ELIZABETH MELVILLE'S ANE GODLIE DREAME:

A CRITICAL EDITION

by

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ABSTRACT

Early modern Scotland had a culture distinct from that of England, and upper class women in the medieval society of Scotland enjoyed privileges Englishwomen did. The poet Elizabeth Melville (fl. 1603) was a well-educated woman whose *Ane Godlie Dreame* protestantizes the imagery and teachings of medieval dream vision poetry. The poem, which survives in six extant copies comprising four editions, contains echoes of the Bible and some patristic writings, including *The Shepherd of Hermas*. Further, the poem continues the tradition of *The Gude and Godlie Ballats*, an attempt to instill Calvinist doctrine through poetry.

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CHAPTER 1

EARLY MODERN SCOTLAND

Noble women in early modern Scotland might be astonished to find themselves recast in later centuries as voiceless victims of a patriarchal society which would not allow them to attend university or to enter a profession; these women "could enjoy all the corporate privileges of their rank, and some of the honorific privileges in the absence of male heirs, including succeeding to a higher title like an earldom depending on the terms of the patent."[1] Custom privileged men in many ways, but married Scots women did by custom retain their birth names. Married women were not the property of their husbands, and couples held property jointly, even if the man brought it into the marriage. These people constituted a courtly and leisure class; their culture was still Medieval, social, and public.[2] Noble families educated both male and female children, but the role of education in their lives was different from that of modern university education. Also, the role of religion in Scotland at that time was more similar to that of the Roman Catholic Church in the Middle Ages than it was to the optional role religion has in post-industrial societies. However, the Kirk of Scotland in early modern Scotland was different from the medieval church in two significant ways: it was a prophetic church, not an established priestly institution,[3] and it was a national church, not a universal one. As such it offered expanded roles

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[1] Keith M. Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland: Wealth, Family and Culture from Reformation to Revolution*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), p. 7.

[2] The 1637/8 National Covenant, according to historians, marks the end of Middle Ages in Scots society.

[3] Early chapters of Max Weber's *The Sociology of Religion* develop the distinction, and I will be relying on his thinking, as well as on discussions among the sociologists in my family, which took place over the past 30+ years.

for women and for laity generally.[4] In this environment, women work differently, and to understand their writing in their own context, instead of the contemporary context, may require the unwillingly suspension of cherished assumptions about the roles and writings of women in the past.[5]

Among the seeming peculiarities of Scots culture is the custom of women retaining their birth names, even after marriage. Travelers, says Keith Brown, found it odd that Scots women did not subsume their identities into their husbands' and change their names when they married.[6] No one knows the origins of this practice, although John Buchan in "Some Scottish Characteristics," suggests that it reflects the clannishness of the Scots, who believe that "blood is thicker than water" and who "count cousins far afield; and people who to everybody else would be strangers are to us blood relations, bound by the tie of a remote but indissoluable common origin."[7] Historian Gordon Donaldson also comments that "'the kin'---blood relationship---has always been a potent element in Scottish life."[8] For some people, like the poet William Drummond of Hawthornden (1585-1649), this emphasis on blood relationship led to a pride of family. He was descended from the family of Annabella Drummond, wife of Robert III (c. 1340-1406), so family loyalty demanded that he support Charles I during his conflicts with the

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[4] Nancy van Vuuren, *The Subversion of Women as Practiced by Churches, Witch-hunters, and Other Sexists*. (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1973), p. 47.

[5] See Erica Longfellow, *Women and Religious Writing in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004) and Patricia Fara, *Pandora's Breeches: Women, Science and Power in the Enlightenment* (London: Pimlico, 2004).

[6] Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland, op cit*., p. 138.

[7] John Buchan, "Some Scottish Characteristics," *The Scottish Tongue: A Series of Lectures on the Vernacular Language of Lowland Scotland Delivered to the Vernacular Circle of the Burns Club of London*, William Craigie, *et al*., (London and New York: Cassell and Co., Ltd, 1924), p. 68.

[8] Donaldson, Gordon. *Scotland: Church and Nation through Sixteen Centuries*, (London:

Presbyterians and the Puritans.[9] For others, family loyalty is more local. Buchan tells the story of a man whose unmarried sister lived with the couple. The sisters-in-law fought constantly; the man rejected a suggestion that he might ask his sister to leave. He could not, he responded, turn his sister out "for a strange woman."[10] One's birth family comprises one's closest ties and constitutes a part of one's identity, even for distant degrees of relationship and even after marriage.

In spite of, or perhaps because of, this emphasis on kinship with one's family of origin, marriage in early modern Scotland was a partnership, although it was not always a completely equal one.[11] The Kirk of Scotland encouraged companionate marriage,[12] as did the Protestant church generally.[13] However, Scots men did assume authoritative roles in marriage, but, as Brown notes, men do not seem to have shared the English anxiety about women's dormant powers.[14] He adds that few works in Scots literature or popular culture center on role reversals. Instead, husbands sought their wives' counsel and apparently found it good since many seem to have respected their wives;[15] they trusted their wives to run their estates while they were away. Both spouses in noble families worked inside the home, and it would be hard to determine how

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SCM Press, Ltd., 1960), p. 43.

[9] David Allan, "'What's in a Name?: Pedigree and Propaganda," in Edward J. Cowan and Richard J. Finlay, eds., *Scottish History: The Power of the Past* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002), pp. 149-50.

[10] Buchan, *op cit.*, p. .

[11] Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland, op cit*., p. 136.

[12] *Ibid*.; also, see Margo Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002). Chapter Six concerns marriage and family life, but Todd's emphasis is on the lower classes.

[13] Kenneth Charlton, *Women, Religion, and Education in Early Modern England,* (London and New York: Routlege, 1999), p. 36.

[14] Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland, op cit*., p. 138.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 142.

active women might have been in the normal running of estates. Since historians rely on written records, most of the available materials come from periods when husbands were away from home, and it would be very hard to assess what happened under usual circumstances because few people at this period kept diaries of their lives outside their spiritual struggles. Both men and women participated in the education of children.[16] Women acted within a limited, usually domestic, sphere, but they were partners, not property.

Although Brown discusses a series of laws which restrict a woman's legal control over property she brought into marriage and ability to pursue suits on her own,[17] the records of the Great Seal of Scotland suggest noble women had a voice in the disposal of community property. For example, when Sir James Melville of Halhill sold lands he held in fief in Linlithgow, he did so with the approval of his wife, Christian Boswell.[18] Mary Stewart had granted the property to him in 1564/5,[19] and that charter makes no mention of Boswell. Similarly, the transfer of land near Dunfermline from John Colville of West Comrie to his younger brother Robert Colville and his wife Catherine Melville required the consent of the elder Colville's wife, Elizabeth Melville,[20] although that property was a part of the Colville family's estate. These examples are limited but suggestive; marriage contracts, which are not a concern of the Privy Seal, may have required a woman's inclusion in this process. Nonetheless, examining the documents of the Privy Seal and ecclesiastical and family records in greater detail could be a difficult but fruitful endeavor for a

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16 *Ibid.*, p. 182.
17 *Ibid.*, p. 138.
18 Thomson, John Maitland, ed. *Registrum Magni Sigilli regum Scotorum*: *The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, A.D. 1546-1580*. (Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 1886), Vol. V, p. 680.
19 *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 366.
20 *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 491; see Appendix II.

social historian or a historical sociologist.

Although families like the Melvilles and the Colvilles seem to belong to the class of the landed gentry, these families held their lands in fief from the monarch: they received rents from their tenants and in turn paid rent to the crown. Families who participated in this system gained both wealth and prestige. Those who received church property when the Reformed church became the Kirk of Scotland and the lands of abbeys and monasteries reverted to the monarch had the same privileges as the abbots had: they accumulated money, had standing in the local community, and sat in Parliament. They may or may not have held local or national offices; they may or may not have been advisors to the sovereign; they belonged to a class whose members were expected to be intelligent and educated, equipped to converse with and advise their ruler.

Education then had a different value. It prepared people not to participate in the job market but to assume a place in a culture that valued both intellectual and physical prowess: "the choice," notes Brown "was not between horses and swords on the one hand, and Latin and history on the other; nobles had to be comfortable in both these worlds."[21] As a result, "they had to learn how to ride horses, use weapons, administer their estate, exercise command and win the favour of the king."[22] They learned social skills and public responsibilities as well as facts, and consequently, they learned outside, as well as inside, the classroom. They also learned at home for the most part; few men, especially among the lesser gentry, attended university,[23] which was becoming in England the means by which men not born in the nobility became acculturated to

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[21] Brown, *op cit.*, p. 181.
[22] *Ibid.*
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 187.

public life and gained preferment at court.

The distinction between education for public life and private life that feminists draw on to bemoan the lack of educational quality and opportunities for women seems to break down for a class whose lives are centered in a web of social relationships.[24] The Kirk, too, was a public institution that shaped social roles and relationships. Scotland was during the reigns of Mary and James chronologically in the early Modern period, but socially and economically, it retained the feudal ideal of society as a network of people of distinct classes with mutual obligations to one another.

Women had to be educated, as men were, into this culture so that they could fill multiple roles, such as steward, counselor, and educator. Noble women rarely went to school outside their homes, but that does not mean that they received an inferior education any more than home-schooling is necessarily an indication of poor education. Todd suggests that religious services are an overlooked source of education since ministers rigorously catechized and examined congregants of all social classes, both male and female, even having an occasional surprise examination.[25] People were thus educated to assume their Christian responsibilities in addition to their social duties. Mary Stewart, no doubt, received an exceptional education since she was preparing to undertake the ruling of a country: among the subjects she studied were languages,

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[24] See Edith Snook, *Women, Reading, and the Cultural Politics of Early Modern England* (Aldershot, UK, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Co., 2005), pp. 1-24. Snook grants that women received an education and may have studied the same subjects as men, but their education was not serious since it was intended only for private purposes, not for public life. The work of Jurgen Habermas serves as the underpinning of her discussion, and the work deals with English society only.

[25] Todd, *op cit.*, pp. 74-81.

history, rhetoric, and poetry.[26] The course of her studies was the same as that of the Dauphin of France, and other girls in the French court apparently joined the boys in their studies.[27] How exceptional her education was is not clear. She had, as John Guy points out, access to a large library of manuscripts and books, and these resources certainly set her educational opportunities different from those of other noblewomen.[28] In addition to having a well-educated queen, the Scots apparently did not participate in the debate that fostered distrust of intellectual women, and the country was the home of "many educated and cultured women."[29]

Many of these women were members of the Kirk of Scotland, whose membership came primarily from the lairds, feuars, and burgesses,[30] that is, the lesser gentry, who seem to have gained property and status with the dissolution of Roman Catholic religious institutions and with the growth of the mercantile middle class. The Presbyterian Kirk sought to influence all aspects of a person's life,[31] but the power structure of the reformed church in Scotland was not constituted as the hierarchical Roman Catholic Church had been. Nor was it as wealthy and aristocratic as the Roman Church had been. The Kirk of Scotland represents, says Donaldson, "a reaction in favor of the laity,"[32] and it accepted "the concept of the priesthood of all believers," an idea which does not imply that each person can be his/her own priest but rather that the "essential

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[26] John Guy, *Queen of Scots: the True Life of Mary Stuart*, (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 2004), p. 67.
[27] *Ibid*., p. 68.
[28] *Ibid*.
[29] Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland*, *op cit*., p. 187.
[30] Ian D. Whyte, *Scotland's Society and Economy in Transition c. 1500-c. 1760*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), p. 48.
[31] Both Brown and Todd discuss the ways that the reformed kirk shaped the way people spent their time through ecclesiastical activities, through encouraging private Bible reading, and through controlling behavior.
[32] Donaldson, *Scotland Church and Nation, op cit.,* p. 59.

priesthood was a kind of corporate ministry residing in the congregation, from whom authority came up to the minister instead of descending on him from a bishop."[33] Todd discusses incidents in which a congregant disrupted a sermon to express disagreement,[34] and Brown recounts a story from the sixteenth-century minister Patrick Galloway about the name-calling he endured from the first Duke of Lennox, a Roman Catholic in a now Protestant land, while preaching in 1582.[35] The Kirk of Scotland was, according to Weber's definition, a church of prophets more concerned with reform than with maintaining the *status quo*.[36] In a prophetic church, power does not come from office within an established structure but from within the prophet, often a charismatic person with a sense of mission and message, who may seize power rather than wait for it to be granted.[37] The Kirk seems to have inverted the power structure of the Roman Church and to have created opportunities for the lesser gentry to have a greater role in society.

Just as women had more significant roles in the early Christian church, so they had broader roles during the Reformation.[38] Brown says that women were a part of the underground Protest church before 1560, when Scotland officially declared itself a Protestant country, and that noblewomen "had important roles to play in the spiritual lives of their families, households and estates," including arranging household religious observances.[39] To accomplish this seemingly unimportant task, these women had to know the doctrine and practices of the Kirk, and Todd

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[33] Gordon Donaldson, *The Faith of the Scots* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1990), p. 66.
[34] Todd, *op cit.*, p. 54.
[35] Brown, *Noble Society, op cit.*, p. 232.
[36] Max Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, Ephraim Fischoff, trans. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), p. 50.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 46; p. 51.
[38] van Vuuren, *op cit.*, p. 47.
[39] Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland, op cit.*, p. 234.

comments that women in Presbyterian Scotland "regularly swore or signed confessions [of faith] or the Covenant" and were "examined as men were on their knowledge of the faith."[40] Although women may have lacked outward power, they had influence over the education and formation of their male and female children, as well as over other members of their household. Through this influence, some gained the kind of power that comes, as the prophet's power does, from within, rather than from the office one holds.

In addition to having been members of the Kirk before its establishment, women were participants in events like Edinburgh's Prayer Book Riot in 1637, during which the laity refused to accept the *Book of Common Prayer* as the prayer book of the Kirk of Scotland, and the Covenanting movement of the late 1630's, which averred that the king could not impose English religious customs on the Kirk.[41] Jenny Geddes, a servant, started the Prayer Book riot when she threw something at the dean of St. Giles Cathedral; her action, however, was not an impulse of the moment. Both nobles and clergymen had been speaking against Charles I's civil and religious policies and planning a protest for months.[42] S. A. Burrell believes these people would not have acted as they did unless they felt that "they had something to rebel about," and he sees the riot as an outgrowth of two generations-worth of "fiery preaching"[43] that persuaded people cause for alarm existed. The Prayer Book riot occurred seven months before the signing of the National Covenant, a more civilized protest against the king's encroachments both on the Kirk

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[40] Todd, *op cit.*, p. 64.
[41] Keith M. Brown, "Reformation to Union, 1560-1707," in R. A. Houston and W. W. J. Knox, eds, *The New Penguin History of Scotland from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (London: Allen Lane/ The Penguin Press, 2001), p. 240 and pp. 246-7.
[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 246-7.
[43] S. A. Burrell, "The Apocalyptic Vision of the Early Covenanters," *The Scottish Historical Review* 43 (1964), p. 16.

and on the Scots' sense of nationhood separate from its southern neighbor, and among the Covenanters were women like Jean Campbell, Lady Kenmure; Elizabeth Melville, Lady Culross; Catherine Erskine, and Janet Kene.[44] A common complaint about Charles was that although he had been born in Scotland, he had become more English than Scots.

Ian Whyte comments that historians take the religion of Scotland to be "a distinctive and fundamental aspect of Scottish identity and culture,"[45] a statement Todd considers "beyond debate."[46] In contrast to the claims of the Roman Church to be the universal church, the claim of the Scots Presbyterians was, according to Burrell, to have a special covenant with God, by which they, like Israel, constituted a holy nation among nations. The Presbyterians also thought that they descended from the Culdees, a quasi-monastic community within the Celtic church that predated the arrival of Roman Catholics in Scotland.[47] The Culdees felt their group had a special mission involving the salvation of the world, and members of the Kirk of Scotland as the heirs of the Jews and the Culdees believed they did as well.[48] The country was a small nation, as were the Jews, and the Kirk saw itself as an expression of pure and primitive Christianity of the Celtic church, a model for other Christian nations.

Scotland in early modern times was a country struggling to maintain an independent identity after the Union of the Crowns in 1603; it was further a nation with a sense of mission that seems at odds with its size and lack of importance in the world's political and economic sphere. Although Scots upheld clannish traditions, they were also a people in a state of

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[44] See James Anderson, *The Ladies of the Covenant* (Edinburgh and London: Blackie and Sons, 1851).
[45] Whyte, *op cit*., p. 48.
[46] Todd, *op cit*., p. 402.
[47] Burrell, *op cit*., p. 8.

transition: Scots society retained certain economic features of the Middle Ages, especially in the continuation of feuing, but it saw a change in class structure as the lesser nobility and the middle class came to hold power through their participation in the Protestant Kirk, which had displaced the Roman Catholic Church as the official church. However, the Presbyterians had not yet convinced everyone that the Kirk was the true faith.[49] It remained a prophetic church seeking to re-form society into its vision of primitive Christianity and to stem the sin it felt the Roman Catholics had ignored. The Kirk continued proclaiming its doctrine actively and evangelically, as it faced those who wished to restore the Roman Catholic faith and those who wished to impose Anglican practices on it. The Kirk honored all, male or female, who served it, and among the women whom it remembers is the poet, Elizabeth Melville.

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[48] *Ibid*., p. 17.

[49] Todd discusses catechism as a way of exposing Roman Catholics who went through the motions of Kirk observance on pp. 114-6 of her book, and Brown devotes a section of the chapter on religion among the nobles to the Roman Catholic nobility.

CHAPTER 2

ELIZABETH MELVILLE: A BRIEF LIFE

The details of the life of Elizabeth Melville have been lost to time, neglect, and decay, and what remains of her experiences is buried in a maze of historical documents and theories about the roles of women and religion in society. She was born into a family whose members were prominent in the reigns of Mary and of James VI, and although she is not listed among the members of James' Castalian band, she knew many of the poets whose names are associated with the court. Her family also was prominent in the Kirk of Scotland, and she was an active worshiper and took part in the movement that led to the signing of the National Covenant of 1637/8.[50] Her contemporaries praised her as an accomplished poet and a faithful encourager of her fellow Christians who established the Calvinist church as the church of Scotland. She married John Colville,[51] the Commendator of Culross and heir to his uncle's title, Lord Colville of Culross; they had three sons, the youngest of whom was a pamphleteer and poet. The circumstances and date of her death are unknown. Like her religious forbears in Culross, Sts. Serf and Mungo, Melvill is remembered in local circles, especially among the Scots and the Presbyterians, and seems to be a woman in a footnote to the larger community of readers.

Melville was the daughter of Sir James Melville of Halhill, a courtier, and Christian Boswell.[52] He is the author of *The Memoirs of Sir James Melville of Halhill*,[53] and he began his

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[50] Keith M. Brown, "Reformation to Union, 1560-1707," in R. A. Houston and W. W. J. Knox, eds, *The New Penguin History of Scotland from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (London: Allen Lane/ The Penguin Press, 2001), p. 240.

[51] John Colville is listed in peerages, and his name appears in *The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland* associated with gifts of land and rents from his father; acquisition of properties; and sales of land. He is remembered now primarily as the husband of Elizabeth Melville.

[52] Her name is frequently feminized as Christina. The name Christian appears to have become

courtly career at fourteen as a page to Mary Stewart in France. He was later in the service of the Duke of Montmorency, the constable of France and uncle to Mary, and of Frederick III, the first Calvinist Elector Palatine. Melville re-entered Mary's service in the 1560's, and she sent him in 1564 to London, where he discussed Mary's proposed marriage to her cousin Darnley with Elizabeth of England. He records a diplomatic exchange in which he manages to praise each queen's beauty without slighting the other's attractions, and Alexandre Dumas, *père*, fictionalized the conversation in his *Mary Stuart.* After Mary's abdication, Melville served her son, James, until 1603, when James VI of Scotland became James I of England; James knighted Melville in 1590 at the coronation of his bride, Anne of Denmark.[54] The courtier retired to Halhill in 1603 and was a gentleman of leisure until his death in 1617.

Because Melville's memoirs contain little personal information or reflection, scholars speculate that he and Christian Boswell married earlier than 1576, the first time that a deed for the sale of land mentions both names.[55] Henry Balnaves'[56] will contains an ambiguous sentence

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a family name since a headstone in Collessie Kirkyard, where Sir James and many Melvilles are buried, bears the name Christian Melville, wife of Thomas Wallace, who died in 1888.

[53] Gordon Donaldson, ed. *The Memoirs of Sir James Melville of Halhill* (London: The Folio Society, 1969); Melville's grandson, George Scott, published a heavily edited version of the manuscript, which had been found in Edinburgh Castle, in 1683. *The Memoirs* were published in three English editions in the eighteenth century and in French translation in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Bannatyne Club published a full edition in 1827; Donaldson's edition is somewhat abridged and modernized.

[54] Thomas Thomson, ed., *Calderwood's The History of the Kirk of Scotland* (Edinburgh: The Wodrow Society, 1842-9) Vol. V, p. 95.

[55] James Balfour Paul, ed. *The Scots Peerage* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1909) Vol. VI, p. 90.

[56] Henry Balnaves (c. 1512-1569) was one of the conspirators in the murder of Cardinal Beaton and participants in the siege of St. Andrews Castle. He was a friend of Elizabeth Melville's grandfather and, since he was a childless landowner apparently without living relatives, adopted Sir James as his heir. Sir James was the fourth son and the third surviving son of John Melville of Raith, and as such, could not expect much of an inheritance from his family.

that suggests they may have been married as early as 1569, the year that Balnaves died: "Item, to Helene Boiswell, for hir fe, as his Wifes testament beiris, tuelf pund."[57] (That is: Item, to Helen Boswell, for her salary, as his wife bears witness, twelve pounds.) Melville was the executor of the will and heir to the bulk of Balnaves' estate, and no immediate antecedent of *his* appears in the text which lists smaller payments to be made from the money. This piece of evidence is more suggestive than definitive.

James Melville and Christian Boswell had three children besides Elizabeth: James, who inherited Halhill and who married Elizabeth's sister-in-law, Catherine Colville; Robert, a clergyman who was assistant pastor at Culross,[58] and Margaret, who married Andrew Balfour of Montquhany.[59] The dates of their births and their birth order are not noted. That Elizabeth was older than Margaret can be inferred from the placement of her name above Margaret's in the discussion in the *Peerage* of female offspring.

Alexander Lawson, who edited Alexander Hume's work for the Scottish Text Society, says Elizabeth Melville was born between 1571 and 1578,[60] while Joanne Shattock speculates that Elizabeth Melvill was born in 1571 at Halhill[61], the estate that James Melville inherited from Henry Balnaves. *The Scots Peerage* says that Balnaves died in 1570/1, a date at variance with

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[57] David Laing, ed. *The Works of John Knox* (New York: AMS Press, 1966), Vol. III p. 428.
[58] John C. Johnston, ed., *Treasury of the Scottish Covenant* (Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, 1887), p 605. See also William K. Tweedie, ed., *Select Biographies edited for the Wodrow Society, chiefly from manuscripts in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates* (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1845) Vol. I, pp. 332-3.
[59] James Balfour Paul, ed. *The Scots Peerage* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1909) Vol. VI, pp. 91-2.
[60] Alexander Lawson, ed. *The Poems of Alexander Hume* (Edinburgh and London: The Scottish Text Society, 1902), p. 184.
[61] Joanne Shattock, *The Oxford Companion to British Women Writers* (Oxford and New York: OUP, 1993), p. 290.

other sources which give the date of his death as 1579.[62] The will, which David Laing appends to the third volume of Knox's *Works*, says that Balnaves died in February, 1569;[63] the king approved the will in March, 1571. Shattock's inference is plausible and suggests that Melville was in her early thirties when *Ane Godlie Dreame* was first published in 1603 and in her mid-sixties at the time of the National Covenant. Shattuck's date is, however, problematic if Melville's parents were not married in 1571 and if *Eminent Men of Fife* and *The Dictionary of National Biography* give the correct date for the birth of her eldest son, Alexander, who was, they assert, born in 1620.[64] This date for the birth of Alexander seems erroneous since the *Fasti ecclesiæ scoticanæ* says he died in 1666 at the age of seventy.[65] Additionally, Melville's husband resigned as commendator of Culross in favor of Alexander in 1609;[66] his resignation meant that the rents of Culross Abbey and its properties went to Alexander, rather than to his father; his resignation also means that the property stayed in the family since commendators often had only a life interest in the abbeys they administered.[67] John Colville, however, seems to have retained "an interest as late as 24 February, 1613."[68] That the elder Colville continued to use some money

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[62] See, for example, Alexander Balloch Grossart's entry on Balnaves in the 1921 *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[63] Laing, *Works of Knox, op cit*., p. 427.

[64] Matthew Connolly, ed., *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Men of Fife, of past and present times, natives of the county, or connected with it by property, residence, office, marriage, or otherwise* (Cupar-Fife: John C. Orr, 1866), p. 126; Thomas Finlayson Henderson, "Alexander Colville," in Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, eds. *The Dictionary of National Biography* (London: OUP, 1921-7) Vol. IV, p. 874.

[65] Hew Scott, *Fasti ecclesiæ scoticanæ:The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1915-28), Vol. VII, p. 420.

[66] Paul, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 559.

[67] Mark Dilworth, *Scottish Monasteries in the Late Middle Ages* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995) p. 21; Dilworth mentions the Colvilles and their connection with Culross in his discussion.

[68] D. E. R. Watt and N. F. Shead, eds., *The Heads of Religious Houses in Scotland from Twelfth*

suggests that Alexander was at an age such that he needed to have some money but was not yet fully independent, as John Colville himself seems to have been when his father (also Alexander Colville) gave him two-thirds of the rents from the abbey in 1576 for his education.[69] If Alexander was born in 1596 and if Shattuck's date is reasonably estimated, Melville would have been in her twenties when her eldest son was born. Historian Keith Brown says that the average age at which Scots men of the nobility married was 22.5 years (although they could legally marry at fourteen) and that women tended to be a few years younger than their husbands (and they could legally marry at twelve).[70] John Colville was born before 1570, the date the *Fasti ecclesiæ scoticanæ* gives for the birth of his younger brother, Robert,[71] and if Elizabeth Melville was born in 1571, they fit the profile well.

The date of their marriage is also not known. She was married and had a considerable reputation as a religious woman and as a poet by 1599, when the poet Alexander Hume dedicated his *Hymnes or Sacred Songs* to "the faithfvll and vertvovs Ladie, Elizabeth Mal-vill, Ladie Cumrie. . . ."[72] *Mal-vill* is an attested variant of *Melville*,[73] and the title, different from Lady Culross, which is found on the surviving copy of the first English edition of *Ane Godlie Dreame*, seems to come from the property north of Culross that John Colville received in 1581

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to Sixteenth Centuries (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 2001), p. 54.

[69] Gordon Donaldson, ed. *Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum: The Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1982), Vol. VII, p. 112.

[70] Keith M. Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland: Wealth, Family, and Culture, from Reformation to Revolution* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), pp. 115-6.

[71] Scott, *op cit.*, Vol. V, p. 14.

[72] Lawson, *op cit.*, p. 3.

[73] George F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland: Their Origin, Meaning, and History* (New York: The New York Public Library, 1946), p. 594.

from his uncle James Colville of Easter Wemyss,[74] who later became Lord Colville of Culross and whose heir John Colville was, or from his mother, Nicholas[75] Dundas, with a charter from his uncle.[76] David Laing speculates that Melville had these titles as a courtesy,[77] and Keith Brown says, "possession of a landed estate was *de facto* a recognition for acquiring a title, and some correlation was maintained between landed worth and rank."[78] The Colville family owned the land around Culross Abbey in the burgh of Culross, and the commendators sat in Parliament as the abbots of Culross. They also owned land in West Comrie, north of Culross. How John Colville was designated in public documents seems to have depended where he was living at the time. For example, the parliamentary act that confirmed in 1644 Alexander's rights to the properties left him by his father[79] and charters in the Register of the Privy Seal in the 1620's and 1630's, refer to Melville's husband as John Colville of West (or Wester) Cumrie (also spelled Comrie and Cumbry). Elizabeth Melville was at various times in her life Lady Cumrie and Lady Culross. Since her uncle by marriage held the title Lord Colville of Culross by royal charter, his wife would have been the senior Lady Culross before 1609 or Lady Colville after 1609.

Although Melville is designated Lady Culross the younger on the title pages of all editions of her lengthy poem after the first and is identified only as Lady Culross in the three seventeenth-century editions of Samuel Rutherford's letters, some question exists as to her right

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[74] Robert Douglas, *The Peerage of Scotland* (Edinburgh: n. p., 1768), p. 145.
[75] Her name is frequently feminized to Nicolaa.
[76] Paul, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 550.
[77] "Introduction" to *Ane Godlie Dreame, Compylit in Scotish Meter* in *Early Popular Poetry of Scotland and the Northern Border Edited by David Laing LL.D. in 1822 and 1826 Re-arranged and Revised with Additions and a Glossary by W. Carew Hazlitt* (London: Reeves and Turner, 1895), p. 279.
[78] Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland, op cit*., p. 9.
[79] *The Acts of the Parliament of Scotland* ([no city]: Lords Commissioners of her Majesty's

to the title since information about her husband's claim to be called Lord Colville of Culross is contradictory. As Commendators of Culross, the Colvilles enjoyed all the privileges of the abbots of Culross, but public documents consistently refer to them as the Commendators of Culross, not as Lords Culross. John Colville's uncle James was named Lord Colville in 1604, a title reaffirmed in 1606, and created a baron, Lord Colville of Culross, in 1609.[80] He married twice, and his elder son died before he did. A grandson, James, became the second Lord Colville of Culross. According to some accounts, he died in 1640 and was succeeded by his cousin John Colville, who did not assume the title, although he was by right the third Lord Colville of Culross.[81] According to other accounts, the second Lord Colville died in 1659 and left his title and estates to his underage sons.[82] David Beveridge says that these children were the offspring of James Colville's third marriage and that after the death of the youngest around 1667, the barony and its title lay dormant until 1723.[83] In that year, the great-great grandson of John Colville and Elizabeth Melville claimed the title; the British Parliament had to confirm his right to the barony because the peerage was vacant at the time of the Act of Union, and the governing body obliged, thus making Colville and Melville ancestors of the Lords Colville of Culross.[84] Beveridge concludes that Melville "enjoyed" the title Lady Culross the Younger as a courtesy

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Treasury, 1870) Vol. VI, pt. 1, pp. 249-50.

[80] Paul, *op cit*., Vol. II, p. 556; Ian B. Cowan and David E. Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses in Scotland*, 2nd ed., (London and New York: Longman, 1976), p. 74.

[81] John Philip Wood, ed. *The Peerages of Scotland*. 1764. Second edition. (Edinburgh: George Ramsay and Co., 1813) Vol. I, p. 355; Connolly, *op cit*., p. 125.

[82] George E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain, and the United Kingdom, extant, extinct or dormant* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1887-98) Vol. III, p. 381.

[83] David Beveridge, *Culross and Tullianllan or Perthshire on Forth: Its History and Antiquities* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1885) Vol. I, p. 182.

