with Introduction and Glossary

by

JAMES A. H. MURRAY.

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THE COMPLYANT

it dois of presumptione or vane gloir. thy che-
retabil correctione maye be ane prouocati-
one to gar me studye mair attentiulye in the
nyxt verkis that i intõd to set furtht, the quhilk
i beleif in rode fal be verray nceffair tyl al
them that defris to lyue verteouslye indurad
the schort tymne of this oure fragil peregrina-
tione, & fa fayr veil.

The complaynt of scotland.

THE FYRST CHAPTOVR DECLARES THE
caus of the mutations of mo-
narches. Chap. I.

OF SCOTLAND. 16

them fal in the depe fosse of feruitude, ande
ther magnificens in ruuyn, ande cauis cõque-
rirs to be coquest, ande til obeye ther vm-
quhile subiectis be dreddour, quhomo of be
for thai commâdit be autorite. This decreit
procedis of the diuyno justicis, be rafon
that princis ande vthirs of autorite becomis am-
bittis ande presumpteous, throught grite su-
perfluite of veltht: ther for he dois cheffe thè
be the abstracctione of that superfluite. that
is to say, he poñeßis vthir pure pepil that knauis
his gudnes, vith the famyn reches that he
hes tane fra thè that hes arrogantly misknau-
uen hym. Anæ pottar vil mak of ane maffe of
mettal diverse pottis of defferent fassions, &
fyne he vil brak the grite pottis quhen thai
pleyfe hym nocht, ande he makkes final pot-
tis of the brokyn verk of the grite pottis, ande
alsè of the mettal ande mater of the final pot-
tis he formis girt potis. this exempil may be
applyt to the subuertions ande mutations of
realmis ande dominions, ande of al varldly
prosperite. childir that ar neu borne grouis &
incrëssis quhil thai be ascendit to the perfyit
stryntht of men: bot ther efter, tha begyn to
deereffe ande declinis til eild ande to the deede.
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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 with-
out 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, con-
fusion, 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 mis-
rule, 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 effect-
ively 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 her-
sel£ 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 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 understand,
Without gude ordour in this land
Except the spiritualitie
Prayand thy Grace thareto haue e,"

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 þeirc was sett baith tyme and place:
Bot our Prelatis nor Iwald neuer consent
    That he suld se Kyng Harye in the face;
    Bot we wer weill content, quhowbeit his grace,
Had salit the sey, to speik with any vther,
Except that kyng, quhilk was his mother brother:
Qualair throch þar rose gret weir & mortal stryfe,
    Greit heirschippis, hounge, darth, and desolatioun:
On ather syde did mony lose thare lyfe.
    Geue Iwald mak ane trew Narratioun,
    I causit all that tribulation:
For tyll tak peace I neuer wald consent,
Wythout the kyng of france had bene content.
Duryng this weir war takin presoneris,  
Off nobil men fechtyng full furiouslie,  
Mony ane Lorde, Barrone, and Bachileris,  
Quhar through our king tuke sic melancholie  
Qhiilk draue him to the dede, rycht dulefullie.

Extreme Dolour ouirset did so his hart,  
That frome this lyfe, allace ! he did depart.  
Bot efter that baith streth and speche was lesit,  
Ane paper blank his grace I gart subscryue,  
Into the qhiilk I wrait all that I plesit

Efter his deth—qhiilk lang war tyll discryue.  
Throuch that wrytting I purposit, belyue,  
With supporte of sum Lordis beneuolens,

In this Begioun 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 foretaste 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-clench, 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 factions 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 Expedicicion 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 zeir by-past,”—put forth a tract upholding the English claims, and earnestly appealing to his countrymen to yield to them, and let the realms be united in one.² In 1548, after Pinkie had been fruitlessly won, Somerset sent an Eirenicon, deploring that battle, and trying too late to effect by an appeal to friendship and reason what he had only put farther from his reach by an appeal to arms.³ He carefully avoided any allusion to the old English claims of supremacy; but as if to show that these were still at hand, if persuasion failed, there appeared at the same time from the press of the King’s Printer, a tract by Nicholas Bodruga, alias Adams, addressed to Edward VI.,⁴ and doubtless with the Protector’s sanction, reminding him that though it was all very well to travel 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 Harleianae in locos communes distributus cum Indice Auctorum. Londini apud Thomam Osborne, 5 thick vols., 8vo, appearing at intervals from 1743 to 1745. The editors, who do not give their names, are said to have been B. S. Johnson, M. Mattaire, and W. Oldys. In their
acquaint the public with its riches, and, if possible, lead to its being acquired by the nation or some public body, they are thus entered:

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

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


No. 12070. Vedderburn's Complainte of Scotland, with ane Exoratione to the three Estates to be vigilant in Defence of their public Weel. 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 Constable and Heber, was secured by Mr Grenville, and finally with preface, they say "Our Design like our Proposal is uncommon, and to be prosecuted at very uncommon Expense; it being intended, that the Books shall be distributed into their distinct Classes, and every Class ranged with some regard to the Age of Writers; that every Book shall be accurately described, that the Peculiarities of Editions shall be remarked, and Observations from the Authors of Literary Histories occasionally interposed, that, by this Catalogue, we may inform Posterity, of the Excellence and Value of this great Collection, and promote the Knowledge of scarce Books and elegant Editions."

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

2 "The copy from the Roxb. sale, I remember well in its old original binding. It was bought for Mr Archibald Constable, publisher, Edinburgh, for £31 10s. In the Catalogue, it is marked (No. 8734) as wanting the Title and 5 pages in the middle; it really wanted the Title only. Mr Constable's private collection was purchased by Mr Thorpe, London, and Mr Heber, to whom COMPLAYNT.
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! Troje 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 $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and the printed matter $3\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$ (exclusive of heading, marginal notes, and signatures), consisting of 26 lines Long Primer Roman type. The Headings, which are in capitals of the same size, run across the folio, and are from leaf 2, back, to 7, ane Epistil / to the Qvenis Grace; from 7, back, to 15, Prolog / to the Redar; then, on to the end of the book, simply The Complaynt / of Scotland. (In the present edition, for the convenience of the reader, a heading to each chapter has been supplied on the right-hand page.) The titles of the chapters are, with exception of the first (for which see fac-simile), uniformly in italics, small Bourgeois or Brevier, as are also the side-notes, which are mainly the Scriptural or Classical texts quoted in the subject matter. (They are retained in this edition in italics, and thus distinguished from the modern marginal notes.) With the exception of the words "To the Excel," on leaf 2, and "The Fyrst Cne," on leaf 15, back, which are larger, no other types than the two mentioned occur; no old English or Black letter is used in the book. The Roman fount has no w, using a single v instead, nor, so far as the Scotch is concerned, any j, although that letter occurs in numerals, as iij, and Latin words like filij. The letter z does not occur, the 3 being used alike for z and y consonant, as in "3enyth" and "3ou." The italic fount has an open splay z instead, and otherwise agrees with the Roman.

The leaves—not the pages—are numbered in the right-hand top corner, and the sheets (eights) are likewise signed C, C ij, C iij, C iiiij. A comparison of these shows that the work, as originally printed off, consisted of 144 leaves, or 18 sheets of 8, the signatures running from A to S. But before his work emerged to light, the author saw fit to make numerous important alterations in it, on the reasons for which we can now only speculate. Any how, they entailed the cancellation of no fewer than thirty-three of the original leaves, and the substitution of thirty-seven others, which in one of the Museum copies, as already mentioned, are seen to be pasted in on a narrow edge of the original, and are moreover distinguished by a difference in the paper, being generally thinner and harder than the original
leaves, so that on them the ink has not spread so much, and consequently the print looks paler and cleaner. It is worthy of notice also that it is these inserted leaves which in C. 21. a. have become so brittle and rotten, as already mentioned. The new leaves do not at all correspond in number to their predecessors, for while in some cases a single original leaf has been replaced by a new one, bearing the same number, in others 2, 3, 4, 6, or 9 leaves have been cut out, and only one inserted to bridge over the hiatus or close the chapter, leaving a gap in the paging; and in one notable instance a single leaf is cut out, and no fewer than 23 leaves interpolated, being the greater part of the "Monolog Recreative," with the lists of animals and their cries, the sea scenes, the shepherd's cosmographical lecture, the lists of tales, songs, dances, musical instruments, and herbs. Of these supposititious leaves the first is numbered 31, leaving 22 leaves unnumbered before 32. The signatures are similarly interrupted, the first page of each sheet of the interpolation being marked simply with an *, while the regular series is resumed with the original leaves. The following is a list of these alterations.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nine leaves, 118 to 126 (P 6 to Q 6), cut out; one leaf substituted, numbered 126.
Two leaves, 137, 138 (S i, S ii), cut out; two leaves substituted with same numbers and signatures.

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Signatures</th>
<th>Leaves numbered</th>
<th>Actual No. reckoning in order.¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A 1—8</td>
<td>1—8</td>
<td>1—8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B 1—8</td>
<td>2—16</td>
<td>9—16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C 1—8</td>
<td>17—24</td>
<td>17—24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D 1—6</td>
<td>25—30</td>
<td>25—30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st * (1—8)</td>
<td>31 &amp; 7 unnumbered</td>
<td>(31—38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd * (1—8)</td>
<td>eight &quot;</td>
<td>(39—46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd * (1—7)</td>
<td>seven &quot;</td>
<td>(47—53)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D 8</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>(54)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E 1—5</td>
<td>33—37</td>
<td>(55—59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(38—39 omitted)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E 8</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>(60)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F 1—7</td>
<td>41—47</td>
<td>(61—67)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(48—52 omitted)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G 5—8</td>
<td>53—56</td>
<td>(68—71)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H 1—8</td>
<td>57—64</td>
<td>(72—79)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 1—7</td>
<td>65—71</td>
<td>(80—86)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(72—74 omitted)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K 3—8</td>
<td>75—80</td>
<td>(87—92)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L 1—8</td>
<td>81—88</td>
<td>(93—100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M 1—8</td>
<td>89—96</td>
<td>(101—108)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N 1—8</td>
<td>97—104</td>
<td>(109—116)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O 1—8</td>
<td>105—112</td>
<td>(117—124)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P 1—4</td>
<td>113—116</td>
<td>(125—128)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P 4 bis—5</td>
<td>116 bis, 117</td>
<td>(129, 130)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(118—125 omitted)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q 6—8</td>
<td>126—128</td>
<td>(131—133)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 1—8</td>
<td>129—136</td>
<td>(134—141)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S 1—3</td>
<td>137—139</td>
<td>(142—144)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S 5—8</td>
<td>69, 116, 143, and one unnumbered</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 not distinct number, within parentheses.

A, leaf 1, the title page, no longer exists in any copy.

B ij, iij, iiij, are erroneously signed A ij, iij, iiij.

D 7 unrepresented, D 8 see after * sheets.

L iij has no signature.

P iij has no signature.
§ 2. INTERNAL.

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

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

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

¹ In this account I incorporate the remarks of Dr Leyden in the preliminary Dissertation to his edition of 1801, wherever these seem satisfactory, omitting, however, most of his illustrative quotations (often very remotely bearing on the subject) from works then existing only in MSS. or scarce editions, but which have since been printed in full, and, therefore, have not the value which they had when Leyden's Dissertation was the only source at which the general reader could obtain an idea of them.
intestine strife. The germ of her nobility brings forth, not only branches and tender leaves of virtue, but also the salutary and health-giving fruit of honour for the healing of a desolate and wasted nation. The heroines of ancient story, the good and noble women raised to eternal fame in the pages of Plutarch and Boccaccio,—Valeria, daughter of Publicola, Clelia, Lucretia, Penelope, Cornelia, Semiramis, Thomyris, and Penthesilea,—are none of them worthy to be compared in virtue or valour to her, who daily signalizes her prowess against the cruel wolves of England, that, since the death of her husband, James V., have not ceased to plot the utter destruction of Scotland. But even as Queen Esther and Judith were divinely raised up to save the Jews from their enemies, so is the Queen Regent inspired to deliver Scotland. No meaner praise can be given to one who sacrifices her pleasure and ease to dwell in this foreign land, exiled not only from her own kindred, but from her only daughter, the infant Mary Stewart, now safe under the governance of the King of France, "the most 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 Exclamation to the Redar twycheyng the wryttyng of vulgare and maternal language, at the beginning of the Monarché. He first quotes with approbation ancient decrees against idleness, and then proceeds to reply to the ignorant detractors who might think him idle, in that he uses his pen instead of practising some mechanic craft. Every craft is necessary for the public good; and he that has the faculty of traduction or of composition, has a faculty as honourable, useful, and necessary as that of the mariner, merchant, cordiner (shoemaker), carpenter, captain, or civilist. No man is a gladius delphicus; each has his talent which he must cultivate. His own is that of the study and the pen; even in that he will seek not to go beyond his capacity; and in illustration of the danger of doing so, he gives his first long classical "exempli" in the story of Antiochus and Hannibal at the academy of Phormio, from the Apothegms of Plutarch. Having thus apologized for writing at all, which but for his "ardent favour towards this affligit realm, his native country," he had not presumed to do, he next begs the learned among his readers to excuse his "barbir agrest ternis, 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 zit, 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 zit so clene all Sudroun I refuse,
Bot sum worde I pronounce as nychebore dois,
Like as in Latine bene Grewe termes sum,
So me behuffit quhilum, or be dum,
Sum bastard Latyne, Frensche, or Ynglis ois
Quhare scant wes Scottis, I had nane vther choise;
Not that oure toung is in the seluin skant,
Bot for that I the fouth of langage want,
Quhare as the cullour of his propirte
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 exclamacione to the Redar, twycheyng the wryttyng 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 toung so heych mater to writ;
Bot quhair I mys, I pray the till amend,
Tyll vnlernit I wald the cause wer kend
Off our moist miserabyll trauell and torment,
And quhow, in erth, no place bene parmanent.

Quhowbeit that diuers denote cunynge clerkis
In Latyne toung hes wryttyn syndrie bukis,
Our vnlernit knawis lytil 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 directit
With cunynge me 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 Courles*, written by Abacuc Bysett, servant to Sir John Skeane, in the reign of Charles I., and which deserves publication, as perhaps the latest specimen of the Literary Middle Scotch existing.

"I haue nocht bene copious in langaige be far drevin uncouth evil placed termes, and multiplicatioun of wordis, be paraphraes, and circumloquition of speich, silogismes, and refutation of argumentes be parablis or comparisouns. Nor haue I adhered to auld proverbis, or bywordis, fair flatterand fenzeit and allurand fictiouns, uttered by archdiaciens, maid up, contrefait, and fraising langaige, nor haue I used minzearde nor effeminate tantting invectiue, nor skorneful wordis, vane saterik, or lowse wowsting and waunting speiches. Nor haue I ower fauerable or luisinglie 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, simpolest comounis dois, eftir yr awin vaine fantastical fantasies, with[out] ony authoritie, schame, understanding, or knawlege. Bot be the contrare, I haue writtin reuerendlie and spairinglie, usand my awin maternal Scottis langaige, or mother toung as we call it, in als pithie, schoirte, and compendious termes, and clene dictionare, according to my simpill judgment & knawlege for oppynynge up and declaratioun of the truth of my intensionis of the mater or purpoiss in hand, and making it sensabill to unlerned and vulgar 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
INTRODUCTION.

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

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

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

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

Bot be the sentence of Elie,
The world deuydit is in thre;
As cunning Maister Carioun
Hes maide plane expositioun,—
How Elie sayis, withoutin weir,
The world sall stand sax thousand yerir,—
From the Creatioun of Adam,
Two thousand yerir tyll Abraham:
Frome Abraham, be this narratioun,
To Christis Incarnatioun,
Rychtso, hes bene two thousand yeris;
And, be thir Prophiecis, apperis

he had for scholar Melanchthon, was born at Bütickheim in 1499, and died at Berlin, aged 39. He first published his Ephemerides, extending from 1536 to 1550, and containing astrological predictions; his Practica Astrologica; but these two works gained him no reputation, when he became all at once famous by a chronicle of which he was not the author, but which had in the 16th century a prodigious success, and appeared in many editions and translations. Carion had composed a chronicle in German, and before printing it, desired Melanchthon to correct it. Instead of doing so, Melanchthon made another, and published it in German at Wittemberg in 1531. This we learn from himself in writing to Camerarius, “Ego totum opus retexi, ct 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 Complayt 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 cææ: insignia explicuntur, adeo ut iustæ Historiae loco occupatam esse possit.” An English version appeared in 1550, “The thre bokes of Chronicles, whyche John Carion (a man syngeulyar well sene in the Mathematycall sciences) gathered wyth grete diligence of the beste Authors that have written in Hebreue, Greke, or Latine, Whervnto is added an Appendix, conteynynge all such notable thynges as be mentyoned in Chronicles to haue chaunced in sundry partes of the worlde from the yeare of Christ 1532 to thyys present yeare of 1550. Gathered by John Funcke of Nuremborogh, whyche was neuer afore prynted in Englysh. Ded. to Ed. VI, by Gwalter Lynne.”
INTRODUCTION.

Frome Christ, as they mak tyll us kend,
Two thousand tyll the worldis end,
Off quhilkis ar bygone, sickirlye,
Fyue thousand, fyue hundred, thre & fyfte ;
And so remanis to cum, but weir,
Four hundred, with sewin and fourtye yeir ;
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 worldis Ini quite,
The letter tyme sail schortnet be,
For plesour of the chosin nummer
That they may passe from care and cummer.
So be this compt, it may be kend,
The world is drawand neir ane end.

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

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

'The Tradition of the House of Elias
Six thousand years the world shall last, and then the conflagration.
Two thousand years void of law ;
Two thousand in the law ;
Two thousand in the days of Messiah. And because of our sins, which are many and great, the years shall lack that shall be lacking.'

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

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

¹ This tradition is recorded in the Gemara, a division of the Talmud.—Recr. 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 prosperity" 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 blossom then nature list dispose,
Then may their beuty, as men hath sene to torn,
With bitter winds be from the branches born;
Ne none so high in his estate coutune
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 midsummer 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 rammäsche (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, dранk up the drops of the dew, quilk ilk befor hed maid dikis and dailis very done," and how "the brutal sound did redound, to the hie skyis, of beistis that maid greet beir, as they part beside burnis and boogis on grene banks" to seek their food. The enumeration of the cries of animals which follows is exceedingly curious, almost every species having a verb appropriate to itself. Some of these are also to be found in Holland's Houlate, Montgomery's Cherry and the Stue, and here and there in Lyndesay.

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

In taking this as the original form of the "Monolog Recreative,"
we are guided at once by the original foliation, and by the contents of the chapter themselves. The cries of the animals end at the bottom of leaf 31, and the author meets the "landuart grumis" and bends his steps homeward at the top of leaf 32; the contents of the 44 interpolated pages consequently are no part of the original Monologue. Even as to the cries of the animals we cannot be quite sure; the leaf on which they occur is a cancel replacing the original 31, but it is probable that the changes made in it extended only to the few last lines, so as to lead the reader to the inserted sea-scene, instead of taking him back towards town. The contents of the Monologue form so complete an interruption to the course of the work, that the reader naturally loses all idea of time, when listening to the shepherd's cosmogony, and the tales and ballads which follow; but when his attention is directed to the notes of time occurring before and after, the inconsistency of the actual form of the Monologue with the plan of the work becomes at once evident. The sun has already risen, and all the noise of day commenced, when the author describes the cries of the animals; after this comes the sea-scene, to which we cannot allow less than two hours at least; then the author returns to the fields, and finds the shepherds who have brought their sheep down from the hills to the lower pastures, and who now sit down to the morning meal brought to them by their wives and children, i.e. an eight or nine o'clock breakfast after they had completed their early morning work. The head-shepherd's "lang prolixt orison," which his wife reasonably enough found "tedious & melancholie," implies a good two hours at least. How long time the forty-eight tales, told each at full length—the thirty-eight and "mony vtir" 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 vtir, quhilkis are ouer prolixt 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

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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 ye my thre sonnis," or the labourer's "o my dolorus mother."

Chap. VII., however, presents us with very characteristic portraits of the "affligit lady" Dame Scotia, and her three sons. Scotia is represented as a lady of excellent extraction and ancient genealogy, now in deep affliction; her golden hair is disordered and dishevelled; her crown of gold tottering on her head. The red lion, blazoned on a field of gold bordered with the *fleur de lis*, appears wounded on her shield; and her mantle is so rent and torn, that the various devices with which it was adorned "in ald tymys" are almost erased. These devices are of three kinds: on the upper border are embroidered weapons and accoutrements of war, characteristic of Nobility; in the middle, characters, books, and scientific figures, with many charitable acts and supernatural miracles, emblematic of the occupations of the Clergy; while round the lower border appear various figures emblematic of husbandry, traffic, and mechanical arts, in allusion to the various occupations of the Commons. This lowest part of the mantle was worse destroyed than the two others; so completely indeed was it disfigured, that there seemed no possibility of restoring it by any art or device to its original condition. As the lady in this woful plight gazed across her once fertile, but now withered and barren, fields, she beheld approaching her three "native natural sons." These are again described in terms agreeing with the description of the parts of the mantle. The
ignorance of the allegorical second son Spiritualité is graphically noted by a single touch. He is described as clad in a long gown, sitting in a chair, with an aspect of great gravity, holding in his hand a book, "the clasps of which are fast locked with rust." So also the misery of the Commons is depicted in the Youngest Son lying flat on his side on the cold earth, with clothes riven and ragged, making a dolorous moan, and so grievously distressed as to be unable to stand upright even when set on his feet. Dame Scotia begins to reproach the three wretched wights with the cowardice, vice, and unnatural dissensions, which have brought themselves and her to this miserable condition.

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

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

and to whom it was convenient to have a place of retreat into which the wardens of neither country could pursue them without risk of kindling a quarrel with the other.\(^1\) During the minority of the late king, James V., the depredations of the moss-troopers had been extended with impudent daring even to Edinburgh and the towns of Fife. In Lyndesay's "Satyre of the Thre Estaitis," we find Commoun 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 earrand 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 spurriss,
To gar him lâce 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, īt or midnicht,
That he and I sould tak the fliecht
Throch Dysert Mure.
Of cumpanarie, tell me, brother,
Qhilk 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 “gart the rasche bus keip the cow.” But since his death the marauders had again become the terror of the country, and their depredations, even at a later period, are plaintively recorded by Maitland of Lethington:—

Off Liddisdail the common theifis
Sa peartlie steillis now and reifis,
That nane may keip
Hors, nolt, nor scheip,
Nor zeit dar sleip
For their mischiefis.
They plainly throw the country ridis,
I trow the mekil deuil thame gydis!
Qhahir thay on-set,
Ay in their gait
Thair is na get
Nor dor thame bydis.
Thay leif richt nocht, quhair enuer thay ga,
Their can na thing be hid them fra ;
For gif men wald
Thair housis bald,
Than wax thay bald
To burne and slay.
Tha thieflis have neirhand herreit hail
Ettricke Forest and Lawder daill ;
Now are they gane
In Lowthiane,
And spairis nane
That thay will waill.
The *Englishmen’s Assurance*, in which Dame Scotia accuses many of her children as living, dated especially from the battle of Pinkie. On the 24th September, 1547, the Duke of Somerset received the homage of most of the nobles and gentry of the Eastern borders, and took them and their clans into English protection as “assured Scots,” while shortly after Lord Wharton, as Warden of the West Marches, compelled the submission of the principal clans of the west, and took them into assurance to the number of more than 7000 men. 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, Fernyhirst (ancestors of the noble families of Roxburghe and Lothian), Grenehed, Hunt-hill, Hundely, Makerston, Bymerside, Bounjedworth, Ormeston, Mellestains, Warmesey, Lynton, Egerston, Merton, Mowe, Rydell. Of gentlemen, George Tromboul, Ihon Haliburton, Robert Car, Robert Car of Greyden, Adam Kirton, Andrew Meyther, Saunders Purvose of Erleston, Mark Car of Littledean, George Car of Faldenside, Alexander Macadowal, Charles Rutherford, Thomas, Car of the Yeur, Ihon Car of Neynthorn, Walter Haliburton, Richard Hangan-syde, Andrew Car, James Douglas of Cavers, James Car of Mersington, George Hoppringle, William Ormeston of Edmersden, John Grymslowe.—*Expedition of the Duke of Somerset*. London, 1548. On the West Marches, the following barons and clans submitted and gave pledges to Lord Wharton, that they would serve the king of England, with the number of men annexed to their names: ANNERDALE—Laird of Kirkmigheil, 222; Rose, 165; Hemsfield, 163; Home Ends, 162; Wamfrey, 102; Dunwoody, 44; Newby and Gratney, 122; Tinnel (Tinwald), 102; Patrick Murray, 203; Christie Urwin of Coveshawe, 102; Cuthbert Urwin of Robbgbill, 34; Urwens of Sennersack, 40; Wat Urwen, 20; Jeffrey Urwen, 93; T. Johnson of Crackburn, 64; James Johnston of Coites, 162; Johnstons of Cragglyand, 37; Johnstons of Driesdell, 46; Johnstones of Malinshaw, 65; Gawen Johnston, 31; Will Johnston, the laird’s brother, 110; Robin Johnston of Lochnaben, 67; Laird of Gil-lersie, 30; Moffits, 24; Bells of Tostints, 142; Bells of Tindills, 222; Sir John Lawson, 32; Town of Annan, 33; Roomes of Tordepe, 32; Lord Carlisle, 101; Laird of Applegirth, 242. NITHSDALE—Mr Maxwell and more, 1000; Laird of Closeburn, 403; Lugg, 202; Cransfield, 27; Mr Ed. Creighton, 10; Laird of Cowhill, 91; Maxwells of Brakenside, and vicar of Carlawick, 310. LIDDESDALE and DEBATABLE LAND—Armstrongs, 300; Elwoods (Elliot’s), 74; Nixons, 32. GALLOWAY—Laird of Dawbyalie, 41; Orcherton, 111; Carlisle, 256; Loughenvar, 45; Tutor of Bombie, 140; Abbot of New Abbey, 141; Town of Dumfries, 201; Town of Kirkubrie, 36. TIVIDALE—Laird of Drumilrie, 364; Caruthers, 71; Trumbells, 12. EKSDALE—Battisons and Thomson, 166. Total under *English Assurance* in the west, 7008 men.—Bell’s *Introduct. to Hist. of Cumberland*, quoted by Scott, *Introduct. to Border Minstrelsy*. Practically, therefore, when the Complaynt was written, the entire population of the counties of Berwick, Roxburgh, Dumfries, and Kirkcudbright, were living in the English Assurance, and had English soldiers in their fortresses.
Having given vent to her natural indignation, the "affligit lady" proceeds in Chap. IX. to urge her children to put forth efforts for their own relief, and recites, for their encouragement, examples of diverse countries whose struggle for independence has been successful. The bravery of Mattathias Machabæus and his sons, of Gideon, Miltiades, Leonidas, and Themistocles, is recounted; and they are bidden to remember how, not six score years before, the English, after becoming masters of nearly all France, had been ignominiously driven from that country; as, indeed, they had long ago been expelled from Scotland by the persevering bravery of Robert Bruce. The doom of ambition and tyrannity 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 poictical buik oratourly dytit," which had been set forth at the Protector's instance, to show that Scotland was originally a colony of England; and that it was essential that the two should again be united under one prince, and called the Isle of Britain as it was in the beginning when the Trojan Brutus conquered it from the giants; also certain pretended prophecies of Merlyne, which in rusty rhyme foretold the same consummation. Kingdoms are conquered not by books, but by blood; and the English may find these pretended prophecies like the ancient ambiguous answers of the oracles, fulfilled in a way they little expect. Against them is to be set a prophecy recorded in Higden's Polychronicon, which says that the English are to be successively conquered by Danes, Saxons, Normans, and Scots; and the author expresses his own belief that the generation then alive would yet see England ruled by a Scottish prince, a conjecture which, seventy years later, circumstances proved to be correct.
We have no trace of any work which quite answers to the "beuk oratourly dytit;" and the description of a "poietical beuk" seems to be due to a confusion with the Merlyne prophecies quoted at the same time. But as we have seen in the historical section (p. xv), four English pamphlets have come down to us (besides the appeal to the Scots in Patten's narrative of Somerset's campaign), the contents of which answer to the description here given, and are evidently in the author's mind here and elsewhere in the Complaynt. These are printed in the Appendix; and it will be seen that the Exhortacion of the "Scottisheman," the Epistle of the Lord Protector, and the "Epitome" of Bodrugan, as well as Patten's Preface, all have as their "tenor, that it var verra necessare for the weilfare of ingland and Scotland, that baytht the realmis var coniunit togiddir, to be vndir the gonnernyng 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 just 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 foelbhuidhe,
Cia ceud ghabhall, an eol dubh,
Ro ghabhasdair Albanbraigh.
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 Brintus Albain ain,
Go rinn fhliadhnaich Fotudain.

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

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

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

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

¹ Of the Ottadini—St Abbs' Head, or the Bass?
the presence in Britain of the Bretts or Britons in the south, and
the Albannaich, Caledonii, or Gadhels in the north. These two
branches of the Celtic stock, with their obvious relationship and no
less obvious points of difference, were satisfactorily accounted for on
the hypothesis of two brothers who had shared the island from the
beginning, with a shadowy reference to a time when the Gaelic
division had extended much farther south, before they had been
driven north beyond the Forth by the superior force of the British
section. But Geoffrey's legend is adapted to account for facts and
names which had no existence till long after the Saxon settlement,
as well as to feudal notions of a still later age. It was destined,
however, to play a solemn part in the disputes between England
and Scotland, forming as it did the starting-point from which the
English kings rested their claim to the supremacy of the sister
country. Thus we find it paraded with a pompous roll of Latinity
in the reply of Edward I. to the Bull of Pope Boniface interposing
on behalf of Scotland, in 1300.

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

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

"To Locrinus, 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 Wales.

"There being reserved to Locrinus, 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 Locrinus; on hearing which, Locrinus,
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 Locrinus;" &c., &c.
In the equally elaborate reply of the Scottish nation, no attempt is made to combat Edward's assertions by producing the older legend of the Duan Albanach, now forgotten like the language in which it lay buried; the Scots admit the story of Geoffrey and the Bruts, but pick holes in the king's logic, and brush away his deductions. Granted that Brutus and his sons ruled all the island, it was as Britons and over Britons that they reigned; but since that distant day, the southern part of Britain had been successively conquered by Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, and the northern part by Picts and Scots; what the mutual relations between Britons in the days of Eli and Samuel could have to do with the relations between Scots and Normans in the 14th century, they could not see, neither did they believe could the pope. But as the Brutus legend grew more and more distasteful to the Scots, something must be provided as a set-off, and hence arose the fable that the Scots were descended from Scotia, 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 Scotia, as they were afterwards called by Buchanan in his scarcely less fabulous history, were of too great value, as political weapons, to be lightly surrendered, and were gravely recited on the one side and the other down to the sixteenth century; so that Brutus and Albanactus figure prominently once more, in the Vindication of Henry VIII., and in the subsequent pamphlets of the "Scottisheman" and Bodrigan alias Adams.

The fashion of writing History in the form of prophecy is said to have begun in Wales, where the "Cyvoesi Myrddin," written partly in the reign of Hywel dda in the 10th century, and partly in the reign of Henry II., is given in the shape of a prophecy supposed to
be uttered by Myrddin or Merlin in the 6th century. Afterwards the fashion extended to Ireland and Scotland, and a Latin poem of this class assigned to the reign of the Scottish Edgar claims to contain predictions of Merlin and Gildas. 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.\textsuperscript{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):

\begin{quote}
"When Hempe is come and also gone,
Scotland and England shall be all one.

\begin{tabular}{cccc}
K. & K. & Q. & K. \\
Henry & Edward & Mary & Philip \\
the VIII. & the VI. & & Elizabeth of Spain, Q. \\
& & & M.'s husb. \\
\end{tabular}

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

A reference to the battle of Pinkie, in the prophecy of Thomas Rymour, At Pinkie Cleuch their shall be split 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.

\textbf{THE PROPHECIE OF BERTLINGTON.}

Of Bruces left side shall spring out a leif
As neere as the ninth degree,
And shall be famed 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.

\textsuperscript{1} The first edition has been reprinted by the Bannatyne Club, its title is \textit{The whole prophesie of Scotland, England, and some part of France and Denmark, prophesied bee meruellous Merling, Beid, Bertlington, Thomas Rymour, Walkhane, Eltraine, Banester, and Sibbilla, all according in one. Containing many strange and meruellous 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 1606 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 ever it happen for to fall,  
The Lyon shal be Lord of all;  
The French wife shal beare the Sonne,  
Shal weild al Bretane to the sea;  
And from the Bruces blood shall come  
As neere as the ninth degree.

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

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

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:
INTRODUCTION.

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 mooing they meete in the mid-way,
All the Grooms shall grouch be the way-side,
And many bairnes shall have his byth on the backside,
And that meruaile shall fal be a Fryth-side:
Where the Leader of the Land shal his Life lose,
But that bargain shall brew in a baire Burgh,
That shall banish from Blisse many bright Helme,
When it is breued on his back, and his brief knowne
Of dumb Organes dight, then may thou wel deeme
Of all the weil & the wealth before then was wroght;
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 skall 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 sua_,
All Wailes I wis, shall wend with that Roy,
For to work his wil, where he thinke would,
Guiane, Gaskoigne, and Bretane the blyth,
Shall busk to his bidding on their best wise:
The whole men will help in his most hight,
Then shall he turn into Tuskane but 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 seene, and better thereafter,
Of meruelous Merling, but it is wasted away
With a wicked Woman, wo might she be!
(For she hath closed him in a Craig on Cornwel cost.)

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

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

"During the unsuccessful wars of the English against Robert Bruce, this prophecy seems to have had a powerful effect on their desponding minds; for Higden in another passage, says (according to Trevisa's version) 'The Scottes waxed stronger & stronger thryty 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 seyd, that it was goddes own wreche, as the prophese ye seyd, that Englysshemen sholde be destroyed by Danes, by Frenshemen, and by Scottes.'"—Leyden.

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

1 A mistranslation, as may be seen from Trevisa: "Therof propheseyed an holy anker in king Egelfredus tyme in this maner (Henricus libro sexto) Englyshemen for as muche as they use them to dronkelewnes, to treason & to rechelesnes of goddes house, yyrste by Danes, and themne by Normans, & at the thyrde tyme by Scottes, that they holde moost wretches, and lest worth of al other, they schal be overcome."
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—but they had, since the wars of Bruce, been led by association with their Celtic fellow-subjects to adopt from these the use of the word Saxon as equivalent to Englishman, and indeed as a term of hatred and reproach. Thus we find it in Harry the Minstrel's Wallace, and so also is it used by the author of the Complaynt, who, we may be sure, little dreamed that this "false Saxons blude" was the fluid which coursed in his own veins, and that the Saxon's pure vernacular was better represented in his own pages than in many contemporary English writings. He owned no such relationship; his relations with the Saxon consisted merely in twelve hundred years of mutual enmity—true enough as regarded his Celtic fellow-subjects—but amusing in a Teuton, and instructive as showing how sentimental and destitute of any real basis may be the feeling of race, since it may exist in direct opposition to all the facts of blood, of language, and of history itself, when this is unknown or forgotten. To constitute a "race" or "nationality" wants only a history; and for this a false one, if only believed, is as good—nay, often better—than a true. Ireland, Switzerland, Scotland, the United States, each composed of diverse stocks speaking different tongues, united by belief in a common history, are our witnesses.
During these twelve centuries of enmity, according to our author, the English had never ceased to profit by Scottish dissensions, even as Darius knew how to profit by the quarrels of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, and Henry VIII. endeavoured to make use of the quarrels of Francis and Charles V. Would his countrymen only consider how their intestine divisions opened the door for English interference, they would remove from among them the injustice and extortion rampant in the land; and by shewing themselves strong and united, soon oblige their enemies to sue for that peace which they were only too glad to obtain when Scotland was at peace with itself. The example of their own valiant predecessors who had so stoutly resisted the Saxon slavery ought to move them to imitate their deeds. The murder of so many Scottish leaders by Edward I. at the Black Parliament at the Barns of Ayr (a circumstance vouched for only by "the authority of Henry the Minstrel, and the relations of Arnold Blair, but which is supposed to have been mentioned in the chapters of Book XI of the Scochothronian, amissing in the Scottish MS."), is held up as a specimen of what might happen again if the English should obtain as full possession of Scotland. To deprive a conquered country of its natural leaders had always been a recognized policy of conquerors; witness the directions which Tarquin the Proud gave, in dumb show, as to the chief men of Gabii. The cruel oppression of Wales and Ireland by the English is then expatiated on, and a glimpse afforded us of the Irish Difficulty in an early, but sufficiently intractable stage. We have then an account of the Statutes made by Edward II. on the field of Bannockburn before the battle, and their discovery by the capture of Friar Conraldus; whence by a sudden transition we find ourselves in the Caudine Forks, to see the Romans forced to submit to humiliating terms by the Samnites, for the purpose of being told that a still straiter yoke awaits the necks of those Scots who have assisted the English in their invasions. That the "Assured Scots" on the borders at times accompanied the English army, we find from various entries in the "Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents happening in Scotland 1513 to 1575." 1

1 Edited for the Bannatyne Club in 1833, 4to.
January 1545: "the English garysoun that lay in Coldinghame to the number of vj** come and brynt Morhame, Bathgait, Stanpath, and Datrie, quha wes helpit be our fals Scottis, for Lawder was sworne all Inglismen; the wardane of Ingland delt thair landis to quhose he plesit."

A month later,

"Vpoun the xxij day of Februar, the lord Gray come to Hadin-toun with tua thousands 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 foure dayes; and in this tyme, the cuntrie for the maist pait, was of the opinion of Inglismsen. The Inglismen passand to burne Drumlanrik, the thevis tuke pait with the Scottis, and pat thame abak, and sua thaj paircis come to the auld style agane. And vpoun the xxiiiij day, the Inglismen being all out of Scotland, the governour past & brynt Ormistoun, and wan the hous of Saltounhall; and heirefter Hallis was randert to the Scottis agane."

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

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

The feat of Edward at the Barns of Ayr had, we are told, been attempted to be repeated by the Lord Protector in March 1547, in a raid made into the West Marches of Scotland. How then should any Scotsman trust the English promises? More than 3000 Scots with their wives and children, says the author, have gone to dwell in England during the last fifty years, but these have been obliged to disown their nationality and live as "renegat Scottis," who may indeed now be favoured while their treason serves the English king, but will meet the fate of traitors in the end. These fugitives consisted, no doubt, largely of the followers of the banished lords in the reign of James V., and of others who had in like manner either been exiled from their country, or had fled from it to avoid justice—or injustice; they certainly also included many refugees who had adopted the Reformed faith and removed to England for safety from persecution, and perhaps some of the industrious and peace-loving inhabitants
of the southern counties, who sought in England that quiet which their own country had not enjoyed for forty years. Among them we may probably include "James Harryson, Scottisheman," whose appeal to his countrymen before Pinkie is one of the tracts printed in the Appendix.

In Chap. XIII, the "affligit lady" undertakes to explain the chief cause of the deplorable familiarity between England and Scotland, which she finds in the intercourse at markets and conventions on the borders, an intercourse directly opposed to the laws of the two countries, which declared that Scotch and English, like Jews and Samaritans, should have no dealings with each other. The writers of the tracts, on the other side, had used as an argument for the union of the two nations the oneness of their language, character, and customs, but Dame Scotia, while, curiously enough, admitting the unity of language, finds the two peoples utterly opposed in nature and "complexion," and favours us with an analysis of the English and Scottish characters, very much, of course, in favour of that of her own children. It may be contrasted with the equally partial delineation of Higden in the Polychronicon, "Scottes ben light of herte, straunge and wylde ynough, but by medlyng (mixing) of Englyshemen they ben moche amended: they ben cruell upon theyr enemyes, & hateth bondage moost of ony thyng, and holde for a foul slothe yf a man deye in his bed, & grete worshyp yf he dye in ye felde. They ben lytell of meate, and mowe faste longe, and eten selde whan the sun is up; and ete fleshe, fyshe, mylke, and frute, more than brede: and though they ben fayre of shappe, they ben defouled, and made unsemely ynough with theyr owne clothyng. They prayse faste the usage of theyr owne forfaders, and despysen other mennes doynge. Theyr londe is fruytfull ynough in pasture, gardyns and 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 drynkynge, gletons; in gaderynge of catell, hucksters and tauerners; in araye, tourmentours; in wynnynges, Argy; in tranayll, Tantaly; in talkynge lude, Dedaly; in beddes, Sardanapaly; in chirches, mawmetes; in courtes, thonder; onely in preuelege of
clergye and in prebendes, the knowledge themselues 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 adjectie that cannot stand without a substantiue. Their nature is to tary at home in idlenes, ready to defende their countree like brute beasts, thinkyng their rusticall fashion to be high honestie, and their beggerly liuyng to bee a welfare.”

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

In the middle of this chapter three leaves, 72 to 74, have been cancelled; they perhaps contained a further collection of ancient examples of the demoralizing effects of avarice. Lest persuasion and invective should fail to arrest these traitors, Chap. XIV. quotes divers classical and scriptural instances to show that conspirators are always punished, even by those who have profited by their treason. The fate of the chief citizens of Capua, of Pausanias, the Amalekite who slew Saul, Rechab and Baanah, Bessus, and the Black Jacobin Friar who poisoned the Emperor Henry, are recounted at large and held up as warnings.
Thus far Dame Scotia has had the talk all to herself, but now the third son seizes an opportunity to reply, by pointing out that the vices denounced by his disconsolate mother are chargeable on his two brothers, Nobility and Spirituality, but not on himself; and in Chapter XV. he pours forth his lamentable wail against his unnatural kinsmen, who are far more cruel to him than the "ald enemies of ingland." Like a dull ass he is kicked and prodded, and obliged like a body-slave to "ryn & rasche in arage and carriage," i.e. servitude for tillage of the landlord's ground and carrying in his crop at harvest time. Bitter are his complaints against the oppression exercised by the landlords, temporal and spiritual, who plunder him of his "cornis and cattel," and raise his tacks and steadings to such a rent that he is reduced to beggary and starvation. Moreover, he is forced to lend and entrust his little savings to his oppressors, and on daring to ask repayment, is cuff'd, 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 ye gif me your charitie, And I sill declar yow the black veritie. My father was ane auld man and ane hoir, And was of age fourscoir of zeirs and moir; And Mald, my mother, was fourscoir and fyfteyne; And with my labour I did thame baith susteine, Wee had ane Meir that caryt salt and coill; And ever ilk zeir scho brocht vs hame ane foill. Wee had thrie ky, that was baith fat and fair— Nane tydier into the town of Air. My father was sa wail 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 deid,
The thrid Cow than he cleikit be the head.
Thair vnest chayis, 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 met.
Now haue I talde 3ow the blak veritie,
How I am brocht into this miserie.

**Diligence.** How did the persone? Was he not thy gude freind?
**Pauper.** The deuil stick him! He curst me for my teind,
And hails me 3it vnder that same proces,

Ten years after the date of the *Complaynt*, William Lauder published his “Lamentation of the Pure,” with its burden, “How lang, Lord! sall this Warld endure?” and in his “Mirrour” thus addressed the gentry:

> 3our gredynes! it stinkis and fylis the air!
> I vg 3our Murther and Hirschip to declair!
> For thocht 3e sla nocht pure men with 3our knyues,
> 3it with 3our dearth 3e tak from thame the luyes!
>
> The pure Plewnmen and lauboraris of 3our lands,
> Quhen tha haue nocht to fill 3our gredie hands,
> Quhair 3e can spye ane man to geue 3ow mair,
> 3e schyte thame furth; synye puts ane vther thair.
> Howbeit the first haue Bairnis aucht or nyne,
> 3e tak no thocht, thocht man and all sulde tyne;
> Within few zeries 3e hery him also,
> Synye puts him furth; to beggin most he go;
> Thus shift 3e our, in to most gredie wyse,
> The quhilk ane Vengeance from the Heauin cryis.
> 3it for all this 3e never ar content!
> Howbeit 3e haue, be fer mair land and rent
> Nor eneuer had 3our Fatheris 3ow before;
> But euer gredie, and gaping stille 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 fassion of sindrie vther Realmes, for the incres of policie and riches. Bot quhat hes he profittit? Quhen ane pure man with his haill raire and offspiring 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 take lytill laubouris on it, mon enjoy ye frutis, and commoditis of it: he man cit vp the sweit & laubouris of ye pure mannis browis. Thus the pure dar mak na policie, nor bigging, in case yai big yame selfis out. Bot althoucht men wink at yis, 3it He sitts abone yat seis it, and sal iuge it. He yat heiris ye sichis and complaintis of ye pure oppressit, sal not for euer suffer it vnpunischt. Quhat hes he alswa written aganis yis Heriald hors, deuyset for monie pure mannis hurt? Bot quha hes dimittit it? And gif he had lefit in yir lait dayis, quhat had he said, of ye vnnatural murtheris: ye cruel slauchteris: ye manifest reissis: ye continuall heirschippis: ye plane oppressionis: ye lytill regard of all persones to ye common-welth?"

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 lieutenent past to Haddingtoun, quhair their suld haue met him the lardis of Low-thiane, quha com nocht; and thairefter past to Tamptalloun, and thair held his 3ule, and take lytill heid to the cuntrie, but let thame doe for thameselfis, quhilk causit the cuntrie to be clene herijt; the cuntrie seine and na helpe of the lieutenant, maid bandis amang thame selfis that ilk ane sould help vtheris, quhairramang was greit watches, ilk ane after his degrie."

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

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

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

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

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

In the same spirit the author of the *Complaynt* (or Dame Scotia rather—one really forgets that an allegorical personage is supposed to be speaking) quotes the question of the "Preist of Peblis in ane beuk that he compilit," "Quhy burges ayris thryuis nocht to the thrid ayr?" and adds, that what the priest asked as to the heirs of townsfolks might with equal force be asked of the universal commonalty both "to burgh and land." "The thrie 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 hail contrair?"
INTRODUCTION.

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

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

"When Adam delved and Eve span,"

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

"1544. Vpoun the thrid day of Junij, thair was ane generall counsell haldin at Stirling, quhairat was all the nobillis of Scotland, exceptand the erle of Lennox and Glencarne; quhair the gouernour was dischargit of his auctorite and maid proclamatiouns, throw the realme that nane obeyit him as gouernour. And als thair thai chesit thrie erlis, thrie lordis, thrie bishopis, thrie abbotts, to be the secreit counsale; quhilk lastit nocht lang, for enerie lord did for his awne particulare profiteit, and tuke na heid of the commounweill, but tholit the Inglismen and thevis to ovrrin 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 xxviiij day of September, the Parliament was haldin in Linlithgow, quhair the maist part of the nobillis wes. It was suspectit thaj com for land, becaus few was at the Parliament befor. In this Parliament was forfaltit 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 text 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, Scottisheeman, in 1547, had characterized the indifferenence 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 complauntie would perse the deafe cares. . . . . If these [authors of the mischief] should fele but half the miserie which the poore people be driuen to suffre, thei would not be halfe so hastie to ryng alarmes."

It is his own virtue, our author goes on to say, and not the honour of his predecessors, that makes a man noble; and, tested by this standard, counterfeit nobility is plentiful in Scotland. Some of the "counterfeit" Scottish nobles and gentlemen were ashamed
that their ancestors had been of plebeian rank,—evidently Scotland had already some who would have been glad to believe, like the Highland Laird, that at the general Flood his ancestor had a "private airk o' his nain," when Noah's more vulgar vessel contained the ancestors of common mortals. To teach them better manners, our author relates the conduct of Agathocles, king of Sicily, who boasted of his father having been a potter. Moreover, the longest line begins in mud and clay, and in this clay there is no distinction of ranks, as indeed there will not be when dust shall have received back its own. To enforce this, we have an anecdote of Cyrus and Croesus, and diverse quotations from the Sacred Scriptures and apocryphal Wisdom of Solomon. A chief form taken by the prodigality of the Scottish nobles is said to have been costly clothing above their means—for which, see the monstrous hose denounced by William Lauder—and the keeping of large numbers of horses and dogs. Like the horses of Diomede and the hounds of Actaeon, 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 ministration," which had provoked "the scismas and divers sectis that trublis al cristiantie." Probably he had not a troop of bastard sons and daughters openly owned, and another assortment of spurious ones in the families of his parishioners, like so many of

¹ Henry Ward Beecher—"Life Thoughts."
² I need hardly say "we can fancy"—we have specimens both before and after this date; ride his Complaynt, 409—448; the Commonyng betuix the Papyngo and her Holye Executoris; the Tragedie of the Cardinall in toto; Kiltis Confession; the Monarché, 608—684; 2279—2708; 5850—5925; and above all the Satyre, "the whole matter whereof," as Sir Ralph Eure wrote to England, concludes "upon the declaration of the naughtiness in religion, the presumption of the bishops, the collusion of the spiritual courts, called the consistory courts in Scotland, and the misusing of priests." The Early English Text Society have published Lyndesay's poems in full, and his "reproof of the Clergy" can be better read in situ than if I were to exhibit it in morsels here.
INTRODUCTION.

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 wickedness to be detested, which have kindled the fire and still laie on brandes to feede the same! In whom if either respect of Religion, which they profess, or zeale of Justice, whereunto thei are sworne, either feare of God, or loue to their countrey, did any thing woorke, thei would refuse no travaill, nor torment of body nor mynde, no, nor death (if it wer offered) for ye sauegarde of thaim, whose distruccion thei hauue wrought. And there bee onely twoo sortes, the one is of suche, as either for feare of their Hypocrisy to bee reueued, or euill gotten possessions to be translated would hauue no peace nor concord... These be thei whiche professyng knowledge, abuve the ignoraunce of the nobilitie, and commonaltie, to ye destruccioon of bothe, hauyng peace in their mouthes, and all rancor and vengeance in their hartes, pretendynge religion, perswade rebellion, preachyng obedience, procure al disobedience, semyng to forsake all thyng, possesse all thyng, callyng themselves spirituall, are in deede moste carnall, and reputed heddes of the churche, bee the onely shame and slander of the churche. If these people would as earnestly travaill for the concord of bothe realmes, as thei indeuour with toote and naill to the contrary, these mischeneus aforesaied, should either not hauue happened, or els at the leaste, not so long hauue continued; by whose lare, so long as the nobles and commons of Scotlande be led, I am in despaire of any amitie or freneship betuene these two realmes. God bryng their falsed heddes once to light, and turne their iniquitie vpon their awne heddes."

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

There was need for reform, too, upon other considerations than
those of abstract right, and the well-being of the country. If the
English king once got Scotland in his clutches, the nobles and com-
mens 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 mair3e," 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 excommuni-
cated and the infidel to be meritorious, and the English are excom-
municated 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,
   Qhilk hes the wyte that brak the peace
       For to put downe the word of Christ.
   Ane hundredth thousand thay wald se
       sockit in till ane feild,
       Under the speir and sheild ;
   Bot with the wyfis thay wald be
       At hame, to smoir the word of Christ.

1 Reprinted by David Laing from the original edition of 1578, p. 159,
"I am wo for thir wolfs sa wylde."
Defend na mair thir wolfs sa wylde,
Sa ful of cruulnes,
Thair cloikit halynes,
Bmith men and wyfis sa lang hes fylde,
And ar the verray Antichristis.”

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

If the weeping philosopher and his laughing brother were to traverse Scotland, both would find matter enough to exercise their diverse humours. On this subject the author quotes six lines from the Italian poet, Philiremo Fregoso, and gives us a specimen of his own talent in versifying, by translating the same into Scottish metre. The three plagues with which the book began—war, hunger, and pestilence—are again mentioned; they abound indeed in all the literature of the time. The Scottishman, in 1547, had deplored the fruite which the “warre bryngeth furthe, whiche is sackyng of tounes, subuersion of holdes, murder of men, rauishment of women, slaughter of olde folke and infants, burnyng of houses, and corne, with hunger and pestilence, twoo buddes of the same tre.” To us now, trying to pierce the mist of three centuries, the war stands out in darkest outline on the horizon, but the famine which followed the destruction of the corn crops, and the pestilence which, like a shadow, stalked behind the famine, were perhaps even more severely felt by the sufferers. To one reading the domestic history of Scotland in the 16th century, every third year seems to bring a famine, and every sixth the pestilence. “Little doubt is now entertained that the exanthematous disease called long ago the Pest, and now the Plague, and which has happily been unknown in the British
Islands for two centuries, was the consequence of miasma arising from crowded and filthy living, acting on bodies predisposed by deficient aliment and other causes, and that at a certain stage it assumed a contagious character. It will be found that the malady generally, though not invariably, followed dearth and famine—a generalisation harmonizing with the observations of Professor Alison as to the connection between destitution and typhus fever, and supporting the views of those who hold that it is for the interest of the community that all its members have a sufficiency of the necessaries of life.1 How the Pest—the Plague of God, Harryson calls it—haunted the country all these dismal years of strife, we see from occasional entries in the Diurnal of Occurrents, already quoted:

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

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

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

"The Quenis Grace [the child Mary Stuart] being suspect of the Pest, the Treasurer paid for the expensis of his Graces douchfer, Lady Barbara, eight dayis in Alexander Guthries chalmer in the Castle-hill, being with hir in cumpany with three other gentlewomen with thair servantis, iijl. xixs. iijd."

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

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

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

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

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

¹ Poems and Ballads of Dr John Leyden, edited by Robert White of Newcastle. Kelso, J. & J. H. Rutherfurd, 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
\textit{never}!

The book ends with a quotation from Cicero, "\textit{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 dis-
closure 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 \textit{a most curious piece, well written,}
and fraught with great learning—the only classic work in old
Scottish prose."

Though the position thus claimed for it by
Pinkerton can by no means be conceded, we may agree with Dr
Leyden "that the Complaynt is well written and fraught with great
learning. The style of remark is shrewd and forcible, though fre-
quently 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 \textit{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 \textit{no ancient of them all was so old as Common Sense}." For
this reason the author of the \textit{Complaynt}, instead of establishing his
opinion by solid and rational arguments, is often contented with
exhibiting his authority or \textit{exempl}.

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 \textit{Complaynt}; and it may be noticed, that in
no case does the original of any Greek author appear to be quoted; Greek was only struggling for recognition at Oxford and Cambridge; it was not till after the Reformation that it became an ordinary acquirement of the Scholar.

Authorities cited. Aristotle, Politics; St Augustine; Boccaccio; Boethius; Carion's Chronicle; Cato; Cicero, De Officiis, Parod., De Finibus, Epistolae; 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 erak 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 galiassae 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 "Wear all! ware all! gentle gallants! wind, I see him, pourbossa (? pn' our best a'), haul all and one, haul him up to us!""]—J. A. H. M.] Then when the anchor was hauled up above the water, &c., caupona = cat head him? (The cable passes through the hawse hole, close to the stem of the vessel, the anchor hanging there would stop the vessel's way and would cut through the stem; it is therefore brought round to the 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 tack now) hard aboard; haul aft the fore sheet (sail not now used), haul out the bow-line.

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

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

"A bonnet can scarcely be a bonnet-sail, which would only be set after all the ordinary sail; the sail next in order would be one of the head sails, viz. those from the bowsprit, called jibs or staysails, because they run upon small wooden hoops up the stays, or support to the masts. A bonnet is now often attached to a jib in a yacht or small vessel; it may once have been the name of the sail. 'Now heise' shows that it was to be raised from the level of the deck or bowsprit. The words 'More might, young blood, great and small, one and all,' are used still in the hauling songs. [The Complaynt has in full "Hoist all, ——, wow! wow! a long draught, more might, young blood, more mood, false flesh, lie aback, long swack (= jerk), that, that! there, there! yellow hair, hips bare, to him all, gallows-birds all, great and small, young and all, hoist all." J. A. H. M.] 'Make fast the tiers'—now the haulyards. Then the master cried 'Top your topinels, i. e. set your topsails; haul out your top-sail sheets'; the sheets, already explained, are hauled out to the yard-arm below them; they require no tacks as the lower sail do, as they change tacks by the wind carrying them round. 'Vire your lifters', = loose or let go your clew-lines, 'and your top sail trosses or braces, and hoist the top sail higher, haul out the top sail bowline': when a sail is furled, the two lower ends, called the clews to which the sheets are fixed, are hauled up to the yard to which the upper part of the sail is attached, by means of clew lines attached to
the clew and to the centre of the yard (the bunt), and as they thus lift the sail to the bunt, may have been called lifters; to set the sail, these must be loosed, as also the bunt-lines, which are small ropes attached to the lower ends of the sail towards the centre, bringing up the belly of the sail to the yard. The braces on the top-sail yard which would be hauled tight—taught, sailors say—to steady the yard when furling the sail, must be loosed when the yard is to be hoisted. When the sails are furled, all the upper yards are lowered on to the cap; when set, they are raised to the top of their several masts. 'Hoist the mizen and change it over to leeward;' the mizen is the fore and aft sail on the mast nearest the stern; it is fixed aloft to a gaff,—not a yard—and below to a boom, and this boom required swinging over to leeward before the sail was set, or the wind would have done so, and probably taken the helmsman's head along with it. 'Haul the linche, and the sheets, haul the brace to the yard:' linche I can't make out [Leyden says 'linch-pin or linspin for belaying the ropes on']; the sheet is here hauled out to the end of the boom; the brace was hauled from the gaff to the yard, after the sail was set to keep it steady. Then the master cried to the helmsman, 'Mate, keep [her] full and by, a luff,—i.e. close to the wind—but come no higher; holabar'—this word I give up,—‘arryvae'? 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 galiassé 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 artailljarie, 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 gouverne hir, six scoir of gunneris to vse hir artailljiarie,"
& ane thousand men of warr, by (i. e. besides) capitanes, skipperis, and quarter masteris."

Leaving the two vessels veiled in the smoke of powder, the author returns to the fields in time to see a party of shepherds, who had been early astir after their flocks, sit down to a breakfast al fresco brought out for them by their wives and children, and for which each was forearmed with a horn spoon in the lug of his bonnet—an outfit provided by reapers and other out-of-door labourers almost to the present day. After the repast, the chief shepherd makes an oration to his comrades, extolling the advantages and superiority of the pastoral life, and claiming for those of his occupation in ancient times the credit of first observing the motions of the heavenly bodies, and founding the sciences of astronomy and physics. To vindicate this claim, he himself gives a long scientific lecture, traversing the fields of astronomy and meteorology, with numerous excursions into the domain of astrology, and forming a useful popular compendium of the natural science of the time. The Solar system is of course described according to the Ptolemaic theory; but the author stoutly fights against St Augustine and other doctors of the Church in behalf of the Antipodes. His statement that the Milky Way was commonly known in Scotland as Wailing 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 "prolixt 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 taylris 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, duc of Normandie. The prose Life (from the French Romant de Robert le diable) was twice printed by Wynkyn de Worde without date: 'the lyfe of the moost feerfullest and vnnercyfullest and myscheuous Robert ye deuyll, which was afterwarde called the servuant 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 varidis end. Volfe is, without doubt, a misprint for volta 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 World'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 maret the deuyl. The story is probably the same which is related by Gervase of Tilbury, "de Domina castri de Espervel," and by Bournaker, of the ancestor of

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the Plantagenet family. 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 sathana
Scho rasit, and him askit syne,
Quhat suld worth of the fichtyne
Betux 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 'exemplis' of ambiguous responses.

(5) The taigl of the reylde eyttyn vitht the thre heydis. A.S. Eoten, a giant. "Sir David Lindsay relates, in the prologue to his Dreme, that he was accustomed, during the minority of James V., to lull him asleep with 'tales of the red-stin 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,
I haue, at lenth, the storeis done discryue
Off Hectour, Arthur, and gentyll Iulyus,
Off Alexander, and worthy Pompeyus,

Off Iasone and Media, all at lenth,
Off Hercules the actis honorably,
And of Sampsone the supernaturall strenth,
And of leill Luffaris storeis amiaably;
And oft tymes haue I fein'zet mony fabyll,—
Off Troylus the sorrow and the Ioye,
And Scigis all, of Tyir, Thebes, and Troye.

The Prophiseis of Rymour, Reid, & Marlyng,
And of mony vther plesand storye,—
Off the reid Etin, and the gyir earlyng,—
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.

(6) The tail quhou persers sauit andromada fra the cruel mon-
ster. 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 prophyse of merlyne. [See ante, p. xlii-xlvi.]

(8) The taylf of the giancis 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 dark-
ness 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 fút, by forght, as i cuul find. That is, "On foot, by
Forth, as I did go." A ballad not now known.

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

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

(12) Ypomedon. "The Life of Ipomydon." Colophon: "En-
prynted at London in the Fletestrete at the sygne of the Sonne by
Wynkyn de Worde;" no date, 4to, but with "L'enuoye of Robert
C[opland] the prynter." Only one incomplete copy known. This
romance was printed by Weber in his Metrical Romances, 1810, vol.
ii. p. 279, from the Harl. MS. 2252; and the story of it is told in
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."

(13) The tail of the three futtit 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

(14) The tail quhou Hercules slew the serpent hidra that hed vij
heycis. 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 Pyc-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 quhon the kyng of est mare land mareit the kyngis dochdrir of west mare 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) Shail gillidenderson, the kyngis sone of skellye. Some Scandianvian 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 Captain Cor, p. xx.

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

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

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

(19) The tail of syr ewan, arthours knight. 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 of Ivent, Eingland Kappe;—the history of Éwain, Arthur's best beloved knight in England, containing his combats with the Giants and Blacks. This is undoubtedly the romance of Éwain mentioned in the Complaynt. —Sagan af Herra Bewus, the Romance of Sir Bevis."

(20) Rauf collycor. 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 "Impremitit at Sanct Andros 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 Colljear, how he harbreit King Charlis." See Irving's *History of Scotish 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) *Gawen and gallogras*. A titleless copy of 1508 is in the Adv. Lib. Edin., and its colophon is "Heirdis 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 Loch*), 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) *Arthur knyght, he raid on nycht, viht gyltin spur and candil lyght.*

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

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

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

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

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

1 Sir Gawain and the Green Knight (Roxb. Club, and E. E. Text Soc.).
Cocke by Roberte Redborne." Only two perfect copies exist, at Althorp and Bridgewater House; and one imperfect copy.


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

(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 Summons sent by Henry the IV. of England to do homage for the Crown of Scotland," is [re]printed in Watson's *Collection of Scottish poems*, pt 3, which begins "Dureing the reigne of the Royal Robert." Leyden, p. 231. It is also reprinted "in two different publications of Mr Laing, *Fugitive Scottish Poetry*, and *Early Metrical Tales*. It contains a magnanimous and indignant answer, supposed to have been returned by Robert the Third, when Henry the Fourth of England summoned him to do homage for his kingdom. The author's patriotism may be more safely commended than his poetry, which is of a very inferior order." Irving's *Hist. of Scottish Poetry*, p. 201, ed. 1861.

(35) *Syr egeir and syr gryme.* Of this verse Romance no printed copy is known earlier than 1687. It belongs to Mr David Laing, who reprinted the 2nd edition known, that of 1711, in his *Early Metrical Tales*, 1826. By far the best copy is in Bp Percy's Folio MS., and is printed in the *Ballads and Romances* of it, i. 354-400, in 1474 lines. Its "subject is the true and tried friendship of Sir Eger and Sir Grime. It sings how a true knight (Sir Grime) stood faithfully by his friend when misfortune overtook him, and fought his battle, and won it, and was rewarded with the same happiness
which he had so nobly striven to secure for his friend—success in love." In 1497, the sum of nine shillings was paid to "twa fithelaris that sang *Gray Steil* to the King." See Mr D. Laing's Introduction, and Mr Hales's in the Percy Folio *Bal. and Rom.* Gray steel was the knight who overcame Sir Eger, and who cut off the right little finger of every knight he vanquished. But Grime slew him for Eger's sake.

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

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

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

(39) *The tayl quhou acteon vas transformit in ane hart, and syne slane be his 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 publish'd 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 Grammarián, De Amore Heroís et Lœandi, is a marginal note in Abraham Fleming's translation of Virgil's Georgics, 1589, 4to: "The poet alludeth to the historie of Leander and Hero, written by Musæus, and Englished by me a dozen yeares ago [1577], and in print." J. P. Collier, in Notes and Queries, Dec. 8, 1849, p. 84-5. This "tayl" of the Complaynt before 1548 may—like many others in the list—have been a broadside. Ovid mentions the story, Her. xviii. 19.

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

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

(44) Orpheus, kyng of portingual. This cannot be the romance of Orfeo and Heurodis in the Affleck MS., printed in Mr D. Laing's Select Remains, 1822, in which Orfeo is a king in England, has the city of Tracien 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. Perhaps some Middle-age writer altered Thrace to Portugal. Geography was "of no consequence" with the story-tellers of those days.

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

(46) The tail of the thre weirld 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 tail quhou that dedalus maid the laboryynth to keip the monster minotaurus. Ovid, Met. viii.

(48) The tail quhou kyng midas gut tue asse luggis on his hed, Complaynt.
be cause of his auricis. Another story from Ovid, book xi of the Metamorphoses.

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

THE SONGS.

(49) Pastance with gude companye. English. Written by Henry VIII. Facsimiled, with the tune, for Mr Wm Chappell, in Archaeologia, xlii. 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 Archaeologia, vol. xli, Pl. xvi, p. 372; but in the MS. every ll has a line across its top.

The kynge. H. viij.

                                   (1)  Pastyne with good companye
                                   I loue, & shall vntyl I dye;—
                                   gruche who lust, but none denye,
                                   so god be plesyd, thus Iene wyll I,
                                   for my pastance
                                   hunt, synz, & danunce,
                                   my hart is sett!
                                   all goodly sport,
                                   for my comfort,
                                   who shall me let?

                                   (2)  youthe must hauue sum daliance,
                                   off good or yll, sum pastance;
                                   Company me thinkes then best,
                                   all thoughtes & fansys to delect;

                                   (3)  for Idolnes
                                   is cheeff mastres
                                   of vices all;
                                   then who can say
                                   but mirth and play
                                   is best of all?
                                   Company with honeste
                                   is vertu, vices to fleece;
                                   Company is good & ill,
                                   but evry man hath hiss 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 leyuis grene. See (96). In the Maitland MS., and printed by Pinkerton in his Maitland Poems, p. 205. In his notes, p. 424, Pinkerton says, “This piece, for the age it was written, is almost miraculou. 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 miraculou” 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
(53) Allace, i vyit zour tua fayar ene! i.e. I blame your two fair eyes.

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

(55) Lady, help zour presoneir.

(56) Kying villamis note.

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

(58) The theaped calk.

(59) Fayght is there none.

(60) Skald abellis nou.

(61) The abirdenis nou.


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

(67) The song of gilquhiskar.


(69) God sen the due hed byddin in France, And delaubaute hed neyur 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.
INTRODUCTION.

“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 mervells, 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 mowe, vithl flora quene. “This beautiful song was printed by Chepman and Myller in 1508, and also in Forbes’s Aberdeen Cantus [thence reprinted by Ritson, Scottish Songs, Hist. Essay, p. xli]: a copy with several variations, is preserved in the Bannatyne MS.” Leyden, p. 279. The latter, not modernized as in Forbes, whose second song it is, is printed at the end of Alexander Scott’s Poems, p. 97-9, ed. D. Laing. See also Capt. Cox, cliv.

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

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

Gude Sir Alexander Irving,
The much renownit laird of Drum,
None in his days was bettir sene,
Quhen thay war semblit, all and sum;
To praise him we spuld 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-

1 See the Dance Tune, The Battel of Harloe, in the British Museum Addit. MS. 10,444, leaf 4, back, No. 8.
Dr. —No Chappell's introduced been served Rumbelo Music, Musical two the printed Folio and the been printed heart version with their ballad. Ave so it to giving litt's known Glasgow, [iychard is, a a soe is, a of the Kirk, Ballads, ii. 29, &c., &c. The Rycharde Sheale, whose name is at the end of the ballad, was a well-known minstrel and writer of doggerel, and made either this copy or the one from which it was taken. Copiers in old times often signed their names to that which they copied. The fight of which the ballad tells, is not known to History, except in so far as it's mixt up with the battle of Otterbourne fought in 1388.

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

See Maidment's 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 with my to rumbele sayr? 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 Rumbylo," 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 Bowye of Court:

I wolde be mery what wynde that ener blowe:
Heue and how, rembeelor, 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 mornre
For your lemanus ye hanse lost at Bannockysborne,
Wyth heue a lowe.
What wente the kyngge of England
So sooone to have wonne Scotlande,
Wyth rumbylo?"
It occurs also in connection with Here how! in "Peblis to the Play," stanza 5:

Hop, Calye, and Cardronow
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 Reliques Antiquae, 1841, i. 70. See Capt. Cox, clvi.

(78) Turne the, swit ville, to me.
(79) My lyfe is lyand seje;
Send hym joy, send hym joy!
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 mongumrye met. This is line 117 of the modernized Scotch version of the ballad of "The Battle of Otterbourne," printed in Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, i. 354, and Prof. Child's Ballads, vii. 19, &c. :

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

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English version</th>
<th>Scotch version</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Percy and the Douglas mette,</td>
<td>When Percy wi' the Douglas met,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>That ether of other was fayne;</td>
<td>I wat he was fu' fain;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They schapped together, whyll that the swette,</td>
<td>They swakked their swords, till sair they swat,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With swords of fyne collayne.</td>
<td>And the blood ran down like rain.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Places near Peebles.

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

Then Percy and Montgomery met,
And weel a wat they war na fain:
They swapped swords, and thay twa swat,
And 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 then a Scottyshe prisoner tayne,
Sir Hugh Montgomery was his name. (l. 161-2.)

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

(82) That day, that day, that gentil day. The notion that Prof. Child seems to have started (Ballads, vii. 34, note), and that Mr Hales sanctions (Percy Fol. Bal. & Rom. ii. 2), that the "That day, that day, that gentill day" of the Complaynt, is a misquotation of "That day, that day, that dreadfull day!" 1. 99 of The Hunting of the Cheviot, and therefore means that Ballad, I cannot away with. For, 1. the Complaynt has already put The Huntis of Chevet in its list of "suet sangis," eight above "That day, that day, that gentil [or dreadfull] day," and would not, of course, repeat it: 2. Why should we suppose the careful writer of the Complaynt to have put "gentil" for "dreadfull," 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 knycht.
(84) Allace, that samyn suet face! Godlified in the Godlie Ballates, p. 56.
(85) In ane myrthful morou.
(86) My hart is leuiit [= left] on the land.

THE DANCE TUNES.

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

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

(90) The comount entray.

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

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

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

*Romaint of the Rose* (? Chaucer's), 1. 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.
THE WORK.—INTERNAL.

See Capt. Cox, p. cxxvii.

(94) Freris al.
(95) Ennynes [= Inverness, Gael. Ionar nis].
(96) The loch of slene [= Slyne].
(97) The gosseps dance.
(98) Lewis grene. See No. (51), ante.
(99) Makky.
(100) The speyde.
(101) The flail.
(102) The lames vynde.
(103) Soutra. [Soutra or Soultra edge forms the watershed between the Forth and the Tweed; and Soutra is a small hamlet on the ridge, on the highroad from Edinburgh to Lauder. Soutra separates the South countrie from Lothian.—J. A. H. M.]
(104) Cum kyttit me na kytt vantounly.
(105) Schayke leg jut befor gossep.
(106) Rank at the rate:
(107) Baglap and al.
(108) Ihonne ernistrangs 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[ney]: 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 Everygreen, 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-

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

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

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

(110) *The base of voragon.*

(111) *Dangeir.*

(112) *The bye.*

(113) *The daile dance.* Not known, I believe, in Scotland; but it is, no doubt, either the tune referred to in *Hawkins* (see below) or "The Dolceful Dance and Song of Death," of which the tune, and a late Ballad, are printed by Mr Chappell in his *Popular Music*, i. 83. The tune is also called "*The Shaking of the Sheet,*" and "is frequently mentioned by writers in the 16th and 17th centuries, both as a country dance and as a ballad tune." In the recently-discovered play of *Misogonus*, produced about 1560, *The Shaking of the Sheets, The Vicar of St Fools, and the Catching of Quails*, are mentioned as country dances. . . The tune is also mentioned in Lilly's *Pappe with a Hatchet*, 1589; in Gosson's *School 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 kylyrynne.
(115) The vod and the val.
(116) Schaiik 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 fuddil, and the quhissil.” The bag-pipe, in some form or other, has been known in almost every country; at this time it appears to have been as great a favourite among the Italian peasantry, especially the shepherds of Calabria, as among the peasants of Scotland. It seems also to have been the favourite instrument of the French peasantry. It is mentioned in a pastoral dirge on the death of Charles VII. of France, in which many traits of the shepherd-life of that country are exhibited. Although now usually associated with the Scottish Highlands, it is only in later times that the bagpipe has there become the favourite instrument, superseding the ancient Celtic harp. Giraldus Cambrensis, about 1188, notices it as a Welsh instrument, but does not include it among the musical instruments of Scotland and Ireland. “Ireland,” he says, “makes use of only two, the harp and the drum; Scotland hath three, the harp, the drum, and the chorus (probably the crwth); and Wales has the harp, the pipes, and the chorus.” The same instruments are enumerated in one of the institutions of Howel Dda, about 942: “Every chief Bard to whom the prince shall grant an office, the prince shall provide him an instrument; a harp to one, a crwth to another, and pipes to a third; and when

¹ Chiefly abridged from Leyden.
they die, the instruments ought to revert to the prince.” From the Welsh, the bagpipe seems to have passed to the English, and Scottish Lowlanders, and finally to have been appropriated by, and left to, the Highlanders. In corroboration of this we have the Gaelic names *piob*, *piobair* (pronounced *peep*, *peeper*), simply the old English pipe, piper, whence *piobaireachd*, pipership, in recent times imported back from the Gael as *pibroch*. In olden times a *town’s piper* was a common adjunct of the Scottish burghs, but the Lowland bagpipe was a different instrument from that of the Highlanders, being inflated by bellows instead of the mouth, so that “the perfection of the piper’s art was supposed to consist in. being able to sing, dance, and play on the bagpipe at the same time.”

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

The *Recordar* was a small species of flute, or rather *flageolet*, and has always been a favourite with the Scottish shepherds; it is mentioned as their appropriate instrument in Cockelbie’s *Sow*. The *fiddill*, a musical instrument of great antiquity, has, in the Scottish Lowlands, supplanted the bagpipe. From the number of
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MS. cantus of the last two centuries dispersed through the country, it seems to have been long a very favourite instrument. But the origin of the Fiddle ascends to a very high antiquity. It is frequently mentioned in the ancient *Metrical Romances*; and in some of these the highest degree of female beauty is expressed by the simile, "sweet as the cream of milk, or the music of a fiddle."

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

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

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

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

"Castand galmondids, 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, payons, 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 compiled by Alexander Barcley" (London, 1521, 4to), a spare leaf is occupied by a treatise "Here foloweth the maner of dauncynge of bace dau?zces 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 : repryse & braule. And ye ought fyrst to make reuerence 'towarde the lady / & than make .ii. syngles .i. double / a repryse / & a braule." Also "ye ought to wyte that in some places of fraunce they call the repryses / 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 roynce / foure measures." These, the translator says, he has put at the end of his book "that every lerner of the sayd boke after theyr dylygent study may reioyce somewhat theyr sprytes honestly in eschewynge of ydlenesse the portresse of vice."

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

Auld Lychtfute thair he did forleit,
And counterfutet Franss
He vzed him self as man discreit
And vp the Moreiss danss

He tuik
At Christes Kirk of the Grene.”

Some of the musical terms employed in the Monologue are illustrated by the following passage from Higden (Polychronicon, 1495, f. 101), quoted by Dr Leyden: “Here wyse men I tell, that Pictagoras passed som tyme by a smythes hous, and herde a swete sowne, and accordyng in the smytynge of foure hamers vpon an anuelt, & therefore he lette weye the hamers, & found that one of the hamers weyed twyes so moche as another. Another weyed
other halfe so moche as another; and another weyd so moche as another and the thyrde dele of another. As though the fyurste hamer were of syx pounde, the seconde of twelve, 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 cyghteth dele, hete in teuns Double Dyapason. As in melodye of one strenge, yf the strenge be streyned enlonge vpon the holownesse of a tree, and departe even 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 even in thre, and the brydge sette vnnder, soo that it departe bytwene the twey deles and the thyrde, then the lenger dele of the strenge yf it be touched, shal gyue a sowne called Dyatesseron. And yf it be departed in nyne, and the brydge sette vnnder 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 eoldom 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 pur 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 dis-
tinct 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 North-
er 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 uninflexed state of the adjectives in
Cursor Mundi, Barbour, and the oldest Scottish Fragments, are
identical with those still in use in Scotland and the North of
England, probably the only inflection lost since the 13th century
being the -s of the plural imperative of verbs, still in use in the 16th
century.¹ The Southern English dialect, on the other hand, retained

¹ In the West Saxon, the plural of the imperative was, without the
pronoun, Ceume, with it Ceume ze. In the Old North Anglian Cumæ, and
Cumæ ze. In Early Scotch Cumæ, and Cumæ ze. In the Middle Scotch Cumæ
was still used, but when more than one verb came in a sentence, only the first
usually took the -s or -ez.
a great part of the inflection system of the Anglo-Saxon for some centuries later; hence there is a vast difference between the language of Cursor Mundi and Barbour, and that of the Ancren Ricle and Ayenbite of Invyt. 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, ford, fote, thurch, opir, boke, ut, tun, bur, forudin, abute; by 1400, these had come to be spelt blude, fude, fute, throug, uthir, buke, out, toun, bour, forowtin, aboute, but original vowels, Anglo-Saxon or French, were still kept simple and distinct from diphthongs, as in quha, ald, cald, barne, tham, gane, vele, kepe, deme, rose, thole, flour, mure, buke, wyf. In the Middle period these simple long vowels were written as diphthongs, quhay, auld, cauld, bairn, thaim, gayne, weill, keyp, deim, rois, roys, thoill, flour, muir, buik, wyf. The indefinite article was in the Early period an or a 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 pat, more commonly at, pa 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, assemblid, grypyld, trastyld (Wyntoun); in Middle Scotch always in -it, assemblit, gryppit, traistit. The demonstrative tha = those, and the pronoun thai, thay = they, are always kept distinct by the Early writers; by the Middle writers constantly confounded. The participle etand, and gerund etyng, are always distinct with the Early writers, often confused by those of the Middle Period. In the plural of nouns the syllable -is, -ys, formed a distinct syllable after monosyllables in Early Scotch; in the Middle, the vowel was not pronounced, and gradually dropped
in writing. For other points of difference and specimens of different date the reader is referred to the work already mentioned.

