

THE
POETICAL WORKS
OF
SIR DAVID LYNDSEY
OF THE MOUNT,
LYON KING OF ARMS.

A NEW EDITION CAREFULLY REVISED.



IN TWO VOLUMES.--VOL. I.

EDINBURGH: WILLIAM PATERSON.

MDCCLXXI.



TABLE OF CONTENTS.

The Preface,	i
Memoir of Sir David Lyndsay,	vii
✓ The Dreame of Schir David Lyndesay,	3
The Epistil to the Kingis Grace,	3
The Prolog,	5
Ane Exhortation to the Kyngis Grace,	42
✓ The Complaynt of Schir David Lyndesay to the Kingis Grace,	46
The Testament and Complaynt of our Soverane Lordis Papyngo, Kyng James the Fyft,	63
✓ The Answer quhilk Schir David Lyndesay maid to the Kingis Flyting,	107
✓ The Complaynt and Publict Confessioun of the Kingis Auld Hound, callit Bagsche, directit to Bawtie, the Kingis best belovit Dog, and his Companzeonis,	110
✓ The Deploratioun of the Deith of Quene Magdalene,	119
✓ The Justing betuix James Watsoun and Jhone Barbour, servitouris to King James the Fyft,	127
✓ Ane Supplicatioun directit to the Kingis Grace, in con- temptioun of Syde Tallis,	130

✓	Kitteis Confessioun,	136
	The Tragedie of the maist Reverend Father David, be the Mercy of God, Cardinall, Archbishop of Sanct- androis, and of the hail Realme of Scotland, Pri- mate, Legate, and Chancellor, &c.,	141
X	Ane Descriptioun of Pedder Coffeis having na regard til Honestie in thair Vacatioun,	158
→	The Historie and Testament of Squyer William Mel- drum of Cleische and Bynniss,	161
	The Testament, &c.,	215
→	Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the miserabyll estait of the World,	227
	The Epistill to the Reader,	327
	The Prolog,	332
	The First Buke,	239
	The Secund Buke,	287
	NOTES,	351

EARLY SCOTTISH POETS.

THE Publisher has the satisfaction to intimate that the next volumes of this Series, Edited by Mr LAING, he expects will be a new and revised edition of

THE POEMS OF WILLIAM DUNBAR,
as first published in 1834, including the SUPPLEMENT of 1866.

Some Copies of the above Supplement, to complete the volumes issued in 1834, may still be had. Price 5s.



P R E F A C E.

SIR DAVID LYNDSEY has the distinction of being reckoned by general consent the most popular of the early Scottish Poets. Some of his works were undoubtedly circulated during his life in a printed form, but of the existing early impressions, it cannot positively be asserted that any one of them had the advantage of his own superintendence. Henry Charteris, the bookseller in Edinburgh, who at a later period also joined the business of a printer, published the first collected edition of "The Warkis" in 1568. On the title it professes to have been "Newlie correctit, and vindicate from the former erroris quhairwith thay war befor corruptit: and augmentit with sindrie warkis quhilk was not befor Imprentit." Yet Charteris added merely a few pieces to the minor poems included in the two editions printed in France with the name of Jascuy in 1558, nad in the rival publication in this country from the press of John Scot that immediately followed, without either place, name, or date of printing. Char-

teris, however, in that edition not only furnished a recognised text, but prefixed an interesting preface containing some important information regarding the Author, and apparently the latest representation of his Play, at Edinburgh in 1554.

Charteris, who survived till August 1599, republished Lyndsay's Works in 1571, 1582, 1592, and in 1597, retaining on the titles of each the same words, *Newly corrected, and augmented*, while the contents were precisely the same, and simple reprints of that of 1568.

Similar words, with a like want of propriety, or truth, continued to be repeated by subsequent printers for upwards of two centuries, each one proving, by increasing mistakes and alterations in orthography, to be of less intrinsic value than its predecessor. The want of a critical edition therefore was long felt, and this was at length undertaken by Mr GEORGE CHALMERS, best known by his great work CALEDONIA, who, in his usual energetic manner, set himself resolutely to his task, by extensive correspondence, and diligent search of the public records, to collect information regarding the Author's life and writings. His own words may be quoted :

“The attention of this intelligent and polished kingdom has been drawn very much, during late times, to the simple, and rude, but natural lays of its ancient Poets. Meantime, *the Critics* of Edinburgh called for a more accurate edition of the Poems of Sir David Lyndsay than the public enjoys, after the corruptions of two centuries and a-half. . . .

“I obeyed this call, with the more alacrity as I had recently traced, with a different view, the history of the Scoto-Saxon language, and had cast a curious eye on the life and labours of Lyndsay, the Langelande of Scotland. The notions of Lyndsay, indeed, are very different from mine, both as a politician and a poet : but, I perceived, that the republication of his poetry might be made the commodious vehicle of my own sentiments, with regard to the origin, the nature, and the introduction of the Teutonic tongue into Gaelic Scotland. In performing the task, which I had thus imposed on myself, I now lay before the reader a new edition of the Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay, corrected and enlarged, with the *Historie of Squyer Meldrum*, and the *Satyre of the Three Estaitis*. By troubling several friends, and making many searches, I have been enabled to give some new notices of our satirist, who, to use Dryden’s phrase, may be said to have *lashed vice into reformation*. I have endeavoured to adjust the chronology of Lyndsay’s several poems, which had never been before essayed. I have given an historical view of the Scottish speech, previous to his age, with observations on his language. I have settled the text of our vernacular poet, from a diligent collation of the oldest editions of his poems. And I have subjoined an appropriate *Glossary* which incidentally demonstrates that the common source of Scottish speech is the Anglo-Saxon dialect of the Northumbrian kingdom.”

The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay, appeared in due time as “A new edition, corrected and en-

larged; with a life of the author; prefatory dissertations; and an appropriate glossary. By George Chalmers, F.R.S., S.A. In three volumes." London, 1806, post 8vo. This elaborate publication had only a limited and slow success. In later years, owing in part to the increasing attention bestowed on the remains of our early Poetical Literature, the book became scarce, and at sales it has fetched double its original price. A new edition seemed to be required, not as in Chalmers's time by "Edinburgh critics," but by Edinburgh and other publishers. When urged to act as editor, I more than once declined the task, chiefly on the ground, as no mutilated text would be acceptable, of the extreme coarseness which disfigures some portions of his writings.

Having at length consented, without deciding on the precise mode of editing, it was at first intended to be little more than a republication of the edition by my old friend Mr Chalmers, but not having any theories to support, I purposed to curtail his dissertations, notes, and glossary. His volumes accordingly were taken for the ground work of the present edition, as I could see no good reason to make any great change in the chronological order he was the first to adopt. I soon found that a careful revision of his text with the earlier editions was indispensable, and that it would require much more time and labour than I anticipated. Nor did it seem likely to serve any good purpose had I persisted in giving the public an expurgated text. I will not vindicate Lyndsay in his use of vulgar indelicate words and expressions. His

works are now chiefly designed for antiquarian readers, and his utter disregard of decency is not such as tends to corrupt the mind, while they are considered valuable in presenting a true and vivid reflex of the manners of his age; and still more so in their having contributed to the great cause of Ecclesiastical Reform in Scotland.

After the text and notes of the new edition of the Poems in three volumes had nearly been completed, some unexpected delays intervened, and the appearance of the volumes was postponed. Having long had a desire to commence a series of the early Scottish Poets, in the style of the English Aldine series, in a convenient form, and at a moderate price, the Publisher himself was the first to suggest that such a series might commence with Lyndsay in Two volumes, to satisfy any immediate demand for books of this class of our vernacular Poetry; and allow me more time, as leisure permitted, to make further inquiries for the Memoir to be prefixed to what may be called the Three volume Library edition.

In carrying this suggestion into effect, it is proper to state, that the Author's text as given in that edition remains unaltered, while the Memoir of his life may be afterwards enlarged or illustrated. The Notes have been greatly curtailed, and the Various Readings omitted, that the work might be comprised in two volumes. The Bibliographical descriptions of the various Editions are likewise withheld as of comparatively little interest for ordinary readers. The Glossary in

this edition is, for the most part, an abridgment of Chalmers. I must also add that, not unwillingly, I availed myself of such an opportunity (being rather ashamed of the Author in this respect) to withdraw from an edition intended for general readers several coarse and very offensive passages in the Satyre of the Thrie Estates, as their omission in no way affects either the spirit or progress of this remarkable specimen of the Early Drama.

DAVID LAING.

Edinburgh.





MEMOIR
OF
SIR DAVID LYND SAY
OF THE MOUNT.