[84] *Op cit*., p. 183.

since her husband was for many years the presumptive heir to his uncle's estates.[85] According to David Irving, the author of a history of Scots literature, John Colville refused to take the rank of Lord Colville of Culross because he was not wealthy enough to sustain the costs of being a noble.[86]

By the time he inherited the title, he had resigned the income from Culross Abbey to his eldest son, so he would have been considerably less wealthy than he had been. At a time when the average clergyman made £20.0 a year,[87] Colville, as the commendator, earned £768.0, 16 shillings, and 7 pence a year from abbey rents. In addition, he received 3 chalders and 3 bolls of wheat (~296 bushels or 1957.7 gallons);[88] 14 chalders, 10 bolls, and 2 firlots of barley (~1,359 bushels or 6182.5 gallons); 13 chalders, 12 bolls, 3 firlots, and 3.5 pecks of oats (~1280 bushels or 8114.5 gallons); and 1 chalder, 2 bolls of salt (~104 busheks or 690 gallons)[89] a year. The lay administrator of the abbey also received 7 dozen capons, 28.5 dozen poultry, 10 wedders (male sheep[90]), and 22 lambs; other goods received as rent include 8 trusses (288 lbs) of straw, 7.5 stones (120 lbs) of cheese, and 79.5 stones (1272 lbs.) of cheese.[91] The family was quite wealthy from Culross Abbey alone, and John Colville owned other property in West Comrie, Kincardine, and Largs.

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85 *Ibid*.
86 John Aitken Carlyle, ed. *The History of Scotish Poetry by David Irving, LL.D.* (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1861), p. 481.
87 Dilworth, *op cit*., 42.
88 A chalder is the amount a cauldron will hold, and a boll is 1/16 of a chalder. When the units are standardized, a chalder of barley is slightly over 2/3 larger than a chalder of wheat.
89 A chalder of oats is equal to a chalder of barley, and a chalder of salt is equal to a chalder of wheat.
90 The English use the term *wedder* to mean a castrated male, but the Scots use it for any male sheep.
91 Andrew S. Cunningham, *Romantic Culross, Torryburn, Carnock, Cairneyhill, Saline, and*

Twentieth-century descendants of the Colville family in the United States had asserted that the Colvilles lived in the "Palace,"[92] a large house in the center of Culross; however, George Bruce, who had purchased land and mining rights from Alexander Colville (Melville's father-in-law), built the house in the early seventeenth century.[93] The charter which gives John Colville rights to certain properties before his father's death says Colville owned a house and gardens on monastery property.[94] The original community associated with Culross Abbey was a double monastery consisting of a male house and a female house,[95] and slightly out of the center of town and up the hill from the town to the Abbey is a white house called the Nunnery; Andrew Cunningham says it "dates to 1609 and bears the initials A.C. J.C."[96] Although no hard evidence connects this structure with John Colville's family, Cunningham's assertion suggests that it may have been a residence of John Colville and/or his son Alexander.

Whether the marriage of Elizabeth Melville and John Colville was more than another union of the two land-owning families is not known. Brown stresses the public nature of noble marriage in the Middle Ages and Renaissance since marriage was a means of creating and confirming advantageous alliances among noble families,[97] but he notes that parents did not exercise monarchial authority in arranging marriages.[98] Todd says that Calvinists took what

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Pitfirrane (Dunfermline: W. Clark and Sons, 1902), p. 19.

92 Christine Alexander Colville, "Clan Colville Scottish Society." (http://www.geocities.com/clancolville/, 1999). She did not respond to my inquiry about the claim and has since removed this information from the website.

93 Neil Wilson, Graeme Cornwallis, and Tom Smallman, *Scotland* (Melburne: Lonely Planet Publications, 2002), p. 265.

94 Paul, *op cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 550.

95 Cowan and Eassen, *op cit.*, p. 74.

96 Cunningham, *op cit.*, p. 33.

97 Brown, *Noble Society, op cit.*, p. 113.

98 *Ibid.*, p. 120.

seems like an unusually positive view of romantic love and saw it as the hand of God working in the world, although parents still wanted their children to ask for their consent before entering into marriage.[99] Additionally, children could refuse to marry the spouse whom their parents had chosen, and by the seventeenth century, parents were likely to consult their children before arranging a marriage.[100] How much Colville and Melville enjoyed this freedom is impossible to say because the few surviving letters to John Livingstone are as much expressions of religious faith as Melville's poem and her work in the Kirk of Scotland.

Melville seems to have felt that her religious activities kept her from her family duties, and in a brief sketch of Euphan M'Cullen in "Memorable Characteristics," John Livingstone records this exchange between "a poor woman in the parish of Kinneucher" and Lady Culross: "At one time, the Lady Culross desired her to pray for her in regard of the outward condition of her family; and when she enquired what answer she gott, Euphan said the answer was, 'He that provides not for his own house hath denied the faith.' Whereat the Lady said, 'Now you have killed me; for I goe to preachings and communions here and there, neglecting the care of my family.'"[101] Although Melvill saw the response as a rebuke, M'Cullen assured her that the Lord had told her that Lady Culross was one of his own and that he would provide for her. The response was, rather, an assurance that Melville was taking care of God's family and that he would take care of her and her family. This theme of reliance on God is found in both *Ane Godlie Dreame* and in the sonnet Melville sent to John Welch.

Of the three sons born to Melville and Colville, little is said of her relationship with

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[99] Todd, *op cit.*, p. 267.
[100] Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland*, *op cit.*, pp. 120-1.
[101] Livingstone, "Memorable Characteristics," in Tweedie, *op cit.*, Vol. I, p. 339.

Alexander, whose life is more easily documented than those of his brothers. The date of his birth is not known, but he did attend the University of Edinburgh[102] and was ordained a minister in the Kirk of Scotland.[103] He became a professor of theology and Hebrew at the University of Sedan "under the patronage of the Reformed Church of France, a country with which his family had close associations"[104] and married a French woman, Ann(e) le Blanc.[105] Around 1642, he became a professor of divinity at St. Andrews and was appointed principal of New College.[106] He received the lands owned by his father in 1643, and in 1650, he was offered a professorship at the University of Edinburgh, which he did not take because the General Assembly of the Kirk did not allow his translation.[107] The presbytery of St. Andrew, in 1658, encouraged him to continue writing: "The presbyterie having sein and considdered a little booke latelie put to the presse by Doctor Colvill, did earnestlie requeist him to goe about more of that kynd."[108] The book, suggests George Kinloch, is *De Loco Parallelo, obscuro et difficili Jacobi cap. 4. vers. 5 and 6, Prælectiones Quinque* (*Five Lectures on an Analogous, Obscure, and Difficult Passage*[109] *in James 4:5-6*), published in Edinburgh in 1656. On the death of John Colville, Alexander Colville was, according to Paul, in the line of succession for the title Lord Colville of Culross, but he, too, never used the title.[110] Melville's only failure with her eldest son, if it is indeed a

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102 Henderson, *op cit*., p. 874.
103 Paul, *op cit*., p. 550.
104 *Ibid*.
105 Henderson, *op cit*., p. 874; Paul, *op cit*., p. 551.
106 Paul, *op cit*., p. 551.
107 *Ibid*.
108 George R. Kinloch, ed., *Ecclesiastical Records. Selections from the Minutes of the Presbyteries of St. Andrews and Cupar, 1641-1698* (Edinburgh: Abbotsford Club, 1837), p. 73.
109 Literally, *place*.
110 William Anderson in his notice on John Colville in the third volume of *The Scottish Nation* (Edinburgh and London: A. Fullarton and Co., [n.d.]) also reports this information.

failure, was to keep him securely in the family tradition of Calvinism: Henderson identifies him as a "Scottish episcopalian divine,"[111] and John Howie says that as Samuel Rutherford lay dying, "[h]e exhorted Dr. Colvil, a man who complied with prelacy afterwards to adhere to the government of the Church of Scotland, and to the doctrine of the Covenant. . . ."[112] Alexander Colville died in 1666, according to Paul and the *Fasti*, or in 1676, according to Henderson.

Very little is known of James Colville, the middle son of Elizabeth Melville and John Colville. Wood says that he is mentioned in his father's "bond of provision" dated 5 May, 1643;[113] others believe that James died young because in a letter to John Livingstone in 1631, Melville says Samuel is going to college and she suffers "a doubill los" because someone in the household is feeling the death of his brother and "hes brokin all bands. . . Thair wes som begining of order, bot all is wrong again. . . ."[114] Tweedie suggests that the losses are those of Samuel and his brother, but James Anderson in *The Ladies of the Covenant* says the reference is to John Colville, whose brother Robert had died unexpectedly in 1631.[115] James Colville was sent in 1641to Hamburg on business,[116] and he is mentioned in *The Acts of Parliament* for that year. The Earl of Rothes, Andro Ainslie, and various other men seek restitution for losses sustained during a conflict with Germany and report, "Bot wee the saidis pairtneres haveing sent James Collvill ane Gentleman of good woorth and knowledge to fallowe that proces at

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111 Henderson, *op cit*., p. 874.
112 John Howie, *The Scots Worthies, Revised and Edited by W. H. Carslaw* (Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson, and Ferrier, 1870), p. 239.
113 Wood, *op cit.*, Vol I, p. 355.
114 "Letters from Lady Culross to Mr. John Livingstone," in Tweedie, *op cit*., Vol. I, p. 363.
115 James Anderson, *The Ladies of the Covenant: Memoirs of Distinguished Scottish Female Characters, Embracing the Period of the Covenant and the Persecution* (Edinburgh and London: Blackie and Son, 1851), p. 43.
116 Paul, *op cit*., Vol. II, p. 550.

Hamburghe fund but strange usage and great delayes and was forcit to constitut Maister Josephe Everie agent for your Ma[tie] at Hamburghe. . . ."[117] The sources of James' knowledge are not known, nor is anything else about his fate recorded.

Samuel, the youngest of Melville's sons, did not, according to David Laing, "inherit much of her pious and godly spirit."[118] At St. Andrews, where he was educated, he was "diverse tymes gravely rebuked" for his "disorderlie cariage toward his reverend Brother, presenting to us railing lybells against him,"[119] as the masters of New College told the Presbytery of St. Andrews when the body requested a testimonial from the college. In 1659, he was "relieved" from the Edinburgh Tollbooth (which had become a prison) "by consent of his creditor."[120] Samuel Colville is the author of *The Grand Imposter Discovered*, an anti-papal tract, and *The Whigg's Supplication, or the Scots Hudibras*, a poem about a Presbyterian's journey to London to redress the wrongs done him. The levity of this poem is apparently as offensive to some Scotsmen as the levity of the youngest Colville was to the masters of New College: David Irving expresses doubt that Samuel Colville could possibly be related to Lady Culross, whom Alexander Hume praised so highly.[121] Beveridge remarks that both James and Samuel caused their mother to worry, but Samuel "gives no indication of his belongings or relationship beyond the following

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117 *The Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, ([no city]: Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, 1870) Vol. V, p. 386.

118 "Introduction" to *Ane Godlie Dreame, Compylit in Scotish Meter* in *Early Popular Poetry of Scotland and the Northern Border Edited by David Laing LL.D. in 1822 and 1826 Re-arranged and Revised with Additions and a Glossary by W. Carew Hazlitt* (London: Reeves and Turner, 1895), p. 279.

119 Kinloch, *op cit.*, p. 67.

120 John A. Fairlie, ed. "The Old Tolbooth: with Extracts from the Original Records" in *The Book of the Edinburgh Club* (Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable, 1911), Vol. IV, p. 133.

121 David Irving, *The Lives of the Scotish Poets* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1810), Vol II, p. 300.

quotation in his preface or 'Apology to the Reader' from 'John Cockburn;'" which Beveridge then provides:

> Samuel was sent to France,
> To learn to sing and dance,
> And play upon a fiddle:
> Now he's a man of great esteem, ---
> His mother got him in a dream,
> At Culross on a girdle.[122]

The girdle to which he refers is a small iron hoop made in Culross, which had a thriving mining industry in the early seventeenth century, for cooking round oat cakes. (I saw one on display at a museum in Culross when I visited in the summer of 2003.) Beveridge adds in a footnote that a foundry at Culross used to make these devices. Samuel Colville seems, in contrast to his mother, to have taken little seriously, and the stanza Beveridge quotes could be self-deprecating and have no comment on his mother. As they have looked at the youngest Colville's writing and behavior about which they assume the worst, scholars like Irving and Laing have expressed dismay on her behalf. Sympathies have shifted in later centuries, and David Mullan calls Melville "a religious poet and an imperious mother"[123] without discussion as if exploiting a modern stereotype of the religious passive-aggressive busybody. Information about the tenor of Samuel Colville's relationship with either of his parents is so slight that assessment depends on interpretation of his generally irreverent behavior.

Mullan bases his comment on a collection of letters held in the University of Edinburgh Library among David Laing's papers, which a scholar has identified as the correspondence

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[122] Beveridge, *op cit.*, Vol. I, p. 181.

[123] David G. Mullan, "Women in Scottish Divinity, c. 1590-c. 1640" in Elizabeth Ewan and Maureen J. Meikle, eds., *Women in Scotland c. 1100-c. 1750* (East Linton, UK: Tuckwell Press, 1999), p. 36.

between Elizabeth Melville and her son at court. The attribution is mistaken: the woman who wrote these letters was the wife of a clergyman,[124] and Elizabeth Melville was not. The woman's husband died in 1631,[125] the same year that Melville's brother-in-law, Robert, a Presbyterian minister, died.[126] Biographical evidence suggests that Catherine (or Katherine) Melville, Robert Colville's wife,[127] is the author of the letters, and it is significant that Laing, who was the leading expert on Melville from the late eighteenth to the twentieth century, owned the letters but never used them in his work on Elizabeth Melville.

Elizabeth Melville expressed concern, as noted above, that she neglected her family for the Kirk of Scotland, but she is remembered more as a pious woman of intellect who wrote poetry than as a woman who failed her family. The only sonnet attributed to her, preserved in manuscript among the Wodrow manuscripts[128] in the National Library of Scotland and in a 1720 pamphlet,[129] was written in 1605 or 1606 to John Welch, Knox's son-in-law, who was then a prisoner in Blackness Castle on an island in the Firth of Forth. "In a similar strain," says Anderson, "she wrote to Mr. William Rigg of Athernie, bailie of Edinburgh, who was imprisoned in Blackness castle, in 1624, for refusing to communicate kneeling, after that practice

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[124] Sarah M. Dunnigan, "Elizabeth Melville" *ODNB* (Oxford and New York: OUP, 2004), XXXVII, 774; "Sacred Afterlives: Mary, Queen of Scots, Elizabeth Melville, and the politics of sanctity," *Women's Writing*, X (2003), n. 46 on 422.

[125] *Ibid*.

[126] *Fasti*, *op cit*., Vol. 5, p. 14.

[127] She is probably distantly related to the Melvilles of Halhill since the Melville lines in Scotland descend from a Norman knight, Sir Galfrid de Malville. For a more detailed discussion of the evidence supporting the attribution of the letters to Catherine Melville, see Karen Rae Keck, "Catherine, Not Elizabeth: The Misattribution of the Letters in Edinburgh University Library Laing.III.347," *Notes and Queries* 53 (2006), pp. 90-1.

[128] Wodrow manuscripts, Quarto, vol. XXIX.

[129] *A Collection of Several Papers, some whereof were never before published*, ([no city]: [no publisher], 1720.

had been introduced into the churches of the city, reminding him, among other things, by a pleasing and ingenious antithetic play upon the name and gloom of his prison, 'that the darkness of Blackness was not the blackness of darkness.'"[130] James Barr, in his *The Scottish Covenanters,* tells the story of the pun but says that it, like the sonnet, was sent to John Welch.[131] In December, 1631, she wrote to John Livingstone to bolster him during his difficulties with the Kirk administration: "Ye must be hewin and hamerd down, drest and prepaired before ye be a LEWING STON fitt for his building."[132] Similarly, when Samuel Rutherford was called to come before the Court of High Commission in Edinburgh in 1636, Melville "addressed to him a letter giving expression to her sentiments and feelings" at the injustice to which he was subjected.[133] In using her talents as a writer in this manner, she also encouraged her fellow laborers in the struggles of the Protestant church to gain ascendancy in Scotland.

John Livingstone says in his autobiography that he remembers, as a young graduate of the University of Glasgow, associating with "sundry gracious Christians, who used to resort to my father's house, especially at times of communion," and he numbers Lady Culross among those who gave him "something of an example."[134] He reports in his "Memorable Characteristics," that Lady Culross was in Edinburgh when the 1621 parliament that debated the ratification of the Five Articles, which James VI/I had proposed and which the Perth Assembly had, after some royal pressure, approved in 1618, to allow practices, such as kneeling at

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130 James Anderson, *op cit.*, 32; Livingstone, "Memorable Characteristics," in Tweedie, *op cit.*, Vol. I, p. 342.

131 James Barr, *The Scottish Covenanters*, second edition (Glasgow: John Smith and Son, Ltd., 1947), p. 83 and p. 152.

132 "Letters from Elizabeth, Daughter of Sir James Melvill of Halhill, and Wife of John, Lord Colvill of Culross," Tweedie, *op cit.*, p. 361.

133 James Anderson, *op cit.*, p. 42.

communion, more similar to those of the Anglican church.[135] Opposition to the measures, which ministers like David Dickson and laywomen like Melville saw as Anglicizing (as well as Anglicanizing) infringements on the sovereignty of the Scots nation and Kirk, came not only from noblemen and women but also from people in the cities and in the countryside, and many of these people later were among or supported the Covenanters.[136] Melville was among the group of "honest unconform" ministers (Anderson calls them "dissatisfied"[137]) and laity who had gone to Skeens, a hill near the city, to fast and pray as the Parliament discussed the Five Articles. After a messenger brought the news that the legislative body had allowed the changes, "she motioned that Mr. David Dickson, then but a young man, should be put to pray, which he did for near two hours' space. . . ."[138] The event, which is a precursor to the signing of the National Covenant, suggests that she was close to the leaders of the Kirk and reveals something of the influence she had among them.

Livingston also records that Melville herself prayed for hours at a time; he says, "Of all that ever I saw, she was most unwearied in religious exercises."[139] The example he provides concerns a communion service at Shotts in June, 1630, "when the night after the Sabbath was spent in prayer by a great many Christians, in a large room where her bed was, and in the morning all going apart for their privat devotion, she went into the bed, and drew the curtains, that she might set herself to prayer. William Ridge of Adderny coming into the room, and

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134 John Livingstone, "Life of Mr. John Livingstone," Tweedie, *op cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 130-1.
135 Allan I. Macinnes, *Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement 1625-1641* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, Ltd., 1991), p. 39.
136 *Ibid.*, p. 186.
137 James Anderson, *op cit.*, p. 34.
138 Livingstone, "Memorable Characteristics," in Tweedie, *op cit.*, pp. 316-7.
139 Livingstone, in Tweedie, *op cit., p.* 346.

hearing her have great motion upon her, although she spake not out, he desired her to speak out, saying there was none in the room but him and her woman, as at that time there was no other. She did soe, and the door being opened, the room filled full. She continued in prayer, with wonderfull assistance, for large three hours' time."[140] Livingstone clearly admires her for her zeal, but Anderson is aware that others may not share the opinion: "The account here given of Lady Culross' ardent devotional feeling, as it appeared at the communion in Shotts, will perhaps excite the ridicule of some, who may be disposed to regard her as actuated more by ostentation and enthusiasm, than by modest, sincere, and enlightened piety."[141] Whatever later commentators think of this more primitive time, as Anderson describes it, people respected Melville's abilities and remembered her good actions. These kinds of activities and the testimonials to them gave her a voice and a power that permitted her to act in the Kirk, her chosen sphere, and kept both her name and the words of her poems in living memory.

Six years after that communion service at Shotts, Melvill organized a thanksgiving service at Shotts, which Alexander Whyte calls a Covenanters' Pentecost.[142] John Livingstone preached at this service at the behest of Lady Culross, so although he would seem to be at the center of the event, she is the real center, says Whyte.[143] She had the ability to organize a large event on short notice, and she had the charisma and contacts to arrange for a well-known preacher to lead the service. In addition, she seems to have had the influence to draw a large congregation to the service, for "[s]he became "a mother in Israel. . .with five hundred children

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140 Livingstone, in Tweedie, *op cit.*, pp. 346-7.
141 James Anderson, *op cit.*, p. 37.
142 Alexander Whyte, *Samuel Rutherford and Some of his Correspondents: Lectures Delivered in St. George's Free Church Edinburgh* (London: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1894), p. 44.
143 *Ibid.*

born of her travail in one day!"[144] Whyte draws on the image of the Scots as the new chosen people to say that she became through her work a spiritual mother to her people.

As a respected religious woman, Melville enjoyed a friendship with Samuel Rutherford, an important and charismatic leader among the Covenanters.[145] Historians of a Hegelian persuasion seek out the forces that created the need for Kirk and state to go their separate ways, yet even they remember Rutherford as an influence on the course of events.[146] Three of his letters to her are included in *Joshua Redivivus*, a collection of his letters published in three editions from the mid- to late seventeenth century; none of her letters to him survive.[147] Whyte and others include Letter 205 among the letters Rutherford wrote to Elizabeth Melville, Lady Culross, in part because it refers to "your son, who is your grief" and adds that God waited on them to bring him in,[148] but she does not seem to have been its recipient because in the same letter, he refers to "[y]our son-in-law W. G." and to a daughter.[149] Melville had no daughters. Other letters addressed to Lady Culross respond to her encouragement, something which seems to have been her forte, and do seem to have been written to Elizabeth Melville. Her friendships with those prominent in the Kirk of Scotland and their reports of her lead James Anderson to say, "[F]ew women of her day were more eminent for exemplary piety and religious intelligence, or more extensively known, and more highly esteemed. . . ."[150]

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144 *Ibid.*
145 Burrell, "The Apocalyptic Vision of the Early Covenanters," *op cit*., p. 15.
146 See, for example, Walter Makey, *The Church of the Covenant, 1637-51: Revolution and Social Change in Scotland* (Edinburgh: J. Donald Publishers, 1979), in which he argues that the Covenanting movement was primarily the result of economic problems in Scotland.
147 *Ibid.*
148 Samuel Rutherford, *Joshua Redivivus*, ([Rotterdam?]: n.p., 1664), p. 305.
149 *Ibid*., pp.304-5.
150 Anderson, *op cit*., p. 31.

She was, along with a number of other noble Scotswomen, a part of the Covenanting movement that culminated in the signing in 1637/8 of the National Covenant, which averred that the Kirk is not subject to civil control but is under the law of God, a higher government than that of the king. The Covenanters knew, says Hugh Watt, that they took a decisive step with bold implications: they did not wish to challenge the king's authority in general but felt bound to defend the "'true religion, liberties and Laws of the Kingdom.'"[151] Her name is consistently mentioned in connection with the Covenanters, but neither historians of Scotland nor historians of the Kirk discuss the exact nature of her involvement. Nor, perhaps, is it possible to learn what any single person did at the meetings of the Tables[152] that encouraged the drafting of the Covenant and orchestrated the service that culminated in the signing of the document in the Kirk of Greyfriars in late February, 1637/8.

In addition to taking part in a dramatic episode in Kirk history, Melville was exemplary in her regular attendance at worship services.[153] Sermons, not the eucharist, were the center of Protestant worship, and in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Scotland, preachers usually spoke twice on Sunday.[154] Communion services were rarer, and these often occurred in open fields in the summer.[155] Melville frequented both sermons and communion services, and when she could not go to hear a sermon, she would ask someone to take notes for her,[156] as an avid student would. Livingstone reports that she often attended communion services at his

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151 Hugh Watt, *Recalling the Scottish Covenants* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1946), p. 13.
152 The Tables in Scots society are similar to the Estates in French society.
153 James Anderson, *op cit.*, p. 34.
154 Todd, *op cit*., p. 27.
155 James Anderson, *op cit*. pp. 34-5.
156 James Anderson, *op cit.*, p. 35.

father's church in Lanarckshire (now in the Borders region south of the Lothians and east of Ayrshire), and he lists Melville among the people who gave him good examples and furthered his Christian formation after his graduation from the University of Glasgow.[157] That she would travel to another county, which is close to the west coast of Scotland, from her home near the east coast to attend services intimates a strong religious bent.

As an active member of the Kirk of Scotland, Melville not only expressed her own faith but continued a family tradition. Her grandfather, John Melville of Raith, was accused of treason and beheaded, although, states David Calderwood, "there was not the least suspicion of anie fault"[158] in his having written to an Englishman who was holding a friend of the elder Melville captive. The reason for his execution, Calderwood explains, is that "he was knowne to be one that unfainedlie favoured the truthe, and was a great freind to these that were in the castell of Sanct Andrewes."[159] Sir James Melville served both the King and the Kirk of Scotland in various church assemblies; at a meeting of the General Assembly in Perth, James Melville advised Andrew Melville, who was probably very distantly related, to leave the country to avoid the king's wrath,[160] and at a meeting of the Edinburgh presbytery in 1595, Melville "propouned by the king's directioun a question tuiching the excommunicating of those that were forefaulted for treasoun."[161] James' step-father, Bothwell, was excommunicated, but the presbytery did not excommunicate the Lord of Spottiswoode, as the king wished them to. James Melville's second son, Robert, was, as noted earlier, a clergyman, and his grandson, Alexander, was both a minister

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157 Livingstone, in Tweedie, *op cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 130-1.
158 *Calderwood's History*, *op cit.*, Vol. I, p. 262.
159 *Ibid.*
160 *Calderwood's History*, *op cit.*, Vol. III, p. 631.
161 *Calderwood's History*, *op cit.*, Vol. V, p. 365.

and a professor of theology. Although no other member of Melville's family was martyred as her grandfather was, they participated in the life and governing of the Kirk of Scotland.

John Colville's family also were prominent in the Kirk. His great-uncle William, from whom the elder Alexander Colville inherited the office of commendator of Culross,[162] was among those who sought the establishment of a Protestant church in Scotland in 1544 and who had "signed the Confession of Faith in 1560."[163] Melville's husband, whatever problems he or they may have had in 1631, was a member of the Culross Kirk Session in 1633 and represented the country, as a delegate from West Comrie.[164] He was, according to Paul, the clerk of the session.[165] His younger brother, Robert Colville, was the pastor at Culross until his death from the palsy in 1631.[166]

Elizabeth Melville's name appears in the *Register of the Great Seal* in connection with the sale of land in Nether Kinnedir to Robert Colville and his wife Catherine Melville. The king signed the document, a formal approval of the transfer of the feu from John Colville and Elizabeth Melville to her in-laws, at Holyrood House a year after the private agreement to sell the land for 12,000 mercks.[167] (The value of that sum is hard to determine: an English mark was worth 13 shillings and 4 pence, as was the Scots merck in 1651.[168] That value makes the price of the land £7,798. James VI had in 1600 devalued Scots money to one-twelfth the value of the

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[162] Paul, *op cit.*, Vol. III, p. 548.
[163] Cunningham, *op cit.*, p. 20.
[164] Beveridge, *op cit.*, Vol. I, p. 129.
[165] Paul, *op cit.*, Vol. II, p. 550.
[166] Beveridge, *op cit.*, Vol. I, p. 171.
[167] John Maitland Thomson, ed. *Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*, (Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 1888), Vol. VIII, p. 491. See Appendix 3 for a translation.
[168] Todd, *op cit.*, p. xiii.

English pound;[169] in that case, the land sold for ~£640.) The charter asserts that Melville gave her consent to the sale, which would have lessened the family's yearly income over time. They may have gained what looks like a large sum at the time of the sale, but they lost the income from the rents and produce of the land. This document suggests that she acted like a partner in the running of the many properties that she and her husband held in fief from the king.

The public record of this transaction preserves some information about Melville and her husband, but the records of their deaths appear not to have survived. State documents from the seventeenth century have been preserved, but the records from the Kirk in Culross from 1629-1646 have not been well-kept. Beveridge notes that these documents are "in a sadly dilapidated condition---some of the first pages having crumbled into fragments, whilst many others have become nearly illegible from damp."[170] People think Elizabeth Melville died in the early 1640's: scholars hold that the 1644 edition of *Ane Godlie Dreame* lacks textual authority, or connection with the author,[171] and disappearance from the public record suggests that she was dead by 1643. John Colville's "bond of provision" in 1643 that distributed his property among his three sons[172] makes no mention of Melville, although according to Scots custom, the widow was to have a third of her deceased husband's estate, the widow's *terce*, which sometimes included her

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[169] Rosalind Mitchison, *A History of Scotland*, second edition. (London and New York: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1982), p. 135.

[170] Beveridge, *op cit.*, p. 166. Todd says the records exist, but her map shows Culross on the Firth of Tay, not on the Firth of Forth.

[171] See, for instance, Betty S. Travitsky, "Elizabeth Melville [Colville]" in Susanne Woods, Betty S. Travitsky, and Patrick Cullen, eds. *The Poets I: Isabella Whitney, Anne Dowriche, Elizabeth Melville [Colville], Æmilia Lanyer, Rachel Speght, Diana Primose, Anne, Mary, and Penelope Gray*, (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2001), pp. xiii-xv.

