ANIMADUERSIONS
uppoun the Annotacions
and Corrections of some
imperfections of impressiones
of Chaucers workes (sett
downe before tyme, and
nowe) reprinted in the
yere of ooure lorde
1598
sett downe by
Francis Thynde.

Sorree pur bien ou ne sorree rien.

1599

NOW NEWLY EDITED FROM THE MS. IN THE BRIDGEWATER LIBRARY,
WITH FRESH COLLECTIONS FOR THE LIVES OF WILLIAM THYNNE,
THE CHAUCER EDITOR, AND FRANCIS THYNNE, HIS SON,
AND A REPRINT OF THE ONLY KNOWN FRAGMENT OF

"The Pilgrim's Tale,"

by
F. J.URNIVALL, M.A.,

AND A PREFACE BY
G. H. KINGSLEY, M.D., F.L.S.

PUBLISHED FOR THE CHAUCER SOCIETY
BY N. TRÜBNER & CO., 57 & 59, LUDGATE HILL.
LONDON.
1875.
The Chaucer Society.

Editor in Chief:—F. J. Furnivall, Esq., 3, St George's Square, Primrose Hill, N.W.
Hon. Sec.:—A. G. Snelgrove, Esq., London Hospital, London, E.

To do honour to Chaucer, and to let the lovers and students of him see how far the best unprinted Manuscripts of his works differ from the printed texts, this Society is founded. There are many questions of metre, pronunciation, orthography, and etymology yet to be settled, for which more prints of Manuscripts are wanted, and it is hardly too much to say that every line of Chaucer contains points that need reconsideration. The founder's proposal is to begin with The Canterbury Tales, and give of them (in parallel columns in Royal 4to) six of the best unprinted Manuscripts known. Inasmuch also as the parallel arrangement will necessitate the alteration of the places of certain tales in some of the MSS, a print of each MS will be issued separately, and will follow the order of its original. The first six MSS to be printed are the Ellesmere (by leave of the Earl of Ellesmere); the Hengwrt (by leave of W. W. E. Wynne, Esq.); the Cambridge Univ. Libr., MS Gg. 4. 27; the Corpus, Oxford; the Petworth (by leave of Lord Leconfield); and the Lansdowne 851 (Brit. Mus.).

Of Chaucer's Minor Poems,—the MSS of which are generally later than the best MSS of the Canterbury Tales,—all, or nearly all, the MSS will be printed, so as to secure all the existing evidence for the true text.

To secure the fidelity and uniform treatment of the texts, Mr F. J. Furnivall will read all with their MSS.

The Society's publications are issued in two Series, of which the first contains the different texts of Chaucer's works; and the Second, such originals of, and essays on those as can be procured, with other illustrative treatises, and Supplementary Tales.

The Society's issue for 1868, in the First Series, is,

I. The Prologue and Knight's Tale, of the Canterbury Tales, in 6 parallel Texts (from the 6 MSS named below), together with Tables, showing the Groups of the Tales, and their varying order in 38 MSS of the Tales, and in 5 old printed editions, and also Specimens from several MSS of the "Moveable Prologues" of the Canterbury Tales,—The Shipman's Prologue, and Franklin's Prologue,—when moved from their right places, and of the Substitutes for them. (The Six-Text, Part I.)

II. The Prologue and Knight's Tale from the Ellesmere MS.

III. " " " " " " Hengwrt 154
IV. " " " " " " Cambridge Gg. 4. 27
V. " " " " " " Corpus Oxford
VI. " " " " " " Petworth
VII. " " " " " " Lansdowne 851

(separate issues of the Texts forming Part I of the Six-Text edition.)

The issue for 1869, in the First Series, is,

VIII. The Miller's, Reeve's, and Cook's Tales: Ellesmere MS.

IX. " " " " " " Hengwrt
X. " " " " " " Cambridge
XI. " " " " " " Corpus
XII. " " " " " " Petworth
XIII. " " " " " " Lansdowne,

(separate issues of the Texts forming the Six-Text, Part II, No. XIV.)

The issue for 1870, in the First Series, is,

XIV. The Miller's, Reeve's, and Cook's Tales, with an Appendix of the Spurious Tale of Gamelyn, in 6 parallel Texts. (Six-Text, Part II.)

The issue for 1871, in the First Series, is,

XV. The Man of Law's, Shipman's, and Prioress's Tales, with Chaucer's own Tale of Sir Thopas, in 6 parallel Texts from the MSS above named, and 10 coloured drawings of Tellers of Tales, after the originals in the Ellesmere MS,

XVI. The Man of Law's Tale, from the Ellesmere MS.

XVII. " Cambridge MS.
XVIII. " " " Corpus MS.
XIX. The Shipman's, Prioress's, and Man of Law's Tales, from the Petworth MS.
XX. The Man of Law's Tale, from the Lansdowne MS.

(each with woodcuts of fourteen drawings of Tellers of Tales in the Ellesmere MS.)
Francis Thynne's Animadversions

upon

Spright's first (1598 A.D.) Edition of

Chaucer's Workes.
ANIMADUERIONS
vpon the Annotacions
and Corrections of some
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LONDON.
1876.
Magna quidem laus est generoso sanguine nasci,
Maior honestatis facta decusque segni,
Maxima nosse deum, fontem metamque bonorum,
Vti sorte, pi̇e viuere, rite mori.
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NOTICE.

This new edition of Francis Thynne's *Animadversions* was intended for issue last year, soon after the *Hindwords* were written; but it was set aside to make room for other friends' work, and other engagements of my own. The delay has been lucky, as it has obtain'd for the book some very valuable notes from Mr Bradshaw, and has enabl'd me to add some further details about Francis Thynne, as well as contest Mr J. P. Collier's attributions to him of four little books, which, in my opinion, he no more wrote than I did.

The reader must put-up with the inconvenience of finding the facts about William Thynne, the Chaucer-Editor, and his son Francis, the Chaucer-Commentator and Holinshed-Continuer, each in two different places. Dr George Kingsley's very pleasant Preface had earnd its right to a revised reprint, and so the fresh details about the Thynnes and their work had to go in the *Hindwords*. No doubt more entries about William Thynne will appear in Professor Brewer's *Calendar of State Papers, &c. in Henry VIII's Reign* as it goes on. If they do, I hope to print these entries in a short Supplement as soon as the *Calendar* for 1546 is out. With not enough time for Chaucer and Shakspere searches at the Record Office, &c., I cannot pretend to undertake Thynne ones. The long quotations for and from the Thynnes in the *Hindwords* are deliberately given, instead of the facts contain'd in the extracts being packt into short paragraphs. I enjoy the old details,
and like the flavour of William Thynne's meals and Francis's long-winded dedications and affected depreciations of his own work. Moreover, the latter are needed for the reader to judge between Mr Collier and me on the question of Francis Thynne's style. To men without taste or time for such things, skipping is easy.

Inasmuch as this tract is a necessary part of a Chaucer Library, this new edition of it is issu'd jointly by the Early English Text and Chaucer Societies, the Chaucer Society copies having a slightly different title.

I thank Lord Ellesmere for lending me Francis Thynne's Animadversions MS., and letting me see his other MSS.; Lord Bath and Canon Jackson for the statements from the Longleat Papers relating to Francis Thynne; Mr W. Christie-Miller of Britwell for his sketch of the contents of the first sheet of The Courte of Venus; my friend Mr Bradshaw for his happy hits, of Sir Bryan Tuke's writing Wm Thynno's Preface, of the rise of Francis Thynne's story about his father's cancelld Pilgrims-Tale edition of Chaucer, &c.; Mr Stephen Tucker, Rouge Croix, for his Heralds' Office information; Mr G. Parker of the Bodleian, and Miss Toulmin Smith, for their searches and careful copies; and the Bishop of Peterborough, Dr Mark Pattison, and all other helpers, for their aid.

3, St George's Square, Primrose Hill, London, N.W.
August 3, and October 28, 1875.

The reader will see that the thanks to Lord Bath are for very small mercies. I hope some successor of his, will let some successor of mine, print Francis Thynne's Letters, &c., in full, so as to make our knowledge of the man and his circumstances as complete as it can be made.
PREFACE.

The author of the following interesting specimen of 16th-century criticism came of a Shropshire family of great antiquity; of so great an antiquity, indeed, as to preclude our tracing it back to its origin. Much interesting matter connected with the family was collected by a late descendant of a younger branch, Beriah Botfield, and published by him in a work called "Stemmata Botevilliana." There is some uncertainty about the earlier generations, which is not quite cleared up in that volume. The family name of Thynne occurs in records in the West of England as early as Edward II: but according to the work alluded to, a certain Walter or Thomas Botfield about 1388 was the root of several branches, some of which retained the name, with the variety of Botevyle; but the eldest branch obtained that of Thynne, from the circumstance of its inheriting the freeholds and mansion house or Inn, the copyholds being given to another. The term Inn was used in the sense which has given us "Lincoln's Inn," "Gray's Inn," or "Furnival's Inn," merely meaning a place of residence of the higher class, though in this case inverted, the Inn giving its name to its owner.

* John de la Inne married Jane Bowdler, and their son William became Clerk of the Kitchen, and afterwards one of

1—1 and 2—2 By Canon Jackson.

2 Second and enlarged edition. The first thin edition contained little information; and only 25 copies of it were printed.—F.
the Masters of the Household, to Henry VIII.¹ By his marriage with Anne, daughter of William Bond, Clerk of the Green Cloth, William Thynne had one son, our Francis Thynne, and some daughters, one of whom, Ann, was wife of Richard Mawdley of Nunney in the county of Somerset.²

Though his son gives him no higher position in the court of Henry VIII. than the apparently humble one of clerk of the kitchen, he is careful to let us know that the post was in reality no mean one, and that "there were those of good worship both at court and country" who had at one time been well pleased to be his father's clerks. That he was a man of superior mind there is no question, and we have a pleasant hint, in the following tract, of his intimacy with his king, and of their mutual fondness for literature. To William Thynne, indeed, all who read the English language are deeply indebted, for to his industry and love for his author we owe much of what we now possess of Chaucer. Another curious bit of

¹ He calls himself Clerk of the Kitchen in the Dedication of his Chaucer to Henry VIII.—F.

² Noble so calls him, see p. xvii, below. He is not so call'd in the Household Ordinances. See Hindwords, below.—F.

³ The compilers of Mr Botfield's Stemmata Botewilliana wrongly identify William Thynne, the Chaucer editor, with the profligate adulterer Thynus Auticus, mention'd in Erasmus's Letters, book xv, let. xiv, who divorc'd his neglected, and then erring, wife, and let her fall into prostitution and disease. This Thynnus was evidently a foreigner, a man settled abroad near Erasmus's friend Vitrarius, and could not possibly be our Wm Thynne. Mr Bradshaw, who first call'd my attention to the mistake, and Mr Hales, have lookt very carefully into the question, and are quite certain of their result.

The adulterer Thynne is almost certainly not the Thynne mention'd in "1516, Aug. 2323. Er. Ep. viii. 14. Erasmus to Ammonius. [from (Sir) T. More's] Hopes the hunting may prove as fortunate to Ammonius as it has proved unfortunate to Erasmus. It carried away the King; then the Cardinal. Had angled for Urswick by sending him a New Testament, and asked for the horse he had promised. Finds, when visiting him on Monday, that he had also gone hunting.—Thynne slips off in the same way; and now Ammonius." Brewer's Calendar of Henry VIII., Vol. II. pt. i. p. 716.—F.
literary gossip to be gleaned from this tract is, that William Thynne was a patron and supporter of John Skelton, who was an inmate of his house at Erith, whilst composing that most masterly bit of bitter truth, his "Colin Clout," a satire perhaps unsurpassed in our language.

William Thynne rests beside his wife, in the church of Allhallows, Barking, near the Tower of London, where there are two handsome brasses to their memory. That of William Thynne represents him in full armour with a tremendous dudgeon dagger and broadsword, most warlike guize for a clerk of the kitchen and editor of Chaucer. The dress of his wife is quite refreshing in its graceful comeliness in these days of revived "farthingales and hoops." These brasses were restored by the Marquess of Bath. Would that the same good feeling for things old had prevented the owners of the "church property" from casing the old tower with a hideous warehouse.

The Sir John Thynne mentioned in the "Animadversions" was a cousin of Francis. He married Christian, daughter of Sir Richard, and sister and heir of Sir Thomas Gresham, the builder of the Royal Exchange, part of whose wealth was perhaps devoted to the building of the beautiful family seat of Long Leat, in Wiltshire, in which work he was doubtless aided indirectly by the Reformation, for, says the old couplet,

"Portman, Horner, Popham, and Thynn,
When the monks went out, they came in."

Francis Thynne was born in Kent, probably at his father's house at Erith\(^1\), in or before 1546. He was educated at Tunbridge school under learned Master Proctor. He was never at any University, though Wood says he was; neither was he at Lincoln's Inn, as has been asserted, though he associated with members of the Inn. Some men are born antiquarians as others are born poets, and this was the case with Francis

\(^1\) Noble wrongly says at Stretton in Shropshire. See p. xviii, below.—F.
Thynne. His letter desiring employment in the Heralds' Office is extant, and it procured him the post of "Blanch Lyon pursuivant," a position which would enable him to pursue studies, the results of which, however valuable in themselves, but seldom prove capable of being converted into the vulgar necessities of food and raiment. Poor John Stowe, with his license to beg, as the reward of the labour of his life, is a terrible proof of how utterly unmarketable a valuable commodity may become.

Leading a calm and quiet life in the pleasant villages of Poplar and Clerkenwell, in "sweet and studious idleness," as he himself calls it, the old herald was enabled to accumulate rich stores of matter, much of which has come down to us, principally in manuscript, scattered through various great libraries, which prove him to have deserved Camden's estimate of him as "an antiquary of great judgment and diligence." It would seem that he had entertained the idea of following in his father's footsteps, and of becoming an editor of Chaucer, and that he had even made some collections towards that end. The appearance of Speght's edition probably prevented this idea being carried out, and the evident soreness exhibited in this little tract very probably arose from a feeling that his friend had rather unfairly stolen a march upon him. However the wound was not deep, and Speght made use of Thynne's corrections, and Thynne assisted Speght, in his new edition of Chaucer's Works, with all friendship and sympathy.1 I sus-

1 Francis Thynne, Esq. was created Lancaster Herald at the Palace of Greenwich, in the Council Chamber, April 22, 1602 (Noble's Hist. of the College of Arms, p. 184), and Blanch Lion pursuivant, seemingly in the same year. Noble, p. 186. See Noble's account, p. xviii, below.—F.

2 "To the readers. After this booke was last printed, I understood that M. Francis Thynn had a purpose, as indeed he hath when time shall serve, to set out Chaucer with a Coment in our tongue, as the Italians haue Petrarke and others in their language. Whereupon I purposed not to meddle any further in this work, although some promise made to the contrarie, but to referre all to him; being a Gentleman for that purpose inferior to none, both in regard of his own skill, as also of
pect Thynne of dabbling in alchemy and the occult sciences. He shows himself well acquainted with the terms peculiar to those mysteries, and hints that Chaucer only "enveyed" against the "sophisticall abuse," not the honest use, of the Arcana. Moreover, in the British Museum (MS. Add. 11,388) there is a volume containing much curious matter collected by him on these subjects, and not only collected, but illustrated by him with most gorgeous colours and wondrous drawing, worthy of the blazonry of a Lancaster Herald. The costumes however are carefully correct, and give us useful hints as to the fashion of the raiment of our ancestors. From the peculiar piety and earnestness (most important elements in the search for the philosopher's stone) of the small "signs" and prayers appended to these papers, it is, I think, clear, that Thynne was working in all good faith and belief. Possibly the following lines, which seem to have been his favourite motto, may have been inspired by the disappointment and dyspepsia produced by his smoky studies and their ill success,

"My strange and froward fate
Shall turn her whole anew,
To better or to preyre my fate,
Which envy dothe pursue."

On the 22nd of April, 1602, he was with great ceremony advanced to the honour of Lancaster Herald. He never surrendered his patent; and as his successor entered on that post in November, 1608, he is supposed to have died about that date, though some postpone his death till 1611. He married Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of Thomas de la Rivers of Bransbe, but left no issue.

those helps left to him by his father. Yet notwithstanding, Chaucer now being printed again, I was willing not only to helpe some imperfections, but also to addde some things: wherunto he did not only persuade me, but most kindly lent me his helpe and direction. By this meanes most of his old words are restored: Prouerbes and Sentences marked: Such Notes as were collected, drawne into better order, and the text by old Copies corrected."—Speght's Chaucer, 1602, leaf 2, back.
There are many points of interest to be picked out of the following honest and straightforward bit of criticism, if we examine it closely: and, firstly, as to its author? Is there not something very characteristic in its general tone, something dimly sketching a shadowy outline of a kindly, fussy, busy, querulous old man, much given to tiny minutiae, a careful copier with a clean pen, indefatigable in collecting "contributions" to minor history; one jealous of all appearance of slight to his office, even to being moved to wrath with Master Speght for printing "Harolds" instead of "Harlotts," and letting him know how mightily a "Harold" like himself would be offended at being holden of the condition of so base a thing as False Semblance? Perhaps the more so from a half-consciousness that the glory of the office was declining, and that if the smallest opening were given, a ribald wit might create terrible havoc amongst his darling idols. How delicately he snubs Master Speght for not calling on him at Clerkenwell Green (How would Speght have travelled the distance in 1598? It was a long uphill walk for an antiquarian, and the fields by no means safe from long-staff sixpenny strikers); and how modestly he hints that he would have derived no "disparagement" from so doing; showing all the devotion to little matters of etiquette of an amiable but irritable old gentleman of our own day.

But mark this old gentleman's description of his father's collection of Chaucer MSS.!? Had ever a Bibliophile a more delightful commission than that one of William Thynne's, empowering him to rout and to rummage amongst all the monasteries and libraries of England in search of the precious fragments? And had ever a Bibliophile a greater reward for his pleasant toils? "Fully furnished with a multitude of books, amongst which one copyye of some part of his works subscribed in various places 'Examinatur Chaucer'!" Where is this invaluable MS. now? It is worth the tracing, if it be
possible, even to its intermediate history. Was it one of those stolen from Francis Thynne's house at Poplar by that bibliomaniacal burglar? or was it one of those which in a fit of generosity, worthy of those heroic times, he gave to Stephen Batemann, that most fortunate parson of Newington? Is this commission to be regarded as some slight proof that the spoliation of the monasteries was not carried on with the reckless Vandalism usually attributed to the reformers?

We learn from this tract that William Thynne left no less than twenty-five copies of Chaucerian MSS. to his son, doubtless but a small tything of the entire number extant, showing that there were men amongst the monks who could enjoy wit and humour even when directed against themselves, and that there must have been some considerable liberality if not laxness of rule amongst the orders of the day. It would, I fancy, be difficult to find amongst the monkeries of our own time (except possibly those belonging to that very cheery order, the Capuchines) an abbot inclined to permit his monks to read, much less to copy, so heretical a work as the Canterbury Tales, however freely he winked at the introduction of French nouvellettes.

But though some may have enjoyed Chaucer in all good faith, there were others who saw how trenchant were the blows he dealt against the churchmen of his time, and what deadly mischief to their pre-eminence lurked under his seeming bonhommie. Wolse thought it worth his while to exert his influence against him so strongly as to oblige William Thynne to alter his plan of publication, though backed by the promised protection of Henry VIII. And the curious action of the Parliament noticed in the tract (p. 10) was doubtless owing to the same influence: an assumption of

Urry, in his Ed. of Chaucer, says that the Canterbury Tales were exempt from the prohibition of the Act of 34 Henry VIII, "For the advancement of true religion." I find no notice of this in the Act in
the right of censure by the Parliament which seems to have
gone near to deprive us of Chaucer altogether. The Parlia-
ment men were right in regarding the works of Chaucer as
mere fables, but they forgot that fables have "morals," and
that these morals were directed to the decision of the great
question of whether the "spiritual" or the "temporal" man
was to rule the world, a question unhappily not quite settled
even in our own time.

The notice of that other sturdy reformer, John Skelton
(p. 10) is also very interesting, and gives us a hint of the
existence of a "protesting" feeling in the Court of Henry
VIII. before there was any reason for attributing it to mere
private or political motives. From the way in which it is
mentioned here, I suspect that the more general satire
"Colin Clout" preceded the more directly personal one of
"Why come ye nat to court?" which lashes Wolsey himself
with a heartily outspoken virulence which would hardly have
been tolerated by him when in the zenith of his power. It
the "Statutes at large," 1763. He also refers to Foxe's Acts and
Monuments, which is also merely negative on the subject.—K.

[Urry was right, though; for in the Record Office edition of the
Statutes, the fifth clause of this "Acte for thadvancement of true
Religion and for thabolishment of the contrarie," runs thus:

"Provided also that all bokes in Englishe printed before the yere
of our Lorde a thousands fyve hundred and fourtie intytled the Kings
Hieghnes proclamacions, injunctions, translacion of the Pater noster,
the Ave Maria and the Crede, the psalters, prymers, prayer[s], statutes
and lawes of the Realme, Cronycles, Canterbury tales, Chaucers bokes,
Gowers bokes, and stories of mennen lieves, shall not be comprehended
in the prohibicion of this acte, oonelesse the Kings saide Majestie
shall hereafter make speciall proclamacion for the condempanacion
and reprovong of the same or any of them."

Thus Chaucer's works were not held to be "pestiferous and noy-
soome," like "the craftye false and untrue translacion of Tyndale," and
the "printed bokes, printed balades, playes, rymes, sones, and other
fantasies" that were "subtillye and craftilye instructing his Hieghnes
people, and speciallye the youte of this his Realme, untruelie and
otherwyse thanne the scripture ought, or should be, taught, declared,
or expounded."—F.J.]
was not improbably written whilst its author was safe in sanctuary under Bishop Islip. William Thynne, court favourite though he was, could never have kept Skelton’s head on his shoulders after so terrible a provocation.

Wherever he may be placed, John Skelton stands alone amongst satirists; there is no one like him. Possibly from a feeling that he was writing on the winning side, and sure of sympathy and protection, he scorns to hide his pearls under a dunghill like Rabelais, and utters fearlessly and openly what he has to say. Even in our own time,

"Though his rime be ragged,
Tattered and jagged,
Rudely rain-beaten,
Rusty and moth-eaten,
If ye talk well therewith,
Yt hath in it some pith."

Thynne’s note on the family of Gower (p. 12) is of value as agreeing with later theories, which deny that Gower the poet was of the Gowers of Stittenham, the ancestors of the present houses of Sutherland and Ellesmere. The question is not, however, finally decided, and we have reason to believe that all the Gowers of Great Britain are descended from the same family of Guers still flourishing in Brittany. Early coat-armours are not much to be depended on, and Thynne as a Herald may lean a little too much towards them. The question is, however, in good hands, and I hope that before long some fresh light may be thrown upon it.

The old story of Chaucer’s having been fined for beating a Franciscan friar in Fleet Street is doubted by Thynne, though hardly, I think, on sufficient grounds. Tradition (when it agrees with our own views) is not lightly to be disturbed, and remembering with what more than feminine powers of invective “spiritual” men seem to be not unfrequently endowed, and also how atrociously insolent a Fran-

¹ I look on the story as gammon.—F. J. F.
ciscan friar would be likely to be (of course from the best motives) to a man like Chaucer, who had burnt into the very soul of monasticism with the caustic of his wit, I shall continue to believe the legend for the present. If the mediæval Italians are to be believed, the cudgelling of a friar was occasionally thought necessary even by the most faithful, and I see no reason why hale Dan Chaucer should not have lost his temper on sufficient provocation. Old men have hot blood sometimes, and Dickens does not outrage probability when he makes Martin Chuzzlewit the elder fell Mr Pecksniff to the ground.

Much of the tract is taken up by corrections of etymologies, and the explanation of obscure and obsolete words. It is a little curious that the word "orfrayes," which had gone so far out of date as to be unintelligible to Master Speght, should, thanks to the new rage for church and clergy decoration, have become reasonably common again. The note on the "Vernacle" is another bit of close and accurate antiquarian knowledge worth noting. It is most tantalizing that after all he says about that mysterious question of "The Lords son of Windsor," a question as mysterious as that demanding why Falstalf likened Prince Henry's father to a "singing man" of the same place, we should be left as wise as we were before. We have here and there, too, hints as to what we have lost from Thynne's great storehouse of information; how valuable would have been "that long and no common discourse" which he tells us he might have composed on that most curious form of judicial knavery, the ordeal; and possibly much more so is that of his "collections" for his edition of Chaucer! This last may, however, be still recovered by some fortunate literary mole.

The notice, by no means clear, but certainly not complimentary, of "the second editione to one inferior personne, than my father's editione was," may refer to the edition of
Chaucer which was printed about 1550, (says Mr Bradshaw, though the British Museum Catalogue says '1545?') more or less from William Thynne's second edition of 1542; but from another passage hinting that Speght followed "a late English corrector whom I forbear to name," I suspect that the "inferior personne" was poor John Stowe, and that the edition sneered at was that edited by him in 1561, the nearest in point of date to that of Speght.

The manuscript from which the present tract is reprinted is, like most of the treasures of the Bridgewater Library, wonderfully clean and in good order. It is entirely in the Autograph of Francis Thynne, and was evidently written purposely for the great Lord Chancellor Egerton, and bears his arms emblazoned on the back of title-page. Master Speght most probably got his copy of the Animadversions in a more humble form.¹

In conclusion may I remark that, as usual, the green silk ribands, originally attached to the vellum and gold cover, are closely cut away, probably for the purpose of being converted into shoe-ties, which Robert Greene informs us was the usual destination of ribands appended to presentation copies. He hints at the same time that those appendages were generally the only solid advantage gained by the dedicatee from the honour done him.

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Mark Noble's account of Francis Thynne, from his History of the College of Arms, London, 1804, p. 213.

Lancaster. Eliz. Francis Thynne, Esq.

Descended from a branch of the ennobled family, now having the title of Marquis of Bath. The ancient name was

¹ The alterations in Speght's Glossary, &c. of 1602 show that he did have a copy of Thynne's criticism of him: see the Notes to the text in the following pages, and Speght's words, p. x, n., above.—F.
Botteville, taken from a place in Poitou, whence they came to assist John in the barons' wars. Settling at Stretton, in Shropshire, and losing their old name, they acquired that of le Thynne, literally the Inn, a significant term for their large spacious mansion at Stretton; the houses of the great being in former ages called inns. William le Thynne, of Stretton, by Joan, daughter of John Higgons of that place, had issue two sons; Thomas le Thynne seated at Stretton, from whom descended the Marquis of Bath, and William le Thynne, Chief Clerk of the Kitchen to Henry VIII., afterwards Master of the Household to that Monarch. He was father to Lancaster Thynne, who was born at Stretton, and educated at Tonbridge School, under Mr Proctor, the historian, commended by Holingshead; from thence he went to Oxford. Upon his leaving that University, he was sent to Lincoln's Inn to study the law; but fond of heraldic and genealogical pursuits, he presented a petition to Lord Burleigh, then presiding at the head of the commission for executing the office of Earl Marshal, requesting to be admitted into the College, desiring a previous examination, even in the deepest points of armoury which could be obtained, without the knowledge of philosophy and history, mentioning, as a recommendation in his own favour, that he had drawn out a "series" of the lord treasurers and composed "certain circularly pedigrees of the earls and viscounts of England." His acquirements were acknowledged; he was raised to the office of an herald without having ever been a pursuivant. He was then 57 years old. He died in 1608, not in 1611, as Wood mentions, who has fallen into many mistakes about him. Camden calls him "an excellent antiquary and a gentleman, painful and well-deserving of his office whilst he lived." Garter Dethick put his name down as a fit person to be raised to be Norroy. His arms were Or, five bars Sable. Hearne published "A Discourse of the Dutye and Office of an Heralde of Armes, written by him the third day
of March 1605.” In the year 1651 were printed his “Histories concerning Ambassadors and their Functions,” dedicated to his good friend William, Lord Cobham. He continued the Chronicle, known by the name of Holingshed’s, finishing the Annals of Scotland, from 1536 down to where they now end. He drew up a list of English Cardinals, added to the reign of Mary I. He wrote the Catalogue of English Historical Writers. His “Discourses” upon the Earls of Leicester, Archbishops of Canterbury, Lords Cobham, and the Catalogue of the Wardens of the Cinque Ports, were suppressed. He also wrote his History of Dover Castle and the Cinque Ports; the Genealogical History of the Cobhams; Discourses of Arms, concerning the Bath and Batchelor Knights; the History and Lives of the Lord Treasurers, mentioned in a MS. life of him, now in the collection of Sir Joseph Ayleffe, Bart. Numerous as these works are, yet there are various other literary productions of his: some of them are preserved in the Cotton Library, others were possessed by Anstis, sen. Garter. His heraldic collections are in the College of Arms, and in the Ashmoleian Museum at Oxford. Some of his manuscripts are collections of antiquities, sepulchral inscriptions, taken by him from English churches, and elsewhere. He intended to have published an edition of Chaucer’s works, but declining that, gave his labours relative to it to Speght, who published them in his edition of that poet’s works, with his own notes, and those of his father, who printed the first edition of this ancient writer in 1542, being the oldest of any except Caxton’s. Thynne, Lancaster, had meant to have written a comment upon the text: some verses of his are prefixed to Speght’s edition.
HINDWORDS

BY

F. J. FURNIVALL.

I. WILLIAM THYNNE (dies Aug. 10, 1546).

a. Henry VIII’s grants to him, p. xxi, xxvi, xxviii. (2 Letters, p. 131.)
b. Duties as Clerk of the Kitchen, p. xxii.
d. His service at Anne Boleyn’s Coronation, p. xxvii.
e. Is Clerk-Comptroller of the Household: his Contracts, p. xxviii; Duties, p. xxx; Food, p. xxxvi; and Allowances, p. xxxviii.
f. His Monument and Will, p. xxxix.
g. His edition of Chaucer, p. xl.
h. The Pilgrims Tale, p. xliii; and ‘aise, the best cast on the dice,’ p. xlv.

II. FRANCIS THYNNE (A.D. 1545—1608).

i. His notes of his Youth, p. xlvii.
j. His Marriage, and Improvisance, p. xlviii.
k. His first antiquarian work, p. xlix.
l. Is imprisoned, and nearly starved, p. li.
m. His bad opinion of Wives, p. lvi.
n. His Release, and Homo, animal sociale, p. lvii.
o. His Perfecte Ambassadoure, p. lxi.
q. Continuation of Holinshed’s Chronicle, p. lxiv—lxxxi (with an account of the Castrations of that Continuation, p. lxvi).
r. Application for post in the Herald’s Office, p. xc.
s. His Speeches at the Society of Antiquaries, p. xcviii.
t. Second Application for post in the Herald’s Office, p. xcvi.
u. His Discourse of Armes, p. xcvii.

To my friend Dr Kingsley’s Forewords (or ‘Preface’) I wish to add some Hindwords on 1. a. the duties and allowances of our old Chaucer-
editor, William Thynne, at Henry VIII’s court, that we may better realize his life; b. the special points of his edition of Chaucer, with c. a note on the re-found Pilgrim’s Tale; and 2. some fresh notices of his son Francis’s life, and details about his works, in which latter I shall have to comment on Mr J. P. Collier’s attributing to him certain books which it is absurd to suppose he ever wrote. I make these additions because the Animadversions is now printed for the Chaucer Society as well as the Early English Text Society.

I. WILLIAM THYNNE.

I. a. Assuming, as I do, that our William Thynne was not the Thynne mentioned in Aug. 1516 by Erasmus (Ep. viii. 14),—when he, writing from Sir Thomas More’s to Ammonius, says that hunting had carried off the King, the Cardinal, Urswick, Thynne, and now Ammonius (Brewer’s Calendar, Hen. VIII, vol. II, Pt I, p. 717, No. 2323),—we first come on our Chaucer-editor in 1524, when he is but Second Clerk of the Kitchen to Henry VIII, though in 1526 he is Chief Clerk:—

Entries from Mr Brewer’s Calendar of Henry VIII, forthcoming vol. up to 1530, supplied by the kindness of Mr C. Trice Martin of the Record Office.

WM Thynne.


24 Oct. 1526. Chief Clerk of the Kitchen. Grant of Annuity of £10 out of the issues of the Manors of Cleobury Barnes, Salop.—Pat. 18 Hen. VIII, pt. 1, m. 16.


20 Aug. 1528. Chief Clerk of the Kitchen. To be bailiff of the town, and keeper of the park, of Beaudley, Salop, vice Sir W. Compton.—Pat. 20 Hen. VIII, pt. 1, m. 24.

22 Dec. 1528. Grant to John Chamber, Clerk; Wm Thynne, Chief Clerk of the Kitchen; and John Thynne; of the next presentation to the church of Stoke Clymslond.—Pat. 20 Hen. VIII, pt. 2, m. 11.

1 Anthony Wood says, i. 136, “William Thynne, otherwise Botevill, was, as it seems, a Salopian born, and educated among the Oxonians for a time. Afterwards retiring to the court, became, through several petty employments, chief clerk of the kitchen to K. Hen. 8, and is stiled by Erasmus ‘Thynus Aulicus’: ” on this last point see p. viii, above, and the Notes at the end.

2 Here insineth the hole Charge of a dyner made by the kynges highnes in the Loge in the Little parke of Wyndesour the xxvth of February, being the xiv yere of hyjs Reyne,” leaf 203.
21 July 1529. Head Clerk of the Kitchen, to be Customer of Wools, hides, and fescues in the port of Loudon, vice Wm Uvedall.

Signed Bill.


(There may very likely be more mention of William Thynne later, but his appointments as Clerk of the Kitchen do not appear in the Patent Rolls.—C. T. M.)

"In 1531 William Thynne obtained from the Prior and Convent of the Blessed Trinity called Christchurch near Aldgate in London a lease for 54 years of the Rectorial Tithe of Erith in Kent, where he lived." 1

2. Now Wm Thynne's duties as a Clerk of the Kitchen are set forth in the Statutes made at Eltham in January 1526 a.d., by Wolsey and the Council, for the regulation of the King's household. And these statutes were made on this wise, as Halle tells us:—

"In this Wynter [1525] was greate death in London, wherefore the Terme was adiorned, and the king, for to eschew the plague, kept his

1 Collector of Customs, as Francis Thynne witnesses:—"Thomas Smith of Ostinhanger esquire . . . who is nevertheless called by the name of Customer Smith, because in times past his office was by letters patent to collect the said custome [inward] and to yeeld account thereof, as other customers usualie doe, hauing for his fee one hundred and three score pounds yeerlie." 1586, Fr. Thin, in Holinshed's Chron. iii. 1639, col. 1. As Chaucer was in his day Controller of Customs, so was his Editor, in his day, Collector of Customs.

2 "I find another Will. Thynne esq. brother to sir John Thynne knight, who, after he had travel'd through most parts of Europe, return'd an unaccomplish'd gentleman, and in the 1 Edw. 6, [An.] Dom. 1547, went into Scotland under the command of Edward Duke of Somerset, (to which duke his brother sir John was secretary) where as an 'eques cataphractus' (that is, a chevalier arm'd cap a pè) he performed excellent service in the battel of Muscelborough against the Scots. This person I take to be the same, to whom K. Hen. 8, by his letters pat. dat. 8 May 38 of his reign, Dom. 1546, gave the office of general receiver of two counties in the Marches of Wales, commonly call'd the Earl of Marches Lands. At length when the infirmities of age came upon him, he gave himself solely up to devotion, and was a daily auditor of divine service in the abbey of Westminster. He surrendered up his soul to him that gave it, 14 March 1584, and was buried in the said church opposite to the door leading into the cloister. Over his grave was soon after erected a monument of alabaster."—A. Wood, Ath. Ox. i. 137. See the Inscription on his monument, with a short biography of him, in Stemmatia Botreilliana, 1835, p. 83; also p. cccvi.

3 Canon Jackson, from Papers at Longleat. See Notes for two letters.
Christmas at Eltham with a small number, for no man might come thither but such as were appointed by name: this Christmas in the kynge’s house, was called the stille Christmas. But the Cardinal in this season, laye at the Manor of Richemond, and there kept open householde, to lordes, ladies, and all other that would come, with plates and disguising in most royall manner; which sore greued the people, and in especial the kynge’s servants, to see him kepe an open Court, and the kynge a secret Court.

"The Cardinal came to Eltham the .viii. daie of January [1526 A.D.], and taried there till the .xxii. daie. In whiche season the Cardinal, and other of the kynge’s counsaill, sat for a direction to be taken in the kynge’s house and, . . . [after discharging and pensioning the old useless officers (who had let their servants do their duty) and ‘ixiii of the gard’]"

"At this season the Cardinal made many ordinances concerning the kynge’s house, which bee at this daie called the statutes of Eltham, the whiche some saied wer more profitable then honorable."—Halle’s Chronicle, 1548, 1550, ed. 1809, p. 707.

These Wolsey ‘Statutes of Eltham’ are preserved in the Harl. MS. 642, &c., and were publish’d by the Society of Antiquaries in 1790, in their collection of Household Ordinances, and at p. 142 of this book we find what Thynne’s duties as Clerk of the Kitchen 1 were—on leaf 143 of the Harl. MS. 642, whence I quote:—

Clarke of the Kitchen

(Cap. 14.) Item, it is ordyned that the chiefe Clarke, with 2 under Clarke of the same, giue good attendance to see the servise of the Kinge and his houeshold; and speciallye that such stuffe of victuals as apperteyneth to the Kinges dishe be of the best and sweetest stuffe that can be gotten, and in likewise for euerie estate and other within the Kingses house, accordinge to theire degrees; and that the stuffe maye be in the Larder in good hower, soe that the Cookes maye haue 2 reasonable leasure for the good seasoninge of the same; [and the same] soe dressed to be servyd by the ouersight of the sayd Clarke of the Kitchine in due and perfect manner, to the Kingses more honour and profitte, without embessellinge or takeinge awaye any parte of the same to any other vse. (Harl. MS. 642, leaf 143, back)

1 The words on H. Ord. p. 158, directing the delivery of the meat for “the six gentlemen of the King’s Chamber, the ushers, and four goodmen of the same,” and the ‘barbor,’ “to the clere of the king’s privy kitchen, there to be honestly and well dressed” seem to be a mistake for the cooke mentioned five lines below, “shall be delivered as afore, unto the cooke of the King’s privy kitchin.”

2 MS. houe.
I. In the dedication of his edition of Chaucer's Works to Henry VIII in 1532, William Thynne also describes himself as "chefe clerke of your kechyn." Here is an extract from the document, from sign. A ii, back, col. 1:

"And verayly / lyke as all these [foreigners] and the rest haue ben / thus vigilant & studyous to meliorate or amende their langages, so hath there nat lacked amonges vs English men / whiche haue right well and notably endeoyred and employed them selues / to the beautiffyeng and bettryng of thenglysh tonge. ¶ Amonges whom, moost excellent prynce / my most redoubted and gracious soueraygne lorde / I your / most humble vassall / subiecte and seruaunt, Wylliam Thynne / chefe clerke of your kechyn / moued by a certayne inclynation & zele / whiche I haue to here of any thyng soundyng to the laude and honour of this your noble realme / haue taken great delectacyon / as the tyme / and layingers might suffre / to rede and here the bokes of that noble & famous clerke Geffray Chaucer / in whose worke is so manyest / comprobachion of his excellent lernyng in all kyndes of doctorynes and sciences / suche frutefulnesse in wordes / wel accordyng to the mater and purpose / so swete and pleasant sentences / suche perfectyon in metre / the composycyon so adapted / suche fresshnesse of inuencion / compendiousnesse in narration / suche sensyble and open style / lacking neither maiestie ne mediocrite conenable in disposycyon / and suche sharpnesse or quycknesse in conclusyon / that it is moche to / be marueyled / howe in his tyme / whan doutelesse all good letters were / layde a slepe through out the worlde / as the thyng whiche either by the disposycyon & influence of the bodies aboue / or by other ordynance of god / semed lyke, and was in daunger, to haue ytterly perysshed / suche / an excellent poete in our tonge / shulde, as it were (nature repugnyng) / spryng and aryse / For though it had been in Demosthenes or Homerus / tynes / whan all lernyng and excellency of sciences florished amonges / the Grekes / or in the season that Cicero prince of eloquence amonges / latyns lyued / yet it had been a thyng right rare & straunge, and worthy perpetuall laude / that any clerke by lernyng or wytte coulde than / haue framed a tonge, before so rude and imperfecte / to suche a swete ornamture / & composycyon / lykely if he had lyued in these dayes / being good letters so restored and renyued as they be / if he were nat empeched by the enuy of suche as may tollerate nothyng / whiche to understode their / capacitie doth nat extende / to haue brought it vnto a full and fynnall / perfection. Wherefore, gracious soueraygne lorde / takynge suche delyte and / pleasure in the workes of this noble clerke (as is afore mentioned) I haue / of a longe season moche vsed to rede and visyte the same: and as bokes / of dyuers imprizes came vnto my handes / I easely and without grete / study / might and haue deprehended in them many erroures / falsyties / and / deprauations / whiche euidently appere by the contrarieetes and alter- / acions founde by collacion of the one with the other / wherby I was
moued and styred to make diligently search where I might fynde or recouer any trewe copies or exemplaries of the sayd bookes / whervnto in processe of tyme / nat without coste and payne, I attayned / and nat onely vnto such as seeme to be very trewe copies of those worques of Geffray Chaucer / whiche before had beene put in printe / but also to dyuers other neuer tylly nowe imprinted / but remaynyng almost vnknownen and in oblyuion / whervpon lamentyng with my selfe / the negligence of the people / that haue been in this realme / who doutelesse were very remyssse in the settyng forthe or auauacement either of the histories therof / to the great hynderaunce of the renoume of such noble princes and valyant conquerours & capityns as haue ben in the same / or also of the worques or memory of the famous and excellent clerkes in all kyndes of scyences that haue florished therin / Of whiche bothe sortes it hath pleased god as highly to nobylitate this yle as any other regyon of christendome: I thought it in maner appertennant vnto my dewtie / and that of very honesty and loue to my countrey I ought no lesse to do / than to put my helpyng hande to the restauracion and bringynge agayne to lyght of the said worques / after the trewe copies and exemplaries aforesaid. And devisnyng with my selfe / who of all other were most worthy / to whom a thyng so excellent and notable shuld be dedicate / whiche to my conceyte semeth for the admiracion / noueltie / and strangynesse that it myght be reputed to be of in the tyme of the authour / in comparison / as a pure and fyne tryed precious or polyced iuwell out of a rude or indigest masse or mater / none coulde to my thyngyng occurre / that syns / or in the tyme of Chaucer / was or is suffycient / but onely your maistie royall / whiche by discrecyon and iugement / as moost absolute in wysedome and all kyndes of doctrine / coulde, & of his innate clembence and goodnesse wolde, add, or gyue any authorite hervnto.

"For this cause, most excellent and in all vertues most prestant prince / I, as humbly prostrate before your kyngly estate / lowly supply and beseeche the same / that it wol vouchesafe to take in good parte my poore studye and desyrous mynde / in reducynge vnto lyght this so precious and necessary an ornament of the tonge of this your realme / ouer pytous to haue ben in any poynyt lost / falsifyed / or neglected: So that vnnder the shylde of your most royall protectyon and defence, it may go forthe in publyke / & preuaule ouer those that wolde blemysse / de-face / and in many thynges clerely abolyssh, the laude / renoume / and glorie hertfoare compared / and meritoriously acquired by dyuers princes / and other of this said most noble yle / whervnto nat onely strangers, vnder prestexte of highe lernyng & knowlege of their malicious and peruers myndes / but also some of your owne subiectes / bylynded in foly & ignorance / do with great study contende. Most gracious / victorious / and of god most electe and worthy prince / my most dradde soueraygne lorde / in whom of very merite / dewtie / and successyon / is renewed the glorious tytell of Defensor of the christen faithe / whiche by your noble progentyour / the great Costantynye / somtyme kyng of this realme / & emperour of Rome, was neste god and his apostels /
chiefely maynteyned / corroborate / and defended / almighty Iesu send to
your highnesse the contynuall and euerlastynge habundaunce of his in-
fynite grace. Amen.

"Thus endeth the preface."

In connection with this Preface comes one of those pretty discoveries 1
which have made Mr Bradshaw's name so famous among manuscript and
black-letter men. He shall tell it in his own words, as he wrote it to
me:—

"We know that Wm Thynne was 'Chief Clerk of the Kitchin,' that
is, as we should now say, that he held an appointment in the Royal
Household (the Board of Green Cloth) at Greenwich. Sir Brian Tuke
was Postmaster, then an appointment in the same office. When Leland
tells us that Sir Brian Tuke wrote a *limatissima prefatio* to the edition of
Chaucer published by Berthelet, we are all puzzled; and when Leland
tells us that Thynne edited the edition, we are still more puzzled, because
no such edition is known. Now the woodcut frame round the title in
Godfray's edition (Thynne, 1532) is that which, having belonged to
Pynson, the King's Printer, was transferred to Berthelet, his successor
as King's Printer; and this is enough to show that there were printing
relations between Berthelet and Godfray, quite enough to allow this to
be the edition meant. Curiously enough, there is a copy of Godfray's
dition in one of the College Libraries here 2, in its original binding, in
which, at the top of Thynne's dedication, Sir Brian Tuke has written
with his own hand 3:

"This preface I sir Bryan Tuke knight wrot at the request of Mr
Clarke of the Kechyn then being / tarying for the tyde at Grenewich."

"It would be difficult to find a prettier coincidence in all points—
the tarrying for the tide at Greenwich, when we learn from quite other
sources 1. that Thynne's office was at Greenwich, and 2. that he lived
down the Thames at Erith. You will allow that it is not often one has
the pleasure of hitting things off so prettily. Observe the words *then
being*. In 1532 Thynne describes himself to the king as 'Weliam
Thynne, chefe clerke of your kechyn.' In 1536 Tuke died. On the
monument to Wm Thynne in All-hallows Barking Church in London,
he is described as 'M. William Thinne esquire, one of the masters of
the honourable houshold to king Henry the 8. our soveraigne Lord.'
(I quote from the *Stemmata Botecilliana*, and M. Botfield probably
quotes from Stowe's *London*). The monument says he died August 10,
1546. It is possible that Thynne's position was raised between 1532
and 1536 when Tuke died.—Ever yours, HENRY BRADSHAW."

On March 27, 1533, Wm Thyune got from the King a grant of
oaks, but their number is not fill'd-in in the copy of the document in

1 See another at p. 75-6 below.  
2 Clare Hall.  
3 Mr Bradshaw has had the lines, and a bit of the text, photographed.
I wolle and commaunde you that ye deliuer or cause to be deliuered unto my loving friende William Thynne, chef clerk of the kechynne with the kinges grace, or vnto the bringer herof in hys name, Okes of good and convenient biding tembre with the tops, lops, and barke to be taken of my giueft, of my wodes within the parishe of shatisebroke in the forest of windesour, any restrainte or contrary commaundement, what soeuer it be, hertorefore by me or in my name made, notwithstanding: and this bill signed with my hande shal[l]be your sufficiant warraunt and discharge in that behalfe towards me / yeouen at westminster the xxvij day of marche the xxiiiij yere of therne of our saide souuerayne lord king henry the eigh.

To the wodward or keper of my Wodes in the parishe of shatisebroke within the forest of windesour, and in his absence, to hys deputie ther.

I d. On Sunday, June 1, 1533, at the Coronation of Anne Boleyn, Wm Thynne was one of the Coferers "for the Queene," attending on her, as we find from the Addit. MS. (Brit. Mus.) 21,116, leaf 51; for among the list of "Officers appointed, such as shall give their attendance on the queenes grace and the Bushop sitting at the quenes bord end, the daie of Coronacion, whitsunday, the first day of June, the 25. yere of the raigne of Henry the viij, ij servyd (?) one fare," are enterd as 'for the Queene,'

Edmond Peckham, coferer
William Thynne.
Thomas Hating.
Edward Weldon for the bushop,
and the said bushop to be servyd couered.

Again, on leaf 52, back, Wm Thynne is enterd among the

Officers appointed to give their attendance vpon Lordes spirituall & temporall at the Middle bordre on the right hand of the Queene, & the firste bord to be xj yarde of Length . . . .

| Thomas Child |
| Thomas Hinde |
| William Berman |
| Thomas Hall |
| Wm Thynne |

In the Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 6113, these entries appear somewhat differently, leaf 37:—

1 The documents in this MS. are copies only. It may be Wm Thynne's entry-book, but more probably is that of some park- or wood-keeper.
2 Clarendon type only to catch the eye.
3 Shottesbrook.
4 See my Ballads from Manuscripts, i. 304-73.
"Officers / and Seruitors which dyd Servauce the same daye of Coronacion, beinge the fyrste of June: and first for the Quenes table, ij servued (?) one fare / the busshoppe couered . . . .

(Cofferers, struck out) Edmond Peckham and Wm Thynne for the Quene
Conveyers for them Thomas Hatelyfe and Edward Welden for the Busshoppe

(leaf 39.) Officers apoyntid to geaue theyre Attendance on the lordes Spirituall & Temporall sittinge at the myddle bourde on the Quenes right hand / wherof the fyrst Bourde to be of xl\textsuperscript{th} yardes of lengthe / to be servuid iij of like fare, & xxx\textsuperscript{th} of another fare / . . . .

Conveyers
| Thomas Childe |
| Thomas Hynde |
| William Bermay |

Surveyors
| Thomas Halle — without the dresser |
| William Thynne — within the dresser |

I.e. By 1536 Thynne is "clerc comptroller of the kinges honerable housholde," as we see by the following contract with a Scourer of Sinks:


Memorandum the xvijth day of Aprill the xxvij\textsuperscript{th} yere of the regne of Kinge Henry the viij, that John Wylkynson of busshoppate strete in london, scourer of Synkes, hathe convenanted and bargayned with Edmunde Peckham, Cofferer, Thomas Hatterlyf and Edwarde Weldon, clerkes of the greencloth, & William Thynne, clere comptroller of the kinges honorable housholde / that he the saide John Wylkynson, for the wages of xxvij\textsuperscript{th} viij d, and oon cote clothe, color red, of the price of v s, viij d, to be paiied and geven vnto hym yerely, the saide wages to be to hym quarterly paid by even porcionz / shall scour, clese, and substantially make cleene, all & euery of the Synkes belonginge vnto the kechyns witin any of the kinges houses at Wyndesor, Rychemont, Hamptoncourt the more, Westminster, grenewiche, & Eltham, euery quarter of the yere, oone tyme yerely / if that he so often shalbe command, by any of the officers aboue meneuyed, to do the same; & if he shal at any tyme refuse so to do, then he to haue his quarter wages, or more, as the case shall requyre, defaulted & taken away / In wittyness herof the saide John Wilkinson, to this agreement hathe putto his merke, the daye & yere aboue wrytten /

On Aug. 10, 1538, the King granted Wm Thynne—by his old title 'clerc of the kechyn'—six of his best oaks at Falborne:—


I woll and charide you that ye deliuer or cause to be deliuered vnto my lovinge frinde William Thynne, chief clerc of the kechyn with the kinges grace, or vnto the bringer herof in his name, six okes of my best and principallist tymbre, with the tops and lops, to be taken of my
gieft\(^1\) wit\(\text{in}\) my woodes growinge in my parc of Falborne, beinge in your kepinge, any restraint or commaundement what soever it be by me made to the contrary herof notwithstandinge; & this my writinge subscribid with my hande shalbe your sufficient warrant and dischardge in that behalf. Yeouen at the kinges mannow of Wodsor, the x day of August the xxviiij yere of the reigne of our souuerayn lorde kinge henry theight

To the keper of my parke of Falborne, and in his absence, to his deputer there.

In the Ordinances for the Household of Henry VIII in the Harleian MS. 642, &c.,\(^2\) printed in the volume of Household Ordinances issued by the Society of Antiquaries in 1790, William Thynne is mentiond by name four times: first in 1538, *H. Ord.*, p. 217.

"Articles devised for the Purveyor of Ale, and the Brewers, for the well serving of the Kings Highnesse for his Beere and Ale, ordaind and established by Sir William Paulet, Knight, Treasurer of the Household, Sir John Russell, Knight, Comptroller of the same, Edmond Peckhan Esq., Coferer, Thomas Hatcliffe, and Edward Weldon, Clerkes of the Greencloth, and William Thynne, Clerke Comptroller in the Compting-House,\(^3\) at the Kings mannow of Hampton Court,\(^4\) the 20th day of December in the 30th yeare of our said Soveraignes Reigne" [A.D. 1538].

Secondly, in 1542, as one of the obligees of a Bond enterd into by the Wardens of the Poultry (Poulterers’ Company, I suppose\(^5\)) with the Controller and four other Officers of the King’s Household, to ensure the sale to the Wardens, at fixt prices, of the surplus stock of the King’s Purveyor of Poultry, and also the buying by him of the Wardens, at the same fixt prices, such poultry as the King needed (*H. Ord.* p. 222):—

\(^1\) MS. gieft.
\(^2\) References to the original MSS. are not put in the printed volume. Miss Smith and I can’t find most of the following extracts in Harl. 642.
\(^3\) I put Thynne’s name, and ‘Clerk Comptroller’ in after extracts, in Clarendon type, that it may catch the reader’s eye, not to show any difference in the original.
\(^4\) I conclude, from the *Household Ordinances* generally, that Thynne was Clerk-Comptroller at other Palaces than Hampton-Court; but I can’t prove it. These ‘Articles’ show that at Greenwich there were other such Clerks in April 12, 32 Hen. VIII, A.D. 1541: see *H. Ord.*, p. 218:—

• Item, allowance to be given by the assent of Mr Coferer, Mr Edward Weldon, Master of the Household, Robert Pageman and Anthony Bricks, Clerkes Comptrollers, at Greenwich, the 12th day of April, Anno 32\(^2\) Henrici VIII. unto Thomas Playfoote, Yeoman-Pigtaker, for every Neale, being fett and good, as well great as small, that he shall send into the Larder, one with another, 4s. peice; and neither more nor lesse.” [? Neale.]

\(^5\) In the Condition of the Bond they are calld “Wardens of the Mystrey and Occupacion of Poulterers in London.”
“Prises limited by the foresaid Lord Great Master, and others, to be received and paid betwixt William Gurley aforesaid and the Wardens of the Poultry of London, as well for such Poultry-stuff as the said William shall buy of any of the said Fellowship of Poultry for the furniture of his proporcion, when need shall be, as alsoe for such Poultry-stuff as the said William shall deliver unto the said Wardens, when and as often as he shall have any Stuff remaining in his hands, more than shall be needful for the furnishing of his said proporcion, as followeth. And the same to performe, they, by this Recognizance following, are bound from time to time soe to doe.

“Memorandum, quod die Lune, tertio die mensis Aprilis, anno 33° Henrici 8°. [A.D. 1542], Thomas Fisher Willelmus Mathew, Willelmus Lytchfield, Gardiani Misterii seu occupationis vocate Pulteriis Civitatis Londinensis, venerunt coram Johanne Gage, Milite Contra-rotulatore Hospitii Domini Regis, Thomæ Weldon, Giulielmo Thynne, Jacobo Sutton et Anthonio Bucks, apud Westminestre, et recognoverint cullibet eorum debere Domino Regi decem Libras, solvendas in bona et legali moneta Anglie proximo futuro post datum presenti, ad opus et usum dicti Domini Regis Henrici 8°, sub condicione sequente.”

Thirdly, evidently in the same year 1542 (H. Ord. p. 226), in

“A Composition made betwixt Sir Edmond Peckham, Knight, Officer¹ of the Kings Most honourable Household, Wm Thynn, and other Officers of the Greencloth, on the behalfe of our Souveraigne Lord the King, and one Thomas Hewyt of Hythe in Kent, for the better serving his Majestie, and his Householde, of Sea-Fish to be by him provided and made in the places hereafter expressed, that is, Lydd, Hythe, Folkston, Romney, and soe to the chamber point, at convenient prices, viz.”

Fourthly, in 1545, at the end of “An Order of the 18th day of January, Anno 33° Hen. VIII [A.D. 1542] for washing and cleanke keeping of the Napery which shall serve for the Kings owne table”, is (H. Ord. p. 216),

“Item, it was agreed by Mr Cofferer, Mr Thyne, and others of the Greencloth, that the Cofferers Clerke that rideth to pay Carriages shall have 8d. per day, at such time as he wyteth for the payment of Carriages (the Cofferer being absent from the Court, nor his chamber having none allowance), at Hampton-Court, the 28th day of December, Anno 37° H. VIII.” (22 April 1545 to 21 April 1546.)

Assuming, then, that the words “and others of the Greencloth” in the last quotation, do not imply that William Thynne had changd his post of one of the two Clerks Controllers of the Counting-house (that is, Examiners of the accounts of the Officers of the King’s Household, and Superintendents of the kitchen and offices generally) for the nearly-allied

¹ ? for ‘ Cofferer ‘
one of Clerk of the Greencloth (in which he'd have been concern'd more with entering and posting the accounts that the Clerks Comptrollers pass'd), let us take out the particulars of the duties, in 1540 A.D., of our 'Clerke Comptroller.' The editor,¹ like his author, lookt after accounts; and even as Chaucer wrote with his own hand counter-rolls of wool-fells and hides, if not of wine and groceries too, at the Custom-House in Thames St, London, so Thynne may there also, as Collector of Customs, have written like accounts; and he must have examind and pass'd the accounts of the Household Officers for meat, fowls, fish, &c., for King and Queen, at Windsor, Westminster, Hampton-Court and other dwellings royal. (See H. Ord., p. 228—231.)

"Ordinances appointed for all Officers of Household, upon the making an Establishment of the new² Booke of Household, made by the Kings Majesty in the 31st yeare of his most Gracious Reigne. [22 April 1539, to 21 April 1540.]

"The Compting-House.

"First, That the Lord Great Master, the Treasurer and Comptroller of the Kings Household, or one of them at the least (other great causes of Counsell not letting), shall be dayly in the Compting-house between the hours of 8 and 9 in the morning, calling unto them the Cofferer, Clerke of the Greencloth, and one of the Clerkes-Comptrollers at the least, the other being occupied in the Kings Service otherwise; and to sitt and to have brought before them all the Bookes of briefments of all the Officers of the Household for the day before passed; and in case they shall find any wastfull expences to have been made by any Minister in his Office, that then he, by whom such wast hath been made, to be called before the said Officers, to make answer to the same; and as he or they shall be thought culpable, soe to be punished therefore, as shall be thought necessary or meete by the said Officers.³

¹ William Thynne had at least one fellow-writer in the King's household. "Bryan Anslay, yeoman of the siller with the euyth kinge Henry," translated The Cyte of Ladies (H. Pepwell, 1521), from the French of Cristine de Pise (?); see my Captain Cox, 1871, p. xliii, clxxvi.

² The old book, or the "Ordinances made at Eltham in 17 Hen. VIII." (1526 A.D.) say only (H. Ord., p. 140), "Item, it is ordyned that the clerkes of the Greenecloth, or one of them, be dayly attendent in the compting-house for the engrossment of dayly booke of the expences of the day before, in the time of the household keeping; according to the old usage and aunteint customs of the King's house.

"Item the chiefe clerke of comptrolment to be there in like wise for the oversight and comptrolment of the said booke."

³ The Cofferer's duties follow.
(p. 229) The Clerkes of the Greencloth, and Clerkes Comptrollers, in the absence of the great officers, shall be dayly in the Comping-house, and to sitt at the Greencloth between the houres of eight and nine in the Morning; and to cause to be brought before them the Bookes and Breifments of all Officers of Household, for the expences of the said Household for the day before passed; and to peruse the same substantially, in considering whether any wastfull expences have been made in any of the said Offices, or not; and in case any such wast shall be found to have been made, that then they doe call before them the Officers who had the ministration of the said Office where such wast hath been made, to answer unto the same; and to punish them for their offence done therein, as by their discretion shall be thought fitt.

Item, the said Clerkes of the Greencloth and Clerkes Comptrollers, or two of them at the least, that is to say one Clerke of the Greencloth, and one Clerke Comptroller, shall be dayly in the Larder, as well to view and see that the Victualls be good, sweete, and meete to serve the Kings Highnesse and the Queens Grace withall, as alsoe to see the deliverie of the same into the Cookes hands, for the serving of the Kings Grace, the Queens, and Household.

Item, the said Clerkes of the Greencloth, and Clerkes Comptrollers, and Clerke of the Kitchen, shall as well give great charge dayly to the Cookes for the well dressing of the Kings Meate, and the Queenes; and also to see the said Meate sett out at the Dresser dayly, at every Meale, like as it was put into the Cookes hands; and to attend and follow the same at every Meale, and at every Course. [for fear the Cook should steal any, or any man run away with the dishes from the dresser: see H. Ord. p. 37, 45.]

Item, the said Clerkes of the Greencloth and Clerkes Comptrollers, shall see that all the disorders of the Household shall be reformed as much as they conveniently may, in punishing the offenders thereof according to their merretts.

Item, the said Clerkes of the Greencloth and Clerkes Comptrollers, shall weekly, once or twice in the weeke, view all the Offices and Chambers of the Household, to see if there be any Strangers eating in the said Offices or Chambers at the Meale times, or at any other time, contrary to the Kings Ordinance; and in case they shall finde any offending therein, to make relation thereof to the Souveraignes of the House.
And that the Chamberlaines of the Kings side and of the Queenes shall cause like search to be made within all the Chambers belonging to every of their sides; and if they shall finde any disorders therein, then they to see the same reformed, as it shall require.

[DUTIES OF THE CLERKS OF THE GREENCLOTH (put in as Thynne may have been a Clerk).]

The Clerke of the Greencloth shall sitt daily in the Compting-house at the Greencloth, there to ingrosse and cast up all the particular Breifments of the House after they shall be comptrolled, and the same, soo cast up, to enter in the Parchment docquet called the Main Docquet; and the same Docquet so entred and engrossed, to remaine in the Compting-house for record, without taking it away from thence by any officers.

Item, that they do monthly, within six dayes after the expiracion of every Moneth, call into the Compting-house the parcels indented of all the particular provisions, made in every Office of the Household, for the expence of the said Household for the month past; and after they have been perused and seen by the Clerke-Comptroller, then they to ingrosse them up, and to enter them into their Ledger, called the Book of Foote of Parcells.

Item, that they shall yearly make the Coifferers booke of Accoumt for the expence of the Yeares passed, soo the same may be made perfect to be put into the Exchequer yearly, within the terme of St Hillary, upon paine to lose one Quarters Wages, defaulting the same.

Item the said Clerkes of the Greencloth shall safely keep all their Bookes concerning their Office, after they have ingrossed them up, privately to themselves, without the view or sight of them to any other Officer unto the yeares end. And the said Bookes shall be examined with the Accomptants and particular Clerkes for the perfecting of the same. And likewise shall the Clerks Comptrollers and Clerkes Accomptants order all their Bookes touching their Offices.

Item, that they shall make every halfe yeare a view of the expence of the Household, that it may be seen what the Charge thereof amounteth to for the said halfe yeare.

[The Clerks-Comptrollers' Duties again.]

The Clerkes Comptrollers, or one of them, shall daily, as well view the Kings Chamber and the Queens, as all the Offices of the Household, to advise and see the absence or attendance of all them which are appointed under check of Household, and not onely to default and
check the Wages of all such as he shall finde to be absent without lycence, but also to default and check the Wages of all them which be in the House, who by the Kings order should sitt at Dinner and Souper within the Kings Chamber, and the Queens, and do note, but be absent from thence without lycence, soe to be eating in places contrary to the Kings Ordinances, and against his honour.

Item, the said Clerkes-Comptrollers, in soe perusing the house dayly, shall note well in everie Office, if that there be any more number of Servants in any of the said Offices then is appointed to be by the Kings Ordinances, or else any Strangers or Vagabonds within the same; and in case he shall find any such, that then he for the first time shall admonish and warn the Serjeant, or in his absence, the Hedd of the same Office, who shall give attendance where such shall be found, that they be avoyded, and no more thither to resort; and being after of new there found againe after such warning given, that then everie of the said Servants or Hedd of the Office to be checked of two dayes wages, for every time being soe found culpable.

Item, the said Clerkes-Comptrollers shall make for every Quarter in the Yeare, a Roule of Parchment that shall be called the Check-Roll, which shall containe the names of all them which shall be of the Ordinarie, and within the Check of the Household; and dayly to present in the same Roule the allowance of the Wages of all them which shall be attendant, and the defaulkation and check of Wages of all them which shall be absent.

Item, the said Clerkes-Comptrollers, or one of them at the least, shall be at the Green-Cloth with other Officers, as is before mentioned; and one of them dayly to see the Venit and cominge in of all Provisions in every Office of the Household; discreetly advisinge that the said Provisions be good stuff, and meete to be spent within the House for the Kings honour, or else to reject and returne it back again unto the Purveyors, and to make relation thereof at the Greencloth of the badnesse of the stuff; to the intent that the Purveyors which brought in the same may be punished as they shall deserve in that behalfe, soe disappointing the House.

And that the said Clerkes-Comptrollers, upon the view and sight of the cominge in of the said premises being good stuff, shall make Entry and Record of the same into

1 Absence from the public Hall, and taking meals in private rooms, was a great offence. See H. Ord. p. 153.
the Booke of Records, and to bring it to the Greencloth, and there to allow as much of the same as shall be brought in and spent; and if any more shall be presented in any Breifments then by his Record shall appeare to have been spent; then he to controule the same, giving noe larger allowance than there ought to be.

Item, the said Clerkes-Comptrollers shall dayly take the Infra et Extra of the Wexe in the Office of the Chaundry, to try the expence of the same, and to give allowance accordingly; and at such times as the Remaines shall be in the Offices of the Pantry, Cellar, and Buttry, by the Clerke of the Kitchen, that then the Clerkes-Comptrollers to goe with him to take the said Remaines to be advouched with him, what the expence shall rise to.

Item, the said Clerkes-Comptrollers shall sitt at the Greencloth, as well to passe the price of Poultry-stuff, Fresh-water Fish, and other Victualls spent; as alsoe giveing allowance of all the Polls in the Pantry-Roule, Kitchen-Roule, Poultry-Bills, Spicery-Docquetts, and other particular Breifments of the Household, and alsoe the particular parcells of all the Household, takeing the advice of the other Officers sitting in the Greencloth, in cases where need shall require.

Item, one of the Clerkes-Comptrollers shall dayly see the Fees which the Officers of the House shall have, or that they shall take out of the House, to view whether they be more largely taken than they ought to be, or not; and if he shall so finde it, to punish the offenders thereof. And if any Officer presume to take any Fee away before they have been viewed by one of the Clerkes-Comptrollers, that then they that soe shall doe, shall loose the Fee soe taken for ever after.

Item, the said Clerkes-Comptrollers, by the advice of the Officers of the Greencloth, shall passe all the Bills of allowance, as well for Wages and Boardwages, as other Provisions and Necessaries; and all such Bills by them soe passed to enter into their standing Ledger there to remaine as matter of Record.

Item, the said Clerkes-Comptrollers shall yearly make the Booke of Comptrollment, with the Comptrollers of the Household, which shall be put yearly into the Exchequer, to be advouched to the Cofferers account.

From an Ordinance, seemingly “by command of the Lord Great Master and Mr Comptroller, at Wyndor, the 13th of November, Anno 32°” (A.D. 1540; H. Ord. p. 211), it appears that there were two "Clerks Comptrollers," who workt six weeks by turns, and when not on
duty lodgd outside the Court, that "the Kings house shall be the lesse pestered," and were allowd 6s. 8d. a day as board-wages for themselves and their servants instead of their Bouge of Court, or allowances of food, &c., when in the Court:—

Item, the allowance of boardwages to be given to the Masters of the Household, the Clerks of the Greencloth, and to the Clerke-Comptroller, to every of them being lodgd without the Court gate, and have noe meate or drinke, or being out of the Court by command; for everie day, 6s. 8d.

Item, to every of them being sick, for every weeke 10s. . . . .

[Aug. 1545] Item, it is agreed by the Lord Great Master, and other officers of the Compting house, the day of March in the 36th yeare of the Kings Majesties Raigne, that there be one chamber appointed for two Masters of the household, whereof one to be of the King's side, the other to be of the Queen's side; and they to waite in the Court six weeke; and one other chamber to be appointed for one of the Clerks Comptrollers, and they to waite in the Court in the like manner, by the said space; soe that by this meanes the bookes may be dayly engrossed by ten of the clock before noone; which doeing shall be greatly to his Majesties profit. And the other two Masters of the Household, one Clerke of the Greencloth, and one Clerke Comptroller, to be with their servants and stuff out of the Court by the said space; whereby the King's house shall be the lesse pestered, and the lodgings easier for the King's traine. And furthermore, the said two Masters of household, and one Clerke of the Greencloth, and one the Clerke Comptroller, that doth waite the six weeke in the Court, shall not depart from thence after the expiriment of the said time, before they present to my Lord Great Master, Mr Treasurer and Comptroller, or to him whom they shall appoint in their absence, the whole of the expence of the said six weeke that they have waited in the Court; and the other two Masters of the household, one Clerke of the Greencloth, one Clerke Comptroller, that shall be from the Court, to have boardwages for themselves and their servants, in the time of their being out of the Court, 6s. 8d. per the day to everie four. And notwithstanding the said boardwages, the King's Majesty shall save four messes daily of the diets and Bouche of Court of the said four persons; which will amount to the sume of 5361. 10s. 7d. yearly.

We now come to Thynne's food when he was at Court. This is given in the Eltham Ordinances of 1526, at p. 177-8 of the Household Ordinances. He had a capital hot dinner and supper, of two courses each daily, as well on fish-Fridays as other days, except Saturday, when he seems to have had no dinner provided for him.

A Diett for two Messes to the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber; one double Messe to the Cofferer; four Messes to the Masters of House- hold; two Messes to the Clerke of the Greencloth; two Messes to the Clerkes Comptrollers; and one Messe to the Clerke of the Kitchen, of like fare; in all twelve Messes.
### Sunday, Tuesday, or Thursday, Monday, or Wednesday

#### Dynner

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Course</th>
<th>Souper</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bread, Chest and^ 1 Mancchet</strong></td>
<td><strong>Bread, Chest and^ 1 Mancchet</strong></td>
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<td>d.</td>
<td>d.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Manchet</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Ale</strong></td>
<td>4 gall’ 6</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Wyne</strong></td>
<td>1 mess 6 6</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>^† Beefe</strong></td>
<td>1 mess 6 6</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Mutton</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>^† Veale</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Capons</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Onyes</strong></td>
<td>1 6 1</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>^† Fryeundes</strong></td>
<td>1 8 1 8</td>
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### 2d Course

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<tr>
<th><strong>Lambe, Chicken,</strong></th>
<th><strong>Lambe, Chicken,</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>d.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>^† Pigeon</strong></td>
<td>1 mess 6</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Cocks, Plovers^ †</strong></td>
<td>1 mess 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tarte</strong></td>
<td>1 8 1 8</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Fruite</strong></td>
<td>1 4 1 4</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Butter</strong></td>
<td>1 6 6</td>
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**Sum of Sunday**: 15 2 4

**Monday**: 14 8½

*I can’t make these totals out of the figures.*

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### Fryday Dinner.

#### 1st Course

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Bread, Chest and</strong></th>
<th><strong>Bread, Chest and</strong></th>
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<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>d.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Manchet</strong></td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Ale</strong></td>
<td>4 gall’ 6</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Wyne</strong></td>
<td>1 mess 4 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lynge</strong></td>
<td>1 mess 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pikes</strong></td>
<td>1 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Salmon</strong></td>
<td>1 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Flays, Gurnard</strong></td>
<td>1 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Haddock, or Whiting</strong></td>
<td>1 8</td>
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### 2d Course

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Tench, Trowte</strong></th>
<th><strong>Tench, Trowte</strong></th>
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<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>d.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Eles with Lamprells</strong></td>
<td>1 mess 12</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Tarte</strong></td>
<td>1 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fruite</strong></td>
<td>1 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Butter</strong></td>
<td>4 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Egges</strong></td>
<td>2½</td>
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</tbody>
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**Sum of the Charge** per diem: 14 6½ plus in septimana 5 1 8½

**Messe rated at**: 255 3 4½

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* I don’t know why the columns are doubld.

† The dishes chang’d in the list are daggerd.
Besides these two heavy meals a day, William Thynne had "Bouche ¹ of Court," or "sizings" as we might say, allowances for breakfast, for a snack between dinner and supper, and a refresher after supper (the day's drink being 3 gallons of ale and half a pitcher of wine), lights, and fuel. These are given in "The Ordinances made at Eltham in the XVIIth year of King Henry VIII." A.D. 1526, as follows (H. Ord. p. 163 ²):

Knights, and others of the Kings council, Knights wives, Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber, the Cofferer, Master of the Household, Clerkes of the Green-cloth, Clerkes Comptrollers, and Clerkes of the Kitchen.

Everie of them being lodged within the coure, for their Bouch in the morning, one chet loafe, one manchet, one gallon of alce; for after-noone, one manchet, one gallon of ale; for after supper, one manchet, one gallon of ale, dimidium pitcher wyne; and from the last day of October unto the first day of April, three lynkes by the wekke; by the day one pricket, one sise, dimidium pound white lightes, four talshides, four faggots, and . . . [?] some coals; and from the last day of March unto the first day of November, to have the moyety of the said waxe, white lightes, wood and coales; which doth amount by the yeare to the sume of xx l. xiii s.

Lastly in the same Eltham Ordinances of 1526 A.D. we find that William Thynne was allowd stabling for four horses in the King's stable, and one bed for his servant (H. Ord. p. 198):

Thappoinment of herbigage to be ordinarie for all Noble Estates and others, as followeth; as well for stabling for theire horses, as for lodging and beds for theire servants: Appointed by the Kings Highness at his Mannor of Eltham, the 19th day of January in the 17th Yeare of his noble Reigne....