The Complaynt of Scotlande belongs to the Middle Scotch period, which had already produced the works of Bellenden, Gawain Douglass, and Lyndsay. 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, brother, childer, wemen, eene, ky, hors, nolt, still in use in the North; the French fashion of using nouns in -s as singular and plural alike, as in vers, burges, burgeis, verses, burgesses; the occasional occurrence of the genitive without inflection, as in "the inglismen handis," "3our nobil judir 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, they), and 3one of both numbers. In the adjectives we find the distinction between mair, the comparative of mykil, and ma, comparative of monie, still observed in the folk-speech of the South of Scotland: "ther is maye of the sect of sardanapalus among vs nor ther is of scipions;" "ane pure vedou that hed na mair moneye."

As in the modern dialect also, ethir and ethirs are used reflectively for the English each other; "there tua natours and complexions ar contrar til ethirs;" "marcus emilius lepedus and fulhius flaccus, quha hed mortal heytrent & deidly fede contrar ethirs."
The personal pronouns are as still used in Scotland. In the plural of the 2nd person ze is of course always nominative, zow objective; the 3rd person plural has thai, thay (often confused with demonstrative thu), and thaym, thum. 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 soune is in oure hemispere, ande it closis the leyuis quhen the soune pass vndir our orizon" (p. 57. 14).

The Relative at, so common in the Early writers, nowhere appears; the usual Relative pronoun being quhilk, quhilkis (compare French lequel, lesquels). The use of quhau as a relative—unknown to the spoken dialects of Scotland, the earliest instance of which that I have found in Scotch 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, quhau is zour fadir broder, quhilk be his prudens hes bene mediatour betuix divers forane princis, quha hes nocht alenerly vset him lyik ane vailâeant captan," &c.

In the compound pronouns we find self treated as a substantive in the 3rd person as well as the 1st and 2nd, "al the vicis that his self committis." There is also, as still in Scotland, a distinction between our self and ourselves, the former being collective, the latter distributive: "the quhilk misknaulege of themself and of god sal be occasione of there auen 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.  Ze 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 perfyty accomplis in brutal beystes, nor it is in you that professis to be natural men; for
your werkis testifeis that ye ar mair disnaturellit nor is brutal beystes that hes na vndirstanding of raison."

"ye, vndir the collour of frendeschip, purchessus my final exterminatione."

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

"Quhen ye have fulfillit the inglismennis desyre, & hes helpit to distroye 3our natyue cuntre."

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

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

The verb to be is thus conjugated:

- I am.
- Thou art.
- He is.
- We are.
- Ye are.
- Thay are.

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

The past tense does not vary for the persons: I sau, thou sau, &c., but vas has var or vas in the plural. The Preteritive verbs are also invariable, I vait, thou vait, he vait, we vait, I sal, 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
Aue ageit man quhilk drew me nere.

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

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

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

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

But this idiom is never found in the Complaynt; on the contrary, in is used for into, which is hardly recognized; "he resaus in his fauoir ane desolat prince;" "thir tua princis entrit in the acha-
demya;" "he garris them fal in the depe fosse of servitude, ande fra magnificens in ruuyne;" "when the sune eummis in the fyrrst
degre of aries;" "I passit in ane grene feild."

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

There are many points of a similar kind, which I might adduce; but instead of doing so, I make the general statement, that while I cannot read ten lines of Lyndesay without having it forced upon me, as a native of Roxburghshire, that his form of Scotch is not
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, ally, alliance.
- antecostres, ancestors.
- arryua, arrive.
- avanse, advance.
- barbir, barbarous.
- bersis, Fr. berce.
- bestial, cattle.
- borceau, executioner.
- borrel, rude.
- boule, ball.
- brangland, shaking, branlant.
- bullir, boil, gurgle.
- butin, booty.
- caduc, fleeting.
- calkil, calculate.
- carions, corpses, *caroignes*.
- cauteil, craft, caution.
- chasbollis, onions, *ciboulcs*.
- chenzeis, chains.
- chestee, chastise.
- citinaris, citizens, *citoiens*.
- conquisc, conquer.

1. *final a* often used for French *final e*.
conteneu, tenor.
contrair, against.
corbeis, ravens.
cordinair, shoemaker.
cronic, chronicle.
curtician, courtier.
difficil, difficult.
disjune, breakfast.
dyte, to word, dit.
ensens, incense.
escarmuschis, skirmishes.
eschet, forfeiture.
uoïr, ivory, étoile.
exprême, express.
faci, easy.
fard, paint, farder.
fasson, fashions.
felloun, fierce.
fleurise, blossom.
frenole, frivolous.
fumeterre, fumitory.
fyne, end.
galmound, gambol.
galzard, galliard.
garnison, garrison.
gloire, glory.
gre, degree.
impesche, hinder.
importabil, unbearable.
lasche, base, lâche.
loue, praise.
maculat, spotted.
maltalent, ill-will.
manneis, threat.
marbyr, marble.
merle, blackbird.
mel, mix.
mistir, need, mestier.
mue, bushel, muid.
murdesar, murderer.
neurise, nurse.
nouvelles, news.
obfusquis, darkens.
olymp, olympus.
oultraige, outrage.
pastance, pastime.
pasuolan, Fr. passevolant.
paveis, Fr. pavoise.
pauuan, Fr. pavane.
perdurabil, lasting.
pissance, power.
plasmatour, creator.
popil, poplar.
potent, stake, gibbet.
prochane, neighbour.
prodig, prodigal.
pulse, push, poulser.
puldir, powder, poudre.
rarmmasche, collected, rammussé.
raminel, branching, ramel.
rasche, pull, arracher.
repreme, repress.
renè, rein.
reprocha, reproach.
ren, street.
roy, king.
rondellis, Fr. rondelles.
rotch, rock, roche.
salut, safety.
salutifere, healthful.
seremons, ceremonies.
scisma, schism.
siege, seat, see.
siecle, age, century.
sklaue, slave, esclave.
solist, solicitons.
spacier, to walk, Ital. spaziare.
succur, sugar, sucre.
suppedit, assist.
suppreme, suppress.
temair, rash.
turdion, a dance, tordion.
turques, pincers.
vaig, to ramble, vaguer.
vessel, vessel.
vertu, virtue.
vilite, vileness.
ulye, oil, huyle.
vollage, fickle, volage.
ungit, anointed, oincté.
visye, visit.
zelatars, 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, remed, abusion, souveraine, propriete, astrologien, damyselle, Inde, Perse, Crisp Salust, Absolon, Hieremy, Deutromone, 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 Lyndesay. These consist mainly in the confounding of t and c, of n and u, f and j, in, ni, iv, ui, and m, &c., errors very natural for a compositor who did not know the language setting from MS., but, as it appeared to me, impossible for a native printer to make, and a native reader to pass. At least they were such as native printers did not make in other works of the day, as may be seen from the typographical productions of Chepman and Millar, John Skot, Henrie Charteris, and
Robert Bassandyne, all of which are very accurately printed; one really could not imagine any of these repeatedly printing che, chem, chat, berwik, hany, noth, midh, faych, slandris, vniuersal, enyl, noth, hane, entrye, landwart, nouch, unreiswig, anareis, sterris, soucht, 3enych, mune and mune, scett, prysomt, scettis, saythful, for the, them, that, Berwic, hany, nocht, micht, fayth, Flandris, vniuersal, enyl, nocht, hane, entrye, landwart, mouse, neurising, anareis, sternis, foucht, 3enyth, mune, scett, prysomt, Scottis, faythful, with hundreds of similar blunders, which have their parallels in Jascuy’s Lyndesay. Then came the facts that the printer used no w or j, while w at least is common in Old Scotch books, being often used for initial v, whereas here, v and u have each to do duty in three capacities, as in vyuis, vnuiers, vou, mune, = wyris, univeris, vou, mune; 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 estait to be vigilante in the defens of their public veil). Attributed to Wedderburn, Sir J. Inglis, or Sir D. Lindsay, Paris? 1549 ? 16°."

The first mention we have of the work, as already hinted, occurs in Dr George Mackenzie's Lives of Scottish Writers (Edinburgh, 1708, 3 vols. folio). In the third volume we find what is termed a life of Sir James Inglis, Knight, who is stated to have been born in Fife, of an ancient family; to have studied at St Andrew's, finished his education at Paris, and afterwards returning to Scotland, to have ingratiated himself by his skill in poetry with James V. At the death of that prince he became an abettor of the French faction; but after the disastrous battle of Pinkie, in which he commanded a troop of cavalry with such distinction as to obtain the honour of knighthood from the Governor, he retired to Fife "where amid the innocent amusements of a country life, he composed several treatises both in prose and verse, of which we have still extant one called Scotland's Complaint, printed at St Andrew's in 1548; by which it appears he was well seen in the Grecian and Roman histories, and was a great mathematician and philosopher; a most faithful and loyal subject, and a great lover of his country."

Mackenzie then gives a very full and careful analysis of the Complaynt as we have it, and in conclusion relates that Inglis died at Culross in 1554. Besides the Complaynt he attributes to him "Poems, consisting of songs, ballads, plays, and farces, in MS."

Now, not to speak of other palpable errors, we find that Mackenzie here confounds two different persons of the name of Sir James Inglis, or, at least, one person of that name, with somebody else who may probably have been the other Sir James Inglis. Lyndesay, in the prologue to the Complaynt of the Papyngo (1530), mentioning the living poets of his day, says:

And in the Court bin present in thir dayis
That ballattis breuis lustely, and layis;
Quhilkis to our prince daily thay do present;
Quha can say mair than Schir James Inglis sayis,
In ballatis, farses, and in plesand playis?
Bot Culros hes his pen maid impotent.
The Maitland MS. also attributes to "Schir James Inglis" a poem entitled "A General Satire," which the Bannatyne MS. has with the name of "Dunbar" affixed. This Sir James Inglis,¹ a "Pope's Knight," was a churchman of considerable distinction at court in the reign of James V. He is shown from the Treasurer's Accounts to have been attached to the Royal household in 1511, was subsequently "Chapellane to the Prince," James V., while Sir David Lyndesay was Gentleman Usher, Secretary to Queen Margaret (1515), Chancellor of the Kingis chapell at Stirling (1527). The earliest and almost the latest entries we have in regard to him concern expenses for materials "to be hym and his collegis play-coitis, agane 3ale," for the "farssis and the plesand playis" commemorated above by Lyndesay. Before 1530 he was advanced to the Abbacy of Culross in Fife. These circumstances seemed all to favour the statement of Mackenzie; a priest who enjoyed well-earned preferment, and had the best reasons to desire the stability of the spiritual and temporal powers in Scotland, above all, one who could write ballads, farces, and plays, and lash the vices of the age in a "General Satire," seemed the very man who united the talents displayed in the Complaynt of Scotland. But unfortunately, for the presumption, eighteen years before the book was written, Sir James Inglis, Abbot of Culross, was murdered on March 1, 1531, by the Baron of Talliallane and his followers, who a month after were convicted of "art and part of the cruell slauchtir," and beheaded at Edinburgh, as related in Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. 151.

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

¹ See a full account of all that is known of him in a long note to the "General Satire," Dunbar's Poems, edited by David Laing, Edin., vol. ii. p. 398, to which I am mainly indebted for the particulars here quoted.
capacity certainly of singing masses "for the saullis of vmquhile our souerane Lord, (quham God assolze!) King James the Third, and Quene Margarete his spouse." 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 Cambuskyn-neth. 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. Three brothers, James, John, and Robert, are specially distinguished in connection with the early history and literature of the Scottish Reformation. James, the eldest, “exhibited proofs of dramatic talents, having converted the History of John the Baptist into a dramatic poem, and also the History of Dionysius the Tyrant,” in both of which, acted at Dundee, “he carped roughlie the abusses & corruptions of the Papists, counterfeiting their lying impostures, miracles,” &c. Such performances soon attracted the attention of the clergy, and obliged him in the year 1540 to flee to France; notwithstanding that he was denounced from Scotland as “an heretick” he continued to reside at Dieppe, or Rouen, till about 1550, when he died, according to Calderwood, giving to his son the dramatic injunction, “We have been acting our part in the theater: you are to succeed; see that you act your part faith-

1 Preface to “The Gude and Godlie Ballates of 1578,” edited by David Laing, Edinburgh, 1868, where will be found all that is known of the Dundee Wedderburns, with the accounts in Calderwood’s MS. History, 1636, given in full.
fullic.” The second brother John took priest’s orders, but soon beginning to profess the reformed doctrines, was summoned on a charge of heresy, and escaped to Germany (ab. 1538), where he sat at the feet of Luther and Melanchthon. “He translated manie of Luther’s dytements into Scottish meter, and the Psalms of David. He turned manie bawdie songs and rhymes in godlie rymes. He returned after the death of James V. in Dec. 1542, but was again pursued by the Cardenall, and fled to England,” where we hear no more of him.

The youngest brother Robert, likewise in priest’s orders, shared the Lutheran opinions of the two others. When he was coming home from Paris (where he completed the education began at St Andrew’s), in a ship which was driven by stress of weather on the coast of Norway “upon the Saturday before Whitsonday even 1546, after continuall disputing and reasoning among the passengers, some Popish, and some Protestantes, he, and the rest of his fellowes tooke the boldnesse, notwithstanding they understood nothing of the Cardinall’s death, to make his portraiture, or statue of ane great oaken blocke, and therupon write his name in paper affixed 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 enumerat-
ing 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 independ-
ently 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,
tryme go trix, under the greenwood tree," "Hay now the day
dawis," or "God send euerie Priest ane wyfe and euerie Nunne ane
man," a few years after, wide as is the gap between the two
positions—I yet cannot identify our author with the Vicar of
Dundee. If my view of Chapter XIX. be correct (see ante, p. lx),
one who was years before so far advanced in Lutheranism as to
have made (according to Calderwood) professed Protestants his chief
associates in Paris, and to have, not in a momentary freak, but as
the outcome of a "continual disputation between Protestants and
Papists," burned in effigy the great Cardinal, was not the man to
write that chapter, nor, indeed, to be the thorough-paced partisan
of the French faction, of which the Cardinal was the hero and the
martyr, that the author of the Complaynt proved himself to be.
Further, Wedderburn a native of Dundee would not have written in
the Southern variety of Scotch.

Leaving the external authority as too slender and conflicting to
lead to any conclusion, Dr Leyden, in editing the Complaynt in
1801, endeavoured from internal evidence to make out a case in
favour of the authorship of Sir David Lyndesay of the Mount, Lord
Complaynt.
Lyon King at Arms of Scotland, and the most prominent poet of his day, whose works, after half a century of neglect, have again been rendered accessible to the general reader by the editions of the Early English Text Society, and of Mr Laing. Leyden elaborated a very extensive and, it must be confessed, very striking series of coincidences, in form, style, manner, and matter, between the *Complaynt* and the Poems of Lyndesay, maintaining that these were of such a kind as to be explicable only on the hypothesis of common authorship. I do not think I am called upon here to reproduce his argument, which is probably one of the most successful pieces of special pleading in existence, but need only say that under coincidences in *title*, he points out that Lyndesay wrote many *Complaynts* (The C. of the Papyngo—the C. of Sir D. Lyndesay—the C. of Bagsche—the C. of the Commounweill of Scotland), and many *Exhortations*; that, in manner, both authors apologize for writing in the vulgar tongue—he does not tell that Lyndesay's was for writing in our "Inglische toung,"—both quote, and in almost similar terms, Carion's account of the prophecy of "Hely," applying it so as to fix the date of their own writing; Lyndesay in his Dialogue discusses the mutabilities of monarchies and the causes of present misery, enumerates in similar terms the miseries of Scotland, "a thrinfuld wand of flagellation, mortal weiris, hunger and peste;" quotes the proverb, "Wo to the realtime that hes our young 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 *Iohnie the Commounweild* 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 ye had in Scotland,
Be our auld enemies of Ingland?
Had nocht bene the support of France,
We had bene brocht to great mischance.—Satyre, 1. 4564;

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

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

V. REPRINTS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

No. I. The "Declaration of the just causes of the warre with the Scottes" was issued in 1542 on the outbreak of hostilities between Henry VIII. and James V., in consequence of the latter breaking his promise to meet his uncle at York. "The first step was a letter to the Archbishop of York by the Council, who . . . . state the resolution 'to have the king's majesty's title to the realm of Scotland more fully, plainly, and clearly set forth to all the world;' and the Archbishop Lee, who is understood to be learned in such matters, is ordered to assist in making out a case 'with all convenient expedition.'"1 The Declaration accordingly recounts the acts of kindness done by Henry VIII. to his nephew during the minority of the latter, the repeated disappointments and indignities with which he had been rewarded by the bad faith of the Scottish king, and the determined spirit of hostility which leaves him no resource but that of the sword. Then passing from the immediate cause of the war we have a revival of the English claims over Scotland as put forth by Edward I. with Brutus, Albanactus and Locrinus once more trotted out in their support, and followed by a long list of the occasions on which the English supremacy had been acknowledged or enforced by their successors. This pamphlet, of which the part referring to current events has been reproduced in 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-

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

No. II. "An Exhortacion to the Scottes to conforme themselves to the honorable, Expedient, & godly Union 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 conservator, (which name I had late)." As in the Declaration of Henry VIII., to which Harryson refers his readers for further information, the story of Brutus and his sons is duly set forth and defended; but not content with this, the author proceeds to a critical dissection of the rival Scottish legend of Scota and Gathelus, which he stigmatizes as a mere monkish lie, a specimen of the bread made from the "Coccle which their father Sathan had sowen emong the Corne," wherewith the priests "have fedde the silly people, utterying their dreames and inuencions, in stede of trouthes & verities." He raises his voice, too, against the Scottish league with France, holding up to ridicule the sorry figure cut by poor Jehan de Escoce, when "as a Cypher in Algorism," he serves but as Jupiter's block for the contumely and insults of the Frogges of France. It is noteworthy

1 It bears a MS. note in the handwriting of Mr Grenville: "I have not heard of any copy of the original Declaration being extant except the present."
also that in personifying Britain as the common mother of English and Scotch, addressing her unnatural and discordant children, he gives a first sketch of a figure amplified in the two following pamphlets, and developed at full length in the *Complaynt*, in the personification of Dame Scotia and her sons. The pamphlet is reprinted from the copy in the King's Library, 288a 40, Brit. Mus. (64 leaves, small 8vo, black-letter), which wants the title-page (here supplied from Lowndes, and therefore not an imitation, as in the case of the other documents of the Appendix).

No. III. The "Epistle or Exhortacion to vnitie and peace" appeared in the year following the "Scottisheman's" Exhortation, after the battle of Pinkie, foreshadowed in it, had been fruitlessly fought and won. It differs greatly from the manifestoes that had preceded it, in its moderation of tone, persuasive reasoning, and omission of all claim to supremacy over Scotland, leaving us with the impression that had it appeared first rather than last, its results might have been more satisfactory. From it we learn that the preceding pamphlets had been by the leaders of affairs in Scotland kept from the knowledge of the people; to this the Protector attributes in part the necessity for the recent battle, which he professes to deplore as deeply as the Scots can. The main part of the argument is devoted to showing the advantages which would result to Scotland from a union of the two realms, by the marriage of the sovereigns, for which he vainly implores the Scottish nation to renew the contract. Great attractions are also held out to individual Scotchmen who will adhere to the English interest, and further the reasonable aims of the English statesmen. The pamphlet is reprinted from the copy in the Grenville Collection, No. 5912, a small 8vo of twenty-eight leaves, black-letter. That foreign nations might be enabled to judge of the righteous character of the English demands, this pamphlet appeared simultaneously in English and Latin, the title of the latter being "Epistola exhortatoria ad pacem missa ab illustrissimo Principe Domino Protectore Angliae, ac caeteris Regiae Maiestatis Consiliariis ad Nobilitatem ac plebem, universumq: populum Regni Scotiae, Lond. per Reg. Woffium, 1548." 4to, contains D, in fours (Lowndes), printed, like the English edition, by Richard Grafton.
No. IV. "An Epitome of the title that the Kynges Maiestie of Englande hath to the souereignitie of Scottlande, 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 "Scottishman," 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 aforesetime persecuted one another with fire and sword. Two copies of Bodrugan's "Epitome" are in the Library of the British Museum. One of these ⁵⁄₄ 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.
TO THE EXCELLENT AND ILLVSTIR

Marie Quene of Scotlande, the margareit and perle of princefsis.

THE immortal gloir, that procedis be the rycht lyne of vertu, fra your magnanime auansing of the public veil of the afligit realme of scotlande, is abundantly dilatit athort al cuntreis; throucht the qhilk, the precius germe of your nobilite bringis nocht furth, alaneonly, branchis and tendir leyuis of vertu: but as veil it bringis furtht salutiffere & hoilsam frute of honour, qhilk is ane immortality and supernatural medicyne, to cure & to gar conuallesse al the langorius desolat & afligit pepil, qhilkis ar al mast disparit of mennis supple, ande redy to be venquest & to be cum randrit in the subiection ande captiuite of our mortal ald enemes, be rason that ther cruel inuations aperis to be onremedabil. The special cause of our afflictione hes procedit of thre vehement plagis qhilk hes al maist succumbit oure cuntre in final euertione. that is to saye, the crucle inuations of oure ald enemes, the vniuersal pestilens ande mortalite, that hes occurit mercyles amang the pepil, ande the contentione of

COMPLAYNT.
diiverse of the thre estaitis of scotland. thruocht the quhilk thre plagis, the vnuiersal pepil ar be em disti-
tute of justice, policie, ande of al verteus bysynes of
body ande saul. Ande nou, illustr prize, engendrit
of magnanime genolgie, & discendit of Royal pro-
genituris, 3our regement ande gouernyng, ande alse
3our honorabil amplitude of verteouse dignite increxis
8 daly in the centenual anansing of the defens of our
contre ; quhar for 3our heroyque vertu is of mair admi-
ratione, nor vas of valeria the dochtir of the prudent
consul publicola, or of cloelia, lucrezia, penolope, cor-
nelia, semiramis, thomaris, penthasillie, or of ony vthir
verteouse lady that plutarque or bocchas hes discrniut,
to be in perpetual memore. for al thair nobil actis ar
nocht to be comparit to the actis that 3our prudens
garris daly be execut, contrar the cruel voffis\(^1\) of ing-
land. The quhilk3 voffis ar nocht the ra\(\text{iu}^\)and saunage
voffis of strait montanis ande vyild fiorrestis, that
denoris nolt ande sheip for ther pray : bot rather tha
ar dissaitful voffis quhilkis hes euir been oure ald
enemeis. Ande nou sen the deceis of oure nobil illustir
prince kying iames the fyift, 3our vmquhile faythful
lord and hisband, tha said rauisant voffis of ingland hes

24 intendit ane oniust veyr be ane sinister inuentit false
titil contrar our realme, in hope to deuoir the vnuiersal
floc of oure scottis natione, ande to extinct oure genera-
tione furth of rememorance : Bot nochttheles, gode of
his diuyn bounte, heffand compassione of his pure

29 affligit pepil, ande alse beand mouit contrar the rauisant
voffis of ingland, he of his grace hes inspirit 3ou to be
ane instrament to deluyuir vs fra the captuinite of the
cruel phalaris the protector of ingland : as he inspirit
queen esther to deluyuir the captuine icuis, quhen thai &
mordocheus var sinisterly accusit, and alse persecutit,
be amman, befor\(^2\) assuerus kyng of inde\(^3\) and as the

\(^1\) misprint for volifs?
\(^2\) be for
\(^3\) iude
holy vedon judich vas inspirit to delyuir the ienis fra the cruelte of that insidiel pagan\(^1\) oliphernes. Ther is na prudent man that vil iuge\(^2\) "that this pistil procedis of assentatione or adulatione, considerant that ve maye see perfytlye quhou that 3our grace takcus pane to duelle in ane straynge cuentre distitupe of iustice. Ande als 3our grace beand absent fra 3our only zong dochter, our nobil princes, and rychteous heretour of Scotland: quha is presentlye veiltret in the gouernance of hyr fadir of lau, the maist illustir potent prince of the maist fertill & paecebile realme, vndir the machine of the supreme olimp, quhar that 3our grace mycht remane & duel amang the nobil princes & princessis of France, quhilkis ar 3our natique frendis of consanguinite ande affinid, ande ther ze mycht posses abundance of al pleiseirs most convenien for 3our nobilitie, bot zit, the feruent loue that 3our grace baris touart that tendir pupil 3our only dochtor, ande for the delyuering of hyr heretage\(^3\) furtht of captiuite, 3e daly of 3our gudnes induris as grit pane, as the queen ysicrata indurit viht hyr lorde metredates. 3our grace desernis nocht to be callit ane nobil, alaneirly throcht\(^4\) 3our verteous verkis, bot as veilt 3e suld be callit ane nobil of genolligie, be rason that ze ar descendid of the maist vailjeant princis that ar vndir the cape *of hauyn.*\(^5\) ther can nocht be ane mair ample probatione, nor is the famous atentic croniklis of diners realmes, ande also the verteous verkis dune be 3our antecessours in our dais ar evident til vs in this present seicle. In the fyrst, 3our grace is descendid of them, quhilkis be ther vertu ande be ther victore\(^6\) actis hes kepit ande defindit the libertine of ther subjecis in sure pace ande tranquillite, ande hes repulsit vailjeantly al externe violens. 3our foir grandscheir godefroid of bigon kyng of iherusalem, and Judith from Holophernes, Judit 8.

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

\[\text{9 who is with her father-in-law in France, that rich and peaceful realme,}\]

\[\text{14 where you also might dwell in comfort,}\]

\[\text{21 but for your interest in your daughter's heritage.}\]

\[\text{You are also noble by genealogy,}\]

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

\[\text{30 Your ancestors defended the liberties of their people.}\]

\[\text{Your great-grandfather, Godfrey de Bouillon,}\]

\[\text{1 pagam 2 inge 3 here age (not heruage, as L. says).}\]

\[\text{4 trocht 5 hauyn 6 victore}\]
hez nocht alanelry kepit ande def fendit his pepil ande subiectis of loran, fra his prochnane enemies that lyis contigue about his cunte : bot as veil be his magnanyne prones ande martial execucion, he deleyurit the holy land of india furtht of the handis & possessione of the infideil pagans : quhar for the vniversall historiagrephours hes baptist hym to be ane of the principal of al 8 the nyne noblis. for quha vald consider the longinquite of his martial voyaige, ande the grite forse of the oriental pepil, ande the multitude of infidelis and- pagan princis, quhilkis impeschit hym in that barbir straynge cunte be diusere cruel battellis: this veil considerit, thai sal fynd that his magnanyne he-roique ande martial entreprise, vas conuoyit & succurrit be ane diuynie miracle, rather nor be the ingyne of men. it vil be ouer prolixit to rehers all the vail3eant actis of baudouyne2 his broder ande successour to the realme of ierusalem, ande na les prolixit to rehers of his successours, quhilkis var 3our predecessors, kyngis of seclie, dukis of anion, calabre, ande of loran. i suld nocht forget the tryumphant victore, exeucut ande conquerit be the vail3eant ande nobil rene inuicissime kyng of seclie, duc of calabre, ande loran, 3our gudscheir, contrar that potent prince Charles duc of Burgung3e, quhilk vas repute to be ane of the maist nobil men of veyr in cristianite: 3it nochttheles, he vas venqueist ande slane, be syde the toune of nancy, be the fair said rene 3our gudscheir: quhar for it aperis veil (illustir princes) that 3e ar discordit doune lynalye of them that hes been propungmatours for the libertee of ther cunte ande subiectis. Siklyke the nobilnes of 3our vmquhile fadir broder antonius, duc of calabre, loran, ande of bar, quha maye be comparit to the denot kyng, Num a pomplius, the syeond kyng of rome, for his prudens ande dixtitirite, be rason that he hes kepit "his subiectis in libertee but

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1 vniversall
2 baudouyne
oppressione, quhou beit his cuntre lay betuix tua of the maist potent princis that ringis in this varld: that is to say, the catholic kyng of spanze elect empriour on ane syde, ande the maist potent cristyn kyng of France on the tothir syde, the quhilkis tua riche kyngis hes hed diuere tymes birmand mortal veyr contrar vthirs, sit nochtheles 3our nobil fadir broder, duc of calabre ande loran, hes kepit his landis in liberte fra ther oppressione, the quhilk he did be vail3eantnes ande prudens.

Siklyke that maist sapient prince ande prelat fadir in gode, ihone of loran, be the permissione diuyne, Cardinal of the apostolic seige, archebishop of narbon, abbot of cluny, fekkem, ande of sanct ouyne, quha is 3our fadir broder, quhilk be his prudens for the public veil off cristianite, hes been mediatour betuix divers forane princis, to treit pace ande concorde in diuere cuntreis, as in ytalie, germanie, flandris, ande spanze, quha hes nocht alamerly vsit hym lyik ane sperutal pastor, bot as veil he hes vsit hym lyik ane vail3eant captan, for ane verteous captain can nocht execut ane mair vail3eant act as quhen he purchessis pace ande concord, vytth out diminishedes of his rycht, an3e vytth out domage slaiichtir or hayrschip to be amang the pepil, as this nobil prelat hes dune diuere tymes, vytth out dirrogatione of his sperutal dignite. Nou (illustir princes) i vil reherse of 3our nobil ande vail3eant fadir, the duc of guise, lieutenant general to the kyng of France, of all the cuntre of champaynge ande brie: his actis vald be prolixt to reherse, quhilkis hes been laitly executit in oure dais. The memor of ane of his actis is recent, quhen he pat ane garnison of tua thousand men vitht in the toune of sanct quintyne, rycht vail3eantly, contrar the vil of thretty thousand of his enemeis, quhar he gart mony of his enemeis resaue ther sepulture be for the said toune, vytth out domage or
hurt til his men of veyr, quhar for everye man maye
2 meriel of his dexterite, vertu, ande martial sciens. his
magnanyme proues did ane vthir vailʒeant act, he
beand bot sex thousand men, he held in subiecture
fourty thousand at the seige of perone, ther durst none
of that grit companye pas bakuart nor forduart, be rason
of the mony assaultis ande escarmuschis that he maid
contrar them, quhar that he sleu mony of them, vytht
domage tyl his men of veyr; be that "industreus
martial act, he renforsit the toune vitht victualis, hag-
butaris, ande munitions. for the hagbutaris past neir to
the camp of ther enemeis, ande entrit in the toune
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.

† i.e. zeal
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 resolute the libraye of
my vundirstanding, ande i socht all the secrete corners of
my gazophile, ymaginant vithe in the cabinet of my
interior thoichtis, that ther var na mater maiour convenient
ande necessair for this present dolorus tyme, nor to re-
hearse the cause ande occasione of the onmersifal afflic-
tione of the desolat realme of scotland, the quhilk deso-
latione hes occurrit be the mischance of furious mars,
that hes violently ocupeit the domicilliis of tranquil
pace, that sueit goddes of humaine felicite. the quhilk tracieit i haf deduct ande direckyt to your nobil grace,
in hope that your grace vil resaue it as humainly as it
var ane riche present of grit consequens. it was the
custum of perse, that none of the subiectis durst cum
in the presens of ther kyng, bot gyf tha brocht sum
gyft or present to be delyurit til hym efferand *for ther
qualite, the historigraphours rehersis of ane pure man
of perse, quha be chance renountrit kyng darius. this
pure man throucht grit pouerite hed no thynge to present
tyll his kyng eftir the custum of perse,2 quhar for he ran
til ane reueire that ran neiir by, & brocht the palmis of
his handis ful of that fresche vattir to the kyng for ane
present. that nobil kyng, persaund the gude vil ande
harty obiediens of this pure man, he resaueit that litil
quantite of ecleen vattir as humainly as it hed been ane
rique present of gold, ande he gart delyuir to the said
pure man sex thousand peces of gold, and ane goldin
vattir lauar. fra this exemplil cummis ane vlgare adagia,
quhilk *sais, that quhen ane pure man makkis ane
sacrefeis, & throucht his pouerite he vantis ensens to
mak the sermons of his sacrefeis, that sacrefeis sal be
acceptabil befor the goddis, be cause that he dois sa
mekil as his pissance maye distribute. it is vrytin in

1 micr. cornetis 2 reconnitr 3 psa
Sanct marc, quhou oure saluouer estemeit ande commendit the oblatione of tua half penneis that was offrit in the tempil be ane pure vedou that hed na mair moneye, nor he estemeit the grite offrandis that was offrit be riche opulent men. 

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

PROLOG TO THE REDAR.

AMASIS the secound, quhilk vas the last kyng ande indegete of the egiptiens, (ande, as diodore rehersis, he vas the fyift legislator of egipt), maid ane ordinance contrar the vice of ydilnes, that al his subjectis of egipt var obлист, vndir the pane of dede, to bring every zeir ther namis, in vrit, to the prouest of the province quhar ther remanyng vas, ande ther to testifie the stait of ther vacacione, ande the maner of ther lyuing. be this politic ordinance, the egiptiens var induct tyl adhere to vertu, ande to leyrne scien, craftis, ande mecanyke occupations, maist comodius ande convienient for the public veil of egipt. 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 nocht be admittit to reseue his corporal refelctione quhil on to the tyme that he hed manfest realye, or ellis be certan testificatione.
the frutis of his laubours of the daye precedent. the
seuerite of thir strict ordinance var augmentit be ane
edict of sesostris the grit kyng of egypt: for he statut
ane ordinance til exercse his propir childir ande the
3ong princis ande gentil men of his court to vse them
til indure excesse of laubirs: he statut that none of
them suld tak ther refectione qhill thai hed gone ande
run the tyme of fife or sex houris: to that effect, that
throucht sic exercse, ther membris mycht be purgit fra
corruppit humours, the quhilkis humours nocht beand
degisit,1 mycht be occesione to dul ther spreit, ande to
mak ther body onabil2 to resist ydilnes. thir ordinances
of the egi'ptiens are verry necessair to be vsit in al
realmys, be rason that the maist part of the pepl,
thurcht ther natural fraigilite, consumis the maist part
of ther dais in ydilnes. This detestatione that i haue
reheresit of ydilnes, par chance maye be iugit be inuyful
ignorantis, that i condampe my self, in sa far as thai
persaue me nocht occupeit viht mecanyc byssynes. nou,
to conffound ignorant detrakkers, i vil arme me viht
the vordis of publius scipio, as cicero reheres 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 neiuyr les solitair as quhen he aperit to be
solitair; for quhen he aperit to be ydil, than he vas
solist in his mynde anent the gouvernyng of the public
veil, ande quhen he aperit to be solitar, than he vas
speikand viht hym self anent his auen byssynes,2
& sa he vas neuir ydil nor solitair, quhou beit that
he aperit sum tyme in the sycht of the vulgaris to be
ydil & solitair. nunquam so minus ociosum quam
cum ociosus, nec minus solum quam cum
solus esset. i vil apply thir vords to my self, for
quhou beit that the laubir viht the pen & the studio
on speculatione of vertu aperit to be ydilnes, zit thai ar

1 deyчистit 2 on abil

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

[Leaf 8, back]
These ordinances
are still needed.
Most people are
still lazy.

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

Let them
remember the
words of Scipio
Africanus.

The labour of the
pen is no idle
pastime, whatever
it seem.
no ydilnes, but rather ane solist byssynes of the body 

2 & of the spreit, ande nou, sen gode hes nocht dotit me

vitht speculatione of liberal scienes nor philosophie, nor

vitht stryntht of my body til indure scr vile subiectione,

nor vitht no art nor meccany craft, ther for i vil

6 help to the auansing\(^1\) of the public veile 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. Everye craft

is necessair for the public veile, ande he that hes the gyft

of traductione, compiling or teching; his facultie is as honest,

13 as crafty, ande as necessair, as is to be ane marynel, ane

marchant, ane corindar, charpenteir, captan, ciuillist, or

ony vthir craft or sciens. ther is na degreis of vertu

amang them, for gyf ane craft or sciens be gude, than

it is as gude as ony craft can be, for al sortis of verty-

teous\(^2\) 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

craft can be; ther for ane man of ane craft suld nocht

detest ane vthir sort of craft, considerand that oure

hurt nature hes nocht dotit ane man til yse al craftis.

Aristotil sais in the fyrst beuk of his politiques, that

nature hes nocht maid ane man lyik gladius delphicus.

The significatione of gladius delphicus is of this sort.

delphos is ane solemnit place, on the hyl of pernasus,

quhar ther standis ane templil dedicat til appollo. ther

cam dai ly to that templil diverse pure men in pilgresmage.

ther duelt on that hil, smythis, & forgearis of yrn ande

steil, the qulikis cult mak ane instrument of yrn conven-

ient for mony officis, for tha vald gar ane instra-

ment servc for ane hammyr, ane turkes, ane file, ane

---

1 anansuig 2 veerto'
sourd, ane knyf, ane borrel. this sort of instru-
mentis var sellit to pure pilgryms that hed nocht mékil
moneye to by ilk instrument be the self: ane be cause
that instramont seruit til mony officis, ther for it vas
callit gladius delphicis. of this sort aristotil makkis ane
comparisone, sayand, that nature hes nocht maid ane
man abil for euerye craft or office, bot nature hes maid
ane man abil to be ane prince, ane abil to be ane
seruand, ane abil to be ane clerk, ane abil to be ane
craftis man, be rason that oure hurt nature hes diuidit
oure complexions to be of diuerse qualitez; ane for
that cause ve sal fynd amang ane thousand men, ane
thousand consajtis ane thousand conditions. for that
cause aristotil hes said in his politiques, that in ilk
comunite ther is ane multitude, ane ilk ane hes sum
part of vertu of diuerse degreis, ane ilk ane of thir
degreis ar ordland til help vthirs in necessite. Cicero
gyuis ane exempli in his retoric, quhou that the
citinaris of cartomat in ytalye, sende for ane excellant
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 ane
best lyik 3ong vemen of that cite cum in his presens,
ande than he chestit fife of the best lyik amang them al,
to be his patrone. quhen he hed contemplit & spyit
the proportions & propretcis of nature of thir fife ladeis
he chestit 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 fyft; of this sort he
formit the patrone of the ymage of iuno, effir the pro-
portione of diuerse of the membris of thir foirsa indifference fife
3ong ladeis, be cause he cauld nocht get al his patrone
in ane special lady. for sche that vas pleysand of hyr
face, vas nocht pleysand of hyr hayr, ane sche that
hed pleysand handis, hed nocht pleysand een, ane sche
flo, sword, knife, and wimble, all in one.

Each man has his faculty;

Mille homi-
num species &
rum discolor
sus; velle
num cuique
est, nec vota
vinitur quo,
perseus.¹

Quot homines,
tot sententiae.
Ct. de fini.

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

For no one was
perfectly
and uniformly
handsome.

¹ Persius, Sat. iv. 1. 51, 2. ² I. e. pattern.
Non in omnes omnia convenient.
Cic. pro rosco americano.
So no man can practise all crafts,
but each must contribute his own talent.

This to prevent the detraction of critics,
Non tam eaque recta sunt probantur, quam quae prava sunt fastiditis adherent.
Cic. de ora.
[Leaf 11]
who are readier to carp at those who do their best, than to try themselves.
He who would please everybody, should first drink the ocean dry.
Difficile in dicens omnibus satisfacere.
Yet I will not go beyond my capacity.

Hannibal in his adversity was the guest of Antiochus.
This story is in the capothesmes of pleasure.

that hed ane veil proportionet body, hed euil proportionet feit; ande to conclude, he culd nocht get ane lady in special, that was sufficient to be his patrone, nor 3it that culd be comparit til gladius delphicus, qubilk vas ane instrament that seruit til mony officis. be this exempli ve maye considir, that nature hes nocht dotit ane person to be qualisfeit to exercse al sortis of craftis; for that cause aristotil sais that al sortis of craftis suld concur to gyddir, ande ilkane til help vthirs, as nature prouidit fyrist in the begynnyng. thir prolixt vordis befor heversit, ar ane preparatine, contrar the detractione of inuyful clerkis that ar mair expert in latyne tong nor i am, qubilkis vil nocht set furht ane gude verk tyl induce the pepil to vertu, nor 3it vil correct my ignorant error; bot rather thai ar mair prompt to repreif anc smal ignorant falt, nor to commende ane grit verteous act; bot 3it no man suld decist fra ane gude purpose, quhou beit that detractione be armit vitht inuy 'reddy to suppedit & tyl impung ane verteous' verk: for quhat euyr he be that intendis to compile ane verk to content euerie man, he suld fyrist drynk furht the ocean see. Ande quhou beit, that ther var na detrakkers tyl accuse or to repreif my verkis, 3it nochtheles i suld nocht be ouer temeraire to set furht ane verk that surpassis my ingyne; for ane hen that seikis hyr meyt in the myudding, may scaipe sa lang amang the fyltht, quhil sche scraip furht sum ald knyfe that hes been tynt, the qubilk knyfe cuttis hyr throt etfurart, as i sall apply ane exempli conformand to this samyn purpose, as effir followis.

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

1 verteo
PROLOG TO THE REDAR.

can nocht schau hym mair nobil, nor mair verteouse, as quhen he resauis in his fauoir ane desolat prince, disti-
tute of remeide, ande disparit of consolatione, quhilk hes bene violently affligit be aduerse fortoune. thir tua
princis visit oft to visye the feildis to tak ther *recrea-
tione, ande to pas til hounting, ande til vthir gannis,
conuenient for ther nobilite. at sum tyme thai vald pas
to the sculis, to heir the lecture of ane philosophour
callit phormion, quha remanit in the toune of ephisye,
ande techit natural ande moral philosophie to the jong
men of the cuntre. on ane day, thir tua princis be
chance entrit in the achademya, to heir ane lesson of
philosophie techit be the said phormion, philosophour.
he persaund thir tua princis entir in his scule, he
changit the mater of that present lecture, ande but
prouisione, he began to teche the ordour of the veyris,
declarand quhou that captans suld ordour battellis con-
trar ther enemeis. this philosophour techit sa profoundly
the maneir of the ordoryng of battellis in presens of thir
tua princis, that thai that herd hym neuyr of befor,
meruellit nocht alanerly of his quyk ingyne, bot as veil
thai that herde hym daly var in grit admiratione. it is
the nature of ane man that hes ane quyk spreit, ande
ane ripe ingyne, that euerye purpos ande questione is
familiar tyl hym. kyng antioeos tuke grit gloir be
cause he hed sic ane prudent philosophour 'in his cunt-
re : quhar for he inquirit annibal, quhat iugement he
hed of his philosophour phormion. Annibal ansuert
vitht as hardly curage as quhen he venqueist the romans
at the battel of Cannes; for ane vailjeant prince tynis
nochit his curage, quhou beit that aduerse fortune resist
his felícite, bot rather hes gude hope that dame for-
toune1 vil mittigat hyr auen cruelte. this vas the answer
of annibal tyl antioeos, in the presens of phormion :
Nobil prince antioeius,2 i hef seen mony ald men tyne

1 fortoune 2 antioeo

[* leaf 11, back]

6 The two princes once entered the Academy of Phormio,
to hear him expound philosophy;

12 but he, seeing them, changed his topic to the
taght the art of war,

17 teaching with marvellous readiness the ordering of
battles.

22 Antiochus was delighted;

27 but Hannibal

33

1 fortoune 2 antioeo
thought Phormio, the very mirror of folly, and presumption; who dared to treat of the theory of battles before him, who [*leaf 12, back] had been so much in the practice. God knows the difference between a battle on paper and one in the field; between wielding a pen and a spear!

Your philosopher never saw service;

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

ther vyt, bot i sau neuyr sa grite ane fule amang them al as is thy philosophour phormion, for he maye be callit the mirroure of folye. ther can nocht be ane mair folye, as quhen ane ydiot, distitute of knaulage, presumis to teche or to leyrne ane man that hes baylht speculatione ande expeirions. 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 presumpeous consait of thy vane philosophour, qhilk hes been neuest al his dais in ane solitarachademya of greice, ande 3it he dar be sa bold to present hym befor prince annibal, to disput ande tyl indoctryne the² maencir of the 'veyris ande of the batellis, as he var prince of affrica, or capit an of rome: for verite he hes ane smal iugement of sic maters, or ellis he estemcis vs to be litil experementit in the veyris. be his vane consaitis that he hes studeit on beukis, he beleuis to leyrne annibal the prettik of the veyris, ande the conquessingis of realmis. o kyng anthiocus, al the goddis vait, quhat defferens is betuix philosophie techit in sculis, ande betuix the stait of captans in the ordoring of batellis on the feildis; ande quhat defferens is to vrit vitht ane pen, & the vsing of ane speyr vailantly in battel; ande quhat defferens is ther betuix mony beukis, ande ane capit heffand his enemye befor his ee. ther is disere men that can blason the veyris in the tauerne, or at the fyir syde, amang the vulgar ignorant pepil; bot i fynd nocht mony that dar hasjarde ther lyue contrar ther eneimeis. o anthiocus, thy philosophour phormion sau neuyr the iunyng of ane battel, vitht cruel escharmouchis in the ryding of for-rais : he sau neuyr the array of men of veyr brokyn, ande tua arméis myxt amang vithris, fechtand be fellone forse, qhur the defluxione of bludo 'hed paynit ande' cullourt all the feildis: he herd neuyr the dolorus trompet sounde befor the iunyng of ane battel, nor 3it

1 *grice 2 the the
he harde it neuyr sound to gar the men of veyr retere fra ane dangeir: he persuait neuyr the trason of ane party, nor the conuardeis 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-
thiocus, thy philosophour suld teche the thyng that he hes studeit at the sculis, & the thing that he hees seen vith 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 oure dais. the pretty of the veyris is mair facil to be leyrnit on the feildis of affrica, nor in the sculis of greice. Thou vait, kyng anthiocus, that this sex ande thretty 3eiris i hef beene excersit in the veyris, bayyth in ytalie ande in spangge, quhar that fortoune hes schauen hyr rycht aduerse contrar me, as is hyr vse to do to them that vndirtakkis difficil entrepricis, as thou may see be experiens; for or i hed ane beyrde, i vas seruit lyik ane captan, ande nou, quhen my beyrd is be *cum quhyt, i am be cum ane seruand. i sueir to the (kyng anthiocus) be the gode mars, that gyf ony persone valid 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 multiple of pepil. all veyris ar begun be princis on ane inst titil, ande syne procedis be viadome; 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 ordering of battellis vitht in his solitair achademya: it var mair necessair ande honest for hym to vse his auen professione ande faculte, nor to mel vitht ony faculte that passis his knaulage. annibal said mony vthir gude purposis tyl anthiocus, anent this samyn purpose, as plutarque rehersis in his apothigimatis.

He, This exemplis tendis, that al prudent men hes
PROLOG TO THE REDAR.

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

/*leaf 11*/

but for my ardent patriotism.

Pray excuse my rustic speech:

Nullus locus nobis dulciorem esse debebat patria.

Cic. ad Marc. fam. 4.

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

Sermonum, eo dehensus est, qui noster est nobis.

Cic. affl.

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

/*leaf 14, back*/

but such things proceed from vain conceit.

Yet I have been obliged

mair occasione to condamp & repreif this raggit naykyt tracteit, nor annibal hed occasione to repreif the philosophour phormion; for my dul rude brane suld nocht hcf been sa temenair as to vndirtak to correct the imper-'fectione of ane comont veil, be cause the maist part of my knaulage is the smallest part of my ignorance: 3it nocht heles i hope that vyise men vil reput my ignorance for ane mortifeit prudens, be rason of my gude intentione that procedis fra ane affectiue andlant fauoir that i hcf euyr borne touart this affligit realme qihilk is my native centre. Nou heir i exort al philosophouris, historigraphours, & oratours of our scottis natione, to support & til excuse my barbir agrest tennis: for i thocht it nocht necessair til hcf fardit ande lardit this tracteit vitht exquisite termis, quhilkis ar nocht daly vst, bot rather i hcf vst domestic scottis langage, maist intelligibil for the vlgare pepil. ther hes bene diuerse translatours ande compillaris in auld tymys, that tuke grite pleseir to contrafait ther vlgare langage, mixaad ther purpose vitht oncoutht exquisite termis, dreuyn, or rather to saye mair formaly, reuyn, fra lating, ande sum of them tuke pleseir to gar ane vord of ther purpose to be ful of sillabis half ane myle of lynht, as ther was ane callit hermes, qihilk pat in his verdis thir lang tailit vordis, conturbabuntur, constantinopolitani, innumerabilibus, so'licitudinibus. ther vas ane vtbir that vrit in his verdis, gaudet honorificabilitudoinitatibus. al sic termis procedis of fantastiknes ande glorius consaitis, i hcf red in ane beuk of ane preceptor that said til his discipulis, lo-quere verbis presentibus, & vtere moribus!

antiquis: that is to saye, thou sal speik comont langage, ande thou sal lyne eftir the verteous manceirs of, antiant men. 3it nocht heles ther is mony vordis of antiquite that i hcf rehersit in this tracteit, the quhilkis

1 morib
euld nocht be translatit in oure scottis langage, as auguris, auspices, ides, questeurs, senaturus, censours, pretours, tribuns, ande mony vther romane dictions: ther for gyf sic vordis suld be disasit or detekkit, than the phrasis of the antiquite valid be confundit ande adnullit: ther for it is necessair at sum tyme til myxt oure langage vitl part of termis dreyn fra lateen, be rason that oure scottis tong is nocht sa copeus as is the lateen tong, ande alse ther is diuorse purposis & propositions that occurris in the lating tong that can nocht be translatit deuly in oure scottis langage: ther for he that is expert in latyn tong suld nocht put reproche to the compilation, quhou biet that he fynd sum purposis translatit in scottis that accords nocht vitl the lateen regester: as ve hef exemplil of this propositione, homo est animal, for this terme homo signifieis baytht man ande woman: bot ther is nocht ane scottis terme that signifieis baytht man ande woman: ande animal signifieis al thyng that hes lyne ande is sensibil, bot ther is nocht ane scottis terme that signifieis al quyk sensibil thyng, ther for this propositione, mulier est homo is treu, ande ighest ve suld nocht saye that ane woman is ane man. Ande siclyik this propositione, homo est animal is treu, ande ighest ve suld nocht say that ane man is ane beyst. of this sort ther is baytht termis ande propositions in lateen tong, the quhilk vil be difficil to translatit them. i hef reherisit 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 verteous act. Non for conclusione of this prolog, i ex- ort thè (gude redar) to correct me familiarly, ande be cherite, ande til interpret my intentione favorablye, for doultles the motione of the compilatione of this tracteit procedis mair of the compassione that i hef of

PROLOG TO THE REDAR.

17
culd nocht be translatit in oure scottis langage, as auguris, auspices, ides, questeurs, senaturus, censours, pretours, tribuns, ande mony vther romane dictions: ther for gyf sic vordis suld be disasit or detekkit, than the phrasis of the antiquite valid be confundit ande adnullit: ther for it is necessair at sum tyme til myxt oure langage vitl part of termis dreyn fra lateen, be rason that oure scottis tong is nocht sa copeus1 as is the lateen tong, ande alse ther is diuorse purposis & propositions that occurris in the lating tong that can nocht2 be translatit deuly in oure scottis langage: ther for he that is expert in latyn tong suld nocht put reproche to the compilation, quhou biet that he fynd sum purposis translatit in scottis that accords nocht vitl the lateen regester: as ve hef exemplil of this propositione, homo est animal, for this terme homo signifieis baytht man ande woman: bot ther is nocht ane scottis terme that signifieis baytht man ande woman: ande animal signifieis al thyng that hes lyne ande is sensibil, bot ther is nocht ane scottis terme that signifieis al quyk sensibil thyng, ther for this propositione, mulier est homo is treu, ande ighest ve suld nocht saye that ane woman is ane man. Ande siclyik this propositione, homo est animal is treu, ande ighest ve suld nocht say that ane man is ane beyst. of this sort ther is baytht termis ande propositions in lateen tong, the quhilk vil be difficil to translatit them. i hef reherisit 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 verteous act. Non for conclusione of this prolog, i ex- ort thè (gude redar) to correct me familiarly, ande be cherite, ande til interpret my intentione favorablye, for doultles the motione of the compilatione of this tracteit procedis mair of the compassione that i hef of

1 copé'
2 noh

COMPLAINTE
the public necessite, nor 'it dois of presumptione or
2 vane gloir, thy cheretabil correctione maye be ane pro-
ucatione to gar me studye mair attentiulye in the nyxt
verkis that i intend to set furtht, the quhilk i beleif in
gode sal be verray necessair tyl al them that desiris to
lyue verteouslye indurand the schort tyme of this oure
fragil peregrinatione, & sa fayr veil.
THE COMPLAINT OF SCOTLAND.

The First Cheptour

declaris the cause of the

Mutations of Monarchies.

CHAP. I.

As the hic monarchis, lordschips, ande autoriteis, ar\(^1\) stablit be the infinite diuyne ordinance, and menteinit\(^2\) be the sempeternal prouidens, siclyik the ruuyne cummis be the sentence gyflin be the souerane consel of the diuyne sapiens, the qhilk doune thringis them fra the hic trone of ther imperial dominations, and garris\(^*\) them fal in the depe fosse\(^3\) of seruitude, ande fra magnificens in ruuyne, ande causis conqueriours to be conquést, ande til obeye ther vmquhile subiectis be dreddour, quhome of be for thai commandit be autorite. This decreit procedis\(^4\) of the diuyne justice, be rason that princis ande vthirs of autorite becummis ambitius ande presumpteous, throucht grite superfluite of veltht: ther for he dois chesctee them be the abstractione of that superfluite: that is to say, he possessis vthir pure pepil that knaus his gudnes, vitht the samyn reches that he hes tane fra them that hes arrogantly misknauen hym. Ane pottar vil mak of ane masse of mettal diuerse pottis of defferent fassons, &

\(^{1}\) at \(^{2}\) menteinit \(^{3}\) fosse \(^{4}\) procedis

Rulers are set up and cut down by providence.

[\(^*\) leaf 16] Regnum a gente in gentevs transit propter in\- insticias & \-numeros dolos.
Eccl. 10. This is divine justice.

15

18
The potter uses his clay as he will.

Men and nations grow and decay.

This appears alike from the Scriptures and profane history.

Where is now Nineveh?

What has been the fate of Troy?

What has become of Thebes?

The potter uses his clay as he will. sync he vil brak the grite pottis quhen thai pleysse hym nocht, ande he makkis smal pottis of the brokyn verk of the grite pottis, ande alse of the mettal ande mater of the smal pottis he formis grit pottis. this exemplis may be applyit to the subuersions ande mutations of realmis ande dominions, ande of al varldly prosperite. childir that ar neu borne grouis & incressis quhil thai be ascendit to the perfyit stryntht of men: bot ther efter, tha begyn to decrese ande declinis til eild ande to the deede. *siklyik lordschips ande dignitieis hes increessing, declinations, ande exterminationes. the mutations of euyre varldly thyng is certane, quhou beit that prosperus\(^1\) men prouidis nocht to resist the occasions of the mutabiliteis: qihilk occasions ar ay vigilant 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 anciand historigraphours. qhar is the grite ande riche tryumphand cite of nynye, qihilk hed thre dais iournais of circuit? at this tyme ther is nocht ane stane stantand on ane vthir. Qihar is the grite tour of babilone? the qihilk vas biggit be ane maist ingenius artifeis, of proporzione, quantite, ande of stryntht. it aperit to be perdyurabil ande innyncibil, bot nou it is desolat, ande inhabit be serpens ande vthir venemuse beystis. Qhat sal be said of the riche tryumphant toune of troye, ande of castell ylione, qihilk hed al the pottis of enoir bane, ande the pillaris of fyne siluyr? bot at this tyme ane fat of hicht of the vallis can nocht be sene, for al the grond of the palecis\(^2\) of that tryumphand toune ande castel is ouergane vitht gyrse ande vild seroggis. Qhar is the grite toune of thebes? qihilk vas foundit be cadmus the sone of agenoir, the qihilk vas at that tyme the maist pepulus toune abufe the eird, it hed ane

\(^1\) prosper

\(^2\) palee is
hundredth touretts ande portis, bot nou at this tyme 1 ther is no thyng quhar it stude bot barrane feildis. Siklyk lacedemonya, quhar the legislator ligurgus gof to the pepil strait famous lauis, of the quhilk ane grit part ar vsit presently in the vniversal varld, is nocht 5 that nobil toune extinct furth of rememorance? Quhat sal be said of athenes, the vmquhile fontane of sapiens, ande the spring of philosophie: is it nocht in perpetual subuersione? Quhar is the toune\(^1\) of cartage that dauit the elephantis, ande vas grytumly doudit & dred be the romans? vas it nocht brynt in puldir ande asse? ande nou the grond of it is pastour for bestial. quhat sal be said of the riche monarche of rome, quhilk dauit ande subdeuit al the varld? is nocht nou the superiorite of it partit ande diuidit in mony ande diuerc partis, con- formand to the vordis of lucan, quha said that the 16 vecht of rome suld gar it ryue in mony partis: the vecht of it signifieit nocht the vecht of haui vallis, housis, stonis, ande vthir *materials: bot rather it signifieit the vecht of the inexorbitant extessions that it committit on the vniversal varld, quhilk is the cause that the monarche of it is diuidit amang mony diuerc prin cis. 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 cause that al dominions altris, dechaecis, ande cummis to subuersione. The fyrst monarche 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, jit ther is nocht mony that knauis the cause of thir mutations, be rason that the ingement of gode (quhilk virkis al thyng) is ane profound onknauen deipnes, the quhilk 21

\[\text{OF the world has been successively held by Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Franks, and Germans.}
\]

\[\text{Quis enim cogitabit sensum domini aut quis consiliarius cius?}
\]

\[\text{Sepien. 9.}
\]

\[\text{Every worldly thing has its day.}
\]

\[\text{\(\text{* leaf 17, back}\)}
\]

\[\text{1 toune}\]
The ways of God are inscrutable.

The ignorant impute it to

fortune, a pagan idea.

Intellixi quem omnium operum dei
nullam possit homo inuenire rationem
corun que fiunt sub sole.
Ecel. 8.

Every thing is of the divine power.

Si fortuna volet, fis de
rethore consul:
hec cadem, fis de console re-
thor inuenial,
Sati. 7.

Ecel. xi.

St Paul warned Timothy of a
"time, when they
will not bear
sound doctrine,
&c." Isaiah curses
those that believe
in fortune:
"Wo to you who
prepare a table
to fortune as
your goddess."

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

passis humaine ingyne to comprehende the grounde or
limitis of it: be cause oure vit is ouer febil, oure ingyne
ouer harde, oure thotheis ouer vollage, ande oure 3eiris
ouer schort. Ther is mony ignorant pepil that imputis
the subuersions 'ande mutations of prosperite to pro-
ceed of fortune: sic consaitis procedis of the gentilite
ande pagans doctrayne, ande nocht of goddis lau, nor 3it
of moral philosophie: quhou be it that iuenenal hes
said, that fortune is the cause that ane smal man
ascendis to digniteis, ande that ane grite man fallis in
ruyne. Sic opinions suld nocht be haldin nor beleuit;
for ther is no thing in this world that cумmis on man-
kynde as prosperite or aduersite, bot al procedis fra the
duyne pouver, as is vrityne in the xi. cheptour of
ecclesiasticus, bona & mala, vita & mors, pauper-
tas & honestas, a deo sunt. Ther for it maye be
said, that al thai that imputis aduersite or prosperite to
proceed of fortune, thai maye be put in the nummyr of
them that Sant paul prophetijt in the sycond epistil
to tymethie, erit enim tempus, cum sanam doc-
trinam non sustinebunt, &c. Anse alse the
prophet esaye, spekend be the spriet of gode, he gyffis
his maledictione on al them that beleuis that fortune
hes ony pouuer, quhar he vritis in the lxv. cheptour,1
ye qui fortune ponitis mensam tanquam dec.2

This contradictione that i hef rehersit contrar for-
toune, is be cause that mony ignorant pe'pil hes con-
fermit ane ymaginet onfaythful opinione in ther hede,
sayand that the grite afflicatione quhilk occurrirt on oure
realm in september m.v.xlvii. 3eiris, on the feildis be-
syde mussilburgh, hes procedit fra the maltalent of
dame fortune, the quhilk ymaginet opinione suld be
destit; for fortune is no thyng bot ane vane consait
ymaginet in the harts of onfaythful men. 3it noch-
theles, quhen i remembir on the cruel dolourus distruc-

1 cheptour 2 die
tione of oure nobil barrons, & of mony vthers of the 1 thre estaitis, be cruel ande ommercyful slauythyr, ande also be maist extreme violent spulzее ande hairschip of thir mouabil gudis in grite quantite, ande also oure ald enemeis, be treasonabil seditione, takkand violent pos-

sessione of ane part of the stryntsis ande castellis of the bordours of oure realme, ande also remanent vitht in the plane mane landis far vitht in oure cuntre, ande violentlye possessand ane certan of our burghis, villagis ande castellis, to ther auen vse but contradictione; ande the remanent of the pepil beand lyik danit venqueist slauis in maist extreme vile subiectione, rather nor lyik prudent cristin pepil, quhilkis suuld lyue in ciuilite, policie, & be iustice vnnder the governance of ane christin prince. Al thir thingis considrit, causit me to revoule diuerse beukis of the holy scriptur, & of humanite, in hope to get ane iust iugement, quhiddir that this dolorus afflictione be ane vand of the fadir to correct & chestie the sone be mercy, or gyf it be ane rigorous mercyles decreit of ane iuge, to exsecute on vs ane final exterminatione. than efftir lang conteneuacione of reeding on diuerse sortis of beukis, i read the xxi. of deutrono, the xxvi. of leuitic, & the thrid of ysaye, the qhilk causit my trublit spreit to trymmyl for dreed-
dour, ande my een to be cum obscure throucht the multiplie of salt teyris, ande throucht the lamentabil suspiring that procedit fra my dolorus hart, be rason that the sentens ande conteneu of thyr said cheptours of the bibil, gart me consaue, that the diuwye indigna-
tione hed decretit ane extreme ruuyne on oure realme; bot gyf that ve retere fra oure vice, ande also to be cum vigilant to seik haisty remeide & medyceyne at hym quha gyffis al grace ande comfort to them that ar maist distitute of mennis supple.

1 The original has only poll, the cie having fallen away and been erroneously added to end of leaf 20, which thus reads starcie-kie for straitis, 2 dolor* 3 throucht
Thir cheptours that eftir followis, ex-
planis the thretnyng unde menas-
sing of Godc contrar obsti-
nat, vicius pepl.

CAP. II.

It is vrityne in the xxviii. of deutronome, thir vordis:

Gyf thou obeyis nocht the voce of the lorde thy

gode, ande kepis nocht his ordinance, thir maledic-
tions sal cum on the: thou sal be cursit on the feildis,

thou sal be cursit in the cite; the lord sal send male-
dictione unde 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 & spuhje, ande ther sal be na man that
can saue the: thou sal spouse ane vyfe, bot ane vthir

sal tak hyr fra the be forse: thou sal big ane house,

bot thou sal neuyr duel in it: thy ox sal be slane befor

thy eene, & thou sal get nane of hym tyl eyt: thy

flokkis of scheip sal be gyffin to thy enemeis; the

oneoutht ande straynege pepil sal eyt the frute of the

eyrd that thou hes lauborit. Leui. xxvi. *moyses

sais, be the spreit of gode,1 gyf 3e obeye nocht my

command, i sal visee 3ou vitht dreddour, vitht fyir,

ande vitht suellieg: 3e sal sau the cornis on 3our

feildis, bot 3our enemeis sal eit it: 3our enemeis sal be

3our masters, ande 3e sal flei fast for dreddour, quhen

ther sal be litil dangeir, & there sal be no man follow-

uand 3ou; ande gyf 3e remane obstinat ande vil nocht

be correckt, i sal strik 3ou vitht ane plag, seuyn tymes

1 go, degyf
mair vehement; for I sal gar the sourde cum on you to reuenge my alliance; ande quhen 3e ar assemblit to-gyddir vitht in your tounis, I sal send the pestilens amang you, ande I sal delyuir you in the handis of your enemeis.

† It is vritin in the thrid cheptor of esaye thir vordis: behold the dominator ande the lorde of armis, the quhilk sal tak fra hierusalem ande fra iuda, the mychty ande the sterk man, the victuelis, the men of veyr, the iugis, the precheours. I sal gyf them song childir to be ther kynges, ande effemenet1 men sal be ther dominatours; ande the pepil ilk ane sal ryse contrar vthirs, ande ilk man sal be aduersair tyl his nychte-bour: song childir sal reproche ald men, ande mecanyc lauberaris sal reproche gentil men. Esaye iii.

Acto.

CHAP. III.

THE kyng anchises lamentit the distructione of the superb troy, executit be the princis of greice: the queene rosaria regrettit hir spouse kyng darius,2 quhen he vas venquest be grite allexander: the prophet hieremye vepit for the stait of the public veil of babillone, quhen it vas brocht in captiuite: kyng dauid lamentit his sone absolon, quhen Ioaeb sleu hym: cleopatra vas lyike to dee in melancolie, quhen hyr lorn marcus antonius vas venquest be the empriour agustus: the console marcus marcellus regrettit hauly the cite of syracuse, quhen he beheld it birnand in ane bold fyir: Crisp salust regrettit the cuyl3 gouernynge of the public veil of rome: the patriarche Iacob lamentit the absens of his sone Joseph: the kyng demetrius 29

1 effemenet 2 dari 3 cuyl
I regrettit hauylly the slauchtir of his fadir antigonus, at
the battel of maraton: 3ong octouian lamentit hauylly
the slauchtir of his fadir adoptiue cesar, that gat xxii.
strai'kis\textsuperscript{1} vitht pen kmyuis 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, throuth the
vice of the pepil. & quhou beit that the thretnyng of
9 gode contrar vs be verray sceuir ande extreme, 3it
nochtheles i hope that his auful seurce of aperand
exaternatione sal change in ane faderly correctione, 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 follois: Gyf
3e keip my ordinance, i sal send 3ou rane on 3our
groind in conuenient tyme; 3our feeldis sal bryng furtht
cornis; 3our treis sal bavr frute; 3e sal cyt 3our breyde
in suficiens; 3e sal sleipt at 3our eyse. i sal sende
pace amang 3ou, the sourde of vengeance sal nocht pas
throucht 3our cuntre; 3e sal follow 3our enemesis, ande
3our sourdis sal gar them fal befor 3ou; fiue of 3ou sal
follow & chaisse ane hundretht, & ane hundretht of
3ou sal chaisse ten thousand; ande 3our enemesis sal
fal to the groind \textsuperscript{2} venquest in 3our presens, sa that 3e
vil obeye to my command.

\textsuperscript{1} O quhat familiar promese is this that god hes
promest\textsuperscript{2} tyl al them that vil obey til his command!
quhar for gyf ve refuse this grit promes, i suspect that
his justice sal extinct oure generatione furtht of re-
memorance, ande that he vil permit our ald enemesis, or
sum vthir straynge natione, til ocupie & posses our
natural natuie cuntre. bot 3it i hope in gode that our
obstinatione sal altir in obediens, quhilk sal be occa-

\textsuperscript{1} Original reads \textit{straithe-kis} for \textit{straikis}, the \textit{cle} having fallen away from end
of leaf 18, leaving \textit{pol} for \textit{polete}.
\textsuperscript{2} promeis
sione that fyn of vs sal chaise ane hundretht of our ald enemeis, ande ane hundretht of vs sal chaisse ten thou-
sand of them furtht of our cunte, as is rehersit in the 
foir said xxxvi cheptour of leuitic. for quhou be it that 
god hes permittit the inglis men to scurge vs, as he 
permittit sathan to scurge the holy man Iob, it followis 
nocht that god vil tyne vs perpetuallye, nor 3it it fol-
louis nocht that the cruel inglis men, quhilkis ar 
boreaus ande hang men permittit be god to puneis vs, 
that thai ar in the fauoir of god, for the execucione of 
goddis punitione on vs, as i sal explane be ane exempl 
of comparisone. ane boreau or hang man is permittit 
be ane prizace to scurge ande to puneis transgressours, 
ande ther esstir that samyn boreau is stikkit or hangit 
efftur to his cruell demeritis, as is the end of them 
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 
3eir: bot rather the supreme plasmator of hauyn ande 
cirld hes permittit them to be boreaus, to puneis vs for 
the mysknauilage of his magestie. Quhar for i treist 
that his diuine iustice vil permit sum vtir straynge 
natitone to be mercyles boreaus to them, ande til extinct 
that false seid ande that incredele generatione furtht of 
rememorance, be cause thai ar, ande alshe hes beene, the 
special motione of the iunst veyris that hes trublit 
cristianite thir sex hundreth 3eir by past. quha listis 
to reide the prophesy of ysaye, tha sal fynd ane 
exempl conformand to this samyn purpos, quhou that 
the realme of the assirien was the scurge of gode to 
puneise the pepil of israel for ther disobedienis. but fra 
tyme that the pepil of israel vas reterit fra ther vice, 
gode distroyit there scurge, that is to saye, he distroyt 
asser *the kyng of the assirien, ande transportit his 
realme in the subiecione of the kyng of perse ande 
meid. Sikliyk the grite toune of babillon vas permittit
be broke to scourge the peupil of israel: and ther effitir quhen the israeliteis var reterit fra ther inniquite, gode deleyurit them fra the captinute of babillon, ande distroyit that grite toune, ande maid it ane desert inhabitabil for serpens ande vthir venesum\(^1\) beystis. Euyrie thing is corruppit be ane vthir corruppit compleuncio. ane file is ane instrument\(^2\) to file doune yrn, ande ane synnar is maid ane instrument of the diuynye justice to puneise ane vther synnar. the file that filit the yrne is 10 vorne ane cassin auaye as ane thing onutil to servit to do ony gude verk; bot the yrn that hes beene filit be the forgear or be ane Smythit, is kepit to servit to the necessite of men. the father takkis the vand or the scourge to puneise his sonne that hes brokyn his command, ande quhen his sonne becummis obedient, the father brakkis the vand ande castis it in the fyir: bot 3it gyf his sonne rebellis contrar the correctione of the vand, than the father takkis ane batton or sum vthir sterk vappin to puneise his sonne, & forget'tis fatherly 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 preceptor, his correctione\(^3\) is changit in rigorus punitione.

**Quhou the Actor conferris the passagis of the thrid \(^4\) cheptour of Vsaye vith the affliction of Scotland.**

CHAP. IIII.

**Deute, 28.**

We maye persaue for certan, that we haue bene scourgit vith al the plagis that ar befor re hersit in the xxviii cheptour of deuteronomy, that is to

\(^1\) Orig. reada venesum; probably shou’d be venemus, or perhaps venemsum.
\(^2\) instrumento
\(^3\) correctione
\(^4\) thrid
say, vitht pestelens, vitht the sourde, vitht brakkyng doun of our duelling houisis, vitht spulze of our cornis ande cattel.

Siclyik as it is befor rehersit in the xxvi of leuitic, ve haue sauen oure feildis to the behufe of oure enemieis, ve haue fled fast fra ooure enemieis, quhen ther vas nocht mony of them perseuuannd vs, ande also ve maye persaue that ve haue beene seurgit vitht the plagus that ar *contentit in the thrid cheptour of esaye, quhilk sais that the lord sal tak auaye the mychty men & the sterk men fra hierusalem ande fra iuda, that is to saye, the lord hes tane fra vs ooure lordis ande barons ande mony vthir nobil men that vald haue deffendit vs fra ooure ald enemieis. the said cheptour sais that the lord sal tak the iugis ande the prechours. that passage of ysaye maye be veil applyit tyl vs, for as to the iugis ande iustice that ringis presently in oure cuntre, god maye sende vs bettr quhen he pleysis. ande as to the prechours, i reffer that to the vnuiersal 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 experien of that passage is ouer manifest in oure cuntre. the said cheptour of esaye sais that effemenet men sal be superiors to iherusalem ande iuda. that passage is ouer evident in oure cuntre, for ther is maye of the sect of sardanapalus amang vs, nor ther is of scipions or camillus. the foir said cheptour of esaye sais that the lord sal gyf to iherusalem ande iuda 3ong kyngis to gounerne them. that passage of esaye *vald be veil con-sidrit, ande nocht to be vndirstandin the letteral expositione, as diuere of the maist famous doctours of the kyrk hes rehersit: for quhou be it that ooure 3ong illustir princeis be ane tendir pupil, ande nocht entrit in the aige of puberte, that follouis nocht that hyr

and in Leviticus, 

Leui. 26, 

We have lost our great men.

Isaiae. 3. c. 

Sardanas-palus kyng of sirrie elchit hym in remens elcitis, S span on ane roe. 

Instin. li. 1. 

We have maun a Sardanapalus among us. 

As for the calamity of a young prince, 

that must not be taken literally, though our queen (Mary Stuart) be only an infant;
30

**THE COMPLAYNT OF SCOTLAND.** [CHAP. IV.

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

3 Reg. 12.
but, as shown by
the contrast of
Rehoboam
2. Paral. 16
and Josiah,
Civ. philipp. 5.

as well as many
instances in
history,
[¹ leaf 24, back]
Eccles. 10.
it refers to a
fickle and discordant government;
not to a prince young in years.


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

¹ psam ² nocht ³ confrett
APPLICATION OF ISAIAH III. TO SCOTLAND.

Israel, ande nocht to the pepil of scotland. thir detrackers 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 doctrine of the euangelistis is nocht to be kepit be cristin men. siclyik thai maye saye that the epistylis of paul suld be kepit be the romans, corinthiens, 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 haue audiens amang cristin pepil, for ther is no thyng said in the scriptour, bot it is said generelye tyl al them that hes resuit the 30ilk ande the confessione of crist. Sanct paul vritis to the romans, sayand, euerye thing that is vritin in the scriptur is vrityn tyll oure edification: thir vordis maye sufice til adnul the peruerst opinions of inuyful calumniaturis ande of secret detrackers.

Of divers opinions⁴ that the pagan philoso-phours held of the conditions ande induring of the world, ande quhou the actor declaris that the world is neir anc ende.

CHAP. V.

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

[leaf 25, back] The chief cause of our afflictions has been our disobedience to God. Facite re-bis amicos de mammona iniquitatis. Luke, 16.
soucrane felicite, bot nochtcheles it is bot ane corrupit poison, in sa far as ve can nocht servae gode ande it to gyddir. as Sanct mathou hes said, 3e may nocht servae god ande mammon. Ther is ane vthir cause that makkis vs disobedient. mony of us beleuis in our consait that ther is na thyng perdyndabil bot the varld alaneorly. sicabusione procedis of onfaythfulnes ande of oure blynd affectione, qhilk makkis vs sa brutal, that ve vait nocht qhat 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 prolong- atione of oure dais, that ve maye vse the blynd sensual felicite of it, qhilk 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- 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, & 3it thai vait nocht qhat thing is the varld. the pagan philosophours held mony vane opiniones, & tynt mekil tyme in vane questions & speculations, ande hes tormentiti the[r] spreitis, dranand & compiland mony beukis, qhilkis ar set furtht in diuerse cuntreis : bot 3it ther vas neuyr ane final accordanse conclusidt amang them:2 for of the final verite that thai socht, thai gat litil, ande the igno- rance that thai haue put in vrit, is verraey mekil, be rason that the smallest part of ther ignorance in super- natural cacis, excedit the maist part of ther knaulage. Plato, aristotel, pithagoras, empedocles, epecurius, thales, & mony vthir of the pagan philosophours, hes hed grito defierens ande contentione to paynt ande dis- scriue the origyne ande propriete of the varld. Pitha- goras said, that the varld is ane thing, & it that ve cal vnuersal is ane vthir thynge. the philosphour thales said that ther is bot ane varld.3 the astrologgien metro-

1 tormentir 2 chem 3 varld
THE END OF THE WORLD PROVED TO BE NEAR.

dore affermit that ther is mony & infinit varldis. se-

1 leucus the philosophour said that the varld is eternal. Plato said that the varld hed ane begynnynge, ande sal haue ane end. epicuriius said that the varld is ronde lyik ane boule, & empedocles said that the varld is lang & ronde lyik ane eg. Socrates techit in his achademya, sayand, that eftir seyn ande thretty thousand yeiris, al thingis sal retourne to that sammyn stait as that began, ande he to be borne agane in his mother voymbe, ande to be neurist til his aige, ande sal teche philosophie in athenes. dionisiis sal execute his ald tirranye in siracuse. Julius cesar sal be lord of rome, ande annibal sal conques ytalie. scipio sal put cartage to sac ande to the sourde, ande grit Alexander sal venques kyng darius. of this sort, al thingis that ar by past sal retourne 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 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 redeeme vs fra the eternal captiuite of sathan, he complenit ande repreuit the varld, bot 3it the repreuit nocht the eird, the vattir, the ayr, nor the fyir, for thai foure elementis brac nocht his command. i haue herd diuers pepil regret, maling, ande mak exclamations contrar the varld, sayand, 0 false varld! 0 miserabil varld! 0 dissaitful varld! 0 inconstant varld! 0 malicius varld! ande 3it thai kneu nocht quhat thing is the varld. eftir my purpos, that varld that the pepil malingnis, is nocht ane substancial material mass, maid of eird, vattir, ayr, & fyir, bot rather it is the euy lyfe of the pepil that conversis viciouslye, ande the princ of this last varld is the deuyl, the qhilk sal be cassin furth, as is rehersit in the euangel of Sanct ihone.

1 seleucus 2 varld 3 philosophie 4 hane 5 varld

COMPLAYNT.

[* 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 57,000 years; Dionysius, Caesar, Scipio, Alexander, &c., play their parts over again.

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

22 [* leaf 27] I have heard many malign the world, calling it false, deceitful, &c.

28 Nunc indi- cium est mundi: nunc princeps huini mundi.

Johan. 12. when they meant the evil life of the people in it.

35
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.

Camque me convertissem ad viucrea opera que fer'cent manus mee ridi in omnibus vanitatem & afflictionem animi.

