12

William Lauder

The *Speculum Principis* in the Sixteenth Century

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The earliest surviving work of the little-known poet William Lauder (*c.*1520–72), *Ane Compendious and breve Tractate, Concernyng þe Office and dewtie of Kyngis, Spirituall Pastoris, and temporall Iugis…for the faithfull Instructioun of Kyngis and Prencis* (hereafter, *Office and dewtie*), is a succinct, direct, and conventional *speculum principis.* Printed in 1556, it demonstrates the longevity and stability of the 'mirror for princes' tradition in Older Scots literature. Perhaps because, on a first reading at least, it is rather unremarkable in its treatment of its subject matter, this 'breve' octosyllabic poem has attracted little critical interest, despite its publication (with reprints) by the Early English Text Society.[1] Yet this poem, and a small corpus of religious poems attributed to Lauder and printed in the late 1560s, repay further scrutiny, particularly as they emerge from a period of considerable cultural and political transition in Scotland: the regency of Mary of Guise (1554–60) and the short reign of her daughter, Mary Queen of Scots. As this essay suggests, the traditional nature of Lauder's Advice to Princes work is itself a response to change, and is both nostalgic and hopeful for the (re)establishment of political stability. The very conventionality of his work also allows Lauder to introduce some subtle but timely innovations to the genre of *speculum principis* which are shaped by his own commitment to religious reform, and by his reading, as this essay suggests, of his near-contemporary poet David Lyndsay (d.1555). In his later advisory poems, that explicitly reflect the official change in Scotland's confessional identity after the Reformation Parliament of 1560, Lauder emerges as a truly transformative poetic voice, campaigning for good governance and social justice alongside fellow poets such as Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington (d.1586) and encouraging active and ethical reading in a way that reflects a long tradition in Scottish literature, and which locates the authority to achieve good and just rule in the spiritual life of his reader.

[1] See *The Extant Poetical Works of William Lauder*, edited by F. Hall and F. J. Furnivall (London 1864–70, repr. 1965, 2002). I have found just one article on Lauder's poems: S. L. Sondergard, 'Rediscovering William Lauder's Poetic Advocacy of the Poor', *SSL* 29 (1996): pp. 158–73. Lauder receives no mention in *Literature and the Scottish Reformation*, edited by Crawford Gribben and David G. Mullan (Farnham 2009, repr. 2013).

William Lauder was educated at St Andrews and employed at court before the Reformation in the service of Mary of Guise. He travelled to France in the retinue of the Prior of St Andrews, Lord James Stewart, in 1550.[2] He later joined the Lords of the Congregation, and by 1563 had become a Protestant minister in Perthshire.[3] While at court, Lauder, like his prolific contemporary, David Lyndsay, was involved in the production of spectacle and performance, though no texts of a dramatic nature attributed to him survive. He is mentioned in the Records of the Privy Seal as being paid for 'making…his play' in 1549 for the wedding of Lady Barbara Hamilton and Alexander Gordon; in 1554 he is again recorded as producing a play, this time for Mary of Guise,[4] and in 1558 he was paid for a play to celebrate the first marriage of Mary Queen of Scots.[5]

Lauder's first surviving poem, the *Office and dewtie*, was printed by John Scott (fl.1539–71), in 1556, either at Edinburgh or St Andrews. Lauder's other works reached print over a decade later. *The Lamentacioun of the Pure* [poor], a poem which attests to Lauder's concern with social justice and religious integrity, is dated to 1568. This is appended to a poem which expands on John XV, Christ as the Vine, *Ane Godlie Tractate or Mirrour*, which was printed in 1569. *Ane prettie Mirrour or Conference betuix the faithfull Protestant and the Dissemblit false Hypocreit*, which sets out the qualifications of the elect and the reprobate, was printed in Edinburgh in 1570, with appended poems of moral castigation, 'Ane trew & breue sentencius discriptioun of the nature of Scotland Twiching the Interteinment of virtewus men That laketh ryches', and 'Ane Gvde Exempill. Be the Butterflie, Instructing Men to Hait all Harlottrie'.

Although these poems have not proved attractive to modern readers, the very fact of their early print publication suggests that they were valued by their contemporaries and regarded as commercially viable by John Scott.[6] The *Office and dewtie* is a black-letter print in quarto containing two full-page woodcuts which bookend the text: the first shows a king in state, and the second is an image of Christ in judgement. Both images are highly suitable for a poem which, as this essay suggests, delineates good and Godly kingship. The text is carefully laid out too: there are a number of ornate initials to mark new sections of text, and large typeface used for titles, to allow for the reader's smooth navigation of the poem's advice.[7] The prints

[2] Stewart's Protestantism, evident from the mid-1550s, may well have influenced Lauder. Mark Loughlin, 'Stewart, James, First Earl of Moray (1531/2–1570)', *ODNB,* http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26479, accessed 3 May 2016.