The Clerke Comptroller, stabling for

<table>
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In 1546, three months before Wm Thynne's death, he made to his friend William Whorrood, out of his keepership of Beaudley Park granted to him on Aug. 20, 1528,—see p. xxi above,—the following grant of his perquisite of a buck in summer and a doe in winter:

_Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 9835, leaf 17, back._

To all christen people to whom this present writing shall come, here, or see, William Thynne, Esquier, sendithe gretting in our Lorde god euere

¹ A mouthful, let's say. *Avoir bouche à Court; To eat and drink scot-free; to have budge-a-Court, to be in ordinarie at Court.*—Cotgrave, A.D. 1611.

² The less Bouche for "the Compting House" on p. 164 must be that of some lower men of that office.
lastyng! Where befors this tyme the Kingses Maiestie, by his lettres patentes Sealed vnder his great Seale of England, did geue and graunte vnto me, the said William Thynne, for terme of my life, thoffice of the Keping of the Kingses majesties parke of Beawdeley, by Reason whereof I, the same William Thynne, according to the Auncient Custumme of Kipers and Roosiers of forestes, parkes and chases, am intituled, or ought to haue, yerely during the tyme that I shalbe Keper of the said parke as is afforsaid, within the said parke a Bucke in somer and a Doe in wynter, as the Kipers ther in tyme past haethe bene accustomed to haue and take. / Knowe ye, me the said William Thynne, to haue geuen and graunte, and by thos presentes doo geue and graunte vnto my loving frinde William WHorwood esquier, yerely the sayd terme / A Bucke in somer, & a Doe in wynter, to be had and taken within the said parke. To haue, take, receeve & Inyoye vnto the said William Whorwood and his assignes yerely during suche tyme as the said William Thynne shalbe Keper of the said parke. And that for none deluye nor therof, it shalbe lawfull to the said William Whorwood and his Assignes, during the terme aboue mencioned, to enter into the said parke yerely, & the said Bucke in somer and Doe in winter, yerely with dogges and Bowes, at his or ther pleasure, to take, chasce, kill and kary awaye / In witnesse wherof, I the said William Thynne, to this my writing I haue put my seale the xijth day of Maiye in the xxxviijth yere of the Baygne of our soueraygne Lorde, King Henry the eigh.

I.f. The next notice we have of William Thynne is of his death, and his tomb in the Church of All Hallows, Barking.

In Anthony Munday's 1618 edition of Stowe's Survey of London is given the inscription on William Thynne's monument. He says:—

"Upon a very faire marble stone, verged about with plates of brasse, and concluding with the like plates, in the middle is thus engraven: 'Pray for the soule of Mr William Thinne, esquire, one of the Masters of the honourable household to King Henrie the 8, our soveraigne Lord. He departed from the prison of this fraile life the 10. day of August, An. Dom. 1546, in the 38 yeere of our soveraigne Lord the King; which body, and every part thereof, in the last day shall be raised up againe, at the sound of the Lord's trumpet. In whose comming, that we may all joyfully meet him, our heavenly Father grant us, whose mercy is so great towards us, that he freely offereth to all them that earnestly repent their sins, everlasting life, through the death of his dearly beloved sonne Jesus, to whom be everlasting praise. Amen.'"

(An epitaph remarkably characterized by the orthodox tenets of the Reformation, though commencing with the old formula, Pray for the soul, &e.—J. G. Nichols, in Stemmata Boterilliana, p. cccvi. The epitaph is also printed there, and at p. 29.)
I. W. Thynne's Will. His Widow's Re-marriage.

To Col. Chester's kindness I owe the following copy of the Will of William Thynne, dated Nov. 16, 1540:

"In the name of god, Amen! I, Wylliam Thynne, Being of good memorye, in manner and forme followyng Do make this my Laste will and testament: first, I bequeth my Soule to my swete savior Ihesus Criste, my only Bedemer and Sauyor, And to the hole holly company of heuen, of the whiche, In faiete I beleue to be one of them, throwge the merytes of Christis Passion, and no otherwyse: my boddye to be buryed where yt shall please my wyfe. All my goodes, movable and vnmovable, Leases of Fernes, Debes, and all other things whiche I nowe haue intrest in, or hereafter maye haue eny intrest in, I geue to my wyfe Anne Thynne, And she to depart with her chirdrene at her owne will and pleasure, and no otherwyse. And I do make my saide wyfe, Anne, my only executrix, and praying her to be good mother to my chirdrene and hers. And I make Mr Edwande Peckham, cofferer of the kinges housholde, and John Thynne my nephewe, my overseers, hertely praying them to be my poore wyifes comforde and helpe in her nede and necessitie, in defending her in her nede; And in this Doing, I bequeth the other of them one standing Cupp of Syluer, and gite, with a couer. And I geue to Thomas fysher, my seruant, a dublet of crymsen satten. In witnes that this is my last will, I haue to this presente putto my scale, and also subscribed my name, the vii Daye of November in the xxxith yere of the Raigne of our Soueraigne Lorde King Henrye theeight. By me, William Thynne."

The Will was prov'd in the Prerogative Court of the Archbp of Canterbury, on the 7th of Sep. 1546, by Wm Walker, proctor for Anne, the relict and executrix. Anne Thynne the widow afterwards marrid, first, Sir Edward Broughton, and then Mr Hugh Cartwright, and died without having made a Will. She was not burid by Wm Thynne.

"On 5 June 1572, letters of Administration were granted to Elizabeth Pygott, alias Thynne, (through Francis Thynne, Gent., her proctor,) to administer the goods of her mother 'Anne Thynne, alias Dame Boughton, alias Cartwright,' who was, while she lived, the relict and executrix of Wm Thynne deceased. These letters were revoked, and new ones granted, on Jan. 24 1573-4, to Francis Thynne, Gentleman, son of the deceased. Both in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury."

Ig. Though Wm Thynne is not by 1532 Clerk Controller,—or Examiner of the accounts, and Superintendent of the Officers, of the

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1 that is, part, divide, share.
2 He is nam'd before at Anne Boleyn's Coronation-feast, &c. p. xxvii, xxviii, xxix, xxx. Sir John Thynne (p. xliii) was William Thynne's nephew, and is, I suppose, the one appointed 'ouerseer.'
3 put to. 4 By Col. Jos. L. Chester. 5 A cousin.

King's Household—with only half his time taken-up with his light office-work; well paid, well fed,—but not drinking his 3 gallons of beer and pitcher and a half of wine a day, when on duty, let us hope,—yet he is then Chief Clerk of the King's Kitchen, on speaking and friendly terms with his Royal Master, who took a warm interest in his book, and able no doubt to get plenty of spare time\(^1\) for reading, and for editing his Geoffrey Chaucer's Works. How did he perform his task? He began in the right way, by collecting all the Chaucer MSS. he could find. He got Henry VIII to let him plunder all the abbey Libraries for them (p. 12 below). How he must have rejoiced! (I can fancy myself in his place; or even with like power to make Lord Ashburnham hand over his Chaucer MSS. to the British Museum.\(^2\)) In his search he found one MS. with 'examinatur, Chaucer' in it—where, oh where is it gone?—and altogether accumulated a treasure of a 'multitude' of copies (p. 6 below). These—say twenty-five, p. 12—he collated (p. 6); but—as Tyrwhitt, Mr Thomas Wright, Prof. Child, Mr Jephson (who did R. Bell's edition), Mr Bradshaw, Dr Richard Morris, Professor Ten Brink, and the Chaucer Society, had unluckily not gone before him—he could only make such use of his priceless materials as his knowledge allowed. He could not distinguish between genuine and spurious Chaucer work, but he could, and did, print a better text of the Canterbury Tales than had been given before, besides printing for the first time Chaucer's Legende, Boece, Blanche, Pity, Astrolabe, and Stedfastness. (See p. 7, note 1.)

William Thynne was the first real editor of Chaucer, and deserves the gratitude and respect of every Chaucer student. He must also have been a hater of Romanism and priestcraft, for he put The Plowmans Tale into his second edition of Chaucer's Works in 1542. His son—speaking from reports made many years after his father's death—also says that Wm Thynne wanted to put into his first edition a (spurious) Pilgrims Tale (see Appendix I. p. 79), exposing and denouncing the abuses of religion, so-called. He printed it, shewed it to Henry VIII, and asked his protection if he publish it. This, Henry at first promised; but Wolsey prov'd too strong for him, and Thynne had to cancel his

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\(^1\) How long daily did his Collectorship of Customs (p. xxii) take him?

\(^2\) See my Temporary Preface (Chaucer Soc.), p. 5-6.
first (or suppos'd Pilgrims-Tale 1) edition of Chaucer—'beinge printed
but with one coolume in a syde' (p. 7, 10 below). But Mr Bradshaw—
and no man living is so good a judge—looks on this cancelld edition as
'a flam,' and shows how the report of it arose, p. 75-6 below. At any
rate, no scrap of this cancelld edition is known to have come down to
our times, though Mr W. C. Hazlitt once told me he recollected seeing
at a sale at Sotheby's (? Sir Wm Tite's) some leaves of a one-column
black-letter edition of Chaucer, put-in to make up a 2-column edition
(see p. xliii). If so, these leaves may perhaps prove to be a bit of Wil-
liam Thynne's first book.

But whether he cancelld an edition unknown to us, or not, Thynne
must have soon set to work at the first edition we know, the double-
columnnd handsome folio of 1532, printed with its fine borderd title-
pages of the principal works, by Thomas Godfray at London. Its
collation is as follows, showing a cancel or insertion after fol. CC.xix :

"register, sigs. A—Z, Aa—Zz, Aaa—Uuu, in sixes, except A and
Qq which have respectively 4 and 9 leaves."— *Brit. Mus. Catalogue*. Qq
iii is leaf or folio'd Fo. CC.xix; then 3 leaves, Qq iii, 5, 6, have no leaf-
marks; Qq 7 is leaf Fo. CC.xx; Qq 8, Fo. CC.xxi; Qq 9, Fo. CC.xxii,
and then R i, Fo. CC.xxiii. 3-fourths of the 2nd col. on the back of
Qq 6 are filld up with the heading 'The legende of good women,' and
ornaments. And it looks as if Wm Thynne had meant to put some-
thing else between the *Troylus* and *Legende*, and then had filld up the
space with the spurious *Testamente of Cresyde*, sign. Qq iii (Fo. CC.xix.)
to Qq 6.

Thynne dedicated his book to Henry VIII, as we have seen (p. xxiv,
above); and it must have sold well for those days, as he brought out a
second edition of it in 1542. Into this 2nd edition he put the spurious
*Plowmans Tale*, after the Parson's Tale (p. 69 below).

**I h. The Pilgrims Tale.** It is a great comfort to have unearthed this,
after its supposd loss, due to its being left out of the printed catalogue
of Douce's books. But the Tale is poor verse, tho' its subject is one
that must always have interest to an Englishman, the corruptions of
Romanism at the Reformation time. Unless the two lines by which
Tyrwhitt fixt the date of the Tale to 1536-40 are an insertion—as they

1 We find a separate edition of the *Plowmans Tale*, the same type and size
as Thynne's first edition of 1532, which looks as if he had intended to include
it in that, and was overborne for some reason. He did include it in his second
edition.—H. Bradshaw.
very well may be—we must accept his conclusion (p. 9, n. below) that
*The Pilgrims Tale* couldn’t have been in Wm Thynne’s first edition of
1532. This conclusion necessitates the inference that the Tale could never
have been proposed for insertion in Wm Thynne’s prior cancelld edition
(p. 9-10); and that therefore Francis Thynne must have told a wrong story
when he reports that Wolsey stopt his father’s first one-column edition
on account of its containing *The Pilgrims Tale*. Mr Bradshaw has shown
with his usual skill—and combination of out-of-the-way facts that he’s
chanc’t on in his years of search—how this wrong story must have arisen
from Francis Thynne’s informants, and himself, having known *The Pil-
grims Tale* in the 1-columnnd *Courte of Venus*, and the probability that
Wolsey (or maybe Cromwell) did object to the insertion in Thynne’s 1st
ed. of 1532, of the *Plowmans Tale* (also one against the abuses of Pa-
ipstry) which was actually put into Thynne’s 2nd ed. of 1542. It is diffi-
cult to resist the arguments of two such Chaucer scholars as Tyrwhitt
and Mr Bradshaw. But there is this to be said on Francis Thynne’s
side: 1. The two date-lines in the Tale may well be an after insertion.
The words and run of the lines are to my ear before 1536-40. 2. Tho’
Francis Thynne was an infant himself when his father died in 1546, yet
he says he got his information from his father’s clerks, men “nowe of
good worshippe bothe in courte and countrye.” He was in close com-
munication with his father’s nephew,—who must often have talkt with
that father,—Sir John Thynne, the builder of Longleat, an owner of
Chaucer MSS., a man high at Court (and likely to know its traditions),
the Protector Somerset’s trusted counsellor. And lastly, Mr W. C.
Hazlitt, and Mr F. S. Ellis (the well-known antiquarian bookseller and
publisher, of the firm of Ellis and White), told me some time since,
and Mr Hazlitt has lately repeated his conviction, that they saw at
Sotheby’s sale-rooms at 13 Wellington St., W.C., within the last 2 or
3 years, a 2-columnnd folio of Chaucer’s Works that had its wanting
leaves supplied from some one-columnnd edition. Still, at present Wm
Thynne’s 1-columnnd cancelld edition must be held the ‘flam’ or ‘fiction’
that Mr Bradshaw has calld it.

*The Pilgrims Tale* also has interest for its mention of the *Prophecies*
of Merlin and other diviners, and the evidence it gives of folk’s belief in
them in the early part of the 16th century. Of such, in 1524, I quoted
an amusing [imaginary] instance from Halle’s Chronicle, p. 675, ed. 1809, in my notes to Andrew Boorde, E. E. T. Soc. p. 325,—Prior Bolton of Bartholomew’s, Smithfield, who built a house on Harrow hill for fear of a flood,—and I have had lately to collect other notices (N. Sh. Soc. Trans. 1875-6, Pt. 1, p. 150-4) to try and ascertain whether Shakspere’s ‘dangerous’ year of Venus & Adonis, l. 508, was the wonderful year in which ‘no wonder fell’ (G. Harvey) of 1588. And in connection with this Prophecy subject², I print here the only interpretation I’ve ever seen of the well-known “sise, the best cast on the dice” saw, printed among other places in my Ballads from MSS., i. 318-19 (and see 377), Ballad Soc. This find was part of the compensation that one got in Dublin³ this May, for the sea-sickness wrought by those Channel-waves

¹ P.S. I let this stand in order to insert Strype’s account of Stowe’s correction of it. Survey, ed. 1720, p. xvi.

“Our Authors good Judgment and Skill in Antiquity, joyned with an inquisitive Temper, render’d him useful in divers Respects. He was not to be put off with Frauds and Superstitious Fables, commonly imposed upon Men of less Accuracy; but was able to detect and discover them. And as he was a great Lover of Truth, so he was the more inquisitive to find it out: and his Reading and Learning the better enabled him to do it. He confuted the Story of Edward Hall in his Chronicle, following a Fable (saith Stow) then on foot, concerning one Bolton, sometime Prior of St. Bartholomew; ‘That there ‘being Prognostications, that in the Year 1524, there should be such Eclipses ‘in Watry Signs, and such Conjunctions, that by Waters and Floods many ‘People should perish. Whereupon many removed to high Grounds for fear ‘of drowning: And particularly Prior Bolton builded him an House upon ‘Harrow on the Hill, and that thither he went, and made provision of all ‘things necessary within his House, for the Space of two Months,’ &c. This, Stow would not let pass without diligent Enquiry; and by credible Information found it not so: and that the Ground of the Story was only this, that this Prior, being Parson of Harrow, bestowed some Reparation on the Parsonage-House; and builded nothing else but a Dove-House, to serve him when he had forgone his Priory. Thus Stow sifted out Matters, and was not to be carried away by Reports.”

² See some Prophecies by Welshmen in Appendix V, p. 116.

³ Another part was, seeing a late paper MS. containing a short alchemical tract attributed—falsely, no doubt,—to CHAUCER.

Trinity Coll. Dublin, MS. D. 2. 8, page 147.
Galfridus Chauzer his worke.

Take tr. [?] and boate it as thin as yow can: then take aqua vitæ, v. viniger distilled, that is, that is Beectfeyd, and putt these thynne plates into the v. vitæ, and stop fast the glasse with wax, and lett them stande together 4 or 5 daies, and the v. vitæ will be as white as milke; the[n] power out the v. vitæ that is white, from the ledd that Remaines, so sottelly as yow can; then still it in balneo, and the v. vitæ will destil; & thatt which Remayneth will lye white in the bottome; of the which matter yow must destill a v. in drye Δ, and with eyest Δ. thatt you can: 4. or 5. daies itt will be a stilling or more ...

[8 leaves: ends with (see p. xiv)]
that on one's home-coming were determin'd to try and drive away one's feeling of pleasure after leaving Dublin friends so genial and bright, and Wicklow scenes so fair.

...
These two follow, the first being before 1461 A.D.:

When lords were lone law,
Prentes wylle treachery, and gyte holde soth saw,
Lechery callyd pryve solace,
And robbery is hold no trespaces,
Then shal the lond of Albion torne in to confusion.
A M' CCCC lx and on, few lords or elys noone.

longe berde hertele
peyntede hoode wytyles
Gay cote graceles
maketh engolonde priles.)

Another interest The Pilgrims Tale has, in its many Chaucer phrases, as well from his Tales (of which it quotes a line from the Wife of Bath's) as his Prologue, and it citing 6 lines from the English version of the Romaunt of the Rose, formerly, tho' not now, accepted without question as Chaucer's (see l. 741-6, p. 98). Further, a manuscript or black-letter man can never look without sympathy on just a few leaves sav'd from a large book that was once read and card'd for by numbers of his countrymen in Tudor days. Of the Courte of Venus, wherein The Pilgrims Tale was printed, only the first sheet is known, besides the Tale sheet. Of this, Mr W. Christie-Miller of Britwell has been so kind as to give me a sketch, which is printed in the Notes, p. 141. It is difficult to suppose that this Courte of Venus containing The Pilgrims Tale can be the same book as Becon refers to in 'The fourthe parte of the booke of Matri- monye,' Works, vol. i. Fol. Delxii back, A.D. 1564 (reference in MS. on p. 1 of the Douce fragment):

Likewise the Lacedemonians bothe banished Archilochus the Poet, and also burnt his books, although he neuer so learned and eloquent, because they woulde not haue the mindes of their youthe and other Citizens corrupted and defiled by the reding of them. These men shall rise vp against vs English men at the day of judgement, whyche banishe not, nor burn not, but rather Print, publishe, set-forth and sell baudiy balades and filthy booke, vnto the corruption of the reders, as the court of Venus, and suche like wanton booke. Is the commaundement of God geuen by S. Paule thus observed of vs Englishe men? Let no filthy communication procede out of your mouth, but that which is good to edifie withall, as oft as nede is... Ephe. l.iii.

But an earlier edition of the Court may not have contain The Pilgrims Tale.

1 The careless printing of The Pilgrims Tale shows it to be a reprint.
II. FRANCIS THYNNE.

II i. Though Francis Thynne must have been born in Kent shortly before his father’s death in 1546, I find no notice of him earlier than his own recollections of his youth¹, set down in 1586. The second seems to imply that he was then—say at 13 or 14 years old—a scholar at the Cathedral school at Rochester:—

A.D. 1554-7. “The next daie she came to Rochester, and rested foure daies there in an inne called the crowne, the onelie place to inter-teine princes comming thither; as in my time I haue see a both king Philip & the queene [Mary] to haue rested themselves there.”—Holinshed, vol. iii. p. 1494, col. 2, l. 53.

1558. “He [Cardinal Pole] died (as I saie) the same daie wherein the queene died [Q. Mary, on Thursday, Nov. 17, 1558], the third hour of the night, after that he had liued seuen and fiftie yeares and six moneths, had ruled in the archbishops chaire two yeares seuen moneths three weakes and fuite daies, and had exercised his legantine power four yeares and six daies; whose bodie was first conuied from Lambeth to Rochester, where it rested one night, being brought into the church of Rochester, at the west doore, not opened manie yeares before. At what time, my selfe, then a young scholer, beheld the funerall pompe thereof, which trulie was great, and answerable both to his birth and calling, with store of burning torches and mourning weedes. At what time, his coffin being brought into the church, was cowered with a cloth of blacke veluet, with a great crosse of white satten ouer all the length and breith of the same, in the middest of which crosse his cardinals hat was placed.” p. 1489, col. 1, l. 36—55

1559. “In which first yeare of hir maiesties reign, falling in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred fiftie and nine, this lord did most honourable interteine the queene with hir traine, at his house of Cobham hall, with sumptuous fare, and manie delights of rare inuention. Amongst which, one comming now to mind, which I then being young beheld, vrgeth me forward in the setting downe thereof; which was: a baketing house made for hir maiestie in Cobham parke, with a goodlie gallerie therunto, composed all of greene, with severall deuices of knottted flowers, supported one each side with a faire row of hawthorne trées, which nature seemed to have planted there of purpose in summer time to welcome hir maiestie, and to honor their lord and maister.”—Cont. of Holinshed’s Chron.: A treatise of the Lord Cobhams by Fr. Thin. iii. 1510, col. 2, l. 9-23.

¹ Hearne’s Diary, vol. ixiii. p. 118, April 9th, 1717. “Mr Thin, a young scholar, beheld the funeral Pomp of Card. Poole, a’. 1558. See the castrated sheets of Holingshede, p. 1489. c. 1.”² There may be more notices of himself by Thynne than those I quote.
Under the year 1573, Francis Thynne speaks of Queen Elizabeth's progress through his native county, Kent:

"Of which the quéenes progresse into that countrie (wherein my selfe was borne & bred, and wherein I haue both manie friends & kinred (whome this progresse toucheth) I must aswell (for the loue which I naturallie beare vnto it, as for the courtesie I dailie receive in it)leave some memorie to posteritie. Thus therefore I enter into her maiesties progresse into that countrie."—Holinshed, iii. 1493, col. 2, l. 30-6.

II.j. Francis Thynne marri'd (at about 19), and improvident.

Though Francis Thynne expressly tells us that he "was never brought up in any Vniversitie" (p. lxi, below), Anthony Wood claims him for Oxford. His own words in 1600 to the Chancellor, Sir Thomas Egerton, seem to imply that they were at Lincoln's Inn together—"those yonger yeares when Lincolns Inn societie did linke vs all in one cheyne of Amitie" (p. ciii, below). Yet Thynne's name is not in the Lincoln's Inn books, as Mr Doyle the Steward, and I, can testify, though "Thomas Egerton" is there as admitted in the 2nd year of Elizabeth's reign (17 Nov. 1559 to 16 Nov. 1660). The "Lincolns Inn societie" must mean only that Thynne associated with Egerton and his barrister friends.

2 "In 1564, both parties being under age, Francis Thynne married Elizabeth, one of the natural daughters of Thomas De la Ryves of Bransby, in the county of York, by whom he obtained some property at Brafferton and Skewsby in the same County. By the Articles of Marriage he bound himself in a penalty of 1000 marks, among other covenants, to settle, upon his own coming of age, a jointure of 100 marks a year upon his wife. It does not appear how he got into pecuniary difficulties, or what was the cause of their separation: but improvident, Thynne certainly was, and the result, as usual, was very great distress and inconvenience. His wife's guardian, a Mr Eynes of Heslington near York, protected her, and considering her to be ill-used, put the penalty in force for non-completion of the contract. Francis was sent in 1574 to the 'Whyte Lyon' prison in Southwark, where he remained a certain time [2½ years]."

Wood claimd Wm Thynne for Oxford too: see p. xxi, above, note 1. Whenever the worthy Anthony got any details about a man, he seems to have entered him as of Oxford, just for the pleasure of printing the information. In like wise did the old Chaucer editors treat poems. Whenever they found a fairly good one (though sometimes an awfully bad one) they dubd it Chaucer's, and printed it in his Works.

2 By Canon Jackson, from the Marquis of Bath's papers at Longleat.
In February 1573 Francis Thynne 'writes from Barnesey [Bermondsey] streate to Sir John Thynne at Longleat', saying that he is in debt, and in fear of prison, and asking for money'.

II k. Francis Thynne's first antiquarian work. (See Notes.)

But though he is in debt, he is at work, and evidently keeps at work after he has been put in the debtors' prison. Our earliest extant note of his labours is in 1573, when we find his verse 'epistle dedicatory of the booke of Armorye of Claudius Paradyne' in the first MS. of Ashmole 766, in the Bodleian, the lines being dated from 'Barmondsey streate the 2 of Auguste 1573.' The next poem in the MS.—printed below, in Appendix IV, p. 103, Thynne's 'dyscourse uppon y* creste of the Lorde Burghley'—is not dated. But it mentions our author's distress, and also says that he went into a garden, l. 70. If this is not a dream-garden the Southwark prison may well have had a real one; and as Thynne in his second letter, of 19 March, 1576, to Lord Burghley alludes to that nobleman's crest (p. liv, below), I conclude that the poem—a shockingly bad one—was written in or about March 1576. But I am anticipating. On Oct. 19, 1573, Thynne began his collection of alchemical and other treatises, which is now the Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 11,388. It begins "In dei nomine. Amen. 1573. 19 octobris." Notes by Thynne are on leaf 5, "I wroughte no more of this booke [The secretes of Alchymye] out of the nighshe (?) coopy I had of m' de . . . . [name rubd out] because I bought the same booke after in Latyn.

F. THYNNE.

Aut nouus aut nullus, si mea sors tulent. FRANCIS.

My strange and froward fate
Shall turne her whole anewe,
To better or to payre this state,
Whiche envye dothe pursue? F. Thynne.

(leaf 9) Explicit fons paradisi. Copied out by me FRANCIS THYNNE the .7. of August 1574, out of an old written copie.' (then 'Aut nouus &c' and 'My strange' &c. again, and also on leaf 25, back.)

(leaf 15, back) "Explicit Aristoteles de pomo. Copied oute the 18 of September 1574, by me FRANCIS THYNNE.'

1 The letter is still at Longleat, but I am not allowed a copy of it.

2 This motto, which he writes 3 times in 25 leaves, points to his being in prison, I suppose.
II A. FRANCIS THYNNE'S MS., ADDIT. 11,388, BRIT. MUS.

(leaf 25, back) at the end of 'liber ouidii qui de mutacione vite, siue de vetula Inscribitur.' "Copied out the 29 of September 1574, by me FRANCIS THYNNE" (with the 4 dashes and dots underneath, and the mottoes above, repeated).

(leaf 37) "finis tractatus de phenice, siue lapide philosophico. Copied out the 18 of November by me FRANCIS THYNNE" (with 4 dashes and dots underneath).

Though 1564 is the first date on the label on the back of this MS. volume of 'Collections' (Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 11,388), that date must apply to "the order for buryalls to be serued" by Herald, made "At a Chapter holden at the office of Armes the 20 of February 1564," copied on leaf 189, back, to 190 of the MS., and not to Thynne's own work. His first line in this MS. is, as I said above, "In dei nomine. Amen. 1573. 19 octobris." Here is the Manuscript's list of Contents, by a later hand, to give you a notion of Thynne's reading, and notebooks:

"The Secrets of Alchymy—fo. 1. Translated in part by Fr. Thynne.
Fons Paradisi—fo. 4—6, by Ripley or Raymond Lullye.
De Bufone—fo. 8. b.
Epistola in qua Philosophici Lapidis preparatio propolatur—fo. 9. b.
Responsio istius Epistolae—fo. 10.
Aristoteles de Pomo—fo. 10. b.
Ovidius de Vetula—fo. 15.
Mystical Coat of Arms—fo. 25.
Lactantius de Phoenice—fo. 25. b.
Claudianus de Phœnice, sive de Ave Hermetis.—fo. 31. b.
Plinius de Phœnice—fo. 33.
Tractatus de Phenice, siue de Lapide Philosophico—fo. 33. b.
Gemma Salutaris—fo. 35. b.
A figure relating to the Hermetical Philosophy—fo. 40.
Fons et Origo, Principium, Medium, et finis totius Operis perfecti—
fo. 40.
Successio Regum incipiens a Rege Johanne ad 31". Elize per
Robertum Hare—fo. 41. b.
Quomodo placita Corona in Turri Londonie tenestur—fo. 45.
The life of S' Tho. Moore writ by Wm. Roper Esqr.—fo. 47.
Part of the Visitation of Norfolk made by Wm. Harvey Clarencieux
1563—fo. 65.
Horn's verses pro Informacione Computantium in Scaccario—fo. 78.
Expositiones Antiquorum verborum Anglicanorum [begins Soka, ends Brigge bote; known]—fo. 83.
Reptorium diversorum Recordorum—fo. 84.
II A. FRANCIS THYNNE'S MS., ADDIT. 11,388, BRIT. MUS. li

Repertorium diversarum Cartarum temporibus E 2, E 3, R 2, H 4, H 5, et H 6.—fo. 85. b.
Repertorium de Recordis tempore Regis. Edw. 2. Edw. 3 et de alijs Notabilibus—fo. 89.
The Kings Book of all the Lords, Knightes, Esq", and Gentlemen, of the Realm of England, in the time of H. 7.—f. 105.
Statutum de Templarijs—fo. 135.
De Origine et Antiquitate Armorum, siue Insigniorum Gentilitium, cum Roberti Gloveri Observationibus—fo. 136.
Copy of an Exemplification of Letteres Patentes granted to the Heralds—fo. 166.
Coronatio Reginæ Anglosaxonum ante Conquestum—fo. 168.
The Order of the Knights of the Bathe at the Coronation of Q. Mary—fo. 169.
Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber 1603—fo. 170.
Barons made at the Tower 20 Maij, 1° Iacobi 1—fo. 171.
Knights of the Garter 22 April 1603—f. 171. b. [leaf 1, back]
Names of all the Princes and Dukes retained under the Dukes of Bedford, Anjou, and Alencon, fo. 172. tempore Henrici VI.
The Peace proclaimed with Spain 19 Aug. 1604—fo. 174. b.
The Visitation of Oxfordshire a° 1574—fo. 175.
The day following, Mary, daughter of K. James, Christned at Greenwich—fo. 187, b.
The 23. April in the same year the Duke of Vanholt, the Queen of Englands Brother, and the Earl of Northampton, made Knights of the Garter—fo. 188.
Series Ordinum omnium Procerum, Magnatum, et Nobilium, et aliorum quorumcunque infra hoc Regnum, tam virorum quam femina-
rum, posta et distincta per Nobilissimum Jaserum, Ducem Bedfordie, et aliam appunctariorum Domini Regis Henrici—fo. 188.
At St Georges Feast, the Earl of Sarum and Viscount Bindon made Knights of the Garter—fo. 189.
At a chapter at the Office of Arms, 20 Feb. 1564, the Order for Burialls to be observed—fo. 189, b.
The Heraldes Fee for the Queens Coronation—fo. 190.
The Comission for Marshal Causes 1 Feb. 2°. Iacobi 12°.—fo. 190, b.

On the 24th of January 1573-4, Francis Thynne got Letters of Administration, as we have seen (p. xli), to the estate of his mother who had died before June 1572. But he could not have obtaind money enough from his mother’s estate to clear himself from his debts.

II b. Francis Thynne in Prison, but not mad.

His wife’s trustee (Mr Eynes, p. xlviii) or another creditor for £100, must have imprisoned him in January 1574, even on Jan. 13, if we take
strictly his words that on March 13, 1575-6, he had been confined "for two yeres and twoo months" (p. liii). In February 1574-5, he writes from the White Lion to Sir John Thynne at Longleat, and says he has 'been a long time in prison. He was there still on the 16th of July in that year'.

In March 1575-6, we find him in sore trouble; rob'd by his wife's relations (at least, so he says), still in prison, nearly starving, and writing two such letters to Lord Burghley, praying for his release, that the Lansdowne-MS. indexer 'writes him down' "Thynne Francis, a madman"; and indeed to any one who does not know that Lord Burghley's crest was a sheaf of golden corn,—on which Francis Thynne wrote a Discourse (see p. 103, below)—and its supporters lions, Thynne's distress may well seem to have toucht his sanity in the 2nd letter. But the signatures to both these letters are unquestionably our Francis's; and so are the bodies of them, and their turns and phrases too:—

Lansdowne MS. 21, Art. 57, leaf 117.

Rigthe honorable (my Very good lorde) presuminge upon the honor of your callinge, the wisdome of your mynde, the curtesye of your dispositione, & the favorable receyte of this my humble sute, I am the moore encoraged to hasarde my rashe attempte, wherein I most humbly besche yo rather to consider the state of my enforced compleinte, then the malipertnesse of my disordered penne, that daretth so impudently (without respecte of honor in yo, & thee dutye of wisdome in mee) seke to craue that at your Lordships handes wiche I cannot deserne, & muche lesse shalbe able to requite. And though, my good Lorde, fortune hathe not beeore tymne made manifeсте unto yo, eyther the perfecte knowledge of my persone, or the dowryes of my mynde, or the welwillinge dutycullines of my harte (wiche alwayes in secret hathe wished occasione to disclose what lyeth buried therein towards your honor in any service I ame able to performe), Yet the justice of your dedes, the force of your vertue, the valoure of your mynde, & the extremyte of my

1 Canon Jackson: letter at Longleat. No copy allowd me.
2 The entries in the Lansdowne Catalogue, p. 43, col. 2, are,
"57. Francis Thynne, (who seems to be a madman,) to Lord Burghley; to procure his release from confinement at the White Lion, March 13, 1575."
"58. A second mad letter of F. Thynne, from his restraint at the White Lion, to Lord Burghley, March 19, 1575." This is adding insult to injury. The cataloguer's coolness in covering his own ignorance and laziness by writing Thynne down 'madman,' is delicious.
3 Hearne's Diary, vol. xcvi. p. 56, March 28, 1723. "Mus. Ashmole 766. 2. Discourse on L. Burleigh's Crest. The Author of it is Francis Thynne, the Antiquary, tho' not specify'd so in the Catalogue, the Compiler, perhaps, being not able to read the name. It is a poem of 9 leaves in 4to."
mysterable pouertye, hathe emboldened the distressed persone to craue your honors favorable succor to helpe the poore estate of mee, vniustely delt withall by persons of suche substance in goodes, such pollyeye in wisdome, such experience in the affayres of the worlde, & of suche credit in countenaunce, as I shall vterly be ouerthrown, withoute your Lordship's good assistance therein. Whereunto I do most dutfully submytt my selfe & my cause, desyringe your Lordship to deale with mee none otherwise then the justnesse of my case, the simplycye of my doinges, the trothe of the matter, the credit of my good naame, & the nobyltye of your callinge, shall well deserve. But what doo I spende manye Woordes, in a iuste cause, from a iuste manne, to require iustice, since that same is superfluous, & to seeke frendshyppe in an iustie matter is meere iustice, & vter diskredit to the party that craueth yt.

I, Therefore, in the uprightness of my sute, most humbly beseeche your Lordship so to stand thus honorable unto mee, that yt will please thee same that I and my matter may bee called before the highe boorde of thee counsell (or rather (as I most ernestly doo craue) before your honoour,) that by your Lordships vndeserved curtesye some remedy mighte bee prouided, to helpe my distresse, too releue my neede, to banishe my famyne, & to moderat the iustie dealinges of euill persons, my case beinge suche as must be determyned by conscience & reasone; for otherwise, suche is the meaninge of my aduersaries (who by name & nature ar my kinsmen), as yf they may bringe mee lowe (as they haue), withoute money; keepe mee (as they doo) imprisoned withoute byale; make me helplesse (as they travell therein) withoute frendes, & comfortlesse withoute Justice; they had the same they desyreth, for that, that vnder thee cooleor of prouidinge for the assurance of my wiuess joynyte (whereby they haue witholden ijC markes by yere this fowre yeres) they [if 117, back] haue not all only spoyled mee, but also stilll receue the revenues of the same, not forcsinge1 what become of mee, sufferinge mee in the meanye tyme, withoute sustenaunce for my maintenaunce, & withoute money for the discharge of my debte (beinge but one hundred pounde), the same beinge the only cause of my imprisonment) to lye these two yeres and twooo months2 in restreynte of my libertye, not in case able to recovere my lyvinge because I cannot (againsste their inuesticions thereof) haue lybertye to followe the lawe, nor in case able to pay my creditor, for that, that I haue not, by thiere euill dealinges, wherewith-all for too doo yt, as in reasone I shold, & in trothe & conscience I wolde. Wherfore, vpon the knees of my harte, an the pytysfull compleinte of a famished prisoner, I most humbly beseeche your Lordship to stande my assured patron (as one to whome I owe my leminge,3 my trauell, my libertye, & my lyfe (the [wich]e) withoute speedye preuentione resteth in danger of loosinge by the dissolucione of my bodye) & that yt will plese your Lordship, for the admynistratione of

1 caring: forseth, matters, signifies.
2 See Stubbess's Anatomy of Abuses, &c., on the poor prisonde debtors.
3 Can this mean that Cecil brought up Francis Thynne?
Justice, for godds cause, for the nobyltye of your estate, for the deluyerue of your poore Dutyfull servante, for the defence of the oppressed, for the succor of the helplesse, & to answere the present hoope I haue in your Lordships curtesye, not to denye this mye iust desire, but to suffer my importunytye (with the widdowde mentioned in S[ ] Luke) to overcomy youre Lordships cause of refusall of this my humble sute, ye yo[ ] shold haue occasione mynstred vnto your honor so too doo.

Thee performance whereof shall not all onybe acceptable to godd, answerable vnto your callinge, & profitable vnto mee, but shall also bynde mee & all my freudes to ovr viternost endeuer to rest at your Lordships good commaunde. Thus hoopinge your Lordship will deale with mee as most curtesly and heretofore yo[ ] haue always duelt with others, Commendinge mee & my estate to your favoruable comforte, Cravinge pardonne for my tedious writinge, & commyttinge your Lordship to thee gouernment of the allmightye, who sende your Lordship further encresse of honor, & mee present release of restreynte, I most humbly take my leaue, the 13 of March 1575[-6] from the White lyone[1], the Vnhappye place of my sorrowfull restreinte. By your Lordship to commaunde to his viternost end euer duringe his Lyfe,

Francis Thynne

Address To the right honorable his singuler good Lorde, the Lorde Burghlegh, highe Treshaurer of englande, & one of the priuye counsell to her Maiestie, be these.

Endorse 13 March 1575[-6]. Francis Thinne to my Lorde from ye Whyte Lyon.

Six days after, Thynne sends the following seemingly cranky letter to Lord Burghley:

Lansdowne MS. 21, Art. 58, leaf 119.

As before (righte honorable) I rashely adventured beyounde the course of my desertes, or the honor of your estate, by tedious presumptione to name the comfortable ayde of the golden sheife, supported

1 This Parish [St George's, Southwark] is of chief Note for the Kings Bench Prison, the White Lyon, the Marshalsea Prison, and the Mint, the ancient Retreats of ill principled Persons, that there sheltered themselves from the Payment of their just Debts, before the late Act of Parliament that took away that pretended Privilege. . . There was formerly in Southwark but one Prison, particularly, serving for the whole County of Surrey, and that called the White Lyon, which was for the Custody ofMurderers, Felons, and other notorious Malefactors. It was situate at the South end of S. Margarets Hill near unto S. Georges Church; but that being an old decayed House within less than twenty years past, the County Gaol is removed to the MARSHALSEA PRISON more towards the Bridge: which is a large and strong Building, being also a Prison for Debt.—1720. Strype's ed. of Stowe's Survey, vol. ii, B 4, p. 29-30. See Notes below.
with the two honorable lyons of Jupiter & Luna, therein representing unto mee the Maiestie of the golden Phebus peysed in the ballance of Justice, supported with two most worthy Vertues, Wisdome & good gouernment, So now againe, lest the charge of the estate of this realme depending upon the Wisdome of your fooresighte might in the tender nett of your memorye were oblyuione of mee & my myserable imprisone-ment, I haue accompted yt my duetye, (to thend that I may fynde some harborwe in your remembrance) to presente unto your honor these wavage lyncs, crractered in the color of the sable Saturne, whose malicious disposizione, by the uill complexione of his melancholye nature / dothe (besides reason, Justice, conscience, Wisdome, or my desertes,) deteyne mee in the prisoine of iniuiste dealings, in suche sorte, that I, tyed by the leaden heales of his malice, cannot approche the presence of that golden soonne, Wherin is written by the hande of Mercurye, that there is but one waye, & one harte, one faythe, & one baptysme, one godd, one christie, & one pathe to all philosophye & vertue, Whiche must, by the furtherance of the azured Jupiter, banische Saturne oute of his kingdome, & restore me to that whiche with modestye I craue, & in reasone I deserue / Wherefore, since one, or an Vnytie, is the begynninge of all thinges, & that withoute one, no nomber can bee perfourmed, & that from one, all nombers doo arise, & by circulatione doo ende againe in the same oone, I most dutifully beseech your Lordship, that the same one may begett & bringe forthe one other one; that is, that one manne whose harte is bente but one waye, that is, to Justice, maye at one tyme delyuer oute of prisoine one manne, whose harte, whose Lerninge, whose labor, & whose service is Vowed & sacrified one Waye, & to one personne, since ‘omnia virtus in see vnita, magis vigorem habet.’ Withoute the entrance into whiche pathe of one waye, I ame lyke to be ledde oute of the right course of all other wayes. For, (my good lorde,) my fortourn is so harde, the nature of myne enimysys so greate, the goodwill of my kindred so smale, & the Loue of my frendes so colde, that I cannot doo what in troothe I haue wished, what in herte I haue vowed, nor what in reasone your Lordship Well

1 Lord Burghley’s crest as blazoned by Thynne in the Ashmole MS. 766, leaf 5, back, is a sheaf of golden corn, supported by two lions rampant, the left one argent (white), the right one azure, all within the ribbon of the Garter, mottod ‘Honi soit qui mal y pense’. This, Thynne interprets thus: the argent lion stands for Luna, in the lowest sphere; and Lord Burghley is this, in “that low’est in curteous dedes, eche doth hym know”. The golden sheaf is the Sun in mid-heaven; and Lord Burghley is this, for he is “in myyddest of worthye gentryes seuente degree,
a lordly baron of noblytyn”. The azure lion is Jupiter, in the highest sphere but one; and Lord Burghley is this, as Elizabeth’s minister, “his lyon Jupiter, in second sphere,
is seconde rule, which he doth justly bera.” See the poem in Appendix IV, below. A sheaf of arrows, or six arrows crosst alternately, form the Salisbury (or 2nd son, Robert Cecil) crest. The shield or coat of arms is supported by two prancing ermin lions.
deservueth, for then shold youre Lordship (if that these impediments were not) bee partaker of that simple treatise whiche I have longe tyme since dedicated vnto your honor. But since mye foortune may not beare yt, & that I haue not abylytie to write yt newe, nor lybertye by persone to presente the badge of my serviceable harte vnto yo", but that I muste, in the sleepe of oblyuione, burye the unskilfull labor of my hande & mynde (consecrate to the favorabe acceptance of your honorable curtesye), I ame well contented (beinge thereunto unwillingly enforced, to lett the same with my other labors to dwell in silence; for though in those trauousles I wolde seme to fyte to the heavens, yet there is a heuye stooone tyed at my foote, whiche keepeth mee backe in such sorte, that where I wold discouer my dutyfull service vnto your honor, there, pouertye & wante of Lybertye tyethe hym by thee feete, & dothe denye the efffecte of his honest desire therof. Whose bandes, I beecehe your Lordship may be released to his no smale conforte, & for to answere the greate hoope I haue in your Lordships vndesuery curtesye, wherunto I most humbly in every respecte (to saue or spil) do submytte my cause & my selue, begginge, uppon the knees of my harte, to come before your Lordship to discouer his miserable estate, therby to helpe to succor hym who is lyke to famishe for wante of sustenance, not havinge [f. 119 back] apparell to clothe hym, nor money wherewith-all to meynteye hym.

Thus, (right honorable) cravinge pardon for my Tediousnes (since, as sayethe Salomon, ‘in multiloquio non deest peccatum.’/ Wishinge my lybertye, hoopinge uppon the same, commendinge me vnto your favorable conforte, & commyttinge your honor to the deuyne essence (the bewayte of whose Maiestie placed, as sayethe Daviad, in the tabernacle of the golden sonne,) so lighte the honor of the golden sheasse, that the same beinge aduanced to a seate of followinge encrease of honor in yo", may worke a presente release of imprisonment in mee, I most dutifullly take my leaue: from the White Lyone, the vnhappy place of my sorrowfull restreinte, the 19 of Marche, 1575. Your Lordships to commaunde duringe his lyfe, to his vettermoste endeavor.

Francis Thynne.

II m. F. Thynne's bad opinion of Wives.

That Thynne's married life was not a happy one, is clear also from at least two of his 'Epigrams,' which though dated A.D. 1600, fit-in so well here that I quote them out of their order of time. A wife, he says, is best when she's dead; and marriage is happy only when the husband is deaf, and the wife blind.

Epigrams.

(Bridgewater House MS.)

When a wife is badd, worse, and worst. [leaf 64, back]

When she is good, better, and beste.
My frend, yf that my Judgement do not sayle,
as one well taught by longe experience skill,
thy wife allwaies is but a needfull ill,
and best is bad, though she f¢re she beare her saile;
but vsd not well, she worse is to thee,
but worst of all, when best she seemes to bee
Thy wife is good when shee forsakes this light,
and yealdes by force to natures destinie:
she better is, (thow livinge,) yf she die;
but best, when she doth sooner take her flight;
for soe to thee thine ease shee doth restore,
which sooner hadd, doth confort thee the more.

Mariage.

Deepe witted mens b'experience haue contrived,
that mariaje, good and quiet is, ech hower,
where the mans heringe organs are deprived
of their right vse and sound receyving power,
and where is seelde vp the womans percing sights,
that she maie not behould her husbands sweet delights.
For since nature hath made that sex most fraile,
and subject to tormenting Ielousie,
vpon ech guiltles signe they will not sayle,
their loving husbands to suspecte falselie:
yet if she could not see, but were by nature blinde,
such fonde conceites she would not harbor in her minae.
And if suspected manne were dombe to heere
the Iealous brawles of his vnquiet wife,
ech would embrace and hould the other decree,
wherbye they might obtayne a quiet life;
without which rare effects, swete mariaje is a hell;
but linked with these guiftes, doth Paradise excell.

His 'Embleames' "Strangers more friendlie to vs than our owne
kinde and kindred" (MS., leaf 38), of 'Societie' (leaf 19), and his
Epigram "The waye to gett and keepe frendes" (leaf 48, back), chime-
in with the feelings he gives vent to in his White-Lion letters.

II n. His Release, and 'Homo, Animal Sociale'.

Whether Lord Burghley freed him from prison, or his cousin Sir
John Thynne came to his rescue, I find no record, but from the very
warm way in which he afterwards speaks of Lord Burghley (p. lix, lxxxv,
below) it is possible that to him, either directly or indirectly, Thynne
ow'd his release. He must have been at liberty before June 6, 1576, as
on that day he writes to Sir John Thynne "From my cousin Bechera"
but where that was, is not stated, says Canon Jackson. Another letter to Sir John is dated July 22, 1577, but does not say where it was written from, though in it Francis states that he still owes money.
Between that date and October 20, 1578,—when we find Francis Thynne at Longleat, Sir John Thynne's new mansion (now the seat of Sir John's descendant, the Marquis of Bath), despatching to Lord Burghley (as I suppose) a dissertation of 6 folio leaves, closely written (now leaves 70—75 of the Lansdowne MS. 27), on the theme Homo, animal sociale; and soon after dedicating a treatise to one of his patrons and friends, Lord Cobham, the history of whose family he afterwards wrote,—the following arrangement, stated by Canon Jackson from the Longleat Papers, must have been made:—

"After the death of his Mother (who had re-married, first Sir Edward Boughton, and then Hugh Cartwright, Esq.), the lease of Erith Rectory 2 had come into Francis Thynne's possession. He had mortgaged it. Sir John Thynne of Longleat redeemed the mortgage, and also paid debts for him: and having purchased the fee-simple from the Crown (upon the confiscation of the monasteries) and then paying Francis for his interest in the lease, Sir John became the owner of the tithes; agreeing at the same time to allow a maintenance for the wife, and to give Francis a home at Longleat. Of this, Francis availed himself, for the dedication to Lord Cobham of his little book, 'The Perfect Ambassador,' is dated from Longleat in 1578—9. Sir John Thynne died in 1580. Francis appears to have expected that his residence at Longleat was to continue for his own life, but the second Sir John Thynne thought otherwise; for in 1604, after the second Sir John Thynne's death, and when Sir Thomas Thynne had Longleat, Francis addressed a petition to Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, setting forth that though such had been the engagement, it had not been observed, neither had he received any allowance or compensation in lieu of it. Lord Ellesmere wrote in a friendly way on his behalf to Sir Thomas Thynne, the third owner, suggesting some assistance as compensation; but the result of his interference does not appear."

On Oct. 20, 1578, Thynne writes (either to Lord Cobham or Lord Burghley, I suppose) a dissertation on the theme Homo, animal sociale. This is now 6 leaves, 70-5, of the Lansdowne MS. 27. I give the beginning and end:

"Redinge / right honorable / that 'Homo is animal sociale,' I cold not conceue wherefore the same was spoken, vnest yt were upon these

1 Letter at Longleat, copy not allowd me.  
2 See p. xxii, above.
reasons followinge, whiche haue ministred cause to mee to write these tedious lettres vnto yo, not hauinge other occasione offered to present my selfe vnto your honor, but by the caractes of my hande in leiwe of that duety whiche I shold bestowe in persone. Wherefore since I ame by diuers urgent enforcements barred bodely to approche your presence, I haue thought yt my chalenged dutye in absence, by penne to desplay my Inwarde mynde, whiche alwayes dothe, & shall, acknowledge your vnserued curtesye, to the uttermost of his endeuoyre, whiche beinge able to stretche yt selfe so further then to a fewe simple woordes, thus entreteth into his vnorderly discourse of ‘homo is animal sociale.’ Manne is demed to be a sociable lyvinge creature because that the same is so necessary for the maintenaunce of his lyfe, as without companye (beinge alwayes redye to fall to the worse,) he is drowned in melancholy conceytes, the mother & noircse of all euilles, bredinge despaire, wicked thoughtes, & euyll lyfe. And therefore god (determininge that we shold preuente these myschefs) did first by his owne example create a helper unto Adam, beinge solitare in Paradice, therewith bestowinge one hym a certeine meane* (in that heauenely gyfte of comfortable speche) whereby eche one might with faculytie entereteyne the secret loue & sympathye of their natural fideleye.

(\p75) "Thus cravinge pardonne for these tedious lettres / the reading whereof doth heape more troble on hym whiche is dayly surcharged with manye more weighty affayres of the comon welthe, humbly comendinge me to your honorabole lykinge, commyttinge yo to the tuicione of the Almightye (who sende to yo furthere encrease of honor, to me an aceptable lykinge from your judgment, & to vs bothe the abundance of his heuenely spirte,) yeldinge my selfe at your Lordships good comamnde to be disposed in any service yo shall enoyne me here or ells where, I dutfully take my leave. Longleate the 20 of Octobre 1578. Your bounde by desarte

Francis Thynne

/ / / / / / / / .

II o. Francis Thynne’s Perfect Ambassadour, 1579, printed 1652.

The reader will notice, near the end of the extract, Thynne’s mention of “the Reliques of my spoyled Librarie in the time of mine impoverishing and infortunate trouble.”

1578(-9). Jan. 8, at Longleate. Thynne’s ‘Epistle Dedicatorie’ and wind-up to his Perfect Ambassadoure.¹

To the Right Honourable, his singular good Lord, William Lord Cobham, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, Francis Thynn wisheth

¹ Hearne’s Diary, vol. lxxxiv. p. 64. “Dec. 3, 1719. Francis Thynne of Longleat Esqr’s. Book call’d The Perfect Ambassadour, treating of the Antiquity, Privilidges, and behaviour of men belonging to that Function, was written at Longleate, Jan. 8, 1578, and was printed at London, 1652, 12°. The Author calls it a Xmass Work. There are some light things in it.”
perpetual health, further increase of honour and good success in all
his Honourable Attempts.

Although, my very good Lord, neither according to my honest desire,
nor your honorable desert (which worthily may challenge from me a
farre more dutifull service than my attendance upon you in Flanders) I
could not in person, as I did in good will, be present in the same
Journey (where I both might have reaped profit, and your Lordship been
fully ascertained of my good mind towards you, for that I protest unto
you, remaining in this out-nook of the little world (where London newes
is somewhat scant, & the Princes affaires very seldome known) I had
no intelligence of your so honourable place of Embassie in this year of
Christ 1578, untill two daies after your departure. The which bred some
corsey \(^1\) of a Melancholy concept in me by reason of my foolish ne-
glence that would not often direct my Letters to crave intelligence from
London. And by reason of the unkind forgetfulness of my kindred &
friends remaining there, who would not vouchsafe so much courtesie in a
matter so much desired by me, and of so small a trouble to them, as to
direct their Letters to me thereof. Wherefore sorrowing for that which
is past, that I could not, as the rest of my Kindred & friends did,
assume such enterprize upon me, and yet not only rejoicing at your
honourable entertainment, of the good success, of the wise Dispatch, and
of the orderly behaviour, wherwith your Lordship was received beyond
the Seas; but also desirous by pen, amongst the rest of your wel willers
at this your happy and desired return, to congratulate your Lordship with
the tokens of my old vowed fidelitie, as a sign of my hidden joy conceiv-
of your safe arrival, I have thought it my challenged duty to direct this
tedious Discourse unto you, containing aswell the unfolding of my
former griefs, As laying open to your sight the rejoicing of my well-
willng heart. And for that other occasion doth not so fitly minister
cause to me in other sort to present myself unto you than by saying
somewhat which may, & doth concerne Embassadours; Therefore, as
wel for that the time is most apt for the man to whom I write, having
supplied such place, & for that it also putteth me in mind of your
honourable courteous talk which you have often used unto me in like
matters, I will here in affaires of Embassie, to an Ambassadour present
my labours, the Ambassadors of their absent Master & make discourse
of things belonging to Embassie. Wherein I will shew the original,
Privileges, the Wisdom, the Valour, the quick wits, & other the be-
aviours of Ambassadors, as examples for us in all respects to imitate.
For as Seneca saith in his sixth Epistle, ‘Longum iter est per praecpta,
breve & efficax per exemplum,’ of which kind of people, that is, of
Ambassadors, Legats, or Deputies, Messengers of Princes, and of the

\(^1\) ‘To have a great hurt or domage, which we call a corsey to the herte.’
Elliot's Dictionarie, 1559, in Nares, 1859: see too the quotations there from
iii. 348. Halliwell’s Glossary defines it ‘an inconvenience or grievance,’ and
refers to Dent’s Pathway, pp. 306, 369; Tusser, p. 32; Stanhurst, p. 25.
Orators of Kings (For all these several terms do include one Function exercised in divers manners) because there are sundry sorts somewhat different from the custome of our age, I will not only intreat as they were in times past among the magnificent Romans in the midst of their greatest glory; But I will also in like order collect and digest the usage and duty of them as they are now used, & put in Office by Princes, Kings and Emperors, for the executing of their determined pleasure. In which (my good Lord) if anything shall be found, that for want of more diligent search may seem faulty, consider that 'Bernadus non videt omnia.' Wee are no Gods, wee can say no more than reasonable conjecture or former Authority may lead us unto. But if in the placing of the same in the apt sentences, or in the sweet composition of stile, there appear default, impute the same to the want of leisure, and to the rude hasty writing of him, who was never brought up in any Universitie; and I seek not 'fucum verborum,' so I may have 'ipsam veritatem & materiam solidam.' And thus this far of that; And so into my purposed matter.

Thus having ended my Christmesse work, done in the midst of my Christmasse plaies, as may appear by the Christmasly handling thereof, I after Christmesse consecrate the same to your honourable acceptance, not as a thing worthy your desert and judgement, but as a thing that answereth my desire, and good meaning. The which I beseech your Lordship to accept as lovingly from mee as it is presented willingly by mee unto you, with whom (as soon as by leasure I might, and as by learning I was able, and as a body born out of time, but yet thinking it better late than never) I deemed it my dutie to congratulate your return with some such poor gift as the Reliques of my spoyled Librarie in the time of mine impoverishing, and infortunate trouble, would yield mee Abilitie to bestow.

And thus most humbly commending me to your Honourable liking, committing you to the Almightye protection, I dutifuly take my leave this eighth of Januarie 1578. at Longlente.

Yours

II p. The Comentaries of Britayne.

The Cotton MS. Faustina E. VIII, 221 leaves, one of Thynne's MS. note-books of collections for English and family history, is "parte of the first parte of the comentaries of Britaine, collected by francis Thynne, by francis Thynne [so], A° 1581, et 8 Januarij" (leaf 2). Other dates are on leaf 59, 'The erles of Lincolne, begonne the 7 of Auguste 1582.' Leaf 77, 'The Register of the erles of Lincolne. The register begonne the 6 of August 1582'; both signd 'Francis Thynne.' 'The Loordes of Cobham', leaf 40; 'Sire John oldcastell', leaf 43, back. 'Senescalli Anglie,' leaf 98; 'Eroles of Shrewesbereg' (Talbots and Furnivalls), leaf
100; 'Comites Herefordie,' leaf 102, back; 'The Dukes of Northefolke,' leaf 109; 'Sussex begone the 5 of December, 1584. See before,' leaf 169; 'The Erles of Kente,' leaf 199.

Another "parte of the first parte of the comenaries of Britayne collected by Francis Thynne" (leaf 4), is now the MS. Cott. Faustina E. 9, in the British Museum. It is dated A. 1583, Junij 25, and contains 133 leaves of extracts and notes, of which I copy one or two.

"The Xenogogie of Bedfordshire." Lists of (leaf 5) Castells, (leaf 6) Libertyes and franchises. howses belonging to noble menne. Knyghtes fees. Scales (?). howses belonginge to the prince. Hilles of name, Sandy hyll . . . (leaf 6) forrestes and parkes, as well presently remeynynge, as disparked. Bridges. hospitalls or Houses for poore people with provisione of lyvinge . . . places of charte . . . (leaf 7) marketts, in nombre 9 . . . (leaf 7, back) Fayres . . . (then extracts and notes. The MS. has 133 leaves.) (leaf 83, back) Thomas lorde furnivalle, 6, 7, & some part of the 8 H. 4, in whiche eighte yere, in michelmas terme, this lorde furnivalle (who had the custodye of the castell & towne of wigmore, beinge in the kinges handes by reasone of the wardshippe & mynoritye of edmonde mortimore (?), erle of marche) was, yt semed, remoued: in whose place came the bishoppe of londone.

for the lord furnivalle: ypodigma, pa. 167.

A third "Parte of the fyrrste Parte of the comenaries of Britayne collected by Francis Thynne1," in Bridgewater House, is a 4to MS. dated "A. 1583, 1 Julij" on the 1st leaf. It is written by Francis Thynne, and contains 23 sheets, 21 of which are in tens: the 1st sheet of ten has lost 2 fly-leaves, and the 2nd sheet is in six: it is a further collection of notes and extracts on bishops, &c., from divers books: thus on leaf 2 "1583, 1 [or 2] Julij. Notes taken out of the Booke de gestis Lindifarnensis et dunelmensis episcopis"—so far as I can read the words;—leaf 15 bk. "A. 1583. 3 Junij. Notes taken out of the booke of Galfridus Sacrista de Coldingham de statu (? MS.)"; leaf 33 bk, "finitum hoc opus 5 Julij 1583. . . Francis Thynne;" leaf 34, "5 Julij A. 1583, Notes taken out of a polichronic of the house & priorie of Durham;" leaf 38, "Notes out of a Cronicle of Scotlande belonginge to Durhame Churche;" leaf 40, "13 Octob. 1583, Notes taken out of a booke compiled by freer Richarde of

1 As to the erasures on the title, he writes "these things are not thus cancelled because they are not true, but because they were written in other of my books."  
2 The endings are 'is' and not 'ium, orum.'
westminster, A° 1450;" leaf 41, "Notes taken out of [? MS.] Sporley, a monk of westminster. The Abbes of westminster;" leaf 42, back, "Compilatio Abbatium excerpta ex opere fratris Johannis flete nuper prioris westmonasterii." Later, "Ex Analibus Eliensis monasterij;" (back) "Ex libello de genealogia et vita sancte Etheldrede:" a list of the Abbots and Bishops of Ely, with the arms of the latter; and on leaf 74, bk, "finis 5 die martij A° 1584. Francis Thynne." Leaf 75, "Things excerpted out of an olde englishe book in ryme of the gestes of Guarine and his sonnes;" at foot of 3rd leaf, back, "Here lacked a quayre or ij in the olde inglyshe booke of the actes of the Warines; and these thinges that followe, Lelande translated out of an olde frenche historye in Ryme of the actes of the Guarines vnto the death of fulco 2 . . ."; ends on leaf 78: "as I remember the inglishe historye of the fytzwaines attributethis to fulco the firste. finis 6: Martij 1584, Francis Thynne." Next page, "Taken out of scala cronicon," . . . finis 6 April 1584, Francis Thynne /. (the first signature without the dashes and dots underneath). Later, "Taken out of the booke of [? MS.] A° 1585, 6 Junij . . ." "A lettre of pope paschalis to Lanfrance Bishop of canterbury, concerning horveus the first Bishop of Elye . . ." "oute of the booke of the Churche of powles of londone . . ." "Notes taken out of the booke belonginge to the abbey of Rumseye, treatinge of the same Abbey, 15 February 1585 . . ." "finis 23 februarij 1585 Francis Thynne" (the second signature without dashes and dots). "Notes taken out of the dialogues of Gerasius tilberiensis 1 Martij 1585 . . . [later side-note by F. T.]" "This Booke was not written by Gerasius tilberiensis, as hath Bale [in cent. 3, fo. 250], but by Richarde, Bishoppe of Londone, & tresurer to H. 2., as hath the red booke of the exchequer in the treatise there made by Alexander, archdeacon of Saloppe . . ." "Thus farre the notes of the fyrst booke of gerasius Tilberiensis, or of that booke knownen in the exchequer by the name of the blacke booke. Francis Thynne." "Oute of the charters belonginge to the chappell of St. Stephens of Westmynster . . ." finis, 31 Martij 1586 Fra. Thynne (no dashes or dots). "Taken out of the

1 Not now known, I believe. We have French MSS., and one or two of them printed. Of the French prose Estoire, Sir T. Duffus Hardy printed the text only, for private circulation. His intended edition, being delayd, was forestall'd by some one who had got wind of it.

In 1583 Francis Thynne writes from London to the second Sir John Thynne of Longleat, who had, as Francis considered, broken his father's engagement to find a home at Longleat for Francis during his life (p. lvi). The letter is at Longleat, but no copy is allowd me.

II q. Continuation of Holinshed (ends p. lxxxix, below).

We now come to Francis Thynne's first appearance in print (p. lx.), and his most important work, his share in the Continuation and Revision of Holinshed's Chronicle. He tells us (p. lxxiii, below) “that both the historie of England & Scotland were half printed before I set pen to paper to enter into the augmentation or continuation of anie of them;” that he took the work up unwillingly, and only “by inforement of others, whose commanding friendship it had been sacrilege for me to heue gainesaid” (p. lxx, lxxvii). He declares his only desire is to get at the truth, and his willingness to receive and make corrections of his work (p. lxxviii, lxxix); he gives his detractors an occasional dig (id., p. lxxvii), is continually profuse in apologies (p. lxx, lxxxiii, &c.), but still reminds his readers that he has faithfully taken much pains with his work, and toild hard for it (p. lxxix, lxxx). He was surely fit to help in such an undertaking. He had plann'd, and made collections for, a “Pantographie of England, containing the vnuersall description of all memorable places, and persons as well temporall as spirituall ” (p. lxxv). (Parts of this were no doubt his projected Lives of the Lord Chancellors (p. lxxix, lxxx), Lord Treasurers (p. lxxvii), Earls (p. lxxi), Lord Cobhams (p. xcix), and Lords Marshal (p. c) of England, as his Lives
of the Protectors and Cardinals certainly were (p. lxxv.) He was at least high in the second rank of antiquaries of his day; esteemed and prais'd by Camden (p. cvi, below), the friend of Eger.on (af'erwards Lord Chancellor); and he evidently knew, and was thought well of, by men like Lord Burghley, Lord Cobham, Archbp. Whitgift.

That Thynne understood the duty and office of a Historian is clear from his 'Continuation of the Annales of Scotland', in which he selects his materials, combines them, judges their value, though here even he cannot keep from giving six lists (mostly with short lives) of Protectors, Dukes (3 sorts), Chancellors, Archbishops, and Writers on Scotch History (p. lxxi-iii below). But when we turn to his insertions in, and continuations of, Holinshed, we find that Thynne has unluckily forgotten all about the Historian's duty; the Antiquary, the Compiler of pedigrees and biographies, has taken the upper hand. When he came on a High Constable, Cardinal, Archbishop, Duke, in Holinshed, or Stow's or Hooker's Continuation, he evidently said, "Happy thought, let's have a list of all English Cardinals, Archbishops, Dukes, &c.," and accordingly collected the lists, and stuck them into the History, or narrative, over and over again, whisking the reader off, at a moment's notice, from the middle of Elizabeth's reign (say) to Edward the Confessor, or William the Conqueror, and then running him gently down a list of Archbishops, say, for sixty odd folio pages, till he landed him in Elizabeth again.

Whether some of Thynne's 'Collections' were thought too long for the continued Holinshed, or whether they, or any intervening matter by other hands contain'd praise of any traitors or unpopular folk, I cannot say, but almost all of the copies appear to have been castrated. Bp Nicholson in his Eng. Hist. Libr. says the reason of the castrations was because F. Thynne had greatly prais'd Lord Cobham, who afterwards fell into disgrace; but the William Brooke, Lord Cobham, whom Thynne prais'd, did not die till 1596, and was, in 1586-8, in favour, and not in disgrace, with Elizabeth (Hearne, Cur. Disc. ii. 445, ed. 1771). True it is that Thynne also prais'd his sons, Henry 1—who was attainted in

1 Holinshed, iii. 1513. "Henrie Brooke, being the second sonne by birth, but now the eldest by inheritance, is a gentleman of whom great hope is conceived, that his following yeares, giuing increase to his good parts by nature, and to the like gifts of the languages by education, will not onlie make him a beneficall member to his commonwealth, but also a person worthie of such a father; which Henrie was borne at Cobham hall on wednesdaie the two and

THYNNE.
1604, when his honours became forfeited (Courthope, *Historic Peerage*, p. 119), and George\(^1\), who was executed and attainted (Nicolas, *Engl. Peerage*, i. 142-3), but these few lines cannot have been ground for cancelling a hundred and fifteen folio pages of *Holinshead*.\(^2\)

I find ground enough for the castrations, in the nature of the matter cut out, which consists of 1. Thynne's "Discourse of the Earles of Leicester by succession"; 2. a large part of Stow's narrative of "The Earle of Leicester's passing over into the Low Countries"; 3. Thynne's Lists and short Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, of the Lord Cobhams, and the Wardens of the Cinque Ports. One can fancy the feelings of an editor or reader, or even one of the worthy payers for the book—'John Harison, George Bishop, Rafe Newberie, Henrie Denham, and Thomas Woodcooke'—when, having already suffered six times from Thynne's interrupting long lists, he came on the seventh,—thrust-in just as Leicester had been grandly receiv'd at Colchester, and was on the point of embarking his army for Flushing (p. lxxxi); and then found the 5 folio pages of this seventh list\(^3\) followd very soon by a whole hundred pages of Thynne's further interrupting 8th, 9th, and 10th lists. Surely it 'ud be enough to make a man swear, and declare he would not stand it, even in those old long-winded days. But be the motive what it might, out went the original leaves V v v v v j. to I i i i i 6, or p. 1419-1538; and instead of them were put in a new V v v v v j., or p. 1419, 1420; a new leaf sign'd A, B, C, D, E, paged 1421, 1490; another leaf sign'd F, G, H, I, paged 1491, 1536; and another leaf not sign'd, but paged rightly 1537, 1538.

twentieth of November, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred sixty and foure

\(^1\) "George Brooke the fourth sonne, hauing by an accidentall chance in his youth some imperfection in one part of his bodie, being borne on saturday the last of Julie, in the yeares of Christ one thousand, five hundred, sixtie nine, is so well indow'd with the gifts of nature, and so furthered therein by the helpe of studie, which he impioied in the vniversitie of Cambridge, where he receiued the degree of master of art in the yeare of Christ one thousand, five hundred, eighttie and six, that he fullie and more recompenseth that accidentall imperfection, with naturall and procured beautie of the mind, and therefore with Ovid (a man more wittie than welfauored) may lustly saie: *Ingenio formas damna rependo mea.*"—16.

\(^2\) The "Advertisement" to the 4to reprint of Holinshead in 1807-8 contains nothing about the reasons for the castrations. Hearne says "a great many sheets (beginning in p. 1419, and ending in p. 1575 [that is, 1535]) were castrated or suppressed, because several things in them gave great offence."

\(^3\) Leicester 1685, p. 1419, col. 1, ends p. 1424, col. 2, l. 9.
The new p. 1419 reprints its first 33 lines, ending with "inter-tained" from the original; then winds-up in 16 lines, l. 34-50, three pages (1424-6) of Stow's description (from the book of one Archer,) of Leicester's triumphant reception at Flushing, and his progress to Middleborough, Rotherodam, Delph, Donhage; and then, at l. 51, after bringing him to Leyden, reprints from the original (p. 1427, l. 22, to p. 1429, l. 54) the description of the Leyden "seuen seuerall shewes that follow", his return to Donhage, &c., and the Placard containing the Authority that the States gave him to govern the Low Countries, save only that lines 63-9, 72-3, p. 1420 of the reprint, abstract shortly, longer passages of the original.

We then find on the substituted p. 1421, from l. 50, col. 1, to l. 39 col. 2, a statement and document not in the original (so far as I can see), Leicester's 10 "Lawes for capteins and soldiours". Next come 5 lines, 40-4, from the original p. 1429, l. 39-41, followd by 2½ lines of summary, 1 line from p. 1430, l. 44 of the original—"the tenth . . . of March he came from Harlem to Amsterdam";—then again a statement (to l. 63) not in the original, about three or four hundred poor and sick English soldiers reliev'd by the Utrecht folk.

With l. 64 of the substituted p. 1421, begins a column of reprint from the original, p. 1433, col. 2, l. 28, to p. 1434, col. 1, l. 28. Then the castrator leaves the sumptuousness of the Utrecht banquet on St George's Day 'to the imagination of the reader,' and Leicester 'in the hands of God,' saying "we will here leave the netherlands, and approach to matters of England." Stowe's 10 leaves are thus cut down to 2. But now comes the cutting down of poor Francis Thynne's hundred pages (1434-1454) to one column ! Had Stowe a hand in it, and was he called "one inferior personne" for it? Let us hope not: he had himself lost four fifths of his Low Countries tale. Well, the substituted leaf in l. 15-29 of p. 1490 (back of p. 1421) col. 2, reprints from the original, p. 1434, col. 2, l. 57, &c., the passage about the beheading of the two Seminary Priests, the burning of the poisoning Wench, and the appointment of Archbp. Whitgift, Wm Lord Cobham, and Lord Buckhurst, given on p. lxxxii, below. It then winds-up Francis Thynne's 100 pages in the following innocent way,—and afterwards (p. 1491, col. 1, l. 15) simply reprints the original, p. 1535, though it cannot make its pages coincide with the original's till the end of p. 1538 is reacht:
"And here, as in other places of these chronicles, where we have set downe certeine collections of right worthie personages in high calling and verie honourable office, we are lead by some reason to deliver a catalog of the names (at least) of such archbishops as have successuallie possessed the metropolitian see of Canturburie, therein implieng their antiquitie and authoritie, &c: and from thence proceed to saie somewhat of the lord Cobhams and lord wardens of the cinque ports as a matter of some consequent, by means of the mutuall advancement at one instant, which hir highnesse of speciall grace vouchsafed them both. And to begin with Canturburie, being first named, you shall vnderstand that Augustine the moonke (according to the receiued opinion of chronographers) was the first archbishop which occupied that metropolitan see; next whome succeeded one Laurentius, then Melitus, Iustus, Honorius, Deus-dedit, Theodorus, Brightwaldus, Tatwinus, Notelmas, Cutbertus, Beguinus, Lambertus, Athelardus, Wilfredus, Theologildus, Athelredus, Plegmundus, Athelmas, Wolfelmus, Odo Seuerus, Dunstanus, Ethelgarus, Siricius, Aluricius, Elphegus, Liuingus, Agelnothus, Edsinus: and so forward with the residue before and after the conquest, which, being multiplied by vnities, doo make vp the complet number of three score and twelue.

"Where, by the waie, we might touch the varietie of their names (sith authors therein doo dissent) as also the time wherein they liued and flourished, with some commemoration of their acts and deeds, both in church and commonwealth. But this kind of discourse being ecclesiastical, is unpropper for this secular historie: wherefore, labouring no further therein, we will remit the reader to such authors as 'Ex professo' have ample treted of that argument: minding now, by waie of note, in a few lines to touch the three late priuats, as they have succeeded ech other since the coronation and regiment of hir maistie: the first of whom was Matthew Parker, whose predecessour, Reg. Poole, dieng, he was aduanced, and inioed the same advancement certeine yeares, (haue been the seventieth archbishop of that see) during which time he did much good diverse waies, deseruing well, not onelie of the church, but also of the commonwealth. But haueing spokien elsewhere of this man, we will here staie our course; concluding this collection of archbishops in their successions, with the two reverend diuines and doctors, the one, Edmund Grindall late deceased; the other, Iohn Whitegift now liuing; of whom, no more but silence, for vertue dooth sufficieniely commend hir selfe. Now order would, that we should descend into a discourse of the lord Cobhams & lord wardens of the cinque ports, remembred before, page 1435, a 10 [cut out by the Castrator], but herein the reader is patienlie to put vp the disappointment of his expectation, upon supposall of some reasonable impediment while the same was not satisfied. And now to the course of our historie, orderlie to be continued."
We can fancy our just-turn’d author’s disgust at having his longest and most carefully compil’d collections thus quasht. He must have sympathiz’d with his Father on the traditional forc’t cancelling of his first edition of Chaucer (p. xli-ii above). But as we have no record of any complaint of his treatment, though he had so many chances of making several in his different MS. treatises, we must suppose, either that he grind and bore it, seeing its reasonableness, on political or literary grounds, or that, as his copy was not castrated, he dwelt in happy ignorance that other copies were.