[172] Wood, *op cit.*, Vol I, p. 355.

dowry.[173] The 1644 act of Parliament that endorsed Alexander Colville's assumption of his father's feus for lands in Larg, Kincardine, and Culross has language similar to that of the court document that approved the sale of Nether Kinnedir to Robert Colville: "The estates of Parliament. . .RATIFIES and APPROVES one charter and enfiefment under the Great Seal granted by his majesty to Dr. Alexander Colville, Doctor of Divinity. . .his heirs and assignees whatsoever is heritable and irredeemable."[174] The document does not mention Melville, and that absence of consent suggests that Colville was a widower at the time. (Paul's *Peerage* says he died between 1645 and 1650,[175] about the time that the Scotland experienced its last major outbreak of plague, during which many in Dunfermline and Culross died.[176])

Although Melville's name disappears from the public record in the 1640's and the tenor of her life can only be inferred, she was an influential woman within the sphere of her native land. She earned the respect of a fellow poet not only for her pious behavior but also for her skill in verse-writing. She was an active participant in two events that shaped the course of relationships between Scotland and its absent kings. The Parliament of 1621 may have adopted James I's Anglicanizing practices, but in so doing, it seems to have strengthened the resolve of nationalists to maintain the Kirk as a Scottish institution that expressed the nation's purpose. That initial defeat inspired continued preaching and action, which culminated in the signing of the National Covenant of 1637/8, which many signed in "a paroxysm of enthusiasm beyond all

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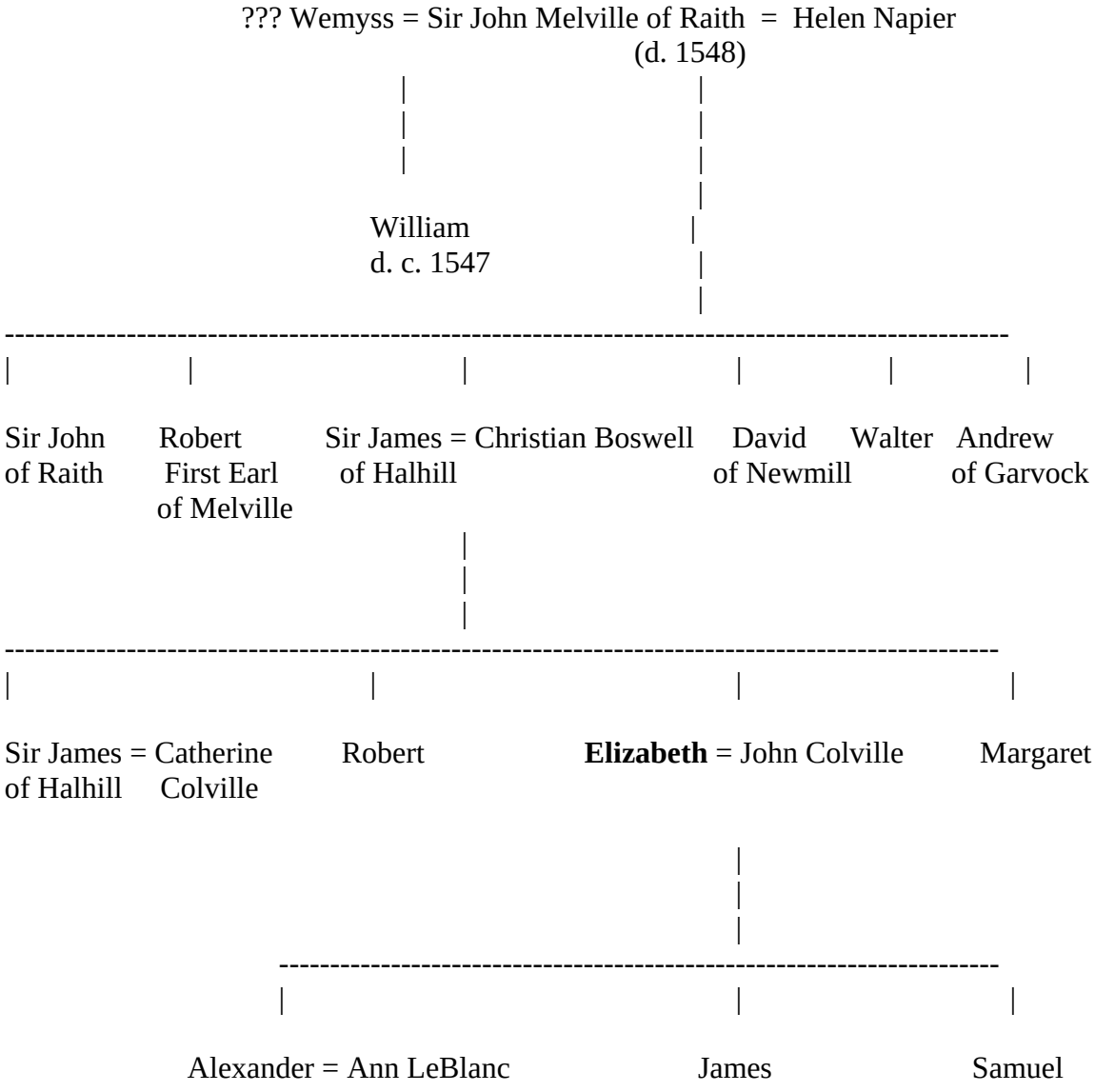
[173] Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland*, p. 72.
[174] *The Acts of Parliament, op cit.*, Vol. VI, pt. 1, p.249. I have modernized the spelling and omitted obligatory legal phrases.
[175] Paul, *op cit.*, Vol. III, p. 550.
[176] Beveridge, *op cit.*, pp. 209-11.

example in [Scots] history."[177] She seems to have been a strong woman who wrote about and stood up for what she believed and did so without apology.

[177] Robert Chambers, *Domestic Annals of Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution,* (Edinburgh and London: W. & R. Chambers, 1859-61), Vol. II, p. 105.

FIGURE 1:

ELIZABETH MELVILLE'S FAMILY TREE



CHAPTER 3

POETIC FORM AND STRUCTURE

Melville's poem is a dream vision, a content-based classification which is not associated with any particular verse structure. The form is most often associated with Medieval poetry, and dream visions frequently are apocalyptic because they present images of the afterlife; these poems also are usually didactic because they present lessons for this life drawn from the speaker's experience in the dream or from the speaker's encounters with supernatural beings in the vision. Commonly the speaker's guide on journey in the dream reinforces religious doctrine, and in some poems, like *Pearl* (c. 1400), a recapitulation of salvation history is a prominent feature. *Ane Godlie Dreame* recounts a journey that has both the sense of dream experience and of life experience one finds in Dante's *Divine Comedy* (1310-14)and in the anonymous *St. Patrick's Purgatory* (late twelfth centry), a trip through an earthly landscape to a place close to the castle of heaven, the seat of God's kingdom.

From her guide, *Ane Godlie Dreame*'s speaker, who makes no special mention of her gender,[178] learns that Christians must depend only upon the grace of God for everything in earthly life and that Christ is with her in this life as well as in the life to come and that suffering is a part of life in the flesh. (Scholars, however, consistently refer to the speaker as a woman, and I will follow this practice.) She also learns about the impermanence of human life, but the poem does not present this in the conventional image of the wheel of fortune. Although the poem lacks a section that directly expounds salvation history, several allusions to Psalms which

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[178] Shattock, *op cit*., p. 290.

speak of the deliverance of the Jewish nation serve as reminders that God cares for his chosen race who are assured of salvation. The Elect, as Calvin defines the group, are the new chosen people. In short, the *persona* learns Protestant theology for her guide, her "captain Christ," and reinforces his teachings in the last section of the poem, which summarizes for the speaker and the reader the important lessons presented more diffusely earlier in the poem.

Another characteristic of dream poems places the speaker in distress at its beginning while ending in a deeper understanding or resignation. P. M. Kean says that the opening of a dream vision is "of special importance" since it has to be the foundation of the work and has to create a link between the problem in waking life and the resolution in dreaming life.[179] This is a feature that Melville's poem shares with other dream visions. In *Lancelot of the Laik* (c. 1490/1500), for example, the poetic speaker (a projection of the anonymous poet) is restless and is unable to decide upon a proper subject for his/her verse; fortunately, the muse is attentive and provides a fit topic. In David Lindsay's "The Dreme of Schir David Lyndsay" (1528), a literal and metaphoric winter oppresses the spirits of the eponymous speaker, and Dame Remembrance appears to take him through the nether regions and to teach him to keep death ever in his mind and to live more uprightly. The poetic speaker imparts this message more succinctly at the end of the poem. The father who is the speaker of Boccaccio's *Olympia* (c. 1358) mourns his young daughter, as does the father who is the speaker of *Pearl*. The first receives an all too brief visit from his daughter, who comforts him with an account of her joy in the heavenly realms, and the second visits the afterlife in a dream and has a vision of his daughter in the playing fields of heaven. Each would like to join his daughter but cannot. He has had some comfort from the

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[179] P. M. Kean, *The Pearl: An Interpretation*. (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1967). p. 3.

vision and can look forward to their eventual reunion, if he lives a life to merit such a reward.

Similarly, as Deanna Delmar Evans points out, "Melville adheres to many of the conventions of medieval dream vision poetry."[180] An important convention Melville uses in her work is that of a three-part structure. The speaker at the beginning of the poem is in an anxious and distressed mood: she is all too aware of sin in the world around her and in herself. She feels lost in an alien land and wishes to go home. In the second part of the narrative, she travels: she dreams of an encounter with an angel, who later identifies himself as Christ and who takes her on a journey through a rough landscape. He will not allow her to enter Heaven, just as Lady Holychurch will not allow Pearl's father to run into the field of heaven. Having returned to waking life, the persona in a dream vision imparts the lesson gained from the unusual experience. When Melville's speaker awakes, she reformulates all that she has learned from her dream, in particular the importance of holding onto Christ during all adversity, in a manner similar to Lindsay's recapitulation of Dame Remembrance's teachings at the end of his "Dreme." Thus, Melville's Renaissance poem shares the typical tripartite structure found in Medieval dream visions.

The dream vision, according to Constance Hieatt, combines both realistic and fantastic elements, and one of the realistic elements is the speaker's confusion.[181] A dream often presents images that seem very real, but the logic of daily life is suspended, although the dream may also seem truer than waking experience. Access to the truth beyond daily life often provides an

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[180] "Holy Terror and Love Divine: Passionate Voice in Elizabeth Melville's *Ane Godlie Dreame*." Sarah M. Dunnigan, C. Marie Harker, and Evelyn S. Newlyn, eds. *Women and the Feminine in Medieval and Early Modern Scottish Writing*. (Basingstoke, UK, and New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2004). p. 153.

[181] Constance Hieatt, *The Realism of Dream Visions*. (The Hague and Paris: Mouton and Co.,

excuse for teaching and preaching.[182] During the journey Melville's *persona* and Christ take to the stairway to heaven, they pass through a landscape with hills and braes, possibly similar to that in Lowland Scotland, but they also walk on trees. The way that Christ escorts her through the briars and dangers and across the bridge that separates hell from heaven seems to be a reification of the close relationship a member of the Elect has with Jesus, but it is vision, a fleeting glimpse into the deeper reality of the spiritual world. In spite of the speaker's knowledge that it is nothing but a dream, often taken to be unreliable but sometimes taken as revelation of hidden truth, she trusts it and finds it best to share the content of and instruction from the dream, as she says in lines 329-30, "This is a dream and yet I thought it best / To write the same and keep it still in mind." Publishing the poem implies that the message is for others as well as for her.

Another characteristic of the dream vision is that it is a consolatory response to doubt that comes at a critical moment in the speaker's life.[183] Although the persona in *Ane Godlie Dreame* does not seem to be on the edge of atheism, she is certainly close to despair over the state of the world and of her soul. She looks around her and sees all the signs of the end times: men prefer wickedness to goodness; Satan seems stronger than Christ. Although she does not elaborate her own sins, she comments that she knows her sin grows daily, and she seems to feel powerless to root it out of her heart. Her sense of having been abandoned may be close to that of the grumbling Jews in the desert between their flight from Egypt and their arrival at the promised land as recorded in Exodus. She asks Christ why he sleeps so long, implying that he is taking his

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1967). p. 62.
[182] *Ibid.*
[183] Kean, *op cit.*, p. 4.

rest while she is unable to rest. The dream tells her that in spite of appearance or her perception that Christ has abandoned the world to sin and the devil, her savior is near: he hears her, and he cares for her. She comes away from the experience of the dream with greater faith.

In addition to the content-based arrangement, Melville's poem has a definite poetic structure of sixty[184] eight-line stanzas in iambic pentameter. Perhaps because ottava rima is the best-known iambic pentameter, eight-line stanza structure in Anglophone poetry, scholars like Joanna Shattock define the verse structure as ottava rima;[185] however, the rhyme scheme for this Italianate form is *a b a b a b c c*,[186] while the rhyme scheme of Melville's work is *a b a b b c b c*. Scholars have several names for an eight-line verse of iambic pentameter with this rhyme scheme. Some call it the Monk's Tale stanza because Chaucer uses it in that episode of the *Canterbury Tales* (1387-1400); it is also called an ABC, a French form[187] so designated because of its use of three rhymes. Others call it a Lydgatian form because John Lydgate (c. 1370-c. 1450) uses it in several of his shorter poems.[188] The French call it a *huitain*, a name like *quatrain* or *couplet* that can refer to a single-stanza poem or a stanza within a longer poem.[189] Robin Skelton notes that Villon (1431-1463) uses this form in many of his poems, and Janet Smith believes that French literature was a more important influence on Scots literature of the late

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[184] Not 55, as James Smith reports in his entry on Melville in Janet Todd's *Dictionary of British Women Writers*. (London: Routledge, 1989). p. 461.
[185] *The Oxford Guide to British Women Writers*. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1993). p. 290.
[186] "Ottave rima." William Harom and C. Hugh Holman, eds. *A Handbook to Literature*, 8th ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2000). p. 366.
[187] Norman Davis, "Language and Versification," Larry D. Benson, ed. *The Riverside Chaucer*, new edition. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1987). p. *xxxix*.
[188] See *Poems*, John Norton-Smith, ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966).
[189] Robin Skelton, *The Shapes of our Singing*. (Spokane, WA: Eastern Washington University Press, 2002). p. 135.

Middle Ages and Renaissance than previously believed.[190]

Another French name for the form is *ballade octave*, a variant of the ballade (a short poem with a one-line refrain and/or an envoi) with eight-line stanzas with either an *a b a b a b a b* rhyme scheme (the troubadour's ballade) or an *a b a b b c b c* rhyme scheme, the type most commonly used in England and Scotland.[191] Although French poets tended to be scrupulous in writing ballades of three stanzas with an envoi, Scots poets felt they could write as many stanzas as were necessary for the poem and often used envois differently from the way French poets did.[192] Smith concludes that the Scots took forms from the French but did not absorb the influence of the French *espirit*,[193] in spite of the Auld Alliance with France, Scots poets' interest in the Plèiade, and close cultural ties between the two countries, as might be seen in two of Melville's sons having been educated in both Scotland and France.

Melville's poem, however, is not strictly speaking a ballade since it is long and narrative, but the final stanza of Melville's dream vision is arguably like the envoi of a ballade because it addresses God as if in prayer. (*Pearl* ends with a stanza of praise for Christ and "Amen. Amen.")[194] The last verse of *Ane Godlie Dreame* not only sends the poem to God but also into the world. The teaching in the poem is not for the narrator of the poem alone but for all people, especially for the Elect who are wandering like the Jews in the wilderness on their way to the promised land. The ballade, however, is not generally a narrative form, but the term *ballade* was

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[190] See Janet M. Smith, *The French Background of Middle Scots Literature*, (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1934).
[191] Smith, p. 161.
[192] *Idem*, p. 162.
[193] *Idem*, p. 171.
[194] E. V. Gordon, ed. *Pearl*. (1953; reissued Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980). pp. 43-4.

often confused with the term *ballad*,[195] a common narrative form.

The Scots name for the stanza structure of *Ane Godlie Dreame* is the ballat royal, or royal song. James VI/I, who wanted to bring Scots literary practice away from Medieval vagueness about genre and closer to European definiteness about it,[196] explains in his *Revles and Cavtles of Scottis Poesie* that "[f]or any heich & graue subiectis, specially drawin out of learnit authouris,"[197] a poet should use the form he calls *Ballat Royal*. His example is an eight-line stanza, which has iambic pentameter as its rythm, rhymes *a b a b b c b c* and uses mythological imagery. Melville's poem follows the form, and in treating the role of human suffering in life and the right relationship between humankind and God, it addresses significant subjects, such as faith alone as the means of salvation. Her imagery, particularly that of hell as a smoking valley and heaven as a golden castle, derives primarily from the Bible and Christian literature rather than from Greek and Roman literature, and for Protestants, the Bible is the authoritative source not only for images and language but also for the truth. She, like the authors of the poems in *The Gude and Godlie Ballats* (1578), works within both a literary culture and a Christian culture to create new Protestant literary milieu.

The religious content of Melville's poem puts it in another category, which is ill-defined: the poem of argument, which according to Alasdair Macdonald is typical of Scots religious poetry.[198] These works "lack the controlled subjectivity of meditation and the loud exuberance

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195 Helen Louise Cohen, *The Ballade*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1915). p. 1.
196 R. D. S. Jack, "Introduction" to R. D. S. Jack, ed. *An Introduction to Scottish Verse1560-1660*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1978), p. 14.
197 James Stewart, *The Essayes of a Prentise*, (1584; reprinted Amsterdam and New York: Da Capo Press, 1969), no pagination.
198 Alasdair A. Macdonald. "Religious Poetry in Middle Scots," in R. D. S. Jack, ed. *The History of Scottish Literature Vol. I: Origins to 1660*. (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press,

of celebration."[199] Instead, they offer expressions of doctrine or exhortations to a faithful life. Some also comment on religious issues of the time. Although the speaker of *Ane Godlie Dreame* fasts before she falls asleep, she does not seem to have fasted to prepare herself to receive a vision, as the narrator of *The Shepherd of Hermas* (second century) does. The vision comes to her, as God's grace does, as a gift given in love; it is not the fruit of meditation, a labor that might justify a reward. The narrative voice tells the story in an objective manner, even reporting instead of showing emotions such as fear, as if to stress the ultimately real nature of the dream and the lessons she is able to take from it.

Nor does the voice change in the final stanzas of the poem which praise God. The tone of joy is restrained and dignified, as would seem to fit an excited Calvinist. The passages expressing thanksgiving are similarly quietly confident, not jubilant. The voice in Melville's poem assumes the doctrine of Election and echoes many Protestant doctrines, in particular relying on Christ's guidance through the toils of life. The poem echoes the most common Protestant criticisms of the doctrine of Purgatory when Christ, the true source of all teaching, tells the speaker that greedy men invented Purgatory: Purgatory is a fiction, and its sole reason for being is to enrich the Papacy's coffers.[200] In spite of the triumphal tone of "The Fyres of Purgatory" in *The Gude and Godlie Ballats*,[201] Presbyterians continued to wage war on this Roman Catholic belief, and although the issues about which Melville writes in her work seem to belong to the Scots Reformation about forty years earlier than *Ane Godlie Dreame* was

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1988). p. 101.

[199] *Ibid.*

[200] Stephen Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001). p.35.

[201] See Appendix III for the text of this poem.

published, the Kirk of Scotland seems to have remained battle-ready to oppose any expression of Roman Catholicism until the accession of James to the English throne and the fear of Anglicanizing influences arose. The third part of the poem, the consolidation of the lessons of the dream, urges remembrance of the crown that awaits those who run the race of earthly life and of the assurance that Christ has, appearances to the contrary, defeated Satan and will guide and defend the Elect, those who will remain faithful to him. The stanzas both assume and argue for a Protestant and Calvinist understanding of the interrelationship of life in the flesh and life in the spirit: instead of feeling overwhelmed by the presence of the sins, her state early in the poem, the speaker has come to know that the cares of the world will never defeat her spirit because Christ is with her.

One of the persistent questions about the form of Melville's poem is whether it is indeed a *ballat*, a song. Specifically, is it the same poem as the ballad "Lady Culross' Dream?" The 1644 Aberdeen edition of the poem has that subtitle and uses that phrase as its running head;[202] however, the question is more complex. In 1859, Rosina Bulwer Lytton sent an inquiry seeking information about a song she had read about in Lancelot Temple's "On Vulgar Errors" to *Notes and Queries*; Temple had described the poem as hauntingly wild and lost. Lytton adds, "But it would appear from an old ballad that 'Lady Culross' Dream' was a bye-word of terror and a symbol of the supernatural, long before Rizzio's time [when Temple suggests the song was performed]" and quotes two lines from a poem which dates from the time of Richard III which

[202] Elizabeth Melville, *A Godly Dream* (Aberdeen: E. Raban, 1644). "A Godly Song," which begins "Come, sweet Lord," is appended where "A Comfortable Song" is appended in the Edinburgh editions.

allude to "the *ghast* Ladye of Culrosse, in her *wilde shreeking dreme*" (italics in the original).[203] She had once owned a copy of it, but it had been stolen. A respondent who identifies him/herself as T. G. S. provides information on and a synopsis of Melville's *Ane Godlie Dreame* with a comment that neither John Armstrong's (Lancelot Temple was Armstrong's pseudonym) *Miscellanies* nor David Laing's *Early Metrical Tales* contains much information on the author, Elizabeth Melville. He/she says as well that he/she has been unable to find a complete text with the lines that Lady Bulwer Lytton quotes.[204] James McMullen Rigg, the author of the entry on Melville in the 1921 *DNB*, believes that Melville's poem is an adaptation of the earlier ballad, the text of which seems to have been lost.[205]

Modern scholars in looking at the issue have proposed that Melville's poem was in fact chanted to the same music to which people chanted psalms.[206] Two problems arise from this seemingly tidy solution to the problem: the poem itself has only one frightening moment, the point at which the demon grabs the speaker and is about to drop her into hell, at which point she will joined the damned because she is separated from Christ; also, the Kirk of Scotland had no set music to which people sang the Psalms. If the poem were sung or chanted, it could have been done to any number of sacred tunes since no tune distinguishes psalm singing from any other kind of religious singing. John Armstrong says in the essay to which Bulwer Lytton refers, "Scottish music has a highly original style capable of expressing the passions, all of them. . .Who

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[203] Rosina Bulwer Lytton, "Lady Culross' Dream." *Notes and Queries* 2nd series VIII September 24, 1859. p. 248.
[204] T. G. S. "Lady Culros' Dreame." *Notes and Queries* 2nd Series VIII October 15, 1859, pp. 311-3.
[205] James McMullen Rigg, "Elizabeth Colville." *Dictionary of National Biography* , Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, eds. (London: Oxford University Press, 1917-21), Vol. IV, p. 876.
[206] Germaine Greer, *et al*., eds. *Kissing the Rod: An Anthology of 17th Century Women's Verse.*

was it that threw out those dreadful wild expressions of distraction and melancholy in *Lady Culross' Dream*? an old composition, now lost, perhaps because it was almost *too terrible for the ear*"[207] (emphasis in the original). Armstrong does date the song to the time of Mary, Queen of Scots, a generation earlier than Elizabeth Melville's. Furthermore, the essay says nothing of a switch in tone found in *Ane Godlie Dreame* when the speaker moves from despair to rejoicing after she has the assurance that Christ is with her and her fellows as he had promised. Armstrong (c. 1709-1779) does note that the song was one he heard in his youth, and the last eighteenth-century Scottish edition of Melville's composition appeared in 1727,[208] when he was teen-aged. (Shattock, however, dates the last Scottish edition as 1737,[209] when Armstrong was a young doctor.)

Scots Psalter music also makes the hypothesis about Melville's poem as the song Bulwer Lytton sought problematic. Although the Kirk of Scotland did not banish church singing as many Calvinist groups did, its music for singing the Psalms was interchangeable. As John Purser explains, the Kirk feared absorption into the Anglican establishment and developed "a group of tunes known as common tunes," which allowed people to sing "any psalm to them."[210] Each air bears the name of a Scots municipality. One of those tunes is the Culross tune, and given Melville's long association with Culross, it seems as likely a candidate for the lost eerie tune as any other. The Culross tune is not particularly wild or melancholy, nor is this music lost

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(London: Virago Press, 1988). p. 32.
[207] John Armstrong, *Miscellanies*. (London: T. Cadell, 1770). Vol II, p. 254.
[208] Greer, *op cit*. p. 32.
[209] Shattock, *op cit*., p. 290.
[210] John Purser, *Scotland's Music: A History of the Traditional and Classical Music of Scotland from Earliest Times to the Present Day*. (Edinburgh and London: Mainstream Publishing, 1992), p. 145.

since it is the tune of several hymns in *The Presbyterian Hymnal*.

Also working against the hypothesis is that the lines that Bulwer Lytton quotes bear no resemblance to the lines of *Ane Godlie Dreame*. She admits that she quotes from memory: "It was *fals*, Sir Gawyns *Culp*, that *faire* Alice now did *seme*, / Like the *ghast* Ladye of Culrosse, in her *wilde shreeking dreme*."[211] That song appears to be lost, as does the ballad or song to which it alludes. Barring further discoveries or the development of time travel, the issue of the relationships between these ballads and Melville's *ballat* will remain open, as will the question of the relationship of Melville's dream vision to Scottish psalter singing.

In spite of the indeterminateness of the answers concerning Melville's poem and music, the poem does have some tonal structures similar to those in the Book of Psalms. Among the psalms placed first in the book, several, like Ps. 37, express feelings of perplexity that the wicked prosper and the just suffer; several, like Ps. 13,[212] give voice to a sense of having been forgotten by God. These end with a reassertion of faith that God is just, that God will care for the speaker. *Ane Godlie Dreame* also follows this pattern as the speaker moves from a state of distress to a state of assurance. The final section of the Book of Psalms includes the Psalms of Ascent, the songs the Jews sang as they approached the temple in Jerusalem,[213] and the psalms of praise. The final third of Melville's work echoes Psalms in the psalms of ascent particularly in emphasizing the need to look to Christ as the sole source of help in during the pilgrimage of earthly life, and the final stanza, as noted above, is one of praise for God to whom all glory is due, a thought

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[211] Bulwer Lytton, *op cit*., p. 248.

[212] Robert Atwan and Laurence Wieder include the first five verses of Melville's poem in *Chapters into Verse: Poetry in English Inspired by the Bible* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press: 1993) with a note that it is a poem inspired by Ps. 13.

[213] Alexander Schmemann, *Great Lent*, (Scarsdale, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1974),

found frequently in Ps. 144-50. This tonal structure works well with the tripartite structure of the dream vision, as it moves from distress to experience to reassurance.

Ane Godlie Dreame is complexly ordered. It tells the story of one person's struggle in the temporary earthly life that seems so at odds with the soul's true home in heaven; it assumes the beliefs of Calvinists while arguing in favor of them and against the doctrines of the Roman Church. The central event of the poem, the dream in which Christ escorts the speaker to the stairway to heaven and over the bridge that is her passage there, makes the poem a dream vision, but the verse structure elicits questions about labeling the formal qualities of the poem. Its being rooted in the Psalms complements the dream vision structure, but its relationship to a ballad which seems to have the same name is still an area for research.

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p. 56.

CHAPTER 4

LITERARY SOURCES AND INFLUENCES

Macrobius' commentary on Cicero's "*Somnium Scipionis*" ("The Dream of Scipio," fifth century) is the usual starting point for the discussion of dream vision literature; however, for a work as replete with Biblical allusions as Melville's *Ane Godlie Dreame*, the Bible itself seems the most appropriate point of departure. God often speaks in dreams to protect his chosen ones; for example, in Genesis 20, he comes to Abimalek in a dream to tell him that Sarah, the woman he thinks is Abraham's sister whom he has taken into his court, is Abraham's wife and that Abraham is a prophet who will pray for him.[214] Thus God preserves Sarah from the king's advances. In the New Testament, God appears to the Magi to warn them of Herod's treachery and to Joseph to instruct him to take Mary and Jesus into Egypt before Herod murders all children under two.[215] Job tells his "friend" Elihu that God comes to men in dreams to save them from their pride and so keep them from the pit;[216] Christ appears to the speaker of Melville's poem to save her from despair and to reassure her that the pit of hell will not defeat her.[217] Also of significance for this poem is the story of Solomon as told in I Kings: God talks with Solomon in a dream and asks him what he would like to have. Solomon tells him he wants an understanding heart in order to be a wise judge, and God grants his prayer because it is not a selfish one.[218] Melville's speaker beseeches God on behalf of the Elect and seeks deliverance

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[214] Genesis 20:1-7. All Biblical quotes are from the Geneva Bible.
[215] Matt. 2:12-3.
[216] Job 33:15-8.
[217] Line 296.
[218] I Kings 3: 5-15.

from the evils in the world that surround and tempt them.[219] The answer she receives is more like the one that Paul reports after saying he has asked God to remove the thorn in his flesh: no, it remains to humble you.[220]

Paul also reports a vision of heaven in II Corinthians in which a man is transported to the third heaven and heard words men cannot speak.[221] In later centuries this vision of heaven becomes a vision of hell in which Paul sees the torments of sinners, and the work was popular in the Middle Ages, in spite of the Catholic Church's official reservations about the text.[222] Its detailed account of the punishments for particular sins, especially sexual sins, contrasts greatly with Melville's single line about the "puir damnit saullis"[223] and the concern about general and pervasive sin expressed in the early part of *Ane Godlie Dreame*.

Another story in the New Testament about the afterlife seems a more plausible influence on Melville's poem. In the parable of Dives and Lazarus, Christ illustrates the requital for wealth and poverty in this world: the rich man, who has comfort in the earthly life, stands in a fiery lake in the afterlife, and a beggar, who has misery in the earthly life, rests in the bosom of Abraham in the afterlife.[224] Dives first asks Abraham if Lazarus can offer him some relief, a drop of water to assuage the burning that besets him. He had refused to relieve Lazarus while both were alive, and now that both are dead, the distance between them is so great and immutable that no one can stretch a finger across to help. Dives then asks that Father Abraham send Lazarus back to earth

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[219] See stanzas 4-9.
[220] II Cor. 12:7-8.
[221] II Cor. 12:2-4.
[222] Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. by Arthur Goldhammer, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), pp. 35-7.
[223] Line 307.
[224] Luke 16:1-31.

to warn his brothers of their fate if they chose to behave as he did. Abraham tells Dives that they will not listen even to a man who has returned from the dead. The allusion suggests that one of the functions of *Ane Godlie Dreame* is to teach; further, it hints at the theme of suffering since the poem suggests that we, and the Elect in particular, must suffer bravely in this life to receive a full reward in the afterlife.

Concern about the afterlife and the building of the church inform a second-century dream vision, *The Shepherd of Hermas,* the text of which was popular in the Middle Ages and survived in a Latin version into the Renaissance in France. Iacobus Faber Stapulensis, Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, a friend of Jean Calvin, published *Libro trium virorum doctum Hermæ Pastorem* in 1513 in Paris, and Ioannes Albertus Fabricius listed seven editions of the Old Latin text published between 1522 and 1644.[225] The book emphasizes, most strongly in Parable V, the importance of faith to salvation, and among its themes is double-mindedness, an attraction both to the pleasures of the flesh and to the joys of heaven. It also talks of the building of the church, which is figured as a tower being constructed of stones (souls) found worthy, and touches on the interrelationships between individual repentance and community life in the church. Hermas' guide is an angel, who may or may not be Christ; the text is not explicit. Melville's poem has thematic similarities to this book in stressing reliance on Christ as the way both to go through earthly cares and to reach heaven and in bewailing the worldly condition in which humans find vice so attractive in spite of knowing that its pleasures are fleeting. The speaker talks on behalf of the Elect, of whom she is a member. Melville's work departs from the imagery of *The Shepherd* in stating explicitly that Christ guides the speaker and in figuring heaven as a castle

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[225] Adolphus Hilgenfeld, ed. *Hermas Pastor veterem latinam interpretationem et codicibus,*

already constructed.

A larger question in suggesting that *The Shepherd* is a possible source for the poem is: did Melville know Latin? That is hard, if not impossible, to answer. How her parents educated her is a matter of conjecture. In the letters which William K. Tweedie edited and published for the Wodrow Society, Melville urges John Livingstone to struggle against lassitude by changing his habits, "Work early, and you shall win enough to make you rich. You know the proverb,--- *Sanat, dicat, sanctificat*."[226] (That is, let it be healed, let it be proclaimed, let it be consecrated.[227]) The ability to quote a Latin saying in an appropriate context suggests some knowledge but does not reveal how much knowledge a person has. The possibility that Melville knew Latin exists, but to go beyond that is simply speculation.