[3] Pamela E. Ritchie, *Mary of Guise in Scotland, 1548–1560* (East Linton, 2002), p. 263. Also see Amy Blakeway, *Regency in Sixteenth-Century Scotland* (Woodbridge, 2015), pp. 127, 134–5; Paul Baines, 'Lauder, William (*c.*1520–1573)', *ODNB,* http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16120, accessed 3 May 2016.

[4] Guise was in the audience for Lyndsay's *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* when it was performed in Edinburgh in August 1555. Anna Jean Mill, *Medieval Plays in Scotland*, St Andrews University Publications, 24 (New York, 1927), p. 168.

[5] The records from the Treasurer's Accounts are given in *The Minor Poems of William Lauder*, edited by F. J. Furnivall (London, 1870), pp. v–vii; also see Mill, *Medieval Plays*, pp. 59, 77, 84.

[6] See John Durkan, 'Scott, John (*fl.*1539–1571)', *ODNB,* http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24886, accessed 10 May 2016.

[7] Robert Dickson and John Philip Edmond, *Annals of Scottish Printing from the Introduction of the Art in 1507 to the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1890), pp. 166–74.

containing *Ane Godlie Tractate* and *Ane prettie Mirrour*, also black letter quartos, are plainer, as perhaps fits their pious subject matter. Both employ the woodcut of a centaur holding up a large mirror, inviting the reader to self-scrutiny, a theme that is particularly important to these post-Reformation poems.

The *Office and dewtie* is a systematic account of royal duty, also guiding the king in how to choose and appoint his clergy and judiciary. Chief amongst the monarch's responsibilities is 'To minister and cause ministrat be, / Iustice, to all, with equitie' (11–12), and 'with mercye' (20), to preserve 'vnitie' (40) in the realm, and to foster 'Charitie and Peace' (45). In this it reflects the influence of over a century of Scots Advice to Princes literature, distilling many of the genre's conventional tropes familiar from *De Regimine Principum* (*c.*1450s) to the advisory sections of *Lancelot of the Laik* (*c.*1460–79?), *The Buik of Kyng Alexander the Conqueror* (*c.*1460/99?), and Lyndsay's *Testament of the Papyngo* (*c.*1530). Lauder's studious redeployment of convention in this text is deliberate, drawing on and appropriating the authority and predictability of the tradition, yet simultaneously making subtle departures from it that develop the genre in Scotland and are particular to its moment of composition.

A major debt to the tradition of Older Scots advice writing that Lauder has inherited is the generalized nature of his address: the poem's contents page refers to it as 'Ane Generall Instructioun to Kyngis'. David Laing considered the poem to have been composed to reflect Lauder's opposition to Mary of Guise who had been invested as regent on 12 April 1554. However, the text neither makes reference to the regent, nor is overtly critical of Mary or her policies. Rather, it is possible that, given his connection with the Guise faction at court, Lauder was aware of Mary's own efforts to place the effective administration of justice at the heart of her domestic policy, and her conscious reference to 'the Stewart tradition'[8] of keeping law and order throughout the realm. His own deployment of literary tradition fits neatly, and in a broadly supportive manner, into this political atmosphere. Recently, Amy Blakeway has cautiously suggested that Lauder's poem was 'probably written for Mary of Guise'.[9] Yet, without a dedication or address, and in the absence, as Blakeway admits, of evidence that Mary ever saw a copy of the work, it is most likely that Lauder is consciously writing within the parameters of the tradition—studiously avoiding topical reference,[10] and insisting on his narrator's sincerity in a bid to communicate advice to an audience connected to, advising, or observing those in power.

Therefore the narrator's comments are framed at the outset of the text as applying to 'euery realme' (2) in which God has appointed one individual (as monarch) to be his 'Substitute' (10). Throughout the *Office and dewtie* the narrator refers to 'kings' or 'prencis' in the plural. In addition to generalizing the poem's audience in this way, Lauder takes another approach familiar from Advice to Princes writing in

[8] Ritchie, *Mary of Guise*, especially pp. 130–44 (p. 143).
[9] Blakeway, *Regency in Sixteenth-Century Scotland*, p. 67.
[10] See Mapstone, 'The Advice to Princes Tradition', p. 10.

the Scottish tradition, reminding the monarch of the humanity he shares with even his most vulnerable subject:[11]

> Qvhat is thir kings more than the pure,
> Except thair office & thair cure?
> Nothing, at all, – to rekin rycht, –
> Different, in-to Goddis sycht,
> Than bene the purest Creature
> That euir wes formit of nature.
>
> (62–6)

By confronting the monarch with his own frailty and humility the narrator also underscores the special responsibility the king has through his office to protect the 'Communytie' of which he is part (107):

> . . . kyngys suld heir the pure mans crye,
> And helpe thame, rather, in distres,
> Nor thame that hes the gret ryches.
> To ponysche Vice and treit virtew,
> This is ane Prencis office dew.
>
> (24–8)