To get the reader into Thynne’s style, to show the nature of the man, and the character of his work, I give longish extracts from the beginnings or ends, or both, of his continuations of, and insertions in, Holinshed; namely, from

a. a. his Forewords to his Continuation of the Annales of Scotland (p. lxx); and b. his 6 Lists of Nobles or Officers in that Continuation (p. lxxi-iv), all in Holinshed, vol. ii;

β. his eleven Collections of Lives pitchforkt into the History of England, one each under Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary; and 8 under Elizabeth¹:

1. The High Constables of England (p. lxxiv).
7. The Earls of Leicester (p. lxxx).
8. The Archbishops of Canterbury (p. lxxxii).
9. The Lord Cobhams (p. lxxxv); with
10. The Lord Wardens of the Cinque Ports² (p. lxxxvi).

a. a. Francis Thynne’s Forewords to his Annales of Scotland.³ "The Annales of Scotland in some part continued from the time in which Holinshed left, being the yeare of our Lord 1571, vntill the

¹ They ought to have been printed as Appendixes, and not jumbl’d up with the tale of the events of Elizabeth’s reign.
² A bit about the Dover works is added, because it bears out the good character given to the Elizabethan working men by William Harrison in his Description of England before Holinshed’s History, which Description is an old favourite of mine, and is now being edited by me for my New Shakspere Society.
³ As to his prior insertions, see I b in the List of his Works below.
yeare of our redemption 1586, by Francis Boteunle, commonlie called Thin."


... Accept therfore (good reader) that which I doo suppose I have best spoken (by this my argument grounded vpon Socrates) in this my continuance of the Annales of Scotland unwillinglie attempted, but by inforcement of others, whose commanding friendship it had been sacrilege for me to have gainesaid. And therefore rather carelessse to hazard the hard opinion of others, descanting vpon _my sudden leaping into the printers shop, (especiallie at the first, in a matter of such importance,)_ than the losse of the long and assured friendship of those which laied this heauie charge vpon my weake shoulders, I haue like blind baiard boldlie run into this matter, vnder the hope of thy favourable acceptance. And though herein I shall not in euerie respect satisfy all mens minds and judgements, that for fauour of persons, times & actions, will, like Pro-tens, at their own pleasure, make black seeme white, alter euerie matter into euerie shape, & curiouslie carping at my barrennes in writing, because I omit manie things in this my continuance of the Annales of Scotland, & haue reported things in other formes than some mens humours would haue had me to doo: I must desire thee to consider for the first, that the Scots themselues, besides manie others of our owne nation, are the cause thereof, who either for feare durst not, or for pretended advise and consultation in the matter would not, or for the restreint of others might not, impart to me such things as should both concerne the honour of the Scottish nation, and the substance of their owne cause. For the other matter, if I should bind my stile to the affections of some, I should breake the rule of Socrates, and not speake the best, sith I should then speake publike and common things, publike knowne to all men, contrarie to that order, in which they were commonlie and publike seen to be done of all men; and so by that meanes fall into the reproch of a diseined reporter. ...

[p. 408. at foot]. Now before I knit vp this exordium (which may seem to thee in respect of the following historie, to be like the towne, the gates and entrance whereinto being verie great, occasioned Diogenes to will the inhabitants to shut those great gates, least that little townes did run out theret). I am to admonish thee good reader, that in all my former additions to the historie of Scotland, I haue neither word for word, nor sentence for sentence, set downe the writings of Lesleys or Buchanan, but haue chosen out the matter as I thought best and apt to my desire. After which sort I haue likewise in this my continuation of the annales of that countrie, not set downe or delinuered things to the world in that sort and stile as I haue received intelligence thereof, but

1 "Also it is naturally geuen, or els it is of a deuyllyshe dysposition of a Scothysh man, not to love nor favour an Englyshe man." 1642-7. Andrew Boorde: see my edition, p. 137, 59. That the enmity lasted on into James's reign, see the end of Tom Tell Trothe's "free discourse touching the Mur-murers of the tymes."—Addit. MS. 11,308, Brit. Mus.
onelie cullid foorth such matter as both the time wherein we liue, the matter whereof I intreat, and the method required therefore, may well beare and chalenge. Thus having laid before thee, that he write best that trulie writeth publike affaires, that I was commanded by my deere freends to enter into this sand; that I cannot discourse of this historie as I willinglie would: that I ought not to forbeare to write because I cannot in stile and manner equall the best: that they are to be pardoned that attempt high things: that I have purposelie in generall dedicated this labour to the common reader, and not in particular to anie honourable person: and hoping that thou wilt pardon all imperfections, I sparinglie enter into the continuation of the annales of Scotland (being such as thou maist be content to read, & I am contented to write) in this sort as beere followeth, making my first entrance thereinto with the death of the earle of Lennox, with whome Holinshed finished his chronicle; and so to the matter, after this long and tedious deteing of thee from the same.

Francis Thin.

a. 6. He then goes on with the history for ten pages without any list or catalogue of any class of ministers or nobles. But he can then restrain himself no longer, and on p. 417, col. 1, l. 31, breaks out:

(1) "Wherefore, to passe ouer the same, I thinke it not vnmeet in this place, sith we have mentioned this Morton which was the last regent, gouernour or protector, of the kingdome, to set downe a catalog of all such regents and gouernours of that realme, as haue come to my knowledge, after the same sort as I haue done in England, at the end of the gouernment of the duke of Summerset, who was the last protector of that realme; into the discourse whereof I enter as followeth.

"The protectors, gouernours, or regents of Scotland, during the kings minoritie, or his insufficiencie of gouernment, or during his absence out of the realme."

*ends* p. 421, col. 2, l. 20. "Thus setting end to the discourse of the protectors of Scotland, let vs descend to other matters which haue succeeded."

And he goes on with his history (Lord Chancellor Glamis’s murder) for 18 lines, but then again starts off, on l. 38, with

(2) "After the death of which lord Glames, the earle of Atholl was advanced to that place, and inuested with the title of lord chancellor of Scotland. Wherefore, having so good occasion therefore at this time by talking of this earle of Atholl, thus made lord chancellor, to treat of that office; I thinke it not inconuenient in this place, nor disagreeable to the nature of the matter which I haue in hand, somewhat, by waie of digression, to discourse of the originall of this office in Scotland, of the etymof the name, and other circumstances belonging thereto."
ends p. 422, col. 2, l. 21. "Thus this said for the originall and name of the officer called the chancellor, of whose succession we will talke hereafter, and will now returne to the matters of Scotland in this sort."

After this he keeps to History again for four pages. Then he comes across a Duke, and that sets him off. Has he not made a list of English Dukes? Of course he ought to make a list of Scotch ones. And having accomplisht that for the home-made Dukes, what else can he do but add another list of foreign-made ones, though they in number are only four?

(3) [p. 426, col. 2, l. 28.] "After which, sith I am now in discoursing of dukes of that countrie, and haue shewed when the first duke was made in Scotland, and who they were: I thinke it not vnfit for this place, to set downe a catalog of all such dukes of Scotland as haue come vnto my knowledge by search of histories, since the creation of the same first dukes, in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred and eighteen; which I will not refuse to doo in this place, following the same course which I haue observed before in the historie of England, where I haue set downe all the dukes, since the first creation of anie duke in that countrie. Wherefore thus I enter into my dukes of Scotland.

"A catalog of all the dukes of Scotland by creation or descent."

ends p. 428, col. 1, l. 19. "Thus hauing set downe all the dukes which haue beene in Scotland, we wil descend to such Scots as haue inioied that title in a forren nation.

(4) "That divers of the Scots haue obteined the title and honor of dukes in forren countries."

ends p. 429, col. 1, l. 9 . . . . "of whom, [James, Earl of Arran, made Duke of Chatelerault by the French king in 1554,] I haue in-treated more liberallie in my discourse of the protectors of Scotland, and therefore meane not to speake anie thing of that here: wherfore leaving these dukes, we will returne our pen to other matters doone in Scotland."

Then comes a long period of self-restraint, 25 pages without a list. But an Archbishop affords him relief:

(5) "In which place, sith I haue mentioned Patrike Adamson, the archbishop of saint Andrews, because I shall not haue occasion to speake anie more of him, I will here set downe a collection of all the archbishops of that see."

Lastly comes the one legitimately-placed list:

[A generall catalog of the writers of Scotland, with the times in which they liued, as well of the yeare of Christ, as of the reigne of Scottishe kings.

Before I enter into the discourse thereof (which I speak not by waie of impeaching anie glorie of the Scottish nation) I must deliuer the opinion which I conceive of some of the Scottish writers, set downe by manie of their historiographers, who (sauing correction) finding manie learned writers to be termed Scots, doo transferre them all to their owne countrie of Scotland. But in that, they seeme vnto me (holding the same for this present vntill I may see good authoritie to disprooue it) to be ouer couetous in taking from other that which is their due. For I doo verelie suppose, that manie of those men so termed Scots, were Irishmen borne. For vntill late yeres, a little before the conquest (if my memorie faile me not,) the Irishmen were called Scoti or Scots; wherevpon it is, that the Scots and Irishmen, at this daie now knowne by seuerall names, doo challenge Duns, Colunnbanus, and others, to be borne amongst them, some calling them Scots, and other naming them Irishmen, and rebuking the Scots for challenging those men vnto them. For although the Scots came out of Ireland, and the Irish were called Scots, it is no reason to call a Scot borne in Ireland, by the name of a Scot borne in Scotland, as some writers doo vnder the amphibologickal name of Scot. But I (whose determination is not to aduance the one, or derogat from the other) will onlie in this place set them downe as I find them, & shew the different opinions touching the same, still leaving it to the judgement of others, to thinke thereof as they please; for I neither may, nor will, sit as Honorarius arbiter betwene those two nations. Wherefore thus I enter into the catalog of the writers of Scotland as followeth."

Thus setting end to my travelles touching Scotland (which I have not performed as the maiestie of an historie requireth, but as my skill, helps, & intelligences would permit). I desire the reader, to take it in good part, remembering that Vita posse non est esse, sith according to our old prouerbe, A man cannot pipe without his vpper lip. For being denied furtherance (as in the beginning I said) both of the Scots & other of mine owne nation, and thereby not haung any more subject wherupon to worke, I can doo no more than set downe such things as come to my knowledge. And therefore contenting myself with this, that 'In magnis voluisse sat est'; I commit my selfe and my labors to thy favorable judgement, who, measuring my meaning with the square of indifference, and pardoning all imperfections in these my first labors, in respect of the shortnesse of time to performe the same (for I protest to thee that both the historie of England & Scotland were half printed before I set pen to paper to enter into the augmentation or continuation of anie of them, as by the inserting of those things which I have done maie well appeare) thou shalt encourage me hereafter vpon more leasure,
and better studie, to deliuer to the world rare matters of antiquitie and such other labors of mine (Abruit verbis philantia) as maie both shew the discharge of my dutie to God, to my country, to my prince, and to my friends. For though I maie seeme to be idle, yet I saie with Scipio, 

\[\text{Nunc qui minus sum otiosus quid cum sum otiosus.}\]

β. We now pass to Thynne’s 11 Catalogue-insertions in Holinshed’s and his Continuers’ History of England, *Holinshed*, vol. iii.


A convenient collection concerning the high constables of England, which office ceased and tooke end at the duke of Buckingham aboue mentioned.

The death of this duke of Buckingham, being the last constable of England, dooth present apt place to me wherein to insert the names of all such honorable persons as have bene invested with that title of the constableship of England, an office of great account, & such as sometime was the chiefest place of a temporal subject in the realm (the high steward excepted) whose power did extend to restreine some actions of the kings. Wherefore, [there] being now no such office (for there was neuer anie advanced thereunto since the beheading of this duke), I thinke it not vnmeet to make some memorie of those persons possessing so high a place, least both they and their office might hereafter grow in utter oblivion: these therefore they were.

Alfgarus Stallere, constable to Edward the Confessor, of whom thus writeth the historie of Elie in the second booke, written by Richard of Elie, a moonke of that house, in the time of Henrie the second, whose words, although they be somewhat long, I shall not greene to set downe in this sort . . . . . [ends on p. 870, col. 1 with]

Edward Stafford, sonne to Henrie duke of Buckingham, (being also duke of Buckingham after the death of his father,) was constable of England, earle of Hereford, Stafford, and Northampton, being, in the first yeare of Henrie the seuenthe, in the yeare of our redemption 1485, restored to his fathers dignities and possessions. He is tearmed in the books of the law in the said thirteenth yeare of Henrie the eight (where his arreignement is liberallie set downe) to be the floure & mirror of all courtesie. This man (as before is touched) was by Henrie the seuenthe restored to his fathers inheritance, in recompense of the losse of his fathers life, taken awaie (as before is said) by the usurping king Richard the third. And thus much by Francis Thin touching the succession of the constables of England.

1 See Shaksperes *Rich. III*, act V, sc. i, iii.
II. F. THYNNE'S 'CARDINALS' IN HOLINSHED'S ENGLAND. Ixxv


"The protectors of England collected out of the ancient and moderne chronicles, wherin is set downe the yeare of Christ, and of the king in which they executed that function.

Upon the death of this duke of Summerset, protector of England, it shall not be vsitting 1 in this place to set downe all the protectors (whereof I can as yet haue intelligence) and who haue beene governors, regents, gardians, or deputies of the realtime, and of the kings person during his minoritie and time of his insufficiencie of gouvernement; or else of his absence being out of the realtime; whereof I haue made an especiall title in my Pantographie of England, in which this my collection of the protectors, although perhaps I shall not set downe all (for Barnardus non videt omnia 2), yet it is better to haue halfe a loaf than no bread, knowledge of some than of none at all. Thus therefore I begin" . . . . . . . . . . ends p. 1081, l. 48: "Edward Seimer, knight, vicount Beauchampe, earle of Hertford, & after, duke of Summerset, was protector of the kings person, and of the kingdome, in the first yeare of king Edward the sixt, his nephew, which was in the yeare of our redemption 1546, the king being then but nine years old. Of this man is more spoken in my following discourse of all the dukes of England by creation or descent since the conquest; with which duke of Summerset, the last in office of protectorship, Francis Thin knitteth vp this simple discourse of the protectors of England of the kings person."


[Preamble, ib. col. 1, l. 60. And thus much of cardinall Poole. Upon whose discourse presentlie ended, as hath beene doone in the treatise of high constables [See pa. 865] at the duke of Buckinghams behesadding, and of the lord protectors [See pa. 1069] at the duke of Summersets sufferings, (in which two honorable personages, those two offices had their end,) so here we are to infer 3 a collection of English cardinals, which order ceased when Reginald Poole died. After which treatise ended, according to the purposed order, and a catalog of writers at the end of this quenees reign annexed 4, it remaineth that quene Elizabeth shew hir selfe in hir triumphs at hir gratious and glorious coronation.

The cardinals of England collected by Francis Thin, in the yeare of our Lord, 1585.

This cardinall Poole being the last cardinall in England, and so likelye to be, as the state of our present time dooth earnestlie wish,

1 sitting is 'suitable, fitting'.
2 Quoted before by Thynne, on p. lxi.
3 bring in, our 'insert'.
4 p. 1169, col. 2, l. 14 to p. 1169, 14 lines of the 2 cols:—Neither Thynne's name nor initials are to it:—then, "Thus farre the troublesome reigne of Queene Marie, the first of that name (God grant she may be the last of hir religion) eldest daughter to king Henrie the eight."
doth here offer occasion to treat of all such Englishmen as haue possessed that honor. Which I onelie doo, for that I would haue all whatsoever monuments of antiquitie preserued, least Pereat memoria eorum cum sonitu. Wherefore thus I begin

Adrian, the fourth of that name, bishop of Rome, (called before that time Nicholas Breakespeare) . . . . ends p. 1168, col. 2, l. 13: "Thus concluding (that of all these our English cardinals, with the description of their liues, I will more largelie intreat in my booke intituled the Pantographie of England, conteining the vnuersall description of all memorable places, and persons, aswell temporall as spirituall) I request the reader to take this in good part, till that booke may come to light. Thus much Francis Thin, who with the wheele of George Ripleie, canon of Bridlington, after the order of circulation in alchimical art⁹, and by a geometrical circle in naturall philosophie, dooth end this cardinals discourse, resting in the centre of Beginaldo Poole, the last living cardinall in England, by whose death the said Francis took occasion to passe about the circumference of this matter of the cardinals of this realme."


The discourse and catalog of all the dukes of England, by creation or descent, since the time of the conquest. [In margin] The collection of Francis Boteuile, alius Thin, in the yeare of Christ 1585.

Two sentences, the one an Italian proverbe, the other an old English proverbe, haue moued me to make this collection (at the request of an other) of all the dukes of England. First, the Italian said that France cannot abide anie treasurer, England anie dukes, nor Scotland anie kings; the truth wherof need no confirming examples to be set downe, sith (as saith the philosopher) things subject to the sense need no further prooфе. Secondlie, the English saieng hath been, that 'a Nag of fife shillings shall beare all the dukes of England & Scotland'; being spoken in no sense of disgrace to that honorable title, but onelie to shew that the time should come, wherein there should be no dukes in England or Scotland. How true the same is in England, and likelie againe to be in Scotland (being once before verified in that reallme; for about fite years past, there was no duke there also when the duke of Lineux was banished,) euery man dooth well perceiue. For the death of this Thomas duke of Northfolke, being the last of that honour, hath justified the same in England. And the turmoils in Scotland may perhapes shortlie verify the same in that countrey, in which there were neuer so few dukes, as that they cannot make the first and smallest number; for being but one in that countrey, and he verie yong, (which is the duke of Lineux,) if he should miscare, the same would againe also be as true there as it is now here. For which cause, to perpetuall the memories of such antiquities and titles of honor as age hath consumed with the persons which inioied

¹ For F. Thynne's alchemical MSS., see p. i, and his Longleat MS, in a note at the end of these Hindwors.
such prehencences in England, I will, from the first creation of anie duke since the conquest, recite the creation, descent, and succession, of all the dukes of England, shewing first the time of the creation of such dukes, & secondlie the descent of all such dukes as are lineallie issued out of that creation, which follow as they came in one line.

Edward (the eldest sonne of king Edward the third) being surnameed the blacke prince, was made duke of Cornewall the eleuenth of Edward the third, in the yeare of our redemption 1337, when he was yet but yoong. This yoong prince was the first duke in England since the Conquest, and Cornewall was by that creation the first place that was erected to a dukedome. Which duke, being the flower of chialtrie in his time, died about the fiftith yeere of king Edward the third; in the yeare of Christ 1376, and was buried at Canturburie . . . . .

[ends (after quoting 'the worthie poet John Gower' on Edmund Duke of Somerset and the other lords slain and buried at St Alban's in May 1455) on p. 1238, col. 1, l. 16, with John Sutton of Dudley, Viscount Lisle, Duke of Northumberland, who was, on Aug. 18, 1553.]

"arraigned at Westminster, there condemned, and beheadded on tower hill the two and twentieth of the same moneth: whose bodie, with the head, was buried in the tower, he being the last duke that was created in England . . . And thus farre Francis Thin, touching the creation, and the succession in lineall descents, of all the dukes of England since the conquest."


[Preamble, l. 48. The thirteenth daie of Julie, the queenes maiestie at Whitehall made sir William Cicill, lord of Burghlie, lord high treasouror of England: lord William Howard, late lord chamberleine, lord priuie seale: the earle of Sussex, lord chamberleine; sir Thomas Smith, principall secretarie: and Christopher Hatton, esquier, capteine of the gard.]

A treatise of the treasurers of England, set downe out of ancient histories and records, as they succeeded in order of time and in the reigne of the kings. [In margin] Collected by Francis Thin in this yeare of Christ 1585.

This adorning of sir William Cicill knight, lord Burghlie with the honour of lord treasouror of England, hath rowsed my enuied pen thorough the malicious barking of some (who suppose nothing well but what they doo themselves, whereby gaine maie rise vnto their posteritie,) in this liberall sort to set downe the names & times of such treasurers as haue liued in England, as hereafter I will doo the chancellors1, and that

1 The readers of Holinshed should be thankful that they didn't get the Lords Chamberlain, and Privy Seal too, with the Principal Secretaries and Captains of the Guard: see Preamble.
with as good authoritie as these secret backbiters can challenge anie cunning to themselves, who suppose euerie blast of their mouth to come forth of Trophonius den, and that they speake from the truet. As I will not arrogate anie thing to my selfe,—for in truth I saie with Socrates, Hoc tantum scio, quod nihil scio, or derogate from them that which their worthinesse maie merit,—so shall I be glad (sith nothing is at the first so perfect, but that somewhat maie be either augmented, or amended, to and in it) that this maie whet those enious persons to deliver anie thing to the world, that maie, in comptrolling my labours, benefit their countrie; which if they will not doe, let them cease their euill speeches: for Qui pergit dicere qua libet, qua non vult, audiet. And truelie for mine owne part, I will Canere palinodium, and yeeld them an honourable victorie, if anie better shall be produced; and be heartlie glad, that truth (which is all that I seeke) maie be brought to perfection. Now how well I haue done it, my selfe must not be iudge, desiring pardon of such as, either with wise modestie can or ought to iudge, or with rare antiquities can or will correct what I haue done, if thorough ignorance we haue committed anie escapes or imperfections: further promising, that if hereafter we espie any of our owne error; or if anie other—either friend for good will, or aduersarie for desire of reprehension—shall open the same vnto me: I will not, for defense of mine estimation, or of pride, or of contention by wranglings or quarrelling vpon authorities, histories and records, willfullie persist in those faults; but be glad to heare of them, and in the whole and large discourse of the lives of the lord treasurers (almost perfected) correct them. For (as I said) it is truth of antiquities that I seeke for, which being had, (either by good intention of my welwilling friends, or by occasion and reprehension of my enious emulators) I greatlie esteeme not. And so to the matter.

Saint Dunstane (for I vse that name [Saint] more for antiquities than deuoutnesse cause) was treasurer to Eadred or Eldred, king of England, who began his regne in the yeare that the word became flesh, nine hundred, fortie and six . . . . .

p. 1253, col. 1, l. 4. The other house at this daie in honour, is the lord Greie of Wilton, knight of the garter, and sometime deputie of Ireland, a man of no lese merit for his servicie abrode in the feats of armes, than is the other Greie [of Ruthine, Earl of Kent] for his service at home in the affairs of peace. But I will not saie all that I thinke and know of them both, least some, more malicioualie than trulie, blemish me with the note of flatterie. For I protest I am so farre estranged from that, as I being not at all knowne to the one, and but slenderlie to the other, and never benefitted by anie of them both, there is no cause why I should vse anie flatterie: and yet such force hath vertue, as it will shine euin in despise of malice. But againe to the matter . . . .

(l. 45.) Wherefore, to draw to an end of this lord treasour [Edmund lord Greie of Ruthine, after, erle of Kent], who hath occasioned me to be more liberal in treating of him and the Greies, than of any lord treasour

1 orig. corrected
or noble name besides (for manie priuat reasons which I reason to my selfe) I will yet speake more liberallie of him and the Greies in my large books of the izes of the lord treasurers of England, and knit vp this Edmund Greie, lord treasurer, with the marieang of his wife Katharine, the daughter of Henrie Persie, earle of Northumberland, by whome he had issue, George Greie, earle of Kent; Elisabeth, maried to Robert, baron of Greiestocke; and Anne, maried to John lord Greie of Wilton.

iii. 1256, col. 2, l. 64. This sir William Cecill lord Burghlie, liuing at this instant in the yeare of Christ one thousand, five hundred, eightie and six, to the great support of this commonwealth, dooth worthilie inioy the place of the lord treasurer of England, of whome (for avoiding the note of flatterie) I may not saie that good which we, the subiects of England, doo feele by his meanes, and all the world doth see in his rare and wise gouernement. And therefore leasuing what may be said of him for his honorable deserts, from his countrie, his prince, and his countrie-men, as well for rare gouernement at home, as for graue managing of the matter of state abroad, I beseech the almightie Lord to lengthen his yeares with perfect health and happie succeesse of all his good desires, to answer the worth of those his honourable deserts. Thus knitting vp this discourse of the treasurers, with no lesse honorable person of the temporaltie in this our age, than I began the same discourse with a rare person of the spiritualie [St. Dunstan] in that their age,—this being knowne as singular in policie, as the other was supposed to be in prelacie,—I here set end to that, which with much labour of bodie, trauel of mind, and charge of pursse, I have brought to this forme, what so euer it be. Thus this much by Francis This touching the treasurers of England."

We now leave Francis Thynnes insertions of his Lives, or Catalogues, of men, in Holinsheds own work, and come to those in the Continuation of him.

"The Chronicles of England, from the yeare of our Lord 1576, when Raphaell Holinshed left; supplied and continued to this present years 1586: by John Stow, and others." (Hol. iii. 1268.)


[The 25 daie of Aprill [1579], sir Thomas Bromleie, knight, was made lord chancellor of England.]

"The chancellors of England, collected out of sundrie ancient histories. [In margin] The collection of Francis This.

The creation of this sir Thomas Bromleie lord chancellor, hath occasioned me to treate of the chancellors of England, a matter which I haue bene the willinge to set downe, because I would minister cause to others (who haue long wanted of their cunning in this matter,) to
impart to the world some of their great knowledge herein, to the benefit of their countrie. But since I doubt that they will not accept this in good part till that come, And as I may, & perhaps doo, (in this) somewhat more largelie (than in the judgement of others shall seeme answerable to the most receuied opinion touching the chancellors) treat of the antiquitie of them, so yet I haue no mind to erre, or to leade anie other into error. Wherefore, if things be not in perfection vpon this first rough hewing (as nothing is at the first so exquisit, as time dooth not after amend it,) yet disdaine it not, sith this may give more light than before was knowen. And I determine, God willing, either to amend, or to confesse and avoide, in the large description of their lunes, whatsoever imperfections haue now distilled out of my pen, either for mistaking or misplacing of name, person, or time; and so to the matter.

It hath beene some question amongst the best antiquaries of our age, that there were neuer anie chancellors in England before the comming of Edward the confessor out of Normandie, whome they suppose to have brought the same officer with him from thense into the realme. But sith I am, with manie reasons and ancient authorities, led to beleue the contrarie, I will embrace the contrarie opinion thereunto, and hold in this discourse (as the order thereof shall proue) that there were chancellors before saint Edwards time; for the confirmation whereof, and for the authoritie of them; for the etymology and originall of the name, and for the continuance of their office, thou shalt find an ample discourse in my booke purposefully written of the lunes of the chancellors, wherunto I whole refer theé, who, I hope, shall within these few yeares be partaker thereof; and in the meane time giue thee this tast of the age and names of the chancellors, and vicechancellors, and such keepers of the great scale as serued in place of chancellors. For euerie one that was keepe of the great scale, was not intituled ‘chancellor’, no more than euerie chancellor was intituled ‘the keeper of the great scale.’ But because the one did serue in the vacancie of the other (so that after a certaine sort, the keeper of the great scale was vicechancellor, and possessed the place, though not the name, of a chancellor, as in our age Sir Nicholas Bacon did), we therefore haue set downe the names of the one and the other, as they followed in succession of time [from ab. 718 A.D.] after this manner."

[Lives of the Chancellors, ends p. 1287, col. 1, l. 2-27]

"Thus (although I maie be a little wetshed in passing ouer the deepe sea of this difficultie of the chancellors, in which I am sure I am not ouer head and eares,) I haue at length brought my chancellors to end: a worke of some labour and difficultie, of some search and charge, which I haue doone onelie of my selfe, without the furtherance or help of some others, who, more inconsideratlie than trulie, doo disorderlie report, that I haue atteined vnto this in obtaining those names by some sinister means, from the priuat booke of them who haue trauelled in the same matter. In which (as I said in the beginning, so I saie againe) if anie
imperfection for hast, by reason of the printers speedie calling on me, haue now fallen out of my pen, it shall hereafter, God willing, be corrected in the large volume of their liues. Wherefore as I neither esteeme nor feare the secret reports of some others: so for their countries good it shall be well that they would deliever something to the world, to bring truth to perfection, (if other men haue vnwillingly set downe error,) and not as they doe, for a little commoditie & gaine to themselues, neither benefit their countrie, nor speake well of such as would and DOO helpe posteritie. Thus this much by Francis Thin, touching the chancellors of England."


[Preamble, ib. l. 21-34. "In the moneths of Nouember and December [1585], manie horses and men were shipped at the Tower wharffe to be transported ouer into the low countries. And on the first of December the right honorable lord Robert Dudlie, earle of Leicester, lord lieutenant generall (after he had taken his leaue of hir maieste & the court) with his traine entred the town of Colchester in Essex, where the maior & his brethern, all in scarlet gownes, with multitudes of people met him, and so, with great solemnitie, entred the towne, where he lodged that night, and on the next morrow, set forward to Harwich, into the which towne he was accordinglie received and intretained."

"A discourse of the earles of Leicester by succession. [In margin] The collection of the earles of Leicester, by Fr. Thin 1585.

"This going of Robert Sutton of Dudlie, the sonne of John Dudlie duke of Northumberland, into the low countries hath occasioned my pen to treat somewhat of the earles of Leicester. Wherefore, sith there hath beene (some hundred yeares past) some noble persons indued with that honorable title of the erldome of Leicester before and since the conquest, therefore determining to make some mention of them, being a thing not common, and so much the more woorthie of continuance to posteritie, I saie, that if any shall think this discourse ouer briefe, and slender mention of such honourable persons, of their woorthie exploits, of their antiquitie, of their descents and succession; let him for this present satisfie himselfe with this, whatsoever it now be, untill it shall please God to give better abilitie & more time, to deliever to the world the whole discourse of their liues, which I have alreadie roughly heven out of the

1 Hearne's Diary, vol. lxxiv. p. 240. Notes out of Mr Bridges's complete Holingshede. "The castrated sheets of Hollingshead beginn at p. 1419. col. 1. [Reg. Eliz. 27.] with these words, A Discourse of the earles of Leicester by succession. which Discourse is thus inquit. in the Margin, The collection of the earles of Leicester, by Fr. Thin, 1585. [Thin acknowledges the Discourse to be too brief and slender, and therefore gives hopes of a larger one, the rough Draught whereof he had then by him, in which work (written in English) he likewise intended to treat of the other earles of this Realm. &c.]"

2 Here begin the Castrations; see p. lxvi above.

THYNNE.
rocks in a booke purposelie intreating thereof in English, as I have done of the other earles of this realme.” . . . [Thyne then states, and assents to, the opinion that there were no earls in England before Edward the Confessor’s time, “but that they were onelie lords of those places whereof they were intituled”, and then starts with Leofricus the first Earl, in Ethelbald’s time, “which Ethelbald was slaine about the yeare of our redemption seaven hundred, fortie and nine. He goes on for 5 leaves; and then “Iohn Stow” takes up again his account of Leicester’s embarkation from Colchester for Flushing, on his Low-Countries expedition.]

[ends p. 1424, col. 1] “Robert Sutton, alias Dudlie, knight of the most honourable order of the garter, baron of Denbigh, was created earle of Leicester in the six yeare of queene Elisabeth, being the yeare of our redemption, one thousand, five hundred, sixtie and foure, whose manner of creation I will omit, because it is alreadie set downe in the said yeare of Christ one thousand, five hundred, sixtie and foure. And thus much touching the earles of Leicesters in general, and touching Robert Sutton, in especiall, whose honourable interteinement in the lowe countries (whereinto he entered in this yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred eightie and five) deserving not to be forgotten, dooth follow in this sort.” . . .


[Preamble by J. Hooker (? or Stow) to Francis Thynne’s Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury and the Lords Cobham.

Hol. iii. 1434, col. 2. “On the one and twentieth daie of Ianuarie, two Seminarie preestes (before arreigned and condemned) were drawne to Tiburne, and there hanged bowedle, and quartered. Also on the same daie a wench was burnt at Smithfield, for poisoning of hir aunt and mistresse, and also attempting to haue done the like to her vncele. On the second daie of Februarie, or feast of the purificacion of our blessed ladie, doctor Iohn Whitegift, archbishop of Canturburie, William lord Cobham, lord warden of the fiue ports, and Thomas lord Backhurst, were chosen and taken to be of hir majesties priuie councell: the two first, to wit, the archbishop & the lord Cobham, were swore the same daie, and the third on the next morrow; who, being persons worthie that place, both in respect of their deserts for their former good cariage in the commonwealth, & for the gifts of nature & learning wherewith they are richly adorned, haue occasioned Francis Thin to make the like discourse of the archbishops of Canturburie and the lord Cobhams, with the lord wardens of the fiue ports, as he hath before doone in this chronicle of most of the other principall officers of the realme.”]

“The liues of the archbishops of Canturburie, written by Francis Thin in the yere of our redemption 1586. (Hol. iii. 1435.)

“Posthumus Labienus (good reader) when he wrot the Roman histories in Grecce, craued pardon of the reader. Whereupon Cato the

1 Hearne's Diary, vol. lxiii. p. 126. “The Author of all four [Discourses
Elder did scoffingly say; Truelie he had been to be pardoned, if he had written in Greeke, as one compelled thereunto by the decree of the Amphiictiones; the which like matter, also found in Aulus Gellius lib. 9. cap. 8. and spoken of Aulus Labienus, is the same historie vnder other names. For Gellius reciteth that Albinus, who was consuil with Lucius Lucullus, did write the deeds of the Romans in the Greeke toong; in the beginning of whose historie he hath set downe, that none ought to be angrie with him, although that he hath not written eloquentlie in those books. For being a Roman borne in Latium, a part of Italie, the Greeke toong was but a stranger vnto him. Which worke, when Marcus Cato had read, and happened on this excuse of Aulus Labienus, he reprehendingly said: ‘Art not thou Aulus a great trifier, which haddest rather craue pardon for a fault committed, than to be without the committing of a fault; sith we are accustomed onelie to craue pardon when we erre wittingly, or offend by compulsion of others?’ Wherevnto Cato further added: ‘Te quis perpulit vt id committeres quod priusquam faceres, peteres vt ignoscertur?’ Thus much out of Gellius. Whereby it appeareth, that in Plutarch reciting this saience of Cato, the name of Posthumus Albinus is there to be placed; for these two, Aulus Posthumus Albinus, and L. Lucinius Lucullus, were consuls at the time when Cato persuaded that warre should be denounced vnto the rebelling Carthaginians: so that the same storie recited under the name of Posthumus, Aulus, and Albinus, is all but one thing, doone to and by one man having diverse names.

Which historie I have not vouched, to the end that I would craue fauor for writing the dooings of other persons in a toong wherein I am skillesse; because it deserueth not anie pardon, that one should heedlesse and headlong, both wittinglie and wilfullie, run into that for which he must after craue pardon. But I have set downe the same, to the intent that the wise sentence of Cato may not be forgotten, saient that where we offend by ignorance or by compulsion, that there we may lawfullie craue pardon therefore. Which words of so graue, so wise, and so reverend a person, incorageth me to craue pardon, if I haue offended in the discourse of these liues of the bishops of Canturburie (consecrated to thy favourable acceptance) because I haue beene moued and induced to the writing of them in a short space, by the intreatie of such of my friends, which vpon the inserting of this now archbishop of Canturburie, with the lords Cobham and Buckhurst (woorthillie sworne of hir majesties priuie counsell) in the new augmented chronicle of Hollinshed, haue with manie good speeches animated me vnder the bands & duties of amitie (than which a greater law or burthen can not be laid vpon anie man) to enter into this discourse of the archbishops,
being a thing neuer written before in our vulgar toong.¹ Wherevnto, although I am most vnapt amongste great numbers in this land, as well for the matter and stile, as for the shortnesse of time which I had therefore, (all which might feare a better man than my selfe to vndraw his pen from laieng abroad his imperfections,) yet I hope that courteisie, accompanied with a mild disposition of nature, will favorable lymebrace my good meaning, and beare with all other imperfections in the penning thereof, both because nothing is so exactlie handled, but that some Zoilus will some waie or other repine at it, and also because the reason which I haue before alleaged, and Cato hath warranted, is a sufficient defense for me, without offense, to craue pardon for the vnadvised entring into anie such vnertaken action, and a just cause to moose thee not to mislike of this, or anie thing which we doo at the intretie of our neere and deere friends vnworthy of anie deniall. In discoursing of which archbishops, I determine not to dispute of the antiquitie of the christianitie of this realme, neither of the state of christianitie infected with the Pelagian heresie (being strecketen within the borders of Wales) nor yet of the hatefull paganisme with which all the rest of the parts of this Ile now called England was ouerspred, which Augustine the monke of Rome (not the doctor of the church and bishop of Hippo in Africa) found here when he came first into this Iland, but onlie naktedlie to shew the time, the order, the succession, the deeds and names, with the honor and offices of the archbishops and metropolitans of the same see of Canturburie. Wherefore, for this time I doo in this homelie sort enter into the matter, taken (in some part) out of Matthew Parker, who learnedlie in Latine wrote the liues of seuentie bishops of that place, as here dooth presentlie follow. Augustine, &c.” (for 64 pages).

(The Lives of the Archbishops end on Holinshed, iii. 1499, col. 1, l. 24.)

Afterwards, doctor Grindall, archbishop of Canturburie, dieng in the moneth of Julie 1588, it pleased God to put into her maiesties hart to nominat him [Whitgift] in August after, archbishop of that see, whose election therevnto was confirmed at Lambeth on the 23 of September following. And on the second of Februarie 1585, according to the computation of our church of England, being the 28 of hir maiesties reigne, he, with other worthie and honorable personages, was sworn one of hir maiesties priuie counsell: which honor vnder hir maiesties most gratious gouvernement, I praine God he maie long inioie. Thus hauing set end to the discourse of the archbishops of Canturburie, with this reuerend pretat John Whitegift now living, order leadeth vs to a collection of the lord Cobhams, for that the lord Cobham now living is the next before mentioned to have beene sworn of hir maiesties counsell.

¹ “He [Archbp. Matthew Parker] wrote a booke in Latin of the liues of the Archbishops of that see (as some affirm) which I haue vued much in this discourse, of the liues of the archbishops of Canturburie,” iii. 1496, col. 1, l. 61-5.
A treatise of the Lord Cobhams with the lord wardens of the cinque ports; gathered (as well out of ancient records and monuments, as out of our histories of England) by Francis Botevile, commonly surnamed Thin, in the yeare of our redemption 1586.

The divine philosopher Plato, diuiding nobilitie into four degrees, saith; that the first is of such as be descended of famous, good, just and vertuous ancestors; the second are they whose former grandfathers were princes and mightie persons; the third sort be such as be renowned by worthie fame, in that they haue obtained a crowne and reward for anie valiant exploit, or in anie other excellent action in the feats of warre; the fourth and cheeffest kind of noble men, are persons which of themselves excell in the prerogative of the mind, and benefit of vertuous life. For he is most rightlie termed noble, whom his owne Dowries of the mind, and not an others worthinesse dooth nobilitate. Wherepon Socrates, being demanded what was true nobilitie, answered: Animis corporisque temperantia. And Cassiodorus prooueth, that of all others, the nobilitie gotten by ourselues is the most excellent, when he saith, Nobilitas à me procedens, est mihi cordi, plusquam que ex patrum procedit nobilitate: quia in quo desint cuinque nobilitatis tunc auorum nobilitate congru indiget. The reason whereof, and the cause whie a man is counted most noble by his owne actions, the graue and morall Seneca hath appointed to be; the nobilitie of his mind, which alwaies seeketh to performe worthie and honourable actions; for thus he deliuereth vs his opinion vpon the same: Habet hoc optimum genus animus, quod concitat ur ad honesta. Neminem excelsi animi virum humilia delectat & sordida. Felix qui ad meliora imperium animi dedit: ponet se extra conditionem fortune, prospera tentabit, adversa comminuet, & alius admiranda despiciet. Now if anie one of all these things by themselues in particular, falling in severall persons, maketh euerie such person noble, who tasteth but of one of these foure distinctions of nobilitie: how much more is that person to be termed noble, and rightlie to be honoured therefore, in whom all these four parts, or the most of them, doo concur; as to be descended of good, of mightie, of ancient, and of warlike ancestors, and himselfe not to degenerast from them, even in the cheeffest point of all others, which is in his owne actions, therein most of all to nobilitate himselfe and his posteritie. All which, as I haue persuaded myselfe, are to be found in one, who at this time (as is before said) was, amongst others, for his worthinesse and merit advanced to the estate of a councellor vnder the rarest princesse and quene of this our present age. Which noble person being so preferred to that place, ministreth just cause to me to record some antiquities touching the lords of Cobham, and the wardens of the cinque ports; and that the rather, for that the lord Cobham now liuing, being the glorie of that ancient and honorable familie, not onelie meriteth well of his countrie, as after shall appeare, but is also an honorable Mecenas of learning, a lower of learned persons, and not inferior in knowledge to anie of the borne nobilitie of England.
But leaung him for this instant to himselfe (of whome I cannot saie that which I ought, and he deserueth; and, for avoiding the note of flat-
terie, I maie not saie that which I can, and euerie man knoweth) I will
orderlie descend to my purposed catalog of the lords of Cobham, and the
wardens of the cinque ports, which I will set downe in that sort, as the
pedegree of that neuer sufficientlie praised lord treasure of England, sir
William Cecil, knight, lord Burleigh, is deliuered to the world in my
former discourse of the lord treasurer of England. [pag. 1228.] Where-
fore thus I begin with the lord Cobhams. William Quartermer, &c.
(p. 1515, col. 2, l. 69.) "Thus hauing finished all my course discourse
of these lord Cobhams, it is high time for vs now to descend to the lord
wardens of the five ports: which office the honorable baron sir William
Brooke, knight, lord Cobham of Cobham now liuing, dooth to his
countries good, and his great honor, worthilie injoy, as some of his
ancestors haue doone before."

(10) The Lord Wardens of the Cinque Ports.

(p. 1516.) "The catalog of the lord wardens of the cinque ports, and
constables of Douer castell, aswell in the time of king Edward, surnamed
the Confessor, as since the reigne of the Conqueror, collected by Francis
Thin in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fourscore and six.

That hath bin some question, whether this officer of warden of the ports
were in the Romane and Saxons times, which truelie I am resolved
was then vsed; and the officer righthe to be called Limenarcha, the
chiefe (as it were) of the borders of seacoasts, and the governor Saxonici
litoris; which was of that shore which belonged to England, in Kent, on
which the roming pirates of the Saxons lieng vpon the sea were woont
to alland, and then to spoil the country. For the more explanation
whereof, I refer thee to that learned worke of maister Camden, and will
only bend my pen to such principall officers of those places as fall within
my knowledge, as followeth.

Goodwine, earle of Kent, was constable of Douer castell, maister of
the ports and those parts of the seacoastes, and had the towne of Douer
in his keeping, in the time of king Edward the Confessor . . . .

(p. 1534, col. 2, l. 56.) "Sir William Brooke, knight, lord Cobham,
was made constable of Douer castell, warden of the cinque ports, and
chancellor of the same, after the death of sir Thomas Cheineie, in the
first yeare of the queenes reigne that now is, being the yeare of Christ
one thousand five hundred fiftie and nine: of whom, because I haue
spoken more liberallie in my discourse of the lord Cobhams of Cobham,
I will not here saie anie thing but this; that he, hauing possessed this
place by the space of eight and twentie yeeres, being much longer time
than anie of his predecessors, hath (in executing that office) caried him-
selwe with such honor and loue, that he woorthilie deserueth, and his
countrie hopeth he shall inioie the same, manie following yeares, to his
owne honor and his countrie benefit: whome I will here leave in his
princes fauor, and set end to all my discourses inserted in the new aug-
mented chronicls [so] of Holinshed, with the succession of the lord warden of the cinque ports."

After this, we cannot put down to Francis Thynne Reginald Scot's very interesting account, which follows the last-quoted paragraph, of the inspection by Lord Cobham in 1586, and the building in 1588, of the harbour-works at Dover¹. The description of the works (in the *Continuation of Holinshed*) is done with relish, and reminds one of the railway embankment-making one has seen. I copy a bit which speaks of the workmen's cleverness and good behaviour, iii. 1546, col. 1, l. 17:—

In the passage also of the courts [little waggon loaded with chalk, sleigh, &c.], if (by chance) either man or boie had fallen downe amongst them (as sometimes some did) the hill was so steepe at some places, and the court was so swift, that there could be no staie made, but the courts must run ouer them, and yet no great harme hath happened that waie. And I myself have seen a court laden with earth passe ouer the bellie or stomach of the drier, and yet he not hurt at all therby. Manie courts also being vnloden (for expedittion) were druen at low waters through the chanell, within the pent, from maister lieutenants wall, whereby they gained more than halfe the waie: and so long as by anie possibilitie they might passe that waie, they were loth to go about. And when the flood came, the chanell did so suddenlie swell, as manie horses, with their courts, and driuers which rode in them, were ouertaken, or rather ouerwhelmed with water, and were forced to swim, with great hazard of life, though therat some tooke pleasure. For sometimes the boies would strip themselves naked, and ride in that case in their courts through the chanell, being so high, as they were ducked ouer head & eares; but they knew their horses would swim and carry them through the streame, which ministred to some, occasion of laughter and mirth. Finallie, this summer, being in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred eighty & three, was verie hot and contagious, & the infection of the plague that yeare more vnuersalli dispersed through England than in manie yeaeres before, and that towne [Dover] verie much suiciet

¹ Hearne's *Diary*, vol. xo. p. 131. Nov. 19, 1720. "Mr Austis tells me that Dr Thorp of Rochester proposes to him my printing Mr Darrell's Hist. of Dover in the Heralds' Office, and a MS. on the same subject of Franco. Thinne in Mr Pepys's library. (&c.)" I've applied to the Magdalen Librarian for an account of this MS. As he's sent no answer, he's no doubt abroad.
ther vnto, by meanes of throughfare and common passage, and had beene extremelie visited therewith not long before, so as the towne was abandoned of most men, yea, of some of the inhabitannts themselfes for that cause: and yet God blessed so the works, as in this extraordinarie and populous assemble, there was in no part of the towne anie death or infection, either of townsmen, or workmen which resorted thither from all the parts of England.

And one thing more in mine opinion is to be noted & commended herein, that is to saie, that in all this time, and among all these people, there was neuer anie tumult, fraie, nor falling out, to the disquieting or disturbance of the works, which by that means were the better applied, and with lesse interruption. For they neuer ceased working the whole daie, sauing that at eleuen of the clocke before noone, as also at six of the clocke in the euening, there was a flag usuallie held vp by the sargent of the towne, in the top of a tower,—except the tide, or extraordinarie busines forced the officers to prevent the ourie, or to make some small delaie & thereof,—And presentlie vpon the signe giuen, there was a generaall shout made by all the workers: & wheresoeuer anie court was at that instant, either emptie or loden, there was it left, till one of the clocke after noone, or six of the clocke in the morning, when they returned to their businesse. But by the space of half an hour before the flag of libertie was hanged out, all the court driuers entered into a song, whereof although the dittie was barbarous, & the note rustical, the matter of no moment, and all but a jest; yet is it not vnworthie of some breie note of remembrance; because the tune, or rather the noise thereof, was extraordinarie, and (being deliuered with the continuall noise of such a multitude) was verie strange. In this and some other respect, I will set downe their dittie, the words whereof were these:

O Harrie hold vp thy hat! 'tis eleuen ¹ a clocke, and a little, little, little, little past:
My bow is broke, I would vnyoke;
my foot is sore, I can work no more.

This song was made and set in Romnie marsh, where their best making is making of wals and dikes, and their best setting is to set a needle or a stake in a henge: howbeit this is a more ciuil call than the brutish call at the theatre for the comming aweaie of the plaieres to the stage. I thinke there was neuer worke attempted with more desire, nor proceeded in with more contentment, nor executed with greater trauell of workemen, or diligence of
officers, nor provided for with more carefullnesse of commissioners, nor with truer accounts or duer paie, nor contriued with more circumspection of the deusiers & undertakers of the worke, nor ended with more commendation or comfort. . . .

But though the Dover-harbour account is not Thynnne's, no doubt the alphabetical list of writers on England and English History, on pages 1589—1592 of vol. iii, headed 'F. T.' in the margin, is by Francis Thynn. This is his introduction to it:—

"Now as Holinshed, and such as with painfull care and loue to their countrie, haue thought good, before me, to knit vp1 the seuerall reigne of euerie seuerall king with a generalitie of the seuerall writers in that princes daies, so haue I bene importuned by manie of my freinds, to knit vp1 the said whole historie with a particular catalog of all such as haue purposelie in seuerall histories of this realme, or by the waie in the histories of other countries, written of England and English matter. For which cause (with the title of other anonymall chronicles) I haue here for that purpose, by order of alphabet set downe the same. Wherein, although I shall not set downe euerie mans name, nor of what time & qualitie euerie one was, (for he is not liuing, I suppose, that can doo the same,) yet hauing doone my good will therein, and that more than perhaps some others would haue doone, I praiue thee to beare with the defaults, and accept that which I haue doone and could doo. And although perhaps I maie set downe one man twise, as first by his name, and then set downe the worke without his name, as another seuerall thing; yet is it not of purpose doone, or to the end that I would make a great shew, and seeme ambitious of names or knowledge; but for that I haue not as yet atteined to that perfection which hereafter I hope to doo in distinguishing of the same. For Rome was not built in one daie; & yet if one daies foundation thereof had not beene first laid, it had never beene after builded: and so to the matter." Holinshed, iii. 1589, col. 1, l. 42-70. Under P he notes "John Proctor, schoole-maister of Tunbridge, to whom I was sometime scholer." p. 1591, col. 1, l. 18. Under B, "Henrie Bradshaw, borne in Chester, a blacke moonke there in the time of Henrie the eight. John Burgh, a moonke in the daies of K. Edward the third" (the Continuator of Lydgate's englising of the Secreta Secretarum) p. 1589, col. 2, l. 52-5.

ends p. 1592, l. 30. (l. 17.) "Thus far this catalog. Now peradventure some will looke for a rehearsall omnigatherum of such as haue written in the reigne of our blessed souereigne: but herein as it passeth our possibility to satisfie their expectation, their number being infinit, and many of them vnknowne, and vnworthie of remembrance: so it were to be wished that some fauourer of learned mens fame, would comprise their

1 Note the use of this phrase above, p. lxx.
names and works in a particular volume, therein imitating either the order of Bale, or Geaner; or else the commendable method of John James the Frislander, printed at Tigurie one thousand, five hundred, fourescore and three; either of which courses being taken, would well serve the turne."

II r. First application for a Post in the Heralds' Office.

A Heralds' Office or a Record Office was the place that Francis Thynne was clearly meant for. All his studies and his instinct ran in that line, and he must have long desir'd an official standing. The present Record Office contains two documents showing both the nature of his work, and his wish for a Post of the kind:


"The answere of the presidentes produced by Mr neville against the ladye Fane. Sett downe by Francis Thynne." A paper (of 17 leaves), concerning the claim of Lady Fane to the title of the barony of Abergavenny. It contains "The generall answere to all suche presidentes as Mr. Edwarde Nevill produceth to prove the tytle of dignytye of a Baronye upone one entayle of the lande to the heire male in the collateral lyne, to descend accordingelye to that heire male, and not to the heire female in the directe lyne beinge heire generall:" and "The perticular answeres to the severall presidents of Ed. Neville."

"The 'Generall Answer' occupies two sides of a leaf and a quarter; it is something like a counsel's 'Opinion,' taking up the points of Mr Neville's precedents, and confuting each one strongly. (The confuter lays much stress on "the resoyne and maximes of the comone lawe.") The 'Perticular Answers' consist of short pedigrees and detailed notices of ten baronies and two earldoms.

The paper throughout is not in Thynne's hand, but there are two endorsements, and several side-notes, consisting of references to Inquisitions post mortem, Rolls, &c., which perhaps are in his hand. The pencil endorsement of date is "probably 7 Dec. 1588." The document is one among many on the same subject.

2. His Letter of Nov. 15, 1588, to Lord Burghley, lamenting his bad luck in being too late when he appli'd for a place in the Heralds' Office; stating the bad condition of the Office, and the petty jealousies among the officers; reviewing their characters; and saying, that while waiting for dead men's shoes, he, barefoot, will die before he gets their legacy in the shape of a Herald's post:
Francis Thynne to Lord Burghley.

State Papers, Domestic, Eliz. Vol. 218, Nov. 15, 1588.

Your Lordship may suppose (Right honorable) that I have much idle tymne and little wisdome, to write so often & spede so seldom. Whiche yf you do, I impute to the frowarde heauens distyllinge there Influence in my natvytye, wherin Saturne, beinge in his pryde, hath as hardly thretened, as I haue heuely felte, the ouerthwartke procedinges of the two fyrske tryplicytyes or progressions of my lyfe now almost ended: All whiche yf yet I beare the moore pacientlye; because I am feld with a swete hope, that at the entringe into the thirde progressione of the cours of my yeres, the gentle Jupiter wyll expell his father Saturne oute of his kingdome, & so gelde hym of his malice that I shall for euer be freed from the tyrannye of his powre. Whiche I speake in all simplicyte, I protest vnto your Lordship, because I Iudge that the denyall of my sute to mee, & the graunte therof to others by your Lordship (solicited for the same before my lettres\(^1\) came) is rather to be holden a thinge Incidente to my vnhappy fortune (then to their greate desartes) sitheyn yt is my happie euer to come to late. For whiche cause, the same whiche Plutarche recysethe of Pythias the proophett (answeringe one demandyng he whether he shold enter into the managinge of the comon we\([\text{I}]\)the or no) may Iustly be applied to mee, the prophets woordes beinge, “Sero venisti, me de principatu et rei publice administracione consulens, & alieno tempore militiae Ianuae pulsans”.

For the office of Norrey was gonne\(^2\) before I came; The place of Chester was graunted before I sued\(^3\); the doore was locked; I knoect to late; I slepte with fyte foolyshe virgins, and was deprivd of that whiche I hoped throughe your Lordship to haue obteyned.

Now where your Lordship sayed that all the whoole collidge of hereaundes had sued for William Thomas\(^4\), I am gladde to here of so grete a sympathye betweene them: whiche yet, I fere, is not so muche for loue amongest them selues, as for hatred unto others. For (I doble) suche is the corrupstone of the place, that yt is not catena aurea but aurata, and hath for the presente tymne put on a flyinge tincture of golde, whiche, havinge no greate force, will easely vanishe awaye in smooke, yf yt coome to the examinacione of the fier of truhte. For howe so euer they shall seme to make an harmonye (havinge two bitter factions amongest them selues, for the meyntenance whereof eche partye laboreth in that office to drawe euery one they canne to their side, in preferringe those in that office whiche wilbe beholdinge to them), yet is their suche larringe tunes in the gretesete of their knowledge, that the truhte of manye antiquytys and perdegrees shalbe ether mymed of her

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\(^1\) M.S. Trea.

\(^2\) promist: Edmund Knight (successor, as Chester, to John Hart, 4 Oct. 1574) was appointed Norroy in 1589, in the room of William Flower, ob. 1588.

\(^3\) James Thomas (Bluemantle) succeeded Edmund Knight as Chester in 1589. The post must have been promist him in 1588.

\(^4\) That is, James Thomas.
best lymmes, or so bombasted that yt will shew a thinge whiche yt is not; whiche I will sufficiently aduouche, if Instances be called for at my handes. Whiche beinge true, dothe manyest to the wo[r]ld that they cannott abyde the lighte of any other mans knowledge to enter emongst them, or nourishe any further knowledge in that office then their owne (as appered in the vnuenchable & moore then Vatiniand hatred whiche they bare to Somersett departed) no moore then the Batte canne abide the Light of the daye. But I will not Anotomyze every particular defect of cuere manne and matter in that office. (Lest I might be counted one of the foolishie sonsnes of Martine Mare- prelate;) Although I knowe, that the glorious vanytue of Garter; The subtil conueneance of Clarenceaux; the weake estate of Chester, the skyll of Richmonde, the pleyne meaninge of Yorke. The poetical penne of Somersett, The smale knowledge of Lancaster, the seble gourmeste of Windsore, the blemished actions of Rouge Crosse, the smale experience of Rouge Dragon, & the late prefermente of Port-cuyelles and Blewmantell, wold speake all they cold against me, a stranger in that office. But I (layinge all my lyfe open to the world, and makinge my actions the towchestone of the honest cariage of my selfe,) feare not what their malice canne sayse to my disgrace; for in the ende, I hoope the rebounde of their owne brethe shall ouere throwe them, yf I shall coome to answere theire objections, Whiche I speake, for that I knowe some of the greatest of that office (as they selues haue moore gloriously then wisely wanted to no moone councellors of state,) haue sayed somethinge of mee to your Lordship, whose wisdome, measuringe all mens speches by the square of Iustice, is not easily to be caried awaye with every Idle blaste, as I haue judged. But, my good Lorde, seinge yt falleshe from the mouth of hym whome I haue alwayes honored and ever wyll, that your Lordship hath graunted your favor to one other for the place of Chester, and that I am reduced and hoopecesse of the Roome of an hereaud (all places beinge full,) vnaest I will expecte deedd mens shews, (and so, beinge barefoote, were oute my lyfe before I possesse that legacye,) I do hold my selfe satisfied, determyninge hereafter to lyue in silence, (and lyke the snayle, not to come forthe of my shell,) vnaest I may by youre Lordships meanes (to whose judgment I commende my selfe) receve prefermente in the worlde.

Thus humbly crauinge pardone for my tediousnes, beschinge godd to sende yo" longe and helthfull lyfe, and desyringe your Lordship to holde mee as one who hathe wholly consecrated his service to your

1 The celebrated Robert Glover, Somerset from Dec. 29, 1570, to April 10, 1588.
2 f MS. thra. 3 Sir W. Dethick. 4 Robert Cooke.
7 Humphrey Hales (appointed 1587). 8 Wm. Sagar (appointed 1588).
9 Nicholas Paddy (appointed in 1588). 10 Nicholas Dethick.
11 Ralph Brooke. 12 John Raven (appointed in 1588).
13 Thomas Lant (succeeded Wm. Sagar in 1588).
14 James Thomas (succeeded Humphrey Hales in 1587).

ST. TUCKER, ROUGE CROIX, 1875.
commandeumente, I dulyfully take my leave. Clerken well, 15 of November, 1588. Your Lordships commande to his vntermoste
Francis Thynne

addres—To the right honorable his singuler good lorde, the lord Tresurer, bee These.

deres—Mr Francis Thinne to my l.

Thynne’s signature, with the date 1589, 2 Julii, is on leaf 32 of the Sloane MS. 3836, a MS. in Thynne’s hand, of 70 leaves, chiefly Arms (with sketches) and Monuments from Churches.

II. 2. Speeches.—In 1591 (or -91 and 92 if his “x of february 1591” is old style,) we find Francis Thynne one of the knot of men who were the forerunners of the present Society of Antiquaries. This knot of men was generally calld ‘the Society of Antiquaries’, but it must of course be distinguishd from its after-born namesake. “Sir Wm Dethick was one of the first members of the [old] Society of Antiquaries, and permitted them to hold their several meetings at his apartments in the Heralds’ Office.” (Lives of the Heralds, a MS. in the Library of Sir Joseph Ayloffe, Bart.: Hearne’s Cur. Disc. ii. 451-2, ed. 1771.) One of their Notices of Meeting sent to Stow, a fellow-member of the Society of Antiquaries, and a fellow-continuer of Holinshed, with Francis Thynne (Hearne’s Cur. Disc. ii. 440-443 (for 441), ed. 1771,) is printed by Hearne, Ib. vol. i. p. xv.

“Society of Antiquaries (To Mr Stowe).

The place appointed for a conference upon the question followinge, ys att Mr Garters house on Frydaye the ii of this November, at ii of the clock in thafternoone, where your oppinioun, in wrytinge or otherwise, is expected.

The question is,

‘Of the antiquitie, etimologie, and priviledges of parishes in Englane.’

Yt ys desyred that you giue not notice hereof to any but suche as haue the like somons.”

Francis Thynne was a working member of the Society. Two of his speeches, in his own crabbed note-hand, are preservd in the Lansdowne MS. 254, Brit. Mus. He heads the first (leaf 38),

“my speche. The Thursday, the x of february 1591, at Mr Garters [Dethick’s] house in the office of the heraldes, vppon these questions.

1. Of what antiquytie the name of ‘Barones’ in Englane; of their creatione; and signyfications of the worde.
2. Of what antiquitye teneures are; and the forme thereof; with other matters belonginge thereunto. (leaf 35); ends "we sett end to this tedious and course discourse." leaf 41, bk.

Thynne's heading for the second (leaf 45) is

"my speache the xxijj daye of June a° 1591, in the assemblye of the Antiquaries at m° garters howse aboute these questions followinge

a° Elizabeth 33.
1. On the Antiquytie of Vicounts, and of other thinges concerning the same in Englande.
2. "Of the Antiquytie of 'sealinge'¹; the forme thereof; and the sealinge with Armes." This ends on leaf 52 with "And so fynishing this troblesome & confused discourse, I beseche yo" to pardone all the imper[fec]tiones thereof, and not objecte to me the sayinge of Salomon, that 'in multiloquio non deest peccatum.'

(The next 3 Articles in the Lansdowne MS. 254 are, 1.—on leaves 50-56, formerly 53-59—'A shorte Introduction for the easie understandinge of that parte of the Arte of Herauldrie which handleth the descriptione of Noblemens Armes'; 2. on leaves 57-61, 'A breife description of the Erldome or Countye of Penbroke'; 3. on leaves 62-66 a treatise headed 'Gentleman'; on his name & degree; 'on Yeomene, & Esquiers.' These are not in Thynne's hand—so far as I can judge—and have no trace of being Papers for reading, but are set down as Thynne's in the Lansdowne Catalogue, which says

"These 5 discourses were delivered by Mr Thynne at the meetings of the Society of Antiquaries in the reign of Elizabeth, and some of them are stated to be in his own handwriting.'—Note in Lansdowne Catalogue, p. 88, col. 2.)

Besides these speeches remaining in MS., it is clear—from Hearne's account in his Curious Discourses, and the words of his editor, in the 2nd edition of that book,—that Thynne either spoke before the Society of Antiquaries, or wrote for it, the following speeches or essays printed in Hearne's Curious Discourses:

Of what Antiquitye Shires were in England. Art. IX, p. 33-49.
Of the Antiquity of Epitaphs in England. Art. LXXVI, p. 251-6, vol. i, ed. 1771. (See β, Note 1, in List of Thynne's Works, below.)

¹ Printed 'fealty' in the Lansdowne Catalogue.

The Pedigree of William Lambarde, Esq. compiled by Francis Thynne on 14 Feb. 1591-2, was exhibited to the (new) Society of Antiquaries, May 22, 1862. (No. 16, in Messrs Coopers’ List.)

II t. Second application for a post in the Heralds’ Office. 1593, Dec. 2.

Francis Thynne’s Letter to Lord Burghley.

After waiting five years (p. Ixxxix), Francis Thynne resolves to be in time for the appointment to a fresh vacancy in the Heralds’ Office, and on Dec. 2, 1593, writes the following letter to Lord Burghley:

Lanadowne MS. 75, Art. 76, leaf 161.

I wolde most dutifully (right honorable & my very good lorde) present my selfe vtnto yoⁿ; and for that cause was yesterdye at your Lordships howse. But since I cannot, I ame, in place thereof, to Acknowledge my selfe and service (redye at your Lordships disposicion,) by my penne. Whiche desyringe your Lordships favor (the rather be cause yoⁿ willed mee to expecte the next suouydance wherin your Lordship wold afford me your honorable furtherrance,) that I may, by your meanes, (for haue alwayes, and styll will, depende uppone your Lordship, and one none other) attayne to a place emongest the Heraldes.

How worthy I may be thereof, yt besemeth not me to speake; because, to pryse my selfe were vanytue, & to dysprase my selfe were follye; and to compare with anye of the office, were odious; yet this muche withoute offence I maye saye, that I beseche your Lordship to put me to the triall, whether I may not in skyll of lerninge (even in the depest pointes of Armorye, whiche cannot be knowen withoute the mysteries of Philosophye and the iudgmente of histories) deserue that place as well as some others.

Manye, I knowe, haue, and yet doo, labore for the offices of Clarenceux and Norreyle, of whomme I ame not to speake, although I knowe who they are, what they canne doo, howe lerned they be, howe mete for those places, Howe able to serue their prince & countrye, & of howe great contynuance in Haroldrye. But yet yt yt lyke your Lordship to cast a fauorable lykinge to hym (whiche hath wholy tyed hymselfe to yoⁿ & to your howse) yt may be that he which cometh last, may be preferred with the firste.

My nowe contynuall trauyle, my Lord, is, in finishinge the worke of the tresurers of Englane, whiche I haue brought vnto Henry the fourthe, and hoope to finisse before Easter next¹; vntill whiche (yt your Lordship shall haue in lyкиinge to favor my present suyte) I onylye crave of your Lordship that some staye maye be made of bestowinge those offices vntill I haue fynished that booke of tresurers & certeyne cir-

¹ This is of course a different work from that on the Treasurers in the Continuation of Holinshed, iii. 1238, &c., p. Ixxvii above, though no doubt the same as that therein promisit, “my large booke of the lies of the lord tresurers of England,” p. Ixxviii above. See List of F. T.’s Works below.
cutury perdegrees of the Erles & Vicontes of Engelande, whiche in mynde I haue alredye consecrated to your honorable Protectione. Howe muche I haue alredye done of those thinges (if yt please your Lordship to see in suche rude and indigested forme as they bee) I wyll wyte vppon your Lordship with them, whene your Lordship will vouchesafe mee admytance to your presence, by appointinge a tyme therefor; for otherwise I knowe not howe or when I shall fynde your Lordship at leysure, or willinge therunto. Thus in all dutye I humbly comende me to your honorable furtherance, & comytte yo5 to godd, who sende to your Lordship manye happye yeres, and to me the contynuance of your undesirued favor.

Clerkenwell Greene, this 2 of December, 1593.

Your Lordships wholye to dispose,
Francis Thynne

[address, on outer leaf]
To the righte honorable
his singuler good lorde
The Lorde Treasurer
. be these.

[endors, with a wrong date]
20 No. 1593
Mr Fr: Thinne to my lorde
For preferm6 to y* place of
one of y* Kinges at Armes

For his appointment, Thynne has to be patient, and wait still above eight years, meantime working away. Part of his work is in the Sloane MS. 3836, notitc on p. xciii, above, and in the Cotton MS. Vitellius E. V.: see his List of Works, below.

To his relief, no doubt, his wife died, without issue, in 1596.3

II u. Discourse of Arms.—Jan. 5, 1593-4 is the date of Francis Thynne’s “Discourse of Armes”: 3“ A Discourse of Arms, wherein is shewn the Blazon and Cause of divers English, Foreign, and devised Coats, together with certain Ensigns, Banners, Devises, and Supporters, of the Kings of England.” MS. formerly in the Library of Ralph Sheldon, Esq., of Beoley, and given by him in 1684 to the College of Arms. Dedicated to William, Lord Burghley, dated Clerkenwell Green, Jan. 5, 1593-4.3 To the College of Arms I accordingly went to ask for this autograph MS. Mr Bellasis, Blue-Mantle, the youngest Member of the College, kindly searcht for the MS. but could not find it; and now comes a letter from Rouge Croix, Mr Stephen Tucker, saying that the MS. has long been lost—or stolen:

1 ? MS. It may be ‘circulary’.
2 Mesers Cooper, Gent.’s Mag., July 1865, p. 87.
3-5 No. 17 in Mesers Cooper’s list in The Gentleman’s Magazine, July 1865, p. 88.

THYNNE.
II v. F. THYNNE'S 'NAMES AND ARMS OF THE CHANCELLORS.'

'Heralds' College, E.C., 1st Sep. 1875. Sir,—Your letter addressed to 'the Librarian' has been opened here with the ordinary correspondence of the Public Office, and is therefore answered by me, as I happen to be for this month on duty. We have no 'Librarian' proper, the collections are arranged, &c. by a Library Committee: We are all 'Librarians' in our regular rota of 'waiting.' I cannot tell you how much I regret to say that I cannot assist you in your search for Thynne's MS. Such a book, entitled 'A discourse of Arms,' was here, and was known as 'No. 54' in the Collection of Augustin Vincent. Dale, who catalogued the MSS. in 1696, then noted it as missing. To this, Le Neve afterwards added a note, that it had since been found. However, when John Charles Brook (Somerset) made his Catalogue in 1774, it was again missing, and has not, I believe, ever since been heard of.

'This, I am sorry to say, is not a solitary instance of the loss of the College MSS.—though I am not aware that we have ever lost a Record.'

II v. Names and arms of the Chancellors, &c.

On June 12, 1597, Francis Thynne finisht, and dedicated to Lord Chancellor Egerton, a MS. now in Bridgewater House, "The names and Armes of the Chauncelors, collected into one Catalogue by Francis Thynn, declaringe the yeres of the reignes of the kinges, and the yere of oure lorde in which they possessed that office." Motto 'Je suis envie maugre envie, et pur cec sorsete pur biens ou ne sortee rien.' The arms of the Chancellor are blazond at the back of the title, and 10 lines of Latin verse on them are written under them. Then comes, on leaves 1-16, Thynne's treatise on the origin of the office, and name of Chancellor. I take the personal bits at the beginning and end.

To the right honorable hys synguler lorde, Sir Thomas Egertonne, knyghte, lorde keper of the Greate seale, and master of the Rooles of the honorable courte of Chauncerye, Francis Thynn wysethe manye happye and helthful yeares.

Yt nedeth not (my very goode lorde) to lay downe a cause or reasone whye I presente your lordship (beinge lorde keper of the greate seale, and havinge the auctoryte of the Chancelor) withe the names and armes of suche your predecessors as have possessed that place and preheminence. for besides that yo well merite this and moore from me (to whome your honorable curtesye hathe vouchesafed manye fauors beyoynde my desartes) your singuler vertues and ornameutes of nature and industrie (by whiche yo imitate, or rather excell, the fame of your predecessors before yo knowe their names and act[i]ons doo and may iustelye challenge this Catalogue of the Chancellors and kepers of the greate seale to be offred vnto yo. Wherefor I will

1 See the motto on the Animadversions title.
saye no moore (for when I have sayed all, I shall saye to litle) of your worthynesse to possess the place, and to knowe the names and armes of suche as in that honorable service of their prince and countrye have goonne before you, not in excellencye of executinge their functione, but in the revolutione of the whole of tyme.

What care and industry I have vsed in settinge downe that Catalogue of their entrance and contynuance in that place, and in aptinge the yeres of the kinges reigne to the yeres of Christe, modestye enyoynethe me not to write, vppon payne of havinge my cheekes steyned withe vermilione, and my credytte blotted with philautia, selfe love, and vanytie. And the daughter of tyme, I hoope, shall herafter gyve sufficiente shewe to the worlde, and confirmte this labor by the auctortyde of approued hystories, and warrante of vncontrolable Recordes, bothe whiche do weyte vppon my peine to witnesse what care I have had for the true deluerance thereof. And for that cause nether praysinge nor dispaysinge my selfe (synce 'laudare se vani, vituperare se stulti est') I leave the consideracione thereof to your Lordships rare Judgment, the Eagles sichtte whereof canne perce the sonne of all knowledge, and esyse the imperfect[ions] of all writers. 'Sed quo nunc proprept iste?' I had almooste (in spekinge of your lordships vertues, and myne owne labors) looste my selfe, for the firste ys so spacious a fielde for mee to runne ouer, that I shaft be oute of brethe befro I haue ended halfe my course; and the other is so barreyne, as yt affordeth not matter worth the remembrance, and so haue juste cause to feynte before I doo beginne, and so to loose my selfe in boote.

Wherefore to retorne 'in gradum,' I will prosecute the intente of my forespeche to this Catalogue, and (vnder your lordships correctione) bringe forthe suche thinges as I haue observed in the gatheringe thereof, concerninge the originall, the antiquytie, the office, the auctortyde, & suche other thinges belonginge to the chancelor. Wherefore, in synishinge heerof, I ame to importune your Lordship to pardonne two grosse imperfections in this course discourse and Rapsodicaft collectione of the Chancellors. The firste whereof is, the tedious leng[t]he and the disordered compositione / and the other is, the deformed blotted and rude wryntinge. for excuse of the fyrste I hoope your Lordship will not laye before mee that whiche I herde one saye of a longe speche made by a frende of myne, 'Hic desinit flumus verborum et gutta mentis,' here endeth manye woordes and little wytte,—alludinge to that whiche was wonte to be sayed when Aximenes vset to speake to the people, 'hic incipit verborum flumen et mentis gutta,'—nor yet saye of these collected auctorties as the selfe conceyeted m'r Savile, prouoste of Estone, is reported (f 16, &k) to saye of Lipsius his politickes, that they be 'sentences pueriles ' tyed together withe pointes. althoughse I know that owr speche shold be aswerable to the proportione of moneye, wherof the lesser quantyte comprehendede the gretest value, as appereth in golde; and in fewest wordes is often tyme the gretest

1 Us'd before, in the Scotland bit, on p. lxxiv, 1. 2.
wysdome, .... Yet since I ame lyke the painter which cannot take his pensil from his worke before he marre his labor by addinge and changinge by ouermuch curiositie, and desire to have his picture well performed, I beseech your Lordship not to thynke what I have donne but what I wilde and shold have donne in avoydinge Battologia and manologia, wherinto I confesse I haue fallen .... I leave that matter: And for the other falte, the blotted and rude wrytinge, I crave your Lordship also to passe yt ouer, remembrande that 'sub sordido pallio latet sapientia,' and that we are taught by Christe not to judge 'secundum faciem aut vestem;' for pure wyne is no lesse comfortable to nature yt yt be dronke oute of a wodden vessell (wherinto yt is naturally first powred) then yt yt were receved oute of a cuppe of golde. And the swete chestnute is covered with a harse and roofie coote, as is the peche and other delicate frutes. So that I nothing doyte but that your Lordship will pardonne all imperfections hereof, withe that curtseye which hitherto hatht alwayes accompanied your former actions; and accept this from me with suche a mynde as I present the same to yo, for so shalt yo encourage me herafter to consecrate somme other my labors to your favorable acceptance; & I fully rest satsysfied of your good mynde towards mee. Thus in all duetye commemdinge mee to your honorable good lykinge, & in all reverent love commyttinge yo to the protectione of the allmightye, I cease any further to molest your Lordship. Clerknewth Grene, the xiij of June 1597.