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, cupiditas.

this world is nocht fornit of the fouer elementis, as of eird, vattir, ayr, ande fyir, as gode creat the material world in the begynnyng, but rather it is creat of seyn elementis of sathans creatione, that is to saye, auerise, ambitione, luxure, cruelte, dissait, onfaythfullnes, disimulatione, & insaciabil cupidite. allace! al thir seyn elementis that this last world is creat of, ar1 ouer abundance vith in oure afligit realtime, qhilk is the cause of the calamite that it induris. bot var ve as solist to considir the vani'te of this last world as Salomon considir it, than doultis ve vald be verray solist to resist the invasions of it, qhilk pronokis vs to vice: or var ve as solist til impung the occasione of syn, as ve ar solist to seik remeide contrar the exterior accidentis that oft occurris til hurt oure body, than doultis our sensual cupidite vald be cum mortefeit ande venqueist. Oft tymys ve seik remeide to keip vs fra euyl accidentis that hurtis oure body, as, quhen the sune castis oure grite heyt, ve pas vndir the vmbre or the schaddou: quhen ve ar tirit to gang on oure feit, ve ar solist to seik horse to ryde: quhen the rane cummis, ve pas vndir the thak, or vthir convet place: quhen ve ar thirsty,2 ve seik drynk: quhen the plag of pestilens occurris, ve ar solist to seik ane cleene dwelling place vndir ane temperat climat. Bot in opposit, quhen auerise assailgeis vs, ve seik nocht the vertu of liberalite, nor quhen vile luxure trublis vs, ve adhere nocht to the vertu of temperance ande contenens: quhen ire afligis vs, ve seik nocht the vertu of patiens: quhen arrogans ande ambitione entris in our harts, ve seik nocht the vertu of humilitie. ande non, be cause that ve seik na remeide contrar *our disordinat cupidite, nor 3it resistis the occasions ande temptations of the pronoucations of vice, ve becum haistylye venqueist, be rason that oure smal resistance generis grit hardlynes in

1 at
2 thirsty
the aduerse party of oure saul. ther is ane mair odlis thing amang vs; for al the vics that oure cupidite pro

okis vs to commit, our bl(y)nd affecti0ne garris vs be

lue that thar ar supreme vertu ande felicite, be cause

that ar pleisand tyl oure fragil nature; the quhilk is

the principal occasione that ve conuerse sa viciousle, as

this miserabil sensual lyif var perpetual, ande as the
dede hed na pouer to sla oure bodeis, & as there var

nocht ane hel to torment oure saulis, bot as ther var
ane fenjet hel of the poeitis fictions, as virgil hes set
furtht in the sext beuk of his eneados. Bot, as i hef
befor rehersit, i suspect that there is ouer mony that
cb(e)euis in the opinione of Socrates, that is to saye, that
the varld sal indure seyn ande thrett1 thousand
3eiris. bot admittand, vndir p[r]otestatione, that Socrates
opinione var of verite, sit 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 hundreth 3eir.
've hane experiens daly, that quhar ane man lyuis ane
hundretht 3eir in ony cuncte, ane hundretht lyuis
nocht ane hundretht monetht. Nou, to confound the
opinione of Socrates, ande to confound al them that vil
nocht beleeue that the varld is neir ane final ende, i vil
23
arme me vitht the croniklis of master ihone carion,
quhar he allegis the prophesye of helie, sayand, that
fra the begynnynge of the varld, on to the consumma-
tione of it, sal be the space of sex thousand 3eir. the
quhilk sex thousand 3eir sal be deuydit in thre partis.
the fyrst tua thousand 3eir, the varld sal be vitht out
ony spacefeit lau in vrit, quhilk vas the tyme betuix
adam ande abraham. the nyxt tua thousand 3eir vas
the lau of circoncisione, vitht ane institutione of diuanye
policie, ande vitht adoratione of god, quhilk vas the
tyme betuix Abraham ande the incarnacione, quhen
crist ihüis resauit our humanite for our redemptione.
35

4 thretty

Worse than that, our moral blind-

ness makes us believe these

vices to be

virtues;

they are pleasing
to our frail nature.

1 Lam vixunt
hominas tan-
quam mors
nulla sequa-
tur & relin
fermus fabula
ficta foret.

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

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

But I will dis-
prove this idea:

John Carion
quotes the pro-
phesy of Elias, to
show that the
whole duration of
the world
shall be only
6000 years,
divided into three
dispensations.
1 the thrid tua thousand yeir sal be betuix the incarnatone & the last aduent, quhilk sal be the consummatione of the varld, bot thir last tua thousand yeir (as master ihone carion allegis in the prophesye of helie) sal nocht be completit, be rason *that the daye of ingement sal be antecipet, be cause of them that ar his electis, as is vritten in the xxiiiith 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 xxiiiith cheptour of Sanct mathou, tha sal persaue evidently that the varld is verray neir ane ende, be rason that mony of the singis & taikkyuns that preceded the daye of ingement, that ar expremit in the foirsaid cheptour, ar by past, & the remenant ar non presently in oure dais: ther for, eftir the supputatione of helie, as mastir ihone carion hes rehersit, the varld hes bot four hundreth fyfty tua yeir tyl indure, be cause that ther is five hundrethe fourty aucht yeir by past of the foir said sex thousand yeir; bot eftir the vordis of Sanct mathou, the consummatione of the varld sal be haistiar nor foure hundreth fyftye & tua yeir; 3it god hes nocht affiixt ane certan daye to sal vith in the said terme of iii. c. lli yeir, as is rehersit in Sanct mathou, de die auctem illa & hora, nemo scit neque angeli celorum, nisi solus pater. ther for ve haue mistir to be vigilant ande reddy, sen the terme of cristis cumming is schort, ande *the daye oncertane, as is said in the foir said evangiel, 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 sulde be occasione til haue it in detestatione, ande til haue premeditatione of the future eternal beatitude & felicite, that gode hes prouemist til al them that haldis it in abhominatone.
Ane Monolog of the Actor.

CHAP. VI.

The labour of writing the above chapters fatigued the author.

The labour of writing the above chapters fatigued the author.

To avoid the evil effects of sleeping by day, he thought he would take some active recreation.

He walked out to the green fields,

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

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

Amid these scenes he lingered till sunset,

(it was the 6th of June), and then entered a forest,

1 frutes
cause the borial blastis of the thre borouing dais of marche hed chaisit the fragrant flurcise of euery frute tree far athourt the feildis. of this sort i did spaceir vp ande doune but sleipe, the maist part of the myrk nycht. instantly there eftir i persait the messengeiris of the rede aurora, quhilkis throucht the mychtis of titan¹ hed persit the crepusclyne lyne matutine of the northt northt est orizone, quhilk was occasione that the sternis & planetis, the dominotours of the nycht, absenit them, ande durst noct be sene in oure hemispole, for dreddour of his auful goldin face. Ande als fayr dyana, the lantern of the nycht, be cam dym ande pail, quhen titan hed extinct the lycht of hyr lampp on the cleir daye. for fra tyme that his lustrand beymis var 15 eleuat iii. degrees abufe oure oblique orizone, every planeit of oure hemespeir be cam obscure, ande als al corruptit humiditeis, ande caliginus fumis & infekkit vapours, that hed bene generit in the sycond regione of the ayr quhen titan vas visian antepodos. thai consumit for sorrou quhen thai sau ane sycht of his goldin scheaip. the grene feildis, for grite drouith, 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 maide grite beir, quhilk past besyde burnis & boggis on grene bankis to seek ther sustentatitone. there brutal sound did redond to the hie skyis, quhil the depe hou caurnis of cleuchis & rotche craggis anseruit vitth ane hie not, of that samyn sound as thay beystis hed blauen. it apert be presum-yng & presupposing, that blaberand echoo hed beene hid in ane hou hole, cryand hyr half ansuir, quhen narcisis sus rycht sorye socht for his saruandis, quhen he vas in ane forest, far fra ony² folkis, & there eftir for loue of echoo he droumit in ane dran vel. nou to tal treunth of the beystis that maide sic beir, & of the dyn that the

¹ titan ² ony
foulis did, ther syndry soundis hed nothir temperance nor tune. for fyrst furtht on the fresche feldis, the nolt maed noys vitht mony loud lou, bayyth horse & meyris did fast nee, & the folis nechyr. the bullis began to bullir, quhen the scheip began to blait, be cause the calfis began tyl mo, quhen the doggis berkit, than the suyne began to quhryne quhen that herd the asse rain, qhillk gart the hennis 'kekkyyl quhen the cokis creu. the chekyns began to pes quhen the gled quhissillit. the fox follooit the fed geise, & gart them cry claik. the gayslingis cryt qhillk qhillk, & the dakis cryt quaik. the roopen of the ranynis gart the craws crope, the huddit crauis cryt varrok varrok, quhen the suannis murnit, be cause the gray goul maud pronosticat ane storme. the turtl began for to greit, quhen the cuschet jewlit. the titlene follooit the goilk, ande gart hyr sing guk guk. the dou crouit hyr sad sang that soundit lyik sorrou. robeen and the litil vran var namely in vynit. the iargolvne of the slauonn gart the iay iangil, than the maueis maid myrthit, for to mok the merle. the laueroq maid melody yp hie in the skyis. the nycht sang sueit notis. the tecchitis cryt theuis nek, quhen the piettis clattrit. the garruling of the stir-lene gart the sparrou cheip. the lyntquhit sang cuntir-point quhen the osjil jelpit. the grene serence sang sueit, quhen the gold spynk chantit. the rede schank cryit my fut my fut, & the oxee cryit tuicen. the herrons gaif ane vyild skrech as the kyl hed bene in fyir, qhillk gart the quhapis for fleyitnes fle far fra hame. Than etfir quhen 'this dyn vas dune, i dreu me doune Through mony grene dail; i beand soprit in sadnes, i socht neir to the see syde. than vndir ane hingand heuch, i herd mony huris of stannirs & stanis that tumlit doune vitht the land rushe, qhillk maed ane felloune sound, throcht virkyng of the suelland vallis of

5 calves and dogs, swine, the ass, fowls and chickens, the kite, the fox, geese, gooslings, and ducks; ravens, cranes, hooded crows, swans, the grey gull maw, the turtle and eeshat-dove, the hedge-sparrow and the cuckoo, 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 navel, the greenfinch and the goldfinch, the redshank and ox-eye tom-tit, the herons and the curlews.

[^1] tair  
[^2] skryis  
[^3] the
1 the brym seye. than i sat doune to see the flouyng of
the fame. quhar that i leukyt far furtht on the salt
flude. there i beheld ane galiasse gayly grathit for the
veyr, lyand fast at ane ankin, and hyr salis in hou. i
5 herd mony wordis amang the marynalis, bot i vist nocht
quhat thai menit. 3it i sal rehearse and report ther cry-
ing and ther cal. in the fyrst, the master of the galiasse
gart the botis man pas vp to the top, to leuk fur furtht
gyf he culd see ony schips. than the botis man leukyt
10 sa lang quhil that he sau ane quhyt sail. than he cryit
vitth ane skyrd, 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, vitth mony loud cry. ande as
ane cryit, al the laif cryit in that samyn tune, as it hed
16 bene eco in ane hou heuch. and as it aperit to me, thai
cryit *thirwordis as eftir follouis. veyr veyrve, veyrveyrve.
gentil gallandis, gentil gallandis. veynde i see hym, veynd
i see hym. pourbossa, pourbossa, hail al ane, hail al
and ane. hail hym vp til vs, hail hym vp til vs. Than
21 quhen the ankyr vas halit vp abufe the vattir, ane marynel
cryit, and al the laif follouit in that sam tune, caupon
coupon, caupon coupon, caupon hola, caupon hola.
coupon holt, caupon holt. sarrabossa, sarrabossa. than
thai maid fast the schank of the ankyr. And the maistir
26 quhislit and cryit, tua men abufe to the fori ra, cut the
raibandis, and lat the fori sail fal, hail doune the steir
burde lufe harde a burde. hail eftir the fori sail scheit,
hail out the bollene. than the master quhislit ande cryit,
tua men abufe to the mane ra, cut the raibandis, and lat
31 the mane sail and top sail fal, hail doune the lufe close
aburde, hail eftir the mane sail scheit, hail out the mane
sail boulene. than ane of the marynalis began to hail and
to cry, and al the marynalis anseru of that samyn sound.
hou hou. pulpela pulpela. boulena boulena. darta darta.
hard out steif, hard out steif. afoir the vynd, afoir the
vynd. god send, god send, fayr vedthir, *fayr vedthir. mony prici, mony prici. god foi render, god foi lend. stou, stou. mak fast & belay. Than the master cryit, and bald renze ane bonet, virc the trossis, nou heise. than the marynalis began¹ to heis vp the sail, eryand, heisau, heisau, vorsa, vorsa. vou, vou. ane lang draucht, ane lang draucht. mair maucht, mair maucht. jon blude, jon blude. mair made, mair made. false flasche, false flasche. ly a bag, ly a bag. lang suak, lang suak. that that, that that. thair thair, thair thair. 3allou hayr, 3allou hayr. hips bayr, hips bayr. til hym al, til hym al. viddefullis al, viddefuls al. grit and smal, grit and smal. ane and al, ane and al. heisau, heisau. nou mak fast the theyrs. Than the master cryit, top 3our tobinellis, hail on 3our top sail scheitis, virc 3our liftaris² and 3our top sail trossis, & heise the top sail hiear. hail out the top sail boulene. heise the myszen, and change it ouer to leuart. hail the linche and the scheitis, hail the trosse to the ra. than the master cryit on the rudir man, mait keip ful and by, a luf. cumna hiear. holabar, arryua. steir elene vp the helme, this and so. than quhen the schip vas taiklit, the master cryit, boy to the top. schaik out the flag on the top mast. tak in 3our top salis, *and third them. pul doune the nok of the ra in daggar vyise. marynalis, stand be 3our geyr in taiklene of 3our salis. euery quartar master til his auen quartar. boitis man, bayr stanis & lyme pottis ful of lyme in the craklene pokis to the top, and paues veil the top vithe pauesis and mantillis. Gunnaris, cum heir & stand by 3our artail3ee, euyrie gunnar til his auen quartar. mak reddy 3our cannons, culuerene moyens, culuerene bastardis, falcons, saikyrs, half saikyrs, and half falcons, slangis, & half slangis, quartar slangis, hede stikkes, murdresaris, pasuolans, bersis, doggis, doubil bersis, hagbutis of eroche, half haggis, ¹ began ² Or listaris ³ the letter is indistinct.
1 culuerenis, ande hail schot. ande 3e soldartis & compagnons of veyr, mak reddy 3our corsbollis, hand bollis, fyir speyris, hail schot, lanceis, pikkis, hablardis, rondellis, tua handit sourdis and tairgis. than this gaye galliasse, beand in gude ordour, sche followit fast the samyn schip that the botis man hed sene, and for mair

7 sped the galliasse pat furtht hir stoytene salis, ande ane hundretht aris on euerye syde. the master gart al his marynahs & men of veyr hald them quiet at rest, be rason that the mouyng of the pepil vitht in ane schip, stoppis hyr of 'hyr faird. of this sort the said galliasse

12 in schort tyme cam on vynduart of the tothir schip. than eftir that thai hed hailsit vthii's, thai maid them reddy for hattel. than qhaar i sat i hard the cannons and gunnis mak mony hiddeus crak duf, duf, duf, duf, duf. the barsis and falconis cryit tirduf, tirduf, tir-duf, tirduf, tirduf, tirduf. than the smal artailje cryit, tik tak, tik tak, tik tak, tik tak. the reik, smenck, and the stink of the gun puldir, fylit al the ayr maist lyik as plutois paleis hed been birmand in ane bald fyir, qhilk generit sik mirknes & myst that i culd nocht see my lynht about me. qhaar for i rais and returnit to the fresche feildis that i cam fra, quhar i beheld mony

17 hudit hirdis blauuand 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 bras, and on dry hillis, to get ther pastour. than i beheld the scheiphirdis vyuis and ther childir that brocht there mornyng braefast to the scheiphirdis. than the scheiphyrdis vyuis cuttit raschis and seggis, and gadrur mony fragrunt grene meduart, vitht the quhilkis tha couurit the end of ane leye rig, & syne sat doune al to gyddir to tak there refe'etione, quhar thai maid grit ehir of euyrie \(^1\) sort of mylk, baytht of ky mylk \& 3one mylk, sueit mylk and sour mylk, curdis

\(^{1}\) euyrie.
A MONOLOGUE RECREATIVE.

and quhaye, sourkittis, fresche buttit ande salt buttir, reyme, flot quhaye, grene cheis, kyrm mylk. euyrie scheiphird hed ane home spune in the lug of there bonet: thai hed na breyd bot ry caliks and fustean skonnis maid of flour. than eftir there disiune, tha began to talk of grit myrrynes that was rycht plesand to be hard. in the yrst, the prencipal scheiphirde maid ane orisone tyl al the laif of his compangzons as eftir follous.

O je 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 faculte of this varld, baytht in honour and in profeit. for sen the varld vas creat, scheiphirdis preferrit al vthir staitis, quhar for the maist anciant nobilis that hes bene in ald tymis, tha detestit urbanite, and desirit to lye in villagis and landuart1 tounis in the hoil- sum feildis, as diuerse historigraphours hes maid men- tione. for in ald tymis pastoral and rustical *ocupatione vas of ane excellent reputatione, for in thai dais quhen the goldin varld rang, kyngis and princis tuke mair delyit on the feildis and forrestis to keip bestialite and to manure corne landis, nor thai did to remane in pre- toral palecis or in tryumphand citeis. riche kyng amph- ion vas verry solist to keip his scheip, and at euyn2 quhen thai past to there faldis, scheip cottis and ludgens, he playt befor them on his harpe. Siklyik kyng dauid hed mair affectione to play on his harpe amang his flokkis of scheip, nor he hed to be gounernour of the pepil of Israel. ande appollo, that the poietis callis the god of sapiens, he vas scheiphird to keip kyng admetus scheip. siklyik the nobil romans in ald tymis var nocht eschamit to laubir and to manure the baran feildis vithe there auen handis, to gar the

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

1 landnart
2 euyn
THE COMPLAYNT OF SCOTLAND. [CHAP. VI.

1 eid becum forfeil to bair al sortis of corne, eirbis, gyrse & spice, as ve hef exemplil of the prudent quintus cincinatus, quha vas chosyn be the senat to be dictatur of rome, at that samyn tyme he vas arand the land

5 viith his auen hand at the pleuch. siklyik the sapient porcus cathon censor of rome vas verray solist on the art of agreculture. Siklyik romulus the fyrst kyng of ro'me set his hail felicite on the manuring of the feildis. ande also the tua vail3eant romans, fabricius and curius
dentatus, var nocht eschamit til excerce them on the
culture of the feildis. Siklyik numa pompilius, that denot kyng of rome, statut that the senaturis of rome suld keip there scheip, as is rehersit in ane verse that i

10 hef red of ane senatur, pasebatque suas ipse senator ones. Siklyik paris the thrid soune of kyng Priam of troy vas ane scheiphirld, and kepit bestialite on montht ye.de. And also the nobil Scipio, quhilk vas vail3eant ande no les prudent, he conquist africa, and pat cart-age to sac, and subdenit numance, and venqueist Annibal, and restorit the liberte of rome, than in his aige of lij 3eir, he left the toune of rome, ande past to remane the residu of his dais in ane landuart village betuix pe3ole & capue in ytalie, and there he set his

14 felicite on the manuring of the corne land, & in the keping of bestialite. Ande also lucullus, that prudent consul of rome, quha hed conquist dineser battellis contrar the parthiens, than in his last dais he left the toune of rome, and past to duel in ane village besyde

19 naples, qhbar that he excersit hym on rustic occupiatione ande on be'stialite. Siklyik the nobil Empriour dioclesian, eftir that he hed gouernit the empire xviiij 3eir, he left the tryumphand toune of rome, & past til ane village be syde florens, and ther he visit the laubor-ing of the cornis and vynis, & on bestialite. Ande also the prudent due perecles, quha hed the gouerning of the comont vei of athenes xxxvj 3eiris, sit in his aige
of lx 3eiris, he left the glorious stait of athenes, & past to remane in ane litil village quhar he set his felicite to keip nolt and sheip. qhhat sal be said of the patriarchis Abraam, Isaac & Iacob, and of the princis & prophetis of Israel? var thai noct hirdis & scheiphirdis? for ther principal vacacione vas on the neuresing\(^1\) of bestialite. Ther for (O 3e my companzons, scheiphirdis and hirdis) ve hef grit cause to gloor and to gyf thankis to god for the grit dignite that ve posses, for ther is na faculte, stait, nor vacacione in the vniuersal vorld, that can be comparit til oure stait. for al vthir staitis of al degreis, bayyth temporal and spirtual, that remanis in tryumph-and citesis and burroustounis, ther ringis na thing amang them bot auariscis, inuy, hatrent, dispyit, descention, & mony vthir detestabil vcies; and also there bodeis *ar subjict tyl al sortis of seiknes, be rason of the corruptit infectione and euyl ayr that is generit in ane cite quhar maist confluens of pepil resortis, qhilk causis pestilens and diuere vthir sortis of contagius maladeis, & also ocasione that the maist part of them endis ther the in-temperans of ther moutht\(^2\) in eyting & drynkyng, consumis ther stomakis & al ther membris, qhilk is occa-sione that the maist part of tham endis ther dais in there green 3outhed. bot it is nocht siclyik of vs that ar scheiphirdis, for ve lyif on the fragrant feildis quhar ve ar neuireist\(^3\) vitht the maist delicius temperat ayr, and ther is nothir hatrent, auariscis\(^4\) nor discord amang vs, nor there is nothir detraction, leysingis, nor calumni-ations amang vs. ve hef cherite to god, & loyne tyl our nyechtbouris, and the maist part of vs hes gude hail in our body qhil ve be ane hundreth 3eir. ande also quhou be it that the riche and opulent potestatis that Ducillis in citesis and burroustounis, reputis vs that ar scheiphirdis\(^5\) to be ignorant, incuiul, & rude of ingyne, 3it nochtheles al the sciencis and knaulage that thair

\(^{1}\) neuresing  \(^{2}\) moucht  \(^{3}\) neuireist  \(^{4}\) auariscis  \(^{5}\) scheiphirdis

\(^{1}\) Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, were they not all shepherds?  
**What estate can compare with this?**  

\(^{2}\) [\* leaf 0 (56), back]  
Cities engender corruption  

\(^{3}\) and intemper-ance.  

\(^{4}\) Shepherds live in the fragrant fields  

\(^{5}\) to an old age.  
City-dwellers account them rude,
ascibe and professis to be dotit in them, hes fyrst pro-
cedit fra our faculite, nocht abanerly in the "inuentione of
natural mecanyc consaitis, but as veil the speculacione of
supernatural thingis, as of the firmament and of the
planetic, the quhill knaulage ve hef prettikyt throucht
the lang contemplene of the motions and revolutions of the
ynye hauynis. Siklyik phisic, astronomye and
natural philosophie, var fyrst prettikyt and doctrinet be
vs that ar scheiphirdis, for our faculite knausis the natur
and the vertu of the sternis and planetic of the spere,
and of the circlis contient in the samyn; for throucht
the lang studie and contemplene of the sternis, ve can
gyf ane ingemen of diuerse futur accedentis that ar
gude or euyl, necessair or domageabill for man or beyst:
for it is manifest that scheiphirdis hes discernit and
definit the circlis and the mouung of the speris, as i sal
reherse to 3ou that ar 3ong scheiphyrdis, to that effect
that 3e may hef speculacione of the samyn. In the
fyrst, ihosephus the historigrapheur that treittis of the
antiquite of the icuis, rehersis in his fyrst beuk, that
the chirdir of seth (quhillk vas the soune of Adam) var
the fyrst inuentours of the art of astronomic, and in-
vestigatours of the celest coursis & monumentis, the
quhillk art thai gruait vitht "lettris (for the vilitie of
there posterite) in tua tablis of stane. one of the tablis
vas of baikyn stane, and the tothir tabil of onbaykyn
stane. the quhillk thing thai did be cause thai hed herd
ther father seth reherse, that his father Adam hed pro-
phetsit that the varld sal end be vattir and be the
fyir, and for that cause the baikyn stane vall theole the
fyir, & the onba[k]yn stane vall theole the vattir, and of
this sort the art of astronomic suld ay remane uno-
sumit. and thai tua tablis hes bene regester and funda-
tione til al them that hes student in cosmographic,
geographic, and in topographic. There for, to mak ane
diffinitione of cosmaphraphic (as far as ve scheiphirdis
A MONOLOGUE RECREATIVE.

hes contemplit) it is ane vniuersal discriptione of the
vardl, 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 bef ony
iugement of cosmaghraphie, he shuld fyrst contempl and
considir the circlis of the spere celest: for be that dis-
ctiontione of the said circlis, it sal be facil to kau the
distance of diners cuntreis that lyis vndir the said
circlis, baytht of there longitude and of ther latitude,
and the proportione "of the climatis, and the dinersite
of the dais & nychtis of the four quartars of the vardl,
and it sal declar the monyng, elevatiione, and declina-
tione of the sone, mune, and of the sternis fixt, and
sternis erratic. and it sal declar the elevatiione of the
polis, and the lynis parallelis, and the meridian circlis,
and diners vthir documentis and demonstrations mathe-
matikis.

[Nou fyrst to speik of the monyng of the spere,
and of the diuisione of the hanynis, ze sal kau that
the vardl is diuidit in tua partis, that is to say, the
fyrst part is the regione elementair, quhilk is suhiect
til alteratione and to corruptione. the nyxt part of the
vardl is callit the regione celest (quhilk philosophours
callis quinta essentia) vitht in the concuaitie of the
quhilk is closit the regione elementar. this said regione
celest is nothir variabil nor corruptabil. it is diuidit in
ten speris, and the gritest spere quhilk is the outuart
spere, inclosion in it the spere that is nyxt til it, & sa be
progressione and ordur, euyrie spere inclosiion the spere
that is nerest tyl it. in the fyrst, the regione elementair
is inclosit viitht in the spere of the mune, and nyxt it
is the spere of mercu'rius, and syne the spere of venus,
and nyxt it is the spere of the sone, and abufe and
about it is the spere of mars, and syne the spere of
Jupiter, and than the spere of Saturnus. and ilk ane of

Cosmography
treats of the
universe,
and four
elements;

the great circles
of the sphere;

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

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

The celestial
world consists of
ten spheres,

1 sterius
seven having each a planet;

the eighth is the firmament;

the ninth is the crystalline heaven;

the last the primum mobil, which carries the others along with it.

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

The axis of the sphere ends in the two pole stars.

thir speris hes bot ane sterne or planetc that monis in the zodiac contrar the mouyng of the fyrst mobil that we cal the tent sper. nyxth thir speris is the firmament, quhilk is callit the hauyn, or the sper of the sternis, and about it is the nynte sper, callit the hauyn cristel-lyne, be cause\(^1\) that there can nocht be na sternis seen in it. Al thir nyne speris or hauynis ar inclosit vitht in the tent sper, quhilk is callit the fy rst mobil, the quhilk makkis revolutione and course on the tua polis fra day to daye in the space of xxiiij hours fra orient til occident, and returnis agane to the orient. bot the mouyng of the tother nyne hauynis is fra the occident to the orient, quhilk is contrar to the mouyng of the tent sper callit the fy rst mobil. \(3^{\text{it nochttheles the mouyng of the fy rst mobil is of sic violens, that it constrenezeis the tothir nyne speris or hauynis to pas vitht it fra orient ty l occident, quhilk is contrar to there anen natural mouyng, there for the compulsit retrograd mouyng is callit be astrono'mours, motus raptus accessus, \& recessus stellarum fixarum.\) al the thyng that circuitis this last tent hauyn or fy rst mobil, is immobil and monis nocht: there for it is callit the hauyn empire, quhar the trone diuine standis, as effermis the famous doctours of the kyrk. \(\text{Non to proced in the descriptione of the speris of the hauynis. in the fy rst, }3^{\text{e sal ymagyn ane lyne that passis thro' thet sper lyik til ane extree of ane cart, callit axis sper, quhilk is the rycht dyametre of the sper, on the quhilk lyne or extre the speris }\& \text{ hauynis turnis on. then at the endis of the said lyne, }3^{\text{e sal ymagyne tua sternis, quhilk ar callit the tua polis of the firmament. ane of them standis at the northt, quhilk is callit the pole artic, boreal, or septemtrional. it aperis til vs in our habitatione, be rason that it is eleuat abufe our orizone.}\)

\(35^{\text{th the tothir sterne standis at the souht, and it is callit}\)

\(1\) cause
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 orison. 3e sal vndirstand, that the sterne quhilk the scheiphirdis and marynalis callis the north sterne, that sterne is nocht the pole artic, for the pole artic is bot ane ymaginet point, distant "iiiij degreis fra that sterne that we cal the northt sterne, the quhilk sterne is callit alrukaba. and also 3e sal vndirstand, 8 that the southt sterne that is elevat abufe the orison of them that duellis beyond the equinoctial, it is callit canapus. ther for it suld nocht be callit the pole antartic, for the pole artic is hot ane ymaginet point, quhilk standis "iiiij degreis fra the sterne that is callit canaputs. there is ane vthur circle callit orison, the quhilk cuttis the spere in tua partis. there is tua sortis of orisons, ane is callit the rycht orison, the tothir is callit the oblique orison. thai that hes the sore linth in the equinoctial, thai hef the rycht orison, be rason that the tua polis ar in there orison, ande thai that hes ane oblique orison, ane of the polis is elevat abufe ther orison, ande the tothir pole is hid vndir there hemispeir and orison. Ther is ane vthur circle in the spere callit meridian, the quhilk gais betuix the tua polis rycht abufe our hede. than quhen the sune cummis fra the orient to that circle, it is iust tulf houris of the daye, & quhen the sune is in opposit til our meridian vndir our orison, than it is mydnycht. There is ane vthur circle of the sphere, callit the circle equinoctial, the qu* hill deuidis the spere in tua partis. it is of ane lyik distance fra the tua polis. it is callit equinoctial, because that quhen the sune cummis til it, than the day and the nycht ar of ane lynht in euerye part of the varld, and that occurris tua tymis ilk zeir, that is to say, quhen the sune cummis in the fyrst dege of aries, quhilk is the xj daye of marche, & in the

1 soucith
COMPLAYNT

2 canap'

3 enerye

[*leaf 6 (49), back]

[® leaf 5 (49)]

"The meridian goes from pole to pole."

"The meridian lies even between the two poles."
The complaint of Scotland.

1 fyrst dege of libra, quhilk is the xiiij day of september. Ther is ane vtihir grit circle in the spere, callit the zodiac, the quhilk deuidis the circle equinoctial in tua partis. the zodiac is deuidit in tua partis, and ilk part is callit ane sing, the quhilk zodiac extendis til tua

6 singnis, callit Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricornus, Aquarius, Pisces. Ande euyrie sing is diuidit in tua.

The 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 vtihir litil circlis in the spere. ane is callit the tropic of Cancer, quhilk is the solstice of symmyr.

The tropics. it is distaunt xxiiij degeis xxx munetis fra the equinoctial touart septemtrion. quhen the sune cummis til it, than it is the longest day of the jeir to them that duellis betuix the pole artic and the equinoctial. The circle of capricorne is callit the solstice of vyntir. quhen the sune cummis til it passand touart the pole antartic, than that duellis betuix the equinoctial and the pole antartic, hos ther langast day of the jeir, & than ve hof the schortest day of the jeir. The circle artic is xxiiij degeis xxx munitis fra the pole artic.

The sumer and winter solstice. siclyik the circle antartic is xxiiij degeis xxx munitis fra the pole antartic. & also the septemtrional solstice callit the tropic of cancer, is xxiiij degeis xxx munitis fra the equinoctial, and the meridional solstice of capricorn is xxiiij degeis xxx munitis fra the equinoctial.

The point that is rycht abufe our hede is callit 3enyth,1 the quhilk is iiiij scoir and ten degeis distant fra our orison, ande as oft as ve change fra place to place, as oft ve sal hof ane vtihir 3enyth,2 and the place that is direct contrar til our 3enyth1 is callit antipodes. tha

1 3enyth 2 3enyth
that duellis in thai partis, thai hef ther solis direct 1
contrar til our solis, ande thai hef the hauyn for ther
zenyth1 as veil as2 ve, & quhen ve hef the longest day of
sy'myr, than thai hef the schorest day in vyntir,
ande quhen thai hef symmvr, than ve hef vyntir. 3it
nochtheles, lactantius firmien, that famous doctor of the
holy kyrk, in his thrid beuk, in the xxiiiij cheptor, he
scornis the mathematiciens that effermis antipodos: &
syklyik Sainct agustyne de ciuitate dei, in the ix chep-
tour of his seuynt beuk, allegis mony freuol argumentis
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 eird is round, ande that the eird is the centir of the
ix hauynis,3 and that the sune circuitis and gais about
the eird euyrie xxiiiij houris. for ve maye see be ex-
periens, that quhen the sune rysis at our est orijon,
than it ascendis quhil it cum til our meridian, and ther
eftir it deelwynis and passis vndir our vest orijon, quhilk
is ane manifest taikyn that the sune gais about al the
eird: quhar for it aperis veil, that ther is pepil duel-
land vndir vs. and also ve hef ane vthir probabil sing
to preif that the eird and the vattir is rond. for admitt-
tand that sum man vald set ane stabil mark at the "see
syde, and syne this man departand in ane schip fra that
mark, sailand quhil he be furth of the sycht of the said
mark, than he beand in the body of the said schip
quhen he hes tynt the sycht of his mark, than he
montis and passis vp to the top of the schip, and than
he persauis his mark perfytyly, the quhilk he euld nocht
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 exemplif makris plane that the eird is
rond. Siklyik ane man beand on the hede of ane hil, 35

1 zenych 2 rs 3 hauynis
Let the obstinate be convinced there are antipodes.

Let the obstinate be convinced there are antipodes.

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fra the equinoctial, than it is vndir the orizin of them that hes the meridional pole for ther 3enyth; & sa be this narratione, thai that duellis vndir the pole artic, hes ane conteneual nycht half ane 3eir to gyddir, and the tothir half 3eir thai hef conteneual day and no nycht half ane 3eir to gyddir; and it is of the samyn sort to them that duellis vndir the pol antartic. And no, sen i hef declarit the circlis of the spere, i vil speik of the reuolutions and of the nature of the vij planetis. O 3e scheiphirdis, 3e sal contempil in the firmament ane sterne callit saturn, quhilk is lice abufe al the laif of the planetis, and for that cause it aperis verry litil to mennis sycht. it makkis reuolutione in thretty 3eir, and returnis to the samyn point that it cam fra, it makkis ane circle fra occident til orient, contrar the fyrst mobil. it is of ane cald frosty natur. Nyxt saturne standis the spere & hauny of Iupiter, quhilk makkis the cours & circuit in tuelf 3eiris. it is of ane temperat natur, be cause it standis in the myd vay betuix the caldnes of Saturn & the byrmand heyt that Mars induris throucht the vicinite of sol. Ande nyxt to Iupiter standis "the hauny and spere of Mars, quhilk sum men callis" Hercules, it reuoluis in ane circle in tua 3eiris. it is inflammit in ane feruent heyt that ascendis fra the sone. Nyxt to Mars standis the hauny of the sone, the quhilk makkis reuolutione in thre huandreth thre scoir of degreis, quhilk is the space of ane 3eir. the verteous heyt of it temperatis al the sternis of the firmament. Nyxt vndir the spere of the soun standis the spere & hauny of Venus, quhilk is ane grit sterne of ane meruelous lustir. in the morning it aperis ane lang tyme or the soun ryise, and gyffis ane grit lycht. at that tyme it is callit lucifer, be cause it auancis the day befyr the crepusculine. and siclyik it aperis verry haisty on fayr day lycht, quhen the soun

1 3enyth  
2 scheiphirdis  
3 cellis  
4 Ven'
The moon is the most admirable star, having many phases, which I shall explain.
mekil of the mune that hes hyr aspect touart the soune, 1 hes lycht; bot the tothir half of the mune, that hes no aspect to the soune, resauis no lycht. The cause quhy that the mune schauis lycht one time, and is obscure ane vthir tyme, is be rason that sche is moir suift in hyr retrograid cours nor the soune is: for of hyr auen 6 propir mouyng fra occident til orient in the zodiac, sche cummis euyrie xxvij dais viij houris vndir the samyn degre that the sone is in til. at that tyme the vulgaris sais that the mune is in the conjunction with the soune. Sum tyme the mune is in oppositione, that is, quhen the mune & the soune ar in apposit degreis. than ve see the maist part of the lycht that the mune hes resauit fra the soune. the vulgaris sais, at that tyme, that the mune is ful, 3it nochtheles the mune is ay ful, as veil at the conjunction as at the appositione, but quhen the mune is in the eclipsis. for in the tyme of the eclipsis, the eird is betuix the mune and the soune, quhilk is occasione that the mune resauis no lycht fra the soune at that tyme. There is ane vthir admiration of the variant course of the mune, 1 for sche resauis mair lycht in hyr oppositione fra the soune, 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 roundnes of ane les quantite, nor ane smal roundnes can 2 hef touart ane grit roundnes. There for, sen the soune is of ane gritar quantite nor is the mune, be that cause, mair nor the half of the mune resauis lycht fra the soune, bot 3it ve see nocht sa mekil lycht in the mune as sche hes resauit fra the soune in hyr appositione. Ane parson that behaldis ane roundnes of ane gritar quantite nor is the space betuix his tua een, that parson sal nocht see sa mekil as is the half of that

1 mune 2 cam
Concerning

eclipses.

The eclips of
the soune.

[ 46] I Now i vil rehearse the cause of the eclipsis of the soune and mune. we may persue manifestlye, that the
eclips of the soune cummis *be the interpositione of
7 the mune betuix vs and the soune, the qhilk empeschis
and obfusquis the beymis of the soune fra our sycht.

Siklyik, the mune is in eclips be the obiectione of
the eird, the qhilk eird empeschis the soune to gyf lycht
to the mune. of this sort, the soune is maid obscure til
vs quhen it clips, be cause the vmbre and schaddou of
the bak of the mune is betuix vs and the soune. And
also the mune is maid obscure quhen it clips, be rason
that the vmbre and schaddou of the eird empeschis hyr
11 to resaue lycht fra the soune. ther for i may efferme,
that the myrk nycht is na vthir thynge bot quhen the
soune and mune ar vndir our orijon

The influence of
the stars.

All are subject
to them.

They cause all
mundanechanges,

yet the Almighty
overrules them.

[ 47] I Now, to speik of the influens and constellation of
the soune and mune, and of the sternis, douteles man &
21 beyst, ande al vthir thynge that euyr vas procreat
on the eird, ar subiect to ther operatione, & rasanis alterat-
tione throucht there influens. The speculatone and
contemplatione of mennis ingyne culd neuyr consame
ane final determinatione of the soune, mune, and of
the sternis. fra ther operations and constellations pro-
cedis tempest, stormis, fayr veddir, foul veddir, heyt,
cald, pestilens, con*ualescens, rane, frost and snau, and
al vthir accidentis that cummis on the eird, and on man
and beyst: bot zit, at sum tyme, god ahnzychty, be his
diuyne permissione, mittigatis, augmentis, or dimuneuis
baylth the gude operations and enil operations of the
33 planetis, efferand for the vertu and vice that ringis
amang the pepil. ve ar vei experimentit, that quhen
ther multipleis ane grit numir of sternis in the equi-
noctial of Libra, or in the solstice of capricorn, at that
tyme ther occurris grit tempestis and tormentis of euyl
veldir. Ande alsa, at that tyme, men and vemen of
ane tendir complexione, ar in dangeir of diuers maladeis,
as of fluxis, caterris, collic and gut, and to diuers
vthir contagius seiknes. Sic lyik, throucht the opera-
tione of the sternis, the oliue, the popil, & the osyer
tree changis the cullour and ther leyuis, at ilk tyme
quhen the soune entris in the tropic of Cancer. sic in Cancer,
lyik, the dry mynt that hingis in ane house, resaus
sum vertu of the eird, quhen the soune entris in the
fyrst degre of capricorne. Siklyik, ther is ane eirb
callit helytropium, the quhilk the vulgaris callis
souye; it hes the leyuis appin as lang as the soune is
in our hemispere, and it clossis the leyuis, quhen the
soune passis vndir our orijon. Siklyik, oistirs and
mussillis, & al vthir schel fysche, grouis and incressis
in ther natural qualite, eftir the conjiunctione of the
mune, quhil on to the tyme of the appositione. than
eftir the appositione, thai schel fische dimuneuis and
grouis les, and of ane var qualite.

Siklyik ther is ane sterne callit canis. the euyl
constellatione of it begynnis at the sext daye of iulye,
and endis at the xx daye of agust. the natur of it is
contrar tyl euyrie thynge that is procreat on the eird.
The tyme of the operatione of it in our hemispere, is
callit be the vulgaris the caniculair dais. the euyl natur
of it inflammis the soune vtht ane onnatural vehement
heyt, the quhilk oft tymis trublis and altris the vyne
in ane pipe in the depe cane, ande alse it generis
pestilens, feuyrs, & mony vthir contagius seikness
quhen it ringis in our hemispere, than dogis ar in
dangeir to ryn vod, rather nor in ony vthir tyme of the
3eir. Siklyik ther is mony vthir euyl accidentis that
occurris through the euyl constellationes of the planetis
and of the sternis; ande alse sum of them erris and

Influence of the planets in Libra,

* 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.
The motions of the planets portend prodigies and disasters, especially the star called Comet, which appears often in Watling-street (the Milky Way).

Of the cause of the rain.

In ancient days it rained milk, blood,

and syne ascendis in the sycond regione of the ayr, quhar that it coagulatis in ane thik clud: than the sternis of ane euyl constellatione brakkis that clud: than it fallis on diuerse partis of the eird, in diuerse sortis of schouris, sum mair, sum les; sum be grit vehemens and tempest, and sum tyme in soft & varne schouris. in the antiant dais there vas sene grit meruellis in the rane, quhilkis signifit prodigies of future euyl accidentis. In the tyme that marcus actilius and cayus portius var consulis of rome, the lyft did rane mylk, and on the morne it ranit rede blude. siclyik, quhen

1 altirs oft tymis fra ther aucn natural course, quhilk is 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 thre sonnis sene at one tyme in the lyft, befoir the ciuil veyris that occurrit betuix anthoniuses2 and agustus cesar; and alse 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 euyl constellation, quhilk pronosticatis future euyl accidentis. ther is ane sterne that aperis nocht oft in our hemispere, callit ane comeit. quhen it is sene, ther occurris haistyly ctfir 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 hayr, sum tyme lyik ane dart, sum tyme lyik ane bludy speyr. it aperit in the lyft lyik ane soud be for the detht of Iulius cesar, and alse 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 abufe 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 constellatione brakkis that clud: than it fallis on diuerse partis of the eird, in diuerse sortis of schouris, sum mair, sum les; sum be grit vehemens and tempest, and sum tyme in soft & varne schouris. in the antiant dais there vas sene grit meruellis in the rane, quhilkis signifit prodigies of future euyl accidentis. In the tyme that marcus actilius and cayus portius var consulis of rome, the lyft did rane mylk, and on the morne it ranit rede blude. siclyik, quhen

1 occur 2 anthoni
A MONOLOGUE RECREATIVE.

Lucius Volumnius and Sergius Sulpitius var consulis in 1 Rome, the lyft did rane rau flasche. And also, quhen the vailjant roman, Marcus Crassus, vas slane be the Parthiens, the lyft did rane yrn. Siklyik, quhen Lucius Paulus and Cayus Marcellus var consuls in Rome, the lyft did rane grit quantite of vol; and also, quhen Titus Annius Milo1 vas slane, the lyft did rane tile stanis. Nou, to speik of the generatione of the deu, it is ane humid vapour, generit in the sycond regione of the ayr in ane fair calme nyght, & syne descendis in ane temperat caldnes on the grene eirbis in smal droppis. The hayr ryim is ane cald deu, the quhilk fallis in mysty vapours, and syne it fresis on the eird. The myst, it is the excrement or the superfluite of the cluddis, the quhilk fallis fra the ayr in ane sueit rane, quhilk rane can nocht be persauit be the sycht of men. Hail stonis hail, is ane congelit rane, quhilk fallis on the eird be grit vchemens, and it fallis rather on the day lycht nor on the nyght. The snae is ane congelit rane, frosyn and snow, congelit in the sycond regione of the ayr; bot it is nocht sa ferme and hard congelit as is the hail stonis; jit nocht theles it remanis langar omnemeltit, be rason that it fallis aye in cald vedthir, ande the hail stonis fallis comontly in symyr. The thoundir is ane corrupt thunder, fume generit on the eird, of vapours, and syne it ascends in the sycond regione of the ayr, and congelis in diuere massife cluddis, quhilk stoppis and empeschis the operatione of the planetis to excerce ther natural course. than the vchemens of the planetis braekth thai cluddis, fra the forse of the quhilk theare cummis fyir and ane grit sound, quhilk is terribil to be hard, & that terribil sound is the thyng that ve cal the thondir; bot or ve heir the thondir, ve see fyirst the fyir, quhou be it that thai proceid at ane instant tyme. the cause that ve see the fyire or ve heir the thoundir, is be rason

1 nilo
that the sycht and clerines of ony thing is mair syuft
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.
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 eue close; and quhen it
slais ane valkand man, he sal be fundin\(^1\) dede, and his
eue appin. The thondir is maist dangerous for man
ande beyst, quhen there cummis na rane viuht it. The
fyir slaucht vil consume the vyne viuht in ane pipe in

12

ane depe caue, & the pipe vil resaue na skayght. the fyir
slaucht sleu ane man on the feildis, and it meltit the
gold that vas in his bag, and it meltit nocht the vax
of ane seyl that vas in that samyn bag. In rome there

16

vas ane nobil princesse callit martia grit viuht child;
sche vas on the feildis for hyr recreatione, quhar that
the fyir slaucht straik hyr, & sleu hyr nocht, bot 3it it
sleu the child in hyr voyme. There is thre thyngis
that ar neuyr in dangeir of thoundir nor fyir slaucht,
that is to saye, the laurye\(^2\) tree: the sycond is the
"selcht, quhilk sum men callis the see voile: the
thrid thyng is the eynr, that fleis sa hie. The histori-
graphours rehersis, that tybereus Cesar, emprior of

25

rome, hed euyr ane hat of laure tree on his hede, and
also he gart mak his pailjons and tentis on the feildis,
of selcht skynnis, to that effect that he mycht be furth
of the dangeir of the thounrdir and fyir slaucht. The
best remeidi contrar thoundir & fyir slaucht, is to men
and vemen to pas in hou canernis vndir the eird, or in

31

deye cauis, be cause the thoundir dois maist domage tyl
hie placis.

\[1\] Notre, to speik of the cause and of the natur of
the vynd, eftir the discriptione of the scheiiphirdis and
hirdis of the antiant dais. 3e sal undirstand, that the

\(^1\) sundin \(\quad ^2\) laur ye, perhaps should be laurye
vynd is no vthir thyng bot ane vapour or exalatione, 1 heyt and dry, generit in the concuaitieis and in the bouellis of the eird, the quhilk ascendis and descendis vp and doune betuix the eird and the sycond region of 4 the ayr. The marynalis at this present tyme hes set furtht and discriuit thretty tua sortis of vyndis; bot ve that ar scheiphirdis, hes no iugement bot of viij sortis of vyndis, of the quhilk numir ther is iiiij. callit vyndis 8 cardinal, and the tothir iiiij. ar callit vyn'dis collateral. the fyrst cardinal vynd is callit auster or meridional vynd, quhilk the vulgaris callis southyn vynd. it is heyt and humid of natur. it generis thondir, cluddis, and smal soft ranis, ande also it is the cause of pestil-lens, and of vthir contagius seiknes. The nyxt car-dinal vynd is callit subsolanus 1 or oriental, quhilk the vulgaris callis estin vynd, quhilk, throucht the vertu of the soune, is heyt and dry of natur. it is hoilsum for man and beyst, and alse it nurescis al 18 thyng that the eird procreatis. The thrird cardinal vynd is callit septemtrional or borial, quhilk vulgaris callis northin vynd. it is cald and dry, of ane melancolic natur. it is hoilsum for man and beyst that ar kepit fra excessif 2 caldnes, bot it is verray contrar & noysum to the frutis of the eird. The feyrd cardinal 24 vynd is callit fauonius or occidental, quhilk vulgaris callis vestin vynd. it is cald and humid, of ane flegmatic natur. it is neuresant for the frute of the eird, bot it is contrar tyl tendir complexions that ar subiect tyl seik-nes. Nou, to speik of the iiiij. collateral vyndis. the fyrst is callit auster aphricus, quhilk is betuix auster and fauonius. it is callit be the vulgaris souht vest. 31 it generis bayght humi'diteis & maledeis. The nyxt colateral vynd is callit furo auster, quhilk is betuix auster & subsolanus. the vulgaris callis it souht est. it is heyt and dry of natur, and it generis cluddis and

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 cald and dry of natur. it is mair hoilsum tyl an1 person nor it is pleysand. it is contrar to the frutis, fleureis, and eirbis of the eird. The feyrd collateral vynd is callit circius, quhilk is betuix septemtrionc and fauonius. the vul-lgaris callis it nortuest. it is cald & dry of natur. it generis snau, tempest, & vehement stormis. it is verray noisum til al them that occupeis baytht be see and land. Al thir thingis befor rehersit, of the circlis of the speir, & of the haunyns and planetis, is said, to gar 3ou2 consider that man kynd is subject to the planetis and to ther influens, ther for ve suld prepair and pround to resist ther euyl constellations, for quhon be it that thai ar the instramentis of god, 3it nochtheles he of his gudnes resistis there euyl influens, fra tyme that ve be cum obedient tyl his command.

Actor.

17 Quhen the scheiphird hed endit his prolixt orison to the laifi of the scheiphirdis, i meruellit nocht litil quhen i herd ane rustic pastour of bestialite, distitut of vrbanite, and of speculatione of natural philosophie, indoctryne his nychtbours as he hed studeit ptholome, auerois, aristotel, galien, ypocrates or Cicero, quhilk var expert practicians in mathamatic art. Than the scheiphirdis vyf said, my veil belouis hisband, i pray the to decist fra that tides melancolic orison, quhilk surpassis thy ingyne, be rason that it is nocht thy facultee to disput in ane profund mater, the quhilk thy capacite can nocht comprehend. ther for, i thynk it best that ve recreat our selfis vytht ioyus' comonyng quhil on to the tyme that ve return to the scheip fald vytht our flokkis. And to begyn sic recreatione i thynk it best

1 ane 2 zon
that euyrie ane of vs tel ane gude tayl or fabil, to pas
the tyme quhil euyn. Al the scheiphirdis, ther vyuis
and saruaandis var glaid of this propositione. than the
eldest scheiphird began, and al the laif follouit, ane be
ane in ther auen place. it vil be ouer proluxt, and no
les tideus to rehearse them agane vord be vord. bot i sal
rehearse sum of ther namys that i herd. *sum vas in
prose, & sum vas in verse: sum var storeis, and sum
var fet taylis. Thir var the namis of them as effir
follouis. the taylis of cantirberrye. Robert le dyabil
due of Normandie, the tayl of the volfe of the warldis
end, Ferrand erl of Flandris that mareit the deuyl, the
tayl of the reyde eyttyn vitht the thre heydis, the tail
quhou persens saunt 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 norronay, the tayl quhou Hercules sleu the serpent
hidra that hed vij heydis, the tail quhou the kyng of
est mure land mareit the kyngis dochtr of vest mure
land, Skail gillenderson 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 euau,arthours knycht,
rauf coll3car, the seige of millan, gauen and gologms,
lancelot du lac, Arthur knycht he rait on nycht vitht
gyltin spur and candil lycht, the tail of floremond of
albanye that sleu the dragon be the see, the tail of syr
valtar the bald lesye, the tail of the pure tynt, claryades
and maliades, Arthur of *litil bertang3e, robene hude
and litil ihone, the meruellis of manuiuc3il, the tayl of
the songs tamlen, and of the bald braiband, the ryng of
the roy Robert, syr egeir and syr gryme, beuis of south-
amtoun, the goldin targe, the paleis of honour, the tayl
quhou acteon vas transformit in ane hart, and syne
slane be his auen doggis, the tayl of Pirramus and

for example, each
to tell a tale.

The proposition
was welcomed
by all.

Of their tales the
author will only
give the names.

[ * leaf 0 (50), back]
Some were in
prose, and some
in verse.

Their names:
The Canterbury
Tales;

11
The wall of the
World’s end;

The Red Etin
with the three
heads;

The Wallace and
the Bruce;

18
How the king of
Estmoreland
married the
princess of
Westmoreland;

Sir Evan, Ar-
thur’s knight;

24
Lancelot du Lac; Arthur knight, he rode on night;

the Bold Lesley;

[ * leaf 0 (51)]
Arthur, of Little
Britain;

Mandeville’s
wonders;

32
Bevis of
Southampton;

Pyramus and

1 euyn  2 saruaandis  3 auen  4 should probably be volle or velle
tesbe, the tail of the amours of leander and hero, the tail quhou Jupiter transformit his deir love yo in ane cou, the tail quhou that iason van the goldin fleice, Opheus 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 monster minotauurs, 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 sucit melodius sangis of natural music of the antiquite. The four marmadys that sang quhen thetis vas mareit on month pilliou, thai sang nocht sa sucit as did thir scheiphyrdis, qhilkis ar callit to name, parthenopie, leucolia, illigeatempora, the feyrd callit legia, for thir scheipbirdis excedit al thir fourre *marmadyns in melodius music, in gude accorddis and reportis of dyapason prolationis, and dyatesseron. the musician amphion quhil sang sa dulce, qhilt that the stanis mouit, and

They next began to sing songs, of ancient native music.

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.

1 amphion 2 ermoni 3 sneit
din in France, and delaubaute hed neyvr\(^1\) cum hame, al musing of meruellis amys hef i gone, Mastres fryr \(^2\) vil forfayr, o lusty maye vitht flora quene, O myne hart hay this is my sang, the \(^\star\) battel of the hayrlau, the huntis of cheuet, Sal i go vith 3ou to rumbelo fryr, Greuit is my sorrou, turne the sueit ville to me, My lufe \(^6\) is lyand seik, send hym ioy, send hym ioy, fryr luf lent thon 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 face, in ane myrthful morou, my hart is leiuit on the land.

Thir scheiphirdis ande there vyuis sang mony vthir melodies\(^2\) sangis, the quhilkis i hef nocht in memorie. than eftir this sueit celest armonye, tha began to dance in ane ring. euyrie ald scheiphyrld led his vyfe be the hand, and euyrie 3ong scheiphird led hyr quhome he luffit best. Ther vas viij scheiphyrldis, and ilk ane of them hed ane syndry instrament to play to the laif. the fyrst hed ane drone bag pipe, the nyxt hed ane pipe maid of ane bleddir and of ane reid, the thrid 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 playit on ane fiddil, and the last plait on ane quhissil. kyng amphion that playit sa sueit on his harpe quhen he kepht his scheip, nor 3it appollo the god of sapiens, that kepht kyng ad-
metus scheip, \(^\star\) vitht his sueit menstrualye, none of thir tua playit mayr cureouslye nor did thir viij scheiphyrldis befor rehersit; nor 3it al the scheiphirdis that virgil makkis mention\(^3\) in his bucolikis, thai culd nocht be comparit to thir foir said scheiphyrldis; nor orpheus nor Orpheus, that playit sa sueit quhen he socht his vyf in hel, his playing preferrit nocht thir foir said scheiphirdis; nor 3it the scheiphyrld pan, that playt to the goddis on his

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1. meny
2. molodi'
3. mentnon

The Percy and Montgomery.
nor Pan with his bag-pipe. 

They began with two becks and a kiss.

It was a celestial sight to see.

The names of the dances.

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 proffer thir foirsaid sheiphirdis. i beheld neuyr ane mair dilectabil recreatione. for fyrist thai began vitht tua bekkis and vitht a kysse. euripides, iuuenal, perseus, horasse, nor nane of the satiric poeittis, quhilkis mouit ther bodeis as thai hed bene dansand quhen thai pronuncit ther tragiedeis, none of them kepit moir geometrial mesure nor thir sheiphyrdis did in thir dansing. Nor ludius that vas the fyirst dansar of rome, culd nocht hef bene comparit to thir sheip- it was a celestial recreation to behald ther lycht lopene, galmonding,1 stendling bakuart & forduart, dansand base dansis, pauuans, galjardis, tursions, branlis and branglis, buffons, vitht mony vthir lycht dansis, the quhilk ar ouer prolixt to be rehersit. it vas ane celest recreation to behald ther lycht sight to see. loopen, galmonding,1 stendling bakuart & forduart, the quhilk ar over prolixt to be rehersit. it was a celestial recreation to behald ther lycht lopene, galmonding,1 stendling bakuart & forduart, It was a celestial sight to see.

The names of the dances.

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

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

The names of the dances.

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

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

The names of the dances.

The author entered a meadow full of flowers, grasses and herbs.
flouris, gyrsis, and eipbis maist conuenient for medycyn.
in the fyrst, i sau ane erb callit barba aaron, quhilk vas
gude remeid for emoroyades of the fundament. i sau
vir'met, that vas gude for ane febil stomac, & sorrak-
kis, that vas gude for the blac guls. i sau mony grene
seggis, that ar gude to prouoke the flouris of vemen. i
sau the vattir little, quhilk is ane remeid contrar go-
moria. i sau tansay, that is gude to purge the neiris,
and enmetseidis that consumis the venstoisceis of the
stomac. i sau muguart, that is gude for the suffocatione
of ane womans bayrnis hed. i sau veyton, the decoctione
of it is remeid for ane sair hede. i sau betis, that is
gude contrar constipatione. i sau borage, that is gude
to confort the hart. i sau cammuywe, quhilk is gude
for ane scabbit moutht. i sau hemp, that coagulis the
flux of the sperme. i sau madyn hayr, of the quhilk
ane sirop maid of it is remeid contrar the infectione
of the melt. i sau celidone, that is gude to help the sycht
of the ene, & cipresses, that is gude for the fluxis of
the belye. i sau corriandir, that is gude for ane ald
hoste. i sau finkil, that slais the virmis of the belye. i
sau fumeterre, that tempris ane heyt lyuyr. i sau
brume, that prouokis ane person to vome ald feume. i
sau raschis, that prouokis men to sleip. i sau ysope,
that is gude to purge conelit2 fleume of the lychtis.3
i sau mony vthir eirbis on thai fresche fragrant feil'dis,
ande als i sau mony landuart grumis pas to the corn
land to laubir there rustical ocupatione. al this be me
veil contemplit, ande beand contentit of that pleysand
nychtis recreatone, i maid me reddy to returne to the
toune that i cam fra, to proceid in the compiling of my
beuk. Bot morpheus that slepye gode, assailjeit al my
membris, ande oppressit my dul melancolius nature,
quhilk gart al my spreitis vital ande animal be cum
impotent & paralitic: quhar for on neid forse, i vas

1 ame 2 congeli 3 lychtinis
and in his slumbers
dreamed the following dream.

The Visione that aperit befor 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.

In my dullit dreyme ande sopit visione, i thocht that ther aperit to me ane lady of excellent extractione ande of anciant genolygie, makand 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 dreddour for ane mair dolorus future ruuyne that vas aperand to succumb hyr haiustylye, in the maist extreme exterminatione. hyr hayr, of the cullour of fyne gold, vas feltrit & trachlit out of ordour, hingand over hyr² schuldirs. sche hed ane croune of gold, hingand & brangland, that it vas lyik to fal doune fra hyr hede to the cald eird. sche bure ane scheild, in the quhilk vas granuit ane rede rampand lyon in ane feild of gold, bordoryt about vith³ doubl floure delicis. This rede lyon vas hurt in mony placis of his body. the acoutrementis ande clethyng of

1 constren3eit to be his sodiour. than in ane takyn of obeydien, i maid hym reuerens on my rycht syde on the cald eird, ande i maid ane cod of ane gray stane. than i purposit to preue ane prettic. i closit my een to see gyf i culd leuk throucht my ee liddis. but my experienis vas sune expirit. for tua houris lang, baytht my cene greu as fast to gyddir as thai hed bene gleuit vitht glar or vitht gleu. i beand in this sad solitar soune sopit in sleipe, ane hauy melancolius dreyme perturbit the foure quartaris of my dullit brane, the quhilk dreyme i sal releirse in this gros dyit as neir the verite as my rememorance can¹ declar to my rude ingyne.

¹ can ² hyr ³ vith
this dolorus lady, vas ane 'syde mantil that couurit al
hyr body of ane meruelouse ingenius fassoun, the
quhilk hed bene tissu ande vrocht be thre syndrye fas-
sions of verkmenschips. 1 the fyrst part, quhilk vas the
hie bordour of hyr mantil, there vas mony precius stanis, quhar in ther vas granuit scheildis, speynis,
sourdis, bayrdit horse harnes, ande al vthir sortis of
vaupynis ande munitions of veyr. in the middis of that
mantil, there vas granuit in carrecters, beukis, ande
figuris, diverse sciensis diuyne ande humain, vitht mony
cheretabil actis ande supernatual miraclis. on the
thrid part of that mantil, i beheld, brodrut about al hyr
tail, al sortis of cattel ande profitabil beystis, al sortis
of cornis, eyrbis, plantis, grene treis, schips, marchand-
dreis, ande mony politic verkmantlunis for mecanyc
craftis. This mantil, quhilk hed bene maid & vrocht
in ald tymys be the prudent predeccessours of this foyr
said lady, vas reuyn & raggit in mony placis, that
skantly mycht i persaue the storeis ande figuris that
hed bene granuit, vrocht, ande brodrut in ald tymis in
the thre partis of it. for the fyrst part of it vantit
mony of the scheildis ande harnes that vas fyrst vrocht
in it, ande ane vthir part of *the schieldis & harnes
var brokyn ande roustit, ande redyde to fal ande tyne
furht of the bordour of that mantil. Siklyik the
pleisand verkmenschips that vas in the middis of hyr
mantil vas seperat fra vthirs, ande altrit fra the fyrst
fassone, that na man culd extract ony profitabil sentens
nor gude exempl furht of ony part of it. Nou to
speik of the thrid part of hyr mantil. it vas verst
grathit, ande spylt be ane grit defferens nor vas the
tothis tua partis of that mantil: for it aperit that al
the grene treis, cornis, bestialite, mecanyc craftis, ande
33
schips, ande marchandreise, that hed bene curiouslye
vrocht in ald tymis in the bordour of the tail of that

1 read On the fyrst part
1 mantil, vas spilt ande distroyit, ande the eird vas becum barran & stirril, ande that na ordnance of policye culd be persauit in it, nor esperance of releif. Nou to con-
clude of the fassone of this ladec mantil, it vas baytht
5 altrit in cullour ande in beaulte, and reuyn in mony placis, hingand doune raggit in pecis in sic ane sort, that gyf thay hed bene present that vrocht ande maid it in the begynnyng, thai vald haeue clair myskend it, be rasone that it vas sa mekil altrit fra the fyrst fassone.

This affligit lady beand of this sort troublit ande dis-
aguisit, ande al hyr gaye clathis reuyn & raggit, through the grite violens that sche hed sustenit, sche began to suspire lamentabil regrettis, vitht mony salt teyris distillant doune fra hyr piteous enc. this desolat
15 affligit lady beand in this perplexite, ande disparit of remeid, sche began to contempil the vidthrid barran feildis, quhilkis in vthir tynnis hed bene fertil in al prosperiteis, quhar sche persauit cummand touart hyr thre of hyr auen natuie natural sonnis. The eldest of them vas in harnes, traland ane halbert behynd hyn, beand al affrayit ande fleyit for dreddour of his lyue. The sycond of hyr sonnis vas sittand in ane chair, beand clethd in ane sydegoune, kepand grite graiute, the glaspis var fast lok-
24 kayt vitht rouste. hyr Jongest 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 on his feit, bot he vas sa grenouslye ouer set be violens, that it vas nocht possibl til hym to stand rycht vp.

29 Than quhen this lady persauit hyr thre soninis in that langorius stait, sche began to reproche them inuectyuely
33 of ther neclegenes, couuardeis ande ingratitude visit contrar hyr: the quhilk reproche sche pronuncit vitht mony dolorus suspiris, the quhilk be aperens procedit

1 i.e. beauty; so in Lndesay.
2 clethd
fra ane trublit spreit, desolat of consolatione, ande disparit of remede. than i beand in my sopit melancolius dreyme, i thocht that i inquirit of hyr stile, of hyr duelling place, & of the dolorus cause of hyr lamentabil regrettis. Seche ansuert vitht ane dolorouse contenens, quant sche, my name is callit the asfligit lady dame scotia. vthir tymis i haue triumphit in gloir ande 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 asfligit be my ald mortal enemeis be the maist extreme assaltis that ther pouuer1 can exsecute, 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 ingratis dissymilit ande couuardis in the iust deffens of my veil fayr, as thou sal heir be this reproche that i sal pronunce to them in thy presens, as eftir follois.

1 pouuer 2 sonnis 3 in grat

Her name was Dame Scotia.

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

Persecuted by her foes, abandoned of her cowardly sons, Cari sunt [*leaf 35 (37)]

liberi, propinqui familiares, sed omnes omnis num charitatem patria complectitur, pro qua nemo bonus dubitabit mortem oppetere si ci sit profuturus. Cic, aff. 1.
Quhou the aulligit Lady, Dame Scotia, reprocht hyr thre Sonnis, callit the Thre Estaitis of Scotland.

CHAP. VIII.

IGNORANT, abusit, ande dissaiftul pepil, gone by the path' vaye of verteous knualage, beand of ane effemenet courage, degradit fra honour, ande degenerit fra the nobilite of 30ur foir fadir & predecessours, O quhat vanhap, quhat dyabolyc temptatione, quhat misire, quhat maledictione, or quhat vengeance is this that hes succumbit 30ur honour, 'ande hes blyndit 30ur ene fra the perspectione of 30ur extreme ruuyne? allace, quhy haue 3e nocht pytie of me 30ur natural mother, or quhy haue 3e no pytie of 30ur selfis? allace, quhat oratour can dysceryue, blame, or repreue 30ur neclegens, couuardeis, ande 30our ingratitude? allace, quhy remembr 3e nocht that natur hes oblist 30ou til auance the salute ande deffens of 30our public veil? ande quhat thai be (as Cicero sais) that hurtis the public veil, tha deserue as grite reproche as tha hed sellit traisonablye the realme to there enemeis; for the pro- ditione of ane realme succedis to the hurt of the public veil. allace, than, quhy vil 3e nocht haue misericoind & pytie of 30our natuue cuntrie, quhar that 3e var engenerit, borne, ande neureis, ande 30our frendis and childir hes 30our sustentatione in it? allace, the natuute of ane man suld be litiil priset, ande his lang liue dais les desirit quhen ther procedis na frute of his laubirs bot for his auen singulair vitilite, ande nocht for the public veil. allace, the natural loue of 30our natuue cuntrie suld be inseperably rutit in 30our hartis, considerand that 30ur

1 paht

Degenerate children!
lyuis, your bodeis, your habitacione, your frendis, your refuge, the reste of your eild, ande your sepulture is in it. than allace quhy ar 3e nocht solist to defende the liberte, ande to saine the dominione of it? i maye say ande conforme be raisone, that al peupil ar disnaturalit fra there gude nature, quhilkis in necessite enforsis them nocht, at there pouer, to purches & til auance the public veil of there natuie cuntre, it beand distitut of supple, & desolat, throucht grite persecutione of mortal enemeis; for thai that vil nocht expose there bodeis ande gudis to perrel ande dangeir, for the inst deffens of there honour, lyuis, frendis, ande gudis, bot rather vil thole them selfis, ther public veile, & ther natuie cuntre, to perreis al to gyddir, thai ar mair brutal nor brutal beystis. it aperis that the lau of nature is mair perfytyt acompleist in brutal beystis, nor it is in 3ou that professis to be natural men; for 3our verkis testifieis that 3e ar mair disnaturellit nor is brutal beystis that hes na vndirstanding of raison. the foulis of the ayr vil defende ther nestis vitht there nebbis ande feit: the beiris, lyons, voluis, foxis, and dogis, vil defende there cauerne & there quhelpis, vitht there 'tethe & feit. Allace, this sair complaynt is to me rycht hauy, bot the litil support that i vil get of 3ou is far hauyar; for 3e quhilkis suld sustene, defende ande releif me, 3e ar the aduerse party of my prosperite; for in the stede of reuarde ande gratitude that 3e ar oblist to gyf to me, 3e purches ande auancis my distructione for 3our particular veil. My ald enemeis hes persecutit me outuardly in cruel veyris be fyir ande sourde; bot the veyr that 3e mak inuartly contrar me, be auereise & ambitione, is mair cruel. my mortal enemeis purchessis to raif my liberte, ande to hald me in ane miserabil subiectione; bot 3e hald me in ane mair seruitude, be 3our disordinat neclegens ande couuardise. my ald enemeis dois me
grito damage vitht ane grite armye of men of veyr, be see ande be land; bot 3e, vndir the cullour of frend-
schip, purchessis my final exterminatione, for falt of
gude real ande gouernance. Ande alsa, 3e ar sa di-
uidit amang 3our selfis, that nocht ane trouis ane vthir;
for throucht the suspetione that ilk ane of 3ou hes of
vthirs, euurye ane of 3ou seikis his particular releif; for
sum of 3ou ar fled far vitht in the cuntre, sum of 3ou
ar fled to the hillis, *ande sum of 3ou remanis in 3oure
auen housis on the inglis mennis assurance, ande sum
of 3ou ar be cum neutral men, lyik to the ridars that
dueillis on the deatibal landis. of this sort 3e haue run
to 3our auen destructiohe. ande quhou be it of al thir
particular onleiful consaitis that 3e haue vsit to saue
3ou fra the crualte of ingland, 3it the maist subtel nor
the maist dissymilit of 3ou al is nocht sanc; for as sune
as the inglis men dreymis that 3e haue failjet to them,
than thai repute 3ou for there mortal enemeis far mair
nor thai repute ony scottis man that vas neuyr assurit.
ande quhen 3e haue fulfillit the inglis mennis desyre, &
hes helpit to distroye 3our natyue cuntre, 3it the inglis
men sal neuyr1 cal 3ou ane vthir word bot renegant
scottis, and 3e sal neuyr be reput bot for barbir slaus, as
3our croniklis vil testifie; and alse the practic of
yis2 present tyme makkis it manifest, al the gude treit-
tyng that scottis men gettis in ingland changis in ane
stile servitude.

None of you
trusts another.

["leaf 37 (50)"

Some of you have
yielded to the
English,

*meuyr 2 i. e. this, one of the few instances in the book of y used for y or th,
Quhou the afligit Lady exortis the Thre
Estaitis to tak exempil of diverse
Cuntreis that God hes rele-
uit fra Persecutione.

CHAP. IX.

O my thre soonis, i exort 3ou to praye to re-
leif 3ou of 3our afflictione, & alse to put 3our
handis to verk to help 3our selfis, than doultens
3 god sal be mersyful to 3ou, & he sal fulfil his promes
that is vrittyn in the xxvi of leuitic. that is to saye, fiue
of 3ou sal chaise ane huadretht of 3our enemeis, & ane
hundretht of 3ou sal chasse ten thousand of 3our ene-
meis; for god is as mychtly nou as enyr he vas. it is
vrittyn in the lix of Esaye thir vordsis, Behold, the hand
of the lorde is na scheortar nor it vas, na it maye saue
3ou: nor his eyris ar nocht stoppit, bot he maye heir
3ou: bot 3ou iniquiteis hes maid divisione betuix 3ou
ande hym, ande 3ou synnis hes hid his face fra 3ou.

Ye have been devyntis; ande alse 3e maye persaue be thi
vordsis of Esaye, that the
scurge that hes afligit 3ou, is ane pu'nitione for 3our
demeritis; ande alse 3e maye persaue be thi sammyn
text, that 3ou grite afflictione ande tribil sal turne in
iuye ande prosperite, gyue sa beis that 3e vil retere fra
3ou vice. 3e haue mony manifest exempils of diverse
cuntreis that hes bene seurgit be the hand of gode, ande
hes bene in dangeir of final exterminatione; sit nocht-
theles gode of his grace hes restorit them efiruart in
ane mair abundand prosperite nor thai var of befors, fra
tyme tha be cam obedient til his magestie. Quhar is
there ane mair evident exempil nor is in the bibil in
the fyrst beuk of the machabeis, quhou anthiocus kyng
of sirrie, be vsurpatione ande tirraurye, subdeuit the
cuntre of iuda ande the cite of ierusalem? he spulzei

1 3our renemies
1 the tempil, ande reft the goldin alter, the chandlaris of
lycht, ande al the goldin veschel, ande the tabil of pro-
positione, the coupis, tassis, crouettis, crounis, ande al
the goldin ornamentis of the sanctuar. he sleu men,
5 vemen ande childir, zong ande ald, ande brynt there
housis. the remanent of the pepil var constrenzenit to fle
to strait montanis ande descirits for refuge; for al ihe-
rusalem ande mekil of iuda vas put tyl extreme desola-
tione. At that tymhe, ane man of Israel callit a
Matathias, the neno of Symeon the hie preist, vas sittand on
the hil of modin, ande his fiue sonnis besyde hym, callit
Iohannam gaddes, symon thasi, iudas machabeus, eleazar
abaron, ande ichonathan aphenys. thir fiue bredir var soir
vepand for the desolatione of iuda ande iherusalem.

1 How Matathias, the neuo of Symeon the hie preist, vas
sittand on the hil of modin, ande his hue sonnis be-
syde hym, callit Iohannam gaddes, symon thasi, iudas
machabeus, eleazar abaron, ande ichonathan aphenys.

Than matathias there father said to them, vanhap be
on me, allace that euyr i vas borne, to see the distruc-
tione of my pepul, & the tribulatione of the hole cite of
iherusalem, quhilk is violentlye possess be my enemesis.
ald ande zong ar slane on the reuis but mercy, & the
remanent of the cuntre ar in captiuite, or ellis fled to
the strait montanis for refuge. allace, quhat bettrr vil
exhorted his fiue
sons,

ve be to lyue ony langar, considerand of this myschief
that is fallin on oure cuntre. Allace, my fiue sonnis, i
praye 3ou to be 3elators of the lau of gode, ande to
gyue 3our saulis for the alliance of 3our foir fathers,

26 ande remembir of the verkis thai haue dune to there
generations, ande than 3e sal resauve grote gloir ande
eternal name. tak gode for 3our protector, ande 3e sal
prospir. vas nocht oure father Abraham faythful in
temptatione, quhilk vas repute til hym for iusti'ce?

31 Joseph keipit the command of the lau, quhen he vas per-
secutit, there for he vas maid lieutenant to pharson
kyng of egipt. phinehes oure foir father vas maid hie
preist of the tempil for the 3eil that he hed to the lau
of god. Iosue for the keping of his promis vas maid

1 van hap
dame scotia's exhortation.

77

captan of Israel. Davuid, for the pitie that he hed of the pepil that var afliglit be the philistiens, conquest the royal sege of Israel. Ananias, Azarias and misael, var deluyerit fra the flam of the fyir, throucht the faitht that tha hed to god. Danyel, throucht his simplicite and meiknes, vas deluyerit fra the throtts of the lyous. Of this sort (o 3e my fue sonnis) 3e may beleue, that fra generation to generatione, that al thai that puttis there hope in god sal nocht be distroyit. quhen mata-thias hed endit his miserabil and piteous regret, in presens of his fue sonnis, than his thrid sone, callit Judas machabeus, past ahort the montanis and desertis, and gaddyyryt to giddyr al the desolat bannest pepil, and vitht ane gryt curage, heffand hope in god, thai cam contrair anthiocous, and venqueist hym vail3eantly, and also venqueist al the israliates that var part takers vitht hym; and ther eftir thai re'formit the distruc-
tione of the tempil, and vsit extreme punitione on the tratours and conspiratours, and thai gart extreme neces-site becum prosperus vertu: for thai changit the dispayr of mennis help in esperance of goddis help: quhar for, throucht the mycht1 of god, venqueist men be cam conquerious, and fugtyuis be cam assail3eours, and humil afliglit pepil of ane lytil nummer be cam lordis and maisters of ane gryt multiplie of tirraws. There is ane vthir exempil of gedeon, in the tyme of the cruel oppression that the kyng of madian did on the pepil of Israel. gedeon, vitht thre hundretht men, discumfeist ane huvadretht and twenty thousant men, and he deluyerit the remanent of the pepil of Israel fra captiuite and misere, 3it nochtheles he vas ane pure lauberar of lytil reputatione, and discendit of smal linage of the tribe of menasses. quhar for ve may persaue, that quhar the grace of god and the verta of men ar coniunit to giddir, there is no leiful thing onpossibill to be cxexecut.

1 myght
And oft tymis god puttis in the pouer of men the thing that mennis vit can nocht beleue that it is possibil to be done. There is ane vthir exempl of darius kyng of perse, that entrit in grece vitht ane hundreth thousand fut men, and ten thousand men of armis. At that tyme thair was gryt sedition and discontentione 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 nochtheles\(^1\) god sterit vp ane due in athenes callit miltiades, quhilk. fited by Miltiades. 