Another possible Latin source for some of the imagery in *Ane Godlie Dreame* is Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, a source of information about the Celtic church. It had been, according to early Presbyterians, the true church of Scotland before the Roman Catholics usurped its authority after the Synod of Whitby in 663/4, and the Kirk of Scotland claimed descent from the Celtic church.[228] In addition, Bede recounts two visions in the book. Fursa, an Irish missionary to England, sees hell after an angel has taken him into the heavens.[229] Hell is a flaming valley, and a demon is nearly able to drag Fursa into hell, as a demon grabs

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(Leipzig: Sumptu Fuesiano/R. Reisland, 1873), pp. iii-iv.

[226] William K. Tweedie, ed., *Select Biographies edited for the Wodrow Society, chiefly from manuscripts in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates* (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1845) Vol. I, p. 364. I have modernized the spelling.

[227] Translation mine.

[228] John Buchan and George Adam Smith, *The Kirk in Scotland 1560-1929*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1930), pp. 7-8.

[229] Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Bertram Colgrave, trans; Judith McClure and Roger Collins, eds. (1969; reprinted Oxford and New York: Oxford University

Melville's speaker to pull her into the flaming pit. Bede recounts another vision, that of Drythelm, a pious layman in Northumbria who returns from the dead.[230] He, too, has a narrow escape from hell: the figure with the shining face who has escorted his soul from the earthly life routs the demons who threaten Drythelm, and the being who rescued him leads him into heaven. When he returns to life in the flesh, he lives an ascetic life because he has "seen it harder."[231] The faith of Melville's speaker has been fortified so that she can more readily endure the perplexities of a sinful age, as the last section of the poem (stanzas 42-59) reiterate the assurance she received from Christ in the vision and encourage the Elect to persevere until the end of their lives. The poem seems to have similar images rather than textual similarities to Bede's history.

An additional Latin source may be Boethius' *The Consolation of Philosophy* (sixth century),[232] in which the unjustly imprisoned Boethius describes the conversations he had with Lady Philosophy in a vision. She repeatedly demonstrates to him, through the use of Biblical passages, that earthly life is nothing but a pilgrimage to the soul's true home, which is heaven. She further argues that life during the pilgrimage is variable and so one cannot remain in a high position for a long time. She talks explicitly of the Wheel of Fortune[233] as the vehicle of mutability in this life, and she offers him the comfort that by suffering patiently, he can reach his homeland, where God, who is more powerful than Fortune, reigns and where one's condition is permanent. Since the proofs Lady Philosophy offers to Boethius depend on the Bible, it would

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Press, 1994), pp. 139-142.

[230] *Ibid*., pp. 253-7.

[231] *Ibid.*, p. 258.

[232] See H. F. Stewart, E. K. Rand, and S. J. Tester, trans. *Boethius: The Theological Tractates and the Consolation of Philosophy,* (1918; reprinted Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), pp. 130-435.

[233] Book II of *The Consolation of Philosophy*.

be hard to say whence the awareness that the speaker of Melville's poem of her state as a poor pilgrim in this world derives. Although the poem includes the thought, "For gif ye clim on tops of Montanes hie, / The heicher vp the nearer is your fall,"[234] it serves only as a brief reminder of the changeable nature of human existence; it works within the poem to reinforce the need for Christ's help in all that one does. One important difference between the two texts is that Lady Philosophy argues and Boethius then presents the argument, while Melville's persona receives a revelation and proclaims it.

Two of the most probable sources for the hell imagery in Melville's poem are *Owayne Miles,* a version of *St. Patrick's Purgatory,*[235] and *The Vision of Tundale,* a poetic "translation" of a Latin prose text.[236] Both are extant in manuscripts from Scotland: the former is a part of the Auchinleck manuscript, which dates from the fourteenth century,[237] although the story itself dates to the twelfth century.[238] The latter is a part of a fifteenth-century manuscript;[239] the story dates to the twelfth century.[240] Both poems contain incidents or images not found in other dream vision poems but found in Melville's poem. In the early part of *Owayne Miles,* which tells of the origin of St. Patrick's Purgatory, Patrick prays on behalf of the intransigent people of Ireland who will not cease their sinful activities in spite of his sermons, and Jesus himself appears to him in a dream and tells Patrick that God will save the Irish if someone will spend a day and a night in a

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234 Lines 379-80.
235 See Robert Easting, ed. *St. Patrick's Purgatory,* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1991) and Edward E. Foster, ed. *Three Purgatory Poems: The Gast of Gy, Sir Owain, and The Vision of Tundale*, (Kalmazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2004).
236 Foster, *op cit.*, p. 179.
237 *Ibid*., p. 118.
238 Easting, *op cit.*, p. xvii.
239 Foster, *op cit.*, p. 189.
240 *Ibid*., p. 179.

place of purgation. Patrick undertakes the task. So in Melville's poem, the speaker prays on behalf of the Elect and takes a journey through hell with Christ, about which she writes to encourage her fellow saints. The first part of *Owayne Miles* gives the origin of the abbey of St. Patrick's Purgatory on Lough Derg in Ulster, and the remainder of the poem narrates the adventures that a knight, after whom the poem is called and who seeks forgiveness of his sins, experiences as he descends into St. Patrick's Purgatory to atone for his sins. Also unusual in *Owayne* is the admonition the abbot gives the knight as he is about to enter the pit: "Thy soul shall tire."[241] Christ speaks thus to Melville's persona before she follows him to heaven: "Thy feeble flesh will tire."[242] Other textual similarities exist, but they can be found in other dream vision poems as well.

An extra-textual reason for believing that a version of *St. Patrick's Purgatory* is among the sources for Melville's dream vision poem is her father's brief account of his 1549 visit to Lough Derg in the company of Jean de Monluc, Bishop of Valence, France's ambassador to Ireland. Melville went with the bishop to meet with Irish rebels who wanted to rid Ireland of the English. After their meeting, the Patriarch of Ireland "did great honor to the Ambassador and conveyed him to see St. Patrick's Purgatory, which is like an old coal-pit which had taken fire by reason of the smoke that came out of the hole."[243] Melville, unfortunately, gives no sense of how much of the lore associated with the site he learned, and this family connection is more indicative than conclusive.

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[241] *Owayne,* line 294. I have modernized the spelling.
[242] *Ane Godlie Dreame,* line 152. I have modernized the spelling.
[243] Quoted in Shane Leslie, ed. *St. Patrick's Purgatory: A Record from History and Literature,* (London: Burns, Oates, and Washbourne, Ltd., 1932), p. 67. Leslie notes that the passage is a translation from the Scots. Donaldson's edition of Sir James Melville's *Memoirs* begins with

The Vision of Tundale, like *Owayne Miles* and *Ane Godlie Dreame,* includes images of iron spikes at the entrance of hell. *Owayne* merely reports their existence, byt Tundale's guardian angel accompanies him across them. As Tundale travels over them, his feet are cut and begin to bleed, just as the speaker in *Ane Godlie Dreame* runs through a field of iron pricks as a precursor to her journey through hell and finds her feet "all betorn and rent."[244] Later, in Passus VIII, the guardian angel and Tundale reach the gates of death, and Tundale asks his escort, "Who shall deliver me from that sore? / I expect to be there forevermore."[245] The angel reassures him that he will come out without being destroyed. In the same vein, Melville's speaker tells Christ that she is reluctant to enter hell because she has heard that whoever enters "[t]hat great gulf, shall never come again."[246] He replies that she must take courage and hold onto him because neither "death nor hell shall ever conquer [her]."[247] Additional textual similarities between *Tundale* and *Ane Godlie Dreame* are common to dream vision literature.

Both *St. Patrick's Purgatory* and *The Vision of Tundale* predate Dante's *Divine Comedy*, the most famous of dream vision poems. Its influence on English literature is most obvious after the mid-seventeenth century,[248] but its story and images are so closely tied to Roman Catholic thought that it may well have formed a part of the cultural backdrop of the Middle Ages and early Renaissance.

Other dream vision poems, like *Pearl* and *Piers Plowman* (1367-1379), may also have

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Melville's tour as Mary's ambassador to Elizabeth.

[244] *Ane Godlie Dreame*, line 228.

[245] *Tundale,* line 721. I have modernized the spelling.

[246] *Ane Godlie Dreame*, line 282. I have modernized the spelling.

[247] *Ibid*., line 296.

[248] "*Divina Commedia*," in Margaret Drabble, ed. *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, Sixth edition, (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 286.

been a part of the cultural milieu. The former survives in only one manuscript, and none of the versions of the latter have a known association with Scotland.[249] However, a poem lesser known today, *The Gast of Gy* (early fourteenth century), seems to have been very much a part of the cultural background. As Stephen Greenblatt points out in *Hamlet in Purgatory*, the poem was so well known that David Lindsay includes a casual reference to it in the prefatory poem to his *Dreme*. He then quotes from the dedicatory verse epistle to James VI, "And sometimes like a fiend, transfigured / And sometimes like the grisly Gast of Gy."[250] *The Gast of Gy* teaches readers about the pains of purgatory: a man's ghost haunts his wife to warn her to live a good life so as to avoid the pain he is enduring. The priest whom the wife consults explains all the masses to be said and almsgiving to be done before the dead man can rest, and the ghost tells of the punishments meted out for each kind of sin.[251] The poem reinforces Roman Catholic teaching about purgatory while providing a warning about the wages of sin. Its emphasis on works and intercession is antithetical to Protestant theology.

David Lindsay's *Dreme* is a possible inspiration for Melville's poem. It begins in despair and ends with the acceptance of chance and change after Dame Remembrance has given the speaker a tour of the earthly and heavenly realms. She tells him that she has come to him "[b]ecause I see thy spirit without measure / Sore perturbed by melancholy;"[252] likewise, Christ comes to Melville's speaker because "I hear thy sighs, I see thy twinkling tears / Thou seemst to

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[249] See William Langland, *Piers Plowman*, E. Talbot Donaldson and George Kane, eds., 3 vols., (London: University of London/Athlone Press, 1960).

[250] Stephen Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), p. 132. He cites a modernized spelling version.

[251] See Foster, *op cit*., pp. 27-80.

[252] Douglas Hamer, ed. *The Poems of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount 1490-1555*, (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, Ltd., 1931), Vol. I, p. 9; these are lines 157-8 of *The*

be be in some perplexity."[253] Dame Remembrance urges Lindsay's persona, "Therefore, get up, and go anon with me;"[254] Christ tells Melville's persona first, "Rise up anon / And follow me" and later "Rise up with speed"[255] Dame Rememberance will "bear [the speaker] company,"[256] and Christ "shall be [the speaker's] guide."[257] Although the beginnings of the poems have textual similarities, the rest of the poems differ in their exposition of theology. Lindsay's speaker visits limbo and purgatory as well as paradise before returning to his bedroom, and as is typical of Medieval dream visions, the poem describes specific punishments for specific sins. Although the poem seems to be grounded in Roman Catholic theology, many Protestants in Scotland read Lindsay's works, and *The Dreme* in particular, as early expression of Protestant faith.[258] The Scots were proud of him as an important poet, as they were of William Dunbar.

The works of William Dunbar (c. 1460-c. 1520) contain some dream visions, most notably "The Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins."[259] Satan holds a dance on the eve of Lent to urge his troops to greater temptations in this time of battle; the poem personifies each sin in comic detail. Each sin has an entourage of sinners being punished, so this poem, like *The Gast of Gy*, shows the reward of sin as a warning to its readers. The light-hearted tone of the poem seems out of keeping with the seriousness of Melville's *Ane Godlie Dreame*. Of Dunbar's poems, the

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Dreme. I have modernized the spelling.
[253] *Ane Godlie Dreame*, lines 97-8. I have modernized the spelling.
[254] *The Dreme*, line 160.
[255] *Ane Godlie Dreame*, lines 113 and 119.
[256] *The Dreme*, line 156.
[257] *Ane Godlie Dreame*, line 114.
[258] See Carol Edington, *Court and Culture in Renaissance Scotland: Sir David Lindsay of the Mount*, (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994), pp. 145-9 and pp. 157-9.
[259] See John Conlee, ed. *William Dunbar: The Complete Works*, (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2004), pp. 162-168.

one most consonant with Melville's tone is "Done is a Battle on the Dragon Black."[260] The five stanzas of this ballade octave celebrate Christ's victory over the devil at Easter; the poem's Latin refrain (*Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro*; The Lordi has risen from the tomb) comes from Luke and was a versicle in the Roman Catholic Easter service.[261] Dunbar's poem refers to Christ as "[o]ur champion;"[262] Melville's poem refers to "[y]our captain Christ"[263] but uses similar battle imagery in describing the battle with the serpent. For example, Dunbar's poem speaks of the noise the devils will make as they tremble in fear at the coming of the risen lord (which he figures as a lion), and Melville's poem attests that although the enemy (which she figures as lion) will roar to frighten people, Christ will save them. The cross in Dunbar's composition is the "sign triumphal,"[264] while Melville's poem says Christ has conquered death "triumphant on the tree."[265] Both poems draw on the biblical imagery of death having lost its cruel sting, and each poem stresses the finality of Christ's victory on behalf of Christians over death and the devil.

Perhaps the work that had the most influence on Melville's long poem is not a single poem but a collection, *A Compendious Book of Godly and Spiritual Songs*, usually called *The Gude and Godlie Ballats,* often attributed to the Wedderburn brothers of Dundee.[266] The book, says Hugh Walker, "seeks at once to attack Popery, and to inculcate the positive doctrines of the Protestants in the way best calculated to appeal to the popular understanding and to dwell in the

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[260] *Ibid*., pp. 31-2.
[261] *Ibid*., p. 221.
[262] "Done is a battle," line 2.
[263] *Ane Godlie Dreame*, line 434.
[264] "Done is a battle," line 4.
[265] *Ane Godlie Dreame*, line 476.
[266] A. F. Mitchell, ed, *A Compendious Book of Godly and Spiritual Songs Commonly Known as the Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, (1897; reprinted New York and London: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1966).

popular memory."[267] Some of the poems are instructional verse paraphrases of biblical stories, such as the first poem in the volume, "Moses Upon the Mont Sinay,"[268] a catechetical song which teaches the ten commandments. After the title of each song follows the tune or tunes to which people can sing it. A rhyme royal composition relates the story of Dives and Lazarus, and its final verse sums up the lessons in the poem: "Unto the poor therefore be merciful" and "As ye forgive, ye shall forgiven be."[269] This work is a poem, not a song, and has no associated music. "Remember, Man,"[270] a typical teaching poem, asserts that Christ alone is humankind's salvation, thus reinforcing a Protestant doctrine, and dismisses purgatory, thus attacking Roman Catholic doctrine; the poem ends with a restatement of the Protestant position. Melville's poem is similar to those in *The Gude and Godlie Ballatis* in being an instructive vernacular poem that draws on biblical texts and proclaims Protestant doctrine.

Although many poems have influenced Melville's dream vision poem, it seems to have had little influence on later literature. David Laing dismisses out of hand any possibility that her work could have a connection to John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*,[271] and most scholars have accepted his judgment since the prose piece is more clearly allegorical than is Melville's account of her journey with Christ.

Ane Godlie Dreame is an extension of the dream vision tradition in Western literature in

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[267] Hugh Walker, *Three Centuries of Scottish Literature*, (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1893), Vol. I, p. 42.
[268] *The Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, *op cit*., pp. 7-10.
[269] *Ibid*., pp. 39-42. Line 57 and line 60. I have modernized the spelling.
[270] *Ibid*., pp. 200-4.
[271] "Introduction" to *Ane Godlie Dreame, Compylit in Scotish Meter* in *Early Popular Poetry of Scotland and the Northern Border Edited by David Laing LL.D. in 1822 and 1826 Re-arranged and Revised with Additions and a Glossary by W. Carew Hazlitt* (London: Reeves and Turner, 1895), p. 279.

its narrative of a living soul's glimpse of the afterlife and in its poetic restatements of Church teaching. The work also belongs in a tradition of Scots vernacular literature, some of which also instructs readers how to conduct their lives. Melville's poem is a Calvinist re-visioning, as Adrienne Rich coined the word, of a predominantly Roman Catholic form.

CHAPTER 5

ANE GODLIE DREAME: A PROTESTANT POLEMIC

A preoccupation with the kingdom of God, as seen through the lens of Calvinist theology, informs *Ane Godlie Dreame*. It assumes the doctrine of the Elect, and its speaker assumes that she is among them. It affirms that Christ alone has effected salvation, that Christ alone will guide his chosen people through life, and that Christ alone can teach the believer how to conduct his or her life. Although its structure is like that of a medieval dream vision,[272] the images and language of the poem are primarily biblical, and the poem also moves, as many of the Psalms do, from feelings of desertion and despair to feelings of assurance and joy. This poem, like the poems in *The Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, is a Protestant polemic that reinforces Protestant teaching.

In the early stanzas of the poem (1-11), the speaker grieves over the state of the world, which resembles the end times foretold in the gospel. She says that she "did mourn full sore"[273] over "this false and iron age."[274] She seeks solitude because nothing can take away the pain of being so far from home and the sense of being in captivity to the flesh, as the Jews were in captivity to the Babylonians. The human condition "so to vice inclined"[275] troubles her, and she realizes that her sin, too, increases. She seems to have lost sight of the hope that Christ's resurrection and promised return that she, as a Christian, ought to have. She is unable to find support or reassurance from her friends, as the speaker in Ps. 142 can find no help among the living. She is aware, though, that her thoughts grieve her soul, which is the promise of eternal

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[272] See the section on form and structure.
[273] Line 1. All quotes are from the 1603 edition of the poem with modernized spelling.
[274] Line 10.

life, since it endures and the flesh does not. However, like Hermas in the second-century dream vision that bears his name, she is trapped in double-mindedness: lust holds him as despair holds her. One of the signs of the end times before the Second Coming and the institution of Christ's kingdom is that even the faithful will begin to lose hope and fall away from the teachings of the gospel. She sees that happening both externally and internally, but she seems to feel powerless to stop it.

In spite of feeling helpless because the devil is winning the battle, she has some hope and like the psalmist in Ps. 13 turns to prayer and asks, "How long wilt thou forget me, O Lord?"[276] She, in contrast to the psalmist, speaks not only for herself but for the elect, Christ's "poor saints,"[277] who live in hardship on the earth. The shift from *I* to *the elect*, as Sarah Dunnigan suggests, communicates the speaker's membership in the chosen people of God and creates the sense that the speaker is "representative of the religious soul."[278] The image presented of the soul is not that of an individual seeking divine marriage to Christ; it is that of the soul of a prophet, able to speak to God on behalf of the chosen people as well as for itself. Thus, the sorrow the speaker expresses over the state of her soul and the condition of the world is paradoxically both personal and communal, as Protestantism is both personal and communal. Protestants were expected to pray and study the Bible privately, to work on their own salvation, but they also were expected to attend church regularly for long stretches of time and to pray earnestly for each other (as long as all shall live), as the speaker does in praying for the saints, and for the inauguration of

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[275] Line 11.
[276] Ps. 13: 1. All quotes are from the Geneva Bible.
[277] *Ane Godlie Dreame*, line 29.
[278] Sarah M. Dunnigan, "Scottish Women Writers, c. 1560-c. 1650," in Douglas Gifford and Dorothy McMillan, eds. *A History of Scottish Women's Writing*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh

the eschaton, as the speaker does in stanzas 6-8.

The vision she has after fasting and praying (stanzas 12-40) implies that the answer to her plea is "Not yet." Having traversed with Christ over an unpleasant landscape, she espies the golden tower of the castle of heaven, but she cannot finish her race up the "stately steps"[279] because offended at her presumption, he "hastily did draw [her] down the stair."[280] Chiding her for going without him as if she knew better than he, he tells her that her path to heaven is through suffering, through hell. Before she can gain the crown promised for the faithful, she must continue to fight the good fight, but he assures her that he suffered what she is about to endure and that her soul is important to him because he has paid for it with his blood. He also pledges to be with her through the ordeal.

In the final section of the poem (stanzas 41-60), the outward state of the world has not changed, but the sin in the world no longer troubles her because she knows the kindness of Christ will be with her forever and will protect her against the assaults of her enemies, earthly and spiritual. She realizes that Christ listens to her and will come again when she is in need. She has learned from his suffering how to accept pain more patiently. She remembers, as the Psalmist recalls in Ps. 13, that the Lord "has dealt lovingly"[281] with her and will defeat her enemies "lest [his] enemies say, I have prevailed against him."[282] Like the Psalmist, she, too, proclaims in poetry that which she has learned in her relationship with Christ.

Her relationship with Christ indicates her position among the Elect. Because modern

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University Press, 1997), p. 32.
[279] Line 237.
[280] Line 240.
[281] Ps. 13:5.
[282] Ps. 13:4.

people confuse the Elect with an elite, they do not understand that the Elect are called as the people of Israel were to bear witness to God through their faithfulness. Being among the Elect does not imply, as Dunnigan states, an absence of doubt,[283] but rather the Elect have a special relationship with God, as the prophets of the Old Testament did. As Gordon Donaldson explains, "The Holy Spirit works for the reformation of men in the hearts of the Elect whom God has chosen."[284] Christ's guiding her through her dream vision is a sign of that special relationship: in most dream vision poems, the guide is a guardian angel, as in the vision of Fursa in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, or a personification of a virtue, as Reason is in *The Romance of the Rose*[285] or Dame Remembrance is in Lindsay's *The Dreme.* The speaker's decision to give the dream a public and memorable form shows her working to change herself and her religious community[286] so that none will fall into despair as they look out at the sinful world. Instead, through the triumphal tone and imagery of the last section of the poem, they will have an assurance that their suffering is not in vain and will have a reward when Christ comes again.

The last nineteen stanzas of the poem recall and reshape the images of the previous sections of the poem to reassert the lessons the speaker has taken from her vision, in much the way that Christ interprets parables for his disciples. For example, as she awakens from the dream in terror in stanza forty-one, she calls to the Lord as she did in stanza six to come, and her state of restlessness is similar to her agitation in stanzas one through three. Instead of wishing

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[283] Dunnigan, *op cit.*, p. 32.
[284] Gordon Donaldson, *The Faith of the Scots*, (London: B. T. Batsford. Ltd, 1990), pp. 63-4.
[285] Guillame de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *The Romance of the Rose*, trans. by Harry W. Robbins, Charles W. Dunn, ed., (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1962).
[286] Deanna Delmar Evans, "Holy Terror and Love Divine: The Passionate Voice in Elizabeth Melville's *Ane Godlie Dreame*," in Sarah M. Dunnigan, C. Marie Harker, and Evelyn S. Newlyn, eds., *Women and the Feminine in Medieval and Early Modern Scotland,* (Basingstoke, UK and

for the Second Coming as she does in the earlier section of the poem, she wants to return to the land of the dream with her newfound conviction that she will have pleasure in the next life after the pain of this life. Instead of praying to be taken out of the world, she prays that Christ, her guide, will stay with her. She wants now to persevere patiently, as Peter teaches in his first general epistle: "if when ye do well, you suffer wrong and take it patiently, this is acceptable to God."[287]

The vision further has taught her that the Elect have their hearts inclined not to vice but to God and that they cannot rest on earth. Each time she tires during the journey, Christ will not let her rest. In stanza twenty-six, after Christ has led her through the braes, waters, mountains, and briars, she wants to sit, but he will not allow it. In stanza thirty-five, before she crosses the bridge over hell, she tells him that she has "no force to stand,"[288] but he teaches her about his sufferings, a lesson which assures her that she will be able to come back from hell, although she has heard that no one can cross the divide between hell and the earth. From the lessons of the vision, she extracts a lesson that she proclaims publicly in stanza forty-two.

She no longer expects, as she seems to have when she started to run up to the golden tower of heaven, that it is an easy path. Christ has told her before she impulsively moves away from him that the way to heaven is hard[289] and longer than it seems; he also warns her that cowards are not allowed to enter.[290] She echoes his language when she teaches, "The way to heaven, I see is wondrous hard, / My dream declares that we have far to go:/We must be stout,

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New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 159.
[287] I Peter 2:20.
[288] Line 277.
[289] Line 217.
[290] Line 219.

for cowards are debarred."[291] She realizes that suffering is a part of the human condition, but the distress it brings is only temporary. When one has endured with grace (in both senses of the word), one receives the athlete's crown and the joy that heaven brings. She, like a prophet, imparts what she has learned for the benefit of all who have ears to hear.

Also like the prophet, she does not simply teach what is true; she also condemns what is false. The poem teaches that Purgatory is a gravely mistaken belief, a fantasy perpetuated by humankind. At her first sight of the flaming pit below her, she asks, "Is this. . .the Papists' purging place? / Where they affirm that silly souls do dwell / To purge their sin, before they rest in peace?"[292] Christ's answer echoes Knox's condemnation of the entire structure of Roman Catholic worship and doctrine:[293] "The brain of man most illy did invent / That purging place"[294] is Christ's reply, and the reason that humans perpetrated this myth in the name of God is greed. Roman Catholic clergy prey upon people's fears and "say that souls in torment must remain, / Till gold and goods relieve them of their pain."[295] He further chastises the inventors of purgatory in language reminiscent of the rebukes given the Pharisees. These men are "spiteful;" they are blind; they are beastly.

This dismissal of false doctrine leads to an assertion of true doctrine, one of the "dominant theological" messages in the poem, as Evans states it:[296] human beings are justified by faith and faith alone. Christ teaches the speaker in lines 284-8 that his blood was shed for

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[291] Lines 337-349.
[292] Lines 262-4.
[293] See the textual note on line 265.
[294] Lines 265-6. *Warlie*, in the context, suggests *surely*, but *illy* is probably a better translation.
[295] Lines 268-9.

[296] Evans, *op cit.*, p. 155.

human salvation and his action, in contrast to theirs, is not vain. She needs his guidance, she needs courage, and she needs faith in him, he tells her in lines 294-6 ---and she will come through hell, which through patience will become her salvation, and enter into glory as he did. Evans points out that Melville's language in the overtly instructive section of the poem, which reiterates the words Christ told the speaker, resembles that of Knox on justification:[297] he tells people to cleave to God;[298] the speaker says to cleave to Christ.[299] In this dependence on Christ, says Knox, is "the substance of Justification."[300]

In addition to echoing the language of Knox, the poem uses the language and imagery of the bible in ways which reinforce the Protestant teachings of the poem. The most obvious example is stanza seventeen in which Christ declares, as he did in John 14:6, that he is the way, the truth, and the light. Calvin comments that in this passage, Christ emphasizes that he is all in all and "hence. . .we ought to begin with him, to continue in him, and to end in him."[301] The poem teaches total dependence on Christ for comfort in this world and reward in the next.

In the same stanza of *Ane Godlie Dreame,* Christ identifies himself as the speaker's peace, and Calvin says in his commentary on Christ as the Prince of Peace that this title reflects a promise of restoration to God's favor,[302] that which the speaker seeks as she bemoans the fallen world and the sin that has infected her and others. Calvin adds that Paul picks up the imagery of the prince of peace in Rom. 5:1 to assure his readers that they will have the spiritual peace

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[297] *Ibid*.
[298] Quoted *ibid*.
[299] Line 342.
[300] Quoted in Evans, *op cit.*, p. 155.
[301] John Calvin, *Commentary on the Gospel According to John*, Vol. II, trans. by William Pringle, (1848; reprinted Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 2005), p. 84.
[302] Calvin, *Commentary on Isaiah*, trans. by William Pringle, (1848; reprinted Grand Rapids,

necessary to endure adversity,[303] something that the speaker acquires after awaking from the dream. Calvin says also that remembering this title will strengthen the faithful against temptations and recommends recalling Christ's power and ability to help; in the poem, the speaker urges the faithful to call on Christ to help them "in their need."[304]

The speaker is in need in stanza five when she asks Christ why he sleeps so long, as the disciples asked Christ during the storm, which he later calmed. In glossing this story in John, Calvin suggests, "in this manner, the Lord often makes his people fall into alarming dangers, that they may more plainly and familiarly recognize him in this deliverance."[305] The poem recounts one person's release from the terrors of the world through a close relationship with God, in whom she trusts more securely at the end of the poem. Throughout the poem, the speaker repeats that Christ alone is sufficient for all things and that faith, not works, brings justification and salvation; these are major tenets of Protestantism that are connected with abiding in the Kingdom of God.

With the voice of a prophet, the speaker proclaims the revelation she has received and begins to teach a lesson that, according to scholar Mark Greengrass, is typical of early Calvinist thought: "The only way out [of the labyrinth or abyss of the world] [is] by meek acceptance of the 'hope' of faith in God, ...whose [final victory] was assured despite the apparent temporary suffering and defeat [of man in this life]."[306] Although the poem teaches this lesson, Melville did

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MI: Baker Books, 2005), p. 312.
[303] *Ibid*.
[304] Line 367.
[305] Calvin, *Commentary on the Gospel According to John*, Vol. I, trans. by William Pringle, (1848; reprinted Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 2005), p. 236.
[306] Mark Greengrass, *The Longman Companion to the European Reformation c. 1500-1618*, (London and New York: Addison, Wesley, Longman, 1998), p. 171.

not quietly accept the changes that James I and his son proposed for making the Kirk of Scotland more like the Church of England: she joined with other Presbyterians to uphold the integrity of the Kirk, a symbol of Scots identity. The poem and her activism are complementary, and both suggest that Melville was a woman of strong convictions who was not afraid to voice them.

CHAPTER 6

PUBLICATION HISTORY AND BIBILIOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTIONS

Ane Godlie Dreame was first published in 1603 in Edinburgh, and the text of the first edition is in Middle Scots, the language of Scotland's court considered by some to be a dialect of English but considered by others to be a separate language.[307] A translation, an English or Englished edition, soon followed. Its title page has no publication date. Harry Aldis dates the English poem also to 1603,[308] as do Robert Dickson and John Edmond.[309] The current date accepted by scholars is 1604, although the date is usually punctuated with a question mark to indicate its speculative nature.[310] In addition to being a translation from the Middle Scots into early Modern English, the undated edition also is a revision, although few of the revised parts significantly change the structure or meaning of the poem. The exception to this observation is the re-ordering of the lines in the seventeenth stanza. A second edition in English was printed in 1606, and the text of it follows the translated and revised text of the undated version.

These three editions, quarto in format, were published by Robert Charteris, the second son and heir to Henry Charteris, whose career as a printer lasted from 1568-1599.[311] The elder

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[307] Agnes Marie Mackenzie, "The Renaissance Poets (I) Scots and English," in James Kinsley, ed., *Scottish Poetry: A Critical Survey*, (London: Cassell and Co., Ltd., 1955), p. 35.

[308] Harry G. Aldis, *A List of Books Printed in Scotland Before 1700*, 1904, (New York: Burt Franklin, 1970), p. 11.

[309] 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: Macmillan and Bowes, 1890), pp. 498-9.

[310] Because the countries of the British Isles used the Julian calendar until 1752 and began the new year at Annunciation, events between January and March are difficult to date. Without knowing a month of publication, establishing the year in which the first English edition of Melville's poem was issued is impossible.