Your Lordships wholy to dispose

Francis Thynne /

/ . / . / . / . / .

Then follow blazons of the shields of the Chancellors, leaf 18 to leaf 22, and on leaves 24—50 "The collectione of certeyne Records found in the rooles of the towre, concerning the Chancellors and the tymes wherein they were inuested with that office,"—Latin documents from the Close and Patent Rolls, all copi'd in Thynne's own hand. Another hand has added on leaf 51 (as on 22, bk) the names of the later chancellors to 'Sir Henage Finch, after, Lord Finch of Braintree; since Earle of Nottingham.'

In 1598, according to Messrs Coopers' list (Gent.'s Mag. July, 1865), Francis Thynne finisht his full "Lives of the Lord Cobhams" (see p. lxxxv), of which they give this account:—

"18. The History, Lives, Descents, and Succession of the House and Barons of Cobham, of which Line were three famous distinct Families, being the Lords of Rondale, and the Lords of Sterborow Castle, in Surrey. Collected according to the most approved truth,

1 This treatise is not so carefully written as the other dedicated ones, though it is far better than Thynne's note-books are."

The former MS. I've not seen, and its whereabouts I don't know. The Addit. MS. 12,514 is part of an expansion of the Lives printed in Holinshed, iii. 1499-1515. See List of Thynne's Works, below.

On Oct. 24, 1598, Francis Thynne writes "From the Tower", says Canon Jackson, "where he seems to be employed," but on what does not appear."

On Feb. 28, 1598-9, Francis writes again from the place where he has finally settl'd down, "Clerkenwell Green." Both letters are adressed to the second Sir John Thynne, of Longleat, where they still are. Copies of them are not allowd me; but I suppose they are appeals to the dulld conscience of Sir John to carry out his father's agreement with Francis (p. xlviii above), or give him some money instead.

In 1598 and 1599, Thynne was at work again on his MS. note-book of Collections for History, &c., Brit. Mus. Additional MS. 11,338 (see p. xlix above); leaves 46 back to 63, contain a copy by Thynne of Roper's "Lyfe of Sir Thomas Moore." Finis 26 maij 1598. Thynne says "This William dwelt at Elthame in Kent, and dyed aboute ."

leaf 76, back. "finis the Visitacione of Norfolke, made anno domini 1563 by William Harvye, clarenceuxc. finis 1599."

leaf 73, back. "finis 22 maij 1599. Francis Thynne.

(On leaf 172, back, in a copy of the household of Hen. VI, the name of one of Shakspere's men, 'the great Alcides of the field', catches my eye, "John Lord Talbot and Furnivall, after, Erle of Shrewsbery, Captayne of Coasntence.")

For the year 1599 is enterd in Messrs Coopers' list a MS. that I can't trace:—

"20. Miscellanies of the Treasury, with the history of the lives of some of the lord treasurers." Written to Thomas Lord Buckhurst, 1599, but not completed. MS. formerly in the possession of John Austin, King at Arms. The Messrs Cooper add "Extracts from the Lives of the Lord Treasurers in MS. Phillipps [t]he late Sir Thomas P.] 4,853." These are possibly copied from Holinshed.

1 This explains the familiarity with the Tower Records which he shows in his Animadversions, p. 13, 14, 16, &c., which I wonder at his possessing.
Francis Thynne inherited his father's love for Chaucer and manuscripts, and had made preparations for a new edition of his father's book, when, in 1598, his acquaintance Thomas Speght publish'd his new edition of *Chaucers Workes*, and in his Preface insinuated that no editor before him had collated manuscripts for his text. Nor had Speght paid due homage to the hereditary editor Francis Thynne, by consulting him as to the new edition. This put the worthy herald's back up, and he took advantage of the custom of literary men presenting their noble patrons with a new book or treatise as a New Year's Gift, to write the following *Animadversions*,—dedicated and given to the friend of his 'yonger yeares' (p. ciii), Lord Ellesmere,—snubbing Speght for his injustice to William Thynne, his presumption towards himself, Francis Thynne, and his ignorance, as shown by the many mistakes in his edition, of which the next Francis gave him many specimens.

The most interesting part of Francis Thynne's *Animadversions* is, unquestionably, its personal part, its account of his father's first cancelld edition—if that can be trusted,—the interest taken in it by Henry VIII, the opposition to it of Wolsey, the exception of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* from the "Acte for haduauncement of true Religion" (pages 6—10 below, and xiii-xiv above). But the critical value of Francis Thynne's comments is considerable. In only four main instances out of some 50 great and small, is he wrong¹ (as to Chaucer's grandfather being his father, p. 11; as to the *Dethe of Blaunsche*, p. 27; 'heroes,' p. 44; and 'unserial,' p. 47, in the *Knight's Tale*). His notes on the dates of the *Nun's Priest's Tale*, p. 59—62; and of Queen Philippa's marriage (p. 14—16), are admirable; and the others on dates, historical matters, and the meaning of words, show scrupulous care in consulting authorities. Altogether, Chaucer students have much cause to regret that Francis Thynne did not carry out his declare d intention of re-editing Chaucer (p. 75), and specially trying to distinguish the genuine works of the poet from the spurious ones attributed to him (p. 69). For, with William Thynne's collection of MSS., and specially that 'examinatur-Chaucer' one, Francis Thynne might have given us invaluable evidence—now, alas, irrecoverable—of

¹ His making the *Flower and Leaf* genuine, can hardly be calld a mistake in his time.
what these MSS. said as to the authorship of the poems they containd, and might have say'd Tyrwhitt, Mr Bradshaw, Prof. Ten Brink, and the rest of us, no end of trouble and uncertainty in this troublesome and delicate investigation. We can easily forgive Thynne's little touch of self-confidence (p. 75), that if God would lend him "tyme and leysure to reprinte, correcte, and comente" Chaucer's Works, he trusted they "mighte at leng[t]he obteyne their true perfectione and glorye." His contempt for John Stowe,—as Dr Kingsley and I assume—that "one inferiour persone" (p. 11) whose name he declines even to mention, is amusing, specially as Stowe calld Thynne his 'good friend':—

"Of whom [Archbp. Whitgift] I will say no more in this place, because I haue before, in the yeare 1600, said somewhat, and my good friend maister Francis Thynne, Lancaster Herold, hath also liberally treated of him in his booke of the lyes of the Archbishops of Canterbury."—Stowe's Annales (1604), p. 1427.

But of course our identification of Stowe with the "one inferiour persone" may be wrong. Before Thynne's Lives of the Lords Cobham, &c., were cancell'd (p. lxxv above) he referred to Stow as an authority:

"The maner whereof is set downe by John Stow, and shall be more liberallie touched by me in my larger discourse of the lord Cobhams, hereafter to be set foorth.—Hol. iii. 1515, col. ii, l. 20-3."

And Francis Thynne is, I suppose, the 'one painfull anquantarie' mentiond by Stowe in Hol. ii. 435, col. 2, l. 56, as possessing the prophecy that he prints on p. 435 from Roger Wall, a herald.

Nov. 3, 1600, is the date of Thynne's treatise 'Of the Antiquity of Epitaphs in England', printed in the 2nd edition of Hearne's Curious Discourses, 1771, vol. i. p. 251-6, long after Hearne's death, on June 10, 1735. (See p. xciv above.)

II. On Dec. 20, 1600, Francis Thynne dedicated to Lord Chancellor Egerton his "Emblemes and Epigrames," a 4to MS. of 71 leaves, with the motto "Psal: Quum defecruit virtus mea, ne derelinquas, domine," and in his Dedication he says that "some of them are composed of thinges donn and sayed by such as were well knowne to your Lordship and to my self, in those yonger yeares when Lincolnes Inn societie did linke vs all in one cheyne of Amitie; and some of them are of other persons yet living, which of your Lordship are both loved & liked." . . . "Thus, my good Lord, in all dutifull love commendinge these my slender
poems (which may be equalled with Sir Topas ryme in Chaucer) unto your good likinge, and commiting me to your honorable good favour and furtherance (to add oyle to the emptie lument of my muse for mayntenance of the light thereof, which without the comfortable heate of your honorable patronage will soon be extinguished) I humblie take my leave, from my howse in Clerkenwell Grene the 20 of December 1600. Your Lordshippes in all dutye, Francis Thynne" (underdotted and dasht, as usual).

Of these Epigrams, two, on bad wives and Marriage, have been quoted above, page lvi-lvii. As I am printing the whole MS. for the Early English Text Society, the reader can refer to the print for Thynne’s epigrams on his friends, and his opinions on Societie (MS., leaf 19), ‘The waye to gett and keepe frendes’ (leaf 43, back), ‘Spencers sayrie Queene’ (leaf 53, back), ‘Camdens Britannia’ (leaf 69), ‘Leylandes rightefull ghost’ (leaf 70, back), &c.

IIy. Essay on the Lords Marshal.

1601, March 21. The Cotton MS. Julius C VIII contains, on leaves 89-93, a short treatise by Francis Thynne on the Lords Marshal of England, “Oute of the booke entituled Domus Regni Angliae, conteyning the orders of the Kinges house, written in latine and English, being made in the tyme of King Edward the 4th./”

The tract of five leaves seems intended for dedication to some descendant of the Earl of Norfolk—whose descendants are now hereditary Lords Marshal of England, heads of the Heralds’ Office or College of Arms;—and, after treating shortly of the name and office, ends thus:—

“Which Roger being in disgrace with king Edward the first, made the king his heire of both his Earledomes of Norffolk and Marshall, which honours the king left to one of his sonnes by his second wife, Earle Marshall, from whome the Mowbrayes and Howards hold the same office, as yt weare in right of their discent; of which lyne your Lordshippe is lineally extract, being descended of the howse of your Lordshippes name, which possessed both those titles of Norffolk and Marshall

“But of this we will not nowe speake any more, because the latter end of this booke doth sett downe a Cataloug of all the Earles Marshals; and I meane hereafter to make a more liberall discourse of them in the forevouched booke of their lyes, to be opened at large with all suche worthye actions as they have performed. Thus, my good Lord, in all dutye humblye Committing mee and my labours to your Lordshipps favor—

1 Not in the MS.
able Countenance and furtherance of my sute, & Comending your Lord-
ship to the protection of the almighty, who send to your Lordship
further increase of following honour, and to mee the undeserved Curtisy
de which encourageth mee thus boldly to offer to your honorable acceptance
this slender Collection, I dutifully take my leave. Clerkewell greene,
the one & twentieth of Marche, 1601.

Francis Thynne"
/. /.

II 2. Appointment as Lancaster Herald. 1602.

We saw above, p. xc and p. xcvii, that in 1588, and on Dec. 2,
1593, Thynne askt Lord Burghley for an appointment in the Heralds' 
Office. After waiting more than 14 years, during which he made
speeches (p. xciv), wrote treatises (p. xcv), and made collections
(p. xcvii), no doubt to fit himself better for his Herald's work, he got,
at 57, what he had sought at 43. Anstis's MS. History of the Officers
of Arms (at the College of Arms), vol. ii, p. 559, under “Lancaster.
Chapter xi, Sect. 13,” says,

“Francis Thynne, an Ornament to this Title, was advanced hereto
by Patent 44 Eliz. dated 23 Oct. with a salary from the Lady day be-

1 Pat. 44 Eliz. p. 17, printed in Rymer, vol. xvi, p. 471 [I add it :—

“Pro Lancastert Herald,

“Regina omnibus, ad quos &c. Salutem.

“Scribis quod Nos, de Gratia nostra special, ac ex certa Scientia & mero
Motu nostris, necon in consideratione boni, verò & fidelis Servitii quod, dilect-
tus Serviens noster, Franciscus Thynn Armorger, nobis durante Vitâ sua impen-
dere intendit, fecimus, nominavimus, creavimus, erigimus, & investivimus, ac,
per Præsenstes, facimur, nominamus, creamus, erigimus, & investimus, eundem
Franciscum unum Heraldorum nostrorum ad Arma, eique nomen illud vul-
gariter nuncupatum Lancaster imponimus, ac Stilum, Titulum, Liberatem, &
Præheminietas, hujusmodi Officio, convenientia & concordantia, ab antiquo
consueta, damus & concedimus per Presentes : 

“Habendum & exercendum Officium illud, ac Nomen Stilum Titulum
Libertatem & Præheminietias predicta, presfato Francisco Thynn alias
Lancaster, durante Vitâ suâ. Et ulterius concessimus, ac, per Presentes pro
Nobis, Hereditibus, & Successoribus nostris concedimus eodem Francisco Thynn
alias Lancaster, singulis Annis durante Vitâ suâ predictâ, pro Exercito Officii
predicti, quandam Annuatem sive annualem Redditud 20 Marc. bone &
legalis Monetæ Angl. habendum & annuatim perceipientid eodem Francisco
Thynn alias Lancaster a Festa Annunciationis beate Marie Virginis ultimâ
preterito durante Vitâ suâ, de Theauro nostro, ad Receptam Scaecarii nostri,
per Manus Thessauri & Camerariorum nostrorum ibidem pro tempore exis-
tentium, ad Festa Sancti Michaelis Archangeli & Annunciationis beate Marie
Virginis, per equales Portiones, unà cum omnibus aliis Commoditatis, Ad-
vantageis, Præheminietias, & Emolumentis, eodem officio debitis & consuetis,
in tam amplis modo & forma, prout Nicholas Paddy alias Lancaster nuper
fore, having been with ceremony created on the 22 Apr. before (1602), at which time he was 57 years of age, and at that time he had the name of Blanchyson pursuivant given him.—See the narrative of Rich St George, Windsor, then likewise created, in the custody of D. Rawlinson.—He was the son and Heir of Wm Thynne of Kent Esq.; Master of the Household to H 8; of the antiently knightly family descended from the Botelvill; who had his first Education in Tunbridge school under m' John Proctor, who is gratefully remembered by him as one of the English Historians: thence he was sent to the University of Oxford, and, as he sayth himself, was afterwards a Member of Lincolns Inn. m' Camden, a good Judge of Men, gives him the ample Character of having prosecuted the study of Antiquities with great Honour, stiling him an Admarable Antiquary, and in another place, that he had with great Judgment and diligence long studied the Antiquities of this kingdome.

II A. In 1602 came-out the 2nd edition of Speght's Chaucer, in which he availed himself of most of Francis Thynne’s Animadversions, as the notes to the text below show. That Speght took Thynne’s criticisms in good part is prov’d by his prefixing to his edition the following poor poem by Francis Thynne:

Vpon the picture of Chaucer.

What Pallas citie owes the heavenly mind
Of prudent Socrates, wise Greeks glorie;
What fame Arpinas spreadingly doth find
By Tullies eloquence and oratorie;

habuit, aut aliquis alias, alve aliqui ali Heraldom nostrorum nuper habuit
aut percepit, habuerunt & perciperunt pro Exercitio Officii predicti.

Eo quod expressa mentio &c.
In cujus rei &c.

Teste Regina apud Westmonasterium vicesimo quarto Die Octobris
Per Breve de Privato Sigillo"

(Bymer, Fœdera. xvi. 471, ed. 1715.)

1 B 2, penes me, p. 332, in his own writing.—Anstis.
2 The custom of the office is, for a man to serve first as Pursuivant, and then be promoted. But outsiders are occasionally made Heralds.
3 “Ant. a Wood, Athen. Oxon., vol. 1, p. 319.”
4 “Hollingshead’s Hist. p. 1591,” (p. xivii., above.)
5 “penes me, p. [not in]. In his letter at the end of the Advocate and Anti-advocate.” (This is a mistake: see p. xivii., above. It is Thynne’s friend’s Letter at the end of the Advocate and Ant’advocate, which is “from Lyncolnes Inne this :28: of Marche :1604 :” MS. leaf 64. Thynne’s own letter, MS. leaf 65-6, is “from my house on Clerkenwell greenes this xij.” of Maye, 1605:” as on page xxii.)
6 “Britannia in English, in the preface, p. Clix.”
7 “In Cambridgeshira.”
8 “In Yorkshire, p. 714.”
What lasting praise sharpe-witted Italie
By Tasso's and by Petrarkes penne obtained;
What fame Bartas vnto proud France hath gained,
By seuen daies world Poetically strained:

What high renowne is purchas'd vnto Spaine,
Which fresh Dianaes verses do distill;
What praise our neighbour Scotland doth retaine,
By Gawine Douglas, in his Virgill quill;
Or other motions by sweet Poets skill,
The same, and more, faire England challenge may,
By that rare wit and art thou doest display,
In verse, which doth Apollos muse bewray.
Then Chaucer liue, for still thy verse shall liue,
T'unborne Poets, which life and light will give.

Fran. Thynn.

Chaucer's Workes (Speght's 2nd ed.) Lond. 1602, fol. Sign. b. j.
(Brit. Mus. Press mark, 83. l. 4, King's Lib.)

Directly after this, comes another sonnet, which I at first took to be a compliment to Francis Thynne, the Writer of our Animadoersions; but as Speght is praised by name in the sonnet, I suppose we must take "The helpefull notes" to mean Speght's Life of Chaucer, and the Head-notes which he has put before nearly every 'Tale' as well as longer 'Minor Poem.'

Of the Animadoersions upon Chaucer.

In reading of the learn'd praise-worthie peine,
The helpefull notes explaining Chaucers mind,
The Abstruse skill, the artificiall veine;
By true Annalogie I rightly find,
Speght is the child of Chaucers fruitfull breine,
Vernishing his workes with life and grace,
Which envious age would otherwise deface:
Then be he lov'd and thanked for the same,
Since in his love he hath reviv'd his name.

i8. sign. b. j.

Mr Lemon (State Papers, Domestic, t. 7 Eliz. ii. 559) gives as Francis Thynne's an endorsement on Paddy's vacated appointment of Lancaster Herald which Thynne himself afterwards filld:

"June 7. Westminster

Grant and appointment of Nicholas Paddy alias Rouge dragon, to the office of Lancaster Herald for life, in place of John Cocke, Lan-
c aster. Indorsed, ‘Offic. uñ Herald ad arma nuncuptur Lancaster. per [Franciscum] Thynne. April 1602.’"

An autograph collection of Pedigrees &c. made by Francis Thynne in the years 1602-5 is now the Harleian MS. 774.¹ It has 40 leaves of his work; the 4 that include the table, are not in F. Thynne’s hand.

¹ Harl. 774, examined by Miss L. Toulmin Smith: copy of notes in F. Thynne’s hand, giving his authorities for the respective pedigrees.

Leaf 1, back. “this perdegree was deliered to m’t campden, Clarentieux, by an outlandishe gentleman called Vanhere, written with his owne hands from whence I copied this: 25 Febr. 1602. F. Thynne.” Fiennes.

Leaf 2, back. “oute of one olde Role written aboute the tyme of edward the thirdinge kinge of Engleand or the kinges of france and belonginge to an outlandishe manne whoe brought yt into Engleand and lent yt to Mr Campden Clarencieux a’ 1602 who lent yt vnto mee. Wherefore muche avouching the howse of Bullen is confirmed by oure auncient histories”. This seems to be a Pedigree of the Dukes of Lotharingia.


Leaf 4, back. “Somerset glover, in the perdegree of the lord Willoughby of Eresby, last made by hym a’ 1586, a little before the death of glover”. Repeated on leaf 5. Beca Lord d’Eresby.


Leaf 9. “the copye of a perdegree sent to me by Mr Edward muagrave, knight of the shire for Cumberlade at the first parliament holden by kinge Jeames, a’ 1603 : et 19 martij when the same beganne”. Teillolle, Mungrave and Weston.

Leaf 9, back. “oute of a perdegree, a’ 1604, sett downe by Smythe Rougedragon, for the house of Essex of Lambourne”. Greseyey.

Leaf 10. “oute of perdegree a’ 1604, sett downe by Smythe, Rougedragon, for the howse of Essex of Lambourne”. Castenies.

Leaf 10, back. “Mr Smijthe, Rougedragon, 1604 in the pedegree of Essex of Lamburme”. de Hottesbrook.

Leaf 11. “Mr Smyth, rougedragon, a’ 1604 in the perdegree of Essex of Lamburme”. Rogers de Benham.

Leaf 11, back. “29 November 1604. ex relatione rowler warde”. Peer.

Leaf 13, “collections and perdegree made by Mr Drurye 1604”. Petit.


Leaf 33, “ex relatione willelmi Hale, 29 novemb. 1604.” Hale.

Leaf 33, back. “ex relatione Johis Hamond doctoris in medicina 20 novemb. 1604:”. Hamond.


Leaf 35. “this a’ 1604 was taken oute of the visitacione of London made by Harvyse Clarencieux”. Heywardes.
The fly-leaf is signed "Francis Thynne Lancaster, 24 Januar. 1602."
The MS. is in Thynne’s hand, except the last page, which bears the date 1609.

II B. In 1605, Francis Thynne composed, wrote out in most careful wise, and dedicated to King James, "The Plea betweene the Advocate and the Ant’advocate\(^1\) concerning the Bathe and Bacheler Knights, wherein

1. Messrs. Cooper say that another copy is in "MS. Lambeth 931, f. 42. There was a copy in the library formed at Naworth Castle by the famous
are heard manye Antiquityes towchinge knighthood by Francis Thynne
Esquier, Lancaster Herold. Tandem aliquando in meliora." His
autograph copy, with the King's arms on the sides, which are sown with
fleur de lys, is now the Additional MS. 12,530 in the British Museum.
It was bought for the Museum at the Strawberry Hill sale at Robins's
Rooms on June 21, 1842, having been given to Horace Walpole by Sir
Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society, in 1786. The MS. is a
folio of 66 leaves, the treatise ending on leaf 59 back, and being followed
by 1. a criticism from a friend of Thynne's on the tract, written "from
Lyncolnes Inne this :88: of Marche 1604 "1 (that is, 1605), 2. Thynne's
answer to his friend the censurer; and, 3. a second answer or letter of
Thynne's (leaves 65, 66) "from my house on Clerkenwell greene this
xiijth of Maye 1605:."
2 In his signature, "Lancaster" is written—as elsewhere—between his name and the dashes and dots under it. The
Dedication and the conclusion of the Treatise follow:—
To the right highe and mighty prince James, by the grace of God Kinge
of Great Brytayne, France and Irelande, defendor of the saythe,
Francis Thynne, Lancaster Herrold, his Maiesties dutifull servant,
most humbly presenteth his seruice in all submission.

When I had, my dread Soueraigne, fynished this worke, what soeuer
it be, many pregnant causes offered themselues to moone me to dedicate
the same to the honorable Comissioners 3 substituted in place of the
Earle Marshall, to whom vnder your sacred Maiestie it duly belongeth,

Lord William Haward. An imperfect copy in Univ. Libr. Camb. Mm. 6, 65."

1 Hearne's Diary, vol. cxi. p. 117. May 2, 1725. "On Friday night last
I received a Letter from Mr Anstis, in which he tells me, that he chances to
have a Copy of Mr Thynne's book, (who was Lancaster Herald, and a very
learned, as well as industrious Antiquary) bearing the Title of Advocate and
Anti-Advocate, and has referred to it, as deserving to be published. . . . . I
have publish'd in my collection of Curious Discourses what Pieces I had of
Mr Thynne's."

told me, that if I would publish Thynne's Book about Knights of the Bath
(in which is a great deal of excellent Learning) he would let me have the use
of his MS. & other pieces of Thynne that have not been yet printed."

the 15th inst. tells me, that if the treatise of Mr Thinne [that Mr Oldis-
worth told me of] be different from the Advoue and Anti-Advoue, he should
be very eager to see it, if that liberty may be obtained; though he is fully
convinced, that in case it should be so, it must have been wrote by him before
such time as he compos'd the Anti-Advoue; " &c.

3 Lord Burghley and 1
to dispose of matters of honor: amongst which causes, one was, that I am to them known, and soe might hope to haue this disordered answer the sooner graced by their favorable acceptance; whereas, being altogether estranged from your Maiesties notice, I durst not presume to salute the same with so meane present as this simple booke, farre vnfit the viewe, judgment, or defence, of soe learned and worthye [a] kinge, and therefore fearfull to approche the beams of your splendor, [1] deemed it best to consecrate the same to those inferior lightes participating of the brightnes of your Regall Septer. But on the other side, remembering the saying of Marius Geminus to Caesar, "Qui apud te, Caesar, audet, dicere magnitudines tuas ignorat, & qui non audet, humanitatem," And with that saying casting myne eyes vpon the endless bounds of the Oceane of your magnificent clemency, (which from the center of your bounty doth spreade it selfe into the circumference of all orders of your subjectes, as well highe as lowe, learned as vnlearned,) I some what gathered my selfe into my selfe, and casting a way all feare (for most duty is always accompanied with greatest feare), I thought it my bounden Duty, and one especiall parte of my function, to offer to your Maiesty the fruutes of my labore, which I haue gathered by the only Maynteynance and support of your Maiesties benevolence and liberality; for since by you I lyue, and lyving must serue you, and serving you, must wholly imploie all my partes to perfoame what your Maiestry may justly challegg from me, being one officer of honor vnto you; I knowe none to whom I owe more duty, or to whom of right I might in any sort consecrate my labores in matters of honor, but vnto your Maiestie, the fountayne of all honor, from which those Comissioners doe deryue their authority. Wherefore hoping that your Maiestie will not permitt me your subject, your servant, your officer, alone of all others to departe sorrowfull from your presence, as one discountenanced in this disordered discourse, (since as the Emperour Vespasian said, "non oportet quemquam a vultu Caesaris tristem discedere,"") I most humbly prostrating my selfe before the scate of your Clemency, that only Ancor of my hope, beseech that same favorably to accept this whatsoever booke, gravitously do countenance the subject thereof, (conteyning the worthynes belonging to the honorable degree of the Knightes of the Bathe,) and as princely to defende those Knightes made in your Maiestys atteyning to the Crowne of England, as you haue most nobly graced them with that note of honor in the Bulla, Tablet, or ensigne of the triple crownes, environed with the Moot or word of "tria iuncta in vno;" for so shall the honor of those Knightes made in your Maiesties tyme be no more obscured, or their shyne eclipsed (by the emulation of others which ought not to dispute your Maiesties fact) then it was in the former and famous government of your heroicall predecessors, whereof newer any equalled your Maiestie in largnes of dominions, in abundance of Clemency, in favour of the worlde, or in dowrys of the mynde, as all men knowe that can rightly judge./

Thus laying this booke and myselfe at your Maiesties feete, craving pardon for my presumption, hoping of your Unmerited favour, and desiring that the Tautologies, or needles repetitions in the answere
(occasioned by the Advocates manner of writing,) and all my other imperfections therein may be ouer passed without unlike: I pray the Almighty Lord to send to your Maitesty happy governement, multiplied yeares, perpetuell health, and one everlasting Kingdome in the celestiall world, to be added to your augmented Kingdomes in this terrestriall worlde, therby to accomplish the quadrat number, the number of all perfection. Wherewith I abruptly conclude, because I have learned that "Qui cum Regibus loquitur, aut raro aut quasi breuiissime loqui debet." from my house on Clarkenwell Greene the 2 of April, 1605.

Your Maitestyes
most humble
servant

Francis Thynne
Lancaster

[Conclusion.]

That in Respect the Knights of the Bathe are a Distincte & peculer order: that they are more ancient then Bachelers: that they are more honorable in ceremonyes, that they have still contynued the possession of the place: that they always fought & servued under Banners of their owne, when Bachelers servued vnder the Banners of others: that they are selected for the honor of the King, & in that, the Kinge to honor them: that the statuts have priuileaged them in their creation before Knights of the Garter & Banneretts: that they have at all tymes one honorable place in princely proceedings aboue Bachelers: That they are honored with the note of their Robes vpon their toombes after their death: that they are to haue their spures in their funerall pompes to be caried before them by one Harrold, whiche the Bachelers hath not: that it is no spirituall nor officiall order: & that the King hath further honored them with the Bulla or tablet of his devise, to distinguishe them from other Knights: That now in like sort as in former tymes they ought to have precedencye of Bachelor Knights¹. & that their wines (because they participate of the Dignitye of their Husbands: because by Custome they haue obteyned & kept possession of their place: & because all the arguments allledged agaynst them by the Advocates are of no validitie,) ought also to haue the precedency of the wyues of Bachelor Knights, therein to answere the Dignitye of their husbands :/

The Ende of the Plea betweene the Advocate &
the Ant'advocate concerning Bathe
and Bachelor Knights.

¹ Hence I assume that the following M.S. in Messrs Coopers' list is only a copy of the Advocate and Ant'advocate: "47. On precedency of Knights of the Bath. M.S. Phillipps 8,973, from the Library of Sir George Naylor. We presume this is the work, a copy of which is stated to have belonged to John Anstis, Garter King at Armes."
The end of Thynne's answer to his friend's letter or comment (p. cvi, note 5) on the treatise is:—

"And therefore having nowe (more breifly then I desire or would haue done) delueryed my opynion, I doubt not but that you & all others (whose desire is not to seeke a knott in a Rushe, or Spider-like to sucke poysen out of Flowers, & to peruerse every thinge well meant, by perverse exposition to the worse construction,) I doubt not, I say, but that you & all others will holde themselves contented with that Judgement which I haue before written in answere to the Advocates sixt and Seuenth chapter; for otherwise both they and you should wronge me: Thus wishing to you as to myself, commendinge me to your favour, and Committinge you to God, I end: from my house on Clerkenwell greene this :xiiij. of Maye. 1605:"

II C. In 1606,—3 March 1605 veteri stilo—Francis Thynne had a bad attack of gout, as we find from Hearne's Collection of Curious Discourses written by eminent Antiquaries, 1720, p. 230.

"A Discourse of the Dutye and Office of an Heralde of Armes, written by FRANCIS THYNNE Lancastre Heralde the third daye of Marche anno 1605.

"My very good Lord [? Chancellor Egerton]

"That cruell Tyrante the unmercyfull Gowte, which triumpheth over all those that are subject to him, of what estate soever, takinge on him, in that parte to bee a God, because hee respecteth noe person, hath so paynefully imprisoned me in my beed, manacled my hands, fettered my feete to the sheetes, that I came not out thereof since I sawe your Lordship on Christmas Eve. But having by meere force at length shaken off the manacles from my hands, (although I am still tyed by the Feete) I have now at the last (which I pray God may bee the last troublinge my hand with the Gowte) attempted the performance of my promise to your Lordship, and doe heere send you a Chaos and confused Rapsodye of notes, which your Lordshippe, as an expert Alchimiste, must sublyme and rectifie" (p. 231). p. 288: "I humbly take my leave, as one whoolely devoted to your Lordship, and in you to your honourable Famelye, further cravinge pardon for this goutye Scriblinge, distillled from the Penn guyded by a late gowtys hand.

Your Lordshipps in what hee maye 
Fris. Thynne
Lancaster 1

Clerken well Greene
the third of March 1605.

veteri stilo"

1 For F. Thynne’s writings and note-books undated—so far as I know—and therefore not workt into the foregoing Life, see the List of his Works below, Nos. 20, 23, 25, 22, 26, 36, 37, 39, 40.

THYNNE.
This gout may perhaps justify the report in Hearne’s Diary, vol. cix. p. 100. Sept. 14, 1725. “Mr Anstis told me the same time, that he had heard (from the Weymouth Family) that Mr Thynne, the Herald, tho’ a very learned man, was a very hard Drinker.”

On June 30, 1606, Francis Thynne writes again to Sir Thomas Thynne ¹, asking for money, and signing himself “Lancaster²”.

As Thynne did not surrender his Patent, and that of his successor in the Heralds’ Office as Lancaster is dated November 19, 1608, Thynne no doubt died in that year.

Certain features of his character, Dr Kingsley has already sketched (p. xii). His early extravagance ³ he aton’d for by his 2½ years’ im-

¹ The third Baronet. Letter at Longleat: copy not allowed me.
² His arms were, ‘Berry of ten, or and sable. Crest: on a wreath, a reindeer statant, or.’
³ Canon Jackson’s just-received note of an early (1573-8) volume of copies o. Alchemical Treatises by F. Thynne, now at Longleat, confirms my fancy that his early extravagance may have been due to his dabbling in Alchemy. He says he “was familiari in practyse” with a writer on the subject:—
   Treatises on Alchemy, MS. vol. at Longleat, containing:
   2. The Ordinall of Alchemie made by Mr Norton of Bristowe. “He flourished in the year of our Lorde 1477 and was the scoletter Ripleys.”
   F. T. June 1574.”
   3. Tractatus de Magnete. “Copied out the 20 Aug. 1574. by me F. T. Aut novus, &c.” [as on page xlix above.]
   6. George Ripleys 12 Gates of Alchymy. “This was written out by mee Francis Thynne at Longleat in Wiltshire & there finisshed the 5 day of April 1578. My strange,” &c.
   7. Certeyne Remembrances touchinge the two greate offices of the Seneschalsey or highe Stewardshipp of England and of the Queenes house. At the end “Thus much out of the booke called Domus Regis Anglie.”
   8. A Treatise on the Philosopher’s Stone, with this heading. “This booke was made by Mr [Edwarde] ⁶ gent, and dedicate to Mr Haddon one of the Masters of the request to queene Elizabethe as here ensueth.”
   “As the stone of Philosophers is most precious,” ending “but also to dye at your foote, E. D.”

Then follows:

“This was copied out the 9th of Sept. 1573 in the XV of Elizabeth from the originall of the hande of the said auctor ⁷ by me Francis Thynne man familiar in practyse with the said auctor. Francis Thynne.

⁷ “The name has been carefully erased in both places: Mr Horwood and I think the Christian name is Edward; the surname is illegible. The initials of the author were E. D.; which F. T. (or whoever it was that erased the name) forgot to erase.”
prisonment, his disappointment in getting his promist life-home at Long-leet, and by a long course of steady work at antiquities, and family and general history. His marriage was miserable. He waited long for his appointment in the Heralds' Office, and only held it for his last 6 years, from 57 to 63. Many bitters were mixt with the sweets of his life. Amongst the latter, were his pursuit itself—no knagging wife, no worrying trustee, no faithless cousin, among his lov'd MSS.,—the society of friends of which he speaks so warmly in his Epigrams, of kindred spirits, in younger years with Egerton at Lincoln's Inn, in older days with Antiquaries at Garter Dethick's rooms; his love for Chaucer; his plans for editing him, and writing besides, unlimited Lives of Treasurers, Chancellors, Archbishops, and all the occupants of all the great offices of State and Church—glorious vision 1! Think too that he may have shaken hands with Shakspere, seen and heard him in his own plays; perhaps sighd at Spenser's death; and emptid a bottle with Marlowe. Ben Jonson he surely may have known. Bacon he may well have come across. Truly there were compensations for trouble in those Elizabethan days. At any rate, in his own learned circle, Francis Thynne was esteemed and respected. Somewhat punctilious and fussy he no doubt was, as fond of stuffing catalogues into histories as the suppos'd Perkins was of poking emendations into Shakspere; but careful he was, and honest; went to original authorities whenever he could, and gave his others when he couldn't; an intelligent critic too, and an industrious

*[In the first page of the Treatise on the Philosopher's Stone is this passage:—"So sayeth the sonne of hamill, 'This art, sayeth he, is y' wh. the glorious godd hath hydd from menne lest the whole worlde abonde thereby be over thrown.'" (In the margin F. T. has written, "Chaucer, Stella completions & Nortone.")]*

3. A disputacione betweene Merlyne and Mariam of the marriage between Sylos and Anul, begins, "As the childe sat on his father's knee"; ends, "12 tyme of day."

Then follows this note:

"Copied out of the orinall all the 18 of October 1573 by me Francis Thynne which orinall I had of Mr. Tho. Peter, written with the thande of the same Thomas Peter but I thynke this workes is imperfect because as yt seemeth their lacketh some verses to furnishe the ryme but notwithstandinge I have followed the Copye. F. T."

1 So Bacon's ideal (New Atlantis) was a land and buildings for unlimited experiments in natural science, with the company of grave and learned men. Note F. Thynne's "rare matters of antiquitie," (p. lxxiii, near foot), which he wanted "to deliever to the worlde."
searcher; he did his work with a will, and did it well. If he had small
store of humour and wit, of fancy and imagination, or none at all; if he
wrote bad verse, and only dull and useful prose, let us remember that
his calling was that of Antiquary and Herald, that he had to deal with
records and facts, that he helped to lay the foundation of the study of
Antiquities in England, and that he cleared the works and memory of
CHAUCER from some of the rubbish that had been heaped about them.

As all the 500 copies of Dr Kingsley’s edition of the Animadversions
in 1865, for the Early English Text Society, had sold out, with the rest
of the Society’s issue for that year, I ask him to prepare a new edition
of the tract for our Reprints; and he did begin it, in the interval of his
professional travels all over the world—is he not the Doctor of ‘The
Earl and the Doctor’ who helped to blow those most enjoyable South Sea
Bubbles, and has not he visited again and again every quarter of the
habitable globe?—but the frequency of these excursions prevented his
getting far with the new edition, and he therefore handed it over to me,
with Francis Thynne’s autograph MS. which Lord Ellesmere had kindly
consented to let me have. I have therefore read the text twice through
with the MS., put such notes to it as my limited leisure and knowledge
allowed, got together, in these Hindwords, such details as I could, of old
William Thynne’s duties and food, &c., and of his son Francis’s life and
works. A new Index I have made too, and revis’d Dr Kingsley’s list
of Francis Thynne’s Works¹. I make no excuse for giving in full the
details above as to William Thynne; for those who think them a bore,
can skip them; and those who care for the old Chaucer-Editor as much
as I do, will share the pleasure I had in going through his day’s work
and food with him. I hope it was from his edition that Shakspere read
the Troilus and Cressyde, and learnt to write The Rape of Lucrece, which
echoes ‘Chaucer’ all through, as Beethoven’s early work does Mozart.

¹ Had I but known earlier of the Messrs Coopers’ Letter in the Gentle-
man’s Magazine, the notes on Francis Thynne would have been in better
order, and much trouble would have been sav’d me; but Mr Tucker didn’t
tell me of the Letter till Sept. 4, 1875, when the Museum was clos’d; and on
its re-opening on Sept. 8, I got only one afternoon there before coming to
Egham on the 9th for a rest, and to better a badly-sprained ankle: a punish-
ment for “making a beast of burden of myself” (Martin) in my old age, and
towing sitters in a boat instead of sculling ‘em.
In the bright air on this chalk down, memories of all four Masters come to me. The wild thyme under foot gives out its sweet scent, the tender graceful harebell nods, the golden lady-slipper glows, the crimson ground-thistle gladdens in the sun, the fresh blue sky and fleecy clouds look down well pleased. Would that Chaucer and Shakspeare were here!

Riddlesdown, below Croydon,
Sept. 5, 1874.

And here I am, simmering in town, looking over Manuscripts and adding Francis-Thynne bits, this 16th of August, 1875! Why will men get up Early English Text and Chaucer Societies? What a bother they are! However, one has the Thames, and can get at the end of an oar again sometimes, to say nothing of eating one's dinner, and boiling one's kettle, on Kingston and Sunbury meadow banks.
II.D. LIST OF FRANCIS THYNNE’S WORKS.

I. a. Printed separately.

1. (1578, Jan. 8, at Longleat, Wilts.) The perfect / Ambassadovr / treating / of / The Antiquitie, Pri-/veledges, and behaviour of / Men belonging to that / Function. By F. T. Esquire. London / Printed for John Colbeck at the / Phænix near the little / North-/door of S. Pauls Church 1652. 12mo.

(This was first published in 1651 under the title “The Application of Certain Histories concerning Ambassadours and their Functions. By Francis Thynne Esquire. Taken out of Sir Robert Cotton’s Library. London. Printed for J. Crook and S. Baker, and are to be sold at the sign of the Ship in Pauls Churchyard, 1651 Bodl. 8° F. 146. Linc.” This [1652 ed.] is nothing more than a new title to the same vol. with the date 1652.”—MS. note by Bliss. British Museum. 8005—a.)


I. b. Printed in other works:

a. in Holinshed’s Chronicle: Additions (1585-6) in 2nd ed. 1587.


(Thynne starts with an insertion of nearly a page, and makes others, though sometimes of only a few words, on many other pages. His long insertions are markt with a kind of star at the head, and a ] at the tail; the short ones generally by [ ], and “Fr. Thin” in the margin. See p. 206, col. i, 207. i, 209. ii, 210. ii, 214. i, ii, 216. i, 218. i, 219. i, 220. ii, 222. i, ii, and so on, all through.)
5. "The Annales of Scotland, in some part continued from the time in which Holinshed left, being the yeare of our Lord 1571, untill the yeare of our redemption 1586, by Francis Bouteile, commonlie called Thin."—Holinshed, vol. ii, p. 405-464. (See extracts above, p. lxix-lxiii.)


7. "The protectors of England collected out of the ancient and moderne chronicles, wherin is set downe the yeare of Christ, and of the king in which they executed that function." (vol. iii, p. 1069-1081, col. 1, l. 48), called in the margin, "The collection of Francis Thin in the yeare 1585" (p. lxxvi, above).


9. "The discourse and catalog of all the dukes of England, by creation or descent, since the time of the conquist. [In margin] The collection of Francis Bouteile, alias Thin, in the yeare of Christ 1585." iii. 1230-8 (p. lxxvi, above).

10. "A treatise of the treasurers of England, set downe out of ancient histories and records, as they succeeded in order of time and in the reigne of the kings. [In margin] Collected by Francis Thin in the yeare of Christ 1585." Vol iii. p. 1238, col. 1 (p. lxxvii, above.)


(Castrations of Holinshed's Chronicles [iii. 1419-1537, ed. 1587] reprinted in folio in 1728 (for insertion in the original ed.), and in the quarto reprint of 1807-8.)

12. "A discourse of the earles of Leicester by succession," called in

1 The "Advertisement" to the 4to edition of Holinshed (1807-8) says,—"The original Edition of the Chronicles of Holinshed, it is well known, was published by their author in a mutilated state. A number of pages, which had obviously been printed with the rest of the work, were found to be omitted, except in a few copies obtained by some favoured persons. In the present edition these castrations are faithfully restored."
the margin "The collection of the earles of Leicester, by Fr. Thin 1585." (vol. iii. p. 1419-24; p. lxxxi, above.)

13. The lives of the archbishops of Canturburie, written by Francis Thin, in the yere of our redemption 1586." (p. 1435-1499, Hol. iii.; p. lxxxii, above.)

14. "A treatise of the lord Cobhams, with the lord wardens of the cinque ports: gathered (as well out of ancient records and monuments, as out of the histories of England) by Francis Boteuile, commonlie surnamed Thin, in the yeare of our redemption, 1586." (p. 1499-1515, Hol. iii.; p. lxxxv, above.)

(This is the "Lives of the Lords Cobham, of Cobham, Rundalle, and Starborough," British Mus. Add. 12,514. f. 56. The MS. is incomplete, and ends in l. 9, col. 1, p. 1515 of Holinshed iii.)

15. "The catalog of the lord wardens of the cinque ports, and constables of Douer castle, aswell in the time of King Edward, surnamed the Conessor, as since the reigne of the Conqueror, collected by Francis Thin, in the yeare of Christ one thousand, five hundred, fourescore and six." (vol. iii. p. 1516-1534, col. 2.)

Hearne (Cur. Disc. p. iv) says the Holinshed castrations extend to p. 1575. But Reginald Scot begins where Thynne leaves off, on p. 1534. (Thynne's MS. is said to have been in the library of More, Bishop of Ely. A few leaves of his expanded treatise on the Wardens and Constables of Dover Castle are now leaves 48-55 of the British Museum Addit. MS. 12,514.)

β. In Hearne's Collection of Curious Discourses, 1720; 2nd ed. 1771, 1775 (which is 1771 with a fresh title).


23. ⁴The Antiquity and Office of the Earl Marshall of England. Art. XXIII, p. 113-116, vol. ii, ed. 1771. Evidently one of Thynne's speeches before the Antiquaries. It begins: "I know that in this learned assembly, there can nothing be overpassed . . . but that will be deliver'd by some one, and therefore I might be silent: but synce by order I must say something, although for aliquid, nihil est, I will first speake of the verge, and then of some few Tower records . . . " (ends) and that in some part of his office our mareschall is the same officer, and hath the same jurisdiction in England, that rex ribaldorum, as Tillet termeth him, or 'king of harlots,' as Chaucer in the romance of the Rose entituled him, hath in the court of France." (See Animadversions, p. 72-3.)


δ. In Speght's Chaucer (and this volume, p. cvi).

Short Poem "Vpon the Picture of Chaucer."

ε. In the present Volume, pages lii, liv, xci, xcvi, and Appendix IV, p. 103.

25. Four Letters to Lord Burghley: two dated respectively 13 and 14 March, 1575-6, asking to be releast from the debtors' prison,

¹ Not in ed. of 1720. This is a speech too, before the Antiquaries; "to deliver all such epitaphs as I have registred, either from histories, the books of religious houses, monuments remaining in churches, or such like, would be too tedious to this learned audience." p. 251.

² Not in ed. of 1720.

³ This is no doubt a speech before the Antiquaries too, as at the end Thynne submits the question "to your judgments."
The White Lion; the third, in the Record Office, dated Nov. 15, 1588, regretting that his application for a post in the Heralds' Office was too late; the fourth, dated Dec. 2, 1593, again asking for an appointment in the Heralds' Office. Originals of 1, 2, 4 in Lansdowne MS. 75, Articles 57, 58, 76.


II. *Manuscript Poems, Treatises, &c.* (See Nos. 2, 3, 14, 15, 16, above.)


"Fyrste an epistle dedicatorye of the booke of Armorye of Claudius Paradyne. [f. 2-5.]

(2. No. 26, above.)

"Another discourse uppon the Philosophers Armes." By Francis Thynne, 15-88.

On the back of the title are printed the armorial bearings of Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley [as Ld. Chancellor Egerton's on the back of the *Animadversions* title]. The first article is dated from "Barmondsay streathe the 2 of Auguste 1573": the second consists of 70 six-lined stanzas, and has the crest painted at the beginning; the third is faced by the "Philosophorum insignia" (painted on f. 14b) and a Latin epigram, and is written in Alexandrine couplets. Each is subscribed with the curious autograph of FRANCIS THYNN. Two pages follow (88b—89) containing "the table of the actuors recyted in this discourse, after the order of the alphabet;" and three others which are blank. In Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses* (quarto edition, II. 109), this book is wrongly noticed as contained in No. 1374.—*Black's Catalogue*, col. 383. (See Mr. G. Parker's extracts from the MS., in 'Notes', below.)


29. Francis Thynne, to the Lord Burghley; with a long dissertation of his on the subject *Homo Animal Sociale*, from 'Longleate

1 There is nothing in the 1st, 2nd, or 4th Reports as to either Francis or William Thynne.
the 20 of October, 1578.' Lansdowne 27, art. 36, 6 folio leaves, 70-5. (p. lviii, above.)


"This tract consists of the following eleven documents [describd in Black's Catalogue of the Ashmole MSS., but not here,] transcribed from the rolls, with marginal notes: it is not printed among the 'Curious Discourses' as is the foregoing tract [Dutys and Office of an Heraulde, No. 16, above.] to which it seems to belong. They are noticed in the quarto edition of Wood's Athenæ, II. 108-9."—Black, col. 520. An 18th-century copy is in Harl. MS. 4176, leaves 170-187.

31. "A Discourse of Armes," dated "Clerkenwell Grene, 5th of Jan., 1593-4." MS. was in the College of Arms. (p. xcvi, above.)


33. The Plea betweene the Advocate and the Ant’advocate concerning the Bathe and Bacheler Knights. A.D. 1605. Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 12,530. (For extracts and other MSS.¹ see p. cx-cxiii, above.)

34. Mr Tynne on the antiquity of the name of Barons in England, and on the form and antiquity of tenures. Lansdowne MS. 254, f. 38. (p. xciii, above.)

35. On the antiquity of Viscounts, and on sealinge² with arms. Ib. f. 45. (p. xciv, above.)

36. 2 Letters to the first Sir John Thynne (noted, p. lii, lviii, above); 3 Letters to the second Sir John Thynne (p. lxiv: 2, p. ci); 1 Letter to Sir Thomas Thynne (p. cxiv); Petition to Lord Chancellor Ellesmere (see p. lviii).

¹ Hearne’s Diary, vol. cvii, p. 113. "Apr. 28, 1725. I find by the News of Yesterday, that Mr. Austis is engag’d in a Work relating to the Order of the Knights of the Bath. There is a Folio MS. now in the Hands of Mr. Robert Webb of the Church Yard at Wotton-under-edge in Glostershire, all written upon this very subject, by one Thynne, a King at Armes. I believe it came out of the Berkly Family;" (āc.)

² Printed ‘fealty’ in the Lansdowne Catalogue.
III. Manuscript Note-Books of Extracts on English History, Genealogy, Heraldry (with sketches), &c.


(This volume contains much curious matter collected and illustrated by Thynne, part of it bearing on the philosopher's stone. One paper is an illustrated copy of a ryming Latin poem, "De Phenice sive de Lapide Philosophico," referred to in the tract below, p. 36.) The largest treatise is "The kynges booke of all the lorde, knightes, esquires, and gentlemen of this Realme of England, 1601" (leaves 104-165).

38. Collections by Thynne on the Lords Marshal of England, "Oute of the booke entituled 'Domus Regni Angliae,' containing the orders of the Kinges house, written in latine and English, being made in the tyme of king Edward the 4th, dated from Clerkenwell greene the one & twentieth of Marche 1601." MS. Cotton, Julius C. VIII. f. 89-93. 5 leaves. (p. civ, above.)


40. Several Collections of Antiquities: the greater part1 of MS. Cotton, Cleopatra, C. 3. Notes concerning Arms, monumental Antiquities, several abbeys and churches, with extracts from Leland, Chronicles, &c., and notes concerning several counties. See the 36 articles described in the Cotton Catalogue, p. 579-80.

41. Missellanies of the Treasury. (Was in John Anstis's possession. See p. ci, above.)

42. "The names and Arms of the Earles Marshall of England, collected by Francis Thynn in the yeare of our redemption

1 Leaves 291, 319 are in Stowe's hand. Thynne writes leaves 1-217, 266-290, 341-397.
II D. LIST OF FRANCIS THYNNE'S WORKS.


43. Epitaphia. Sive monumenta Sepulchrorum tam Anglice Latine quam Gallice conscripta: ab illo in suo Anglice peregrinatione collecta, & variorum librorum lectione. Item de Episcopis

¹ I suppose the original copy is in the State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, Vol. 283 a, No. 64.

"The names and armes of the Earles Marshalls of England, Collected by Francis Thynn in the yeare of our redemption 1601."

It is a paper of 14 leaves, of which eight are the Discourse, written in a fair hand; four other leaves are devoted to the names and emblazonment of arms, and two are blank. The Discourse is addressd to Charles Howard, Earle of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral, on the "new Commission directed" to him, the Lord Treasurer and the Earl of Worcestor. It treats of the etymologic of the word Marshall, of the office among foreign nations, and something of its history in England. The following are the opening and ending paragraphs, the last being sign'd by F. Thynne's own hand:

"I make no question, Right honourable and thric Renowned Erle, but that manye (who owe both love and dutye to your good Lordship) have after this new Commission directed to the lorde Thresaurer, to your Lordship, and to the Erle of Worcestor, presented vnto you such rare Antiquities concerning your honorable Office, as may both manyfeste their loving dutie, and give light to things which have long lyen hidden: for which cause, I might justly stale my Penn from presumyng to adventure my dutie towards your Lordship after the same manner, (myself being of others most inexpert in those things, as one whose hath alwaies lived in silence, although a well wiler to Antiquities,) yt your noble birth, honourable disposition, and rare Curtesy, did not addde wings to my desire, which of long tym cleased wished to have some occasion mynstred, wherein I might manifest my dutiefull Affection to your Lordship. Wherefore, as one amongst the rest, willing to present vnto your Lordship some outward pledge of inward dutie; I offer vnto your Lordship these few ears of knowledge which I have cleansed out of the leavings of austent historyes and Records."

"[ends] . . . . the latter end of this booke doth set downe a Catalogue of all the Erles Marshalls;* and I meane hereafter to make a more liberall discourse of them in the fore-touched Booke of their lives, to be penned at large, with all suche worthy actions as they haue performed.

"Thus, my good lord, in all dutye humblie committing mee and my labours to your Lordshipes favourabe Countenance and furtherance of my sute, and Commanding your Lordship to the proteccion of the Almighty, who send to your Lordship further increase of following honor, and to mee the comforte of your Lordshipes undeserved Curtesys, which encourageth mee thus boldlye to offer to your honourable acceptence this slender collection, I dutifullly take my leave. Clerkenwell Grene, the one and twentieth of Marche, 1601.

Your lordshipes wholye in all dutye to dispose,

Francis Thynne."

* This Catalogue of arms is brought down to those of the Earl of Essex, who die in 1601.
(p. xciii, above.)
44. Various heraldical notes, Latin, and extracts from the Patent
Rolls, 12 H. 3, memb. 1-20, in Thynne's handwriting (?).
Lansdowne MS. 255, leaves 121-147, new nos.
45. Collections, (in Latin) as to places, persons, and families,
121 to 147.
774. (p. cviii, above.)
47. Collections in the Cotton MS. Vitellius E. V. Art. 10, leaves 
123-7.

"Nomina et res gestae Episcoporum Sommersetensium, à tempore
Danielis Episcopi, Anno Domini 704, ad tempora Henrici 4o."
(Lists of the Bishops of Congresburye, of Bath and Wells, with
copies of Saxon Charters, Notes, &c.) Sign'd, "Francis Thynne,
29 Julij Anno domini 1592, in Domo Willielmi Lambard
armigeri, apud hallinge in Kantia."

Art. 11. "Excerpta ex historia Thome Moore, de tempore Ed-
wardi 2o;" ("Notes taken out [of the historye of] Sir Thomas
delamore who wrought his historye in frenche, and being
turned into latyne by one who lyved in his tyme. taken oute
of a copye written by lawrence nowell." A fragment of the
history of Edward II.) leaves 127 back—128 back.

Art. 12. Appendix historiae [H]iberniae ab An. Domini 1369. ad
An. 1433. leaves 128 back—131 back.

Art. 13. Compendium Cronice Glasconiense Willelmi Malmes-
burienis per Laurentium Nowell. leaves 131 bk—147. Signed,
"Francis Thynne 7 octobris Anno domini 1592 in Domo Wil-

("A fragment of the draught of the will of Mr Thynne, Lancaster
herald, apparently in his own handwriting;" Lansd. MS. 255, f. 259, is in fact a large portion of
the Will of Sir John Thynne, the builder of Longleat, who died
in 1580. The original is in the Court of Probate, Doctors' Commons.)

1 Margin here imperfect, this being one of the Cotton Manuscripts injurd
by fire.
II E. Mr. J. Payne Collier, and his attributing four spurious Books to Francis Thynne.

After Mr Collier’s practical jokes—to call them by no harsher name—on Shakspere, one is not surprised to find him practising on Francis Thynne, and indulging in the pleasantry of attributing to our author 1. The Debate between Pride and Lowliness; 2. A Pleasant Dialogue or Disputation betweene the Cap and the Head, 1564; 3. Newes from the North, otherwise called The Conference between Simon Certain and Pierce Plouman, 1579; and 4. The Case is altered, 1604. To any one who knows Francis Thynne’s style and character, this putting-on him of four different tracts, evidently by 3 or 4 different men, all differing in style and temper from him and from one another, is a real joke. The notion that the critic of Speght’s Chaucer, who resented that editor’s poaching on his Chaucer manor, would sit still and see Greene clear-out his park of the Debate, and, under his eyes, set his choice deer in the said Greene’s meadow of the Quip, labeld ‘Greene’s stage,’ is delightful. Why, Thynne would have flayed him for it, and have left his skin pepperd and salted, to posterity. Mr Collier seems to have argued, “Here are two books by F. T., argal they’re by Francis Thynne. Here’s another by T. F., argal that’s by Francis Thynne too.” And here’s a fourth anonym-

1 Seeing that Mr Collier had made a good deal of the signature “Fr. Th.” on the title-page of Lord Ellsmere’s copy of The Debate (Introduction, p. viii), I wrote at once to Dr. Kingsley for an appointment to examine the signature: one knows only too well what such things are likely to be. Next day I came on the following note on The Debate, in Mr Hazlitt’s Hand-book:—

“Attributed to Thynne by Mr Collier on the strength of the initials F. T. In print on the title, and F. Th. in MS. there. But the latter appears to be in a modern hand, attempting an imitation of old writing.” Of course, I have since looked at this F. Th.’ and compared it with Francis Thynne’s other signatures at Bridgewater House and in the British Museum, and I do not doubt that it is a modern forgery. The hesitating and somewhat-waving downstroke of the F, the top-curl not being made with a separate line, as Thynne’s are; the touches in the beak of the T and at the foot of the h, the artificially pale ink, and the general look of the letters, mark them as a modern imitation of Thynne’s hand. The imitator was no doubt the forger of the other notorious Bridgewater-Library documents. In no instance that I have seen, has Francis Thynne signed ‘F. Th.’ only.

2 The ‘Quip for an Upstart Courtier’ came out in 1592, when Thynne must have been settled in London.

3 This is not a parallel case to the Holinshed castrations, where pride or prudence would have kept Thynne silent.

4 “‘Newes from the North...” we may assign to Thynn without any hesitation, not merely on account of the character of the work [which is as unlike any of Thynne’s genuine work as chalk is to cheese], but because his initials, reversed, are upon the title-page.”—Introduction to The Debate between Pride and Lowliness, p. xvi, old Shakespeare Soc. 1841.
ous book, argal that's Francis Thynne's as well.” Let any one with a head read even only the bite of Thynne in this little volume, and then turn to *The Pride-and-Lowliness Debate*; the *Cap-and-Head Disputation* (1564; at Lambeth); the *Necess from the North*, 1579 (Bodleian; 1885, Mr H. Huth, Lord Ellesmere, Brit. Mus.); *The Case is altered*, 1604 (in Brit. Mus.); and see whether he can honestly say any one of the four is like Thynne's work. (The reader will also remember that Thynne's own words as to his “sudden leaping into the printers shop, especiallie at first,” in 1586 (p. lxx, above), leaves no doubt as to the spuriousness of the first three of these four books.) Here is a little bit from each book, by way of sample.

1. *The Debate*, that “admirable poem,” as Mr Collier calls it (p. xvi), by “an attorney” (p. 69)—who we are to believe is Francis Thynne at 23, associating with the future Lord Chancellor Egerton and others at Lincoln's Inn—and who says (p. 70):—

Therefore beseech I such as be learned,
Into whose hands this work may chance to come,
Barresters, or how so ye be termed,
To judgen it after your wisdome.

Besides all this, least any man misjudge
Of these my woordes, or hold me parciall,
As bearyng to the buttockes any grudge,
More then unto the other members all,

Because my matter hath ben of a breche,
Which is their habit and their couerture,
To thinke none ill therein I them beseeche,
Or that their lesse I have ment to procure.

As that they might not weare, as may the rest,
I meane, the members of more worthines;
For sure I hold they ought to weare the best,
And if ye read S. Paule, he saith no lesse.

Wherfore to buttockes, evil I ne ment,
More then unto the belly or the backe,
Or else the head concerning ornament,
For nature hath more furnished their lack.

They may with lesse shame be discovered
And naked, then the lower parts may be;
Though yet unseemely, saving for the head
Of man; forwhy, of God th' image is hee;

And is the ground of reason, and the roote,
The seate of understanding, and of wit;
Guide of the rest, yea, both of hand and foote,
And royall as a king, on high doth sit.
And therefore if the buttockes do exceede,
   Or be to monstrous in that they weeare,
The head ought to be blamed for the deede,
   For reason ought to have his dwelling there,
Not in the buttockes, who know nothing lesse
   Then what is seemely for them to put on,
And are appointed other busynesse ... 

p. 81. THE BOOKE TO THE READER.
If, gentle Reader, thou have found in me
   Thing which thy stomake hardly can digest,
Here is discrived an Epythyme:
   Warme it, and lappe it close vnto thy brest.
It was compounded with great diligence,
   Of symples by an Apothecary,
Both trustie and skilful in that science,
   And from these iiiii. verses doth not vary.

THE EYPYTHEME.
Who purposeth to liven vertuouse
   In favour of our God, let him take keepe,
That pride none office beare within his house,
   For where he doth, vertue is layde to sleepe.

2. The Cap-and-Head Disputation, 1564:
   (Lambeth Library, 28. 8. 23, the 5th tract in the vol.)
A Dialogue betwene the Cap and the Head.

THE CAP.

O How undiscretely doth Fortune deale wyth many in this world !
cursed be the tyme that euer I was appointed to couer thee.

THE HEAD.

What the Diuel aysteth thou ? thou doest nothing nowe a dayes
but murmure and grudge.

THE CAP.

I woulde the Wolle that I was made of, and the Sheepe that

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1 A Plesaunt / Dialogue or disputa/tion betwene the Cap, / and the Head. / Imprinted at Lon/don by Henry Denham, / for Lucas Harrison, dwelling in / Paules Churchyarde at the / signe of the Crane /. Anno 1564. Nouembris. 11. / (Colophon) Imprinted at London in Whitecrosse streate by Henry Denham, for Lucas Harrisson, dwelling in Paules Churchyard, at the Signe of the Crane. Anno domini. 1564. Nouembris 11. 8vo. A BC in sights. Colophon only on C 7, C 8 blank. The Press mark is 28. 8. 23 (art. 5). (Proof of extract not read with original.)

THYNNE.
bare it, had bene deuoured with Dogges, or that it had bene burned in the filthy fingers of the ilsvaured olde queane that spunne it.

The Head.

Why, what meanest thou by thy cursing? I neuer did thee any harme.

The Cap.

No diddest? thy euill entreating of mee is the whole cause of my grieve, thou arte the worker of my wrong, and the onely occasion of my complaint.

The Head.

I knowe no cause why thou shouledst be greued with me; for I payde sweetely for thee, & thou knowest that every man wareth not so fine a Cap as I doe weare; & at night, when I go to bedde, I brushe thee, I lay the[e] on a faire Carpet, & couer thee with a cleane Handkercher, where thou restest quietely all the night and a good part of the daye. in the morning when I go abrode, I sprinkle thee with Rose water, and strawe thee with Damaiske pouder, and then set thee on the hyghest and moste honorable place that I have. What wouldest thou haue more?

The Cap.

I had rather thou shouldest place mee in the lowest and filthiest place: for I had rather that thou madest mee a patche in thy Breeches, so that I might liue in peace and quietnesse without reproche, and bestowe thy rose water and damaske pouder vpon thy Nice picke me dainties, for I passe not for it . . . but one while thou wearest mee aloft, another while ouer thine eyes; one while on this fashion, and an other while on that fashion, without anye discretion: mowed, put of, put on again, I assure thee I esteeme the patche in the breeches to be happyer than I . . . Who is able to beare such injure at thy hand? that art neuer contented to weare me after one fashion: but one while thou wearest me lyke a Garland; by and by like a Staple; an other while lyke a Barbers Basone; anone after lyke a Bolle welmed vp side downe; sometime lyke a Royster, sometime like a Soulciour, and sometime lyke an Antique; sometime plited, & anone after unplyted; and not being contented with that, thou bindest mee with gaarishe bandees; one while of one colour, and an other while of an other, and sometime with many colours at once, as if I were mad: how is it possible to suffer so many chaunages? . . . it seemeth that thou goest about to shame mee ytterly; for thou art not contented with making mee to weare Read, Yellowe, Greene, and Blew laces, but besides that, thou encombreest mee wyth Brouchese, Valentines, Rings, Kayes, Purses, Gloues, yea, fingers of gloues! thou wrappest me in Chaines, thou settset me with Buttons and Aglets, thou dardest me wyth rybans and bandes, thou cuttest me, boarest me, and slashest me, both aboue and beneth, without any compassion or pitie, and so by this disfigure mee, em-
pairing my dignity, and yet the more to thy shame. . . . 1 And as for
the feathers which thou prickest and stickest in me, one while
Ostrige, another while Cranes, Parrats, Bittors, cockes and Capons
feathers, signify nothing else but the lightnesse of thy brayne; for
we have a common proverb "Thou art as light as a Feather". . . .
thy toyishe deuises in thy Brouches, & thine vnconstant wearing
of Feathers, do shew the wauering of thy foolish brayne. . . But to
come againe to our matter. Al this grieueth me not so much as
other intollerable injuries that thou dost me, which maketh me many
times wish my self an ouen sweeper. For when thou art drunk, and
that the superfluity of thy bybed Wine distylleth forth in sower
sweetye dropspe, then throwest thou me away, thou treadest on
mee, and so leauest me in dauner of Dogs and Cattes, which many
tymes both pyssse and shyte on me. I woulde I were then whelmed
on thy drowsye drunken noll!

To attribute writing like this, to Francis Thynne at nineteen, in
the year of his marriage (p. xlviii), is mere harumscarumness or
perverseness.


Newes from the North./ Otherwise / called the Conference between /
Simon Certain and Pierce / Plowman./ Faithfully collected and
gathered / by T. F. Student² / Aut bibe aut abi. / Printed at Lon-
don / at the long Shop, adjoyning vnto / Saint Mildreds Church
in the / Pultrie, by Edward / Allde, 1585. 4to. A to L in fours.

To the Godly and Gentile Reader.

Thou hast heer, Godly and gentle Reader, the Conference
between Sim Certain and Pierce Plowman, two great Clarkes,

¹ This is proceed by the following amusing derivation of gallant: "First,
gallantnesse is derived of this word Gall, which is a superfluity that groweth
on the oke tree, unprofitable, wythout seedes, light; and so rounde that it can
scarce lye still on the playne ground. Wherof some nations have a proverb:
'thou art as fickle as a Gall.' And thou shalt understand, that of Gall,
cometh this word Galling, which signifieth a fretting and wearing awaye of
hymselfe, or a hurting and offending of other. And so consequently they are
called Gallant, because eyther they have consumne and spende away that which
their frends hath left them, in their vain follye and garishnesse, and so gal-
them selues: or (if they have not of their owne to gail) eyther gall the Mar-
chaunt in his boke, or else, by shamefull shifting, gail so many to maintain
their Gallantnesse, till they bring themselues at the length to the gallowes,
which we see commonly to be most furnished with gallants: god give them
better grace!" (The italics are mine. See W. de Wordes's 'Treatise of this
Galanst' in my Ballads from MSS. i. Ballad Soc.)

² Francis Thynne was 34 in 1579, and living with Sir John Thynne
at Longleat, p. lviii, lxi, lxl.
as thou maist understand by their Discourse, which I have gathered and reported as faithfully as truly as my simple memory could retain the same, and that with some traualle which I accounted my dutie. First vnto them and others by them heerin mentioned. And secondly vnto all and every good man and woman whose mindes and harts God may sturre vnto Godlynes and Vertue by their good ensample. Namely<sup>1</sup> all such as are Fathers and Maisters of housholdes; but chiefly and principally of common Innes and Tauerns, whose good or euill example spreadeth far and wide; and I feare in these our daies, rather in corruption of life and manners, then in edifiyng or increase of Vertue and Godlynes, according to the saying of Jesus of Sirach, that “it is as hard for a Merchant to be no lyar, as for a Tauerner or Inholder to be no drunke.” which thing, although hee hath said to be very hard—yet (for the Inholder) that his rule admitteth exception, thou maist heer finde with out traueling to Rippone in Yorkshire to leaerne; and so for a grote or sixpence thou maist know that which cost mee aboue five markes to leaerne, besides my traualle and time spent, which yet if it please thee to accept, I shal account right wel bestowed, which God graunt, and that in all thy Journeis thy head ake not before thou alight in such an Hostry. Farwel.

‡

Aut bibe aut abi.

How the Author comming homeward out of Scotland through Yorkshire, channed to lodge in Rippone, At what signe, the name of the Hoste, the order and maner of the House and famelye, And his entertainment there.

Chap 1.

In my last return from Edenborough in Scotland, comming homeward through Yorkshire: I trauelled somewhat out of the common high London way, of purpose to see the Cuntrie. And one day among others, toward euen I channed to come to a little through fare Towne called Rippon, where at the very entring into the Town, I met a poore olde Woman, of whom I asked if there were any good lodging in the town. She answered mee that there was good lodging at the signe of the Greek Omega. “The Greck Omega (quoth I) what doo you meane by that?” “Nothing,” said she, “but that there is good lodging and honest entertainment, which (I suppose) is all that you require.” Then I asked her what was the good mans...
name of this house. "His name (quoth she) is Simon Certain; we call him commonly Sim Certain." "Sim Certain (quoth I), surely these are very strange names," and so bidding her farewell, I departed into the town wearde, much more desirous to be come to my lodging, for the strangenes of the names, as well of the Signe, as also of the Good man of the House. By that time I had entred a little way into the Town, I was ware of a very faire Greek Omega hanging forth as a common signe, even as the olde woman had tolde me before. And thether I went; and entring into the house, I found in the Hall the Good man, his two Sonnes, his Chamberlain and his Hostler singing the C.iiiij Psalme of David very distinctly and orderly. The Goodwife with her two Daughters sat spinning at their Wheelles a little distance from them. All which things when I beheld, I thought with my self that these things were yet more strange to beholde, then were either the Signe or els the good mans name to heare, So I bad them God speed. The Hoste very curteously arose, and bad me welcome; so did the wife also, and asked me whether I meant to tary all night. I answered yea. Then he asked mee if I would see my Chamber. "No, gentle Hoste (quoth I), I will not hinder so much your good exercise, for I am sure I cannot be lodged amisse in this house." "Not so, sir (quoth he), but ye shall haue the best that we haue, and welcome." I gaue him harty thanks. Then he enquired of mee, of whence I was, where I had been, and whether I was bound. I tolde him I was a Southern man borne and dwelling, and that I had been at Edenborough in Scotland, and was thus farre in my way homeward. "In good time, sir (quoth hee), and yee are harteely welcome into this part of Yorkshire." "I thank you, gentle Hoste" (quoth I).

The comming thether of Pierce Plowman, beeing newly come from London. His request to the Hoste to lend him five pound vpon a paune. The refusall of the Hoste, the question thereupon moued, beeing the matter of the conference.

Chap 2.

By that time we had talked scant half an houre, there came in a Cuntrie man, a Neighbour, a jolly olde fatherly man, bringing vnder his arme a fardell of Bookes, as many as hee might well holde vnderneath one of his armes; he gaue vs the time of the day. "What! neighbour Pierce" (quoth our Hoste); "welcome from London! Sir, (quoth he to me), this Neighbour of mine is lately come from where you are going, God willing." "Truely (quoth I) and this is happily met by grace of God, and as I verily suppose neere in the mid way betweene Edenborough and London." With that, "Neighbour Simon," quoth this Pierce Plowman, (for that was his name) "I am come to desire your help." "What is the matter, neighbour Pierce"
(quoth our Hoste). "Neighbour (quoth hee) to lend mee five pound for half a yeer; for truely (quoth hee) I haue spent all my mony at London, and haue not left my self so much as to buy my seed Wheat, wherwith to sowe my land this season." "No haue! neighbour Pierce!" (quoth hee) "that was very ill handled; ye shouold alwaies so vse your matters that the main stock be saued whole." "Fye, neighbour Simon! quoth he, speak no more of that, for the reuerence of God, for truely I am ashamed of my self; but what remedy now saue patience, and to learne to be wiser hereafter?" "What means all these paper Books" (quoth our Hoste). "Mary, neighbour, quoth the Pierce, they shalbe suretie vnto you for the repayment of your five pound." With that they were vnbound; and beeinge opened and looked vpon, they were Billes, Answers, Replications, Reio[i]nders, Coppies of Depositions, and such like; Some out of one Court, some out of another. When our Hoste had seen them all: "why, Neighbour (quoth hee), doo you think to meet with any man that is so mad to lend v. pence vpon such trash?" "Trash! Neighbour, quoth Pierce, they stand me in aboue fiftie pound." "Perauenture so, quoth our Hoste, but that proueth not that they are worth fiftie points, sauing vnto him that were as mad to buy them of you, as you bought them at their hands that solde them vnto you. But or you meet with any such chapman, I beleeue you will be weary of keeping them." With that, Pierce began to be halfe offended. "Neighbour Pierce," quoth our Hoste, "five pound is a small matter between us twain, you shall haue it vpon your word. But as for your Books: heer dwelleth a Lady not far hence, carie them to her, for they are far fet and deer bought, and such things, men say, are good for Ladies."

...

F. iiij. Cap. 13. . . "Doo you call this a mending, Neighbour Simon?" quoth Pierce. "In very deed," quoth he, "I must needs confess, that these great and excessive Charges and large Expences have rebuked me, haue chasticed and amended me; but to say that I think or judge it thank woorthy vnto them that have received my money: I say 'the Deuil kisse his arse that so amendeth me or any frend of mine;’ for verily such amending, in my judgment, deserueth asmuch and the very like thanks, as did the Wife who gaue her husband two strong poisons, meaning to spede him in deed, but the poysons beeinge of contrary natures, wrought one vpon an other, and destroyed either others force, whereby the man beeinge hardly handled for a season, yet beeinge driuen into a lask by their extremitie, avoyded them bothe, and with them much corruption, so that where before he was a very corrupt body, he was by their closings the better xx. yeers after. Thus she did him good by accident, but far from her intent or purpose, and vitally against her will . . . .

