Francis Thynne's Animadversions
upon
Speght's first (1598 A.D.) Edition of
Chaucers Workes.
ANIMADUERSIONS

vpon the Annotacions and Corrections of some imperfections of impressiones of Chaucers workes (sett downe before tyme, and nowe) reprinted in the yere of oure lorde 1598

sett downe by

Francis Thynne.

Soortee pur bien ou ne sortee rien.


BY

F. J. FURNIVALL, M.A.,

AND A PREFACE BY

G. H. KINGSTON, M.D., F.L.S.

PUBLISHED FOR THE CHAUCER SOCIETY

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LONDON.

1876.
[Arms of the Lord Chancellor Egerton blazon'd: and underneath them,]

Magna quidem laus est generoso sanguine nasi,
Maior honestatis facta decusque segni,
Maxima nosse deum, fontem metamque bonorum,
Vti sorte, piè viuere, rite mori.

Second Series, 13.
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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 obtaind 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 earn'd its right to a revisd 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 deliber-ately given, instead of the facts containd 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 Thynne'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.*

1 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.
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. 1 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." 2 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. 1 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.

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

1—1 and a—a By Canon Jackson.
2 Second and enlarged edition. The first thin edition containd 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. xvi, below. He is not so calld in the Household Ordinances. See Hindwords, below.—F.
³ The compilers of Mr Botfield's Stemmata Botevilliana wrongly identify William Thynne, the Chaucer editor, with the profligate adulterer Thynnus Aulicus, mentiond in Erasmus's Letters, book xv, let. xiv, who divorct 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 Vitruvius, and could not possibly be our Wm Thynne. Mr Bradshaw, who first calld 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 mentiond 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 Thynne,
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 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. 188. 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 serue, 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 whele anew,
To better or to payre 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 againe, I was willing not only to helpe some imperfections, but also to adde some things: whereunto he did not only persuade me, but most kindly lent me his helpe and direction. By this means most of his old words are restored: Proverbes 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 six-penny 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 copye 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 lassness 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 bonhomnie. Wolsey 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 influence¹: an assumption of

¹ 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 thadvauncement of true
Religion and for thabbolishment of the contrarie," runs thus:

"Provided also that all bokes in Englishe printed before the yere
of our Lorde a thousande fyve hundred and fourtie intytled the Kinges
Hieghnes proclamacions, injunctions, translacions of the Pater noster,
the Ave Maria and the Crede, the psalters, prynners, prayer[s], statutes
and lawes of the Realme, Cronycles, Canterburge tales, Chaucers bokes,
Gowers bokes, and stories of mennes liesves, shall not be comprehended
in the prohibicion of this acte, onelesse the Kinges saide Majestie
shall hereafter make speciall proclamacion for the condempancion and
reproving of the same or any of them."

Thus Chaucer's works were not held to be "pestiferous and noy-
some," like "the craftye false and untrue translacion of Tyndale," and
the "printed bokes, printed balades, playes, rymes, songes, and other
fantasies" that were "subtillye and craftilye instructing his Hieghnes
people, and speciallye the youthe of this his Realme, untrewellie and
otherwyse thanne the scripture ought, or should be, taught, declared,
or expounded."—F.]
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 talke 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.\(^1\) 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 Falstaff 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.

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 Holingshed; 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 Heraulde 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 1586 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 Speight, 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, xxvii, 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. xli.
h. The Pilgrims Tale, p. xlii; and 'sise, the best cast on the dice,' p. xlv.

II. FRANCIS THYNNE (A.D. 1545-1608).
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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,1 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. 18 Hen. VIII. (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.

25 Feb. 1528. Signature to the expenses of a royal banquet.2 Lansdowne MS. 1. f. 203-9. "Visus per me Willelmum Thynne."

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 'Thynnus Aulicus':" on this last point see p. viii, above, and the Notes at the end.

2 Here insuyth the hole Charge of a dyner made by the kynges highnes in the Loge in the Little parke of Wyndesour the xxyth of February, being the xix yere of hys Reyne," leaf 203.
21 July 1529. Head Clerk of the Kitchen, to be Customer of Wools, hides, and fleeces in the port of London, 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."

I b. 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 Terne 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 [iuward] and to yeeld account thereof, as other customers vsuallie doo, haung for his fee one hundred and three score pounds yearly." 1586, Fr. Thin, in Holinshed's Chron. iii. 1539, 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 travell'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 pê) he performed excellent service in the battel of Museselborough 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 Stemmata Botterilliana, 1858, p. 33; also p. cccvi.

3 Canon Jackson, from Papers at Longleat, See Notes for two letters.
Christmas at Eltham with a small number, for no manne might come thether but suche as wer appoynted by name: this Christmas in the kynges house, was called the still Christmas. But the Cardinall in this season, laye at the Manor of Richemond, and there kept open housholde, to lorde, ladies, and all other that would come, with plaies and disguising in most royall manner; which sore greued the people, and in especial the kynges servauntes, to se him kepe an open Court, and the kyng a secret Court.

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

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

These Wolsey 'Statutes of Eltham' are preserved in the Harleian MS. 642, &c., and were publishd 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 Kitchen¹ were—on leaf 143 of the Harl. MS. 642, whence I quote:

Clarkes of the Kitchine

(Cap. 14.) Item, it is ordeyned that the chiefe Clarkes, with 2 under Clarkes of the same, gie good attendance to see the service of the Kinge and his houshold; 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 Kinges house, according to their degrees; and that the stuffe maye be in the Larder in good hower, soe that the Cookes maye haue² reasonable pleasure for the good seasoninge of the same; [and the same] soe dressed to be serued by the oversight of the sayd Clarke of the Kitchine in due and perfect manner, to the Kinges more honour and proffitte, without embussellinge 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 gromes of the same," and the 'barbor,' "to the clerke 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 kitchinen,"

² MS. houe.
Ic. In the dedication of his edition of Chaucers Workes 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 amowges vs English men / whiche haue right well and notably endeouyred and employed them selues / to the beautifyeng and bettryng of thenglysh tounge. Amonges whom, most excellent prynce / my most redoubted and gracious soueraygne lorde / I your most humble vessall / subiecte and seruaunt, Wylliam Thynne / chefe clerke of your kechyn / moned by a certayne inclynacion & 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 tymes and layseres might suffre / to rede and here the bokes of that noble & famous clerke Geffray Chaucer / in whose workes is so manyest comprobacion of his excellent lernyng in all kyndes of doctrynes and sciences / suche frutefulnesse in wordes / wel accordynge to the mater and purpose / so swete and pleasant sentences / suche perfectyon in metre / the composycyon so adapted / suche freschnesse of innuencion / compendiousnesse in narration / suche sensable and open style / lackyng neither maieste ne mediocrite conenable in disposycyon / and suche sharpnesse or quycknesse in conclusyon / that it is moche to be marneyled / howe in his tyme / whau doultesse 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 ordynannee of god / semed lyke, and was in daunger, to haue vitterly perysshed / suche an excellent poete in our tonge / shulde, as it were (nature repugnyng) spryng and arysse. For though it had been in Demosthenes or Homerus tymes / 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 imperfite / to suche a swete ornatyre & composycyon / lykely if he had lyued in these dayes / being good letters so restored and reynued as they be / if he were nat empeched by the enuy of suche as may toleratte nothynge / whiche to vnderstande their capacite doth nat extende / to haue brought it vnto a full and fyngall perfection. Wherfore, gracious souerayne lorde / takynge suche delyte and pleasure in the workes of this noble clerke (as is afore mencioned) I haue of a longe season moche vsed to rede and visyte the same; and as bokes of dyuers imprimates came vnto my handes / I easely and without grete study / might and haue deprehended in them many errours / falsyties / and deprauacioes / whiche euydently appered by the contrarietees and alteracions founde by collacion of the one with the other / wherby I was
moued and styred to make dilygënt sertich where I might fynde or reconuer 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 seme to be very trewe copies of those workes of Geffray Chaucer / whiche before had been put in printe / but also to dyuers other neuer tyll nowe imprinted / but remaynyng almost vnknowen and in oblyuion / whervpon lamentyng with my selfe / the neglygence of the people / that haue been in this realme / who doutlesse were very remyssse in the settyng forthe or anauauncement either of the histories therof / to the great hynderance of the renoume of such noble princes and valyant conquerours & capityans as haue ben in the same / or also of the workes or memory of the famous and excellent clerkes in all kyndes of seycnes that haue florished therin / Of whiche bothe sortes it hath pleased god as highly to nobilytate this yle as any other regyon of christendome: I thought it in maner appertenant 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 workes / after the trewe copies and exemplaries aforesaid. And denuisyng with my selfe / who of all other were most worthy / to whom a thynge so excellent and notable shulde be dedicate / whiche to my concete semeth for the admiracion / noueltie / and strangnesse 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 indig-est masse or mater / none coulde to my thynkyng occurre / that syns / or in the tyme of Chaucer / was or is suffycient / but onely your maestie royall / whiche by discrecyon and ingement / as moost absolute in wysedome and all kyndes of doctrayne / coulde, & of his innate cleменce and goodnesse wolde, adde, or gyne 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 vouchsafe to take in good parte my poore studye and desyrous mynde / in reductyng vnto lyght this so precious and necessary an ornament of the tonge of this your realme / ouer pytious to haue ben in any poynct lost / falsyfied / or neglected: So that vnder the shylde of your most royall protecyon and defence, it may go forthe in publyke / & preuayle ouer those that wolde blemyssh / defece / and in many thynge clerely abolyssh, the laude / renoume / and glorie hertefore compared / and meritoriously acquired by dyuers princes / and other of this said most noble yle / whervnto nat onely straungers, vnder pretexte of highe lernyng & knowlege of their malicious and peruers myndes / but also some of your owne subjectes / blynded in folly & 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 progenytour / the great Constantyne / somtyme kyng of this realme / & emperour of Rome, was nexte god and his apostels /
chiefely maynteyned / corroborate / and defended / almighty Iesu send to your highnesse the contynuall and euerlastygne habundaunce of his infynite 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 edition 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 / taryng 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 1533 Thynne describes himself to the king as 'Wylliam 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 Botevilliana, 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 Thynne got from the King a grant of oaks, but their number is not filld-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, photographt.
I wolde and commande you that ye deliuer or cause to be deliuered vnto my loving frynde William Thynne, chef clerk of the kechynne with the kinges grace, or vnto the bringer herof in hys name, Okes of good and convenient bilding tembre with the tops, lops, and barke to be taken of my gief, of my wodes within the parishe of shatisbrok in the forest of windesour, any restrainte or contrary commandement, what socuer it be, hertofore by me or in my name made, notwithstanding: and this bift signed with my hande shal be your sufficiaunt warrant and discharge in that behalf towards me / yeouen at westminster the xxvij day of marche the xxiiij yere of therne of our saide souerayne lord king henry the eight.

To the wodward or keper of my Wode in the parishe of shatisbroke 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, whitsonday, the first day of June, the 25. yere of the raigne of Henry the viij, ij serued (?) one fare," are enterd as 'for the Queene,'

Edmond Peckham, coferer
William Thynne.
Thomas Hatcliffe.
Edward Weldon for the bushop, and the said bushop to be serued 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 borde on the right hand of the Queene, & the firste bord to be xj yards of Length......

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Serveioers at the Dresser without} & \\
\text{Thomas Child} & \\
\text{Thomas Hinde} & \\
\text{William Berman} & \\
\text{Thomas Hall} & \\
\text{Wm Thynne} & 
\end{align*}
\]

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, 364-73.
"Offycers / and Seruitors which dyd Service the same daye of Coronacion, beinge the fyrste of June: and first for the Quenes table, ij served (?) one fare / the bussoppe covered ....

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

(leaf 39.) Officers apoyntid to geane theyre Attendance on the lordes Spirituall & Temporall syttinge at the myddle bourde on the Quenes right hand / wherof the lyrst Bourde to be of xj the yardes of lengthe / to be servid iij of like fare, & xxxtie of another fare / ....

Conveyers
- Thomas Child
- 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 xxvijth yere of the regigne of Kinge Henry the viij, that John Wylyksyon of busshopgate strete in london, scourer of Synkes, hath reheventanted and bargayned with Edmunde Pekham, Cofferer, Thomas Hatterlyf and Edwarde Weldon, clerkes of the grenecloth, & William Thynne, clerc comptroller of the kinges honerable housholde / that he the saide John Wilkynson, for the wages of xxvij 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 payed by even porcionz / shall scour, clesne, and substantially make clene, all & euery of the Synkes belonginge vnto the kechyns within any of the kinges houses at Wyndesor, Rychemont, Hamptoncourt the more, Westminster, grenewiche, & Eltham, euery quarter of the yere, oone tymne yerely / if that he so often shalbe commandid, by any of the officers abone meneyoned, to do the same; & if he shall at any tymne refuse so to do, then he to have his quarter wages, or more, as the case shall requyre, defaultd & taken away / In wittyness herof the saide John Wilkinson, to this agreament hath 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 Falborn:—


I woll and charlige 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
giefth within my woodes growinge in my parc of Falborne, beinge in your kepinge, any restrainct or commandement what soeuer it be by me made to the contrary herof notwithstandinge; & this my wrtinge subscribid with my hande shalbe your sufficient warrant and dischardge in that behalf. Yeouen at the kinges manuor of Wodsor, the x day of August the xxvij yere of the reigne of our sounerayn lorde kinge henry theight

To the keper of my parke of Falborne, and in his absence, to his deputie 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 mentioned 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, ordained and established by Sir William Paulet, Knight, Treasurer of the Household, Sir John Russell, Knight, Comptroller of the same, Edmond Peckhan Esq., Coferer, Thomas Hatchiffe, and Edward Weldon, Clerkes of the Greencloth, and **William Thynne, Clerke Comptroller in the Comp-
ting-House,\(^3\) at the Kings manuor of Hampton Court,\(^4\) the 20th day of December in the 30th yeare of our said Soveraigne 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 securing 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):——

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1 MS. giest.
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:——
5 In the Condition of the Bond they are called "Wardens of the Mystrey and Occupacion of Poulters 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 proportion, 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 remaininge in his hands, more than shall be needful for the furnishing of his said proportion, 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 Willelmaus Mathew, Willel-mas Lychfield, Gardiauii Misterii seu occupationis vocate Pulerers Civitatis Londinensis, venerunt coram Johanne Gage, Milite, Contra-rotulatore Hospitii Domini Regis, Thomae Weldon, Gulielmo Thynne, Jacobo Sutton et Anthonio Bucks, apud Westminstre, et recognoverint cuilibet eorum debere Domino Regi decem Libras, solvendas in bona et legalli 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, Officer 1 of the Kings Most honourable Household, Wm Thynne, 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 Majestic, and his Household, 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 cleane 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 wayteth 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 Grencheloth (in which he'd have been concernd more with entering and posting the accounts that the Clerks Comptrollers passt), let us take out the particulars of the duties, in 1540 A.D., of our 'Clerke Comptroller.' The editor, 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 passt 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 new 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 Councell 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 Grencheloth, 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 Booke of briefnents 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."

1. William Thynne had at least one fellow-writer in the King's household. "Bryan Anslay, yeoman of the siller with the eyght kinde 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 ordeyned that the clerkes of the Greeneloth, or one of them, be dayly attantant in the compting-house for the engrossment of dayly booke of the expenses of the day before, in the time of the household keeping; according to the old usage and attendant customes of the King's house.

"Item the chiefe clerke of comptrloament to be there in like wise for the oversight and comptrolling 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 daily in the Compting-house, and at the Greencloth from 8 to 9 A.M., to examine the day-before's accounts of all Household Officers, to check wasteful expenses, and punish the offenders.

One Clerk Comptroller to be daily in the Larder, see that Victuals are good, and given to the Cook.

Clerk-Comptroller to see that the King's and Queen's food is well cooked and not stolen;

also that disorders in the Household be reformed;

that no strangers be allowd at meals.

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 dayly 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, soe cast up, to
enter in the Parchment docquet called the Maine 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
expirement of every Moneth, call into the Compting-house
the parcelles indented of all the particular provisions, made
in every Office of the Household, for the expence of the
said Household for the month passed; and after they have
been perused and seen by the Clerke-Comptroller, then
they to engrosse them up, and to enter them into their
Ledger, called the Booke of Foote of Parcells.