Lauder draws on another popular contemporary image for the transitory and fragile nature of royal power, that of the short reign of the festive 'kyngs of bane' [bean] (29), an arbitrarily elected mock king who reigned for one day of celebration.[12] The king must therefore 'Be Vigelant to rewle his ryng / In Godlie maner' (38–9) bearing in mind how he will have to 'geue ane compt . . . / In presens of the kyng of glore' (47–8), another familiar element in Advice to Princes writing, including *De Regimine Principum*.[13] Indeed, here Lauder seems to have in mind a poem addressed to Guise's late husband, Lyndsay's *Testament of the Papyngo*, where James V is encouraged to 'Considder weill, thow bene bot officiare / And vassall to that kyng incomparabyll' (255–6),[14] and reminded that he must exercise justice with mercy or be 'bot Kyng of Bone' (337). For Lauder, kings who neglect their duty and commitment to the 'Commoun weill' (111), and place their 'fleschelie vane plesuris' (129) above the needs of the poor, will be punished and their 'successioun . . . / Eradicat' (123–4). This should not, therefore, be read as a direct

[11] Compare 'Excellent michtie prince and king' in the Maitland Folio MS, pp. 182–5: 'Think þat ane king is bot ane man' (49). See *The Maitland Folio Manuscript*, edited by W. A. Craigie (Edinburgh and London, 1919). Also see the use of this phrase in *The Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour*, discussed in Sally Mapstone, 'Kingship and the Kingis Quair', in *The Long Fifteenth Century: Essays for Douglas Gray*, edited by Helen Cooper and Sally Mapstone (Oxford, 1997), pp. 51–69 (pp. 60–4).

[12] Compare 'Excellent michtie prince and king' in the Maitland Folio MS, pp. 182–5: 'ffor thow art bot ane king of bane' (31). See further Sandra Billington, 'The Lord of Misrule in Late Medieval and Renaissance England', *Cosmos* 2 (1986): pp. 98–110 (pp. 104–5); *Mock Kings in Medieval Society and Renaissance Drama* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 12–13, 19, 87.

[13] See ll. 64–70, and l. 125 ('luif weill thy god and serve him keping iustice'), of the longest version of the poem, found in the Maitland Folio, pp. 96–105.

[14] References are to Lyndsay, *Selected Poems.*

threat to Mary of Guise, or prophecy for her daughter's reign,[15] but rather as an attempt to remind the reader of the wider spiritual, political, and social ramifications of individual acts of bad governance in the tradition of advisory literature. Lauder concludes carefully by reaching out to future generations and insisting that his work is to be taken as encouraging, directed only for 'the prosperitie / Of Prencis and thare Posterytie' (535–6).

In many ways, then, Lauder's advice to kings amounts to some very cautious, conservative, and unremarkable poetry, its language familiar, and perhaps reassuring as a result, for contemporary audiences. However, Lauder also begins to shape the genre in Scotland in new ways. The framework of his 'Advice to Princes' project is instruction of a theologically reformed nature, and the spiritual, as well as ethical, edification of his readers. It is this element of the text which speaks to its moment of composition and circulation and brings into sharper focus the Christian obligations for good governance, ruling in a 'Godlie maner' (39), which are implied through references to the king's personal piety, but not necessarily laboured, in earlier advisory texts which have less need for discussion of royal involvement in matters of doctrine or religious reform.[16] The instruction of the king in the *Office and dewtie* is framed in the printed text by marginal references to supporting biblical passages, which are presumably authorial, and the text contains many biblical quotations. The use of the framing quotations (commonly found in contemporary prints of devotional and theological works, and Bibles)[17] authorizes the vernacular poetry and positions the reader as one aware of and able to substantiate this biblical teaching. Lauder's narrator emphasizes the obligation of the monarch to be 'ane godlie kyng' who will 'vpbryng' (171–2) his people in God's law. To be an 'vngodlie' king, the narrator explains, is to allow others to oppress the poor and serve their self interest:

> The Liegis of the vngodlie kyng
> In daylie trubbyll thay sall ryng;
> For thay tak nother thocht nor cure
> But reuth for to oppresse the pure.
> Thay haue nocht God before thare Ee,
> Bot seruis thare Sensualytie.
>
> (183–8)

The rhetoric here echoes Lyndsay's *Complaynt* (*c.*1530), where it is observed that prelates do not allow 'Christis trew gospell to be sene' because they are so focused on their 'wardly lustis sensuall' (313, 315).[18] In this poem Lyndsay encourages his

[15] See Laing in Furnivall ed., *Minor Poems*, p. ix.

[16] The king's personal piety is a common theme in Advice to Princes writing. In William Stewart's 'Precellent prince haueand prerogative' (Maitland Folio (pp. 328–9) and Bannatyne MS (fol. 88v)), a young royal reader is asked to 'luif þi god aboue all eirdlie thing' (4).

[17] On the glosses to *The Geneva Bible* (1560), see Christopher Hill, *Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution* (Oxford, 1965), p. 2.