[311] Aldis, *op cit.*, p. 111; Dickson and Edmond, *op cit.*, pp. 348-51; R. B. McKerrow, ed., *A*

Charteris bought the printing business of John Ross in 1580 and continued Ross' tradition of printing books in Middle Scots, the most famous of which was *The Works of David Lindsay* (1582).[312] The younger Charteris seems to have maintained the tradition until James VI of Scotland became James I of England. In December, 1603, approximately six months after James' accession to the English throne, Robert Charteris was named the King's Printer; he succeeded Robert Waldegrave who had printed Scots theology texts and who had left Edinburgh for London.[313] Charteris, who remained in Edinburgh, disappears from the public record in 1610. Aldis lists this year as the year of Charteris' death,[314] but McKerrow says that Charteris, who had been exiled in 1609 for debt, may have left the country to avoid his financial difficulties.[315]

Andro Hart,[316] who printed the 1620 edition of Melville's poem, took over Charteris' presses in 1610 but did not assume the office of King's Printer. Hart had been a bookseller before becoming a printer, and his first publication was a folio Bible, which was "noted for its correctness."[317] The 1620 edition of *A Godlie Dream* is considered the last to have been published in Melville's lifetime (although the date of her death is not known) and follows the English text. The format of this edition is octavo.

Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books 1557-1640, (London: Bibliographic Society, 1968), pp. 66-7.

[312] Dickson and Edmund, *op cit*., p. 348; Colin Clair, *A History of Printing in Britain*, (New York: OUP, 1966), p. 125.

[313] Clair, *op cit*., p. 126. Waldegrave had been a printer in London during the reign of Elizabeth I. He was imprisoned for having printed Puritan tracts and had published the Martin Marprelate pamphlets.

[314] Aldis, *op cit*., p. 111.

[315] McKerrow, *op cit.*, p. 67.

[316] Hart's widow, Jonet Kene (or Janet Keen), according to Keith Brown, was among the women who like Elizabeth Melville participated in the activities that led to the writing and signing of the 1637/8 National Covenant. Kene, with her children, ran the printing business from Hart's death in 1621 until 1639.

Other editions of Melville's *Dream* appeared in 1644 (the first edition to refer to it as "Lady Culross' Dream"), 1680, 1692, 1698, 1718, and 1727, all published in Scotland.[318] Joanne Shattock notes the existence of a 1737 edition and says ten editions of Melville's poem were published after 1606; she does not, however, enumerate them[319] and may include the three nineteenth-century anthologies of Scottish poetry in which *Ane Godlie Dreame* appears.

Six copies of the text of Melville's *oeuvre* that seem to have authorial authority exist and form of the basis of this collation.

1. 1603 edition STC # 17811

two copies: at the National Library of Scotland and the Bodleian Library at Oxford University

In an ornamental border, 16.3 cm tall and 9.5 cm wide:

ANE GODLIE | DREAME, COMPYLIT IN | Scottish [tall s; st ligature] Meter be M. M. Gentel- | *uuoman in Culross, at the re-* | *queist* [tall s; st ligature] *of her freindes.* | *Introite per angustam* [tall s; st ligature] *portam, nam lata est* [tall s; st ligature] | *via quæ ducit ad interitum.* | [McKerrow # 307] | *EDINBVRGH* [swash D, B] | PRINTED BE ROBERT | *CHARTERIS. 1603.*

The format of the book is 4°, and each leaf in the copy at the National Library of Scotland is 17.7 cm tall, 12.5 cm wide, and 0.01 cm thick. The dimensions suggest a medium to

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317 Clair, *op cit.*, p. 128.
318 Germaine Greer, *et al*., eds. *Kissing the Rod: An Anthology of Seventeenth-Century Women's Verse*, (London: Virago Press, Ltd., 1988), pp.32-3.
319 Shattock, *op cit.*, p. 290.

large format with pot paper.[320] The paper, brown with age, has a rough feel; no watermarks are visible. Chainlines are approximately 2.5 cm apart. Flecks that seem to be unprocessed material appear throughout.

The signatures are A_2, A_3, [A_4], B, B_2, B_3, [B_4], C. The final page of the text is blank and has an elaborate ink squiggle on it.

The book has been rebound in leather with the seal of the Advocates' Library (the precursor of the National Library of Scotland) on the front.

Each leaf in the copy at the Bodleian is 17.5 cm tall, 12.4 cm wide, and 0.01 cm thick. Two leaves are missing. The quality of the paper is the same.

The signatures are A_2, A_3, [A_4], B, B_2, B_3, [B_4].

The copy at Oxford was rebound with two seventeenth-century texts; the bookplate on the cover bears the name of Francis Douce, a nineteenth-century antiquary who served as curator of manuscripts at the British Museum for a time and edited antique poems. He left his collections to the Bodleian Library in 1834.[321] Pasted in the cover of the book several items about Melville and her work. The first, which is handwritten, reads:

> M. M. Mistress Melvill, was Elizabeth
> daughter to Sir James Melvill of Hall-hill, and
> wife to John Colvile commendator of Culros.
>
> Pinkerton says, 'It seems very doubtful that

[320] I base this inference on tables created from the study of English practices. Brian Hillyard, assistant librarian at the National Library of Scotland, suggests in "Scottish Bibliography in the Period Ending 1801" that bibliographers have not looked at Scots' books in enough detail to know that publishing in the British Isles had consistent practices.

[321] See Arthur Henry Bullen, "Francis Douce," *DNB, op cit*., vol. 5, pp. 1161-2.

she could be the mother of Colvil the poet. . .; nor could her name be Elizabeth Melvil.' It is, however, absolutely certain that she was the mother of Colvil the poet, and that her name was Elizabeth Melvil. See Douglases Peerage, p. 146.

An edition, printed at Aberdene, 1644, is in the British Museum. The second edit. by Charteris Edinb. 1606 L°

Beneath this comment is a printed notice about Hugh Rhodes' *Booke of Nurture*, one of the texts with which *Ane Godlie Dreame* is bound, and under this clipping is another clipping:

ELIZABETH COLVIL

MR. EDITOR,

The ancient poetess now introduced among your British muses was *daughter* to Sir James Melvill, of Hall-hill, *wife* to John Colvil, commendator of Culross, and *mother* to Samuel Colvil, who wrote 'The Whig's Supplication, or Scotch Hudibras' as Mr. Ritson has ascertained from Douglas' Peerage, in opposition to the doubts of Mr. Pinkerton, expressed in 'Preliminaries to Ancient Scottish Poems,' 1792. Her extremely rare production, which has been popularly styled 'Lady Culross's Dream,' was first printed in 1603, and entitled "Ane Godlie Dreame, compylit in Scottish Meter by M. M. [Mistress Melvill] Gentelwoman in Culros, at the requeist of her freinds.' Edinburgh, quarto.

The article is attributed in handwriting to "T. Park[322]" in "*Salomuroliter* IX. 276."

The material pasted on the cover includes another handwritten note:

Culros's dream

See Mr. Pinkerton's 'Select Scotish ballads' I. xxxvii. and

Mr. Ritson's curious/ms. note, pasted in the cover.

See D. Leydon's Scotish descriptive poems, p. 190 of

Lives of the Sc. Poets/by Irving II. 299.

This volume appears to have been in Glome's catal. 1750 and

marked 5 shillings/being now probably worth as many guineas.

On the 'Godly Dream' see M^{r}. Laing's edition of 'ancient

metrical poems'/1826 12° p. xxix. xxxi. xxxvi.

2. Undated, possibly 1604, edition STC # 171812

One copy: at the National Library of Scotland

Ornament at the top of the page: 8.6 cm long and 2 cm tall

A | **GODLY DREAME,** | **COMPLYLED BY ELIZ. MELVIL,** | Lady Culros yonger at the request [tall s; st ligature] of a friend. | Introite per angustam [tall s; st ligature] portam, name lata est [tall s; st ligature] via quæ | ducit ad interitum. | [Royal shield ornament: 8.2 cm tall and 6.2 cm wide] | EDINBVRGH | PRINTED BY ROBERT CHARTERIS PRIN- | ter to the Kings most [tall s; st ligature] Excellent Majestie. [tall s; st ligature] | Cum Privilego Regali.

[322] Probably Thomas Park, a fellow antiquary who edited works by Swift and Burns.

The format of the book is 4°, and each leaf is 18.2 cm tall, 13.5 cm wide, and 0.01 cm thick. These dimensions suggest a medium to large format on pot paper. The paper, brown with age, has a smooth feel; no chainlines or watermarks are visible. Flecks that seem to be unprocessed material appear throughout.

The signatures are A_2, [A_3], [A_4], B, B_2, [B_3], [B_4], C.

The book has been rebound in the same manner as STC # 17811.

3. 1606 edition STC # 17813

One copy: at the Huntington Library in San Marino, Calfornia

Ornament at the top of the title page: 9.5 cm long and 2.3 cm tall.

A | **GODLIE DREAME,** | COMPYLED BY ELIZ. MELVILL, | Ladie Culros yonger, at the request [tall s; st ligature] of a friend. | Introite per angustam [tall s; st ligature] portam, nam lata est [tall s; st ligature] via quæ | ducit ad interitum. | [Royal shield ornament: 8.2 cm tall and 6.2 cm wide] | EDINBVRGH | PRINTED BY ROBERT CHARTERIS PRIN- | ter to the Kings most [tall s; st ligature] Excellent Majestie [tall s; st ligature], 1606. | Cum Priuilegio Regali.

The format of this book is 4°, and each leaf is 18.3 cm by 12.1 cm. The width of the paper is 0.02 mm. These dimensions also suggest a medium to large format on pot paper. The paper is brown with age and has a smooth feel; its quality is coarse, and cloth and threads are visible in some leaves. No chain lines are visible, and some leaves have cracks that make reading the text difficult and appear to be artifacts of the printing process since they are positioned lower on the page than normal dog-earring would be. These cracks also are more irregular than dog-earring would be. This copy has been cropped at the outer margins; the

cutting has not damaged the text of the poem.

The book has been rebound in a brownish-gold leather cover. On the flyleaf are notes by Richard Heber:

> see catalogue.1a.bod.
>
> Gordonstoun sale 1816
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> sewed 12 • 12 • □[323]
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> C. Lewis.

In the right margin of the recto side of the third leaf is the inscription in faded ink "Thomas Murray | with his hand." At the end of the poem is a longer inked inscription, much of which is undecipherable because of the way the paper absorbed and spread the ink. The writing begins, "This buike perteins to Captane w [here the cropping of the book cuts off part of the inscription] | vl-- lour- off the le---- [illegible]."[324] Below these words is "T. Murray."

Dickson and Edmond say that no copies of the 1606 edition were extant at the time that their book was written, although a copy was listed in the *Gordonstoun Sales Catalogue.*[325] According to *The Britwell Handlist*, the work belonged to Sir Robert Gordon, a seventeenth-century cartographer and younger brother who penned *The History of the Earls of Sutherland,* and to Richard Heber, an eighteenth- and nineteenth-century book collector whose holdings included many unique copies of seventeenth-century texts. William Henry Miller acquired several of them for his collection, when Heber's library was sold at Sotheby's after his death.

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[323] This symbol appears in the book instead of a date.

[324] Paleographers Sue Hodson and Mary Robertson of the Huntington Library assisted in the reading of this inscription and said that the paper made the ink and secretary's hand, which had distinct individual traits, impossible to read.

[325] Dickson and Edmond, *op cit.*, p. 505.

Samuel Christy (later Christie-Miller) inherited the estate and book collection from Miller's daughters; at his death, the books were put up for sale. The 1606 edition of Melvill's poem was sold in 1922 for 250 pounds.[326]

4. 1620 edition STC # 17814

Two copies exist: one at the British Library and one at the Wren Library at Lincoln Cathedral. After a design that is 8.1 cm tall and 4 cm wide:

A GODLIE | DREAME, | Compiled by *Elizabeth Mel-* | *vill, Ladie Culros younger,* | at the request [tall s; st ligature] of a Friend. [single rule 7.5 cm] *Introite per angustam* [tall s; st ligature] *portam: name lata est* [tall s; st ligature] | *via quæ ducit ad interitum.* | [McKerrow # 378] | EDINBVRGH | *Imprinted by Andro* [swash A] *Hart,* | ANNO DOM. 1620.

The format is 8°, and each leaf is 14.6 cm. tall and 9.3 cm wide. The twelve leaves are 0.2 cm thick; each leaf is 0.01 cm thick. These dimensions suggest a large to medium format on royal paper. The paper has a rough texture: very thin horizontal lines run across the page, and the vertical lines, approximately 2.5 cm apart, are not straight. No watermarks are visible.

The signatures are A_2, [A_3], A_4,[A_{5-8}], B, B_2, [C].

The copy of the text at the Wren Library was rebound in the late nineteenth-century with a number of other seventeenth-century texts, and it was cropped so poorly that the last line of the title page is missing. The dimensions of the leaves are 13.3 cm by 8.5 cm. Many other leaves have been cropped on the left and on the bottom so that the text cannot be easily read. On several leaves, catchwords are missing or are barely legible because of the damage.

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[326] Sydney Richardson Christie-Miller, *The Britwell Handlist,* (London: Bernard Quaritch,

Michael Honywood,[327] rector of Lincoln Cathedral from 1660-81, who was responsible for the construction of the Wren Library in the north walk of the cathedral, willed his books to the cathedral library, and this copy of *Ane Godlie Dreame* was in his collection. Honywood's monogram appears in the upper left corner of the title page.

A difference between the copy in the British Library and that in the Wren Library is an additional page that contains religious material that is not a part of *Ane Godlie Dreame* or of "A Very Comfortable Song." Within a double rule (outer: 9.2 cm by 6.9 cm; inner: 8.7 cm by 6.6 cm) with a stylized rose in each corner is Psalm 51:10: Create in mee a cleane heart, O God, and renew a right Spirit within me. Below the verse is a double circle around a text: F VV [overlapped] [diamond] COR [diamond] CONTRITVM [diamond] ET [diamond] HVMILIATVM [diamond] DEVS [diamond] NON [diamond] DESPICIES [diamond]. Under this design is a single rule. Below the single rule is a stylized heart with the aorta; five wavy lines represent blood coming from the artery. A sword pierces the heart, which has a crown of thorns around it. Three wavy lines at the point of entry and exit represent blood. Beneath this device are the full text of the translated hemistich in the circle: *Vers*. 17. The sacrifices of God are a contrite | spirit: A contrite and a broken heart, | O God, thou wilt not despise.[328]

Although this extra page suggests the two copies might belong to different editions, it is the only difference. The paper looks and feels the same. In both copies, the running titles are "A GODLY DREAME." and "A GODLY SONG." On the final page of the text in both copies of

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1933), Vol. II, p. 652.

[327] See Edmund Venables, "Michael Honywood," in the *DNB, op cit*., Vol. 9, pp. 1144-5 and Clive Hurst, *Catalogue of the Wren Library of Lincoln Cathedral Books Printed before 1801*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. *ix-xi*.

[328] In the *Vulgate*, this is verse 19, as it is in the Old Latin Bible.

the 1620 edition, the *G* at the end of *SONG* is noticeably outsized compared with the rest of the running head. The oversized letter is flush with the tops of the *SON* of the title, but the *G* extends a perceptible but hard-to-measure distance below the bottoms of those letters.

Nicholas Bennett, librarian at Lincoln Cathedral, was not able to find any information on the original binding of Melville's poem, and the research of Aldis and of Pollard and Redgrave suggests only one edition was printed in1620. Whether the copy in London belongs to a separate edition is presently unknowable.

Also unknown is who wrote "Away vaine warld," the poem printed after *Ane Godlie Dreame*, in the 1603, 1604?, 1606, and 1620 editions. R. D. S. Jack notes that Renaissance publishers frequently printed a shorter work of a similar theme with a long poem; the two works were not necessarily by the same author, and the appended work was often by a more prominent poet.[329] Until the mid-1980's, scholars attributed the lyric poem to Alexander Montgomerie, one of the Castalian band at the court of James VI who fell out of favor with the king when he apostatized to Roman Catholicism. A manuscript copy of the poem was stuck into the Ker/Drummond manuscript in front of Montgomerie's poetry, and scholars assumed the composition belonged with these works. No one knew exactly when Montgomerie had died, and scholars speculated he had died around 1610. The song to which "Away vaine warld" is set, "Shall I let her go," appeared in Scotland in 1600,[330] so the attribution seemed solid.

In 1983, however, historian John Durkan published a note "The Date of Alexander Montgomerie's Death" in *The Innes Review*.[331] He found in the records of the Edinburgh

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329 R. D. S. Jack, *Alexander Montgomerie*, (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1985), p. 36.
330 *Ibid*., p. 35.
331 John Durkan, "The Date of Alexander Montgomerie's Death," *The Innes Review* 34 (1983):

presbytery a summons for the aldermen of Canongate Church to appear and explain why they had buried a "papist, in their church contrary to the acts of the General Assembly."[332] (Their defense was simple: ignorance.) The records dated 29 August, 1598 contained the information that Montgomerie had been buried a week before the officials had been called to answer the charges. Montgomerie was dead two years before the song on which "Away, vaine warld" depended appeared in Scotland.

If not Montgomerie, then who? Jack concludes that in spite of the good versification of "Away vaine warld" and the "pedestrian" versification of *Ane Godlie Dreame*,[333] Melville is the probable author in spite of the direct attribution of the longer poem to her and the lack of attribution for the shorter poem because of the similarity in theme. Scholars appear not to have rushed to include the poem in the Melville corpus or to propose a different author for the poem. Until Jamie Reid-Baxter of Glasgow University publishes the group of manuscript poems headed with the anagram "SOB SILL COR" (Isbl Colros or Elizabeth Colros) and parallels with Melville's known verse,[334] the basis for textual comparison will be so slight that one will have to rely on one's gut feeling.[335]

Equally unknowable is the agent who translated the 1603 version of *Ane Godlie Dreame* and amended the text for the undated edition of the poem. After these changes, the text remains

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pp. 91-2.

[332] Qtd. in Durkan, *op cit*., p. 9. I have modernized the spelling.

[333] Jack, *op cit*., p. 36.

[334] See Jamie Reid-Baxter, "Elizabeth Melville, Lady Culross: 3500 New Lines of Verse," in Sarah M. Dunnigan, C. Marie Harker, and Evelyn S. Newlyn, eds. *Women and the Feminine in Medieval and Early Modern Scottish Writing*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 195-200.

[335] Mine is that the poem is not Melville's. "Away vaine warld" lacks the Biblical allusions so characteristic of *Ane Godlie Dreame* and the few lines that Reid-Baxter quotes.

remarkably stable for a Renaissance work, with most editions varying primarily in use of a greater number of Scots words (especially *begouth*). The most significant differences that occur between the only Middle Scots edition and the first English-language edition are in stanza 17, and the alterations work to shift the emphasis from the speaker to Christ himself, as does the substitution of his banner for your banner in line 452. The seventeenth stanza in which the visitor reveals that he is Christ begins with an allusion to John 14:6: I am the way, the truth, and the light. In the 1603 edition, the third line of the stanza identifies Christ as the speaker's "[her] love whom [she] would fain embrace" (l. 131); the Englished text moves that text to the fourth line of the stanza (132) and replaces it with "I am your Lord that soon will end your strife" (l. 131). Although one is supposed to love Christ, that love should contain a measure of awe because he is more an authority figure than one's peer. The line as it appears in the Scots text also suggests that Christ came to her because of her love, rather than because of his good pleasure. Protestants believe that salvation is a result of freely given grace, not a reward for work or love.

A few other reworkings add theological nuances. In line 4, for example, the Scots edition reveals, "My comfort fled," but in the English edition, she shuns comfort ("I comfort fled") as if to reinforce the message in that poem that one must rely on Christ alone, not on the solace or encouragement of one's fellows. The change also suggests the speaker more actively looks for solitude in which to pray, as a distressed Christian might. The rewriting of line 81 to read "end our grief" instead of "end my grief" makes the poem less personal but communicates a greater sense that she is a part of the elect, and the revision of lines 15-6 to say "grieved the Spirit that wont to be my pledge" rather than "grieved my Spirit that wont to be my pledge" suggests that

the Holy Spirit, not her own soul, is her guarantee of salvation. Calling the flesh "filthy" instead of "humbled" in line 414 reinforces the idea of Original Sin, which posits the inherent badness of the body. The last two changes indicate a concern that the poem be consistent with the theology of the Kirk of Scotland.

The thoughtfulness of these changes implies that someone who cared about the meaning and interpretation of the text made them, and the person who had the most interest in the sense and impact of the text was Elizabeth Melville. However unusual it might be given English publishing practice in the Renaissance to have an author do such work, recent scholarship suggests that people have tended to assume publishing practices in the British Isles were uniform and that may not have been the case, particularly given the strong ties Scotland had with the continent. Melville's relationship with Robert Charteris may be historically unrecoverable, as her relationship with Andro Hart may be; she and Hart's widow were members of the Covenanters.[336] However contrary to conventional scholarship it may seem, I propose that Elizabeth Melville translated and revised the text of *Ane Godlie Dreame* for the undated Englished edition.

[336] Brown, *op cit*., p. 240.

Ane godlie Dreame compy-

lit in Scotish Meter be M. M. Gentlewoman in
Culros, at the requeist of her freinds.

Stanza 1

Vpon ane day as I did mourne full soir,
With sindrie things quairwith my saull was greifit
My greif incresit & grew moir & moir
My comfort fled and could not be reliefit,
With heauiness my heart was so mischiefit,
I loathit my lyfe, I could not eit nor drink,
I micht not speik nor luik to nane that liefit,
Bot musit alone and diuers things did think.

Stanza 2

The wrechit warld did sa molest my mynde,
I thocht vpon this fals and Iron age.
And how our harts war sa to vice inclynde,
That Sathan seimit maist feirfullie to rage.
Nathing in earth my sorrow could asswage,
I felt my sin maist stranglie to incres,
I greifit my Spreit that wont to be my pledge,
My saull was drownit into maist deip distres.

Stanza 3

All merynes did aggrauate my paine,
And earthlie joyes did still incres my wo:
In companie I na wayes could remaine,
Bot fled resort and so alone did go.
My sillie saull was tossit to and fro,
With sindrie thochts quhilk troublit me full soir:
I preisit to pray, bot sichs ouerset me so,
I could do nocht bot sich and say no moir.

Stanza 4

The twinkling teares aboundantlie ran down,
My heart was easit quhen I had mournit my fill:
Than I began my lamentatioun,
And said, O Lord, how lang is it thy will,
That thy puir Sancts sall be afflictit still?
Allace, how lang sall subtill Sathan rage?
Mak haist O Lord, thy promeis to fulfill,
Mak haist to end our painefull pilgrimage.

Stanza 5

Thy sillie Sancts ar tossit to and fro,
Awaik, O Lord, quhy seleipest thou sa lang?
We haue na strenth agains our cruell fo,
In sichs and sobbis now chaingit is our sang.
The warld preuails, our enemies ar strang,
The wickit rage, bot wee ar puir and waik:
O shaw thy self, with speid reuenge our wrang,
Mak short thir days, euen for thy chosens saik.

Stanza 6

Lord Jesus cum and saif thy awin Elect,
For Sathan seiks our simpill sauls to slay:
The wickit warld dois stranglie vs infect,
Most monsterous sinnes increasses day be day.
Our luif growes cald, our zeill is worne away,
Our faith is faillit, and we ar lyke to fall:
The Lyon roares to catch vs as his pray,
Mak haist, O Lord, befoir wee perish all.

Stanza 7

Thir ar the dayes that thou sa lang foretald,
Sould cum befoir his wretchit warld sould end:
Now vice abounds and charitie growes cald,
And euin thine owne most stronglie dois offend,
The Deuill preuaillis, his forces he dois bend,
Gif it could be to wraik thy children deir:
Bot wee ar thine, thairfoir sum succour send,
Resaue our saullis, wee irk to wander heir.

Stanza 8

Quhat can wee do? wee cloggit ar with sin,
In filthie vyce our sensles saules ar drownit:
Thocht wee resolue wee neuir can begin,
To mend our lyfes, bot sin dois still abound.
Quhen will thou cum? quhen sall thy trumpet sound?
Quhen sall wee sie that grit and glorious day?
O saue vs Lord, out of this pit profound,
And reif vs from this loathsum lump of clay.

Stanza 9

Thou knaws our hearts, thou sies our haill desyre,
Our secret thochts thay ar not hid fra thee:
Thocht wee offend thou knawis we stranglie tyre,
To beir this wecht our spreit wald faine be free.
Allace, O Lord, quhat pleasour can it be,
To leif in sinne that sair dois presse vs downe:
Oh, giue vs wings that wee aloft may flie,
And end the fecht that wee may weir the crowne.

Stanza 10

Befoir the Lord quhen I had thus cumplainit,
My mynde grew calme, my heart was at great rest:
Thocht I was faint from fuid yit I refrainit,
And went to bed, becaus I thocht it best.
With heauines my spreit was sa opprest,
I fell on sleip, and sa againe me thocht
I maid my mone, and than my greif increst,
And from the Lord with teares I succour socht.

Stanza 11

Lord Jesus cum (said I) and end my greif.
My spreit is vexit, the captiue wald be frie:
All vice abounds, O send vs sum relief,
I loath to liue, I wishe desoluit to be.
My spreit dois lang and thristeth efter thee,
As thriftie ground requyris ane shoure of raine:
My heart is dry, as fruitles barren tree,
I feill my selfe, how can I heir remaine?

Stanza 12

With siches and sobs as I did so lament,
Into my dreame I thocht thair did appeir:
Ane sicht maist sweit, quhilk maid me weill content,
Ane Angell bricht with visage schyning cleir,
With luifing luiks and with ane smyling cheir:
He askit mee, quhy art thou thus sa sad?
Quhy grones thou so? quhat dois thou duyning heir
With cairfull cryes in this thy bailfull bed?

Stanza 13

I heir thy sichs, I sie thy twinkling teares,
Thou seimes to be in sum perplexitie:
Quhat meanes thy mones? quhat is the thing thou feares
Quhom wald thou haue? in quhat place wald you be
Fainte not sa fast in thy aduersitie,
Mourne not sa sair, sen mourning may not mend:
Lift vp they heart, declair thy greif to mee,
Perchance thy paine brings pleasure in the end.

Stanza 14

I sicht againe, and said allace for wo,
My greif is greit, I can it not declair:
Into this earth I wander to and fro,
Ane pilgrime puir consumit with siching sair.
My sinnes allace, increasses mair and mair,
I loath my lyfe, I irk to wander heir:
I long for Heauen, my heritage is thair,
I long to liue with my Redimer deir

Stanza 15

Is this the caus (said he) ryse vp anone,
And follow mee and I sall be thy gyde:
And from thy sichs leif off thy heauie mone,
Refraine from teares and cast thy cair asyde,
Trust in my strenth, and in my word confyde,
And thou sall haue thy heauie hearts desyre:
Ryse vp with speid, I may not lang abyde,
Greit diligence this matter dois requyre.

Stanza 16

My Saull rejoysit to heir his words sa sweit,
I luikit vp and saw his face maist fair:
His countenance reuiuit my wearie Spreit,
Incontinent I cuist asyde my cair.
With humbill heart I prayit him to declair
Quhat was his name? he answerit me againe,
I am thy God for quhom thou sicht sa sair,
I now am cummit: thy teares ar not in vaine.

Stanza 17

I am the way, I am the trueth and lyfe,
I am thy spous that brings thee store of grace:
I am thy luif quhom thou wald faine imbrace,
I am thy joy, I am thy rest and peace.
Ryse vp anone and follow efter mee,
I sall the leid into thy dwelling place:
The Land of rest thou langs so sair to sie
I am thy Lord that sone sall end thy race.

Stanza 18

With joyfull heart I thankit him againe,
Reddie am I (said I) and weill content
To follow thee, for heir I leiue in paine,
O wretch unworth, my dayes are vainlie spent.
Nocht ane is just bot all ar fearcelie bent,
To rin to vyce, I haue na force to stand:
My sinnes increase quhilk maks me sair lament,
Mak haist, O Lord, I lang to sie that Land.

Stanza 19

Thy haist is greit, he answerit me againe,
Thou thinks thee thair, thou art transported so:
That pleasant place most purchaist be with paine,
The way is strait, and thou hes far to go.
Art thou content to wander to and fro,
Throw greit deserts throw water and throw fyre?
Throw thornes and breirs and monie dangers mo,
Quhat says thou now? Thy febil flesh will tyre.

Stanza 20

Allace said I, howbeit my flesh be waik,
My spreit is strang and willing for to flie:
O leif mee nocht, bot for thy mercies saik,
Performe thy word, or els for duill I die.
I feir no paine, sence I sould walk with thee,
The way is lang, yit bring me throw at last:
Thou answeirs weill, I am content said hee,
To be thy guyde, bot sie thou grip me fast.

Stanza 21

Than vp I rais and maid na mair delay,
My febil arme about his arme I cast:
He went befoir and still did guyde the way,
Thocht I was waik, my spreit did follow fast.
Throw mos and myres, throw ditches deip wee past,
Throw pricking thornes, throw water & throw fyre:
Throw dreidfull dennes quhilk maid my heart agast,
Hee buir mee vp quhen I begouth to tyre.

Stanza 22

Sumtyme wee clam on craigie Montanes hie,
And sumtymes staid on vglie brayes of sand:
They war sa stay that wonder was to sie,
Bot quhen I feirit hee held mee be the hand.
Throw thick and thin, throw sea and eik be land,
Throw greit deserts wee wanderit on our way:
Quhen I was waik and had no force to stand,
Yit with ane luik hee did refresh mee ay.

Stanza 23

Throw waters greit wee war compellit to weyd,
Quhilk war sa deip that I was lyke to drowne:
Sumtyme I sank, bot yit my gracious gyde,
Did draw me out half deid and in ane sowne.
In wods maist wyld and far fra anie towne,
Wee thristit throw, the breirs together stak:

I was sa waik thair strenth did ding me downe,
That I was forcit for feir to flie aback.

Stanza 24

Curage said hee, thou art midgait and mair,
Thou may not tyre nor turne aback againe:
Hald fast thy grip, on mee cast all thy cair,
Assay thy strenth, thou sall not fecht in vaine,
I tauld thee first, that thou sould suffer paine,
The neirer heauen, the harder is the way:
Lift vp thy heart and let thy hope remaine,
Sence I am guyde thou sall not go astray.

Stanza 25

Fordwart wee past on narow brigs of trie,
Ouer waters greit that hiddeouslie did roir:
Thair lay belaw that feirfull was to sie,
Maist vglie beists that gaipit to deuoir.
My heid grew licht and troublit wonderous soir,
My heart did feir, my feit began to slyde:
Bot quhan I cryit, hee heard mee euer moir,
And held mee vp, O blissit be my guyde.

Stanza 26

Wearie I was, and thocht to sit at rest,
Bot hee said na: thou may not sit nor stand,
Hald on thy course and thou sall find it best,
Gif thou desyris to sie that pleasant Land
Thocht I was waik, I rais at his command,
And held him fast; at lenth he leit me sie
That pleasant place, quhilk semit to be at hand,
Tak curage now for thou art neir, said hee.