Item, that they shall yearly make the Cofferers booke
of Acco empt for the expence of the Yeares passed, noe the
same may be made perfect to be put into the Exchequer
yearly, within the terme of St Hillary, upon paie 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 Booke 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 Clerks Comptrollers, or one of them, shall
dayly, 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 be appointed
under check of Household, and not onely to default and

WM THYNNE'S DUTIES AS CLERK-COMPTROLLER. XXXIII
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 sit 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 warne 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 coming in of all Provisions in every Office of the Household; discreetly advising 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 coming in of the said premises being good stuff, shall make Entry and Record of the same into

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1 Absence from the public Hall, and taking meals in private rooms, was a great offence. See II. 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, giveing 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-Doocquets, 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 Wyndsor, 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 lodg'd 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 Clerk-Comptroller, to every of them being lodg'd 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 wecke 10s. . . .

[A.D. 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's; 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 means the bookees may be dayly engrossed by ten of the clock before noone; which doeing shall be greatly to his Majesties proffitt. 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's 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's 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 dayly of the dietts and Bouche of Court of the said four persons; which will amount to the sume of 536l. 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 Household; 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.
### I.e. WM Thynne's Dinners and Suppers. XXXVII

#### Sunday, Tuesday, or Thursday, Monday, or Wednesday

**Dyner**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Course</th>
<th>Souper</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bread Cheat and Manchet</td>
<td>Bread Cheat and Manchet</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ale</td>
<td>Ale</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wyne</td>
<td>Wyne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>† Beefe</td>
<td>† Beef for pottage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutton</td>
<td>Mutton boyled</td>
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<tr>
<td>† Veale</td>
<td>† Mutton rost</td>
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<tr>
<td>Capons</td>
<td>Capons</td>
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<tr>
<td>Conyes</td>
<td>Conyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>† Fryaundes</td>
<td>† Dowcoett</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 d. 1/2</td>
<td>9 d. 1/2</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 1/2</td>
<td>4 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9*</td>
<td>9*</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 1/2</td>
<td>4 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 gall' 6</td>
<td>4 gall' 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 pich' 6</td>
<td>6 pich' 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mess 6</td>
<td>1 mess 1</td>
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<td>1 mess 3</td>
<td>1 mess 1</td>
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<td>8</td>
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</table>

#### 2d Course.

|  
|---|
| Lambe, Chicken | Lambe, Chicken |
| † Pegoon | † or Rabbet |
| Cocks, Flovers † | Tails |
| Tarte | Tarte |
| Fruit | Fruite |
| Butter | Butter |
| 1 mess 6 | 1 mess 8 |
| 1 mess 6 | 1 mess 7 |
| 1 mess 14 | 1 mess 12 |
| 1 mess 14 | 1 mess 12 |
| 8 | 8 |
| 1 8 | 1 4 |
| 1 8 | 4 1 |
| 6 | 6 |
| 6 | 6 |

(Can't make these totals out of the figures.)

#### Fryday Dinner.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Course</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bread Cheat and Manchet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wyne</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lyng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pikes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salmon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playe, Gurnard</td>
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<tr>
<td>Haddock, or Whiting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 d.</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 1/2</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 gall' 6</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 pich' 6</td>
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<td>1 mess 4</td>
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<td>1 14</td>
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<td>1 12</td>
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<td>1 12</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 8</td>
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<td>8</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

#### Saturday Supper.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2d Course</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tench, Troute</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eles with Lamprells</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarte</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fruite</td>
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<tr>
<td>Butter</td>
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<td>Eggges</td>
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<td>1 mess 12</td>
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<td>1 mess 12</td>
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<td>1 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 1/2</td>
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#### Sum of the Charge per diem

- 14 6 1/2 pounds in septimens
- 18s. per annum

#### Messe rated at

- 255 3 4 1/2 pounds per annum

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* I don't know why the columns are doubléd.
† The dishes chang'd in the list are doubléd.
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 counsell, 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 courte, for their Bouch in the morning, one chet loafe, one manchet, one gallon of ale; for afternoone, one manchet, one gallon of ale; for after supper, one manchett, one gallon of ale, dimidium pitcher wyne; and from the last day of October unto the first day of Aprill, three lynkes by the weeke; by the day one prickett, 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 lights, 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):

Thanpointment 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Horses</th>
<th>Beds</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

In 1546, three months before Wm Thynne's death, he made to his friend William Whorwood, 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:


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

1 A mouthful, let's say. 'Avoir bouche à Court; To eat and drinke scot-free; to haue 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 befor this tyme the Kinges 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 Kinges maiesties parke of Beawdeley, by Reason whereof I, the same William Thynne, according to the Anucent Custome of Kepers and Raungers of forestes, parkes and chases, am intitled, 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 Dooe in wynter, as the Kepers ther in tyme past hathe bene accustomed to haue and take. / Knowe ye, me the said William Thynne, to haue geuen and graunted, and by thes presentes doo geue and graunte vnto my loving frinde William WHorwood esquier, yerely the sayd terme / A Bucke in somer, & a Dooe in wynter, to be had and taken within the said parke. To haue, take, receeyeue & 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 deleyurey therof, it shalbe lawfull to the said William Whorwood and his Assignes, during the terme aboue mentioned, to enter into the said parke yerely, & the said Bucke in somer and Dooe in winter, yerely with dogges and Bowes, at his or ther pleasure, to take, chasse, 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 xxxvijth yere of the Raygne of our soueraygne Lorde, King Henry the eight.

If. 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 said 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, &c.—J. G. Nichols, in Stemnata Botevilliana, p. cccvi. The epitaph is also printed there, and at p. 29.)
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, William Thynne, Being of good memorye, in manner and forme following Do make this my Laste will and testament: first, I bequeythe my Soule to my swete savior Ihesus Criste, my only Redemer and Sauyor, And to the hole holly company of heuen, of the whiche, In faicthe I beleue to be one of them, throwghe the meruytes of Chriustis Passion, and no otherwyse: my boddye to be buryed where yt shall please my wyfe. All my goodes, movable and vnmovable, Leases of Fermes, Dehtes, and all other thinges whiche I nowe haue intrest in, or hereafter maye haue eny intrest in, I geue to my wyfe Anne Thynne, And she to depart 1 with her childrene at her owne will and pleasure, and no otherwyse. And I do make my saide wyfe, Anne, my onely executrix, and praying her to be good mother to my childrene and hers. And I make Mr Edmude Peckham, cofferer of the kings housholde, 2 and John Thynne my nephewe, my overseers, hertely praying them to be my poore wyfes comforde and helpe in her nede and necessitie, in defending her in her nede; And in this Doing, I bequeethe either of them one standing Cupp of Syluer, and gilte, with a couer. And I geue to Thomas ffysher, my seruaunt, a dublet of crymsen satten. In witnes that this is my last will, I haue to this presentes putto 3 my seale, and also subscribed my name, the xvi Daye of Nouem-ber in the xxxijth yere of the Raigne of our Soueraigne Lorde King Henrye theight. By me, William Thynne."

The Will was prov'd in the Prerogative Court of the Archbp of Canterbury, on the 7th of Sep. 1548, by Wm Walker, proctor for Anne, the relict and executrix. Anne Thynne the widow afterwards marrie, first, Sir Edward Broughton, and then Mr Hugh Cartwright, and died without having made a Will. She was not burid by Wm Thynne.

"4 On 5 June 1572, letters of Administration were granted to Elisabeth Pygott, alias Thynne, (through Francis Thynne, Gent., her proctor, 5) 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."

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

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 Plowman’s 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-call’d. He printed it, showld it to Henry VIII, and askd his protection if he publisht it. This, Henry at first promist; but Wolsey prov’d too strong for him, and Thynne had to cancel his

\(^1\) 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) 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 William 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 leaft or folio’d Fo. CC.xix; then 3 leaves, Qq iii, 5, 6, have no leaf-marks; Qq 7 is leaft 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 something else between the Troylus and Legende, and then had filld up the space with the spurious Testamente of Creseyde, 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).

The Pilgrims Tale. It is a great comfort to have unearthed this, after its suppos’d 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 proposd 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
chanct 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-
pistry) 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-
mutation 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-columnd 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. 1509, 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,¹—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, rendred 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 Chaucer his worke.

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

[8 leaves: ends with (see p. xlv)]
that on one's home-coming were determin'd to try and drive away one's feeling of pleasure\(^1\) after leaving Dublin friends so genial and bright, and Wicklow scenes so fair.

*M.S. E. 5. 10. Trin. Coll., Dublin, leaf Cxxv.*

Euermore schalle the \(\square\) \(^2\) be the best cast on the dyce.

\(\text{i. vulgus}\)

When that \(\square\) beryth vp the \(\square\), ynglond schal be as paradice,

\(\text{i. religious}\)

And \(\square: \) and \(\square: \) set al on oone syde.

\(\text{i. vulgus}\)

Tho schal the name of the \(\square\) springe wonder wyde;

\(\text{j. prodictores}\)

\(\square: \) set a side and \(\square: \) clene schent;

\(\text{j. bilingue}\)

ye schal haue a new kinge at a new parlement;

\(\text{i. vulgus}\)

\(\square: \) schal vp, and \(\square: \) schal vndur.

When dede men Ryse, that schal be moche wonder;

The Rede Rose and the flour de lyce, the lockes schal vndur.

Yet schal the \(\square: \) ber the pryce, and \(\square: \) schal helpe ther to.

Nota.

now haue yow heard the making of one stone, begynnynge and ending, and all is one. Finis.

Of course these late attributions of MSS. to Chaucer are quite worthless. Compare Mr Black's *Catalogue of the Ashmolean MSS.*, col. 1213, MS. 1445, no. 5. 7.

"Elixer Arnoldi de villa nova. Take earthe of earthes, and earthes brother" (89 lines) f. 19\(^b\)–20\(^b\).

The last line is—*But take thy beades, and goe praye.* This is part of "Pearce the Black Monk upon the Elixir," in Ashmole's *Theatrwm*, p. 269: but in this MS. a different old hand ignorantly altered the title, given above, to "Galfridus Chawcer his worke."

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\(^1\) To which purpose, Fabatus an old consull, but no travel-ler, speaketh according to his small skill.

\(^2\) The names are generally written too, 'sise, cinque, quater, trey, deuse, aas (or as, ace)'.

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

When lordes wille is londes law,
Prestes wyll trechery, and gyle holde soth saw,
Lechery callyd pryve solace,
And robberie is holden no trespace,
Then schal the lond of Albyon torne in to confusion.
A M\(^1\) CCCC lx and on, few lordes or ellys noone.

longe berde herteles
peyntede hoode wytles
Gay cote graceles
maketh engolond\(^3\) priflies.)

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 its citing 6 lines from the Englisht version of the *Romautn 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 car’d for\(^1\) 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 Matrimonye,’ *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 bookes, althoughte neuer so learned and eloquent, because they would not have the mindes of their youte 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 baundy balades and filthy bookes, vnto the corruption of the reders, as the court of Venus, and suche like wanton bookes. Is the commandement 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. . .

But an earlier edition of the *Courte* may not have containd *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 youth, 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 intertaine princes comming thither; as in my time I haue seene both king Philip & the queene [Mary] to haue rested themselues 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 houre 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 fiue 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 yeres before. At what time, my selfe, then a young scholer, beheld the funerall Pompe thereof, which trulic 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 couered with a cloth of blacke veluet, with a great crosse of white satten ouer all the length and bredth 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 intertaine 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 youg beheld, vrgeth me forward in the setting downe thereof; which was: a banketing house made for hir maiestie in Cobham parke, with a goodlie gallerie thereunto, composed all of greene, with seuerall deuises of knotted flowers, supported one each side with a faire row of hawthorne trees, 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. 8-23.

1 Hearne's Diary, vol. lxiii. 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. s. 1." 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 queen's progress into that country (wherein my selfe was borne & bred, and wherein I haue both manie friends & kinred (whome this progress 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 maisties progress into that country."—Holinshed, iii. 1493, col. 2, l. 30-6.

II. 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 Oxford¹. 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 Lincoln's 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 "Lincoln's 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]."

¹ 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 dub'd it Chaucer's, and printed it in his Workes.

² By Canon Jackson, from the Marquis of Bath's papers at Longleat.
In February 1573 Francis Thynne writing 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 streathe the 2 of Auguste 1573." The next poem in the MS.—printed below, in Appendix IV, p. 103, Thynne's "dyscourse uppon ye creste of the Lorde Burghley"—is not dated. But it mentions our author's distress, and also says that he went into a garden, 1. 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 octobrns." 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 inr de . . . . [name rubd out] because I bought the same booke after in Latyn. F. Thynne.

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

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

(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 pomone. Copied oute the 18 of September 1574, by me FRANCIS THYNNE."

1 The letter is still at Longleat, but I am not allowd a copy of it.
2 This motto, which he writes 3 times in 25 leaves, points to his being in prison, I suppose.

THYNNE.
The Secrets of Alchemy—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 præparatio propolatur—fo. 9. b.
Responsio istius Epistolæ—fo. 10.
Aristoteles de Pomó—fo. 10. b.
Ovidius de Vetula—fo. 15.
Mystical Coat of Arms—fo. 25.
Lactantius de Phenice—fo. 25. b.
Claudianus de Phenice, sive de Ave Hermetis.—fo. 31. b.
Plinius de Phenice—fo. 33.
Tractatalus 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\textsuperscript{m}. Elizæ per Robertum Hare—fo. 41. b.
Quomodo placita Coronæ in Turri Londonie teneatur—fo. 45.
The life of Sr 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 Informatione Computantium in Scaccario—fo. 78.
Perambulatio Forestæ Essexiæ—fo. 80, 28. Edw. 1.
Expositiones Antiquorum verborum Anglicanorum [begins Soka, ends Brigge bote: known]—fo. 83.
Repertorium diversorum Recordorum—fo. 84.
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 alijis 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 Reginae 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 n° 1574—fo. 175.

The 4th May 1605. 3°. Iacobi 1st Eight Noblemen Created—fo. 187.

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 Nor'hampton, made Knights of the Garter—fo. 188.

Series Ordinum omnium Procerum, Magnatum, et Nobilium, et aliorum quorumcumque infra hoc Regnum, tam virorum quam femina-

rum, posita et distincta per Nobilissimum Jasperum, Ducem Bedfordie, et alium appunctuariorum 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 Burials to be observed—fo. 189, b.

The Heraldes Fee for the Queens Coronation—fo. 190.

The Comicion for Marshal Causes 1 Feb. 2°. Iacobi 1st.—fo. 190, b.

On the 24th of January 1573-4, Francis Thynne got Letters of Administration, as we have seen (p. xl), 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 imprisond 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; robbd 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-M.S. 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 M.S. 21, Art. 57, leaf 117.

Righte honorable (my Verye good lorde) presuminge uppon 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 encourged to hasarde my rashe attempte, wherein I most humbly beseeche yo" rather to consider the state of my enforced compleinte, then the malipertnesse of my disordered penne, that dareth so impudently (without respect of honor in yo", & thee dutye of wisdome in mee) seeke to craave that at your Lordships handes whiche I cannot deserue, & muche lesse shalbe able to requite. And thoughge, my good Lorde, fortune hathe not befoore tyme made manifeste unto yo", eyther the perfecte knowledge of my persone, or the dowryes of my mynde, or the welwillinge dutyfullnes of my harte (whiche alwayes in secret hathe wished occasione to disclose what Iyeth buried therein towards yor 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 confinment 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."
miserable pouertye, hathe emboldened the distressed persone to craue your honors favorable succor to helpe the poore estate of mee, vniustly
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 vtherly be ouerthrown, withoute your Lord-
ships good assistance therein. Whereunto I do most dutfully submytt
my selfe & my cause, desyringe your Lordship to deale with mee none
otherwise then the iustnesse of my case, the sim plycyte of my doinges,
the trothe of the matter, the credit of my good naame, & the nobilitye
of your callinge, shall well deserue. But what doo I spende manye
Woordes, in a iust case, from a iust manne, to require iustice, since that
same is superfluous, & to srecce frendshippe in an iust case matter is meere
injustice, & vther discreditt to the party that craueth yt.