Thair is ane vthir exempl, of xerxes kyng of great host perse, the sone of kyng darius, quha gadderit ane armye of thre scoir and ten thousand men of armis of his auen realme of perse, and also he hed of strangearis that var his frendis, and of his allya, to the nummer of thre hundreth thousand men, as iustin rehersis; and also he brocht sa mony schipis to grece vitht al ordonnance, quhilkis closit al the reueirs, quhairfor it vas moist lyk that he hed maid ane brig of tre to couuer al the see. jit nochtheles\(^1\) his pride vas sune put doune; for leoniides, kyng of lacedemonia, cam be hynd the gryt armye of perse vitht four hundreth lacedemoniens, and escharmouschit xerxes gryt "armye, and sleu twenty thousand persuns betuix tua hillis. jit nochtheles,\(^1\) the remenant of his gryt armye past til athenes, quhilkis var reddy to be randrit til xerxes, throucht the counsel of ane prince of athenes callit circisus, quha hed secret intelligens vitht xerxes kyng of perse, quhilk vas occasione that he seducit diuerse girt personagis to rebel contrar athenes. bot the prudent themosticles vas contrair til his opinione (saya\(\text{ad}\)) O nobil vail\(\text{a}\)\(\text{ant}\) pepil of athenes, 3e suld keyp the liberte of your contray, & nocht\(^2\) to thole the persans to be your superiors; for

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\(^1\) nochtheles

\(^2\) notht
fra tyme that 30 be subiect til xerxes, al 3our honest policie sal be abolieist, & al verteous industrie sal be brocht to nocht; 2 for the persans sal do vitht 3our vyuis and cheldyr at there plesir, as it is manifest quhou thai hae dune til vhir partis of grece that is nou in their subiection: there for it is mair honest to dee in the deffens of 3our liberte, nor to liue lyik venqueist slaus in captiuite. Throcht the counsel of themistocles, al the atheniens take gryt curage contrar the gryt armye of perse, and also the vemen of the toune stanct cyrsilus to deitht be cause of his euil counsel. Than the atheniens and ther allya, 'be gryt vailjeantnes, assai3et the persans be escharmoschis and incursions, quhil that exerxes and his gryt armye var con strenz3eit to depart fra grece. of this sort god turmit the hazard of fortoune, and tuke vengeance on xerxes gryt pryde, qubilk suld be ane gryt exempl til al princis, that thai gyl nocht 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, purosit 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 nocht sex scoir of 3eiris sen the inglismen var violent dominatours of mekill of Piccardye, and of al Normandye, Gascun3e, guien, and of mekil of France; and the kung of ingland vas crounit 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 ofoure auen cuntre is manifest til vs al, quhou the inglismen var violent vsurpatours of al scotland, est, vest, and northt, quhar thai duellit paciablie, and vsit thare auen lauis. thai biggit triumphant edeficis in al the burrous of scotland, as the grondis of

1 vertavo 2 nocht
in the days of Edward I.,
but were driven out by Robert Bruce.

Ad generum cereris sine cede & vulnere panes descendunt reges, & sicca morte viriuni. Inuenal.

Ambition and tyranny meet their doom,
["leaf 44 (64)]
as in Queen Semiramis,

Hercules,

Mithridates,

Regem en mitridates contra venenum.

1 there fundatione makis manifest presently at this tyme.
2 kyng edward, thronght supple and trason of ihone Baljol and vthir scottis tratours, vas cronit kyng of scotland, vith in the toune berui; 1 and the rycheons kyng of scotland, Robert bruce, durst nocht remane in no pace-bil place. he tint threttyne battellis contrar inglismen: then2 he fled furtht of scotland to noroway to saue his lyue. 3it nochtheles god almycht3 hauand pitie of our affligit cu?i*tray, he restorit Robert bruce to the crone,

4 quha rycht4 vail3eantly brocht the realme in guid or-dour, vitht gryt confusion til our ald enemis. Be thir exemplis^e we maye evidently persaue, that god alrychny tholis nocht violent vsurpatours of reahnes 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 sendis on vrangus conquestours, quhilkis be ambitione and oultragous pryde he be their tyranny inuadit vthir cu?ntrays, and efthiruarte hes tint there auen cu?ntray, and there self hes maid ane euil end. The queen se-meramis vas nocht contentit vitht sirrie and babillon,

5 bot sche vald pas to mak veyre contrar ethiope and Inde; sche vas slane vitht hyr auen son. Hercules vas nocht content vitht the gryt cu?ntray of libie and of creit, bot vald pas to conques the occian see ; than ane woman poysornit6 hym vitht ane sark. Mitridates vas nocht content of his auen realme of pont, bot vald pas in batel contrar the romanis. he dreed neuyr to dee bot be poyson, quhair for7 he bure ay apon hym twenty leyuis of ren, tua kyrnelliis of nutis, & tua feggis, and ane lytil quantite of salt, the quhilkis he mixt al to giddyry, and thai mixtions he eit euyrie daye vitht ane fastan stomak, to keip hym fra poysonyng. that con-fectione vas callit to name efthiruart, antidotum mitri-

1 breuic 2 them 3 almyhty 4 ryht 5 notht 6 prysnit 7 fot
dates. bot sit that\textsuperscript{1} drog culd nocht\textsuperscript{2} sauc his lyif fra his

1 sone that sleu hym. kyng philip vas nocht\textsuperscript{2} content of

the ryche realme of macedone, quharrow he past and

perturbit al greice; bot syny he vas slane vitht ane of

his auen sodiours. Grite alexander vas nocht\textsuperscript{2} content

of al the wrold, bot syny ane drynk of poyson gart hym

be content of ane sepulture of fine fute of lynht ; or

there by. xerxes vas nocht contentit of tua realmys,

perse and meid, bot ane of his officiaris contentit hym

vitht ane dagar throucht the hart. kyng cirus vas nocht

contentit of his auen realme, bot vald pas to conques

sithia ; sit thomaris gart hym be content, quhen sche

pat his hede in ane pipe ful of bluid, sayand til it, O

cirus, thou culd neuyr be saciat of menis blude, bot nou

thou maye drynk thy fil of blude. Annibal, that

redoutit capitan, triumphit in conquessing of vthir

realmis, bot in his last days he vas fugitiue fra al cu-

ntreis, and for melancolye he poysonnit hym self. It is

nocht necessair to multiplie ouer mony of thir exemplis.

there for, quha listis to Reid the tragedeis of lucius se-

neque, or ithone Bocchas, in his buik of the ruyn of

nobillis, thai sal fynd al cruel vsurpatours of vthir cu-

ntreis mak ane mischeuous ende. There for I hope in

god that vitht in schort days the protectour of ingland,

and his cruel counsel, sal be put in the croniklis in as

abhominabil stile as vas philaris, dionysius, nero, cal-

lugala, or domician, the quhilkis maid ane mischeuous

ende, for the violent invasions of vthir princis cuntreis

but ony inst tilit.

\textsuperscript{1} siat \hspace{1em} \textsuperscript{2} notht
The oratours of Inglond, at there protectors in-
stance, hes set furth ane buik, quhair be thai
intende to preue that scotland vas ane colone of
inglond quhen it vas fyrst inhabit, there rasons that
thai allege aperis to them to be innincibil, quhou beit
thai be bot freuol, there speciale intentione is to gar
there cruel invasions perpetrat contrar oure realme,
apeir in the presens of forrain princis, that thai haue
ane iust til to mak veyr contrar vs. and quhou beit
that the said poietical buik be dytit oratourly to per
suaid the vulgar ignorans til adhere til inuentit fablis
contrar the iust verite, sit notheles realmis ar nocht con-
quest be buikis, bot rather be bluid. there is ane pas-
sage in the said buik, the quilk the inglismen hes ane
ardant desyr to se it cum til effect. The tenor of the
passage sais, that it var verray necessare "for the veil-
fayre of inglond and scotland, that baytht the realmis
var conunitt to giddir, and to be vndir the gouernnyng
of ane prince, and the tua realmis to be callit the ile of
bertan, as it vas in the begynnyng, quhen the troian
brutus conquest it fra the giantis. and also the inglismen
gifs ferme credit to diverse prophane propheseis of mer-
lyne, and til vthir ald corruppit vaticinaris, to quhais
ymaginet verkis thai gyue mair faither nor to the pro-
phesie of ysaye, Ezechiel, Ieremie, or to the euangel : the
quhilkis prophane prophetis and vaticinaris hes affermit
in there rusty ryme, that scotland and inglond sal be
vndir ane prince. The ardant desire, and the disordinat
auerisius affectione, that inglismen hes to be violent

\[1\] toftan
\[2\] vaticinaris
dominatours of our cuntry, hes prouokit them to mak cruel veyris contrar vs thir mony 3eiris bypast, to that effect that there diabolic prophane propheseis may be fullilit, nocht regardand gyue the vil of god hes permitit be his diuyne gudnes that sic propheseis cum til affect: Nor 3it thai considyr nocht that al propheseis hes doutsum and duobil expositionis. 3it nochttheles i hope in god that the rycht sens of there prophane prophesy sal be fullilit in this generatione, and that inglismen sal get there desire to there perpetual confusione. the inglismen exponis the prophesye of merlyne to there aun affectione, as the ineis exponit the prophesie of caiphas. Caiphas of ane euyl intent spak trea prophesye; bot 3it he and the ineis interpret it to the vrang sens, quhilk was cause of there aun condamnation. Of this sort, cresus kyng of lidie exponit and interpret the answer of apollo to the vrang sens, quhen the cruel veyris vas betuix hym and cirus kyng of pers and meid. At that time the tua gryt battellis of onnumeral men of veyr var campit neir to giddir, except that the reueil of almy ran betuix them. On the morne, kyng cresus past to the oracle of apollo in the tempil of delphos, desynd to knau the fyne of the veyris that vas sa cruel betuix hym and kyng cirus. Appollo gaue to kyng cresus ane doutsum ansuere of ambiguite. this vas his answr. cresus perdet almi transgressa maxima regna. This vord perdet is ane verb equinocum; it signifieis to distroye, and it signifies to tync, it is vritin in the fyft psalme of David, perdes omnes qui loquuntur mendacium. the expositione of this passage signifies nocht that god tynis them that ar learis; for god can tync na thing, there can no thing be tynt, bot quhen he that tynis ane thing, and syne knauis nocht quhair it is: bot god knauis al thing. of this sort kyng cresus exponit the answr of apollo of ane sens, and apollo said his Therefore have they made cruel wars.

I hope the prophecy will be fulfilled in a different way from that which they expect.

The Jews interpreted the prophecy of Caiaphas to their own condemnation.

Cresus misinterpreted the response of the oracle of Apollo at Delphos.

"If Cresus cross the Alnis he will destroy mighty kingdom;"

Psalm v. 6.

the expositions of this passage signifies nocht that god tynis them that ar learis; for god can tync na thing, there can no thing be tynt, bot quhen he that tynis ane thing, and syne knauis nocht quhair it is: bot god knauis al thing. of this sort kyng cresus exponit the answr of apollo of ane sens, and apollo said his Cresus perdet almi transgressa
THE COMPLAYNT OF SCOTLAND.

maxima regna.

and so brought mischief on himself.

It happened similarly to Pyrrhus, king of Epirus,

There is ane syklik exempil of pirrus kyng of eperite, that past to the oracle of appollo til inquyre of the fyne of the veyris that vas betuix hym and the romanis. appollo gaue ane doutsum anser of this sort; 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 eftynart, for the romanis venquest kyng pirrus, 'and chaissit hym furtht of Italie. There is ane vthir exempil 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 veyris betuix hym and the kyng of France. the augure ansuert, quod he, thou sal entir in Paris, quhair that gryte tryumphe and ioye sal be maid at thy entres. ferrand beand rycht glaid of the anserue of his augure, he enterit in France vitbt2 ane gryt armye; bot or he cam to Paris, he and his armye var venqueist, and he vas tane presoner and led to paris. than al the parisienis maid gryt triumpe and ioye for blyghtnes be cause that ferrand there mortel enemye vas disconfeist. Of this sort, ferrand exponit the anserue of his augure til ane vrang sens. Thir exemplis may be conferred and applyt vitbt the prophesies of merlyne, to the quhilk the inglismen giffis mair confidens nor thai gif to the 35 euangel, be cause that there ald prophane propheseis

ansuer of ane vthir sens. Cresus interpret that verb perdet for to distroye; and for that cause he and his 3 gryt armye past over the reuir of almi, in hope to distroye kyng cirus. bot cirus venquest cresus and al his gryt armye; the quhilk mischeif cam on kyng cresus for the vrang interpretatione of the anser of appollo; for he considerit nocht that perdet vas ane verb 8 equiuocum, quhilk hed ane expositione of ambiguite.

There is ane syklik exempil of pirrus kyng of eperite, that past to the oracle of appollo til inquyre of the fyne of the veyris that vas betuix hym and the romanis. appollo gaue ane doutsum anser of this sort; 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 eftynart, for the romanis venquest kyng pirrus, 'and chaissit hym furtht of Italie. There is ane vthir exempil 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 veyris betuix hym and the kyng of France. the augure ansuert, quod he, thou sal entir in Paris, quhair that gryte tryumphe and ioye sal be maid at thy entres. ferrand beand rycht glaid of the anserue of his augure, he enterit in France vitbt2 ane gryt armye; bot or he cam to Paris, he and his armye var venqueist, and he vas tane presoner and led to paris. than al the parisienis maid gryt triumpe and ioye for blyghtnes be cause that ferrand there mortel enemye vas disconfeist. Of this sort, ferrand exponit the anserue of his augure til ane vrang sens. Thir exemplis may be conferred and applyt vitbt the prophesies of merlyne, to the quhilk the inglismen giffis mair confidens nor thai gif to the 35 euangel, be cause that there ald prophane propheseis

1 ykng
2 vliht
sais, that Ingland and Scotland sal be baitht vndir ane prince. on this mistecous propheseis,\(^1\) thai haue intendit veyris contrar Scotland, in hope to conques it. bot as i haue befor rehersit, i beleeu that there prophesie sal cum til effect, bot nocht to their intent, and that Ingland and Scotland sal be ane monarcke vndir ane prince in this generatione, conformand til ane prophesie thai haue red in the inglis chronyklys, in ane beuk callit polichornicon, the quhilk prophesie sais, that Ingland sal be first conquest be the deynis, and syne be the saxons, and thirdly be the Normandis; and there last conquessing sal be conquest be the scottis,\(^2\) quhome Ingland and Scotland sal be bot ane monarcke, and sal lyue vndir ane prince; and sainglis men sal get there prophesie fulfillit to there auen mischeif.\(^3\)

Quhou the pretendit Kyngis of England hes no inst titil to the realme of England, nothir be electione nor be successione, and quhou thai pretendit Kyngis of England \(^4\) hes practikyt ane crafty dissait contrar Dalis and Yrland.

CHAP. XI. [AND XII.]

Thir wordis befor rehersit (O \(3e\) my thre sonnis) sild pronoke 3ou to tak curaige; ther for i vald that hope of victoree var augmentit, & dreed var 'banest fra 3ou. vald \(3e\) al perpend 3our iust defens and querrel, than hardines\(^5\) and curaige vald returne vitht in

\(^1\) propheseis  \(^2\) scottis  \(^3\) mischeif  \(^4\) hee  \(^5\) hardines
Examine the title of your persecutors:

they are the descendants of Sergest and Henest, 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:

Edward I. 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

3 your hartis. and fyrst 3e suld considyr the pepil, and the titil of them that persecutis 3ou be on iust veyris.

3 quyhen 3e hef veil socht the verite, 3e sal fynd that it is the false blude that discardit of sergestes and engestes, quhilk var tua saxons that cam viht alcuin thousand saxons fra thair auen cuntro to support and supple the kyng of girt bertanze, quhilk is nou callit ingland, quha vas opprest be cruel ciuil veyris. than eftir that thir tua saxons hed venquest the enemies of the kyng of bertanze, thai trasonable banest the rychteus kyng and his posterite fra the realme. and sen syne that false blude hes posses that cuntre violenty be tyranye, and the maist part of thay tirran kyngis that hes succedit of that fals blude hes beene borreans to their predecessours, as the cronikls of ingland makis manyst, as of henry the first of that name, quhilk vas banest fra the crone. Siklik henry the thrid vas banest fra the crone be his second sone Richart. ihone kyng of ingland gart slay the heretours of his predecessours, and brukit the realme twenty 3eirs, and syne ther eftir he vas ba\'nest, and eftir that kyng eduard vas gart dee meserablye in preson. syklik Richart the syecond vas cruelly slane be his auen men; and ther eftir henry the saxt lossit his liyf be 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 cettan 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 rycht to the crone of ingland: ergo, thai hef na titil to the crone of scotland. Al this veil considerit, suld inflam 3our hartis viht curage to resist ther cruel vranuges assaltis, & to menteine be vailjeant the iust defens of 3our natyf cuntre. 3e knau quhou thai and there forbears hes beene 3our ald mortal

1 engestes 2 ryghtens 3 de 4 ryght 5 menteine
enemies tuelf hundreth 3eiris by past, makand crucl veir contrar 3our predecessours be fyir and suerd, dayly distroyand 3our feildis, villagis and buroustounis, vyhti ane ferme purpos to denud scotland fra 3our generat-ione; and there vas neuer faitht nor promes kepit be them, bot aye quhen 3e beleisit til hef hed maist sure pace betuix 3ou and them, than thai lay at the vatch,\(^1\) lyk the ald subtil doggis, bydand \(^2\) quhil conspiratione or discreetione suld rycs amang 3ou. than be there austue and subtile thai\(^2\) furnest vitht money baith the parteis aduersarisi to slay doune vderis, quhilk vas ane reddy passage to gar them conqueis our realme vithout strailk or battel, throcht the occasi0n of the social ciuil and intestyne veyre that rang sa cruelly throucht our cuntre. Valerius maximus rehersis ane exempl conformand to this samyn purpos. quhen the atheniens and the lacedemoniens, quhilkis\(^3\) var the tua maist famous toonis vitht in the monarche of greice, thair raise ane discreetion and discord betuix the said tua toonis. than darius kynge of perse, quha hed euer ane ardant desyir to conqueis greice, be cause the greiciens hed euer been mortal enemies til hym and til his predecessours, and speciale the town of athenes ressitit hym mair in his veyris nor did al the remanent of greice; for that cause he send his prouest tasiferneis vitht gold and siluer to lacedemonia to furneis them in there veyris contrar the atheniens. at that tyme, alcibiades vas bannest fra athenes, and excommunicat be the prestis of there templ, eftir the consuetude of there lau. than alcibia'des past for refuge to the lacede- moniens, quha var mortal enemies to the atheniens: he vas resauit rycht\(^4\) honorabilye, and gat gyrt credit amang them, quhilk vas occasion that throcht\(^5\) his consel, and throu the gold that the prouest tasiferneis hed brocht to lacedemonia fra his maister kynge darius, laying wait against you, \([*\text{ leaf 54 (69)}]\) taking advantage of your dis- sensions; as Darius pro- fited by the quarrels of the Athenians and Lacedemonians, sending Tissophernes to the latter with gold and silver, \([*\text{ leaf 54 (69), bk}]\) through which they defeated the Athenians,

\(^1\) vacht \(^2\) rhrai \(^3\) quhilkis superfluous \(^4\) resauit ryht \(^5\) throcht
Then, by advice of Alcibiades, he subsidized the Athenians also, and so had his purposes served by both parties.

So Henry VIII. professed neutrality between Charles V. and Francis IV.,

the lacedemoniens triumphiit contrar the atheniens. Alcibiades persuauand that lacedemonia was aperand to be superior of athenes, he said to the prouest of kyng Darius, Schir, 3e suld nocht furnenis the lacedemoniens with sa grit quantite of gold and siluer contrar athenes; for gif athenes be conquest be the lacedemoniens, than the lacedemoniens sal be superiors of al greice; and fra tyme that thai be pacibil gouernours of greice, and hes no ciuil veyris, discord, nor discretion amang them, than doultles thai sal intend veir contrar 3010 maister Darius kyng of Perce, as there forhears did in alld tymis. there for i think it maist convenient that kyng Darius furnes lacedemonia bot with sa mekil money as may keip them on venquest be the atheniens, and als it var verray necessair that kyng Darius furnest the atheniens with sa mekil money as may resist the lacedemoniens, and that sal gar al the cuntrey of greice hef perdurabil veyr amang them sselfis, and than kyng Darius may eysily conquies greice, with litil dommage to his cuntrey. the prouest of Darius adherit to the counsel of alciabiades, and send nocht sa mekil monye to the lacedemoniens as mycht1 gar them conquies athenes, nor 3it he send nocht so litil money that throcht necessite thai suld leaue or desist fra the veyris.

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 conquiest maer of greice, withth ane hundreth tallentis that he distribuit secretly amang the grecians, to menteine2 there ciuil veyris, ilk ane contrer vderis, nor he conquest be forse, withth ten thousand tallentis. As hary the eycht kyng of Ingland did to the empriour & to the kyng of France3 in the 36ir of gode ane thousand fine hundreth twenty foure zeris: he professit hym self to be neutral, bot 3it he furnest the empriour withth sex thousand fut men,

1 mytht 2 menteine 3 Frece
and tua hundredth lycht horse, on his auen expensis, quhen the kyng of France vas past ouer the alpes to seige paue. ande also that samyn kyng hary lent to the kyng of France aucf scoir of thousandis engel noblis, while secretly subsidizing both; of *the qhilk the empriour vas surly aduertest *; for quhen the kyng of France ande his armye var desfait be the duc of Burbon, the viceroy of naples, the marquis of pesquaire, and the marquis of gonnast, thir said princiis gat, in the spulje of the Frence1 men, the kyng of Francis pose, qhilk vas al in engel noblis; ande also that samyn kyng hary lent to the kyng of France at the seige of paue.

of this sort the kyng of ingland playit witb the handis, to gar the empriour and the kyng of France ilk ane distroye vthirs. (O 3e my thre sonnis) the discen-
tion & discord that ryngis amang 3ou hes done mair distratione til our realme nor quhen the gryt armye & pouer of ingland innadit 3ou. the expericiens of this samyn is manifest, quhou that the kyngis of ingland hes bene mair solist to hef pace & fawoir of scotland, quhen iustice & concord gouuernit the thre estaitis of scotland, nor tyl hef hed the fawoir & pace of al the riche realmis that the empriour possessis. and in oppo-
sit, quhen the kyngis of ingland persauis discord, dis-
centione, ciuil veyris, iniusteis & disuisione, vith in scotland, than thai forgit3 fen3ct querrellis contrar our real'me, in hope that ilk scottis man sal be mortal enymeiel his nychtbour.

Quhar for i exort 3ou 3ou my thre sonnis, that 3e be delegent to remeide 3our abusions of the tymis by past, qhilk sal neuir cum til effect bot gyf that 3e remove & expel discenstione, discord & hatrent that ringis amang 3ou; for gyf 3e be enemeis to 3our selfis, than quhy suld the kyngis of ingland be accusit quhe? thai intend veyris contrar 3ou, considerant that thai hef bene cuyr 3our ald enemeis? 35

1 France 2 the 3 forgie

[{"leaf":55,"block":70}]

[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, only in times of intestine dis-
sension.

Be diligent, then, to remove the causes of discord.
What castle can be kept against besiegers, if mortal war reign among the defenders?

Remember also the value of your forefathers,

[i vald spere quhat castel can be lang kepit, quhen the enencis seigis it cruelly vitht out, and vitht in the said castel ther ringis mortal veyr\(^1\) amang the soudartis, men of veyr, quhilkis suld lyf in ane mutual & faythful accord in defens of the said castel contrar externe violens\(^2\) this veil considrit, suld be occasione to gar 3ou expel hatrent, divisione, & avaricus lyffing furth of 3our hartis, & als it suld prouoke 3ou to remembir of the nobil actis of 3our foir fathers & predecessours, quha deffendit this realme be there vail\(\text{\textasciitilde}c\)antnes, & als reduceit there liberte, quhilk vas ane lang tyme in captiuitie, be the machination of 3our ald enemies, as 3e may reid in diuersis passis of 3our cronikillis. And sen 3e knau\(^3\) that god hes schauen sic fa\(\text{'uoi\)r to 3our foir-bearis, throcht the quhilk thai hef venqueist thair enemies, and brocht the realme, be visdome & manhede, in sykkyr pace, qhou beit thai var onequal, baytht in nuamer & puissance, to 3our ald enemies, 3e suld mak ane mirrour of there nobil actis; for sen 3e knau\(^4\) that 3our ald enemies hes intendit to conqueis & to subdieu 3ou to there dominione, nocht throcht there manhede & visdome, bot rather throcht the discenditio\(\text{\textasciitilde}n\)e that ringis amang 3ou, 3e suld schau 3ou verteous & vail\(\text{\textasciitilde}c\)ant in 3our rycht\(^5\) defence. for quhen 3e ar in accord, & lyuis in tranquilitie, 3our ald enemies sendis ther imbas-sadours\(^6\) to desyre pace & fauoir, quhilk is mair necessari to them nor it is honest, considering of there grit pouer & mycht\(^7\) be see & be lond. bot nochtheles, the mair reches thai thay posses, the mair schame redondis 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 3o knau the apering dan-geir of 3our natif cuntre, 3e suld prudently consult to escheu al dangeir; and to begyn sic gude ordour, 3e suld prouide al vays to remoue discenditio, sedetione,

Peace with Scotland is more necessary than honourable to England.

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\(\text{\textasciitilde}1\) feyr \(\text{\textasciitilde}2\) knau \(\text{\textasciitilde}3\) knau \(\text{\textasciitilde}4\) ryht \(\text{\textasciitilde}5\) imbasadpurs \(\text{\textasciitilde}6\) mytht
and auaricious lyfying, quhilk may induce hatrent, inuy 1 and *rancor amangyou, to that effect that ilk persone may lyf eysyleye on his auen iust conques, and that none of the realme hef occasione to do extersions til vthyris; for sic gude pollycie, veil ordorit, sal cause the cuntre to incresse in gloir, honour and reches, and dredor to 3our enemies, quha ar verray solist and vigilant to conques 3ou. ther prouisione of diuerse sortis is vonder grit, nocht alanerly be gyrty multitudef of men of vyr, and ane grit naun of schipsis be seey burde, bot as veil be secret machinatione to blynd 3ou be auereis, presentand to 3ou gold, siluyr, and grit prommessis of heretagis, to persuaid 3ou to commit traison 13 contrar 3ou raitht, honour and comon veil, quhilk is ane rycht passage to bring 3ou and 3our posterite til ane vile & final exterminatione. vald 3e maturly con-
sydir the subtilite of inglismen, 3e sal fynd them ap-
and faithful and humain in thair aduersite; bot quhen thai ar in prosperite, thai ar ingrat tirrans and cruel abuf al vdir natione. Och! quhou dangerus is it til any sort of pepil til hef ane cruel tirran ryngand abuf them: and to eschaip sic tirranny 3our forbears hes debatit 3our cuntre this mony 3eiris be grit manhede and visdo’me, quhou beit it was in dangeir to be in final euersione. the croniklis vil certifie 3ou quhou that1 3our nobil predecessors and fair bears var slane, and the comont pepil brocht to vile seruitude ane lang tyme be the saxons blude. and 3it sic calamite and persecutione indurit bot for ane tyme. for god almychty,2 that knauis 3our iust defens, hes euer schauen gryt fauoir touart 3ou, therfor 3e suld tak curage in 3our iust quer-
rel. 3e hef no cause3 to dispayr for falt of supplie, for 3our predecessors hes been in mair dangeir quhen 3our strynthhis and castellis hes nocht been sa defensabil, nor 3it the cuntre heffand supplie of na forane prince. It is 35

1 tha 2 almythty 3 cause

* leaf 57 (72)
Remove from among you injustices and extortion.

Your enemies have a great army and navy;

How your fore-

fathers resisted

the tyranny

* leaf 57 (72), lb

Then they are tyrants, and cruel above all other nations.

They were harder

pressed than

you are,
and subjected for 10 years;

but God delivered them.

Your enemies would not again have troubled you had not your discord opened the way.

Reflect before your ruin be final,

yourselves enslaved, your wives and daughters ravished,

your property seized.

1 tideous to rehers the grit calamiteis, the sair battellis, and the cruel slauchtyr that vas cruelly executit on scottis\(^1\) men; and to conclude, al the cuntre vas in ex-
treme subiectione fourty 3eirs, and possest be our ald
enemies. But nochttheles, god almychty\(^2\) valknit vitht

6 his grace the hartis of 3our predecessors, as he did to sampson, Dauid, and iudas maechabeus, contrar the
enemies of Israel, quhair for al 3our cuntre vas delynerit fra captuite, to the grit domage of reches, and effusione
of blude on 3our ald enemies. 3e vait veal that the civil

11 and intestyne veir, and the discontente and discord and rancor that ryngis amang 3ou, is the speciale cause of
the inglisme[n]is invasions and of 3our miserite; for
3our ald enemies, quhou beit of ther puissans, vald neuer
hef maid sic incursions ande hairschips on the bordours
and limitis of 3our cuntre, var nocht 3our selfis maid ane
reddy passage to them thocht the occasione of 3our
auen discontentions that ryngis amang 3ou. ther for it is
neccessair that 3e sal\(^3\) perpend that sic discontention be
nocht the cause of 3our auen distructione and final
ruyne of 3our naticne. the kyng of ingland knauand

22 the discontention that ryngis amang 3ou, he vil tret, cheris,\(^4\)
and promes grit reches til ony of 3ou that vil adhere
til hym contrar 3our comont veil; bot fra tyme that he
get dominione of the cuntre, 3e sal be his sklasis in ex-
treme seruitude, 3our vyfis and dochteris\(^5\) desflorit be
the onbridilit lust of 3our ald enemies, and violently led

28 away befoir 3our facis be the extreme lauis of the veyr.
3our gold and siluyr, and vthir gudis, public and priuat,
sal be distribut and disposit amang them, the frutis
and cornis of 3our grond to be vsit at ther dispositione,

35 violently strykkyn in 3our bodeis, quharfor 3e sal lyf in

\(1\) scotis  \(2\) almychty  \(3\) thai 3eal  \(4\) tretcheris  \(5\) dochteris
mair thirlage nor brutal bestis, qhilkis ar thirliit of nature. And ony of you that consentis til his fals conquests of your cuntre, 3e sal be recomppensit as your forbears var at the blac pelrament at the bernis of ayre, quhen kyng eduward maid ane conuocatione of al the nobillis of scotland at the toune of ayre, vndir culour of faitht and concord, quha comperit at his instance, nocht heffand suspitione of his tresonabil consait. than thai beand in his subiectione vndir culour of familiarite, he gart hang, cruelly and dishonestly, to the nummer of sexten scoir of the maist nobillis of the cuntre, Tua and tua ouer ane balk, the qhilk sextene scoir var cause that the inglismen conquest sa far vithtin your cuntre. 3e may reid the croniklis of al cuntreis, and 14 3e sal fynd, that quhen forain princeis hes violently, but just tilit, gottin dominatione on vther cuntreis, than in the begynnynge thai haue tretit and flatterit the principal inhabitans, quhil on to the tyme that thai var pacebil dominatours: and there eftir thai haue vist there dissymilit intent on the pepil, and hes distroyit them, as kyng eduward did at the bernis of ayre befor rehersit. There is ane exempli conformand to this samien purpos rehersit be valerius maximus, and in titus liuius, quhou that tarquinus superbus the sext kyng of rome, qhilk maid cruel veyre convar the cite of gabine til hef hed it subdeuit to the dominione of rome. bot that nobil cite deffendit there libertar rycht vailently. his sone sextus tarquinus was in grit melancolye be cause his father culd nocht conques that cite be fors, 29 nor be lone, nor sit be flattery. ther for he departit fra his father vitht ane fenyet displeseir, and past to the cite of gabine, makand ane pitteus complaint on the crualte of his fader contrar hym, prayand to them of gabine that thai vald be his deffens contrar his father, and he sal be subieict to that cite in perpetual. the 35

1 ryght 2 complaint 3 perpetual
THE COMPLAINT OF SCOTLAND. [CHAP. XI.

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 familariis til 'his fader tarquinus superbus, declarand quhou he hed conquist the favor of al the pepil, de-syrand his fatheris counsel quhou he suld vse hym to

9 hold them in subjectione. the messager of sextus past to tarquine superbe, declarand his message, quhar he gat ald tarquine in ane garding. bot ald tarquine gef nay ansuer to the messanger, bot tuike his staf, and synge past throcht his gardin, and qhar qhar that he gat ony chasbollis that greu hie, he straik the heidis fra them vitht his staf, and did no thyng to the litil chasbollis.

16 the messenger gat nay ansuer be tong fra ald tarquine, bot returnit til gabine til his maister sextus tarquinus, quha askit ane ansuer of his message. the messanger tald quhou his father send nay ansuer be tong, bot past vp and doune his gardyng vitht his staf cuttand doune

21 the hie chasbollis. than sextus tarquinus kneu veil his fatheris mynd, that his counsel vas to strik of al the hedis of the principal men of the cite of gabine, and than the remanent of the pepil durst nocht renolt con-trar hym. of this sort the nobil cite of gabine vas dis-

26 anuit be flatterye and facilnes of gyffing credit til ane tirrane. sextus tarquinus vst his father counsel, for he 'distroyit and sleu al the principal lordis of gabine, as kyng eduard did to the lordis of scotland at the bernis of ayre. The onfaithful cruel act that kyng henry the aucht vst contrar yrlan and valis quhen he becam ther superiors, suld be mirrour and ane exempl til al scotland: for he vst the samen practik contrar irland and valis as sextus tarquinus exsecut on the cite of

35 gabine, and as kyng eduard exsecutit on the barrons of

1 tarquin'
welsh have

for English

the Welsh are subjected to all kinds of oppression.

the Welsh is of Welsh descent, even though the present king of

Scotland with the

France wherein the accordit landis inglis 'valis, gart sauit

that hef sum speciale byssynes vitht in ingland. and als ther sal nane that is borne in valis beyr office in valis, nor 3it in ingland. and also the principal men of valis ar subject to pas to the veyris in propyr person contrar scotland or contrar France quhen euer thai ar chargit be the kyng of inglandis lettris. Bot at the first apoyntement that was accordit betuix the kyng of ingland and the lordis of 'valis, he promest them grit libertie, quhil he hed resauit the castellis and strynthis of valis, and hed put inglis captans in them. bot incontinent ther efter, he gart strik the heidis fra al the lordis of valis, and fra the principal barronis. and syklik to spek of irland, quhen the kyng of ingland vas accordit vitht the lordis of irland, and that he hed resauit ane certan of castellis, and sum of the principal tounis, than ane lang tyme eftir he tretit the lordis of irland vitht fayr vordis, and gef them riche gyftis, quhil he be his subtilite gart twice[1]f of them cum to londoun, quha cam at his command, 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 sklaus til hym, exceperson ane certan that kepis them set on the strait montanis of irland, quhilkis vil nocht obeye to his tyranye, for thai hed rather remane in cald and hunger in the vyld forestis and hillis at there libertie, nor for to be in his capituite to be hangit and hedit as he hes dune causes til mony vthyr innocent men. The extortione that the kyngis of ingland hes dune to your predecessors, is manifest to you al. the chro'niklis makis of which the chief men have been beheaded, and the people enslaved;

except those that have found refuge in the wilds.
King Edward manifest quhou that kyng eduard, eftir that he hed ouer run al your cuntre, and hed brocht al the pepil til extreme captiuitie, quhar for compulsione and necessite causit them til obeye, and to mak homage til ingland, than the cruelte of this said kyng eduard, nocht satesfet nor saceat, he brocht fra ingland ane hundretht thousand men, and als he brocht\(^1\) ane freir vitht hym callit conraldus, the quhilk freir hed commissione to mak ane chronikil of the actis that kyng eduard and his hundretht t[h]ousand men suld do in scotland. this said grit armye of ingland beand befor bannochtburne, kyng eduard maid ane perlament vitht in his camp vitht ane certan of statutis & ordinance, quhilk vas put in vryit be the said freir. This vas the tenor of the said ordinance. in the fyrst, he ordand thre vaupynschauyngis to be maid al on ane day in scotland be scottis\(^2\) men in thre of the farrest placis of scotland, as in til the marse, in gallowaye, and in the northt of scotlande, and at thay vappynschauyngis, al the vaupynis and armour of scotland to be delyuerit to the inglisien to be kepit in castellis quhil on to the tyme that the kyng of ingland intend to mak veir aganis vthyr 'cuntres. the nixt statut he ordand that na scottis man suld veyr na vaupyn bot ane knif of fife inch of lynht, vitht out ane point. in the thrid statut, he ordand that na scottis man suld duel in ane house that vas lofit, bot rather in ane litil cot house. in the ferd he ordand that na scottis man suld veir ony clais bot hardyn cotis. in the fyft artikle he ordand that the scottis men of scotland suld be partit in thre partis. 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 fra scotland, and to hcf ane lecens to pas in ony straynege

\(^1\) broht
\(^2\) scottis
eunte to seik ther gude aventure. This cruel ordin-
ance vas maid in the kyng of ingland campt befor ban-
nochtburne.\(^1\) he beleifit at that tyme that al vas his
auen. than god almychty\(^2\) quhilk beheld his pryde and
arrogance and his ommerciful intent, he valknyt vith
his spreit the hartis of the nobil men of scotland, the
quhilkis in ane feu numer cam vitht ane hardy curage
contrar kyng eduard, and sleu thretty thousand of his
men, and chaissit hym self thre scor of mylis vitht in
ingland. * And in ther returnyng hamuart, thai vaitit
and brynt norht humyrland and mony vitht plaics of
ingland. this battel vas fochtyn at bannochburne,\(^3\) as
the inglis croniklis rehersis mair large. then quhan the
tentis, pailzons, & spoulye of the inglis armye vas tane
& gaddrit vp be scottis men, thai gat the forsaied inglis
freir conrauldus vithtin kyng eduardis tent, & als thai
gat thyr forsaied artiklis & ordinance quhilk the inglis-
men purposit to execut on the scottis men. bot inglis-
men tuik nocht god to be their cheiftane, bot rather
visit there auen arrogant mynde; therfor their gryt
pouer hed na grace to fulfil ther entreprice. this ex-
empli is vondir probabil that inglismen vil vse this
samyn cruelte on 3ou al, gif sa beis that 3e cum subiect
to them. 3e knau that thir tuelf hundreth 3eirs thai leit
3ou neuyr hef pace xvi 3eir to giddir, bot 3it ther
tyranny redondit aye to their auen dishonestye and
domage. and quhou beit at sum tyme 3our cunte r gat
grit skayytht be them, sic thing suid nocht gar 3ou tyne
3our curagis, for the chancis of veir ar nocht certan to
na party. \(^4\)al thir vords before said ar rehersit, to that
effect that 3our facines be nocht sedusit be ther astuce
and subtil persuasions. Titus liuius rehersis ane ex-
empli in his nynt beuk conformand to this samyn
purpos, quhilk vas eftir the fundatione of rome 420
3eis. at that tyme their vas in rome tua consulis, ane

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1 bannochburne  
2 almychty  
3 bannochburne  
4 CHAP. XII., not distinguished in the original, should probably begin here.

\(^{1}\) bannochburne  
\(^{2}\) almychty  
\(^{3}\) bannochburne  

**COMPLAINT.**
callit titus viterius, and the tothyr callit spurius posthumus, quha var committit to be cheifis and captans

3 of the armye of the romans, to pas contrar the samnetis, quhilkis hed maid mortal veyr thertty zeir to giddir [con]trar rome. the captaun of the samnetis vas callit pontius, quhilk vas the sone of ane vail{cant} man callit herencus, quha vas exempt fra the veyris, and fra the
gouemyng of the public veil, be raison of his grit aige. The grit armye of the samnites campit them secretly besyde ane place callit furce caudide, the quhilk place hed ane narrout entres & narrout isching, and vith in it

13 their vas mony cragis and vyild treis. that place stude betuix tua strait montanis inhabitable and onmontabil. In the myddis of it their vas ane large grene plane feild. than quhen the samnetis var their logit and campit, thai var adverist be ther exploratours and spyis, quhou that the romans var campit neir them in

18 ane place callit calacia. than pontius the captaun of the samnetis causit ten of his "knychtis to cleith them lyik hyrdis, and he gef them cattel, nolt, and scheip to keip, gisfand them command to pas vitht tha cattel on the feildis be syde the romans, and ilk ane in ane

23 syndry part be hym self, sayand to them, gif ony of the romans cumis and inquiris at ony of 3ou quhair our armye is campit, 3e sal ansuer, that ve ar past to apuilya to gif ane assalt to the cite of lucere, quhilk partenis to the romans. than thir neu maid hyrdis past

28 vitht bestial, quhar thai var re[n]contrit be the forcours 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 exemptit seueralie ilk ane be hym self, quhar the samnete armye vas campit, thai

33 anserit as ther captaun pontius hed giffin them command; to the quhilk vordis the romans gef credit, be rason that thai al beand ane be ane examinit condis-
cendit in ane ansuer. than\(^1\) the romans hesand sic an
eruant loue to the cite of lucere, quhilk vas of their an-
ciant alya, thai raisit ther camp to pas to reskeu lucere
fra the samnetes. ther vas tua passagis to pas betuix
the romans camp and lucere. the first passage vas plane
and plesand be the see syde, *bot it vas ouer lang about.
the nixt passage vas ful of roche cragis, and verry
strait and narou, bot *it that passage vas verry schort.
then the romans, for haist that tha hed to saif that cite
of lucere,\(^2\) thai tuke that narrou strait passage, and
quhen thai var entrit in it, the samnetes be grit sub-
tilite hed gart cut down grit treis, & brac doune roche
cragis, quhilkis thai pat in grit numer at the entres and
at the ischyng furtht of that strait passage, and als thai
set mony of ther men of veir amang the cragis to em-
pesche the romans that thai culd nothir returne, nor
*it to pas forduart. quhen the romans var disuait of this
sort, thai var lykly to dispayr for the displeseir\(^3\) and
melancole that affligit them. *bot the samnetes var
vondir glaid fra tyme that thai hed the romans in that
pundfald, quhar thai culd nothir fecht nor fle, deffend
nor resist, bot on verry neid thai behuffit to remane
vencust vitht ou straik or battel. the samnetes beand
in this grit blythtnes be cause of ther happy chance, \(^{24}\)
thai determit to send ane message til ald herenius, quha
vas the father of ther captan pontius, til hef his
opinione and consel quhou thai suld vse them *contrar
the romanis that thai hed closit vithtin *them. this ald
herenius send his ansuer and consel, and bald the
samnetes gyf the romans ther fre liberte to pas hame
sae, vitht ou hurt of ther honour, bodys or guidis.
the armye of the samnetes nocht beand satesfit nor
contentit of this ansuer of herenius, thai send the mes-
senger agane til hym til hef ane bettir consel, than ald
herenius send ane vthir ansuer, and bald them slaye al
\(^{35}\)

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\(^{1}\) than
\(^{2}\) lutere
\(^{3}\) displeser
the romans, and nocht to lat ane of them return vitht ther lyif. quhen the samnetes herd the tua discordabil consellis of herenius, thai culd nocht meruel aneuich\(^1\) of his onconstant answyer, qhaur for pontius his sone suspekt that his father dottit in folie throcht his grit aige, 3it noththeles he vald nocht conclude na execucu- tione contrar the romans qhil he hed spokyn vitht his father: thairfor vitht the consent of the samnettes, he send for his father to cum to their camp, quha cam at his command in ane charriot, be cause he mycht\(^2\) nothir ryde nor gang be cause he vas decrepit for aige. he beand aryuit, his sone pontius sperit quhou he suld vse hym contrar the romans that var inclosit betuix the tua strait montans. the ald herynyus changit nocht his tua fyrst consellis that he hed send to them: bot 3it he de- clarit 'to them the cause of thyr tua defferent consellis, sayand; my sone pontius, and 3e my frendis of samnete, the first consel that i send to 3ou the qhilk i think for the best, that is to say, i consellit 3ou to thole al the romans and ther guidis depart saifly in liberte but ony hurt or displeseir; than throcht\(^3\) that grit benefice that 3e hef schauen to them of ther free vil & vitht ane guide mynde, thai vil allaya them vitht 3ou, qhilk sal cause ferme and perpetuall pace to be betuix rome and samnete. the tothir consel that i send to 3ou, i ordand 3ou to slay doune al the romans, and nocht to saif ane of them, for than it sal be ane lang tyme or the romans can purches sa grit ane armye contrar 3ou. \& sa 3e maye lyif in pace and surete ane lang tyme, considerand that the grit pouer and the maist nobilis of rome ar in this present armye inclosit to giddir. ane of thir tua consellis is necessar to be vsit, and the thrid consel can nocht be gisfit to 3ou for 3our veifieir. than pontius and the princis of samnete nocht beand contentit of thir tua consellis, inquyrit at ald herynyus, sayand, ve think it

\[^1\] aneuich \[^2\] mycht \[^3\] throcht
Submission to England would be fatal. Bethtir to tak ane myd vaye betuix vs and them to saif 1 their lyiffis, and to resaif them as vencust pepil, and ther eftir ve ‘sal mak strait lauis and ordinance quhilk ve sal compel them til obeye. Ald herynyus ansuert, that sentens, says he, purchessis na frendis, nor it makis na reconciliatiene of enemes, therfor 3e suld 6 animaduert varly to quhat pepil that 3e purpuso to vse sic inuiurus rigor, for 3e knau the nature of the roman pepil is of sic ane sort, that gif thai resaif oultrage, and beis vencust be rigor be 3ou, thai can neuer hef rest in ther spreit quhil that thai heif reuengit 3our crualte, 11 for thai ar of ane vendicatif nature, and the displeseir that thai sal resaif be 3ou sal euer remane in their harts qhil thai hef reuengit the inuiurus desame that 3e haue perpetrat contrar 1 them. Thyr tua sentensis of herynyus var repulsit and nocht admittit, therfor he departit and retornit in his chariot to samnittie 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 laubyr 2 vas in vane, 21 for thai var sa strait closit that thai culd nothir pas bakuart nor forduart. Than thai send ther legatis to desire concord and peace at the samneties, or els to desire battel on the plane feildis. Pontius ansuert to the legatis of the romans: quod he, the battel is fochtyn 26 al redy; & quhou beit that 3e ar al vencust, 3it none of 3ou vil confesse 3our euil fortoune, ther for ve gif 3ou for ane final ansuer, that al 3our armye sal be spul-3it of 3our armour and of 3our clais, except ilk ane sal hef ane singil coit on 3ou, & ther eftir ve sal put 3our cragis in ane 30ik to be ane perpetual takyn that 3e ar vencust be vs, and alsa 3e sal deluyuer til us the villagis, castellis, and vthir placis, the quhiliks 3our predece-3ours conquest fra vs in ald tymis, and alsa 3e sal lyif 35 Of the igno-minious terms imposed upon the Romans.

1 contrat 2 lanbyr
1 and obeye til our lauis, and gif this anser vil nocht content the romans, i gif 3ou expres charge that 3e returne nocht heir agane. the legatis of the romans returnit to the camp of the romans witth the anser of pontius, the quhilk anser did mair displeiseir to the romans nor that pontius anser hed been to sla them al cruelle ; for in al tymes ther nocht be ane gritar defame nor quhen ane mannis crag vas put in the 30ik be his enemye, for that defame and punitione vas haldin mair abominabil and vile nor the punitione that trespassours indurit in the galeis for demeritis. bot 3it ther was no remeid to saif the romans, therfor ex'treme In duobus necessite vas resauit for vertu. than throcht the coun-sel of ane nobil romane callit lucius lentulus, thai con-discendit to cheis the leyst of tua euillis, and til indure thai vile punitione rather nor til hef been cruelly slane. than the cruel samnetes ordand the instrument of the 3oik of this sort as i sal rehers. ther vas tua speyris set 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 constre?zet to pas vndir that 3oik ane and ane ; bot the tua consellaris, quhilkis var captans to the romans, thai var compellit to pas fyrst vndir that 3oik vitth out their harnes or vaupynnis. than the remanent of the romans follouit ilk ane eftir his aucn deger. on euerye syde of this 3oik ther vas ane legione of the armye of samnetes vitth ther sourdis drauen in ther handis, 29 quhar thai manneist and scornit the sillie romans that var in that gryt vile perplexite. O 3e my thre sonnis, this defame and vile punitione of the samnites perpetrat contrar1 the romans, vas verray cruel ; bot doubtles, thai that ar participant of the cruel inuasione of inglis men contrar their natyue cunctreye, ther crag'gis sal be put in ane mair strait 3oik nor the samnetes did to the

1 contrat
romans, as kyng edward did til scottis men at the blac parlament at the bernis of ayr, quhen he gart put the craggis of sexten scorir 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 brocht mekil of scotland in his subiectione. this protector of ingland purposit til vse this samyn crualte in the zeir of god ane thousand fyse² hundreth fourty scuyn 3eris, in the moneth of marche, quhen the varden of the vest marchis of ingland cam to hald ane varden 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 diuere vthir nobil barronis and gentil men cam vitht ane hic curage contrar the inglismen, quhome thai venquest vailjeantlye, and sleu ane grit part of them, and tuke ane vthir part of them presoners, and chaissit the thrid part of them ten myle vitht in ingland: and ther ef sir the barronis & gentil men of oure vest cuntre gat the inglismens spulje, vitht in the quhilk 'spulje thai gat tua barrellis ful of cordis, and euerie cord bot ane faldome of lynht,⁴ vitht ane loup in the end al reddy maid, quhilk thai ordaut 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 inglismen? our croniklis rehersis of diuere scottis men of al staititis that hes past in ingland, sum hes past for pouerte, and sum hes past in hope to lyne⁵ at mair eyse and libertor nor thai did in scotland, and sum hes been denunis rebellis be the authorite, quhilk vas occasione that thai past in ingland for refuge, quhom the kyngis of ingland hes resanit⁶ fameliacly, and hes trettit them, and hes gifin them gold and siluir, the quhilk he did nothir for piete

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¹ brocht ² fyse ³ doumlanrik ⁴ lyncht ⁵ lyne ⁶ resanit
nor humane, but rather that thai suld help to distroye there aven natif cuntre. bot 3it he vald neuer gif them heretage nor credit, for the experienis of the samyn is manifest presentlye. for quhou beit that there be abufe thre thousand scottis men, and there vyfis and childir, that hes duellit in ingland thir fyfte 3eir by past, and hes conquest be there industre bathit heretage and guidis, 3it nocht ane of them dar grant that thai ar 'scottis men, but rather thai man deny and refuse there cuntre, there surname, and kyn & frendis. for the scottis men that duellis in the southt part of ingland, thai suere and menteinis that thai var borne in the northt part or in the vest part of ingland; and scottis men that duellis in the vest or in the northt of ingland, thai man suere and menteine that thai var borne in kyn schire, 3oirke schire, in london, or in sum vthir part of the southt partis of ingland. than to quhat effect 18 suld ony scottis men adhere til inglis men, to gar them selfis be cum sklauis, and to remane in perpetual seruitude? ther for ve may verray veil beleif, that quhou beit that the kyng of ingland garris tret scottis men vitht gold and siluer as thai var his frendis, 3it doubtes he vald be rycht glaid sa that euyere scottis man bed ane vthyr scottis man in his bellye, and als fra tyme that god sendis tranquilite amang princis, thai that ar maist familier vitht the protector sal be haldin maist odius in ingland, and euyere 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 anser to them as agustus cesar ansercit til ane captan of thrace callit rhymirales, qua betrasit his maister anthonius, & past to remane vitht agustus cesar, quha vas mortal enemye til an-

35 thonius, than be the supple of rhymirales, agustus

1 menteinis 2 menteine 3 ryght 4 agust 5 anthoni
CESAR VE[N]QUESTANTONIUS. THAN QUHEN THE VEURIS VARENDIT 1
BETUIX CESAR AND ANTONIUS,1 RHYMIRALES WAS NOCHT SA VEIL
TRETTIT AS HE WAS INDURAND THE TYME OF THE VEURIS, QUHAR
FOR HE PAST TIL CESAR, SAYAND; O NOBIL EMPRIOUR, I HEF LEFT
MY CUNTRE AND MY MAISTE ANTHONIUS FOR ZOUR PLESEIR, AND
I HEF BEEN THE CAUSE THAT ZE HEF VENQUEST MY MAISTE 6
ANTHONIUS, & NOU ZE SCHAU ME NOCHT SA GRIT LOUE AND
FAMILIARTE AS ZE SCHEU ME IN THE TYME OF THE VEURIS,
QUHARFOR ZE HAIF SCHAUEN ZOU RYEHT INGRAT CONTRAR ME.

CESAR ANSWERIT TO RHYMIRALES, I VIL HEF NA FAMILIARTE
VITHT ZOU, FOR I LOUE BOT THE TRASON THAT CUMIS TO MY
EFFECT, AND LOUIS NOCHT THE TRATOURS THAT COMMITTIS THE
TRASON. THIS FORSAID EXEMPLIS MAYS BE VEIL APPLYIT TIL AL
SCOTTIS MEN THAT BELEUIS TO GET MAIR LIBERTE AND HONOR
IN INGLAND NOR THAI DID IN SCOTLAND; FOR THIS EXEMPLIS
HES BEEN PRETYKIT THIR FYFE HUNDREHT ZERS BYGANE TIL
AL SCOTTIS MEN THAT HES ADHERIT TIL INGLIS MEN CONTRAR 17
THER NATYFE CUNTRE, AS THE CRONIKLIS 'MAKIS MANIFEST; [* LEAF 68 (33), BK]
FOR QUHOU BE IT THAT THE KYNG OF INGLAND LOUIS THE
TRAISON THAT SCOTTIS MEN COMMITTIS CONTRAR THER PRINCE,
3IT HE LOUIS NOCHT THE TRATOURS THAT COMMITTIS THE
TRAISON.

1 ANTONI
Quhou the affligit lady declaris til hyr thre sonnis that the familiarite that is betuix inglis men & scottis men in ane pace barld\(^1\) at mercattis\(^2\) and conventions on the tua bordours, is the cause of the traison that the scottis men committis contrar ther natyse cuntrc.

CHAP. XIII.\(^3\)

There is no thing that is occasione (O zc my thre sonnis) of your adhering to the opinione of ingland contrar jour natifecuntrc, but the grit familiarite that inglis men and scottis hes hed on baith the boirdours, ilk ane viht vtheris, in marchandeis, in selling and bying hors and nolt and scheip, out fang and in fang, ilk ane amang vtheris, the quhilk familiarite is expres contrar the lauis and consuetudinis baytht of ingland and scotland. in the dais of moises, the isuis durst nocht hane familiarite viht the samaritanis, nor viht the philistions, nor the romans viht the africans, nor the grekis viht the persans, be rason that ilk ane repute vtheris to be 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 men, quhoubeit that thai be viht 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.

\(^{1}\) so original; probably misread for baith in MS.  
\(^{2}\) morcattis  
\(^{3}\) bo original.  
\(^{4}\) nychtbours
and violence, and scottis men ar furious quhen thai ar 1
violently subickit. inglis men ar cruel quhene thai get
victorie, and scottis men ar merciful quhen thai get
victorie. and to conclude, it is onpossibil that scottis
men and inglis men can remane in concord vndir ane
monarche or ane prince, be cause there naturis and con-
ditions ar as indefferent as is the nature of scheik and
voluis. Quintus cursius rehersis, that darius kyng of
perse send ane immassadour 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 answert to the im-
massadour, quod he, it is as onpossibil to gar me and
darius 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 firm-
ament. This exempl may be appyit 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 raision of the grit
defferens that is betuix there naturis & conditions.
qhar for, as i hcf befir rehersit, there suld be na
familiarite betuix inglis men and scottis men, be cause
of the grit deverens that is betuix there tua naturis. in
al tyme it was 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 be to contrakit betuix
them, nor conuention on holy dais at gammis and
plays, nor marchandres to be maid amang them, nor
scottis men *til entir on inglis grond vith out the kyng
of ingland saue conduct, nor inglis men til entir on
scottis grond vith out the kyng of scotlandis saue con-
duct, quhou beit that there var sure pace betuix the

They behave
differently in
prosperity and in
adversity.

They are as
unlike as sheep
and wolves.

Alexander
offered
six mules' burden
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.

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

There ought
therefore to be no
familiarity
between them.

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

even during
peace.

1 volius
tua realms. bot thir seyn ʒeir 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 realme of scotland. and sic familiarite hes been the cause that the kyng of ingland gat intellegens vitht diverse gentil men of scotland. it is nocht possibil to keip ane\(^1\) realme fra conspiratone and trason, fra tyme that the pepil of that realme vsis familiarite vitht there enemeis. ther is ane ald proverb that says, that ane herand damysele, and ane spekand castel, sal neuyr end with honour; for the damysele that heris and giffis eyris to the amourus persuasions of desolutil song men, sal be cysile persuasit to brac hyr chaistite. siklik ane spekand castel, that is to saye, quhen the captan or sodiours 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 vailʒeant anobil, 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 comonyng vitht there enemeis, than thai vrocht to bring there entreprise and intent to there effect, be trason, and be gold and siluerc. Salust de bello iugurtno confermis this samyn purpos. quhen iugurtha of numidie in africca, hed tynt diverse battellis contrar the romans, quhilk vas occasione that he hed almaist lossit his cuntre, than his frendis consellit hym to decid fra his veyris, be rason that he prosperit nothing, and lossit mekil. than iugurtha, nocht beand disparit of guid fortone, he past in Italie vitht ane fresche armye

\(^1\) sne
of men of veir, and also he tuik vitht hym ane riche
quantite of gold and siluyr, cunning & oncu\textsuperscript{3}et. than
his frendis reprochit hym be cause his entreprice aperit
to be vane, rather nor to procede of ane prudent &
mortifit consait. iugurtha answert til his frendis, quod
he, my forse is nocht sufficient to conques rome, bot
nochtheles,\textsuperscript{1} gif "that i can purches secret familiarite &
intelligens vitht sum of the romans that hes authorite,
i beleif to venques them vitht gold and sylyuyr rathere
nor vitht forse of men of veyr, for euyr thing is to sel
in rome for monye : ther for i dull nocht bot i sal gar
the\textsubscript{m} sel there librte for gold, for the auarise that is
among the romans vil gar ilk ane betraise vthers. Thir
vordis of iugurtha makkis manifest that there is nay
thing that bringis ane realme to ryne sa sune and sa
reddy as dois the familiarite that the pepil hes vitht
there enemeis, thronth the quhilk familiarite there is
sum euil persoune that knauis the secret determinations
of the lordis of the counsel, \& there eftir he reueld is to
sum treasonabil man that hes intelligens vitht the kyng
of ingle\textsubscript{nd}. i can nocht expreme ane speciale man that
perpetratis this treasonabil act, bot \textsuperscript{3}it i am sure that as
sune as the lordis of the counsel hes determit ony guide
purpos for the defens \& veifair of the realme, incon-
tinent vitht in twenty houris there eftir, the sammyn
counsel is vitht in the toune of beruik, \& vitht in thre
dais there eftir the post of beruyk\textsuperscript{2} presentis it in
london to the counsel of ingland, quhilk is occasione
that the inglismen hes there defens reddy contrar "our
purpos, or ve begun to execeint the counsel that vas
determit. It var verray necessair that the committers
of that reuelen var punest mair realye nor hes been ony
punitione that hes been execeint contrar ony scotis
man that hes cum vitht inglis men in plaine battel til
inuaid scotland. thir secret reueclaris of the counsel of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} nochttheless
\item \textsuperscript{2} bernik
\end{itemize}
They have not the heraldism 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 (57)"

suffered it to burn away,
to show that no torment could

Valerius maximus.
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 Celtaiberians off their guard.

scotland takkis nocht exempl of the tua vailzeant romans pompeus and quintus metellus, quhilkis kneu al the secre[t] of the senat, bot there vas nothir gold nor

landis, tormenting nor pyne, that vald gar ony of them reuell the secret of the senat to the enemies of rome. valerius maximus rehersis, in the thrid cheptour of his thrid beuk, quhou the romans send pompeus in im-bassadre til aysia, quhilk vas of the allya of rome, and be chance he vas tane presoneir in his voyage be genthius the kyng of esclauonia, quha vas mortal enemye to the romans: the said kyng genthius coniurit, persuadit, solisit, and also he manneist nobil pompeus to reuell the secret counsel of the senat. pompeus behold-

and his ommasonabil request, he pat his fingar in the heyt fyir, 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 reuell the secret of the senat. bot allace, there is sum men that knauis the secret of scotland that vil reuell it til inglismen rather nor to birn the fingar of ther glufe. Valerius maximus rehersis ane vthir exempl quhou that quintus metellus beand proconsul of rome, vas send vitht ane armye in to spane contrar the celtibriers, quhilkis duellit in the realme of nauerne. he set ane seige about the toune of tribie, quhilk is the methropolitane & capital cite of that cuntre. that cite resistit and def-

fendit vailzeantly contrar quintus metellus. than he beand in melancole be cause he culd nocht conqueis that cite, he deuisit ane subtilt consait to desaue the celtibriers. he gart rais his camp and departit fra that cite, and past til vtheris diverse tounis of nauern, sum tyme bakuart, sum tyme fordruart, 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

keip them in arraay. the cause of this agitatione and

1 enyeme 2 fyt 3 maxim' 4 qhilkis is
THE FAMILIARITY WITH ENGLAND A CAUSE OF TREASON. 111

commotione of his army vp and doun, vas nocht knauen 1 be none of his men of veyr, nor 3it knauen be "his enemies, quhar for one of his familiar frendis inquyrit hym of the cause of his inconstant vagatione, quha ansuert, quod he, decist and inquyre na mair of that purpos, for gif that i vndirstude that my sark hed knau-

lege of my secret, or of the deliberatione of my mynde, doultes i suld birn it hastelye in ane bald fyir. than quhen metellus hed vagit vp and doun there ane lang tyme, and hed put his host and armye in ignorance, and his enemies in errour, eftir diuerse turnand couscis athisurcht 1 the cuntre, he returnit suddanlye to the for-
said toune of tribie, and laid ane sege about it or his enemies var aduerstest to mak defens, and sa be this dissimilatione, and be the keping of his counsel secret fra his frendis and fra al vtheris, he conquest the said toune. vald god that the counsel and deliberatione of scotland var kepit as secret as metellus kepit his secret fra his men of veyr, than doultes the inglas mene vald nocht be so bold. There is na thing that is cause that the counsel of ingland gettis sa haisty aduerstessing of the priuiitait that is amang the lordis of scotland, bot the vice of aureis that hes blyndit the raison, & hes infekkit the hartis of diuers grit men of scotland. the ald "prouerb is tren that sais that it is as onpossibill to gar ane avaricious man be faythfuill, as it is onpossibill to gar ane fische of the depe flude speik hebreu or greik. Quhar for (o 3e my thre sonnis) i exort 3ou to tak ex-

empil of diuerse nobil men that cud neuir be seducit nor persuadit to tak gold nor reches fra there enemeis. There is ane exempil of allexander kynge of macedon, quha hed mortal veyr contrar the grekis. he sende ane riche present extantill til thre scoir of thousanddis peces of gold, til ane nobil man of athenes callit phision, ane man heffand gret autorite in athenes.

1 athisurht
1 Than phosion said to the inbassadours of kyng allexander, quod he, my frendis, for quhat cause hes kyng allexander sende this riche present of gold to me alanerly, ande hes sende na thing to the remanent of the lordis of athenes? The inbassadour ansuert, our master kyng allexander hes sende 3ou this present of gold, be

7 raison that he hes iugit 3ou to be the maist nobil and maist verteous abufe al them of athenes. phosion ansuert, gyf that kyng allexander hes iugit me to be of grit prudens ande vertu, 3e sal praye hym to thole me to remane prudent & verteous. for gyf i tak his present of gold, than i 'am nothir prudent nor verteous, for there is no thyng mair repungnant to prudens nor vertu, nor quhen ane person resausis gold or recites fra his enemmee. there for 3e sal tel to 3our master kyng allex-

16 ander, that he sal nocht corrupt me viht gold, nor venqueis me in battel, nor 3it he sal conqueis na thing in grece bot sa mekil eird as vil be sepulturis til his men of veyr. this exempl makxis manifest, that quhen ane prince presentis gold ande siluyr to the subiectis of

21 his enemee, doutes his intentione is to seduce them to conspire ande to betraise there natuie cuntre. quhar for i exort 3ou (my thre sonnis) that 3e detest auerese, ambicion, ande treason, ande that 3e gar 3our solistnes of the defens of 3our comont veil presfer the solistnes of 3our particular veil: for quhen 3our particular veil is spulzeit or hurt be 3our enemeis, it maye be remedit be 3our comont veil. ande in opposit, gyf 3our comont veil be distroyt, than it sal neuyr be remedit be 3our particular veil, for 3our particular veil is bot ane accessor of 3our comont veil, ande the accessor follois the natur of the principali. accessorium sequitur naturam

33 sui principalis.

1 repungnant
2 sonnis
CONSPIRATORS ARE ALWAYS PUNISHED.

If quhou the actor declaris that conspiratours ar ay punest to the deith be the princis that gat profeit of thare conspiratione.

CHAPTER XIII.

THER is ane exemplil, quhou that eftir the dolorus battel of cannes, quhilk i hef oft rehersit of befoir, qhar that the nobil counsil emilius paulus vas slane vitht xiii 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 an nibal, sum be compulsion, and sum be fre vil, be cause that thai var disparit that the romans culd euer hef pouer to resist the cartagions, & sum of them randrit them be trason for monye that thai resauit fra annibal, as did the nobil cite of capee: zit notheles inconstant foirton alterit the prosperite of the cartagions, quhilk vas occasione that the romans be grit vailyeantnes recouverit & 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 reunegit 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 name of the men of veyr of cape culd ische furtht bot gif thai

How after the battle of Canne,

How Capua was recaptured by the Romans.
Cam vitht in the romans camp, at that tyme fuluius flaccus vas captan and duc of the romans armye, the romans hed nocth monye hors to ryde in forrais and in prikkyyng contrar ther enemes, bot the men of veir of capes as numydiens, quhilk annibal left in garnison

Var veil furnest vitht gritt nummir of hors, the qhilkis ischit furtht daly fra capes, and did grit domage 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 mycht fumeis, and to gar 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 sarmouche on the romans, the hors men of the romans, tua on ilk hors, met and recontrit the cartagiens, and at ther met-

ing, tha that Reid behynd on the hors descudit on ther fute vitht ther darts. of this sort the romans on hors and on fute disconfeist the cartagiens of capes, be cause thai of capes kneu nocht of the subtillte that the romans hed ordand contrar them. the remanent of the cartagiens that var nocht slane fled vithtin the toune to saf them, bot al the romans armye follouit sa haistlyye qhilk thai gat entres vitht in the toune, and pat it to sac; and ther esfrit the noble consul fuluius flaccus past to the tribunal, & gart al the principal lordis of capes compeir, and than he gart bynd ther handis in iryn chenžei, be cause of the trason that thai committit contrar ther natiiue cuntre. and syne he send ane certan of them to be put in preson in the toune of theane, and ane vthyr certan to the toune of calles. than esfrit that he hed put ordour to the maist vrgent byssenes of capes, he departit and past to theane and to calles, to gar exsecut justice on the conspiratours of capes, quhar he gart strik the *heydis fra tham of capes that var in preson in theane, and syne past to calles to gar exsecut

1 munydiens 2 nummir 3 myht 4 beynd
Justice on the remanent. He beand ther aryuit, he gart 1
bryng furtht the presoners to be justisfiet. At that samyn
instant hour, the senat ande faders conscript of rome
send ane post in message vitht ane closit vryting to
fuluius flaccus, chargeand hym to be mercyful, and
nocht ouer rigor in exsecutione of his justice. He hef-
and suspitione of the contineu of ther vrytingis, and als
heffand ane feruent affectione to puneis tratours, he re-
sauit the vryting in his kar hand, and vald nocht apin
it nor reid it quhil the boreaue hed strikyn the heydis
fra the presoneris of calles quhilkis hed conspyrit con-
str capes. This exsecutione of justice beand endit, he
apnit the vrytingis, and eftir that he hed red the con-
tineu of it, he said to the post, my frend, this vryting
is cum ouer lait and behynd the hand. Of this sort the
tratours of capes var punest; for this nobil consul ful-
uius flaccus gart sla 25 of the maist nobillis of capes.
Siklik gif ther be ony of the townis, villagis, or castellis
of scotland, that hes randrit them to be subiectis til
ingland be trason, i vald god that fuluius flaccus var
diligat iuge to pu'neis them as he punest the consipa-
tours of capes; for the forsaid fuluius1 flaccus gat as
grit comemadatione for the extreme justice that he gart
exsecut on treasonabil tratours, as he gat for his vail-
jeantnes quhen he conquist the toune of capes fra
annibal.

Ther is ane vdir exempl of the punitione of
tratours, as thucidides the historien greik rehersis in the
xv cheptor of his yrst beuk, quhen pausanias, quho
hed commissione of the armye of the lacedemoniens,
quhen he past to defend hellesport, he was depriuit of
that dignite, be cause he hed intelligens Vitht the
enemeis of greice. Than he beand depriuit, he of ane
profond maleis departit fra lacedemia, and gart the
pepil beleif at his departing, that his purpos vas to pas

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

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

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

How Pausanias
entered into
treasonable
 correspondence
with Xerxes,

1 fuluius
to hellespont to be ane sodiour for the defens of that cuntre, be rason it vas ane of the subiectis of greice\(^1\). 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 greikis. than to mak his traison mair patent, he send ane certan of presoners of meid to the kyng, and he gart the bruit gang that thai presoneris hed 'eschaipit & brokyn the preson contrar his vil, the quhilk presoner-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 greikis; & also he vreit ane lettir to the kyng of meid, as eftir follonis.

\(^1\) original has rone  \(^2\) rytht  \(^3\) persons  \(^4\) nytht
Conspirators are always punished.

Gold syluyr nor men of veir to be at thy command; 1 and as to my dochtyr, i assure thee that shee sal be thy spousit vyf. thou1 sal gif credence to this berar artabasus, qua we is tu my secretar and my speciale frend. Quhen pausanias hed resauit this vryting fra exercexs kyng of meid, he began eure day to practik his intent contrar the grekis, and als he be cam familiar vith the barbariens, the quhilk familiarir ves occasione that the grekis tuke ane real suspeticne and ane vehement imaginatione of his coniuratione and conspiracione. quhar for til eschaip the danger and domage that mycht2 suc-cede fra his trason, the ephores of lacedemonia send ther sergent to summond hym to compeir in the toune of sparvnedir the pane to be reput rebel and enemy to grece. than he beleuand to keip hym fra ane gritar suspeticne, and als hefand hope to purge hym of al erymes throcht giftis and moneye that *he theocht to distribut anang the senaturis of lacedemonia, he past forduart vith the sergent to the toune of sparv. than 19 incontenten the ephores constitut hym presoneir, for the ephores of lacedemonia var of sa grit authorite, that thai mycht constitut and compel ther kyng or ther duc to be presoneir. the senaturas & inhabitaris of sparv hed nocht sufficient probatione to condamp hym. ther-for thai dred to exsecut vengeance on hym, be cause he was discendit of his geneologie, and of the blude ryal of lacedemonia, and als he vas of hie dignite. at that instaunt tyme he hed ane domestik seruitour quhilk he hed abusit carnalye lang of befoir in his southeid, quhilk seruitur hed borne the last vrytingis that he hed vrytin to artabasus the secretar of kyng exercxes. than this seruituir persauand that nane of the messengeris that hed past of befoir vith vrytingis to artabasus, returnit agane vitht ansuer, he hesland dreddor of his auen lyif, he apnit the vrytingis to red the tenor of 35

1 then 2 mycht
them, quhar he gat the samyn thing in them quhilk he suspektit & doubtit of befor\textsuperscript{1}: that is to say, quhou that pausanias vrit to artabasus to resaif his vrytingis & ther estir to sla the messengeir. this said seruitur 'brocht the vrytingis to the ephores of lacedemonia, the quhilk vryting maid the traison of pausanias manifest, 3it nochtheles thai vald nocht execut punitione quhil that the verite of his cryme var mair manifest. than be ane subtle canteil thai gart pausanias seruitur pas to the tempil to tak gyrtht and protectione, as dois ane tres-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 tresspassar that hed committit cryme. and syne thai gart ane of ther familiaris aduerteis pausanias, quhou that his seruitur hed tane gyrtht in the tempil for sum cryme that he hed committit, and als thai hed gisf sufficient informatione to the seruituir of pausanias quhou he suld vse hym touart his maister. than the ephores past to the samyn tempil, and hid them in ane secret place be hynd the curtingis of the tempil, to that effect that thai mycht\textsuperscript{2} heir the vordis and communicationis that vas to be spokyn betuix pausanias and his seruituir. Pausanias beand aduertest of the presonyng of his seruand, past incontinent to the tempil to inquyre his seruituir of the cause of his cummyng to gyrtht in that 'said tempil. his seruituir ansuer, schyr, i hed suspitione and dred my lyif, be cause that the messengeris that 30 send of befoir to xerxes returnit nocht agane. therfor i apnit 3our vritings quhair that i hef fundyn the thynge that i doubtit, quharfor i meruel that 3e haif vrytin to gar sla me, considerand that i hef been ane faithful seruituir, and 3e vait veil that i hef kepit 3our consel in secret of al 3our byssines that 3e hef vrocht vitht kyng exerxees contrar the grekis, ther for 3e hef com-

\textsuperscript{1} hefor  
\textsuperscript{2} mythit
CONSPIRATORS ARE ALWAYS PUNISHED.

mittit ane onhumain act in sa far as 3e vald gar 1 sla me for my guide service. pausianias 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 incontenent, and pas to artabasus, and to declair til hym be tong quhou that i am rycht1 solist to fulfil the promes that i maid til his maister xerxes, the quhilk i beleif sal cum til ane gude fyne rycht1 haistylie. the ephores that stude be hynd the curtynis knaanand and herand the manifest trason of pausianias, thai *gart hym dee in presone, & ther efiir thai gart cast his2 body in ane cauerne quhar that the vse vas to cast the carions of comdampnit transgressouris. and sa pausianias vas recompensit & reuardit 17 for his trason that he committit contrar his natie cuntre.

If T[h]er is ane vthir exempl3 of the punitione of trason, in the fyrst cheptor of the second beuk of samuel, quhen the philistienis faucht in ane battel contrar the childir of israel, quhar that kyng saul vas slane on the montan of gelboye. at that tyme ther departit ane 3ong man of the amalekytes blude fra the camp of saul, quha presentit hym on his kneis befoir dawid. than dawid said til hym, quhar fra ar thou cum? presentlye the 30yng man ansuert, i am cum fra the camp of Israel. dawid said til hym, i pray the that thou declair to me al the nouelles of the battel. the 3ong man ansuert, the pepil ar fled fra the battel, and ther is ane grit nummer of the pepil deid, & als saul and his sone ichonathan ar dede. dawid said to the 30yng man that brocht the nouuelles, quhou knaus thow that saul and ichonathan his sone ar dede? the 30yng man ansuert, 35 [a leaf 82 (94)]

How Pausanias perished for his treason.

Samuel, cap. 2.

How the young Amelekite that slew Saul, thinking to be rewarded by David, was slain for his treason.
1 quod he, be chance i arryuit on the montan of gelboye, quhar i beheld *saul leynaund on his speyr. than he lukit be hynd hym, sayand to me, quhat art thou? to quhome i ansuert, i am ane amalaket. than he said, i pray the to sla me, for mellancolye hes assailzet me, bot

6 nochteles my lyf is zit in my body. than i past and i slen hym, be cause that i knew that he culd nocht eschaip wtht his lyf; and i tuke his croune fra his hede, and his brascheleis fra his armis, the quhilkis i haif brocht heir to the. than dauid lamentit lauyleye

11 the dede of saul and of his sone iohonatan, & the slauchtyr of the grit numer of pepil that var slane. than cftir his dolorus lamentatione, he said to the young man that hed brocht hym the nouelleis, quhy deth thou nocht to put thy handis in the vncit kyng of the lord?

16 than dauid callit on ane of his sodiours, and gart hym sla that young man in his presens, sayand, thy blude sal be on thy hede, for thy moutht hes testifet contrar than self, quhen that thou confessit that thou sleu the vncit kyng of the lord. of this sort this young man was punest for the slauchtyr of kyng saul. Ther is ane vthir ex-

22 empil of the punitone of trason, as is vrytin in the fyft be cheptor of the second beuk of samuel. quhen that rechab and banach his *brudir entrir in the house of isbosit the sone of kyng saul, & thair thi strak hym t[h]rocht the fyft ryb of his syde vitht ane dagar, quhen he vas slepand in his bed, and ther cftir thai cuttit his hede fra his body, & brocht it to dauid til ebron, say-

29 and, behold heir the hede of isbosit 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 quhill de-

35 lyuerit me fra tribulatione is lyuand, and als sykilik as i gart sla hym that brocht me the nouuelles of the dede of kyng saul, be mair rycht i suld gar sla them

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1 contrat 2 entrir 3 cuttit 4 deleynerit 5 ryght
CONSPIRATORS ARE ALWAYS PUNISHED.

that hes slane the iust isboseth quhen he vas lyand slepand in his bede. than kyng dauid gef command til his soudiours 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 syne\(^2\) hangit them bayght on ebron hil. of this sort tratours suld be ay reuardit quhen thai commit trason contrar ther prince. Ther is ane vther exempil of the puntione of tratouris that betrasis ther natyf prince. quhen the cruel veyris var betuix darius kyng of perse and grit alexander of macedon, ther vas ano captan \(^*\)of kyng darius quha vas verra familair & in grit fauir vitth darius, callit tessus, quha sleu his maister kyng darius,\(^3\) in hope to get ane grit reuard fra kyng alexander. kyng alexander cam at that instant tymne quhen darius vas in the agonya and deith thran, t[h]roch the mortal vondis that he hed resauit fra tessus his seruituir. than alexander maid ther ane solemnuit vou to reuenge the trason committit be the said tessus. than he\(^4\) gart his soudiours serche & seike tessus, quha vas gottyin in the forest, and vas brocht and led bundyn in ane chenge befor kyng alexander.\(^5\) this nobil alexander gart his soudiours pul doune the crops of the green treis, and ther eftir tha baal his tua armis vitth cordis to the crops of ane of the treis, and he gart bynd his feit to the crops of the tothir tre, & than gart lat louse the crops of the tua\(^6\) treis, and tha sprang vp ryht\(^7\) of thir ald fasson, & in the rysing vp thai dreu the body of tessus in peces. of this sort tessus vas reuardit for his trason committit contrar his ryhteous\(^8\) prince. Ther is ane exempil of the trason that ane blac jacopyne frere commitit contrar henry the seuynt of that name, the toune of florens vald nocht obeye to the empir, quhar for the said 'empriour henry brocht\(^9\) ane grit

\(^1\) baanacht
\(^2\) syne
\(^3\) darius
\(^4\) ge
\(^5\) alexander
\(^6\) rua
\(^7\) rytht
\(^8\) ryhteous
\(^9\) broth
army to seige the toune of florens. than ane blac iacopyne frere gat ane grit some of moneye fra the florentynis to tak on hand to sla the emprion, be cause this said frere vas familiar vitht the said emprion. than he t[h]rocht auereis, he poysont the host of the sacra-
ment vitht poyson. ther effir that nobil emprion past to resaif the body of god vndir the forme of brede, and
as soune as he hed resaït it in his moutht, his body began to sue, and sa he decessit. The verite of this trason was persaït be the phicisians and medicinaris:
quhar for the men of veyr of this nobil emprion gart quartyr that fals frere betuix iiiij hors, and sa he vas reuardit for his trason. There is diuerse vthirs exemp-
plis of the myscheif that god sendis on conspiratiors.
there for i exort 3ou my thre sonnis, that gyf ony of 3ou hes faltit contrar 3our commont veïl throucht ignorance or abusione, that 3e correct 3our selfis, than god sal be 3our frend.