IT cannot be said that the name of Lyndsay has been overlooked in Biographical Dictionaries and other similar works, although they consist chiefly of information derived from his own writings.

Later writers have adopted the statement of Chalmers,¹ that he was the eldest son and heir of David Lyndsay of the Mount, in Fife, and that he was born there about the year 1490. The paternal estate with which his name has always been associated, was a small property in the parish of Monimail, situated

¹ The later authors chiefly worthy of notice, are the following:—

CHALMERS (George), *Life*, prefixed to the *Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay*. 3 vols. London, 1806.

IRVING (David,) LL.D., *History of Scottish Poetry*, Edinburgh, 1861. (A Posthumous Work prepared in 1828).

Also Article by Dr. IRVING in *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Seventh Edition.

three miles north from Cupar-Fife. Notwithstanding this general consent, another property in East Lothian, to which the Poet himself succeeded in early life, and which he retained in his own possession, might as likely have had the honour of being the place of his birth. I mean Garmylton, two miles north of the town of Haddington, where there still exists, in ruins, a considerable portion of a large castellated manor house of the fifteenth century. How the title of *The Mount* was preferred is quite unknown.

The lands of Garmylton-Alexander, in the constabulary of Haddington, formed part of the adjoining barony of Byres, when possessed by Sir William Lyndsay, who conveyed them to his natural son Andrew and his heirs legitimate, towards the end of the fourteenth century (about the year 1390). In 1724, the property of Byres and Garmylton (now called Garleton) was purchased by the Earl of Wemyss from Seton of Garleton. In the Inventory of title-deeds then prepared, Mr Chalmers having found the notice of the above charter, he took occasion to correct his statement regarding the proprietors of Garmylton, concluding that William Lyndsay, who survived till 1478, was the son of Andrew. For this

TYTLER (Patrick Fraser), *Lives of Scottish Worthies*. Vol. III. London, 1833.

LINDSAY (Lord), *Lives of the Lindsays*. Vol. I. Wigan, 1840. 4 vols. royal 8vo (privately printed).

The same: republished in a revised form. London, 1846, 3 vols. 8vo.


BRUCE (James), *Lives of Eminent Men of Fife*. Edin., 1846.

I see no evidence.¹ It is quite as likely that Andrew died without issue, and that William might have been a legitimate grandson of Sir William Lyndsay of Byris. However this may be, sasine of these lands was given to David Lindsay de Mountht on the death of *quondam Willelmi Lindesay Patris sui, ultimi possessoris ejusdem*, at Biris, 22d November 1478. Chalmers, from an erroneous description in the Inventory, makes this David to have been the Poet's father, and to have died in the year 1507, and in so doing he has misled later writers on this point. Having been kindly favoured by Thomas Graham Murray, Esq., with a sight of the MS. Inventories, and also with the use of some of the original deeds specially connected with Garmylton, I find among these the Charter of 1507.² It was granted upon the death of the Poet's grandfather, thus making three Davids in succession; and, for ought we know to the contrary, the Poet's father survived for many years, and had a younger son, also named David, probably by a second marriage.

It obviously would in some measure depend upon

¹ Caledonia, Vol. II., p. 435, foot note.

² The Charter in question was granted by Patrick, Lord Lindesay de Biris, as Superior of the lands of Garmylton-Alexander, confirming the same *dilecto nostro consanguineo David Lindesay filio et heredi apparenti David Lindesay de Mountht nostri eciam consanguinei . . .* quas terras de Garmiltoun cum pertinen. quondam David Lindesay consanguineus noster AVUS DICTI DAVID habuit hereditarie et de nobis tenuit, &c. It is dated 19th October 1507; and the Sasine on the 6th April following.

this question, whether the Poet was born in the Kingdom of Fife, or on the fertile plains of East Lothian, as to the place where he was educated. In the one case, would be the neighbouring town of Cupar-Fife; in the other, the town of Haddington. There were Grammar Schools established in both, and in either of them he would receive the groundwork of a liberal education, preparatory to his being sent to the University of St Andrews. The College Registers of that period do not throw much light on this part of his history. We only find the name, DA. LINDESAY, among the incorporated students in St Salvator's College for the year 1508 or 1509. This name was by no means uncommon, but the date corresponds closely enough to the only period when he could have pursued his academical studies. The students, after three years' attendance, were styled *Incorporati*, and had, in consequence, a right of voting, and this would fix his matriculation to the year 1505. It is a singular enough coincidence that the name which immediately follows in the Register is DA. BETONE, the future Archbishop and Cardinal, with a  in the margin, as if to call special attention to one who became so distinguished by the rank he attained. Beaton is said to have been born in the year 1494, and it is not probable that any marked difference of age existed between the fellow-students. We have no evidence that the Poet remained another session, which would have entitled him to take the degree of Master of Arts; nor, like his more opulent associate, (who had the certain prospect of high preferment in the Church), that he was sent abroad to complete his

studies in Civil and Canon Law at Paris, or other foreign university.

Mr Tytler,¹ in referring to the Poet's early life, justly says—"The truth is, that of the youth of Lyndsay nothing is known." Yet an older writer, without the slightest scruple, asserts "he had his education at the University of St Andrews, where, after he had finished the course of his studies in philosophy, for his further improvement, his Parents sent him Abroad ; and having travelled, (as he himself tells us,) through England, France, Italy, and Germany, he returned to his native country about the year 1514."² All this, however, is nothing but bold assertion, without the least evidence adduced to support it. Lyndsay himself in no place speaks either of his parents sending him abroad to any foreign university, or of his travels in these countries at that early period.

Later writers, from an allusion to the dress of the Italian ladies,³ and founding upon a passage in his Dialog on the Monarchies, have concluded that Lyndsay not only had visited Italy, but had served a campaign there in the year 1510. The lines referred to are as follows, in which, in the person of the Courtier, he is made to say,

I saw Pape Julius manfullye
 Passe to the feild triumphantlye,
 With ane rycht awfull ordinance,
 Contrar Lowis the King of France.⁴

¹ Scottish Worthies, vol. iii., p. 192.

² Lives of Scots Writers, by George Mackenzie, M.D., vol. iii., p. 35, Edinb. 1723, folio.

³ Vol. i., p. 73.

⁴ Vol. ii., line 5417.

No doubt Lyndsay speaks of the Italian women as an eye-witness, but only in verses assigned to the year 1538; and the occasion on which the Pope appeared in the character of a military commander was the Siege of Mirandola, in January 1511. There is some reason to believe that at that time Lyndsay was in Scotland; or if he actually had been in Italy in 1510, it was not as a soldier of fortune—this was not his vocation—but it might have been in the train of an Ambassador to the Papal Court or one of the Italian Courts.

The loss of the Treasurer's accounts between August 1508 and September 1511, has deprived us of any information respecting the exact time and circumstances of Lyndsay's first employment at the Court of James the Fourth. The King, while liberally promoting all public works and other means of advancing the prosperity of the country, and encouraging literature and the arts, inherited a jovial disposition, and attracted persons of all sorts—tale-tellers, minstrels, stage-players, singers, fools, or privileged buffoons and jesters, who might contribute to the amusement of the court. Our youthful poet was here in his element, and the earliest entry in the Treasurers' accounts that mentions his name is very characteristic. It occurs on the 12th October 1511, when the sum of £3, 4s. was paid for blue and yellow taffeties, "to be a play coat to David Lyndsay for the play, playit in the king and queen's presence in the Abbey of Holyrood." At this time, he must have held some appointment in the Royal Household, being one of

eight or ten persons who each received £40 from the Treasurer (in the Accounts 1511-1512) as the quarterly payments of £10 for the terms of "Alhallowmes, Candilmes, Rudmes, and Lammes, in his pensione and fee," these terms falling upon the 1st November 1511, 2d February, 2d May, and 2d August, 1512.

On the birth of Prince James, Lyndsay obtained a special appointment as usher or chief page to the infant Prince, having, as he reminds the King in his "Complaynt," written in 1529, that he had been his servitor or personal attendant from the day of his nativity, the 12th of April 1512. His residence at Court led to his witnessing a remarkable scene in the Church of St Michael, Linlithgow. The date is not specified, but it must have been in the year following, when James the Fourth was placed in a peculiarly difficult position from his marriage to the sister of Henry the Eighth, and his political alliance with France, upon the hostile invasion of that kingdom by the English monarch. But in a sketch like this of Lyndsay's life, it is not necessary to enter upon any minute details of public affairs. At this period, Scotland was rapidly advancing in wealth, civilization, and importance in the affairs of Europe, by the energetic and liberal policy of the King; but, by his rash and impetuous conduct, partly proceeding from a high sense of chivalric honour, he resolved to enter, with a formidable army, the North of England, at the urgent solicitation of his French ally.