I, Therefore, in the uprightness of my sute, most humbly beesche 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 lighe boorde
of the counsell (or rather (as I most ernestly doo craue) before your
hoonour,) that by your Lordships vndeserued curtesye some remedy
mighte bee provided, to helpe my distresse, too releeue my neede, to banishe
my famyne, & to moderat the iust case dealings of euill persons, my case
beinge suche as must be determyned by conscience & reasone; for
otherwise, suche is the meaninge of my aduersaryes (who by name &
nature ar my kinsmen), as yt they may bringe mee lowe (as they haue),
withoute money; keepe mee (as they doo) imprisoned withoute bayle;
make me helplesse (as they tranell therein) withoute frendes, & comfort-
lesse withoute Justice; they had the same they desyre, for that, that
vnder the coole of prouncinge for the assurance of my wyues iointure
(wherby they haue withholden ijC markes by yere this foure yeres) they
[if 117, back] haue not all onely spoyled mee, but also styll receue the
reuennes of the same, not forcesinge what become of mee, sufferinge mee
in the meane tyme, withoute sustenawnce for my maintenaunce, & with-
oute 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 twoo months in restreynte of my libertie, not in
case able to recouer my lyvinge because I cannot (againste their iust
detencions thereof) haue lybertye to followe the lawe, nor in case able to
pay my creditor, for that, that I haue not, by theire euill dealings,
wherewith-all for too doo yt, as in reasone I shold, & in trothe & con-
sience I wolde. Wherfore, vpon the knees of my harte, an the pyt-
full compleinte of a famished prisoner, I most humbly besche your
Lordship to stande my assured patrone (as one to whome I owe my
lerninge, my trauell, my libertie, & my lyfe (the [whiche] withoute
spedye preuentione resteth in danger of losinge by the dissolucion of
my bodye) & that yt will plese your Lordship, for the administrratone of

1 caring: forceeth, matters, signifies.
2 See Stubbes's Anatomie of Abuses, &c., on the poor prisond debtors.
3 Can this mean that Cecil brought up Francis Thynne?
Justice, for godds cause, for the nobilitye of your estate, for the deluyere of your poore Dutiful full servante, for the defence of the oppressede, for the succor of the helplesse, & to answere the present hoope I haue in your Lordships curtesye, not to denye this mye iuste desire, but to suffer my importuntye (with the widdowe mentioned in St Luke) to overcomye your Lordships cause of refusall of this my humble sute, yf you should haue occasione mynistred vnto your honor so too doo.

Thee performance whereof shall not all onely bee acceptable to godd, answerable vnto your callinge, & profitable vnto mee, but shall also bynde mee & all my frendes to our vttcrmost endeuer to rest at your Lordships good commaunde. Thus hopinge your Lordship will deale with mee as most curteously heretofore yo haue always delt with others, Commendinge mee & my estate to your favorale comforte, Cravinge pardonne for my tedious writinge, & commyttinge your Lordship to thee governement of the almightye, who sende your Lordship further encrease of honor, & mee present release of restriente, I most humbly take my leave, the 13 of March 1575[-6] from the White Lyon, the Vnhappye place of my sorrowfull restriente. By your Lordship to commaunde to his vttermost end euer duringe his Lyfe,

Francis Thynne

Addrest To the right honorable his singuler good Lorde, the Lorde Burghleghe, highe Treshaurer of englande, & one of the priuie counsell to her Maistie, be these.

Endorst 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 beyoynde the course of my deserte, or the honor of your estate, by tedious presumsiptone to name the comforable 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 of Murtherers, 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 Stone's Survey, vol. ii, B 4, p. 29-30. See Notes below.
with the two honorable lyons of Jupiter & Luna¹, therein representinge unte mee the Maiestie of the golden Phesus pyesed in the ballance of Justice, supported with two most worthye Vertues, Wisdome & good gouvernement, So now againe, lest the charge of the estate of this realme dependinge uppon the Wisdome of your fooreysighte might in the tender nett of your memorye weue oblyuione of mee & my myserable imprisonement, I haue accompted yt my dutye, (to thend that I may fynde some harborwe in your remembrance) to presente unto your honor these wavinge lynes, carracted in the color of the sable Saturne, whose malicious dispositione, by the euill complexione of his melancholye nature / dothe (besides reason, Justice, conscience, Wisdome, or my deserties,) deteyne mee in the prisone of iniuste dealinges, in suche sorte, that I, tyed by the leaden healcs of his malice, cannott approche the presence of that golden soone, Wherin is written by the hande of Mercurye, that there is but one waye, & one harte, one saythe, & one baptysme, one godd, one christe, & one pathe to all philosophye & vertue, Whiche must, by the furtherance of the azured Jupiter, banishe 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 beginnyinge of all thinges, & that withoute one, no nomber cann bee perfoormed, & that from one, all nombers doo arise, & by circulatione doo ende againe in thee same oone, I most dutifuly beseeche 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 deluyer oute of prisone one manne, whose harte, whose Lerninge, whose labor, & whose service is Vowed & sacrificd one Waye, & to one persone, since ‘omnis 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 foortune is so harde, the nature of myne enymies 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 blazond 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 lowest 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 myydest of worthye gentryes seuente degree, a lordly baron of noblytie”. 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 lustly bere.” See the poem in Appendix IV, below. A sheaf of arrows, or six arrows crosset alternately, form the Salisbury (or 2nd son, Robert Cecil) crest. The shield or coat of arms is supported by two prancing ermin lions.
deservethe, for then shold youre Lordship (yf that these impediments were not) bee partaker of that simple treatise whiche I haue longe tyme since dedicated vnto your honor. But since mye sofortune 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 unskillfull labor of my bande & mynde (consecrated to the favorable acceptance of your honorable curtesye), I ame well contented (beinge thereunto vnwillingingly enforced, to lett the same with my other labors to dwell in silence; for thoughge in those travayles I wolde seme to flye to the heauens, yet there is a heuie stoune tyed at my foote, whiche keepeth mee backe in suche sorte, that where I wold discouer my dutyfull service vnto your honor, there, pouertye & wante of Lybertye tyethe hym by thee fecte, & dothe denye the effecte of his honest desire therof. Whose bandes, I beseche your Lordship may be released to his no smale comforte, & for to answer the greate hoope I haue in your Lordships vndeserved curtesye, where unto I most humbly in every respecte (to saue or spill) do submytt my cause & my selve, begginge, uppon the knees of my harte, to come before your Lordship to discover his miserable estate, therby to helpe to succor hym who is lyke to famish for wante of sustenance, not haveinge [If 119 back] apparell to clote hym, nor money wherewith-all to meynetyne hym. Thus, (right honorable) cravinge pardone for my Tediousnes (since, as sayethe Salomon, 'in multiloquio non deest peccatum') Wishinge my lybertye, hopinge upon the same, commendinge me vnto your favorable comforte, & commyttinge your honor to the deuyne essence (the bewtye of whose Maestie placed, as sayethe David, in the tabernacle of the golden sonne,) so lighten the honor of the golden sheaffe, that the same beinge advanced to a seate of followinge encrease of honor in yo", may worke a presente release of imprisonment in mee, I most dutfully 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 uttermost endeavors.

Francis Thynne.

II. 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 44, back]
When she is good, better, and beste.
My frend, yf that my Judgement do not fayle, as one well taught by longe experience skill, thy wife allwaies is but a needefull ill, and beste is bad, though she faire she beare her saile; but vsd not well, she worser is to thee, but worst of all, when best she seemes to bee

Thy wife is good when shee forsakes this light, and ycaldes by force to natures destinie: she better is, (thow livinge,) yf she die; but best, when she doth soonest take her flight; for soe to thee thine ease shee doth restore, which soonest hadd, doth comferte thee the more.

Mariage.

Deepe witted menn b'experience haue contrived, that mariage, good and quiet is, eeh hower, where the mans heringe organs are deprived of their right vse and sound receyving power, and where is seeléd vp the womans percing sights, that she maie not behould her husbands sweet delights.

For since nature hath made that sex most fraile, and subiect to tormenting Iealousie, vpon eeh guiltles signe they will not fayle, 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 brawlses of his vnquiet wife, eeh would embrace and hould the other deere, wherbye they might obtayne a quiet life; without which rare effects, swete mariage is a hell; but linkëd with these guifites, 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 43, back), chime-in with the feelings he gives vent to in his White-Lion letters.

II m. 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 Bechers"; 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 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 spooken, vnlest yt were uppon 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\textsuperscript{2}, not hauinge other occasione offerd to present my self vnto your honor, but by the caractes of my hande in leiw of that duety whiche I shold bestowe in persone. Wherefore since I ame by diuers urgent enforcementes 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 vnder-served curtesye, to the uttermost of his endeouyre, whiche beinge able to streteh yt selfe no further then to a fewe simple woordes, thus entreth 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 meintenaunce of his lyfe, as without companye (beinge alwayes redye to fall to the worste,) he is drowned in melancholy conceytes, the mother & noircie of all enuilles, bredinge despaire, wicked thoughtes, & euyl lyfe. And therefore god (determyninge that we shold preuente these myscheifs) did first by his owne example create a helper unto Adam, beinge sollitarye in Paradise, therewith bestowinge one hym a certeine meane (in that heauenly gyfte of comfortable speche) whereby eche one might with facylytie entereteyne the secret loue & simapthye of their naturall fideltye. . . . . . . . . . .(\textsuperscript{1575}) “Thus cravinge pardonne for these tedious lettres / the reading wherof doth heape more troble on hym whiche is dayly surcharged with manye more weighty affayres of the comon welthe, humbly comendinge me to your honorable lykinge, commytinge yo\textsuperscript{a} to the tuicione of the Almightye (who sende to yo\textsuperscript{a} furthere encrease of honor, to me an ac- ceptable lykinge from your judgment, & to vs bothe the abundanze of his heuenly spirite,) yeldinge my selfe at your Lordships good commaunde to be disposed in any service yo\textsuperscript{a} shall enioyne me here or ells where, I lutfuly take my leave. Longleate the 20 of Octobre 1578. Your pounte by desarte

Francis Thynne

. / . / . / . . .

\textit{\textbf{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 \textit{Perfect Ambassadoure}.\textsuperscript{1}

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

\textsuperscript{1} Hearne’s Diary, vol. lxxxiv. p. 64. “Dec. 3, 1719. Francis Thynne of Longlate Esqr’s. Book call’d \textit{The Perfect Ambassadour, treating of the Antiquitie, Priviledges, and behaviour of men belonging to that Function}, was written at Longlate, Jan. 8, 1578, and was printed at London, 1652, 12\textsuperscript{o}. The Author calls it a Xtmass Work. There are some light things in it.”
perpetuall 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 seldom 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 negligence that would not ofter 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, wherewith 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 congratulare your Lordship with the tokens of my old vowed fidelitie, as a sign of my hidden joy conceived 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 grieves, As laying open to your sight the rejoicing of my well-willing 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 Embassadour present my labours, the Embassadours 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 behaviours of Embassadours, 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 Embassadours, 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.' Eliotes Diccionarie, 1559, in Nares, 1589: see too the quotations there from Pembroke's Arcadia, L. 3, p. 297, and Chapman's Mons, D* Olive, Anc. Dram. iii. 348. Halliwell's Glossary defines it 'an inconvenience or grievance,' and refers to Dent's Pathway, pp. 306, 369; Tusser, p. 32; Stanihurst, p. 25.
Orators of Kings (For all these severall termes 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 middest of their greatest glory; But I wil 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 Christmass work, done in the middest of my Christmasse plaies, as may appear by the Christmasly handling thereof, I after Christmass 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 me as it is presented willingly by mee unto you, with whom (as soon as by pleasure 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 bestowed.

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

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 Johned oldcastell', leaf 43, back. 'Senescalli Anglie,' leaf 98; 'Erles of Shrewesbere' (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 comentries 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 belonging to the prince. Hilles of name, Sandye 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 furnivall: ypodigma, pa. 167.

A third "Parte of the fyrsyte Parte of the comentries of Britayne collected by Francis Thynne 1," 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 oute of the Booke de gestis Lindifarnensis et dunelmensis episcopis" 2—so far as I can read the words;—leaf 15 bk. "A° 1583. 3 Junij. Notes taken oute 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 oute of a polichronicon of the house & priorie of Durham;" leaf 38, "Notes oute of a Cronicle of Scotlande belonginge to Durhame Churche;" leaf 40, "13 Octob. 1583, Notes taken oute 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 bookes."

2 The endings are 'is' and not 'iun, orum.'
westminster, A° 1450;" leaf 41, "Notes taken oute of [? MS.] Sporley, a monke of westminster. The Abbates 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, "Thinges excerped oute of an olde englishe booke in ryme of the gestes of Guarine and his sones;" 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 histoyre in Ryme of the actes of the Guarines vnto the deathe of fulco 2 . . .’; ends on leaf 78: "as I remember the inglishe histoyre of the fyztwarines attributethe this to fulco the firste. finis 6: Martij 1584, Francis Thynne." Next page, "Taken oute 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 paschalisis to Laufrance Bishop of canterbury, concerning horveus the first Bishop of Ely . . .” “oute of the booke of the Churche of powles of londone…” “Notes taken oute 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 oute 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 hathe the red booke of the exchequer in the treatice there made by Alexander, archdeacon of Saloppe . . .” “Thus farre the notes of the fyrst booke of gervasius 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 oute 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 forestalld 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 considerd, broken his father’s engagement to find a home at Longleat for Francis during his life (p. lviii). The letter is at Longleat, but no copy is allowd me.

II q. Continuation of Holinshead (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 Holinshead’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 inforcement of others, whose commanding friendship it had been sacrilege for me to haue gainesaid” (p. lxx, lxxviii). 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 (ib., p. lxxvii), is continually profuse in apologies (p. lxx, lxxiii, &c.), but still reminds his readers that he has faithfully taken much pains with his work, and toild hard for it (p. lxxxix, lxxx). He was surely fit to help in such an undertaking. He had plannd, and made collections for, a “Pantographie of England, containing the vniuersall 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. lxxviii), Earls (p. lxxxi), 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; esteemd and praisd by Camden (p. cvi, below), the friend of Eger. (afterwards Lord Chancell.); 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 (2 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 contained 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 praisd Lord Cobham, who afterwards fell into disgrace; but the William Brooke, Lord Cobham, whom Thynne praisd, 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 praisd his sons, Henry — who was attained 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 onelie 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 George¹, 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 Holinshed.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 Leicesters passing ouer 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 sufferd six times from Thynne’s interrupting long lists, he came on the seventh,—thrust-in just as Leicester had been grandly receivd at Colchester, and was on the point of embarking his army for Flushing (p. lxxxvi); and then found the 5 folio pages of this seventh list³ followed 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 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 v j., or p. 1419, 1420; a new leaf signd A, B, C, D, E, paged 1421, 1490; another leaf signd F, G, H, I, paged 1491, 1536; and another leaf not signd, but paged rightly 1537, 1538.

twentith of November, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred sixtie 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 saturdaye the last of Julie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand, five hundred, sixtie nine, is so well in dewd with the gifts of nature, and so furthered therein by the helpe of studie, which he impioed in the vnuersitie of Cambridge, where he receiued the degré of master of art in the yeare of Christ one thousand, five hundred, eightie and sixe, 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 welsaured) may iustly saye: Ingenio formae damnæ reperdo mea.”—Ib.

² The “Advertisement” to the 4to reprint of Holinshed 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.”

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, Rotherdam, 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 souldiers". Next come 5 lines, 40-4, from the original p. 1429, l. 39-41, followed 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. 23, 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 heere leuae 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 call'd "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 deliuer a catalog of the names (at least) of such archbishops as haue successiuelye possessed the metropolitan see of Canturburie, therein impliiing 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 consequence, by means of the mutuall ad-

[Reason for leaving out F. Thynne's Lives of the Archbishops.]

the number of Archbishops of Canturburie from the first to the last.