[18] The *Dreme* was printed in France in 1558 and in Scotland by John Scott in Lyndsay, *Selected Poems 1559,* as was the *Complaynt* and *Papyngo* (See Lyndsay, *Selected Poems,* p. 207). It is possible that Lauder had access to the poems in earlier prints, now lost, or in manuscript.

intended reader, James V, to be involved in clerical reform: the king is urged to make his clergy 'Conforme to thare vocatioun' and 'To preche with unfenyeit intentis' (414–15).[19] Lauder even more directly emphasizes the 'godlie' monarch's duty to allow his subjects to engage with Scripture. It is the king's responsibility to have preachers 'Trewlie sett furth the wourd of God' (166) and to

> Latt it be kawin to ilk degre,
> That all may vnderstand and knaw
> To lufe and feir his Godlie law.
>
> (168–70)

The monarch must allow God's word to be preached without abbreviation or amendment, and without fear in those who teach or listen:

> Itt suld be precheit to all dois seik it:
> Itt nother suld be paird nor ekit,
> Saif Scripture with Scripture ȝe expone
> Conforme vnto the trew–twiche stone,
> Quhilk is the auld and new Testament
> Quhilk suld be taucht most deligent
> Be faithfull Pastors that preche can,
> But feir of ony erthlie man.
>
> (223–30)

Crucially, these comments form part of Lauder's discourse on the office of kings, rather than that of his clergy, and comprise a pointed invitation to the Guise regency to be involved in church reform. As Lauder reminds his reader at the end of the text, the king's task is a 'wechtie werk'—'The haill thyng', says the narrator, 'to our charge is laid' (516, 518).

Lauder's Protestant framework for his *speculum principis* may have been rather startling for a Catholic regent, even though it would have been more attractive to other prominent figures in the administration, and familiar to readers of Lyndsay amongst whom Lauder could count himself.[20] As we have seen, Lauder's desire to involve the Crown in Church reform probably reflects his familiarity with Lyndsay's *Complaynt*: it also seems likely that he knew another text by Lyndsay, which had entered print circulation shortly before his own. The vast and sophisticated *Ane Dialog betwixt Experience and ane Courteour*, in which Experience delivers large tracts of biblical history to his pupil, the Courtier, was completed in *c.*1552–3 during the regency of James Hamilton, and was printed by John Scott in 1554. The opening Epistle mourns an absence of a worthy patron for the narrator's 'lytil quair' (1): 'I nott quhome to thy simpylnes to sende' (19). The 'quair' is sent—perhaps a little unflatteringly given these comments—to 'our prince and protectour' (26),

[19] On the significance of Lyndsay's reforming ideas, see David George Mullan, 'Writing the Scottish Reformation', in *Literature and the Scottish Reformation*, pp. 21–45 (p. 24); Carol Edington, *Court and Culture in Renaissance Scotland: Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount* (East Linton, 1994), pp. 163–78.

[20] Ritchie, *Mary of Guise*, pp. 198–204.

the regent, and to the regent's brother, John Hamilton, who was sympathetic to those who sought Church reform.[21] As Janet Hadley Williams explains, the *Dialog* 'attempted to fill the need Lyndsay saw for a text combining scriptural translation, religious history, and educative commentary'.[22] Lyndsay's well-known request, '… lat us haif the bukis necessare / To commoun weill and our Saluatioun' (678–9), sums up the spirit in which Lauder's much simpler poem was composed, which similarly combines a social concern for the 'commoun weill' and a desire to encourage its leader to bring his subjects to salvation through example and through practical efforts to promulgate God's word. What is striking, however, is the way in which Lauder retains confidence in the ability of temporal authority to affect change: 'Geue myster be, mak reformatioun, / Rycht as ȝe lufe ȝour awin Saluatioun', he urges his reader (347–8). Guise's administration was well aware of the need for the reform of the Kirk from within, so this is no radical plea for the complete overthrow of the established church, or the rewriting of existing social structures, but for careful reinvigoration supported by royal authority. But for Lyndsay, writing at an earlier point in the minority of Mary, any hopes for temporal leadership in such matters are more tentative and indeed imaged as having to be postponed to a future time:

> I traist to se gude reformatione
> From tyme we gett ane faithfull prudent king
> Quhilk knawis the treuth and his vocatione.
>
> (2605–7)

In the Epistle to his *Dialog*, Lyndsay gives his poetry the authority to 'Declare' (117) the word of God, because of the power vacuum he identifies in Scotland, with its lack of 'ane kyng and governour' (16), the absence of Mary in France, and her youth. He dramatizes Scotland's predicament and its desired resolution in a striking astrological allegory replete with aureate diction and the interplay of religious and political registers: the assent of a regal and divine Phoebus, that 'king etheriall' to 'his throne imperiall' (139–41), comforts a distraught narrator. The surrogate figure of Cynthia, 'the hornit nychtis quene' (153), is usurped, losing her light when she sees her 'soverane lorde' ascend (155); just as the old 'intoxicat' (160) Saturn is deprived of his 'borrowit lycht' (163) when Phoebus rises to restore harmony. However, Lyndsay's narrator rejects his courtly style as 'vaine discriptioun' (203) which creates 'Mater without edificatioun' (205). It is at this point that he embarks upon the sober digest of biblical history with its inset meditations on related themes, encouraging serious study and repentance as the best way to begin to resolve Scotland's troubles. In the effect, then, the *Dialog* becomes a collaboration between divine teaching, poetry, and the wisdom of experience to a

[21] This was central to the policy of John Hamilton, Archbishop of St Andrews, and others in the 1540s and 1550s who appealed to Rome for clerical reform: see Ritchie, *Mary of Guise*, pp. 198–204.