The passage in Pitscottie's History, which so strikingly narrates the incident alluded to, has often been

quoted. It cannot, however, be passed over in this place, as it rests solely on Lyndsay's authority. The apparition has been explained as a scheme devised, it has been thought, by the Queen, for the purpose of working upon the superstitious feelings of James, by a solemn or supernatural warning against his proposed invasion of England.

"The King," says Pitscottie, "came to Lithgow, where he happened to be for the time at the Counsell, verie sad and dolorous, makeand his devotion to God to send him good chance and fortune in his voyage. In this mean time, there came ane man, clad in ane blew gowns in at the kirk doores, and belted about him in ane roll of linning cloth, ane pair of brotikins on his feet, to the great of his legs, with all other hose and clothis conforme therto ; but he had nothing on his head, but syde red yellow haire behind, and on his halffets, which went down to his shoulders: but his forehead was beld and bair. He seemed to be a man of two-and-fiftie yeeres, with ane great pyke-staffe in his hand, and came first forward among the Lords, cryand and spearand for the King, sayand ' he desired to speak with him : ' While at the last, he came where the King was sitting in the dask at his prayers : but when he saw the King, he made him little reverence or salutation, but leaned downe grovellings on the dask before him, and said to him in this manner, as after followes:—' Sir King, my Mother hath sent me to you desiring you not to passe, at this time, where thou art purposed ; for if thou does, thou wilt not fair well in thy journey, nor none that passeth with thee.

Further, she bade ye melle with no woman, nor use their counsell, nor let them touch thy body, nor thou theirs ; for, and thou do it, thou wilt be confounded and brought to shame.’

“ Be this man had spoken thir words unto the King’s Grace, the Even-song was neere done, and the King paused on thir words, studying to give him an answer ; but, in the meane time, before the King’s eyes, and in presence of all the Lords that were about him for the time, this man vanished away, and could no wayes be seene nor comprehended, but vanished away as he had bene ane blink of the sunne, or ane whiss of the whirlwind, and could no more be seene. I heard say, Sir David Lindsay (Lion Herald), and John English (the Marshall), who were at that time young men, and speciall servants to the King’s Grace, were standand presentlie besyd the King, who thought to have layd hands on this man, that they might have speared further tydings at him : but all for nought ; they could not touch him, for he vanished away betwixt them and was no more seene.”

Buchanan has also, much to the same effect, given a concise account of this apparition, with this additional remark in regard to Lyndsay himself :—

“ Among those who stood next the King, was David Lindesay, of the Mount, a man of unsuspected probity and veracity, attached to literature, and during life, invariably opposed to falsehood ; from whom, unless I had received the story as narrated vouched for truth, I had omitted to notice it, as one of the commonly reported fables.”

It is scarcely necessary to add, that this singular

incident furnished Sir Walter Scott with "Sir David Lindsay's Tale," in Canto iv. of "Marmion."

The daily attendance on the infant Prince may have prevented Lyndsay being one of the Royal household who accompanied the King in this fatal expedition, which terminated on the Field of Floddon, in that disastrous national calamity, when the gallant James, surrounded by the best and noblest of his realm, perished in the carnage on "that most dolent day." The Treasurer's Accounts from August 1513 to June 1522 (with the exception of 1515-1518) are unfortunately not preserved; but it is quite certain that during the whole of that period, Lyndsay's charge of his young master continued uninterrupted, sometimes styled "the Kingis maister usher," or ischear, and "the Kingis master of houshald," with the yearly salary of £40. He had associated with him "as chaplain," a congenial spirit in the person of Sir James Inglis, a priest, who was also Secretary to the Queen Dowager, and for a time, Chancellor of the King's Chapel Royal, Stirling, and Master of Works. In the prologue of the Papyngo, Lyndsay thus mentions him first among the living Poets:—

And in the Courte, bene present, in thir dayis,
 That ballattis brevis lustellie, and layis,
 Quhilkis tyll our Prince daylie thay do present :
 Quho can say mair than SCHIR JAMES INGLIS sayis,
 In ballattis, farses, and in plesand playis ?
 Bot Culrose hes his pen maid impotent.

That is, by his promotion to the Abbacy of Culrose.
 But within a few months after the date of Lynd-

say's poem, the Abbot was basely murdered by John Blackader of Tulyallane and his servants.

Another ecclesiastic, who became, in 1516, "the King's Master" or chief instructor, was Gawin Dunbar, of the family of Cumnock, and nephew of the Bishop of Aberdeen. He was Dean of Murray and Prior of Whithorn, afterwards (in 1524) receiving higher promotion as Archbishop of Glasgow, to which (in 1528) was joined that of Lord Chancellor of Scotland. Lyndsay, in a more humble capacity watching the Prince in the tender years of his infancy, so endeared himself that he tells us the first words the child could mute or articulate was to call him, "Pa (Papa), Da, Lyn." This need excite no surprise when we consider that his chief occupation consisted in devising scenes of merriment, playing on the lute popular airs or tunes, reciting tales, assuming various disguises and fantastic characters most likely to interest a youthful fancy. All this, Lyndsay has described in his first poem, **THE DREME**, addressed to the King when, in order to strengthen claims for expecting a suitable reward, he recalls to the King's remembrance the various amusements with which he had entertained his infancy :—

Quhen Thow wes young, I bure thee in myne arme
 Full tenderlie, tyll thow begouth to gang ;
 And in thy bed oft happit thee full warme,
 With lute in hand, syne, sweetlie to thee sang :
 Sumtyme, in dansing, feiralie I flang ;
 And sumtyme, playand farsis on the flure ;
 And sumtyme, on myne office takkand cure :
 And sumtyme, lyke ane fiend transfigurate ;
 And sumtyme, lyke the grislie gaist of Gy ;

In divers formis, oftymes disfigure :
 And sumtyme, disagysit full plesandlie.

Ten or twelve years were thus passing quietly and pleasantly away ; and led, about the year 1522, to an important event in Lyndsay's life by his marriage with Janet Douglas. It has not been ascertained whether she was related to any family of distinction, and the date is erroneously placed ten years later by Chalmers and subsequent writers. But one or two extracts from the Treasurer's Accounts (1522-1524) leave no doubt on the matter. They also show that the lady held the appointment of Semstress to the King, during the rest of his reign, with an annual fee or pension of £10.—

*Compotum etc. redditum apud Edinburg 15to mensis
 Aprilis 1524, a 5to die Junii 1522, usque in diem
 hujus Compoti.*

“Item, to Jonet Douglass spous to Daudid Lindesay, Maister Ischeare to the King, for sewing of the Kyngis lynnyng claithis, *de mandato Domini Gubernatoris,* xxiiij lib. .

(The Governor, John, Duke of Albany, was then in Scotland : he returned to France in April 1524.)

“*Compotum, etc., 15to Octobris 1526,—29to die Augusti 1527.*

“Item, gevin to Daudid Lindesayes wife to sew the Kingis sarkis, v. double hankis gold, price hank x s.

“Item, v. vncis and quarter vnce sewing silk, price vnce v s.

“*Pensiounis and Feallis.*—Item, to Jonet Douglas takand for hir fe x li.

“Item, (December 1530) for xiiij double hankis of

gold, quhilkis war deliuerit to Daid Lindesayis wyf to sew the Kingis sarkis, the price of ilk hank x s.

“Item, (March 24, 1537) to Jonet Douglas the spouse of David Lindesay of the Month, at the Kingis grace command, as the precept beris, . . . xi. li.

This mode of a married woman retaining her maiden name was quite customary. After his knight-hood she was or might have been styled Lady of the Mount, or Lady of Garmylton, but neither Lady Lioness nor Lady Lindsay.

After the Governor's return to France, 20th May 1524, various political changes occurred during the King's minority, partly through the intrigues of the Queen Dowager, who had obtained a divorce from her husband, the Earl of Angus. Notwithstanding this, in August 1524 he assumed and exercised the supreme power, putting nominally the sceptre in the King's hand. James at this time was twelve years of age, naturally of a quick, intelligent disposition, and a few more years of sound and careful instruction might have had the most beneficial influence on his after life. On this head, Lyndsay, in his Complaynt, says :

The Kyng was bot twelf yeris of age
 Quhen new rewlaris come, in thair rage . . .
 Imprudentlie, lyk witless fuilis
 Thay take that young Prince frome the scuilis,
 Quhare he, under obedience,
 Was learnand vertew, and science,
 And haistelic platt in his hand,
 The governance of all Scotland.