CHAP. XV.

19 O MY dolorus mother, quhilk sum tyme aboundit in prosperite, and nou thou art spul[3]et fra al felicite t[h]rocht grit affliction of langorius tribulatione, resaif thy repreïf in paciens for ane correctione, and
noch for ane innectyf dispïyt. i knau that thy com-
playnt is nocht disraisonabil nor vitht out cause, 3it nochtheles my displesuir is vondir bittir, in sa far as i hef baytht the domage and the reproche of thy mys-

1 Original Chap. VX.
cheif, the quhilk i deserue nocht til hef be rason of my 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 importabil byrduyng, for i am dung and broddit to gar me do & to thole the thing that is abuif my pouer. allace, i am the merk of the but, contrar the quhilk euere man schuis ar'rous of tribulatione, allace, quhou is justice sa euil trettit quhilk is occasione that euere man vsis al extreme extorsions contrar me as far as ther pouer can exsecut. allace, i laubyr nycht and day vitht my handis to neureis lasche and inutil idil men, and thai recom-pens me vitht hungyr, and vitht the sourd. i susteen ther lyif vitht travel & vitht the suct of my body, and thai parsecut my body vitht outrage and hayrschip, quhil i am be cum ane begger. thai lyf t[h]rocht me, and i dee t[h]rocht them. allace, o my natural mother, thou repreifs & accusis me of the faltis that my tua brethir committis daly, my tua brethir nobilis and clergie quhilk suld defend me, tha ar mair cruel contrar me nor is my ald enemes of ingland. tha ar my natural brethyr, bot thai ar my mortal enemes of verry deid. Allace, quhou can i tak paciens considerand that ther can na thing be eikkyt to my parsecutione bot crueldede. i dee daly in ane transe t[h]rocht the necessite that i hef of the gudis that i van vitht my laubyrs. my 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 foris to me * & vyf and bayrms2 to drynk vattir. the teyndis of my cornis ar nocht alanerly hychtit abufe the fertilite that the grond maye bayr, bot as veil thai ar tane furth of my handis be my tua tirran brethir, and quhen i laubyr be marchandres or be mecanik

1 hychtit 2 bayrus
1 craftis, i am compellit to len and to fyirst it to my tua cruel brethir, and quhen i craif my dettis quhilk suld sustene my lyf, i am bostit, hurt, and oft tymis i am slane. ther for laubereris to burcht\(^1\) & land and be se burd, thai indue daly sic violence that it is nocht possibil that esperance of releif can be ymagynit. for ther is nay thing on the lauberaris of the grond to burcht\(^1\) and land, bot arrage, carage, taxationis, violent spulxe, and al vthyr sortis of aduersite, quhilk is onmercifully ex-secut daly. the veyr is cryt contrar ingland, bot the actis of the veir is exsecutit contrar the lauberaris, and consumis ther miserabil lyf. O my natural mother, my complaynt is hauy to be tald, bot it is mair disples-and to susteen my piteous desolacione. i am banest fr\(\)m my house, i am boistit and marniest be my fredis, and i am assail\(\)\(j\)it be them that suld defend me. the lauberaris ar ane notabil membryr of ane realme, vitht out the quhilk the nobillis \(^1\)& clergie can nocht sustene ther stait nor ther lyf, 3it notheles thai ar bayytht be cum my mortal enemeis, the quhilk vil be the final enersione of ther aun prosperite. therfor i may compair them til ane man in ane frenyse, quhilk bytis his aun membris vitht his teth\(\)t,\(^2\) through the quhilk his body be\(^3\) canamis consumit. the romans in ald tymes prondit prudentlie for the defens of the comont pepil contrar the nobillis, the senat, and al vtheris of grit stait or dignites, and contrar ther extensions, for thai institut

14 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;

20 28 inclure mai persecutione be them nor be the cruel veyr

\(^1\) burcht \(^2\) techt \(^3\) he
of ingland, for my takcis, steyding, and teyndis ar
nocht alaney tane fra me or ellis hychtit\(^1\) til ane
ourasonabil price, bot as veil i am maid ane slane\(^2\) of
my body to ryn and rashe in arrage & carraige. ther for
i am constreen\(\) to cry on god for ane ven\(\)geance con-
trar them for the importabil\(^3\) afflictione qhilk thai con-
strene me til indure, the qhilk i beleif sal cum
haistyly on them be the rycht ingement of god, conform-
and to the vordis of the prophet, propter miseriam
inopum \& gemitum pauperum nunce exurgam
dicit dominus: that is to say, be the expositione of
the doctoris, for the misere of mistirful men, and for
the vepynge of pure men, the diuynie iustice sal exsecut
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 qhilk
tha parpetrat on the pure pepil. for it is to be presumit
that the lamentabil voce and cryis of the affligit pepil
complenan\(\)t to the hauyn, vil mone to pitie the clemens
of the maist merciful and puissant diuynie plasmator,
the qhilk t[h]rocht his eternal iustice, vil succumb in
confusione al violent vsurpatours qhilkis parpetratis
sic cruel iniquiteis on the desolat pure pepil. Therfor
(o thou my mother) sen i am in dangeir of the deitht,
and dispart of my lyif, necessite pulsis and constre\(\)nes
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 ingratitude
of my tua brethir. ther dissolutione, and the myskna-
lage of god, and ther disordinat misgovernance, is the
cause of my impatients, and cause of al my afflictione;
for as ther euil conquest recches multiplies, ther disord-
inat Pompe and ther delicious ydilnes, vitht misknaulage\(^4\)
of god augmentis, qhilk is occasione that tha ar am-
bitius in ther stait, couetuse of gudis, and desirus to be

\(^1\) hychtit \(^2\) slane \(^3\) importabil \(^4\) misknaulage
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 bad in all families.

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

2. My murmurings do not cause them to desist from wrong.

3. You should not blame all your children alike.

4. There are good and bad in all families.

1. guernouris of the realm. I suld hef said misgouernouris of the realm, the quhilk foliful affectionis vil be ther aucn confusione quhen god pleysis, be rason that nane of ther verkiis ar conformand to the comand of god. bot al the mannessing that is maid to them, nor

6. 3it the grit promes that is maid to them be the holy scripture, altris nocht ther couetyse desyre. therfor thai may be comparit to the edrope, 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 mumsyris ther crualte, bot 3it nane of them decistis fra the vice quhilk gifis me occasione to mumsyr. it is nocht possibil to gar extorsione be viit out murmurr, nor murmurr to be viit out rumour of the pepil, nor rumour to be viit ouf divuisione, & divuisione viit out desolatione and sklandyr. therfor my impaciens suld be supportit be cause that the ocassione of it hes suppedit my rason. o my desolat mother. thou suld nocht reproche al thy thre childir in general, hot ra there to reproche sa mony 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 patriark Iacob hed tuelf sonnis, of the quhilk his Jongest sone beniemyn vas indole and innocent, and Iosept vas faithful and merciful, and ruben vas piectabil and humain, and the tothir nyne brethir var cruel and dissaitful, quhen thai condampnit there brethore Iosept to dee in ane cesterne, & there effir 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 to speik of the defferencs of kyngis. dauid that roial prophet, vas ane holy kyng, and kyng saul vas cruel & vicius. and amang the staitis of preistis, mathathias vas gude, and obnias vas euil.

35 and amang the staitis of prophetis, dauid vas gude, and

1. mother
2. mony
3. ro
balaam vas euil. & amang the vedous, iudicht vas gude, and Ihesabel vas euil. amang the pastoirs and hirdis, abel vas gude, and abimelech vas euil. amang the staitis of reche men, Iob vas gude, and nabal was euil. and amang the religion of the apostolis, Sanct 5 petir vas gude, and iudas vas euil. ther for o my dolorus mother, thou erris in thy accusatione, in sa far as thou makis na acceptance of personis, nor puttis defferens betuix qualites of conditionis of men. it is concludit be al lauis, diuyne and humain, that euere person sal be commendit or detestit efferand for his conversacione. therfor thou suld nocht condamp innocentis and trangressouris 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 the vicius pepil of sodome and gomore. O my velbelouit mother, thou knauis that i am innocent of thy inuective accusatione, and that my tua cruel brethrr ar the cause of thy desolatione, & of my distructione. for i am sa viole?ztly ouerset be them, that throcht pouerte of gudis and "t[h]rocht debilite of my persone, i can nothir do gude to my frendis, nor euil to my enemies. quharfor i exort the til altir thy seuir accusatione in ane cheritabil consolatione. there is ane prouerb that sais "parch sepulto; that is to saye, spair hym that is in his sepulture. this prouerb maye be applyit to my dolorus fortoune, for i maye be comparit til hym that is dede in his sepulture, considerand that ther can be na dolour eikit to my adversite, except cruel deitht. there for thou suld abstrak thy inuective reprocha, quhilk is rather cruelte nor 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 nocht qhou 36
that my brethir ar becum onmerciful tirrans tou'art me. i am haldyn be the v[u]lgar pepil for there zongest brother, bot i am there eldest brother in verra deid. for i vas gottyn and borne lang befor them, and it vas i that first instituit there faculteis. for the pollice that vas inunctit be me & my predecessouris eftir the creations of the varld, hes procreat the stait of my brethir. the faculteis and the beginnyng of nobillis and *spiritualite, hed bot pure lauboraris to there predecessouris. bot nou sen thai ar cum to stait and digniteis t[h]rocht me, thai ar be cum ingrat, and lychtleis me. my tua brethir professis them to be gentil men, and reputis me and al lauberaris to be rustical and inciule, ondantit, ignorant, dullit slausi. thai vil nocht consider that al there gentreis hes procedit and discendit fra me. ther for quhair thai compt the degres of there genologie, thai suld fyrst begyn at adam oure foir father, and quhen thai pryde them, and ascribis in there reches faculteis or digniteis, thai suld fyrst begyn at the successoris of ouer foir father Adam, quhilkis var lauberaris of the grond, and be there prudent inuention and pollice, hes procreat the stait that thai posses. therfor thai haue na cause to gloir in them seluis, bot rather thai suld gloir in me, and in al lauberaris of the grond quhilkis var fundatouris of al there triumphand prosperite. bot there affectione, and there vane ignorant consaitis, garris them ymagyn & beleif that there predecessouris and al there nobillite and digniteis hes discendit fra the angellis and archangellis, & nocht fra ouer for father adam, quhilk is the speciale cause that thai lychtlic the lauberaris that fundit them. i meruel thai that considir nocht the gentris & genologie of kyng dauid that hed ane pure sceliphrsd til his father. tulius hostilins the thrid kyng of rome, vas the sone of ane pure lauberar of the grond. tarquinius priscus the fyift

Adam and his successors were all labourers of the ground.

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

Tarquin the elder,

1 lauberaris
kyng of rome, vas the sone of ane pure marchant. varro
that prudent consul and dictatur of rome, vas the
sone of ane flaschar. the vailant consul of rome per-
penna, qhuh reuengit the slauchthir of crassus, vas the
sone of ane pure greik. marcus cato vas the sone of ane
pure man of tuscan. the philosophour socrates, qhilk
vas ingit to be the maist prudent man in the vniuersal
varkl, vas the sone of ane pure man callit sophonistus,
quhilk vas ane grauer of imagis of marbyr stone, and
his mother vas ane meyd vyf. curipides vas the sone of
ane pure man that sellit frut & cirbis. demostenes that
prudent duc of athenes, vas the sone of ane pure mar-
chant that sellit ald knyuis. agathocles kyng of cecille,
vase the sone of ane pottar that formit clay pottis. marcus
tulius cicero vas the sone of ane pure lauberar of ar-
pyne. qhuhar for i meruel of the vanete of my tua
brethir that ascribis and professis them "gentil men be
successione of ther predecessouris. and thai vil nocht
considir that the stok of the fyrst genologe of al the
nobillis that hes bene sen the varld began, hes been
pure lauberarlis and mecanik craftis men: therefor it is
grit abusione to them to gloir in there nobil blude; for
i trou that gif ane cirurgyen vald drau part of there
blude in ane bassyn, it vald hef na bettir cullour nor
the blude of ane plebien or of ane mecanik craftis man.
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, thai
mysken god and man, quhilk is the occasione that i and
thou sal neuyr get releif of our afflictione. quharfor i
pray to god to grant them grace to ken them selfis; for
as lang as thai ken nocht them selfis, thai sal neuyr
ken god, nor 3it sal hef pitie of pure affligit pepil. the
quhilk misknaulege of themself and of god, sal be occa-
sione of there aucen ruuyne, bot gif thai correct them

How baseless the boast of "blood!"
Let it be tested.
THE COMPLAIGHT OF SCOTLAND. [CHAP. XV.

1 selvis haistylye. O my dolorus mother, this prolix lamentabil complaunt procedis fra ane affligit hart, quhar for i exert the to mettigat thy inuectiue vehement accusatione, and to consider the verite of my innocens. the prudent seneque gyuis cummand to reprefit.

6 vitht out inuire, and to lone vitht out flattery; bot thou passis the limitis¹ of bayth thir documentis, for thy vordis ar verr a inuiriis, vitht out perspectione to the verite. thou accusis me ouer rigourouslie of conspirationis and trason, thou knauand veil that trason is neuyr generit nor inuentit in the harts of the pure comontis; & quhou beit that there ignorance culd gar them consaue² ane grondit maleis contrar ane prince that hes perpetrat exactionis on the pepil, sit notheles thai hef nothir prudens nor knaulege til connoye and til exsecut ony point of trason. there for, quhen the committaris of trason ar tryte furtht, it sal be fundyn that i and al vthir of my faculte sal be clene and innocents of that foule cryme, be rason that it is nocht possibil that ane pure man can haue oportunite til exsecut ane traisonabil act contrar ane prince, be cause of sa mony dificil impedimentis that maye impesche hym,

12 as pouerte, dreddour, ignorance, and nocht³ hefand familiarite vitht ane prince, and the perellis & dangers that maye succe fra coniurationis, ar vondir grit, nocht alaney in the connoyng "and in the divising diverse consaistis to bring there purpos til effect, bot as veil the dangeir and perrel is as grit in the exsecutione of it, and na les danger and perrel eftir that it be exsecut. therefor i think that ane pure man can commit na trason contrar ane prince, bot gif that he vaith hasyard his lyif in ane disparit vilfulnes; and quhar ony man takis hardynes to commit trason of that sort, it is rycht seyndil sene that he eschapis the deitht in the present tyne of his exsecutione. ther for i can nocht beleif that

¹ liuitis ² consaue ³ nocht
ony person vil offer hym self til ane certan deht til-1
fully, for quhou beit that pausanias sleu philip kyng of macedon passand to the tempil quhar he hed ane thousand of his men of armis about hym in the presens of his sone and of his gude sone, zit nooththeles that act 5
culd neuyr hef been execut, hed nocht been that paus-
anias hed familiarite vitht kyng philip, and siklyik ane spang3ard of ane pure stait strak ferrand kyng of spang3e vitht ane knyf on the crag, quhilk vouad vas nocht mortal; zit nooththeles this spang3ard culd nocht 10
hef dune it, hed nocht been that he hed ane hardy hart, and alse heffand commodite and tyme oportune to com-
mit that act. *Siklyik ane preist of turque callit deruis[s*leaf 91 (102),bk] schot ane bolt befor the port of tempil contrar basit, quhilk vas fathere to solomanuis the grit turk that 15
ringis nou presentlye. that schot sleu nocht basit, bot 3it the executione of that act culd nocht hef been vitht out hardyneres and oportunite, therfor O my desolat mother, ve that ar pure lauberaris suld neuir be suspak-
kit of trason, considerand that ve haue nothir tyme, 20
oportunite, reches, credens, hardynes, prudens, nor familiarite vitht ane prince. therfor, al historiograph-
ours rehersis that al comiurations hes been execut be grit personagis of ane realme, or ellis be the familiaris
seraundis of ane prince. there for ve that ar pure com-
ontis, distitut of credit, prudens, and autorite, and nocht heffand familiarite vitht the maieste of ane prince, ve can hef' na comodite of the necessair thingis that ar requirit to put ane trasonabil act til executione, for quhou beit that our ignorance vald gar vs consaue 30
ane malicious intent contrar our prince, ve behuft fyrst to reueil it til diuerse men to gar them be participant
vitht vs, t[hr]oucht the quhilk renelatione sum of them vald accuse vs til our prince. for it is nocht possibil *to
gar thresum keip consel, and speciale in causis of trason; for euere person hes sum frend that he louis as 36
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 feyrld frende; and of this sort there
4 intrepricis is manifest, fra the quhilk succedsis perrition of body and gudis. for there is nocht mony men in this varld but sum vil schau there secret to ther brother, or to there companzone, or to there vyfe, or to there familiar seruandis; and alsa indiscretionie of sum con-
9 iuratours causis there entreprisis to be discouuerit be there seruandis or childir, [h]roucht suspicione 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-
17 uandis and childir; as is rehersit in the fyrst beuk of titus liuius, that quhen the sonnis of brutus var mak-
[*leaf92(104),bk] and ane sedicius pactione vitht the im badassadours of
22 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 coniuratione, the quhilk seruand accusit them of trason to there fathe’re brutus and to the senat, quilk vas occasione that brutus vsit
data
27 facelines of the coniuratours that schauis 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 coniuratione that philotes intendit til exeacut contrar kyng allexander. this forisaid dinus reuelit his
32 secret til ane 3ong child that he louit callit nicomacus, ande nicomacus reuelit that samyn secret til his brother ciballinus, and ciballinus reuelit it til kyng alexander, quhilk vas occasione that the coniuratours suffrit the
36 detht. Therefor (o my dolorus mothere) thou may con-
sidir that the defeculte of the comitting of trason is vondir grit, and the perrel and the dangeir that succedis is na les; quharfor grit men, and also the familiaris of princis that coniuris, ar aflagit in thare hart vitht and thousand deffeculteis or tha tak on hand til excecute there entrepri'ce. than be mair rycht ve that ar poure comontis can nothir hef oportunite nor comodite to virk trason contrar our prince. and quhou beit that sum tyme ve resaue inuirius throucht exactions that ane eul gounernit prince exsecutis on the pepil, sit nochthes ve inure 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 trason, our ignorance deseruis mair louyng nor dois our prudens. the maist cruel vengeance that pure comontis can exsecut contrar ane eul prince, is to gar our vyuis & bayrnis pray nycht and daye to send ane mischeif on hym, and to send hym schort lyue dais, & to send ane vthir gude prince in his place, conformand to the prayer of sanct dauid in the 108 psalme of his psalter, quhilk sais, etenem occidantur qui nos perturbant, fiant filij eius orphani, & episcopatum eius accipiet alter, as is contenit at Lair lyntht in the psalme callit deus laudem; bot ve nor our vyuis and bayrnis dar neyur pray appynly to send sic vengeance on ane eul prince, in drede that sum curtician alege trason on vs, and theretfir to by our eschet. ther for ve praye for vengeance quhen ve ly doune at euyyn, and quhen ve ryise in the mornyng; bot al the remanent of the daye quhen ve happyn to cum in ony straynge companye, ve pray deuotly vitht ane fenzet hart to saue his grace, and to keip hym in lang lyue dais and in gude prosperite. as valerius maximus rehersis ane exempl quhou there vas ane vyfe of syracuse in cecille quhilk prayt daly in the tempil in presens of the pepil to saue and to keip
1 dionisius the kyng of cecille, quha vas ane prince that committit mony exactions on the pure pepil. the de- notione of this ald vyif vas reportit to\(^1\) kyng dionisius, quha euld nocht meruel aneucht of the gude mynde that sche hed touuart hym, considerand that al the

6 remanent of the pepil of siracuse heytit hym to the detht for the exactions insupportabil that he executit 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 ansuerit to kyng dionisius, quod sche, my souvereane prince, i vse nocht sic de'uo-
tione to desir 3our lang lyif dais, bot for ane grit rason as i sal rehearse. in the begynnynge quhen i vas ane

16 3ong damysel, 3our gudscheir molestit the pepil vitht intollerabil exactions, quhar for i prayt to the goddis of the tempil to schort his lyif dais: than sune ther eftir he vas slane. than eftir hym succedit his sone quha vas 3our father, and he did mair extorsions to the pepil nor did his father, quharfor i prayt to the goddis of the

22 tempil to send hym schort lyif dais: than sune there eftir he vas stikkit in his secret chalmyr. and nou 3e succed to 3our fatheris heretage and til al his vicis, for 3e commit dayly mair insupportabil exactions nor did 3our father or 3our gudscheir, quhar for i pray dayly to

27 the goddis to send 3ou lang lyif dais; for i vait veil sen that iniquiteis and vicis succedis gre be gre fra princeis vitht augmentation of the samyn, doutles i suspect that 3our successour sal be the master deuyl; there for i hed leuyr indure 3our exactions nor til hef ane var prince in

34 our treason does not go beyond murmuring. of this sort (o my dolorus mother) ve that ar comont pepil vsis na vthir trason bot murmurs, and

\[\text{\textsuperscript{1} io}\]
souris. And quhou beit that thou vald alege that ve 1
can nocht purge vs of trason in sa far as ve hef tane
assurance of inglis men, allace thou suld nocht imput
our assurance for trason nor for ane cryme, for thou vait
veil that ve that ar lauberaris of the grond culd nocht
resist the inglis men; for ve that hed our vyuis and
barnis, our cattel and corne, and our gudis in the
boundis quhilk the inglis men posses violentlye, gart
it be forse til vs to be assurit, or ellis ve hed lossit al
our gudis, and our selfis til hef beene slane. for it is
veil knaun that sum of vs vald nocht be assurit, in
hope that my tua brethir nobilis and spiritualite vald
hef defendit vs, and til hef resistit our enemeis. bot sic
vane hope that ve hed of my brethrens supple hes gart
mony of vs be hareyt furtht of house and herbery,
quhilk is occasion that mony of vs ar beggand our meit
athourt the cuntre, and there is nocht ane of vs that ar
hereyt be inglis men that can get othir tak or steyding,
or kou or ox, fra our tua bredir to help vs in this ex-
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 doustes quhen the autorite & my tua brethir passis
in gude ordour to resist the invasions of our ald
enemeis, it sal be maid manifest that the pure comontis
that ar assurit of inglis men, thai sal preif as gude
scotis men etif there qualite as ony scottis man of
scotland that vas neuyr assurit. bot non at this dolorus
tyme ve ar constreynset to be assurit, the quhilk assur-
ance is bot ane dissimulatione, tariand quhil the tyme
virk ane better chance. and i think that our dissimila-
tione is nothir cryme nor syn, considerand as the bissy-
nes of the cuntre standis presentlye. for ane dissimila-
tione that procedis nocht of ane astuce intent suld be
calit ane hie prudeth ratherto nor dissimilatione. the
THE COMPLAINT OF SCOTLAND.

The dissimulatione of that vail\textgreek{e}ant romane iunius brutus conquest til hym mair reputatione and gloir nor did his vail\textgreek{e}ant actis that he committit quhen he bannest the tirran kyangis furtht of rome. Titus liuius rehersis that tarquinus superbus the sext kyang of rome vas vera cruel contrar them that var reput vise and prudent, & also he perpetrat daly intollerabil exactions contrar the comont pepil. quhen cuyr it vas reportit til hym of any

9 speciale person that vas reput prudent, he gart put that person in his beuk of proscriptione. quharfor young iunius brutus, quha vas sistir sone to tarquinus, heffand dreddor to be slane be his oncle, and to tyne his patri-mone, he of ane proudit mynde dissimilit his prudens, & changit his outuart verteous conditions in actis of folye lyke ane natural fule, quhar for it vas beleuit be al the romans that he vas be cum frenetic and glaykit, quhilk vas occasione that tarquinus vald nocth execut his crualte contrar hym, be cause he iugit hym to be ane fule. iunius brutus conteneuit in his dissimilatione

20 quhil on to the tyme that sextus tarquinus violet be forse the cheist lucrecia, the quhilk vile act generit ane dispyit and ane rancor within the hartis of the romans. than iunius brutus persauand the commotione of the pepil, he thocht it conuenient tyme to leaue his dissimilatione and to practik his prudens, quhar for he past to the frendis of lucrecia, and til diverse othir nobil romans, and gart them depone ane serment that thai suld al concur and conuene togidithir\textsuperscript{1} in ane purpose contrar the crualte of \textgreek{e}tarquinus superbus. this serment vas veil maid & bettir kepit, for brutus and the vail-

31 3eand 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, baynris, & there gudis lyand vndir the inglis mennis

\footnote{\textsuperscript{1} togidithir}
feit, and hes na releif nor defens to reuenge nor to resist the inglis men's invasions, thai suld mesure and veye there aven forse, and gif thai fynd them selfis sterk aneucht to defend them and there gudis contrar the inglis men, in that cace thay ar oblist til hasyard there lyisfs and there gudis to defend the cuntre, quhou beit 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 defend nor to resist there enemcis, thai commit na cryme quhen thai mak ane dissimulit assurance vitht inglis men, and to tempt al the consaitis and vays that thai can iuge to be necessair to gar them be saue of body and gudis fra the cruualte of ingland, quhil on to the tyme that thai maye be strynthit be the autorite to cum to resist the 'inglis men. Quhar for i exort the (o my desolat mother) that thou imput nocht the assurance of the pure comontis to proceid of trason, bot rather that thou accuse my tua sophistic brethir, quhilkis suld and culd haue releuit and restorit the to thy fyrst stait; for god knauis veil that i am innocent of thy accusatione, and the remeid of thy affliction lyis nocht in my possibilite.

Quhou the assilig lady dame scotia answert til hyr zongest soune, ande quhou sche reprochit hyr tua eldest sonnis for there necelegens in the defens of there comount veil.

THOU my zongest soune, callit lauberaristo burgh ande land, i vil nocht gyf eyris to thy excusations nor to thy purgations, be cause, as cicero vritis in

1 cousaitis
2 sonnie
Clee. 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 eye, and then the straw out of your neighbour's. People carry their neighbour's faults before their eyes, their own behind their back.

Persseus satiric. 4.

1. ane orison, that na man suld be admittit to be vytne in his auen cause. Noluerunt maiores nostri, hanc patere inimicitii visam, vt quem quisque odisset, cum testimonio possit tollere. ementiuntur enim sepe in eos, quos oderuunt. nor 3it 6 i vil nocht adhere to thy accusations contrar thy tua brethir, be rason that ane gilty man suld accuse no man of cryme, as crist ihesus hes gyffin ane exempl 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. crist ansuert to the accusaris sayand, he that is vitht out syn sal cast the fyrst stane at hyr. this exempl makkis manifest that ane accusar suld be cleene but vice, anne asl crist ihesus hes said in ane vithir passage to the ypocritis that accusit pure symmaris, quod he, 3e sal tak furtht anne grit balk furtht of 3our auen ee, anne there efir 3e maye tak furtht anne litle strey furtht of 3our nychtbours ee. "The poiet confermis this samyn purpos, sayand, that euerye 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; anne the nyxt sakket hyngis behynd his bak, vitht in the quhilk ar contenit al the vicis that his self committis. bot he can nocht see nor presue his auen vicis, because he seis nocht the sakket that hyngis behynd his bak, bot he seis his nychtbours faltis in the sakket that hingis befor hym, vt nemo in sese tentat discende[re] nemo, sed precedente 31 spectatur mantica tergo. There for (o thou my 3ongest soune) i refuse to gyf eyris or audiens to thy accusations contrar thy tua brethir, be rason that ane accusar suld be ecleen or he accuse his nychtbour, as cicero vritis, Accusare debent ij qui nullo suo 36 peceato impediuntur, quo faciliius alterius
Cicero de diminutione vera.

1

* leaf 98 (110)"

7

The commonalty deserve punishment as much as their betters.

12

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

18

They are not fit for liberty.

24

Their meetings are scenes of 

[* If 99 (110), bl.] uppror.

31

They follow the most blatant prater, like sheep.

DAME SCOTIA'S ANSWER TO THE COMMONS.

peccata demonstrare possint. Nor 3it i vil nocht adhere to the accusations that ony one of 3ou hes con-

trar vthirs. Thy accusatione is vondir inuectyue con-

trar thy tua brethren. the fyifteen inuectyuis philipiques of cicerio contrar anthonius, excedis nocht the accusa-

tions ande calumniationis that thou hes pro’nuncit con-

trar them, 3it nochtheles i discomend there cruelte, ande i commend nocht thy accusatione. for thou ande 
al thy sect callit lauberaris to burgh ande land, descruis no les pumitione nor dois thy tua brethren nobilis ande 
clergie. for gyf thou ande thy sect hed as grite liberte, as hes thy tua brethren, douhtes 3e vald be mair cruel, nor the vyild beystis of the desertis of arabie. the 
practic of this samyn is presently, ande euer hes been in tymes by past, sen the warld began. for as sune as 
3e that ar comont pepl ar onbridilit and furtht of sub-

iectione, 3our ignorance, inconstance, ande inciuilite, pulcis 3ou to perpetrated intolerabil exactions. for al the 
isurrections that euyr occurrir in ony realme contrar 
the prizace & the public veil, hes procedit of the ignor-

ance & obstinatione of the comount pepl. There for 
none of 3ou suld haue liberte, bot rather 3e suld be 
daly dantit & haldin in subiectione, be cause that 3our 
hartis is ful of maleis, ignorance, variance & inconst-

ance. for the maist part of 3ou al gyffis louyng tyl vicius 
men, and 3e hald verteous men abhominabil, and quhen 
3e ar al conuenit to gydthir for the auansing of ane 
gude purpose, 3e cry & ber kis ilk ane contrar vthirs, 
that nocht ane of 3ou knauis quhat ane vthir sais, ande 
quhen 3e hef flyttynt ane berkitt but ryme or rason al 
the lang daye, 3e accord nocht nor condiscendis pru-
dently on ane substancial constant purpose, and he that 
is the maist cummiversal cryar, ande maist obstinat con-

trar rasion, 3e reput hym for the maist prudent man of 
the realme. than quhen he gois, al the leaue rynnis & 
follouis hym, lyik the brutal scheip that vil nocht pas 

36
throucht the slop of ane dyik for the mannessing of there hyrd, quhil ane of the verst of the flok mak for ait, than al the leaue follouis. 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 mornyng in symmyr, or the comont pepil, quhilk of them suld preffer vthirs in variance. Cicero confirmis this samyn purpos, sayand, in imperitia multitutidine est varietas, & inconstantia, &

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

They jump to conclusions at first sight.

They are worse than brute beasts.

The civil law forbiddis all com-binations of the common people.

1 lounyng 2 enil 3 tyl onbeistis
beystly nature nor dois onbridilit co*mount pepil that
or dotit vitht rason, ve maye see be experiens, that
horse, nolt, scheip, doggis, voluis, lyons, ande al vthir
brutal beystis, ilk ane vil defsend there aucen natur con-
trar the violens of vthir beystis, as cicero sais, bestie
pro partu suo ita propungnant, & vulnera ex-
cipiant, nulos impetus, nulos casus formi-
dent. Bot it is nocht siklyik amang the pepil, for
everye man setts his felicite to distroy his nychtbour.1
Ande als the ondantit brutal beystys that hes there
liberte on feildis & forrestis, none of them eytis,
drynkis, nor sleipis, bot quhen ther natural appetit re-
quiris. nor the mail vitht the femmel committis nocht
the verkis of natur, bot in the saison of generatione.
bot the pepil that hes liberte kepis nocht sa gude rege-
ment. for thai considir nothir the vertu of temperance,
nor the vice of intemperance, bot rathere subjectis them
selfis to saciat ony sperk of the foul lust, that there
disordinat sensual appetit provokis them tyl ymagine,
as to eyt, drynk, and sleip abufe mesure at al tymis,
contrar there natural appetit. ande als the commit for-
icatione, adultere, homocide, ande diuerse vthir ex-
torsions & injuris contrar there nychtbour, there for
tha *deserue to be reput mair brutal, nor beystis that
ar brutal of natur. Ande quhou beit that sum of them
applyis them to vertu, quhen thai ar haldin in subiec-
tion, throucht the quhilk thai be cum industreus in
policie ande in conquessing of reches, be marchandreise,
or be mechanyc craftis, or be lauboryng of the corn
landis, or be servise,2 zhit nochtheles, as sure as ony of
them, be sic honest industreus occupations, hes conquerist
grit reches or heretagis, thai be cum mair ambicius ande
arrogant nor ony gentil man spercutual or temporal, that
ar descendit of the maist nobil barons of the cuntre.
ande there childir, distitut of ciuilite, throucht the

1 mychtbour  2 servise

[14] if 29 (131), bk] which defend
their own kind.
ignorance of there fathers, ande for falt of educacione and eruditione, thai be cum vane, prodig, ande arrogant, be cause thai succed sa cytisie to reches withe out the suct of there brouis, or pane of there body, nocht heffand regarde to the fyrst pouerte of there predecessours, nor of the cald, hungir, ande punirite that there fathirs and mothers indurit in the conquessing of sic reches. ande gyf sa beis that ony of the successours of mecanyc men (that is to saye the successours of lauberaritis to burght ande land) 'be promouit til ony stait abufe there faculte, as to be samandis to men of auttorite, or to be courticians ande officiaris to princis, or 3it to be promouit to benefisissis, or tyl ony vthir digniteis abufe there qualite, than arrogance makky ypocryse manifest, conformand til ane addagia of ane of the seyyn sapientis callit minus 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 mysken them selfis, there frendis, ande there familiaris. There is nocht ane mair odins thyn in this wyrld, as quhen the successour of ane indigent ignorant mecanyc pepil ascendis tyl ony dignite abufe his qualite, for incontinent eftir his promotione, he myskennis god ande man. asperius nichil est humili cum surgit in altum. Titus linius rehersis ane passage conformand to this samyn purpose. Barbarici animi est cum fortuna mutare fide m. there is sum of thir mecanyc pepil heffand superflu prosperite, that refusis the genoligie of there fathere ande mothere, ande also refusis there sur-name, and clamis to be of the blude of nobilis ande gentil men. than quhen thai ar reput be the vulgarris to be descendit of sic genoligie, thai gloir in there preventit kyn ande blude, qhililk is occasione that there arrogance & there vane gloir garris them commit mair extorsions contrar the pepil nor dois ony vthir tirran
that ar descendit of the grytest nobilis of the cuntre. 1

the preist of peblis speris ane questione in ane beuk
that he compilit, quhy that burges ayris thryuis nocht
to the thrid ayr: bot he mycht hef sperit as veil, quhy
that the successours of the vniversal comont pelip
baytht to burght & land, thryuis nocht to the thrid
ayr. the solatine of this questione requiris nocht ane
alogor sexe expositione, nor 3it ane close, be rason that
the text of yis¹ questione is nocht obscure. ane person
that hed neuyr aduersite & hes veltht that procedit
neuyr of his auen industrie, & syne hes liberte, and hes
neuer knauen education, eruditione, nor ciuilite, it is
onpossibil that he can be verteous, and he that heytis
vertu, sal neuyr ² thryue. (O my 3ongest soun) this
answer maye be sufficient to the seuir accusatione that
thou hes pronuwcit contrar thy tua brethren. in tyme to
cum thou sal fyrst correct thy self or thou accuse thy
17
nychtbour.³

*Q*hou the amligit lady accusis hir eldest son;
ne callit the nobilis and gentil men.

CHAP. XVII.

MY eldest sonne (nobilis) this seuir reproche
contrar thy 3ongest brother, is no occasione to
gar the gloir, for gyf thou hed grace to ken thy-
self, thou vald sune persaue, that thy vicius lyif de-
sersuis ane mair extreme reproche. for the vice of thy
25
3ongest brother suld be supportit be rason of his igno-
rance ande of his pouerte, bot thou can haue na excusa-
tione to cullour thy mischenous conversatine, ande the
violent extorsions that thou daly committis contrar thy
tua brethyr, lauberaris & clergie. ande also thou art 30

¹ read hic, t.e. this ² neuyr ³ mychtbour

Of the question of the Priest of Peebles,
how burghers' heirs thrive not to the third
generation.
The nobility and gentlemen have scarcely a spark of nobleness or gentleness among them.

Wherein consists nobility.

A villain or earl 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 natural.

The special cause of my ruine, for thou and thy sect that professis 30u to be nobilis and gentil men, there is nocht ane sperk of nobilnes nor gentrice amang the maist part of 30u. Ande nou be cause mony of 3ou ascribis sa grit golir of 3our pretendit gentreis and nobilnes, i vil discrue the stait of nobilnes and gentilnes, to that effect that 3e may persaue 3our grit error.

† THE PHILOSOPHOVRS ande iuris-consultours in the anciant dais, hes familiarly discruiit 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 manifest the conditions of ane vilaine be rason that ane gentil man, or ane nobil man, ande ane vilaine, hes direct contrar conditions; & sa be the discriptione of ony ane of thir tua contrarcs, tha gat ane solide knualage of the tothir. Siclyik quhen thai discruie vertu, tha fyrst delatit ande payntit the conditions of vice, ande quhen thai discruie liberte, thai fyrst payntit ande dilatit the conditions of seruitude. And nou sen this purpos hes occurrut to speik of gentreis ande nobilnes, i vil fyrst discrine the origine of gentil men, be the quhilk 3e may knau, quha is ane vilaine.

Bot fyrst i man reherse the stait of the pepil that var in the gude anciant dais, quhilk sum men callit the goldin varld. there vas na deffercns of staitis at that tyme amang men, nothir in preeminens, dignite, superi- orite, nor honour, for at that tyme al men var egal, & nocht partial nor deuidit, for the pepil lyuit al to gydthir in ane tranquill & louabil communite, ande thai left no thing to there posterite bot regrettis for the alteratione of that gude varld. in thai dais, the pepil cit nor drank nocht bot quhen hungir constran3et them, & than there maist delegat refecture vas acquorns, 36 vyild berreis, green frutis, rutis & eirbis, ande thai
drank the fresche vattir. at sum tyme thay past in the 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 complxionе, couurit them witht the skynnis of tvyild beystis to keip them fra cald. At that tyme ther vas no ceremonial reuercns nor stait, quha suld pas befor or behynd, furth or in at the dur, nor 3it quha suld haue the dignite to vasche ther haadis fyrst in the bassine, nor 3it 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 ane cauern, as dois presently the sophistic egiptiens. thai purgit ther belleis, ande exercit the verkis of nature, ilk ane in vthirs presens vitht out schame, re- proche, or offens. than ane lang tyme ther eftir, natuir prouokit them to begyn sum litil police. for sum of them began to plant treis, sum to davt beystis, sum gadthrid the frutis, ande kepit them qhul on to the tyme of necessite, ande sum nurist there childir. at that tyme the pepil drank nothir vyne nor beir, nor na vthir confekkit drynkis. at that tyme straynge cuatreis var nocht socht to get spicis, eirbis, drogis, gummis, & succur for to mak exquisit electuars to pronoke the pepil til ane disordinat appetit. At that tyme, there vas no sumpteous clethyng of fine claytht and of gold & silk of diuerse fassons. at that tyme in the begyn- nyng of ther police, coppir, bras, and yrn and vthir metteiis var melitt to mak vtenesl veschel necessair to serue ane houshal, and var nocht melitt to be gunnis ande cannons to sla doune the pepil. Ande non sen that goldin varld is past, ther hes succedit ane yrn varld, quhilk hes altrit euerye gude thing in infelicite and myscheif, for meiknes is changit in maleis, tranail in ydilines, rest in excesse, pace in vyr, eyse in pane, They kept no state nor ceremony, nor laws of precedence.

There was no shame, nor offence taken. [* leaf 103 (115).]

They drank no wine nor beer, nor fetched spices, herbs, drugs, gums, or sugar, from distant lands to spoil their appetites. The metals were used for domestic utensils, not for cannons and guns. The Iron age reigns now.

COMPLAYNT.
To escape oppression men chose rulers from among the strong and prudent.

Thus began nobility.

So it was among the Carthaginians,

The Romans,

The Macedonians,

The ancient Germans,

1. Mychtbours
germanye. Sicalik in sythia at ane banket of tryumpe, the kyn presentit ane goldin tasse ful of vyne to the companye at the tabil. Bot nane of them was admittit to drynk in that tasse, bot sa mony as hed venqueist ane of there eneimes in ane conflict; for he that hed neuyr dune ane vailceant act contrar his eneimes, vas reput for ane inciuile villaine. Mardocheus\(^1\) conquerit the gre of nobilitie fra artaxerxes throucht his vertu, ande Ioseph\(^2\) was maid ane gentil man be pharaon for his vertu. Than the successours of thir nobil men var repute for gentil men as lang as thai vsit verteous verkis of nobilitie, as did there predecessours. Bot fra tyme that the successours of thir nobil men be cam vicius, than tha var degradit fra there nobilite ande fra there gentreis, and that var reput for inciuile vilaynis. Valerius maximus rehersis the nobilitie of scipio the affrican, qua hed ane soune that vas nothir vailceant nor verteous.\(^3\) on ane daye, he beand 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. At that tyme, his frendis cam til hym, & but reuerens thai reft fra hym ane signet of gold that vas on his fingare, vitht in the quhilk vas grauit his fathers hede, sayand til hym, o imperfect ande vicius contrafait gentil man, thou deseruis nocht to veyr this nobil signet, vitht in the quhilk is grauit thy fathers hede, considerand that thou hes nothir vertu nor vailceantnes; there for ve degradit the fra the nobilite ande gentreis, that thou pretendit to succeid to, be the deceisse of thy fathere. This exempl 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 persoune be his vertu, ande he maye be

1 Mardocheus  
2 Ioseph  
3 verteous
The true use of Armorial bearings.

degravit fra it for his vice. (O my eldest soune nobilis and gentil men) the armys that 3e bair in 3our scheldis and in 3our seylis in 3our signetis, and also is payntit on 3our vallis, & in 3our glasynd vindois, thai var gyuyn to 3our predecessours be the prince for ane takyn of nobilnes, for the nobil actis that thay hed dune for the compost veil of the realme, & 3e that ar there successors 3e bayr the samyn armis for ane takyn that 3e ar obleist to follow the futsteppis of 3our predecessors in vertu, or ellis 3e merit to be degradit fra the armis that 3e bair, & fra the gentreis that 3e profess, as vas dune 
yr scipio before reheirst. There is diuerse princeis that gyffis the tryumphe of knychted and nobilite, vitht lenerairis, armis and heretage 1 to them that hes committit vailȝeant actis in the veyris, siklyik as the 

Orders and knighthood given for valiant acts.

Valerius maximus in the cheptor of tryumphe.

The Romans ordained a triumph for those who distinguished themselves in war,

crowning them with palm,

1 hertetage

2 affectuye
DAME SCOTIA'S REPROOF OF THE NOBILITY.

Fra the battel vitht out hurt til hym, he vas crounit
vitht ane crowne of laure tre, be cause the laure tre hes
no schearp broddis nor pikis. This last tryumphe of
laure tre vas callit trophecum, quhilk singnificis ane ioy-
ful victoree, for the victoree is ioyful quhen the enemis
are venquest vitht out domage to the venquesair. 6
quhen thir romans entrit in rome to 'resane there
tryumphe for ther vail3eant 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 befur the capitol to resane there
tryumphe of dignite, as tha hed deseruit. Bot allace
(o 3e my eldest some nobilis ande gentil men) there is
nocht mony of 3ou that meritis to veyr the ensense of
the fleise, of the cokkil, nor of the gartan, nor 3it there
is nocht mony of 3ou that meritis to be borne in ane
charriot to resaue the tryumphe of the palme tre nor of
the laure tre; for 3ouir imbecilite, auereis, ande conten-
tione that ringis amang 3ou, rather deseruis degrading
fra 3our pretendit gentreis, nor 3e deserue1 louyng or
commeradation for vertu. There for 3e ar in grit error
quhen 3e profess 3ou to be gentil men, & syne com-
mittis no actis efferand for 3our professione; bot vald
3e considir the origine of 3our gentreis, than 3e vald
nocht be sa arrogant as to desire the gloir and the stait
of ane dignite that 3e deserue nocht. There is mony
of 3ou that professis to be gentil men be successione of
3our predecessours, bot 3e considir nocht that the gre
of gentreis procedis fra vertu. The philosophour sais
that the cause of ane thing is of mair efficacite nor is
the thyng that procedis fra the cause: ergo, vertu suld
prefer the successours of verteous men. Ane verteous
man beand descendit of ane verteous genoligie, doutles
he is ane rycht gentil man. and in opposit, ane vicius
man beand descendit of verteous genoligie, he suld be

1 deserue
1 repute mair vile and odius nor any infamous vilaine plebien: ande alse thai sauld be degradit fra there gentreis¹ that thai haue ascribit til haue be successione, ande thai sauld be compellit to virk vile mecanyk laubir, to that effect that the honour of verteous gentil men be nocht maculat with the vice ande inciuilite of vicius.

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

The answer of Iphicrates to Hermodius.

The contrast between Bucephalus.

[• leaf 107 (119)]

12 leuyr be the sone of vicius tarsites, i vsand ane verteous⁰ conversatione, nor to be the sone of the vailʒeant achilles, i beand vicius. The philosophour plutarque rehersis, that iphicrates "was ane pure mecanyk craftis man descendit of inciuil plebiens, ʒit nochtheles throucht his vertu he vas elect to be kyng of the cuntre. there vas ane vicius gentil man at that tyme callit hermodius, quha reprocht iphicrates, sayand, o iphicrates, it offeris nocht for thy stait & faculte to be ane kyng, be rason that thy father vas ane mecanye tailʒour descendit of inciuile pure pepil; there for thou art nocht ane gentil man. iphicrates ansuerit, 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 gydthir, & thy successours sal be reput for vilaynis, be cause of thy vicius conversatīone. This exempil makkis manfest, that ane person may succeid to heretage and to mouabil gudis of his predecessours, bot no man can succeid to gentreis nor to vertu; for vertu⁴ & gentreis most proceid fra the spreit of hym self, and nocht fra his predecessours. inuenal the poiet rehersis, that buciphal the grit horse of allexander hed mony comodius propretēis, for as sune as he sau allexander, he knelit ande maid hym reuer-

¹ gentreis ² apposit ³ verteous ⁴ vertie
DAME SCOTIA'S REPROOF OF THE NOBILITY. 151

reus, ande syne tholit hym to lype on hym; & alse 1 '
he was strynthy ande aufful in ane battel contrar the enemeis of alexander; ande quhen he was saidlyt vitht his best bayrdit harnessing, he vald thole no man to ryde on hym bot alexander. This samyn horse busiphal hed ane brother, generit and folit of the samyn horse and meyr that folit hym. this tothir horse vas grit, fayr, and gude lyik, bot nochtheles the maist perfyt 8 industrius horse dantars of macedon culd noch thele the maist perfyit 8 industrius horse dantars of macedon culd nochtheles the maist perfyit horse from the same sire and dam. and another horse from the same sire and dam.

This exempl maye be conferred to tua brethir gottin ande borne of ane fathere & mother. ane of them beand verteous, suld be reput for ane gentil man, and the tother beand vicius, suld be estemeit and treittit lyik ane barbir inciuil vilaine. There hes been diuerse gentil men that thynks schame that there fathers and mothers, gudschers and grandscheirs, hes bene mechanyplebiens. 3 Bot sic vane gentil men takkis nocht exempl of agathocles the 'kyng of cecile, quha vas the sone of ane pottar that formit clay potsis; 3it nochtheles quhen he vas elect in dignite royal, he gart gold smythis graue ane pot in his armys on euery pece of his siuyr veschel, and alse he gart paynt the vallis of his palleis vitht pottis, the quhilk thing he did to manifest to the pepil that he thocht no schame that his father had been ane mecanyc craftis man descendit of ane pure genoligie, it is ane grit foly til ane person to pretend to gentreis be successione, or be reches. iuenal 4 con-

1 reuertens 2 manerir 3 mechanyt blebiens 4 iuenal

So is it often with two brothers in a family.

Some gentlemen are ashamed that their ancestors were plebiens;

Not so Agathocles, king of Sicily, who boasted that his father was a potter.

Juvenal, Satire. 7.
How vain the boast of high ancestry!

Boiccius de consolatione philosophie. li. 3.

The longest line begins in mud and clay.

[* If 168 (129), ll.]

Ecclesiastic. 10. 2.

Genesis 15. 27.

Ecclesiastic. 17. 32.

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

The dust makes no respect of persons.

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

There for it is grit arrogance, and na les folie, quhen ony person gloris in his hie genologie, considerand that euyre person is descendit of ane origyne, as boiccius de consolatione hes rehersit in his thrid beuk. Omne hominum genus in terris simili surgit ab ortu. there for, vald euyrie man considir his fyrst origyne, he sal fynd that al man kynd ar creat of mud and clay, as is vritin in the sycond cheptour of genesis, Formauit igitur hominem de *limo terre. ande also Ihesus sirach sais in the 10 cheptour of ecclesiasticus, quhar he repreuis the gloir ande pride of men, quid superbis terra et cinis, that is to say, quhou ar 3e becum predeful & takkis gloir in this warld, considerand that 3e 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 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 also.

Thir exemplis suld be occasione to gar gentil men paynt in there scheildis, ande graue in there signetis, puldir, ase, ande eirde, rather nor til haue gart paynt ande graue the armis of there predecessour, be rason that fra tyme that thai be aryuit to the fine ande to the limitis of there peregrinatione of this mortal lyif, than thai returne to there comont ande general mothere the 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 betuix ane prince [and] ane begger. The historigraph-
ours rehearsis, that quhen kyang ciris hed venqueist
kyng cresus, he led hym til his paleis, and treittit
hym mair humainly nor is the vse to treit presoneirs. 3
On ane day, cresus spak hardlyly to kyng ciris, sayand,
Nobil prince, the vulgaris ascribis grite gloir for the
vailzeant actis that thou hes committit for the public
veil of perse ande meid, sit nochtheles thy father
cambises did mair vailzeant actis in his tyme nor thou
hes dune. kyang cresus vas temerair in his question, for
ciris vas offendit contrar kyng cresus, thinkand that
ane presoneir suld nocht haue bene sa bold as til
reproche ane prince that haldis hym in captiuite. Than
cresus, persauand kyng ciris in collere and ire, he said,
nobil prince, gyl thy nobil grace vil gyl me lecens to
rason the mater, thou sal sune persaue that i said no-
thing tyl offend the, bot rathere til augment thy gloir.
i said that thy grace hed nocht dune sic ane vailzeant
act as thy fathere cambises did in his tyme, for he did
ane nobil act quhen he engeneret the on thy mothere
to gounerne this realme eftir his deceisse, bot thou hes
noch dune sic ane nobil act as "to genner ane nobil
prince lyik thy self to gounerne the realme quhen thou
art dede.

Quhen kyng ciris herd the subtil discymilit pleisant
interpretatione of cresus vordis, he smylit and leuch,
and changit his collar in glaydnes. bot 3it kyang ciris
exortit cresus familiarlye tyl expone the iust verite of
his vordis. Cresus answert, nobil prince, sen thou hes
coniurit me sa extremly to declair the verite, doubtles i
sal hald no thing obscure, quhou be it thou gar me
suffer the cruel detht. the occasione of my vordis pro-
cedit, be cause i iuge that thou art nocht sa quyk
spretit, sa prudent nor sa nobil as vas thy fathere cam-
bises, ande to conclude, thou hes nocht sic ane heide as
he had in al his byssynes. kyng ciris answert, i sal

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 deht pepil furth of there sepulture, and keist ouer euyrye bene, ande contemplit euyr hardyn pan, ane be ane. than cresus & vthir gentil men meruelit nocht litil of his consait, sayand, ve exort the, nobil prince, to tel thy intentione of that byssynes. Cirus ansuer, o cresus, thou said, nocht lang syne, that my hede vas nocht "to be comparit to my fathers hede; there for i am leukand gyf i can fynd my fathers hardyn pan amang thir dede mennis banis, bot i can nocht ken 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 men that euyr vas, or euyr sal be, ar creat of ane masse of clay and eird. This exempl declaris that na man suld gloir in his nobilitie or gentil blude, considerand that our carions ande corporal natur, and carnal origyne, is baytht vile ande infekkit, ande there is na1 defferens nor acceptions of persons betuix us. the prudent Salomon accordis vitht 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 enim ex regibus aliud habuit natuinitatis in- tium. i am ane mortal man (sais Salomon) lyik til al vthir men, creat of eird as vas our fair fathere adam, ande al vthir kyngis hed na vthir begynnyng. thir vordis of Salomon beand "veil considerit, is ane souterane remeid ande salutair medycyn to repreme and distroye the arrogant consait of them that glorifeis & pridis them to be descendit of nobilis and gentil men, considerand that the crop ande rute of our gentreis ande genologie hes

1 da

Cyrus tried to discern his father's skull from the others in the family vault, but all were alike.
succeedit fra adam.ande quhen ve entrit in this mortal
lyf ve var naikyt and veypad, and quhen ve depart ve
sal be vile and abhominabil, ande ve sal carye no thing
furth of thiis varld bot the coule of our synnis, or the
meritis of our vertu.

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

Naked we entered
the world, and
naked we shall
leave it.
Diomedes was devoured by his horses,
and Actaeon by his dogs.

[* if 111 (123), 16] the grecian dyameid hed horse that eit men, & also thi
hef senzet 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
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 numair of onutil horse,
gart the victualis be deir and skant, qhilk vas occasione
that the pure pepil deit for hungir. of this sort the
10 poietis senzeis that dyamedis horse eit men, be cause
tha eit the corne that vald haue sauit the lyuis of
the expositione of this vas, that acteon vas ane vane
gentil man that set al his felicite on doggis for hunt-
ing, 1 on the qhilkis he maid ouer prodig expensis abufe
his faculte, qhilk vas occasione that he sellit his here-
tage til entretene his vane pleseir, & ther eftir he fel in
pouerte. ther for the poietis senzeis that his doggis dis-
15 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
20 master as acteon vas virreit. i reprief nocht gentil men
for the halding of horse & doggis; for horse ar neces-
sair, and doggis ar for recreatione. bot i reprief the ouer
prodig expensis that sum gentil men makkis on horse
and doggis abufe ther stait and faculte. it var verray
25 necessair and honest for ther auen veil that sic prodig-
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
30 hunting til excerce 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.

1 hunting
O 3e my eldest soune, nobilis and gentil men, i exort you to correct your selves of the artiklis of this accusacione, and also that 3e adhere til al verteous byssynes, and that 3e accord and agre with your tue brethir lauberaris ande clergie, to that effect that 3e may releif me of my afflictions. for doultys gyf that discentione ande rancour remanis amang 3ou, in schort dais your ald enemeis sal ocupie your heretagis and dwelling placis, & the posterite of your generatione sal be put furtht of remembrance. Nou i vil saye ane familiar reproche, be the vay of correctione to my sycond soune, callit sperutualite, to that effect, "to gar you al thre brethir concur to gyddir on ane substancial constant gude purpos, for the deffens of your natine cuntre'.

CHAP. XIX.

O (my sycond soune) sperutualite, thou hes herd the familiar reproch that i haue pronuncit, be the vay of correctione to thy tua brethir nobilis & lauberaris; bot my accusacione contrar them, is na purgacione to the. for thou deseruis nocht anerly ane mair inuectyue reproche for thy demeritis, bot as veil thou deseruis to be puneist realy, & to be degradit fra thy holy office. the maist part of the vicis that thy tua brethir hes committit, maye be supportit & excusit, be rason of there ignorance; bot thou can nocht allege ignorance for thy excusacione, considerand that god hes gyffin the his lau in thy moutht 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-

1 cauter 2 afficit 3 sperutualite 4 deservie 5 demerritis 6 chere

Correct your-selves from these faults, with which ye stand accused.
God has given the clerzy many talents;

let them be solicitous to use them;

let them promote unity,

and reform their own negligence,

Let them correct their long-standing abuses.

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

1 dotis custodiunt scientiam, & legem requirent ex ore eius, quia\footnote{1} angelus domini exercituum est. that is to say, the lippis of the preist sal keip the sciens of god, and the pepil sal desire the\footnote{2} lau to be schauen to them, furtht of his moutht, be cause he is the messeengeir of the lord. O thou my sycond soune, this autorite that god hes gyuynt to the, is vondir gilt. ther for sen god hes dotit thy faculte in maist honorabil dignite and autorite, abufe the stait of thy tua brethir, nocht alane; in the knaulege of diuyne sciens, bot als veil in humanite as in til sciens liberalis, & in moral & natural philosophie, the quhilk gracis and propreteis ar nocht grantit be god for thy particularite, bot rather god hes ordand the to be ane dispensatour of his gyftis amang the ignorant pepil. ther for I vald thou var solist to distribute the talent that the lord gef til his saruand. And thou can nocht distribut it bettir nor to purches vnite and concord betuix the and thy tua brethir; for the prudens and autorite that the lord hes gyffin to the, suld suppreme ther ignorante error, & obstination. Ther for, as lang as thou ar neclegent in thy office, sa lang sal ther ay be discetionene, discord, & hatrent in the realme, quhilk sal be occasione of thy auen ruuyne. Ther for i exort the til animaduert and to perpend maturly thir vordis, in drede that thou repent thy neclegens quhen thou hes na lajar nor opportunite to remedye thy abusion.

And fyrst, to begyn, thou suld set al thy felicite, to correct thy self of thy lang abusione, that is to say, thou suld gyf gud exempil in thy conversatione, conformand to thy professione and to thy doctryn, to that effect that the pure pepil may follow thy futsteppis, as is vritin in Mathou, Luc, and Ihone, sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus, vt videant opera vestra bona. Ther for thai that hes autorite, and gyfis
euyl exempl, suld be mair realye puncist, nor the pepil
suld be that contemnis and disobeyis ther autorite. it
is vritin in the brasyn tablis of the antiant lauis of
rome, that there vas mair rigorus punitione exsecutit on
ane man of autorite that gef euyl exempl, nor vas ex-
secutit on murdresaris and tratours. Romulus the fyrt
kyng of rome, institut ane lau amang the ytalians, that
transgressours suld be puneist mercifully efferand for
the qualite of ther crymis; and also he statut, that
quhen men of autorite and dignite committit thai samyn
crymis, tha var led and con’uoyit dishonestly to the
plane marcat befor the capitol, quhar thy resaut
doubil punitione, be cause the euyl exempl of ther
maluersatione pronokyt the pepil til adhere to vice, &
to detest vertu. Hermes the philosophour said, that
the error & the euyl exempl of ane man of autorite
maye be comparit til ane onexpert master of ane schip,
quhilk, throucht his misgouernance, is occasione that
the schip pereis, and tynis nocht hym self alanely,
bot as veil he tynis al them that ar of his companye.
ther for, it var verray necessair that men of autorite, or
ministers of the kyrk, do gyf gude exempl in ther con-
versation, to that effect that the ignoranit pepil may
follou ther futsteppis. The philosophour plutarque re-
hersis ane exempl of the partan, quhilk repreuit ane of
hyr 3ong partans, be cause the 3ong partan vald nocht
gang euyn furtht, bot rather sche 3eid crukit, bakuart,
and on syd. than the 3ong partan ansuert, quod sche,
mother, i can nocht gang of my auen natur as thou
biddis me, bot nachtheles, vald thou gang furtht 1ycht
befor me, than i sal leyrn to follou thy futsteppis. This
exempl tendis, that the discipil follouis the conversa-
tion of his preceptor, rather nor he ’follouis his
document. allace o my sune sper[it]ualite, the abusion of
thy office is the cause of the discontente that is betuix
the and the temporal stait, for 3e tua ar lylike cattis and
showing that conduct is followed rather than precept.
[* leaf 114 (126)]

An evil example more culpable than disobedience.

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

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

The fable of the crab and her young ones.

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.

The schism will never be healed by persecution or burning till the spirituality amend themselves.

Doggis berkka.end on vthirs, ther for ther is nocht ane of 3ou bettir nor ane vthir. for that cause the gramariaris can fynd na greis of comparaison in 3our gudnes, for that terme, bettir, is of the comparatyue gree, and that terme gude, is of the positive gree, the quhilk positive gree is nocht in mony of 3ou conformand tyl ane reul of the lau. L. cum furti. ff. de condi. furti. the quhilk reul sais, comparatiuus presupponit posituum. Quhar for i exort the (o my veil belouit some spirituallite) to correct thy maluersatione. for quhen the pepl disobeyis thy gude doctryne throucht the euyl exempl of thy maluersatione, thou sal be mair doubil puneist nor tha sal be for the disobedien of thy gude doctryne, be rason that god hes gyffin to the, baytht knaulage and autorite to gouuerne ther ignorance. douteis thy abusione, and the sinister ministratione 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 seismes and sectis be *in germane, denmark and ingland, 3it nochtheles the branchis of them ar spred athort al cristin realmis in sic ane sort, that tha hef maye fauoraris nor aduersaris, for diuerse men desiris ane part of the temporal patrimonye of the kyrk, be cause of the abusione and euyl exempl of the kyrk men. And this plag and seisma sal neuyr be reformit for na statutis, lauis, punitiows, bannessing, byrnyng, hayrschip, nor torment that can be denisit, quhil on to the tyme that the spirituallite reforme ther auen abusion. ther for, gyf the spirituallite var as solist to reforme and to correct ther auen maluersatione as tha ar solist to puncise them that detrakkis & nurmeris ther obstinat abusione, thane for certan the gude exempl of ther gude conversations vald extinct and supedcit mair haistyar al peruerst opinions & seismas nor al the punitiow that 35 al cristianite can exsecut. The punitiow that the

1 terme
speritualite remanent in ther abusione executis on scismatikis, maye be comparit til ane man that castis vlye on ane heyt birmand fyir, in hope til extinct it, and to droune it furtht, the quhilk vlye makkis the fyir mair bold nor it vas of befor. the exepiens of this is 5 manifest; for, as suene as ther is ane person slane, brynt, or bannest for the halding of perue[r]st opinions, incontinent ther rysis up thre in his place; ther sic punitione maye be comparit tyl ane serpent callit hydra, quhilk hed seuyyn heydis. The poietis retheros, that quhen this said serpent vas assailjet be men to sla hyr, and quhen thir men straik ane or tua of hyr heydis fra hyr, than sche feld tyl her cauerne, and on the morne vthir tua heydis vald be groonen on hyr as of befor, and of this sort sche did grit domage bayght to man and beyst, quhil on to the tyme that nobil Hercules venquest hyr; than he straik al hyr seuyyn heydis fra hyr. fra that tyme furtht sche lyuit neuyr agane. this exemplil tendis, that the scisma that ringis in this varld sal neuyr be extinct for na punitione that can be executit, bot gyf al the heydis of the uiniversal cristianite be strikkyn fra them, or ellis bot gyf the ministers reforme & correct ther auen abusione.

Quhar for (o my sone speritualite) i exort the that 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 uiniversal leigis of scotland be the maist familiar ande cheritabil vaye that thy ingyne can inuent or ymagyn, to that effect that 3e my thre sonnis, nobilis, clerige, & lauberaris, may pas in ane faythful accord to resist the cruel invasions of your dis-saítful and incredule ald enemeis. Thou hes mair occasione and mystir to be vigiland in the defens of the liberte of thy faculte, nor hes thy tua brethir; for gyf the kyng of ingland prospir in his oniust veyris, and Punishment of the schismatics of no avail; it is like pouring oil on a fire.

or cutting off one of the heads of Hydra, In room of which two others grew.

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

Let them then unite to reform their scandalous abuses, and thereafter try to promote national unity.

The clergy have more cause to fear the influence of England than the laity.
conquestis our realme, doubtles thy tua breithir vil
tyne ther gudis and there heretage; bot there lyuis sal
be saif, sa that tha vil be suorne to be inglis slauis, and
renegat scottis. bot he vil nocht grant na grace to thy
faculte, bot the samyn grace that kyng henry the eycht
gae to the sperutualitie of ingland, that is to saye, in
the fyrst he tuke the patrimone & the temporal landis of
the kyrkis of ingland, & anext ane part of them to the
propriete of his crowne, & ane vthir part he distribut
amang ane certan of grit personagis of his realme, 
quhilkis adherit til his tirran opinion, & syne he chesit
furth1 ane certan of the hiest genologie of ingland that
hed bene promonit to cathridral2 digniteis, and til vthir
sperut[u]al be nextifics, quhome he gart his flaschar lay
ther craggis on ane stok and gart heyde them, and syne
he gart hyng ther quarteris on potentis at diuerse comont
passagis on the feildis qutar the maist confuens of
pepil passit and repassit, and thrildy he compellit pure
speritual men, baytht regular and religiouse preistis,
monkis and freris, to pas to leyrn mecanyc hand
laubyrs, sum to be cordinaris, sum to be tailjours, sum
to be marynalis, and sa to proced 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 bodcis of ane vthir part in perpetuall capituite.

There for (o thou my sycond sone sper[it]ualite) thou
may beleue surly that the kyng3 of ingland vil be na
mair gracius, curtas nor merciful to the, quhome he
reputis for his mortal eneme, nor he hes bene to the
sperutualitie of ingland, quha vas his fyaythful natuye
natural leigis and inhabitaris of his realme, of the
quhilk ther vas sum of them that var of his kyn and
blude, bot he regardit nocht tyl ony greis of con-
sanguinite, bot rather he visist his mercyles cruelte con-
35 trar them, to that effect that his auaricius afflectione

1 furthr  2 cathridral  3 Kyng
that he hed touart *the kyrk landis of ingland mycht be saciat. O 3e sperutualite of scotland, 3e hef grit cause to tak exemplil be 3our nychtbours, and nocht be 3our selfis, conformand to thir tua versis; felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum. casus dem- 13
entis correctio fit sapientis. Al this veil considrit, suld be an animaduertens to gar 3ou be vigilant and delegent to keip and to defend the liberte of 3our faculthe, the qhilk sal neyr be veil kepit nor desfendit, bot gyf 3e put 3our handis to werk, that is to saye, that sa mony of 3ou that ar defensabil men sal pas in proper person in battel vitht my lord gouernour and vitht the nobil lordis and barrons of scotland contrar the cruel invasions of 3our enemes of ingland. There for sen it is neid forse to cheis ane of tua euillis, that is to say, othir to fecht in battel for the defens of 3our faculthe and liberte, or ellis to be tormentit in captiuit be 3our ald enemes, 3e suld cheis the smallest of thir tua euillis, conformand to the vordis of cicero that he vrut ad quintum fratrem, sayand, in duobis malis fugiendum maius, leuius est elegendum. for it is les domage and dishonour to fecht in fayr battel for the defens of 3our liberte, *nor to be tormentit in ane miserabil captiuit. Quhar for i exort 3ou that 3e change 3our sperutual habitis, bayth coulis and syde gounis, in steil iakkis and in cotis of mail3e, to defend 3our bodis fra the cruaitie of 3our enemes; and thai that ar agit and nocht abil for the veyr, thai heffand patrimone and benefis, thai suld furneis pure preistis, monkis and freris, vitht al necessair thingis conuenient for the veyris. And than quhen the veyris ar endit, thai maye cleitht them agane vitht there spirutual habit, conformand to ther professione. And none of the sperutualite suld be scripulus in this byssynes, considerand that goddis lau, the lau of natur, positive lau, 24

\[ * \text{ leaf 116 bis (129), back} \]

Let them exchange their cows and long robes for steel jacks and coats of mail.

\[ * \text{ if 116 bis (120)} \]

The wise take warning from the dangers of others.

\[ 1 \text{ considerit} \]
1. 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, Moses, Aaron, and the prophets were always first in battle.

The canon law says,

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

also against Saracens.

Englishmen more Saracens than Christians.

Wars undertaken against the excommunicated and infidels are ["if 117 (350), bk] meritorious.

The English are excommunicated for

1. civil and cannon law, has condiscendit in ane purpes that al staitis and faculteis, viht out ony acceptance of persons, ar oblist to pas in battel for the defiens of ther public veil, and of ther native entyre. Than quhy suld preistis or freris allege exemptions, sayand that there professione oblicis them to sing and say, to preche and praye, and nocht to fecht in battel. allace sic exemptions suld be repellit and adnultit, considerand that the contrarie of ther allegiance is of verite. The bibil is ane real "probatione, that kyng dauid that royal prophete vas ane preist, moises vas ane preist, aaron vas ane preist, ande al the prophetis of Israel var preistis; 3it nochttheles thay var ay fyrst in the battel for the defiens of the landis of promissione. and nou be cause that there is sum ignorant preistis that ar mair obedient to the canon law nor thai ar to goddis law, there for i vil sateisfe there scrupulus conscient vitht sum cheptours of the canon law. in the fyrst, it is vrityn in the xxiiij distinctione in the feyrd questione in the cheptour Si non, as eftir follous, 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 vili questione as eftir follous. Saracen bellantes contra cristianos, iuste a cristianis impugnantur. i reffer the expositione of this text to the vniuersal cristianite to iuge quhiddir that inglismen be sarraysyns or cristin men. Ther is ane cheptour of the canon law that sais thir vordis in the xxiiiij distinctione in the fyfte question, bella sumpta contra excommunicatos & infideles meritoria sunt. i reffer the expositione of this text to be iugit be al cristin princis, quhiddir that inglis men be excommunicat and denuncit goddis rebellis be al lauis for ther infidilite,

1. than
2. sateisfe
3. bo
4. this
incrulitle, crualte, tirrauryc, sacreleige, & for the vsurpatione of vthur princis dominions vitht out ony occasione or iust titil. There is sum scripulus preistis, hefand there consciens subiect to traditions, quha sais, that it is nocht leiful to preistis to pas in battel, vitht out the lecens of the pape. i vald thir ignorant preistis vald reid ane cheuptour of the canon lau in the xxiii distinctione in the viii questione, callit, an episcopo liceat ad bellum proficisci sine licentia pape. i exort 3ou, my sone sper[it]ualite, to put al cerimonial scrupulnes furtht of 3our harti, & that 3e pas in propir person contrar 3our ald enemeis; & than douteis 3our faculste sal nocht be spul3eit\(^1\) fra the liberte that it possessis.

\[7\]

This is no time for ceremonial scruples.

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Quhou the amlgit lady dame scotia makis ane exortatione til hyr thre sonis, quhilk is the conclusione of this beuk.

CHAP. XX.

3e my thre sonnis, i hef accusit euyrye ane of 3ou, particularly\(^2\) in special for the abusione of 3our faculsteis and officis, the quhilk abusio’ne is the cause of the contentione and discord that ringis amang 3ou, the quhilk contention and discord hes dune mair doamage in 3our cuntre, nor the grit armye of ingland hes dune. I vald speir ane question, quhat medycyn can help ane seik man that hurtis hym selue vilfully, and prouokis his anen seiknes daly? or quhat cite can indure, quhen it is seigit and assail3eit vitht out be enemeis, and vitht in the cite ringis mortal veyr amang the gouernours and inhabitantis? O 3e my thre sonis, quhat can the varld estime of 3ou, quhen 3e ar sa solist 30

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\(^1\) spul3eit  \(^2\) particularly
1 on the ruuyne of your prosperite, and on the demolitione of your comont vei? your conditions & conversations is mair lyik til barbarien pepil, nor it is to cristyn pepil. 3e lament hauyly the cruel veyrs, and 3e cry & desyris pace at god, 3e heffand rancor in your hartis contrar your nychtbours. 3e desire mercy at god, 3e heffand ane drauen soud in your hand to slay ane innocent. 3e vald be loutit vith al men, and 3e hef na cherite to na man. Quhy suld god deluyyr 3ou fra your enemeis? sen that 3e ar mortal enemeis to your selfis, your honour is tynt; sen that 3ouren enemeis to 3our auen vedfair and prosperite. allace, vald e consider the grit ruuyne & perditione that hes cum on diuerse realmis throucht the descentione and diuisione that rang amang the pepil.

than i beleue that 3e vald treit pace in 3our consciens, and cherite to 3our nychtbours. the holy scriptour confirmis this samyn purpos, quhar crist Iesus said, Omne regnum in se diuisum desolabitur: al realmis that ar diuidit vitht in them selfis be descen-
tione and contentione, sal be left desolat. there for (o 3e my thre sonnis) it is na meruel that 3our cuntre 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 3ou, throucht the descentione, diuisione, inuy, rancor, and auareis that ringis vniuersaly throucht al scotland. the fyrst sort of battellis and veyris that broucht the romans to ruuyne, vas callit battellis finityuis, A fini-
bus: that is, quhen ane man vndir takkis to conques be violence and tirranye the landis *of his nychtbours that marchis and lyis contigue vitht 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 cuntreis that circuit his realme. this samyn sort of veyrs is in scotland, for there is nocht mony men, grit nor smal, that hes heretage, bot is aye inuentand cauil-latione & vrag titijlis to hef ther nychtbours heretagis that lyis contigue besyde them, othir be proces & 6 pleyis, or elli be violens, there vas ane vthir sort of battellis amang the romans, callit battellis socialis, that is, quhen tounis of ane cuatre makkis veyr contrar vthirs, as of divers tounis of germanye and ytalie. Thir samyn sort of veyrs ringis presently in scotland, for there is nocht ane borroustone nor landuard Paris vitht in the realme, bot thai hef inuy contrar the tounis and parisis that ar nixt nychtbours to them. the thrid sort of veyris var callit battellis ciuilis, that is, Civil Wars. quhen citinaris and induellaris of ane cite hes mortal fede contrar vthirs, as vas betuix silla & marius & quintus lipidius. this samyn sortis of veyris ringis 18 instantly in scotland, for there is nocht ane borrous-toune nor parise in scotland bot the’re is deiday fede amang sum of the induellars of the saidis tounis. there is ane vthir sort of veyris callit battellis intestynis, that is, Intestine Wars. quhen kynsmen and freidis of consanguinite or affinite hes mortal veyr contrar vthirs, as vas betuix 24 Iulius cesar and his gude sone grit pompeus. this samyn sort of veyris ringis instantly in scotland; for the in-testine veyris that ringis amang the barrons and gentil men of scotland, is detestabil to be rehersit, for thai that ar nerest of kyn and blude hes maist mortal fede contrar vthirs; quha can caulk 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 obeiit nocht to their dukis and superrioris. than the due of saxon and the langraue of hasse venqueist and distroyit them, siclyik as did the comontis of ingland the 3eir of 1533 3eris, quhilkis var distroyit vndir the trettye of concord. this samyn sort of veyris ringis instantly in scotland; for i hef sene nyne or ten thousand gadyr to giddir vitht out ony commissione of the kyngis letteris, the quhilk girt convenytione hes been to put there nychebours furtht of ther steding and takkis on vytson vedyinsday, or ellis to leyd anaye ane pure manis teynd in heruyst; bot thai vald nocht be half sa solist to conuene thre hundretht at the command of the kyngis letteris to pas to resist our ald enemeis of ingland. al thir forsaid veyrs hes occurrith throucht the discintione and divisione of the pepil of ane realme.

Ye know that these words are true.

1 O 3e my thre sonnis, 3e knau that thir wordis befor rehersit ar of verite. also 3e knau that 3our extreme ruuyne approchis verra neir, the quhilk maye be cysylie remedit, sa that 3e vald nocht be obstinat and obdurit in the rancor and discintione that ringis amang 3ou. it aperis to me, that sum so[?]seris and vytchis, quhilkis ar instramentis of the ald eneme of mankynd, hes tempit 3ou, and hes venqueist 3our natural rason. i vait nocht quhiddir that i sal iuge 3ou to be cum frenetic or brutal, for 3our conversations in general is aue monstrous thyng rather nor humain, as 3our verkis testifieis. the historiographoris rehersis that the tua prudent *philosophoris, heraclites and democrites, past throucht the world to haue ane unuiersal iugement of the conversations of man kynd. than quhan thai var passand throucht the world, & persauand the vice and the vanite, and euii conversations of euyrie cuntre, & also persauand the grit solistnes of diuere staitis in conquessing reches, heretagis, digniteis, officies, and

1 knan
DAME SCOTIA'S EXHORTATION.

1G9

The weeping and

The laughing philosopher

1

2

3

4

The same in Scotch.

The same in Scotch.

Ad lectorem.

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

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

1 phiremo 2 scettis 3 plusquam

Verses composed on this subject by Philemro Fregoso.
And thou sal laucht for scorne recreatyfe,
As fast as did the prudent democrit.
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.

Seneca.

† Aut ridenda omnia, aut flenda sunt.

Solomon confirms the same conclusion.

Solomon confirms the same conclusion.

Retire from vanity.

Know yourselves.

The greater the pride the greater the fall.

[1] If 123 (134), bk] That tha vald laucht and veip our misire.

Thyr exemplis of thir tua philosophours makkis manifest, that al our varldly byssynes is bot vane & detestabil. there for, it is na mernel thocht heraclites regrettit and veipit our folyful converstion, and that democrites leucht and scornit our solist abusione, considerand that quhen baytht thir philosophours past throucht the varld, thauld persaue nay thing bot vanite. the prudent Salomon confirmis this samyn in the sycond cheptor of his ecclesiastes, sayand, that quhen he hed socht and gottyn al the varldly felicites that culd be devisit, al vas bot vanite and afflictione of the spreit. Therfor, o 3e my thre sonnis, nobilis, clerge, and hauberaris, i exort 3ou to retere fra vanite, & til adhier to vertu, & ony of 3ou that thynkis 3ou of maist reputation throught 3our superflie veltht, 3e suld be solist to ken 3our selis, & to be humil to 3our nyechtours, or ellis al 3our gloire, veltht, and dignite, sal change in vilte. 3e haue girt occasione to fle thir varldly caduc honouris, the qubilkis can nocht be posses vitht out vice, and also as vincentius says in his 34 beuk, the mair eleuat that ane person be in superflue digniteis, his fal & ruyn sal be the hauyar. quanto gradus altior, tanto casus graniur. for the gritest green tre that standis hiest on the montane, is haistyar blauen doune vitht the vynd, nor is the smallest treis that grouis in the valyse. summa petit liuor: per-
DAME SCOTIA’S EXHORTATION.