Where, by the waie, we might touch the varietie of their names (sixt authors therein doe 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 ecclesiasticall, is vnproper for this secular historic: wherefore, labouring no further therein, we will remit the reader to such authors as 'Ex professo' haue amplie treted of that argument: minding now, by waie of note, in a few lines to touch the three late priuats, as they haue succeeded ech other since the coronation and regiment of hir maistie: the first of whom was Matthew Parker, whose predecessor, Reg. Poole, dieng, he was advanced, and introied the same advancement certeine yeares, (hauing beene the seventh archbishop of that see) during which time he did much good diuere waies, deseruing well, not onelie of the church, but also of the commonwealth. But hauing spoken elsewhere of this man, we will here staie our course; concluding this collection of archbishops in their successions, with the two reuerend diuines and doctors, the one, Edmund Grindall late deceased; the other, Iohn Whitegift now liuing; of whom, no more but silence, for vertue dooth sufficientie 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 patiencie to put vp the disappointment of his expectation, vpon supposall of some reasonable impediment whyle the same was not satisfied. And now to the course of our historie, orderlie to be con-

[No reason given for cutting out Thynne's Lives of the Lord Cobhams, &c.]
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 force 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 grinnd 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 pitchforked into the History of England, one each under Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary; and 8 under Elizabeth ¹:

1. The High Constables of England (p. lxxiv).
7. The Earls of Leicester (p. lxxi).
8. The Archbishops of Canterbury (p. lxxii).
9. The Lord Cobhams (p. lxxxv); with
10. The Lord Wardens of the Cinque Ports ² (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 Boteuile, commonlie called
Thin.”


... Accept therfore (good reader) that which I doo suppose I haue
best spoken (by this my argument grounded vpoun Socrates) in this my
continuance of the Annales of Scotland vnwillinglie attempted, but by
inforcement of others, whose commanding friendship it had been sacrilege
for me to haue gainesaid. And therefore rather carelessse to hazard the
hard opinion of others, descanting vpoun 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 heanie charge vpoun my weake shoulders, I haue like blind baiard
boldlie run into this matter, vnder the hope of thy fanourable acceptance.
And though herein I shall not in euerie respect satisfie all mens minds
and judgements, that for favour of persons, times & actions, will, like Pro-
teus, 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 themselves, besides manie others of our owne nation, are the cause
thereof, who either for feare durst not, or for pretended advise and con-
sultation 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 1. 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, publikelie knowne to all men, con-
trarie to that order, in which they were commonlie and publikelie scene
to be done of all men; and so by that meanes fall into the reproch of
a diseined reporter. ...
oneelie called 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 haung laid before thee, that he writeth 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 haue 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 continuacion of the annales of Scotland (being such as thou maist be content to read, & I am contented to write) in this sort as heere 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 detaining of thee from the same.

Francis Thin.

α. β. 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 over the same, I thinke it not vnmeet in this place, sith we haue mentioned this Morton which was the last regent, gouernour or protector, of the kinglydome, 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 gouernement, 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, haung 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 inconvenient in this place, nor disagreeable to the nature of the matter which I haue in hand, somewhat, by waie of digres- sion, to discourse of the originall of this office in Scotland, of the etymon of 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 eighteene; which I will not refuse to doe in this place, following the same course which I have 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 diners of the Scots have obtai-
ded the title and honor of dukes in forren countries.”

ends p. 429, col. 1, l. 9 . . . . “of whom, [James, Earl of Arrau, made Duke of Chatelerault by the French king in 1554,] I haue in-
treated more liberallie in my discours of the protectors of Scotland, and therefore meane not to speake anie thing of that here: wherfore leauing 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.”

(6) Lastly comes the one legitimately-placed list:

[leaf 457, col. 2.] "A general 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 Scottish kings.

Before I enter into the discourse thereof (which I speak not by waie of impeaching anie glorie of the Scottish nation) I must deliver the opinion which I conceive of some of the Scottish writers, set downe by manie of their historiographers, who (saying correction) finding manie learned writers to be termed Scots, doo transfere 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 disprove 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; whereupon it is, that the Scots and Irishmen, at this daie now knowne by seuerall names, doo challenge Dunus, Colinubanus, 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 doe vnder the amphibological name of Scot. But I (whose determination is not to advance the one, or derogate 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 betwixtene those two nations. Wherefore thus I enter into the catalog of the writers of Scotland as followeth."

[p. 464, 2nd col.] Thus setting end to my travels touching Scotland (which I haue not performed as the majestie of an historie requireth, but as my skill, helps, & intelligences would permit). I desire thée, reader, to take it in good part, remembiring that Vltra posse non est esse, sith according to our old proverbe, A man cannot pipe without his vpper lip. For being denied furtherer (as in the beginning I said) both of the Scots & other of mine owne nation, and thereby not haung anie more subiect 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 indifferencie, 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 doone maie well appeare) thou shalt encourage me hereafter vpon more lesure,
and better studie, to deliver to the world rare matters of antiquitie and such other labors of mine (Abit verbis philantia) as maie both shew the discharge of my dutie to God, to my countrey, to my princ, and to my friends. For though I maie seeme to be idle, yet I saie with Scipio, Nunquam minus sum otiosus quidem 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 ceaseth and took 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 haue beeene invested with that title of the constableship of England, an office of great account, & such as sometime was the cheiefest place of a temporall subject in the relme (the high steward excepted) whose power did extend to restraine some actions of the kings. Wherefore, [there] being now no such office (for there was nouer anie advanced thereunto since the beheding 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 vttter oblivion: these therefore they were.

Alfgarus Stallere, constable to Edward the Confessor, of whome thus wrieth 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 greue 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 seuenth, in the yeare of our redemption 1485, restored to his fathers dignities and possessions. He is teamed 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 seuenth restored to his fathers inheritance, in recompense of the losse of his fathers life, taken awaie (as before is said) by the vsurping king Richard the third¹ . . . . And thus much by Francis Thin touching the succession of the constables of England.

¹ See Shakspere's Rich. III, act V, sc. i, iii.
(2) The Protectors of England, 1585. Holinshed, iii. 1069, col. 2. "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 vsnitting in this place to set downe all the protectors (whereof I can as yet haue intelligence) and who haue bene governours, regents, gardians, or deputies of the realme, and of the kings person during his minoritie and time of his insufficiencie of gouernement; or else of his absence being out of the realme; 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), 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 nephue, which was in the yeare of our redemption 1546, the king being then but nine yeares 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."

(3) The Cardinals of England, 1585. Holinshed, iii. 1165, col. 2. [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 beheading, and of the lord protectors [See pa. 1069] at the duke of Summersets suffering, (in which two honorable personages, those two offices had their end,) so here we are to infer 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 queenes regigne annexed, it remaineth that queene 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.

The cardinall Poole being the last cardinall in England, and so likelie to be, as the state of our present time dooth earnestlie wish,
dooth here offer occasion to treat of all such Englishmen as have possessed that honor. Which I onelie doo, for that I would have all whatsoever monuments of antiquitie preserved, least *Pereat memoria eorum cum sonitu.* Wherefore thus I begin

Adrian, the fourth of that name, bishop of Rome, (called before that time Nicholas Breakepeare) .... *ends* p. 1168, col. 2, l. 13: "Thus concluding (that of all these our English cardinals, with the description of their lines, I will more largelie intreat in my booke intituled the *Pantographie of England*, containing the vniuersall 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 alchimicall art¹, and by a geometricall circle in naturall philosophie, dooth end this cardinals discourse, resting in the centre of Reginald Poole, the last living cardinal in England, by whose death the said *Francis* tooke occasion to pase 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 Botcuile, *aliâs* Thin, in the yeare of Christ 1585.

Two sentences, the one an Italian prouerbe, the other an old English byword, have 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 treasurors, 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 prove. Secondlie, the English saieng hath been, that "a Nag of fiue shillings shall bear 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 realme; for about fiue 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 perhaps shortlie verifie the same in that countrie, in which there were never so few dukes, as that they cannot make the first and smallest number; for being but one in that countrie, and he verie yoong, (which is the duke of Lineux,) if he should miscarie, the same would againe also be as true there as it is now here. For which cause, to perpetuat the memories of such antiquitues and titles of honor as age hath consumed with the persons which inioied

¹ For F. Thynne's alchemical MSS., see p. 1, and his Longleat MS. in a note at the end of these *Hindwords.*
such prehencemes 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 sur-named the blacke prince, was made duke of Cornewall the eleauenth 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 chiuailrie 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.]

"arreigned 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 Burghleie, lord high treasurer 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 Burghleie with the honour of lord treasurer of England, hath rowsed my enuied pen thorough the malicious barking of some (who suppose nothing well but what they doo themselues, whereby gaine maie rise vnto their posteritie,) in this liberall sort to set downe the names & times of such treasurers as haue lived in England, as hereafter I will doo the chancellors, and that

1 The readers of Holinshead 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 themselues, who suppose euerie blast of their mouth to come foorth of Trophonius den, and that they spake from the trioet. 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 enuious persons to deliever anie thing to the world, that maie, in comptrolling my labours, benefit their countrie; which if they will not doo, let them cease their euill speeches: for Qui pergit dicere quae libet, quae non vult, audiet. And truelie for mine owne part, I will Canere palinodium, and yeld them an honourable victorie, if anie better shall be produced; and be heartilie glad, that truth (which is all that I seke) maie be brought to perfection. Now how well I haue done it, my selfe must not be judge, desiring pardon of such as, either with wise modestie can or ought to judge, or with rare antiquities can or will correct what I haue doone, 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\textsuperscript{1} them. For (as I said) it is truth of antiquities that I secke for, which being had, (either by good intention of my welwilling friends, or by occasion and reprehension of my enuious 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 reigne 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 Ire-land, a man of no lesse merit for his seruice abrode in the seats of armes, than is the other Greie [of Ruthine, Earl of Kent] for his seruice at home in the affairs of peace. But I will not saie all that I thinke and know of them both, least some, more maliciousie 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 neuer benefited 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 despite of malice. But againe to the matter . . . .

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

\textsuperscript{1} orig. corrected
or noble name besides (for manie 'priuat reasons which I reserve to my selfe) I will yet speake more liberallie of him and the Greies in my large booke of the lives of the lord treasurors of England, and knit vp this Edmund Greie, lord treasurer, with the marieng of his wife Katharine, the daughter of Henrie Persie, earle of Northumberland, by whom he had issue, George Greie, earle of Kent; Elisabeth, maried to Robert, baron of Greiestoke; and Anne, maried to John lord Greie of Wilton.

iii. 1256, col. 2, l. 64. This sir William Cecill lord Burghleie, 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 injoy 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 subjectes of England, doo féele by his meanes, and all the world doth sée in his rare and wise gouernment. And therefore leaing what may be said of him for his honorable deserts, from his countrie, his prince, and his countrie-men, as well for rare gouernment 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 successe of all his good desires, to answer the worth of those his honourable deserts. Thus knitting vp this discourse of the treasurors, with no lesse honorable person of the temporaltie in this our age, than I began the same discourse with a rare person of the spiritualtie [St. Dunstan] in that their age,—this being knowne as singular in policie, as the other was supposed to be in pre-lacie,—I here set end to that, which with much labour of bodie, travell of mind, and charge of pursse, I haue brought to this forme, what so euer it be. Thus this much by Francis Thin touching the treasurors of England."

We now leave Francis Thynne's insertions of his Lives, or Catalogues, of men, in Holinshed's 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 yeare 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 creation of this sir Thomas Bromleie lord chancellor, hath occa-sioned me to treate of the chancellors of England, a matter which I haue béene the willinger 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 receied 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 giue more light than before was known. And I determine, God willing, either to amend, or to confesse and avoid, in the large description of their lives, whatsoever imperfections haue now distilled out of my pen, either for mistaking or misplacig 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 haue brought the same officer with him from thence into the realme. But sith I am, with manic reasons and ancient authorities, led to beleue the contrarie, I will imbrace the contrarie opinion therevnto, and hold in this discourse (as the order thereof shall prooue) that there were chancellors before saint Edwards time; for the confirmation whereof, and for the authoritie of them; for the etymologie and originall of the name, and for the continuance of their office, thou shalt find an ample discourse in my booke purposelie written of the lives of the chancellors, whervnto I wholie refer the, who, I hope, shall within these few yeares be partaker thereof; and in the meane time giue the 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 keeper 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 obteining those names by some sinister means, from the priuat bookes 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 lives. 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 deliver something to the world, to bring truth to perfection, (if other men haue vnwillinglie set done error,) and not as they doe, for a little commoditie & gaine to themselves, neither benefit their countrie, nor speake well of such as would and doe helpe posteritie. Thus this much by Francis Thin, touching the chancellors of England."

(7) The Earls of Leicester. Holinshead, iii. 1419, col. 1. [Preamble, ib. l. 21-34. "In the moneths of November and December [1585], manie horsesses 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 Dudleie, earle of Leicester, lord lieutenant generall (after he had taken his leave of hir maistie & the court) with his traine entred the towne of Colchester in Essex, where the maior & his brethren, 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 receivd and intereined."

"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 Dudleie, the sonne of Iohn Dudleie 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 thinke 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 deliver to the world the whole discourse of their lives, which I have alreadie roughlie hewen out of the

1 Hearne's Diary, vol. Ixxiv. p. 240. Notes out of Mr Bridges's complete Holingshede. "The castrated sheets of Hollingshed 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 intit. 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.
rocke in a booke purposelie intreating thereof in English, as I have done of the other earles of this realme." . . . [Thynne 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 'John 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 Dudleie, 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, fine hundred, sixtie and foure, whose manner of creation I will omit, because it is alreadie set done in the said yeare of Christ one thousand, five hundred, sixtie and foure. And thus much touching the earles of Leicesters in generall, and touching Robert Sutton, in especiall, whose honourable interteinment in the lowe countries (wher-into he entered in this yeare of Christ one thousand fine hundred eigthie and fiue) deseruing 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 Januarie, two Seminarie preestes (before arraigned and condemned) were drawne to Tiburne, and there hanged bowelled, and quartered. Also on the same daie a wench was burnt at Smithfield, for poisoning of hir aunt and mistresse, and also attempting to have done the like to her vnkle. On the second daie of Februarie, or feast of the purification of our blessed ladie, doctor John Whitegift, archbishop of Canturburie, William lord Cobham, lord warden of the fiue ports, and Thomas lord Backhurt, were chosen and taken to be of hir maisties prinie councell: the two first, to wit, the archbishop & the lord Cobham, were sworne 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, have 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 lines 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 Greeke, crau'd pardon of the reader. Wherevpon Cato the

1 Hearne's Diary, vol. lxiii. p. 126. "The Author of all four [Discourses
Elder did scoffinglie saie; Truclie he had been to be pardoned, if he had written in Greeke, as one compelled thereunto by the decree of the Amphictiones; 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 consull with Lucius Lucullus, did write the deeds of the Romans in the Greeke toong; in the beginning of whose historic 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 re-prehendingly said: 'Art not thou Aulus a great trifter, 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 wvittinglie, or offend by compulsion of others?' Wherevnto Cato further added: 'Te quis perpulit vt id committeres quod priusquam faceres, pteres vt ignoscetur?' Thus much out of Gellius. Whereby it appeareth, that in Plutarch reciting this saieeng 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 historic I haue 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 descrueth 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 haue set downe the same, to the intent that the wise sentence of Cato may not be forgotten, saieing that where we offend by ignorance or by compulsion, that there we may lawfullie craue pardon therefore. Which words of so grauc, so wise, and so reuerend a person, incorageth me to craue pardon, if I haue offended in the discourse of these liones of the bishops of Canturburie (consecrated to thy favourable acceptance) because I haue bcene moued and induced to the writing of them in a short space, by the intrecat of such of my friends, which vpon the inserting of this now archbishop of Canturburie, with the lords Cobham and Buckhurst (woorthilie sworne of hir maiesties priie counsell) in the new augmented chronicle of Hollinshed, haue with manie good speecches 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,

of the Earls of Leicester, the Archbishops of Canterbury, the Lord Cobhams, and the Warden of the Cinque Ports,] was the famous Antiquary Mr Francis Boteville, alias Thin. Several things in the Discourse about the Archbishops were taken from Mr Josceline's Antiquitates Ecclesiæ Brit., which Book is commonly attributed to Archbp. Parker." [&c. &c.]
being a thing never written before in our vulgar tongue. Whereunto, although I am most vnapt amongst 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 withdraw his pen from laieng abroad his imperfections,) yet I hope that courteous, accompanied with a mild disposition of nature, will favorablie imbrace 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 allegeed, and Cato hath warranted, is a sufficient defense for me, without offense, to craue pardon for the vnaduised entring into anie such vnertaken action, and a just cause to mooue thee not to mislike of this, or anie thing which we doo at the intreatie of our neere and deere friends vnworthie of anie deniall. In discoursing of which archbishops, I determine not to dispute of the antiquitie of the christi- anitie of this realme, neither of the state of christianitie infected with the Pelagian heresie (being streicte 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 moonke 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 nakedlie 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 1583, 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 sworne one of hir maiesties priuie counsell: which honor vnder hir maiesties most gratious governement, I praine God he maie long inioie. Thus hauing set end to the discourse of the archbishops of Canturburie, with this reverend prelat Iohn 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 haue beene sworne 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 affirme) which I haue vsed much in this discourse, of the liues of the archbishops of Canturburie,” iii. 1495, 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 Botunile, commonlie surnamed Thin, in the yeare of oure redemption 1586.