Cap. 14. . . For I haue partly shewed you her what leave
and libertie the common people, namely\textsuperscript{1} youth, haue to follow their own lust and desire in all wantonnes and desolution of life. For further proof wherof, I call to witiesse the Theaters, Curtines,\textsuperscript{2} Heauing houses, Riffing bothes, Bowling alleyes, and such places, where the time is so shamefully mispent, namely\textsuperscript{1} the Saboath daies, vnto the great dishonor of God, and the corruption and vttter destruction of youth. All which (I say) are either the causes or the effects of these great gaines and revenues, or els both causes and effects interchagneable. For I dare vndertake, that if either these gains and profits were publique, as you pretend, or els if there were as great gain and proffit to the Maiestates and Officers, in the godly liues and honest conversacion of the common people, as there is in the contrary, these harbours of vngodlines & misnurture would haue lesse fauour and maintenaunce then they haue, and godlines Sobrietie and modestie of liues & maners, would be in greater estimation then they are, and the honor and glory of God more aduaunced therby. (ed. 1585, sign. F. 4.)

* * * * * *

Lij. And when I woulddeparte: my Hoste and Pierce Plowman (whether I would or no) bring mee on my way to Doncaster; and did, and there caused mee to haue great entertainment without a peny charges for one whole day; and then we took either leaue of other, and departed each of vs toward his owne. After which departure, vpyn the way as I trauelled, I remembred the Prophet Daviid, who saith, 'I was glad when it was said vnto mee, wee shall go into the house of the Lord,' which I suppose be neuer ment by a common Inne or hosterie, where neuertheless I may safely say I found it. And therfore full true it is that Ouid saith, 'there is oftentimes a good fish in a water where a man would little think.' Wee boast much of ciuitie and nurture in the South partes of this land, namely in London, and dispraise and dispise the North as rude and vnquiul, but surely for mine owne parte (that am a Southern man, and borne in Kent), to speak indifferently for any thing that euuer I haue found in all my trauel in both the partes, I cannot see nor know why the Northern People should not rather pittie vs, then enviue vs, concerning either Godlynes, Vertue, or good maners; for heer I haue spoken of the beset kind of People, wherby it may partly approue what hope there is of the Gentlemen, merchants, and them of the good Townes and Citties, for whose sakes, and generally for all others, I vndertook to gather and to report this little Conference, and with Gods help and fauour haue doun it as neer accordant to the truth as I could, neither adding therto nor taking there from, the desire wherof caused mee to take the lesser Iourneis homewarde, and to write it by parcells at my Innes least I might haue forgotten it.

\textsuperscript{1} specially

\textsuperscript{2} The Theatre was James Burcage\textquotesingle s Shoreditch Theatre, near the site of the present Standard Theatre. The Curtain was another theatre close by.
And herein I protest that I have neither flattered no belyed any man, for my meaning is trueth, and the commendation therof, and therein is no flattery; for surelie if I have flattered any body, it is mine owne self in that, that where before I was perswaded that pride had vterly corrupted this whole common welth, and had clean ouerspred it with his generation of all vngodlynes, and wickednes, wherof all times and ages doo agree with him to be the father, sithence this Journey I begin to hope that God wil haue mercy vpon vs, and hath, and that he hath reserued vnto him self a remnaunt, as hee did in the time of Elias, for whose sakes hee will spare the rest, as he offered vnto Abraham, touching Sodome and Gomorra.

Therfore the intent of this my collection thus appearing: I refer my self to the judgement of them to whose hands it shal heerafter come, desiring their good word in recempence therof, and also of my long and weary Journey, wherof this labour was mine only rewarde.

Beseeching Almighty God, of his great mercie and clemency to graunt vnto the same no wurses effect than I haue ment therin, and that by the Aposstles counsil, we may consider that wee are but strangers and pilgrimes heer in earth, and that there after wee may order our liues and conversation longing for our owne Countrie, content to suffer, and to forbeare, and glad to heare or see the thing that may bee for our edifying, learning, and knowledge, to bee the meeter and better welcome into our Countrie, which is the Heauenly Jerusalem, whether God for Christes sake bring vs all
Amen.

Finis
Laus Deo.
Felix qui potuit Rerum cognoscere causas.

Who wil arise with me against the wicked, or who wil take my part against the euil dooers?

The Apologie, and Conclusion of the Author.

Thus ended is this shorte Collection
Rude and vnperfect for his want of skil,
Who should have gien it perfection,
and would, if his might had been to his wil.
Or else if time had therunto suffised,
To haue perused it and recognised.

But for as much as I did fayle of bothe,
To wit, of Learning and also of time,
And to let dye such matter I was lothe,
Though I ne could it duely enlumine;
Yet, for my God and for my Countrie sake,
Me thought of force I must it vndertake.

And namely for the woorthy Shire of Kent,
Famous of olde time for humanitie,
As is to finde in writing auncient,
Besides what dayly proof dooth testifie;
Sith I was borne in her, me thought of right
I ought to bring this matter into sight.

¶ So strongly ruleth loue the part of man,
Namely that loue whiche is so naturall,
To doo his Country good in what he can,
That his good hart is to be borne withall;
For God requesteth of a man his will,
Although he want wherewith to fulfill.

¶ These are the causes why I took on mee,
To be reporter of this Conference
Which I haue doon as her is plain to see,
As neer as I could followe their sentence;
Wherin if I haue failed any whit,
I pray you in good part to taken it.

¶ For first touching the matter in substance,
The Speakers are the Authors, and not I;
As for the order in deliverance,
I put in the Readers courtesie
To mend it, or take it as it is,
For he is wise that dooth nothing amisse.

Finis
Aut bibe aut Abi.

4. The Case is Altered, 1604. (Not by Francis Thynne, created Lancaster Herald in 1603.)

To the Reader.

Gentle Reader, I pray God, I do not flatter you, for if you should prove either vnwise, or vnkinde, I should call in my Title: So it is, that hauing nothing to do, I set my selfe on work about a little better matter, to write downe certain Cases never pleaded, but only discoursed vpon, by a couple of idle people; the matters handled, are of no great moment, and therefore scarce worth the reading: but yet if
you peruse them all over, no doubt but some of them will please you: if any of them do otherwise, I am sorry, I knowe not your humour; but if you finde yourself touched with any evil, rather mend the fault in your selfe, then finde fault with me. In brief, I only write upon Cases, neither kniue-Cases, Pinne-Cases, nor Candle-Cases, but onely a fewe merry pittifull Cases: In which if I haue lost time, I am sorry for my labour; If I haue lost my labour, I am sorry for my time; but if I haue gained your good will, all is not lost: and I thanke you; but, because I knowe not where to come to you to tell you so, I leave you to reade and like what you list, and to think of me as you haue cause; and so in good will, I rest.

Your friend, F. T.

[sign. B, back]

_Dal._ . . . But what is become of my neighbours _Biros_ daughter.

_Mil._ Alas the day. there is a pittifull Case indeed, if you speake of a Case to be pitted. A young wench, a faire wench, a fine wench, a pretty wench, a sweet wench, a gallant wench, a proper wench, a wise wench, an honest wench, a kinde wench, a good wench; that could speake well, and daunce well, and sing well, and play well, & worke well, and do every thing well, to be cast away; I say, cast away: yea verterly cast away vpon a Noddy, a Ninny-hamer, a Tamegoose, a Woodcokke, a Meacocke, a Dawcokke, that loues nothing but fatte meate, and can spel nothing but Pudding, & yet put vp in gay cloaths must stand in stead of a better man, to be the vndoing of such a peerlesse woman, & all for a little trash: Oh wicked money, to be the Actor of such a mischief: is not this a pittifull Case?

_Dal._ It is: and poore heart (were not wishing in vaine) I could beteeme her a better match: for to see a Diamonde buryed in Sea-coales ashes, it is pitty; it desereues a better soyle: & in truth had I such a daughter, she should spin, & I would reele, and we would make thread for a liuening, before I would bring her to her death by such a miserie.

_Mil._ You say well, & so I thinke should I. but 'tis a pittifull Case, and so let it be.

[sign. C 2, back]

_Mil._ Then heare me, thus it was. An old woman, a very old woman, a crooked old woman, a creeping old woman, a lame woman, a deafe woman, a miserable woman, a wretched woman, a wicked woman, fell with halfe a sight, (for shortly after she fell blind) in loue with a pretie, neate, nimble, spruse, liuely, handsome, & in truth, louely young man, and so faire, as after the manner of the country
people, she would, if she met him in a morning, bid him good mor-
row, with "how doe you, sonne, I praine you come neere," if it were neere her house, and "I praine you sit downe," and "I praye you drinke,
and how doth your good father, and your mother and all your house, In troath you are welcome, I am sere I have no good cheere
for you, but such as I haue, I praye you doe not spaire: if I haue any thing in my house, it is at your commande: In deede I ever loued
you of a childe, and if I had a daughter I would give her, with all I haue, to you; that I would, I, truly, would I: but, and you could
make much of an old woman, it may be. I haue some old Rud-
dockes that saw no day these twenty winters and ten, that may make
a young man merry: yea, and perhaps make you live by their nooses
that holde their heads full high." And thus, with shewing of him
all her wealth, which she conjured him to keepe secret, & giving a
piece of gold or two with him, she made him doe, yea mary did he,
that which his conscience had no comfort in, and he found no good
of; for having robbed her cupboard of a great deale a coine, only
bearing her in hand to be her Asse-band, and for a little illasnored
kindnes, it fell out, that shortly after, he falling in love with a
neighbours daughter, a wench worthy the looking on, when all
parties were agreed, the matter was made vp, hands were ioyned,
hearts were ioyfull, the Banes were asked, the Bride and Groome
were married, the guests were bidden, the dinner was readie; the
minstrels plaid, the youth danced, and the old fooles laught, and the
day was well past, and nothing longed for but night, and then the
supper done, the gostes departed, then curtesie and "I thank you,"
the Rich had their bellies full, and the beggers had their pockets
full, and the house was at quiet, the doores were shut, the fire and
candel put out, the bed made softe, and the sheets white washed,
and the pillowes sprinkled with rose water, and all things in order,
for the comfort of these yong couple; the old woman that grewe mad
at this match, though she durst not forbid the banes, being at the
church, and hearing of diverse saying "God giue you ioy," fell to
mumbling to herselfe, and some sorrow too; when how she wrought
with her Inchantment, I know not, but the young people might
kisse, while she might sigh, and he fret, but there was no further
matter to be performed; and this continued some two yeares, till she
in love and modesty, concealing her miserie, & he seeking all
means he could for his comfort, and finding none, met by chance
with this old woman, and in a mistrust that she had done him some
villainie with her ill tongue, fell vpon her, and throwing her downe,
trode vpon her, & did beate her, till he left her for dead; and indeed
she neuer eate bread after; for going home to her house, belike
going about some other hellishnes, her Orch slipping, she fell ouer
the threshold, and broke her neck: when the young man came home,
and talked so kindly with his wife, that within fortie wekes after
she brought him a goodly boy: And is not this a pittifull Case,
that a man should so long be tormented by the wicked tongue of a woman.

*Dul.* A woman, you would say the shape of a woman, for a witch is but a duell Incarnate, it is pittie that any of them are suffered to liue. But to requite you: not many miles from the town wher I dwel, there was an old man, a filthy old man, a coughing, sneezing, bleer-eied, wry-mouthed, bottle-nosed, lame-legged, palsie-handed, stumpe-footed, wry-bodied, gagge-toothed, slandering-tongue, fohe, stinking-breathed, who walked but vpon cruches, read but with spectacles, and spake with a shaking, nodding, or a noddy head; this ougly object, or rather abiect of nature, the sorrow of youthes eie-sight, the disparity of time, the hate of loue, and the lamentation of hope, such a man as is not in the world to be scene, by very ill fortune, vpon a faire day chanced to meete with a Tenants daughter of his, whom having well viewed, as his dimme sight would give him leaue, giving a nodule to her curtesie, sent the next day for her to his house; but the wench the day before having so much of his sight, that she desired neuer to see him more, with bitter teares fell at her fathers feete, and desired him to goe, and know his pleasure, and make excuse for her, that she was not well, but the next day she would come to him: the poore man seeing his daughter change colour, did yealde to her request, put on his best shooes, & a cleane band, & being but a little way to his house, through want of a horse went on foote, when, but a little wet shod, with slipping into a ditch, he comes at last to the doore of this rich clowne, who being head Bailiffe to the chiefe Lord of the manner, kept a house, the best thatched of all his neighbours in the parish; there being saluted by a couple of fowle curres, not much vnlike their old maister, being of his old acquittance, shewed him but their teeth, & then wagging their tailes, did him no harme, but let him there stay til this Chaps, the old mezil, hearing his dogges, and knowing their voices, came out to heare whom they talke too, and there seeing this poore man stand cappe in hand, setting himselfe downe vpon a bench, after a horse couphe, and a spalling spet or two, begins to aske him for his daughter, whose excuse being made, he falls aboord with him for her, to haue her for his servuant: which he answering with an excuse, that it could not be, for she had taken earnest of a gentlewoman, to waite on her in her chamber; which he believing, answered that he would do more for her then any gentlewoman of them all, for he had no children, and he would make her both his childe and his wife; and therefore she should take no care for service: the poore man, glad of this message, went home merily to his daughter, told her what good fortune was towards her, for joy sent for the other pot, & now thought to take no care for rent, when his child should be his Landlady: but the poore girl—seeming to her father to be as ioyfull as he—when her father was gone to his daies worke in the morning, tooke an old sacc, in which she put vp all her cloathes that she had, and away goes she to an Aunt she had
ten miles of, and there with howling and crying, that her father
ment to marrie her to the diuel, intreated her to put her to service,
for she had rather washe buckes all daies of her life, then be matched
with such a monster: "Oh Aunt, euery bodie saies that he kild
his last wife with kindnes, and I thinke he would do as much
with me. Oh tis a venome man as liues; and truly Aunt it is
such an il-fauoured man, and he hath such a breath, It is a
beastly creature; besides, the house that he dwells in, he hath but
his life in; but, if he had all the world, and as much good as would
lie in all your house, I would not haue him, I had rather begge my
bread."

Her Aunt seeing the honest heart of the poore wench and know-
ing that she could set a seame together, and handle her needle prettily,
for a plaine hemme, & could tell how to eate a pece of meate, how-
ever she could dresse it, spake to a gentlewoman neere vnto her, to
take her into her service, droue a bargaine for her wages, brought her
to her, and placed her with her: where she behaued her selfe well, and
was well thought on; and there I leaued her. Now home comes her
father, misseth his daughter, runnes to his Landlord, thinking to finde
her there; the micher thinkes he is mockte, he falles out with his
Tenant, warres him out of his house; the poore man goes home
weeping, his wife with her handes wringing entertaines him with a
scolding, railing vpon him, cursing her Landlord, and sweares she will
haue her home, 'hang him, dogge, he shal not be the death of her
daughter, she will not dwel in his house, she will haue her childe
out of his house, or she will beate downe his doores'; and is as good
as her word; the next morning with an open mouth goes to his
doores, where lowder then both his Mastiffes shee maketh an outcry
for her childe.

The man, knowing her to be an vreasonable woman, entreats
her to be quiet, sweares by the cross of his Crutch that he knowes
not whither she is gone; and with much adoe to pacifie her, gettes
himselfe ridde of her; when comming home, and not finding her
dear daughter, she falls into such an agony, that a horse would not
abide it. When the poore man with grieafe takes such thought that
he can eate no meat, and she weary, & almost out of breath with scold-
ing, goes to bed for anger; and the old man, with sorrow to loose his
loue, and to see her parents misery, after a fit of the stone, with a stitch
of the Chollick, being gripped at the heart & fearing to leave the world,
sendes for his Tenant, forgives him his rent, & giues his house to his
daughter, if she be found againe; and so bestowing among the poore
of the Parish some little matter not worth the speaking of, hauing
made al meanes he could, and by her parents good care and traualie,
found out, and brought vnto him some houre before his death, gaue
her in an old foule Handkercheffe, that which payde for more then
the washing of two faire Smockes, and so causing the great Bell to be
towled, after a hollow hemme or two, even for Loue, (because he
could liue no longer) dyed. And is not this of a long Case, a pittyfull Case?

Mil. Yes, if it were true, but surely tis a lest; there was neuer such a man, nor such a matter.

Dal. Well then, say it were a lest, was it not a pittifull iest.?

Mil. If there were anie pittie, it was in that bee liued so long.

(sign. D. 4.)

When they had thus ended their Cases, and given each other a good night, and came home to their wines in good time, that a1 things were quiet for that night, the next day about nine of the clock in the morning, according to promise they met at the place appointed, the great Oake, vnder which, when they had a little rested themselues, vpon their walking staines, after a little ordinary salutations, with "good morrow, and well met, and how doe you with all your household?"

"Well, I thanke God, and I thanke you, and God hold it," and so forth, taking vp their cudgells with "come, goe, the morning goes away and the market will be done," away they goe together, and being some foure or five miles to the towne, they fell into new matters to talke vpon, which, if you wil tary til they be written, as I haue heard them, true or false as they be, you shall haue them, in the [meane] time hoping you will haue patience with this, till you heare of what followes, I will thus end.

A merry Case is wittifull,
A wofull case is pittifull;
The wittifull doth breede but Iest,
The pittifull may breede ynrest;
Then leave the last, and take the first,
And take the best, and leave the worst.

FINIS.

II F. With consistent recklessness, Mr Collier also says¹ that the following poem written by George Turberville, to a friend whose age (l. 8) he contrasts with his own youthfull yeares (l. 9) "must have been" addresset to "Francis Thynne," when Turberville was actually older than Francis Thynne, probably 15 years older, as Turberville's conjectur birth-year is 1530 (Hole, Biog. Dict. 1865). So that when Thynne was 22, the comparatively old Turberville of 37, or thereabouts, contrasted his youthful years with his junior's old age ¹

¹ Bibl. Catal, iii. 460.
And as there was an earlier edition of the book, Thynne may not have even reacht 21 when Turberville's poem was written.

[George Turberville's Epitaphes, Epigrams, &c. London, 1567; leaf 79, back.]

To his Friend Francis Th: leading his lyfe in the Countrie at his desire.

My Francis, whilst you breath your foming steede
Athwart the fields in peace to practise warre,
In Countrie whilst your keneld Hounds doe feede,
Or in the wood for taken pray doe iare;
Whilst you with Haukes the sielie Foule doe slays,
And take delight a quick retrieu to haue,
Wasting your age in pleasure passing braue:
To flee to marke, and heare the Spanels baye,
In Citie I my youthfull yeares doe spende,
At Booke perhaps sometime to weare the day:
Where man to man, not friend to friend, doth lende,
With vs is naught but pitch (my Friend) and pay.
Great store of Coyne, but fewe enjoy the same,
The owners holde it fast with lymed handes;
We line by losse, we play and practise game;
Wee by and sell; the streate is all our landes.
Well storde we are of e[v]rie needefull thing,
Wood, Water, Coale, Flesh, Fishe we haue ynow:
(What lack you? Wyues and Maides doe daylie sing
The Horne is rife, it sticks on many a brow.)
But yet (I say) the Countrie hath no peere,
The Towne is but a toyle, and wearie lyfe:
We like your Countrie sportes (Friend Francis) heere,
The Citie is a place of bate and strife.
Wherefore I thinke thee wise and full of thrift,
That fledst the Towne, and hast that blessed gift.

[In Turberville's volume there is another poem, of 3 pages, "To his Friend Th: hauing bene long studied and well experienced, and now at length louing a Gentlewoman that forced" him naught at all," leaf 76, back.

I Thought good Fayth, & durst haue gaged my hand
   For you (Friend T.) that beautie should now hight
Hauue rade your hart, nor Cupid with his brand
Hauue broght thy learned breast to such a plight.]

1 In the edition of 1570 this is printed Frances, and so in the table at the beginning, but it has his lyfe like the 1st edition.
2 cared for
 Messrs Cooper give the following authorities for their Life of Thynte and list of his Works, in the Gent. Mag., July, 1865 (p. 90):—

Ayscough’s Cat. of MSS.
Black’s Cat. of Ashmol. MSS. 383, 520, 559, 625.
Blakewray’s Sheriffs of Salop, 116.
cxxxvi. cccxiii.
Collier’s Bridgewater Catalogue, 217, 311, 312.
Collier’s Rarest Books, i. p. xliii. 334; ii. 25, 427, 432, 450.
MS. Cotton.
Gough’s Topogr., i. 473; ii. 42, 563.
MS. Harl.
Hearne’s Curious Discourses, 2 ed. i. 13, 21, 33, 66, 139, 251; ii. 24, 143, 444.

Herald and Genealogist, i. 74.
Herbert’s Ames.
MS. Lansd.
Moule’s Bibl. Herald. 119, 309, 324.
Noble’s Coll. of Arms, 184, 188, 213.
Restituta, i. 548
Ritson’s Bibl. Poet. 361.
Rymer, xvi. 471.
Todd’s Cat. Lamb. MSS.
Topogr. and Geneal. iii. 471-473, 483.

1 This lumping of authorities is an awful nuisance. When you want to verify any one statement, you may have to turn to all the authorities before you find what you seek.

In one of the Bodleian copies (C. 18. 10. Linc., Pamph. 124 (imperf.),) of “A Discourse concerning the Basis and Original of Government, with The Absolute and Indispensable Necessity of it; Wherein the Excellency of Monarchy Above any other Kind is Evidently Demonstrated. As it was Delivered by way of Charge to the Grand-Jury, at a Quarter-Sessions of the Peace held at Ipswich in the County of Suffolk. By F. T. Esq.; One of His Majesty’s Justices of the Peace for the said County. [a Hebrew motto from] Adag: Rabbin: London, Printed by W. G. for Robert Littlebury, and are to be Sold at the Signe of the Unicorn in Little-Britain, 1667. 4to. A in 2, B, C, D, E, F. in fours, p. i, ii. 1—40.—is written beneath, in a hand of that date, “Franc. Thynn Esq.” Is this a Collieresque guess, or fact? Says “The Book-seller to the Reader.

Courteous Reader,

The Publication of this Discourse hath been much Desired by several sober and judicious Persons; but such is the Modesty of the Author, that hitherto he hath had a Reluctancy thereunto, until now that by my Importunity I have prevailed with him to Expose it to Publick View for the Satisfaction of others, although not of himself.—R. L.”
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ANIMADVERSIONS.

To the right honorable his singuler good
Lorde Sir Thomas Egertone, knighte, lorde
keper of the greate seale, and master of the
Roolles of the Chancerye.

It was (Byghte Honorabile and my verye good
lorde) one anciente and gretyly Estemed Custome
amongst the Romans in the heigh[t]e of their glorie,
that eche one, accordinge to their abylytye or the
desarte of his frende, did, in the begynnynge of the
monthe of Januare (consecrated to the dooble faced
godd Janus, one the fyrste daye whereof they made
electione of their cheife officers and magistrates) pre-
sente somme gyfte vnto his frende as the noote and
pledge of the contynued and encreased amytye "betwene
them, a pollicye gretylye to be regarded, for the manye
good effectes whiche issue from so woorthy cause.
This custome not restinge in the lynyttes of Italye,
but spredinge with the Romans (as did their language
and many other their vsages & lawes) into euerie per-
ticular Countrye where theyr powre and gouermente
stretched, passed also over the Oceane into the little
worlde of Brytannye, being neuer exiled from thence,
nor frome thos, whome eyther honor, amytye, or dutye
doth combye. ffor whiche cause, lest I myghte offende
in the breche of that most excellente and yet em-
braced Custome, I thinke yt my parte to presente vnto
THYNNE.
I present your Lordship with this New-Year's Gift, your Lordship suche poore neweyes ye gyste¹ as my weake estate and the barrennesse of my feble skyll will permytte: Wherefore, and because Cicero affirmeth, that he whiche hathe once over passed the frontiers of modestye must for euer after be impudente,² (a grounde whiche "I fynde fully veryfied in my selfe, hauinge once before outgonne the boundes of shamefastnesse in presentinge to your Lordshippe my confused collec­tions and disordered discourse of the Chauncelors)³ I ame nowe become vtterlye impudente in not blusshinge to salute yo ayrayne (in the begynnynge of this newe yere) with my petye animadversions, vppon the annotacions and corrections delievered by master Thomas Speghte vppon the last editione of Chaucer's Works in the yere of oure redemptione 1598; thinges (I confesse) not so aswereeable to your Lordshippes iudgmente, and my desyre, as bothe your desarte and my dutye doo challenge. But althoughe they doo not in all respectes satisfye youre Lordshippes expectacione and my gode will, (accordinge as I wyshe they sholde), yet I dobt not but your lordshippe (not degeneratinge frome your former curtesye wontinge to accompanye all youre ac­tions) will accepte these trifles from your lovinge well­willer in suche sorte, as I shal acknowledge my selfe beholdinge and endeboed to your Lordshippe for the same. Whiche I hoope your Lordshippe will the rather doo (with pardonynge my presumptione) because yo hauye, by the former good acceptance of my laste booke, emboldened me to make tryall of the lyke acceptance of this pamphlete. Wherefore yf your Lordshippe shal receive yt curteouslye (and so not to dischorage

¹ MS. gyste ² MS. aster be impudente ³ "The names and Armes of the Chancellors collected into one Catalogue by francis Thynn declaring the yeres of the reignes of the kinges and the yere of our Lorde in which they possessed that office."—Folio MS. Bridgewater Library.—G. H. K.
FRANCIS THYNNE'S DEDICATION TO LORD ELLESMERE.

mee in my swete and studiouse idlenesse) I will here-
after consecrate to your lykinge some better labor of
moore momente and higher subiecte, answerable to the
excellencye of your iudgmente, and mete to declare
the fulnesse of the dutyful mynde and service I beare
and owe vnto youre lordshippe, to whome in 'all reuer-
ence I commytte this simple treatyce. Thus (withe
hartye prayer comendinge youre estate to the

Almightye (who send to your
Lordshippe manye happye
and helthful yeeres
and to me the
enlarged
contynuance of
Youre honorable favoour)
I humblye take my leave.
Clerkenwell grene
the xx of
December
1599.

Your Lordshippes wholye to
dyspose,

Francis Thynne.

/.  /.  /.  /.
To Master Thomas Speighte
francis Thynn sendeth
greetinges.

Master Speght, your new edition of Chaucer deserves praise,
but as nothing is perfect,
you must let me,
["leaf", back]
as my father edited the poet,
examine your book,
The Industrye and love (master Speighte) whiche yo^9 have used, and beare, vppon and to our famous poete Geffrye Chaucer, deserueth bothe commendatione and furtherance: the one to recompense your trouayle, the other to accomplishe the duetie, whiche we all beare (or at the leaste, yf we reuerence lernynge or regarde the honor of oure Countrie, sholde beare) to suche a singuler ornamente of oure tonge as the workes of Chaucer are: Yet since there is nothinge so fullye perfected, by anye one, wherein some imperfectione maye not bee founde, (for as the prouerbe is, 'Barnardus,' or as others have, 'Alanus, non videt omnia,' yo^9 must be contented to gyve me leave, in discharge of the duetie and love whiche I beare to Chaucer, (whome I suppose I have as great intereste to adorne with my smale 'skyll as anye other hath, in regarde that the laborious care of my father made hym most acceptabe to the worlde in correctinge and augmentinge^1 his workes,) to enter into the examinatione of this newe editione,^2 and that the rather, because yo^9,

1 Thynne was the first man who profeast to edit Chaucer's Works. He printed for the first time, Chaucer's Adam Scribeiro, Legende, Boece, Blanche, Pity, Astrolabe, and Stedfastnesse (and put 19 spurious pieces into his volume). See note 1, p. 7.
2 That is, Speght's of 1598.
with Horace his verse "si quid novisti rectius istis, candidus imparti," have willed all others to further the same, and to accepte your labors in good parte, whiche, as I most willingly doo, so meaninge but weft to the worke, I ame to lett yo" vnderstande my concyte thereof, whiche before this, yf yo" woulde have vouche- safed my howse, or have thoughte me worthy to have byn acqueynted with these matters (whiche yo" might weft have donne without anye whatsoeuer disparge- ment to your selve,) yo" sholde haue vnderstoode before the impressione, althoughhe this whiche I here write ys not nowe vppon selve will or fonnd concyte to wrangle for one asses shadowe, or to seke a knott in a rushe, but in frendlye sorte to bringe truthe to lighte, a thinge whiche 'I wolde desire others to vse towadres mee in whatsoever shall fall oute of my penne. Where- fore I will here shewe suche thinges as, in mye opynione, may seme to be touched, not medlinge withe the seconde editione to one inferior personne ¹ then my fathers editione was.

[I. Speght snubd for implying faults in William Thynne’s editions of Chaucer.]

The curious History of those Editions.]

Fyrste in your forespeche to the reader, yo" saye 'secondly, the texte by written copies corrected': by whiche worde 'corrected,' I maye seme to gather, that yo" imagine greate imperfectione in my fathers editione, whiche peraduenture maye move others to saye (as some vnadvisedlye have sayed) that my father had wronged Chaucer :) Wherefore, to stoppe that gappe, I will answere, that Chaucers woorkes haue byn sithens printed twyce, yf not thrice,² and therfore byoure care- because the care-

¹ John Stowe’s, 1561.
² "Secondly, The text by old written Copies corrected:” Speght ‘To the Readers’.
³ Only twice, so far as we know: 1. about 1550, by or for
less reprinter
have spilt it.

[* leaf* 3, back]

My father’s first
(cancelled) edition
had only one
column in a page.

In it he was not
only helped by Sir
Brian Tuke,

but he had a
commission to
search for copies
of Chaucer’s
Works in all the
Abbay Libraries.
And he got many
copies, of which
Chaucer himself
had examine one.

[* leaf 8]

Collating all these
MSS, my father
had a fully cor-
corrected text in
his,

the very first,
collected edition of
Chaucer’s
Works,

lesse (and for the most parte vnlermed) printers of
Engelnde, not so weel performed as yt ought to bee:
so that, of necessytie, bothe in matter, myter, and
meaninge, yt must needes gather corrupctione, passinge
’trough se manye handes, as the water dothe, the
further yt ruanethe from the pure founteyne. ‘To en-
duce me and all others to judge his editioone (whiche
I thinke yo” neuer sawe wholye to-gethe, beinge fyrst
printed but in one coolute in a page, whereof I will
speake hereafter) was the perfectest: ys the ernest
desire and love my father hadde to have Chauces
Woorkes rightely to be published. for the perform-
ance whereof, my father not onlye vsed the helpe of
that lerned and eloquent kn[i]ghte and antiquarye
Sir Briane Tuke, but had also made greate serche for
copies to perfecte his woorkes, as apperethe in the ende
of the squiers tale, in his editioone printed in the yere
1542 1; but further had comission to serche aII the
liberasies of Engelnde for Chauces Workes, so that ote
of aII the Abbies of this Realme (whiche reserved anye
monumentes thereof) he was fully furnished with mul-
titude of Bookes. emongest whiche, one copye of
some part of his woorkes came to his handes sub-
scribed in durers places withe “examinatur “Chaucer.”
By this Booke, and conferringe manye of the other
written copies to-gethe, he deliuere his editiion,
fullye corrected, as the amendormentes vnder his hande,
in the fyrst printed booke that euwr was of his woorkes
(beinge stamped by the fyrste impressione that was in
the booksellers Wm Bonham, R. Kele, Petit, Robert Toye,
(with the spurious Plowman’s Tale before the Parson’s, instead
of after it, as in Thynne’s 2nd edition, in 1542); 2. in 1561 by
John Stowe for the booksellers, Ihon Kyngston, &c., and
Henry Bradah, citizen and groower of London.

1 The only words used are “There can be founde no more
of this foresayd tale, whiche hath ben sought in dyuers
places.”
Englande) will well declare, at what tyme he added
manye thinges whiche were not before printed,1 as you
nowe haue donne soome,2 of whiche I ame perswaded
(and that not withoute reasone) the originall came from
mee.3 In whiche his editione, beinge printed but with
one coollume in a syde, there was the pilgrymes tale, a
thinge moore odious to the Clergye, then the speche of

1 He added the spurious and the 6 genuine works named in
note 1 on page 4.

Thynne, 1632.

**Genuine.**

| Canterbury Tales. |
| Troylus. |
| ¶Legende. |
| ¶Boethius. |
| Parl. of Fowles. |
| ¶Blanche (Dreame). |
| Bukton, t. ¶. |
| *Marriage*. |
| ¶Pity. |
| Annelida. |
| ¶Astrolabe. |
| House of Fame. |
| Complaynt of Mars. |
| Venus. |
| Gentleness,-in (§) |
| ¶Stedfastness. |
| Truth. |
| Fortune. |
| Envoy to Scogan. |
| Purse. |

**Spurious.**

| Romaunt of the Rose. |
| Testament of Creseyde. |
| Goodly Balade, Mother of Nature. |
| Floure of Curtesy. |
| Balade ('With al my might'). |
| La belle dame sans mercy. |
| Assemble of Ladyes. |
| (Lydgate’s) Complaynt of the blacke knyght. |
| A preyse of women. |
| Testament of Loue (prose). |
| Lamentatyon of Mary Magdaleyna. |
| Remedy of Loue. |
| (Hooceleve’s) Letter of Cupyde. |
| A Balade of our Lady ('a thousande stories'). |
| Johan Gower: Balade to kyng Henry the fourth. |
| Of the Cuokowe and the Nyghtyn-gale. |
| (§) Soogan vnto the lorde and gentylmen of the kynges house. |
| 2 stanzas 'Go forthe, kyng.' |
| (Lydgate’s?) Consyder wey every circu

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2 Speght added the 2 spurious poems 'Chaucer's Dreme,'
and 'the Flower & the Leaf.'

2 Does this mean that Speght borrowed Francis Thynne's
copies, and printed 'em without his leave, or that Speght had
got hold of some of William Thynne's Chaucer MSS, which had
been stolen from, or given away by, his son Francis, as notict
on page 12? If the former, I feel no doubt that old William
Thynne had the MSS. of these spurious poems, but did not
print them, either because he felt they weren't Chaucer's, or
because he got them after his 2nd edition of 1542 was
publisht.
I. THE STORY OF THE PILGRIM’S TALE.

the plowmanne; that pilgrimes tale begynnynge in this sorte;

"In Lincolneshyre fast by a fenne,
Standes a religous howse who dothe
yt kenne," &c.¹

¹ Unluckily no MS. of The Pilgrim's Tale, or leaf of Wm. Thynne's 1st edition, is known to us now. But I reprint in an Appendix the bit of the Tale that Tyrwhitt saw. He says, "Though Mr Speght did not know where to find The Pilgrim's Tale, and the printer of the edition in 1687 assures us that he had searched for it 'in the public libraries of both Universities,' and also 'in all private libraries that he could have access unto,' I have had the good fortune to meet with a copy." It is entitled 'The Pylgryme Tale,' and begins thus:—

In Lincolneshyr fast by the fene
There stant an hows and you yt ken,
And callyd sempynham of religion
And is of an old foundation, &c.

"There can be no doubt, I think, that this is the piece of which Mr Speght had received some confused intelligence. It seems to have been mentioned by Baco among Chaucer's works, in the following manner, 'Narrationes diversorum, Lib. i. In comitatu Lincolnensi fuit.'—Script. Brit., p. 526, ed. 1559. But it is impossible that any one who had read it should ascribe it to Chaucer. He is quoted in it twice by name, fol. xxxii and fol. xliv, and in the latter place the reference seems to be made to a printed book. The reader shall judge:—

He sayd he durst not it disclose,
But bad me reyd the Romant of the Rose,
The thred leafe just from the end,
To the second page ther he did me send,
He prayd me thos vi. staves for to marke,
Whiche be Chaucers owne hand wark.

Thus moche woll our boke signify
That while Peter hath mastery, &c.

[Then follow four more lines from Chaucer's Rom. R. v. 7283-8, ed. Urr.] It is not usual, at least, to cite MSS. by the leaf and the page. But if this citation was really made from a printed book, The Pilgrim's Tale must have been written after Mr Thynne's edition, for Chaucer's translation of the Romant of the Rose was first printed in that edition. Another

* The copy, of which I speak, is in the black-letter, and seems to have once made part of a volume of miscellaneous poems, in 8vo. The first leaf is numbered xxxi, and the last xliv. The Pilgrim's Tale begins about the middle of fol, xxxi, vers., and continues to the end of the fragment, where it breaks off imperfect. The first leaf has a running title—Venus, The court of—and contains the ten last lines of one poem, and another whole poem of twenty lines, before The Pilgrim's Tale.

This curious fragment was purchased at the auction of Mr West's library, in a lot (No. *1049) of Sundry fragments of old black-letter books, by Mr Herbert of Gulston's Square, who very obligingly permitted me to examine it. [Though Mr Hazlitt, in his Handbook, says that Douce had it, but it did not go to the Bodleian; it is there.]
I. THE STORY OF THE PILGRIM'S TALE.

In this tale did Chaucer1 most bitterly enveye against the pride, state, couetousnes, and extorcionne of the Bysshoppes, their officiells, Archdeacons, vicars generalls, comissaryes, 'and other officers of the spirituall courte. The Inventione and order whereof (as I haue herde yt related by some, nowe of good worshippe bothe in courte and countrye, but then my fathers clerkes,) was, that one comynge into this relligious howse, walked vpp and downe the churche, behouldinge goodlye pictures of Bysshoppes in the windowes, at lengthe the manne continuynga in that contempla
tione, not knowinge what Bishoppes they were, a grave olde manne withe a longe white hedde and berde, in a large blacke garment girded vnto hym, came forthe and asked hym, what he judged of those pictures in the windowes, who sayed he knewe not what to make of them, but that they looked lyke vntooure mitred Bishoppes; to whome the olde father replied, "yt is true, they are lyke, but not the same, for oure byshoppes are farr degenerate from them," and withe that, made a large discourse of the Bishoppes "and of their courtes."

This tale, when kinge henrye the eighte had rodde, he called my father unto hym, sayinge, "William Thynne! I dobe this wil not be allowed; for I suspecte the Bysshoppes will call the in questione for yt."

telling forth the evil lives of Bishops and Church-Officials.

[^ leaf's, back]
The story of this Pilgrim's Tale was (as my father's clerkes—now become men of good worship—have told me), that, to a man looking at painted windows, and not knowing of what Bishops the figures were, an old Father told him, 'of old Bishops;' and how had the new ones and their courts were.

[^ leaf a]
When Henry VIII read the Tale, he said, 'William Thynne, the Bishops 'll be at you for this,'

passage will fix the date of this composition still more clearly. In fol. xxxix-xl are the following lines:—

Perkin wrobek and Jak straw
And now of late our cobiir the daue.

One would not expect to find any mention of Perkin Warbeck in a work attributed to Chaucer; but, passing that over, I think it is plain, that our cobiir, in the second line, means the leader of the Lincolnshire rebels in 1536, who, as Hollinshed tells us, p. 941, 'called himself Captaine Cobier, but was indeed a monk, named Doctor Mackarell.' The Pilgrim's Tale therefore was not written till after 1536, and consequently could not possibly be in Mr Thynne's first edition, which, as has been shown above, was printed at latest in 1532.'—Tyrwhitt, Appendix to Preface to Canterbury Tales, p. vi, note, Moxon's ed. 1855; p. xv-xvii, notes, ed. 1775.

1 That is, the unknown author. It is clearly not Chaucer's.
10 SKELTON'S COLIN CLOUT. CHAUCER'S WORKS TO BE BURNT.

to whome my father, beinge in great fauore with his prince, (as manye yet lyvinge canne testyfye,) sayed, "yf your grace be not offended, I hoope to be pro-
tected by yo":" wherevpon the kinge bydd hym goo his waye, and feare not. A HH whiche not withstand-
inge, my father was called in quستone by the Bys-
shoppes, and heved at by cardinall Wolseye, his olde enyme, for manye causes, but mostly for that my father had furthered Skelton to publishe his 'Collen Cloute' against the Cardinall, the moste parte of whiche Booke was compiled in my fathers howse at Erithe in Kente. But for all my fathers frendes, the Cardinalls perswadinge auctoryye was so greate with the kinge,1 that thoughche by the kinges 'fauor my father escaped bodelye daunger, yet the Cardinall caused the kinge so muche to myclyke of that tale, that chaucer must be newe printed, and that discoure of the pil-
grymes tale lefte oute; and so beinge printed agayne, some thynge were forset to be omitted, and the plow-
mans tale (supposed, but vntrulye, to be made by olde
Sir Thomas Wyst, father to hym which was executed in the firste yere of Queene Marye, and not by Chaucer) with muche ado permitted to passe with the reste,2 in suche sorte that in one open parlimente (as I haue herde Sir John Thynne reporte, beinge then a mem-
ber of the howse,) when talke was had of Bookes to be forbidden,3 Chaucer had there for euer byn con-
dempned, had yt not byn that his workes had byn counted but fables. Whereunto yf yo4 will replye,
that their colde not be any suche pilgrymes tale, be-

1 This must have been before Wolsey's impeachment on 9th October, 1529, and probably before the beginning of the coolness between Wolsey and the King on the Divorce-cause being shifted to Rome in June 1529.
2 That is, to pass in the 2nd extant edition by Thynne of Chaucer's Works (1542), for the Plowman's Tale is not in the first extant edition of 1532. Both editions are in double columns, folio.
3 See p. xi, above.
4
cause Chaucer in his prologues make the not mentione of anye suche personne, which he wolde haue donne "yf yt had byn so: for after that he had recyted the knighte, the squyer, the squiers yeomane, the prioresse, her noonne, and her thre preistes, the monke, the fryer, the marchant, the Clerke of Oxenforde, seriantes at the lawe, franckleyne, haberdasher, goldsmythe, webbe, dyer and tapyster, Cooke, shypmane, doctor of physicke, wyfe of Bathe, parsonne and plowmane, he sayethe at the ende of the plowmans prologe,\(^1\)  

There was also a Reuse, and a millere,  
A Sumpnowre, and a Pardoner,  
A manciple, and my selfe: there was no mo.

All whiche make xxx persons with Chaucer\(^2\): Wherefore yf there had byn anye moore, he wolde also haue recyted them in those verses: whereunto I answere, that in the prologes he lefte outhe somme of those whiche tolde their tales; as the chanons yeomane, because he came after that they were passed out of theyre Inne, and did over-take them, "as in lyke sorte this pilgrime did or mighte doo, and so afterwordes be one of their companye, as was that chanons yeomane, although Chaucer talke no moore of this pilgrime in his prologe then he dooth of the Chanons yeomane: whiche I dobt not wolde fullye appere, yf the pilgrimes prologe and tale mighte be restored to his former light, they being nowe looste, as manye other of Chaucers tales were before that, as I ame induced to thinke by manye reasons.\(^3\)

But to leave this, I must saye that in those many written Booke of Chaucer, whiche came to my fathers handes there were manye false copyes, whiche Chaucer sheweth in writinge of Adam Scruener (as yo\(^1\) haue noted); of which written copyes there came to me

\(^1\) That is, the description of the Plowman in the General Prologue.
\(^2\) That is, 30 besides Chaucer, or 31 in all.
\(^3\) As even the fragments of the Cook's and Squire's Tales have been preservd, I doubt the losing of any Canterbury Tales.
after my fathers deathe some fuye and twentye, whereof some had moore, and some fewer, tales, and some but two, and some three. whiche booke beinge by me (as one nothinge doynting * of this whiche ys nowe donne for Chaucer) partly dispersed aboute xxvij yeres agoo and partlye stollen oute of my house at Popler: I gave diuers of them to Stephen Batemanne, person of Newington, and to diuers other, whiche beinge copies vnperfecte, and some of them corrected by my fathers hande, yt maye happen soome of them to coome to somme of your frendes handes; whiche I knowe yt I see agayne: and yt by anye suche written copies yo* have corrected Chaucer, yo* maye as well offende as seme to do good. But I judge the beste, for in doctes I will not resolue with a settled judgmente although ye yo* may judge this tedious discourse of my father a needlesse thinges in settingforthe his diligence in breaking the yce, & gyvinge lighte to others, who may moore easilye perfecte then begyne any thinge, for "facilium est addere quam Invenire"; and so to other matters.

[II. Speght's 15 Mistakes as to Chaucer's Family, Life, &c.; as to Edward III's Marriage; Chaucer's Friend Gower; Katherine Swynford, &c.]

'Under the tytle of Chaucers countrye, yo* seve to make yt probable that Richarde Chaucer, vintetener of Londone, was Geffrye Chaucers father.'

1 Perhaps the Stephen Batman, 'Student in Diuiniteit' 1577, 'Professor in Diuiniteit' 1581, author of The Travayled Pygrime, 1569; The Golden Booke of the Leadenn Goddes, 1577; The Doome warning all men to the Judgmente, 1581; Batman upon Bartholome, his Booke De Proprietatisbus Rerum, newlye corrected, enlarged and amended, 1582, &c. &c.

2 Speght cites the passage from the spurious Testament of Love, saying that "in the Cite of London . . . I was founde grown"; and then says, "In the Records of the Guild Hall in London wee find, that there was one Richard Chaucer, Vintener of London in the 23 yeare of Edward the third, who might well be Geoffrey Chaucers father." But, as I found in the Hustings Roll, 110, 5 Ric. II, at the Guildhall, Chaucer
that no more than that Iohn Chaucer of londone, was father to Richarde; of whiche Iohnne I fynde in the recorde in Dorso Rotulor. patent. memb. 24, de anno 30. Ed. 1. in the towre, that kinge Edwarde the firste had herde the compleinte of Iohn Chaucer of london, who was beaten and hurte, to the domage of one thousand pownde (that some amountinge at this daye to three thousande pownde;) for whiche a comissione wente forth to enquire thereof. wherbye yt semethe that he was of some Reckonynge. But as I cannott saye that Jofne was father to Richarde, or hee to Geffroye: So yet this muche I will deliuer in settinge downe the antiquyte of the name of Chaucer, that his ancesstors (as yo* well conjecture) were strangers, as the etymon of his name (being frenche, in "Englishe signfyinge one who shueth or hooseth a manne) dothe prove; for that doth the etymon of this worde "Chaucer" presente vnto vs; of whiche name I haue founde (besides the former recyted Iohnne,) on1 Elias chausery, lyvinge in the tyme of Henrye the thirde and of Edwarde the firste, of whome the recorde of pellis exitus in the recyte of the Exchequer in the firste yere of Edwarde the firste hathe thus noted: "Edwardus dei gratia &c. Liberat de theseuro nostro Elie Chausery decem solidos super arreragia trium obulorum diurnorum quos ad vitam suam, per litteras domini Henrici Regis, patris nostri, percepit ad scaccarium nostrum. datum per manum Walteri Merton cancellarii nostri, apud Westmonasterium, 24 Julii, anno regni nostri primo." With whiche Carractres ys Geffry Chauser written in the Recorde in the tyme of Edwarde the thirde and Richarde the seconde. So that yt was a name of office or occupatione, whiche after came to be the surname desribed himself, in the Deed by which he releaste his interest in his father's house in Thames Street in the City of London, as "Ego Galfridus Chaucer, filius Johannis Chaucer, Civis et Vinetarii Londonie." Richard was the grandfather. 1 one

But this no more follows than that the John Chaucer
who in 1301 was beaten and damagd to the tune of £3000,

was Richard's father.

But it's certain that Chaucer's ancestors were foreigners,

" [leaf 7]"

for Chauier is 'one who shueth or hooseth a man.'

An Elias Chaucer lived in Hen. III's & Edw. I's times,

as a writ to the Treasury in 1372-3, to pay him 10s. for arrears of his pension of 14d. a-day, shows.

So Chaucer is the name of a trade,
of a famelye, as did Smythe, 'Baker, Porter, Bruer, Skynner, Cooke, Butler, and suche lyke: and that yt was a name of office, apperethe in the recordes of the towre, where yt is named Le Chaucer, beinge more annicient then anye other of those recordes; for in Dorso Clause of ro: H. 3, ys this: "Reginaldus mirifici, et alicia uxor eius, attornaverunt Radulfind le Chausier contra Johannem Le furber, et matildem vorem eius, de uno messuagio in London." This Chaucer lyvinge also in the tyme of kinge Johane. And thus this muche for the Antiquyte of significatione of 'Chaucer', whiche I canne prove in the tyme of Edwarde the 4. to signyfye also, in oure Englyshe tonge, bootes or highe shoes to the calfe of the legge: for thus hathe the Antique recordes of Domus Regni Anglie, ca. 53, for the messengers of the kinges house to doo the kinges commandamentes: that they shalbe allowed for their Chauces1 yerely iiij. viijd: But what shal/we stande uppon the Antiquyte and gentry of Chaucer, when the rolle of Battle Abbye affirmeth hym to come in with the Conqueror.2

Vnder the title of Chaucers countrye,3 yow sett

1 printed 'chaunces' in the Household Ordinances (p. 48) publisht by the Society of Antiquaries in 1790. "MESSAGERS, III, attending to this courte for the King, obeying the commandementes of the Chamberlayn, for the messages concerneyng the King, or secretarie, or usher of the chamber; also the Steward and Thesaurer, for the honour and profit of household, if it require. These sitt together in the halle at theyr meales; and whyles they be present in courte, everyche of them taketh, by the cheker rolle, iii d. and every man for his clothing wynter and somer yerely, one mare; and ech for his chauces liii a. viii d."

2 Liber Niger Domus Regis Edw. IV. But on p. 29, the word is spelt "chaucors": "A BISHOP CONFESSION" . . . he kepeth in this courte 5 persones wynters now, but then [? in Edw. III's time] he had horse mete for his horses, clothing and chaucors for his gromes in sojournes."

3 I suppose Thynne read 'Cauney' on the Roll (according to Holinshed), 'Chauncy' or 'Coucy' (in Dychesne's Roll), 'Corcy' (in Leland's first Roll) or 'Chauncy' (in his second), as equivalent to Chauncy = Chaucer.

4 No, not under the first title of 'His Country', but under
downe that some Heraldes are of opynyone that he did not discende "of any great howse; whiche they gather by his armes." This ys a slender coniecture; for, as honorable howses, and of as greate Antiquyte, haue borne as meane armes as Chaucer; and yet Chaucers armes are not so meane, eyther for colour, Chargde or particione as some wyl make them. And where yo* says, yt semeth the lykelye, Chaucers skil in Geometrie considered, that he tooke the groundes and reasons of his armes ote of seuen twentye, & eight and twentye, propositiones of Euclide's first booke: that ys no inference that his armes were newe, or fyrst assumed by hym ote of Geometricall proportions, because he was skillfull in Geometrie: for so yo* maye saye of all the anncient armes of Engelande whiche consyyste not of anymalls or vegitalls; for all other armes whiche are not Anymalls and vegitalls,—as Cheuerons, pales, Bendes, Checkes, and suche lyke,—stande vpon geometricall proportiones: And therfore howe greatesten euer their skyll bee, whiche attribute that choyse of armes to Chaucer, [they] had no moore skyll in armes then they needed.

In the same title also, yo* sett downe Queene Isabell, &c. and her sonne prince Edwarde, withe his newe maried wyfe, retournd oute of Henalte. In whiche are two imperfections. the first whereof ys, that his wyfe came oute of Henalte with the prince. but that is not soo, for the prince maried her not before he came into England, since the prince was onLye slenderly contracted, and not maried, to her before his arryvał in Engelande, beinge two yeres and moore after that contracte, (betwene the erle of henalt the second, of 'His Parentage': "yet in the opinion of some Heralds (otherwise then his vertues and learning commended him) hee descended not of any great house, which they gather by his Armes, De argento ª rubro colore partito per longitudinem scuti omn benda ex transverso, eisdem coloribus sed transmutatis depicta sub hac forma."—sign. b. ii.
but after he came back, at the end of the 2nd year of his reign (1329) at York.

[* Leaf 90]

2. Philippa was sent for by Edw. III, as Harding says,

and the Records show.

She came to Edw. III on Jan. 29, 1330.

and his mother,) about the latter end of the second yere of his reign; though he others have the yrste, the solemnptye of that mariage beinge donne at Yorke. *besides, she came not ouer with Queene Isabell and the prince, but the prince sent for her afterwardes; and so, I suppose, sayeth Harding in his Cronicle, if I do not misconceive yt, not havinge the historye now in my handes. But whether he saye so or no, yt ys not materiaH, because the recordes be playne, that he sent for her into Henalte in the seconde yere of his reigne in october, and she came to the kinge the 23 of Januarye followinge, whiche was aboute one daye before he beganne the third yere of his reigne, wherunto he entred the 25 of Januarye, and for proofe of the tyme when, and whoome, the Kinge sente, and what they were allowed therefore, the pellis exitus of the Exchequer remayninge in master warders office

1 Hardynge (p. 31, ed. 1812) puts it in Edward's third year, and relates how comically Philippa was chosen out of the five sisters inspected, on account of her large hips, by a Bishop (of Lichfield) of great experience with women:

In tender age and youthes intelligence,
In his third yere so of his hie regence,

* He sent furth then to Henauld, for a wife,
A bishop and other lorde temporal,
Whe, in chaumbre preuy and secrestife,
Discouerit, * discouveully als in all, [^At discourerit orig.]
As semyng was to estate virginall,—
Emong thimselfes our lorde, for his prudence,
Of the bishop asked counsail and sentence,

* 'Whiche daughter of fwe should bee the queene,'
Who counsailld thus with sad aiseiment:
"Wee will haue her with good hippis, I mene;
For she will bere good soones, at myne entent."
To which thei all accorded by one assent,
And chase Philip, that was full feminne,
As the bishop most wise did determyne.

* But then emong themselfs thei laugh fast asy:
The lorde then said, 'the bishop couth
Full mekill skyll of a woman alwaye,
That so couth chese a lady that was vncoth.'
[And for y5 mery words that came of his mouth,]
Thei trowd he had right great experience
Of womanes rule and her conuenience.
II. DATE OF EDWARD III’S MARRIAGE. CHAUCER’S ANCESTORS.

hathe thus sett downe in the ferthe daye of februarye
“Bartholomeo de Burgershe nuper misso ad partes
Douor ad obuianudum filiae comitis Hannonie consorti
ipsius Regis” &c. but this ‘recordre followinge is most
pleyne, shewing bothe who went for her, the day when
they tooke their yourneye towards henalte, with de daye when & where they presented her to the kinge
after their retourne into Englande, and the daye one
which they wer payed their charges, beinge the forthe
of marche; one whiche daye yt is thus entred in the
recordes of pellis exitus, Michaell. 2. Ed. 3. “Roger
coourney &c Lichefeld episcopo, nuper misso in nun-
tium domini Regis ad partes Hannonie pro matrimonio
inter dominum Regem et filiam comitis Hannonise con-
trahendo, ab octauo die octobris proxime preterito,
quo die recessit de Notingham ipso domino Rege ibidem
existente, arripiendo iter suum predictum versus partes
predictos, vsque vicesimum tertium diem Januarii
proximè sequentem, quo die rediit ad ipsum Regem
predictum apud Eboracum in comitatius filiae comitis
Hannonise predictae, vtroque die computato, pro Cviij
diebus, percipiendo per diem iiij.” vj. viij. pro expensis
suis.” Thus muche the recorder, “whiche confirmethe
that whiche I go aboute to prove: that she came not
into Englande withe prince Edwarde, and that he was
not married at that tyme; no, not contracted, but onlye
by agreemente betweene the erle and his mother.

Next ye seeme to implye by a coniectural argumente,
that Chaucers anncesters sholde be mercantyes, for that,
in place where they haue dwelled, the armes of the
mercantyes of the staple haue bin seene in the glasse
windowes. This ys a mere conjecture, and of no valydyte.
for the mercantyes of the staple had not any
armes granted to them (as I haue bin enformed) vntilf
longe after the death of Chaucers parentes, whiche was

Bartholomew de Burgersh was one of those sent for
Philippes of He-
[* leaf 9, back]

And on March 4,
1329,
the Ep of Lich-
field was paid for
his Journey in
fetching her,
from Oct. 8, 1328,
to Jan. 35, 1329,
when he delivert
her to Edw. III at
York, 28 st. 8d.
a day.

[* leaf 10]

Thus I’ve shown
you two mistakes.

4. Your conjecture
(from merchants’
arms in windows)
that Chaucer’s
ancestors were
merchants, is of
no validity. [Yet
they were vint-
ners.]
aboute the 10 or 12 of Edwarde the thirde; and those merchantes had no armes before the tyme of Henrye the sixte, or muche what thereaboutes, as I dobt not but wilbe wel proued, yf I be not myesinformed. But admyme ther staplers then armes, yt ys no argumente that chaucers annecesters were "merchantes because those armes were in the wyndowes; as yoa shall well perceave, yf yoa drawe yt into a syllogisme; and therefore yoa did wel to conclude, that yt was not materiall whether they were merchantes or noo.

In the title of Chaucers educatyon, yoa saye that "Gower, in his booke entituled 'confessio amantis,' termeth Chaucer 'a worthye poet,' and maketh hym as yt were the iudge of his woorkes": in whiche Booke, to my knowledge, Gower dothe not terme hym 'a woorthy poet' (although I confess he well descreueth that name, & that the same may be gathered out of Gower comendynge hym); nether dothe he after a sorte (for any thinge I canne yet see) make hym iudge of his Workes, (whereof I wolde be glad to be enformed,) since these be Gowers woordes, vtttered by Venus in that booke of confessio Amantis:

And grete well Chaucer when ye mete, as my disciple and my poete: 'for, in the flowere of his youthe, In sondrye wise, as he wel couthe, of dytyes and of songes glade—the whiche for my sake he made,—the lande fulfilled is ouer all: Wherefore to hym in especiall above all others I am most holde; for thy nowe in his dayes olde thow shalt hym tell this message, 'that he vppon his latter age sett an ende of all his woorkes, as he whiche is myne owne clereke, do make his 'testament of Love,' as thow hast donne thy shrift ab[o]u[e, so that my Courte yt may recorde,' &c.

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1 Speght, sign. b. iii: "This Gower in his booke which is intittuled Confessio Amantis, termeth Chaucer a worthie Poet, and maketh him as it were, the Judge of his woorkes."
These be all the verses whiche I knowe, or yet canne synde, in whiche Gower in that booke mentioneth Chaucer, where he nether nameth hym worthye poet, nor after a sorte submytteth his woorkes to his judg-mente. But quite contrarye, Chaucer dothe submytte the "Correctione of his woorkes to Gower in these playne woordes, in the latter ende of the fyfte\(^1\) booke of Troylus:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{O Morall Gower \ I this booke I directe} \\
\text{to the, and the philosophicall stroode,} \\
\text{to vouche-safe, where nede is, to correcte,} \\
\text{of youre benignytes & zeales good.}
\end{align*}
\]

But this error had in you byn pardoned, yf yo\(^a\) had not sett yt downe as your owne, but warrantedye with the aucitoryte of Bale in 'Scriptoribus Anglie,' from whence yo\(^a\) haue swallowed yt. Then, in a marginall note of this title, yo\(^a\) saye agayne oute of Bale, that Gower was a Yorkshire manne;\(^2\) but yo\(^a\) are not to be touched thersore; because yo\(^a\) discharge your selfe in vouchinge your auctor. Wherfore Bale hath muche mistaken yt, as he hath donne infynyte thinges in that Booke 'de scriptoribus Anglie,' beinge for the most parte the collections of Lelande. for in truth the armes of this Sir John Gower, beinge argent, one a cheuerone azure, three leoparde heddes or, do 'prove that he came of a contrarye howse to the Gowers of Stytenhame in Yorke-shyre, who bare barrul ye of argent & gules, a crosse patye florye sable. Whiche difference of armes semethe a difference of famelyes, vnleste yo\(^a\) canne prove that, beinge of one howse, they altered their armes vppone somme juste occasione, as that some of the howse maryinge one heyre, did leave his owne armes, and bare the armes of his moother; as was accustoomed in tymes paste. But this difference

\(^1\) Corrected from 'firste.\)

\(^2\) "John Gower, a Yorkshire man borne, & a knight, as Bale writeth."—Spedegh, sign. b. iii.
of Cootes, for this cause, or anye other, (that I colde yet euer lerne,) shal yo not fynde in this famelye of Gower: and therefore seuerall bowses from the fryste original. Then the marginaH note goethe further oute of Bale, that Gower had "one his hedde a garlande of Ivey and rooses, the one the ornamente of a knyghte, the other of a poet." ¹ But Bale ys mystaken; for yt ys not a Garlante, vnlest yo with metaphorically calle everye cyrcle of the hedde a "garlante, as Crownes are sometymes called garlandes, from whence they had their original. nether ys yt of Ivey, as anye manne whiche seethe yt may well judge, and therefore not there sett for anye suche intente as one ensigne of his poetrye, But ys symplye a chapplett of Roses, Suche as the knyghtes in olde tyme vsed, ether of golde, or other embroderye made after the fasshoun of Rooses, one of the pecullier ornamentes of a knyght, as well as his coller of SSS, his guilte swoorde, and spurrees. Whiche chapplett or cyrcle of Rooses was as well attributed to knyghtes, the lowest degree of honor, as to the hygher degrees of Duke, Erle, &c. beinge knyghtes; for so I haue seene Jo-Time of Gaunte, pictured in his chaplette of Rooses; and kinge Edwarde the thirde gaue his chaplett to Eustace Rybamonte; only the difference was, that as they were of lower degree, so had the[y] fewer Rooses placed one their Chaplett or cyrcle of golde, one "ornament deduced from the Dukes crowne which had the rooses vppon the toppe of the cyrcle, when the knyghte had them onlye vppon the cyrcle or garlante yt-selffe. of whiche dukes crowne to be adorned with little Rooses, Mathewe Paris, speakinge of the

¹ "Hee [Gower] lyeth buried in Saint Mary Oueries in Southwarke, with his image lying ouer him in a habite of purple damaske downe to his feete: a collar of esses gold about his necke, and on his head a garland of yvie and roses, the one being the ornament of a knight, and the other of a Poet."—Speght, ed. 1588, sign. b. lli.
creating of Johne erle Mortone, duke of Normandye, in the yere of Christe 1199, dothe saye "Interim comes Johannes Rothomagum veniens in octavis pasche, gladio ducatus Normanici cinctus est, in matrice ecclesia, per ministerium Walteri Rothomagensis Archiepiscopi, vbi Archiepiscopus memoratus ante maius altar in capite eius posuit Circulum aureum, habentem in sunnitate per gyrum rosulas aureas artificialiter fabricatas," whiche chaplett of Rooses came in the ende to be a bande aboute oure cappes, sette with golde Buttons, as may be supposed. In the same *title yo* saye, "yt semethe that these lerned menno were of the Inner Temple, for that, manye yeres since, master Buckley did see "a recorde in the same howse, where Geffrye Chaucer was fined two shillings for beatinge a Franciscane Fryer in fluestreate." This is a harde collect[i]one, to prove Gower of the Inner Temple, although he studyed the lawe. for thus yo frame your argumente. ‘Mr Buckley founde a recorde in the Temple that Chaucer was fyned for beatinge the fryer, Ergo Gower and Chaucer were of the Temple.' But for myne owne parte, yf I wolde stande vppon termes for matter of Antiquitye, and ransacke the original of the lawiers fyrst settlinge in the Temple, I dopte whether Chaucer were of the temple or noe, vnlest yt were towards his latter tyme, for he was one olde manne,—as apperethe by Gowere in Confessione amantis—in the xvi yere of R. 2: when Gower wrothe that Booke. And yt is most certeyne to be gathered by cyrcumstances of Recorde, that the lawyers were not in the temple vntil towards the latter parte of the

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1 It seemeth that both these learned men [Chaucer and Gower] were of the inner Temple: for, not many yeres since, Master Buckley did see a Record in the same howse, where Geoffrey Chaucer was fined two shillings for beating a Franciscane fryer in Fleetstreete."—Speght, sign. b. iii.

2 22 June 1392, to 21 June 1393, Chaucer being 53 or 58.
II. OF CHAUCER'S WIFE, AND KATHERINE SWYNFORD.

Chaucer was then a grave man, employed in embassy, and not likely to break the peace.

8. You do not know the name of Chaucer's wife [Philippa], nor do I.

For though some think it was Elizabeth, a waiting woman to Queen Philippa, who had a grant of a yearly stipend, [° leaf 14, back] yet I believe this was Chaucer's sister or kinswoman, who became a nun at St Helen's, London.

reygne of kinge Edwarde the thirde; at whiche tyme Chaucer was a grave manne, holden in greate credyt, and employed in embassaye; so that me thinketh he sholde not be of that howse; and yet, yf he then were, I sholde iudge yt strange that he sholde violate the rules of peace and gravtyye yn those yeares. But I wylf passe ouer al those matters scito pede, and leave euery manne to his owne iudgemente therein for this tyme.

In the title of Chawcers mariage, yo saye yo cannotte fynde the name of the Gentlewomanne whome he maryed. Trulye, yf I did followe the conceyte of others, I sholde suppose her name was Elizabeth, a waytynge womanne of Quene philippe, wyfe to Edwarde the thirde, & daughter to William erle of Henalte. but I fawor not their oppynonye. for, althoughwe I fynde a recorde of the tellis exittus, in the tyme of Edwarde the thirde, of a yerely styppende to Elizabethe Chawcer, 'Domicelle regine Philipp,' whiche Domicella dothe signyfye one of her wytyng[e] gentlewomen: Yet I cannott for this tyme thinke this was his wyfe, but rather his sister or kineswoman, who, after the death of her mystresse Quene philippe, did forsake the worlde and became a nonne at Seinte Heleins in london, accordinge as yo saue touched one of that profissyon in primo of kinge Richarde the seconde.

1 Chaucer's embassy to Genoa and Florence was from 1 Dec. 1372 to 23 May 1373; that to Paris and Montreuil from 17 Feb. to 25 March 1377; that to Flanders (or France) from 30 April to 26 June 1377; that to Milan and Lombardy from 25 May to 19 Sept. 1378.
2 Yet his raptus of Cecilia Chaumpeigne is compromized on 1 May 1380.
3 "This gentlewoman, whome he married (which name we can not finde)" — Speght, sign. b. iii, back. But it is given as Philippa in the Duke of Lancaster's warrant of 13 June 1374, giving Chaucer £10 a year for life, for the good service of him and his wife Philippa; and in the Issue Rolls, Easter 1381 and 1387, "Philippes Chauzer... per manus predicti Galfridi, mariti sui," "Philippes Chauzer... per manus dicti Galfridi" (Nicolaus; C.'s Works, ed. R. Morris, i. 10, 109).
II. OF THOMAS CHAUCER'S WIFE, AND HENRY IV'S MARRIAGE.

In the Latyn stemme of Chawcer yo" saye, speakinge of Katherine Swyneforde, "Que postea nupta Johanni Gaudauensi, tertii Edwardi Regis filio, Lanciastrie duci, illi procreavit filios tres & vniam filiam."¹ Wherbye we may inferre that Iohne of Gaunte had these childeyne by her after the mariage: Whiche is not soo; for he had all his children by her longe before that mariage, so that they, beinge aff illegimate, were enforced afterwarde yppon that maryage to be legytymated by the poope, & also by acte of Parliamente,² aboute the two & twentythe of kinge Richard the seconde; "so that yo" cannott saye, 'que postea nupta procreavit Lanciastrie duci tres filios,' &c.

In the title of Chawcers children and their advancemente, in a marginały noote yo" vouche master Campdene, that Bartholmewe Burgershe, knyghte of the Garter, was he from whome the Burgershes, whose daughter & heyre was maried to Thomas Chawcer,³ did descende. But that is also one errour. for this Bartholmewe was of a collaterall lyne to that Sir Iohn Burgershe, the father of Mawde, wyfe to Thomas Chawcer; and therefore colde not that Sir Iohn Burgershe be descendede of this Bartholmewe Burgershe, though hee were of that howse. Then in that title, yo" vouche oute of m'. Campdene, that Serlo de Burgo, brother to Eustachius de Veseye, bulite Knaresborowe Castle. but that ys not righte: for this Serlo, beinge called 'Serlo de Burgo sune de Pembroke', was brother to Iohne, father to Eustace Veseye as haue the recordes of the towe, and so vnce, and not brother, to Eustace. "for one other marginnall noote in that tytle,

¹ Speght, leaf b, 4, with slight variations in the spelling.
² That is, by Richard II's Charter, read to the Parliament, and thus getting the force of an Act: see Appendix.
³ There is no evidence that he was in any way related to Chaucer. The strong presumption is that he was not. See my letter in Notes & Queries, 4th Ser. ix. 381 ; 437, col. 2 ; 494.
HUMPHRY SPEIGHT'S MISTAKE ABOUT THE DE LA POOLES.

13. You say that Jane of Navarre marrid Henry IV, in the 4th year of his reign.

But Walsingham says it was in the 5th year; Jan. 25, 1403-4.

14. You say the advancement of the de la Poole was due to William de la Poole, who lent the King money; but William was not the first that did so. His father Richard lent Edward III money, and was made his Butler.

[* leaf 16*]

On Dec. 14, 1387, Edw. III, by writ of privy seal, ordered payment to Richard de la Poole, his Butler,

1404. King Henry married the Lady Ioane de Nauarre.

yo\(^{a}\) saye, that Jane of Navarre was maryed to Henrye the forthe in the fourthe yere of his reygne, wherein yo\(^{a}\) followe a late inglishe chronicler whom I forbeare to name.\(^{1}\) But Walsingham, bothe in his historye of Henry the fourthe, & in his ypodigma, sayeth that she was maryed the 26 of Iauarye, in the yere of Christe 1403, whiche was in the fyfte yere of the kinge,\(^{2}\) yf yo\(^{a}\) begynne the yere of oure lorde at the annutiatione of the Virgine, as we nowe doo; but this is no matter of great momente. 

Fourthlye, in that title yo\(^{a}\) seme to attribute the advancemente of the Pooles to William de la poole, merchante of Hull, that lente the kinge a greate masse of monye. But this William was not the fyreste advancer of that hose, because his father Richarde at Poole, being a cheife governor in hult, and serving the kinges necessitye with monye, was made Pincerna Regis, one office of great accompte; by the same, gyvinge the fyreste advancemente to the succedymge famelye. Whereof the Recorde to prove Richard de la Poole pincerna Regis, is fouunde in the pryve seales of the eleventhe yere of kinge Edward the thirde, in Master Wardourues office, the lorde Treasurers clerke, Where yt is in this manner: "Edwardus, dei gratia Rex Angliæ et dux Acquitaniae, &c. Supplicavit nobis Dilectus noster Richardus de la Poole, Pincerna noster, vt quam ipse de expensis officii Pincernariæ ac omnibus aliis officiis illud tangentibus, ad dictum Scaccarium a festo sancti michaelis anno regni
II. RICHARD DE LA POOLE WAS THE FIRST ADVANCE OF HIS HOUSE. 25

nostri decimo, vsque ad idem festum proxime sequens plenarie computaverit, et 20901: 13°: et 11d. et vnum obulus sibi per computum illud de claro debeatur: Volumus ei solutionem inde, seu aliis satisfactionem sibi fieri competenter: Nos eius supplicationi in hac parte, prout iustum est, anuentes, vobis mandamus, etc. Datum apud Westmonasterium, 14 Decembris, anno regni nostri Vndecimo." To whose sonne this Williame de la Poole the older, and to his sonne Michaell de la Poole (who was after Channcelor), and to his heyres, "the kinge granneted fowre hundred markes by yere oute of the custome of Hull, as apperethe in the recorde of pellis exitus of 46 Ed. 3., the same Michaell de la poole recevinge the arrerages of that Annuitye; for thus yt is entred in Michaelmas terme one the fyrrste of December of that yere: "Michaelli de lapoole, filio et heredi Willielmi de la poole senioris, per Talliam levatam isto die, continentem iiij° lxx° xvij° r° ob. eadem michaeli liberat per compotum suum factum ad Scaccarium computatoris, virtute cuiusdam breuis de magno sigillo, Thesaurario et Baronibus Scaccarii directum pro huius compoto faciendo, de quodam annuo certo iiij° marcas per annum, quas dominus Rex Willielmo de la Poole seniori defuncto, et michaeli filio suo, et heredibus suis de corpore suo exeuntibus, de Custuma in portis ville de kingeston super Hull per litteras suas patentes concessas percipiendum quasdiu viij° xxxv° xvij° r° ob. eadem Michaeli per compotum predictum sic debitum, &c. Dominus Rex mandat vt ei satisficitionem vel assignationem competentem (in locis vbi ei celeriter satisfieri poterit) fieret et haberet, per breuem de magno sigillo inter mandata de termino Paschae anno quadragesimo tercio," &c. So that Richarde, Michaell de la Pooles grandfather, (a mar- chante of greate welthe in Hull,) was the fyrrste that gauze advancemente to that howse: although Williame,
II. Speght's Mistakes about the de la Poole.

father to this michaell, were of lyke estate, and a
knyghte. nether canne I fynde (nor ys yt lyke) that
michaell de la poole was a marchante, (havinge two
such welthy marchantes to his ancestors before hym,)
notwithstandinge that Walsingham (moore offended
then reasone, as all the Clergye were, against tempora\textsuperscript{t}
menne who were nowe become chief officers of the
Realme; and the spyrituall menne, till then possessinge
those offices, displaced, whiche bredd greate Sorseye in
the \textsuperscript{1}Churche menne againste them;) sayethe that
michaell de la poole "fuerit à pueritia magis merci-
moniiis (vtpote Mercator Mercatoris filius) quam militia
occupatus." And yet yt "may bee that he mighte have
some factors in merchandise, and deale by his attor-
neyes, as manye noble menne and great persons have
donne, whereuppone Walsingham (whiche wroote longe
after) mighte seme to catt hym 'merchante' by reasone
of others\textsuperscript{2} mens dealinges for hym, althoughge in trooth
he was neuer merchant in respecte of his owne persone
(for whiche they are properly called merchantes,) as
may be supposed. fflytye, in the same title yo\textsuperscript{a} saye,
that Alice, wyfe of William de la poole duke of
Suffolke, "had a daughter by her seconde husbande,
thomas montagne, erle of Sarisbery,-named after her
mother, Alice,—maryed to Richarde Neville, sonne to
Raphe Neuill, erle of Westmerlande, by whome he had
issue, Richarde, Iohne, and George.\textsuperscript{3} But this is
nothing so. for this Alice, the wyfe of Richarde
Neuille, (erle of Sarisbery in the righte of the same
Alice,) was daughter of Thomas Montacute, erle of
Salisbury, \textsuperscript{4} and of Alice his wyfe, daughter of Thomas
Holland erle of Kente, and not of Alice, daughter to
Thomas Chawcer, and widowe to William de la Poole
duke of Suffolke.