By turning to this passage (p. 51.) the reader will

see how strongly he inveighs against the folly of such a proceeding, and adds,

I pray God, lat me never see ryng
In to this Realme, so young ane Kyng.

Lyndsay no doubt felt aggrieved, as one of his early tutors or guardians, that the hopeful young Prince was left exposed to the baneful influence of worthless persons about the Court, who to ingratiate themselves, encouraged him in all idle frivolous amusements, in gaming, horse-racing, and, even by flattery and priestly licence, in pursuing a vicious course of life, while public affairs were sadly mis-managed or neglected.

When the persons who had been entrusted with the charge of the young Prince were dismissed, Lyndsay acknowledges that his pension or salary was duly paid, until he was otherwise provided for. For his own enduring fame this change may have been of signal advantage, as it withdrew him from Court, to his residence at Garmylton, and devoting his leisure hours to literary aspirations, by meditating on the changes he had witnessed, and preparing his various addresses and complaints to the King. It was at the mature age of about thirty-seven that he commenced his poetical career by the publication of his DREAM, which Chalmers assigns to the year 1528. In the following year he produced his COMPLAYNT TO THE KING: and in 1530, the TESTAMENT AND COMPLAYNT OF THE KING'S PAPYNGO (or Parrot).

In these Poems, he not only sets forth his personal claims for long and faithful service, but he exposes

with great truth and boldness, the prevailing disorders, the usurpation of the nobles, the party factions and family feuds which divided and ruined the country, and the licentious lives of the clergy.

The prelates before this time had become alarmed, not at the irregularities in their own body, or among the inferior clergy, but at the prospect of heresy finding its way into a country which had always been sound in the faith. An act was passed in Parliament, 17th July 1525, denouncing "the damnable opinions of heresy spread in divers countreis be the heretic Luther and his disciples," and as this realm has ever "bene clene of all sic filth and vice," prohibiting under the severest penalties "that na maner of person to bring with thame ony bukis or warkis of the said Lutheris his discipillis or seruandis, etc."¹ But copies of Tyndale's New Testament, and other books of the new faith printed abroad found their way to Scotland, and were eagerly read. Two years later that noble-minded youth Patrick Hamilton, infected with these heresies, returned from Germany, and, in the words of Knox, "the brycht beames of the trew licht, which by Goddis grace was planted in his hearte, began moste abundantlye to burst furth, also well in publick as in secret."² His zeal in avowing and proclaiming such doctrines, brought him to the stake

¹ Acts of Parl., vol. ii., p. 295. On the margin of this Act, in the Register, an additional clause was written by the Lord Chancellor, Archbishop Dunbar, on the 5th September 1527. This Act against heretics, with the said clause was renewed in Parliament 12th June 1535. *Ib.* vol. ii., p. 341.

² History of the Reformation. Works vol. i., p. 15.

as the proto-martyr of the Reformation in Scotland, on the last of February 1527-8.

Soon after this, in July 1528, another change took place in the Government which brought Lyndsay more prominently forward, during the rest of his life, as a public character. The young King, who felt his ambition increasing with his growth, became impatient and indignant under the control of the Earl of Angus and the Douglasses, and resolved to free himself from the restraint under which he was placed. At last he contrived at night to escape from Falkland Palace and to reach Stirling Castle, where he acted with great and prompt decision. His keepers, in the morning, hearing of his escape, were also on the alert. But James immediately assembled a Council, and issued a proclamation, 5th of July, commanding that neither the Earl of Angus nor any of his kindred should approach within six miles of the king's person, under the pains of high treason.

The King, it may be presumed, on becoming his own master, did not overlook the services of his early instructors. As already stated, Dunbar was promoted to the See of Glasgow, and also obtained the office of Lord High Chancellor, in 1532; and Sir James Inglis, the Abbacy of Culross; while Lyndsay, not later than 1529, became Chief Herald, or, as it was called, Lyon King of Arms. On his inauguration, he received the honour of knighthood; and had assigned to him, as his ordinary fee, an annual grant of victual out of the King's lands of Luthrie, in Fife.

Lyndsay's appointment was one of peculiar import-

ance at this period, bringing him into active life. It was then customary to employ the Lyon King in royal messages and embassies as a recognized official. He might well therefore, towards the close of his life, apply the words of the Courteour in the Dialog on the Monarchies, appropriately to himself, and say,

I have, quod I, bene to this hour
Sen I could ryde, ane Courteour,

Oft have I salit ouer the strandis,
And travellit through divers landis
Baith South, and North, East and West.

Perhaps his first visit to foreign parts, was the political mission to Flanders in April 1531, on which occasion he received a new Dress, as we learn from the following payments in the Treasurer's Accounts, (Oct. 1530 to Sept. 1531) as among those who received "leveray claites (or dresses) at the feast of Zule, there is entered to David Lyndesay, Herald, 3 elnis of black velvet, £8, 5s., and 6 elnis paris black, £12, 9s." On the 20th of May following "David Lyndesay, Herald, be the Kingis precept (received xiiij elnis blak satyne to be him ane gown, £20, 16s. Item, iij elnis black velvit to begarie the samyn gown, £7, 16s. Summa of this liffray, £28, 12s."

The object of this mission was, to renew a commercial treaty between Scotland and the Netherlands concluded by King James the First, in 1430, for a century which had now expired. Margaret, Governess of the Netherlands, who died in November 1530, was succeeded by her niece the Queen of

Hungary, sister of the Emperor Charles the Fifth. In the Parliament held 27th April 1531, the Lords of Articles ordained Sir John Campbell of Lundy, to deliver the Contract, so lately made by the Emperor and Mistress Margaret, as Ambassador, concerning privileges, peace, and other things, to be sent with expedition under our Sovereign Lord's Seal. In this embassy, Campbell was accompanied by Lyndsay, and David Paniter as Secretary.

The Scottish Ambassadors were received with great state and solemnity by the Princess and the Emperor, at Brussels. Their mission was successful. Lyndsay had thus a favourable opportunity of seeing the splendour of the Emperor's Court, and of witnessing a grand tournament. These triumphs were not lost on him; and the letter he addressed to the Secretary from Antwerp on the 23d of August, is still preserved, and a copy of it may be here given as the only authentic specimen of his prose composition that seems to have reached our time. One might almost think, from the orthography, that the writer's own education had been somewhat neglected.

“MY LORD,—I recommend my hartly servis onto your Lordship. Plesis your Lordship to wit, that I com to Brusselles the iij day of Julij, quhar I fand the Emprour, and gat presens of his Majeste the iij day efter my cummin, and hes gottin gud expedition of the prencipall erandis that I was send for; and hes gottin the auld aliansis, and confederationis, confermit for the space of ane hundret yeiris. The quhilk confirmation I haiff raisit in dowbyl form, ane to

deliver to the Conseruatour, and ane wther to bring with me in Scotland, bayth onder the Emperor's gret seill ; and hes deliverit to his majeste the Kyng, our sowerainis part, wnder his gracis gret seill, for the said space of ane hundret yeirs.

“ My Lord, ye sall understand that Sir Don Pedir De le Cowe wes not in the court, lang tym efter that I com thair, to quham I deliverit your Lordships writtinis, quhilk rasavit tham rycht thankfully, and schew me gret hwmanite for your Lordships saik ; bot he gaiff me na answar of your writtins, quhill I was reddey to depart furth of the Cowrt Imperiell, quhais letter ye sall rasaiff fra this berrar. I remanit in the cowrt vii. owiks, and od dayis, apou the materis pertenyng to the marchans. Item, the brut was heir owyr all this contre, quhen I com to the cowrt, that the Kyngis grace, our sowerain was deid. For the quhilk caws the Quein of Wngare send for me, and inquirit diligente of that mater at me, and was rycht glaid, quhen I schew hir the werrite, of the Kyngis grace our sowerains prosperrite. It was schawin to me that the Empriouris majeste gart all the Kyrk men in Brusselles pray for his Gracis saul. Thai nowelles war send for werrite furth of England ; and war haldin for effect, ay quhill my cumin to the Cowrt.

“ My Lord, it war to lang to me to writ to your Lordship the triwmphis that I haiff sein, sen my cumin to the court Imperall ; that is to say the triwmpchand justynis, the terribill turnements, the feychtyn on fut in barras, the naymis of lords and knychts that war hurt the day of the gret towrnament ; quhais circum-

stans I haiff writtin at lenth, in articles, to schaw the Kyngis grace at my haym cumin. Item, the Empriour purposis to depart at the fyn of this moneth, and passis wp in Almanye for reformation of the Luteriens : the Quein of Wngare ramanis heir Regent of all their contres : and was confermit Regent be the iii. Estattis in the town of Brussellis, the v. day of Julij. And as for uther nowellis, I refer to the berar. Writtin with my hand, at Handwarp, the xxiii. day of August by your Serviteur, at his power,

James Lyndsay Harault
to the Honourable Lord

(Directed on the back)

To my special Lord,
my Lord, the gret Sacretar
to our Sowerain Lord of Scotland.