The divine philosopher Plato, diuiding nobilitie into four degrees, saith; that the first is of such as be descended of famous, good, iust 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 cheifest 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. Whereupon Socrates, being demanded what was true nobilitie, answered: Animi corporisque temperantia. And Cassiodorus proueoth, 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 desinit cuinque nobilitas tunc auorum nobilitate congru indiget. The reason whereof, and the cause whic a man is counted most noble by his owne actions, the graue and morall Seneca hath answered to be; the nobilitie of his mind, which alwaies seeketh to performe woorthie and honourable actions; for thus he deliuereth vs his opinion vpon the same: Habet hoc optimum generous animus, quod concitatur ad honesta. Neminem excelsi animi virum humilia delectant & sordida. Felix qui ad meliora imperium animi dedit: ponet se extra conditionem fortune, prospera tentabit, adversa comminuet, & alij admiranda despiciet. Now if anie one of all these things by ourselues in particular, falling in seuerall persons, maketh enerie such person noble, who tasteth but of one of these seuer distincctions 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 degenerat from them, euen in the cheifest 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 woorthinesse and merit aduanced to the estate of a councellor vnder the rarest princesse and queene 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 living, 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 louer of learned persons, and not inferior in knowledge to anie of the borne nobilitie of England.
But leaning him for this instant to himselfe (of whome I cannot saie that which I ought, and he deserueth; and, for avoiding the note of flatterie, 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 treasurer of England, sir William Cecill, knight, lord Burleigh, is deliuered to the world in my former discourse of the lord treasurer of England. [pag. 1228.] Wherefore thus I begin with the lord Cobhams. William Quatermer, &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 fife ports: which ofifice the honorable baron sir William Brooke, knight, lord Cobham of Cobham now liuing, dooth to his countreys good, and his great honor, worthilie inioye, 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 castle, aswell in the time of king Edward, surnamed the Confessor, as since the reigne of the Conqueror, collected by Francis Thyn in the yeare of Christ one thousand fife hundred fourscore and six.

I 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 rightlie to be called Limenarcha, the chiefe (as it were) of the borders of sea-coasts, and the gouvernor 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 spoile the countrie. For the more explanation whereof, I refer thee to that learned worke of maister Camden, and will onlie bend my pen to such principall officers of those places as fall with-in my knowledge, as followeth.

Goodwine, earle of Kent, was constable of Douer castell, maister of the ports and those parts of the sea-coastes, 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 himselfe with such honor and loue, that he woorthilie deserueth, and his countrie hopeth he shall inioye the same, manie following yeares, to his owne honor and his countries benefit: whom I will here leaue in his princes fauor, and set end to all my discourses inserted in the new aug-
mented chronicles [so] of Holinshed, with the succession of the lord wardens 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 1583, of the harbour-works at Dover\(^1\). 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 waggons loaded with chalk, sleich, &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 stoa made, but the courts must run over them, and yet no great harme hath happened that waie. And I myself have seen a court loden with earth passe over the bellie or stomach of the driuer, and yet he not hurt at all therby. Manie courts also being vnloden (for expedition) were driuen 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 horsses, 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 stripe 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 carrie them through the streame, which minstred to some, occasion of Iaughter and mirth. Finallie, this summer, being in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred eightie & three, was verie hot and contagious, & the infection of the plague that yeare more vniversallie dispersed through England than in manie yeares before, and that towne [Dover] verie much subject

\(^1\) Hearne’s Diary, vol. xc. p. 131. Nov. 19, 1720. "Mr Anstis 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 France. Thynne 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 inhabitants themselves for that cause: and yet God blessed so the works, as in this extraordinarie and populous assemblie, there was 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 newer 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 never ceased working the whole daye, sauing that at eleuen of the clocke before noone, as also at six of the clocke in the evening, there was a flag vsuelle 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 houre, or to make some small delaie & thereof,—And presentlie vpon the signe giuen, there was a generall shout made by all the workers: & wheresoever 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 houre before the flag of libertie was hanged out, all the court driuers entered into a song, whereof although the dittie was barbarous, & the note rusticall, the matter of no moment, and all but a jest; yet is it not vnworthie of some briefe 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 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 Rommeie 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 hedge: howbeit this is a more ciuil call than the brutish call at the theatre for the comming awaie of the plaier to the stage. I thynke there was newer worke attempted with more desire, nor proceeded in with more contentment, nor executed with greater travell of workmen, nor diligence of
officers, nor provided for with more carefulness of commissioners, nor with truer accounts or duer paiete, nor contrived with more circumspetion of the deuertakers & vndertakers of the worke, nor ended with more commendation or comfort. . . .

But though the Dover-harbour account is not Thynne'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 louse to their countrie, haue thought good, before me, to knit vp\(^1\) the seueral reigne of euerie seuerall king with a generalitie of the seuerall writers in that princes daies, so haue I beeene importuned by manie of my freunds, to knit vp\(^1\) 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 doe the same,) yet hauing donee my good will therein, and that more than perhaps some others would haue doone, I praie thee to heare with the defaults, and accept that which I haue donee and could doe. And although perhaps I maie set downe one man twice, 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 neuer 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 englisheing of the Secreta Secretarum) p. 1589, col. 2, l. 52-5.

ends p. 1592, l. 30. (l. 17.) "Thus far this catalog. Now peraduenture some will looke for a rehaersall omnigatherum of such as haue written in the reigne of our blessed souereigne: but herein as it passeth our possibilitie 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 faunter 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 Gesner; or else the commendable method of Iohn James the Frislander, printed at Tigurie one thousand, five hundred, fourescore and three; either of which courses being taken, would well serue 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 presidents as Mr. Edwarde Nevill producethe to prove the tytle of dignytie of a Baronye upone one entayle of the lande to the heire male in the collaterall lyne, to descend accordingelye to that heire male, and not to the heire female in the directe lyne beinge heire generall:" and "The particular 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 reasone and maximes of the comone lawe.") The 'Perticular Answeres' 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 muche idle tyme and little wisdome, to write so often & spede so seldome. Whiche ye, do, I impute to the frowarde haucens distyllinge there Influence in my natyvytye, wherin Saturne, beinge in his pryde, hathe as hardly threatned, as I haue heuely felt, the ouerthwartye proceedings of the two fyrste tryplicytes or progressions of my lyfe now almost ended: All whiche yet I beare the moore pacientlye because I ame fedd withe a swete hope, that at the entringe into the thirde progression of the cours of my yeres, the gentle Jupiter wyll expell his father Saturne oute of his kyndome, & so gelde hym of his malice that I shall for euer be freed from the tyrannye of his powre. Whiche I speake in all simplicytye, I protest vnto your Lordship, because I Judge that the denyall of my sute to mee, & the graunte therof to others by your Lordship (sollicited for the same before my lettres\(^1\) came) is rather to be holden a thinge Incidente to my vnhappe fortune (then to their greate desartes) sithens yt is my happe euer to come to late. For whiche cause, the same whiche Plutarche recytethe of Pythias the proophett (answeringe one demaundinge whether he shold enter into the managinge of the comon we[1]the or no) may Justly be applied to mee, the prophetts woordes beinge, "Sero venisti, me de principatu et rei publice administratione consulens, & alieno tempore lanuaw\(^2\) 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 knockt to late; I slepte withe fvy foolsyshe virgins, and was depriued of that whiche I hooped throughghe your Lordship to haue obteyned.

Now where your Lordship saide that all the whoole colledge of hereaudents had sued for William Thomas\(^4\), I ame gladde to here of so grete a sympathye betwene them: whiche yet, I feare, is not so muche for loue emongest them selues, as for hatred unto others. For (I doyte) suche is the corruptione of the place, that yt is not catena aurea but aurata, and hath for the presente tyme put one a flyinge tincture of golde, whiche, havinge no greate force, will easely vanishe awaye in smooke, yt yt coome to the examinacione of the fier of truthe. For howe so euer they shall seme to make an harmonye (haveinge two bitter factions emongest them selues, for the meyntenancwe whereof eche partye laboroth in that office to drawe euerie one they canne to their side, in preferringe those in that office whiche wilbe beholdinge to them), yet is their suche Iarringe tunes in the greteste of their knowledge, that the truthe of manye antiquytyes and perdegrees shalbe ether meymed of her

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\(^1\) MS. Tres.
\(^2\) 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 shewe a thinge whiche yt is not; which I will sufficiently adouche, yt Instances be called for at my handes. Whiche beinge true, dothe manyfest to the wo[r]lde that they cannot abyde the lighte of any other mans knowledge to enter emongest them, or nourishe any further knowledge in that office then their owne (as appered in the vnquenchable & moore then Vatinian hatred whiche they bare to Somersett departed) no moore then the Batte canne abyde the Light of the daye. But I will not Anotomyze euer particular default of euerye manne and matter in that office. (Lest I might be counted one of the foolish sonnes of Martine Mare-prelate;) Although I knowe, that the glorious vanytue of Garter; The subtill conuence of Clarenceauxe, 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 feele gouvermente of Windsore, the blemished actions of Rouge Crosse, the smale experience of Rouge Dragon & the late prefermente of Portcuyllses and Blewmantell, wold speake all they cold againste me, a stranger in that office. But I (layinge all my lyfe open to the worlde, and makeinge my actions the towchestone of the honest cariage of my selfe,) feare not what therei malice canne saye to my disgrace; for in the ende, I hoope the rebounde of their owne brethe shall ouere throwe them, yt I shall coome to answere theire objectiones, Which I speake, for that I knowe some of the greatest of that office (as them selues have moore gloriously then wisely wanted to no meane councellors of state,) haue sayed somethinge of mee to your Lordship, whose wisdome, measuringe all mens speches by the square of Justice, is not easily to be carried awaye with euer Idle blaste, as I haue Iudged. But, my good Lorde, seinge yt fallethe from the mouthe of hym whome I haue alwayes honored and euer wyll, that your Lordship haeth granted your favor to one other for the place of Chester, and that I am excluded and hoopelasse of the Roome of an heraunde (all places beinge full,) vnest I will expecte dedd mens shoes, (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,) vnest I may by youre Lordships meanes (to whose judgment I commende my selfe) receive prefermente in the worlde.

Thus humbly cravinge pardone for my tediousnes, beseechinge godd to sende yo\textsuperscript{a} longe and helthfull lyfe, and desyringe your Lordship to hold mee as one who haeth wholly consecrated his service to your

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commandeunte, I dutfully take my leve. Clerk well, 15 of November, 1588. Your Lordships commande to his uttermoste

Francis Thynne

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

endorst—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 s. 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 distinguisht 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 Engelande.'

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 crabbled 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 m't Garters [Dethick's] howse in the office of the heraldes, vppon these questions.

1. Of what antiquytie the name of 'Barones' in Engelande; of their creatione; and signyficatione of the worde.
2. Of what antiquyte tenures 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
THYNNE'S a° Elizabeth 33.
1. On the Antiquytie of Viconts, and of other things concerning the same in Englande.
2. "Of the Antiquytie of 'sealinge'; the forme thereof; and the sealinge with Armes." This ends on leaf 52 with "And so fyningh this troblesome & confused discourse, I besche yo° to pardone all the imper[sec]tiones thereof, and not obiecte 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 vnderstandinge 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 Antiquity Shires were in England. Art. IX, p. 33-42.
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. lxxxix), 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:

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

I wolde most dutifully (right honorable & my very good lord) present my selfe vnto yo; and for that cause was yesterdaye at your Lordships house. But since I cannot, I am, in place thereof, to Acknowledge my selfe and service (redye at your Lordships disposition,) by my penne. Withe whiche, desyringe your Lordships fauor (the rather be cause yo willde mee to expecte the next auoynance wherein your Lordship wold afforde me your honorable furtherance,) that I may, by your means, (for I haue alwayes, and styll will, depende uppone your Lordship, and one none other) atteyne to a place emongest the Heraldes.

How worthye I may be thereof, yt besemeth not me to speake; because, to prayse my selfe were vanytue, & to disprayse my selfe were follye; and to compare with anye of the office, were odious; yet this muche withoute offence I maye saye, that I bereche your Lordship to put me to the triall, whether I may not in skyll of lerninge (even in the depeust pointes of Armoyre, whiche cannott be knownute withoute the mysteries of Philosophye and the judgments of histories) deserue that place as well as some others.

Manye, I knowe, haue, and yet doo, labore for the offices of Clarenceux and Norreye, of whom 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 contynuall in Haroldrye. But yet yf yt lyke your Lordship to cast a fauorable lykinge to hym (whiche hath wholy tyed hymselfe to yo & 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 Englande, whiche I have brought vnto Henry the fourthe, and hoope to finishe before Easter next 1; vntill whiche (yf your Lordship shal haue in lykinge to fauor my present suyte) I onlye crave of your Lordship that some staye maye be made of bestowinge those offices vntill I haue finished that booke of tresurers & certeyene cir-

1 This is of course a different work from that on the Treasurers in the Continuation of Holinshed, iii. 1238, &c., p. lxxvii above, though no doubt the same as that therein promist, “my large booke of the liues of the lord treasurers of England,” p. lxxviii above. See List of F. T.’s Works below.
etury perdegrees of the Erles & Vicontes of Englande, whiche in mynde I haue alredye consecrated to your honorable Protectione. Howe muche I haue alredye donne of those thinges (yi yt please your Lordship to see in suche rude and indigested forme as they bee) I wyll wyete vppon your Lordship with them, whene your Lordship will vouchsafe mee admyttance to your presence, by appointinge a tyme therefore; for otherwise I knowe not howe or when I shall fynde your Lordship at leysure, or willinge therunto. Thus in all duytye I humbly comende me to your honorable furtherance, & comytte you to godd, who sende to your Lordship manye happye yeres, and to the contynuance of your undeserued fauor. Clerkewell Grenc, 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 Resurer
be these.

[endorst, with a wrong date]
20 No. 1593
Mr Fr. Thinne to my lorde
For preferré to ye place of
one of ye 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, noticet 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 1596.2

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 Clerkewell 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 'circulaty'.
2 Messrs Cooper, Gent.’s Mag., July 1865, p. 87.
3-3 No. 17 in Messrs Coopers’ list in The Gentleman’s Magazine, July 1865, p. 88.

THYNNE.
"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 Chancellors, collected into one Catalogue by Francis Thynn, declaring the yeres of the reignes of the kings, and the yere of our lorde in whiche they possessed that office." Motto 'Je suis envie maugre envie, et pur eco sortee pur bien ou ne sortee rien.' The arms of the Chancellor are blazoned 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 wyshethe manye happye and helthfuH yeares.