\textsuperscript{1} MS. has S: for C. \textsuperscript{2} MS. others.
\textsuperscript{3} Speght, leaf b, 5, back, at foot, with differences in spelling.
In the latter end of the title of Chawzers deateh ye saye, that printinge was brought "oute of Germanye in the yere 1471, being the 37. H. 6., into Englande, beinge fyrst founde at Magunce by one Iohn Cuthembergus, and broughte to Roome by Conrado, one Almany."  But the yere of Christe 1471 was not the 37. H. 6. but the eleuenthe of kinge Edward the fourth; and [printinge,] as some have yt, was not fyrst founde at Magonce or mentz, but at Strasborowe, and perfected at Magonce. David Chytreus in his historye sayethe, yt was fyrst founde in anno 1440, and broughte to Rome by Henricus Han, a germane, in the yere 1470; whereof Antonius Campanus framed this excellente epigrame:

Anser Tarpeii custos Jovis, vnde quod alis
Constreperis, Gallus reactiv, vilte adeat
Vircus Gallus, ne quem poscantur in vsum
Edocuit pennis, nil opus esse tuis.

But others do suppose that yt was invented at Argen-terote, as dothe mathewe Parker, in the lyfe of Thomas Burchier Archbyshoppe of Canterbury: whiche, for the incertentye thereof, I leave at this tyme to farther examinatione, not havinge nowe presente lesure there-fore.

[III. Speght's mistakes as to the 'Roman de la Rose,' and Chaucer's 'Dreme' or 'Dethe of Blaunche the Duchesse.]

In the title of the argumente to everye tale and booke yo write, that the Romante of the Roose was made in freynche by Iohn Clopinell, alias Iohn Moone, when in truthe the booke was not made by hym alone; for yt was begunne by Guiiame de Loris, and fynished

1 Speght, sign. § c. ii. back: "This William Caxton of London, Mercur, brought printing out of Germany," &c.
2 "Hahn,"—German, a cock. "Cognomine Latino Gallus," Maittaire, Ann. Typ. i. 52.—G. H. K.
3 Speght, leaf c. 5, at foot.
and finisht only
by Jean de Meun.

Chaucer didn’t
translate half the
[French Roman
de la Rose.]
Gerson wrote a
Reprobation of it.

fourtye yeres after the deathe of Loris, by Iohn de Meune, alias Iohn Clopinell, as appereth by Molinet, the frenche auctor of the moralitye vppon the Romante of the roose, ca. 50: fo. 57: and may further appere also in the frenche Romante of the Roos in verse, with Chaucer,1 with muche of that matter omyttet, not havinge translated halfe the frenche Romante, but ended aboute the middle thereof. Againe where the Booke, Gerson compiled one other, intituled ‘Le reprobatione de la Romante del Roos,’ as affirmethe the sayed molinett, in the 107 chapter of the sayed moralizatione, where he excuseth the Clopinell, and reproueth Gerson, for that Booke, because Gerson soughte no further meanyng then what was conteyned in the outewarde letter, This Clopinell begynnynge the Romante of the Roose, in these verses of Chaucer:

Alas my wane-hoope! nay, pardysea,
for I will neuer dispayred bee,
yf happe me sayle; then am I
vngratious and vnworthy, &c.

Secondlye, vnder that title yo2 sayes, the woorke, before this last editione of Chaucer termed ‘the Dreame of Chaucer,’ is mystermed,2 and that yt is ‘the Booke of the Duches, or the Death of Blanche.’3 wherein yo bee greatlye mysledde, in my conceyte; for yt cannott bee ‘the booke of the Dutches, or of the death of Blanche,’ because Iohn of Gaunt was only 24.

1 For which Chaucer englisht.
2 William Thynne, who first printed ‘The Dethe of Blanche,’ calld it ‘The dreame of Chaucer,’ because Chaucer tells the poeme as a dream. The booksellers’ reprint of ab. 1550 gives it the same title, and so does Stowe in his edition of 1661 in the body of the book; but in his ‘Table of all the names of the workes contei-teigned in this volume,’ he calles the poeme ‘The dreame of Chaucer, otherwise called the boke of the Duches, or Seis and Aleione.’
3 “The booke of the Duchesse, or the death of Blanch, mistermeter heretofore [by Wm Thynne, John Stowe, &c.], Chaucers Dreame.”—Speght, leaf c, 5, back, ed. 1598.
Then founde I sytt, euen vprighte
A wonder well faringe knyghte,
By the manner me thought so,
Of good mokell, & right yonge therto,
Of the age of twentye fowre yere;
Vpon his bearde but little heare.

Then, yf he were but fowre and twentye yeres of age, beinge born, as hathe Walsingham, in the yere of Christe 1339, the 13 of kynge Edwarde the thirde; and that he was maried to Blanche, the fourtene Calendes of June 1359, the 33 of Ed: the thirde, he was at this mariage but twentye yeres of age; who, within fower yeres after, sholde make his lamentacione for Blanche the duchesse, whiche muste be then dedde. But the duchesse Blanche dyed of the pestilence in the yere of Christe 1368,—as hathe Anonimus M.S.:—or 1369, as hath Walsinhame, whiche by the first accompte was the ix, and by the last the x, yere after the mariage, and sixe, or at the lest v yeres, after this lamentacione of Iohn of Gaunte, made in the fowre and twentye yere of his age. Wherfor this cannott be 'the booke of the Duches,' because he colde not lamente her deathe before she was deade. And yf you replye that yt pleynlye

1 syttte.—Thynne, 1542.
2 mokell, bignes.—Speght's Glossary.
3 fowre and twenty.—Thynne, 1542.
4 And in the yere of Christ a M wryten, Thre hundreth also, syxtye and one, The .ii. pestylence reignde, as was weten; Duke Henry dyed, for whom was mekyll mone. Dame Blanche his daughter, full faire of fleshe and bone, His heire was then; whom Iohn of Gaunt did wed; The duchy [by hir] had: men said he had well sped. Hardynge's Chron. The C.Ixxxiiri. Chapiter, p. 330, ed. 1812. There is a MS. of this Chronicle in Land. 200.
5 Francis Thynne's argument is of course a strong one, if the existing MSS.—of which we have only two left— and Wm Thynne's MS. really have the age which Chaucer wrote. But the rhythm shows that 'twentye fowre' was not written at length, as the beat wants 'fowre and twenty.' 'xxviiiij,' as Mr Brock suggests, or 'xxix,' was no doubt written by Chaucer; this was copied 'xxixij,' or 'xxiv,' printed 'twentye fowre,' and hence the confusion arose. 'Nine and twenty' must be the true reading. See my Trial-Forewords, p. 37.
III. THE DETHE OF BLAUNCHE THE DUCHESS.

apperethe the same treatyce to be mente of the duches Blanche, whiche signyfyeth 'whyte,' by whiche name he often termethe his ladye there lamented, but espe-
ciallye in these verses,

Her throte, as I haue memoyre,1
samed as a rounde towr of yuoire,
of good gretnesse, and not to greate; 4
and fayre 'white' she het; that was my ladies name righte:
she was thereto fayre & brighte; 6
she had not her name wronge;
right fayre sholders, and body longe, &c.

And the' the
Lady was called
'fair white,'

I wille answere, that there is no necessyte 'that yt
muste be of Blanche the duchesse, because he sayethe
her name was 'white,' since there ys a famelye of that
denominatione; and some female of that lyne mighte
be both 'white' in name, and 'fayre and white' in per-
sonne; and so 'had not her name wronge;' or in veyne,
as Chaucer sayethe, or yt mighte be somme other louver
of his called 'Blanche,' since he had manye paramou's
in his youthe, and was not veyne contynente in his
age. Wherefore, to conclude, yt apperethe as before,
that yt colde not be mente of the Duchesse Blanche
his wyfe, whiche dyed longe after that compleinte. for
whiche cause, that 'Dreame of Chaucer,' in mye opyny-
one, may wel (naye, rather of righte sholde,) con-
tynewe his former title of 'thee Dreame of Chaucer.'
for that whiche yo' will haue 'the Dreame of Chaucer,'
is his 'Temple of Glasse,' as I haue seene2 the title
thereof noted, and the thinge yt selve confirmethe.

["leaf' 20, back' 

she need not have
been the Duchess
Blanche.

for there's a
family nam'd
White, and one
Miss White might
have been fair.

Or this fair might
have been one of
John of Gaunt's
paramours.

So this poem
could not be
meant for the
Duchess.

Besides, the poem
you call the
'Dreame' is Chau-
cer's 'Temple of
Glass.'

1 now memoire.—Thynne, 1542.
2 'brighte (of l. 6 above), or 'fayre white' of l. 4.
3 Francis Thynne had no doubt seen the copy belonging to
Sir John Thynne, still preserved at Longleat, and now the only
MS. known. It is there entitled 'Chaucer's Temple of Glasse.'
The handwriting is of Edward the Sixth's time (1547-53).—H.
Bradshaw. (Mr Bradshaw long ago pointed out that this
Dreme or Isle of Ladies (beginning 'When Flora, the quene of
pleasance') was spurious.)
[IV. Speght's Mistakes in explaining some of Chaucer's Words.]

"In the expositione of the olde wordes, as yo shewe greate diligence and knowledge, so yet in my opynione, vnleste a manne be a good saxoniste, frenche, and Italyane linguiste, (from whence Chaucer hathe borrowed manye woordes,) he cannott wel expounde the same to oure noe vnderstandinge, and therefore (though I will not presume of muche knowledge in these tounges) yt semethe yet to me, that in your expositione some woordes are not so fullye and rightlye explained as they myghte bee, althoughg peradventure yo haue framed them to make sence. Wherefore I haue collected these fewe (from many others lefte for moore leysure) whiche seme to mee not to be fully explained in their proper nature, thoughg peradventure yo will seme to excuse them by a metaphorica[ f ] gloose.

" Aketon or Haketone" yo expounde "a Iacket wythoute sleues," 2 withoute any further additio, that beinge one indiffynyte speache, and "therefore mymay be entended a comone garmente daylye vsed, suche as we call a Ierken or Iacket wythoute sleues: But 'haketon' is a slevelesse Iacket of plate for the warre, couered with anye other stuffe; at this day also called a 'Iacket of plate:' suche 'Aketon,' Walter Staplestone, Bishoppe of Excester, and Custos or Wardeine of London, had vppon hym secretlye, when he was apprehended and behedded in the twentythe yere of Edwarde the seconde.

"Besante" yo expounde a 'duckett:' 3 But a duc-

---

1 a. Aketon is not only a Sleeveless jacket.
2 but one covered with plate for war.
3 Besant is not a ducket.
kett ys farre from a besante, bothe for the tyme of the
inventione, and for the forme; and, as I suppose, for
the valewe, not withstandinge that Hollybande, in his
frenche-Englishe dictionaruye, make yt of the valewe of
a duckett,¹ whiche duckett is for the most part eyther
venetiane or spanyshe, when the Besante ys mere
Grekeshe; a coyne well knownen and vsed in Englane
d(and yet not therefore one ancient coyne of Englane,
as Hollybande sayethe yt was "of france,) emongesthe
Saxons before, and the Normans after, the Conqueste,
the forme whereof I will at other tyme describe, onlye
nowe settinge downe, that this besante (beinge the
drenche name, and in armorye rightlye, accordinge to
his nature, taken for a plate of golde,) was called in
Latine ‘Byzantium,’ obteyninge that name because yt
was the coyne of Constantinople, sometyme called
Bzantium. And because yo² shall not thinke this
anye fixiōne of myne owne, I will warrante the same
with Williame of Malmesberye in the fourthe booke
‘De Regibus,’ who hath these woordes: “Constantino-
polis primum Bizantium dicta, formam antiqui vocabuli
preferunt imperatorii nummi Bizantium dicta;” where
one other coppye, for “nummi Bizantium” hath “Bizan-
tini nummi;” and the frenche hath ye ‘besante’ or ‘Be-
zantine,’ makinge ye one olde coyne of france, (when
he shold haue sayed one olde coyne in France, and
not of France,) of the valewe of a duckette.

¹ ‘Fermentacione’ yo³ expounde ‘Dawbinge,’² whiche
cannott anye waye be metaphorically so vsed in Chau-
cer, althoughge yt sholde be improperlye or harsely ap-
g. A Grecchish coyne called Bizantium, as William Malmes-
buri sayth, because it was the coyne of Constantinople, some-
tyme called Bizantium.’

¹ Besant, or Byzantin, an ancient pece of golde of
France, worth a Ducket: m.—Cl. Hollyband’s Dictionarie,
French and English, 1593.
² ‘fermentation, dawbing.’—Speght, 1598; but in ed. 1602
‘fermentation, l. giuing life to the Philosophers stone.’
IV. 3. THYNNE EXPLAINS THE MEANING OF ORFRAYES.

plied. For fermentacione ys a peculier terme of Alchemy, deduced from the bakers fermente or levyne. And therefore the Chimicall philosophers defyne the fermente to bee 'animam,' the sowle or lyfe of the philosophers stoone. Whereunto agreeeth Clauiger\textsuperscript{1} Bincing, one Chimicall author, sayinge, "ante viuificationem, id est, fermentacionem," whiche is before tintinge, or gyvinge tinture or cooler; that beinge as muche to saye, as gyvinge sowle or lyfe to the philosophers stoone, whereby that may fermente, or colour, or gyue lyse to, all other metaline bodys.

'Orfrayes' yo\textsuperscript{2} expounde 'Goldsmythes Works'; whiche ys as near to goldsmythes woorke as 'clothe of golde;' for this worde 'orefayes,' beinge compounded of the frenche worde (or) and (freyes, or fryse,) the englishe is that, whiche to this daye (beinge now made all of one stuffe or sub'stance) is called 'frised or perled clothe of gold;' in latyne, in tymes past, termed 'aurifrisium' or 'aurifrixorium.' A thinge well knowen to the Saxons in Englane before, as to the Normans after, the conquiste, and theryfore fullye to satisfye yo\textsuperscript{a} thereof, I wil produce twoo Auctors of the weavinge and vse thereof, before the conquest and since, wherin yo\textsuperscript{a} shall pleyenely see what yt was, and in what accompt yt was holden, beinge a worke peculier to the Englishe. The lier booke of Elye, speakinges of Ediswitha, daughter to Brightnothus, aldermanne, erle,

\textsuperscript{1} or 'Claugor' or 'Clanger.'

\textsuperscript{2} orfayes, goldsmiths works.—Speght, 1598; but in ed. 1602, "Orfayes, (fol. 113, p. 1,) Aurifrisium frialed cloth of gold, made & vset in England both before & since the Conquest, worne both by the Clegrie, and the Kings themselves, As may appere out of Mathew Paris, where he speaketh of the Ornaments sent by the abbots of England to the Pope: And also by a Record in the Tower, where the King commandeth the Templars to deliuere such Jewels, garments, and ornaments, as they had of the kings in keeping. Among the which he nameth Dalmaticum velitum de Orfries . . . that is, a Damaeske garment garded with Orfayes." For the price in 1361-2, see the note on the next page.

THYNNE.
IV. 3. THYNNE EXPLAINS THE MEANING OF ORFRAYES.

Mathew Paris,

or duke, of northumberlande, before the conquest, sayeth: "cui tradita Coveneia, locus monasterio vicinuss, vbi aurifrixorae et texture secretiis cum puellis vacabat;" and a little after, "Tunica Rubra purpurae per gyrum et ab humeris aurifrii vndique circumdatum."

Then, after the conquest, mathew Paris speaketh thereof aboute ornamentes to be sente to the Poope. but because I haue not my mathewe Paris here, I wilt vouche one whose name hathe muche affinyte "with hym, and that is, Mathew Parker, Archbishopp of Canterbury, who, in the Lyfe of Bonifacius, Archbishopp of that see, hathe these woordes. "a. domini 1246. Romæ multi Anglicani aderant Clerici, qui capis, vt aiunt, chorealibus, et infulis, ornamentisque ecclesiasticis, ex Anglice tunc more gentis, ex lana tenuissima et auo artificiosè intexto fabricatis, vteruntur. Huiusmodi ornamentorum aspectu et concupiscientia pro vocatus Papa, rogavit cuiusmodi essent. Responsum est, 'aurifrisia' appellari, quia et eminens ex panno & lana quam Angli 'Fryse' appellant, simul contexta sunt. Cul subrident, et dulcedina captus, Papa: Vere, inquit," (for these are the woordes of Mathew Paris whiche lyved at that tyme,) "Hortus noster delitiarum est Anglia; verus puteus est inexhaustus, et vbi multa abundant, de multis multa sumere licet. Itaque, concupiscientia illeces oculorum, litteras suas Bullatas sacras misit ad Cistercienses in Anglia Abbates, (quorum orationibus se deuote commendabat, vt ipsi hac aurifrisia speciosissima ad suum orandum chorum compararent. Hoc Londoniensibus placuit, quia ea tum venalia habeant, tantique quanle placuit vendiderunt:"

and Archbp. Parker, witness.

In 1346 A.D. some English clergy took the Poope some orfrays.

He was so pleased with it, that he sent what it was made of.

and sent to the Cisterclians in England

for the best to adorn his choir with.

1 Willelmo Vestment-maker: pro iij orfreyis largis, precio pecias xl s. emptis ab eo Londonium per pretium Willelmo de Glen-

Largis

Dale per tempus predictum—vj. li.

Eidem! pro iij. orfreyis minutis, precio pecias x. s., emptis ab eo Londonium per tempus huius compars vi supra—xl. s.

Orfreyis

minutis
IV. 3, 4. THE MEANING OF ORFRAYES AND OUNDYE.

In whiche discourse, yo® not onlye see that 'orfreyes' was 'a weued clothe of golde,' and not 'goldsmythe woorkes,' and that Englynde had, before and since the conqueste, the arte to compose suche kynde of delicate CLothe of golde, as Europe had not the lyke; for yt yt hadd, the poode volde haue made suche prouisione thereof in other places, and not from Englynde. And because yo® shaft not thinke that yt was onlye vsed of the Clergy, yo® shaft fynde, in a recorde of the towe, that yt was also one ornamente of the kynges garmente, since the Conqueute, for, in Rotulo Patentium 6. Iohannis, in Dorso (in whiche the kynges commaundcd the templers to deliuer suche Iewells, garmente, and ornamente, as they had of the kynges in kepinge,) are these woordes: "Dalmaticam de edem samitito, vrlatani de "orfreyes et cum lapidibus." Whiche is to saye, 'the kynges dalmaticall garmente of the same samitte (spoken of before, whiche was crymesone,) vrled or bordrode (suche as we nowe calle 'garded') with the orfreyes.'

forthlye: 'oundye & Crispe' is by yo® expounded 'slyked and curled:' whiche sence, although yo° may beare after some sorte, yet the propytye of the true sence of 'oundye' (beinge an especiall terme appro-


Another entry mentions 'baselard':—

Ensis { Ricardo Godchord: pro vno ense, precio vj. s.
Cultelli } { viij d. / pro vno pari cultello trenchowes, precio
Baselard } { xiij s. liij d. / et pro vno cultello basilard, precio
v. s., empties ab eo Londoniens per tempus hulus compati vt supra . . xxv. s.

In the summary underneathe, these are entersd as "Ensis j. Cultelli Trenchowes j. par. Baselard. j."


1 'oundy and crispe, slyked, and curled.'—Speght, 1598; but in ed. 1602 'oundy wauing.'
IV. 5. THE MEANING OF RESAGER.

priate to the arte of Heraldye) dothe signyfye 'wavinge or movinge, as the water dothe;' being called 'vndye,' of the latyne 'vnda' for water; for so her heare was oundye, that is, layed in rooles vppone and downe, lyke waues of water when they are styrrred with the winde, and not alyked or playne, &c.

'sfyftlye: Yo'' expounde not Resager,'¹ beinge a terme of Alchymye; as yo'' leave manye of them vn-touched. This worde sholde rather be 'resalgar:' wherefoe I wiill shewe yo'' what Resalgar ys in that abstruce scyence whiche Chawcer knewe fulle well, althoughe he enuye againste the sophisticall abuse 'thereo in the chanons yeomans tale. This Resalgar is that whiche by some is called 'Ratesbane,' a kynde of poyson named 'Arsenicke,' whiche the Chimicall philosophers call their venome or poysone. Whereof I colde produce infynyte examples; but I wiill gyve yo'' onyle these fewe for a taste. Aristotle, in Rosario philosophorum, sayeth, 'nullum tingens Venenum generatur absque sole et eius umbra, id est, vxore.' Whiche venome they call by aff names presentinge or signyfyinge poysone, as a toode, a dragon, a Basiliske, a serpente, arsenicke, and suche lyke; and by manye other names, as "in exercitacione ad turbam Philosphorum," apperethe, wher aqua simplex is called 'venenum, Argentum viuum, Canibar, aqua permanens, gumma, acetum, vrina, aqua maris, Draco, serpens,' etc. And of this poysone the treatyce 'de phenice,'² or the philosophers stoone, written in Gotyshe rymynge verses, dothe saye;

Moribunda, corporis virus emanabat
quod maternaw faciem candidam foedabat.

¹ resagor (with no explanation)—Speght, 1598; but in ed. 1602 'resagor rats bane.'
² A copy of this curious poem in Thyne's hand-writing, and marvellously illustrated by him, is in the Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 11,388.—G. H. K.
IV. 6. THE MEANING OF BEGYN AND BIGOT.

"Begyn and Bigott, yo expounde 'superstitious hipocrates,' which since I knowe yt maye somewhat beare, because yt sauorethe of the dispositione of those begins, or 'Beguines,' for that ys the true wryttinge. But this woorde 'Begyn' sholde in his owne nature rightlye haue ben expounded, 'superstitious or hipo-criticall wemenne,' as appereth by chaucer. himselfe, whiche nombreth them emongest thee wemen in the Romante of the Roose, when he sayeth,

But empresses, & duchesses,
These queenes, & eke countesses
These Abbasses, & eke Bigins,
These greate ladyes palasina. (vi. 209, l. 6861-4.)

And a little after, in the same Romante, he dothe write,

That dame abstinence weyned,
Tooke one a Robe of camilyne,
And ganne her gratche as a 'bygin.'
A large cover-cheife of Thredde
She wrapped all aboute her hedde.

These wemen the Frenche call 'Beguynes' or nonnes; being in Latyne called 'Bigrinae' or 'Biguinae.' Whose original order, encrease, and contynuance, are sett downe by mathewe Paris and mathewe Westminster. But as I sayed, since I haue not my mathewe paris at hand, I will sett yo' downe the worde of Mathewe Westminster (otherwise called "Flores Historiarum" or "Florilegus") in this sorte:—"Sub eisdem diebus (which was in the yere of Christe 1244, and aboute the 28 of kinge Henry the thirde), quidam in Almania precipue se asserentes vitam et habitum religionis elegisse, in vtroque sexu, sed maxime in muliebri, continentiam, curiae virtute simplicitate profitentes, se voto privato deo obligaran. Mulieresque, quas 'Bigrinas' vulgariter vocamus, adeo multiplicates sunt, quod earum

1 'bigin, bigot, superstitious hypocrite.'—Sped, 1598. The 1602 ed. repeats this, but adds 'or hypocriticall woman.'
2 streyned
3 grathe
4 MS.
numerus in una Ciuitate, scilicet Colonia, ad plus quam mille asseritur ascendisse, etc. After whiche, speakinge in the yere of Christe 1250 of the encreas of relligious orders, he sayeth, "Item in Alemania et Francia mulieres, quas 'Bigrinas' nominant," &c.

'Citrinatione' yo do not expounde, being a terme of Alchymye. Whiche Citrinatione is bothe a color and parte of the philosophers stoune. for, as hadhe 'Tractatus Avicennæ' (yf yt be his, and not liber supposit[i]us, as manye of the Alchimica workes are foysted in vnder the names of the best lerned authors and philosophers, as Plato, Aristotle, Avicen, and suche others,) in parte of the 7 chapter: "Citrinatio est, que fit inter album et rubrum; et non dictur Color perfectus," whiche Citrinatione, as sayethe Arnoldus de nova villa, li. i. ca. 5. "nihil aliud est quam completa digestio." for the worke of the philosophers stoune, followinge the worke of nature, hadhe lyke color in the same degree. for as the vrine of manne, being whitishe, shewethe imperfecte digestione: But when he hadhe well rested, and slepte after the same, and the digestione perfected: the vrine become the Citrine, or of a depe yellowe color: So ys yt in Alchymye. whiche made Arnolde call this 'Citrinatione,' perfecte digestione, 'or the color provinge the philosophers stoune broughte almoste to the heigh[t]e of his perfecctione.

'Forage,' in one place yo expounde 'meate,' and in other place 'fodder.' soo bothe which properly cannotte stande in this place of chauce in the reues prologe, where he sayethe, "my fodder is forage." for ye

1 'citrination' in Speght's Glossary of 1598, but not explained. In ed. 1602 'citrination, perfect digestion, or the colour proving the Philosophers stone.'
2 'forrage meate...forrage fodder' (with 7 entries between the two).—Speght, 1588. In ed. 1602, only once, 'forrage, f. fodder, course meate.'
fodder, then is the sense of that verse, "my fodder is fodder." But fodder, being a general name for meat given to cattle in winter, and of affynytie with the food applied to men and beasts, dothe only signyfye 'meate.' And so the sense is, "my meate ys forage," that is, 'my meate is suche harde and olde prouisione as ys made for horses and Cattle in winter;' for so doth this worde 'forragium' in latyne signyfye. and so dothe Chaucer meane. for the worde next before dothe well shewe yt, when the Reve sayeth,

I ame olde, me liste not play for age, 
Grasse tyme is done, my fodder is forrage.


Yet metaphorically yt may be taken for other "then drye horse meate, although improperly; as Chaucer hath in Sir Topas Ryme, where he make the yt grasse for his horse, and vesthe the worde rather to make vpp the Ryme then to shewe the true nature thereof; sayinge,

That downe he layed hym in that place, 
to make his steede some solace, 
and gyue hym good forrage.

'Heroner' yo" expounde 'a certeyne kynde of Hawke,'1 which is true; for a Goeshawke,2 sparrowe hawke, Tasseh, &c. be kyndes of Hawkes. But this 'heroner,' is an especiall hawke (of anye of the kyndes of longe winged hawkes) of moore accompte then other hawkes are, because the flighte of the Herone ys moore daungerous then of other fowles, insomuches, that when she fyndeth her selfe in danger, she will lye in the ayre yppon her backe, and turne vpp her bellye towarde the hawke, and so defile her enymye with her excrementes, that eyther she will blinde the hawke, or ells with her byff "or talentes pierce the hawkes brest, yf she offer to cease vppon her.

1 'heroner a certayne kynde of hawke.'—Speght, 1598; but in ed. 1602 'a speciall long winged hawke.'
2 MS. Gowshake.
The 'Hyppe' is not simplye 'the redde berye one the Bryer,' vnest ye adde this epithetone, and saye, 'the redde Berrye one the swete Bryer,' (which is the Eggletyne,) to distinguysh ye from the comone Bryer or Bramble, beringe the blacke Berye; for that name 'Bryer' ys comone to them bothe, when the 'Hyppe' is proper but to one; nether maye ye helpe yo that ye saye 'the red Berye,' to distinguyshe yt from the Blacke, for the blackebery ye als reede for a tyme, and then maye be called 'the redde Berye of the Bryer' for that tyme.

'Nowell,' yo expounde 'Christmesse,'1 whiche ye that feaste, and moore; for yt is that tyme whiche is properely called the Aduente, together with Christmesse and Newe yerse tyde; wherefore the true etymologye of that worde ys not Christmesse, or the twelue dayes, but yt is 'godd with vs,' 'or, 'oure Godde,' expressinge to vs the comynge of Christe in the fleshe; whiche peraduenture after a sorte, by the figure Senedcoche, yo may seeme to excuse, placing ther Christmas, a parte of this tyme of Nowell, for at the tyme that Nowell conteyneth. for in the same worde is conteyned, sometime xx, but for the most parte thirtye dayes, before Christmesse, aswell as the Christmesse yt selve, that worde beinge deduced, as hathe Willemus Postellus in 'Alphabeto 12 Linguarum,' from the hebrue worde Noell; for thus he writeth: "\[\text{\textit{N}}\] noel, sonat deus noster, siue Deus nobis aduenit. Solitaque est hec vox cantari a plebe ante Christi natalitia viginti aut triginta dies quodam desiderio."

'Porpherye,' yo expounde 'marble,'2 whiche

1 'nowell christmesse,' ed. 1598. 'nowell signifiseth Deus nobiscum; and is taken for Christmas, & xx. or xxx. daies next before.'—ed. 1602.
2 'porpheri marble,' ed. 1598. 'porpheri, f. a marble mingled with red.'—ed. 1602.
marble ye genus, but purpbery is species; for as there is white and grey marble, so ys there redde marble, whiche is this porpherye, a stone of reddish purple color, distincte or enter-laced with white veynes, as yo may see in the great pillers entringe into the royalle exchange or burse in Cornehill.

'Sendale,' yo expounde 'a thynn stuf ye lyke Cypress.' but yt was a thynn stuffe lyke sarcenet, and of a rawe kynde of sylke or sarcenet, but courser and narrower, then the Sarcenet nowe ys, as my selfe canne remember.

'Trepegett,' yo expounde 'a Ramme to batter walles.' But the trepegete was the same that the mogonne; for Chaucer calleth yt a trepegget or magonne; wherefore the trepegget and magonne beinge all one, and the magonne one instrumente to flynge or cast stones (as youre selfe expounde yt) into a towne, or against a towne walles, (one engine not muche vnlyke to the Catapulte, an instrumente to cast forthe dartes, stones, or arrowes,) the trepegget must nodes also be one instrumente to cast stones or suche lyke against a waft or into a towne, and not a Ramme to batter wal[les]; since the Ramme was no engyne to flinge anye thinges, but by mens handes to be broughte and pushed againste the walles; a thinge farr different in forme from the magonne or catapulte, as appereth by Vigetius and Robertus Valturius 'de re militari.'

'Wiuer,' yo expounde not: wherefor I will tell yo, a Wyuer is a kynde of serpent of good Bulke, not vnlyke vnto a dragon, of whose kinde he is, a thinge well knowne vnto the Heroldes, vsinge the same for armes, and creastes, & supporters, of manye gentile and

1. 'sendall, a thynne stuf ye like opresse,' ed. 1598, and 1602, but 1602 spelle 'thin.'
2. 'trepegget, a Ram to batter wals,' ed. 1598; 'an instrument to cast stones,' ed. 1602.
3. 'wyuere' (without explanation), ed. 1598: 'wyuor, a kind of serpent much like to a dragon,' ed. 1602.
noble menne. As the erle of Kent beareth a wuner for his Creste and supporters; the erle of Penbroke, a wuner vert for his Creste; the erle of Cumberlande, a wuner geules for his supporters.

‘Autenticke,’ yo" expounde to be ‘antiquytye.’ But bowe yo" may sem to force and racke the worde to Chaucers meaninge, I knowe not; but sure I ame, the proper signyficatyon of ‘autenticke’ is, ‘a thinge of antocytye or credit allowed by menne of antocytye, or the originalt or fyrste archetypum of any thinges; whiche that yo" did not remember.

‘Abandon,’ yo" expounde ‘libertye’; whiche in all Italiane, Frenshe, and Spanishe, signyfyyeth ‘relin- quere, to forsake and leave a thinge’; whiche me thinketh yo" most hardly stretche to ‘libertye,’ vnlest yo" will saye that, when one forsaketh a thinge, he leaveth yt at libertye; whiche ys but a streyned speche, although the frenche Hollybande, not under- standinge the true energye of our tongue, hath expounded yt ‘libertye’; whiche may be some warrante vnto yo".

[V. Speght's Mistakes in his Annotacions on, and Correc- tions of, the Text of Chaucer.]

Vnder the title of youre Annotacions and Corrections.

In youre Annotacions yo" describe, oute of the

1 ‘autenticke, of antiquitie,’ ed. 1598; ‘of authortitie,’ ed. 1602.

2 ‘abandon, libertie,’ ed. 1598; ‘Abandon, f. libertie, abandon, f. glue ouer,’ ed. 1602. Palgrave (1530) gives, p. 831, col. 2, “At large, that men maye take what they wyll, A abandon; as toute plante de biens y estoient a abandon; il met ses dayns, a abandon;” and on p. 832, col. 1, “At pleasure, A bandon, and a talent; as et que le voye a bandon, and ma femme ma batu a son talent.”

Abandon, bandon, license, liberty: m. Abandonner ... to glue ouer, or to license, to cast off: as also, to deluer a thing to the libertie, will, or pleasure of any man: Hollyband, ed. 1593.
prologues, the 'vernacle' to be 'a broche or figure, wherein was sett the Instrumentes wherewith Christe was crucyfyed, and withal a napkyne wherine was the printe of his face.'\(^1\) but the vernacle did not conteyne the instrumentes of his deathe, but only the cloth wherein was the figure of his face; as I concewe yt with others.

fo: i. pa: 2. For 'Campaneus' you wolde reade 'Capaneus,' wherunto I cannott yelde,\(^2\) for althought Statius and other latine authors do call hym 'Capaneus'; yet all the writers of Englynde in that age call him 'campaneus'; as Gower, in confessione amantis,' and Lidgat in 'the historye of Thebes' taken oute of Statius, and Chaucer hym selfe in many other places. so that yt semethe they made the pronuntiatione of 'Campaneus' to be the dialecte of our tounge for 'Capaneus.' Besides, Chaucer is in this to be pardoned, in that, takinge his 'knightes tale' out\(^*\) of the Thesayde of Bocas, written in Italiane (and of late translated into frenche,) dothe there, after the Italiane manner, calfe him 'campaneus'; for so the Italians pronounce woordes beyynnge with 'Cap': with the interpositione of the lettere m, pronouncinge yt 'camp': for, that whiche the Latins call 'capitolium,' the Italians call 'campidoglio'; and suche lyke. Wherefore, since yt was vniversally receued in that age, to calle him 'Campaneus,' lett vs not nowe alter yt, but permythe yt to have free passage accordinge to the pronuntiatione and wrytynge of that age. since, in deducinge woordes from one language to one other, there ys often additioone and subtracione of letters, or of Sillabes, before, in the middle, and in the

\(^1\) Sign. Bbb. iii. back, ed. 1598. 'Vernacle (Prolog.) A cloth or napkin, wherin was the figure of Christ's face,' ed. 1602.

\(^2\) Speght leaves 'Campaneus' without comment in his 1602 ed. All the MSS. of my Six-Text read 'Cappaneus.' A, 953. Capaneus was one of the seven heroes who besiegd Thebes.
ende of those wordes. whereof infynyte examples might
be produced, whiche I nowe shonne for breyvytye.

fo: 3. pa: 2. ("noughte comelye lyke to louers
maladye of heroe," for whiche woorde 'heroes,' yo
reade eros, i. cupide, a very good and probable correc-
tione, weft gathered out of Luciane. But (salua pati-
entia vestra, and reservinge to myselfe better iudgmente
hereafter, yf I nowe mystake yt,) I wolde, for the
printed 'heroes' of Chaucer, read 'heroes': whiche
two woordes onlye differ in misplacinge of the letters;
a comone thinge for the printer to do, and the corrector
to ouerpasse. for Arctye, in this furye of his love, did
not shewe those courses of gour[n]mente, whiche the
Heroes, or valiante persons, in tymes past vsed; for
thoughte they loued, yet that passione did not generallye
so farre ouerrule them (although yt mighte in some
one particular personne) as that they lefte to 'con-
tynewe the valor, and heriocke actions, whiche they

1 Speght reads 'Eros' in his 1602 ed., as against 'Heroces'
in his 1598 one; and puts this note in his Glossary:—

"Whereas some copies haue Heroes, some Heroces, and
some such like counterfeit word, wherof can be guen no
reason, I haue set downe Eros, i. Cupid, as most agreeinge in my
opinion with the matter; which I gather thus: Lucian in his
second Dialogue bringeth in Cupid teaching Jupiter how to
become amiable; & in him, how louers may be made accept-
able to their ladies; not by weeping, watching, & fasting,
nor by furious melancholike fits, but by comely behauiour.
The words in the Greeke are thus much in Latine: Si colas
amabilis esse, negque concutias Aegida, negque fulmen geras;
seo suauissimum teipsum exhibe, & vestem sove purpurcam,
crepidas subliga auratas: ad tibiun & et Timpana composite
gressum indece, & videbis quod plures te sequitur, quam Bac-
chum Manades. So that the louers of Eros, that is, Cupids
seruaunts, doe cary themselves comely in all their passions, &
their maladies are such as shew no open distemperate of body
or minde: which mediocritie this Arctye was farre from keep-
ing. And whereas some [f. 4. F. Thynne, &c.] will haue vs read
Heroes, i. noble men; I cannot dislike their opinion, for it may
fitly stand with the sense of the place."—Speght, ed. 1602,
sign. Ttt lill, back.

The three A MSS. of the Six-text rightly read 'Heroces';
the three B ones 'Heroces.'—A. 1374.
before performed. for the Heroes sholde so love, as
that they sholde not forgett, what theye were in place,
valor, or magnanymyte, whiche Arcite, in this pas-
sione, did not observe "lyke to louers malady of
Heroes." Whereof I colde produce six hundred ex-
amples, (as the prouverbe ys,) were yt not that I avoyde
tedious prolisyte.

fo: 6. pa: 2. "Manye a florence." In whiche
noote yo" expounde a florence to be ijs frenche, and a
gelder to be the same in dutche.1 Wherein yo" mis-
take the valewe of a florens, suche as was vsed in
Chaucers tyne, whiche, takinge his name of the woorke-
menne, beinge florentynese, (of the terrtorye of florence
in Italye,) were called 'florens'; as sterlinge money
tooke their name of Esterlinges, whiche refyned and
coyned the siluer in the tyne of kinge Henry the
seconde. for two shillinges frenche ys not euall in
valewe (as I nowe take yt) to two shillinges Englyshe:
and much 'lesse euall to the florens in Chaucers tyne,
whiche was of the valewe of thre shillinges, fowre
pence, or halfe a noble, or, at the leaste, of two shil-
linges tenne pence farthinge, as appereth by recorde
and historye: some of them beinge called 'florens de
scuto,' or of the valewe of the 'shelde,' or frenche
crowne, and some of them called florens regaH. Where-
of yo" shaff fynde, in the recorde of pellis exitus in
the exchequier, in michelmas terme 41 : Ed : 3. this
note: "Bartholomeo de Burgserhe, militi, in denariis
sibi liberatis in parte solutionis 8000 florenorum de
scuto, pretii petii, iis iiiijd, sibi debitis de illis 30000
florenorum de scuto, in quibus Rex tenebatur eidem

1 'A florene is two shillings French, a Gilder is the same
in Dutch.'—Speght, ed. 1598, Annotacions, sign. Bbhb iiiii.
'A coine of the value of 3. shil. 4. pence, or thereabouts, and
such were called Florenes de Scuto. Others were called
Florenes Regales, containd within the price of 2. sh. x. d. q.'—
ed. 1602, sign. Tt iiiii, back.
Bartholomeo pro comite de Ventadoure, prisonario suo apud Bellum de Poyters in guerra capto, et ab eodem Bartholomeo ad opus Regis empto, vt patet per litteras Regis patentias, quas idem Bartholomeus inde penes se habet. in Dorso, de summa subscrita, per breve de magnio sigillo, inter mandata de Termine Michaelis, de anno 36—xxvii. To the valewe whereof agreeeth ‘Hipo-digma Neustria,’ *pa. 127, where, settinge downe the ransom of the frenche kinge taken at Poyters, to the valewe of the milliones of florens, he sayeth, “of which florens, duo valebant vjs. viijd.” These florens the same Walsingham in other place calleth ‘scutes,’ or frenche crownes, *pa. 170, sayinge: “Rex quidem Francie pro sua redemptione soluit regi Angliae tres milliones scutorum, quorum duo valent vnum nobile, videlicet, sex solidos et octo denarios.” Which scutes in lyke manner, in the tyme of kinge Henry the sixte, were of the same valewe, as appereth in Fortescuues commentaries of the lawes of Engelande. But as those florens for the redemptione of the frenche kinge, were of the valewe of half one noble: so at the tyme of that kinges reigne there were also one other sorte of florens, not of lyke valewe, but conteyned within the price of ijs xdr quadranta. called ‘florene regales,’ as appereth in this record, of Easter terme, of Pellis exitus before sayed, where yt is thus entred one the sixte *of Iulye: “Guiscardo de Angles. Domino de pleyne martynye, In denariis sibi liberatis, per manus Walter Hewett, militis, in pretio 4000 florenorum regali- lium pretii petii—ijs xdr quadranta; de quibus florenis regalisbus, 7 computantur pro tribus nobilibus, eadem Guiscardo debitis.” Whereby yo see the meanest of these florens did exceed the valewe of ijs frenche, (although yo sholde equall that with ijs englyshe,) as yt did also in other countries. for in the lowe countries at those dayes yt was muche aboute the valewe of
V. Emelye's Garland was of 'Oke Unserial,' not 'Cerriall.' 47

iijs iiijd, being halfe a pistolet Italiane or spanyshe, for so sayeth the Heuterius Delphicus, (in the historye of Burgundye, in the lyfe of Philippe le hardye,) lyving at that tyme, and sonne to the frenche kinge taken prisoner by the Ingleshe. Heuterius' woorde be these:

"Illustrius viri aliorumque nobilium mors adeo comites comovit, vt relictam obsidione exercitus ad commatus ducendos in proxima loca distribuerit. Decem milibus florenorum (moneta Belgica est semipistoleum Italicum pendens) pro Anglicani, aliorumque nobilium cado-

uerum redempione solutis," &c.

fo: 7. pa: 2. For "Unseriall" yo will vs to reade "Cerriall," for Cerrus is a kynde of tre lyke one oke, beringe maste; and therefor by your correctione yt sholde be 'a garland of Grene oke Cerriaff': But for the same reasone (because Cerrus ys a kynde of oke, as ys also the Ilex) I Judge yt sholde not be redde 'Cerriall,' but 'Unseriall,' that ys, (yf yo will nedes have this word 'Cerriall,') 'a garlande of Grene oke not Cerreall,' as who sholde saye, she had a Garlande of Grene oke, but not of the oke Cerriall; and there-

fore, a garlande of oke Unseriall, signyfyinge a garlande that was freshe and Grene, and not of dedd wannya-

she Cooolor, as the oke Cerriall in some parte ys, for the Cerrus, being the tree whiche we comunely calle the 'holme oke,' (as Cooper also expoundeth the Ilex to be that whiche wee call holmes,) procureth the two kyndes; whereas the one 'hath the greater, and the other lesser

was worth about 5s. 4d.

23. In The Knight's Tale the oak-leaf garland of Emelye is rightly called 'Unseriall,' which should not be changed to 'cerriall.'

Unseriall means fresh and green, not wan, like the Cerriall or Holm Oak.

1 The Quercus cerris, the mossy cupped oak.—G. H. K. The MS. may be read 'Cerria,' for, though written 'Cerrus,' the first stroke of the w has a dot under it, as if for omission, and the second stroke has a dot above, as if meant for t; but the word is written 'cerrus' afterwards in the MS. The three A MSS. rightly read 'cerial'; the three B ones, 'serial' (P. seriall). A 2290.

"Unseriall, read, Cerriall: Cerrus is a kind of tree like an Oke, and beareth maste. vide Plinius."—Speght, ed. 1598, sig. B bbb. iiiii. The 'Unseriall' is left in the text of ed. 1602, without note or explanation in the Glossary.
accornes, whose leaves being somewhat Greene one the one syde, and of one ouer russett and darkymes Coolor on the other syde, were not mete for this garlande of Emelye, whiche sholde be freshe and Greene one everye parte,—as was her yonge and grene yeres, lyke to the goddesse to whom she sacryfyced,—and threfore a garlande of Grene oke vnseriall, not beinge of oke serriall; for yf yt had byn oke serriall, yt wolde haue shewed duskyshe, and as yt were of dedyshe leaves, and not freshe and orient, as chaucer wolde haue her garlande. And this for your espostione of ‘vnseriall,’ in some parte: for I wolde suppose that this worde ‘vnseriall’ doth not vnaptly signyfye perfectione of Coolor, so that she havinge a Garlande of Grene oke vnseriall, dothe signyfye the oke to be grene and vnseriall, that is, (as some do expounde this worde vnseriall,) vnsered, vnsinged, vnwithered, of freshe coolor, lyke unto the oke Quercus, whiche hath no sered nor withered cooolor in ‘his leafes. And yt was of neccesytie that Emely (sacryfyingse to Diana) must haue a garlande of the Grene oke Quercus, because that they whiche sacryfyed vnto Diana, otherwise called Heccate, (which name is attribute to Diana, as natalis Comes affirmeth with statius in his Acheleidos, in his first Booke, sayinge,

Sic vbi virginalis Hecate lassata pharetris,

being Diana adorned with her bowe and arrowes, called also ‘Truiua,’ because Luna, Diana, and Heccate, were all one, whereof Virgill speakeoth,

Terginamque Hecaten, tria virginis ora Diane,) were adorned with a crowne of the grene oke Quercus, because that Heccate was wont to be crowned there-with, as hath Pierius Valerius in his 5th booke of Hieroglyphes, sayinge, “Hecate quoquè Quercu coronari solita est.” for although Quercus be consecrate to Iupiter, because he gave his oracles in the same ‘in
Sylva Dodonea,' and therefore called 'Iupiter Dgoneus'; Yet Antiquytte adorned and crowned Diana Hecate with the same 'crowne also. Wherfore I conclude, since she [Emelye] had a garlande of Grene oke, (as Chaucer of purpose addeth the woorde 'Greene' to expwayne 'vnseriaH,' which signifieth vnsered, uparched, vnwithered in every parte, not lyke to the oke serriaH, whose leafe one the one syde is duskyshere, as though yt were somewhat withere,) that the same worde 'vnseriaH' must stande vnamended, as well (as I sayed before) by youre owne correctione and the nature of the worde; as for that Diana, called Hecate, was crowned with the oke Quercus, and not with the oke Cerrus. But yt yo a obiecte to mee that, in this place, yt must be a garlande of oke CerriaH accordinge to the woordes of Chaucer in one other place, because that he, in 'the flower and the leafe' (newely printed by yo\textsuperscript{a})\textsuperscript{1}, hath these woordes;

\begin{quote}
I seie come first, all in theire clokes white,
a companye that ware, for delighte,
Chaplettes fresh of oke serriaH
Newly spronge, and Trompettes they were all;
\end{quote}

I denye that therefore in the Knightes Tale 'yt must be oke serriaH. for yt maye well bee, that such meane persons as trompettes might be crowned with so base one oke as the serriaH ys, whiche I call base in respecte of the oke Quercus (dedicate to the god Jupiter) wherewith Hecate was crowned, and whereof Garlandes were gyuen to the Romans for their nooble desartes in the warres, as appereth in the QuernaH crowne gyven to those whiche had saued a cytyzen. Wherefore Chaucer dothe rightly (and of purpose, with great judgment, in my conceyte,) make a difference in the Chaplettes of the Trompettes, and the garlandes of

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{1} Speght was the first to print the spurious, though beautiful, \textit{Flower & Leaf}, as Chaucer's, both in his ed. of 1598 and that of 1602.
\end{quote}
Emelye, in that the trompettes chapplettes were of oke serrolla newly spongge, and not coome to perfectione, whiche yet, yf they had byn perfecte, wolde not haue byn sooy oreynte and Greene one bothe sydes as ys the oke Quercus, wherewithhe he wolde haue this Emelye crowned, as was her goddesse Heccate Diana (to whome she dyd sacryfye) accustomed to bee. for so in tymes past (as I sayde before) the sacryfiecer shold be adorned withe garlandes of suche thinges as were consecrate to the goddes to whome they sacryfied. for whiche cause also I ame not moved, thoughte Caxtome in his seconde editione do cal ye one oke serrolla. for I knowe (not withetandinge his fayre prolege of printinge that by a true copye) there be manye imperfections in that Booke.

Fo: 9. pa. 1. for ‘eyere’) yo will us to reade ‘eyther.’ But the sence ys good, as well that they dyd ryde one eyere syde of hym. as of eyther syde of hym. for they boothe colde not ryde of eyere syde of hym, no moore then they both colde ryde of eyther syde of hym; and therefore they two ryding one eyere side of hym, canne haue noone other constructione then that the one did ryde of the one syde, and the other one the other side; and therefore an ouer nice correctione, thoughg some coppies do warrant yt:

Fo: 10. pa: 1. for “save onely the intellecte,”) yo wolde haue us reade “and also the intellecte.” But yf yo will consider the woordes of Chaucer, (as I haue done in all the written copyes which I haue yet seene,) his maneynge ys not that the intellecte was

1 “Every read Either.”—Spaght, 1598 (in ‘These two Thebans on eyere side’). The 1602 ed. reads ‘And these two Thebans on either side,’ rightly rejecting Thynne’s remarks. All the Six-Text MSS. read ‘either’ (or ‘eyther,’ &c.).

2 ‘Save onely, read And also’, ed. 1598; but the 1602 edition leaves it ‘Save only the intellect.’ All the Six-Text MSS. read ‘Only the intellect withouten more,’ with vari’d spelling. A, 2803.
wholye goonne, as yt wolde bee yf yo" sholde reade, for the intellect of Arcite had not wholly gone.
"and also the intellecte" for "saue only the intellecte." for Chaucers meanyse ys, that aH his streng[t]he and vitaH sprites aboute his outewarde partes were gonne, save onlys his intellecte or vnderstandinge, whiche remayned sounde and good, as appereth the after by the followinge woordes; for when deathe approched, and that aH outewarde senses fayled, he [Arcite] yet cast eyle vppon Emelye, remembringe her, thogh the cheuest vitall sprite of his harte and his streng[th]e were gonne from hym. but he colde not haue cast his eye vppone Emelye, yf his intellecte had fayled hym. Yet yf yo" liste to reade, "and also the intellecte," for "Saue only the intellecte," yt maye after a sorte somewhat be borne withaH, nothewhewithstandinge that a pointe at streng[t]he is looeste; and a parenthesis includynge ("Save only the intellecte, without moore,") "will make the sence good, in this sort as I have here pointed yt:

And yet moore ouer, from his armes two the vital streng[t]he is lost: & all agoo (saue only the intellecte without moore) that dwelleth in his hart sicke & soore gan faylen: When the hart felt death &c.

Fo: ro. pa. 2. for "armes straughte" you wolde reade "yt haughte,"1 when 'straughte' is moore signynificant, (and moore answerable to Chaucers woordes whiche followeth) then 'haughte 2' ys. for he spekethe of the Bredthe and spredinge of the boughes or armes or branches of the tree, whiche this woorde 'straughte' dothe signyfye, and is moore aptlye sett downe for stretched, then this woorde 'haughte,' whiche signyfysthe catchinge holde, or holdinge faste, or (yf

1 "Armes straught, read It haught," ed. 1698: but the reading "armes straught" is rightly left in ed. 1602, fol. 10, col. 1, as Thynne suggests it should be. The Petworth alone of the Six-Text MSS. reads 'raught'; all the others have 'straughte' or 'strauhte.'

2 MS. straughte
yo" with streyne yt againste his nature) stretchinge on heighe, whiche agreeeth not well with Chaucers meanynge; for thes see his wordes:

And twenty fadome of breed th'armes straughte;
That is to sayen, the Bowes were so broode, &c.

'fo: 11. pa: 1. "for all forgotten in his vassal-
age,"") yow wolde haue vs reade, "for all forgotten is then his Visage"; a thinge mere impertinent, for the forgettinge of his visage and personage is not materiaall, nor regarded of anye to haue his face forgotten; but yt is mucho materiall (and so yvs Chaucers meanynge) that his vassalage, and the good service done in his youthe, shold be forgotten when he waxethe olde. And there-
fore yt must bee "his vassalage forgotten"; as present-
ly after Chaucer sayeth, 'better for a manne to dye when he is yonge, and his honor in price, then when he is olde, and the service of his youthe for-
gotten;' whiche I colde dilate and prove by manye
examples; but I cannot stande longe vpon euerye
pointe, as well for that I wolde not be tedious vnto
yo", as for that leysure serueth me not thereunto.

Fo: 13. pa: 1. for "lothe" yo" bidele vs reade
"leefe," whiche annotacione neded not to haue byn
there sett downe, because the verye woorde in the texte
is "lefe."

Fo: 14. pa: 1. for "knocked" yo" reade "coughed";
but, the "circumstance considered, (aloughtht theye
both stande,) yt is moore probable that he\$ knocked at

1 Certainly a well-deserved snub. Speght feels it so, and accordingly leaves 'For all foryeten is his vassallage' in his ed. of 1602, Fol. 10, back, col. 2, l. 1. All the Six-Text MSS. read 'vassalage', with varied spelling.—(Group A, 3054.)
2 "Loth, read Lefe". And yet the line is "Ne though I say it, A am not lefe to gabbe" (A, 3510). There is no line with 'lothe' in it; and the only other line with lefe is, "And
said: Johan hoste myn lefe and dere." Both are rightly lefe in ed. 1602.—(Group A, 3501.)
3 Absolon.
V. 29. THYNNE PREFERENCES SURREY TO RUSSEY IN SQUIRE'S TALE. 53

her windowe, to make her the better to heare, then that he coughed. 2 for although those wordes "with a semely sounde" maye haue relatione to the voyce, yet they maye aswelly, and withe as much consonancye, haue reference to a semely and gentle kynde of knockinges at the windowe, as to the voyce; and so his meanynte was by that sounde to wake her, whiche wolde rather be by the noyes of a knocke then of a coughe; for so he determynd before to knocke, as apperethe in these verses, when he sayed,

For Absalom before said that

So mote I thryve, I shall at Cockes crowe
full priuely knocke at his windowe:

he'd knock.

And so apperethe by the tale afterwarde, that he knocked, as he did before, although he coughed also at the latter tyme, for he knocked twyce.

Fol : 23. pa : 2. for "Surrey" yo read "Russey." 3 true yt is, that some written copies haue 'Russey,' 'and some 'Surrey.' And therfore indifferent after the wrytten copies, and some auncient printed copies before my fathers editione. But yt I shall interpone my opynione, I wolde more willingly (for this tyme) receive Surrey, 4 because yt is most lykelye that the tartarianes whiche dwelt at Sara (a place yet wel knownen, and boordering vppone the lake 'Mare Caspium,' is nerer to Sorria, or the countryes adyoynynge called Syria, then to Russya. for as Hato the Armeniann, in his Tartariane Historye, sayethe, The Cytye of Sara was

Though Surrey is the more likely reading.

1 The Carpenter's wife's.
2 "Knocked, read Coughed", but 'knocked' is left in ed. 1602. The best MS., the Ellesmere, reads 'knokkeath', A, 3696 (Miller's Tale). The other Six-Text MSS. have: Hung-wrth, 'cogheath'; Cambridge, 'coudhe'; Corpus, 'coughed'; Petworth, 'koughe'; Lanadowne, 'coughed'. All agree in reading 'semyly', half (sound) for 'semely'.
3 At Sarra, in the lond of Tartarie
Ther dwelt a kind that warred Surrie. (Squires Tale.)
4 Speght leaves it Surrie in his 1602 ed. All the Six-Text MSS. read 'Russey' or 'Russey.'
auncyently the famous Cyttye of the Countrie of Cun-
mania; and that the Tartarians obeyyned the kynight of
of Syria in the yere 1240, whiche must be in the tyme
of the fyrst Tartariane Emperor called Caius canne,
beinge (as I suppose) he whome Chaucer nameythe
Cambriscan, for so ys the written copies, suche
affynytte is there betwene those two names. And, as
I gather, yt was after that tyme that the Tartarians
had warres in Russia. *But I leave yt indifferent at
this tyme, as meanyngge further to consider of yt.

Fo : 31 : pa : 2. for these woordes, "that may not
saye naye," yo® reade "there may no wighte say
naye." bothe whiche are good, and bothe founde in
written coppyes; and yet the firste will better stande,
in my conceyte, because [the king of Faerie] there
speakinge to his wyfe, he urgethe her that she cannot
deny yt, when he sayethe 'my wyfe that cannot say
naye,' as who sholde saye "yo" cannot deny yt, be-
cause yo® knowe yt, and experience teacheth the yt;" so
that these woordes, "that cannot saye naye," must be
taken as spoken of his wyfes knowledge, and so as
good and rather better then "there maye no wighte
saye naye," consideringe that these woordes "that
cannot saye naye," dothe signyfy, "whose cannot saye

1 This is the reading of the best MSS., the Ellesmere and
Hengwrt: see my note in the Six-Text, p. 472, Group F, l. 4.

2 'My wife (qd. he) that may nat say nay
The experience so proveth it euery day.'

(The Marchautes Tale.)

Speght (wrongly) leaves the lines so in ed. 1602, except that he
wisely cuts out 'The' in l. 2. The worst MS. in the Six-Text,
the Lansdowne, alone reads "bat maie not seie naie," E. 2237
(p. 470); all the rest have, in varied spelling, and the Cam-
bridge putting 'man' for 'wight':—

My wyf, quod he / ther may no wight seye nay
In the second line the three A MSS. read,
The experience / so prouewth euery day
the three B ones (both A and B having varied spelling)
*te experiens proueπ it euery day.
naye," in suche sorte that this relatye (that), meanyng (whoe), must haue reference to his antecedente, this woorde 'wyfe.'

Fo: 35. pa: 2. for "he cleped yt valere & theophraste," "yo" saye 'some wolde haue vs reade "Valery and his Paraphraste."' But as yo haue left yt at libertee to the reader to judge, so I thinke yt must nedes be Theophraste;¹ as the author [of] Poligrac-ticon in his eighth Booke, ca. 11. (from whome Chau-cer borrowetho the almost worde for worde a great parte of the Wyfe of Bathes prologue;) doth vouche yt; for the author of that Booke, Johannes Sarisburiensia, lyvinge in the tyme of Henrye the seconde, sayethe, "Fertur Authore Hieronimo Aureolus Theophrasti liber, de nup-tiis, in quo queritur an vir sapiens ducat vxorem," &c. And the frenche molinet, moralizinge the Romante of the roose in frenche, and turnynge yt oute of verse into proese, writethe, "Ha, se i'euusse creu Theophrastes!" &c. 'Oh, yf I had beleued Theophraste, I had neuer maried womane"; for he dothe not holde hym wise that marieth anye womane, be she fayre, fowle, poore, or Riche; as he sayeth in his Booke Aureolle; whiche verye wordes chaucer dothe recyte.

¹ Speght rightly leaves it 'Theophrast' in his 1602 ed., Fol. 34, col. 2. All the Six Text MSS. of course read 'Theo-fraste,' D, 671, p. 352.

In Spegot's Annotations to his 1598 ed., on which Thynne comments, Speght says "... Valerie and Theophrast. Some will haue vs read Valerie and his Paraphrast. This Valerie wrote a booke De non ducenda exore, with a Paraphrase vpon it, which I haue seene in the studie of Master Allen of Oxford, a man of as rare learning as he is stored with rare bookes. His [Valerie's] name was Gualterus Maape, Archdeacon of Oxford in the dayes of King Henry the second, but chaunged his name because he would not haue the Author known, and termed it Valerius ad Reuineum. But yet there was one called Valerius, who wrote a booke of the same Argument printed among S. Iermes workes. And likewise one called Theophrastus Everius, who, among many things, did write of such matters. Let the Readeer judge."
32. Your Cowen-
try for Country
(Nun's Priest's
Tale) is a mis-
take.
[* leaf 40]

33. So is your waketh for maketh,
for Chaucer means that the Fiend causes anger.

[* leaf 40, back]

If you will read 'waketh,' you must take it to mean 'The Fiend waketh or stirs up anger in man.'

Fo : 38. pa : 2. for this worde "Countrye"¹ yo will 'vs to reade "Cowenrye." But in my writtene copies yt is, "in my Countrye," which I holde the truer, and for the sence as good, yf not better.

Fo : 41. pa : 1. This woorde "makethe" is corrected by yo, who for the same do place "wakethe"; whiche cannot weH stande;² for Chaucer woordes beinge, "this makethe the fende," dothe signyfye (by a true conversione after the dialecte of our touge, whiche withe beawtye vsethe suche transmutacione as I colde gyue yo many pretye instances,) that the sence thereof ys, "the fende makethe this," for whiche Chaucer vsethe these wordes by Transpositiône, (accordinge to the rhetorical figure Hiperbatone,) "This makethe the fende:" Whiche this? Anger: for that comethe, ys made, or occasioned, by the dieuH. But yf yt shold be "wakethe," then must the sence bee, that this (whiche is the anger he speakethe of before) waketh the fende; whiche oure offences cannot do, because he cannot be waked, in that he neyther slombreth nor slopeth, but alwayes watchethe, and howrely seekethe occasiône to destroye ys, lyke a roringe lyone. But yf yo wiH nedes saye "this wakethe the fende," that is, by conversione, after this manner, "the fende waketh this," whiche signyfythe, 'the fende wakethe or styrrethe this in manne,' yt maye, after a harde and ouer-

¹ " Whylome there was dwelling in my countrie "
(Freres Tale, l. 3).
In his 'Annotations,' Speght says, "Countrey, read Couentrie"; but he rightly leaves the word 'countrie' in his 1602 edition, Fol. 37, col. 1. The Corpus, alone, of the Six-Text MSS. reads 'Couentre'; the others, rightly, 'contree' or 'contre.' D, 1301, p. 372.
² Is, indeed, "a thinge more impertinent," as Thynne said before, p. 52, in this passage—
O Thomas, ie vous die, Thomas Thomas
This maketh ye fend, this must been amended
Ire is a thing that God highly defended—
and Speght of course leaves the word 'maketh' in his 1602 ed. Fol. 39, back, col. 1.
streyned sorte, beare somine sence, whiche yet hath not that energye, sprite or lyfe, whiche haue Chaucers woordes, “this maketh the fende.” Whiche woordes are in my written copies, and in all written and auncient printed copies which I haue yet seene.

Fo: 96: pa: 2. vppon these woordes, “o hughe of Lincolne sleyne also, &ct.” Yo” saye, that “in the 29. H. 3. eightsene Iewes were broughte [to London] from Lincolne, and hanged for crucifyinge a childe of eight yeres olde.” Whiche facte was [in] the 39. H. 3. so that yo” mighte verye weH haue sayed, that the same childe of eighte yeres olde was the same hughe of Lincolne; of whiche name ther1 were twoe, viz. thys younger Seinte Hughe, and Seinte *Hughe Bishoppe of Lincolne, whiche dyed in the yere 1200, longe before this litle seinte hughe. And to prove [that] this childe of eighte yeres olde, and that yonge hughe of Lincolne, were but one, I wiH sett downe two auctorties oute of Mathewe Paris and Walsingham, wherof the fyreste writethe, that in the yere of Christe 1255, beinge the 39. of Henrye the 3, a childe called Hughe was sleyne by the Iewes at Lyncolne, whose lamentable historye he de-luyerethe at large; and further, in the yere 1256, beinge 40. H. 3. he sayeth, “dimissi sunt quieti :24. Iudei à Turri London, qui ibidem infames tenebantur compediti pro crucifixione sancti Hugonis Lincolniæ:” All whiche, Thomas Walsingham, in ‘Hypodygma Neustriae,’ confirmethe; saying, A. 1255. “Puer quidam Christianus, nomine Hugo, à Iudeis captus, in opprobrium Christiani nominis crudeliter est crucifixus.”

Fo: 86. pa. 1. (“Where the sonne is in his ascensione,” &c.) yo” wiH vs to reade for the same,2

1 MS. their 2 MS. sune

*ware the soone in his ascensione ne fynde yo” not replete of humors hotte, for yf yt doe ...

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34. As to Hugh of Lincoln (Prioress’s Tale),

the Lincoln Jews were hanged in 1255, not in 1245, for crucifying the 8-year old Hugh.

[* leaf 41]

Bp Hugh of Lincoln died A. D. 1200.

35. Your change of “Where the sonne is in his ascensione.”

[* leaf 41, back]

(Nun’s Priest’s Tale, B. 4146) is needless,
But, savinge correctione, the former sence is good: for these wordes: "Where the sonne is in his ascensione," must haue relatione to the wordes of the verse before, ye be righte colerick of complextione,

and then is the sence, that she\(^1\) willed hym\(^2\) to purge, for that he was righste (that is, extremelye, and in the highest degree,) colerick of complextione, where (which signyfysethe 'when') the sonne is in his ascensione. wherefore he must take heed, that he did not fynde hym repliate (at that tyme of the sonnes being in his ascensione) of hoothe humors, for yf he did, he sholde surelye haue one ague. And this wyl\(^3\) stand with the wordes "where the sonne is in his ascensione," takinge 'where' for 'when,' as yt is often vsed. But yf yo\(^5\) mislyke that gloose, and wyl\(^4\) begyn one new sence, as yt is in some written copyes, and saye, "Ware the sonne in his ascensione, ne fynde you not repliate," &c. yet yt cannothe bee that the other wordes, ("for yf yt doo,") canne answere the same, because this pronounne relatyve ('yt') cannott haue relatione to this wordes ('yo") which wente before in this lyne, "Ne fynde yo" not repliate of humors hotte." So that yf yowe wyl\(^6\) nedes reade "ware" for "where," yet the other parte of the followinge verse must nedes be, "for yf yo\(^5\) doe," and not "for yf yt doee"; vnl este yo\(^7\) will saye that this woorde ('yt') must have relatione to these wordes, ("the sonne in his ascensione"), whiche yt cannott have, those wordes gouinge two lynes before, and the pronounne (yo") it," ed. 1598. In his 1602 ed. he rightely leaves out the 'is': "Ware the sonne in his ascension, Ne finde ye not repliate of humours hote."

Fol. 81, back, col. 2, lines 10, 11.

All the *Six-Text* MSS. read (with different spellings) 'Ware the sonne / in his ascension,' Group B, l. 4146, 'ware' meaning 'beware of.' l. 4147 is in the A MSS. 'Ne fynde yow nat repliate of humours hoote.'

\(^1\) The fair Pertelote. \(^2\) Chanticere.
interposed betwene the same and that his corelatyve (yt). wherfore these woordes, ("for yf yt doe," ) must nedes stande as they did before, thoughg ye" will correcte "where the sonne &c." and saye "ware the sonne &c." whiche yf ye" will nedes haue, ye" must you must alter correcte the rest in this sorte:

Ware the sonne in his ascentione,
that yt fynde ye" not replcat of humors hotte,
for yf yt do, &c. the next line
(as the A MSS. do).

But this correctione (savinge, as I sayed, correctione) seemethe not so good as the former texte.

Fol: 86. pa: 2. Vppon these woordes, ("lo, in the lyfe of Kenelme we reade," ) ye" saye that "Kenelme was slyne by his sister Quenda,"1 whiche sholde be Quendrida, as William of Malmsberye and Ingulphus2 have. Whiche Quendrida dothe signyfye Quene Drida, as the author of the Antiquyties of Seint Albons and of the Abbottes thereof (supposed to be Mathewe Paris) dothe expounde yt. for that auctor, speakinge of the wyfe of Offa the greate kinge of Mercia (a wicked and proude womanne, because she was of the stocke of Charles the greate, ) dothe saye, that she was called Drida, and beinge the kinges wyfe was termed Quendrida, id est, Regina Drida.

Fo: 87. p: 1. Vppon these woordes of "Taurus was fortye degrees and one," ye" saye that this place ys misprinted, as well in not namynge of the sygne, as of the mysreekonyngye of the degrees, "that the two and twentye of Marche the sonne is in Aries, and that but eleven degrees, or there-aboutes, and hath in aH but thirtye degrees. In whiche, in semynge to correcte the former printe (whiche in truthe deseruethe amendemente, but not in that order,) ye" seme to mee to erre,

1 "This Kenelmul, king of the Mercians, was innocentyne slaine by his sister Quenda, wherby he obtained the name of a martir." ed. 1598.
2 His chronicle is held to be spurious.
as far as heaven is from earth.

The day Chaucer writes of was not March 22, but April 22 (or May 3),

[* leaf 43, book. MS. repeats by the]

for his 22 or 33 days must be reckoned from the end of March,

[+ leaf 44] So the sign is right.

when the sign would be in Taurus, whether you take 22 days (April 22) or 33.

1 All the Siz-Text MSS. have 'thirty,' in some spelling, or in figures. Group B, 4380, p. 293.
doo;) because they muste answere and be agreeable to the former wordes of Chaucer, whiche sayeth: the marcbe was complete; and, for that we shold be not doyte thereof, he addethe also farther, "And passed were also since Marche beganne": Where the wordes "beganne" ys misprinted for "be gonne," that is, since "marche be gonne," this word "begonne" being put for "is gonne," or "gonne bye, or departed." so that the genuynaff sence hereof is, 'When marcbe was complete, and also were passed, since marcbe is gonne, or gonne bye, or departed.' for, in many olde inglyshe wordes, this syllable (be) is sett before to make yt moore signyficante and of force; as, for 'moone' we saye 'bemone,' for 'sprincled,' 'besprincled'; for 'dewed,' 'bedewed,' &c., as in this case, for 'gonne' ys sett downe 'begonne.' But althoughke there be no mysnamyng of the signe; yet yt is true "the degrees of the signes are mys- rekoned, the error whereof grewe, because the degree of the signe, is made equaH with the degree of the sonne ascended aboue the horizonte, beinge at that tyyme xli degrees in heightes from the horizon. But to remedyse all this, and to correcte yt accordinge as Chaucer sett yt downe in myne and other written copies; and that yt may stande with all mathematicall proportione, which Chaucer knewe and obserued there, the printe must be corrected after those written copies (whiche I yet holde for sounde tiff I maye disprove them) havinge these woordes:

When that the month in whiche the worlde beganne, that hight[e] Marche, when god first made manne, Was complete, and passed were also, Since marcbe beganne, thirty dayes and two: [4]
befill that Chanteclere in all his pride, his seven Wiues walkinge him beside, cast vppe his eyen to the bright[e] sonne, that in the signe of Taurus had yronne [8]
Twentye degrees and one, & somewhat moore; [Leaf 65]
& knewe by kynde, & by noone other loore,
That yt was pryme, and crewe with bliafull steven:
the sonne, quod he, is clombe vp on heauen
Fortye degrees and one, and moor, ywis, &c.

And that this sholde be mente xxiij dayes after
Marche, and the seconde of Maye,\(^1\) there be manye
reasons, besides those that Chaucer nameth; whiche
are, that the sonne was not farre from the middle of
his ascentione, and in the signe of Taurus.

...further, since I ame nowe in Chanteclers discourse,
I must speake of one woorde in the same, deservinge
correctione, whiche I see yo" ouerslipped; and because
I thinke yo" knewe not what to make of yt, (as in dede
by the printinge fewe menne canne vnderstande yt,) I
wilt sett downe the correctione of the same; beinge
the worde "Mereturicke,"\(^2\) farr corrupted for "Mer-
cenicricke," in saxone æneccenýke whiche is the king-
dome of Mercia, for so was Kenelme the sonne, and
Kenulphus the father, bothe kinges of Mercia; the one
raignyng 36 yeres, "and the other murdred by his
sister Quendrida, as ys before noted. And that yt is
the kingdome of Mercia, the etymone of the woordes
dothe teache; for ‘nyk’ in the saxone tonge signy-
fyethe a kingdome; ‘mercén’ signyfyethe markes, or
boundes, or marches of Countrieys, so that Mercenicicke
is ‘regnum Merciae,’ or the kingdome of Mercia, or of

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\(^1\) The correctness of Thynne’s argument, and of his correc-
tion of the old readings of twenty in line 4 above to thirty; and of Fortye in l. 9, to Twentye (which all the Six-Text MSS. have, B, 4835), is shown by Mr Brae in his edition of the Astrolabe, and Mr Skeat (who follows him) in his edition (E. E. T. Soc. and Chaucer Soc.), p. li, lii. Only they make Thynne’s ‘second of Maye,’ May 3, as “the whole of March, the whole of April, and two days of May, were done with.” The time of day was, says Mr Brae, ‘nine o’clock to the minute,’ being 41 degrees. But the ‘and moore’ would make it a little after 9 A.M.

\(^2\) Lo in the life of saint Kenelme we rede
That was Kenelphus sonne, the noble king
Of Mereturike.—ed. 1598; Merceneryke, ed. 1602.
Oddly enough, the Lansdowne MS., alone of the Six-Text ones, reads rightly ‘Mercenicke.’ The Cambridge has ‘Merturyke’; the others ‘Mertenrike,’ the scribes mistaking o for i, two letters hardly differing in many MSS.
the boundes, so called because almoste all the other
kingdomes of the saxons bounded vppon the same, and
that lykewise vppon them, since that kingdome dyd
lye in the middle of England, and conteyned most of
the shires thereof.

Fo: 90. pa: 2. for "pilloure" yo" wiH vs to reade
"Pellure," signyfyinge furres.\(^1\) but althoughte the
Clergye ware furres, and some of them had their oute-
warde ornamente thereoff when they then came to their
service, as the Chanons had theyre Grey amises; yet
in this place, to shewe the prowde and stately ensignes
of the Clergye, he there namethe the popes Crowne,
and the Cardinalls pilloures, yf I be not deduced. for
every cardinall had, for *parte of his honorable ensignes
borne before hym, certeine siluer pillers; as had
cardinall Wolsey,\(^2\) in the tyme of kynge Henrye the
eighte, and Cardinall Poole, in my memory. So that
'pilloure' in that place is better then 'pellure,' because
pilloures were a noote of moore pride and maiestye
(against whiche the Plowmanne dothe enveye in those
woordes,) then ys the weringe of furres.