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fluant altissima venti. i haue rehersit thir vordis, 1 be cause of the vane arrogance that ringis in the harto or my tua eldest sonnis, nobillis and clergie, quhilk vil be occasione of thre ruuyne, bot gif thae mittygat and mortife thare detestabil pride, inuy, and auereis. i mernel that thae considir nocht that god behaldis al thare abhomination. 1 it aperis that thae beleue that god sleipis and seis thae them nocht, for thare commorsation is as thae var nocht ane deth to sla thae bodeis, nor ane hel to puneis thae saulis. Iam viuunt homines tan-quam mors nulla sequatur, Et velud infernum fabula ficta foret. God seis al thing, & thare is 12 nay thing obscure 2 fra hym, as is vrityn in Mathou, Marc, and Luc. Nihil enim est tectum quod non sit retegendum & nihil occultum, quum futurum sit vt sciatur. there for it is grit folye to my thre sonnis to couuer thare vice vitht dissymilit vertu, for thae is na thing that is hid or sylit, bot the tyme sal mak it manifest. for euerye 3 thing is subieckit to the proces of the tyme, and thae 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 the philosophour tales, gyf that the goddis knauis the verkis that men dois in this varld? he ansuer, quod he, the goddis knauis nocht alanerly the verkis of men, bot as veil thae ken the thochtis and intentions of men. Thir exemplis suld be applyit to the pepil that ar dissymilit in thair commorsation, and thae cullurs and couuers thare false hartis vitht verkis aperand to be ver-teous & faythful. bot thare is na dissymilation, O 3e my thre sounis, amang 3ou, considerand that 3our hartis & 3our verkis condiscendis on ane purpos, bot rather til euil nor to gude. O my thre sounis, sen god kennis that 3our hartis ar euil, and that men kennis that 3our

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1 obhominatioun 2 obscene 3 euerye

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Turn your hearts unto God, ver Kis ar euyl, i ex ort 3ou that 3e gar 30ur hartis con-
saue the co’mandis of god, and that 30ur ver Kis be con-
formand to the sammy n; & than doult es god sal schau his mercy, and sal releue 30u of the grit afflictione of
the thre plagis that hes almai sta succumbit 30ur cuntre in extreme ruuyne, that is to saye, fra veyr, fra pest,
and fra hungir. and sic gude pollice sal neuyr cum til
effect quhil that 3e haue treittit pace and concord amang
30ur selfis, the quhil k concord amang 30ur selfis vil be
ane mair awful seurge til ingland, nor that the realme
of France and the empire hed tane querrel contra[r]
ingland. 30ur croniklis makkis manifest that the
inglis men van neuyr na thing at 30ur handis, bot
rather lossit, quhen thai intendit veyr contrar 3ou, 3e
beaud of ane accord. there is ane exempl of cirillus,
qukil k vas ane nobil prince. in his grit aige he be cam
seik to the detht. he hed iiij scoir of sonnis, the
quhil kis he gart compeir in his presens. than he de-
lyurit to them ane certan of smal green treis bundyn to
giddir, extendand to the numer of iiij scoir. fy rst he
ordand his eldest soune to brak that bunche of treis at
ane tyme, the quhil k he euld nocht. than he gart al the
remanent of his sonnis, ilk ane be them self, tak the
said bunche of green treis and to 'brak them al to
giddir, the quhil k nane of them euld do it. than he
louisit the bunche of green treis, and gau e til euyr e ane
of his sonnis ane of the said green treis to brak, the
quhil k thai did eysylye. than he said til his iiij scoir
of sonnis, i ex ort 3ou that 3e remane al to giddir in gude
accord amang 30ur selfis but diuisione, and than 30ur
enemeis sal nocht venqueis 3ou. & in opposit, gyf that
contentione and diuisione cumnis amang 30u, 30ur
enemeis sal venqueis 3ou as eysylye as ony of 3ou hes
brokyn ane of the green treis. syklyik, O 3e my thre
sonnis, gif that 3e remane to giddir, & beis nocht

[1] chat

[2] enerye
separat nor deuidit fra vthirs, it sal be as onpossibil to inglis men to venqueis 3ou, as it was onpossibil til ane of the sonnis of cirillus to brac the hail bunche of green treis at ane tyme. 3e suld al tak exempl quhou that grit Alexander conquerst mekil of al the varld, and he left the gouernynyng of his cuntre on his dede bed to be gouernit eftir his deces be four of the principal barrons of his court; bot sune eftir his deceis, auaeis, inuy, 8 ambitione, and particular profet, separat and deuidit them fra vthirs, quhilk vas occasione that the bar-bariens, the persiens and mediens, and the grecians, conquist al the grit empire of Alexander, and maid sklauis of his pepil. syklyik the romans, that var domi-natours of al the varld, fra tyme that descentione and divisione raise amang the principial romans, and speciale the descentione that raise betuix Juliius cesar and grit pompeus; for Juliius vald nocht hef ane marrou in rome, and pompeus vald nocht hef ane superior; the qhilk descentione vas occasione of the civil and intest-tine veyrs that rang vniuersale in ytalie. & for that cause the romans that hef dominion aHORT al the varld be cam subiect to them quhom thai hef dantit of befor. siclyik the triumphand cite of cartage, qhilk dantit al affrica, spangle & Cecil, and did mony vailzeant actis contrar the romans, it be cam subiect to them that it 25 hed venqueist of befor, fra tyme that descentione and divisione raise amang the nobillis of that toune.

If Quhar for i exort 3ou, my thre sonnis, that 3e expel descentione, discord, and ald fede that ringis amang 3ou, quhil the veyris be dune, and than 3e sal 30 triumphhe contrar 3our enemeis. i vald 3e tuke exempl of, diuerse nobil romans and grecians that hef mortal fe'de contrar vthirs, hit nocht heles quhen there enemeis assaile yet there natie cuntre, than al thir nobillis con-currit in ane accord, and set there particular rancor and fede on syde, as did the tua vailzeant consulis of rome; 36
How the Romans laid aside internal strife to unite against the common enemy.

ane was callit marcus emilius lepedus, the tothir fuluius flaccus, quha hed mortal heytrent & deidly fede contrar vthirs. At that instant tyme Annybal conqueist cannes, at the dolorus battel quhar that the consul 5 emelius Paulus vas slane, quhar that Annibal gat, at the spulze of the romans, thre 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 citeis and castellis of Italie randrit them til 10 Annibal, sum be forse, and sum be trason; and in speciale the toune of capes vas randrit be trason, be the principal 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 thare natuie curtne in 16 dangeir of ruuyne, thai said til vthirs, It is necessair that ve for3et 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 witth xxxij legions of men of veyr, and conqueist valiantly the toune of capes, & sleu al the chartagien sodiours that annibal hed left in garnison vitth in the toune of capes, and alse tha gart jjustifie to the deht xxxv of the principal citinaris, be cause of 26 there trasonabil seditione committit contrar ther comont veil. There is ane vthir exempl 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 witth ane grit armye. at that instant tyme, the post cam to the senat, declarand, that hasdrubal, quha vas the bruther of Annibal, vas cum fra affrica, and past throcht spangze and France, and cumand our the alpes 35 of ytalie vitth ane grit armye to succur his brothir

1 salinator
Annibal, in hope to distroye al ytalie. for that cause the senat send liuius salinator\textsuperscript{1} contrar hasdribal, qha hed nocht ane sufficient nummer of men of veyr to resist hym. quhar for the consul Claudius nero heifand dreddor that liuius salinator\textsuperscript{1} and his armye 'suld be deffait be hasdribal, he forget the ald fede that vas betuix them, and he send ane roman captan, callit emilius hostilius, vyht the half of his armye contrar Annibal, quha sleu xxx thousand of Annibal men of veyr, and claudius nero past vyht 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 remem- rant of there deidly ald fede that vas betuix them, and thai vailjeantly sleu hasdribal and xlvi thousand of his men, and alse thai tuke viij thousand presoners, and thai cuttit the hede fra hasdribal. & in there returnyng to rome, thai keist the heyde befor them on the gait, & playt vithit it vithit there feit, as it hed been ane fut bal. fra that tyme futhht, Annibal tynt curage in sic ane sort, that his men of veyr var daly deffait. There is ane vthir exempl of the dedly fede and hatrent that vas betuix Munitius, maister of the hors men, and the consul fabius. thir tua romans hed the gouernyng of ane grit armye of romans contrar Annibal. Munitius the maister of the hors men vas verra proud in hym self, and alse in his veyrs he vas mair furius nor pru- dent, bot his collig fā'bius vas cakl, graif, and pacient in his bissyynes. 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 throucht the subtillite of Annibal. than Munitius desirit at fabius that he vald thole hym to haue the hail gou- umeryn of the armye ane daye, and fabius to hef it ane vthir daye, and sa euerye ane of them to haue the gouummeryn of the armye his day about, to the quhilk

\textsuperscript{1} salinator
1 fabius vald nocht consent, sayand, i vil nocht thole 3ou til has3ard al the grit armie of rome in dangeir throucht 3our ignorant furius consait, bot i am content that the grit armye be partit in tua partis, and 3e to haif the half of the armye, and i sal haue the tothir half in gouernyng. than 3e maye has3ard and fecht quhen that 3e think 3our comodius tyme. Munitius vas verra glaid of this answer. on this accord thai partit and diuidit there legions and campis in tua equal partis. this debait and discussion vas reportit til Annibal be his spyis and

his exploratours, qhilk vas til hym doubil ioye. ane cause of his ioye vas, be cause he thocht to venqueis the furius "fule hardynes of munitius, euyn as he vald hym self. the tothir cause of his ioye vas, be raison that the half of the stryntht of fabius vas dymynischid, be cause of the parting of the tua hostis in tua partis.

17 ther vas ane hil betuix Anniballis hoste and the hoste of munitius, qhilk hil, quha enyr hed gottyn it, he suld haue been able to do mekil displesoir til his enemeis. bot 3it Annibal desyrit it to mak occasione of battel to munitius,1 quhome, he kneu veil, that throucht his furor and fule hardines, vald gane stand and stop hym fra the takkyng of the said hil. than Annibal persaunt the spyit at the fut of the said hil, quhair there vas diuerse cauis and cauernis, and grit holis vitht in the rocche craggis, vitht in the qhilk he pat fine thousand fut men and horse men, nocht persaunt be the romans. on the morn, Annibal send ane feu nummir2 of men to tak the forsaid hil. Munitius persaunand that ane feu number of chartagienis var in purpos to tak that hil, than the romans brak there arraye to ryn to impesche the takkyng of the said hil. for fyirst Munitius send lycht harnessied 3ong 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 resken
his men that he hed send to the hil. than Munitius, in 1 grit furor, cam vitht the remanent of his armye contrar
the hil takkaris. than Annibal scand occasion and
tyme oportune to gyf battel, he past forduart vitht his
armye contrar the romans. on the tothir syde, al the
fiue thousand men that var hid in the caus and holis 6
of the hil, ischit furtht on the bakkis of the romans,
vitht mony hiddeous cryis. the romans beand in this
grit perplexite, beand closit betuix tua armeis, thai be
cam discuragit, qubilk gart them fle fra the battel, bot
Anniballis armye folleuit, and sleu mony romans. At 11
this instant tyme, fabius, the collig of Munitius, per-
sauand the grit discumfytur of the romans throucht
the misgouernance and furor of Munitius,1 he said, fortoune
hes schauen hir folie na soner nor i beleuit. Munitius,
throcht his fule hardlines, 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 revenge me on hym;
bout 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
baners and standardis, and syne cam forduart in gude
arraye contrar Annibal, to succur & reskeu munitius
and his men that var fled. than the romans that var
fast fleand, persauand fabius armye cummand to help
them, thai returnit fra there fleyng, and cam and inuit
vitht the armye of fabius in Arraye, & rycht vailzantly
thai vemuquest and sleu the maist part of Anniballis
men, and chaissit hym self to tuscan.

O my thre sonnis, nobilis, clergie, and lauberaris, thir exemplis of thir nobil romans that hed mortal fede
betuix them, qubilkis concurrirt to giddir in accord for .
defens of ther natyue cuntre, suld prouoke 3ou to for-
get the hatrent and rancour that mony of 3ou hes con-

1 Munitius

COMPLAYNT. 12
traverse, and to gain your courage until accord with the consent to resist your old enemies of England. For doubtless your land as meek gold as Creus or Medes possessed, and beand in as grit manners of men as exercites of Persia, quhen he cam to conquer greice, vitht sex hundredth thousand men of veyr, and 3e heffand as guide captains as grit Alexander or Iudas Machabeus.

and 3e heffand al the munitions for veyeir that is in europa, al thir thingis be for rehersit sal be confusione to you, rather nor supple, as lang as 3e haue hatrent and secret fede amang you seluis. quhar for i exort you to concur to giddir in vnite for the deffens of your countre, as did thir romans befoir rehersit. and in opposit,1 gyf your particular fede contrar vthirs remainis in your harts, than douteys twenty thousand of your enemeis sal venqueis ane hundredth thousand of you, &

thai sal put your generatione and ther posterite furth of remembrance, and your mortal enemeis sal inhabit and ocupe your placis.

If o my thre sonnis, i hef oft tymis rehersit of be-
for, of the trason that occurris in scotland. and quhou

beit that ther be mony trasonabil actis manifest in
scotland, hit nochttheles i can nocht condescend 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

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 your
ald enemeis, for ane dispyt that tha haue yimaginet
contrar you, be cause that thai dreyd your vailjeantnes,
and for that cause thai haue gart ane secret brute pas
in scotland that sum of you hes intelligens vitht them ;
and to gar ther inuentit subtil cauteil contrar you entir

mair large in the vulgaris harts, thai haue gart ther

1 apdosit
The incursions of the Border freebooters.

borderaris mak incursions and forrais fur vitht in scotland, quhar thai hane spulzeit and reft grit multiplie of mouiabil gudis, as scheip, nolt and horse, and thai hane dune na domage nor hayrschipis to sum of your sted-

ingsis and takkis, the quhlilk thing thai hane dune to that effect thai 3e maye be haldin odius and suspetius 6 be your prince, throucht the quhlilk suspitione your prince maye gar preson your bodeis; than 3e beand in varde or in preson, 3e can nothir resist nor defiend your centre fra the onmerciful invasions of your ald enemeis. Quhair for it is necessair for your veilfayr 11 that 3e1 commit sum vail3eant act contrar your enemeis, to that effect that the prince and superioris, and also the comont pepil of the realme, maye knau your innocens.

Ther is ane exempl conformand to this samyn purpos in the feyrd cheptor of the sycond 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 begyning of the veyr vas verra familiar vitht perecles: than pericles 21 heffand suspitione that archedamas vald do na domage 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 reseure my villagis and steydingis fra 26 birmyng and fra domage, and that thai vil be cruel contrar my mychtbours,2 to that effect that 3e maye suspect that i hae intelligens vitht archedamas, throucht the ald familiarite that vas betuix vs: threfor to purge me of sic suspetione, heir i renunce over my takkis and steydingis, and resingis them to be in propriite to the comont veilt of athenes, and also i sal be the fyrst person that sal entir in plane battlel contrar the lacedemoniens, to that effect that the pepil maye knau my innocens. 35

1 the 2 mychtbours
there is ane vtir exempl of Annibal, that vrocht ane grit subtilite to cause the romans to haue ane euil con-

and of Fabius, when suspected of treason.

knauen, he send his sone to rome to sel al his villages and stedingis for reddy monye, and also vrit ane lettir to the senat of rome of this effect. fathers conscript, i am suspekkit of trason throcht the machinatione of Annibal, bot doultles my innocens sal be haistyly mani-

fes to you al, for as sone as i see oportunite and con-

venient tyme & place, i sal gif hym battel. on the feyrd daye there efir, fabius gef battel til Annibal, quhen he reskeuit Munitius the master of the horse men, as is befor rehersit. this vailciant act pat hym

nocht alanerly furtht of suspetione, bot as veilt aug-

mentit his honour and gloir. (O 3e my thre soonis)

vailciant act contrar 3ou enemieis as did pere'cles and fabius befor rehersit, to that effect that the remanent of

the pepil maye gyf confidens to 3ou, quhilk vil be occasione that the hail body of the realme vil hasyard there lyuis and there gudis in 3our companye for the just defens of 3our comont veil and 3our natyue cuntre. Allace the suspetione that the pepil hes contrar sum of 3ou is nocht causes, for men of smal experienz maye persane that ther is dierse men of scotland that ar be cum neutral; that is to say, thai vil nothir tak ane plane part vitht ingland nor vitht scotland, for quhen

thir neutral men speikis vitht inglis men, thai lament

1 lychi
hauly the inconstance of the lordis of scotland that hes brokyn ther promit & band, the quhilk vas honestly contrakkit, to compleit ane mariage betuix our nobil princes heretour of scotland, and eduard the 3ong kyng of ingland, the quhilk contract beand fulfillit, vald bef beene the cause of ane perpetuall unite betuix the tua said realmis; and quhen thir said neutral men speikis vitht scottis men, thai regret and lamentis haulye the discentione and divisione that ringis amang the nobilis of scotland, quhilk is occasione that the 'inglis men be ther falsed and subtilite persecutis our realme vitht out ony inst titil. Of this sort the neutral scottis men entretenis haytht the realmis quhil on to the tyme that ane of the realmis conques 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 the veyrs vil be reuardit as the cordinar of rome vas reuardit be augustus cesar, as i sal rechers. The beuk of the annales of rome rechersis, that in the tyme of the ciuil veyris that vas betuix Augustus Cesar and Anthonius, quhilkis tua contendit for the empire. the ingement of the victore that vas aperand to be betuix them, vas verry incertan to the vniuersal pepil of ytalie, be rason that thai var profund hie spretit vail-3eant men, and verry opulent in reches, & of grit allya, quhilk vas occasione that the romans var denidit in tua aduerse parteis. at that tyme ther vas ane cor- dinar of rome, ane verry subtil riche villane, qhia be cam neutral induiring the tyme of the veyris betuix Augustus and Anthonius, taria nd quhil on to the tyme that ane of them var superior 'of the tothir, 3it he nocht beand certan qhia suld be superior of rome, and alse beand desirus to haue the grace and fauouris of hym that hapnit to be imperiour, he be grit subtilite neurissit tua 3ong corbeis in tua cagis, in tua syndry

1 grir
1 housis, and he leyrnit them baytht to speik. he leyrnit ane of them to saye, god saue thy grace, nobil victoreus augustus cesar. and he leyrnit the tothir to saye, god saue thy grace, nobil victoreus empriont anthonius. than this subtel cordinar set ane of his corbeis that gef

6 louyng til augustus, furtht at his vindo on the plane reu, quhen he beheld ony gentil men of augustus allya pas or repas befor his house, and siklyik he set furtht his tothir corbe at his vindo quhen he beheld ony of the allya of Anthonius pas or repas befor his house.

11 the quhilk thing he did to that effect that he mycht vyn the fauir of augustus, & nocht to tyne the fauir of anthonius. of this sort he vas lyik to the sourd vi the tua edgis. that quhen Augustus cesar venquest anthonius, & vas pacebil empriont, this subtel cordinar presentit the corbe til Augustus, quhilk gef hym louyng in hyr artificial speche, of 'the quhilk cesar vas verray

18 glaid, quhar for he gef to the cordinar fyftene hun-dreth peces of gold. bot sune there eftir it vas reportit to augustus cesar, that the said subtel cordinar hed ane corbe that gaue as grit louyng til anthonius. than augustus causit the said corbe and the cordinar to be

23 brocht1 in his presens; and quhen he persauit that the cordinar vas ane astuce subtel falou & dissymilite, he gart hang hym on ane potent befor the capitol, & his tua corbeis be syde hym.

[•[if 130 (141),vit]

1 Of this sort (O 3e my thre sonnis) ony of 3ou that is be cum neutral to scotland and ingland, and is tariand quhil there be ane prince superior to baytht the realmis, doult 3e sal be recompensit be that prince for 3our astuce dissymilites, as the cordinar vas recompensit be augustus cesar. Ther for i exort 3ou to

33 reuoke 3our neutralite, and that 3e be cum special vail-

33 Of Cicero's conduct in the civil war.
Cesar & pompeus, quhais querrel and part that he vald tak. {\textit{Cesar} & pompeus, quhais querrel and part that he vald 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 "ansuerir of ambiguite, declarit that cicero vas be cum neutral in the ciuil and intestine veyris that vas betuix iulius Cesar and grit pompeus. 3it nocht thees the romans murmerit his ansuerir 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 inciul comont pepil to iuge euirye purpos to the vrang face. {\textit{Cesar} & pompeus, quhais querrel and part that he vald tak.} 

This is to say, i vait quhais part i sal refuse, bot vait nocht quhais part i sal tak. this "ansuerir of ambiguite, declarit that cicero vas be cum neutral in the ciuil and intestine veyris that vas betuix iulius Cesar and grit pompeus. 3it nocht thees the romans murmerit his ansuerir 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 inciul 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- formand til ane reul of the lau, de vsu L. creditor, cum ibi no. C. & L. fi vsuras. the quhilkis cheptrours sais, Ambigua solutio pro meliori & certiori parte est interpretanda et intelligenda. bot nou to proceid in my purpose. Cicero hed ane 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 argou{\footnote{argon}}, that tua contrareis 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 rycht and ane vrang. thir freuole sophistaris that marthirs and sklandirs the text of aristotol, deseruis punitione; for quhou beit that ther be comparison of greis in euyrie thyng, that follouis nocht that the positive gre and the comparative gre ar contrar tyl vthir, for gude and bettir ar different in greis, & 3it thai ar nocht contrar til vthirs. siklyik euyl and var ar {\footnote{ifr 69 (145), bk.}}
of different greis, bot 3it thai ar nocht contrar til 

vthirs. 3it nochttheles 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 inst titil nothir 
to iulius nor to pompeus, quhou be it that ther querellis 
vavt baytht contrar til vthirs, considerand that bayht 
there querellis tendit to the demolitione of the antiant 

11 

public veil of the romans; ther for ther vas na greis of 

comparison in there debait; ther for nocht ane of them 

hed ane inst titil in ther contrare querellis, nor 3it the 
opinion of Iulius vas na var nor the querrel of pompeus, 

considerand that ther contraire debait var bayht "of 
anu cuyl equal qualite. Nou to mak ane end of this 

17 
degressione, i vil concluda that the neutralite of cicero 
deseruis recommendatione, quhen Iulius and pompeus 
contendit qhililk of them suld be kyngis of rome. Bot 
it is nocht siclyik betuix ingland and scotland; for 
quhou be it that forane princis that ar indefferent til 

22 
ingland and scotland, and alse ther subiectis, vil remane 
nearal in our veyris contrar inglis men, that followis 
nocht that scottis men can hef ony just titil to remane 
nearal quhen our cuatre is inuadit be our dissaitful ald 

26 
enemies.

Quhar for i exort 3ou (o 3e my thre sonnis) that gyf 
ony of 3ou be suspekkit that 3e hef bene neutral in 
tymis by past, that nou 3e purge 3ou vitht sum vail-

3eantnes contrar 3our enemesis, to that effect that 3e 

31 

maye reuenge the extreme violent domage that 3e hef 
sustenit be the oniust veyris of ingland. And quhou 
be it that 3our ald enemesis vald decist fra ther oniust 
veyris, and that thai vald treit pace vitht 3ou, 3it nocht-
theles 3e suld nocht condiscend to sic pace, bot gyf the 

36 

kyng of ingland vald restoir ande reforme the domage
& violens that ye haue indurit. And also doubtles the
inglis men vil offir you no pace, bot ane dissey' milit pace
for ther auen auantage, ande to disaue you eftirwart be
ane mair cruel veyr. It is knaue throucht al cristianite,
that inglis men socht neuyr pace at scotland and France
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 nocht be resauit,
bot rather veyris suld be maid, in hope that sure pace
maye succeed, conformand til ane cheptour in the xxiiij
distinctione in the fyrs t 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 you ane dishonest pace, fra
the quhilk maye succeed ane mair cruel veyr, ye suld
refuse it, conformand to the vordis of Cicero, in his
inuectyue philipiques contrar2 anthonius, sayaad, pax
est repudianda, si sub eius nomine latitet bellum.
ther for, (o ye my thre sunnis) ye haue ane
iust titil to refuse pace, and til intend cruel veyr con-
trar your enemeis. for as tucidides sais in the thretten
cheptour of his fyrst beuk, quod he, as it is couenient
tyl honest & prudent men to lyue in pace, quhen there
nyehtbours do them na oultrege nor violens: Sik-
lyike it is honest and couenient to verteous men to
change there pace, and rest in cruel veyr, fra tyme that
that haue resauit oultrege and violens fra there nyeht-
bours. for the changeyng of ane dissymilit pace in ane
cruel veyr, sal be occasione of ane ferme and faythful3
pace. Cicero consermis this sammyyn purpose in the
fyrst beuk of his officis. Suscipiendra bella sunt,
vt in pace sine iniuria viuat. Ande quhou be
it that there is diuers parsons in scotland that sais, that

1 susp 2 conthar 3 saythful
rest and pace var verray necessair for vs, i confesse that honest pace suld preser oniust veyris. for that cause the empiour traian said, that it var les skayght to mak ane iust veyr, nor to lyue in dreddour vndir ane dis-symilit pace. Euerie man is oblist to defende the gudis, heretages and possessions that his antecestres and for-

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 antecestres and for-

bearis hes conquerist be grite laubours, nor it is dishonour quhen he failjeis in the conquessing of ane thing that he intendent tyl haue conquerist fra his mortal enemye. Be this rason, euyrie nobil man suld be verray solist to defend his iust querrel; for siklyik as ane man offendis his consciens quhen he dois violens, extorsions and domage tyl his nychtbour, siklyik ane honest man offendis & hurtis his consciens, quhen he defendant hym nocht in his iust querrel contrar his enemeis, & alse reuengis hym nocht of the violens and domage that his enemeis hes perpetrat contrar hym. Quhar for i exort 3oun my thre sonnis, that se condiscend in ane faythful accord: than doulis god sal releue 3oun1 of the grit afflictione that se haue indurit be the incredule seid of ingland, & alse i beleue that he sal mak 3oun ane instrament til extinct that false generatione furtht of rememorance: & sa fayr veil.

1 3oun

Heir endis the compleaynt of scotland.

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

Cice. de fini.
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be vigilant in the defens of ther natyue cuntre
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FINIS.

¹ Should be lii. ² souhe. ³ souuis.
APPENDIX

OF

CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH TRACTS,

COMPRISING:

I.
Henry VIII's Declaration of the just causes of the warre with the Scottis, and his Maiesty's title to the souerayntie of Scotlande.
1542.

II.
James Harryson, a Scottisheman's Exhortacion to the Scottes to conform to the Will of Englande.
1547

III.
The Lord Protector Somerset's Epistle or Exhortacion to Vnitie and Peace sent to the inhabitauentes of Scotlande.
1548.

IV.
Nicholas Bodrugan alias Adams's Epitome of King Edward VI's title to the souereigntie of Scotlande.
1548.
A DECLARATION, CONTEYNYNG THE IVST CAUSES

and considerations, of this present warre with the Scottis, wherein also appereth the trewe & right title, that the kinges most royall majesty hath to the soureagntie of Scotlande.
THE DECLARATION OF HENRY VIII. 1542.

BEYNG NOVVE enforced to the warre, which we hane always hither-to so moch abhorred and fled, by our neighbour and Nephieu the Kyng of Scottis, one, who, aboue all other, for our manifold benefites towards hym, hath most just cause to loue vs, to honor vs, and to reiose in our quiet: we hane thought good to notify vnto the world his doings and behauour in the pronocation of this warre, and lykewyse the meanes and wayes by vs vsed to excute and aduoyde it, and the just and true occasions, wherby we be nowe pronoked to prosecute the same, and by vterance and disoudering of that mater, to disouden som part of our inwarde displeasure and griefe, and the circumstances known, to lament openly with the world the infelicitie of this tyme, in which thinges of suche enormitie do brest out and appere.

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

It hath ben very rarely and seldom seen before, that a king of Scottis hath had in mariaige 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 mater intended loue, amitie, and perpetuall frendshyp betwene the posteritie of both, whiche how soone it fayled, the death of the kynge of Scottis, as a due punyshment of god for his iniuste inuasion into this our realme, is and shall be a perpetuall testimonye to theyr reproche for euer, and yet in that present tyme could not the vnkyndenesse of the father extinguishe in vs the natural loue to our Nephieu his sonne being then in the myserable age of tender yowthe: but we than forgettyng the dyspleasure that shuld haue worthily prouoked vs to invade that realme, nurished and brought vp our Nephieu to achive his fathers possession and government, wherein he nowe so vnkyndly vseth and behaueth hym towards vs, as he compelleth vs to take armour and warre agaynst hym.

1 A iij. back.
It is specially to be noted, vpon what groundes, and by what means we be compelled to this warre, wherin among other is our chiefe grieue and displeasure, that vnder a colour of faire speech and flattering woordes, we be in dedes so injured contempted and disposed, as we ought not with sufferaunce to pretermitte and passe over. Wordes, writings, letters, messages, ambassadists, excuses, allegations, could not 1 more pleasantly, more gently, ne more reuerently be denied and sente, then hath bene made on the kyngge of Scottis behalfe vnto vs, and euer we trusted, the tree wold byng forth good fruite, that was on thone partie of so good a stocke, and contynuall in apperance put forth so fayre buddes: and therfore wolde hardely bylene or gyue care to other, that euer alledged the dedes to the contrary, being neuerthelesse the same dedes so many-fest, as we muste nedes have regarded them, had we not hane ben so lothe to thinke euell of our Nephieu, whom we had so many waves bound to be of the best sorte towarde vs. And therefore hauynge a message sente vnto vs the yere past from our sayde Nephieu, and a promise made for the repayryng of the sayd kyngge of Scottis vnto vs to Yorke, and after great preparation on our part made therfore, the same metynge was not onely disappoynted, but also at our being at Yorke, in the lieu therof, an invasion made by our said Nephieu his subiectes into our realme, declaring an evident contempt and dispite of vs: We were yet gladde to impute the defeute of the metynge to thaduyse of his counsayle, and the invasion to the lewdnes of his subiectes: and according thervn to gane as benigne and gentyl audience to suche Ambassadours, as repayred hither at the Christmas afterwarde, as if noo suche causes of displeasure had occurred, specially consyderynge the good woordes, swete woordes, pleasant woordis, eftsones proponed by the sayd Ambassadours, not only to excuse that was past, but also to perswade kindnes 2 and perfect amitie to ensue. And albeit the kyng of Scottis hauynge contrary to tharticle of the leage of amitie, recyued and entretained 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 could be in speche desyred: we were contente for the tyme to forward to presse them ouer extremely in the matier of rebels, Albeit we never remitted the same, but desyrous to make triall of our sayde Nephieu in some correspondence of dedes, condescended to the sending of commissioners to the borders, whiche to our great charge we dyd, and the kyngge of Scottes our said Nephieu the semblable. Where after great travauale made by our Commissioners, this fruite ensued, that being for our part challenged a piece of our grounde,
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 neuertheless by them denied, refused, and the euidence only for this cause reiected, that it was made (as they alledged) by Englishemen. And yet it was soo auncient, as it coulde not be counterfaite nowe, and the value of the grounde so lytell, and of so smal 1wayne, as no man wolde hawe 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 for frendes, from the Commissioners of Scotlant, takynge order as hath ben accurstomed for good rule vpon the borders in the meane tyme.

After whyche theyr recessse, the lorde Maxwell, warden of the west marches of Scotland, made proclamation for good rule, but yet added therwith, that the boderers of Scotlant shuld withdrawe their goodes from the bouders of England: And incontinentely after the Scottishe men boudurers, the fourthe of July, entred into our realme sodeynly, and spoyled our subiectes, contrary to our leages, even after suche extermittie, as it had bene in tyme of open warre, wheret we moche meruayled, and were compelled therafore to furnishe our boudour with a garrison for defence of the same. Wheruppon the kyng of Scottis sente vnto vs James Leyrmouth, maister of his howseholde, with letters denysed in the most pleasant maner, offeraynge redresse and reformation of al attemptates. And yet neuertheless at the entre of the sayd Leyrmouth into England, a great nombre of the Scottis, than not loked for, made a forrey into our bouders, 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 fyinally 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 altred by his wordes and fayre promyse, tending to the perswasion that weuer desyred, to fynde the kyng of Scottis suche a Nephiue vnto vs, as our proximitie of bloude, with our gratuite vnto hym, dyd require.

In the meane tyme of these fayre woordes, the dedes of the boderes were as extreme as myghte be, and our subiectes spoyled: and in a rode made by syr Robert Bowes for a reuenge therof, the same syr Robert Bowes with many other taken prysoners, and yet deteyned in Scotlant, without puttynge them to fyne and raunsome, as hath ben euuer accurstomed. And beinge at the same tyme a surceanece made on bothe sydes at the suite of the sayde Leyrmouth for a season: the Scottis ceassd not to make sundry invasions 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 subjectes, ne could not in respecte of our honour, be passed ouer vnreformed; and therefore put in a redynesse our army, as a due mane whereby we myght atteigne suche a peace, as for the safegard of our subjectes we be bounde to procure.

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

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

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

1 B j. 2 B j, back.
proceedyng, when our commissioners refused, alledging that they wold not conclude a metynge with men, haunye no commission therevnte, the ambassadours of Scotland vpon pretence to send for a more ample and large commission, agreable to their instructions for appoyntment of the place, obteined a delay of other .vi. days, to sende for the said ample commission without restraynt of place. And after those .vi. dayes they brought forthe a newe commission, made in a good foure, 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 the Commissioners in the commission was nowe at the last removed 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 Scotlands semed to hane wyll and desyre to conclude of a place semely and convenient, whiche for want of commission they myght not do, and at the laste myght have 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 kyngye, who shulde seme secretely 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 disclosed to discharge them self, trusting that by benefite of the winter approchyng, and the tyme lost in theyr communication theyr maister shulde be defended agaynste our power for this yere, without doinge for theyr parte that by honour, right, lawe, and leages they be obliged and bounde to do. And in this meane tyme our subiectes taken prisoners in Scotland coulde not be deliered vpon any ransome, contrary to al custome and vsage of the border in the tyme of peax & warre, and in this meane tyme staid a great part of our army alredy prested, and in our wages to go forwarde. In this tyme embassadours (as ye hane herde) assembled to talke of an amitie and conclude it not. The treatyng of amitie was put ouer by communica- tion of a metynge.

The communication of metynge was so handled by alteration of commyssion and instructions on theyr behalfe, as it appereth a playne denise onely excogitate for a delay, whyche hath gyuen vs lyght, where vpon more certeiny to judge the king of Scottis inwarde affection towarde vs, whose dedes and wordes well wayed and considered, dothe vs playneley to understande, 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 displeasant dedes. In his wordes he professeth an

1 B ii. 2 B ii, back.
This naturall falseheade, of Scottis our obseruation, of whiche god hath he 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 suffered 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. Shuld we suffer our rebelles to be deteyned contrary to the leages without remedye? This is also done by them what soo euer theyr wordes be. Shuld we suffer our lande to be usurped contrary to our most playne euidence, onely vpon a wylle, pryde, and arroganeye of the other partie? This is done by them what soo euer theyr wordes be. And all these be euer presumptuouly done agaynste vs, and gyue suche signification of theyr arrogancy, as it is necessary for vs to oppresse it in the beginning, 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 affections as proximitie of bloudde shulde require, we wold muche rather hane remitted these injuries in respect of proximitie of bloud to our Nephieu, than we dyd heretofore the invasion of his father. But consydering we be so surely ascertayned of the lacke thereof, and that our bloud is there frorne with the cold ayre of Scotlande, ther was neuer prynce more vyolently compelled to warre then we be, by the vnkynde dealyng, vniust behauiour, vnprincely demeanour of him that yet in nature is our Nephieu, and in his actes and dedes declareth hym selfe not to be moud therwith, ne to haue suche ernest regarde to the observation of his pactes and leages, ne such respect to thintreteynment of the administration of Justice, as naturall equitie byndeth, and conservacion of amitie dothe require: whiche we muche lament and be sory for, and vse nowe our force and puissausce againste hym, not 2 for reuengeaunce of our priuate displeasure (being so often decluded as we haue ben) but for recouerye of our right, the preseruation of our subiectes from injuries, and the observation of such leages as haue passed betwene vs, firmly trustinge, that almighty god, vnder whom we reigne, woll assist and ayde our just procedinges herein to the furtherance and advancement of the right, which we doubt not shal euer preuayle againste wronge, falseheade, deceipte, and dissimulation.

† Hitherto it appereth how this present warre hath not proceded of any demeanour of our right of superioritie, which the kinges of Scottis haue alwas knowned by homage and fealtie to our

1 B iiij.  2 B iiij, back.
progenytours even from the begynnynge: But this warre hath ben
provoke and occasioned vpon present matier of displeasure, present
injury, present wrong mynstred by the Nephiu to the Uncle most
unnaturally, and supported contrary to the desertes of our benefites
most unkindly. 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 opportunity in the minority of our Nephiu,
Ne in any other realme a prince that hath more justte title, more
evident 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 covenant, or contryned by inntenion of argument, but
linely descended from the begynnynge of that astate established by
our progenitours, and reconuysed to successively of the Kings of
Scotlande by dedes, wordes, actes & writinges continually almost with-
out interrupytion, or at the leest intermission, til the reigne of our
progenitour Henry the .VI. in whose time the Scottis abused the
Ciuile warre of this realme, to theyr licence and boldnes, in omitting
of their dutie: which for the proximitie of bloudde betwene vs, we
haue ben slacke to require of them, being also of our selfe inclined
to peace, as we haue euer been alwayes glad, rather without prejudice
to omyt to demaunde our right, if it myght conserve peace, than by
demandyng thereof to be sente to move war, specially against our
neighbour, against our Nephiu, agaynst hym, whom we have pre-
served from daungier, and in such a tyme as it were expedient for
all Christendome to be vnit in peace, wherby to be the more able
to resist the common ennemy the Turke.

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

This appereth fyrst by historic written by such as for confirma-
tion of the truth in memory haue truly noted and signified the
same. Secondly it appereth by instrumentes of homage made by
the kynges of Scotlande, at dryers and sundry times sealed with
theyr scales, and remaynynge in our Treasourye. 2 Thirdly it appereth
by regesters and records iudicially and autentiquely made, yet
preserued for confyrmacon 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 concernyng histories, whiche be called witnesses of
tymes, the lyght of trueth, and the lyfe of memory, and fynally the
conuenient way and meane, wherby things of antiquity may be
brought to mens knowlge, they shewe as playnyly this matier as
could be wyshed or required, with such a consent of writers, as
could not so agree bypon an vntruth, conteynyng declaration of

1 B iiiii. 2 B iiiii, back.
THE DECLARATION OF HENRY VIII. 1542.

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such matier as hath most evident probabilitie and apperance. For as it is probable and lykely, that for the better administration of instyee 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 discen-
tion, that there shuld be one superiour in righte, of whom the sayd astates shuld depend. Accordingly whervnto we rede how Brutos, of whom the realme than calldy Brytayn toke fyrst that name (being before that tyme inhabited with gyauntes, people without order or ciuilitie) had thre sonnes, Locrine, Albanact, and Camber, and determinyng to haue the whole Isle within the Oceaan sea to be after gouerned by them thre, appoynted Albanact to rule that nowe is called Scotland, Camber the parties of Wales, and Locrine that nowe is called Englane: vnto whom as being the 1 elder sonne, the other two brothers shuld do homage, recognisynge and knowleagyng hym as theyr superior. Nowe consider if Brutos conquered all this Ilande, as the hystorye sayeth he dyd, and then in his owne tyme made this order of superioritie as aforesayd: Howe can there be a title diuised of a more playn begynynge, a more iuste begynynge, a more convenient begynynge for the order of this Ilande, at that tyme specially when the people were rude, which can not without continual strife and variaunce conteine two or thre rulers in all poyntes equall without any maner of superioritie, the inwarde con-
science and remorse of whiche superioritie shulde in some part dull and diminishe the peruerse courage of resitence and rebellion. The fyrst diuision of this Isle we finde it written after this sort without cause of suspicion why they shulde write amyse. And accordynghe herevnto we fynde also in hystory set forth by diuers how for trans-
gression against this superioritie, our predecessours haue chastised the kynges of Scottis, and some deposed, and put other in their places.

VVe will here omyt to speake of the rudenes of the antiquitie in particularitie, which they cared not distinctly to commit to writing, but some authors, as Anthonius Sabellicus amonges other dilygently enseryych, what he might truely write of all Europe, and the Ilandes ad lyonynge, 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 past, that we finde them nowe at this present, he calleth Scottande part of Englane, which is agreable to the diuision aforesayld, being in decde as in the lande contynmall 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 testimonie of such as haue left writyng for prone and confirmation therof. In whiche matier passing ouer the death of Kyng Humbre, the actes of Dunwalde king of this realme, the diuision of Belyn & Brene, the victories of king Arthure,
we shall begin at the yere of our lord dccc. which is dccc xlvi. yeres by past, a tyme of sufficient auncientie, from which we shall make speciall declaration and evidence of the execution of our right and title of superioritie evermore contynued and preserved lythero.

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

1 xxxi yeres after that, whych was the yere of our lorde d cccc lxxvii, Eldred kyng our progenitour, Athelstains brother, toke homage of Irise then kyng of Scottis.

xxx. yeres after that, which was the yere of our lorde d cccc lxxvii kyng Edgar our predecessor toke homage of Kynalde king of Scottis. Here was a lytell trouble in Englande by the death of saynete Edwardre kyng and martyr, destroyed by the deceite of his mother in lawe: but yet within memory.

xl. yeres after the hommage done by Kynald to king Edgare, that is to say, in the yere of our lord m xvii. Malcome the kyngye of Scottis dydde hommage to Knute our predecessour. After this hommage done the Scottis vthered some piece of their naturall disposition, wheruppon by warre made by our progenitour sainte Edwarde the confessour, xxxix. yere after that hommage done, that is to say, the yere of our lord m lvi. Malcom the kyng of Scottis was vanquished, and the realme of Scotlande gyuen to Malcome his sone by our sayd progenitour saynte Edwarde: vnto whome the sayde Malcome made hommage and fealtie.

Within xi. yeres after that William Conquerour entred this realme, wherof he accomplished no perfect conquest, vntyll he had lykewise subdued the Scottis, and therfore in the sayd yere, whiche was in the yere of our lord mxxviii. the sayd Malcolm kyng of Scottis dyd hommage to the sayde William Conquerour, as his superiour by conquest kyngye of 2 Englande.

xxv yeres after that, which was the yere of our Lorde mxcix. the sayde Malcolm dyd hommage and fealtie to William Rufus, some to the said William Conquerour: and yet after that was for his offences and demerites depoised, and his sone 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 Malcolm, and some to the fyrste, who dyd his hommage and fealtie accordingly.

1 C ii.
2 C ii, back.
vii. yeeres after that, which was in the yere of our lord 1500. the sayd Edgar kyng of Scottis, dydde homage to Henry the fyрист, our progenitour.

xxvii. yere after that, Dauid kyng of Scottis did homage to Matilde the Emperatrice, as daughter and heyre to Henry the fyrist. 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. yeeres after that, whiche was in the yere of our lorde 1501. 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. yeeres after that, which was in the yere of our lorde 1502. Wylliam king of Scotlande, after mooch rebellion and resistance, accordyng to their naturall inclination, kyng Henry the second, than being in Normandy, William then kyng of Scottis knowledged fynally his errour, and made his peace and composition, confirmed with his great scale, and the scales of the Nobilitie of Scottlande, makynge therwith his homage and fealtie.

Within xv. yeeres after that, which was the yere of our lorde 1503. the sayd Wylliam kyng of Scottes, came to our citie of Canturbury, and there dydde homage to our noble progenitour kyng Richard the fyrist.

xiii. yeeres after that, the sayd William dyd homage to our progenitour kyng Johne, vpon a hyll besides Lincoln, makynge his othe vpon the crosse of Hubert than archbyshop of Canturbury, being there present a meruylous multitude assembled for that purpose.

xxvi. yeeres after that, which was in the yere of our lorde 1504. 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 dyld his homage to our sayde progenitour: who reigned in this realme 1505. yeeres. 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 fyrist at his coronation at Westmester, there was about fyfty yeeres, at whych tyme the sayde Alexander kyng of Scottes repaired to the sayde feaste of coronation, there did his dutie as is afore sayde.

Within xxviii. yeeres after that, which was the yere of our lorde 1506. John Baliol kyng of Scottes, made homage and fealttie to the sayde kyng Edwarde the fyrist, our progenitour.

After this began Robert Bruse to usurpe the crowne of Scotlande, and to moue sedition therselfe, 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 .mccxxvi. Edwarde Balliol, after a great victory in Scotlande agaynst another faction, and enioyenge the crowne of Scotlande, made homage to our progenitour Edwarde the thyrde.

And .xx. yeres after that, which was in the yere of our lorde .mccc xlvi. David Bruse, who was ever in the contrary faction, did neuerthelesse in the title of the crowne of Scotlande, wherof he was then in possession, made homage to our sayde progenitour Edwarde the thyrde.

Within .ix. yeres after, this Edward the thyrld, to chastise the insideltie of the Scottis, made warre agaynst them: where after great victories, Edwarde Balliol hauyng the just and ryght title to the realme of Scotlande, surrendred clerely the same to our said progenitour at the towne of Rokysbrough in Scotlande: where our said progenitour accepted the same, and than caused hym selve to be crowned kyng of 1Scottande, and for a tyme entertygned it, and enjoyed it, as very proprietary & owner of the realme, as on thone parte by confiscation acquyred, and on the other parte by free wyll surrendred vnsto 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, which was augmented by the alteration of the state of the said Rycharde, and the devolution of the same, to Henry the III. so as the Scottis had some leisure to play their vagues, and solowe their accustomed manier. And yet Henry the V. for recovery of his ryght in France, commanded the kyng of Scottis to attende vpon hym in that journey. And in this tyme the realme of Scotlande being descended to the house of the Stewardes, of which our Nephieu directly cometh, James Stuarde 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 scales of the kynges of Scotlande testifyenge the same. And yet doth it appere by story, how the Scottis practised to steale out of our treasury diuers of these instrumentes, which 2neuerthelesse were after recovered agayn. And to the intent ye may knowe of what foure 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 caullation and contrined easion of the Scottes, alleginge the homage to haue benne made for the Erldome of Hunt-

1 C iv. 2 C iv, back.
yngton, which is as trewe as the allegatyon 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. kyngye of Scottes shall be trewe and feythful vnto you
lorde Edward by the grace of god kyngye of Englande, the noble and
superior lorde of the kyngdome of Scotlande, and vnto you I make
my fydelitie of the same kyngdome of Scotland, the whiche I holde,
and clayme to holde of you: and I shall beare to you my feythe
and fidelyt of lyfe and lynme and worldely honour agaynste all
men, and feythfully I shall knowleage, and shal do to you service
due vnto you of the kyngdome of Scotlande aforesayd, as god so
helpe me & these holy euangelies.

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

Florentius comes Holandie.
Patricius de Dunbar comes de Merchia.
Willielmus de Vesty.
Willielmus de Ros.
Robertus de Pinbeny.
Nicholaus de Soules.
Patricius Galightly.
Rogerus de Mundeville.
Joannes Comyn.
D. Joannes de Hastinges.
Joannes de Balliolo.
Robertus de Bruse.
Ercius rex Norwegie.

And finally after a great consultation and mature deliberation,
with discussion of the allegations proposed on al parties, sentence
was giuen for the title of Ballioll, accordyng whervnto he enjoyed
the realme. But for confirmation of the dycty 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 auctoritie of the judgement to be
gyuen depended thervpon: It was then orde2red, that the hole
parliament of Scotland spirituall, temporall, and of all degrees, as-
sembled for that purpose, and consideryng vpon what ground and
foundation the kynges of Scotlande had in tymes paste made the
sayd homages and recognition of superyoritie, the sayd parlament

1 D i. 2 D i, back.
fynding the same substantiall good and true, shulde if they so
demed it, yele and gene place, and by expresse consent recognise
the same. At whiche parlyamente was alledged vnto theym, as
appereth in the same records, not onely these actes of the prynces
before those dayes, and before rehearsed: but also besydes the testi-
monye of storyes, the wrytinges and letters of foreyn princis, at that
tyme recityng and rehersyng the same. Wherypon the sayde
parlyament dyd there agree to this our superioritie, and ensuyng
theyr determination dyd particularly and seuerally make homage
and feaultie with proclamation: That who soo euer withdrew hym
selfe from doinge his dutie therin, shulde be taken and reputed for
a rebel. And so all made homage & feaultie to our progenitour
Edwarde the first. The realme was in the tyme of the discussion of
the title ruled by gardians deputed by hym: all castels & holdes
were surrendred to him as to the superior lord in the tyme of vaca-
tion, benefices, offices, fees, promotions passid in that tyme from the
mere gift of our sayde progenitour, as in the right of this crowne of
England, Sheriffs named and apoynted, wrritis & preceptes made
obeyed and executed: and finally al that we do now in the Duchy
of Lancaster, the same 1 dyd our progenitour for the tyme of conten-
tion for that title in the realme of Scotlände, by the consent and
agreement of all astate 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 recogni-
sed the province of our archebishop of Yorke, whiche extended
ouer al that crountry.

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 parly-
ment, not of some, but of all confirmed & testified by theyr wrytinge
and scales? whervnto nothing enforced them, but right and reason,
being passed in peace and quiet without armour or compulsion. If
they say they did it not, they speake like them selues: If they say
they dyd it, then doo they nowe lyke them selves, to with drawe
their dutie, not so moche to be blamed, as to be amended.

Thys appereth vnto you the begymnyng of the righte of superi-
oritie, with a perpetual contynuance, without intermission within
memory, certayne omission and forbearynge vpon the groundes and
occasions before specified we deny not. Wherby they have many
tymes sought and taken theyrs opportunities, to withdrawe the doinge
of theyr dutie in knowlege of our superioritie ouer theym, whiche
to anoyde, they have not cared what they sayde or alleged, though
it were neuer so vntrue: lyeng alwayes 2 in awayte when they might
annoyme this realme, not without theyrs owne great dangier, peril, and
extreme detriment. But as they detrected the doing of theyrs dutie,
so god euer granted vnto this realme force to compell them thervnto

1 D ii. 2 D ii, back.
within memory, not withstanding any their interruption by resis-
tence, which unto the tyme of our progenitor Henry the .VI. never
indured so longe as it made intermission within tyme of mynde,
wherby the possession myght seme to be enpaired: from the tyme of
Henry the VI. vnto the seventh yere of our reigne, how our realme
hathe ben for a season lacerate and torne by diversitie 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 re-
herse.

Sithens the death of our progenitor Henry the .VI. our grand-
father Edward the .III. reyned, who after great travailes to attayne
quietnesse in his realme, fynally in the tyme of preparation of warre
against Scotlande, dyed.

Richard the .III. than usurped for a smalle tyme in yeres, 
whome the kyngge our father by the strength of goddis hand over-
throw in battaile, and moost justely attayned the possession of this
realme, who nevertheles after the great tempestious stormes lyndynge
all matiers nat yet broughte to a perfecte quiete and reste, ceassed
and forbare to require of the Scottis to do theyr dutie, thynking it
policy rather for that tyme to assay to tame their nature by the
pleasant coniunction and conversacion of affinitie, then 1 to charge
them with theyr fault, and requyre ducty of them, when oportunitie
serued not, by force and feare to constrayne and compell them.

And thus passed over the regyne of our father, without demandde
of this homage. And beinge our regyne nowe, xxxiii. yeres, we
were .xxi. yere letted by our Nephieu his minoritie, being then more
carefull howe to bringe hym out of daunger, to the place of a king,
then to recyve of hym homage when he had full possession in the
same. Wherfore beinge nowe passed sithens the last homage made
by the kings of Scottis to oure progenitour Henry the .VI. cxxii.
yere, at whiche tyme the hommage 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 en-
gendred also some busynes in the tyme of the kyngge our father,
whiche was .xxiii. yere: And in our tyme xxii. 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 allledge
justly but .xiii. yere of sylence in the tyme of our reigne, being all
the other tymes sithens the hommage done by James Stewarde, suche
as the silence in them had they ben neuer so longe, could not have
ingendred prejudicce to the losse of any right, that may yet be de-
clared and proued due. For what can be imputed to kyng Edward
for not demandyng homage, beinge in strife for that estate, whervnfo
the hommage was due? What shulde Rycharde the .III. serche for
2 hommage in Scotlande, that had neither right ne leysure to haue
hommage done vnto hym in Englande? Who can blame our father,
knowynge the Scottis nature, neuer to do their dutie but for feare, if he demaunded not that of them, whiche they wold excue if they might, being his realme not clerely than purged from yll seede of sedition, sparkeled and scattered in the cruell ciuile warres before.

Lawe and reason serueth, that the passing ouer of tyme not commodious for the purpose, is not allegable in prescription for the losse of any right. And the minoritie of the kyng of Scottis hath endured xxi yeres of our reigne, whyche being an impediment on their part, the hole prescription of the Scottis, if the matier were prescriptable, is thus deduced evidently to xiii. yere, whiche xiii. yere without excuse we haue ceassed and forborne to demaunde our dutie, lyke as the Scottis haue lykewyse cessed to offer and tende the same. For whiche cause neuerthelesse we do not enter this warre, ne mynded to demaunde any suche matier: Nowe beinge rather desirous to reioyse and take comfort in the frendshyppe of our Nephieu, as our neyghbour, than to moue matier vnsto hym of displeasure, wherby to alienate suche natural inclination of loue, as he shuld haue towarde vs. But such be the workes of god, superior ouer all, to suffre occasions to be minystred, whereby due superioritie may be knowen, demaunded, and required, to the intent that accord- ing thervnto all things 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]

LONDINI in officina Thomae Berthe-
leti typis impress.
Cum privilegio ad imprimen-
dum solum.

ANNO M. D. XLII.
An

Exhortacion to the Scottes

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

Dedicated
to

Edward Duke of Somerset

by James Harryson, Scottishman.

LONDON:
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1547.
AN EXHORTATION TO THE SCOTTS.


Allying to mynde (as I do oft) moste excellent Prince, the ciuill discencion and mortal enemite, betwene the twoo Realmes of Englannde and Scotlande, it brynethe me in muche maruell, how betwene so nere neighbors, dwellyng with in one land, compassed within one sea, alied in bloude, and knitte in Christes faithe, suche unnaturall discorde should so long continue, Unnaturall, I maie wel call it, or rather a Ciuill warre, where brethren, kynsmen or countreymen be diuided, and seke y* bloud of eche other: a thyng detestable before God, horrible to the worlde, and pernicious to the parties, and no lesse straunge in the ies of reasonable men, then if the lymmes 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 utilitie or gain should growe thereby, it were the lesse maruail, but when there doth nothyng ensue, but suche fruite as warre brynethe furthe, which is sackying of tonnes, subuersion of holles, murder of men, ruishment of women, slaughter of olde folke and infantes, burnyng of houses and corne, with hunger and pestillence, twoo buddes of the same tre: and finally, the ytter ruyne of the whole kyngdom, I wonder that emongest so many politique rulers as be, and haue been in both realmes, the mischief so long spied, the remedy hath not yet bee sought. Who is so blynd that doth not see it, or who so harde harte, that doth not pitie it? I omitte here to speake of the greate afliccion and miserie, whiche Scotlande hath sustaine by warres in tymes passed, a matter ouer long to be rehearsed, 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 ij  2 a ij, back  3 a iij
ruined: how the countrey hath been ouer runne, spoyled and heried by Englishemen on the one side, and by our owne 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 maintaineines of suche mischief, it were lesse to be lamented, but thei sitte safe at home, and kepe holy daie, when the feles lie ful of their bodies, whose deaths thei moste cruelly and vnchristianly have procured. If Edenbrough, Lieth, Louthian, Mers or Tinidale had tongues to speake, their loude complainte would perse the deafe eares. But what nedeth speche, when thei yses maie se plain enough, what thei deuillish har^tes haue denised. This miserie is muche to be sorrowed, and more to be sorrowed, then their wickednes to be detested, whiche haue kyndled the fire, and still laie on brandes to feede the same. In whom if either respect of Religion, whiche thei professe, or zeal of Justice, wherunto thei are sworne, either feare of God, or loue to their countrey, did any thyng woorke, thei would refuse no travaull, nor torment of body nor mynde, no, nor death (if it wer offered) for ye sauegarde of theiin, whose distrucction thei haue wrought. And these bee onely twoo sortes, the one is of suche, as either for feare of their Hypocrisy to bee reueld, or cuill gotten possessions to be translated would haue no peace nor concord: the other bee suche as for a lawlesse libertie and doyng wrong unpunished, would pull out their heddes from all lawe and obedience. Such and none other be adversaries to our cause. If these ij sortes (I saie) should fede but half the miserie, whiche thei povere people be driuen to suffre, thei would not be halfe so hastie to ryng alarmes. These be thei whiche professyng knowledge, abuse the ignorance of the nobilitie and commonaltie, to ye destruction of bothe, haungy peace in their mouthes, and all rancor and vengeaunce in their hartes, pretendyng religion, perswade rebellion, preachyng obedience, procure al disobediens, semyng to forsake all thyng, possesse all thyng, callyng themselves spirituall, are in deede moste carnall, and reputed heddes of the Churche, bee the onely shame and slaunder of the Churche. If these people would as earnestyng travaile for the concord of bothe realmes, as thei indevour with toothe and naill to the contrary, these mischeues aforesaid, should either not haue happened, or els at the least, not so long haue continued: by whose lure, so long as the nobles and commons of Scotlande be led, I am in dispaire of any amitie or frendship betwene these two realmes. GOD bryng their falsched once to light, and turne their iniqutie vpon their awne heddes.

Byt to my purpose, seyng the mischief so greate, the authours so many, the maintaineance so strong, and so few that seke amendement: in declaration of mine earnest zealde and vnfained affection towards my countrey, I in default of other, put my self in prease. And though able yet, moste willyng and desirous of the honor

1 a iiij, back 2 a iiij 3 a iiij, back 4 a v 5 a v, back

COMPLAYNT.
and quiet of bothe realmes, whiche cause, seing it correspondeth to vertue & godlinesse, me thought it convenient to seke for the same, a patrone vertuous and Godly, whereby your grace entered my remembrance, whose procedynges hethereto haue made manifest to the worlde, what an ardent zeale ye beare, to theadvancement of all vertie & truth: So that all men conceiue certain hope, that by your high wisedom, policie, & other Princely vertues, the stormes of this tempestuous worlde, shall shortly 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 helpyng hande to the furtheraunce of this cause. Hereby shall you declare an incomparable servicie to the kynges Maiestie of England, whiche beyng young of yeres, is yet ripe in vertue, to gomerne any kygdom, whose excellent gifts of nature, and inclination to all Godlinesse considered, the world is in opinion, that he shalbee noughtyng 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 gouernancee and tuicion of his persone, and protection of his realmes and dominions, all mannes expectacion is, that hauyng so apte a moulde to worke vpon, you shall so frame his yonthe with vertuous preceptes, Godly examples, and sincere educaccion, as he shall prove a Kyng equal with those, whom old histories, do moste commend. Wherein your graces hande cannot wante, beyng so worthie a governor of so noble a kyng: and muche more if by your policie, diligence, and circumspeccion, he shal at his perfect yeres bee restored to the whole 3isle of Britayn, where unto as he isustely entittled: So God the protector of al inst causes, shal bryng your attemptes therein to good successs. For the furtheraunce whereof, I have declared myne opinion in wryting, whiche, with humble harte I offre and dedicate vnto your good gracie: not as a gyfte worthie so greate an estate, but yet not vnmutte for my purpose, ne for the tyme & occasion present, wherein though I neither perswade my cause so pithilie, ne open it so liuely, as to so weightie a matter is requisite: Yet it maie serve 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 may cease 4and peace and concorde take place. GOD the verie auchoer 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 theadvancement of Gods glory, comfort to his lieges, and confusion of his enemies.

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The cause wher of I treate beeing so weightie, the discourse so large, & my witte and cunnyng so small to set it furthe, I might well be discouragd to entro so greate a ground: but that loun to my countrey on the one side, and desire of concorde and quietnes on the other side, moue me to speake, hopyng that the honestie of the matter shall supplie the rude handelyng, and the plain veritie, to stand in stede of eloquence and cunnyng. For like as in an euill cause, muche arte and conuenience 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 more 3eloquent, so muche the more suspicious. For truthe is sufficient of her selfe, and needeth no colours, no more then natural beawty, nedeth of painting. Taking this for my foundation, I male the more boldely procede without feare of offence, seeyng my cause is suche, as all good men will further, all wise men fauor, and all Godly men defende, as that which beeyng embraced, shall doo good to many, and hurt to none, and beyng neglected, shall hurte a multitude, and auyyle no man, tendyng no lesse to the commoditie of the adversaries, then of of the fauorers. Thus the ground beyng so true, the occasion so honest, and the querell so righteous, there wanteth nothing but one that could set thesame furth accordingly. And seeyng suche as canne best, liste not, and that ought moste, will not, and that wold faynest, dare not take this vniersall cause in hande, I beyng simple, unlearned, and most barayn of all orators arte and perswasion, yet armed with truth, mowed with honestie, and prouoked by loue, towards God and my countrey, (as Dauid against Golias) entre the felde against the mightie Giantes, enemies of concorde and vnitie, desirynge all my countreymen of Scottlande (whose cause I now specially entreat) to gene me pacient hearyng, whilst I suade them to that, whiche shalbe acceptable to God, commendable to the world, joyfull to their frendes, hatefull to their enemies, profitable to all parties, and to none so muche as to themselues.

To ground my cause vpon truth (as I promised) I will sette my foundation, vpon the infallible truthe of Gods woorde, takynge this texte for my purpose. Onne regnum in se divium desolabitur: that is to saie: every kyngdom diuided in it self, shalbe brought to desolacion. If this sentence bee well marked, and the persone of the speaker considered, I shall not nede to bee long in perswadyng you to belewe it. The words be 3true: for he that spake them, cannot lye, which is Christ himselfe the author of al truth and veritie. But though Christ had not spoken them, let vs se whether comon reason dooth not affirme them, and the experience of all
realmes and countreis, in al tyme and ages, hath not approued theim. And to fet our examples not out of strange 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 nacions, and you shal not lightly heare or read of any one countrey sithe the worldes creacion, more inuaded, wasted, and destroyed, then this Islande, ne 1 of people mere often, ne more cruelly spoyled, exiled, or afflicted, then the inhabiter thereof, and all by diviision and discord: the sedes wherof, beyng laied in by the deuil as ponder vnder a walle, after it once toke fire, did so terribly shake the foundacions of their common weale, that it riu’d a sunder their kyngdome and monarchie, and diuiding it into partes, broughte the whole at last to ruynye and desolacion, which hath not been fully recouered to this daie, nor in my judgement like to be, so long as the islande is divided into two partes, and knowen by two names, that is to sake, England & Scotlande, and vnder twoo seuerall gouernours. The cause whereof 2 though it maie chiefly bee ascribed to the inste vengeaunce of God, provokd with the synnes of the people, as Gildas witnesseth; yet is it clere that the onelye meane thereof, was discord and diuision, emong the Insulanes, whereby it came to passe, whylest every one striuéd, all were ouer comen, and made an easy prey to strange nacions. For althoogh outward enemies, vpon tiranny and conquest, as the Romayns, or els expulsed from their countreys, and druen to seke newe dwellyinges as the Pictes, or allured with ye fertilitie of ye soyle as the Scottes inhabitauntes, the north partes of Irelannde, inuaded this islannde: Yet could those people neuer haue kepte quiete 3 possession, ne reigne so long as thei did, but through diuision and discord emong the Britaynes, whiche beyng stiffe necked against God, and ingrate eche to other (as the said authour writeth) by their demerites, wer not onelye over-come with outwarde invasions, but finally lost their name and Empire, whereby the inhabitauntes beyng mixt with straugers, haue euere sithe been vexed with intestine warres and ciuill discord, to the irremediable ruine and desolacion theof, vntil it shal please Gods goodness to haue mercie on the people, and to reduce the islannde to the firste estate, to one Monarchy, vnder one kyng and gouernor as it was in the Britons 4 tyme. But if God of his goodnesse, without our desertes hath in these latter daies, provided that blessed meane and remedy for the glorie of his name, and for our wealth and commoditie: and wee for our parte, either of stubbur- nesse 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-

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

But afore I will stirre that vsauery 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, ommittyn the matiers
of the tyme present, I must repete the estate of this island from the
beginnyng, and what were the causes of this diuision at the firste,
and by what waies it hath continued from tyme to tyme, and how
it is yet norished, to the ende that upon 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, hauie ledde them long blindfold, & so would kepe
them, to the perdicion both of their soules and bodies, and then shall
we se, whether this saynyng of Christ afore recited, maie not be well
verifie in vs of Britayne. In the discourse whereof, because the
right & title whereby the kynges of Englande claime to be superior
Lordes of Scotland, is incidently touched: I wil 3 vs for the more
parte the testimonies either of Scottish chronicles, or forein writers,
and title of the Englishes, onlesse where bothe Scottishe and Englishes
do agree, or where by apparaunt reason, the truth standeth more on
thone side, then on the other: and all to aduoyde the common
cauillation of suche, as say, how the Kynges of Englande proue
their title to Scotiaude, onely by Englishe authors.

The opinion of moste writers, and specially of Latins (at whom,
aswell for auncientic, as indifference, I take my ground) is, that this
islande of Britayn, whiche conteineith bothe realmes of Englande and
Scotland (as I saied afore) was at the firste, 4 called Albion, that is
to saie the white lande, hauyng that name ab albis rupibus, that is
to saie, of the White Rockes and Cleues, whiche appere upon the
sea costes of the saied islande, evene as we at this daie call the
countrey from whence the Brasill wood commeth, Brasilia: whiche
opinion is more probable then the deuise of a late Welshe Poete,
ymaginyng how it was called Albion, of one Albina, eldest of the
fiftie daughters, of one Dioeslan kyng of Syria, whiche hauyng
killed fiftie kynges, beyng their husbandes, wer for the same exiled.
And after long wanderyng in y^e seas, arrived at laste in this Islande,
where thei ingendered with spirites, & brought furth I. 5Giau^ters,
whiche wer Gog Magog and his felowes, with suche pocticall fables,
not onely without good foundacion, but also mere contrary to all
auncient stories, and wether against al possiblitie of nature. But
as the beginnyng of all nacions for the more part be fabulous and
vncertain, some fetchyng their pedegre from the Goddes, and some

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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 Britayne is, that this island was inhabited from the beginnyng, by those that were borne in thesame, & afterward as the world multiplied, grewe vnto a greate 1 people, and from a people vnto a kyngdome, and governed by Kynges, as by stories is to bee seen, of whom the firste that wee finde, was one Brutus, whiche, whether he came out of Italy or not, is not muche materiall, but certain it is, that suche a one reigned, and was firste Kyng of the whole islannde: whiche beginnyng of the people, dooth make muche more with the honor and glory of this islannde, then to deduce a pedegree, either from an outlaw of Italy, or a tirauntes sister out of Egipt, as Welshe & Scottishe Poetes, haue phantastically fayned. For if wee accompt nobilitie by auncientie of yeres, & length of tyme (as some vse nowe a daies) what can bee 2 more 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 poynct, the old latins of whom the Romaynes descended, sette a greate parte of their glory, callyng themselfes Aborigines, that is to saie: a people from the beginnyng.

Brittys 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, Locrinus, Albanactus, and Camber, among whom 3 he diuided the whole islannde, assignyng ye supreme empire with ye greatest and moste fruitful part toward the South, vnto Locrinus 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 country was called Albania, and the people, Albanates, as shalhe shewed hereafter. The iiij. 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 themselfes to this day.

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

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the people, Brytons, neither was there any other state or Kyngdome in the Islande at those daies, but onely of Britons. In so muche, that the Romaines, beynge most diligent reporters of the names of Princes by them subdued, and countreyes conquered, whereas thei make particular mention of diuerse kynges of the Britaynes and of sundery cities in Britain, yet do thei neuer name any people called Scottes, ne make mention of any suche Princes, as is pretended to haue ruled over 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 enemies at the worldes ende. And though it maie be saide, that Caesar and diuerse other neuer came so farre as Scotlande, by a great distance: yet, how could it be, Iulius Agricola, whiche, after the Southe partes of Britain was made a prouince to Romayns inundated vnto Orcades, which is the farthest part of Scotland: & after viii. yeres warres there at the foote of the mounte Grampius, now called Gravzeben, fought against Caligacus with ten M. Britaynes, whom he there overthrew: how (I saie) could he bee ignorant of the Scottes or of their warres? So that it muste be granted, that at those daies, either thei wer not in Britayne, or if thei wer in Britayne, their name and power was nothing suche, as we pretend. For who so diligently considereth the course of the said stories, shall well se, y' neither Pictes ne Scottes had any dominion in Britayn, vntill about the declinacion of the Romain Empire: and that the Pictes entered into Britayn before the Scottes, in the time of kyng Marius, whiche was aboute the yere of Christe lxxii. After whiche tyme, with the helpe of the Irishe Scottes, thei vexed the Britaynes with continuall incursions. These Pictes wer a people of Scithia, now called Tartarie, & druen out of their countrey, sought herberough emonges Irish Scottes, who beynge nothing glad of such gestes, proecured thei 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 beasts and birds, hauing collers of of yron about their neckes, and girdelles of thesame, aboute their wastes, and specially the nobilitie of theim, whiche estemed the same for a greate poyn of brauerie. This doth Herodian write in the life of Seuerus theimperor, 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 was made firste to resist the incursions of suche Britaynes as thei accompted saunege and barbarous. The ruynes of this wal, are to be seen at this present: wherefore it semeth to me, that afore the time of thesaied Adrian, the name, neither of Pictes ne Scottes, was neuer knowne in Britayne, so that if thei had any possession there afore,
thei came to it, rather by stelth then by any open force, or conquest. I speake not this to minische the honour and glory of my countrey, nor to deface ye nobilitie, or the valuam 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 Kyngdom there, and that thei had no suche originall, as some hane phantasied, but ye thei are a people mixt with Britaynes & come of Britaynes. In profe whereof, it is saied, that the Armes of Scotlande, borne at this daie (the trace of the floure deluce except, which 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 invaded by sundry nacions as Romaynes, Pictes, Scottes, Saxons, Danes, and lastely by Normaynes: yet doth it not folowe, ye the whole bloud of Britaynes was so extincte thereby, but that there must great numbre remain in euerie parte of the island, wherby it maie be said ye the race of them is mixte, but not merely fordoen and extirped: for no countrey can bee so invaued by straungers, ye the whole race of the olde inhabiter, can bee wore all out, but that the subстанnce or more parte, shall still remain. As for example, Italie hath been in-vaued by Gothes, Vandales, Honnes, and other barbarous nacions, can it threfore be saied that the whole Romain blod is vitterly extinct? no verely: for of necessitie ye stocke dooth still abide, thoughe not wholly, yet in the more part. And likewise of Engialnde and Scotlande, I doubtne not to saie, and am able to pronue, that the great parte of bothe realmes, is come of ye old Britayns. And though thei have been mixed with foreyn nacions, whereby the Britayne tongue is chaunged & out of vse, yet doth the bloud and generation remain: and as for the Irish tongue, whiche thei speake in the North partes of Scotland, dooth no more pronue them to be mere Irisme, then the Englishe tongue use in all the South partes of Scotlande, proueth the people there to be Englishe.

But 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 inpest and vexe bothe Brytains & Romaines, ye and overcome them and at length stablish two kingdomes in the Island, and no remembrance thereof founde in any story, either of the Britains or Romaines, nor in any other autentique or approued Cronicle. For Caesar, Tacitus, Ptholomeus and Plinius, Romayne authers (though we speake of no mo) & on the other syde, Gildas, mooste auncient writer of the Brytaines, though every 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 pretend) how coulde their names be pretermitted of so many authers, wherby one of

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these two thinges muste be granted, that either they were not then come into Britayne, or els (if thei were come) they remayned subjectes 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 declare) whereby there should be no suche Monarchie and kyngdome, nor any such order prescribed by Brute, as the English stories specify: yet doth that make nothing to prove, the Scottes not to be come of Britaynes, ne enforceth any title for them, to be no subjectes to England: for it may stand together, that the estate of Britayne was suche at the beginninge, as the Englishe cronicles mention: & as in time all thinges chaunge, so by occasions ensuyng, the first ordre might be broken, and from one intier kyngdome, to be divied into partes, as it should seeme, that it was about the coming of Cæsar, who writeth, that at his arruyall in Britayne, the cities by common assente, elected Cassibilanus, to their king, whereby it maye be gathered, that the Monarchie therof, was then broken by some faction within the Islande, which caused it to be a more easy prey to enemies. And this verifieth my woordes spoken afore: that diuision and discorde of the people brought this Island first, into subiection of other nacion: This is confirmed by the Romayn stories, but namely by Cornelius Tacitus, suyeigne that Britaynes at the first were vnder Kynges, and afterwardes by factions and sedicions of Prynces and great men, were so divied in themyselves, that to resist an vniversal peril, scarcely two or three countreys at the most, would agre together: so fighting in partes, at last the whole was overcomē. And by this meanes was Britayne fyrste subdued, & made tributarie to the Romayns, vnder whome it continued in forume of a province, vntill the tyme of great Constantine the Emperor, 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, kings in Britayne, as our stories testifie, and likewise the Romayne: wherein we reade of Auiragus, whome Inuenal writing to Nero, signifieth to be a kyng by these woordes: De lumine Britanno, excidet Auiragus, that is to saye: Auiragus shall fall frome the stem of Britayne. And after hym, of Lucius, first christen King, whom Elutherius bishop of Rome, in one of his epistles, calleth kyng of Britaynes, and so of Coclus with diuers other. Wherefore admitting the state of Britayn to haue been suche at the beginning, as the English story affirmeth, (which we must admit, because the contrarye appareth not) though there happened som interrupcion of the monachie by the Romayns, or otherwyse: yet when the people attayned their libertie, and were gouerned by Kynges of their owne: we muste presume, that thei obeyed them & their lawes, & the people to hold their lands in like.

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course, as was ordeyned at the first: wherof it muste folowe, y't if Scottes were in Britayn at those daies, they knowledge what kynges of Britayn for their superiors, according to the stories. In which point I will not muche stycke, consideringe the name of Scottes was not then knowne, as I said afore. And though our writers dreame dierse thynge to the contrary, we cannot admite their bare allegaciones in disprove of so many stories, of so grave writers, in whom, as there is lesse suspicion of parcialitie, so was there more certaintie of knowledge, then in the other, which were vnborne after theim, by a great number of yeres. But admite no suche ordre to hame been prescribed in gouvernement of the kyngdome, as the Englishe storie allegendeth: and though there had been, yet the interrupcion to be sufficient cause, to breake the same: and admite the Scottes to have been then in Britayne as thei were not: Let vs se whether we cannot unite these people by another waie. It is certain that after the Romayns had reduced the South and West partes of Britayn into a province, as men desirous to enlarge their empire never content with part, till thei had the whole, thei invaded the North partes of Britayne, and ceased not, till thei came to the Oreades, and so in fine, brought the whole islande in subieccion: their stories herein bee playne.

And no lesse plain is it, that Constancius themperor, who died at Yorke, married Helene, called saucete Helene, daughter & heire to Coyll kyng of the Britayns, of whom he begatte the greate Constantyne, afterwaersed Emperor, not onely of Britayn, but also of the whole worlde: in whose persone, bothe titles, as well that, which the Romaynes had by conquest, as also that, which his mother Helene had (as heire of Britayn) was united & knit together, and he without al doubt or controversie, was very Emperor of al Britayn, whereby the island after long seruitude, was at last (as it wer by Gods providence) restored to his former libertie & honor, themperor beyng begotten in Britayn, soone 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 subjectes to Constantine, because the stories be evident, that he had al Britayn in possession, wherunto whether he came by Helene his mother, or by Constancius his father for thet not much: for it suffiseth for our purpose, to prove y't al Britayn, was vnder one Emperor, and beynge vnder one Emperor, then was Scotlande and Englaitude but one Empire. In confirmacion wherof, besides the testimony of old histories, there be two notable thynge yet observed in Engaine. by all the kynges successively, even sithe y's said Constantine. The one is y't thei weare a close crowne Emperiall, in token that the lande is an empire free in it self, & subject to no superior but GOD. The other is, that in al their warres, thei beare a banner with a red Crosse, for their ensigne, in memory of that

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1 d j, back 2 d j, back 3 d j 4 d j, back 5 d j, back
Crosse, whiche apperred to the emperor Constantine gooyng to battaill, when this voyce was heard: *Constantine, in hoc signo vinces,* that is to saie, with this ensigne thou shalt preuail. These twoo monuments of honor & religion in Britayn, wer receiued from that noble emperor.