The account of the Tournament and Articles written for the purpose of showing to the King, are unfortunately not preserved. Mr Tytler, trusting too implicitly to Chalmers, says, that "On his return from this mission, Lyndsay's mind was occupied with two great subjects, his marriage, and his celebrated 'Satire of the Thrie Estates.' His marriage (he adds) was unhappy, originating probably in ambition, for he united himself to a daughter of the house of Douglas,

and ending in disappointment. He had no children, and from the terms in which he commonly talks of the sex, it may be plausibly conjectured that the Lady Lioness was not possessed of a very amiable disposition. His 'Satire of the Three Estates,' was a more successful experiment, and is well deserving of notice, as the first approach to the regular Drama which had yet been made in Scotland."

But such "plausible conjectures" are not confirmed either in the one case or the other. There is no evidence to show that the Play was of so early a date; and as for the marriage, it has already been seen that this event in our Poet's life had taken place several years previously; and ambition could have had no influence in the matter. The advent of the Douglasses to power was then not so much as dreamt off, and at this period (1532), they had lost all the power and influence which they acquired. Even while in power, the Poet was as loud as any one in denouncing their proceedings, until their downfall in 1528. Neither can we admit that the marriage was "unhappy," excepting the want of issue, when we find her husband, at successive intervals, in 1531, 1535, and in 1542, granting and confirming his spouse Jonet Douglas in the conjunct fee of his lands of Garmylton and the Mount. The following extract may also be quoted:—

"Ane lettre maid to Jonet Douglas Lady of the Month, hir airis and assignais ane or ma of the gift of the nonentreis malis fermes proffittis and dewiteis of all and hale the twa aikeris of land liand on the Mylne-hill besyd the burgh of Cowpar of the quhilkis

that ane is now occupiit be Johne Brown, and that uther be Johne Wiliamsoun and David Gudsir equalie betuix thame, and of half an aiker of land liand betuix the Mylnis of Cowpar now occupiit be the said Johne Brown, &c.

At Edinburgh the xix day of August the zeir of God j^m v^o xxxi zeris.

Per signaturam manu S. D. N. Regis subscript.”¹

It may be noticed that Sir David's Register of Arms, concludes with the Blazon of his own arms, 1542, which Nisbet thus describes: *Gules a fesse chequé argent and azure, between three stars in chief, and a man's heart in base, argent.*” He says nothing of the crest, a helmet, and a bloody heart, (for Douglas,) or the supporters. See the reduced copy, facing page vii.

It appears that the Ambassadors while at the Court of the Emperor, had been instructed to see and report on the subject of a matrimonial alliance. Buchanan relates that Charles the Fifth was most desirous that the League between Scotland and France should not be maintained, and wished to contract another alliance besides that of the commercial treaty; and by his letter, in 1534, he gave the King his choice of three Marys, all of them of his own blood; Mary, the Duchess of Hungary, his sister, then a widow; Mary of Portugal, the daughter of his sister

¹ Reg. Secr. Sig. vol. ix., fol. 38, and repeated in the same vol. at fol. 187.

Lemora ; and Mary of England, the daughter of his Aunt, Queen Catherine, and of Henry the Eighth. But this offer was not accepted ; and the young King continuing his licentious intrigues, had at least three sons, by ladies of high rank.

The honours conferred about this time on the Scottish Monarch, gave occasion to the Lyon King, or his Depute, to other visits abroad. In December 1531, James was chosen a Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece, by the Emperor ; about the same time, of the Order of St Michael, by Francis the First ; and of the Order of the Garter, 20th January 1534-5, by his uncle Henry the Eighth.

In the summer of 1536, the Lyon King accompanied the ambassadors to France to conclude a treaty of marriage with Marie de Bourbon, the daughter of the Duke de Vendosme. The King, impatient at the delay of his envoys, determining himself to fetch home his betrothed bride, set sail and landed at Dieppe. Wishing incognito to see the lady while the treaty was in the course of negotiation, he disguised himself, as one of the retinue, but the Princess at once recognized him from his portrait which she had secretly obtained from Scotland. But notwithstanding the gracious reception he met with from the young lady and her parents, the King, after eight days of sumptuous entertainment, must have felt dissatisfied with the choice that had been made, as he departed somewhat abruptly, on the ground that it was his duty to consult the French monarch regarding his marriage, being then within his Realm. Francis the First urged him to marry Marie

de Bourbon ; but James eagerly desired to be united with the King's eldest daughter, the Princess Magdalene. Her father reluctantly gave his consent, owing to her delicate state of health, and averse to exposing her to the dangers of a long sea voyage, for a continued residence in what was deemed to be an inhospitable climate.

In sending notice of his approaching marriage, the King commanded that certain of the Lords, both Spiritual and Temporal, and some of the great Barons should "come to France, and compare at Paris at the day appointed to the said marriage, in their best array, for the honour of Scotland, as they would do him pleasure and service."¹

The marriage was celebrated with great splendour in the Cathedral Church of Nostre Dame, the 1st of January 1536-7. After four months, when preparing to return home, Pitscottie details at great length, not only the triumphs and rejoicings at the time of the marriage, but the arrangements made by the French King in furnishing large vessels and costly presents before their departure. They sailed from Dieppe, with a fair wind, and in five days the gallant fleet of fifty ships reached Leith on the 28th of May. They passed to the Palace of Holyrood, until the preparations were ready for the King and Queen's triumphant progress through the chief towns of Scotland.

But within forty days of the Queen's landing, the universal joy was turned to sadness and lamentation by her death. "And also (says the same historian)

¹ Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie's History.

the King's heavy moan that he made for her, was greater than all the rest.

It was on this occasion that Lyndsay composed his poem "The Deploration of the Death of Quéne Magdalene," on the 7th of July, describing how this sad event put a stop to the splendid triumphs and ceremonies prepared for her Coronation. But we will let her rest with God (he adds) and return again to France, to the Duke of Vendome's daughter, who took such displeasure [distress] and melancholy for the King of Scotland's marriage, that she, within short while, took sickness, and died.¹ Quhairat when the King of Scotland got wit, he was heighlie displeased [distressed] thinkand that he was the occasion of that gentlewoman's death also."

James who was then in the prime of life, was the last of his line; and after a short while, a second French alliance was projected with the hope of having an heir to the throne. An embassy was accordingly sent, to propose a marriage with Mary, daughter of the Duke de Guyse, the widow of the Duke de Longueville. The arrangements and betrothal were speedily concluded with the advice and approbation of Francis the First and his Council, 23d May 1578. Lord Maxwell as Admiral of the Fleet, along with Cardinal Beaton and a large retinue, were sent to solemnize the marriage, and convoy the bride to Scotland, so soon as wind and weather might

¹ Piscottie here, as usual, is inaccurate in his dates. The Princess Marie died on the 28th September 1538. (*Papiers d'Etat, par A. Teulet, vol. i., p. 109.* Bannatyne Club publication.)

serve. Having embarked as usual at the Newhaven, near Dieppe, and reaching the coast of Fife, they landed near Balcomie Castle, and rested until horses could be procured from St Andrews.

On such public occasions, it formed part of the duty of the Lyon King to marshall processions, and to superintend the pageants exhibited. For all this, besides exercising his own inventive genius, in preparing speeches and salutations for the different characters, the genius of Lynsday was peculiarly adapted. The pageants he had devised for Queen Magdalene, were now turned to some account. Here we again quote from Pitscottie, the only description preserved, of the manner in which the Queen was welcomed.

“Always the Quein landit verrie plesantlie, in ane pairt of Fyfe callit Fyfenesse besyd Balkomie quhair sche remanit quhill horses come to her. But the Kyng wes in Sanctandros for the tyme withe mony of the nobilitie, waiting upon her hamecuming : Quha, quhen hee hard word that the Quein wes landit at sik ane pairt, incontinent hee raid furth withe his hail Lords, boith Speirituall and Temporall, with many Barons, Lairds, and Gentlemen, who were convened for thetime at St Andrews, in their best array, and met the Quein, and receveit hir withe greyt joy and mirrines of fersis and playis, maid and preparit for hir. And first, sche was receivit at the New Abbay yet [gate] ; upon the eist syd thairof thair wes maid to hir ane triumphand arch be Sir David Lindsay of the Mount knight alias Lyon Kyng at Armis, quha caussit ane greyt cloud to cum out of the hevins down

abone the 3eit [gate]; out [of] the quhilk cloude come downe ane fair Lady most lyk ane angell having the Keyis of Scotland in hir hand, and delyverit thayme to the Queinis grace in signe and taikin that all the harts of Scotland wer opin for the receveing of hir Grace; withe certane Oratiouns maid be the said Sir David to the Quein's grace, desyryng hir to feir hir God, and to serve him, and to reverence and obey hir husband, and keip hir awin body clein, according to God's will and commandment."