[22] Lyndsay, *Selected Poems*, p. xiii; for Edington the poem uses history 'to illustrate a moral message on the exercise of power', in *Court and Culture*, p. 198.

representative of temporal power, the courtier (perhaps the 'gentyll redar' named at l. 682), but remains very conscious of the true lack of royal authority.

Lauder's *Office and dewtie*, with its greater confidence in royal power, is less troubling than Lyndsay's *Dialog*. Where Lyndsay's narrative voice becomes fractured between two speakers—Experience and the Courtier—Lauder cultivates rhetorical and textual authority, referring to biblical passages that confirm his teachings, and insisting on the lucid explication of his themes in phrases such as 'I mak plaine…' (195), 'I mak it to ȝow manyfest' (206); and favouring apostrophe and imperatives to command notice ('Attend, O Prencis and tak tent', 161). He draws attention to his words as urgent exhortation and to the longevity and formality of the work as a 'document' and 'dytement' (both words referring principally to written compositions, the former suggesting one that contains instruction in particular) which can be 'prent' into the heart and 'Memorie' (492) of the reader for their edification and for reflection.[23]

However, in Lauder's next and longest extant work, the post-Reformation, *Ane Godlie Tractate or Mirrour* (1569), which describes the three 'commodities' or qualities of the faithful, and the eternal fate awaiting the wicked, the theme of sovereignty becomes transferred from secular authority to divine power: in this shift, the power of the text and the individual's ability to govern and direct their spiritual life become crucial. Perhaps unsurprisingly in the political climate of the 1560s, Lauder has abandoned the confidence of his *speculum principis* in the monarch's ability to safeguard the spiritual education of the faithful. Lauder's text, like Lyndsay's *Dialog*, gains its own measure of authority and encourages the reader to become master of his spiritual and intellectual life.

The poem begins zealously with the narrator exhorting his faithful and repentant reader, 'Learnd, vnlearnd, auld, ȝung, ryche and pure' (12), to respond 'ernistlie' (2) and take comfort from his tractate. Although the narrator begins in full didactic swing, however, he soon becomes more self-effacing, encouraging the reader to engage independently with divine teaching. The recurring nouns 'text', 'wourd', and 'sentence' shift in reference from specifying the narrator's own endeavours—the *Mirrour*—to stand only for God's word, making the narrator into a channel for divine teaching. The poem is grounded in the desire to disseminate scriptural teaching, and is a tissue of biblical quotations providing for its readers a succession of passages, referenced in the margins, which are relevant to their salvation: the main text is John XV (the parable of the vine and the branches), but other New and Old Testament passages are adduced. Yet, the result is not basic Catechesis (readers could go to Scott's print of *The Confessioun of Faith* (1561) or similar for this), for it requires a readership with some capacity for theological understanding. Indeed, Lauder's use of John XV allows him to develop a very particular account of the reader's desired relationship to Christ. In the *Office and dewtie* the narrator's

[23] *DOST*, 'Document', n., senses 1–2, 'Dytement', n. sense 3. See Sally Mapstone, 'The Scots Buke of Phisnomy and Sir Gilbert Hay', in *The Renaissance in Scotland: Studies in Literature, Religion and Culture offered to John Durkan*, edited by A. A. MacDonald, Michael Lynch, and I. B. Cowan, Brill Studies in Intellectual History 54 (Leiden, 1994), pp. 1–44.

teaching was to be imprinted on the reader's heart; but the position imaged for the reader in *Ane Godlie Tractate* is less passive and more intense, giving a foretaste of the ecstatic imagery found in later Scots Calvinist verse.[24] Through the teachings of this text, the reader is to be implanted in Christ, or grafted to him as a cutting is grafted onto a tree. The imagery, based on John XV's version of Christ's parable of Himself as the true vine, which is given in full on the title page of the print, imagines a close and regenerative relationship between the faithful and Christ: they are to be 'Ingraft in Christ Iesu / Be the imbrasing of his wourd most trew' (251–2). Emphasizing the biblical route to this is crucial to Lauder's Protestant theology—no clerical intermediaries are necessary for this spiritual union which Lauder describes as a process of 'ingrauyng' (247). Coming 'to the knowledge and intelligence / Of Godis wourd, and Spirituall pure sentence' (305–6) cannot be achieved through carnal or corporeal means such as those associated with Catholic devotional practices. Christ is quoted as saying, in a subtle recasting of the biblical passage, that the faithful 'haue ane dwelling place, / And tha be faith in me ar still Ingrauit' (236–7). The verb 'ingraffe' is not in the 1560 Geneva Bible's text of John XV, which uses 'abide' (this is the text that appears on the title page of Lauder's print). Although *DOST* and *OED* suggest 'ingraffe' is rare before 1570s, it is used with reference to this parable in some Scottish theological writings of this period, reminding us of Lauder's participation in contemporary debates.[25]