Yt nedeth not (my verye goode lorde) to lay downe a cause or resone 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 prehemince. for besides that yo\(^1\) well merite this and moore from me (to whome your honorable curtesye hathe vouchesafed manye favors beyoynde my desartes) your singuler vertues and ornaments of nature and industrye (by whiche yo\(^1\) imitate, or rather exce\(h\), the fame of your predecessors before yo\(^1\) 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\(^1\). Wherefor I will

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

What care and industrie I have vsed in settinge downe that Catalogue
of their entrance and contynnuance in that place, and in aptinge the
yeres of the kinges reigne to the yeres of Christe, modestye enyoynethe
me not to write, vpon payne of havinge my cheekes steyned withe
vermilionie, and my credytte blotted with philautian, selfe love, and vanytie.
And the daughter of tyme, I hoope, shaft herafter gyve sufficien te shewe
to the worlde, and confirme this labor by the auctortyte of approued
hystories, and warrante of vncontrolable Recordees, bothe whiche do
weyte vpon my peine to witnesse what care I have had for the true
deliuernce thereof. And for that cause nether pryasinge nor dispersay-
inge my selfe (synee 'laudare se vani, vituperare se stulti est') I leave
the consideracione thereof to your Lordships rare Iudgmente, the Eagles
sighte whereof canne perce the sonne of all knowledge, and espye the
imperfectijons of all writers. 'Sed quo nuac proprepit 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 befyr I haue ended halfe my course;
and the other is so barreyne, as yt affordethe not matter wortho
remembrance, and so haue iustе cause to feynte before I doe beginne,
and so to loose my selfe in boote.

Wherefore to retourne 'in gradum,' I will prosecute the intente of my
forespeche to this Catalogue, and (vnder your lordships correctione)
bringe forth the suche thinges as I haue obserued in the gatheringe thereof,
concerninge the originall, the antiquytye, the office, the auctortyte, &
 suche other thinges belonginge to the chancellor. Wherefore, in fynish-
inge herof, I ame to importune your Lordship to pardonne two grosse
imperfections in this course discourse and Rapsodica collectione of the
Chancellors/. The firste whereof is, the teudious leng[t]he and the
disordered compositione/ and the other is, the deformed blotted and
rude wrtyngye. for excuse of the fyrste I hoope your Lordship wil not
laye before mee that whiche I herde one saye of a longe speche made by
a frende of myne, 'Hic desinit flumen verborum et gutta mentis,' here
endethe manye woordes and litte wytte,—alludinge to that whiche was
wonte to be sayed when Aximenes vsed to speake to the people, 'hic
incipit verborum flumen et mentis gutta,'—nor yet saye of these
collected auctortytes as the selfe conceyted m'r Savile, prouoste of
Eatone, is reported (lf 16, bk) to saye of Lipsius his politickes, that they
be 'sentencie pueriles' tyed together withe pointes. although I know
that our speche sholde be answerable to the proportione of moneye,
wherof the lesser quantyte comprehenedethe the gretest value, as
apperethe in golde; and in fewest wordes is of tyme the gretest

1 Us'd before, in the Scotland bit, on p. Ixxiv, 1. 2.
wysdome, . . . . Yet since I ame lyke the painter whiche cannott take
his pensil from his worke before he marre his labor by addinge and
changinge by ouermuche curiositie, and desire to have his picture well
performed, I besche your Lordship not to thinke what I have donne but
what I wolde and sholde 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, remembirge that 'sub sordido pallio
latet sapiencia,' and that we are taught by Christe not to judge 'secundum
faciem aut vestem;' for pure wyne is no lesse comfortable to nature yt
be dronne oute of a wodden vessell (wherinto yt is naturally first
powred) then yt were receved oute of a cuppe of golde. And the
swete chestnute is couered with a harse and roofle coote, as is the peche
and other delicate frutes. So that I nothinge dofte but that your
Lordship will pardonne all imperfections hereof, withe that curtesye
whiche hitherto hathe alwayes accompanied your former actions; and
accept this from me with such a mynde as I present the same to yo,a
for so shall yo" encourage me herafter to consecrate somme other my
labors to your favorable acceptance; & I fully rest satsfyed of your
good mynde towardes mee. Thus in all duteye commendinge mee to
your honorable good lykinge, & in all reverent love commyttinge yo" to
the protectione of the almightye, I cease any further to molest your
Lordship. Clerkenwel Grene, the xiiij 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 Recordes founde
in the rooles of the towre, concerning the Chancellors and the tymes
wherin 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 Heneage 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 employed¹, 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 address'd to the second Sir John Thynne, of Longleat, where they still are. Copies of them are not allow'd 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. 11,388 (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 Visitatione of Norfolke, made anno domini 1563 by William Harvye, clarenceuxe. finis 1599."

leaf 78, 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 Constance.")

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

"20. Miscellaneies of the Treasury, with the history of the lives of some of the lord treasurers." Written to Thomas Lord Buckhurst, 1599, but not complected. MS. formerly in the possession of John Anstis, King at Arms. The Messrs Cooper add "Extracts from the Lives of the Lord Treasurers in MS. Phillipps [the 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'd 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 published 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 'yoner 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 thadaunecment 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 Blaunche, 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 declarl 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 contain'd, 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 "migthe at leng[t]he obteyne their true perfectione and glorie." 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 liues 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 cancelld (p. lxv above) he refernd 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 painefull antiquarie' 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 x. 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 defecerit virtus mea, ne derelinquas, domine," and in his Dedication he says that "some of them are composed of things donn and sayed by such as were well knowne to your Lordship and to my self, in those yonger yeares when Lincolns 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) vn'to your good likinge, and commiting me to your honorable good favour and furtherance (to add oyle to the emptie lampe of my muse for mayntenance of the light thereof, which without the comfortable heate of your honorable patronage will soone be extinguished) I humbliely take my leave, from my howse in Clerkenwell Grene the 20 of December 1600. Youre 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 kepe frendes' (leaf 43, back), 'Spencers sayr Queene' (leaf 53, back), 'Camdens Britannia' (leaf 69), 'Leylandes rightefull ghost' (leaf 70, back), &c.

II.y. 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 Norfolk 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 discents; of which lyne your Lordshippe is lineally extract, being descended of the houe of your Lordshippes name, which possessed both those titles of Norfolk and Marshall

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

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

Francis Thynne"

II z. Appointment as Lancaster Herald. 1602.

We saw above, p. xc and p. xcvi, 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.1 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 Lancaster Heraldo.

“Regina omnibus, ad quos &c. Salutem.

“Sciatis quòd Nos, de Gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa Scientia & mero Motu nostris, necon in consideratione boni, veri ac fidelis Servitii quod, dilectus Serviens noster, Franciscus Thynn Armiger, nobis durante Vitæ suæ impen-dere intendit, fecimus, nominavimus, creavimus, erigimus, & investivimus, ac, per Praesentes, facimus, nominamus, creamus, erigimus, & investimus, eundem Franciscum unum Heraldorum nostrorum ad Arma, eique nomen illud vulgariter nuncupatum Lancaster imponimus, ac Stilum, Titulum, Libratarum, & Praeminentias, hujusmodi officio, convenientiam & concordantiam, ab antquo consueta, damnus & concedimus per Praesentes: 

“Habendum & exercendum Officium illud, ac Nomen Stilum Titulum Libratarum & Praeminentias predicta, prefato Francisco Thynn alias Lancaster, durante Vitæ suæ. Et ulterior concessimus, ac, per Praesentes pro Nobis, Hereditibus, & Successoribus nostris concedimus eodem Francisco Thynn alias Lancaster, singulis Annis durante Vitæ suæ predicta, pro Exercitio Officii predicti, quandam Annuitalatem sive annualum Reddittum 20 Mare. bonæ & legalis Monete Angl. habendum & annuatim percipientiam eodem Francisco Thynn alias Lancaster a Festo Annunciationis beate Marie Virginis ultimò praeterito durante Vitæ suæ, de Thesauro nostro, ad Receptam Scaccarii nostri, per Manus Thesauri & Camerariorum nostrorum ibidem pro tempore existentium, ad Festa Saneti Michaelis Archangeli & Annunciationis beate Marie Virginis, per aequalis Portiones, unà cum omnibus aliis Commodityibus, Advantageis, Praeminentiis, & Emolumentiis, eodem officio debitis & consuetis, in tam amplis modo & forma, prout Nicholas Paddy alias Lancaster nuper
fore, having been with ceremony created\(^1\) on the 22 Apr. before (1602), at which time He was 57 years of age, and at that time he had the name of Blanchlyon pursivant given him.\(^2\)---See the narrative of Rich S\(^*\) George, Windsor, then likewise created, in the custody of D. Rawlinson.—He was the son and Heir of Wm Thinne of Kent Esq.; Master of the Household to H 8; of the antiently knightly family descened from the Botevills; who had his first\(^3\) Education in Tunbridge school under mr John\(^4\) Proctor, who is gratefully remembred 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.\(^5\) mr Camden, a good Judge of Men, gives him the ample Character of having prosecuted the study of Antiquities with great Honour\(^6\), stiling him an Admirable Antiquary\(^7\), and in another place\(^8\), that he had with great Judgment and diligence long studied the Antiquities of this kingdom.\(^9\)

II A. In 1602 came-out the 2nd edition of Speght’s Chaucer, in which he availd 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 Greeces glorie;
What fame Arpinas spreadingly doth find
By Tullies eloquence and oratorie;

habuit, aut aliquis alius, sive aliqui alii Heraldorum nostrorum nuper habuit
aut percepit, habuerunt & perceiveperunt pro Exercitio Officii prædicti.

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

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

(Rymer, Foedera. xvi. 471, ed. 1715.)

---Anstis.

The custom of the office is, for a man to serve first as Pursuivant, and then be promoted. But outsiders are occasionally made Heralds.

\(^1\) 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. xlvi, 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. xlvi, above. It is Thynne’s friend’s Letter at the end of the Advocate and Anti’advocate, which is “from Lyuncolnes Inne this :28: of Marche :1604:” MS. leaf 64. Thynne’s own letter, MS. leaf 65-6, is “from my house on Clerkenwell greene this :xlij:th of Maye, 1605:” as on page cxiii.)

\(^6\) “Britannia in English, in the preface, p. Clxix.”

\(^7\) “In Cambridgeshire.”

\(^8\) “In Yorkshire, p. 714.”

\(^9\)
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 Apolloses muse bewray.

Then Chaucer liue, for still thy verse shall liue,
T'unborne Poets, which life and light will give.

Fran. Thynn.

Chaucers 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 Animadversions;
but as Speght is praisd 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 Animadversions upon Chaucer.

In reading of the learn'd praise-worthie peine,
The helpfull 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.

ib. 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-
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 delierued to m' campden, Clarentieux, by an outlandishe gentleman called Vanhere, written with his owne hande from whence I copied this: 25 Febr. 1602. F. Thynne.” Fiennes.

Leaf 2, back. “oute of ane olde Role written aboute the tyme of edward the thirde kinge off Englands or the kinges of france and belonginge to an outlandishe manne wyth brought yt into Englands and lent yt to Mr Campden Clarenceuex a° 1602 who lent yt vnto mee. Wherefore muche avouching the hose of Bullen is conferred by oure auncent historyes”. This seems to be a Pedigree of the Dukes of Lotherningia.


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. Beke Lord d'Eresbye.


Leaf 9. “the copye of a perdegree sent to me by Mr Edward musgrave, knight of the shire for Cumberlande at the first parliament holden by kinge James, a° 1603: et 19 martij when the same beganne”. Teillolle, Mugrave and Weston.

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

Leaf 10. “oute of perdegree a° 1604, sett downe by smythe, Rougedragon, for the howse of Essex of Lambourne”. Casteneis.

Leaf 10, back. “Mr Smythe, Ruggedragon, 1604 in the pedegree of Essex of Lamburne”. de Shottesbrook.

Leaf 11. “Mr Smyth, ragedragon, a° 1604 in the perdegree of Essex of Lamburne”. Rogers de Benham.


Leaf 13. “collections and perdegree made by Mr Druyye 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 outhe of the visitacione of London made by Harvye Clarenceux”. Heywarde.
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 betwixt the Advocate and the Ant'advocate" concerning the Bathe and Bachelors Knights, wherein

Leaf 37, back. "ex relatione Johannis Dormer de Dorbrinalet [?] febr a' 1604". Dormer.

Leaf 38. "collections of Raphe Brooke Yorke harolde". Nevill.

The Pedigrees in Harl. 774 have no titles. The following is a list of the chief of them. The writing is very bad.

Leaf 1, bk. Fiennes.
  " 2, bk. ?Dukes of Lotharingia.
  " 4, Willoughby of Eresby.
  " 4, bk. Beke Lord d'Eresby,
  " 5, Roselyne.
  " 5, bk. Reade.
  " 6, Rogiers.
  " 6, bk. Cheyne.
  " 7, Fitzwilliam.
  " 7, bk. Tustone.
  " 8, Amyers.
  " 8, bk. Musgrave.
  " 9, Teillol and Westone.
  " 9, bk. Gresely.
  " 10, Casteneis,
  " 10, bk. Shottesbroke.
  " 11, Rogers de Benham.
  " 11, bk. Peers.
  " 12, Talbott and Grey visct.
  "Lisle.
  " 13, Petit.
  " 13, bk. Bradshawe.
  " 14, Butler.
  " 15, "Gentlemen of Cheshyre
do begyn here."
  " 15, Tymerley.
  " 15, bk. Aston.
  " 16, Aldersey.
  " 17, Chetilton.
  " 17, bk. Broke of Leighton, Brad-
  " 18, Bolde. [felde.
  " 18, bk. Calcott, Chetwood.
  " 19, Dodd.
  " 20, Griffyne, Hawkestone.
  " 21, Hockenhall.

Leaf 22, Hayes, Hulmes, Houghe.
  " 22, bk. Hyde.
  " 23, Hassall, Huxley, Leicester.
  " 24, Moreton.
  " 24, bk. Newton.
  " 25, Nuthall.
  " 25, bk. Roope, Rotter.
  " 26, Sutton, Smythe.
  " 27, Smethwicke.
  " 27, bk. Spurstowe.
  " 28, Warren lord Vernon.
  " 28, bk. Tiltstone.
  " 29, Wynnington.
  " 29, bk. Wilbram.
  " 30, Wynnington, Rode, and Rowe.
  " 30, bk. Wright.
  " 31, Wetзall.
  " 31, bk. Wooduet.
  " 32, Gilbert.
  " 32, bk. Underhill.
  " 33, Hale of London.
  " 33, bk. Hamonde.
  " 34, Cabell.
  " 34, bk. Leversege.
  " 35, Heywarde.
  " 35, bk. Buckley.
  " 36, Catherall.
  " 36, bk. le Birde.
  " 37, Dormer.
  " 37, bk. Dormer.
  " 38, Nevill.
  " 38, bk. Montaucute.
  " 39, bk. Brakenbery.
  " 40, bk. Daury and Parker.

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 Herolde. Tandum 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 :28: of Marche 1604" (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 xijth 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, defender of the ffaythe, 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 sooner it be, manye pregnant causes offered themseluues to moue me to dedicate the same to the honorable Comissioners 3 substituted in place of the Earle Marshall, to whom vnder your sacred Maiesty it duly belongeth, Lord William Haward. An imperfect copy in Univ. Libr. Camb. Mm. 6, 65." Gent. Mag., July 1865, p. 89.

1 Hearne's Diary, vol. cvii. 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 Thinne'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 published in my collection of Curious Discourses what Pieces I had of Mr Thynne's."

2 Hearne's Diary, vol. cix. p. 97. Sept. 13, 1725. "Mr Anstis that night 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."

Hearne's Diary, vol. cx. p. 6. Oct. 20, 1725. "Mr Anstis, in his Letter of the 15th inst. tells me, that if the treatise of Mr Thinne [that Mr Oldsworth told me of] be different from the Advocate and Antiadvocate, 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 composed the Antiadvocate;" &c.