In connexion with these pageants we may notice his poem on the burlesque Tournament betwixt the King's "twa mediciners," Watson and Barbour.

The most remarkable, however, by far of Lyndsay's productions was his play entitled, "THE SATYRE OF THE THREE ESTATES." How long he was engaged in preparing it, cannot be ascertained. No authority at least can be adduced, to support the commonly received statement that it was completed and represented at Cupar-Fife, in the year 1535. I do not hesitate to assert that it was first exhibited at Linlithgow, at the feast of Epiphany on 6th January 1539-40, in the presence of the King, Queen, the ladies of the Court, the Bishops, and a great concourse of people of all ranks. The supposed early date proceeds on the assumption that it must have been prior to the King's marriage. Had this been so, and had James been introduced on the stage, under the character of REX HUMANITAS, the play would never have been repeated at intervals, at least three times in its original state.

The notes of "the Interlude," as then represented, transmitted to England, do not materially differ from the Play in its printed form. Its prominent object was the reformation of abuses, by exposing the abuses that prevailed both in Church and State, the ignorance of the priests, the grievances of tithes, and other clerical exactions, the profligate lives of the prelates, and the evils which abounded in the King's minority and encouraged him in idleness and vice by the influence of such attendants as Flattery, Falsehood, and Sensuality, usurping the places of Verity, Chastity, and Divine Correction. In the proclamation of the Play, Diligence or the Messenger says,

Prudent Peopill, I pray you all
 Take na more grief in special ;
For we shall speik in general
 For pastime and for play.

John Row, in his History of the Church, states that it was also acted in the amphitheatre of Perth, in the presence of the King, Queen, &c. It is not improbable Row has substituted the name of St. Johnstone or Perth, for Linlithgow.

In the subsequent representations of the Play at Cupar-Fife about 1552; and at Edinburgh in 1554, there may have been numerous changes and alterations which we have no means of ascertaining, by the omission or introduction of short Interludes. But it is obvious, considering the protracted time for the performance, that such Interludes of a coarse and indelicate character were meant for the amusement of the

lower classes, during the intervals when the chief auditory had retired for refreshments. See, for instance, the note at page 196 and page 214, where Diligence drives the Pardoner and Pauper away. Also the interlude of the Auld Man and his Wife, when the Play was acted at Cupar-Fife. Some of these in fact, may have been written by Lyndsay years before, when, to amuse the youthful monarch, he exercised his own inventive powers, by performing short interludes, farces, and plays.

Leaving any further remarks on this singular production, a work of a totally different character requires special notice. This is the REGISTER OF ARMS, of the Scottish Nobility and Gentry, completed under his direction, as Lyon Herald, during the King's life, in the year 1542. This official Register of Arms was submitted by Sir James Balfour, one of his successors as Lyon King, to the Lords of Privy Council, at Holyrood-house, on the 9th December 1630, and approved as an authentic Register. It is preserved in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates, Edinburgh, having been acquired with Balfour's valuable Manuscript Collections in 1698.

The volume consists of 133 leaves, of which 111 (only 106 specified by the Privy Council) belong to the original work. It had remained with the Heralds apparently till the Reign of Charles the First, and has on the additional leaves, the arms, with supporters of the intermediate Lyon Kings of Arms. The drawing of the arms, so carefully executed and properly blazoned, are creditable to the state of the

Heraldic Art in Scotland. Those of the Queens of Scotland beginning with St Margaret and ending with the Queens of James the Fifth, are impaled with the royal arms. A limited number of copies of an exact facsimile of the original Register, was published at Edinburgh by W. & D. Laing, in 1821, folio.

The death of King James the Fifth at Falkland, on the 14th of December 1542, was another of those sad calamities which so grievously affected the prosperity of Scotland. He was an accomplished Prince, although his education had been neglected, active, high spirited, but passionate and implacable in his resentment. He was unfortunate in many of his measures, and his political relations with France, brought him into constant strangement and opposition to his uncle the English monarch. Lyndsay, who had been with James from "the day of his nativity," also witnessed the premature termination of his career in the 31st year of his age. Two infant sons had died within a short time of each other; and in his last illness, broken-hearted at his misfortunes, it is related that when the messenger from Linlithgow arrived at Falkland, to inform him of the Queen's safe delivery, to his eager inquiry, the messenger said, "it was ane fair dochter," the King answered and said, "Fairweill, it cam with ane lass, and it will pass with ane lass:" reflecting on the alliance which placed the Stewart family on the throne: "and so he commendit himself to the Almighty God, and spak litle from thensforth, bot turned his back to his lordis and his face to the wall."¹

¹ Pitscottie's History.

The succession to the throne of an infant of a few days old (the ill-fated Mary, Queen of Scots) was an event which increased the political divisions and miseries of Scotland. Lyndsay had deprecated the chance of witnessing another protracted minority, which as it proved, entailed on this country an unusual share of misfortunes even compared with what he lamented when, in 1528, he exclaimed :—

I see richt weil that Proverb is richt trew,
 ‘Wo to the Realme, that hath an our young King.’

Owing to this distracted state of public affairs, nearly two years elapsed before the Lyon King was sent officially to deliver the books of Statutes and the Orders of knighthood that had been conferred on the late king. In these were the Order of the Golden Fleece restored to the Emperor Charles the Fifth : of St Michael, sometimes called the Cockle, to Francis the First ; and of the Garter, to Henry the Eighth. The latter acknowledged this to the Earl of Arran, the Governor, in the following letter, which is interesting as mentioning the Lyon King in laudatory terms :—

“ HENRY R.

“ Right trustye and right welbeloued Cousin, we grete yoⁿ well, And whereas vpon the deceasse of o^r nephew the late King of Scottis, whose soule God pardoune being in his lieftyme ane of the Compaigions of o^r Ordre, yoⁿ sent vnto vs by this berar Sir Dauid Lyndsay, knight alias Lyon principal King of Armes of Scotlande, the Statutes of the said ordre

w^t the colar and garter of the same whiche we haue receyved by thandes of the right Reuerend father in god, our right trustye and right welbeloued Counseylo^r, the bisshopp of Wynchestre, prelate of our said Ordre, We haue thought good by these o^r letres to signifie the same vnto yo^u with this also, that the said Lyon in the deliuery thareof hath vsed himself right discreatelye and moche to o^r contentation gevin vnder o^r Signet at o^r hono^r of Hamptencorte, the xxiiiijth of Maye the xxxvth yere of o^r Reigne.

(Indorsed, Letre from K. Henry y^e aucht K. of England to the erll of Arran, 1544.) A facsimile of the original will appear in Part III. of that valuable and handsome publication, "The National Manuscripts of Scotland.

The eventful year 1546, commenced inauspiciously with the trial and condemnation of George Wishart for heresy. It signally failed in its object to arrest the alarming progress of heretical opinions. He suffered martyrdom on the 2d March 1545-6, in front of the Castle of St Andrews, where Cardinal Beaton and other Prelates in their gorgeous robes were seated to witness his execution; and he predicted, as some writers assert, the speedy fate that would overtake the Cardinal amidst all his pride and power. Such a statement is readily accepted by those who impute to the martyr a knowledge of a preconcerted scheme by a band of conspirators who were pensioned by Henry. That some of the discontented Scots were pensioned appears from the English records, but except where blinded prejudice exists, it is clear that

the Cardinal's fate was mainly owing to the feelings excited to avenge such cruelty.