Fo: 90. pa: 2. for these woordes, "withe change
of many manner of meates," yo" wolde have vs reade,
"they eate of manye manner of meates." Touchinge
whiche, althoughse the sence stande well, yet suire
Chaucer followeth the this manner in manye staues to-
gether with this prepostitione (cum, with) and this con-

1 In the spurious 'Plowmans Tale.'
And so should euery Christened be -
Priests, Peters successours
Beth lowliche and of low dege
And vseen none earthly honours
Neither crowne, ne curious couetours
Ne pillowre, ne other proude pall.—ed. 1598.
'pillour, ne other proud pall.'—ed. 1602.

2 See Roy's Satire, and 'The Impeachment of Wolsey,'
p. 340, note, and 360/256 of my 'Ballads from Manuscripts, I,'
(Ballad Society).
junctione (et, and;)—as, "with pride misledd the poore, & with money filled manye a male, &c." so he contynueth the yt stiH with that preposytione, "with many change of meates"; whiche ys as good as the other, for euerye one knowythe Chaucers meanyng to be, that they eate of many meates, when they haue change of many meates; for whye sholde they haue change of meates, but for varyetye to please the palates tast in eatyngc. In the next staffe, for "myters moe then one or two") yo• teache vs to reade, "Myters they weare mo then one or two"; whiche, me thinkethe, nedethe not. for the wearinge of their myters is included in these woordes, "and myters moore then one or twoe." Whiche wordes are curteyled for the verse his cause, that the same mighte kepe one equall proportione and decorum in the verse, whiche wolde be lengthened one foote or sillable moore then the other verses, yf youre readinge sholde stande. But yf yo• saye, that in this and other things I ame ouerstreycht laced, and to obstinatylye bente to defende the former printed editione,—in that I wolde rather alow;e one imperfecte sence, and suche as must be vnderstoode, when yt ys not fully expressed, then a playne style,—I wiff answere with a grounde of the lawe, "quod frustra fit per plura, quod fieri potest per pauciora," and "quod subintelligitur non deest." wherefore yt is nedelless to make that playner by additione of woordes, when yt maye be aswell conceywed in any reasonable mens understandinge without suche additione. But in these

1 The 1542 edition of William Thynne (Francis's father), in which the Plowmans Tale was first printed, reads 'punished.' Speght in 1598 reads 'punished,' and in 1602 'punisheth.'
2 Speght leaves the reading 'With chauenge of many manner meates' in his 1602 ed., as it was in his 1598, and in William Thynne's of 1542.
3 Accordingly Speght leaves it 'And miters moe than one or two' in his 1602 ed., as it stands in his 1598, and in Wm. Thynne's of 1542.
and suche petit matters, I will not nowe longe insiste,
(being thinges of no greate momentes,) vntiH I haue
further examyned moore written copyes, to trye
whether wee shaH reade the olde texte or your newe
Correctione.

Fo. 122 : pa. 2. "The lorde sonne of Windsore.")
Vppon these woordes yo" saye, 'this maye seme strange,
bothe in respecte that yt is not in the frenche, as also
for that there was no lorde Windsore at those dayes.'
But yt semethe to me moore strange that these woordes
sholde seme strange to yo", not to bee in the frenche,
where yo" shaH fynde them. for thus hathe the
frenche 'written Romante, as maye appere in the olde
frenche vsed at the tyme when the Romante was com-
posed, in this sorte:

Pris a Franchise les ales,
Ne sai comen est apelles,
Biaus est et genz, se il fust ores
Fuiz au segueur de Guindesores:

Whiche is thus Englished: 'next to Franchise went a
yonge Bachereler, I knowe not howe he was called, he
was fayre and gentle, as yf he had bynne sonne to the
lorde of Windsore': where in olde frenche this woorde
'fuiz' (vsed here, as in manye places of that Booke,) is
placed for that whiche wee wryte and pronounce at this
daye for 'filz' or 'fitz,' in Englishes, 'sonne.' and that yt
is here so ments, yo" shaH see in the Romante of the
Roose turned into prose, moralized, by the frenche
Molinet, and printed at Paris in the yere 1521, who
hathe the same verses in thesee woordes in prose. 'A
Franchise s'estoit, prins vn ieune Bachereler, de qui ne
scay le nome, fore bell, en son temps filz du "segneur
de Guindesore.' Whiche yo" mighte have well scene,
had yo" but remembered their orthographe, and that
the latyne, Italiane, frenche, and spanske haue no
doble W, as the Dutche, the Englishe, and suche as
THYNNE.
have affynytte with the Dutche, since they use for doble W (a letter comone to vs) these two letters 'Gu,' as in 'Guelielmus,' whiche we wryte 'Wilielmus'; in 'Guerra,' whiche we call and writte 'warre'; in 'Gualterus,' whiche we write 'Walter'; in 'Guardeine,' whiche we pronounce and write 'Wardeyne'; and suche lyke; accordinge to whiche, in the frenche yt is 'Guindesore' for 'Windesore.' for your other coniectures, whye that Chaucer shold inserte the loordes sonne of Windsor, they are of [no] great momente; neque adhuc constat that Chaucer translated the Romante, whene Windsor Castle was in buildinges. for then I suppose that Chaucer was but yonge; whereof I wyH not stande at this tyme, no moore then I wil that there was no lord Windsor in those dayes; althoughte I suppose that sir Williame Windsor, being then a worthe knighe, and of great auctortyte in Englande, and in the partes beyonde the seas vnder the kinge of Englande, mighte be lorde Windsor, of whom the Frenche tooke notice, beinge in those partes, and by them called 'seigneure de Windesore,' as euer governour was called 'seigneure' amongst them. But whether he were a Baron or no in Englande, I cunnott yet saye, because I haue not my booke of somons of Barons to parliamente in my handes at this instante.

Fo: 171: pa. 2. "by ordall," &c. Vppone whiche yo" write thus: "ordalia is a tryaH of chasttye, throughe the fyrre,—as did Emma, mother of the Confessor,—or ells over hoote burnynge cultors of yrone barefotte, as did Cunegunde, &c." But in this descriptinge defynitione, yo" have comitted manye imperfections. first, that ordell was a tryaH by fyrre, whiche is but a species of the ordell; for ordalium was a tryaH by fyrre and water: secondlye, that 'yt was a tryaH of Chasttye, whiche was but parcell thereof; for the
ordale was a tryal for manye other matters. Thirllye, yoe saye yt was by goinge throughe the fyer. when the fyere ordale was onely by goinge one hooe shares or cultores, or by holdinge a hooe pece of yrone in the hande, and not goinge throughe the fyer. forthlye, that Emma, mother to Edward the confessor, receued this tryal by goinge throughe the fyer: But she passed not throughe the fyer—as yoe bringe her fore one example of your ordale—but passed barefotte vppone nyne burnynge shares, fowre for her selfe, and fyve for Alwyne, Bishoppe of Winchester, with whom she was suspected with Incontynencye; whiche hystorye yoe maye see at large in Ranulphus Higden, in his policronicone li. 6. ca. 23, and in other auctors; of whiche ordale I colde make a longe and no commone discourse,—of the manner of consecratinge the fyer and water, howe yt was vsedd emongst the saxons before, and *the normans since, the Conqueste, and of manye other things belonging vnto yt,—but I will passe them ouer, and only deliuer to yoe a thinge knowne to fewe, howe this ordale was continuued in Englane in the tyme of kinge Iohane, as appere the in Claus. 17. Iohannis, m. 25, vntil yt was taken awaye by the courte of Rome; and after that, in Englane, by the auxotryye of kinge Henr ye the thirde, whereof yoe shal fynde this recorde in the towre, Patente, 3. H: 3: mem. 5, where yt speakethe of iudgemente and tryal by fyer and water to be forbydden by the Churche of Roome, and that yt sholde not be vsedd here in Englane; as appere the by these woordes of that recorde: “Illis vero qui mediis criminiibus vectati sunt, et quibus competeret iudicium ignis vel aquae, si non esset prohibitus, et de quibus si regnum nostrum abiuarent, nulla fieret postea, maleficiendi suspicio, regnum nostrum abiuarent,” &c.

Fo. 246 : pa. 1. speakinge of the stork, yoe saye *that Chancers woordes “wreaker of adulterye” sholde

*The fiery ordal was by going on hot shares and cultors, not going through the fire.*

*The mother of Edward the Confessor*

*Past barefoot over nine burning shares.*

I could make a long discourse on this,*

MV repeats ”and” but will only say that the ordal lasted here till 17 Johns, A.D. 1215-16, till it was taken away by the court of Rome, and after, in England, by Henry III, A.D. 1215-19.
rather bee "beware of Adultery"; which in truth, according to one property of his nature, may be as you say, but according to one other property of his nature, yet shold bee "the wrekker of Adulterye," as Chaucer hath; for he ys a greater wrecker of the adulterye of his owne kynde and female, then the bewrayer of the adulterye of one other kynde, and of his hostesse, one the topp of whose howse he harborethe. for Aristotle sayethe, & Bartholomaeus de proprietatibus rerum li. 12. cap. 8.¹ with manye other auctors, that ye the storke by anye meanes perceve that his female hath brooked spousehedde, he wiff no moore dwelle with her, but stykethe, and so cruelly beateth her, that he wiff not succeed vntill he hath killed her yf he maye, to wreake and reuenge that adulterye.

[VI. Five more Mistakes of Speght's, and then one more.]

These and suche lyke, in my conceyte, are woorthy to be touched in your Annotacions, besides other matters whiche yo haue not handled; whereof "(because tyme requyreth the after ahh this tedious treatyce to drawe to one ende) I wiff not nowe entreate; but onlye speake a little moore of fyve especiall thinges, woorthy the animadversione; of whiche the fyrste ys, that yo make the plowmans tale to goo next before the persons tale, suffering the persons corrupted prologue to passe with the this begynnynge, "By that the plowmanne had his tale ended," when ahh written

¹ "while the female liueth, the male accompanieth not with another with seruice of Venus, but keepeth truely to hir in neast, and in office of generation. And if the male espieth in any wise that the female hath broke spousehood, she shall no more dwell with him, but he beateth and striketh hir with his bill, and slaieth hir if he may, as Aristotle saith."—Bateman vpon Bartholome, leaf 181, col. 2, and back, col. 1, ed. 1582: it is Trevisa's translation, the same words, with slight differences of spelling; see Berthelet's edition (A.D. 1555), leaf clxvii, col. 1. See Bp. Stanley's Hist. of Birds, 6th ed. p. 322.
copies, (whiche I colde yet see,) and my fathers edytione, haue yt, "By that the manciple\(^1\) had his tale ended." And because my father colde not see by anye prologues of thee other tales, (whiche for the most parte shew the dependancye of one tale vppone one other,) where to place the plowmans tale, he putt yt after the persons tale,\(^2\) whiche, by Chaucers owne woordes, was the laste tale; as appereth by the persons prologue, where the hooste sayeth, that 'euerie manne had tolde his Tale before.' So that the plowmans tale must be sett in some other place before the manciple and persons tale, and not as yt ys in the last editione.

One other thinge ys, that yt wolde be good that Chaucers proper workes were distinguyshed from the adulterat, and suche as were not his, as the Testamente of Cressye, The Letter of Cupide, and the ballade begynnynge "I haue a ladye, where so she bee," &c. whiche Chaucer never composed, as may suffycientlye be proued by the thinges them selues.\(^3\)

The thirde matter ys, that in youre epistle dedicatorye to Sir Roberte Cecille, yo" saye, "This Booke, My father put it after the Parson's Tale.

1. Chaucer's own works should be distinguished from those adulterate, and not his.

2. There were three editions of Chaucer before

\(^{1}\) This shows that the Christchurch manuscript (which reads 'yeoman') and the Rawl. Misc. MS. 1133 (which reads 'marchast', by mistake for 'franklin') had not passt through Francis Thynne's hands—or his father's, we may conclude.

\(^{2}\) The Prologue to this 'Complaint of the Ploughman' forms, I think, no part of the poem as originally written. See it in Appendix III here, p. 101. Mr Thomas Wright reprinted the 'Complaint' from Speght's edition of 1602 (instead of the undated one by Godfrey (ab. 1532-35), or Thynne's of 1542) for the Rolls Series, in Political Poems, i. 304—346.

\(^{3}\) Assuredly. And although Francis Thynne has been maintaining his father’s edition against Speght, he shows his judgment here, in repudiating as Chaucer’s, the ‘Testament of Cresseyde,’ and Hocecleve’s ‘Letter of Cupyde,’ which his father included in both his editions of 1532 and 1542. Stowe in 1561 first printed (Fol. ccxliiiij) the spurious ‘A balade pleasawat: I haue a Ladie where so she bee ... Explicit the discriuyng of a faire Ladie,’ with ‘O Mossie Quince,’ &c. &c. Stowe, however, was the first who printed the genuine ‘Chaucaers woordes vnto his owne Scruiener,’ Fol. ccclv, back, in his edition of 1561.
whene yt was first published in printe, was dedicate to
kinge Henrye the eighte." But that is not soo. for
the firste dedications to that kinge was by mye father,
when diuere of Chaucers workes had byn thrise.

1 Yes, surely it is. Speght meant Chaucer's 'Workes,' the collected edition, first made by William Thynne, which was the basis of his own edition. Wm. Thynne's dedication is reprinted in all the old editions, 1542 (1550), 1561, 1598, 1602, 1687, and 1721.

2 Only one edition of Chaucer's Works has been publish'd before the date of Thynne's, 1532, and that was Pynson's in 1526, without a general title, but containing three parts, with separate signatures, and seemingly intended to sell separately; 1. the boke of Caunterbury tales; 2. the boke of Fame, with dyuers other of his workes [Assemble of Foules, La belle Dame, Morall Preuillez]; 3. the boke of Troylus and Cryseyele. But of separate works of Chaucer before 1532, the following had been publish'd:


- Truth (The good counceyl of chawer; 'Fle ye fro j' presse'). 1. Caxton, ab. 1477-8.


- Envoi to Skogan. 1. Caxton, ab. 1477-8 (all lost, after the 3rd stanza).


- Mars; Venus; Marriage (Bukton). 1. Julian Notary, 1499-1502.

After Thynne's first edition of the Works in 1532 (printed by Thomas Godfray), came his second (for John Reynes and Wylyam Bonham) in 1542, to which he added the 'Plowman's Tale' after the Parson's.

Then came a reprint for the booksellers (Wm. Bonham, R. Kele, T. Petit, Robert Toye) about 1550, which put the Plowman's Tale before the Parson's. This was followed by an edition in 1561 for the booksellers (Ihn Kynngston; Henry Bradasa, citizen and grocer of London; &c.), to which, when more than half printed, Stowe contributed some fresh pieces, the spurious Court of Love, Lydgate's Sege of Thebes, and other poems. Next came Speght's edition of 1598—on which Francis Thynane comments

3 All in one little volume in the Cambridge University Library (and the British Museum).—See my Trial-Forwords, p. 116-117.

4 In one quire at Cambridge.—See my Trial-Forwords, p. 116.
printed before; whereof two editions were by William Caxtome, the fyreste printer of Englande, who first printed Chaucers tales in one column in a ragged letter, and after in one column in a better order; and the third editione was printed, as farre as I remember, by winkine de word or Richarde Pynson, the seconde and thirde printers of Englande, as I take them. Whiche three edit[i]ons beinge verye imperfecte and corruppte, occasioned my father (for the love he oughte to Chawcers lernynge) to seesche the augmente and correcctions of Chawcers Workes, whiche he happily fynyshed; the same beinge, since that tyme, by often printings much corrupted. of this matter I sholde have spokken fyrste of all, because yt is the fyrste imperfectione of youre peynfull and comendable labors: yet because the proverbe ys “better late then never,” I holde yt better to speake of yt here then not at all.

The fourthe thinge ys, that, in the catalogue of the auctors, yo“ haue omytted manye auctors vouched by chawcer; and therefore dyd rightlye intitle yt, ‘moost,’ "‘and not all, ‘of the auctors cyted by geoffrye Chawcer.’

The fryste matter ys in the Romante of the Roose, fo. 144; that this worde ‘Haroldes,’ in this verse,

   My kinge of Haroldes shalte thow bee,

muste, by a mathesis or transpositione of the letters, be Harlotes, and not Haroldes, and the verse thus,

   My kinge of Harlottes shalte thow bee.

And so ys yt in the editione of Chawcers Workes, printed in anno Domini 1542, accordinge to the frenche moralizatione of Molinet, fo. 149, where he is called “Roye des Ribauldez,” whiche is, ‘the kinge of Ribaldes, in his Animadversions—which added the spurious ‘Dreme, and ‘Flower & Leaf.’ This was followed by Speght’s 2nd edition in 1602, in which Francis Thynne helpt him, and to which were added Chaucer’s ‘A B C,’ and the spurious Jack Upland. (Jack Upland had been before printed, with Chaucer’s name on the title-page, about 1536-40 (London, J. Gough, no date, 8vo).—H. B.)
or Harlottes,' or euill or wicked persons; one officer of
greate accompte in tymes paste, and yet use in the
courte of France, but by one other name, in some partes
beinge the office of the marshall of Engleand. \(\text{AH}\)
whiche, because \(\text{yo}^a\) shalt not thinke I dreame,
(thoughe yt may some strange to the ignorante to haue
so greate one officer intituled 'of suche base persons as
to be called 'kinge or governour of Ribauldes,') \(\text{yo}^a\) shalt
here Johannes Tyllius (in his seconde Booke de rebus
gallicis, vnder the title de Prefecto pretorio Regis) confirme
in these woordes: "In domesticis Regum con-
stitutionibus, quos proximo capite nominamus, fit
mentio Regis Ribal дорum, officii domestici, quem sem-
per oportet stare extra Portam pretorii," \&c. and a
litle after the explanyng of their office, he addethe:
"sic autem appellantur, quia iam tum homines perditi
Ribaldi, et Ribaldae, mulieres puellæque perdite, vocan-
tur. Regis nomen superiori aut Judici tribuitur.
Quemadmodum magnus Cubicularius dicitur Rex Mer-
catorum," \&c. Where he maketh this "Regem Ribal-
dorum" an honorable officer for manie causes, as
Vincentius Luparius in his yyrste booke of the magis-
trates of France dothe also, vnder the title of "Rex
Ribal дорum et prouostus Hospitii"; makinge the Judex
pretorianus, and this Rex Ribal дорum or Prouostus
hospitii, "to seme all one, addinge further (after manye
other honorable partes belonginge to this office) that
"meretricibus aulicis hospitia assignare soletbat." In
whiche pointe, bothe for orderinge and correctinge the
harlottes and evill persons followinge the courte of
Englande, (whiche is the dutye of the marshall,) the
frenche and wee agree. Wherfore, touchinge that parte,
\(\text{yo}^a\) shalt here some what of the marshalls office sett
downe and founde in the Customes whiche Thomas of
Brothertonne (sonne to kinge Edwarde the yyrste)
challenged to his office of marshalcye; where, emongest
other things, are these woordes: "eorum (whiche was of the marshalls deputyes executinge that he shold ells do hym selfe) interest virgatam & meretricibus prohibere, et deliberare, et habet ex consuetudine mariscallus, ex quilibet meritrice com[m]uni infra metas hospitii inventa—iiiijd. primo die. Que, si iterum inventa in Balliuâ suâ Inveniatur, capitatur; et coram seneschallo inhibeautur ei hospitia Regis et Reginae "et liberorum suorum, ne iterum ingrediatur," &c. And so afterwaes shewethe what shalbe donne to those wemen, yf they be founde agayne in the kings courte, in suche sorte, that, as by Tillius, this Rex Ribaldorum his auctorytye was owen 'homenes perditos, mulieres puellasque perditas.' And that yt was, by Lupanus, to assigne to Ribaldes lodginge oute of the courte, (for so modestye willethe vs to ynderstande, because they sholde not offende and infecte the courte with their sights and manners). So ys yt oure Marshalls office, to banye thes harlottes the courte, and bestowe them in some other place, where they might be lesse annoyance. Wherefore I conclude with the frenche, and the former editiones of Chaucer in the yere of Christe 1542,¹ that 'false semblance' was of righte to be made kinges of Harlottes, and not of Haroldes, who wolde mightely be offended to have them holde the conditions of 'false semblance'.²

Nowe here be nugae in the Romante of the Roose:

¹ William Thynne's second publishd edition,—not counting the first cancelld one, if that ever really existed : see p. 75-6.
² Speght says in his glossary, or rather "The hard words of Chaucer explained," in his 1602 edition: "Harrolds, fol. 144, whereas in some bookes it is, 'my king of Harrolds shalt thou bee'; it is now corrected thus (my king of Harlotes shalt thou bee.) For so it is in the French Moralization of Molinet 149, where hee is called Roi des Ribauldes, which is, the king of harlotes, or wicked persons: an office of great account in times past, and yet vsed in the court of Fraunce. Of this office speaketh Johannes Tillius in his second booke De rebus Gallicis, vnnder the title De Prefecto pretorio Regis. But more hereof when time shall serue in M. F. Thins comment."
VI. 6. READ MOOVERESSE, NOT MINORESSE, IN THE ROMAUNT.

I cannot (as the proverb is) take my hand from the table, (finding so many errors in the two last editions,1) but must speak of one thing more, deservice Correcction, in these words of the Romante, fo. 116 of the last impression:

Amide saw I hate stonde,  
That for wrothe and yre & onde  
Semed to be a minoresse;

Where this word 'Minoresse' sholde bee 'Mouoveresse,' signifying 'a mover or styrre to debate'; for these be the frenche verses in the oldest written copye that euer was (to be founde in Engelande, yf my conjecture sayle me not,) by the age of the frenche woordes, which are these:

Ens eus le milieu vi hayne,  
qui de courouz et datayn  
Sembla bien estre mouveresse  
et courouze et tenoseresse.

Beinge thus englyshed, as of righte they oughte, acordinge to the frenche:

Amyde, sawe I hate stonde,  
that of wrahtes and yre & onde  
semed well to be mooveresse,  
one Angry wighte, & chyderesse.

Whiche woord 'mooveresse,' the learned molinet, in his moralization of that Romant, dothe turne into 'Ducteresse,' a leader or leadresse, so that they agree yt shoulde not be a 'minoresse,' but a 'mooveresse' or leadresse of and to anger and yre; anye of whose woordes will as well, and rather better, fytt the sence and verse of Chaucer, and better answere the frenche original and meanynge, than the inserted woordes 'Minoresse.'

Thus hoopinge that ye will accepte in good and frendly parte, these my whatsoeuer conceytes vittered

1 No doubt, before Speght's of 1598, namely, Stowe's of 1561, and the booksellers' of about 1560.
unto yo*, (to the ende Chawcers Woorke by muc[he] conference and manye iudgmentes mighte at leng[t]he obteyne their true perfections and glorye,—as I truste they shah, yf yt please godde *to lende me tymne and leysure to reprinte, correcte, and comente the same, after the manner of the Italians, who have largelye comented Petrarche;)—I sett ende to these matters; comytings yo* to god, and me to your Curtesye.

Clerkenwell Greene, the
xvi of december 1599.

Your lovinge frende,

FRANCIS THYNNE.

Mr Bradshaw's note on William Thynne's cancelled one-column edition of Chaucer's Works.

"I THINK the discovery of the long-missing Douce fragment has settled, for good and all, the confusion which Francis Thynne has fallen into about his father's editions. The supposed cancelled edition by William Thynne is a fiction. It is described as having one column on a side, and containing the Pilgrim's Tale. Tyrwhitt has shown conclusively that this Tale cannot have been written before 1536; and it is clear that the book, of which the Douce fragment is a part, must have contained Chaucer's name on the title-page, and was probably printed shortly before 1540 (when Bale was exiled), or Bale would not have included among Chaucer's Works De curia Veneris, lib. 1, 'In Maio cum virescerent,' &c.; and Narrationes diversorum, tract. 1, 'In comitatu Lyncolniensi,' &c.

"Please remember that Bale went into exile in 1540, and that the first edition of his Scriptores, in which these appear, was printed at Wesel in 1548, on his return journey to England. This limits
the date pretty well to 1536—1540. In that edition the two items occur in quite different parts of his list; but in the later and fuller edition of 1557 the items come thus, after enumerating the contents of Thynne's editions:—

De curia Veneris. Lib. 1. In Maio cum virescerent, &c.
Epigrammata quoque. Lib. 1. Fuge multitudinem, veri. [Fle from the presse.—H. B.]

Narrationes diversorum. Lib. 1. In comitatu Lyncolniensi fuit.

"If Mr Bright's fragment of the beginning of a later edition of the 'Court of Venus' is forthcoming (see Hazlitt's Handbook), you will probably find that it begins 'In Maio cum virescerent'... at least with the English equivalent of those words.¹ Bale must have seen the book, or he could not have given us the incipits. It must (I think) have borne Chaucer's name on the title-page, or Bale would not have put it among Chaucer's works. It must have been printed after 1536 (see Tyrwhitt) and before 1540 (when the exile took place); and so it may be possible that Thynne thought of including it in his 1542 edition, but was prevented through Bonner's or Gardiner's influence, not Wolsey's, which would put the matter into a wholly different period.

"Remember that W. Thynne died (very soon after Francis Thynne was born) in 1546, and that, the report reaching Francis Thynne through the recollections of Sir John Thynne of many years previous, it is not wonderful that there should be some confusion. Francis Thynne, too, tells us that he had never seen the one-column edition himself. The result is, that I am convinced that the one-column edition of Chaucer with the Pilgrim's Tale can only mean the 4to Court of Venus, &c., printed between 1536 and 1540, which Bale saw. Whether the Douce and Bright fragments are parts of the original edition, or of the reprint licensed to Hen. Sutton in 1557, or to a later edition still, I cannot say,² and it does not very much matter for our purpose; as Bale's evidence, coupled with Tyrwhitt's statement, narrows the limit of printing to 4 or 5 years."

¹ This Bright fragment is at Britwell, and Mr W. Christie-Miller has been good enough to inform me that the first poem in it begins with

In the moneth of May, when the new tender grene
Hath smothing covered the ground that was bare

as Mr Bradshaw expected. Mr W. Christie-Miller adds: "Chaucer's name I do not see upon the sheet, nor any trace of the name of the author." But see Chaucer's name in the Douce fragment of the book, p. 98, l. 740, below.

² The dropt lines and misprinted words show the Douce fragment to be part of some reprint.
APPENDIX I.


[From the reprinted Courte of Venus, Douce Fragments, 92 b.]

The pylgrymse tale.

¶ In lincolneshyr, fast by the fene,
ther stant a hows, and you yt ken,
and callyd sempynham of religion;
and is of an old foundation,
buyldyt full many ayer ago,
to helpe sowllis out of there payn and wo,—
or ellis tho beyn begyled,
at whos cost such houses were byld;—
but there I was, as fortune showpe,
a-fore I over the fan toke

toward walsingham apson my pelgrymag.
I had cagh in myn hed suche a dotag,
that the gren gat I had more delit to folow
then of deuotion to seke the halowe;
& at this town were as this hows stant,
of good lodgyng we can non want;
but in myn In or eyuer I to my eace, [toke my eace]
to walke about, it did me best pleace,
ouer a brydg, throrow a gren meyd,
where I might behold in eyery sted
the greate buyldyng of this obby,
strong ynooge, toughe it were not gay.
the houses of office on and other,
where-on of leyd lay many a fowther,
wer well I-bylt, & of a great costag
and forther with-out, as is the vsag,
about the cowrt the barns of great strenghe
wer bylt, and the stablys in lenghe
were wyd and fayr and comly for to se,
saue sum thing in ruin—as thought me—
th[e]y were I-fall, & not so well vphold
as th[e]y had beyn by other days old,
whan for there bred men vsed to swynk,
and erne ther met or that they drynk,
as austen wrytys to them in heremo,
& wold suche brethren shold do so ;
for he that by husbandry wyll tryue & the,
must not trust in "go!" but in "now goe we!"
therefore the labourers, tho monk barnardy,
came in reproffe of the benefictins.
then was good housse and hospytalite,
and they estemyd for men of honeste ;
for then th[e]y wroght & labouryd with ther hand,
& fed with suche they gat or suche as they fand.
er was not as the bord seruid with couerd mess ;
suche super-fluyte was had for nedles.
er at tho days there was no suche presumption
that thorow there prayer there shold be redempzon ;
er of massys no suche multitude,
for a-mongst an hundreth—this is of certitude—
of thes religyse brethren, as I can red,
where skarse .ii. prestes out of dred.
benet, which was an holy man,
was a brother & no pryst, as I here can,
& gat his lyuyng with labour of his hand :
the days obediens in religion was fand.
Francis was no prest, but callid him selue a brother,
which, working, taught no man to be a begger ;
for yf that he had taught beggyng,
then had he done agaynst godis byding,
and agaynst the order of charyte,
exceptd they be hold blynd, lame, or sykly.
but as I wanderyd here to and fro,
from place to place, alon as I dyd go,
loking on the old and antyk bulding,
in myn eyr behynd I herde a bussinge;
& for at the fyrst I dyd him not se,
I thought yt had beyn the dran be,
that out of the hyue is dryuen for ydelnes:
& then it was a brother in his holynes,
which of the hous was sum officer—
be-lyke the bowcer or the tresurer,
or sum rowm ells I thinke he had,—
a solome man, that small chere made.
It was not met to suche a man as he
to take acquantanz in low degre,
except it were a knyght\(^1\) or a lord,
that mor to his appetyd dyd accord;
then could he fation in the best wyce
many a deynte\(^2\) dyche in seruys,
and handell him-SELue full fayr at his table,
and ther to had men seruychable,
that low on kne, with keuering of his cupe,
\(\ddot{c}\)wold saue his clothis from fallinge any drope.
the cronikis old from kyng Arthur
he could reherse, and of his founder
tell full many a whorthy story.
wher this man walked, there was no farey
ner other spiritis, for his bessyringes
& munbling of his holy thinges
did vanquyche them from eueru buchu and tre:
there is no nother incubus but he;
for chaucer sathe, in the sted of the que\(\ddot{n}\) elfe,
[‘Ther walketh now the lymytour himself;’]  
for whan that the incubus dyd fle,

\(^1\) orig. knyght  \(^2\) orig. denyte
APPENDIX I. THE PILGRIMS TALE.

he left 7 worse
demons behind
him;

even these holy
friars,
of whom each
wears the dis-
tinctive dress
of his order,

the man he's
vowed to.

They make men
believe in their
brotherhoods in-
stead of in Christ.

[leaf xxxiii]
The Pied Friars
wear magpie
colours; some go
barefoot; some
shoed.

They agree only
in wearing a hood.
They envy one
another.
The Dominicans
hold up their
Doctor, Thomas
Aquinas, as a
better divine than
the Franciscan
Duns Scotus.

yt was to bringe vii. worse than he;
& that is the cause there beyn now no fareys
in hallis, bowris, kechyns, ner deyris.
thes holy men beyn thus about sperd,
thorow all this lond, in euerie seld :
of there awn retene they weare the differens,
to whom they haue professyd there obedientis;
for euery valeant and worthy warryor,
perde is known by his cote armor;
there-for this men known must be
by differens, to whom they haue vowyd there chastity.
what rekes them, the sayng of paull,
which wyllynth ' to men we shall not call ':
we ought not playn, by there theaechyng,1
to gyue credens ner red suche wryting;
suffisyth ynghe to ther dome,
to do as our elders haue don;
to mok & disayue men of there lyuelod,
in making beleue in thec brother-hod,
wher we shold only beleue in christis name,—
as we be taught of the churche our dam,—
ner a-mo[n]gst our selues to haue suche sectis,
which the innocent people sore infectis,
deuyding christ as in-sufficient,
to simple wyttis a great incomberment.
in dyuerse colors fleykyd lyke a pye,
sum gurd with ropis to seme holy;
sum go barfot, & sum go showd,
&eure secte hath a straunge God,
to whom they teache the people to call.
in this on they aggre,—they be hodyt all,
& ellis, euer on other doth deny,
amongst them selues2 ther is suche enuy:
the dominikis hold vp thomas the aquin,
that then douns he shold be better deuyne;

1 orig. cheaching
2 orig. felue
& the minoras agayn with hasty breth defendis dounsa eu to the deth ;
tha carmel[l]es haue set vp albert;
the hermytes with austen takis part,
greatly requyring to gyue him the fame,
but not to folow, but only his name,
wher-with the chanons can not agre,
but clamas him of there relynjon to be.
& yet amongst them there is dispyt,
sun goth in blak, and sum in whyt;
the whyt refusis the blak for his brother,
& sayth they be not of that chapter.
of the mendicantes ther be orders fowre,
which haue mad many a rych man powr ;
& yf it be as old men sayn,
they spryg out of the name of caym ;
for even as abell was slayn with his brother,
so be thoe slayn that trust in that order,
and by a false fayth cleyn dispist,
that haue not holy beleue in Christ.
heremites there be that holdysse of paul,
but I can not tell you, be my soule,
whether ther were any such or no
that constitute ydell bekers to go.
there be other that be anthonyyn,
but he whom I salute was gylbertyn :
full loue reuerens I made with kne,
and ouer his sholder he\(^1\) lokyd a-wry,
as though he sawe me ; it was ynoghe.
toward the churche I me droge,
for I herd tell that by foundation
of bothe the sixis there was religion.
the women where closyd vp by the vysiter ;
you know what perrele it is together,
to ley hyrdys fast vnto the fyre,

\(^1\) oryg. she

THYNNE.
which some to kyndyl is in daunger.
but all this whyell I was in great moon,
for that I was my-selue, & company had non,
whan in ye churche ther I spyed walkyng
a comely pryst, and a welfaryng,
lokyng in the wyndows all about,
as though sum old armis he wher sekyng out;
in a shord gown gurd by the wast,
and a cersur1 hod ouer his sholders cast,
with a blak fryng hemyd al about,
altyt sum-thing before, and takyd in a lowpe;
his gownd-sleue was narow at the hand,
in whom he bare a Ioly whyt wand;
he ware his geyr full well and seply;
his bottis sat cleynd and claspyed feyntusaly;
rownd visagyd, and sum-thing son-ybrent,
he loket not as he ware closter-pent;
from place to place he dyd about rowm,
he semyd a master when he was at home.
I longyd sum tydynges of him to eare,
because I toke him to be a straunger;
thinking him rather to enclyn,
because we ware both perrygryne,
and dyssiryd him hertely of his curtesy,
of that fundation to show me the anscetry.
he told me sum-tym that borne in that vilage
was on gylbert, that of a page
was there brought vp an holy man,
which this relygion fyrst began,
and so thorow-out the hole story.
I kepyd it well in memory,
dessyring him to swow me what he thought,
in his consciens when he had sought,
whether mans rule is so to be regardit,
and how he him-selue beleued to be rewardyt
by godis will & by his byding,
or ellis by tradition of mens inuentyng.
& then he dyd planly confesse
that mans work was wrechydnes ;
& to the corintheans he could rehers,
that in mans work we shold not reloce;
for paull him-selue wold haue yet known
that mans work is our own;
for wether it be he, cephas or apollo,
that is our awn what euer we do,
which is nought when we do best,
exceptyd only our faith in christ.
the thing for good that we pretend,
takis non effect as meritoriusse end;
therefore merit in vs is non,
but in our redeemer christ alon.

Abraam, Isac, & Iacob,
samuel, ely, ner patient Iobe,
for ther workes lay in pryson fast,
tell the kyng of glory in-brast,
& fechyd them out wer as they ley.
we must [be] delueryed by the same key,
& not by man, ner in his inuention,
for there ruell is but confucion ;
for it is expresse agaynst gods beading,
that we to his ruell shold mak any adyng,
ner with any-thing thought it seme right,

[ line left out]

but humbly be-sekyng of syns remision,
sayeng “demite,” by christis instruction ;
& this he gaue it in ruell generall,
in tokyn that we be synners all.

“now be that lord,” quod I, “that makid me,
I lytell thought that in this contre
had ben any so perfyt at Judgment ;”
& he answerd, “yes, verament ;
but we dar not for the bishops preche,
ner the people instruct & teache;
wher other\(^1\) tyller they do non know
but him that the cokyll doth sowe,
that makis them knell to stokis & stons,
& kyse & offer to rottyn bons;
& god wot here is full small diligens
to show the people there obedyens,
which they ought aboue all thing
to god him-selue, & to ther kyng,
which vnder him hath here the guenernans,
& made our hed by godis ordinans,
to whom is gyuen his houll power,
both to pu[u]lyche, & vs to socour.
first, to correct, he beris the swerd,
& we offend by godis word;
& second, he shall prefer & leyd
the well doer in euer sted;
& by christ him-selue put in this degre,
when it was takin from the clergy,
when they wer warnid from suche presumpcion,
not for to tak no jurisdictioun,
but he that wold haue the preferment,
to be ther ministre shold be diligent,
as Christ himselfe, to teache vs ought for-gett.

\[ \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \text{line left out} \]
and first he dyd yt, and after he taght;
thes wordis," sayd he, "haue I cagt,
whiche put me cleyn owt of dowt
that bisishopis to kingis shold lowt;
ner amongst them to haue no hed,
for christ him-selue it for-beyd,
and confirmid kingis in suche renown,
next him in erthe to haue dominion;
but her," he sayd, "cowd I tell a tall."
"now I pray the," quod I, "vnbulke thy malle,"
and tell forthe: the bishop is not her,
his sunner, the officiall, ner yet his chansler."
and as we walkid, with that he stayd,
and with an othe confirmid and said,
“that I had rehersid\(^1\) nothing but papry,
srong owt of Antichrist, full of foxry;”
and of the chansler of lichfeld\(^2\) begun to spek,
but I desyridd him not his fast to breke;
for I knew wel christis entent
was never to set prist on Iugment,
but to teache men in-to better lyf,
and not cruellly to sle with blody knif.
“well,” sayd he, “interrupt me no more,
my tali I will begin wher I left\(^3\) befor;
but fyrst or I can bring mi purpus,
I must his contrairy disclos.
the son of perdition, it is a strang term,
and began in iudas, as I can deserue,
which for mony sold his master;
and now they be growin in-to a gretter number,
whiche be sprong out of iudas succession,
ther cheffe captayn of transgression,
dothe paull spek of to the tesselonians,
that in this world hathe don so muche greuans,
which shall not be known to the vttermost
but whan ther coms a dissention first;
for thes that from christ be appostalat,
duidit in-to sectis in-ordinat,
agason godis ordinans be rebellion,
and as fyndis in hell full of dissention,
dothe extoll ther awn noghtihod
aboue all that is called god,
in the temple sitting, an vnmet thing,
showing him-selue as heuenly kyng:
scriptur dothe show and determin
\(^1\) orig. rehersid\(^2\) orig. liehfeld\(^3\) orig. left
that he shall be opinid in his tyme,
whiche is constitut, and by god set:
It is not ther\(^1\) burning that can it let,
ther mischeuuse tyranny ner cruanelnes,
clokyd with ypocracy and falsnes.
he shalbe ahoute, & his inquite,
the son of perdition perde,
whom Iesus christ with the strap\(^2\) rod
of the spirit of his mo[u]the, which is God,
shall destroy, & make lyght his workynge,
that in satan workis many strang thing,
& illude the people thorow there craftynes,
there mokis, there mous, & there feynid holynes;
in all dissayt, full of ini quyte,
repungnant to god & to his verite.
this is the woman, the sorcerus wich,
whom Iohn saw in the apocalips,
syting apyon a monsterus best,
with .vii. hedis & .x. hornsis most odiust.
the woman that this best bestrod,
was gorgiusly be-seyn as she rod,
in purple, with stons set so well,
most rycheestly chast with margarites ev ery dell;
in hir hand she kar a golden cupe,
were-in was venom ev ery drope,
with whom she norichyd hir abhominatyon,
& caused the people to comit fornication.
for we be called fornicators
when tyme we be ydolotors,
& take antychrist for our hed,
& not the kyng which is in christ-is sted,
of whom anon partly tell I shall.
but first the prophet of antichristes fall
I will declare and sum-thing tell;
& of this howr, this leyder to hell,
\(^1\) orig. ther ther \(^2\) mistake for sharp? \(^3\) orig. xxviii
in whos forhed was wrytyn babylon, 344
the great mother of fornication;

for out of this monster is sprong have sprung these
thes ydell lobers that do suche wrong.
& takis the swet from true mens face:
I beseeke god amend it for his grace. 348

for when the son of man enteris his kyngdom,
then shall they know what wrong they haue done, But when Christ comes,
& say, “thes be they whom we had in derision,
& Iugyd them folycye in our opynyon;
for they dyd labour, toyle, and swet,
to get power clothes, and to ther bely meat;
& now be they takyn amongst the children of god,
& we expellyd for our ydelhod. 356
we insensat haue eryd from the way of trueth,
with-out light of Iustycye, now to our rute,
& haue mad our-selue wery in the way of perdicion,
walking strayt-ways to bryng vs to destruction, 360
that trust in our-selue, & owr workes hath vs ouerthrow,
because the way of god we dyd not know.
what now auallyth our ryches & pryde?
all saue our ydelyes doth from vs slyd;

as much to say,oure clostres ner farmeris,
with whom we haue bleryd innocent eys,
wher we were wont to work the workes of falsnes,
is now obiect tooure opprobryusanes.” 364
John saith he saw this woman dronk—
that this multitude of sectis hath sonk—
of the bloud of many an holy martyr,
and of Jesu christ many a confessore; 372
for this is to be noted in generall,
that vnder the clok of patrons they be al
where-of sum wher marters in dede,
and sum for the trueth dyd neuer a drope bled, 376
but wher fraud, disobedient, & surquidus,
agaynst there own princes presu[m]ptuose;

From this Whore
of Babylon
have sprung these
Abbey-jubbers
that take the
sweat from true
men’s faces.

But when Christ
comes,
they’ll sail in
hell for their
idleness

This Whore was
drunk
with the blood of
Martyrs.

Some monks were
froward against
their Princes.
and such as to princes be not obedient, be antichristes against God repungnant;
but this howr of Babylon that hath regnids so long, yth hath not beyn by trueth, but by strong hand.
I can not expresse, I han non such wyt,
how in every part theyr sectis were set quckly to accuse them that begon to spye,
by reyding of scripture, to se there heresy;
and then all such must be burned, or ellis ab-Iuryd, and to hething scornyd.1
the multitude of the people beleueth them well, that from god by inspyration dyd not feyl.
her in this contrey contynus the infection yet styll of antechrist, which causis insurrection;
for it is only the old pharizes pretens to kepe the people in ingnorans, styll in egypt vnder pharo thrall,
for by bloud-shed they hop to be kepyd in stall, euyn as nature doth them bynd, for they be come of cams kynd,
to whos sacrificye god had no respect, but, as ysay saith, doth them cleyn abiect;
for wher the seyd of god is vnsewn, for his ner his children they be not known.
there-for to this ignorant rebels ysay the prophet this tall tells,
and bydyse them here the word of god in serful termis for there noghtyhyd, which knew before of there sodomi,
& so callis them, and of gomory, the princes wich be infernal,
fygured in daniell by beall; and bydis them to godis word gyue heryng,
and of ther sacrificye2 to mak leaunyng;
and saith, 'when you shall come to my presens,

1 orig. stornyd 2 orig. sacrificye
then shall I ask, who gaue you lycens
with-in my gat to take suche presumption?'
this is not spOKEN without great occasion
of thes which wylbe ministers,
and vnder such pretens be-come masters,
when of them-selue they be callyd alon,
& not of god, as was aaron.
and thensfore there shalbe no religion
not truely plantyd without destruction.
thes be the prophesys that we shold trust vnto,
& not in false lyes that we be inhibyt fro.
it is a pray pownt to mark the crafty wyttis
that on both the partis hath set there delitis
to moue the people to ther awn part,
where them-selue dyd most apply there hert;
for sum soght antechristes distruction,
and sum ayayne of the contrary opynyon
dyd lyes inuent, & set them out in prophesey,
in hope to allure the people therby;
thow r which vn dowtyd many hath beyn slayn
that haue put trust in suche fablis vayn;
and thos that folow suche niffels and fablis
they Cary them in bowsums, and writyn in tablis; 436
by the harolydis termis they call him the lyon,
the son and the mon, & the dredfull a dragon,
& how the barns shall ryse ful blythe
be-twyn the sykyll and the syth.
thes prophesis come of the deynll,
which is perseyued be there end euyll,
as martin swarthe, and many an other mo,
hath mischeffe asked, vengens and wo,
on them that suche craft cowd
enuent to sheyd crystyn mens bloud—
perkyn werbek1 and Iak straw,
and now of lat owr cobler the dawe.

1 orig. wreke
A distribue against Satan (and ma-
llicious Papiasts).

"Wicked worm!

how daret thou
rise,

whom God hade
creep?

Thou art the first
father of all lies,

and wast first
cast down into
hell.

Antichrist's
clerks are thy
ministers,

rebels against
God,

[1, orig. morte]

an exclamation of the auctor
agaynst sathan owr old ennemy.

"O wycked worme, to pensance con-Iuryd,
and of god him-selfe first accorsyd,
amongst all creatures most to be aborred,
by whom in-to this world came first
the fal of man! tell me how thou durst
presum to ryse, most vngracious beast,
and so by god inputed to crepe apone thy brest.

"O false pretens of gratiuse pilgramage,
for the comyn-welth which is the destrower!
wyll thou neuer leue to bryng folke in dotage,
which of all lyes was the fyrst father?
euen so of eue thou wast the disayuer.
to comen-welthe thou sayd me shold be brought;
of all thy begynnynge the end is noght.

"Thou wase thy-selue the fyrst rebellyon,
& therfore eiect down in-to hell;
not geuyng due honor was thy confusyon.
with god and his ordinans thou wold mell,
& euyn lyke thes innocentes compell,
workyng in thy-selue antichristes clerkes,
thy shanylllynges, thy ministerys of bealles markes.

"for euyn as adam hyd him for shame,
when he had broken godis commaundment,
so wold the rebellious; alas! wo can them blame,
there awn consciou[n]s must nedis be ther Igument,
by fals temtptacion hoping preferment,
no-thing to haue deseruyd but cruell dethe.
wo worthye! that worm, that euer it drue brethe,

"That be-twyx sowll and spryt hath put dissention,
thorow which the sowll is banychid cleyn,
that with the spryt of god afore was in vnion;
in paradyce now it must no mor be seyn: 480
in the same case our rebellious beyn,
eiect for breking godis ordinans,
and greuously accursyd for ther disobedien.$$ 483

"The spryt is desolat from thes rebellious,
& called woman, for lak of a make,
which in the apocalipis, in pay[n]s dolorus,
to bryngh forth and be deluyered doth tak
great payns; and this is for our sake,
promysed by god, that the womans seyd
shold distroy and breke this fals serpentis heyd. 490

"Which dragon stondis ready to deuor,
with .vii. hediz, an odious beast,
and ten great horns styf and stowr,
that in-to malis is dayle encreasyd,
and diademis .vii. apon thes hedis be impressyd;
and whith hir tayll the steris out of heuyn rownd
the thred part pullid and thrown to grond. 497

"This is antichrist, the howr of babylon,
spoke of agayn in this same bok;
waching the woman hir chyldis destruction,
whom god from heuin preseruid and toke.
it is the son of man, yf you lyst to lok,
this world for to ruell, with the yron rod.
this must be true, yt is both man and god. 504

"And here doth your prophesy take effect,
agaynst the son of man sedeciusly to ryce.
yf scripture be true, they shalbe subiect;
for we, taking godis part, must them dispyce.
thes be our papystes rotyd in malis,
waching godis word as ner as they can,
whycz now is come forth by the son of man. 511
"The true church of god figuryd in the womas that fled to wyldernes for a space; and for fer of this dragon durst not be known, tyll the sonne of man be brought to his place, which shal thes dragon deuour and chace with moses rod turnyd in-to a serpent, to eate vp the ask manteyxed by enchantment.

"O what reIosyng it is to a noble hert to se goddes prophesy fulfylled in owr tyme, come home owt of egipt in heyll & quart! this was figuryd in owr layde, mother & virgyn, which syngnifyd, a space—as god did determin— that we vnnder this dragon shold suffer payn, tyll restorment by the minister of the son of man; "Of whom I haue herdi many on spek, that knew, god wot, ful lyttll what it ment, were-in the .ii. natures them-selue doth not brek;

I mene god & man mad atonment.

in the last adam there is suche agrement, that from this diuinie christ will ne can; it is the selue-sam that is the son of man.

"Right hand the father, he syttis omnipotent thorow his diuinite, ful hye in town; from whens he is to come, at the Iugment, to Iodge the sowll that is souken downe from the spryt of God, & wyll not be bown at all tymes ready for to fullfyll, her apon erth, his commaundment & wyll.

"euyn as heuyn is seyt to his deyte, & is his kyngdom of very right, so apon erth, thorow his humanite, doth he dissend, & there-on lyght.

it is his fot-stull, & rullis with his might, of very congruens, by power imperiall, in the misticall man his substitute regal.
“Moses dyd fygure the kyng apon erthe, segnifyeng the spiryt aboue the sowll; to whom was comytted to kepe in helth, record to aaron, whom he dyd controle; the spirit ys the son, the mose is the sowll; the mon is a subiect of very right vnto the son, of whom she takis here lyght.

“Paull spekis, whan he wryttyys to thymoth, & shows the mis[c]heffe of thes sundry sectis; & how thes be they that refusys veryte, which the ingnorant people in-fectis; they tak no lyght wher they be subiectis, therfor he confers them to Iannes & manbres, rebellers to god and his ministre moses.

“But paull tretynis them to be ouer-trown, as Iannes & manbres were at that season; & from hensforth openly to be known there ingnorant folyche rebellion, of the spryt of god hauyng non intellection, but resisting moses, godis minister, folowyng antichrist out of godis order.

“Thees thinges are wryten for our instruction,— so hath paull to the corinthyans,— and shows how many hath suffreth distruction, which crepyd not vnder godis gouernans. our rebellious, I trow, be aliens to dathan¹ and abiron, the truth to tell, for resistinge moses that sonk vnto hell.”

“By owr lord,” quod I, “this is well sayd, I durst hauze sworn, or my nek layd, yt had beyn true that merlyn did tell, afore I herd it repungne the gospell.”

“thuche!” quod he, “ther was no suche man gotyn by the deyll sense the world began;”

¹ orig. datban
Even if Merlin liv'd—like a black swan or white crow,—Paul says you shouldn't believe him.

or let vs y-magin that it be so, as we may the blak swan or the whyt crow, hath not paul warnyd vs, wher he doth tell that we shold not beleue an angell from heuyn in the ayr fleyng, yf he teache agaynst gods bidinges † which in his testament we may reyd, and bownd to beleue as owr cred. thus ymagining, it doth aper playn that antichrist in all them doth rayn that beleue in the deuyls loor, to desseyne vs styll as he had don before; thee be they that paul callis 'heritykis,' which after monicion from vs inhibitis. christen men shold not with thes monsteris mell, which do beleue in the deuyle of hell. yf lucifer had dryuen god out of heuyn, then shold merlyn haue kepyd his steuyn." "you spok," quod I, "of the son & the mone, of whom I desyr to here interpretation." "thos be matters," he sayd, "misticall, and be very hyghe and theological:

the son is the spryt, & so doth it syngnify; beleue not me, but reyd exody,

that whan moses apon the mont syon had of the lord owr creator a vysion, for bryghtnes the people cowld not behold, of the son-beames yt can not be told;

the clernes & light that from him did spryng, of quykyng & lyf it was a presentyng.

for the letter ther to hym geuyng by god, was of the spryt a fyguryng,

vs to reuyuiue at suche tym and whan the selue spryt vnit to the son of man." "I persue," quod I, "that moses is the spryt." "no ! perde," he sayd, "but figure it;
and euyn so dyd he fygure the sone,
from whom all light and knowleg doth come.
& now do I say that merlyn was a donine,  
& no deuyll, as deuels determine;
for if he were a fend, & spok carnally,
necessyte compellis it a fals prophesy;
but thus dyd he take the sprit for heuyn king,
which in the sowll shold haue his byding.
& now doth the mon lose hir light,
not resayuing the spryt against all right;
for that sowll is perished and ded
where the spryt of god is not hed.
& this is euen it, the vnnaturall things,
out of his awn realm to baniche the kyng;
for christ is a kyng, god, & man,
& also a pryst, as I lear cane.
marke of his kyngdom, John his diuinite,
luke of his prysthod, mathu the humanite,
dyd wryt; & therfore take hed,
for thes be the true prophycis in ded.
it is marke that is callyd the lyon,
I meyn the gospell, & Iohn the faulcon,
whos frendes shall set opyn the gates,
vnder-stond by our good prelatis,
to let truthe entre; you know which is he
that callis him-sealue the way & veryte,
which hath byn banyched from his kyngdom,
wher-of babylon hath rygned howrdom,
the lyon, the oxe, the man, & the faulcon.
al thes in on be son of man,
 prophysed to ruell with his yron rod;
it is his very word which is god,
in the ymage of christ, the last adam,
both son of god & son of man,
In whom we be bownd to work our meyt,
of god marked, whan we it truly geyt,
The Lion is the mystical image of the Son of Man.

ministerid into vs by the lyon,
the mistical ymage of the son of man,
institute & put in godis sted,
ouer sowll and body to be our hed;
not only our hed, but body & all,
the misticall man, & so we may hym call;
in vs he hath his operation,
as body in members by due proportion.
it is a wonder to se scripturs agrs;
it passis man, it is so heuenly;
& as moche mistery of the wordis rysyng
as euer was of christis comyng."

"I am satisfied," quod I, "what merlyn ment."
"bede," sayd he, "coms euyn to the same entent;
for all the deesyr and policy
was to drye it in-to hedis witty,
that the pope was antichrist & the howr of babylon,
and shold haue a fall & destruction;
aded man shold ryse, dukis to deme,
then after that, all quiet & queme.
the true minister, lying a mort longe,
shold his awn autorte in-to his hond fongs."
& then he asked me and I were cantibrygion.
I sayd no, I was an oxonion.
"there haue you herd," sayd he, "a prophesy,
which is true without any lye:
hoc magnum studium quod floret ad vada bonum
ante finem seculi, &c."
"I haue herd it," quod I, "full oft a-forne,
and therto my-selue on a boke sworn,
neuer with-in stampford to reyd logyk,
diuinte, phylosophy, ner yet retoryk;
for fer that oxford, which once was floriching,
shold remove to stampford for gud learnyng."
"I told you before there was crafty wyttis,
and thus he sayd apon both the partis;
for they that inuentyd that othe fyrst, 692 The Proverb
of god him-selue be accurst. 692 *turning the Cate
ther was a proverbe I knew wan, (cake) in the
sallyd ‘turnyng the cate in the pane’; 692 Pan’.
for that that was spoken in the spryt, 696
in the fleche they wold haue vs to take yt. 696
so wold they haue vs to tak merlyn,
as though he spiritually he had known no feling; 696
but thus this prophesy is vsnderstond,
that oxford now, which is bond 700 [seq xlv]
under the howr, the monstres beaste,
& is here ford for most and least 704
that there doth pease thorow any degre,
mantenythe babylon vutterly ; 704
saue the good yoth begyns to spryng,
and of the well of lyf to haue tasting,— 704
which water christ promysyd than
at Iacobs well to the samaritane,— 704
and leuis the slechy podell, full of frogis,
to the old cenkanter phariziecall dogis, 708
where-in ther delyte is spytfull chyding ;
I besoke god send them a mending,
to fulfyll the prophesy thorow the ford of stone,
in which pathe-way christ byld apon, 712
and leaue ther falshed, craft, and lyes,
suffering the word of god to ryse.”
with that he stod, and toke his leaue,
dissiring me my-selue not greue
of his taryng, ner his long tale ; 716
and I besought god to kepe him out of bale,
saue I longyd, for yf euer we met agan,
of the blak flet of norwey me to sayn. 720
he sayd he durst not it dis[c]lose,
but bad me reyd the ‘romant of the rose,’ 720
the thred leafe, Iust from the end
the to the secund page, ther he dyd me send ;
THYNNE.
wher I shold se mater plenty ynojhe, saue only vnder the color of the wolfe is conerryd al the stinking fuet—
s so the hunters call it when they mak ther sust—
the lyzard, the polcat, the fox, & fulmerd, which with the drAGON takis part,
to deuor the chylde, the son of man,
or ellis a lyon in his kyngdom;
the egle or the falcon, whan he flys on hys,
in the calue or the oxeristeris be;
as wel in the old tymé thare fation & gyse,
as of his awn selue the sacrifice;
but the wolfe wol neuer owt of his hyd,
tyll first he be flayn both bely, bak, & syd.
he prayd me thes .vi. stauis for to marke,
whiche be chauncers awn hand wark:—

¶ Thus moche woll our boke syngnify,
that whyle pethy hath mastrey,
may neuer Iohn show well his myght.
now haue I declaryd right
the meynyng of the bark and rynd
that makis the ententions bynyd.

¶ And by & by he doth away fle,
& conuys him-selue as it had neuer byen he;
but I beseko god, Iohn may haue his might,
& the son of man to posses his right,
in his kyngly ymage to haue his minstre.

[The fragment ends here.]

[Is the t for th in tounge 22, tryue 37, and for d in excepted 62, appetyd 78, shord 173, tesalonians 295, tresynis, overtrown, 561, a provincialism, like ann for own 303, 427, &c., unsown for unsown 401? Note whom for which in 1. 178, 366. See too o for s, ryece, dispayce 506, -8, baniche 630, banyked 643; and ey for e in 19, 651-2, &c. On t = th see Mr Skeat's Romans of Partenay, p. xvi, near foot.]
APPENDIX II, p. 23.

LEGITIMATION OF JOHN OF GAUNT'S CHILDREN BY KATHERINE SWYNFORD.


28. Fait a remembrer, que le Maresdy, le quinzieme jour de Parlament, le Chaunceller, du comandement de Roy, declara, Coment nostre seint Pere le Pape, al reverence de la tres excellent persone du Roy, & de son honorable uncle le Duc de Guyen. & de Lancaster, & de son sank, ad habliez & legitimez Mon Sire John de Beauford, ses freres & sa soer. Et pur ceo nostre Seigneur le Roy, come entier Emperour de son Roialme d'Engleterre, pur honour de son sank, voet, & ad de sa plenir Roial poiar hablie, & fait muliere, de sa propre auctorite, le dit John, ses ditz freres et soer. Et aussi pronuncia & publist l'abillite & legitimation, solonc la fourme de la Chartre du Roy ent faite. Laquele Chartre feust lue en pleine Parlament, & baillez a le dit Duc, pere a dit John & ses ditz freres & soer; le tenour de quelle Chartre s'ensuit: "Ricardus, Dei gratia, Rex Anglie & Francie, & Dominus Hibernie, carissimus Consanguineis nostris nobilibus Viris, Johanni, Militi; Henrico Clerico; Thome, Domicello; ac dilecte Nobis nobili Mulieri Johanne Beauford, Domicella, germanis precarissimi Avunculi nostri nobilis Viri Johannis Duci Lancasteris natia, ligeis nostris, Salutem & benivolentium nostrae Regie Magestatis. Dum interna consideracione pensamus, quot incessanter & quantis Honoribus parentili & sincera dilecctione prefati Avunculi nostri, &

The Pope, out of reverence for John of Gaunt, having legitimiz'd his children by Katherine Swynford.

The King also legitimates them by the following Charter, read in Parliament:

Richard II to John,

From our love for our said Uncle

John of Gaunt died in 1399.
sui maturitate consili, undique decoramur congruum arbitramur & dignum, ut meritorum suorum intuitu, ac graciosa contemplatione personarum, vos qui magne probitatis ingenio vite, ac morum honestate fulgetis, & ex regali estis prosapia propagati pluribusque virtutibus, munereque insigniti divino, specialis prerogative munimen mine favoris & gratie fecundemus. Hinc est, quod dixi Avunculi nostri, genitoris vestri precibus inclinati, vobiscum qui, ut asseritur, Defectum Natalium patimini, ut hujusmodi Defectu, quem ejusque qualitates quascumque presentibus volumus pro sufficienter expressis, non obstante quod quecumque Honores, Dignitates, Preeminentias, Status, Gradus, & Officia publica & privata, tam perpetua quam temporalia, atque feudalia & nobilia, quibuscumque nominibus nuncupentur, etiamsi Ductus, Principatus, Comitatus, Baronie, vel alia Feuda fuerint, etiamsi mediate vel inmediae a Nobis dependant seu teneantur, prefici, promoveri, eligi, assumi, & admitteri, illaque recipere, retinere, gerere, & excercere, provide, libere, & licite, ac si de legitimo thoro nati existeretis, quibuscumque Statutis seu Consuetudinibus Regni nostri Anglie in contrarium editis, seu observatis, que hic habemus pro totaliter expressis, nequaquam obstantibus; de plenitudine nostrae Regaliae Potestatis, & de assensu Parliamenti nostri, tenore presentium dispensamus. Vosque & vestrum quemlibet Natalibus restituimus & legitimamus."

"For a translation of this document, and an account of Katherine Swynford and her family, see Excerpta Historica, 152-9, 427-8."
APPENDIX III, p. 69.

PROLOGUE TO THE SPURIOUS PLOWMANS TALE.¹
Thynne, ed. 1542, Fol. cxix.

¶ Here begynneth the Plowmans Prologue.²

The Plowman plucked vp his plowe
when mydsommer mone was comen in,
And sayd his beestes shuld eate ynowe,
And lyge in the grasse up to the chynne:
"They ben feble, both oxe and cowe,
Of hem nys left but bone and skynne:"  
He shoke of share, and cultre of drowe,
And honge his harneys on a pynne;

¶ He took his tabarde and his staffe eke,
And on his heed he set his hat,
And sayde he wolde saynt Thomas seke.
On pylgremage he gonth forth platte;
In scrippe he bare both breed and lekes;
He was forswonke and all forswatte;
Men might have sene through both his chekes,
And every wange toth, and where it sat.

¹ The Plowmans Tale was first printed separately by
Thomas Godfray in folio, without date, but about 1532-35,
probably under W. Thynne's care. Why it was omitted
from the edition of 1532 does not appear, unless F. Thynne's
report of his father having been compelled to omit the Pilgrims Tale
from his first edition be a mistake, based on the fact that the
Plowmans Tale was omitted from that edition for some such
reason as is alleged, though printed separately at the same
press. From this separate edition (of which the only remain-
ing copy, formerly Askew's, Farmer's, and Heber's, is now at
Britwell) it was reprinted in W. Thynne's second edition of
Chaucer's works in 1542, and separately in octavo by W.
Powell, about 1547-8.—H. Bradshaw.
² Mr Skeat printed this prologue from the undated edition
(of 1550), in his Notes to Piers the Ploughmans Crade, p. 45-6.
E. E. Text Soc.
Our Host saw
Our host behelde wele all about,
And sawe this man was sunne ybrent;
He knewe well by his senged snoute,
And by his clothes that were to-rent,
He was a man wont to walke about,
He nas nat alway in cloystre ypent;
He coulde not religiouslyche loute,
And therefore was he fully shent.

Our host him axed, “what man art thou?"
“Syr (quod he) I am an hyne,
For I am wont to go to the plowe,
And erne my meate yer that I dyne.
To swete and swynte, I make auowe,
My wyfe and chylde therwith to fynde;
And serve God, and I wust howe;
But we leude men bene full blynde;

But Clerkes told
him to sweate for
them, for nothing in
return.

“For clerkes saye, we shullen be fayne
For her lyuelod swet and swynte,
And theyght nought vs gyue agayne,
Neyther to eate vs ne yet to drinke.
The[y] mowe by lawe, as they sayne,
Us curse and dyme to hell[e] brynke;
Thus they putten vs to payne
with candelques queynt and belles clynke.

They could curse
him.

For “They make vs thrallës at her lust,
And sayne we mowe nat els be sanaed;
They haue the corne, and we the dust;
who speakeyth ther agayn, they saye he raued.”

[four lines lost . . . . . . .]

“what, man!” quod our host, “canst thou preache?
Come nere, and tell us some holy thynge.”

Syr, quod he, “I herde ons teach
A prest in pulpyt a good preachyng.”

“Says on,” quod our host, “I the beseech.”
“Syr, I am redy at your byddyneg,
I praye you that no man me reproche
while that I am my tale tellynge.”

Thus endeth the prologue, and
here foloweth the fyrst parte
of the tale.

1 sunburnt  2 fayne, in Godfray's edition: see Notes below.
3 quencheth 4 read spekith 5 once
APPENDIX IV.

[Ashmole MS. 766, leaf 5, back.]

A discourse vpon the lord
Burghleyghe his creste.

[By Francis Thynne.]

[Lord Burghley's Crest, blazon'd, a sheaf of golden corn, supported by two lions rampant, the left one white, for silver, the right one, blue: the whole surrounded by the Garter, with its motto 'Honi soit qui mal y pense'.]

(1)
When burninge sonne with gleames of golden lighte
had closd his spredinge beames to take his reste,
And darksome shade had brought in dolefull nighte
with sable clooke vpon his slepinge breste,
with cristalle starres twinklinge in azurd skye,
whiche slombringe dyes, to rest-fulf bedde I flye.

(2)
The tyme, I gesse, when Titans ruddy chaire
did kepe his course in equall peysed weyte,
with lowe descent enforced to repayre
to Libras house, where Equinoctiall strayte
with juste proporciouns cuttes the night & daye
in nombred howres a-lyke for Phebus waye.

(3)
When dolefull mynde & wery lymmes were layed
to quiet rest in softe and carefull bedde,
my wretched state my moorninge brest dismayed,
hopelesse of helpe, since craftye faythlesse hedde
had wonen the meane by powre for to subdue
that honest harte whome enuye did pursue.

1 The whole 88 leaves are by Fr. Thynne, whose name also appears at the end of the book. All is in verse. The hand is difficult to decipher.—G. Parker.

2 Compare the thrice-repeated motto on p. xlix, above. Note the booke's his 'surest frendes,' p. 106, l. 99, and his mention of Chaucer, p. 114, l. 411.
APP. IV. F. THYNNE ON LORD BURGHLEY'S CREST.

(4)
Yet, with this hevye care, a wakefull slepe
possest my shyueringe corps in depe dispayre;
for weylinge sorowe whiche in hart did crepe
(by heavye vapoures thicker then the ayre,)
so noom'd my musinge wittes, & chokd the breyne,
that slombringe must the yeldinge hart distreine.

(5)
In whiche uncerteine trothe not full awake,
nor soundly luld aslepe as thoughtes had made,
a trembringe feare my srytes did ouertake,
and secrely my senses ganne to fade;
for, lo! the Dragon with quick-siluerd face
approchd my sight with wise & plesant grace,

(6)
Cladde in a slender lawne to ease his peyne,
when with quicke sped he skowrethe from tike skye,
with winged hedde & fete, with sugred veyne,
with rodde devyne, & mase of maiestye,
whose heuenly voyce, after a little staye,
this future good from goddes above did saye:

(7)
"What meanes thy forginge breyne, with pointe devise
to turne her tender nett with dolefull thoughte?
what nedes thow thus with care to be so nyce,
since all thy toylinge peine shall serue for noughte?
for one there lyves, yf thow canst finde his name,
whose wyse foresee may well advance thy fame.

(8)
"He is the lowest, and stalld in myddle place,
and by the course of heauen rules next the beste;
sett next the higheste, whose flaminge shyninge face,
In Ceres shape dothe by Diana reste,
and Azurd skye supported to his prayse,
whose lyvinge fame shall blome in following dayes.

(9)
"Him serche thowe forthe, as worthiest in this lande,
vnder that one wiche secret wonder bredes,
for to enoye thy sweate of workinge hande;
for frome his heuenly mynde alwayes procedes
a curteous harte, for to accept in gree
those frendly shewes wiche oft presented bee."

1 So MS.  † for tremblinge.  2 MS. Hin
(10)
Whiche sayed, he fledde, and that his saved wande
with gentle stroke lett fall vpon my hedde.
when snortinge Morpheus by my side did stande,
and thwart myne eyes his sleping hand did spredde,
whereby my harte posseste such quiet reste,
as musing of thoughtes were banisht from my brest.

(11)
And soundly thus enyoyinge silente ease,
till pointed tyme of nighte did ende his rase,
and gladsome Elies, risinge from the sees
with purple hue, did siluer starres dispacle,
And forced me to for-sake that plesant bedde,
whose late swete dreames my carefull senses fedde.

(12)
Thus shakinge of the force of drowsy nighte,
I deckd my-self after my woounded guyse,
and downe dissende to honor Phebus lighte
In frutefull gardeine, where I did devise
whiche waye to spende that bright ensuyngge daye,
lest idle thoughtes might vertuous lyfe decaye.

(13)
For nowe my former dreame was quite exild,
my wandringer wittes forgatt that sodden sighte;
those presente shewes myne other thoughtes begilde;
the flowres of soundry hue were my delighte;
for as newe yoyes to olde peine brings reliefe,
so newe conceytes abandonde my olde greife.

(14)
This sotesome soyle where buylded was my yoye,
bedeckd with natures seuerall tapestrye,
was farre vnlyke that deintye garden joye,¹
whiche quene Semiramis did edyfye,
where garden² godd freshe Priapus did reste,
with his fayre nymphes to weyte vpon his heste.

(15)
ne lyke the stately seate and fertill grownde
of Bell-vider, plaed in riche Italye,
where rare strange showes do plentuously abounde,
where plesures all doo fede the curious eye;
but this smale clodde is suche as workes myne ease,
when hevy dompes wolde mery hart displease.

¹ yoye altered by another hand. ² ? MS. ar
(16)
Where, when I roomed had my wanton fill,
and freahst my wittes with herbes of deainty smell,
I left that paradise against me with—
for in suche place my harte wolde always dwell—
And put my selfe where I did hoope to fynde
somme lernd conceyte to glutte my serching mynde; 96

(17)
Where settled downe emongest the wisest sorte,
& surest frendes that menne fynde now in vre,—
I meane my bookes, the whiche for my disporte,
do lerninge, wysdome, trothe, & mirthe, procure—
I raughte for the one, wherby I might discerne
the course of heauen\textsuperscript{1} and wandringe starres to lerne. 102

8)
Addicted then, by force of changinge breyne,
all graver studies for to hurle a-side,
and prove yf skill might make me to atteyne,
my fatall lyfe by starre of birtho to guyde—
for I was taughte that heuenly bodies doo
rule mortall menne as course of starres doo goo; 108

(19)
Els, toylinge hinde, lay downe thy cuttinge plowe,
lett herbes and trees surrender all their mighte;
lett godd Apollo with his cusnynge\textsuperscript{1} Crowe,
and Æsculapius with his depe insignte,
gyve place hoopelesse by arte for to recure
suche lothesome plages as hated dethe procure; 114

(20)
And Palinurus wise, lett goo thy serene,
lett saylinge shippe flote one the raginge flodde,
throwe backe thy carde and nedle (to discerne
the northen poole) dipt in the adamantes blodde;
for yf the starres guyde not thy hidden waye,
to coostes vknounen hed-longe thy barke wold stray.— 118

(21)
The Auctor which to reade I vndertooke,
hass\textsuperscript{2} gathered rules of the celestiall sphere;
and as I chanced vppon the same to looke,
the thinge whiche fryrste yt selfe presented there
to my quicke sichte, was, how the planettes hie
in order doo their right-full course supplye,

\textsuperscript{1} MS. b
\textsuperscript{2} MS. was
(22)
Where Luna firste, as loweste of them all,
her rone posseste; next Mercurye the wise;
the thirde seate to faire Venus lott did fall;
the forthe runto the golden sonne did ryse;
the fette by course did blodye Mars possesse;
the nestte save one dothe Jupiter expresse.

(23)
And markinge this, I ganne recorde in harte
the former riddle Mercurye mee tolde,
that loweste, middle, and the highest parte
save one, sholde, vnder one as cheife hedd, holde
the happye rule and regine of this good lande:
I deper soughte the same to vnderstande.

(24)
The lower place the siluer Luna kepte,
a bodye firme, that rulethe all alone;
the golden sonne into the middest is lepte,
a perfecte governor, that nedeth none
to gyve hym ayde; then Jove, as well as theye,
nessesse of helpe dothe beare a rulinge swaie.

(25)
These thre distincte as goddes of sondrye mighte
colde not bee hee whome Mercurye did Deame:
he spake of one, and these are thre in sighte;
there is not one, and these yet well might seme
to have hym they, if he had tolde of more;
But he nee spake but of one manne before.

(26)
This colde not bee the meaninge of his mynde;
suche hidden tales the goddes wold not power oute
to mortall menne, whose wittes were not assinde
(lyke Oedipus) to loose eche subtill doble;
yet well I knewe the goddes vade this pretence,
answere to gyve in speche of doble sence;

(27)
Witnesse therof the woo-full greianfe knighte,
to whome the Oracle in dobt-full speake,
sheu'd to Cæcides, when he sholde fighte,
suche doble dome as fatall lyfe did breake,
who, hoopinge victrye by their sacred reede,
yet lost the field when truthe the goddes decreed.
And though I wanted happye Josephs arte,
kinge Pharaos dreme so lyvelye to ex[p]layne,
and of the holy Daniell lackd the harte,
thassiyans kingdome to devyde in twyne,
And was depriu'd of all the dreminge skill
waiche did Sinesius and gregoras fill,

Yet pondringe moore what this darke speche might bee—
for hevenly goddes, in veyne do neuer sende
suche warninge sightes as then apperd to mee,
for perfectnes workes no imperfecte ende,—
I was resolu'd, by healpe of hevenly seate,
this hidden dofte to open lighte to beate;

For mov'd with secrete fancye in my bedde,
(thoughe reasons grownde ledde me not therunto,)
the same suche depe impress[1]one in mee brede,
as from thee woorkinge breyne yt mighte not goo,
but that Mercurius, in som[e] secret thoughte,
by these three planettes had this purpose wroughte.

Thus still pursuynge onne my former brayde,
(for fleetinge wittes no perfecte judgmente geyne,)
I manye tymes with deeper muse assayed,
for longe contynuance dothe the depe atteyne,
whereby at leng[t]he the wyshed ende I wonne,
for endles labor endes the worke begonne.

And prouerbe olde was not deuis'd in veyne,
that 'roolinge stone doth neuer gather mosse:'
who lightly leaves in myddest of all his peine,
his former labor frustrates with his losse;
but who contynues as he did begynne,
withe equall course the pointed goale doth wynne.