The narrator of *Ane Godlie Tractate* also depends on the ability of his readers to continue to engage with scripture: they are invited to 'Go cearche the Scripture' to verify the importance of being engrafted to Christ (244). The endeavour presented by the text is therefore collaborative and much in line with Protestant ideals in exhorting biblical study and increasing the theological awareness of the population. Things have developed significantly from the *Office and dewtie*, where royal authority was to sponsor and support access to the Bible: here independence and determination on the part of the reader is expected, and is of course encouraged and made possible following the Reformation Parliament.[26] For Lauder, learning should be directed towards finding salvation: 'lat our laubour, studie and Meditatioun, / Be euer bent to seik for our Saluatioun' (708–9).

[24] See Joanna Martin, 'Alexander Arbuthnot and the Lyric in Post-Reformation Scotland', *SSL* 42 (2015): pp. 62–87; on the preference for a plain style and scriptural emphasis in English religious verse, and greater stylistic inventiveness in Scotland, see Deirdre Serjeantson, 'English Bards and Scottish Poetics: Scotland's Literary Influence and Sixteenth-Century English Religious Verse', in *Literature and the Scottish Reformation*, pp. 161–90.

[25] The Wycliffite Bible uses 'ingraffen' in other contexts according to *MED,* http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED22716; *OED* does not attest 'engraft' until 1585, giving Edwin Sandys *Sermons* as the citation. See 'engraft | ingraft, v.' *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2016. Web. 15 June 2016. *DOST* gives examples of the verb from John Hamilton's *Ane Catholik and Facile Traictise* (Paris, 1581): 'As the branche can not bring furth fructe except it be ingraft in the trie'; and Ninian Winȝet, *Certane Tractates; together with the Book of four score three Questions and a Translation of Vincentius Lirinensis* (*c.*1562).

[26] Margo Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (New Haven, 2002), p. 24; see David George Mullan, 'Writing the Scottish Reformation', in *Literature and the Scottish Reformation*, pp. 21–45 (p. 28). Though, on the lack of biblical publication in Scotland immediately following the Reformation, see C. R. A. Gribben, 'The Literary Cultures of the Scottish Reformation', *RES* 57 (2006): pp. 64–82 (p. 76).

So although Lauder's *Ane Godlie Tractate* is admonitory—the narrator calls it 'a warnyng' (7)—it yet requires participation: the clarity and relative optimism for the possibility of good governance, and the dissemination of God's word with the support of temporal authority, found in the earlier *Office and dewtie*, are replaced by a more complex and participatory view of the construction of knowledge. The narrator of *Ane Godlie Tractate* depends on the reader's 'feruent mynd and hart' (54) and willingness to reflect ('ponder thair awin part' (210)) and examine their 'conscience' (172–6, 188, 560) in order to find the answers to the questions posed by his subject matter. In relation to the question of who is saved and who is damned, the narrator has this to say:

> To tell quho ar Eleckit or refusit,
> I can nocht saye; thairin hald me excusit;
> Can nane thair-of haue sik experience
> As man him self grapand his awin conscience.
>
> (185–8)

Lauder is perhaps here acknowledging the difficulty of articulating the complexities of the theory of predestination,[27] but at the same time this allows him to encourage his reader to introspection. He who, on reflection, finds that he has 'ane feruent mynd to perseueir / Under the reull of Godis wourd sinceir' (191–2) is amongst the chosen and may find 'confort' (8). There is no confident claim here, as in Lauder's earlier *Office and dewtie*, that the narrator's own knowledge gives access to 'Veritie'. Indeed, truth has to be reached through the interactions of conscience and experience in the individual, which is reminiscent of the more detailed treatment of this subject in Lyndsay's *Dialog*. For Lauder, the individual's conscience is always striving for a virtuous life, and will accuse the sinner bitterly after death for a life misled:

> Quho wants this rest and peace of consicence,
> Of this may haue ane sure experience.
> For quhill he leuis, his conscience tryis and berks
> Gods wraith to wrak him for his wekit werks;
> Quhen he is dead, his conscience sall accuse him,
> And him condamp, quhair he hes done abuse him.
>
> (173–8)

Conscience thus judges and evaluates the individual's experience. But experience is also a teacher (496) pointing out past error. Moreover, the experience of trouble and persecution brings comfort: 'earthlie trubill is . . . grit consolatioun' (144)—an ancient Christian theme but one which is also a favourite of Lauder's contemporary poet, Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington.