Norman Lesley, the eldest son of the Earl of Rothes may have had cause of private resentment against the Cardinal; but that the others were actuated by mercenary motives, let those believe who will. Under the circumstances it was a bold measure for sixteen persons to undertake to surprise his Castle of St Andrews, which was strongly fortified, and to assassinate himself; and their success was certainly equal to the boldness of the attempt. Chalmers says, "The odious assassination of this great, but obnoxious prelate, was achieved by a band of ruffians, who were in the pay of Henry VIII., on the 28th of May 1546. Lyndsay, immediately sat down to gratify his prejudice, by satirizing the memory of Beaton, and incidentally protecting the lives of the assassins."¹

When Lyndsay sat down with this object is not stated, but if he had prejudices to gratify, Chalmers might have remembered it was not 'immediate,' by looking at "The Tragedie of the Cardinall" itself, where (line 266) these words are put in the Cardinal's mouth:—

Thay saltit me, syne closit in a kist,
I lay unburyit sevin monethis, and mair,
 Or I was borne to closter, kirk, or queir.

in reference to the fact that his body lay unburied from May 1546 till about January 1547. In devis-

¹ Lyndsay's Works, vol. i., p. 73.

ing the Cardinal's death, Lyndsay could not be said to have had any participation. In the note to this poem (p. 274) I have inadvertently said, "During the time that this Castle was besieged, it was resorted to as a place of safety by Knox, Lyndsay, and various persons who had not been concerned in the slaughter, but were under suspicion of favouring the Reformers." So far as Lyndsay was concerned this statement is erroneous; and it is important that what may be called a vulgar error, should be corrected. As Commissioner for the borough of Cupar, he was in his seat in Parliament on the 4th of August when the summons of treason was issued against Norman Lesley and the other persons charged with this act of atrocity; and on the 14th of the month, the Lyon King and his deputies were directed to see this duly executed.—The number of persons in the Castle at no time exceeded one hundred and fifty, yet the Governor after five months spent in the vain attempt to reduce it, (the garrison obtaining supplies of money and provisions, by sea, from England) concluded a truce, and raised the siege at the end of December or in January following, until a Papal absolution was obtained. Now it appears that on the 17th December "the Lyon Herald with one trumpet, was sent to us from the Governor and Counsale, and desyred speaking; to whom we made no answer. Then he departed and told the Governor he could have no speaking (or conference) of us, &c. (in the Castle)." ¹ No satisfactory remission for a crime that was declared to be irremis-

¹ State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. v., p. 581.

sible could be obtained ; and the death of Henry VIII. on the 28th January 1546-7, blasted all the hopes of "the Castilians." Yet the garrison seem to have enjoyed an interval of rest for a few months, holding communications with the inhabitants of St Andrews, until the siege was renewed by a body of troops sent from France to the Governor's assistance.

The only time, therefore, when Lyndsay was in communication with the Castle, but not as a resident, was in the Spring of 1547, when his name is mentioned on a memorable occasion. John Knox, at that time, wearied (he tells us) with wandering about with his young pupils entered the Castle as a place of refuge at Easter, (the 10th April) 1547. In his account of the unexpected public call given him in the Parish Church of St Andrews to undertake the office of the ministry, he states that this was after private conference with John Rough, Henry Balnavis, and some others, towards the end of May, they having with thame in council "SCHIR DAVID LYNDESAY of the Mount."¹ It is to be observed, this scene took place, not in the Castle, but in the great Church of St Andrews.

Henry the Second of France having about this time ascended the throne of France, he agreed to send the troops mentioned under the command of Leon Strozzi. The French galleys arrived in the Bay of St Andrews on the 29th June ; and with his artillery, he compelled the Castle to surrender the 30th July ; but disregarding the terms of capitulation, the chief persons were

¹ See notes to Knox's Hist. of the Reformation : Works, vol. i., pp. 187, 188.

put on board the galleys and carried prisoners to France.¹ Had Lyndsay remained in the Castle during the siege, he doubtless would have shared the fate of Knox and Balnavis, and others, who were chained to the oars, as galley-slaves, and for many months suffered great hardship.

The subsequent events in Lyndsay's life are not very important, and have been related so well and concisely by Mr GEORGE CHALMERS, that I cannot do better than quote his words :—

“ Sir David, as Lion Herald, was dispatched in 1548 to Christian, King of Denmark, to solicit ships, for protecting the Scottish coasts against the English, and to negotiate a free trade, for the Scottish merchants, particularly in grain.² The ships were not granted ; but the free trade, as it was convenient to both parties, was more easily yielded to the persuasive instances of our Lion King. At Copenhagen, Lyndsay became acquainted with his countryman Dr Macabæus, and the other literati of reformed Denmark.

“ Lyndsay at length returned to his usual occupations, and was probably no more employed in such distant embassies. About this time, he published the most pleasing of all his poems, THE HISTORIE AND TESTAMENT OF SQUYER MELDRUM. He, on this

¹ See notes to Knox's Hist. of the Reformation : Works, vol. i., pp. 205-208.

² “ MS. Letters, which had been collected by Lesley, the famous bishop of Ross, and which were communicated to me by the late bishop Geddes, who cannot be enough praised for his ingenuity, and his friendliness.”

occasion, tries to amuse as well as to reform ; but he shows his own coarseness by addressing his ‘ trifling jests and fulsom ribaldry’ to ‘ companies unlettered, rude, and shallow.’ In 1553 our poet finished his last, and greatest work, THE MONARCHIE, which, from its elaboration, and extent, could not have been the labour of a week, a month, or a year. When he put his last hand to this employment of years, Lyndsay cried out :—

Go hence, pure Buke, quhilk I have done indyte
 In rural ryme, in maner of dispyte,
 Contrar the Warldis variatioun :
 Of Rethorick heir I proclame thee quyte.
 Idolatouris, I feir, sall with thee flyte,
 Because of thame thow makis narratioun :
 Bot cure thow nocht the indignatioun
 Of Hypocritis, and fals Pharisience,
 Quhowbeit on thee thay cry ane lowde vengeance.’

“ It is apparent that Lyndsay, during times of some difficulty, and great danger, was not afraid of *hypocritis* and *pharisience*. His name and titles were prefixed to the first edition of the work, while much artifice was used to protect the printer from the severe penalties of a recent Act of Parliament. In the midst of all those labours Lyndsay was not neglectful of his duties, as the chief of the Heralds. Some time after the year, wherein Mackenzie and his followers suppose him to have died, he acted with great precision and dignity as Lion King. On the 16th of January 1554-5, he held a chaptour of Heralds, *chaptourly* convened, in the Abbey of Halyrood-house, for the

trial and punishment of William Crawar, a messenger, for abuse of his office.

“ At the age of sixty-five Lyndsay saw his great work of Reformation gradually advance. He perceived the Queen-Mother procure the pardon of the assassins of Beaton ; to gratify even a more influential passion than revenge. Her ambition wished to supersede the Regent ; and her intrigues acquired this desire of her heart on the 12th of April 1554. On this occasion Lyndsay witnessed, if he did not manage, the acting of his SATYRE OF THE THREE ESTAITIS, on the Play-field at Edinburgh, before the Queen, the Court, and the Commons. Lyndsay had seen Acts of Parliament passed for reforming abuses throughout the reign of James V. He now saw Ecclesiastical Councils assemble, for reforming ecclesiastical persons and things. But, under an infant Queen, and a female Regent, temperate reform was not to be expected, amidst a rude and corrupt people. Sir David saw John Knox return to Scotland in 1555, and preach without apprehension. He beheld the assassins of Beaton return, in safety, during the subsequent years. He observed, in 1557, several persons of great consideration, ‘ who were ready to jeopard lives and goods for the setting forward of the work of reformation.’ But it is remarkable, considering the temperament of Lyndsay, that he never appeared personally at any meeting of the early Reformers, when they began to avow their purpose and to defy the established power. Whether he were alive on the 3d of December 1557, when *the Congregation* took

a formal shape, by the signature of a Bond of Association, is uncertain.”¹

It is, however, quite certain that Lyndsay died some time previous to the 18th of April 1555, as will appear from an extract to be quoted from the Privy Seal Register; and consequently he could neither have witnessed Knox's return, the pardon of Beaton's assassins, nor been present at any meeting of the early Reformers. But nothing has been discovered of the circumstances of his death, or the place where he died and where his mortal remains were deposited. At this time the Lords of the Congregation were unknown; no Bond of Association had been prepared or signed; the Reformation was making but small progress; and the name of Protestant had not been assumed, there being at that time neither churches nor ministers, nor the face of a congregation in any part of the country. The visit of John Knox in September 1555 was only temporary, nor did he arrive again till May 1559, when his presence inspired fresh courage in the hearts of those who, in the interim had assumed the name of THE CONGREGATION.

The following extract from the Privy Council Register, is here given as it not only fixes the period of Lyndsay's decease, but proves his successor, as heir of tailzie, to have been his younger brother, who stands second in the deed of entail in 1542. As no mention is made of his wife, who had the lands by the same deed in conjunct-fee, there can be no

¹ Works of Sir David Lyndsay, by Chalmers, vol. i., pp. 36-42.

doubt that she had predeceased her husband the Lyon King :—

“Ane lettre maid to Alexander Lyndesay of the gift of the said Alexanderis mariage now beand in hir Hieness handis be ressoun of deceis of vmquhile Sir Daud Lyndesay of the Mont knycht brother to the said Alexander, to quhome the said Alexander is nerrest and to be seruit air of tailzie vnto his heritagē And siclike of the releif, quhen it sal happin, of the landis of Pratrīs throw sesing to be gevin to the said Alexander as air foirsaid with power, &c. At Striuiling the xvij day of Aprile the zeir of God foirsaid, &c.—g. [J^m v^o and lv zeris. Gratis.]