The course I kepte for to vnshale this dowte,
and laye abrode this clowdye hidden speache,
was by vnytinge planettes brought aboute,
and by coniucctions waiche the lerned teache,
for heauenly bodyes oft in one agree,
thoughe seuered farr, and sondred by degree.
(34)
Fyrst I devis’d—when I had v[i]ewed their seate, to answere righte this ridles outwarde shewe,— that Sol in middest did yeld for the staming heate, & Luna water colde, and frostye dewe;
for I was taughte that thus these planettes mente, wāich hidden thinges doo seme to represente.

(35)
This sonke not depe in mynde, for reasonne tolde— two contraryes in one canne neuer reste:
howe canne the burninge heate agree with colde?
so this concyte yet springinge was suppresse.—
and then I thoughte what weyled thinge might lye vnder the same, in righte philosophy.

(36)
That true and secret skill Voarchoadumye ² [?] perfectly vsd by grace of heuenly sprite, (for, with-oute that, tis subtill vanytie, and mere deceythe vnfyte for skilles wighte,)
strayte tolde my wytte, wāich I will here vnfolde, what secret mystrye heauenly planettas holde.

(37)
The horn’d Diana chaste, is siluer brighte, wāich waneinge moone dothe vnto vs bewraye;
the sceptred Sol, with steames of shyninge lighte, the horded metall golde dothe here displaye;
the Crowned Jove, as dothe don Plato teff, is inglishe Tynne, wāich dothe emongest vs dwel.

(38)
All wāich sem’d not to answere my entente;
for leade, lowest mettaH, was excluded quite, and cheuest was in place, wāich was not mente;
for thoughe that siluer gayne next place by righte to glystringe golde, as dothe experience teache, yet none of these to lowest leade do reache.

(39)
And then I dem’d it some-what strange to bee, that siluer, golde, and tyne, sholde yoyne in one, yf the[y] had answere vnto ech degree;
wherefore I thoughte to lett the same alone;
But in the end I founde Mercurius witte, by one coniusectione colde these bodyes knitte.

¹ veiled ² MS. Voarchadymye altered.
For wyse Mercurius is so quicke by kinde, and gredy, hungrye, that he will devoure golde, siluer, Tyne; and with their powre him bynde all in one bodye, leesse then in an howre, and vnder this, whiche I dare not expresse, lyes hidden thinges whiche I doo leave to gesse.

Yet colde I saye that wisdome knittes in bande, by sage advyce, bothe welth & worldly reyne; and witte and welth may compass thinges vnaskande, whiche Mercurye dothe rule, as poete fayne; and this I meane by that I tolde before, contente your thoughte, and serche not any more.

But yf soo bee (as well yt may in dede) that these lynckd mettals may one body make, therby mee thinkes that Mercurye hath decreed, that manne, whiche dothe of ech of them partake, muste nedes as catt excelle the rest, as they above all erthly mettals beare the sweye.

I, yet not satisfied with this expounde, to higher muse did strechye my serching breyne, and mongest Astronomers this lesson founde, that these thre planettes in their lofty regne do many grete and secret gyftes bestowe one mortall creatures, whiche doo lyve belowe.

for welthye Phebe lendes store of stampèd golde; And Cynthia guydes the lyfe and helthfull state; Pheton, fortune and gouerneste doth holde; all whiche three gyftes mighte dwell in one by fate, for by thaspectes and yoyninge of the same, these planettes do their vertues in vs frame.

When this devise had perçed my conceyte, that thesse three goddes mighte powre forth in one man these seuerall blessinges, & then wayinge streyte their seuerall place in Sphere as I did skanne, swete helpinge conforte cladde my hart in hoope that further skill wolde bitt the fynall scope.
Then I beganne as it were to rouse that witte
which dulled was by fyndinge oute that dept,
& so pursued yt with oute stavinge fytte,
that at the laste, vpon the righte I lepte,
& then disclosed the secrete of this riddle,
of the lowest, the seconde, and the middle.  

But first I was enforc'd, with humble sute,
to skylfull herauldes ayde to haue repayre,
to see what thinges they did to them depute;
where I was rydde from all my longe dispaire,
for blason sayed in Armes the trycke them thus,
as more at large my penne shall here discusse.

The lowest, Luna, with her perle, dost stande
for 'Argente or white,' a color fayre to viewe
the myddde, sol, with Topas in his hande,
is called 'or,' a color brighte in hue;
& nexte one Jupiter did note to mee
with Saphire blewe, the azurde shewe to bee.

When this was blasde, I nede no longer staye
to plodde & prowle aboute this hidden thinge,
there rested noughte, by this disclosed waye,
but all these three into one forme to bringe,
and lerne yt one mannes armes or crest might shewe
these thre riche coolors, borne but of a fewe.

And turninge ofte an olde armoriall booke,
after discourse of manye soundrye cootes—
which Auncintes scocions I did ouer-looke—
with hidden pointes of armories secret notes;
emongest the noblest creastes by vertue rare,
I founde a wighte suche worthy creste that bare.

For there was lynck'd with-in one worthy knott,
The lowest, middle, & highest next the beste,
Luna, Sol, and Jupiter that gott
the seconde place, were blased in his creste
by which devisye that couerly I fynde,
which tolde the hydden vertues of his mynde.
(52)
For fyrste, in philosophye, by hym is borne
the lyons two, of siluer and of tynne,
waiche dothe supporte a golden garbe of corne.
next, with Astronomye for to begynne,
two lyons of lune & Jupiter he beares,
holdinge a sheafe of Sol with glystringe cares.

(53)
Then to descende to secretes hearaldes veyne,
in vertuous stones, where lerned cuwnynge was,
of orient perle and Saphyre, lyons tweine,
waiche do advance a garbe of riche Toopas.
waiche lower yet as I must streyne my quift,
in coolors thus do blaze there hidden skill.

(54)
Two princely beastes he beares of corage bolde,
of argent white, and colord azure blewe,
holdinge a garbe of ore waiche they call golde,
& thus eche one dothe Stibons mynde pursue,
for by discypfering of these seuerall artes,
are drawn in one these planettes seuerall partes.

(55)
Now howe this riddle fyttes the noble wighte
who beares this creaste of state by due desarte,—
since that these coolors and these metalls brighte
do answere iust the vertue of his harte,—
yt restes to saye, and so to yoyne the same,
with-oute lewde blemyshe to his flouring fame:

(leaf 13, back)

(56)
The lowest in seate I do not hym accompte,
whose mynde devyne, with gyftes of nature rare,
dothing cheuest wittes of comun moulder surmounte,
as one whom Pallas bleste with speciall care;
but gentle lyfe dothe humble him so lowe,
that low'st in curteous dedes eche doth hym knowe

(57)
Thus lowest nowe he is by course of kinde,
and then advanc'd to place of myddle state;
for as the sonne in myddle sphere wee fynde,
so is he stald, by dome of heuently fate,
in myddlest of worthye geintryes seuenthe degree,
a lordly baron of noblytye.
In whiche two thinges, with Hermes I consente,
the middle and the lowest ar in sighte.
nowe nothinge wantes to fill vpp his entente,
but next to one for to be brought to lighte;
then is faire Maias sonnes darke hidden dohte,
by darke and princely heroldes skill founde outhe.

The famous manne whiche gyues this goodly creste,
by wysdomes force, next one beares chepest swaye;
good vertue hym advanced aboue the reste,
one whome grave counsells burden semes to staye;
he reynes and rules; he careth for vs ait;
his depe fore-sight preuenges our thretned fall.

fly Trimagistus, flye! goo hyde thy face!
thy subtilly wyte is known to mortall menne;
the myuiam nowe hathe lost his wondring grace;
thy darkned speche in euery pointe wee skanne;
& I haue fouunde one manne whiche restes allonne,
lowest and myddle, and highest next one.

his lyon Luna, low'zt in degree,
his dedes dothe shewe of humble curtesye;
his garbe Sol, in circule myddst wee see, answere his myddle place, nobilitytie;
his lyon Jupiter, in seconde Sphere,
is seconde rule, whiche he dothe lustly bere.

for as the golden sheafe is vanced there,
by beastes of seuerall hue, as her cheife holde,
so queene and ladye Jystice euery-where
maynteyned is by bulwarkes doble folde,
where wisdome and good gouermente dothe guyde
the rulinge sterne, in calme or boystrous tyde.

This thinges disclosed, that Mercury had sayen, that suche an noble manne most worthy was, to reap the frute of all my toylinge peyne & lamed verse: when they were brought to pas, my gladded sprite redoobled all his yoye that suche a patron sholde wy my woorkes enyoys.
As for his lerned skyll in studied arte,
for knowledge depe in tonges of diuere sounde,
for plenteous vertue of his godly harte,
for Iustice dome, whiche dothe in hym abounde,
for curteous dedes shewed to eche wight alyve,
"desrues farr bett" then my rude muse may gyve.

But what vse I suche nedele speche in reyne,
(to seame to glose as euill tonges will deme,) when his wyse woorkes, more famous praise do geine
then I canne speke, whiche meymed make them seame;
And Syracke sayes emongest his lerned sawes,
"prayse no manne, wh[i]st his vitall brethe he drawes."

Whose sacred heste, thoughte I dare not geinsaye,
but must in willesse silence let to dwelt
suche rare exploytes, performed every daye,
as present age dothe witnesse to excell;
In herte I honor yet that Pallas hedde,
& kysse the grounde that suche good corne hath bredde.

Not olde foreworne Cecilius, britaine kinge,
almost consum'd by gnawinge tyme & space;
but he whiche did from Auncient Sitcll springe,
lord Burgley, Cecil, borne of gentle race,
whome princely garter, with his azurd hue,
dothe bewtyfye with mede for honor due.

Whose golden lettres, ringe into eache eare
a golden sentence, worthye to be toughte,
who[se] princely worde this inglishe sence doth beare,
"yll be to hym whiche any yll hath thoughte;"
and so, my lorde, reyecte not this withe hate,
for nought is mente but honor to your state.

By this poore penne of me, vnskilfull wighte,
that here presentes vnto your lerned vewe
sir Thopas ryme, not fytt for Chancers sighte,
in whom the Muses do their force renewe;
for in eche gyfte, yt is the cheaviest parte
to way the mynde and take the fauthfull harte.

1— MS. has under these words, in a different hand, merritts much more.
2— for altered to let
APP. IV. F. THYNNE ON LORD BURGHELEY'S CREST. 115

(70)
Deme not the manne by this imperfecte sence;
in brittell glasse is wholsome wyne conteynde;
in painted talke, and woordes of highe pretence,
dissemblinge lurkes, with falsshedde vile disteynde;
but as my future followinge dedes do craue,
so lett desertes their guerdoune due to have. 420

(71)
Till whiche, this guyfte with frendly browe receu,
whiche wyse Mercurius coragd mee to sende;
as my hart meanes, so, my good lord, conceve
these haltinge lynes whiche barrein soile doth lende; 424
& yf suche rashe found dede seme worth reproue,
blame not my factes, but threatninge godes aboue 426

finis

Francis Thynne.

(Then follows:—A discours vpon the philosophres
Armes.

The sacred booke dothe truly tell in speche of heuenly penne
whiche holy Daniell did vnfolde for skill of vertuous menne
&c

[The arms are painted on the opposite page of the MS.]

There seem to be no biographical notes, except on leaf
43, back, and 44:—

"This noble knighthoode fellowshipe perfected fyrst wee
finde
by Philippe duke of Burgundye, in yere as comes to
mynde,
A thowsande fowre hundred twentye nyne, vnto whiche
knightes he gauce
a coolor of golde, brething forthe fyer from flinte, who
further haue
appendante to that honours cheyne, Don Jasons Fliese of
golde,
whose poesy wittily deuis'd, this woorthy sence dothe
holde."—G. PARKER.)

See Mr Parker's further extracts from the MS. in
the Notes below: note on p. xlix.
APPENDIX V.

PROPHECIES BY WELSHMEN.

[Ashmole MS. 378, leaf 22.]

Thalysonne¹ saythe that in the liijth yere their shalbe a battell in Brytaine, betwene the sede of the blasinge lambe and the sede of the spanishe woman, for the seat of Cadwaldoour. their shalbe great preparinge to battell in those dayes; the raven for hounger shalbe lick to perishe, and yet betwen the twoe battelles shalbe neuer a stroke stroken. Then A pilgrimage to marye in Aken of women shalbe wofully sought; & after the mylde countinaunce of this, m[arye] shall de-part from kenygale, to which she tooke hir waye, and towards the light she shal bare A countinüale heat. A man of bondes she shall release by menes Iudgment. in hir yere shalbe many Tyrantes abrode that were in bondes, & they shall sitt strayt in Iudgment to opresse the light.

A welch-man called Robart Locke vppon the liij ycare² G. beinge dominyncall later. he did recyte that A woman wytiles shoulde regine in Cadwaladors seat, and do out the heate of the summre, and cause paynted cloudes to seme bright after the metinge of A lord & A lady in on daye.

these plages shall not ceasse vntill the man god haue the full tuicion and strength, and his ministers shall have greate gyftes. And yet I beheld on woman,

¹ Taliessin.
the wife of two men, gyvinge hir honor to the man god; & ase for xxx" dayes shall he execut fyre & sword; & I loked toward the Santuary, & ther I sawe the throne of the vnknown god, & the wicked having the vpper hand, whetting ther tussh like bores in blude.

David Apiuan sayth these wordes: "in liij" I sawe the lyonesse execute great iudgment. I beheld when this troble begaunce, ther weir fyve wicked monethes, & in the v wicked monethes I sawe xxx" euell dayes. out of heaven I beheld A white lambe, and a great scroll in his hand, and mens names writte in with blod, & yet I sawe the Egles chicken layng hand vpon the croune & Septer, and executed the sword with bloud xij dayes together; & in these dayes the counsell of the prisoner shalbe sweter then the wynd. & I beheld A white hare standinge in iudgment in Ceasars house, & caste a grime countaignce A-gaynste the former witt of the ffox, & he ceased not vntill he conveyed the ffox cleane, & no man again in britaine shalbe combred with him; and in those dayes the mone shallosse hur light. Then I beheld A yong coke that crowed wonderos bould, & A young henne did egerly barke, & the lione began to rore; and kent rejoyysed, & Sussex daunced, & manye chokynes more for gladnes; for now the Egles chickyn is gonne, & the widowe of calabrye shalbe whet hir tuskes, but the bores counsell shalbe of non effecte. & I be-held another sorowe more grevosuer then the fyrst: great crye wase ther Amongest women betwen the hiest of the sonne & the reping of the corne."

Edward Aprian Trevar for the liij" yere also sayth:
wher is the lyonesse that executed iustes falsaly† for Thomas Buynytes (?) sayth that anne arrow shalbe the destruction of thangry lyonesse."

"Edward Apovell sayth that the tong shall cleane to the roffe of hir mouth, & the arrowe that shalff strike
hir is death, & [she] shall [have] no tyme of Inward repentance, but shall deliver hir sovle to mans merits: then shall the bright Cler sonne begyne to spere./ ./. Also Robart Duce in the same liijth yere sayth, "that A dead man shal Aryse, a kynge whose generation was of a dunne cowe, and generated out of the sea, & this kynge shalbe gouerned one yere by an aungeH. vppo Eedward the vj thy time is comme; the profisie sayth then necessarlye for god, thou must lose that which other men haue mad strayght; & vnringed swine thou must rote out; & this sayth god, 'thou sonne of man muste asswage the prid, mossell the mouthe of prechere that preache mens dreames:' the moste parte of the peopl shall saye 'wher are thaye cleane consumed in on yeare.' A Byshoppe beinge no gentill-man shall enioye the crowne, & vse it as him lysteth for on yeare; & xxvij days shall he bringe many wonders to passe, & then the sonne of man, after iiij sorowes, shall occupe the sword, & make every man & woman offycere, & geue comauondement on payne of death to kyll all that were with the pye, the pykerd, & the fulmer; for all that shalbe kyllde are knowne by ther marke; and then shalbe sene many A blodye Rochet, & the lione shall hunt the1 bore out of his denne.

[leaf 33, back] “An I. & a Roche shal bemelde to dethe for their traterous plaie, & the yelowe lyone tongles also shall suffer execution, & many also of the aufftie2 of the blodye pie; & Immediatlye shal every man enioye his owne wife a-gayne; and I did see the hedd of the world cleane vanishe awaye, and his dignyte cleane banished out of England. and A chyld with A chaplett had againe in his owne honor;" and Robart Duce speakeyth no more of the liijth, yet he sayth that "the dead man that neuere woman sawe borne, nor neuer

1 MS. y' the  
2 affinitie
man shal be buried, shalbe kynge of syx kyngdomes, and Emperour of Rome."

Owen longheith sayth that "A lyon shalbe generated out of the sea by the suff strengthe & natur of A dunne cowe, and that lyone shalbe gouerned by an Aungell, which Aungell shal bele to death. And in the liijth yere thys lyon shalbe gonne. but verye few shalle fynd him, & he shalbe awaie xvij monthes; and after xvij monthes hee shal come agayne, and execute justice in his fathers house; & that which is darke shal he make lyght, & shal make frey waye to the holye Crosse."

David Trevar sayth that the same lyone shal be defyled, & that this is the lxxxxi of the house of Tuheodre that shall geue Armes, & Edward is his name & he shalb[e] crownid Twyse in Engleand & once at Rome.

Merleoun le Paule sayth "he shalbe the stronge bulle that shal enter in the yerly wynter, & he shal destroye the hedd of the world; & by this token shal you knowe him, sfor he shalbe neuer be borne of A woman. his name shalbe Edward of the house of Tuheodore, & he shalbe bakynge xvij score dayes, lx dayes, & xl dayes, & thene shal he enter in-to Britaine with thre grevous bestes, A redd lyon, A redd dragone, & A white graye hownd; & then shal the land of the mone reioyce."

Iohn Aprobardwyn sayth "the sonne of man is caled A commone proverbe maledene steremone for the generation of the Theodorse, otherwise caled tewthers, came out of Engleond; & yt is profisied¹ of him that he should kyll his mother, & yet shall have hir blesinge, & the blesinge of god and the britane. & he shall make glade the people that shalbe out-castes in those dayes, & he shall labour to se the sedde of the egle; but he shall neuer fynd him, nor neuer anye after him,

¹ MS. propised
& shall make A swifte requiring for the shepherdes that he lefte be-hind him. then shalst everye man to his owne livinge agayn, & stablish a lawe in Britaine. ther is no more to speake of him that is caled Edward in the liijth yeare; but in the lvth yere he shall go forth to conquere; & or he shall cesse, he shall plant a trve religion in syx kyngdons, & shal make A vniuer- sal pease thoroughout all the worlde."

finis finis.

[leaf 24, back, blank.]

[A PROPHECY OF
A MOLE, A DRAGON, A LION, AND A WOLF.]

(Ashmole MS 378, leaf 25.)

After this lambe shal come a mold warpe, Cursed of goddes mouth, a caytife, A coward, an heare; he shall haue an elderly skyne as a gote / & vengeaunce shall falle vpon him for sinne. ¶ In the first yere of his regne he shall have, of all good, grett plentie in his lond, & toward him also / & in his londe he shall have great praysinge / till the tyme that he shal suffere his people liue in to moche pryde with-out chastisinge, wherfor god wilbe wrothe ¶ Thenne shall aryse vp a dragon of the north that shalbe full ferse / & shal move warre agaynst the forsayd moule warpe / & shall yeue him battell vpon a stone. Thys dragon shall gader ayene into his company a Wolfe, that shall come out of the west to move warre againste the forsayd mold warpe in his side / so shall the dragone, & bynd their layles to-gyders ¶ Then shal come A lyon out of Ireland / that shal fall in company with them ; And thene shall tremble the londe that shalbe calde

1 MS. their the
Englond, as an aspen lefe / & in that time shall Casteles be felled downe vpon Tamyse. & yt shall seme that Seuerns shalbe drye / for the bodyes that shall [be] deed ther-in. The fower chefe fioudes in England shall run in blode, & great dread shalbe, & anguish, that shall Arisee.¹ "W After the mold warpe shall flee, & the dragon; The lyone, & the wolfe, shall them drue Awaye, & the l[y]one shalbe without them, & the mold warp shall haue no maner of power, save only a shippe wherto he maye winder, & after that he shall goo to lond where the see is withdrawne; & after that, he shall geue the third part of his londe, for to haue the fourth part in pease & in rest; & after he shall liue in sorowe at his lyftime; & in his tyme the hott bathes shalbe could, & after that the mold warpe dye, Auenturousely & sodenly. Alase for sorow! for he shalbe drowned in A fode of the sea. his sed shalbe-come fatherles in strang lond for euer-more; & then shal be² the lond be departe into iiij partes, that is to saye, to the wolfe, to the dragon, & to the lyon; & so shal it be for euer-mor. & then shall this lond be called the lond of conqueste, & so shall the ryght heyers of Englond Ende.

¹ MS. Arisee o. ² MS. shalbe
APPENDIX VI.

THOMAS CHAUCER'S COMPLAINT ON PARTING FROM HIS WIFE, WHEN HE WENT ON EMBASSY TO FRANCE.

WRITTEN BY LYDGEATE.

[Ashmole MS. 59, copied by Shirley, leaf 45, back.]

Here folowpe next a compleynyte made by Lydegate for pe departing of Thomas Chaucier in-to fraunce by hes seruautz vpon pe kynges ambassate.

Every maner creature
disposed vn-to gentylesse
Boope of kynde and of nature,
Hape in his hert moste gladnesse

for tabyde / in soopefastnesse
Where pat his ioye is moste entiere;

And I live ever in hevynesse,
But whane I. see my ladye dere.

¶ Eeke every wight / of every kynde,
Is gladde and mury for to abyde,
Whe[n] pat his wille / bope thought and mynde /
Beo fully sette / on every syde:
And where so / pat I. goo or ryde.
I ne cane be gladde / in no manere,
As god and fortune list provyde,
But whane I see / my ladye dere.

1 Heading to this page, ¶ absence of Thom[a]s Chaucier by Lydgate.
Who parte pe oute / of Paradys / 
ffromen peat place / so ful of glorie, 
Where as mirth, is moiste of pryse, 
And ioye have, souereaine victorie / 20
What wonder, whane he have memorie 
Of al, peat beo dut of chere / 
For I am ever in Purgatorie, 
But whane I see my ladye dere / 24

Pe sterres of pe heghe heven 
ffayrest shyne / vn-to our sight, 
And pe planetys eke, alle seven, 
Moste fulsomly / give peire sight, 28
And Phebus, with hees beemis bright, 
Gladdest shyneppe / in his spere / 
But I am never / gladde ne light, 
Save whane I see my ladye dere /

Eke phebus. in our emyspere / 
After pe derknes of pe night, 
At his vprist, yolowe as golde clere, 
Eorly on morowe / of kyndely right, 36
Whane clowdes blake / haue no might
To chace awaye / pe clowdes clere / [Leaf 44, back]
Right so frome sorowe I. stonde vpright, 
Whane pat I. see / my ladye dere /

pe fooles pat flyen, in pe ayre, 
And freessly sinhe / and mirthes make 
In May pe sesoun. is so fayre, 
With al right / hem aught awake, 44
Reioye pe echone / with his make / 
With peire hevenly notes clere / 
Right so al sorowe / in me dope alake, 
Whane pat I. see. my3 ladye dere /

1 MS. every.
2 MS. has heading to this page, £ Balade by Lidgegate.
3 MS. my my.
244 APP. VI. TH. CHAUCER'S COMPLAINT ON PARTING FROM HIS WIFE

† pe herte, † pe hynde / in wylde foreste /
Moste lusty beo / of peire courage /
And every. oper maner beeste,
Bope pe tame / and eke sauvage,
Stonden moste at auaungage
In lavndes whane pey reine efoere,
bus ever gladde / is my visage,
Whanne pat I. see / my ladye deere.

† I. haue seyne / †at. buke / and doo /
Amonge pe holtis / hoore and graye,
pe Reyndere / and pe wylde Roo /
In mersshes / haue peire moste playe,
Where pey bee voyde frome al affraye /
Right even soo with-outen were,
Myne hert is gladde / bope night and dayes,
Whane I. looke / on my ladye deere /

† What is a fishe oute of pe see /
1 For alle heos seles / silver sheene,
But dede anoone (as man may see.
Or in Ryvers cristal. clene /
Pyke or tenche with fynnes grene,
Oute of pe water whane pey peere /

[† MS. dareper †]
bus dredo / dareper ² myn herte keene,
ßere I. seo nouȝt / my ladye dere /

† Pe Ruby stant best in pe ring"
Of golde whane it is polishaht newe;
ßemeraude is aye wele lastin
Whilest it abydepe / with hert truwe;
ße saphire with his hevenly huwe

[† MS. Makepoe †]
Makepè ³ gounded eyene clere;
bus my ioye / dope ay renuwe,
Whane pat I. see my ladye dere.

1 Ms. has heading to this page, † Lydegate / see my ladye dere.
APP. VI. TH. CHAUCER’S COMPLAINT ON PARTING FROM HIS WIFE. 125

† Be flores on seire stalkes vnclose,
Springinge / in se bawmy mede;
Be lylies, and se swate roos,
Be dayesyes / who take be hede. 84
Whane Phebus / dope his beemis vnsprede,
In somer / as men may wele leere /
So gladdse am I. in thought and dede /
Whane pat I. seo my ladye dere / 88

† In somer whane I seo / pe sheene¹ sone /
Hape shewed bright a gre[t[e] space,
And towards night, pe skyes done,
His clerennesse / dope aweye chace / 92
Right so dedly / and pale of face /
Mortal of looke / and sory chere /
I. waxst, suche woo / me did enbrace
At parting. of my lady deere /

† Summe folke / in signe of hardynesse,
²Ta[pe] hem to colour pat is rede / [leaf 47, back]
And summe, in tokenyg of clennesse ,
Weren white / yee may take hede ; 100
And summe, grene / for lustynesse ;
But I ellas / in blackt appere,
And ever shaft / in sorowes drede,
Til pat I. seo my ladye dere /

† Now god pat art so eternal
And hast al thing in governaunce,
And arte also / Immortal,
Stabled with-oute variaunce ; 108
þowe guyde, lorde / so my chaunce /
Of þy power / moste entiere /
þowe sone abregge my penaunce,
þat I may seo / my lady dere /

¹ MS. I sheene.
² MS. heading, Lidgate.
Goe liet Eli in lowly wyse,
Vn-to myne hertis souereynye /  
And preye to hir / for til devyse
Summe relees / of my mortal peyne ;
Whane ou art at hir, ou reste ne fayne
Only of pitee / hir to requere,
Dat of mercy / sheo not diadeyne,
To beo my souereine, ladye dere.
APPENDIX VII.

Courte of Venus (see p. 138-141.)

The contents of the first page of the Douce fragment, 92 b, leaf xxxi front, sign. E i, and the top of its back, are as follows:—

Venus

which had me in the snare
of pensyue thought and payn.
She saw that faithfully
I dyd my hert reyne

to take it gentyly.
she dyd nothing repyn.

Wherfore away all payn.
for now I am right sure
pyte in hir doth rayn
that hath my hert in cur. Finis.

¶ Dryuen by disyr to set affection,

great way alas aboue my dege
chosen I am I thinke by election.
to couet that thing that will not be.

I serue in loue not lyke to sped.
I loke alas a lytell to bye.
agaynst my will I do in ded.
couet that thing that will not be.

My fanzy alas doth me so bynd
that I can se no remedy
but stylly to follow my solych mind.
and couet that thing that wyll not be. [Leaf xxxi, back]

I hopyd well whan I began
and sens the proye is contrary.
why shold I any longer than.
couet that thing that wyll not be.

But rather to leave now at the last,
then stylly to folowe fanzy.
content with the payn that is past
and not couet that thing that will not be. Finis.

[Follows:—The pylgrymse tale.]
NOTES.

p. vi. Lancaster Herald. The 5th Herald, under the 3 Kings of Arms. A document in the Lansdowne MS. 108 (art. 95, leaves 177-8), says that "The Societie and Corporation of the officers of Armes consisteth of xii persons, wherof Three be Kings of Armes,—videlicet, Garter (principal Kings of Armes and chief Officer of Armes for the Order, having yerly fee of xl"), Clarencieux (Kinge of Armes of the East, West, and South partes of the realme of England from the ryver of Trent southward), Norroy (Kinge of Armes of the East, West, and North partes of the realme of England from the ryver of Trent Northward), Eche of them receavinge yearly fee of xx poundes; Six be Heraldes of Armes—Somerset, Chester, WIndesore, Richemonde, Lancaster, Yorke,—Every of them receavinge yearly fee of xx markes; Fower be Pursuyvantes of Armes, viz. Rouge-Dragon, Rouge-Croix, Bleuw-mante, Portcullis, Every of them receavinge yearly fee of x. poundes." Of these "Some be apoynted to direct and to gouerne in the Societie, as Garter... Clarencieux... and Norroy... Some be apoynted to be dyrected and governed, and to obey, As All the Six Heraldes, All the fower Pursuyvantes, In all matters concerninge the Princes service, or otherwise tendinge to the regiment of the Societie, or their owne emolument and profyte."

ad extremam devenit calamitatem, praeert infamiam, scabiei etiam, quam Gallicam vocant, obnoxia. Hic cum omnibus tentatis, quo uxorem marito reconciliaret, nihil ageret, nec durus ille, vel affinum respectu, vel liberorum commun affectu, vel sua ipsius conscientia, qui tot adulteriis, qui suo neglectu occasionem dedisset, flecteretur, reliquit hominem ceu deploratum. Is paulo post ex more, petasonem, aut armum suillum misit. Cæterum Joannes, nam tum Guardianum agebat, mandarat janitorii, ne quid reciparet nisi se vocato. Cum adesset munus, vocatus est: ibi famulis, qui deferebant heri nomine, "Referte, inquit, onus vestrum unde attulistis; nos non recipimus munera diaboli." Itaque tametsi non ignorabant illius vitam ac doctrinam esse seminariam egregium Euangelicæ pietatis, tamen quoniam non perinde conducbeat proventui culinae, jussus est deponere Guardiani munus, quo nihil illo facit lubentius: & succetus est illi quidam, quem ego novi, aliunde adscitus homo non dicam qualis, aut quam alteri dissimilis, in summa is mihi visus est, cui nemo prudens cauleatum suum vellet committere: sive hunc obturerent, quia cupiebant abesse, sive is visus est ad rem idoneus..."

p. vi, vii. Anne Bond, and Sir John Thynne. The pedigree of the Thynne family in Hoare's Wiltshire, vol. i, p. 60 of Heytesbury hundred, which pedigree Hoare says was approved by the Heralds' Office, shows that our William Thynne (or Boteville),—the grandson of John Boteville with whom the pedigree starts,—was uncle of Sir John Thynne who built Longleat (1567—1580) and left it unfinished at his death. Sir John fought gallantly against the Scotch at Musselburgh, and was knighted on the field while his wounds were bleeding. He was the favoured councillor of the Protector Somerset, and, to judge from his portrait, a warly resolute long-headed fellow.

Hoare gives the name of William Thynne's wife as Bawde, "Anne, daughter and co-heir of Henry Bawde;" and says that they had children,

Francis Thynne, Lancaster Harold, ob. 1611 [? 1608; p. ix above] married daughter of . . . Rivers;

3 daughters—

1. Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Pigott,
2. Anne, wife of Rich. Maudley,
3. Isabel, wife of Geo. Pagett.

p. vii. Sir John Thynne (knighted by the Duke of Somerset in the camp at Roxburgh on Sept. 28, 1547) was Francis T.'s cousin, was an M.P. in 1546 when he was only 24; was afterwards, in Edw. VI's reign, steward of the household to the Protector Somerset; and in Queen Mary's reign, comptroller of the Lady [or Princess] Elizabeth's household. Stem. Bot. cliii. He shared largely in the spoil of the Abbeys, and justified the Wiltshire proverb recorded by Aubrey—

Hopton, Horne, Smith, Knockmaile, & Thynne, When Abbots went out, they came in.

THYNNE.
Longleat was built by him on the site of a dissolved priory.' It took 12 years in building (p. clxxvii).

p. viii. Camden's Estimate. Camden's words in his Britannia, iii. 7, col. 2, are, "Francis Thinn, who has long pursued the study of English antiquities with equal application and judgement."

p. ix. William Thynne rests beside his wife, &c. This 'beside' is more than doubtful. Col. Chester writes, "You will find the Inscription on Wm Thynne's tomb, and some account of Thynne, in the Rev. Joseph Maskell's 'Collections in illustration of the Parochial History and Antiquities of the Ancient Church of All Hallows, Barking' (London, 4to, 1864)—(but Maskell was not very correct usually, and his statements must be tested).

"I see the date is wrong. Mr Maskell says Thynne's wife Anne, mother of Francis, was buried by his side. As in my voluminous and careful collections from the All Hallows register I do not find her burial recorded, I doubt not Mr Maskell is in error, and was misled by the figure of the lady on the brass. I suppose it was not contemplated that she would twice re-marry."

p. xiv. Stowe's licenses to beg and put alms-basins up in the City churches.

The Musists, though themselves they please, Their dotage elds Moode nor Ease; Vouch't Spencer in that Ranke prefer'd, Per Accident, onl inter'd 'Nigh Venerable Chaucer, lost, Had not kinde Brigham reard him Cost, Found next the doore Church-outed neere, And yet a Knight, Arch-Laurist Hoeere. Adde Stows late antiquarious Pen, That unmind for vngratefull Men; Next, Chronicler, omit it not, His licenc't Basons little got; Lu'd poorly where he Trophies gaue, Lies poorly There in neotleass graue.


The Licenses or Letters Patent were dated May 8, 1603, and 26 Oct. 1604. The first was seconded by a letter from King James in 1603, which, with the Second License, is printed in John Strype's edition of Stowe's Survey, 1720, p. xij-xiiij. The License of 1604 was for Stowe or his Deputy "to ask, gather, receive, and take the alms and charitable benevolence of all our loving Subjects whatsoever, inhabiting within our Cities of London and Westminster" &c. &c., in Churches or other Places; and the Parson, Vicars and Curates were to stir people up "to extend their liberal Contributions in so good and charitable a Deed." Strype's Life of Stow—"Memorials of this honest good Citizen" p. xxvij—is well worth reading. It is full of sympathy for the worthy tailor and his work, and must touch every student. What a member of the E. E. Text Soc. Stow 'd have made!

"He was also a curious observer of Manuscripts, and a diligent Procurer of them to himself, wheresoever he could. He was mightily delighted with the Sight of a fair Bible in large Vellum (the fairest that
ever he saw) written by one John Coke, a Brother of St Bartholomew Hospital, at the age of Threescore and Eight Years. p. xvii, col. 2.

"He affected likewise old printed Books, and was a great Collector of them, . . . the Names of divers whereof we mentioned before, An. 1568, when by Order of Council his Study was searched for Superstitious Books. p. xix.

"Stow was a true Antiquarian, in that he was not satisfied with Reports, or with the Credit of what he found in Print; but had recourse to Originals. He knew how much falsehood is commonly thrust upon Readers, either by the Carelessness of Authors, or by taking up things too credulously, and upon slight Grounds, or upon Hearsay and the Credit of others. But Stow made use of his own Legs (for he could never ride) travelling on Foot to many Cathedral Churches, and other Places, where ancient Records and Charters were: and with his own Eyes to read them." p. xx. See note to Hindwors, p. xlv.

p. xxi. Mr Martin sends me a few corrections, &c., as to Thynne's appointments: line 2, Essex, ?Sussex. Ric. ?John, Slurley. line 5, the Manor of Cleobury Barnes was in the lordship of Cleobury, parcel of the Earl Don of March. Last line: Stoke Clymslond was in the diocese of Exeter.

In the State Papers are mentions of a Mr Thynne, servant of the Earl of Hertford in 1545-6.

p. xxii. Oath of the Controller of Customs.

[Ashm. MS. 1147, iv, leaf 77.]

The Othe of the Comptroller of the Customes.

Ye shall swore, that well and faithfully ye shall serve the kinge in thoffice of Comptroller of the Customes and the kinges Subsedies in the porte of London; and faithfully ye shall enter the thinges customeable which shall cum to the saide porte, or passe from the same. And that ye shall take noe gifte for your office doinge, nor for non other thinges which may fall to the disadavantage of the kinge. Nor ye shall suffer noe merchandises nor noe other thinges customeable to passe out of the said porte without paying of due custome. And that ye shall doe the said office, and dwell vpon) the same, in your proper person, without puttinge any Substitut vnder you. And ye shall write the rolles by your owne hande demiseed. And the profite of the kinge ye shall awaye to doe as moche (p. 78) as in you is, accordinge to your knowledge and to your power. Soe god helpe you, and the holye Evangelistes.

p. xxii. William Thynne's Erith tithes. Mr C. T. Martin has just (Sept. 30) told me of the two following letters from William Thynne to Secretary Cromwell:—State Papers, Miscellaneous Chapter House Records, Vol. 43, Nos. 20, 21.

No. 20. Sir, In my moste berty maner I commende me vnto your maistershipe, and am informed that ye will fynde an office of the Landes of Cristechurche to the kynges vse. Sir, I beseeche you that it
may please you that my Indenture of the parsonage of Lesones & Erith, whiche berith date the ij\textsuperscript{e} day of February in the xxij yere of the Reygne of our souerain Lorde the kyng, & ys for the space of iij\textsuperscript{e} xix [\textsuperscript{e} 99] yerys, payng yerly vj li xij s iij d therfore, may be founde in the sayd office: it is tolde me that, in case it so be, it wylbe a grete suerte to me hereafter; and in doing herof ye bynde me to do you & yours suche pore pleasure as may lye in my smale power; & beysides that, bynde me & myne to pray for you, as knowes god, who haue you in his kepyng! from Eltham this present Thursday, by the rude hande of yours at commandement.

W. Thynne.

Address, To the Right worshipfulle maister Cromwey, on of the Kynges moste honourable Counsele, this be deleyuered.

No. 21. Sir, In my herty manner I commend me vnto you, and in like manner pray you to take so moche payne for me when ye do make your boke of the hole valewe of the landes of Cristechurche, as to valewe the parsonage of Eryth & lesones at x li; and yet notwithstanding I shalbe no sauer, for I moste, be sydes this x li, pay yerely lx s for almes corne. In this helping me will [= while] tymes ys, ye bynde me herafter to do you suche pore pleasure as may lye in my smale power, which ye may be as sewer of as ye ar of your moste deryste frynge, as knowes god, who contenwe [you] in long lyfe & good helth: this presand saterday, by the rewed hande of your own

W. Thynne.

Sir, the breche ys inned.

Address, To the Right worshipfulle maister Cromwell, this be deleyuered.

There is nothing about William Thynne in the other Calendars and Historical MSS. Commission Reports yet publish. References to large masses of Thynne letters, in the 16th and 17th centuries, are in the Hist. MSS. Com. 3rd Report, p. 199.

p. xxxix. The inscription on Wm. Thynne's Tomb. Mr Maskell, author of 'The Ancient Church of All Hallows, Barkney,' has been good enough to copy for me the inscription on the restored Brass to Wm. Thynne. He says that "Stowe is not quite correct even in those parts of the ancient inscription which still remain. Stowe is by no means always literally correct."

"Here lyeth M. Willm. Thynne Esq\textsuperscript{t} one of the Masters of the honourable household to King Henrie VIII\textsuperscript{t} our soveraign Lord. He departed from the prison of this frayle body the X\textsuperscript{t} day of August Anno Dom. 1546 in the XXXVIII\textsuperscript{e} yeere of our said Soveraine Lord the King; whose bodye, & every part thereof, in the last daye shall be raised up againe at the sound of the loud trumpet. In whose coming, that we may all joyfully meet him, our heavenly Father grant to us, whose mercies are so great towards us that he freely offereth to all
them that earnestly repent their sins everlasting life, through the death of his dearly beloved Son Jesus, to whom be everlasting praises. Amen.”

The discrepancy between the two versions Mr. Maskell has kindly explained to me:—

“Emanuel Hospital, Westminster, Sept. 7, 1875.—Dear Sir, The tomb and inscription of Wm. Thynne was restored at my suggestion by the Marquess of Bath in 1860-61. When, with the assistance of one of the Churchwardens, I took a rubbing of the Memorial brass, I found the early part and many letters of the original inscription obliterated. Of the first part, only the letter y remained. Acting on my own judgment, and with the advice of others, I wrote out the inscription from the letters which remained, taking the y as the second letter of lyeth, and this was placed on the restored brass. The Marquess never saw the tomb, but I believe Messrs Waller sent him a rubbing of it. After the restoration was complete, I became acquainted with the original inscription, and I learned from it, and from an increasing knowledge of archaeology, many things of which I was very ignorant when I first began to explore the church of All-Hallows, Barking. I began to make collections towards the history of the parish, and those collections were (somewhat immaturely) published at the desire of friends. If they are worth your consulting, there is an interleaved copy in the British Museum Library. Please to remember that I call them merely ‘collections,’ and I hope they may be useful with all their imperfections to others better able to put them into a more complete shape. Thus, you will find a little about Wm Thynne, and a copy of his will on p. 50—52. This copy was taken for me by Mr George Corner, F.S.A., and was printed from his abbreviated MSS. All the early part of the volume was unfortunately corrected for the press in my absence from England, and not by me. This copy of the Will contains only the substance of the Testament, and is by no means a correct orthographic copy.

“But to return. When I learned the true inscription from Stowe I showed it first to our churchwardens,—who would not hear of ‘Pray for the Soule,’—and then to the Ordinary, the late Archdeacon Hale. By the latter I was informed that the inscription ‘Pray for the soule’ would be illegal, and could not be restored, and I had already learned that all inscriptions savouring of purgatory had been obliterated throughout the church; I was advised therefore to let the matter rest. It never occurred to me till I saw Stowe's work that the inscription could have begun ‘pray for the soule’ because of the very protestant character of the remainder of the Incription.—I am faithfully yours,

J. Maskell.”

p. xlviii. “Francis Thynne never in any University.” Wood in his Athena Oxon. ed. Bliss, ii. 107, puts him at both Oxford and Cambridge, and so misled the Messrs Cooper when preparing their Ath. Cantab. Wood says,

“Francis Thynne . . . was educated in gramaticals in Tunbridge school in Kent . . . where being fitted for higher learning by Jo. Proctor,
master thereof, . . . was thence sent to this university, at which time several of his surnames of Wilts, studied there; & one of both his names, and a knight's son of the same county, was a commoner of Magd. coll. in 1577. Whether our author Franc. Thyne went afterwards to Cambridge, or was originally a student there before he came to Oxon, I cannot justly say."

p. xlix. Francis Thyne's first antiquarian work. Mr G. Parker sends me these further notes on the Ashm. MS. 766.

"An epistle dedicatory of the booke of Armorye of Claudius Paradyne

"Dedicated to 'sir William Ceciiff, knighe, lorde burghleye.' . . . . 'The things which presently I present, I must confess for the devyce to be but meane; for the order, of smale trasayle; for the matter, of little value; & for the necessary use, not needful at this instante tyme; beinge but the genealogye and mariaiges of the noble howses of france, a forreine Realme vnto vs.' . . . 'And yet to one ad-dicted to serche Auncient perdegrees, gyven to the honorable knowledge of Armorye . . . I doo not doubt but this worke of Claudius Paradyne (somewhat bewtyfied to the eye by my endeavor and charge, although somewhat stuffed with envyous corrupcionne, or rather, ignorance of the auctor,) may brede some sweete plesure in thee readinge, & good profyf in the understandinge (thoughe yt be not composed in the highest style, for the manner of penninge yt; nor with the highest matter, for substance in devysinge of yt,) yf wee doo but barely consider this (&c.) . . . . And so I ende: from Barmondsye strethe the 2 of Auguste 1573, your Lordshipes to comandane to his uttermoste endevor

Francis Thyne.'


'A dyscourse vppon y* creste of the lorde Burghley.
[printed above, p. 103.]

Another discourse vppon the Philosophers Armes.'

It begins with a description of the interpretation by Daniel of the writing on the wall during the feast given by 'Balthassar thassyrian kinke.'

The heathen gods are often mentioned in the poem, with coloured illustrations. Erasmus is quoted, also Guido Bonatus, king David, & 'Plynye': he says 'I will defyne what thinge an ecclipsis is'; and a drawing of it is above.

'Who [Cuspianus] sayes in yere frome Christe his birthe . . . . (p. 44.)
A thousands fourte hundred & fiftene, this order did beginne
In the noble house of Austria; for in the yere aforesayed the Christians at Nicopolis by turke beigne dismayed amongst the reste at that lost field Donne John which was y* sonne of bolde Philippe beigne take[n] prisoner when that battell was woonne by Amurathes thempower . . . .

and beinge broughte into that ile of y* see Euxinus
to whome the fame of historyes eche one did there discusse
on the golden flese of Phrixius, and that Seint Andrawe there had fyreste the sede of Christes gospel preched in eche place where of that same lle, this John then beinge moued with propheye of a turkyshe Astrologer whiche was call'd Astolgande, this noble order of the flese he first did take in hande...

Mentions Colchos Isle, Medea, Jason, Morpheus, Cupid, Claudianus, Phoebus, Deucalion's thessalye, Mars, Saturn, Eolus, Hermes the Kinge, Alexandrye, Macedonia, Ptolomye, Cleopatra, Venus, Mars, Mercurye, Jupiter, Museus, Orpheus, Hermes, Beda, Gemini, Castor and Pollux, Vulcane, Salamander, Aristotle, Bonus of Ferraria philosopher, Ovid, Plato, Hermes trismegisstus, metals and precious stones, &c &c.

'And so haue the philosophers obscur'd their secret skill with heaped hills of names confus'd (lest other at their will whiche wicked were, sholde fynde this arte, & the hole world shold spill. . . . for in effecte the arte is nought but feblees weme[n]a werke . . . . . . The authores cheife of whiche same were Hermes trimegistus, . . . . . . of later tyme sprange from that roose the lerned Reymund Lully, the inglishe frier olde Bacon, & the good britishe Ripley, with Arnolde of the newe towe, & the wise & princely legate the famous grave Sir Geffraye chancer broug[ht]e (p altered to come) to light but of late the morall Gower, and Bumbelim who clerkdy did compose the shyninge starr of Alchymye in romaine tong & prose. Eke the inglishe philosopher Johnne Garland whiche did penne this arte in later phrase . . . .

Then [Thomas] Noorton . . . of whome Bristowe may bragge, in lerninge worthy to bee first, in tyme though he were lagge, as lyvinge in the yere of Christe seuentye seuen aboue, a thousande and fowre hundred, as his owne wortes well do prove. When they of truthe haue not one yote but counterfeiting wayes, [?] whiche, Chancer and Norton dothe most plenteously vnfolde. And humbly thus comyttinge me & this my simple stile [?] Vato your Lordships furtherance, for whome I did compile this rude and indigested chaos / in lyke sort comending You and your honorable state to heuenly Jouses blessinge, This metalls Metamorphosis is nowe ended by mee in yere of xx Christe a Thowsande fyue hundred seuentye three

Francis Thynne.


p. liv. The White Lion. "In the Surrey Archaeological Collections, vol. 3, pp. 193—207, there is a paper entitled "Further Remarks on some of the ancient Inns of Southwark, by W. H. Hart," which con-
tains petitions of prisoners in the White Lion, from 1628 to 1665, with correspondence thereon, and a petition of Stephen Harris in 1662, who was candidate for the post of keeper of the prison. Harris obtained his desire, and afterwards took as a partner Joseph Hall, who fell into disgrace from his wrongful actions. The paper also contains a territorial history of the White Lion from 1654 to 1798, when it was ordered to be taken down."—H. B. Wheatley.

p. lxxxv. F. Thynne's Lists or Catalogues. 'John Vowell als Hooker, gentleman,' was a fellow-sinner with Francis Thynne. He put in 'A catalog of the bishops of Excester,' pages 1300-1310.

p. lxxxv. W. Nicolson was successively Bp. of Carlisle, Bp. of Derry, and Archbp. of Cashel. His book alluded to is "The English Historical Library. In Three Parts. Giving a Short View and Character of most of our Historians either in Print or Manuscript: With an Account of our Records, Law-Books, Coins, and other Matters Serviceable to the Undertakers of a General History of England. The Second Edition Corrected and Augmented. By W. Nicolson, Arch-deacon (now Bishop of Carlisle, London ... M.DCC.XIV." (1714). He says of Francis Thynne, p. 71, "Holinshead frequently owns the great assistance he had from Fran. Thynne, sometime (in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth) Lancasterr-Herald, and an eminent Antiquary. He [Holinshead] has been severely treated by Sir Thomas Craig 1, for some Insolencies which that Learned Gentleman suppos'd him guilty of, in Relation to the Kingdom of Scotland: Whereas (in Truth) that part of the Book no farther concern'd poor Mr Holinshead, than as the whole was sheltered under his Name ... The common Books of Holinshead's History are visibly Cstrated: above Fourty Pages (from p. 1491. to 1536.) being omitted. I have seen one 2 Copy which supplies this Defect; and shews manifestly [?] that it was occasion'd by F. Thynne's singular Respecta to the Lord Cobham, at that Time very unseasonable. All that's left out [?] relates to Royal Grants in favour of that unfortunate Peer and his Ancestors: And his Disgrace [not] happening at the very Time of this Impression, it seems to have been thought Wise in this Continuer to leave out the whole Matter, reserving no more than a single Copy of the whole to himself. I am the rather inclin'd to make this Conjecture, because this Book is beautify'd with the Blazon of the Arms of the great Men, in the course of the History, from the Conquest to the latter End of Edward III. (in their proper Colours) fairly drawn in the Margin."

p. cvi. John Stow. William Harrison, the Essex parson, in his Description of England 1587 (1st ed. 1577), which I am now editing for the New Shakspere Soc., 1876, gives Stow a good character:—

"But hereof let this suffice, & in stead of these enormities, a table shall follow of the [Law] termes, containing their beginnings and endings, as I have borrowed them from my freend John Stow, whose studie is the onelie store house of antiquities in my time, and he

1 Scotland's Sover. 8vo. Lond. 1595, per totum. 2 D. Episc. Eliens.
worthie therefore to be had in reputation and honour."—Holinhed i:
my reprint, p. 207.

p. cv. Anstis’s MS. Hist. of Officers in the Heralds’ Office. As this compile’d Life of Francis Thynne speaks with authority as to some of
his MSS., I print the rest of it here:—

"There is nothing publishd of his works besides Certain Histories
concerning Embassadours & their functions, dedicated by him to his
Good Lord Wm. Lord Cobham, printed long after 1 his death; and the
divers Successions or Catalogues of the Great Officers of state published
in Hollinsheads History, in which booke there are many pages omitted,
occasioned by m’s. Thynnes singular respects to the Lord Cobham,
whose disgrace happening at the time of his publication, it seems to
have been thought wise to leau out the whole, reserving (as a Right
Reverend Author 2 saith) no more than a single copy of the whole to
himself: which later is a mistake, for there are more than one still re-
maining. It is to be lamented that in these printed Lists, the proofs,
Vouchers, and Authorities were not inserted, which are constantly
quoted in those MSS. of m’s. Thinne that the Collector hath perused, and
even in that part of the Genealogical History of Cobham 3 now in his
Custody. The Annals of Scotland from 1571 to 1586 are of his
writing 4, with the Catalogues of the Regents, Dukes, and Chancellors,
in that Kingdome &c. He composed also the Catalogues of English
Cardinals and Chancellors of England; and there remain in Ms.
divers Treatises, as a discourse of Arms, Collections of severall sorts of
Antiquities, Miscellanies of the Treasury, Epitaphia siue Monumenta
sepulchrorum, Anglice et Latine quam Gallice, with Notes on, and
Corrections of, Chaucers works 5, which comment on Chaucer. He had
an intention to have published as an addition to the Edition of that
Author made by his father when he was Clerk of the Kitchin to H. 8.
In the late Bp. of Ely’s Library 6 was his Original History of Dover
Castle and the Cinque Ports, to which He refers in a MS. now with the
Collector 7; And in the Cotton Library are preserved his Collections
out of Domus regni Anglie 8, Nomina Episcoporum in Somertect 9, Col-
lectanea Saxonica de donationibus a Regibus Eadfrido, Eadgaro et
Edwardo. Catalogus Episcoporum Bathoﬁ & Wellefes, a Book of
various Collections 10, et Commentarij de Historia et rebus Britannicis 11,
and a learned letter touching the Herald. Besides these, there remain
in this Collectors custody, the following peices finished by him, A dis-
course of Arms 12, The plea between the Advocate and Anti-Advocate

1 London, 1651.
2 G. x. pennes me [Anstis], p. 50.
4 Spedt’s Edition of Chaucer.
6 Julius C. 8.
7 Vitell. E. 5.
8 Cleopatra C. III.
9 Faustina D. 8.
10 C. 7.
concerning the Bathe and Batchelour Knights, wherein are shewed many Antiquities touching Knighthood, wrote by him in 1605; The History and liues of the Lord Treasurers continued to , probably the remainder was never finished in that method, by reason of his disappointment in not supplying at first one of the vacancy's then in the College of Arms abouementioned, and by the death of the Lord Burleigh soon afterwards; a Tract of the names and Arms of the Earl-Marshalls, with some materialls relating to their power and Jurisdiction; Divers Collections out of MS. Historians, Abbey Registers, Private Evidences in 4 Volumes in fol.¹ The death of this laborious Officer is plased by m° Wood² in 1611; but it must happen sooner, since He never surrender'd his patent, and that to his Successor is dated in Nov. 1608."

p. 8. The Pilgrim's Tale. See Appendix I, p. 77, and Notes, below.

The other Courte of Venus is T. Rolland's, 1575 (?). On Valentine's day, gay young Esperance praises Venus, while the grave Disperance abuses her. Esperance calls on Venus; she appears, and blows her horn for her nymphs. They advise her to try the culprit Disperance. The Seven Sages, the Nine Muses, the Nine Worthies, the ten Sibyls, the three Fates, all successively refuse to defend Disperance, and reproach him for abusing Venus. At last, Vesta undertakes his defence. The trial proceeds; Disperance is convicted, and put in the will of Venus. She orders him to be punisht and imprison'd; but on the entreaty of Esperance, &c. remits the punishment on Disperance's promise to serve her. She christens him Dalliance; and dances, tourneys and feastings end the book, which is very prolix and dull, though luckily not very long.

p. 66. Ordeal by Fire. See William Harrison's account of the procedure in this kind of trial, on pages 194-9 of my edition of his Description of England for the New Shakespere Society, 1876.

p. 77, Appendix I. Courte of Venus, and Mr Bradshaw's note, p. 76. Mr W. Christie-Miller of Britwell (Burnham, Bucks) has been kind enough to copy for me the beginnings of all the poems in his father's unique sheet of The Courte of Venus, as follows:—

(Title)

The Courte of
Venus. Newly
and diligently cor-
rected with many pro-
per Ballades newly
amended, and also
added thervnto
which have not
before bene
imprin-
ted.

NOTES.

The Prologue.
In the moneth of may when the new tender grene
Hath smothly couered the ground that was bare
Poudred with flowers, so wel be sene
I would haue brought my hart out of care
And as I walked in the wood so sayre
Thycke of grasse among the floures sweete
And many a 1 hoisme herbe sayre vnder the sete.

(14 more stanzas, then)

¶ Thus endeth the prologue, and hereafter foloweth the new court
of Venus.

My penne take payne a lylte space
to folow the thing that doth me chase.
and hath in hold, my hart so sore
And when thou hast this brought to passe:
My pen I praye the wryte no more.

(And 5 more stanzas.)

Finis.

My lute awake performe the last
Labour that thou and I shal wast,
And end that I haue new begone
For when this song, is gon and past
My lute be stil for I haue done.

(And 6 more stanzas.)

Finis.

To whom should I sue to ease my payne
To my mysters, nay nay certayne
For feare she should me then disdayne
I dare not sue, I dare not sue.

(And 5 more stanzas.)

Finis.

Dysdaine me not without desert
Nor leaue me not so sodeynly
Sence wel ye wot that in my hart
I meane nothing but honesty

Dysdayne me not.

(And 4 more stanzas.)

Finis.

1 sic
NOTES.

Fortune what ayleth the
Thus for to banyse me
Her company whom I love best,
For to complayne me
Nothing auayleth me
Adew farewell this nights rest.

(And 4 more stanzas.)

Finis.

I may by no meanes surmyse
My fantasy to resist
But after the old gyse
To call on had I wyst
And thought it to suffyce
That agayne I shal haue none
Yet can I not deuyse
To get agayne myne owne.

(And 4 more.)

Finis.

If fantasy would sauour
As I deserue and shal
My louse my lady paramour
should louse me best of all.

(And 8 more stanzas.)

During of payne and greuous smart
Hath brought me lowe & wodorous weake
that I can not cōsort my hart
Why eighest thou my hart & wil not breake.

(And 5 more stanzas.)

Finis.

Now must I lern to faine
And do as other do
Seing no truth doth raine
That I may trust vnlo
I was both true & playne
No one and to no mo
And vnlo me againe
Alas she was not so.

(And 5 more stanzas.)

Finis.
NOTES.

Louve whom you lyst and spare not
Therwyth I am content
Hate whom you lyst and spare not
For I am indyferrnt.

(And 4 more stanzas.)

Finis.

Meruaille no more al tho
The songes I sing do mone
For other life then woe
I neuer proued none
And in my hart also
Is grauen with letters depe
And many thousands mo
The flouds of teares to wepe.

(And 3 more stanzas.)

Finis.

Shal she neuer out of my mynd, &c.

In this sonnet the fragment ends.

p. 78, l. 38, go, and now goe we. "This is a curious illustration of Win Forrest's Second Grisild—Henry VIII's first Queen, Katherine of Aragon,—just issued by the Roxburghe Club in the History of Joseph, p. 171:

This word 'Gawe we,' and goyng with them too,
Dyd six tymes more good then 'goo yeo' shulde doo;

speaking of Joseph's gentleness, and his wisdom in dealing with his servanta."—H. Bradshaw.

p. 81, l. 143. Orders four. Augustines or Austin Friars; Carmelites or White Friars; Dominicans or Black Friars (Friars Preachers or Jacobins: the Black Monks were the Benedictines); Franciscans, Minorites or Grey Friars,—Fr. Cordeliers, from the hempen cord with which they were girded.—Skeat's note to Pierce the Ploughman's Crude, E. E. T. Soc., p. 33-4.

p. 81, l. 151. Paul. Hélyot gives 3 Orders of Paulines, i. 360, 473, 1152; and 4thly, the Ordre des Érémites de Saint-Paul, iii. 126; see my Ballads from MSS. i. 245, n. 9.

p. 81, l. 155. Anthonya. Cruched Friars nam'd after St Anthony; said to be founded by the great St Anthony, who was born in Egypt in 251. His monastery of Faioum at first consisted of a group of separate cells, and is supposed to have been the origin of cenobite life. Ballads from MSS. i. 245 n.

1 Cordeliers: t. A Grey Friars girdle (made of a piece of a rope full of equally-distant knots).—Cotgrave.
p. 81, l. 165. *La grange est près des bateurs.* (Said of a Nunnerie that is near unto a Fryerie;) the Barre stands neere the Thresher.

1611. Cotgrave. Compare too *The Land of Cockayne, &c.*

p. 85, l. 279. *The Chancellor of Lichfield.* He was at this time, the Bp of Peterborough tells me, "David Pole, appointed Vicar-General and Official Principal (i.e. what is commonly called 'Chancellor') in 1534, and was acting in 1543.—perhaps later.—Antony Draycot occurs in 1556 as holding the Office. Pole was also Archdeacon of Derby and Salop at the same time, and consecrated Bp of Peterborough in 1557." I find no notice of him in Strype before 1540. He was present (as Chancellor of Lichfield and Archdeacon of Salop) at the Convocation of Clergy in that year, which found Henry VIII's marriage with Anne of Cleve void, because Henry did not like her;¹ then in 1553, under Queen Mary's order "to turn out of their livings and livelihoods all priests that had taken wives, and to divorce them asunder..." D. Pole, L.L.D., vicar-general, and principal official to the Bishop, articed and deprived divers of the clergy for this cause: namely, H. Williams, Dean of the church of Litchfield, who married Eliz. King, widow of Alan King, of London, [and 3 others, a vicar, curate, and chaplain]. Moreover, in the archdeaconry of Stafford [...] David Pole aforesaid did article & deprive several other beneficed priests for the same grievous crime of marriage, as Nicholas Morrey, rector of the church of Rolleston "[and 10 others] (Eccl. Mem. III. i. 168-9). In 1553 also, David Pole, Archdeacon of Derby, was one of the Commission who found Bp Bonner's sentence null, and restored him (ib. 36-7). In 1554 he was present at—and evidently approved—the trial of Bp Bonner, and that of Dr Taylor, when he was sentenced to be burnt, and martyred. On 30 Sept. 1554 the Dean of Canterbury, acting as Archbishop during the vacancy of the see, gave Pole a commission to exercise episcopal jurisdiction in the see of Lichfield, vacant by the death of Bp Sampson (Strype's Cramer, 459). In 1556 "Commissions went out from King Philip and Queen Mary, throughout most of the dioceses, if not all, for a diligent search and discovery of heretics..." The new Archbishop [Reginald Pole] soon fell upon his work of constituting officers, and exercising visitations. March 27, he gave commission to David Pole, L.L.D., to be his vicar-general in spirituals. And another of the same date to the same person, to be auditor of the audience of Canterbury. And another yet, of the same date, to the same person, to be official of his court of Canterbury. And another to be dean of the Arches, dated March 17, 1557." The date I suspect mistaken, for he was bishop before March 17, 1557. "And besides all this favour to his namesake, (but not his relation, unless basely,) resolving upon an ordinary visitation of his diocese, he appointed him, being his vicar-general, to execute it"

¹ He had, he told Cromwell, "felt her belly and her breasts, and, as he should judge, she should be no maid; and added, he left her as good a maid as he found her." And so, "to comfort and deliver his Grace of his affliction," as Cromwell put it, Convocation set him free!! Eccl. Mem. I. i. 555—60.
(Exch. Mem. III. i. 477-8). In 1557 he was consecrated Bp of Peterborough—one of "Queen Mary's bishops... from whom was to be expected all the opposition that could be, against casting off the pope's usurpation, and restoring of true religion" (Annals, I. i. 82);—in 1558 he sent his proxy in the first parliament of Queen Elizabeth; in 1559 he was summons before the Queen, and afterwards deprived of his bishopric for refusing to take the oath of supremacy. Then in December 1559 he, with 4 others, signed a letter to the Queen in behalf of the Papist religion, entreating her 'ladyship to consider the supremacy of the church of Rome' (ib. 217). His name is then found (ib. 411) as one of the "Recusants which are abroad, and bound to certain places," "Dr Pool, late bishop of Peterborough, to remain in the city of London, or suburbs, or within three miles compass about the same;" and the last entry (214) is "David Poole, an ancient grave person, and quiet subject, was used with all kindness by his prince, and living in his own house, died in a mature age, and left his estate to his friends."

All this is the 'Pole, David' entry in the index to Strype, turned into paragraphs from the books. Foxe just enters Pole among the 'Persecuting Bishops etc. committed to the Tower.' viii. 637. All these are notices too late for our Pilgrims Tale, but David Pole's papist or persecuting tendencies must have shown themselves before Strype records them, as they call forth our poetaster's condemnation in 1536-40.

"David Pole, or Poole, of noble race, as it seems, some say 1 bastard brother to cardinal Pole, became fellow of Aisaulos coll. in 1520, took the degrees of civ. and can. law, that of doctor being compleated in 1527, at which time being archdeacon of Salop, 2 he was much in esteem for his great sufficiencies in those laws. Afterwards he was made dean of the Arches, archdeacon of Derby [Jan. 8, 1542] and chancellor of the diocese of Lichf. and Coventry. At length, upon the death of Joh. Chambers being nominated to the see of Peterborough, was consecrated thereunto 3 on the 15 Aug. 1557, and on the 28 of January following had the temporalities thereof delivered to him."—Anth. Wood, Ath. Ox. ii. 801.

Anthony Wood says of Pole's deprivation and death, "In 1559, about the time of Midsummer, he was deprived of his bishoprick, for denying the queen's supremacy, being then esteemed a grave person and a very quiet subject. Wherupon being committed to custody for a time, was soon after set at liberty, 'et principis beneficio (as one 4 tells us) in agro suo mature etate descessit.' "Dr Heylin in his History of the Reformation, an. 1559, saith that Bp Pole, by the clemency of the queen, enjoyed the like freedom, was courteously treated by all persons among whom he lived, and at last died, upon one of his farms, in a

1 "See Burnett's Hist. of the Reform. an. 1555, p. 326."
2 "According to Willia he was collated to this archdeaconry April 2, 1636, on the resignation of Richard Strete. Cathedrals, 424."
3 "Ibid. in Godwin, int. ep. Peterb. p. 594."
good old age. He gave way to fate in the latter end of May, or begin-
ing of June ¹ in 1568, but where, unless near to S. Paul's cathedral in
London, or when buried, I cannot tell. All his books of law and
divinity, which were then at London and Peterborough, he gave to the
library of Allsouls coll."—ii. 801.

p. 89. Lying prophecies. See Dr John Harvey's (Gabriel H.'s
brother's) Discoursive Probleme concerning Prophesies, 1588, p. 68:—
"Now touching the Finall why; or the generall and speciall ends therof,
were not these extravagant prophesies, mostwhat inuented and publish-
tome such great holie effect as the tales of Hobgoblin, Robin Goodfellow,
Hogmagog, Queene Grogorton, king Arthur, Bevis of Southhampton,
Launcelot du Lake, Sir Tristram, Thomas of Lancaster, Iohn à Gaunt,
Guy of Warwick, Orlando furoso, Amadis du Gaul, Robin Hood and
little Iohn, Frier Tuck and maid Marian, with a thousand such Legend-
aries, in all languages; viz. to busie the minds of the vulgar sort, or to
set their heads aworke withal, and to avert their conceits from the
consideration of serious, and grauer matters, by feeding their humors,
and delighting their fancies with such fabulous and ludicrous toyes. For
was it not the grand policie of that age, wherein those counterfet
prophesiers cheefly flourished, to occupie and carry away the commons
with od rumors, by simflames, wily cranks, and sleightie knacks of the
maker, even with all possible indeuors and vnderminings, fearing least
they might otherwise ouermuch or ouer deeply intend other actions,
and negociations of greater importance, private or publike affaires of
higher value, matters of state or religion, politike or ecclesiasticall
government, which from time to time they kept secret and couert, as
mysticall priuities, and sacred intendiments, to be meerly handled, and
disposed by the cleargie, or other professedd in learning; thinking
therby to maintaine themselves, and vphold at their proceedings in the
greater credit, authoritie, and admiration amongst the people. It was
a trim worke indeede, and a gay world no doubt, for some idle Cloister-
men, mad merry Friers, and lustie Abbey-lubbers, when themselues
were well whitled, and their panches prettily stuffed, otherwhiles to fall
a prophesieng of the wofull deathes, famines, plague, wars, and most
wretched, lamentable and horrible Tragedies of the dangerous ² daies
imminent: other whiles, when haply they had little else to do, or lesse
to suffer, to tell the world a lewd tale, or some notable miracle, as
namely of Saint Francis, how he turned water into wine, walked drie
footed upon the waters, forbade the swallowes to sing; and how good
S. Francis made all creatures reasonable and unreasonable to obey his
deuout commandements; or of S. Margaret, how she conquered and
killed the diuell with the signe of the holy ☦; how she was saluted by
an Angell from heauen, in the likenes of a doe, and called by the name

¹ "His will was dated May 17, and proved July 6, 1568. See Willis,
Cathedrals, 505."

² To drive infection from the dangerous year.
of Christ's owne Spouse, and so forth in the same miraculous vein. Lo, I beseech you (as an ancient poet said of soothsayers) how, *Sui quasstus causa fictus suscitant sententias*; and to increase their own private ease, libertie, and wealth, with publique reputation and reuerence; how they trouble al the world besides, and procure the perpetuall servitude, bondage and confusion of infinite good simple soules . . . . (p. 70). I touch not alone any one onely calling, degree or qualitie: hath not euer vocation, profession and estate yeelded some such counter-prophets and pennyfathers, very gromelgainers, self-louers, libertines, epicures, *Lucianists*, perpetuall incrochers, ingrossers and aspirers, publique forestallers, and regrators of al publique commodities and honors, libellers, factioners, troublers of al waters, sauing their owne, hartie friends to themselues onely, and deadly foes to all the world besides. . . .

Non sunt enim ij, aut scientia, aut arte diuini:
Sed superstitioni vates, impudentesque harioli . . . .

As the good old Ennius long ago vterted his affection towards such bribing copesmates, and incroching Bisogniers . . . . (p. 71) Such small ends as commonly overthrow and destroy the best established states, and at length bring most flourishing kingdomes, principalities, and commonwealths to their small ends, even most woofull, most dolefull, and most horrible ends; such in effect, and in conclusion, or rather in confusion, are the ends of such wretched and wicked proßhesies, the very prophesies of the diuell, to vndoo and destroy the world. Which our noble and well affected princes of England well knowing, and accordingly considering, have purposely ordened & enacted penal statutes to bridle the vnruly & presumptuous insolencie of such imposturall prophets: (as namely 5. Elizabeth.15.) (p. 73) I before mentioned the like Vlisseau policie: and nothing doubt, but some of *Achytophels* mightie oracles sauored of the same humor: as more lately som of Machiauels politique resolutions and practises haue pretily tasted & relised therof. In former times, and in a simpler age, it was no difficult matter, to shfit out with good plaine rude cloisterly stuffe: now lateward, sitethence those frierlie skarcrowes, and moonkish dumps began to be lesse dreaded or regarded, there haue not wanted illy fine pragmatical wares, of the maker, whereby no small intendiments, or base enterprises hauue beene attempted in most kingdomes and principalities throrow out Christiandome. Forsmoth loosers must haue their words: and beggers will needes be somewaies bulbeggers. I cannot stand to make any curious deuision; howbeit some of them would be noted for terrible *Elphes*, and *Gbolines*: som other of them can be contented to insinuate themselues like *Robin goodfellow* and *frier Tuckes*. Amongst whom (p. 74) can we better compare the former, than vnto such pedlers, tinkers, and sturdy rogues, as were woont to carie about with them their fierce mastiues & terrible bandogs, to serue their knauish and villanous turnes, vpon aduantage

*THYNNE.*
giuen? As for the rest, notwithstanding the sweete and plausible honie in their mouthes, hau they not also spitefull and pestilent stings in their tailes? The world neuer more complained of Achitophels, Vlysses, and Machiavel, than of late yeeres: but take away, or con-
temne, all malitious suborning of calumnye, libels, and prophesies: and
shall they not hurt or preuaile much lesse, as well in publike, as in
private, notwithstanding their other wiliest conuenciens and suttlest prac
tises? Were it not ouer great pitie, that any such knack of
knauerie, or couenous cheuinsance, or hipocrítical policy, or Mercuriall
strategeme, either by false libelling, or false prophesieng, or other false-
fieng of matters & maners, should peremptorily ouerthrow or traiter-
ously vndermine, any well gouerned or wel established state? God,
they say, sendeth commonly a curest cow short horns; and doth not the
dieu, I say, in the winde-vpall, and in fine, oftere play willie beguil
him selfe, and crucifie his owne wretched lims, then atchieue his mis-
chieuous and malicious purposses, howsoever craftlie conueied, or feestil
packed, either in one fraudulent sort or other?

p. 86, l. 310. Popish Masses and Persecutions.—"Sivquilla (= Ali-
quis) . . . . after I departed from the carnall Gospellers, I came among
the peruerse Papists, among whom was such Superstition, Idolatrie,
and Massing, with other abominations, beside the imprisoning, rack-
ing, punishing, killing and burning of the true professors of Christ,
that I could not choose but openlye tell the truth & their faults. Which
in no wise they could abyde to heare. Wherby quickly I was im-
prisoned, & there so punished that the vnchristen Turkes woulde not
so haue vest me.

"Ox (Omen = Nemo). How chaunceth that? for they name them-
selues christians.

"St. They are christians in name: but Dieuels in their deeds." 1580. Thomas Lupton, Sivquilla, p. 2-3 (A later and poorer Utopia,
that gave Stubbes the name of Aigna (= Anglia) for England. sign.
B. Omens (or Nemo’s) country is Mauqun (= Nusquam, nowhere),
p. 8).

p. 96, l. 684. Oxford and Stamford: the Pilgrim’s Oath. "(From
Mark Pattison, Lincoln College, Oxford.) In 1334 there was a large
secession from Oxford both of scholars and teachers, to Stamford, where
schools had existed from time immemorial.

"The Chancellor of Oxford appealed to the King, and the seceders
were brought back by force. To prevent the recurrence of a similar
secession, an oath was henceforward exacted from every student on
taking his B.A.

"‘Item, tu jurabis quod non leges, nec audies Stamfordiae tanquam
in universitate, studio, vel collegio, generali.' See A. Wood, Annals,
Gutch’s ed. i. 431.

"For the existence of schools at Stamford see Spenser, F. Q. IV.
xii. 35,
"And shall see Stamford, though now homely hid,
Then shine in learning, more then ever did
Cambridge or Oxford, Englands goodly beames."


They mowe by lawe / as they sayne
Us curse and dampne to helle brinke
Thus they putten vs to payne
With candels queyne and belles clynke
¶ They make vs thralles at her lust
And sayne we mowe nat els be saued
They haue the corne / and we the dust
Who speketh ther agayn they say he raued
¶ What man / quod our host / canst thou preche
Come nere and tell vs some holy thyng
¶ Syr / quod he / I herde ones teche
A preest in pulpyt a good prechynge

¶ Say / on quod our host / I the beseche
Syr I am redy at your byddynge
I pray you that no man me reproche
Whyle that I am my tale tellyng.

¶ Thus endeth the prologue / and here
foloweth the fyrst parte of this
present worke.

(Colophon) ¶ Printed at London by Thomas
Godfray.
Cum privilegio.
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94/615 means page 94, line 615.

a for ei: persuade, perceive, 94/615 (see desayue, disayuer); for ed, staming, steaming, 109/301.

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