Ev tropius witnesseth, that Britayne rested in libertie, duryng the life of Constantyne, who left behind hym iii. sonnes successors of his Empire, Constancius, Constans, and Constantyne, to whom beeyng youngest, there fell for his porcion Britain, Spayne, Fraunce, and the Oreades. This Constantyne was 1after slayne in Italye, by whose deathe, the Empire of Britayne came to his brother Constancius whiche reigned twenty yeres, in whose bloud, it remained xxxiiij. yeres after, y\(^2\) is to saie, vntil the v yere of the ii brethren, Gracian and Valentinian, Emperors, what tyne by fayour of the people, *Maximus* was creat emperor in Britayn. This Maximus as *Hector Boetius* alledged, in y\(^3\).vij. boke of his historie, discarded of y\(^4\) bloud of great Constantine, & reigned ouer the whole islaande of Britain and the Oreades, seventyene yeres without interruption. And being desirous of more empire, with a greate nombre of Britaines, entered into Fraunce, & slewe Gracian the Emperor at Lions, and 2forced Valentinian the other brother to flee to Constantinople, for ayde of the Emperoure ther. Neuertheles (as al worldly thynge be mutable) hys fortune was to be slayne in Italy, leuynge behynd hym a sonne named *Victor,* who was slayne in Fraunce: whereby the state of Britayne, drew every daye into worse. It were longe to reheare the mutacions of things, happening in Britayn, from the tyne 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 tyne, did y\(^6\) Scottes beinge a nacyon come oute of *Irelande* (as Gildas writeth) passe 3ouer into Britayne and finding the launde destitute of men of warre, whiche either were all slayne by tyrantautes, or waisted by long warres in other countreys, entred the Island & makinge league with the Pictes, preuayled so at length, y\(^7\) they obteyned all y\(^8\) North parte of Britayn in possession, callyng y\(^9\) countrey Scotlande, and themselfes Scottes. And this was the thrid nacion y\(^t\) Inuaded this Island: First cominge out of Scithia into Irelande, and frome Irelande into the North partes of Britayne. The Capitayn and leder of this people (as Beede witnesseth) was one Rewda, albeit the late Scottishe Cronicles set a muche further begynnyng, whiche I wyll 4touch in his place. But if we beleue Beede, a man for hys living and learning, reconed in the nombre of saintes, and of ecclesiastical writers, called *Venerabilis,* the comning of the Scottes into Britayne was not vntyll about y\(^{10}\) yere of Christ .CCC.xliij. which was long after the comning of the Pictes: to whose opinion, though he was a Saxon, I would soner assent, then to the new fonde fables of our

\[1\ d\ iiij, \text{back} \quad 2\ d\ iiij \quad 3\ d\ iiij, \text{back} \quad 4\ d\ v\]
Scottishe Poetes, framed vpon phantasie, without auctoritie precedent.

And for the further profes of this Monarchie, it is reade in the tyme of Lucius, whiche was the firste christen Kyng of the Britaynes, as is said aforde: ther were in Britayne iiij. high Prefetes, or Bishoppes, Idolaters, of the Heathen religion, called Archiflamines, and xxvij. other inferiour Bishoppes of thesame supersticion, called Flamines: In stede of whom, this godly King, ordained as many Bishoppes of Christes religion, & thre Archebishoppes, placinge the first at London, the second at Yourke, and the thirde in the citie of Legions, whiche at this day is called Chester. To the province of Yourke, there belonged all the northe parte of Britayne, now called Scotlande with the orcadés. And notwithstanding all the mutations, happening in processe of yeres, yet al the Bishops of those countreys, came vnto Yorke to be consecrated of ye Archbishop there, and promised obedience vnto him, as to their Metropolitane & hed bishop: albeit by occasion of warres, they were sumnewhiles letted so to do. And of latter dayes, that is to saye, in the tyme of Henry the ij. Kyng of Englelande, whiche was about the yere of Christ a M.C. & Iv. the Englishe historie sheweth, that Michaell Bishop of Glascow, and after him, Tothadus Bishop of Saincte Andrewes, were consecrated by Thomas Archebishop of Yourk. If my countreymen beleue me not in thyse point, let them beleue the Bulles of Paschall, Calixte, Honorius, Innocentius, Eugenius and Adrianus, Bishoppes of Rome, written to the Bishoppes of Scotlande, So often 3 as any of them were rebell, or would not acknowledge the Archebishop of Yourke, Primate of Scotland, for their head Bishop. This I alledge to shewe, that the two realmes at the first were not onely vnited in one Empire, but also in one Religion the superioritie wherof, seyng it so longe continued in the English side, proueth in that part a certayn kynde of subieccion in Scottes, whyche I passe ouer: But nowe hauinge sufficiently alleged to proue, that al we were Britaynes at the beginning, com of one kynde, and liuinge vnder one Monarchic, broken by divsion and ciuil discorde, as is shewed before: there restethe to disproue the fayned alligacions 4 of the contrary part, which conuey you from Pharao, the tyrannt of Egipt. And as it is to conjecture, if their willes might take place, that would bryng you vnder the servitude of Egipt again. But before I touche ye argument, according to my promisse at ye 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 vnknown what persons they be, that take vpon them to write stories and Cronicles, both in England & Scotlande; which for the more parte, be Monkes and Fryers, suche as in name professe Religion, beyng in dede the peruerteres of all true Religion. These men, is-

1 d v, back  2 d vi  3 d vi, back  4 d vii  5 d vii, back
maytaine 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 heavenly Father but to be pulled vp by ye\textsuperscript{e} roots. Which thing being well perceiued by ye\textsuperscript{e} most noble King, of immortal memory, Henry the VIII of England, like a prince no lesse Godly then prudent, cleuyng in that part to Christes worde, weded out of his realme those wicked plantes, not onely unprofitable to his common wealth, but also enemies to all verite and true Religion, whose example, if we of Scotlande, had the grace to folow, I would nothyng dispaire of an honourable and Godly concorde, betwene bothe realmes in shorte time: & that without suche warre & effusion of bloud, as this deuillish generacion hath procured. But to the purpose, these men (I saie) after sathan was let lose, & had filled ye\textsuperscript{e} whole world full of tumult & sedicion, ragyng with fire & swordes against the Gospel, (which euyn then began to gene light in Britain) as Oules not apperyng in the day, nesteled themselves in the nighte of that ignornat worlde, hauyng as mete a tyme to crepe into the consciences of the simple Britaynes, as euers Saxons or Danes had, to inuade their land & countrye. So apperyng to theim with a visor of simplicitie and holines, semyng lambes outwardly, and neuerthelesse Wolues inwardlie, gat credite of vertue and Godliness: And seyng the Coccle, whiche their father Sathan had sowne among the Corne, so faire commyng vp, because the haruest should be weedes, watered the yearth, with suche abundante showers of lyes and fables, that the wedes ouer growyng ye\textsuperscript{e} corne, the cropp was accordyng to the seede, and with suche kynde of breade haue thei fedde the silly people, vttyeryng their dreams and inuincions, in stede of trouthes & verities. For as Kytes bryng furthe no culuers, no more can the father of falshed bryng furthe children of truth, qualis pater talis filius; thei then beyng the impes of so euyn a tree, muste of congruence bryng furthe fruite, like to them selfes, which was well sene in those dayes: For what through mischiefe & mortalitie, raised by theim on the one side: And what through preaching lies & phantasies, on the other side, not only Gods worde, but also all other knowledge, hath been obscured: whereof ensued vniversal ignoraunce, who, being ioyned with error, brought furth an vnhappy babe, called contencion, whom thei hauie mosie tenderly fostered euuer since: not onely ministryng matter thereof, in pulpittes and stoles, but also in their stories and chronicles, myngelyng the same with so many sedicious fal[\textsuperscript{s}]hodes, as it is in doubte, whether the lines or lies bee mo in number. And because it were long to reherse al their lesynges and vanities, bryng 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 euyn at the very

\textsuperscript{1} d viij \hfill \textsuperscript{2} d viij. back \hfill \textsuperscript{3} e i \hfill \textsuperscript{4} e i, back
beginnyng, wherat, if thei stumble, what shall we judge of the reste. If the matter wer onely Poetical, or vpon desire to shewe an auncient beginnyng, it might happely be borne and yet scarce in astorie, the law wherof, is to affirme nothyng that is false, to hyde nothyng that is true, neither to bee ledde with favor, ne hatered. But seeynge the thyng is doen of a sette purpose, for norishyng division in the twoo Realmes, I cannot ouer passe it with silence.

"Gathelvs sonne of Cecrops, kyng of Athens or Argines, beeyng banished oute of Greece, with certain other fugitiones came into Egipt, in the time of the greate tyraunt Pharao, whiche per-seuued the children of Israel. In his daies, the Moores entered into Egipt, and had broughte the lande vnto vttre ruine, had not the kyng by gods commaundement, committed his armie vnto Moses: But after that Gathelus was come, and had wonne a battail against the 2Moores, Moses and his company grewe out of favor, and were fain to flee out of Egipt into Iude. Then was Gathelus made lieuetenaunt of Pharaohs army, and for his valeaunt service, obtained Scota the Kynges sister in mariaige, with all the landes lately taken from the people of Israel. After the death of this Pharao, reigned his sonne Bochoris, whiche oppressed Gods people with more tyranny, then his father did. But after ye God had sent greate plagues amoung the Egipcians, Gathelus vnderstands yng by the prophets, that greater were like to folowe, for sooke Egipte, & in the yere of the creation of the world .iii. M .vj. C xliij: He with Scota his wife 3their children & seruantes, 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 because of his arrival there, had the name of Portyngale, as one would saie, the porte of Gathele."

This is a greate stamble at the thressholde of the dore: for it is plain by histories, that Lusitania, was not called Portyngale, almost by a M. yeres, after this supposed tyme. But for the better triall, let us examine the circumstauenyes 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 admitte Pharao to have a daughter, thoughghe no historic, Greke or Egipt, mencion of any suche. But when wee have admitted the persons, al the doubt is, how we shall couple them in mariaige. For accomptyng the tyme of Pharaohs reign, father of Scota, after ye Hebrews, then was she in the yere of the creation of the worlde, twoo thousand foure hundred yeres; and by our histories, Gathelus was in the yere of the creation of the world three thousand sixe hundred fortie and three: which is differente, twelue hundred yeres and more.

5This beinge true, here were a very vnfitte mariaige betwene these

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1 e ii
2 e ii, back
3 e iij
4 e iij, back
5 e iii
twoo persons, the Bride being elder then ye Bridegrome,\textsuperscript{1} by xii. C. and .xl. yeres. But some wiseman will saye, y\textsuperscript{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 believe, that they had any children, she beinge of suche yeares. So that to make this marriage 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, hane not commonlie lyued much above a .C. yeares. And this is utter plaine \textsuperscript{2} to be excused, as a faulte of the writer, seing the whole course of our historie, dependeth vpon ye tyme. If she then could be daughtuer to none of the Pharoes, no more coulde he be sonne to any of the kynges of Athens.

And in the tyme that Gathelus liued, which is allledged 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 sequel, which is of their comming into Spaine, and of their sonne Hyber afterwardes into Irolande, of whom it is called Hybernia, with all the processe of the historie, no less vnikelie. \textsuperscript{3} For if either the Spanyardes inhabitinge Galicia, or the Irishe men that now be, had comm of Grekes or Egyptians, then of likelyhode, some parte of their speache or language, should remain there. The vocable & soundes of which tongue, be asmuch differente in sounde, as the voices of men, and the noise of dogges. But seinge this privilidge hath been genen vnto antiquitie, that to make their fame moore highe and honorable, they myghte refere their begininge to the Goddes: and though the same were more like Poetes fableis then syncre histories, yet to be taken for true: Soo woulde not I trauaile so muche in disprofe of these trifles, but because \textsuperscript{4} I se, that as thei were at the first intended for diuision by newy diviersitie of names, so thei be continued at this daie for like purposes. Suche practises haue bene used in Italie, betweene Guelfes and Gibelines, and in Hollande betwene Hukes and Cabellawes, and otherwhere by newe founde names, inuited by the chyldeines of perdicion, to set vs at diuision, even as they, by diversitie of sectes & names are divided from the vnitie of Christes religion. I neede not to name them, for those companions, be wel enough knowne by their contes and hodes, whom as I do not reprove of hatered to their persones, no moore do I impugne their histories for enuy at oure \textsuperscript{5} nacion, whose honor if I should not earnestly seke, I mought be compted moste vnnaturall, but that I se what sedicion is sowen by ouer much credite vnto their fables and inuencions, which I suppose hath been a greate lette to the covcorde, ye all good men desire. For seinge the begininges of people cannot be certainly knowen, but

\textsuperscript{1} "The Bridegrome being elder than ye Bride." 
\textsuperscript{2} e iiiij, back 
\textsuperscript{3} e v 
\textsuperscript{4} e v, back 
\textsuperscript{5} e vi
onely vnto God, whiche was afore al beginning, it shalbe better to admitte some thinges for true, the contrarye wherof cannot be proued, then to labor in vayne, where ye truth cannot be tried. But this thinge which is apparauntelye false, repugnaunte to reason, and not onely against al other histories, but also contrarie in it self, yea & againste the scripture, founded vpon falsehode, maintained vpon malice, and sette forthe to the divinion 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 author, asmuch wante of malice & afeccion, as he hath plentie of witte and learninge. An other argument I gather out of the same historic, where it is confessed, ye after the Britaynes inhabiting Scotlande were expulsed by the Pictes, thei with their wives & children, fledde into Ireland, where thei continewed xlv. yeares together. Duringe which time, by reason of byynge and selling, marriyng, and other trauffique with the Irishe people, their name & tongue was a great part altered & lost. Yet, as our histories shew, the posteritic of those people, comming afterwandes vnto ye possession of their countrey, to kepe in memorie of what kinde thei were come, called them selues Realbines ye is to saye: Albines again, for a knowledge (as it should seene) aswel of their kindered, as of their restitution & comming againe: which is a better profe to shew vs descended of Albanactus (according to ye English historic) then to saie, ye Realbines, is understood, kings of Albion (as the translator of Boctius historic interpreteth). 3 As though it wer like, that those fewe, whiche had put foote, but in the smallest and most barrain porcion of the Isle, should call themselfes kings of Albion, when thei neither came in by conquest ne reigned over any people, but occupied a wast part of the land not beyng inhabited, as in the thirde Chapter of his Chronicle appereth. But how standeth that with reason, that Britayne beyng inhabited by the space of vi. C. yeres afore their conyng, suche a countrey shoulde lie desert, and especially vpon the sea costes: Whiche liyng open to other landes, and sonest sene by them that saile, muste of likelyhode haue inhabitters, before the inner parte of the countrey. Thys saie no more, but, Mendacem aportet esse memorem: He that should tell a lye, had neede to haue good memory, least his matter appere like a Meremaid, beginnyng with a woman, and ending with a Fishe, as when the ende of the tale is repugnaunt to the beginnyng, and the middes agreable to neither of bothe. And doubteles it is no smal masterie to hide a lie: for apparell hym neuer so faire, his raggges will appeare, packe him neuer so close, the bundell will breake, write hym or speake hym, and his author is bewraied, as a Ratte, is by squekyng: And though he bee allowed for a season, yet at the ende tyme will trie hym, whereof ensueth great prejudice to the

1 e vi, back  
2 e vii  
3 e vii, back  
4 e viii
au'thor: For though he saie afterwardes true, none will beleue hym.

If I shoule 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 conservator, (which name I had late). But for somuch e as the same is so exactelie set furthe in an English boke put in Printe in the yere of oure Lorde 1542 at the begininge of these warres, called: "A Declaration, conteynynge the just causes and consideraciones, of this presente warre with the Scottis, wherin alsoo appereth the true 2and right title, that the kynges most royall maestie hath to the souerayntyte of Scotlande": as nothynge can be sayde more in so fewe woordes, I will referre all indifferent readers to thesame booke, thinkinge it needesesse to spende any more time, in a matter so well proued: Neuerthelesse 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 saiynges, with our histories, and to judge the matter without affeccion. Wherof settinge a parte the order deniied by Britius at the first concerning the diuision of Brytayne, betwene his sommes, with the Superiorte supposed in y e 3eldest, and subieccion of the other two, pretermitting also the conquest of the whole Islande by Romaines, and the title derived from the greate Constantine: letting passe also the sundry homages and recognicions of subieccion, made to Arthur, and other kynges of the Britaynes, and after him to Osbright, and the Saxon Kynges successively, whiche be at large expressed in the English 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 soone we esteeme them) yet in my judgemet our awn writers, wherin they labor most to impugne the 4cause of England, do moste aduaunce it: and therfore in thys parte, I will grounde me vpon them. They agre al vpon xviii. homages & knowledges of subieccion and allegiance, made by the kynges of Scotland successively, vnto the kynges of Englande, and many of them within late memorie. Which homages, though some of them, either folowing their phantasseis, or fearing to offende our kynges, alledge to have been done, somewhiles for Cumberland & somewhiles for the Erledome of Huntingdon: Yet the time considered, they declare, that such actes were done by our kynges, afore any of the sayde Erledomes were in their possession, wherby they 5must be understanden absolutely done, for the realme of Scotlande, and in that pointe I referre you vnto the readinge of Marianus: And of latter dayes, syence that those Erledomes were taken from vs by Englishmen among other, kyng James the first, did homage, to kyng Henry the fourthe of Englande. The woordes and fourme of whose homage, who so liste to peruse, shall well perceiue the same

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

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to have 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 ye king of Engarde, as superior lorde, The records remaine, the scales & subscriptions be so many, so auncient, and so faire, as cannot lightlie be counterfaict. But some peradventure will say, that many of those homages were done by force and compulsion: I aunswer, though it might be, that some of them were soo done, yet all could not be. For our Cronics specifie ye those xviii. kings were in Engarde, whiche no man can judge to have come all thither by force, and all those dyd homage there, and those homages, well nere all, appere to have been made for the crowne of Scotlande, if we belene the records of Engarde. And if any saye, that they be counterfeited, I think it soner said, then proved. And touching the compulsion & force, I saye, thoughse 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, vpvn the title of the crowne of Scotlande, betwene Balliol, Bras, and Hastynge, was it not decided by Edward the fyrs, kinge of Engarde, as competent judge in that case? But here it is sayde agayn, that he was judge in that case, not of righte, but by consent of the partes. Then loke well to the words of the compromise, which nameth him superior lord of Scotland. And this was done in Parliamente, by consent of the thrre estates, which of likelyhood coulde not be all compelle. In which case, I am partely ashamed, of the impudent vanite of our writers, whiche raile without reason agaynst the judgement of Edward in that plea, as corrupte & false. This I saie, that if the Judgement were to be genen agayn, neither Mynos, Lycurge, nor Salamon, (whose judgements in histories be so celebrate) dyd ever geene a more true, a more perfect or a more rightfull sentence, either by the ciuile lawes, or by ye practis and custome of Scotlande, or any other reasonable lawe, and take the case, enemas they propose it. But then we have an other evasion, which is to alledge prescrpcion, because those homages have not been done within memorie. To that I aunswer, that though prescrpcion serued in that case, (as it doth not) yet the warres made from tyme to tyme, countermaile a possession thereof: In whiche pointe lette vs be well advised, what we saye, leaste by flyeinge the smoke, we fall into the fyre. For once admitting hym superior kyngye, no prescrpcion will serve agaynst hym. The texte is common, and no more common, then allowed, almoaste in all lawes. Nullam tempus occurrit Regi: Time cannot prejudice a Kyng.

Moreover, I note this, that the Kynges of Engarde would never make peace with vs perpetually, neither as lawfull enemies, but admitted a truce, or an intermission of warr for a tyme, alwaies excepting, Lorne and Loundie, and with a caution to saue their title

\footnotesize{1 f iii  \ 2 f iii, back  \ 3 f iii  \ 4 f iii, back  \ 5 f v.}
and right. Our awne Recordes and registers approue this: howbeit let no man judge, 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, asoure writers would have it seme, and therfore, I would y\(^4\)men should weigh the querell indifferently, and without affecion, and not to leane more on the one side, then on the other. For the title, which I alledge, is neither deuised vpon phantasie, worne out with \(^1\)age, introduced by conquest, ne enforced with feare or compulsion: but grounded vpon truth, dooen within memory, wroughte by consente, and agreyng to all iustice, equitie, lawe, pacte and promise, not doen in private, but openly, and not by a few, but by a multitude, vpon a greate deliberacion, and that in parliament: whiche title endueeth no seruitude, but fredome, libertie, concord and quietnesse, and serueth aswell for Scotlande, as Englande, makynge equalitie without superioritie.

At the parliament holden at Edinbrough (immediately after the death of our last kyng) wher al the lordes, thether states and orders of our realme wer assem\(^2\)bled (saving the Erle of Arguyle that appered there by his proctor, sir Jhon Cammel): The marriag betwene our Princes, and the kynges maiestie of England, kyng Edward the VI. (then beyng prince) was fully concluded by authoritie of thesame Parliament, al thassentes of the said states and Orders, concurryng therunto. The whiche, for more faieth & testimony of the thyng, was also confirmed by writing, vnder the greate scale of Scotlande. Maie there be any thyng of greater authoritie, force, or euidence, any title more righteoues, then this? granted, not by our auncestors, but by our selfes, and to a prince now liuyng, not in tyme oute of mynde, but \(^3\)even now these so few yers freshely paste, not rashely, or sodainly, but by greate and deliberte aduiseiment, and thesame not of a fewe, but of all the states of the realme, assembled not at al aduentures, but solem\(^n\)pnyly in parliament: a thing no doubt, instilled from the almightye, and thesame our moste merciful god, into the mindes of \(^5\)e workers thereof, to hauie set an end to al the discord of bothe realmes, by that vnioun and knot of marriag. And what madnes or deuill (O moste dere countremen) hath so mowed, or rather distracte our myndes, esfones to take weapon in hand, and thesame against oure promises, fidelities, honoure, and other, hauyng on oure side, no good \(^4\)ground, honestie, reason, ne any iustie respecte, but onely of the provocation of the deuill, the pope, and his rable of religious men (as thei would seme to be) & specially those, whom we cal our auncient frendes, where thei are in deede our auncient enemies, \(^6\)e Frenchemen. And when we shall hauie well considered, this attone-ment with Englande, & compared the same, with the league of Fraunce, and well weighd thententes & endes of bothe, we shall

\(^1\) f v, back \(^2\) f vi \(^3\) f vi, back \(^4\) f vii
perceiue yt the one calleth vs to an everlasting peace & quietnes, and the other hath, and w[ill] kepe vs (if wee forsake it not in tyme) in continual miserie and warres. And that maie we easily judge, in repeting from the beginnyng the causes of the one, and of the other. The Frenchmen, fearing more and more ye power of Engelande, which had so many tymes doone them so notable displeasures, as not only to haue wonne of them sundry battailes (wherof for briefnes sake, I reporte me to the stories) but also, for that the Englishmen, haue (as ye knowe) these many yeres, kepte foote and possession of ground in Fraunce, did besides and among many other thynges, devise this one, as a chief staye for them, to make vs of their facion against Engelande, thinkyng therby at all tymes, when either for just causes, Engelande should haue to do with them, or that with Engelande, wee should set on the backes of the Englishmen, or otherwise anoye them, either to force them to withdrawe their armie out of Fraunce, or els bee constreined for resitence, or invasions, 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 neuerthelesse, it hath redounded to no lesse discomfiture of our nacion, then of the Frenchmen, their principall enemies. An evidente proife and triall whereof, (partely because thynges of farther tyme and memorie, hauyng been so many and so often, nede not therin to be narrowly sought for, and partly because this example, beyng freshest in mynd, maie, if it please 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 invaded 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, (beynge otherwise a noble Prince and a valeaunte Knight) besides an infinite number of our countreimen, few of ye Englishe part wantyng, & kyng Henry, at the very selfe same tyme wonne the battaile in Fraunce, at the iorney of the spurres: and besides that, wonne also by plain conquest, 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 the same, we cannot reckon how to aduaunt vs of any one thyng we haue wonne, but of infinite losses, misfortunes, slaughters, spoyles, and vttter ruyne, come thereby to vs and our countrey vniversal. The honor and profite, if any be, commenely to the Frenchmen, whiche serve 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 beeyng a member of the selfe body with Engelande, haue suffered our selfe to be divorced & torne from the same, and haue so far passed our awne reason, that we haue in ye behalf, 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 own selves, if Gods goodnes towardes Englande, had not so prouided, that our power could not bee hable to aunsver, to our misaduised wille: And so farre did we estraunge our selves, that wee could finde in our hartes to become serule, and to bee as common hirelynges, to a forrein nacion. For what other thing do we but serve theim for their money, to our awne vitter destruccions, to ye spillyng of our awne bloud to the burnyng of our tounes, and to the waste and spoyle of our whole native countrey? And at this, do the Frenchmen laughe; thei take pleasure, sittynge at home in securitie, excepte peraduenture thei sende a few of their cast souldiers, of whom thei make lesse accounted or estimacion, then of so many shpe or hoggges: 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 number in his garde, for the defence of his persone, in whom, howe litle he trusteth, God knoweth, and daily experience teacheth. By this he maketh vs silly soules beleeue, 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 hoke, that hath caught and killed afore now, the moste parte of our ancestors, & now of late, no fewer of our fathers, of our children, and of our kinsfolke; while the Frenche lose not a man, but a fewe golden crounes. And yet our presidentes for al the honor & authority, that thei be set in, doo serve 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, wore in Fraunce, hauue this onelye rewardre at length, to bee called of all the world, 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 ever we receiued whiche was when at thentre of a league, with Charles ye greate Kyng of Fraunce, wee receiued for an encrease of the Armes of our realme, a trace of flour de luces, not considering how shamefull and dishonorable it was to vs, being so noble a people, to deface our anucent Armes, and receiue the note and token of nobilitie and worthines, of estranggers: On another part, how honorable a thyng, this attonement with Englande, were for vs, the bylynd 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 more renowned, more happy and more quiet: the realme more sure, and formidable to the enemies: and thei lesse eshumed and feared.

Tuvs beeyng bothe our people and forces joyned in one, we should be the more puysaunt to invade, more strong to resist and defende. And our power beeyng suche & so great, should be an

1 g jj 2 g jj, back 3 g iii 4 people 5 g iii, back
occassion (for I will not now speake of all thynges) to make vs fre & sure from outward invasion wherof (peace beying first betwene vs and Englande) should folowe peace with al others: In sort, as the laboryng man might safely tille his grounde, and as safely gather in the profites and fruites therof: the marchaunt might withoute feare goo abrode, and bryng in forreine commodities, into the realme: the gouernours beeyng in tranquilitie, and not hanyng their thought and cure diuided into many sundry partes, should, with lesse carefulness and anxietie of mynde, see to the good ordre of the common-wealth, whiche neuer so truely florisheth, as in peace: In fin, all murders, robberies, spoyles, slaughters, and desolacias, beeyng the sequele, and as it wer, ye children of warre, yea, and warr it self, the Parente of the same, should cease: in whose places should succeede peace, wealth, quiet ordre, and all other graces and good happes. But if we be so blyn, that we will not see, and deafe, that we will not harken to these holsome admonicion:ons, when without the feare of God, and without regard of the common weale, we shall rush still hedlong, into the fury of warre, lette vs recken with our selves, (whose cause is moste iniust and wrongfull) what is to be loked for, towards vs, at the conquerors handes, seing, that we haue refused so honorable, so equall, and so easie, yea, and freely condicions of peace: specially being called, not into subieccion or sentitude, but into one societie and feloweship with Englishemen, and y, by so honorable a meanee, as the mariage of our Princes, with the kinges maestie of Englande, a Prince of so greate (ordre, honor, and expectation, bothe for y he is descended of such parentes, and also, for y those vertues bee all ready in hym, as the like were perchaunce, in no one prince afore: So as we may surely hope and promise to our selves, more at his maesties hand, then peraduenture were lawfull to looke for, of a mortall man. Then, what should wee feare at the handes of such a Prince haung married our natural quene but all grace, clemencie, and benignitie, as well for her graces sake, whom he shal haue maried, as also for those vertues, which be to his Maiestie naturall and propre. Moreouer, what other thyng is to be loked for at ye handes of the succession of them both, which shall take as well parte of her grace, as of his Maiestie, then al gentle and louning treatment and prerogatyue, seyng from thesame we shal no more be straungers vnto that nacion, but as nye and as dere, as the self Englishmen. And so muche the rather, when those hatefull termes of Scottes & Englishemen, shalbe abolisshed and blotted oute for euer, and that we shal al agre in the onely title and name of Britons (as verely we ought to do) and the selfe realme, beeyng eftsones reduced into the fourme of one sole Monarchie, shalbee called Britayn: Then the which forme, there is none other better nor no common weale so well gouerned as ye same is, that is ruled by one kyng. The experience wherof we have seen, enen from

1 g iii
2 g iii, back
3 g v
4 g v, back
the beginning of the world, continually to our time. For who so shall well consider the states of all commone weales, that have been governed by mo then one, shal perceiue that the same hath been ye cause of their final ruine & extermini
ciion. For govern-
aunce 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 twoo heads, or the worlde endure to hare twoo sunnes to gene 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 primatine decre, and the due orde of nature. Whiche, like as in many other thynges, so doth it specially appere in the swarme of Bees: for thei beyng ledde with the onely and mere instinct of nature, will neither bee without one Kyng and gouvernor, 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 monstrous, that hath twoo heddes, and no lesse is the realme, that hath twoo kynges. Then if in all things 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 heavenly thynges haue but one gouvernor, whiche thyng Homere (though he were but an Heathen poete) semeth to expresse in these verses.

To haue many gouvernor is not good
But let there bee one ruler of Kynges and one Kyng.

Surely, the aunswer of Cerbane Lydyane, wherof Serinus maketh mencion in his commentaries, was of no small granitie & importaunce. For when Cresus would haue ioyned his brother with hym in the kyngdome: the sonne (saied he) is auctor of all good thynges in the yeart, but if there should bee twoo sonnes, it wer peril least their two heates should burne vp al the arth: Even so, as one kyng is necessarie, so mo then one is hurtfull. The experience wherof, (to fette examples no farther of) was wel felt in Englande, so long as the seuen Kynges reigned, as maie well appere to them that reade the story. Herefore dare I boldly saie, if these twoo realmes wer brought vnder one Empire and gouvernaunce, 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 orde, and in moste miserable state & condicione to bee moste happie and moste florishing. The whiche thyng to attein, it lieth onely in you (O moste dere countreymen): yours is the faulte, you must make the amendes. And other condicions of recompense, then your selves haue agreed vnto, wil undoubtedly none bee allowed. For what other condicions should Englasde receiue of vs, (hauing had so often experience of oure breaches of peace, of truce, and of our promises, which yet vnto this daie, we haue neuer truely kept towards them, as thei maye

1 g vi 2 g vi, back 3 g vii 4 g vii, back 5 g viii
in no reason truste vs,) but in suche sorte, as they maie be assured to fynd vs constaunt, firme and stedfast in eure promisse. Wherefore, if there remayn with you (O dere countreymen) any remore or pitie of our torne and woful countrey, or of your selfes, staye betymes, while you have tyme to do well. Recken, ye though ye have offended, it is better betymes to reforuyn the thyng, whiche, by reason of sinistre and euill counsaill, hath been euill doen, then to stande obstinately in your most wicked and develish enterprise, beyng ytterly contrary to your faithfull promisse, to your honors, & also to righte and duety; that if your awn particular respectes, doo not move 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 tragedie in her perfect colours: but seynge the same doeth not serve to my wyshe, I muste ytter 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 conceiue the same, the multitude of teares shoulde let mens iyes from readyng, and extremitie of affeccionis disturbe the myndes from conceiuyng. Imagine you (I praye you) if Britayne could speake, mighte she not well saye thus: Hath not the almighty prouidence seuered me from the rest of the worlde, with a large sea, to make me one Islande? hath not natures ordinance furnished me with asmany thinges necessary, as any one ground bringeth forth? hath not mans policie at the beginning subdued me to one gouernoure? And hath not the grace of Christ illumined me ouer all, with one faith: and finally the workes of all these foure, tended to make me one? Why then wil you diuide me in two? What foly, yea, or rather what contempt of God is this, ye ye still teare me, pull me, & ryue me in peces? were their euer children so vnatural (if they were not of the vipers nature) to rend their mothers wombe? yea, were there euer beasts so salvauge, or cruel, to denour the dame? If birdes, beastes, and all thinges natural haue this reason, not to destroy their kynde, how chaunceth it then, that you beyng men endewed with reason, bredde in one lande, ioyned in one faithe, shoulde thus vnkindly, vnaturally, and vnchristenely, bathe youre swordes in eche others blode? May not the example of other landes teache you to beware of division, to hate all discorde, to abhorre intestine warre? May not the ruine of ye Grakes, the fall of the Romaynes, and the subersion of soo many countreys, common weales, and states in the worlde, suffuye for your ensample? yea, may not the present sighte of my ryue and decay, teache you to take heede? If the counsailes of wyse men, experience of other countreys, nor y e pytie of me your mother, your nutryce, and your bringer vp, do not moue you: Yet at the least,
haue and use some mercy towards your selues. Haue you not shedd enough of your owne blode? what folye, or rather what fury is this, thus to ruynate your selues, and to devoure one an other, to the discomforte of me, and pleasure of your enemies? If ye woulde set before your eyes, the exceding quantitie of blode, that hath been shed betwene you my ingrate & moste vnnatural children: you would судge it sufficent, & more then enoughe, not onely to conuere Europe, but euem ye whole world. And to what vtilitie hathe all thys been spent? surely to none other, then to the mischief & destruccion of eche other, enmoge youre selues. Oh incomparable losse for so little gaine. I was neuer yet inuaded by forreine enemies, but some of my chyldren were the chief ayders, and onely causers therof: nor no mischief procured against me at this day, but by their consent and counsail. Oh I an unhappy mother of suche children: how longe shall these furies leade you? how longe will you that my wyde yeeldes 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 Normans, but myne owne rebellious, discordant and graces chyldren. O hateful discord, no where doest thou begyn, but all goeth to wrecke, ere thou makest an end. O priuoy payson, O familiar foe, O dissembling traitor, O couerette pestilence: what coulde Cesar have preuailed agaynst me, if Mandrubatius a Britayne, had not bene diuided from Cassibolan my king? Wil this fire neuer be quenched? this malice neuer cease, nor your furye neuer ende? If it be geuen you of nature, if you sucke it with your mothers mylke, if it growe in you with yeares, to suinge, strife, & warre? here this my counsail. Afore you make warre at home, seke your enemies abrode. Pursue their lifes, shedde their blode, be wroken upon them, kyl them, & ouercome them, & when thei be all killed, ouercome and subdued, then turne the swordes point against eche other, but not afore: and then shall you neuer soo doo, for you neuer yet to this daie, haue wanted enemies. But to retourne to you again my countremen, whom, for ye natural lune, I beare to you, I cannot leaue to blame for your folyes, or rather madness, & exhorte you to this moste honorable, most godly and profitable attonement with Englane, who wynkynge at our transgressions, bearyng with our peruerse waiwardenes & pardoning our to much ingratiitude hitherto, doth to her vttre moste strength & power, seke with al possible gentlenes, to reconcilie vs, & with all her endeuoure continually laboureth to make vs partakers of her concorde and vnitie, her tranquilitie & quiet, her wealth & luckey fortune, her conquestes & triumphes: & finallie of all her incomparable ioyes & felicities. I shall lastely beseche and exhorte, and (as farre as the mothers authoritie ouer ye chyldren may) aduire you by God ye very author of all peace, Loue, Charitie, & concorde, to retourne into ye

1 h ij, back  
2 h iiij  
3 h iiij, back  
4 h iiiij
right waie, out of the whiche, ye haue so long gone a straigh. Remember (I beseech you, o most dere countremex) how that by this calling of vs into this vnite, proceding plainly from god him selfe \(^1\) he woulde also vnite & ioyne vs in one religion. For howe godly were it, y\(^4\) as these two Realmes should grow into one, so should thei also ainge in the concorde & vnite of one religion, & the same y\(^6\) pure, syn Gree & incorrupt religion of christ, setting a part all foule supersticions, sophistications, & other thousands of deuilies brought in by the bishop of Rome & his creatures, wherby to gene glosse to their thinges & darknes to Gods true worde, for y\(^e\) onely purpose, to aduaunce their glory, & treade Gods word vsnder fote, to ytter their fylythye merchandise, & to sclaunder y\(^i\) precious ware & Jewels of y\(^e\) scripture : & emonges y\(^e\) rest, to destroye Gods peace, & ringe their awne alarmses, against his moste glo\(^2\)rious victory on y\(^e\) Crosse, throuout the worlde. And I wote not whether firme concorde be otherwise more sureli mortized in mens hartes, then when it procedeth of y\(^e\) true knowlege of Gods worde, which doth in so many passages repete vnto vs, peace, peace: lone, lone: charitie, charitie : & reproveth warre, hatred, & discord, seedes doutelesse scattered by y\(^e\) deuil, through those monsters of men, that profess preposterous religion, to stirre aswell all others, as also most specially, you my countri\(^m\)en most of all, to this diuision & roare, wherein thei (fearinge the worthy fall, whe with God threateneth them, which they now perceiue by others examples to hang ouer their heads) devise by hooke & by croke to kepe you \(^3\)styl occupied in mistrust of your best frendes, casting before your eyes, mystes, shadowes, & colors (suche as Ingles vs to doo) to thende, lest if you should once se the clearnes of Gods worde, you should then encline to y\(^i\) of your selues, and moost easly, wherunto I do now with so much a do exhorte you. I perceeyue that the lone to my country and nacion, hath made me vnawares to haue wandred furder, then at the first I purposed : wherofere I wil make an ende, if fyrst I shall repete that I have already proued vnto you, that these twoo Realmes were first a Monarchie vnder Brutus, and soo lefte by hys order to his sonnes, by the superioritie gene\(^n\) to the eldest, which forme of gouernaunce, was also \(^4\) vnder Constantyne. I haue also proued, y\(^i\) these two realmes ought to come vnder y\(^i\) fourme, & y\(^e\) kings Maestie y\(^x\) now is, to be Monarch of the same: aswel for the superioritie, which was in his ancestors proued by y\(^e\) homages & other thinges afore alleged, y\(^e\) claim wherof did yet nouer cease as also specially by force of your awne late act of parliament, wherby he ought of right to mary our Princesse, thinheritriice of y\(^e\) crown of Scotlange : by occasion wherof we shalbe receiued, not into seruitude, but into y\(^e\) same felowship with Englishmen, y\(^e\) names of both subjectes & realmes ceasing, & to be changed into y\(^e\) name of Britain & Britons, as it was first, & yet stil ought to be. And how

\(^1\) h iiiij, back  \(^2\) h v  \(^3\) h v, back  \(^4\) h vi
necessary ye same fourme of the gouer3naunce 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 tapease al discord, which otherwise wil never stint, & also testablish vs in everlasting peace, quicte & tranquillite: vnto whiche effectes there is verely none other meane. And ye thing selue (though I should holde my peace) doth sufficiently speake & avouche ye same to be a waye vnto both Realmes most honorable, because not only the Empire shal by ye occasion be ye more large & strong in it self, & the King ye more puissant & famous: profitable, for ye discord shal ceasse, & concord come in place, & thereby the people & common weale flourish & prosper: & godly for ye we shal agre all in one, & ye 2 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 Hertfoorde, Viscount Beauchamp, lord Seymour, governor of the persone of the Kynges Maiestie of Englande, & protector of all his realms, dominions, & subjectes his lieutenauant general of al his armies, bothe by lande and by see, Treasourer & Erle Marshal of England, governor of ye isles of Gernsey and Jersey, & knight of the moste noble ordre of the garter: A man for his actes and worthiness, well known to the world, & you, of whom you have had late experience to your peines, & his dolour, for that, as the louyng mother, in beatyng her 3 childe weepeth, so in punyshyng you, he did it lothely, and to his grief, because he pitied your case. The said lord protector is conyng towards you, with a puissauant & invincible army, hauing on his side God, & the iust cause, and an intent, to receine to mercy grace & favor, so many of you, as for ye furthering of this mariage & his other Godly purposes, wil come in to him. And contrarily, to punish & correct ye rest, ye shal remain in their stubburn & wilful disobedience. Wherfore (o countrymen) considering ye onoure part, we have nothing but the wrong & inust cause, violacion of our promises & othes, geuen to England with conceiued words, after mature & iuste deliberacion, calling God & his angels, vnto witnes therof, who knoweth our infidelicite, & will not leave the injury doen to hym & them, vnreuened. For the regard of God, for your awn sakes, & for the tendre respecte of our countray, cast wisely doune ye armour & weapons ye you haue so fondely put on & taken in hand: & submit your selves humbly, to the mercy & clemencie of so noble & benigne a Prince: who is rather com thither, loyngly to embrace & receine you, yea, & as your protector, to defend & assist you: then to punish you according to your desertes. But, if you shal despice my counsell & abuse his humanitie & good offers, how gentle & clement sooneer he be of his awn nature, thinke you for sure, ye God, who wil not suffre infidelicite, tescape long inchastised, wil stirre vp by his corage to do

1 h vi, back  2 h vij  3 h vij, back  4 h vijj  5 h viii, back
vengeance upon you for your insolence and faith broken: ye which I writ, not without sorrow & teares: Praising God for his pitie & goodnesse, to gene you his grace & better mynde, so as you may forsake the errors ye now lead you hasty, and maie folow these good & holsome counsailes, of your most natural, and most tendre louyng countreman: wherby, you maie accord (as by your promises and dueties, ye ought to do) to so godly, so honorable, and so profitable conditions, as are now gentelly offered you.

Excussum Londini in aedibus
Richardi Graftoni typis
Impressoris.

Anno salutis nostre.
1547.
An Epistle
or exhortacion, to
unitie & peace, sent from the
Lorde Protector, & others
the kynges moste honor-a-
ble counsaill of England:
To the Nobilitie, Gent-
tlemen, and Commons,
and al others the in-
habitauntes of
the Realme
of Scot-
lande.
AN EPISTLE EXHORTATORIE.

Edward, by the grace of God Duke of Somerset, Earle of Hertford, Vicount Beauchamp, lorde Seymour, bate to the kynges highnes of Englaunde, Governor of his moste royall persone, and Protector of all his Realmes, dominions and Subjectes, Piecetennant generall of all his Maiesties Armies, bothe by lande and sea, Threasuror and Earle Marshall of Englaunde, Governor of the Isles of Germaney & Jersey, and Knight of the moste noble ordre of the Garter, with others the Counsell of the saide moste high and noble Prince EDVVARD, by the grace of God of Englaunde, Francon and Irlande, kyng, defender of the Faith, and in yearthe under Christe the supreme hedde of the Church of Englaunde & Irlande: To the nobilitie, and counsellors, gentlemen and the commons, and all others the in- habitanutes of the realme of Scotland: Geytynge and Peace.

CONSIDeryng with our selfes the present state of thynges, & weyng more depelye the maner and termes, wherein we and you do stande: It maketh vs to meruile what euil & fatal chaunce dooth so disseeuer youre hartes, & maketh them so blinde and vn- mindfull of your profite and to still conciliate and heape to your self mooste extreme mischiefes: the whiche, we (whom you will nedes have 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 agreemens of vs (whom god hath hetherto, accord- yng vnto our moste inste, true, and Godly meanynges and intentes, prospered and set forwarde, with youre afflication and miserie) then that we, beyng superiours in the feld, Masters of a great part of your realme, should seke vpon you: Yet to thintent that our charit- able mynde and brotherly lone, should not cease by all meanes pos- sible, to prouoke and cal you to youre awne commoditie and profite, euen as the father to the sonne, or thelder brother would do to the

1 Sign. A ij 2 A ij, back 3 A iij
yonger brother: And as the louyng Plisicion, would do to the mistrustfull and ignoraunt pacient, we are content, to call and crye vpon you, to looke on your state, to auoyde the greate calamitie your Country is in: To haue vs rather brothers, then enemies, rather Countreymenne, then Conquerours. And if your Governor or Capitaines, shall reteigne and kepe from you this ours exhortacion, as heretofore thei haue doen our Proclamation tendyng to the like effecte, for their awne priuate wealth & commoditie, not regardyng though you bee still in miserie, so they haue profite and gouernance ouer you, & shall still abuse you, with feyned and forged tales: Yet this shallbe a witnesse afore God, & all Christian people, betwixte you and vs, that wee professyng the Gospell of Christ accordyng to the doctrine thereof doo not cease to call & prouoke you, from theeffusion of your awne blood, from the destruccion of the realme of Scotland, from perpetuall enemitie and hatred, from the finall eradication of your nacion, and from servitude to foreyne nacions: to libertie, to amitie, to equalitie with vs, to that whiche your writers hath alwayes wisshed, mighte once come to passe. WHO that hath red thisstories of tyme past, and doth marke and note the greate battailes, fought betwixte Englane and Scotland, thincursions, roades, and spoyle, whiche hath been doen on bothe the parties: The realme of Scotlande fine tymes wonne by one kyng of Englande: The Scottishe kynges, some taken prisoners, some slain in battaill, some for very sorowe and discomforte vpon losse, diying and departing the world: and shall perceiue again, that of all nacions in the worlde, that nacion onely beside England, speaketh the same language: and as you and wee bee annexed and joyned in one Islannde, so no people so like in maner, forme, language, and all condicions as we are: Shal not he thynke it a thyng verie vnmete, vnnatural, and vnchristian that there should be betwixte vs so mortall warre, who in respect of al other naciones, be, & should bee, like as twoo brethren of one Islannde, of greate Britayn? And though he were a strangier 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 fall into one, by no maner of other meanes, then by mariaghe, whereby one blonde, one lignage and parentage, is made of twoo, and an indefeacieble right genue of bothe to one, without the destruc- tion and abolishing of either: If god should grant that whatsoeuer you would wish, should be doen what could you wish, other then that, whiche now, not by fortune hath chaunced, but by his infinite mericie and moste incrutable prouidence, as carefull for you, he hath genue vnto you. The whiche thyng, that you should also thinke to come of his disposicion, and not by blynd fortune how unlikely hath it been, & how sodainly hath it turned, that the power of God might be shewed: Your last Kyng beynge a Prince of muche excel-

1 A iiij, back  
2 A iiiij  
3 A iiiij, back  
4 A v
lencie and young, (whom you know, after a promise broken contrary to his honour: ¹And a misfortune by just judgement of GOD folowyng vpon it, GOD either by sorowe, or by some other wise at his inscrutable pleasure, did take away from you) had three children. Did not almighty GOD, as it were to shew his will and pleasure to be, that the long continued warre and enemie, of bothe the nations should be taken awaie, and knit in perpetuall love and amitie, take the two men children of those babies, beyng distaunte the one from the other, and in diverse places, bothe as it were at one tyme, and within the space of xxiiiij. hours, leaung but one maiden child and Princesse?

When the moste wise and victorious Prince, late our Kyng and Master, kyng Henry theight ²in other of his mariages not most fortunate, had by his most lawfull and moste verteous wife Quene Jane, his other two wifes before that mariage departed this worlde, and never surmise nor question made of that mariage, sithe that tyme to this daie, nor so mucche as all her lyfe tyme, name or mocion, to, or of any other wife, one Prince of so high expecation, of so greate giftes of God, the right & undoubted heire of the Realme of England, and his maistie, onely of male issue, left behyn hym to succede the imperial Crowne: If nothing els had been dooen, what can any wise or any Christian manne, that thynketh the worlde to be gouerned by Gods providence, and not by fortune, ³thinkethe otherwise, but that it was Gods pleasure it should bee so, that these twoo realmes should ioyned in mariage, and by a godly Sacrament, make a Godly, perpetuall, and moste friendly vnitie and concord, wherby suche benefites, as of vnitie and concord commmeth, 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 looke 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 chance, least eche of them should have a sonne, or bothe daughters, or not of mete ages, with other circumstances both of the partie of this realme ⁴of Englande, and that of Scotland, whiche hath not chaunche in eight hundred yeres, it muste nedes bee recono a grete mernall 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 rehearsed dooeth bryng? But if GOD hymself should speake, what could he speake more then he speaketh in these? Call you them prouidences or chaunces? If you bee stil afflicted and punished, maie he not saie: ⁵of my infinite mercie & love to your nacion, had prouided a Prince to 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 vj] ³ [A vj, back] ⁴ [A vj] ⁵ [A vj], back
refused it, you loved better dissencion then vnitie, discorde then agreemente, warre then peace, hated 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 appereth Gods prouidence herein, and opportunitie and occasion genuen, to vnite both the realmes: yet may here after saie, and heretofore hath saied, that the faulte herein is, 1 that wee seke not equalitie, nor the mariadge, but a conquest, wee would not be frondes, but be lordes. Although our Proclamaciones at the laste warres, doeoth 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 advise and counsaille, not to conquer, but to haue in amitie, not to wynne by force, but to conciliate by loue, not to spoyle and kil, but to saue and kepe, not to disseuer and divorce, but to ioyne in mariadge from high to low, bothe the realmes, to make of one Isle one realme, in loue, amitie, conconerde, peace, and Charitie. Whiche if you refuse, and drue vs to conquere, who is gilitie of the blood shed? Who is the occasion of the warre? Who maketh the battailes, the brennyng of houses, and the demastacion whiche shall folowe? CAN it be demed, but that we haue the great scale of Scotlande, graunted by the Parliament of Scotlande, for the mariadge whiche should bee made, with assurance and pledges, vntil the performance? And this in the tyme that the late kyng of moste famous memorie, our souveraigne Lorde kyng Henry the eight did reigne and in the tyme of the same your Gouvernor, who now is the erle of Arreigne, who then beyng a chief doorer and laborer therein, for the high & inestimable benefite of that realme. So sone as he was by the late Cardinall of S. Andrews and othes, with certain vain feares & hopes, and gredines of dignitie peruereted, revoluted 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 private Incre, & rechelesnes of that noble Realme. And what ende canne you loke of this maner of procedynges, but suche sucesse as heretofore hath been experimented and assaiet: we offre loue, we offer equalitie & amitie, we overcome in war, and offer peace, wee wynne holdes, and offe no conquest, we gette in your lande and offe Englande: What can be more offered and more profe4red, then entercourse of merchandises, entrechauenge of mariages the abholfishying of all suche our lawes, as prohibiteth thesame, or might bee impediment to the mutuall amitie. We haue offerd not onely to leaue thauetheritie, name, title, right, or chalenge of conquerous: but to receiue that whiche is the shame of men overcome, to leaue the name of the nacion, and the glory of any victorie if any wee haue had, or should haue of you, and to take the indifferent old name of Britaynes again, because nothyng should

1 [A viij] 2 [A viij, back] 3 B j 4 B j, back
APPENDIX III.

be left, of our part vnonoffred, nothyng of your part vnrefused, whereby you might bee inexcusable: And all the worlde might testifye, all other meanes not beyng able to do any thynge, after many other waies and remedies attempted: Battaill of vs to be taken, as an extreme refuge, to atteigne righte and reason, emonges Christian men. IF any man maie rightfully make battaill, for his espouse and wife: the daughter of Scotland, was by the greate scale 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 sword, hath all ready, and shall hereafter, if there bee no remedie trie it. Who so willeth the mariage to goo forwarde, who myndeth the peace and tranquilitie of both the Realmes, who willeth no conquest to bee had, but amitie and lone to bee established betwixte vs, wee refuse no manne: let hym bryng his name, and his pledge of good service in this querell, he shall not onely be recceived to ys amitie, but shal hane sufficient defence agaynst the adversaries: We neither do nor intend, to put any man from his takkes or offices, onlesse he will needes resist, & so compel 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 the mariage offred? What more meter mariage then this, with the kynges highnes of England? What more sure defence, in the noneage of your Quene, for the Realme of Scottlande, then to hane England patron and garrison? We seke not to take from you youre lawes nor customes: But we seke to redresse your oppressions, which of diuerse, you do sustein. IN the realme of England, diuerse lawes and customes be, accordyng to the auncient vsage of the parties thereof. And likewise in France, Normanly, 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 expulsion of your nation, of chaungyng the lawes, of makyng a conquest, bee driuen into your heddes, of those who in deede, had rather you were all conquered, spoyled, & slain, then thei would lose any poynthe 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 dounne, with waues and sourges of battaill, famyne, & other mischief, whiche the warr bringeth, thei thynke thei cannot be espied. But looke on them, you that hawe wit and prudence, and consider the state of your Quene and realme: YOV wil not kepe her sole and vmmariel, the whiche were to you greate dishonour. If you mary her within the realme, that cannot extynguish the title which we

1 B ij  2 B ij, back  3 B iiij  4 B iiij, back  5 B iiij
have to the Crowne of Scotlande: and what dissencion, ennie, grudge, and malice, that shall brede emonges you, it is easy to perceive. You will mary her out of the Realme: our title remayneth, you be subjectes to a forein Prince of other Countrey, another language: and vs ye haue your enemies, even at your elbowe, your succours farre of from you. And be we not in ye bowels now of the realme? Haue we not a greate parte thereof either in subieccion, or in amitie and loue? Who shall come into your Realme, but he shallbee mette with, and fought with, if neede be, eu'n of youre awne nacion, who bee 1faithefull & true to the realme of England, in ye way of this moste Godly vnion by mariage. And if any forein power, Prince or potentate, whoseuer be your aider, to norishe still discord, sende you an armie also: how shall thei oppresse you, fill your houses, wast your groundes, spende and consume your vitaill, holde you in subieccion, and regarde you as slaues, which without them could not line, take your Quene to bestowe as thei list, and leave your realme, especially if their Kyng or ruler (as perchance he maye be) in other warres, be otherwise occupied, to be a pray to vs & a true conquest. Then it shalbe to late to saie, we will haue a mariaige and no conquest, wee wishe peace and amitie, we are wery of 2battayl and miserie. The stubborne ouercomed must suffre the victours pleasure, and pertinacitie will make the victory more insolent, whereof you your selfe haue geuen the cause. If thei send money and Capitaines, but no Souldiers: First if thei be Capitaines, who ruleth & who dooth obeye, who shall haue the honor of the enterprise, if it bee well achieved? But whether it bee well achieved or no, whiche numbere is that, that shalbe slayn, whose bloodde shalbe shed? Their money peraduenture shalbe consumed, and their commandements obeyed: But whose bodies shall smarte for it? Whose landes shalbe wasted? Whose houses burned? What realme made desolate? Remembere 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 danger of the wantonness and insolence 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 heed lest in deede that follow, whiche you feare, that is that you shalbe by them conquered, that you shalbe by them put from your helbdes, landes, tacks, and offces: that youre lawes by them shalbe altered: That your nacion shalbe by them destroyed. 4Consider in this realme: Did not the Britaynes call in the Saxons for helpe, and by them wer put out? Where bee the Pictes, once a great nacion betwixt you and vs? Howe did the nacion of Fraunce put out the Galles out of all Fraunce? Howe gotte the Turke first all Grecia, and now a late Hungarie, but beyng called in for to aide and helpe?

1 B iiiij, back  
2 B v  
3 B v, back  
4 [B vj]
And did not the Gothes by like meane get all Italie? And the Lombardes one part thereof, now called Lombardy? What looke you for more? Nedy souldiers and hauyng the weapons in their handes, and knowing that you cannot live without them, what wil thei not condamnde you to do? What wil thei not encroche vpon you? What will thei not thynde thei maie doo? And what will thei thinke that you dare doo? This forein helpe is your confusion, that succour is your detriment, the victory so had, is your seruitude, what is then to be thought of losse taken with theim? The straungers and forein souldiers shall oppressse 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 marriaige? To ende al sorowes and batailes, by suche and so honorable a peace? How hath the Emperour Spayne and Burgondy, not by title of marriaige? Howe holdeth the Frenche king Britaigne, now lately adnexed to that Croune, not by title of marriaige? Howe hath al the greate princes of the worlde happely, and with quiete made of two kyng-domes one, of diuerse lordships one? of nacions alwaies at warre with them self, or els in doubtfull peace, one well governed Kyng-dome, rule and dominion, but by that most Godly, moste quiete, moste amicable composicion of marriaige? Two meanes ther is of makyng one rule, whereto title is pretended, and perfeite agreement betwixt twoo nacions: Either by force & superioritie whiche is conquest, or by equalitie & loue, whiche is parentage and mariying: ye hate the one, that is conquest, and by refusynge the other, you enforce 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 successour 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 birth, hauyng so litle diversitie to occupie ye 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 slaines. But weMcste ones and finally declare, and protest vnto you, that although for the better furtherance of this godly purpose, of vnitng the realmes, and for the sure defence of them, whiche fauoreth the marriaige, we are compelled for the tyme, to kepe holdes, to make fortificacions in youre Realme: Yet the Kynges Maiesties mynde, and determinate pleause, withoure advise and counsall, to bee as before is declared, where fauoure may be shewed, not to vse rigoure, if by condicions you will receiue this amitie offered, not to followe conquest, we desire loue, vnitie, concorde, peace and equalitie: let neither your Gournour, nor your Kirkmens, nor those who so

often hath falsified their faith & promise, and by treacherie and falsed, be accustomed to prolong the tyme, fede you further with faire wordes, and bryng you into the snare, from whence thei cannot definer you. Thei wil peraduenture prouide for themselves, with pencers in some other Realme, and sett souldiours straungiers in youre holdes, to kepe you in sucieccion, vnder pretense to defende them against vs. But who prouideth pencions for you? How are you defended, when thei bee fled awaie? Who conquereth you when the straunge souldiours or Capitaines hath your holdes? When your land is wasted, and the realme destroyed, & the more part kept from you? Who will set by the marriage of the Quene, to buye a title with the war of Englaunde, to mary the name, another mightie Kyng holdyng the lande? If we twoo byeng made one by amitie, bee moste hable to defende vs against all naciones: and hauyng the sea for wall, the mutuall lone for garrison, and God for defence, should make so noble and wel agreyn Monarchie, that neither in peace wee maie bee ashamed, nor in warre affraied, of any worldly or forrein power: why should not you bee as desirous of thesame, and haue as muche cause to reioyse at it as we? If this honour of so noble a monarchie, do not mone you to take and accepte amitie, let the grief and the daunger of the before named losses, feare you to attempt that thyng whiche shall displease God, encrease warre, daunger youre Realme, destroy your landes, vndo your children, waste your groundes, desolate your Countreis, and bryng all Scotlande either to famyne and miserie, or to sucieccion and servitude of another nacion. Wee require but your promised Quene, your offered agrement of vnitie, the ioynynge of bothe the naciones: whiche God of his infinite clemencie and tendre lone that he hath declared, to beare to bothe the naciones, hath offered vnto bothe, and in maner called vs bothe vnto it: Whose callynge & provocation, we haue & will folowe, to the beste of oure powers, and in his name, and with his ayde, admonicion, exhortacion, requestes, and Embassaides, not byeng hable to do it, and to finde stablenes in promises: We shal not willyng, but constraine, pursue the battaile 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 & Maiestresse, regarde of youre honors and promises, made by greate Seale of Scotlande: And who fauoreth the peace, loue, vnitie, and concord, and that most profitable mariage, to erre and to come to vs, and declaryng your true and godly hartes theruntó, to ayde vs in this moste Godly purpose & enterprise: be witnesse of our doynges, we refuse no maie temporall ne spirituall, lorde ne larde, gentilman, ne other, who will ayde this our purpose, and minishe 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

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1 [B viij, back] 2 C j 3 C j, back 4 'vntie' in orig. 5 C ij 6 C ij, back
profe, and playner token of the good mynd & wil whiche we beare
vnto you: that whiche neuer yet before was graunted to Scotlande,
in any league, truce or peace, betwixte Englane and Scotlande, be-
cause you shall haue profe of the beginnyng of loue and amitic of
bothe the realmes: the kynges highnes, consideryng the multitude
of them, which is come to his maiesties deuocioun, 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 hencefurthe, all maner of merchuantes, and other Scottish-
men, who will entre their names, with one of the lieuentenautes or
wardens of the Marchies or any other of the Kynges maiesties officers
hauyng auctoritie, and there profess 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 agrement: may lawfully, and without
any trouble and vexacion, entre into any Porte, Creeke, or Hauen of
Englane, and vse their trafique of merchandis, either by lande or
sea, bye & sell, bryng in the commoditie of Scotlande, and take and
cary furth the commodities of England, as liberally and as \( ^2 \) frely, &
with thesame, & no other custome or paimentes therefore, then
Englishmen, & the Kynges subiectes doth at these presentes mynd-
yng further vpon the successe hereof, to gratifie so ye further of
this moste Godly enterprise and vniou, that all the world may be
witness of ye great zeale and loue, which his highnes dooeth beare,
towardes you and your nacion. And all this the Kynges highnes
by our advise and counsail, hath willed to bee declared vnto you, and
guen in commandement to vs, and all his Lieuentenautes, Wardens, Rulers, and other hed officers, ministers & subiectes, to
see executed and doen, according to the true purporte, effecte and
meanyng therof. Fare you well.

\( ^3 \) At 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
Englane, Fraunce & Ireland,
kyng, defender of the faith,
and in yearte the vnder
Christ the supremc
hedde of the
Churche
of
Englane and
Irelande.

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

\( ^1 \) C iij \quad \( ^2 \) C iij, back \quad \( ^3 \) [C iiiij]
AN EPI-
tome of the title that the
Kynge's Maiestie of Englande,
hath to the souereignitie of
Scotlande, continued
upon the auncie-
cnt writers
of both
na-
cions, from
the beginnyng.

M. D. X L V I I I .

CUM PRIVILEGIO
AD IMPRIMEN-
DUM SOLUM.
THE PREFACE.

TO THE MOSTE NOBLE AND excellent prince, Edward the .VI. by the grace of GOD Kyng of Englande, France, and Irelande, defender of the faithe and vpon yearth supreme hed, of the Churche of Englande, and Irelande: your humble and obedient subjecte Nicholas Bodrugan otherwise Adams, wissheth long life, and the same prosperous and happie.

Although I knowe right well (mooste noble Prince) that there be diuerse whiche bothe by their coussaill and writyng, do to their vertmoste powers swade the vnioun of Scotlande vnto youre highnes, by the mariage of their Quene, a meane thereunto bothe honourable and Godly: Yet nevertheles, the same study and furder declaracion of your maisties title to the superioritie thereof semeth vnto me to bee so indifferently perteinyng to all menne, whiche professe obedience to youre highnes, that no mannes studie ought to be taken as vain or vnthankefull, whiche humbly bryngeth furthe to that common vse, whatsoeuer judgement, profite, or knowledge, he supposeth to haue founde, either by studie, or inquisiciow: 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 deliuer vs from the peril objected. Herefore, most noble prince, perwsing the auncient histories of this greate Britaigne, and fyndyng suche plentie of writers confessyng your superiorite of Scotland, as could not by any entendement so fully consent vpon any vntruth, I thought it my deutie to offre vp thesame vnto youre highnes, [alienst the obstinacie of Scottis a nacion often vanqueshed by the valiant manhood of your noble progenitoris, & only left in lyf by their mercie], which histories like as almightie God hath from tyme to tyme, in favor of the truth and of your title preserved: So hath his Godhed signified no lesse fauour to your highnes, vouchesauyng to nobilitate thesame, in the persone of your majestie, conserved vnto

1 A ii.  2 perceiuyng. A iij.
this your time the noble house of Seymour, whose uncester Eldulph de Samour beeyng then Erl of Gloucester, many hundred yeres a gone, in the time of kyng Aurelie Anbrose slewe Hengest the Saxon capitall enemy of the Briton nation: by whiche noble servise like as this Realme was delivered from the tyrannye of Saxons, and restored to the whole Empire & name of great Britaigne: so we youre obedient and lonyang subiectes trusste, that the right noble duke of Somerset, and the lorde Seinour of Sudeley, your graces high Admirall, your Maiesties dere vnceles, shall, in the servise of youre highnes, for the like restitution of the name and Empire of great Britaigne vnto your highnes, shew themselves the worthie successors of such an uncester. Neither haue I purposed herin, with opprobrious wordes to skold with the Scottes, and thereby to wipe of one durt with another. Neither do I intende to buildie vpon our awne Englishes authours, but all my purpose is, by indifferent writers, with plain and evident truth (whiche thyng bothe time and maners do euermore require) to publishe your maiesties right and their defence, folowyng therein for the more part Ueremuad, Camphil, Cornelius de Hibernia, and Boccius their awne authours: whiche peines because I haue assumed rather as a necessarie servise to my countrey, then for mine awne glory, I truste I shall offend none but such, whom it should bee ashamed to please. Myne inclination is to haue the good worde of every man, but the diseased malice of some cannot saie well of any. Albeit, touchyng the phrase and stile of this my writing, if the same to any man shall not satisfie his expectacion, let hym consider that in parte it behoueth to use 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 Scottand, by reason and theemies (if any such bee) by their awne shame shalbe driven, to confesse this myne assercion to be true, and thesame suche as though the mariage by the iniquitie of some take not effecte, yet to publishe to the world sufficient cause, for the mainteynance of your maiesties accion against them, wherein the honor of a kyng may not gene place to their wilfull rebellion. And for recovery whereof, vndoubtedly almightie God, for your syncere fauer to the aunancement of his holy woorde, will by his promise as he hath begon, continue your highnes in felicitie and victory, ouer all his and your enemies, wher vnto all your true subiectes doo saie

AMEN.

1 A iiij, back.  2 A iiiij.  3 A iijj, back.  4 A v.
THE KYNGES TITLE TO SCOTLANDE.

If the veritie which auncient and indifferent writers haue made common to all naciones might aswell perswade the Nobles and Commons of Scotlande, asit hath reason, bothe to charge them and disprove all their obieccions, thei would right sone laie doune their sweuons, thus rashely receiued, to fight against the mother of their awne nacion: Imean this realme now called Engla?de the onely supreme seat of theempire of greate Britaigne. In whose bosome cast with vs, as bothe in one moulde, thei haue receiued thesame tounge, lawe and language: for asmuche therefore, as nowe touch-yng the marrige of their Quene, there is nothyng of our part left vadoen, that ought to perswade theim to concorde, and thesame by diuere of theim hetherto wholy neglected, thei shall of my parte easely perceiue that to increase their error, approue their folly, or allowe their obstinacie, I am not disposed; but contrarily by ye veritie (wher in their awne writers shalbee no defence to theim, but meere condemnacion) to publishe to the world the state of these contencions, our title & their defence: pursuyng the which, I will folowe ye words of theistorie as foloweth.

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

1 A v, back. 2 A vi. 3 A vi, back. 4 corrected to ‘later’ in margin. 5 A vii.
Riuers, but all confess, that in this riuers his bodie was drowned, and that heretofore toke the name of Humber, which it kepeth to this daie. This Locrine herupon seazed Albania into his owne handes, as excheated wholly to hymself, not yeldying any part thereof vnto Camber his 1 brother, whereby also evidentlie apparreth the entier seigniourie ouer it to consist in hymself, accordyng to whiche example, like lawe among brethren euery since hath continued, preferring the eldest brother to the onely benefite, of the collatral assencion from the youngest, aswell in Scotlande as in Englande vnto this daie. Locrine reigned in this state ouer them .xxvii. yeres. Ebranke the lineall heire from the bodie of this Locrine, that is to saie the sonne of Mempris, soone of Madan, soone of thesame Locrine, buylded in Albania the castle of Maidens, nowe called Edenbrough: and the Castle of Alcluth or Alclade, now called Dunbriton, as the Scottishe Hector Boecius confessedeth: whereby moste evidently apperred: that this Ebranke was then therof seazed. This Ebranke reigned in this state ouer them .lix. yeres, after whose death this Albania as annexed to the Empire of Britaigne, descended to the onely kyng of Britons, vntil the descent to the two sisters sonnes, Morgan and Conedage, lineall heires from thesaied Ebranke, who brotherly vpon the first example deuided the realme. Morgan had Logres, and Conedage had Albania: but shortly after Morgan the elder brother 2 pondering in his hed, the loue to his brother, 3 with the loue to a kyngdome, excluded nature and gaue place to ambicion, and ther upon denounced warr to his brother: 4 in whiche warre as the rereward of his vntruthe, death miserably ended his life: whereby Condage obtained the whole Empire of al Britaigne, in whiche state he remained .xxxiii. yeres.

After whose time thesame lineallly descended to thony kyng of Britons, vntil after the reigne of Gorbodian, who had issue two sonnes, Ferres, and Porres, whiche Porres requiring like particion of the land, affirmynge 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 bereuen at once: but their vnnaturall mother vsying her natural malice, that for the death of her one sonne, would bee reuenged by the losying of bothe, miserably slewe the other.

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

This haue I declared & proued vnto you how Brute our first progenitor, ohis 6 people and their posterity enjoyed the whole Isle

1 A viij, back.
2 A viij.
3 All these three corrected in the margin to 'Cosyn'.
4 A viij, back.
5 G iiij, back.
6 sic.
of great Britaigne in xlii. descents of kynges almost vi. c. yeres 1 before any Scottishman came within it. I haue also proued vnto you how after their commynge into it, immediat war was made vpon theim by the kynges of this Britaigne, which ceased not vntill they were expulsed, all the bondes of it, and albeit at divers tymes they entred it again, yet did these warres neuer ceasse against them vntil they became subiectes in whiche state they haue remained about xvi. c. yeres. I haue also proued vnto you how from tym to tym synce ye beginnyng the Scottes receiued and obeyed the olde lawes and customes of this realme, mooste of whiche remaine among theim to this day. I haue further proued how their kynges haue been contributorye to the redempcion of kynges of 2 this realme, whiche is the duetie of onely subiectes. I haue also proued vnto you howe the generall jurisdiccion ecclesiastical of Scotland many hundreth yeres after ye beginnyng was subiected to ye dioses and rule of tharchebishoppe of Yorke in Englane, whereby also appeareth thesame to be then vnder this dominion. I haue likewise proued vnto you that Willyam called the Conqueror, of whom our king is linially discended, was heire testamentary of the whole dominion by the testament of kyng Edwarde the confessor, & though whiche were not true, yet was ye obedience of Scotland from the beginnyng inseparably appenaunt to the crowne of this realme, and followed the possession of ye seignorie as thyn3ges annexed, lyke as the dignities of the Roman Empier folow the state of Rome, according to whiche their homages and our claymes haue been continued to this day. I haue proued vnto you also howe thearldome of Hunt- ygdon was only attained but by one of their kynges, and that at the latter ende of his tymel long after ye kyng his brothers homage, done for ye crowne of Scotland, and fortified & surrendred by the next, synce whiche time it neuer was restored again into any of their kynges handes: and yet to satisfie 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 4 Englande, the noble and superior lord of the kyngdome of Scotland and vnto you I make my fidelitie for the same kyngdome, the vwhich I hold and claime to hoble of you, and I shall beare you my fayth and fidelitie of life and lymne and wworldly honor against all menne, faythfully I shall knowledge and shall do you servisse due vnto you of the kyngdome of Scotland afore sayd as God so help and these holy evangelies."

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

1 G v. 2 G v, back. 3 G vi. 4 G vi, back. 5 G vii.
of David and Jane so entailed by the same David then kyng thereof as is before declared: nor yet object a forfaiture vpon their rebellion, for our kingses maiestie that now is doth farre otherwise by marriage require it at their handes. Now, because some of the Scottes alledge that they disagre to this marriage fearyng the severitie of our lawes, I haue thought good to remember in this place one or two of theirs, sufficient example wherby to judge the nature of al the rest.

They haue a lawe that if the father (though by the kynges licence) infecte or gene landes to his sonne, yet if afterwarde the same father trespass the law, his offence shall forfeite this land, notwithstanding that the sonne was by all solene 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 dethe and he somoned at his graue, & vpon condemnation, his landes and goodes confiscat as if he were yet living, of bothe these lawes innocentes haue no lesse cause to feare the malice, then trespassors haue to drede the paine.

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

Wherfore if they mistrust the severitie of our lawes, chiefly as they bee mitigated at this day, none can better trust, then they y'so do mistrust: but the likynge of their lawes standeth to them selfes, in them there is none alteracion sought: for policic in sondry places must of necessitie require sondry lawes, like as in divers places of Englande to this daye be enjoyed diversitie & haue been without alteracion offred 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 Scotlande) nor the tale should neuer haue an ende to declare what an inestimable euill concord is, as that wherby all thinges in the world, yea and also the world it selfe standeth and agreeth together, & wherby as the famous Salust sayeth, small thynges growe to ye greatest welth: wherby discorde her contrary, all greatest and best thynges come to distrucion and desolacion, as by the euill warres betwene Silla and Marius, ye ruine of Rome is sufficient example to all the worlde. Wherfore I would nowe wishe & desire, whiche is all that I am able to doe, that these cruel and bloudy warres betwene vs may, shortly cease, which shal much ye soner come to passe if ye trust not your owne wilful affeccion, which ye beynge bloudy then blvndnes itselfe hath closed vppe the ivelyes 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’ desert of obstinacie, wherin as your waye lyeth, so hath your folly extended.

Nature the wise mother of all thinges, when she ordained all beastes with some natural municion, as horne, spurre, tothe or naile: she wold not create man either cruel or vengeable by any of this outward thinges, but gaue him reason, & so to rule without anger or armour: she endowd you with gifts to the maintenaunce of concorde, & will you vse theim to discorde? is it warre that you thinke profitable? is it discorde & miscifie that beyng hatefull to other menne semeth to you pleasing? what differeth warre from all other euils? but that it exceedeth in malice: your cause that produceth war is neither honest nor just, neither godly, nor necessarie, but against honestie, vice: against justice, iniquity: against godliness, wicked, against necessitie, wilfull obstinacy: the fruities whereof be so horrible of wise men they be with more lamentacion bewailed, then of your vnwisedomes with painefulnes suffered. If maymes, if pouertie, if sickness, if woundes, if lamennes, if robberie, if manquelling (I omit death, as to gentle a thyng among these miseries) did appere either pleasing or profitable, I would sumwhat stay my penne? Further, what properties procedeth of warre, but outrageous costes, vnmesurable labor, inevitable perill, consumyng anger, vnrestfull quietnes: the baner whiche you follow is a guide but to misery and death, either to kil other vnmercifully, or els to dye wickedly: but let shame do y in you which wisedome should do, or els amende by wisedome that shame compel you not: if profite & quietnes that is in peace cannot movue you, yet let trouble & horror that is in warre with the injustice of your cause feare you, if your magistrates be enemies to this honorable & godly union, their cause is neither amitie nor loue, either to you or their countrey, nor honorabile to themselves repugnyng their owne Acte of Parliament lately made for confirmation of thesame union: and withall let your popishe Clergie thinke, that dissimulation neuer commeth to thende that it is mente for, but to the contrary, and that like as a while their faith hath deceived vs, so will it shortly beguile theim selves, for nature neuer gaue like vertue to thinges counterefect, as to true in dede: all the wise writers of your owne nacion lament the wickednes of your clergie and condemne their vicious and prophanes lines, but by hypocrisy thei alway had this gifte to shewe their vertue to the vtermost and hide their faultes to y secretest, so that their vertue appeareth more then it is, & their vice lesse: well, God is the onely wrecker 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 gouvernor (beyng naturally descended of an Englishe house in kynge Edwarde the second his dayes as your owne writers confessed) againe to become a good Englishman, which vndoubtedly he shalbe, & a Scottishman also, whensoever he shall depely consider

1 H i, back. 2 H ii. 3 H iu, back. 4 H iii.
the iustnes of our cause, his fayth, and your affliction by the miserye
of this present warre betwene vs, to compare whiche with a greater
euil, possibilitie suffereth not, to matche him with a like euil, his
owne nature abhorreth, to shew what is in dege of euils vnder him
should seme sufficient dispraise, if ambicion, if malice, if glory, if
enuy, do only drive thether men to warres, whether wyl temper-
ance, godlynes, honestie, & wisedome draw a christian manne?  

And nowe me thinketh I here our countrey the common parent
to vs all, say vnto you in this wyse. Ah Scottishe men, how long
shall I beare your vnnaturall cruelties, howe long will ye remayne
rebellious children, when shal there be end of your malice? Alas
what wickednes is it among christen men, and those the neighbors
in one kyngdome, that the greater part cannot be contented with
the best thyng, but by the light argument of euil leave the way that
leadeth to perpetuall tranquilitie. All men would live in beatitude,
but to foresee ye way how they may so do, ye goo farre awry.
Knowe ye not how euil a maister he serueth of the twayne, dis-
corde, or misery, of the whiche euermore the one foloweth the oth.
Be not discorde and miserye of the same nature that other vices be:
alway at discencion within themselfes makynge the man vnmete for
all other thynges, and at last vnmete for discord it selfe; though
nature to the obtainyng of foly gauue every man to many gifts, and
to the folovynge 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 liue by reason: & who of you by
reason or otherwise is able to desist my persuasione 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 perfetely fele. Can England offer you more reason-
able, more honorable, more godly condicions of peace then she
doeth: except she had that from God which maketh all his Godhdede
called perfection: can menne offer more then your lawfull libertie,
peace, tranquilitie and amitie: do not these bryng forth wealth,
securitie, and perpetual concorde; and do not all things in the
worlde, yea, and the worlde itselfe stand and agree together by
concorde: where is your reason, where is ye 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 thassurance of your wealth, and my
trouble thassurance of you[r] miserie? The wicked moath bred in
the clothe destroyeth the same. The cruel Vipar in procreacion
killeth his mother, and yet he that beleueth their ciuilitie to be lesse

1 Corrected to 'hethen'.  2 h iii. back.  3 h iiiij.  4 h iiiij, back.  5 h v.
then yours, little considereth their cause to be of nature, and yours of wilfull disposicion. I did sowe you the good seedes of concorde, but there is sprong vp among you cockle and fatche, the wedes of discorde, and thus your corrupeion of a good thyng hath engendred an euil, wherupon your infelicitie 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 pitiynge my long affliction hath offred the occasion, which beyng of your partes thankfully receiued, bringeth wealthful securitie to your selfes, your wyues, children, your goodes, & all your posteritie, and wherby you shall aoid calamitie, misery exillement or death, whiche otherwise by the injustice of your cause, will undoubtedly 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 members of all great Britaigne, that like as these many hundreth yeres ye haue prosecuted eche other with fyre, sworde, and slaughter, that so ye do from hensfourth prosecute eche other with amitie, lone, and friendship, all olde and newe displeasures betwene you to be hereafter none otherwyse considered then if your hand offend the eye, or the tothe the tong, in whiche case to punish, the revengue shuld be against your selues. And finally, let your whole contencion hereafter be, whiche of you bothe shall with better wyll deserne ye frendshippe of the other, to the glorye of God, the tranquilitie and wealth of your selues, and ytter discouragye of my common enemies.

FINIS.

EXCVSVM
LONDINI, IN
AEDIBVS RICHDARDO GRAFTONI, TYPOGRAPHI REGII
M. D. X L V I I I .

CVM PRIVILEGIO
AD IMPRIMEN-
DVVM SOLVM.

1 h v, back.  2 h vi.  3 h vi, back.
This index aims at registering all the words occurring in the Complaynt, which differ in spelling or usage from modern English. Except in special cases, one reference only, to the page, is given. The etymologies serve to show at once the large French element, and that the basis of the language is Anglo-Saxon. The following abbreviations occur: A.S. Anglo-Saxon; Fr. French; Ger. German; Isl. Icelandic; M.Sc. Modern Scotch; O.E. Old English; O.Fr. Old French; O.North. Old Northumbrian; Sw. Swedish; n. noun; p. past (tense and participle); p.p. past participle; p.t. past tense; pl. plural; pr. ple. present participle; vb. verb; L. Leyden's Glossary.