Per signaturam.¹

The Armorial Register of 1542 is already noticed at p. xxxvi. Another heraldic MS. called “Collec-tanea” has been ascribed to Sir David Lyndsay, but it obviously belongs to the time of the younger or third Sir David Lyndsay, 1592.

Robert Forman, who had for many years acted as Ross Herald, became Lyndsay’s immediate successor as Lyon King; and, from their connexion with the Poet, the names of other successors may be briefly added :—

SIR ROBERT FORMAN of Luthrie, 1555-1567.

SIR WILLIAM STEWART, February, 1567-8, deposed, and executed for alleged crimes.²

SIR DAVID LYNSAY of Rathillet, the Poet’s youngest brother, August 1568. Died in 1591.

¹ Reg. Secr. Sig. vol. xxvii., fol. 105, b.

² Knox’s Works, vol. vi., p. 692.

SIR DAVID LYNDSAY of the Mount, son of Alexander Lyndsay of the Mount, May 1592. Resigned in favour of his son-in-law,

SIR JEROME LYNDSAY of Annatland, created Lyon King, June 1621.

It only remains to offer a few remarks on two points, the one, regarding Lyndsay's character as a Reformer, the other, as a Poet.

The name of the Lyon King has always been reckoned among the earliest adherents of the Scottish Reformation. This requires some modification. All his writings had for their object an unmistakeable attempt to expose and reform abuses whether in Church or State. That they had a powerful effect in promoting such reforms is sufficiently obvious. In no other respect can he be called a Reformer. In his addresses to James, among all his varied attainments he urges him, not only

Among the rest, SCHIR, LERNE TO BE ANE KING.
Kyith on that craft, thy pregnant fresch ingyne
Grantit to thee be influence Divyne.

but also to have regard to his own personal conduct,

For quhow suld Prencis governe gret regionis
That cannot dewlie guyde their awin personis.

In his earlier Complaynt to the King, he says—

Swa is thare nocht, I understand
Without gude ordour in this land,
Except the Spiritualitie :
Prayand thy Grace thareto have ee.

In his latest work, the Dialog (1552) when he introduces an Exclamation against Idolatrie, he says—

I truist to se gude reformatione
From tyme we gett ane faithfull prudent King.
Quhilk knawis the treuth and his vocations.

Had Lyndsay survived for a few years beyond the actual term of his life, we need scarcely doubt he would have joined himself to the Lords of the Congregation in the abjuration of Popery; but it cannot be said that, at any period of his life, he had actually renounced his general adherence to the Romish Faith. In his earliest poem, for instance, *The Dreame* (1528) his Mariolatry is exhibited, in the place assigned to the Virgin Mary, when describing “*The Hevin Impyre*,” he says—

Nyxt to the throne we saw the Quene of Quenis,
Well cumpanyit with ladyis of delyte.
Such was the song of these blyssit Virgines,
Na mortall man thair solace may indite.

In pointing out the ordinary evils of Idolatrous figures, in persons falling upon their knees and worshipping stocks and stones, he admits that some good might result from seeing and admiring such representations,

Or, quhen thow seeis ane portrature
Of blyssit Marie, Virgene pure,
With one bony Babe upon her knee.

having, no doubt, in his mind the recollection of such a favourite subject by the greatest artists of his day,

among the Italian, Flemish, and other schools of painting.

In the Epistle Nuncupatory of his Dialog on the Monarchies, in 1552, he says,

. . . the straucht way sal thou wende
 To thame quhilk hes the realme in governance,
 Declare thy mynde to thame with circumstance :
 Go first tyll James, our Prince and Protectour,
 And his Brother, our Spirituall Governour,
 And Prince of Preistis in this Natioun.
 Efter reverend recommendatioun,
 Under their feit thow lowlye thee submyt, &c.

That is, to James, Earl of Arran, afterwards Duke de Chattelherault, and his bastard brother, John Hamilton, Archbishop of St Andrews, the successor of Cardinal Beaton. In this work, the Lyon King strongly urges the necessity of suppressing all kinds of idolatry, and to advance the sincere word of God. Yet, while presuming to offer sage advices to "Our Holie Father the Pope," he still continued to the last in styling his Holiness,

. . . This potent Pope of Rome,
 The Soverane King of Christindome,

So gret ane Prince quhare sall thow fynd
 That Spiritually may lowse and bind ;
 Nor be quhame Synnis ar forgyffin,
 Be thay with his Disciplis schrevin ?

But it is a remarkable fact, that in such troublous times, and using the strongest language in condemning the Romish Clergy, Lyndsay should have been allowed to escape persecution in some of its varied

forms, whether of deprivation of property, imprisonment, torture, or death.

We cannot therefore but admire his boldness in openly acknowledging himself the author of such productions ; and if we do not reckon him as one of the Protestant Reformers, it would be a greater mistake should we hesitate for one moment in asserting that his satirical writings had a powerful effect in preparing the minds of his countrymen, by his exposure of the manifold corruptions and errors of Popery, for the final triumph of the Reformation, accomplished mainly by the dauntless energy of our great Reformer, John Knox.

In estimating the literary character of Lyndsay, we cannot claim for him the name of a Great Poet. Without either 'the language at large,' which he assigns to Dunbar, or his inventive genius, our Author is nevertheless entitled to no ordinary place among our ancient Makaris. He exhibits (without the least scruple in altering words to suit the rhyme) a great command of versification, a fine feeling for the beauties of external nature, and a fund of what may be called, low genuine humour and keen satire ; while for a vivid conception and delineation of individual character, even in his impersonations of abstract Virtues and Vices, he displays great Dramatic power, and in this respect he far surpasses any one of the early Scottish Poets.

Of Lyndsay's personal appearance we have no description. In the quarto edition of his Poems published in France in 1558, there is a woodcut of a

figure in a herald's dress, repeated two or three times, and of which a facsimile is given on the title of the present volume. On that of the Second volume, is a similar facsimile from the Edinburgh edition of 1634 of a portrait inscribed with his name. Both cuts may be held as imaginary; yet the later one has such a sly comical expression, that rude as it is, I feel inclined to suggest it might have been taken from an authentic original. But no such original is known to exist. Several years ago, a residenter in the neighbourhood of Cupar, told me that an interesting discovery had been made of an original portrait of Sir David Lyndsay. It had remained, he said, undiscovered in a house near The Mount, but had been removed to Rankeillor House by the proprietor: that it was intended for Lyndsay, appeared from the peculiar dress, and the crown on his head. This excited my curiosity, and, to lose no time, I arranged to cross over to Fife within a few days, that we might examine it together, and judge of its authenticity. The first glance I had of the portrait satisfied me I had come on rather a fool's errand, and that any such discovery had still to be made. In the portrait itself, I had no difficulty in recognizing one of those that were painted by George Jamesone of Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall,¹ Lord Advocate to Charles the First, in his official costume, with a peculiar embroidered cap, mistaken by my informant for the crown of the Lyon King.

¹ Engraved from the portrait at Hopetoun House, in Pinkerton's "Scotish Gallery," 1799. Two other portraits of Sir Thomas Hope are known.

In "Marmion," Sir Walter Scott, using a poetical license, has introduced Lyndsay at the Court of James the Fourth, in the character of Lyon Herald sixteen years before he obtained that office, in a spirited sketch, from which, in conclusion, the following lines may be quoted :—

He was a man of middle age ;
 In aspect manly, grave, and sage,
 As on King's errand come ;
 But in the glances of his eye,
 A penetrating, keen, and sly
 Expression found its home ;
 The flash of that satiric rage,
 Which, bursting on the early stage,
 Branded the vices of the age,
 And broke the keys of Rome.
 On milk-white palfrey forth he paced ;
 His cap of maintenance was graced
 With the proud heron-plume.
 From his steed's shoulder, loin, and breast,
 Silk housings swept the ground,
 With Scotland's arms, device, and crest,
 Embroidered round and round.
 The double tressure might you see,
 First by Achaius borne,
 The Thistle, and the Fleur-de-lis,
 And gallant Unicorn.
 So bright the KING's armorial coat,
 That scarce the dazzled eye could note,
 In living colours, blazoned brave,
 THE LION, which his title gave.