3 Lord Burghley and?
to dispose of matters of honor: amongst which causes, one was, that I am to them known, and soe might hope to have this disordered answer the sooner graced by their favorable acceptation; whereas, being altogethe estranged from your Majesties 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 so learned and worthye [a] kinge, and therefore fearfull to approche the beames of your splendor, [1] deemed it best to consecrate the same to those inferior lightes participat-
ing of the brightnes of your Regall Septer. But on the other side, remembred the saying of Marius Geminus to Caesar, "Qui apud te, Caesar, audet, dicere magnitudinem tuam ignorat, & qui non audet, humanitatem," And with that saying casting myne eyes vpon the end-

less boundes of the Oecan 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 accompyneyed with greatest feare), I thought it my bounden Duty, and one especiall parte of my function, to offer to your Majestie the frutes of my labore, which I haue gathered by the only Maynteynance and support of your Majesties benevolence and liberallity; for since by you I lyue, and lyving must serue you, and serving you, must wholly impoye all my partes to performe what your Majestie may justly challeng 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 Majestie, the fountayne of all honor, from which those Comissioners doe deryue their authority. Wherefore hoping that your Majestie 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 saide, "non oportet quemquam a vultu Caesaris tristem discedere," ) I most humbly prostrating my selfe before the seate of your Clemency, that only Ancor of my hope, beseech that same favorably to accept this whotsocuer booke, gratelys 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 Majestys 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 Majesties tyme be no more obscured, or their shyne eclipsed (by the emulation of others which ought not to dispute your Majesties fact) then it was in the former and famous gouvernment of your heroicall predeccessors, whereof neuer any equalled your Majesty in largnes of dominions, in aboundance of Clemency, in favour of the worlde, or in dowryes of the mynde, as all men knowe that can rightly judge./

Thus laying this booke and myselfe at your Majesties feete, craving pardon for my presumption, hoping of your Inmerited 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 over passed without dislike: I pray the Almighty Lord to send to your Majesty happy government, multiplied yeares, perpetuall 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 haue learned that "Qui cum Regibus loquitur, aut rar aut quae breuissime loqui debet." from my house on Clarkenwell Greene the 2 of Aprill, 1605.

Your Maiestyes
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 continued the possession of the place: that they always fought & serued under Banners of their owne, when Bachelers serued under the Banners of others: that they are selected for the honor of the King, & in that, the Kinge to honor them: that the statuts haue priuiledged them in their creation before Knights of the Garter & Bannerretts: that they haue 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 Harrolde, which the Bachelers hath not: that it is no spirituall nor officiell order: & that the King hath further honored them with the Bulla or tablet of his devise, to distinguise them from other Knights: That now in like sort as in former tyme they ought to have precedency of Bacherl Knights¹. & that their wiuas (because they participate of the Digniety of their Husbands: because by Custome they haue obteyned & kept possession of their place: & because all the arguments allledged agaynst them by the Aduocate are of no validitye,) ought also to haue the precedency of the wiuas of Bacherl Knights, therein to answere the Digniety of their husbands.

The Ende of the Plea betwene the Aduocate & the Ant'aduocate concerning Bathe and Bacherl Knightes.

¹ Hence I assume that the following MS, in Messrs Coopers list is only a copy of the Advocate and Ant'advocate: "47. On precedency of Knights of the Bath, MS. 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 Arms."
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 have done) deluyered my opinion, I doubt not but that you & all others (whose desire is nott to seeke a knott in a Rushe, or Spider-like to sucke poysone out of Flowers, & to peruer to every thinke well meant, by pervers e exposure 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 Seaunth 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:th 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 Heraulde of Armes, written by Frauncis Thynne Lancaster Heraulde the third daye of Marche anno 1605.

"My very good Lord [? Chancellor Egerton] "

"That eruell Tyrante the unmercifull 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 bedd, manacled my hands, fettered my feete on the sheete, that I came not out thereof since I sawe your Lordship on Christmas Eve. But having by mewe force at length shaken off the manacles from my hands, (although I am still tyed by the Feetes) I have now at the last (which I pray God may bee the last troubling 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 Lordship, as an expert Alchimiste, must sublyme and reetifye" (p. 231). p. 263: "I humbly take mye leave, as one wholye devoted to your Lordship, and in you to your honourable Famelye, further craving pardon for this goutye Scriblinge, distilled from the Penn guyded by a late gowtye hand.

Your Lordshipps in what hee maye
Fra. 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, 32, 36, 37, 39, 40.

THYNNE. 4
II C. FRANCIS THYNNE'S CHARACTER.

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, asking for money, and signing himself "Lancaster." 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 he aton'd for by his 2½ years' im-

1 The third Baronet. Letter at Longleat: copy not allowd me.
2 His arms were, 'Barly 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 Alchymy. He says he "was familiar in pratyse" with a writer on the subject:—

Treatises on Alchymy. MS. vol. at Longleat, containing:
2. The Ordinall of Alchymie made by Mr Norton of Bristowe. "He flourished in the year of our Lorde 1477 and was the scoller of Rypleye.
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.]
5. Claudianus de Statuæ Martis et Veneris Magnetica.
6. George Ripley's 12 Gates of Alchymy. "This was written out by me Francis Thynne at Longleat in Wiltshire & there finysned the 5 day of April 1578. My Strange," &c.
7. Certeyne Remembrances touchinge the two greate offices of the Seneschalsey or highe Stewardship of England and of the Quenes house. At the end "Thus much out of the booke called Donus Regis Anglie."
8. A Treatise on the Philosopher's Stone, with this heading. "This booke was made by Mr [Edwarde]* 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 auctour* by me Francis Thynne was famyliar in pratyse with the said auctour. Francis Thynne.

* "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-leat, 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! Think too that he may have shaken hands with Shakspere, seen and heard him in his own plays; perhaps sigh'd 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 esteemd 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 emedations into Shakspeare; 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 sholde thereby be over thrown.'" (In the margin F. T. has written, "Chaucer, Stella completionis & Norton.")]  
9. A disputacione betweene Merlyne and Mariam of the marriage betwene 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 original the 18 of October 1573 by me Francis Thynne whiche originall I had of Mr. Tho. Peter, written withe thande of the same Thomas Peter but I thinke this worke is imperfect because as yt seemeth theire lacketh some verses to furnish the ryme but notwithstandinge I have followed theCopye. 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 helpt 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 heapt 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 askt 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 helpt 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 allowd, 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 Works\(^1\). 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 *Troylus and Cryseyde*, and learnt to write *The Rape of Lucrece*, which echoes ‘Chaucer’ all through, as Beethoven’s early work does Mozart.

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\(^1\) Had I but known earlier of the Messrs Coopers’ Letter in the *Gentleman’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-spraind ankle: a punishment 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 Shakspere were here!

*Riddlesdown, below Croydon,*
Sept. 5, 1874.

1 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, 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, vntill the yeare of our redemption 1586, by Francis Boteuile, commonlie called Thin."—Holinshed, vol. ii, p. 405-464. (See extracts above, p. lxix-lxxiii.)


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), calld in the margin, "The collection of Francis Thin in the yeare 1585" (p. lxxv, above).


9. "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, aliis 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 Hollinshead's Chronicles [iii. 1419-1537, ed. 1587] reprint 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," calld 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 liues 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 wardenes 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 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).


II D. LIST OF FRANCIS THYNNE'S WORKS.  


23. The 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 ouerpassed but that will be deliuered 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."
II. D. LIST OF FRANCIS THYNNE’S WORKS.

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.)

27. (1573 A.D.) 1st MS. in Ashmole 766, in verse. 1. “The contents of this booke.

“Fyrste an epistle dedicatorye of the booke of Armorye of Clau- dius 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 “Barmondsey 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 auctors recyted in this discourse, after the order of the alphabett;” and three others which are blank. In Wood’s Athenæ Oxon. (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.
II.D. LIST OF FRANCIS THYNNE'S WORKS. cxxiii

the 20 of October, 1578.' Lansdowne 27, art. 36, 6 folio leaves, 70-5. (p. Iviii, above.)


"This tract consists of the following eleven documents [described 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 [Dutye and Office of an Heraulde, No. 16, above.] to which it seems to belong. They are noticed in the quarto edition of Wood's Athenae, II. 108-9."—Black, col. 520. An 18th-century copy is in Harl. MS. 4176, leaves 170-187.

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

34. Mr Thynne 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 sealinge 2 with arms. Ib. f. 45. (p. xciv, above.)

36. 2 Letters to the first Sir John Thynne (noted, p. lii, Iviii, 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. Iviii).

1 Hearne's Diary, vol. cvii, p. 113. "Apr. 28, 1725. I find by the News of Yesterday, that Mr. Anstis 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 Glosterehire, all written upon this very subject, by one Thynne, a King at Arms. I believe it came out of the Berkly Family;" (cc.)

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 kynge booke of all the lorde, knightes, esquiers, 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 Anglie,’ conteyning the orders of the Kings 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.)

39. Three Collections for the “First Part of the Commentaries of Britain,” 1 and 2 describd in the Cotton Catalogue, p. 613, as “Commentarii de historia et rebus Britannicis, collecti per Franciscum Thynne; in quibus multa quoque continentur de familiius nobilium, et presertim de comitibus Huntingdoniae et Lincolniae, et ducibus Norfolciae: tomi duo.” MS. Cotton, Faustina E. VIII. and IX., and MS. in the Bridgewater Library (see p. lxi-lxiv, 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 Armes of the Earles Marshall of England, collected by Francis Thynn in the yeare of our redemption

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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

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

“The names and arms 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 addressst to Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral, on the “new Commission directed” to him, the Lord Treasurer and the Earl of Worcester. It treats of the etymology 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 signd by F. Thynn’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 Lordshipp) have after this new Commission directed to the lorde Treasurer, to your Lordship, and to the Erle of Worcester, presented vnto you such rare Antiquityes concerning your honorable Office, as may both manyest their loveing dutie, and give light to things which have long lyen hidden: for which cause, I might justly staine my Penn from presumyng to adventure my dutye towards your Lordship after the same manner, (myself being of others most inexpert in those things, as one who hath alwailes lived in silence, although a well willer to Antiquityes,) yet your noble birth, honourable disposition, and rare Curtesey, did not adde wings to my desire, which of long tyme wished to have some occasion mynistered, wherein I might manifest my dutiefull Affection to your Lordship. Wherefore, as one amongst the rest, willing to present vnto your Lordshipp some outward pledge of inward dutie: I offer vnto your Lordshipp these few eares of knowledge which I have gleaned out of the leavings of antient historyes and Records.”

“[ends] . . . . . the latter end of this booke doth sett 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 have performed.

“Thus, my good lord, in all dutye humble committing mee and my labours to your Lordshipps favourable Countenance and furtherance of my sute, and Commmending 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 Lordshipps vndeserved Curtesey, which encourageth mee thus boldlye to offer to your honourable acceptance this slender collection, I dutifully take my leave. Clerkenwell Grene, the one and twentieth of Marche, 1601.

Your lordshipps wholye in all dutye to dispose,
Francis Thynn.”

* This Catalogue of arms is brought down to those of the Earl of Essex, who died 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.


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 4th.’ (Lists of the Bishops of Congresberye, of Bath and Wells, with copies of Saxon Charters, Notes, &c.) Signd, “Francis Thynne, 29 Julij Anno domini 1592, in Domo Willielmi Lambard, armigeri, apud hallinge in Kantia.”

Art. 11. ‘Excerpta ex historia Thomæ Moore, de tempore Edwardi 2nd.:’ (“Notes taken out [of the historye of] Sir Thomas delamoore 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.


(“A fragment of the draught of the will of Mr Thynne, Lancaster herald, apparently in his own handwriting;” Lansdowne Catalogue—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. P. COLLIER'S FALSE ATTRIBUTIONS.

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 Loveliness; 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 Plowman, 1579; and 4. The Case is altered, 1604. To any one who knows Francis Thynne's style and character, this putting-on of him for 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, 2 labelled 'Greene's stags,' is delightful. Why, Thynne would have flayed him for it, and have left his skin peppered and salted, to posterity. 3 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 Ellesmere'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 lookt at this 'F. Th.' and compar'd 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 signd 'F. Th.' only.

2 The 'Quip for an Upstart Courtier' came out in 1592, when Thynne must have been settld 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 Loveliness, 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 bits of Thynne in this little volume, and then turn to The Pride-and-Lowliness Debate; the Cap-and-Head Disputation (1564; at Lambeth); the Newes from the North, 1579 (Bodleian; 1585, 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. Ixx, 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 attourney" (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 losse 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 weare,  
The head ought to be blamed for the deepe,  
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 discribed an Epythyme:  
Warne 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 iii. verses doth not vary.  

THE EPYTHYME.  
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\(^1\):—  
(Lambeth Library, 28. 8. 23, the 5th tract in the vol.)  
A Dialogue betwene the Cap and the Head.  

The Cap.  
O How vndiscretely 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 aylest 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

\(^1\) A Pleasaunt / Dialogue or disputat/ion betweene 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 Novembris.  
11. / (Colophon) Imprinted at London in Whitecrosse streate by Henry Denham, for Lucas Harrison, dwelling in Paules Churchyard, at the Signe of the Crane. Anno domini, 1564. Novembris 11, 8vo. A B C in eights. Colophon only on C 7, C 8 blank. The Press mark is 28. 8. 23 (art. 5). (Proof of extract not read with original.)
bene, had bene deounced with Dogges, or that it had bene burned in the filthy fingers of the ilsanored olde queane that spunne it.

The Head.

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

The Cap.

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

The Head.

I knowe no cause why thou shouldest be greued with me; for I payde sweetely for thee, & thou knowest that every man weareth 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 quietly 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 Damaske poudre, 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 re-proche, and bestowe thy rose water and damaske poudre vpun 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 esteme the patche in the breeches to be happyer than I... Who is able to beare such iniurye 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 Steple; an other while lyke a Barbers Basone; anone after lyke a Bolle whelmed vp side downe; sometime lyke a Royster, sometime like a Souldiour, and sometime lyke an Antique; sometime plited, & anone after unplyted; and not being contented with that, thou bindest mee with guarishe bandes; 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 chaunget?.... it seemeth that thou goest about to shame mee utterly; for thou art not contented with making mee to weare Read, Yellowe, Greene, and Blew laces, but besides that, thou encombrest mee wyth Brouches, Valentines, Rings, Kayes, Purses, Gloues, yea, fingers of gloues! thou wrappes me in Chains, thou settest me with Buttons and Aglets, thou lardest mee wyth rybans and bandes, thou cuttest me, borest 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 haue a common proverbe, "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 grieveth me not so much as other intollerable injuries that thou dost me, which maketh me many times wish my self an ouen sweper. For when thou art drunk, and that the superfluity of thy bybed Wine distylleth forth in sower sweatye droppes, then throwest thou me away, thou treadest on me, and so leauest me in daunger of Dogs and Cattes, which many tymes both pysse 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 London / at the long Shop, adjoyning vnto / Saint Mildreds Church in the / Pultric, by Edward / Allde, 1585. 4to. A to L in fours.

† To the Godly and Gentle Reader.