Stanza 27

I luikit vp vnto that Castell fair,
Glistering lyke gold, and schyning bricht:
The staitlie towres did mount aboue the air,
Thay blindit mee, thay cuist sa greit ane licht.
My heart was glaid to sie that joyfull sicht,

My voyage than I thocht was not in vaine:
I him besocht to guyde mee thair aricht,
With manie vowes neuer to tyre againe.

[B]

Stanza 28

Thocht thou be neir, the way is wonderous hard,
Said hee againe, thairfoir thou mon be stout,
Fainte not for feir, for cowarts ar debard,
That hes na heart to go thair voyage out.
Pluck vp thy heart and grip mee fast about,
Out throw yon trance together wee man go:
The yet is law, remember for to lout,
Gif this war past, wee haue not manie mo.

Stanza 29

I held him fast as hee did gif command,
And throw that trance together than wee went:
Quhairin the middis grit pricks of Iron did stand,
Quhairwith my feit was all betorne and rent.
Tak curage now said hee, and be content,
To suffer this: the pleasour cums at last:
I answerit noch, but ran incontinent,
Out ouer them all, and so the paine was past.

Stanza 30

Quhen this was done my heart did dance for joy,
I was sa neir, I thocht my voyage endit:
I ran befoir, and socht not his conuoy,
Nor speirit the way, becaus I thocht I kend it:
On staitlie steps maist stoutlie I ascendit,
Without his help I thocht to enter thair:
Hee followit fast and was richt sair offendit,
And haistelie did draw mee downe the stair,

Stanza 31

Quhat haist said hee, quhy ran thou so befoir?
Without my helpp, thinks thou to clim sa hie?
Cum downe againe, thou yet mon suffer moir,

Gif thow desyres that dwelling place to sie:
This staitlie stair it is not maid for thee,
Hald thow that course thow sall be thrust aback:
Allace said I, lang wandring weiriet mee,
Quhilk make mee rin the neirest way to tak.

Stanza 32

Than hee began to comfort mee againe,
And said my freind thou mon not enter thair:
Lift vp thy heart, thou yit mon suffer paine,
The last assault perforce it mon be sair.
This godlie way althocht it seime sa fair,
It is to hie thou cannot clim so stay:
Bot luik belaw beneath that staitlie stair,
And thou sall sie ane vther kynde of way.

Stanza 33

I luikit down and saw ane pit most black,
Most full of smuke and flaming fyre most fell:
That vglie sicht maid mee to flie aback,
I feirit to here so manie shout and yell:
I him besocht that hee the trueth wald tell,
Is this said I, the Papists purging place?
Quhair thay affirme that sillie saulles do dwell,
To purge thair sin, befoir thay rest in peace?

Stanza 34

The braine of man maist warlie did inuent
That Purging place, he answerit me againe:
For gredines together thay consent,
To say that saulles in torment mon remaine,
Till gold and gudes releif them of thair paine,
O spytfull spreits that did the same begin:
O blindit beists your thochts ar all in vaine,
My blude alone did saif thy saull from sin.

Stanza 35

This Pit is Hell, quhairthrow thou now mon go.
Thair is thy way that leids the to the land:
Now play the man thou neids not trimbill so,
For I sall help and hald thee be the hand.
Allace said I , I haue na force to stand,
For feir I faint to sie that vglie sicht:
How can I cum among that bailfull band,
Oh help me now, I haue na force nor micht.

[B2]

Stanza 36

Oft haue I heard, that thay that enters thair,
In this greit golfe, sall neuer cum againe:
Curage said hee, haue I not bocht thee deir,
My precious blude it was nocht shed in vaine.
I saw this place, my saull did taist this paine,
Or euer I went into my fathers gloir:
Throw mon thou go, bot thou sall not remaine,
Thow neids not feir for I sall go befoir.

Stanza 37

I am content to do thy haill command,
Said I againe, and did him fast imbrace:
Then louinglie he held mee be the hand,
And in wee went into that feirful place.
Hald fast thy grip said hee, in anie cace,
Let mee not slip, quhat euer thou sall sie:
Dreid not the deith, bot stoutlie forwart preis,
For Deith nor Hell sall neuer vanquish thee.

Stanza 38

His words sa sweit did cheir my heauie hairt,
Incontinent I cuist my cair asyde:
Curage said hee, play not ane cowarts pairt,
Thocht thou be waik, yit in my stenth confyde.
I thocht me blist to haue sa gude ane guyde,
Thocht I was waik, I knew that he was strang:
Under his wings I thocht mee for to hyde,
Gif anie thair sould preis to do mee wrang.

Stanza 39

Into that Pit, quhen I did enter in,
I saw ane sicht quhilk maid my heart agast:
Puir dammit saullis, tormentit sair for sin,
In flaming fyre, war frying wonder fast:
And vglie spreits, and as wee thocht them past,
My heart grew faint, and I begouth to tyre:
Or I was war ane gripit mee at last,
And held me heich aboue ane flaming fyre.

Stanza 40

The fyre was greit, the heit did peirs me sair,
My faith grew waik, my grip was wonderous smal,
I trimbellit fast, my feir grew mair and mair,
My hands did shaik, that I him held withall,
At lenth thay lousit, than thay begouth to fall,
I cryit O Lord, and caucht him fast againe:
Lord Jesus cum, and red mee out of thrall,
Curage said he, now thou art past the paine.

Stanza 41

With this greit feir, I stackerit and awoke
Crying O Lord, Lord Jesus cum againe:
Bot efter this, no kynde of rest I tuke,
I preisit to sleip, bot that was all in vaine.
I wald haue dreamit, of pleasour after paine,
Becaus I knaw, I sall it finde at last:
God grant my guyde may still with mee remaine,
It is to cume that I beliefit was past.

Stanza 42

This is ane dreame, and yit I thocht it best
To wryte the same, and keip it still in mynde:
Becaus I knew, thair was na earthlie rest,
Preparit for vs, that hes our hearts inclynde
To seik the Lord, we mon be purgde and fynde,

Our dros is greit, the fyre mon try vs sair:
Bot yit our God is mercifull and kynde,
Hee sall remaine and help vs euer mair.

Stanza 43

The way to heauen, I sie is wonderous hard,
My Dreame declairs, that we haue far to go:
Wee mon be stout, for cowards ar debarde,
Our flesh on force mon suffer paine and wo.
Thir griuelie gaits, and many dangers mo
Awaits for vs, wee cannot leiue in rest:
Bot let vs learne, sence wee ar wairnit so,
To cleaue to Christ, for he can help vs best.

[B3]

Stanza 44

O sillie saullis with paines sa sair opprest,
That loue the Lord and lang for Heauen sa hie:
Chainge not your mynde, for ye haue chosen the best,
Prepair your selues, for troublit mon ye be.
Faint not for feir in your aduersitie,
Althocht that ye lang luiking be for lyfe:
Suffer ane quhyle and ye sall shortlie sie
The Land of rest, quhen endit is your stryfe.

Stanza 45

In wildernes quhen ye mon be tryit a quhyle,
Yit fordwart preis and neuer flie aback:
Lyke pilgrimes puir and strangers in exyle,
Throw fair and foull your journey ye mon tak.
The Deuill, the warld and all that thay can mak,
Will send thair force to stop yow in your way:
Your flesh will faint and sumtyme will grow slak,
Yit clim to Christ and hee sall help yow ay.

Stanza 46

The thornie cairs of this deceitfull lyfe,
Will rent your heart, and mak your saull to bleid:
Your flesh and spreit will be at deidlie stryfe,
Your cruell fo will hald yow still in dreid.

And draw yow down, yit ryse againe with speid,
And thocht ye fall yit ly not loytring still:
Bot call on Christ to help yow in your neid,
Quha will nocht faill his promeis to fulfill.

Stanza 47

In floudes of wo quhen ye ar lyke to drowne,
Yit clim to Christ and grip him wonder fast
And thocht ye sink and in the deip fall downe,
Yit cry aloud and hee will heir at last.
Dreid nocht the death nor be not sair agast,
Thocht all the earth against yow sould conspyre:
Christ is your guyde, and quhen your paine is past,
Ye sall haue joy aboue your hearts desyre.

Stanza 48

Thocht in this earth ye sall exaltit be,
Feir salbe left to humbill yow withall:
For gif ye clim on tops of Montanes hie,
The heicher vp the nearer is your fall.
Your honie sweit sall mixit be with gall,
Your short delyte sall end with paine and greif:
Yit trust in God for his assistance call,
And he sall help and send yow sum releif.

Stanza 49

Thocht waters greit do compas yow about,
Thocht Tirannes freat, thocht Lyouns rage & roir:
Defy them all and feir not to win out,
Your guyde is neir to help yow euer moir.
Thocht prick of Iron do prick yow wonderous soir,
As noysum lusts that seik your saull to slay:
Yit cry on Christ and hee sall go befoir,
The neirer Heauen, the harder is the way.

Stanza 50

Rin out your race ye mon not faint nor tyre,

Nor sit nor stand, nor turne aback againe:
Gif ye desyre to haue your hearts desyre,
Preis fordwart still althocht it be with paine.
Na rest for yow sa lang as ye remaine,
Ane pilgrim puir into thy loathsum lyfe:
Fecht on your faucht it sall not be in vaine,
Your riche rewarde is worth ane greiter stryfe.

Stanza 51

Gif efter teires ye leif ane quhyle in joy,
And get ane taist of that Eternall gloir,
Be nocht secure nor slip nocht your conuoy,
For gif ye do ye sall repent it soir.
He knawes the way, and he mon go befoir,
Clim ye alane ye sall nocht miss ane fall:
Your humblit flesh it mon be troublit moir,
Gif ye forget vpon your guyde to call.

Stanza 52

Gif Christ be gaine, althocht ye seime to flie,
With golden wings aboue the firmament:
Come down againe, ye sall nocht better be,
That pryde of yours ye sall richt sair repent.
Than hald him fast with humbill heart ay bent,
To follow hime, althocht throw Hell and Death:
Hee went befoir, his saull was torne and rent
For your deserts hee felt his fathers wraith.

Stanza 53

Thocht in the end ye suffer torments fell,
Clim fast to him, that felt the same befoir:
The way to Heauen, mon be throw Death and Hell,
The last assault will troubill yow full soir,
The Lyoun than maist cruellie will roir,
His tyme is short, his forces hee will bend:
The gritter stryfe, the gritter is your gloir,
Your paine is short, your joy sall neuer end.

Stanza 54

Rejoyce in God, let nocht your curage faill,
Ye chosin Sancts that ar afflictit heir:
Thocht Sathan rage, hee neuer sall preuaill,
Fecht to the end and stoutlie perseuer.
Your God is trew your blude is to him deir,
Feir nocht the way sence Christ is your conuoy:
Quhen Clouds ar past the weather will grow cleir,
Ye saw in teares, bot ye sall reap in joy.

Stanza 55

Baith deith and hell, hes lost thair cruell sting,
Your Captaine Christ hes maid them all to yeild:
Lift vp your hearts and praises to him sing,
Triumph for joy, your enemies ar keilde.
The Lord of Hostis that is your strenth and shield
The Serpents heid hes stoutlie trampit downe:
Trust in his strenth, pas fordwart in the feild,
Ouercum in fecht and ye sall weare the Crowne.

Stanza 56

The King of Kings gif he be on our syde,
Wee neid nocht feir quhat dar agains vs stand:
Into the feild may wee not baldlie byde,
Quhen hee sall help vs with his michtie hand?
Quha sits abone and reules baith sea and land,
Quha with his breath doth mak the hilles to shaik:
The hostes of Heauen ar armit at his command,
To fecht the feild quhen wee appeir maist waik.

Stanza 57

Pluck vp your heart, ye ar nocht left alone,
The Lambe of God sall leid yow in the way:
The Lord of Hostes that rings on royall Throne,
Against your foes your Baner will display
The Angels bricht sall stand in gude array,
To hald yow vp ye neid not for to fall:
Your enemies sall flie and be your pray,
Ye sall triumphe and thay sall perish all.

Stanza 58

The joy of Heauen is worth ane moments paine,
Tak curage than lift vp your hearts on hie:
To judge the eirth quhen Christ sall cum againe,
Aboue the cloudes ye sall exaltit be,
The Throne of joy and trew felicitie,
Await for yow quhen finishit is your fecht.
Suffer ane quhyle and ye sall shortlie sie,
Ane gloir maist grit and infinite of wecht.

Stanza 59

Prepair your selues, be valiant men of weir,
And thrust with force out throw the narrow way,
Hald on thy course and shrink not back for feir,
Chryst is your guyde, ye sall not go astray.
The tyme is neare, be sober watch and pray,
Hee seis your teares and he hes laid in stoir,
Ane rich rewarde, quhilk in that joyfull day,
Ye sall resaue, and ring for euer moir.
[C]

Stanza 60

Now to the King that creat all of nocht,
And Lord of Lords, that reules baith Land & sie,
That saifit our saullis and with his blude vs bocht,
And vanquisht Death triumphant on the trie.
Wnto the greit and glorious Trinitie,
That saifis the puir and dois his awin defend,
Be laud and gloir honour and Majestie,
Power and praise, Amen, Warld without end.

FINIS

CHAPTER 7

TEXTUAL NOTES

Compylit or **compiled**: The word in Renaissance Scots is used interchangeably with *composed*. The OED lists only one instance of the usage in English, from Spenser in 1592. *The Dictionary of the Older Scots Tongue*, in contrast, lists several instances primarily from the works of Gawin Douglas (c. 1475-1522), William Dunbar, and David Lindsay. The secondary meaning of *compile* in Middle Scots is "to give an account of; to describe," and the word in this sense occurs in the poetry of Dunbar and Lyndsay.

M.M.: Since the later editions of *Ane Godlie Dreame* attribute the poem to Elizabeth Melville, Lady Culross the younger, the abbreviation is taken to stand for Mistress Melvill. Referring to upper- and middle-class women by their birth names, rather than their married names, was a standard practice in Scotland.

At the requeist of her freinds: This disclaimer has a long history in literature dating back to the classical age. It suggests a pleasing modesty as well as an excuse if the reader is displeased with the work.

Line 1: The phrase "upon ane day" (upon a day) is a conventional opening for a ballad. It may also be an oblique allusion to the ballad "Dives and Lazarus," which is among the Scots ballads Child collected. What Melville read or knew is completely unknown, but the associations seem to signal that the poem concerns both earthly life and the afterlife. The story is also important in understanding ll. 281-2 since Abraham tells Dives that a great abyss exists between him in the

fiery lake and Lazarus in the bosom of Abraham. Another possible source for this line is *Owayne Miles*. Lines 181-2 read "On a day he him bithought / Of the sinne he hadde ywrought." The emphasis in Melville's poem is not on personal sin but rather on the sin that is in the world.

Line 4: In later editions, the line reads, "I comfort fled." The change suggests a person avoiding encouragement (a common sense of the word *comfort* in the Renaissance, according to Horton Davies) and/or consolation and seeking solitude in which to pursue her thoughts.

Line 6: Loathing one's life is often the beginning of awareness of one's sin or sinfulness and, in Protestant theology, should lead to greater reliance on and faith in Christ. This trust is important in the poem.

Line 7-8: These lines seem to refer to two psalms. Ps. 140(141):3 says: "I looked upon my right hand, and beheld, but there was none that would know me: all refuge failed me, and none cared for my soul." Ps. 145(146):3 says: "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the son of man, for there is none help in him." The Geneva Bible glosses this verse with the comment that God censures "vain confidence" that man may glorify only him. One of the themes of the poem is the insufficiency of men's help and the need to rely on Christ alone.

Line 10: The Iron Age in Greek mythology is the last and worst of the four periods through which mankind would pass. In contrast to the Golden Age, the Iron Age would be a debased time of great tribulation; treachery would abound. Wars would rage, and Zeus ultimately would destroy mankind. In Christian terms, it would be similar to the end times, to which the poem refers indirectly in its complaints that sin, both personal and general, is increasing. The speaker's wish for the Last Judgment, when all that is earthly is destroyed and the reign of Christ is inaugurated, also works to christianize this idea.

Line 12: *Sathan,* according to the OED, is a spelling used to denote the proper name of the chief of the devils from the early fourteenth century to the late seventeenth century.

Line 16: The soul drowning in deep distress not only emphasizes the fact that she lives in the Iron Age but also brings to mind the story in Matt. 14:24-32. In the midst of a storm, Peter walks on the water, but as soon as he takes his eyes off Christ, he begins to drown and to cry for help. Thematically this story is important in the poem: the speaker has, as the note in the Geneva Bible says of Peter, great zeal "but he had not sufficiently considered the measure of his faith." The speaker's impetuosity is frequently a source of trouble later in the poem.

Line 19: *Na wayes* is a Scots spelling of *no ways*, a form of *nowise*.

Line 23: A reference to Ps. 32:6 reinforces the tone of distress and the message that prayer is needful at such times: "Therefore shall everyone, that is godly, make his prayer unto thee in a time, when thou mayest be found: surely in the flood of great waters they shall not come near him." The Geneva Bible notes that one in need will seek the Lord's help and glosses "the flood of great waters" as "waters and great dangers." The speaker seems to feel herself in great danger as she looks at the state of the world.

Line 25: *Twinkling* is a more complex word than it first appears. That tears might seem to shine variably like stars in candlelight may seem possible. However, the word seems to be cognate to the verb *twink*. In Scots, the word originally meant *twitch*, and *twinkling* came to be associated with a tingling sensation. The tears could then a reification, as well as an expression, of the pain that the speaker feels. In English, *twinkling* is associated with blinking, so the speaker may be trying not to cry.

Line 29: The saints traditionally have been people who loved God and did extraordinary things

to demonstrate their love. In some Protestant sects, all members are living saints. Calvinists, however, rely on New Testament verses, like Matt. 22:14 and John 15:16, to justify a belief in predestination. The verse in Matthew says, "For many are called, but few chosen," and a note in the Geneva Bible explains that the first clause refers to a general and outward summoning. The passage from John reads, "Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen, and ordained you. . . ." Some people are chosen to the elect, the beloved of God; here the speaker wonders when Christ is going to come again to relieve his followers, who suffer in this life, from their pain. The implication seems to be that the speaker is among the elect, among the saints.

Line 31: "Make haste" suggests the penultimate verse in the book of Revelations: "He which testifieth these things, saith, Sure, I come quickly. Amen. Even so come, Lord Jesus" (Rev. 22:20).

Line 32: Earthly life as a pilgrimage to the kingdom of God is a traditional Christian trope. Life in the body seems to be like the time that the house of Israel spent in the desert after the Exodus; it is a time of seeking for the soul's homeland. Ps. 119:54-55 say: "Thy statutes have been my songs in the house of my pilgrimage. I have remembered thy Name, o Lord, in the night, and have kept thy Law." The Geneva Bible comments that "my pilgrimage" refers to the earthly life and the "sorrowful exile" experienced in it. Both the author of Hebrews (sometimes thought to be the apostle Paul) and Peter refer to the faithful as "strangers and pilgrims" in epistles (Heb 11:13; I Peter 2:11). Lady Philosophy constantly reminds Boethius that the earthly life is not his home.

Line 33: The Elect are tossed about in this world as the speaker's soul is. Once again, inclusion of the self in the list of the elect is implied. The use of *silly* (*helpless*) further emphasizes the

need of the soul for God's help.

Line 34: "Awake, O Lord" is an allusion to the story found in all three synoptic gospels of the calming of the storm: Matt 8:24-26; Mark 4:37-9; Luke 8:22-25. The line in the poem also picks up the sea imagery implicit in line 16. In the story Christ rebukes the disciples for their lack of faith; the speaker's concerns in the beginning of the poem also seem to indicate a certain lack of faith.

Line 39: Asking Christ to avenge the wrongs done to his elect invokes a long history of viewing God as the one who metes justice for the weak. Although the Psalms and Revelation refer to this idea more often than other books do, the first book of Samuel contains a verse: "The Lord's adversaries shall be destroyed, and out of heaven shall he thunder upon them: the Lord shall judge the ends of the world, and shall give power unto his King, and exalt the horn of his Anointed" (I Sam. 2:10). A gloss from the Geneva Bible says this verse refers to Christ, and the Elect as the new chosen people would now be the anointed of God.

Line 40: Echoing this verse and others like it, the speaker asks Christ to come quickly for the sake of his chosen ones.

Line 42: The word *slay* has more than one meaning in Scots. It can be used, as it is in English, as a synonym for *kill*, but it also means to render soil infertile by over-harrowing or by pulverizing. The second meaning fits well with line 183 in which the briars "ding" the speaker down, beat her down. Satan seeks not simply to kill the soul but to render it incapable of doing the work of God so that it becomes like the barren patch in the parable of the sower (Matt 13:3-23; Mark 4:3-20; Luke 8:5-15).

Line 45: The increase of sin and the lack of love and zeal are signs of the end times. See Matt

24:12 (Geneva Bible); Matt 24:11 (KJV), as well as Matt. 4-13. Ps. 14:3 has a similar theme: "All are gone out of the way: they are all corrupt: there is none that doeth good, no not one." A note in the Geneva Bible says that St. Paul quotes this verse in Romans 3:10. Line 51 of *Ane Godlie Dreame* repeats this theme.

Line 47: The first beast of the Apocalypse, foreseen in the vision of Ezekiel, is like a lion. In Psalms 7, 17, and 22, the lion is literally or figuratively the enemy. 1 Peter 5:8 makes an explicit comparison between the devil and a roaring lion: "for your adversary the devil as a roaring lion walketh about, seeking whom he may devour."

Line 49: This line is a faint echo of Acts 3:24(23): "Also all the Prophets from Samuel, and thence forth as many as have spoken, have likewise foretold of these days." The line also refers to the many warnings about the end times and false prophets found in the New Testament, especially in connection to the end times and the reign of the Anti-Christ before the inauguration of Christ's kingdom.

Line 52: Just as the Israelites turned to the worship of idols in times when they felt God had deserted them, so in the end times, many Christians will serve the Anti-Christ.

Lines 57-8: The inescapable human propensity to sin is a standard teaching in Western Christianity, which has embraced Augustine's teachings on original sin. Calvinist sects emphasize the inherent sinfulness of people.

Line 59: This line contains a sentiment similar to one which St. Paul expresses in his letter to the Romans: "For I do not the good thing, which I would, but the evil, which I would, that I do." The line reinforces the sense that one cannot escape the sinful human condition.

Line 61: The sounding of a heavenly trumpet is the traditional summons to the Last Judgment.

Line 62: Acts 2:20 and Joel 2:32 speak of the great day on which the Lord will come to deliver Jerusalem and, hence, his chosen people.

Line 63: Satan is both the prince of this world and the ruler of the bottomless pit. Melville suggests here a connection between earthly life and the other region over which Satan has dominion. One of the dominant themes in this poem is that the earthly life is a form of hellish separation from God and suffering for the Elect.

Line 64: Humans were first formed from the clay, and clay can represent original sin and all the ways in which material concerns keep us from God. In asking that the Last Judgment come now, the speaker asks God to separate the soul from the flesh, to remove the pilgrim from the alien land and return her/him to Heaven, to take the soul from its earthly prison. The idea that the soul is eternal (and therefore true) with the body as mere casing is a very common idea in Western civilization and is a standard issue assumption among Western Christians.

Line 65: Both the Old and New Testaments make frequent references to God as the knower of the human heart. The first half of this verse expands on 1 John 3:20: "For if our heart condemn us, God is greater than our heart, and knoweth all things." The note in the Geneva Bible says this verse refers to judgment, and Ps.102(103) may be another source for this line. Verses 13-4 say: "As a father hath compassion on his children, so hath the Lord compassion on them that fear him./For he knoweth whereof we be made: he remembereth that we are but dust." Although this psalm talks of the differences between God and man, it also emphasizes the love that God has for his creatures.

Line 71: The desire for wings is a common Christian trope. This line may echo Ps. 55:6: "And I said, Oh that I had wings like a dove: then would I fly away and rest." The entire psalm has

parallels with the poem since the speaker seeks of God relief from the wicked, who have surrounded him/her.

Line 72: St. Paul, in 1 Cor. and 2 Tim., compares the victory of the Christian with the victory of the athlete; James 1:12, 1 Peter, and Revelation promise the crown of life to those who have endured earthly tribulations for the sake of Christ.

Line 73: Ps. 142:2 says "I poured out my meditation before him and declared mine affliction in his presence." The Geneva Bible adds that David's prayer serves as a condemnation of the world. Here the speaker has poured out her complaint about the miseries and evil of the world.

Line 75: Hermas fasts to purify his prayer and make it more pleasing (that is, likely to be fulfilled) to God. Owayne Miles also fasts and prays to prepare himself for his arduous trek through St. Patrick's Purgatory. Protestants abandoned ritual fasting, but among early Protestants, fasting was still an expression of repentance, as it was for the Ninevites in the book of Jonah. Among the purposes of fasting for the Presbyterians was consecrating time to God; fasting made a portion of earthly time God's time. Here the speaker has been thinking about her own sin as well as that of the world, so she seems to be repenting as well as following a Christian practice of purifying herself from the earthly through abstention from earthly sustenance.

Line 76: "I thought it best" is repeated in line 329, when the speaker justifies recording the dream. This sentiment emphasizes the Protestant belief that the individual, with guidance from the Trinity, can interpret and decide. This thought is echoed in line 329 of the poem to justify making the dream public.

Line 77: Praying to God during the night, especially in a time of trouble, is a common theme in the Psalms. Ps. 62(63), for example, tells of calling on God in the night watches with the

assurance that he will conquer one's enemies and reward those who love him.

Line 84: This line echoes line 6 and reinforces the speaker's desire to be with Christ.

Lines 86-6: These lines recall Ps. 62(63):1: "O God, thou art my God, early will I seek thee: my soul thirsteth for thee in a barren and dry land without water."

Line 87: The fig tree, which Christ cursed in Matt 21:18-19, did not bear fruit at its appointed time. Parable 3 of *The Shepherd of Hermas* compares those who are preoccupied with the world to trees in winter.

Lines 90-4: In both the Old and New Testaments, angels often appear in dreams; the usual reaction to them is, however, awe, which leads to fear. A beautiful young man appears to Hermas in II.4 and does not evoke fear. He and Hermas speak familiarly. In the vision of Drythelm, recounted in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* (Book V, chapter 12), and in the Middle English poem, "The Vision of Tundale," the guardian angel is the guide, and the angel and the man do not stand on ceremony since they have been intimate all of the human's life. Protestants reject guardian angels, and Christ becomes the guardian of the individual Christian---or at least of the chosen Christian.

Line 103: Lamentations 3:41 reads "Let us lift up our hearts with our hands unto God in the heavens." The Geneva Bible reminds its readers that to pray with one's hands and not with one's heart is hypocrisy. Here Christ enjoins the speaker to talk in earnest with him. The early parts of Melville's poem have a tone similar to that in Lamentations.

Line 104: That suffering for the sake of Christ brings reward is frequently mentioned in the New Testament, although the reward is usually not equated with pleasure. The pleasure mentioned in this line is not earthly delight but is akin to the Christian idea of abiding joy that is

not shaken in outward tribulation. The line provides a hint of the poem's teaching.

Line 111: Line 32 of the poem implies that heaven is the true homeland of the faithful; the idea is common in the Bible.

Line 117: Christ's asking her to trust his word and his strength reinforces the Protestant belief that one needs no other help but Christ. In many medieval dream visions, the dreamer learns the content of the faith from figures other than Christ himself.

Line 121: Although she has not consciously recognized her visitor as Christ, her unconscious reaction is similar to that of the infant John the Baptist leaping his mother's womb when Mary visits Elizabeth. The language contains a faint echo of the Magnificat: "My spirit rejoiceth in God my Savior" (Luke 1:47); a poem in *The Gude and Godlie Ballats* paraphrases this section of Luke's gospel. After Christ has revealed himself to the disciples at Emmæus, they remember that their hearts burned in unconscious recognition of him. Each time he appears to his disciples after the Resurrection, they fail to recognize him.

Line 124: The word *incontinent* means *immediately* in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English and Scots usage. The usage can also be found in Old and Middle English, as well as in Old French. *The Dictionary of the Scots Old Tongue* notes that the word is used quite a bit in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scots literature, and the *Old French-English Dictionary* says Fontaine used the word frequently in his fables. It is often spelled as if it were two words, *in continent*, to show its separate derivation. *Incontinent* as usually used in contemporary English comes from the adjective, *incontinens,* lacking control. The older usage comes from the phrase *in continente,* in contiguity, lacking a border; when applied to time, continual.

Lines 125-6: These lines echo lines 151-2 in David Lindsay's *Dreme*: "And hir demandit. . . /

Quhat wes hir name." (And of her demanded. . . / What was her name?)

Line 129: The line combines some of the common ways in which Christ is described. For example, in John's first epistle, he says in verse 5, "God is light, and in him is no darkness." The Gospel according to John says in 14:6: "I am the Way, and the Truth, and the Life."

Line 130: Three times (Matthew 9:15, Mark 2:19, and Luke 5:34), Christ tells those who ask why his disciples do not fast that while the Bridegroom is among them, they cannot fast. The church is often figured as the bride of Christ, and Christ is the spouse of monastics. By extension or implication, Christ is the spouse of the elect. Sarah Dunnigan suggests the imagery also echoes that of the Song of Songs. She refers perhaps to Cant. 4:9-10 in which the speaker calls his beloved his spouse, his sister; the Geneva Bible says that here, Christ speaks to his church.

Line 132: Isaiah 9:6 refers to the Prince of Peace, one of Christ's names. Passages in the New Testament talk of joy and rest. For example, in the Parable of the Talents, the servants who have increased their wealth are told to enter into the joy of their master, and John 16:22 says that Christ gives the joy that no one can take from man. In John 16:20, Christ says that he will turn sorrow into joy, and in Matt. 11:28, Christ says he will give rest to all who are weary and laden.

Line 136: In Hebrews 12:1, the author encourages the recipients of the letter: "let us run with patience the race that is set before us." The Geneva Bible comments that Christ is the mark, the end, of that race. I Cor. 9:24 also suggests that the Christian life is a race.

Line 140: One of the paradoxes of Calvinism is that the Elect are chosen but, simply by the dint of their being human, are also unworthy. In the flesh, without grace from God, they are unworthy wretches, participants in the sin of Adam. As Marilynne Robinson puts in "Puritans

and Prigs," "For Calvinism, we are all absolutely, that is, equally, unworthy of and dependent upon, the free intervention of grace" (p. 156).

Lines 141-2: In rebuking the people of Israel, Isaiah (Is 59:4) tells them: "No man calleth for justice: no man contendeth for truth: they trust in vanity, and speak vain things: they conceive mischief, and bring forth iniquity." A similar sentiment can be found in Job 15:35. This line also echoes stanzas 4 and 8; these lines also serve to reinforce a sense that the speaker lives in the end times.

Line 146: Christ expresses a seemingly modern thought in archaic language: if the speaker thinks she is in heaven, she will be taken to heaven. The speaker seems to need reminders that she must keep her mind on Christ, on the end of the race, in spite of being surrounded by evidence of human sin, both her own and that of other people.