Experience is also, though, about bearing fruit in the form of 'godlie deids' (394) or good works. Lauder takes up this theme in his shorter poems as well as in

[27] As Brian Cummings points out, predestination was not an uncontested theory for reformist thinkers: see *The Literary Culture of the Reformation: Grammar and Grace* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 284–7.

Ane Godlie Tractate. Ane prettie Mirrour exhorts the reader to charitable works for the poor of the sort that were confirmed as acceptable in texts such as the *Confession of Faith*: although good works are often seen as central to Catholic teaching, in fact the inclination amongst the elect to do good works was part of reformed theology for many Protestants.[28] In the stark oppositions of *Ane prettie Mirrour*, though, it is the 'Godly' of society, rather than exclusively the godly monarch, in whom Lauder places his faith. His reader is invited to read and 'Thame self to trye out' (10, an echo of the concern with self-scrutiny in the Lauder's longer works) in order to see whether or not they can count themselves amongst 'The chosin children of God, and sones elect' (13).[29] Those whom Lauder describes as the 'wekit' (19) or 'Hypocreitis' (27) corrupt society with their avarice and lack of fraternal feeling, while the 'Godlie' defend and restore it. Godly men therefore refuse to bring false cases to court: they 'will vse no fraude nor gylis,/ And will be laith to sute men to the law' (37–8); they generously 'support the pure' (45); they do not accept bribes, and are 'plaine' (65) in their dealing with others; they labour 'for vnitie and peace' (73). These are their 'gude werks' (95). The descriptions of how the 'hypocrites' typify oppression and discord strongly recall descriptions of those who abuse their power in the Advice to Princes tradition: they 'Ar full of hicht, dispyte and tyrannie' (72). The 'wekit' embody disorder, while the Godly direct their affairs and govern themselves in an orderly way: the poem's verses show '. . . of the Godlie, . . . the trade and ways, / How tha thame selfis heir vpon earth dois gyde' (5–6).[30]

While *Ane Godlie Tractate* and *Ane prettie Mirrour* encourage the reader to spiritual, mental, and practical action, and to take a shared role in the creation of a just and ordered society, *The Lamentatioun of the Pure* (1568) is more pessimistic. There is no mention of the Godly, and little indication of the reader's ability to bring about reform. Already, 'Couatice gydis and rewlis the Ruder' (11), Scottish society here configured through a popular nautical metaphor as a ship,[31] while 'Lawtie and luife ar in exile' (23) and 'Protestantes trew' (17) cannot be found amongst the 'Ipocretis' (18) that claim their name, making Catholics appear far more generous in comparison. In fact, 'all Estaitis' have gone 'astray' (85). The poem's warning that Scots can now only look forward to the plagues of an angry God, its desperate refrain, 'How lang, Lord, wyll this warld indure', and concluding plea for 'euerie Creature, / The Mercyis of grit God procure' (89–90) make it very reminiscent of poems by another writer of this period, Sir Richard Maitland.

Maitland did not write, as far as we know, for print publication, or at the length of some of Lauder's poems. However, there are many parallels between the two poets in rhetoric and subject matter. These similarities were first observed by Laing who, in a note in Furnivall's edition of Lauder's *Minor Poems*, remarks that there is 'one poet from whose works above all I should have quoted most largely,

[28] Mark. S. Sweetnam, 'Calvinism, Counter Reformation and Conversion: Alexander Montgomerie's Religious Poetry', in *Literature and the Scottish Reformation*, pp. 143–60 (p. 155).

[29] 'Prettie' is a term of appreciation applied to literary works according to *DOST:* the sense is that the work is cleverly devised. See *DOST*, Pretty, adj. sense 3b.

[30] *DOST*, gyd(e), v. [31] Discussed in Tricia A. McElroy's essay in this volume.

Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, Knicht . . . '.[32] Most of Maitland's poems were composed between the mid-1550s and early 1570s and it is possible that he had access to Lauder's prints at this time and may have had more personal knowledge of Lauder through connections to court or to Blyth, Edinburgh, and East Lothian.[33] Whatever the direction of influence, the parallel concerns and diction in both poets' works attest to their shared political and social contexts. Both poets write of the hardships suffered by their fellow Scots and see these, as many other writers did, as afflictions sent by God to punish them for their sins. Other similarities seem less the consequence of observations of the same social contexts, and more the result of cross-fertilization. For example, the refrain to each stanza of *The Lamentatioun of the Pure*, 'How lang, lorde, sall this warld indure?', connects the poem to Maitland's short lyric encouraging shared repentance, 'How sould our commoun weill induire?' (probably composed in the late 1560s or early 1570s). Maitland's poem attributes famine and pestilence to 'our offence' (10), a collective national sinfulness, which invites these divinely inflicted punishments, and laments that neither the powerful 'greit men' nor the 'peopill' (18–19) recognize their error but are too busy blaming the other for their suffering:

> How sould our commoun weill induire?
> God to offend we tak no cuir,
> And nane preissis thair lyfe to amend,
> For na trowbill that God will send,
> As plaigis cum be eventuire.
>
> (1–5)

In such circumstances, Lauder agrees that 'God wyll Plaig *ws* but delay' (87).