Abominatione, 36, abomination. abolisht, 79, vb. p. of aboleis, abolished.
absens, 25, absence.
Absolon, 25, Absalom.
abufe, 38; abuf, 91; abuif, 123, above.
abundand, 34, pr. p. abounding, abundant.
aburde, 40, aboard.
abusion, 159, -e, 32, n. abuse.
acceptione, 152, exception.
accessor, accessoir, 111, adj. accessory.
accordis, 37, n. concords; accordit, 79, vb. p. agreed.
accusit, 1, v. p. accused.
academya, 13, academy.
accorns, 144, acorns.
actor, 25, author.

adagia, 7, addagia, 142, adage.
admirabil, 54, wonderful.
admiration, 1, 55, admiratione, 134, wonder, marvel.
adnullit, 17, annulled.
adoptione, 26, adj. by adoption.
aduersaire, pl. aduersaris, 87, adversary.
aduerst, 89, warned.
adulatione, 2, flattery.
adultere, 138, adultery.
affecte, 16, affectyue, 148, affectionate; affectione, 83, liking, inclination.
affinite, 2, (Fr.) affinity.
afligit, 1, p.p. afflicted (Fr. affligé).
affrayit, 70, p.p. put into an affray, frightened, afraid.
Affrica, 14, 44.
afoir, 40, before (M.Sc, afoire).
agonis, 96, against.
Agenoir, 20, Agenor.
agonya, 121, agony.
Agrest, 16, rustic (Fr. *agreste*).
agust, 57, August.
Al, all, 4.
alauerly, 1, only.
alld, 88, old (A.S. *eald*, *ald*).
Aid, 1, all, 2.
Aigen, 20, Agenor.
Agenoir, 20, Agenor.
Agenor.
Alamy, 66, 146, (Fr. *allemand*)
Alman, 25, 33.
Almy, 83, the Almis.
Alruka, 49, the pole star.
Ally, 78, 182, ally, 99, n. ally.
Aly, 78, 182, ally.
Alligoric, 29, allegorical.
Aly, 86, eleven.
Almaist, almast, 1, almost.
Almania, 2, Haman.
Amman, 2, Haman.
Amplitude, 1.
An, 1, are.
Arago, 124, 125, feudal service with *avers* or drught-cattle (Low Lat. *averagium*).
Ardant, 16, ardent.
Ardant, 16, ardent.
Arnd, 183, vb. argue.
Artifices, 20, artifice.
Artikil, artiklis, 97, article, -s.
As, after comparative = than, 5, 13, 14, 71; mair as, comp. German *mehr als*.
Ance = a, an, 1; one, 13.
Ancet, 9, prep. about, concerning.
Ancuch, anucht, 137, enough.
Animaduer, 101, 158, vb. pay attention, take notice; animaduertens, 103, attention.
Aniow, 4, Anjou.
Anker, ankyr, 40, anchor.
Annuval, 12, 13, 14, Hannibal.
Ansuere, ansucir, ansuer, 83, answer; ansuer, 13, answered.
Antartic, 49.
Antecessors, 3, antecestres, 186, (O.Fr.) ancestors.
Antepodos, 38, Antipodes, 50.
Antiant, 19, ancient.
Anticepet, 36, vb. anticipated.
Antiquity, 16, (Fr.) antiquity.
Apeir, aper, vb. appear; aperis, 55; aperand, 26, appearing; aperens, 70, -ance.
Apothigmatis, 15, Apophthegms.
Appin, 57, apin, 113, open; appinly, 133, openly.
Appollo, 10, Apollo, 83, name of the planet Mercury, 54.
Appos, 55, opposit, 172, opposite; appositione, 55, opposition.
Apuilia, 98, Apulia.
asce, asse, ase, also, 21, 152, ashes (A.S. asce, M.Sc. ëss).
ascephales, 167, adj. pl. acephalous, without head.
assailőe, to assail, 3; assailőei, 34; p.p. assailőet, assailőet, 161, assailőeurs, 77, assailants.
assaltis, 6, assaults.
asse, 39, 64, 123, ass.
assentatione, 2, flattery.
Assiriens, 21, 27.
Assuerus, 2, Aliasuerus.
Assure, 27, Ashur.
astrolog, 37, astrological, astronomical; astrologien, 32, astrologer.
astuce, 97, astutce, 87, astute.
atentie, 3, authentic.
Athenes, 21, 33.
athort, 1, athourt, 38, athroatch, 111, althwart, across, all over.
auance, auanse, 1, (Fr. avance) advance, 1, -cis, 53.
auaye, 28, away.
aucht, 94, eight, eighth.
aucht, 36, ought.
audien, 31, audience, hearing; auditur, 29.
auen, 9, 7, own.
auenture, 97, (Fr.) fortune, luck.
auereise, 73, auereis, 166, avarice; auerisius, 83, avaricious.
Auerois, 62, Averrhoues.
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, Ayir.
Aysia, 110, Asia.
Baanacht, 121, Baanah.
Babillon, 80, Babillone, 25, 28, Babilone, 20, Babylon.
bac, back.
baglap, 66.
baiith, baiitht, 85; bath, baiht, 104, bayht, 6, both.
bak, bac, 56, back; bakuart, 6, 66, backward.
bald, 40, 99 = bad, vb. p.t. of bid, byd.
baldifyr, 42, 111, balefire, bonfire.
balk, 93, 138, beam (A.S. balca).
Balzol, 80, Baltol.
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, eurses.
Bannochburne, 96, Bannockburn.
baptist, 4, christened, named.
Barba aaron, 67, "the herb Arum, called also aron (Gr. apov), wake robin or cuckoo pint." L.
barbir, 4, barbire, 106, (Fr. barbare) barbarous.
baris, 3, vb. bears.
barran, 70, barrane, 21, barren.
barrons, 23, barons.
bassine, 145, bassyn, 129, basin.
batel, 80, battel, 26, battle, pl. battellis.
batht, 104, bayht, 121, both.
batton, 28, (Fr.) rod, stick.
Bandouyne, 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. Suffocation of the b- = sufflation of the womb.
baytht, 6, both.
be, 2, prep. by.
bean, 174, been; beand, 2, 72, being.
beauté, 70, (O.Fr.) beauty.
becum, 34, become, p.t. became.
befoir, 117, befor, 2, before;
of befoir = d’avant.
beggand, 135, begging.
beir, 38, n. a shrill or whizzing noise (M.Sc. birr).
beir, vb. bear;
beiris, 73, p.t. bare, p.p. born.
beis, 75, 97, (if it) be.
bejuk, 9, 67, buik, 82, book, pl. beukis, 23.
beye, 66, (A.S. beo) n. bee.
beym, pl. beymis, 38, 56, beam, -s.
beyrde, 15, n. beard.
beyst, 17, -is, 28, beast, -s.
bibil, 23, 75, Bible.
big, 24, build (A.S. byggan); p. bigget, 20, 79, built.
birn, 110, vb. burn; birmand, 25, burning, p. brynt.
Bizance, Bizante, 116, Byzantium.
blaberand, 37, blabbering, babbling.
blac, 52, black.
blait, 39, vb. bleat.
blasphematione, 155, blasphemy.
blau, vb. blow, p.t. bleu, p.p. blauen, 38; blauand, 42, blowing.
bleddir, 64, bladder (M.Sc. meteor).
bleytht, 66, blythe.
blude, bluid, 81, blood.
bluynd, 140, blind.
bleythnes, 84, blitheness.
Boccas, 281, Boecaccio.
boggis, 38, n. bogs.

a species of cannon formerly much used at sea, resembling the fauzon, but shorter and of larger calibre.” I.

Bertan, bretan, 82, Britain.
Beruic, 80, Berwick.
bestial, 64, (Fr. bestail) belonging to beasts; bestialite, 43, 69, cattle.
best lyik, 11, best looking, handsome.
boirdours, bordours, 106, borders, boldfyir, 25, v. bald fyir. bollene, boulene, 40, bow-line. bolt, 131, shaft, dart. bonet, 41, 145, bonnet, cap. borage, 67, Borago officinalis. boreaus, 27, boreaus, 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, and therefore specially boisterous.

boroustone. See buroustoun. borrel, 11, a wimble or borer. borrel, adj. (Fr. bureau, bord, 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.

braulis, 66, a kind of dances. See p. xcv. brede, 122, breyd, 43, breyde, 26, bread.


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 hogs upon a hill;
But lend your three first days to me
And I'll be bound to gar them dee.
The first it sail be wind and weet,
The neist it sail be snow and sleet,
The third it sail be sic a freeze
Sal gar the birds stick to the trees:—
But when the borrowed days were gane,
The three silly hogs cam birplan' hame.’
brukit, 86, (A.S. brucan, Ger. bruchen) enjoyed, used, usurped.
brume, 67, broom.
brute, 178, brutish, irrational.
bruit, 32, report.
bryst, 37, bright.
brynt, 76, (pp. of bryst) burnt (M.Sc. brunt).
buchornis, 42, buckhorns.
Burbon, 89, Bourbon.
bundyn, 146, bound (M.Sc. bind).
Bundyn, 102, (p.p. of bynd) bound (M.Sc. bai').
cambrai, 64, Cambria.
cam, 10, vb. came.
canne, 13, Canna.
cannonlau, 164, canon law.
carriage, carroige, 125; "a servitude still customary in various parts of Sc., by which a tenant is bound to carry for the proprietor a stipulated quantity of coals, grain, &c., or to serve him with men and horses a certain number of days in the year." L.
carion, -s, 119, (Fr. caroigne) carcass.
Carlos, 144, (A.S. ceord, Isl. karl) a churl, boor.
carrecters, 69, characters.
cassin, 28, p.p. casten, cast (M. Sc. cuis'w).
castel, 20, castle, pl. castellis, 95.
catterris, 37, (Fr. catarre) catarrhs.
Cathon, 44, Cato.
cattel, 29, G9, cattle.
cauillatione, 167, cavilling.
caupton, caupona, 40. See p. lxix.
causeles, 95, causeless.
cauteil, (Fr. cautele) n., caittion.
chaisse, 26, 75, chasse, 75, chase, 27, to chase; p.t. chaissit, 97.
chalyr, 134, chamber.
Champayngje, 5, Champagne.
chandelaris, 76, chandeliers.
chantit, 39, vb. p. chanted.
charpenteir, 10, (Fr.) carpenter.
Chartagiens, 146, Carthaginians.
chasbollis, 94, (Fr. ciboules, It. cipollo, L. cepolla) 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, 116.
checkyns, 39, chickens.
cheldyr, 79, children. See child.
chen3e, 121, chënëis, 114, (O.Fr. chaigne) chain, -s (M.Sc. cheins).
cheoptour, 19, 187, chapter.
cheretabyl, 18, charitable; cherite, 17, charity.
cheris, 91, to cherish.
chesit. See cheis.
chestee, 19, chestie, 23, vb. chastise (O.F. chastie, -r).
Christin, cristin, 23, Christian.
cipressis, 67, cypress or cyperus?
circ显现eion, 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.
ciuilist, 10, n. civilist.
clai, 39, cry of the geese.
clair, 70, cleir, 73, clear, (Fr.)
clais, 96, 101, clathis, 70, clothes.
claytht, 145, cleitht, 98, cleethd, 70, clad; clethyng, 68, clothing.
cleene, 34, 138, clene, 7, clean.
cleuchis, 38, cloughs, dells.
clips, 56, vb. eclipses.
close, 60, (Fr. clos) p.p. closed; closit, 47.

1 Several French nouns denoting an agent have taken in Eng. and Sc. an additional agent-ending in -er, -ar: compare citinar, logicinar, medicinar, sophistar, vaticinar, with Fr. citoicn, logicien, medicin, 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. codd) pillow.
cokis, 39, cocks.
cokkil, 148, cockle, scallop, the badge of the order of St Michael.
collere, coller, 153, wrath (Fr. colère).
collie, 57, colic.
colone, 82, colony.
corneit, 58, comet.
comionyng, 107. See commonyng.
comit, 58, comet.
comittance, 31, commands.
comit, 130, committers.
comodite, 131, (Fr.) convenience, opportunity; comodius, 8, suitable, convenient.
comont, 16, common; comontly, 59; comont veil, 16, commonwealth.
comonyng, 63, 107, communing, holding communication.
comparit, 2, compared.
compeir, 114, to appear formally; comperit, 93.
compilaris, 16, compilers.
complein, 126, vb. to complain; compleynt, complaining.
compleit, 181, complete.
complexion, 11, 106, mental character, disposition.
compt, 129, account.
concauite, 47, n. hollow, concave.
conorce, 5, concord, harmony.
condisp, 16, 117, vb. condemn; p. condamnitus, 119.
condiscendit, 58, pitched on, descended to particulars.
confekkit, 145, confected, prepared by art.
confermit, 22, confirmed.

conferris, 28, compares; p. conferred, 151.
conformand, 85, conforming.
confortit, 54, comforted.
congelit, 59, congealed.
coniune, to conjoin; coniunit, 77, 82, conjoined.
conjuris, 133, conspires; conspiratione, 117, conspiracy.
conpair, 140, compare.
compangsons, 42, companions.
compil, 143, compiled.
compulsit, 43, compelled, forced.
conqueriers, 19, conquerors.
conques, 4, 87, conques, 80, 91, to conquer, acquire, gain; p. conquest, 77, conquest, 82; conquessing, 14, 81, 85; conquestours, 80, conquerors.
conques, n. (Fr. conques) 91, 93, acquisition, possession.
consait, 6, 32, 137, conceit, concept.
consaue, 52, conceive, p. consaueit.
consel, 19, consellis, 99, counsel, -s.
considir, 4, p. considir, 90, considered; pr. plc. considerant, 3, 89.

conspiratione, 113, 117, (Fr.) conspiracy.
constellation, 56, stellar aspect (in astrology).
constrenye, to constrain; p. constrenye, 48, constrengeit, 68, constrenyet, 125, constrained.
consuetude, 87, -is, 106, custom, use.
contempl, 37, 47, to contemplate (Fr. contempl-er) p. contemplit, 47, 61.
contempleno = -ynge, 46, contemplating, contemplation.
contenens, 34, countenance.
conteneu, 23, 115, content, tenor.
contenatione, 23, continuation.
contigue, 4, (Fr.) adj. contiguous.
contrafait, 147, adj. counterfeit.
contrair, 77, contrar, 2, (Fr.) prep. against.
contrakk, to contract; contrakkit, 107, contracted.
conuoye, 130, vb. (Fr.) to conduct, guide; conuoyand, 42; p.p. conuoyit, 4.
coppir, 145, copper.
corbe, -is, 181, (Fr. corbeau) raven, -s.
corbe, -is, 181, (Fr. corbeau) raven, -s.
corbe, -is, 181, (Fr. corbeau) raven, -s.
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corbe, -is, 181, (Fr. corbeau) raven, -s.
corbe, -is, 181, (Fr. corbeau) raven, -s.
cum, vb. come, p.t. cam, p.p. cumyn; cumna, 41, come not! cummand, 6, coming.
cummand, 6, pr. p. coming.
cummirsum, 139, troublesome, pertinacious.
cuntirpoint, 39, counterpoint.
cuntra, 86, cuntray, 78, cuntre, 90; pl. cuntres, 1, country.
cunzet, n. coin; cunjet, 109, coined.
cupidite, (Fr.) 31, cupidity.
curage, 13, curageus, 10, courageous.
curtician, 133, courtier.
curtynis, 119, curtizingis, 118, curtains.
cuschet, 39, cushat, wood pigeon.
custum, 7 (O.Fr. costume).
cuttand, 94, cutting; cuttis, 12, cuts; cuttit, 120, p. cut.
dadar, 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.
dangeir, 14, danger.
dansand, 66, dancing (Fr.).
dant, 145, (Fr. domte) to tame, subdue; p. dantit, 21; dantaris, 151, tammers.
Danyel, 77.
dar, 14, dare.
Dauid, gen. sing. David's, 121.
day about, 175, a day alternately.
debait, 184, debaitit, 91, struggle, contention.
deceis, 2, deceissee, 147, deceese, 173, vb. decease; p. deceesit, 122.
dechacis, 21, declayis, 71, falls, decays (Fr. decheoir).
dercist, 12, vb. desist; p. decist, 108, desisted.
declar, 47, declaris, 154, to explain, clear up, make plain.
declaratione, 20, n. decline.
decreet, 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; dedebed, 173; dede dance, 66, dance of death.
dede, 127, adj. dead.
dedie, v. to dedicate (Fr. dedier); dediet, 7, dedicat, 10, dedicated.
dee, 25, 80, to die; deit, 156, died.
deesse, 11, (Fr.) goddess.
defame, 102, n. disgrace.
defeeulte, 133, n. difficulty.
deffait, 175, p.p. defeated (Fr. defait).
deffendit, 3, defended.
deffens, 2, defence; defensabil, 163, able to defend, ablebodied.
deffrens, 107, difference.
deflorit, 92, deflowered.
defluxione, 14, n. flow.
deghestit, 9, digested.
degenerit, 72, p.p. degenerated.
degressione, 184, digression.
deid, 123, deed.
ddieckkit, 17, p.p. expelled, cast out.
deipnes, 21, depth.
GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

deur, 156, deer.
deit, 156, died.
deithr thrau, 121, death throe, contortion of death.
delatit, 144, dilated, spread abroad.
deleat, 144, delicate.
deleatent, 6, 89, diligent.
delicat, 125, dainty, delicate.
delue, 154, (A.S. delf) delve, dig.
delyit, 43, delight.
delyuir, 2, vb. deliver.
demeritis, 27, demerits, deserts.
denuit, 87, vb. strip.
denunciat, 164, denouncement.
deploir, 26, deplore; p. deploirit, 26.
depone, 136, to depose, make oath.
descriuit, 2, described.
desolat, 1, desolate.
desolat, 108, dissolute.
desyr, 82, desyr, 87, desire.
detekkit, 17, read deiekkyt, v. p. rejected, cast out.
destatione, 9.
detful, 8, adj. due, dutiful.
deth, 58, death.
detrakkers, 9, detrackers, 31, detractors.
deu, 54, dew.
deuyl, 33, devil.
dextirite, 6, dexterity.
dictionis, 17, words, vocables.
did, 39, made.
dificil, 130, difficile, 15, (Fr.) difficult.
dikis, 38, dikes; earthen or stone walls and ditches.
dilectabil, 66, delightful.
dilmondsis, 66, widders of the second year, masc. of gylyr, q. r.
dimineuis, 56, diminishes (Fr. diminue).
direckyt, 7, directed.
dirrogatione, 5, derogation.
disagnisit, 70, disguised.
disauit, 94, deceived.
discendit, 1, descended.
discention, -e, 45, 78, dissension.
discipulis, 16, disciples.
discomend, 139, disapprove.
disconfeist, 84, 144, discumfeist, 77, discomfited, discumfytur, 177.
discernite, 32, vb. describe.
discriuit, 46, v. p. described.
discuragit, 177, discouraged.
discymilit, 153, dissembled; -nes, 182, dissembling.
dishonestye, 97, dishonour.
disiume, 43, breakfast (O.Fr. desjeune).
disnaturalit, -ellit, 73, made unnatural, denaturalized.
disordinat, 6, 125, 145, inordinate, disordered.
disparit, 1, desperate; dispayr, 77, despair.
dispensatour, 158, (Fr.) dispenser.
displeseir, 93, displeasure, unpleasantness.
disponit, 92, disposed of, divided.
dispyt, 122, dispute, spite.
disraisonabil, 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.
divers, -e, 3, 5, divers, various.
distribut, 92; p.p. distributed (vb. distribue).
divides, -s.
distribuit, 88, p.t. distribut, 92; p.p. distributed (vb. distribue).
divided.
dixtirite, 11, dexterity.
documentis, 47, 130, teachings, instructions.
dogis, dogis, 39, 57, dogs; 41, a species of artillery.
drug, 151, vb. drudge, drag.
dryit, 145, dried.
ducis, 4, duke, -s (M.Sc. duk). 
ducillis, 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.
dyn, 38, dim.
dymynischid, 175, diminished.
dyn, 38, din, confused noise.
ceclipis, pl. eclipsis, 56.
edeficis, 79.
cdropic, (Fr. hydropique) dropsical.
ce, 14, eye; pl. ee, 11, ene, 72, eene, 24, eyes.
cefier, to be meet, proportionate; effieris, 150, effierand, 56, proportionate, conformable.
cefemenct, 29, effeminate.
cefemris, 48, affirms.
cefirt, 7, cfirtir, 113, after; cfirtuir, 27, afterward.
GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

eg, 32, egg.
egal, 144, (Fr.) equal.
Egipt, Egpietns, 8.
eikit, eikkyt, 123, (A.S. eadcod) added.
eild, 73, old age, eld.
eirk, erb, 44, herb.
eird, 20, eyrd, 24, earth.
eit, cht, 24, to eat; p.t. eit, 80; p.p. cttyn, 63.
elect, 150, v. elected.
eleuat, 38, v. elevated.
eirb, erb, 44, herb.
eirb, 20, eyrd, 24, earth.
eit, cht, 24, to eat; p.t. eit, 80; p.p. cttyn, 63.
ellyes, 67, emerods, hæmorrhoids.
empesche, 99, to hinder (Fr.).
empire, 48, adj. empyrean.
empiour, 25, emperor.
en, 72, eyes. See ee.
Eneados, 35, the Æneid.
eneme, 1, enemei, 111; pl. enemeis, 1, enemy.
engel, 89, angel (a coin).
egeneret, 153, engendrit, 2, begotten.
enetseidis, 67, anise-seed (Anisicra).
Ennymes, 66, (Celtic) Inverness.
ensens, 7, incense.
ensence, 149, ensign, insignia.
entreprics, 146.
entres, 29, entrance.
entretenis, 179, entertain.
entrut, v. p. entered.
ephores, 107, Ephori.
Eporate; 84, Epirus.
erb, erb, 67, herb.
erl, 63, earl.
ermonyie, 37, armonyye, 63, harmony; ermonius, 64.
erris, 57, errs.
Esaye, 22, Ysaye, 27, Isaiah.
escarmschis, 6, escharmouschis,
79, (Fr.) skirmishes; escharmouschit, 78, skirmished.
eshaip, 37, to escape; eschapis, 130; p. eschait, 17.
escamit, 43, ashamed.
eschet, 133, forfeiture (O.Fr. eschéoir, to fall out, fail).
escheu, 99, 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.
ueertione, 1, overthrow.
euil, 12, eyyl, 83, evil, ill.
euir, 2, eyyr, 90, ever, always.
uesh bannes, 20, ivory (bones),
(Fr. ivoire).
euyn, 43, even, evening.
euyn furht, 159, straightforward.
expexit, 8, exceeds.
excepend, 95, excepting.
exeerse, 9, n. and v. exercise, p. excersit.
excommunicat, p.p. 87, excommunicated.
excusatione, 137, n. excuse.
exemuit, 98, examined.
exempl, 7, example, instance.
Exerxes, Exerxe, 79, Xerxes.
experiens, 104; experimentit, 56, experienced.
expirit, 68, expired, spent.
explane, 27, explain, make clear.
expon, 183, expound; expositione, 156.
expreme, v. to express, (Fr. expriier) expremit, 26, expressed.
exquisite, 16, far-fetched, recherché.
extendant, 111, extending.
externe, 3, external, foreign.
extinct, 2, vb. extinguish, 2G, extinguished.
extorsons, 21.
extre, -e, 48, axle, axle-tree (M. Sc. aixtree).
eycht, 88, eight, eighth.
eyr, pi.
eyris, 37, ear.
eyrd, 24, earth.
eyrn, 60, iron (M.Sc. ern).
eyse, 26, ease; eysily, 88.
eyt, 2G, vb. eat, ate; eyttyn, 63, eaten.
fadcr, 93, fadir, 23, father; gen. sing. fadir, 4, 5; fatherly, 26; fadir-of-lau, 3; fadir-in-Gode, 5.
failjeit, 186, p.
fait, 142, v. want, failure; faltit, 122, committed a fault, was deficient.
fals, 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.
fantastines, 16, fantasy.
fardit, 16, (Fr. farité) painted, embellished.
farrar, 52, farther.
fasson, -e, -oune, 69, fashion (Fr. facon).
fastan, 80, pres. p. lasting.
fatigat, 37, p.p. fatigued.
faucht, p. of fecht, fought.
fanoir, 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. fechtytn.
fede, 167, feud, hereditary enmity.
feggis, 80, figs.
feld, 13, field.
feit, 121, feet, pl. of fut.
Fekken, 5, l'ecamp.
felecite, 108, felicite, 7, (Fr.) happiness.
fellis, 66, fells, hills (Isl. fjeld, Sw. fjell).
felloune, 39, -one, 14, (Fr.) fierce, cruel.
feltrit, 68, entangled, dishevelled (Fr. feultrer, fellrer).
femmel, 141, (Fr.) female.
fenzet, 35, feigned (p. of v. fenze, Fr. feigne).
ferd, 96, ferde, 40, feyrd, 11, fourth.
ferme, 59, (Fr.) adj. firm; n. farm; fermis, 123, farms.
Ferrand, 131, Ferdinand.
fertil, 3, fertile.
feu, 175, few, small, ane feu nummir, a small number.
feueir, 24, fever.
feume, 67 (? misp. for flume, q.v.).
fië, 9, fiue, 26, five.
fine, 140, n. (Fr.) end.
finet, 147, finger.
finityuis, 166, adj. pl. frontier.
finkil, 67, fennel (*Foeniculum vulgare,* Ælf. Gloss. *fynecl*).
fische, 37, fish.
fiue, 26, five.
flasche, 41, flesche, 152; flaschar, 129, 162, butcher.
fleis, 148, fleise, 64, fleece.
fleid, 161, p. of fle, fled; fleis, 60, flees.
flotquhaye, 43, float whey, whey brose, "made by boiling whey after it is pressed out of the cheese curds, with a little meal and milk, when a species of very soft curd floats at the top."
flourelin, 68, *fleurs-de-lis.*
flouyng, 40, flowing.
flum, feume, 67, phlegm.
flyttyn, 139, scolded, quarrelled, *p.p. of flyte; p.t. fleit.*
fochtyn, 97, *p.p. fought.*
foire, fore, 4.
foir bears, 91, predecessors.
foirfadirs, 72, forefathers.
foirgrandscheir, 3, great-grandfather.
foirlend, 41, foreland.
foir ra, 40, fore-mast; fore sail, 40.
foiresaid, 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. *foforan*).
forgearis, 10, forgers; forgit, 89, forged.
formit, 11, formed.
forrais, 114, forays; forceurs, 98, forayers, marauders.
forrest, 37, forest.
forse, 4, 19.
Fortht, 63, Forth.
forget, 4, forget.
fouer, 34, four.
foulis, 39, fowls.
found, 63, go (A.S. *fundian*).
fourty, 6, forty.
foysaid, 69, aforesaid.
frac, 4, from.
fragil, 35, frail; fragilite, 9, frailty.
franche, 21, French.
freir, 96, frere, 121, (Fr.) friar; *p.t. freris, 66.*
frende, 54, friend.
fenetic, 13, frantic; frenye, 124, frenzy.
fresche, 7, fresh.
fresis, 59, vb. freezes; *p.p. froysyn, 59.*
freul, 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; fundatours, 129, founders.
furneis, 87, vb. furnish.
furor, 177, fury.
furtlit, 1, GO, forth, out.
fustean-skonnis, 43, "cakes leavened or puffed up; fustean, soft, elastic, and compressible like cotton down."
fut, 20, foot, pl. feit; futsteppis, 148, futtit, 63.
futur, 46, future, coming.
fyft, 120, fyft, 2, fifth; fyift, 2, fifth.
fyrst, 3, first; fyrst niohil, 48, primum mobile.

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glufe, 110, glove.
gode, 2, God; pl. goddis, 7.
Godefroid, 3, Godfrey.
goilk, 39, (Isl. goulk) the Gowk or Cuckoo.
goldin, 7, golden; goldspynk, 39, goldfinch.
Gomore, 127, Gomorrah.
gomoria, 66 (misprint for gonnoria), gonorrhœa.
gottyn, 128, gotten.
governance, 3, government; government;
go-urnyng, 2.
goulmau, 39, the Gull-maw or grey Gull.
goune, 142, gown, robe.
grait, 175, grave, sagacious.
gramariaris, 17, 160, grammarians (dealers in Gramarye).
grandscheirs, 151, grandfathers.
grathit, 39, made ready, fitted out, accoutred (A.S. gerceded).
gre, 134, gree, 160, degree, step.
Greece, 78, Greice, 14, Greece; greiciens, 87, Grekis, 78.
greit, 39, weep, cry.
geneserene, 39, green-syren, greenfinch.
greu, 94, grew.
grit, 3, -e, 4, gryt, 79, great; grytar, 56, greater; grytest, 47.
grond, 96, grounde, 22; grondis, 79, foundations; grondit, 130, founded.
grouuen, 130, grown.
grumis, 67, groups, 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-

COMPLAYNT. 18

uits, 4, gudscheir, 4, gutscher.
gulset, 67, jaundice (M.Sc. gulsoch, Fr. gueule, yellow, A.S. gealwe-

sedic, yellow sickness).
gummis, 145, gums.
gut, 57, gout.
gyf, gyue, 11, vb. give; gyffin, 19, gyuyn, 148, given.
gyf, 17, gyue, 75, if.
gyft, 7, gift.
gylmyr, 66, (Isl. gimbur) ewe in her second year, one that has been twice smeared; fem. of dylmond.
gyltin, 63, gilded, gilt.
gyrse, 20, grass, (M.Sc. gerss) pl. gyrsis, 67, gyrssis, 37.
gyrth, 115, shelter, sanctuary, asylum (A.S. gryth).
gyue, give, if; gyuyn, 148, given.
habitis, 163, (Fr.) clothes, garments.
habitude, 21, (Fr.) custom, habit.
hagbutaris, 6, musqueteers.
hagbuttis of croche, 41, the Ar-
quebus-a-croc, or arquebus with a hook cast along with the piece, serving to fix it to a tripod or carriage. It varied in size from a small cannon to a musket.
haggis, 41, haques or haquebutts, guns with crooked butts, according to 33 Henry VIII. of one yard in length. Half-haggis (demi-haques) were smaller.
haif, 118, hef, 13, to have; p.
hail.
haile, 40, vb. to haul, hale; p. halit.
hail, 173, adj. whole (A.S. hail).
hail, 73, n. well-being (A.S. halu);
gude hail, 45, good health.
hail, 59, n. hail; hailsehot, 41.
hairschip, 23, hayrschip, 5, harrying, plunder, pillage.
haistiar, 36, more hastily; haistly, 6.
halbert, 70, halbardis, 42, halberd, a long-handled axe.
hald, vb. hold; haldant, 6, holding; haldin, 22, haldyn, 128, held, holden.
halit, 40, hauled.
hammyr, 10, hammer.
hamuart, 97, homeward.
hang, 93, vb. to hang (execute); p. hangit, 27.
harde, 96, heard (p. of heir).
hardyn, 96, sacking. Burns has 'ham ('Tarn o' Shanter').
hardyn pan, 154, ham-pan, skull (M.Sc. hems, haifns, brains).
hareyt, 135, harried, spoiled.
hart, 14, heart; hartly, 7, cordial.
Hasse, 168, Hesse.
has3arde, 14, chance.
hatrent, 45, heytrent, 174, hatred.
hauy, 21, heavy; hauyar, 73, heavier; hauyla, 25, heavily.
hauxyn, 3, heaven.
hayr, 40, hair.
hayr ryim, 59, hoar rime, hoar-frost.
hede, 22, n. head; vb. to behead, p. hedit, 95; hede-verkis, 37, head aches.
hes, 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, hesmespeir, 38.
hennis, 39, hens, fowls.
herberye, 155, (A.S. hercherze) harbour, refuge, place of shelter.
herd, 13, vb. heard.
heretage, 3; heritour, 3, heir, heiress.
heroyque, 2, heroic.
herrons, 39, herons.
heruest hog, 66, a young sheep after smearing at end of harvest, when it ceases to be a lamb.
hes, 1, has.
hечch, 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. hef).
heytes, 143, vb. hates.
heytrent, 174, hatred.
hicht, 6, n. height; vb. to raise, p. hichtit, raised.
hic, 38, high; hiear, 40, higher.
Hieremye, 25, Jeremiah.
Hierusalem, 25, Jerusalem.
hird, 28, 42, shepherd, keeper of cattle of any kind.
hisband, 2, husband.
his self, 138, himself.
historiagrephours, 4, historians.
histriographours, 7, historians.
hog, 66, a young sheep between first and second smearings, a one-year-old.
hoilsum, 1, wholesome.
hola bar, 40 (Leyden suggests 'Holla! bar the capstan').
holt, 40, ? halt.
honest, 79, honourable.
honorificabilitudinity, 16.
hoppand, 37, hopping.
Horasse, 66, Horace.  
horse, pl. 38, horses, M.Sc. hors.  
host, 122, the consecrated Host.  
hoste, 67, (Sw. hosta) a cough.  
hou, 2, how.  
hou, 39, 66, adj. hollow, sunken.  
hounting, 13, hunting.  
hundretht, 21, hundred.  
houshald, 145, household.  
huddit, 39, hooded.  
humiditeis, 38, moistures;  
humil, 106, (Fr.) humble.  
hurlis, 39, n. hauls, rushes.  
ychtit, 123, raised in price.  
hyl, hil, 10, hill.  
hym, him, 118, ref. himself.  
hyngis, 138, vb. hangs.  
hyr, her.  
hyrdis, 98, shepherds.  
Iacopyne, 121, Jacobin.  
iakkis, 163, mail jackets.  
Iangil, 39, jangle, the cry of the jay.  
iargolyne, 39, jargoning, chattering.  
Ieremie, 82, Jeremiah.  
Ieuis, 2, Jews.  
Iherusalem, 3, Jerusalem.  
Ihesus, 35, Jesus.  
Ihone, 5, John.  
il, 82, n. isle.  
ilk, 11, each; ilkane, 12, every one.  
illustir, 1, (Fr.) illustrious.  
imbassadre, 110, ambassador;  
imbassadouris, 90.  
impung, 12, impugn.  
impedimentis, 130.  
imperiour, 181, emperor.  
impesche, 130, (Fr. empesche) hinder, prevent, p.t. impeschet, 4.  
importabil, adj. unbearable.  
in = into, 33, 133, 145.  
inbassadours, 112, ambassadors.  
inche, 96, n. pl. inches.  
inciui, 45, -e, 128, uncivilized.  
incontinent, (Fr.) adv. immediately.  
incredule, 27, 186, infidel, faithless; incredulite, 165, infidelity.  
incressis, 2, vb. increases, in- 
cressyng, 20.  
Inde, 2, India.  
indifferent, 184, neutral.  
indroctryne, 14, vb. teach, instruct.  
indoile, 126, (L. indoles) adj. well disposed.  
inducit, 8, p.p. induced.  
induris, 3, endures; indurit, 9.  
induring, 31, 181, prep. during.  
inexorbitant, 21, adj. exorbitant.  
infang and outfang, 106. “In the auld lawis of the Brittons made by King Edward, infang thiefe is a liberty or power pertaining to him quha is infeft therewith, to cognosce upon thieft committed by his awin man, takin within his awin dominion and landis; and outfang thiefe is an foran thefe, quha cums fra another man’s land or jurisdiction, and is takin and apprehended withitin the lands pertenand to him quha is infeft with the liberty.” Skene.  
infekk, vb. infect; infekkit, 38, infected.  
infeil, 3, faithless; infidilite, 164.  
inflam, 86, vb. inflame.  
Ingland, England; inglis, English.  
ingnorant, 159, ignorant; pl. ignorans, 82, ignorant people.
ingrat, 71, ingrate, 20, ungrateful.
ingyne, 4, 46, (L. *ingenium*)
genius, wit, intellect.
inhabitants, 93, inhabitaris, 117, inhabitants.
inhabitabil, 28, 98, *not* habitable, uninhabitable.
injuris, 141, injuries.
inocentis, 130, innocents.
insaciabil, 34, insatiable.
inspirit, 2, *pp.* inspired.
instantly, 169, *adv.* at this instant, at present.
institut, 8, *v.p.* instituted.
intend, 88, *vb.* intend, contrive, institute; *p.t.* intendit, 2, 85.
intestynis, 167, *adj.* pi.
inuartly, 73, inwardly.
inuictissirne, 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).
Isboseth, 120, Ishboseth.
ische, 101, (L. *exire*, Fr. *issir*, *issir*) 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; iuuniug, 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, cackle.
ken, 143, to know.
knaiif, 104, knave.
knurf, 10, knife.
kou, 135, cow; *pl. ky, 42, kine.*
kyl, 39, kiln.
kyn, 104, kin.
kynge, 89, kying, 2, king.
Kynt, 104, Kent.
kyrk, 163, (A.S. *cyree*) church.
kyrn, 43, (A.S. *cyrn*) churn.
kyrnellis, 80, kernels.
kyttill, 66, *vb.* tickle.
ladeis, 11, ladies.
laiif, 40, 66, remainder (A.S. *lif*, M.Sc. *laire*).
laitly, 5, lately.
landrusche, 39, landslip.
landuart, 43, 67, landward, inland, rural.
lang, 32, long.
langage, 16, (Fr.) language.
langorius, 1, languid, affected with languor.
langsyne, 154, long ago, long since.
lang-tailit, 16, long-tailed.
lard, 103, *n.* laird (A.S. *hláford*, O.E. *lauerd*).
large, 97, *adv.* at large.
lasche, 146, (Fr.) coward, cowardly.
lasjar, 158, *n.* leisure.
lat, 40, *vb.* let; *p.t.* leit.
Latyn, latyne, 12, lateen, lating, 66, 67, Latin.
lau, 6, law.
lauar, 7, laver.
lauair, 96, laubir, 6, laubyr, 123, labour; lauberar, 137, labourer.
lauclit, *vb.* laughed (M.Sc. leuch); *p.p.* leuchyn.
lauerok, 39, lark, laiverock (A.S. la/ere).
laure, laury(r)e, GO, laurel.
learis, 83, liars.
leaue, 139, leave.
lecens, 146, licence.
leiful, 77, 164, = leaveful, allowable, permissible.
leit, 97, *p.t.* of lat, let.
lemmen, 64, lemmen (A.S. leof-\*\-man).
len, 124, *vb.* lend; *p.* lent, 89 (A.S. *l**ewe*).
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*) leifer, rather.
leyé rig, 42, lea ridge; "a lea is a piece of flat arable land which has lain long in grass." L.
leyuand, 120, leaning.
leyrne, 8, 14, to learn, to teach; leynit, 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.
linc, 41, "linch-pin or lins-pin for belaying the ropes on." L.
lingnis, 34, lines.
lisis, 27, *vb.* lists, pleases.
loftit, 96, lofted, cieled.
logicinaris, 183, logicians.
lökkyt, 70, locked.
lond, 90, land.
longinquite, 4, (Fr.) far distance.
lope, 151, *vb.* leap; lopene, 66, leaping (M.Sc. *lowe*; *leowpin*).
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, 152, praising; lout, 166, praised.
loue, 3, love; louyng, 133; lout, 131, loved.
loue, 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.
lycht, 89, light.
lychtis, 67, lungs.
lychtlye, -lie, -leis, 128, vb. to make light of, to slight.
lyf, 123, lyif, 100, lyue, 107, vb. to live.
lyffing, 90, lyuing, 8, living.
lyft, 58, 107, the sky (A.S. lyft).
lyf, 123, lyif, 100, lyue, n. life; pi. lyifis, 137, lyiffis, 101, lives.
lyik, 5, lyk, 78, like.
lyme, 41, liuie.
lyne, 48, line,
lyntquhit, 39, the linnet.
lynyalye, 40, lineally,
lyon, G8, 141, lion.
lyue, 35, n. life, vb. live; lyuit, 6, lived, lyuing, 8, lyuyngs, 73.
lyuyr, 67, n. liver.

Machabeis, 75, Maccabees.
main, 6, made.
main, 141, male.
mail, 143, mail.
mair, 1, 8, adv. more; 14, adj. greater; mair haistiar, 54; sometimes we find mair.
maist, most, 3; adj. greatest, 16, 66.
maister, 87, (O.F. maistre) master.
mait, 41, n. mate.
mak, 7, vb. make; makksis, 6, makkand, 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. mōn, Dan. mān).
mane, 95, main; mane-landis, 23, interior districts; mane-ra, 40, mainmast.
maneir, 8, maneyrs, 101, manner, -s.
manhede, 27, manhood.
manifest, 8, p.p. manifested.
manneist, 102, -iest, 125, menaced; manessing, 140, threatening.
mantillis, 41, (Fr. mantelets) large shields borne before archers at sieges, or fixed on ships as a covert for archers.

Marbyr, 129, marble (Fr. marbre). Marc, 8, Mark.
marcat, 159, market.
marchand, -ant, 10, (Fr.) merchant; marchandres, -reis, 69, 123, merchandise, traffic.
marchis, 166, marche, 38, (A.S. merec) marches, border.
mareit, 63, married.
margareit, 1, (Gr. μαργαρίτης, A.S. neregrot) pearl.
marmadyn, 64, mermaid.
marrou, 173, narrow, match.
Marse, 96, the Merse, Berwickshire.
martirs, 183, martyrs.
marynel, 10, -alis, 40, mariner, -s.
mas, 33, masse, 96, mass; massife, 59, massive.
mater, 7, matter.
mathematikis, 47, adj. pl. mathematical.
Mathou, 32, Matthew.
matutine, 38, early in the morning.
maueis, 39, the mavis or thrush.
maye, 29, (A.S. *má*) more, plures.
mayr, 140, (A.S. *már*) more, plus. mecanye, -yke, 25, mechanic, -al.
Medas, 178, Midas.
Medicinaris, 122, physicians, medycine, 23.
meed, 66, meadow.
meduart, 42, meadwort, meadow-sweet (A.S. *meduicyrt*).
Moid, 27, Media.
moy, 39, to low as a cow (M.Sc. *moo*).
moir, 55, 66, = mair, more.
Moises, 106, Moyses, 24, Moses.
moot, 78, = maist, most.
mok, 39, vb. mock.
monarche, -is, 21, monarchy, -ies.
moneth, 35, montht, 45, monetht, 103, (A.S. *mona*8) month.
monolog, 37, monologue.
monopoles, 140, combinations, trades' unions.
monstrir, 63, monster.
montane, 37, -anis, 2, mountain, -s.
mony, 5, (A.S. *moni*) many.
Mordocheus, 2, Mordecai.
morne, the, 83, to-morrow.
mortel, 84, mortal; mortalite, 1. mortife, 155, vb. mortify; p.

messager, -anger, -enger, 94.
Metredates, 3, Mithridates.
methematic, 62, mathematical.
mettal, 19, metal, material, stuff.
mettigat, 130, vb. mitigate.
meydvyf, 129, midwife.
meyris, 39, mares.
meyt, 12, food.
middis, 69, midst.
mirknes, 54, darkness.
mirrour, 14, mirror.
mischance, 7, bad fortune.
misericord, 72, (Fr.) mercy.
miserite, 92, misery, 72, misery.
misprisis, 28, (Fr. *mesprise*) despises.
mistous, 85, dim, misty, mystic.
mistir, 36, (Fr. *mestier*) need; mistirful, 125, needy, wretched.
mittygat, 171, 56, mitigate.
mixtions, 80, mixtures.
mo, 39, to low as a cow (M.Sc. *moo*).
moir, 55, 66, = mair, more.

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mortefit, 34, mortifet, 100, mortificet, 16.
motione, 27, n. motive.
mouiable, 179, moveable.
mouimentis, 46, motions.
mouit, 2, moved; mouyng, 47, moving.
muguart, 67, mugwort (Artemisia campestris, A.S. mugyrt).
muis, 113, (Fr. muids, Lat. modius) bushels, measures, mows.
multiple, n. 15, 23, multitude.
mune, 47, moon.
munetis, munitis, 50, minutes.
murdresaris, 159, (Fr. meurtris-seur) murderers; 41, a species of cannon of large size.
murmerit, 183, murmured.
murn, 169, mourn.
mussilis, 57, mussels.
muyng, 48, ger. moving.
mycht, 3, might; mychty, 25, mighty.
myddil, 11, middle.
myddyng, 12, (Dan. mögdynge) midden, dunghill.
mydvay, 53, midway.
myl, 64, mill.
myke, 16, mile.
mylk, 42, milk.
myrk, 140, dark (A.S. myrce).
myrht, 39, myrrynes, 43, mirth.
myscheif, 58, mischief.
myskend, 70, mistaken, failed to recognize.
mysknauilage, 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.
aikyt, 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.
ned, pl. nebbis, 72, (A.S. neb) bill, -s.
necessair, -e, 7, 9, (Fr.) necessary.
nechir, 39, to nicker (frequent-ative of neigh).
necleogenus, 72, negligence.
nee, 39, vb. neigh.
neiforfe, on, 67, 163, of necessity, of compulsion.
neir, 6, near; comp. nerar, 52, nixt, myxt, 96.
neiris, 67, kidneys; in M.Sc. by frequent loss of initial n, eiirs, a neir becoming an eir; comp. a nadder and an adder.
neiuyr, 9, never.
nar, 52, nearer.
neu, new; neu maid, 98, new-made.
neukyt, 54, nooked, cornered.
neuo, 76, (Fr. neveu, nevo) nephew.
neureis, 123, vb. nourish; neuresing, 45; p. 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.
north, 37; northin, 39, northern; northest, 38, N.E.; nortuest, 62, N.W.
Northumyrland, 97.
not, 38, n. note.
nothir, 39, 45, neither.
nou, 1, now.
nou, 38.
nouelles, nouellis, 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; nychtingal, 39.
nychtbour, 25, neighbour.
nyne, 4, nine; nynt, -e, ninth.
nyxt, 18, next.
obediens, 7, obedience.
obfusquis, 56, vb. darkens.
obleis, oblice, 164, vb. oblige; p.p. oblist, 8, obliged.
obstinatione, 26, obstinacy.
ociane, 80, ocean.
ocident, 46, west.
ocupeeit, 7, occupied.
ocurit, 1, occurred.
och, 41, oh!
ordinans, -ance, -ances, 8, 9.
ordonnance, 78, n. s. f. pl. ordinations, orders.
ordour, 13, order; ordoryng, 13.
orient, 46, cast.
orison, 138, oration.
orisone, 37, horizon.
osi, 57, osier.
OSULI, 39, the ouzle, mistle thrush, or dipper.
ouer, prep. over; adv. too, too much, 63, 135.
ouergane, 30, past, overgone.
ouerset, 126, p.p. overhorne.
oultraige, 186, (Fr. outrage) outrage; outragous, 80, outrageous.
oue, 1, our.
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ouerset, 126, p.p. overhorne.
oultraige, 186, (Fr. outrage) outrage; outragous, 80, outrageous.
oue, 1, our.
persauand, 13, perceiving.
perseuand, 29, pursuing.
perseuctione, 72, n. view, sight.
perturbit, 68, disturbed.
peruerst, 6, 32, p.p. perverted.
peste, (Fr.) n. the plague.
pestelens, 29, pestilence.
peu, 39, the plaintive cry of young fowls.
Pharaon, 147, Pharaoh.
phicisians, 122, physicians.
Philistens, 76, Philistines.
philosophe, 10, philosophy; philosophour, 13, philosopher.
phisic, 46, Natural Science.
piete, 104, pity; piteabil, 126.
pietis, 39, magpies, pyots.
pikis, 148, n. pricks, spines.
pikks, 42, pikes.
pillaris, 20, pillars.
Pillion, 63, Pelion.
Pirrus, 84, Pyrrhus.
pissance, 7, puissans, 92, puissance, 90, (Fr.) power.
pistil, 3, epistle.
pitteus, 93, piteous.
plag, 24, -is, 1, plague, -s.
plait, playt, playit, 65, played.
plane, 23, plain.
planeit, -etis, 38, planet, -s.
plasmatour, 27, creator.
plat, 70, flat; platfut, 66, flatfoot.
plesand, 99, pleasant.
plesseirs, 3, pleasures.
pleys, 167, n. pl. pleas (in law).
pleysye, 20, please; pleysis, 29, pleysand, 11, 12, pleasant.
Plutarque, 2, Plutarch.
poit, 43, poeitis, -etis, 66, poet, -s; poietical, 82.
policie, 1, pollice, 128.
politiques, 10, n. pl. politics.
Pont, 80, Pontus.
popil, 57, poplar tree.
port, 131, portis, 20, (Fr.) gate, -s.
pose, 89, n. private purse, secret treasure.
posses, 3, possess; possessand, 23, possessing; p. possest, 178.
possibilite, 137, power, ability.
post, 109.
potent, 182, n. (Fr.) a stake; 3, adj. powerful.
potestatis, 125, authorities.
pottis, 19, pots.
pouert, 7, poverty.
poure, 133, poor.
poysont, 122, poisoned.
practic, 139, n. practice.
practicians, 62, practitioners.
practikyt, 85, practised.
pray, 2, n. prey.
prayand, 8, praying.
precedent, 9, 58, pr. ple. preceding.
preeheours, 25, preachers.
prectykit, 105, practised.
predens, 152, proud, haughty.
pref, 55, vb. prove; preuis, 51, proves.
pref, 43, vb. to outweigh, excel, surpass.
prelerat, 5, prelate.
principal, 43, principal.
preparatiue, 12, n. preparation.
present, 7, presence.
presentlye, 3, at present, now.
presone, 162, vb. to imprison; presonyng, 118.
prestis, 87, priests.
semblance, 82, profane.
prophesy, 7, prophecy.
prophetize, to prophesy; prophetic, 22, prophetysit, 46, prophesied (Fr. prophétiser).
propir, propyr, (Fr. propre, L. proprius) own, personal; in propyr person, in propriid personâ, 163.
propreteis, 11, properties, characteristics.
propriete, 32, (Fr.) propriete, 162, property.
propungnatours, 4, defenders.
prospir, 9, prosperous.
proues, 4, prowess.
prouest, 8, provost, prefect.
prouidit, 12, provided.
prouision, 13, pre-arrangement.
prudens, 2, prudence.
Ptolome, 62, Ptolemy.
puberte, 29, puberty.
pulce, vb. pulcis, 139, pulsis, 125, (Fr. pousser, pousser) push, drive.
pulkir, 21, 42; powder, dust (O.Fr. pouldre).
pundfald, 98, pound, poundfold.
puneis, -e, vb. punish; p.p. punest, 118.
punirite, 142, penury
punition, 27, (Fr.) punishment.
pupil, 3, child.
purches, 5, 73, vb. to get, procure, acquire.
pure, 2, poor.
purgit, 9, purged.
purposis, 17, propositions.
put, 32, vb. put; p.t. pat, 110; p.p. put.
pyne, 110, n. pain, torment.
quaik, 39, vb. quack as a duck.
qualisit, 12, qualified.
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qualite, 7.
quantite, 7.
querellis, 89, (Fr.) quarrels.
quha, interrog. & rel. who, 3, 87; gen. quhais, 82, whose; acc. quham, quhome, 90, whom.
quhairbe, 82, whereby.
quhap, 39, the curlew (M.Sc. *enhaup*).
quhar, 3, where.
quharfor, 2, wherefore.
quhaye, 43, whey.
quelpis, 73, whelps.
quhen, 2, when.
quhiddir, 23, 138, whether.
quhil, 8, till, until.
quhilk, interrog. "tj-" rel. 1, which; pi. quhilkis, lesquels, which.
quhilk, 39, the cry of the gosling.
quhissil, whistle; quhissilit, 39, quhislit, 40, whistled.
quhome, 90, = quham.
quhou, 3, 75, how.
quhoubeit, 5, howbeit, howsoever.
quhryne, 39, to squeak as a pig.
quhy, 55, why.
quhyt, 15, white.
quod, 155, quoth, said.
quyk, 17, quick.

rammasche, 38, (Fr. *rammassé*) collected.
rammel, 37, (Fr. *ramel, rameux*) branchy.
rampand, 68, rampant.
randr, 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. *resce*) rushes.
raison, 1, raison, 15, (Fr.) reason.
rau, 59, raw.
rauand, 1, rauisant, 2, ravening.
rauynis, 39, n. ravens.
realmys, 9, n. realms.
recche, 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, vb. to read; p. red, 23.
reid, 64, n. reed.
reid, 117, p.t. of ride, = rode.
reik, 42, smoke.
remane, 3, vb. remain; p. re-
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<td>renunce, 179, renounce.</td>
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<td>renje, vb. to rein.</td>
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<td>repref, vb. 12, reprove; n. 122, reproof.</td>
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<td>repreme, 154, vb. (Fr. reprimer) repress.</td>
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<td>reprocha, 127, n. ; reproche, 153, vb. reproach.</td>
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<td>repulsit, 70, repelled.</td>
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<td>retorik, 11, Rhetoric.</td>
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<td>retourne, 12, return.</td>
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<td>reu, 80, the herb Rue.</td>
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<td>reu, 182, renis, 76, (Fr. rue) street, -s.</td>
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<td>reuere, -e, 37, 7, river.</td>
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<td>reuereens, 12, reverence.</td>
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<td>reyde, 63, red.</td>
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<td>ring, n. reign.</td>
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<td>robeen, 39, the robin.</td>
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<td>roial, 126, ryal, 117, royal.</td>
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<td>rond, 51, round.</td>
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<td>rondellis, 42, (Fr rondelles) &quot;small round targets, usually borne by horsemen.&quot; L.</td>
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<td>ropeen, 39, hoarse crying (A.S. hreop, Isl. hropja, Dutch roepen).</td>
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<td>roustit, 69, rusted.</td>
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<td>roy, 63, (Fr.) king.</td>
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<td>rudirman, 41, helmsman.</td>
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<td>rustic, 128, rural, rustic.</td>
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<td>rute, 66, pl. rutes, 144, root, -s ; rutit, 73, rooted.</td>
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<td>ruynye, 19, ruyne, 80, ruin.</td>
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<td>ry caikis, 43, rye cakes.</td>
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<td>ryal, 117, royal.</td>
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<td>rycht, 1, right.</td>
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<td>ryim, 59, (A.S. hrims) rime, hoarfrost.</td>
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<td>sa, 7, so.</td>
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<td>sa mony that, 163, as many as.</td>
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<td>sac, 33, sack.</td>
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<td>sacceat, 96, saciat, 81, satiated.</td>
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sai, *vb.* say; sais, 7.
saidis, 167, *adj.* pl. said, afore-said (Fr. *les dits*).
saidly, 151, saddled.
saif, saue, *vb.* 11-i, to save.
saifly, 100.
saifly, 100.
saikyrs, 41, “a species of cannon smaller than a demi-culverine much used in sieges, named like the *faucou* from a species of hawk.” *L.*
sair, 67, 92, sore, very much (A.S. *sdr*, Ger. *sehr*).
saison, 141, (Fr.) season.
saisondis, 167, *adj.* pi. said, afore-said (Fr. *les dits*).
saidlyt, 151, saddled.

saue, 74, 107, saife, *adj.* safe.
sauc, 24, *vb.* save.
saul, 35, -is, 76, (A.S. *sawel*) soul, -s.
sauuage, 2, (Fr.) savage.
sax, 107, six; saxt, 86, sixth.
sabbit, 67, scabbed.
sarmouche, 114, (Fr.) skirmish.
schaddou, 34, shadow.
scheme, 7, shame.
schapis, 91, *n.* shapes.
schank, 40, shank, stalk, handle.
sche, 11, *scho, pron.* she.
scheaip, 38, shape.
scheildis, 148, shields.
sche, 11, *scho, pron.* she.
scheortar, 75, *adj.* shorter.
scheort, 36, *adj.* short.
schismer, 103.
schort, 36, *adj.* short.
schort, 134, *vb.* shorten; *p.* schort-tit, shortened.
schot, 131, shot.
schouris, 58, *n.* pl. showers.
schutis, 123, *vb.* pushes.
schifiers, 6, science.
Scipion, 29, Scipio.
scoir, 50, score.
scriaip, 12, scrape.
scriptur, 31, -our, 32, scripture.
scrupulus, scrupulus, 163, scrupulous.
scroggis, 20, low stunted bushes.
scele, seulis, 13, school, -s.
scurge, 26, scourage.
Secilie, 4, Sicily.
secretar, 117, secretary.
sedicius, 172, sedetione, 90.
see, see, vb. see; p.t. s,a,n,p,p. sene.
see, 12, seye, 52, sea; seeburde, 124, seeburde, 91; seye syde, 60.
see volue, 40, sea-wolf.
sege, 77, (Fr. siege) seat.
seigis, 90, vb. besieges.
seik, 164, adj. sick; seiknes, 24.
seik, 12, vb. seek, p. socht.
self, the, 11, itself.
sellit, 126, 72, vb. p. sold.
sepuneral, 48, north.
sepulture, 5, grave.
seremons, 7, ceremonies.
serment, 136, (Fr.) oath.
serpens, 20, 28, (Fr.) n. pl. serpents.
seruand, 11, sernitour, -ur, -uir, 117, servant; seruître, 19.
seuerite, 9, severity.
seuyn, 24, seven; seuyn, 51, seventh.
sex, 6, six; sext, 35, sixth; sexten, 93, sixteen.
seye, 40, sea.
seyl, 60, 148, seal, sigillum (O.Fr. sel).
seyn, 24, seven; seuynt, 51, seventh.
seyl, 60, 148, seal, sigillum (O.Fr. sel).
seyl, 60, 148, seal, sigillum (O.Fr. sel).
seyn, 24, seven; seuynt, 51, seventh.
seyl, 60, 148, seal, sigillum (O.Fr. sel).
seyn, 24, seven; seuynt, 51, seventh.
seyl, 60, 148, seal, sigillum (O.Fr. sel).
seyn, 24, seven; seuynt, 51, seventh.
seyl, 60, 148, seal, sigillum (O.Fr. sel).
seyn, 24, seven; seuynt, 51, seventh.
seyl, 60, 148, seal, sigillum (O.Fr. sel).
seyn, 24, seven; seuynt, 51, seventh.
seyl, 60, 148, seal, sigillum (O.Fr. sel).
seyn, 24, seven; seuynt, 51, seventh.
seyl, 60, 148, seal, sigillum (O.Fr. sel).
seyn, 24, seven; seuynt, 51, seventh.
seyl, 60, 148, seal, sigillum (O.Fr. sel).
seyn, 24, seven; seuynt, 51, seventh.
seyl, 60, 148, seal, sigillum (O.Fr. sel).
seyn, 24, seven; seuynt, 51, seventh.
seyl, 60, 148, seal, sigillum (O.Fr. sel).
seyn, 24, seven; seuynt, 51, seventh.
seyl, 60, 148, seal, sigillum (O.Fr. sel).
seyn, 24, seven; seuynt, 51, seventh.
seyl, 60, 148, seal, sigillum (O.Fr. sel).
seyn, 24, seven; seuynt, 51, seventh.
seyl, 60, 148, seal, sigillum (O.Fr. sel).
seyn, 24, seven; seuynt, 51, seventh.
seyl, 60, 148, seal, sigillum (O.Fr. sel).
seyn, 24, seven; seuynt, 51, seventh.
seyl, 60, 148, seal, sigillum (O.Fr. sel).
seyn, 24, seven; seuynt, 51, seventh.
seyl, 60, 148, seal, sigillum (O.Fr. sel).
seyn, 24, seven; seuynt, 51, seventh.
seyl, 60, 148, seal, sigillum (O.Fr. sel).
seyn, 24, seven; seuynt, 51, seventh.
seyl, 60, 148, seal, sigillum (O.Fr. sel).
seyn, 24, seven; seuynt, 51, seventh.
seyl, 60, 148, seal, sigillum (O.Fr. sel).
seyn, 24, seven; seuynt, 51, seventh.
seyl, 60, 148, seal, sigillum (O.Fr. sel).
seyn, 24, seven; seuynt, 51, seventh.
skonnis, 43, flat cakes of wheat or rye; usage distinguishes flour skonnis, barley bauno's, oat cakes.
skreck, 39, shriek, screech.
skyrnis, 145, skins.
skyrl, 40, scream, shrill cry.
slaucht, 60, stroke, dart (A.S. shjht, sleht, Ger. schlacht).
slauchtir, 5, slaughty, 23.
sleipt, 26, vb. sleep.
slepand, sleipand, CO, 120, sleeping.
slep, vb. sleep.
slepand, sleeping.
slop, 140, n. gap, breach.
smal, 12, small.
smeuk, 42, smoke.
smytht, 28, 153, smith.
snaa, 59, n. snow.
sobir, 79, sober.
socht, 65, sought.
socialis, 167, adj. pl. social.
sodour, 68, soldier.
soir, 76, sore.
soldartis, 42, soudartis, 90, soudiers, 121, soudours, 68, soldiers.
solempnit, 121, solemnit, 10, solemn.
solist, 9, adj. solicitous, anxious; vb. to solicit, p.t. solistit, 110, solistaes, 32, eagerness.
solitair, solitar, 9, (Fr.) solitary.
some, 11, n. sum.
sone, 78, soune, son.
sone, 47, soune, sun.
sophistaris, 183, sophists.
sophistic, 137, adj. wise, skilful.
sopit, 37, 68, (L. sopitus) drooping, drowsy.
sorseris, 168, sorcerers.
sort, of this, 17, 114, in this way, de ce sorte.
soudartis, 90, soudiers, 121. See Soldartis.
souerane, 9, sovereign.
soune, 53, 147, (A.S. sunne) sun.
soune, 137, (A.S. sunu) son.
soune, 68, (A.S. sweofn) swoon, sleep.
sourakkis, 67, sorrel-leaves (Rumex acetosa).
sourd, 10, sourde, 26, sword.
sourkittis, 43, a species of clouted cream, a pastoral dish.
southe, 48, south; southeyn, 60, southern, southeest, 61.
sacier, 38, to walk (L. spatiari, It. spaziare, Ger. spazieren).
Spanje, 5, Spangle, 30, Spain; Spangyard, 131, Spaniard.
sarme, 67, n. spermata.
sparrow, 39, sparrow.
Spart, 116, Sparta.
speecfeit, 35, specified.
speik, spok, 95, speak; spekand, 105, spekend, 22, speikand, 9, speaking; p.t. spak.
speir, 15, (A.S. spýrian) vb. ask, inquire; speries, p. sperit, 113, inquired.
sper, 46, speris, 143, sphere, -s.
sperital, -utial, 45, spiritual; sperutality, 161, spirituality, clergy.
sperk, 144, n. spark.
speyde, 66, spade.
speyr, 14, spear.
spoule, 97, spulze, 89, (O.Fr. espouille) spoil.
spouse, 24, vb. espouse.
GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

spreit, 7, spreitis, 37, (Fr. esprit) spirit, -s; spreitit, 181, spirited.
spulçe, 89, spulçe, 23, spoil; spulçit, -it, 75, 101, spoiled, plundered.
spune, 43, spoon.
spyis, 98, spies; spyit, 11, spied.
spylit, 60, spilt, 70, spoiled.
steadyingis, 123, steding, 168, a farm house and outhouses.
sto, 41, vb. stow, place.
stoystene salis, 42, studding-sails.
strake, 87, -is, 26, n. stroke, blow.
strak, 60, vb. p. struck.
strait, 125, strict.
strak, 120, vb. p. struck.
straynge, 3, 4, strange, 24.

stric, 24, 94, vb. pr. strike; p.t. strak, strak; p.p. strykit, 92.
strynth, vb. strengthen, p. strinthit, 137, strynthis, 95.
stryntht, 10, n. strength; strynty, 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.
subjekt, 182, adj. subtile.
subnertione, 20, n. overthrow.
succed, 72, to result, come down, p. succedit, 155.
succumb, vb. to crush, overpower, p. succumbit, 1.
succur, 145, n. (Fr. sucre) sugar.
succur, 174, vb. succour, p. succurrat, 4.
suict, 7, suet, 123, sweet.
suelland, 39, swelling.
suellieg, 24, (A.S. swelan) heat, burning fever.
suerd, 87, sword.
suere, 104, swear.
suficiens, 26, n. sufficiency.
suld, 31, vb. p. should.
sum, 7, some.
summon, 6, vb. to summon (O.Fr. sonnder). 
sune, 68, adv. soon.
sune, 34, 50, 145, sone, 47, soune, 53, 147, n. sun.
suorne, 162, sworn.
supedecit, 160, vb. supplant, eradicate.
superfice, 56, surface.
superflu, 142, superfluous.
suppedit, 12, 20, vb. to supplant,
undermine, p.p. suppedit, 126.
supple, 1, 80, help, relief.
supportit, 143, borne with, endured.
suppreme, 158, (Fr.) vb. suppress.
suppatione, 36, computation.
surely, 89, surely.
suspectione, 132, suspicion.
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, sustentane, n. sustenance.
suyne, 39, n. sing. & pl. swine.
syght, 9, 38, sight.
sycond, 4, second.
syde, 4, n. side.
syde, 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. sīohan).
tabil, tablis, 46, table, tablet, -s.
taiklene, 41, tackling; taiklit, 41, tackled.
taikyn, 51, (A.S. tácn) token, sign.
tail, 69, tail, skirt.
tail, tayl, tayle, 63, tale.
tailvours, 102, (Fr. tailleur) tailors.
tairgis, 42, targets.
tak, 9, vb. take; takkis, 3, takkyng, 175; p.t. tuk, tuik; p.p. tane, 6, 29, taken.
takkaris, 177, takers, captors.
takkis, 123, n. tacks, leases.
takyn, 68, taikyn, 51, (A.S. tácn) n. token, sign.
tald, 64, 124, (A.S. tæld) vb. p. told.
Tales, 171, Thales.
tane, 6, 29, 84, 97, pp. taken.
tansay, 67, Tansy (Tanacetum vulgare).
tasse, 145, tassis, 76, (Fr.) cup, -s.
tauerne, 14, tavern.
tche, 14, vb. teach; teching, 10.
temerair, 12, temerare, 6, (Fr.) rash.
temperance, 39, musical time.
temperat, temporat, 34.
tent, 48, tenth.
testife, 8, testify; testificatione, 8.
tethe, 73, teht, 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.
tha, 2, 6, 27, 30, 123, tha, 2, 35, pron. they. In Early Scotch the demonstrative is always tha, the pronoun that, they, but in the Middle Scotch the two forms are, as here, confused.
thair, 2, ther, there, pron. their.
thair, 87, ther, there, adv. there.
thak, 34, n. thatch.
than, 8, 39, 88, adv. then.
the, dem. the; used instead of the unknown il's, 57, thesely, 11, 80.
the, 24, pron. thee.
them, pron. them; used reflectively, 140 = themselves.
themsel, 95, themself, 172.
ther, 1, there, 83, their.
there, there, 3; thair, 87, adv. there.
thertty, 98, thirty.
thenis nek, 39, thief's neck, i.e. 'take him to the gallows', the cry attributed to the lapwing in Holland's Houlate.
theyrs, 41, "tiers or yard arms of a vessel."
thik, 58, thick.
thir, 6, these, pl. of this.
thirl, vb. to furl.
thirlit, 93, thirlage, 93, thraldom.
thole, 14, 24, (A.S. polian) to endure, suffer.
Thomaris, 81, Tomyris.
thonudir, 59, thunder.
thrau, 121, vb. throw.
the, num. three; thresum, 131, three in company, triple, a triplet.
thretten, 184; threttyne, 80, thirteen.
thretty, thertty, 5, 53, thirty.
thril, 23, 86, 96, third.
tring, 19, vb. (A.S. pringan) to press, thrust, crush.

throt, 77, n. throat.
throu, 87, through, 57, throucht, 1, 9, (A.S. thurh) prep. through.
thyng, -is, 7, thing, -s.
thynk, vb. think; p.thoekt; thynk sehame, 151, feel ashamed.
thyrr, thir, 23, 100, dem. these, pl. of this.
tideus, 62, tedious.
til, 3, tyl, 6, 84, prep. to; used before a vowel, while to is used before a consonant: til, tyl, with the infinitive, tyl adhere, 6, tyl occur, 58.
tile-stanis, 59.
tint, 80, p.p. lost. See tyne.
tirduf, 42.
tirit, 34, p.p. tired.
tirran, 91, (Fr. tyran) tyrant; tyrannrye, 75, tyranny.
tissue, 69, (Fr.) p.p. woven.
titil, 2, titillis, 167, title, -s.
titlene, 38, the hedge sparrow, or little bird which constantly attends the cuckoo; "As grit as the gouk and the titlene." Isl. til-linger, a small bird; Sw. tyla and göktyla.
togiddir, 82, togydder, 12, 25, togither, 136.
tong, 14, 94, tongue.
tohter, tothir, the, 42, 70, (A.S. þæt ðer, O.E. that other, the-t-other) that other, the other.
touart, 3, toward.
toune, 4, tounis, 87, town, -s.
tour, 20, tower.
tourettis, 21, turrets.

1 In come twa flyrand fullis with a fond faire;
The tuquheit, and the guckit gouk, and ye de hiddie giddie,
Rwischt layth to the bard, and ruggit his hare;
Callit him thris thevis nek to thraw in a widdie.
GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

tracteit, 6, treatise.

traductione, 10, translation.

traison, 105, trason, 14, (Fr. trahison) treason; traisonablye, 72.

tralend, 70, p.p. trailing, dragging.

trans, 123, n. trance.

translatit, 17, translated.

tre, 78, n. tree, wood.

treist, 27, vb. trust.

treit, 5, tret, 92, treat, entreat; treittis, 48, trettit, 94.

trest, 79, n. trust.

treu, 17, true; treutlit, 38, truth.

tribil, 75, trouble, tribulation.

tributaris, 146, tributaries.

trompet, 14, (Fr.) trumpet.

trone, 19, (Fr.) throne.

tropheum, 149, trophy.

trossis, 41, (Fr.) the small round blocks in which the lines of a ship run.

trouis, 74, vb. trust, believe.

trublis, 57, vb. trouble, p.t. trublit, 27, 33.

trump, 66, Jew's harp.

trymmyl, 23 (L. tremulo), tremble.

tryumphand, 20, triumphing.

tua, 5, two.

tuechit, 39, also tuquheit, n. the peew-weet, or lapwing.

tueit, 39, twit, twitter.

tuelf, 50, twelf.

tuike, 94, tuk, 79, tuke, 13, 57, vb. p. took.

tuist, 37, = quist, a twig, a bending branch.

tumland, 39, p.p. tumbling.

turdions, 66 (Fr. tordions).

turkes, 10, pincers, nippers.

turtill, 39, turtle dove.

tyl, 6, tyll, 7, prep. to. See til.

tyne, 9, n. time.

tyne, 3, 27, 69, 83, (Isl. tine) vb. to lose; p. tynt, 12, 30, 83.

vacatione, 8, vocation, calling.

vagatione, 111, (Fr.) wandering.

vaig, (Fr. vanquer) to wander; p. t. vagit, 111.

vailquent, 3, valiant; -nes, 6, valour.

vaist, vb. to lose; p.t. vaist, 97, wasted.

vait, vb. to know, wit, 14, 32, 97, thou vait, 126, thou knowest.

vaist, vb. p. of vil, would, 4, 15, 29, 79.

valeis, 110, valeyse, 170, valleys.

Valis, 85, 94, Wales.

vall, vb. to wake (M.Sc. wauk); p.t. valknit, 92, wakened; pr. p. valland, 6, 37, 60, waking, awake (M.Sc. waukan', weykan').

vallis, 20, walls.

vallis, 39, (A.S. weal, Ger. welle) waves (Gaw. Douglas has wallis, waxes).

van, 64, 172, vb. p.t. of vin, won.

vand, 23, wand.

vane, 14, vain.

vanhap, 72, misfortune, unhap.

vantis, 7, wants.

vantously, 37, wantonly.

vaye, 72, way.

var, 11, 87, vb. p. were.

var, 57, 140, adj. & adv. comp. worse.

var, 125, adj. ware, aware.

vandan, 103, warden.

varld, 5, world; varldly, 21.

varly, 101, warily.

varme, 58, warm.

varrok, 39, the hoarse cry of the carrion crow.
vas, 2, was.
vaticinaris, 82, soothsayers.
Vatland Streit, 58, Watling Street, the Milky Way.
vattir, 7, 33, water.
vaupyn, weapon; pl. vaupynis, 96, vaupynys, 69; vaupynschauyngis, 96, weaponshaws, reviews of armed men.
vderis, 87, others.
ve, 3, we.
vecht, 21, weight.
veddir, 56, vedthir, 41, 59, weather.
vedou, 3, widow.
veil, 1, well, deal; veilfair, 100, -fare, 71, -faye, 82, welfare.
veird, 64, weird, destiny, fate (A.S. weyrd).
veltht, 19, 170, wealth, well-being.
vemen, 11, 67, women.
vendicatife, 101, -atyue, 177, vindictive.
venesum, 28 (l for venesum or venenum), venomous.
venques, -queis, vb. vanquish; p. venquest, 12, venqueist, 4, vencast, 99.
venquesair, 149, conqueror.
ventositeis, 67, flatulence.
vepit, 25, vb. p. wept.

verite, 14, (Fr.) n. truth.
verk, -is, 3, 37, n. work, -s; vermanumis, 69, workmen's tools; verkmenschipis, 69, workmanship.
vermeil, 37, (Fr.) vermilion.
verray, 9, 26, 61, verra, 121, 125, very, truly (Fr. verai, vrai).
verst, 69, 140, worst (M.Sc. worst).
vertu, 2, (Fr.) virtue; vertens, -ouse, 2, virtuous.
verye, 37, weary.
veschel, 76, 145, n. sing. & pl. vessel, -s.
vestin, 61, western.
Westmureland, 63, Westmoreland.
veye, 40, 137, vb. weigh.
veynde, 40, vb. wind.
veyr, 2, -is, 15, n. war, -s.
veyr, veir, 96, vb. to wear.
veyra, 40, a sea cheer, "ware a!"
veyton, 67, the whitten tree or water elder.
victore, 4, n. victory.
victuelis, 25, victuals.
viddeful, -fullis, 41, one deserving to fill a widdy or halter, a gallow's bird.
vidthrid, 69, p.p. withered.
vil, 3, vb. will; p. wald.
vild, 20, wild.

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

"Of every sterne the twynkling notis he,
That in the still licuin mouse cours we se,
Arthurys hufe, and Hyades, betaikning rane,
Syne Watling Strete, the Horne, & the Charle wane,
The feirs Orioun with his goldin glane."
vilite, 170, (Fr. *viléte*) vileness.
vindo, -is, 148, window, -s.
vio1ens, 3, violence.
violet, vbl. p. 136, violated.
vire, 41, wire.
virk, 135, vbl. work, virkis, 21; p. vrocht.
virmis, 67, (A.S. *wyrmas*) worms.

vireis, 136, vbl. worry; p. vireit, worried.
vist, 40, vbl. p. wist.
visye, 13, vbl. to visit; visiand, 38, visiting.

vit, 30, n. wit, knowledge.
vitht, 3, vytht, 5, prep. with.
vlgar, 128, -e, 7, vulgar, common.
vlye, 161, (Fr. *wyle, huile*) oil.
vmbre, 56, (Fr. *ombre*) shadow.

vnnpuhile, 2, formerly, once on a time, whilom.

vndir, 3, 93, under.
vndirstandin, 29, p.p. understood.

vniuersal, 1, universal.
voce, 24, -is, voice, -s.
vod, 57 (A.S. *wod*), mad (M.Sc. *wad, wuth*).
vofis, volis, volfis, 2, wolves (M.Sc. *wouffis*).

voiful, 68, woiful.
vol, 59, n. wool.
volle, 63, volue, 60, voluis, 73, wolf, -ves.
vollage, 22, (Fr.) fleeting, transient.

vome, 67, vbl. (Fr.) to vomit.
vondit, 121, wounded.

vordis, 9, words.
vorne, 28, p.p. worn.
vou, 41, wow! an interjection of surprise.

voyage, 4, journey, expedition.

voymbe, 33, voyme = wayme, 60, n. womb.

vran, 39, wren. (In N.E. Scotland called the *vran, vranie*)

vrang, 83, 87, wrong; vrangle, 103, wrongly; vrangus, 80, wrong-ful.

vreit, 116, vryit, 96, n. writing, writ.

vrocht, 69, vbl. p. of viik, wrought, worked.

vsit, 5, used.

vsurpatouris, 80, usurpers.

vtensel, 145, n. sing. & pl. utensil, -s.

vtliir, 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.

vttilite, 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. *writ*) blame.

vynd, 61, wind; vynduart, 42, windward.

vyne, 57, wine.

vyntir, vintir, 52, winter.

vyt, 14, wit, wits.

vytches, 168, witches.

vytnes, 6, witness.
vytson vedyinsday, 168, Whit-sun Wednesday.
vythout, 5, without; vythtin, within.

Ydea, 44, Ida.
ydil, 9, idle, -nes, 8.
ydiot, 14, idiot.
yis, 74, 143, for pis, this. This is the only instance in which the use of y for the thorn or th, so common in Scotch of the 16th century, is found in the Complaynt.
ymagyn, -e, 47, imagine; ymaginant, 7, imagining; p.p. ymaginet, 22, imagined.
ymage, 11, image.
ypocrisy, 146, hypocrisy.
Yrland, 85, Ireland.
yrn, 10, yrne, 28, n. iron.
Ysaye, 23, Isaiah.
Ysierata, 3, Isierata.
ysope, 67, hyssop.
Ytalie, 5, Ytalye, 11, Italy.
Ytaliens, 159, Italians.

3allou, 41, (A.S. zealew) yellow.
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NOTE. I have omitted elsewhere expressly to state that the title-page, absent, as has been said, from the surviving copies of the original, is in this edition supplied on the sole authority of the old Harleian Catalogue (see Introduction, p. xvii). There can be no reasonable doubt that this title, from whatever source the compilers of the catalogue obtained it (and see p. cx), is authentic. The Date I have supplied solely from internal evidence (see pp. xvi and xxix); those who prefer the end of 1548 to the beginning of 1549, may please themselves.

J. A. H. M.