Line 147: The gast of Gy, in the eponymous poem, tells his wife that pleasure is paid for with pain and he has come back to warn her lest she meet his fate in the afterlife. The usual formulation of this idea in Catholic terms resemble those of Father Abraham to Dives in the biblical story: you had pleasure on earth, and the charge for those good things is punishment in the afterlife. Melville's poem reformulates the terms to resemble those of Father Abraham about Lazarus, the beggar: he endured pain in life, and his reward for those bad things is bliss in the afterlife. The phrasing suggests that the speaker is, like Lazarus, among those whom Christ has chosen, and the theme of the necessity of suffering in the flesh can be found in several of the biographical sketches of early Presbyterians in John Howie's *The Scots Worthies* (2nd edition, 1781).

Line 148: Here the text echoes Luke 13:24: "Strive to enter at the strait gate: for many, I say

unto you, will seek to enter in, and shall not be able." Christ tells the speaker that she is not yet ready to go through the narrow path to heaven. His rebuke to her for trying to rush up the stairway to heaven (l. 245) further suggests she may be on the right path but has not arrived yet.

Line 152: In stanza 48 of *Owayne Miles*, the prior of the abbey at St. Patrick's Purgatory gives Owayne the same advice he has given all who attempt to visit Purgatory: "Thi soule thou schlat tine" (l. 294). (Thy soul thou shall tire.)

Lines 153-4: In the gospels according to Matthew and Mark, after Christ has prayed in the Garden of Gesthemene, he finds Peter, James, and John asleep and warns them that they must be vigilant (as Christ warns the speaker that she is going to go through rough terrain). He tells them that the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak. Here the speaker repeats that lesson, and her later actions suggest she has not fully gotten it.

Line 155: Psalms 27:9 and 38:21-22 ask that God not forsake his servant. The Geneva Bible glosses this last line as an assurance of salvation, one of the themes in Melville's poem.

Line 156: The phrase "perform [possessive pronoun] word" appears several times in the Old Testament, especially when the prophets speak of God keeping his promises for reward or for punishment to his people.

Line 159: This line may refer to Peter's confession that Jesus is the Christ in Matt. 16:13-7. Although the language of the poem is more familiar than the language of the Bible, Christ praises Peter for having answered what flesh and blood could not have taught him. In several of the stories of Christ's miracles, such as that of the Canaanite woman (Matt. 15:21-8), suppliants' wishes are granted on the basis of their ability to answer well.

Line 162: Later editions of the poem say that the speaker put her arms around Christ's neck,

rather than her arm in his arm; the later readings suggest a more childlike dependence upon Christ. Walking arm-in-arm may connote a relationship between equals.

Line 164: This line presents another disparity between the flesh and the spirit. The spirit follows Christ quickly, while the flesh is weak. The line echoes Line 154. Here, the speaker seems to identify the self with the flesh, the worldly self, rather than with the spirit, the eternal self. Again, many Christian writers refer to their seemingly lesser, weaker self at times and to their seemingly better, stronger self at other times. Several of the Church Fathers recognize the bipartite nature of humankind and talk of the soul as the self as God created Adam and the flesh as the second skins given Adam and Eve after the Fall.

Lines 169-171: In keeping with a poem about the hardships of this life, the landscape of the poem is harsh. In *The Shepherd of Hermas*, the landscape around the church is beautiful and becomes bleak as Hermas and his guide move further from the church. In *Owayne Miles*, the landscape of Purgatory is "uncouth" (l. 374).

Line 177: Owayne encounters a smelly river with "blac and swert" water (l. 722) (very black; literally, black and black) just before he comes to the bridge to Paradise, and the waters drench him. Tundale tells of a body of water full of beasts in the netherworld. Dante has the advantage of encountering Charon on the beach of Acheron, and not only is he ferried across the great river, he faints and remains out during the trip across the Styx.

Line 179: A blast of wind knocks Owayne into the stinky, dark waters of the river, and the demons take him to their great hall.

Line 185: Courage is essential for all who undertake the journey beyond this life. The old woman, who is a personification of the church, enjoins Hermas to be strong; the prior warns

Owayne that he must be brave. Vergil frequently urges Dante to take courage in the face of the sights of Purgatory and Hell.

Line 190: Both patristic literature and folk wisdom teach that the way becomes harder as one grows closer to one's goal.

Line 193: Owayne and Tundale come to narrow bridges that lead to Paradise. Edward E. Foster comments in the notes to his edition of *Tundale* that the narrow bridge is a common metaphor for testing in folklore; according to Stith Thompson in *The Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, this motif is number H1573, which one finds primarily in Celtic folklore.

Line 194: Here in contrast to the water described in line 177, the water is loud. As Tundale and his guardian angel approach hell, they come to a body of water: Therin wer howgy bestys and fell / That hydously con crye and yell (ll. 561-2). (Therein were large and cruel beasts / That cried and yelled hiddeously).

Lines 195-6: These lines foreshadow the journey the speaker later takes across the bridge that separates heaven from the place where she is at once so close and so far.

Line 201-2: Although Christ in Matt. 11:28 invites all who are weary and heavy-laden to come to him to find rest, he does not seem willing to grant that the speaker. The Geneva Bible glosses the passage saying that Christ invites people who have felt the burden of their sin to come to him for rest. That he will not allow her to rest at this juncture prefigures his not allowing her to enter heaven by the stairway because she must go across hell first.

Line 203: Christ reminds that speaker that she must stay steadfastly in her course to gain what she says she desires most. He reinforces the message that suffering with courage and perseverance is the way to gain the crown and the home for which she longs.

Lines 209-16: Stanza 27 contains a typical image of heaven as a golden castle as well as another example of the speaker's misunderstanding of her strength.

Line 217: This line echoes line 190 of the poem.

Line 218: Christ exhorts her to courage and reminds her to rely on him.

Line 219: Tundale's guardian angel tells him not to be a caitiff.

Line 227: As Owayne is about to enter Hell, he sees glowing iron nails, and in Passus VI of *The Vision of Tundale*, he sees pikes of iron as he looks into hell.

Line 228: Tundale's guardian angel warns him that the iron spikes will tear his feet, and his feet bleed at the end of the journey.

Line 229: The line echoes line 104.

Line 234: She forgets the lesson in line 190.

Lines 237-245: The speaker in *Pearl* races to enter bliss only to wake and find himself back in the garden. In the Corbenic episode of *The Quest for the Holy Grail* and of *Morte D'Arthur*, Lancelot dreams he is in the place where the grail is kept. He enters the room in which the Grail rests. As he prepares to go up the stairs to the holy of holies, Christ stops him: to see the Grail is not for him but is prepared for another. Grateful for the rebuke, Lancelot learns that he must rely on God alone. Owayne in Marie de France's *St. Patrick's Purgatory* is allowed to enter the outer area of heaven, and he prays to remain. The archbishops tell him he cannot because no one who is still living can stay in heaven, even if he is only in the vestibule.

Line 247: Weariness is a constant theme in "The Vision of Tundale." In line 690, he says, "Lord, I may go no more." Christ reminds Melville's speaker that the reward is worth the pain; Tundale's guardian angel heals his feet.

Line 252: The reminder that the final approach will be the worst echoes lines 190 and 217.

Line 257: Tundale, too, finds himself besides a great pit from which fire arises when he nears hell.

Line 258: When Fursey travels from heaven back to earth in the vision Bede recounts, he sees a large valley and fire.

Line 260: As Dante approaches the gate to the netherworld, the noise astounds him. Owayne and Tundale also mention the great noise that emanates from hell.

Lines 262-269: The imagery of these lines echo that in "The Fals Fyre of Purgatory" in *The Gude and Godlie Ballats*.

Line 265: This line echoes Knox's dismissal of Roman Catholic theology as a man-made system of error: it is idolatry "inventit by the braine of man" (invented by the brain of man).

Line 267: According to LeGoff's *The Birth of Purgatory*, Protestants saw only greed in the doctrine of Purgatory.

Line 271: Here the language echoes Christ's condemnation of the Pharisees in Matt. 23:25-6, where he calls them blind, and in Luke 11:39-44, where he chides them for their lack of understanding.

Line 272: This line states a standard Protestant belief in salvation through faith in Christ's sacrifice; no amount of good works will save one. The idea is also found in Parable 5 of *The Shepherd of Hermas*. The line echoes line 350 of Lindsay's *Dreme*: Howbeit my hope stand most in Christ's blood. Early Protestants saw this line as evidence that Lindsay was a Protestant.

Line 274-5: Just as Owayne and Tundale must go through purgatory to glimpse heaven, Melville's speaker must go through hell. This passage reinforces the theme of the necessity of

suffering before one can attain the peace that passes understanding, the state for which the speaker longs.

Line 275: "Play the man!" echoes line 185. The guide in *The Shepherd of Hermas* tells Hermas that he must be brave; some English translations use the phrase, "Play the man," at the end of the first section.

Line 277: Here the speaker is not as self-assured as she was when in line 138 she tells him she is ready to go.

Lines 281-2: Tundale, too, tells his guide that he is reluctant to enter hell because he has heard there is no escape. Father Abraham tells Dives that a great gulf separates those in Gehenna from those in the bosom of Abraham.

Lines 287-8: In his letter to the Colossians, Paul reminds them that Christ suffered, died, and rose to have pre-eminence in all things. Not only does Christ aver that he will lead the speaker through hell but he also reminds her that he went through it before he was able to enter into glory. She cannot hope to attain glory without suffering.

Line 293: This line is similar to line 162.

Line 299: This line has similarities to lines 185 and 275, as well as to line 219.

Line 300: This line restates one of the lessons of the poem: the Christian must have assurance that God will see her/him through all difficulties.

Line 303: Psalm 63:7 says, "Because thou hast been my helper, therefore under the shadow of thy wings will I rejoice." In Matthew 23:37, Christ rebukes Jerusalem for having killed the prophets but nonetheless, "how often would I have gathered thy children together as the hen gathereth her chickens under her wing. . . ."

Line 307: As Virgil and Dante move from the gates of hell to the Styx, Dante sees and hears the great stream of those who belong neither to heaven nor to hell. Owayne also sees tormented sinners as he looks into the netherworld.

Line 311: A demon attempts to drag Fursey into hell; Owayne, too, is nearly drawn into hell.

Line 320: This line hearkens back to line 232.

Lines 323-4: The language here resembles that of stanza 3, when she tries to pray.

Line 333: Although Protestants rejected purgatory, they still saw a need for cleansing from sin. Also, the way the line ends is unusually ambiguous: it seems to say that we must be cleansed and find, but it could say that we need to be cleansed and refined.

Line 333-4: Isaiah 48:10 speaks of purification: "Behold, I have fined thee, but not as silver; I have chosen thee in the furnace of affliction." In Isaiah 1:25, the prophet speaking on behalf of God says, "Then I will turn my hand upon thee, and burn out thy dross, til it be pure, & take away all thy tin."

Line 339: Here the speaker herself repeats Christ's injunction to her in line 218.

Line 342: This line echoes line 331.

Line 345: She repeats the phrase she used often in the opening section of the poem to refer to herself and to the elect, but here, she addresses the pilgrims on the earth so that they can learn from her dream.

Line 347: She reminds them that in following Christ they seek the highest, but the line has an oblique reference to the story of Mary and Martha in Luke 10:38-42 in which Christ tells Martha that Mary has chosen the good part, that is, to be with him.

Line 353: The Jews spent forty years in the wilderness before being allowed to enter the

promised land. Christ fasted forty days in the wilderness before assuming his public ministry. The wilderness for the church fathers is the place of struggle and testing.

Lines 355-6: Once again the speaker repeats what Christ told her as he encouraged her.

Line 361: In the parable of the sower, the thorns choke some of the seeds, and Christ explains to the disciples that the thorns are the cares of the world which keep some people from complete faith.

Line 362: Their souls will bleed as her feet did as she ran across the iron staffs.

Line 363: See line 59.

Line 364-5: The experiences she had in hell were reifications of the problems Christians face in this world.

Line 369: The floods of woe recall the deep distress of line 16.

Line 371: This line also alludes to Matt 14:24-32.

Line 372: Here she reminds herself and her readers that Christians should not fear death since Christ's resurrection has overcome death and love is stronger than death.

Line 374: In John 16:2, Christ tells the disciples, "They shall excommunicate you: yea, the time shall come, that whosever killeth you, will think that he doeth God service." The passage comes directly after the promise of the coming of the Holy Spirit to them because they have been with Christ "from the beginning."

Lines 375-6: The speaker reiterates the importance of having Christ as one's guide. She echoes what Christ told her in line 104.

Line 377-8: Just as Paul had a thorn in his flesh to keep him humble, fear, presumably of God, exists to humble anyone of whom others think highly.

Line 380: The text here repeats what Christ said in line 190.

Line 381: The speaker uses traditional symbols for the good and the bad in life to reinforce the intertwining of pleasure and pain in this life.

Line 382: Her short delight in beholding heaven ended in a side trip to hell; the lines reinforce one lesson of her poem, as well as the message of line 381.

Line 385: Psalm 88 concerns, as the Geneva Bible header puts it, "The faithful afflicted." Line 17 says, "They [the indignations of the Lord] came about me daily like water, & compassed me together." Psalms 18 and 116 speak of the sorrows of death compassing the speaker about. When Jonah is trapped in the whale, he cries to God, "The waters compassed me about unto the soul" (Jon. 2:4). This line of the poem also echoes line 194.

Line 389: Lusts like Satan seek not only to kill the soul but also to weaken it. See note to line 42 for a discussion of the word *slay*.

Line 392: The pupil again recites the lesson and restates line 190.

Line 393: This line alludes both to Paul's first letter to the Corinthians and to the letter to the Hebrews, as does line 136.

Line 396: The speaker repeats what Christ told her in lines 201-2.

Line 397: She has finally come to accept pilgrimage on earth as the human condition.

Line 399: In 1 Tim. 6:12, Paul exhorts Timothy (and all Christians): "Fight the good fight of faith: lay hold of eternal life, whereunto you are also called."

Line 402-3: Paul has had "visions and revelations" from God, and yet he has a thorn in his flesh so that he will not become satisfied with his accomplishments but will still rely on God. The line also refers back to lines 377-8.

Line 404: This line echoes line 246.

Line 405: This line restates lines 285-6.

Line 406: Again reinforcing the teaching of the poem, the speaker demonstrates an understanding of what happens in line 242.

Line 407: In later editions of the work, *humbled flesh* becomes *filthy flesh*, as if to underscore original sin.

Lines 409-10: These lines rework the image of lines 377-8.

Line 412: Although Protestants rejected the idea of seven deadly sins, they strongly condemned pride, the sin of Satan.

Line 415: This line corresponds to lines 285-6.

Line 420: The speaker reinforces lines 190 and 392. Also, the end times as described in the Gospel and in the Book of Revelation are a period of great trial for people.

Line 422: Compared with the eternity of Christ's kingdom, the reign of the beast as mentioned in Revelation is short.

Line 425: Just as the speaker needed courage to go on the dream journey with Christ, so all Christians need courage to fight the good fight.

Line 427: In John 12:33, Christ reminds his disciples that he has overcome the world. The demons in the story of the Gadarene swine (Matt. 8:28-34; Mark 5:1-17; Luke 8:26-39) ask Jesus why he has come to torment them before the time.

Line 429: This line refers back to line 283: Christ shed his blood for mankind because mankind's blood is "dear" to him.

Line 432: Psalm 126:5 says: "They that sow in tears, shall reap in joy." This psalm is one of

the Psalms of Degree (or Ascent), which the Jews sang as they approached the temple.

Line 432: Melville's sonnet to John Welch uses the same image.

Line 433: In 1 Cor. 15:55, Paul exclaims, "O death, where is thy sting!" The assurance of the Resurrection has removed the pain of death.

Line 435: This is the *Sursum Corda*, one of the few parts of the traditional eucharistic service that Calvin kept in the Presbyterian service book. Several psalms of praise express this thought.

Line 437: The Lord of Hosts is one of the traditional names for God, and it appears several times in the Bible. Ps. 140 speaks of God as the strength of salvation, and Ps. 144 says, "Blessed be the Lord my strength" and "He is my goodness and fortress, my tower and my deliverer, my shield, and in him will I trust."

Line 438: When God expels Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden, he tells Satan, who is in the form of a serpent, that he has created enmity between the heirs of the serpent and the heirs of Eve but that one of the latter "shall break thy head, and thou shall be bruised by his heel" (Gen. 3:16).

Line 440: Once more the poem returns to the athletic imagery from the Bible found in lines 72 and 203.

Line 441: King of Kings is a traditional designation for Christ.

Lines 442-3: Several psalms, including 27 and 140, say that if God is with one, one will not be afraid. Ps. 24 talks of God's might in battle. The battle imagery of Stanzas 56 and 57 suggests similar imagery in Dunbar's "Done is the Battle on the Dragon Black."

Line 444: The mighty hand of God is a very common phrase.

Line 445: Psalm 89 says "Thou rulest the raging sea" (9) and "The heavens are thine; the earth

also is thine" (11). Ps. 95:5 reiterates: "To whom the sea belongs for he made it, and his hands formed the dry land."

Line 446: Psalm 18:7 says "Then the earth trembled and quaked, and the foundations also of the mountains moved and shook."

Line 447: When Satan tempts Christ after Jesus fasted forty days in the wilderness, he says if Christ were the son of God, he could hurl himself off a cliff and angels would rescue him. Elsewhere the Bible teaches that we have become the children of God through adoption, so we, too, will have the same protection. The Elect are probably in a better position to expect this kind of help.

Line 449: The speaker tells the readers what Christ told her in the first half of line 221.

Line 450: The Lamb of God is a very common name for Jesus.

Line 452: Later editions of the poem change "your Baner" to "his Baner" to stress that although Christ fights for us, he is more important.

Line 453: This line picks up the imagery in line 447.

Line 455: Reversing the imagery of line 47, the speaker knows that although Christians seem in the world to be the prey of the lion, the lion is their prey. The line also is reminiscent of Ps. 110:1: "The Lord said to my lord, sit at my right hand until I make thy enemies thy footstool."

Line 457: The speaker repeats Christ's command to her in line 208 and alludes to the *Sursum corda* in line 435.

Line 461: In Matt. 19:28, Christ tells the disciples that when he sits on his throne of glory, his disciples will sit on twelve thrones to judge the tribes of Israel. The poem departs from the usual image of the crown as the Christian's reward. In later editions, someone changed *throne* to

crown.

Line 469: In Peter's first general epistle, he encourages the faithful: "Now the end of all things is at hand. Be ye therefore sober, and watching in prayer."

Line 472: Those who are faithful to Christ, that is, the Elect, will triumph with Christ at the Last Judgment and will rule with Christ in his kingdom.

Line 476: Later editions change *triumphant* to *triumphing* as if to reinforce the finality of Christ's victory, a theme Dunbar treats in "Done is a Battel on the Dragon Black."

CHAPTER 8

OTHER POEMS BY OR ATTRIBUTED TO ELIZABETH MELVILLE

A Comfortabill Song,

to the tune of *Sall I let her go.*

Away vaine warld bewitcher of my heart,
My sorrow shawes my sinnes maks me to smart:
Yit will I not dispair, bot to my God repair,
He hes mercie ay, thairfoir will I pray:
He hes mercie ay, and loues me,
Thouch be his troubling hand he proves me.

Away, away, too lang thow hes me snared:
I will not tyne more tyme I am prepared,
Thy subtill slicht to flie, thow hes dissauit me,
Though they sweitlie smyle, smoothlie they begyle,
Thogh they sweitlie smyle, suspect them,
The simpill sort they syle, reject them.

Once more away showes loth the world to leaue,
Bids oft away with her that halds me slaue,
Loth I am to forgo, that sweit allaring fo,
Sence thy wayes ar vaine, shall I them retaine,
Sence thy wayes ar vaine, I quyte thee,
Thy pleasure shall no more delyte mee.

A thousand tymes away, ah stay no more,
Sweete Christ me saif, lest subtill sin deuore:
Without thy helping hand, I have no strenth to stand,
Lest I turne asyde, let thy grace me guyde,
Lest I turne asyde, draw neere me:
And when I call for help Lord heir me.

Quhat shall I do? ar all my pleasures past?
Shall worldlie lusts now take their leaue at last?
Yea Christ, these earthlie toyes, shall turne in heavenlie joyes

Let the world be gone, I will loue Christ allone,
Let the world be gone, I cair not:
Christ is my loue allone, I feare not.

FINIS

A sonnet sent to Blackness
To Mr. John Welsh by the Lady Culross

My Dear Brother with courage bear the crosse
Joy shall be joyned w/ all thy sorrow here
High is thy Hope disdain this worldly dross
Anew shall you for this wished day appear

Thow it is Dark thy sky cannot be clear
After the cloud it shall be calm anon
Wait on his will who with Blood hath bo't thee dear
Extoll his name tho outward joys be gone.

Look to y Lord thou art not left alone
Since he is thine oft pleasure canst thou take
He is at hand and hears thy every groan
End out thy faught and suffer for his sake.

A sight most bright thy soul shall shortly see
When show of glore thy rich reward shall be.

CHAPTER 9

TEXTUAL VARIANTS

Ane Godlie Dreame: Textual Variants

Line Number	1603 edition	1604? edition	1606 edition	1620 edition
Title	Ane godlie Dreame compylit in Scotish Meter be M. M. Gentlewoman in Culros, at the requeist of her freinds	A Godly Dreame Compyled by Eliz. Melvil, Lady Culros yonger at the request of a friend.	A Godly Dreame Compyled by Eliz. Melvil, Ladie Culros, yonger at the request of a friend.	A Godly Dreame
2	With	For	For	For
4	My	I	I	I
9	The	This	This	This
13	in	in	in	on
15	my	the	the	the
16	drownit	plunged	plunged	plunged
24	sich	grone	grone	grone
25	twinkling	twinkling	twinkling	trickling
40	Thir	these	these	these
44	inceasses	incresses	increases	increase do
45	luif	loue	loue	loue
47	his	his	his	a
49	Thir	These	These	These
52	dois	do	do	do

54	Gif	If	If	If
54	wraik	wreak	wreake	wrack
56	irk to wander	wearie wandring	wearie wandring	wearie wandring
60	To mend	To mend	To mend	T'amend
63	this	that	this	that
74	at great rest	then at rest	then at rest	then at rest
77	sa	sore	sore	sore

79	than	so	so	so
81	my	our	our	our
83	O	O	O	now
86	thrifite	thirstie	thirstie	thirstie
91	maid	did	did	did
97	twinkling	twinkling	twinkling	trickling
99	meanes	meane	meane	mean
100	you	thou	thou	ye
102	sen	since	since	sith
109	increasses	incresses	increases	increase doe
110	irk to wander	wearie wandring	wearie wandring	wearie wandring
124	cuist	custe	cuist	cast
127	sicht	sighs	sighs	sigh
128	cummit	cumde	comde	come
131	luif whom thou wald fain imbrace	Lord that soone shall end thy strife	Lord that soone shall end thy strife	Lord that soone shall end thy strife
132	I am thy joy, I am thy rest and peace.	I am thy love, whom thou woldst faine imbrace.	I am thy love, whom thou wouldst faine imbrace.	I am thy love, whom thou wouldst faine imbrace.

133	Ryse vp anone and follow efter mee,	I am thy ioy, I am thy rest and peace.	I am thy ioy, I am thy rest and peace.	I am thy joye, I am thy rest and peace.
134	I sall the leid into thy dwelling place:	Rise vp anone and follow after me:	Rise vp anone and follow after me:	Rise vp anone, and follow after mee:
135	The Land of rest thou langs so sair to sie	I shall thee lead vnto thy dwelling place,	I shall thee leade vnto thy dwelling place,	I shall thee lead into thy dwelling place,
136	I am thy Lord that sone sall end thy race.	The Land of rest thou longst so sore to see.	The Land of rest thou longest so sore to see.	The Land of rest, thou long'st so sore to see.
141	ar	are	is	are
153	howbeit	althogh	although	although
162	arme	neck	neck	neck
167	quhilk	which	which	he
168	begouth	began	began	began
173	be	throgh	throgh	throgh
175	force	strength	strength	strength
178	war	was	was	were
180	out	vp	vp	vp
182	thristit	thirsted	thirsted	thrusted
183	ding	beat	beat	beat
185	midgait	midway	midway	midway
186	aback	back	aback	aback
191	thy	your	thy	your
191	thy	your	thy	your
192	sall	shalt	shalt	shalt
193	Fordwart	Forward	Fordward	Forward
194	that	that	that	which

196	that	that	that	which
197	wonderous	wondrous	wondrous	verie
198	begouth	began	begouth	began
202	na	no	no	nay
204	Gif	If	If	If
207	quhilk	that	that	that
211	towres	towres	towres	Towre
212	cuist	custe	cuist	cast
216	wonderous	wondrous	wondrous	verie
217	mon	must	must	must
220	hes	haue	haue	haue
220	na	no	no	none
222	yon	this	this	this
222	mon	must	must	must
223	yet	way	way	way
224	Gif	If	If	If
225	gif	giue	giue	giue
227	middis	midst	midst	mides
228	was	was	was	were
232	them all	the fire	the fire	the fire
236	speirit	askt	askt	askt
236	kend	kend	kende	knew
243	mon	must	must	must
244	Gif	If	If	If
245	is	was	was	was
246	Hald	Holde	Hold	Holdst
250	mon	must	must	must
251	mon	must	must	must
252	perforce	of force	of force	of force

253	seime	seeme	seems	seeme
254	cannot	cannot	cannot	canst not
264	sin	sin	sinne	sinnes
268	mon	must	must	must
269	Till	While	While	While
270	that	that	that	which
272	did	did	doth	did
272	saif	cleanse	cleanse	cleanse
272	thy	the	the	the
273	mon	must	must	must

274	thy	the	the	the
274	the	thy	thy	thy
281	enters	enters	enters	enter
281	thair	here	heere	heere
285	mon	must	must	must
298	cuist	custe	cuist	cast
301	thocht	thoght	though	thought
304	Gif	If	If	If
308	wonder	wonder	wonder	verie
309	wee	I	I	I
308	thocht	thoght	thought	had
310	begouth	began	begouth	beganne
314	wonderous	wondrous	wondrous	very
317	thay	I	I	I
317	begouth	began	begouth	began
318	O Lord	aloud	aloud	aloude
321	stackerit	started	started	started
323	this	that	that	that

324	that	it	it	it
331	na	no	no	none
332	hes	haue	hath	haue
333	mon	must	must	must
334	mon	must	must	must
335	Bot	And	But	And
337	wonderous	wondrous	wondrous	verie
339	mon	must	must	must
340	mon	must	must	must
340	on	of	of	of
341	Thir	These	These	These
341	griuelie	dririe	dririe	dririe
341	gaits	waies	waies	wayes
341	Awaits	Awaits	Awaits	Awaite
347	mynde	mindes	mindes	mindes
347	chosen	chosen	chosen	chose
348	mon	must	must	must
350	Althocht that ye lang luiking be for life	It is the way that leades you vnto life	It is the way that leads you vnto life	It is the way that leades you vnto life
353	quhen	[omitted]	[omitted]	[omitted]
353	mon	must	must	must
356	mon	must	must	must
358	your	the	the	the
360	clim	come	come	come
362	heart	heart	hart	hearts
362	saull	soule	soule	souls
365	draw	throwe	throwe	throw
369	ye	ye	we	ye
370	wonder	wonder	wonder	verie

379	Gif	If	If	If
386	freat	threat	threat	threat
389	wonderous	wondrous	wondrous	verie
390	saull	soule	soule	soules
392	the	the	your	the
393	mon	must	must	must
395	Gif	If	If	If
395	desyre	intend	intend	intend
398	Ane	As	As	As
398	thy	this	this	this
399	on	out	out	out
401	Gif	If	If	If
402	get ane	get a	geta	get a
404	gif	if	if	if
405	mon	must	must	must
406	ye	you	you	you
407	humblit	filthie	filthie	filthie
407	mon	must	must	must
408	Gif	If	If	If
408	guyde	guide	guide	God
409	Gif	If	If	If

417	Clim	Cleaue	Cleaue	Cleaue
419	mon	must	must	must
433	Baith	Both	Both	But
433	hes	hath	hath	haue
441	gif	if	if	if
442	quhat	who	who	who
449	heart	heart	hart	heartes

451	rings	raignes	raignes	reignes
452	your	his	his	his
454	for	feare	feare	feare
461	The Throne	A Crowne	A Crowne	A Crowne
462	Await	Awaits	Awaits	Awaites
465	weir	war	war	warre
467	thy	your	thy	your

"A Comfortable Song:" Textual Variants

Line number	1603	1604?	1606	1620
Title	A Comfortabill Song	A Verie Comfortable Song	A Verie Comfortable Song	A Verie Comfortable Song
2	maks	makes	makes	make
6	troubling	troubling	troubling	humbling
8	tyne	lose	lose	lose
9	to	so	so	so
9	thow	they	they	they
9	hes	haue	haue	haue
18	pleasure	pleasure	pleasure	pleasures
19	ah	ah	ah	oh
21	strenth	force	force	force
27	in	to	to	to
28	I will	I le	I le	Ile

"A Sonnet Sent to Blackness:" Textual Variants

Line Number	**Wodrow manuscript**	**1720**
Title	Blacknes	Blackness Castle
1	y	the
2	at	with
3	worldly	Earthly
4	for	[omitted]
5	Thow	Now
6	cloud	Clouds
7	who w/ blood	Whose blood
8	oft	great
9	every	heavy

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APPENDICES:

GLOSSARY, TRANSLATIONS, AND “THE FALS FYRES OF PURGATORIE”

Translator's note: I have tried as much as possible to retain the language and form of the poems. Where that was difficult, I have taken liberties to preserve rhyme.