In *The Lamentatioun of the Pure*, Lauder notes the powerlessness of 'auld kyndnes' (53, neighbourly feeling, magnanimity or courtesy) in the face of malice and greed. This theme and phrasing appears most famously in Maitland's 'Sumtyme to court I did repair' (*c.*1560s?), where Maitland's narrator complains of being spurned at court by one who is his old friend and kinsman, until he offers a financial bribe. The phrase 'auld kyndnes' also forms part of the refrain in Maitland's complaint about the prevalence of greed in society, and corruption at court, 'This warld so fals is and vnstabill' (*c.*1570?): the fickleness and self-interest riddling society is put down to the fact that '. . . keipit is na auld kyndnes' (5).

The social conscience displayed by Maitland and Lauder in their poems—a desire to see justice upheld, especially for the poor, the eradication of avarice amongst the leaders of society, and the creation of a peaceful and unified Scotland—shows that they responded to the social and political difficulties of the mid-sixteenth century in very similar terms. For Lauder ideal social values are 'Lawtie, Loue and liberalitie' (*Ane prettie Mirrour*, 42); for Maitland, 'Luif, lawtie, law, and gud conscience' (48, 'The greit blyithnes and ioy inestimabill', Maitland's poem on the contract of

[32] Furnivall, ed., *Minor Poems*, p. xxix.

[33] See *The Maitland Quarto. A New Edition of Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys Library MS 1408*, edited by Joanna M. Martin (Woodbridge, 2015), p. 3.

marriage between Mary and the Dauphin, *c.*1558). Both poets are nostalgic for the stable hierarchies of the past, represented by the image of the well-ordered household in which each rank was properly employed. The image may be drawn by both Lauder and Maitland from its use in Dunbar's 'Fredome, honour and nobilnes' (13–15): 'Honorable houshaldis ar all laid doun. / Ane laird hes with him bot a loun': even if this is the case, it is striking that both poets share the same influences to express their sense of loss. Maitland evokes the image in a poem of *c.*1558–60, 'Quhair is the blyithnes that hes beine':

> Lordis lattis thair kitchingis cuill,
> And drawis thame to the abbay,
> And scant hes ane to keip thair muile:
> All houshaulderis is worne away.
>
> (9–12)

In *Ane Godlie Tractate* Lauder chastises his contemporaries in these terms:

> 3our housis halding is down, & laid on syde:
> Quhair hunders wount 3our faders to conuoye,
> Now will 3e ryde with ane man and ane boye.
>
> (543–5)

Finally, both Lauder and Maitland articulate shared concerns about the failing aspirations of religious reform. Although Sondergard regards Lauder's attack on both Protestants and Catholics in *The Lamentatioun of the Pure* as unconventional, it is in fact paralleled in Maitland's poem, 'O gratious God, almichtie and eterne', which is dated to 1570 in its earliest witness, the Maitland Folio, and of course in Alexander Scott's poem to welcome Mary Queen of Scots home to Scotland (1560–1). Maitland, who hopes that 'Christiane folk may leif in vnitie' (70), complains of Protestants who 'leif maist wickedlie' (45) and is vehement about those who fail in their duties to practise what they preach:

> That callit ar the 'fleschlie gospellaris',
> Quha in thair wordis apperis richt godlie,
> Bot 3it thair workis the plaine contrair declaris.
>
> (62–4)

He observes that if the Papists had 'left thair auld abusioun' (26) and preached God's word faithfully they would not have 'cummit to sic confusioun' (31): their present misery is a warning to Protestants who might repeat their transgressions. Lauder adopts the same rhyme in his *Ane Godlie Tractate* as he attacks the pride and greed of his fellow Protestants: 'All will be brocht vnto confusioun, / Gods wourd and Lawis vnto abusioun' (604–5). Even if this does not attest to direct influence in either direction, it is striking that two poets writing within a couple of years of each other share themes, rhetoric, and register.

Lauder's voice is significant in spanning and bringing together secular and devotional poetics in exploration of the theme of governance at the time of the Scottish Reformation, harnessing the familiar language and themes of an established literary

tradition of Advice to Princes and extending its relevance for a new time. His poems exist in a network of culturally important poetry which responds to the shifts and anxieties of immediately pre- and post-Reformation Scotland, and must be as much part of our understanding of the literature of this period as texts by Lyndsay, Maitland, and Alexander Scott. Lauder's poems are dynamic and transformative, urging their readers—royal or otherwise—to pious and socially aware action to bring peace and justice to the commonwealth, to understand and lay claim to their own identities as 'godly' and amongst the chosen.