APPENDIX 1

GLOSSARY

A

Abone: above

Afflictit: afflicted

Agains: against

Agast: aghast

Allace: alas

Althocht: although

Ane: Scots, article a/an; one

Anie: any

Answerit: answered

Ar: are; or

Aricht: rightly; aright

Armit: armed

Ascendit: ascended

Asswage: assuage

Awin: own

B

Bailfull: baleful

Baldlie: boldly

Baner: banner; battle standard

Be: Scots, preposition by

Befoir: before

Begouth: Scots, v. began

Beir: bear

Beists: beasts

Belaw: below

Beliefit: believed

Besocht: besought

Bleid: bleed

Blindit: blinded

Blissed: blessèd

Blist: blessed

Blude: blood

Bocht: bought

Bot: Scots, conj. but

Bray: Scots, n. usually brae declivity

Bricht: bright

Brigs: bridge

Buir: bore

C

Cace: case

Cairfull: full of care

Cairs: cares

Cald: cold

Caucht: caught

Changit: changed

Cheir: cheer

Chosin: chosen

Clam: climbed

Clim: climb

Clim: Scots, v. to adhere

Cloggit: clogged

Compellit: compelled

Compylit: compiled; *compile* in Renaissance/Elizabethan English is synonymous with *compose*

Consumit: consumed

Conuoy: lead or personal conduct

Cowarts: cowards

Craigie: craggy

Cryit: cried

Cuist: cast

Cummit: come/came

Cumplainit: complained

D

Dammit: damnèd

Debard: debarred

Deid: dead

Deir: dear

Deith: death

Desoluit: dissolved

Desyris: desirest

Deuoir: devoir

Ding: Scots, v. to beat or strike with heavy blows
ding down: to overthrow

Dissauit: deceived

Dois: does

Dreid: dread

Drownit: drowned

Dule/duill: sorrow

Duyne: languish

E

Easit: eased

Efter: after

Eik: Scots, adv. also

Eit: to eat

Endit: ended

Exaltit: exalted

F

Faillit: failed

Fearcelie: fiercely

Febil: feeble

Fecht: fight

Feir: fear

Feirfullie: fearfully

Feirit: feared

Feit: feet

Finishit: finished

Flie: flee

Floudes: floods

Forcit: forced

Fordwart: forward

Foretald: foretold

Fra: from

Freat: injure by violence

Frie: free

Fuid: food

G

Gaine: gone

Gaipit: gaped

Gaits: ways

Gif: if

Gif: give

Glaid: glad

Glistering: glittering; sparkling

Gloir/glore: glory

Golfe: gulf

Gredines: greediness

Greif: Scots, v. to distress; to hurt or harm

Greit: great

Griuelie: grievous

Gripit: grippèd

Grit: Scots, adj. great

Gude: good

Gudes: goods

H

Haill: Scots, adj. whole

Haist: haste

Haistelie: hastily

Hald: hold

Heich: high

Heid: head

Hes: hast; has

Hiddeously: hideously

Hie: high

Honie: honey

Hostis: hosts

Humbill: humble

Humblit: humbled

I

Inclynde: inclined

Incontinent: immediately

Incres: Scots, v. to increase
increst: increased

Irk: Scots, v. to tire, to grow weary

K

Keilde: killed

Kend: knew

Knaw: know

L

Lang: long

Law: low

Leids: leads

Leif: leave

Leit: let/allow

Lenth: length

Licht: light

Lief: Scots, v. to live

Lieve: live

Lousit: loosed

Lout: Scots, v. stoop

Luik: Scots, n. and v. look/to look

Luif: Scots, n. and v. love/to love

Lyoun: lion

M

Maist: most

Mak: make

Man: variant of *maun* (must)

Midgait: midway

Mischief: Scots, v. to injure; to damage
mishchiefit mischiefed/injured

Micht: Scots, v. might

Middis: middle; in the midst of; meanwhile

Mixit: mixèd

Moir: Scots, adj./adv. more

Monie/mony: many

Mos: moss

Most: must

Mournit: mourned

Musit: past tense of *muse*

N

Nane: Scots, pron./adj. none

Nathing: Scots, n. nothing

Na wayes: nowise

Neids: needest

Neirer: nearer

Noch: not

Nocht: naught/not

Noysum: noisome

O

Offendit: offended

P

Peirs: pierce

Pray: prey

Prayit: prayed

Preis: Scots, v. to press
preisit pressed

Preparit: prepared

Promeis: promise

Purchaist: purchased

Puir: Scots, adj. poor

Q

Quhairin: Scots, conj. wherein

Quhairwith: Scots, adv. or conj. wherewith

Quhat: Scots, pron. what

Quhen: Scots, adv. when

Quhilk: Scots, pron. which

Quhom: Scots, pron. whom

Quhy: Scots, interrogative why

Quhyle: while

Quyte: quit

R

Rais: rose

Red: free; rid

Redimer: Redeemer

Refrainit: refrained

Rejoysit: rejoiced

Relief: Scots, v. to relieve
reliefit relieved

Reif: to plunder or to take by force

Resave: Scots, v. receive

Reuiuit: revived

Reules: rules

Rin: to run

Ring: Scots, v. to reign, to rule

Roir: roar

S

Sa: so

Saif: save

Saifit: saved

Saik: sake

Sall: shall

Sanct: saint

Sang: song

Sathan:Satan

Saul(l): Scots, n. soul

Saw: sow

Schyn: to shine

Seik: seek

Seime: seem

Seimit: seemed

Seleip: to sleep

Semit: seemed

Sen: since

Shaik: shake

Shaw: show

Sich: sigh

Sicht: sight

Sie: see

Sillie/silly: helpless or deserving pity

Sindrie: Scots, adj. sundry

Sinne: sin/sins

Slicht: slight

Smuke: smoke

Sobbis: sobs

Socht: sought

Soir: Scots, adj. sore

Sone: soon

Sould: should

Sowne: swoon

Speid: speed

Speik: var. of *spek* to speak

Speirit: Scots, v. asked

Spreit: spirit

Spytfull: spiteful

Stackerit: staggered

Staitlie: stately

Stak: stuck

Stay: Scots, adj. steep

Stoir: store

Strang: strong

Strenth: strength

Subtil: subtle

Sweit: sweet

Syle: betray

T

Taist: taste

Tak: take

Tauld: told

Thairfoir: therefore

Than: then

Thir: Scots, pron. these

Thocht: thought or though

Thouch: though

Thriftie: small and meager; thirsty

Thrist: thirst

Thristit: thrust

Throw: through

Tormentit: tormented

Tossit: tossed

Trampit: stamped his feet on

Trance: lobby; narrow space

Trimbellit: trembled

Trimbill: tremble

Troubill: trouble

Troublit: troubled

Tuke: took

Twinkling: Scots, v.

V

Vexit: vexed

W

War: was/were

War: aware

Wont: Scots, v. to accustom

Waik: weak

Wald: would

Warld: world

Warlie: illy

Wanderit: wandered

Wearie: weary

Wecht: weight

Weir: wear

Weir: war

Weiriet: wearied

Weyd: wade

Wickit: wicked

Wods: woods

Wraik: Scots, v. to wreak or to avenge

Wraith: wrath

Wrang: wrong

Wrechit: wretched

Y

Yet(t): Scots, n. gate

Yit: yet

APPENDIX II

A Godly Dream,
Narrated by M.M. at the request of her friends

Stanza 1

Upon a day as I did mourn full sore,
With sundry things wherewith my soul was grieved,
My grief increased and grew then more & more.
My comfort fled and could not be relieved;
With heaviness my heart was so aggrieved,
I loathed my life, I could not eat or drink,
I might not speak nor look to one that breathed,
But mused alone and diverse things did think.

Stanza 2

The wretched world did so molest my mind,
I thought upon this false and Iron age
And how our hearts are so to vice inclined,
That Satan seemed most fearfully to rage.
Nothing in earth my sorrow could assuage;
I felt my sin most strongly to increase,
I grieved my soul that was to be my gage,
My soul was drowned in this most deep unpeace.

Stanza 3

All merriness did aggravate my pain,
And earthly joys did still increase my woe:
In company I no wise could remain,
But fled resort and so alone did go.
My helpless soul was tossèd to and fro,
With sundry thoughts which troubled me full sore:
I sought to pray, but sighs o'erset me so,
I could do naught but sigh and say no more.

Stanza 4

The sparkling tears abundantly ran down,
My heart was eased when I had mourned my fill:
Then I began my sad, deploring sound,
And said, "O Lord, how long is it thy will,
That thy poor Saints shall be afflicted still?
Alas, how long shall subtle Satan rage?
Make haste, O Lord, thy promise to fulfill,
Make haste to end our painful pilgrimage.

Stanza 5

"Your helpless Saints are tossèd to and fro,
Awake, O Lord, why do thou sleep so long?
We have no strength against our spiteful foe,
With sighs and sobs now changèd is our song.
The world prevails, our enemies are strong,
The wicked rage, but we are poor and shake:
O show thyself, with speed revenge our wrong,
Make short these days, e'en for thy chosens' sake.

Stanza 6

"Lord Jesus, come and save your own Elect,
For Satan seeks our simple souls to slay:
The wicked world does strongly us infect,
Most monstrous sin increases day by day.
Our love grows cold, our zeal is worn away,
Our faith is failèd, and we are like to fall:
The Lion roars to catch us as his prey,
Make haste, O Lord, before we perish all.

Stanza 7

"These are the days that thou so long foretold,
Should come before this wretched world should end:
Now vice abounds and charity grows cold,
And even your own most strangely do offend,
The Devil prevails, his forces he does bend,
If it could be to wreck thy children dear:
But we are thine, therefore some succor send,
Receive our souls, we tire of wand'ring here.

Stanza 8

"What can we do? we cloggèd are with sin,
In filthy vice our senseless souls are drowned:
Though we resolve we never can begin,
To mend our lives, but sin does still abound.
When will thou come? When shall thy trumpet sound?
When shall we see that great and glorious day?
O save us, Lord, out of this pit profound,
And pluck us from this loathsome lump of clay.

Stanza 9

"You know our hearts, you see our full desire,
Our secret thoughts they are not hid from thee:
Though we offend, thou know we surely tire;
From bearing weight, our spirit would be free.
Alas, O Lord, what pleasure can it be,
To live in sin that sore does press us down:
Oh, give us wings that we aloft may flee,
And end the fight that we may wear the crown."

Stanza 10

Before the Lord when I had thus complained,
My mind grew calm, my heart was at great rest:
Though I was faint, from food yet I refrained,
And went to bed, because I thought it best.
With heaviness my soul was so oppressed,
I went to sleep, and so again me thought
I made my moan, and grief then me distressed,
And from the Lord with tears I succor sought.

Stanza 11

"Lord Jesus, come," said I, "and end my grief.
My soul is vexèd, the captive would be free:
All vice abounds, O send us some relief,
I loath to live, I wish dissolvèd to be.
My soul does hunger and thirst after thee,
As thirsty ground requires a shower of rain:
My heart is dry, as fruitless barren tree,
I tell myself---how can I here remain?"

Stanza 12

With sighs and sobs as I did so lament,
Into my dream I thought there did appear:
A sight most sweet, which made me well content,
An Angel bright with visage shining clear,
With loving looks and with a smiling cheer:
He queried me, "Why art thou thus so sad?
Why groanest thou so? Why dost thou pine here
With fretful cries in this thy careworn bed?

Stanza 13

"I hear thy sighs, I see thy sparkling tears. . .
Thou seemst to be in some perplexity:
What mean'st thy moans? What giv'st thee such fears?
Whom wouldst thou have? In what place wouldst thou be?
Faint not so fast in thy adversity,
Mourn not so sore, since mourning may not mend:
Lift up thy heart, declare thy grief to me,
Perchance thy pain brings pleasure in the end."

Stanza 14

I sighed again, and said "Alas, for woe,
My grief is great, I can it not declare:
Upon this earth I wander to and fro,
A pilgrim poor consumed with sighing sore.
My sin, alas, increases more and more,
I loath my life, I tire of wand'ring here:
I long for Heaven, my heritage is there,
I long to live with my Redeemer dear."

Stanza 15

"Is this the cause?" said he, "Rise up anon,
And follow me and I shall be thy guide:
And from thy sighs leave off thy heavy moan,
Refrain from tears and cast thy care aside,
Trust in my strength, and in my word confide,
And thou shalt have thy heavy heart's desire:
Rise up with speed, I may not long abide,
Great diligence this matter does require.

Stanza 16

My soul rejoiced to hear his words so sweet,
I lookèd up and saw his face most fair:
His countenance revived my weary sprite,
Without restraint, I cast aside my care.
With humble heart I prayed him to declare
What was his name? He answered me again,
"I am thy God for whom thou sighst so sere,
I now am come: thy tears are not in vain.

Stanza 17

"I am the way, I am the truth and life,
I am thy spouse that brings thee store of grace:
I am thy love whom thou wouldst fain embrace,
I am thy joy, I am thy rest and peace.
Rise up anon and follow after me,
I shall thee lead into thy dwelling place:
The Land of rest thou longst so sore to see
I am thy Lord that soon shall end thy race."

Stanza 18

With joyful heart I thankèd him again,
"Ready am I," said I, "and well content
To follow thee, for here I live in pain,
Unworthy wretch, my days are vainly spent.
Naught one is just but all are fiercely bent,
To run to vice, I have no force to stand:
My sins increase which mak'st me sore lament,
Make haste, O Lord, I long to see that Land."

Stanza 19

"Thy haste is great," he answered me again,
Thou thinkst thee there, thou art transported so:
That pleasant place must purchased be with pain,
The way is strait, and thou hast far to go.
Art thou content to wander to and fro,
Through great deserts, through water and through fire?
Through thorns and briars and many dangers mo',
What sayst thou now? Thy feeble flesh will tire."

Stanza 20

"Alas!" said I, "Howbeit my flesh be weak,
My sprite is strong and willing for to fly:
O leave me not, but for thy mercy meek,
Perform thy word, or else for grief I die.
I fear no pain, since I should walk with thee,
The way is long, yet bring me through at last."
"Thou answer'st well, I am content," said he,
"To be thy guide, but see thou grip me fast."

Stanza 21

Then up I rose and made no more delay,
My feeble arm about his arm I cast:
He went before and still did guide the way,
Though I was weak, my sprite did follow fast.
Through moss and mires, through ditches deep we past,
Through pricking thorns, through water & through fire:
Through dreadful dens which made my heart aghast,
He bore me up when I began to tire.

Stanza 22

Sometimes we climbed on craggy mountains high,
And sometimes stayed on ugly braes of sand:
They war so steep that wonder was to see,
But when I feared, he held me by the hand.
Through thick and thin, through sea and eke by land,
Through great deserts, we wandered on our way:
When I was weak and had no force to stand,
Yet with a look, he did refresh me ay.

Stanza 23

Through waters great we were compelled to wade,
Which were so deep that I was like to drown:
Sometimes I sank, but yet my gracious aid
Did draw me out half dead and in a swoon.
In woods most wild and far from any town,
We thrust right through; the briars together clung:
I was so weak their strength did beat me down,
So I was forced in fear to fly their tongue.

Stanza 24

"Courage!" said he, "Thou art midway and more,
Thou may not tire or turn aback again:
Hold fast thy grip, on me cast thy dolor,
Assay thy strength, thou shall not fight in vain,
I told thee first, that thou should suffer pain,
The nearer heaven, the harder is the way:
Lift up thy heart and let thy hope remain,
Since I am guide, thou shall not go astray.

Stanza 25

Forward we passed on narrow bridge of tree,
Over waters great that hiddeously did roar:
What lay below: that fearful was to see,
Most ugly beasts that gapèd to devour.
My head grew light and troubled wonderous sore,
My heart did fear, my feet began to slide:
But when I cried, he heard me ever more,
And held me up, O blessèd be my guide.

Stanza 26

Weary I was, and thoughht to sit at rest,
But he said, " No: thou may not sit nor stand,
Hold on thy course and thou shall find it best,
If thou desir'st to see that pleasant Land."
Though I was weak, I rose at his command,
And held him fast; at length he let me see
That pleasant place, which seemed to be at hand,
"Take courage now for thou art near," said he.

Stanza 27

I lookèd up unto that Castle fair,
Glittering like gold, and shining bright:
The stately towers did mount above the air,
They blinded me, they cast so great a light.
My heart was glad to see that joyful sight,
My voyage then I thought was not in vain:
I him besought to guide me there aright,
With many vows never to tire again.

Stanza 28

"Though thou be near, the way is wondrous hard,"
Said he again, "Therefore thou must be stout,
Faint not for fear, for cowards are debarred,
That have no heart to go their voyage out.
Pluck up thy heart and grip me fast about,
Through that entrance together we must go:
The gate is low, remember for to lout,
When this is past, we have not many mo'."

Stanza 29

I held him fast as he did give command,
And through that gate together then we went:
In the midst great pricks of Iron did stand,
Wherewith my feet were all betorn and rent.
"Take courage now," said he, "And be content,
To suffer this: the pleasure comes at last:
I answered naught, but ran incontinent,
Out o'er them all, and so the pain was past.

Stanza 30

When this was done, my heart did dance for joy,
I was so near, I thought my voyage ended:
I ran before, and sought not his convoy,
Nor asked the way; I thought I attended:
On stately steps most stoutly I ascended,
Without his help I thought to enter there:
He followed fast and was right sore offended,
And hastily did draw me down the stair,

Stanza 31

"What haist!" said he, "Why ran thou so before?
Without my help, thinkst thou to climb so free?
Come down again, thou yet must suffer more,
If thou desir'st that dwelling place to see:
This stately stair it is not made for thee,
Hold thou that course: thou shall be thrust aback."
"Alas," said I, "long wandring wearied me,
Which make me run the nearest way to track.

Stanza 32

Then he began to comfort me again,
And said, "My friend, thou must not enter there:
Lift up thy heart, thou yet must suffer pain,
The last assault perforce it must be rare.
This godly way although it seem so fair,
It is too high; thou canst this climb assay:
But look below beneath that stately stair,
And thou shalt see another kind of way.

Stanza 33

I lookèd down and saw a pit most black,
Most full of smoke and flaming fire most fell:
That ugly sight made me to flee aback,
I feared to hear so many shout and yell:
I him besought that he the truth would tell,
"Is this," said I, the Papists' purging place?
Where they affirm that helpless souls do dwell,
To purge their sin, before they rest in peace?"

Stanza 34

"The brain of man most illy did invent
That Purging place," he answered me again.
"For greediness together they consent
To say that souls in torment must remain,
Till gold and goods relieve them of their pain,
O spiteful souls that did the same begin:
O blinded beasts, your thoughts are all in vain,
My blood alone did save thy soul from sin.

Stanza 35

"This Pit is Hell, wherethrough thou now must go.
There is thy way that leads *thee* to the land:
Now play the man: thou needst not tremble so,
For I shall help and hold thee by the hand."
"Alas!" said I , "I have no force to stand,
For fear I faint to see that ugly sight:
How can I come among that baleful band?
Oh help me now, I have no force or might.

Stanza 36

"Oft have I heard, that they that enter there,
In this great gulf, shall never come again."
"Courage," said he, "Have I not bought thee dear,
My precious blood it was not shed in vain.
I saw this place, my soul did taste this pain,
Ere ever I went into my father's glore:
Through must thou go, but thou shall not remain,
Thou needst not fear for I shall go before."

Stanza 37

"I am content to do thy whole command,"
Said I again, and did him fast embrace.
Then lovingly he held me by the hand,
And in wee went into that feirful place.
"Hold fast thy grip," said he. "In any case,
Let me not slip, whatever thou shall see:
Dread not the death, but stoutly forward face,
For Death or Hell shall never vanquish thee."

Stanza 38

His words so sweet did cheer my heavy heart,
Incontinent I cast my care aside:
"Courage!" said he. "Play not a coward's part,
Though thou be weak, yet in my stength confide."
I thought me blessed to have so good a guide;
Though I was weak, I knew that he was strong:
Under his wings I thought me for to hide,
If any there should press to do me wrong.

Stanza 39

Into that Pit, when I did enter in,
I saw a sight which made my heart aghast:
Poor damnèd souls, tormented sore for sin,
In flaming fire, were frying wondrous fast:
And ugly sprites, and as we through them passed,
My heart grew faint, and I began to tire:
Ere I was aware one grabbed me at last,
And held me high above a flaming fire.

Stanza 40

The fire was great, the heat did pierce me sore,
My faith grew weak, my grip was wondrous small,
I trembled fast, my fear grew more and more,
My hands did shake, that I him held withal,
At length they loosed, then they began to fall,
I cried, "O Lord!" and caught him fast again.
"Lord Jesus, come, and rid me out of thrall!"
"Courage!" said he. "Now thou art past the pain."

Stanza 41

With this great fear, I staggered and awoke
Crying, "O Lord, Lord Jesus, come again!"
But after this, no kinde of rest I took,
I pressed to sleep, but that was all in vain.
I would have dreamed, of pleasure after pain,
Because I know, I shall it find at last:
God grant my guide may still with me remain,
It is to come that I believed was past.

Stanza 42

This is a dream, and yet I thought it best
To write the same, and keep it still in mind:
Because I knew, there was no earthly rest,
Prepared for us, that have our hearts inclined
To seek the Lord, we must be purged and find,
Our dross is great, the fire must try us sore:
But yet our God is merciful and kind,
He shall remain and help us ever more.

Stanza 43

The way to heaven, I see is wondrous hard,
My Dream declares, that we have far to go:
We must be stout, for cowards are debarred,
Our flesh perforce must suffer pain and woe.
These grievous ways, and many dangers mo'
Await for us, we cannot live in rest:
But let us learn, since we are warnèd so,
To cleave to Christ, for he can help us best.

Stanza 44

O helpless souls with pains so sore oppressed,
That love the Lord and long for Heaven so high:
Change not your mind, for you have chosen the best,
Prepare yourselves: with troubles you must vie.
Faint not for fear in your adversity,
Although you have long looked for life:
Suffer a while and you shall shortly eye
The Land of rest, when ended is your strife.

Stanza 45

In wilderness when ye must be tried a while,
Yet forward press and never flee aback:
Like pilgrims poor and strangers in exile,
Through fair and foul must be your journey's track.
The Devil, the world and all that they can wrack,
Will send their force to stop you in your way:
Your flesh will faint and sometime will grow slack,
Yet cling to Christ and he shall help you ay.

Stanza 46

The thorny cares of this deceitful life,
Will rent your heart, and make your soul to bleed:
Your flesh and sprite will be at deadly strife,
Your cruel foe will held you fast indeed
And draw you down, yet rise again with speed,
And though you fall yet lie not loit'ring still:
But call on Christ to help you in your need,
Who will not fail his promise to fulfill.

Stanza 47

In floods of woe when you are like to drown,
Yet cleave to Christ and grip him wonder fast
And though you sink and in the deep fall down,
Yet cry aloud and he will hear at last.
Dread not the death nor be not sore aghast,
Though all the earth against you should conspire:
Christ is your guide, and when your pain is past,
You shall have joy above your heart's desire.

Stanza 48

Though in this world you shall exalted fly,
Fear shall be left to humble you withal:
For if you climb on tops of mountains high,
The higher up the nearer is your fall.
Your honey sweet shall mixèd be with gall,
Your short delight shall end with pain and grief:
Yet trust in God for his assistance call,
And he shall help and send you some relief.

Stanza 49

Though waters great do compass you about,
Though Tyrants fret, though lions rage & roar:
Defy them all and fear not to win out,
Your guide is near to help you ever more.
Though prick of iron do sting you wondrous sore,
As noisome lusts that seek your soul to slay:
Yet cry to Christ and he shall go before,
The nearer Heaven, the harder is the way.

Stanza 50

Run out your race you must not faint or tire,
Nor sit or stand, nor turn aback again:
If you incline to have your heart's desire,
Press forward still although it be with pain.
No rest for you so long as you remain
A pilgrim poor in this so loathsome life:
Fight on your fight it shall not be in vain,
Your rich reward is worth a greater strife.

Stanza 51

If after tears you live a while in joy,
And get a taste of that Eternal glore,
Be not secure or slip not your convoy,
For if you do, you shall repent it sore.
He knows the way, and he must go before,
Climb all alone you shall not miss a fall:
Your humbled flesh it must be troubled more,
If you forget upon your guide to call.

Stanza 52

If Christ be gone, although you seem to flee,
With golden wings above the firmament:
Come down again, ye shall not better be,
That pride of yours, you shall right sore repent.
Then hold him fast with humble heart ay bent,
To follow him, although through Hell and Death:
He went before, his soul was torn and rent
For your rewards he felt his father's wraith.

Stanza 53

Though in the end you suffer torments fell,
Cling fast to him, that felt the same before:
The way to Heaven, must be through Death and Hell,
The last assault will trouble you full sore,
The lion then most cruelly will roar,
His time is short, his forces he will bend:
The greater strife, the greater is your glore,
Your pain is short, your joy shall never end.

Stanza 54

Rejoice in God, let not your courage fail,
You chosen Saints that are afflicted here:
Though Satan rage, he never shall prevail,
Fight to the end and stoutly persevere.
Your God is true; your blood is to him dear,
Fear not the way since Christ is your convoy:
When Clouds are past, the weather will grow clear,
You sow in tears, but you shall reap in joy.

Stanza 55

Both death and hell have lost their cruel sting,
Your Captain Christ has made them all to yield:
Lift up your hearts and praises to him sing,
Triumph for joy: your enemies are killed.
The Lord of Hosts that is your strength and shield
The Serpent's head has stoutly trampèd down:
Trust in his strength, pass forward in the field,
O'ercome in fight and you shall wear the Crown.

Stanza 56

The King of Kings if he be on our side,
We need not fear what dare against us stand:
Into the field may we not boldly bide,
When he shall help us with his mighty hand?
Who sits above and rules both sea and land,
Who with his breath does make the hills to shake:
The hosts of Heaven are armed at his command,
To fight the field when we appear to break.

Stanza 57

Pluck up your heart, you are not left alone,
The Lamb of God shall lead you in the way:
The Lord of Hosts that reigns on royal Throne,
Against your foes your Banner will display
The Angels bright shall stand in good array,
To hold you up; you need not fear to fall:
Your enemies shall flee and be your prey,
You shall triumph, and they shall perish all.

Stanza 58

The joy of Heaven is worth a moment's pain,
Take courage then: lift up your hearts on high:
To judge the earth when Christ shall come again,
Above the clouds you shall exalted fly,
The Throne of joy and true felicity,
Awaits for you when finished is your fight.
Suffer a while and you shall shortly eye,
A glore most great and infinite in might.

Stanza 59

Prepare yourselves, be valiant men of war,
And thrust with force out through the narrow way,
Hold on your course and shrink not back too far,
Christ is your guide, you shall not go astray.
The time is near, be sober watch and pray,
He sees your tears, and he has laid in store,
A rich reward, which in that joyful day,
You shall receive and reign for ever more.

Stanza 60

To the King that created all of naught,
And Lord of Lords, that rules both Land & sea,
That saved our souls and with his blood us bought,
And vanquished Death triumphant on the tree.
Unto the great and glorious Trinity,
That saves the poor and does his own defend,
Be laud and glore, honor and Majesty,
Power and praise, Amen, World without end.

FINIS

A Comfortable Song,

to the tune of *Shall I let her go.*

Away, vain world, bewitcher of my heart,
My sorrow shows my sin makes me to smart:
Yet will I not despair, but to my God repair,
He has mercy ay, therefore will I pray:
He has mercy ay, and loves me,
Though by his troubling hand he proves me.

Away, away, too long thou hast me snared:
I will not lose more time; I am prepared,
Thy subtle slight to flee, thou hast deceivèd me,
Though they sweetly smile, smoothly they beguile,
Though they sweetly smile, suspect them,
The simple sort they play, reject them.

"Once more away" shows loath the world to leave,
Bids oft away with her that holds me slave,
Loath I am to forgo, that sweet alluring foe,
Since thy ways are vain, shall I them retain,
Since thy ways are vain, I smite thee,
Thy pleasure shall no more delight me.

A thousand times away, ah stay no more,
Sweet Christ me save, lest subtle sin devour:
Without thy helping hand, I have no strength to stand,
Lest I turn aside, let thy grace me guide,
Lest I turn aside, draw near me:
And when I call for help. Lord hear me.

What shall I do? Are all my pleasures past?
Shall worldly lusts now take their leave at last?
Yea Christ, these earthly toys, shall turn to heavenly joys
Let the world be gone, I will love Christ alone,
Let the world be gone, I care not:
Christ is my love alone, I fear not.

FINIS

A sonnet sent to Blackness
To Mr. John Welsh by the Lady Culross

My Dear Brother with courage bear the cross.
Joy shall be joined with all your sorrow here;
High is your Hope. Disdain this worldly dross:
Anew shall you for this wished day appear.

Though it is dark, the sky cannot be clear.
After the cloud, it shall be calm anon.
Wait on his will who with Blood hath bought you dear
Extol his name though outward joys be gone.

Look to the Lord: you are not left alone.
Since he is yours, oft pleasure can you take.
He is at hand and hears your every groan
End out your fight and suffer for his sake.

A sight most bright your soul shall shortly see
When show of glore your rich reward shall be.

From the *Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*

1458. At Holyrood House 24 July [1629]

The king, with the advice, *etc*. (l. 8) has ratified a charter of John Colville of West Comrie, by which he, with the consent of his wife Elizabeth Melville, has sold lands in Nether Kinnedar, in the royal burgh of Dunfermline in Fife to Mr. Robert Colville, his full-brother and a minister of the gospel at Culross, and Catherine Melville, his wife, for the completion in writing[337] of the agreement on the date of the present proceeding and for payment of 12000 mercks. These lands are to be held irrevocably in conjoint fief from the king by said Robert Colville and Catherine Melville and by their legitimately born heirs or to the heirs of the said Robert, if legitimate offspring fail, and to any and every chosen heir: to be paid in the court of Dunfermline to Count Charles, the hereditary bailiff of said royal burgh, in the name of the king, 10 pounds, 16 shillings, eight pence, and 24 poultry (which are the appointed feu[338] for this fief) and to be responsible for the remaining duties and services to the king, under the straightforward [charter of] vestured freehold[339] drawn up by Robert Sand in Overton.

Witnessed before Mr. Alexander Colville of Blair, the assigned judge of the high court of Scotland; Robert Forrett, clerk of the royal burgh of Culross; Mr. Samuel Tullidaf, preceptor of the grammar school in Culross; and Robert Trumbill, secretary to said Robert Forrett, who transcribed the charter at Culross, 15 May, 1628.[340]

Witnessed as in every charter, *etc*.

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[337] The Latin word *litere* is difficult to translate; its most common meaning *in* or *by a letter* does not seem to fit the context.

[338] Scots term for the annual rent due for use of the land.

[339] The Latin *sasine* appears to be a form of the Scottish legal term *sasine*, which the English called *seisin*, a fief held for life from an authority. According to *Black's Law Dictionary*, "authority" originally implied the Pope, and as the Pope's hold over European society weakened, "authority" implied the sovereign of the country. According to Brown, a sasine fief had a royal charter of enfeftment.

[340] In the text from the *Register*, the passage from *who* to the date is in square brackets to indicate that the editor took the text from another source.

APPENDIX III

Of the fals fyre of Purgatorie,
Is nocht left in ane sponk;
Thairfoir sayis Gedde, wayis me,
Gone is Preist, Freir and Monk.

The reik sa wounder deir thay solde,
For money, gold and landis:
Quhill half the ryches on the molde
Is seasit in thair handis.

Thay knew nathing bot couatice,
And lufe of Paramouris;
And lat the Saulis burne and bis
Of all thair Foundatoris.

At Corps presence thay wald sing,
For ryches, to slokkin the fyre:
Bot all pure folk, that had na thing,
Was skaldit baine and lyre.

Zit sat thay heich in Parliament,
Like Lordis of greit Renowne:
Quhill now that the New Testament
Hes it and thame brocht downe.

And thocht thay fuffe at it, and blaw,
Ay, quhill thair belleis ryue:
The mair thay blaw, full weill thay knaw,
The mair it dois misthryue.

Anonymous but attributed to the Wedderburn brothers
A Compendious Book of Godly and Spirituall Sangis