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

¹ This is preceded by the following amusing derivation of gallant: "First, gallantnesse is deriued of this word Gall, which is a superfluity that groweth on the oke tree, vnprofitable, wythout seede, light; and so rounde that it can scarce lye still on the playne ground. Wherof some nations haue a proverbe: 'thou art as fickle as a Gall.' And thou shalt vnderstande, that of Gall, commeth 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 consume 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 galle) eyther galle the Marshaunt in his boke, or else, by shamefull shifting, gall 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 gie them better grace!" (The italics are mine. See W. de Worde's 'Treatyse of this Galaunt' 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, lix, lxı,
as thou mayst understand by their Discourse, which I have gathered and reported as faithfully and as truly as my simple memory could retaine the same, and that with some trauaile which I accounted my dutie. First vnto them and others by them heerin mentioned. And secondly vnto all and euerie good man and woman whose minde and harts God may sturre vp vnto Godlynes and Vertue by their good ensample. Namely\(^1\) all such as are Fathers and Maisters of householdes; but cheefly 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 edifyng 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 drunkerd”; which thing, although hee hath said to be very hard—yet (for the Inholder) that his rule admitteth exception, thou mayst hear finde with out trauailing to Rippon in Yorkshire to learne; and so for a grote or sixpence thou maist know that which cost mee aboue fine markes to learne, besides my trauail 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 Journcis 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, chaunced to lodge in Rippon, 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 traueled somewhat out of the common high London way, of purpose to see the Cuntrie. And one day among others, toward euen I chaunced 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 Greek 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

\(^1\) especially
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 towe warde, 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 Wheeles a little distance from them. All which things when I beheld, I thought with my selfe 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 mee 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 gane 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 hartyly 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 moused, 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 gane 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 fiue pound for half a yeer; for truely (quoth hee) I haue spent all my mony at London, and haue not left myself 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 shoould alwaies so vse your matters that the main stock be saued whole." "Fye, neighbour Simon! quoth he, speak no more of that, for the reverence of God, for truely I am ashamed of myself; but what remedy now saue patience, and to learne to be wiser hereafter?" "What meanes all these paper Books" (quoth our Hoste). "Mary, neighbour, quoth the Pierce, they shalbe suretie vnto you for the repayment of your fiue pound." With that they were vnbound; and beeing opened and looked vpon, they were Billes, Answers, Replications, Reio[...]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 vnfo to that were as mad to buy them of you, as you bought them at their hands that solde them vnfo to you. But or you meet with any such chapman, I beleue you will be weary of keeping them." With that, Pierce began to be half offended. "Neighbour Pierce," quoth our Hoste, "fiue 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. iij. 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 haue rebuked me, haue chasticed and amended me; but to say that I think or judge it thank worthy vnfo them that haue receiued my money: I say ' the Deuil kisse his arse that so amendeth me or any freend of mine;' for verily such amending, in my judgment, deserueth asmuch and the very like thanks, as did the Wife who gave her husband two strong poisons, meaning to sped him in deed, but the poysons beeinge of contrary natures, wrought one vpon an other, and destroyed either others force, wherby the man beeinge hardly handled for a season, yet beeinge driuen into a lask by their extemritie, anoyded them bothe, and with them much corruption, so that where before he was a very corrupt body, he was by their clensings the better xx. yeers after. Thus she did him good by accident, but far from her intent or purpose, and vyterly against her will. . . .

Cap. 14. . . For I haue partly shewed you heer what leave
and libertie the common people, namely youth, have to follow their own lust and desire in all wantones and desolution of life. For further proof wherof, I call to witnesse the Theaters, Curtines, Heauing houses, Riffing boothes, Bowling alleys, and such places, where the time is so shamefully mispent, namely the Sabaoth daines, vnto the great dishonor of God, and the corruption and utter distruction of youth. All which (I say) are either the causes or the effects of these great gains and revenues, or els both causes and effects interchaungeably. 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 profitt to the Maiestrates and Officers, in the godly liues and honest conuersation 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 aduanced therby. (ed. 1585, sign. F. 4.)

Lij. And when I would parte: 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 leave of other, and departed each of vs toward his owne. After which departure, vpon the way as I traueled, I remembred the Prophet Dauid, 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 ciuilitie and nurture in the South partes of this land, namely in London, and dispraise and dispise the North as rude and vnciuil, 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 enuie vs, concerning either Godlynes, Vertue, or good maners; for heer I haue spoken of the basest kind of People, wherby it may partly approoue 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 doon it as neer accordant to the trueth 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.

1 specially
2 The Theatre was James Burcole's Shoreditch Theatre, near the site of the present Standard Theatre. The Curtain was another theatre close by.
And herein I protest that I haue neither flattered no belyed any man, for my meaning is trueth, and the commendation therof, and therin is no flattery; for surelie if I haue flattered any body, it is mine owne self in that, that where before I was perswaded that pride had ytterly corrupted this whole common welth, and had clean overspred it with his generation of all vngodlynes, and wickednes, wherof all times and ages doo agree with him to be the father, sithence this Iourney I begin to hope that God wil haue mercy vpon vs, and that he hath reserved vnto him self a remnaunt, as hee did in the time of Elias, for whose sakes hee will spare the rest, as le 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-woord in recompence therof, and also of my long and weary Iourney, wherof this labour was mine only rewarde.

Beseeching Almightie God, of his great mercie and clemency to graunt vnto the same no wursse effect than I haue ment therin, and that by the Appostles councel, 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 Cuntrie, 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 Cuntrie, which is the Heauenly Jerusalem, whether God for Christes sake bring vs all
Amen.

Finis
Laus Deo.
Fœlix 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 haue giuen 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 Cuntries sake,
Me thought of force I must it undertake.

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 Cuntry 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 wherwith it to fulfil.

These are the causes why I took on mee,
To be reporter of this Conference
Which I haue doon as heer 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 deliuerance,
I put in the Readers curtesie
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 proue either vnwise, or vnkinde, I should call in my Title: So it is, that hauing nothing to do, I set myselfe on work about a little better matter, to write downe certain Cases neuer 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 ouer, no doubt but some of them wil please you: if any of them do otherwise, I am sory, I knowe not your humour; but if you finde your selfe touched with any euil, rather mend the fault in your selfe, then finde fault with me. In brief, I only write vpon 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 sory for my labour; If I haue lost my labour, I am sory for my time; but if I haue gained your good will, all is not lost: and I thankes you; but, because I knowe not where to come to you to tell you so, I leauae 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 wenche, a faire wenche, a fine wenche, a pretty wenche, a sweet wenche, a gallant wenche, a proper wenche, a wise wenche, an honest wenche, a kinde wenche, a good wenche; that could speake well, and daunce well, and sing well, and play well, & worke well, and do euery thing well, to be cast away; I say, cast away: yea vtterly cast away vpon a Noddy, a Ninny-hamer, a Tamegoose, a Woodccke, a Meacocke, a Dawccke, 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 mischeife: 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-coale ashes, it is pitty; it deserues a better soyle: & in truth had I such a daughter, she should spin, & I would reele, and we would make thread for a liuing, 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 louve with a pretty, 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 morrow, with "how doe you, sonne,? I praine you come neere," if it were neere her house, and "I praine you sit downe," and "I pray you drinke, and how doth your good father, and your mother and all your house,? In troath you are welcome, I am sore 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 deed I ever loued you of a childe, and if I had a daughter I would giue 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 noses that holde their heads full high." And thus, with shewing of him all her wealth, which she conjured him to kepe secret, & giuing 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 hauing robbed her cupberd of a great deale a coine, only bearing her in hand to be her Asse-band, and for a little ilfavoured kindnes, it fell out, that shortly after, he falling in loue 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 Baines were asked, the Bride and Groome were married, the guests were bidden, the dinner was readie; the minstrells plaid, the youth danced, and the old foole lasht, and the day was well past, and nothing longed for but night, and then the supper done, the guestes 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 sprinkleld 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 diuerse saying "God giue you ioy," fell to mumblling to herselfe, and some sorrow too; when how she wroght 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 meanes he could for his comfort, and finding none, met by chance with this old woman, and in a mistrust that shee 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 never eate bread after; for going home to her house, belike going about some other hellishnes, her Cruch 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 weakes 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 diuell 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, sneueling, bleer-eied, wry-mouthed, botle-nosed, lame-legged, palsie-handed, stumpe-footed, wry-bodied, gagge-toothed, slandering-tongue, foh, stinking-breathed, who walked but vpon crutches, read but with spectacles, and spake with a shaking, nodding, or a noddy head; this ougly obiect, or rather abiect of nature, the sorrow of youthes eie-sight, the disprofit 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 hauing well viewed, as his dimme sight would give him leave, giving a nodde to her curtesie, sent the next day for her to his house; but the wench the day before hauing 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 yeele 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 Bailifie 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 currees, not much vnlike their old maister, being of his old acquaintance, 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 cough, and a spalling spet or two, begins to aske him for his daughter, whose excuse being made, he falls aboard with him for her, to haue her for his servant: 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 ioy 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 sacke, 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
sent to marry her to the duell, intreated her to put her to service,
for she had rather wash buckes all daies of her life, then be matched
with such a monster: “Oh Aunt, every 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 seam together, and handle her needle prettily,
for a plaine hemme, & could tell how to eate a peece of meate, how-
ever she could dresse it, spake to a gentlewoman neere vnto her, to
take her into her service, drue 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 leaue 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, warnes 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 shall 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 dooress’; and is as good
as her word; the next morning with an open mouth goes to his
doores, where lowder then both his Mastiffes she maketh an outcry
for her childe.

The man, knowing her to be an unreasonable 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
deare daughter, she falls into such an agony, that a horse would not
abide it. When the poore man with grieue takes such thought that
he can eate no meate, and she weary, & almost out of breath with secl-
ing, goes to bed for anger; and the old man, with sorrow to loose his
love, and to see her parents misery, after a fit of the stone, with a stitch
of the Chollick, being griped 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 means he could, and by her parents good care and trauail,
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
towilde, after a hollow hemme or two, euem for Loue, (because he
could live no longer) dyed. And is not this of a long Case, a piti-
full Case?

_Mil._ Yes, if it were true, but surely tis a iest; there was neuer
such a man, nor such a matter.

_Dal._ Well then, say it were a iest, was it not a pittifull iest?

_Mil._ If there were anie pittie, it was in that hee lined so long.

...(sign. D. 4.)

When they had thus ended their Cases, and giuen each other a
good night, and came home to their wiues in good time, that al 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,
upon their walking staues, 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
upon, which, if you wil tary til they be written, as I have 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 vnrest;
Then leaue the last, and take the first,
And take the best, and leaue 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” addresst to “Francis Thynne,” when Turberville was actually
older than Francis Thynne, probably 15 years older, as Turberville’s
conjecturd 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 Bibl. Catal. iii. 450.
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 Francis¹ 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 iarre;
Whilst you with Haukes the sielie Foule doe slaye,
And take delight a quick retrieue 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 liue 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.

[I Thought good fayth, & durst haue gagde my hand
For you (Friend T.) that beautie should now hight
Haue rasde your hart, nor Cupid with his brand
Haue brought 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
Messes Cooper give the following authorities\(^1\) for their Life of Thynne and list of his Works, in the *Gent.'s Mag.*, July, 1865 (p. 90):

- Ayscough's Cat. of MSS.
- Bernard's Cat. of MSS.
- Black's Cat. of Ashmol. MSS. 383, 520, 559, 625.
- Blakeway's Sheriffs of Salop, 116.
- 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. 13. 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. Thynne 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 righte 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 (Ryghte Honorable and my verye good lorde) one annciente and gretlye Estemed Custome emongesthe Romans in the heigh[te] of their glorye, that eche one, accordinge to their abylytye or the desarte of his frende, did, in the begynnynge of the monthe of Januarye (consecrated to the dooble faced godd Janus, one the fyrste daye whereof they made electione of their cheife officers and magistrates) present somme gyfte vnto his frende as the noote and pledge of the contynued and encresed amytye *betwene them, a pollicye gretlye to be regarded, for the manye good effectes whiche issue from so woorthye cause.

This custome not restinge in the lymyttes of Italye, but spredinge with the Romans (as did their language and many other their vsages & lawes) into euerye perticuler Countrye where theyr powre and gourmente stretched, passed also ouer the Oceane into the liitle worlde of Brytannye, being neuer exiled from thence, nor frome those, whome eyther honor, amytye, or dutye doth combyne. *for whiche cause, lest I myghte offende in the breche of that most excellente and yet embraced Custome, I thinke yt my parte to presente vnto.

THYNNE.
I present your Lordship with this New-Year's Gift,

your Lordship suche poore neweyeres gyfte as my weake estate and the barrennesse of my feble skyH will permytte: Wherefore, and because Cicero affirmethe, that he which hath once ouer passed the frontiers of modestye must for euer after be impudente, (a grounde whiche I fynde fully veryfyed in my selfe, havinge once before outgone the boundes of shamefastnesse in presentinge to your Lordshippe my confused collections and disordered discourse of the Chauncelors)

I ame nowe become vttelye impudente in not blusshinge to salute you agayne (in the begynnynge of this newe yere) with my petye animadversions, vppon the annotaczons and corrections deliuered by master Thomas Speghte vppon the last editione of Chaucers Workes in the yere of oure redemptione 1598; thinges (I confesse) not so answereable to your Lordshippes iudgmente, and my desyre, as boote your desarte and my dutye doo challenge. But althoughe they doo not in all respectes satisfye youre Lordshippes expectacione and my goode wiH, (accordinge as I wyshe they sholde), yet I dobt not but your lordshippe (not degeneratinge from youre former cur*tesye wontinge to accompanye all youre actions) wiH accepte these trifles from your lovinge well-willer in suche sorte, as I shaH acknowledge my selfe beholdinge and endebted to your Lordshippe for the same. Whiche I hoope your Lordshippe wiH the rather doo (with pardonynge my presumptione) because you haue, by the former good acceptance of my laste booke, emboldened me to make tryaH of the lyke acceptance of this pampfelette. Wherefore yf your Lordshippe shaH receive yt curteouslye (and so not to dischorage

1 MS. gyste
2 MS. aster be in nudente
3 "The names and Armes of the Chancellors collected into one Catalogue by Francis Thynn declaring the yeres of the reignes of the kingses and the yere of our Lorde in whiche they possessed that office."—Folio MS, Bridgewater Library.—G. H. K.
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 dutyfull mynde and service I beare
and owe vnto youre lordshippe, to whome in 'all reuer-
ence I commyte this simple treatyce. Thus (withe
hartye prayer comendinge youre estate to the
Almightye (who send to your
Lordshippe manye happye
and helthfull yeres
and to me the
enlarged
contynuance of
Youre honorable fauour)
I humblye take my leave.
Clerkenwell grene
the xx of
December
1599.

Your Lordshippes wholye to
dyspose,

Francis Thynne.
/.
/.
/.
/.

If you do,
I will send you
a better book
hereafter.

[Leaf iv]
FRANCIS THYNNE GREETS MASTER THOMAS SPEGHT.

To Master Thomas Speighte
francis Thynn sendeth
greetinge.

The Industrye and love (master Speighte) whiche yo" haue vsed, and beare, vppon and to oure famous poete Geffrye Chaucer, deseruethe bothe comendatione and furtherance: the one to recompense your trauayle, the other to accomplyshe the duetye, whiche we all beare (or at the leaste, yf we reuereence lernynge or regarde the honor of oure Countrye, sholde beare) to suche a singuler ornamente of oure tonge as the woorkes of Chaucer are: Yet since there is nothinge so fullye perfected, by anye one, whereine somme imperfectione maye not bee founde, (for as the prouerbe is, 'Barnardus,' or as others have, 'Alanus, non videt omnia,') yo" must be contented to gyve me leave, in discharge of the duetye and love whiche I beare to Chaucer, (whome I suppose I have as great intereste to adore with my smale "skylly as anye other hath, in regarde that the laborious care of my father made hym most acceptable to the worlde in correctinge and augmentinge¹ his woorkes,) to enter into the examinatione of this newe editione,² and that the rather, because yo".

¹ Thynne was the first man who professt to edit Chaucer's Works. He printed for the first time, Chaucer's Adam Scrivener, Legende, Bocce, 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 well to the worke, I ame to lett yo\textsuperscript{a} vnderstande my conceyte thereof, whiche before this, yf yo\textsuperscript{a} woulde have vouche-safed my howse, or have thoughte me worthy to have byn acqueynted with these matters (whiche yo\textsuperscript{a} might well have donne without anye whatsoeuer disparge-ment to yourセルfe,) yo\textsuperscript{a} sholde haue vnderstoode before the impressione, althoughhe this whiche I here write ys not nowe vpponセルfe wiH or fonnd conceyte 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 towards mee in whatsoeuer shall fall oute of my penne. Wherefore 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\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{a} saye 'secondly, the texte by written copies corrected\textsuperscript{2}': by whiche worde 'corrected,' I maye seme to gather, that yo\textsuperscript{a} 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 workes haue byn sithens printed twyce, yf not thrice,\textsuperscript{3} and therfor byoure care-

\textsuperscript{1} John Stowe's, 1661.

\textsuperscript{2} "Secondly, The text by old written Copies corrected: " Speght 'To the Readers'.

\textsuperscript{3} Only twice, so far as we know: 1. about 1550, by or for

and tell you some things which, if you'd condescended to call on me, or tell me what you were about, you might have known before.

(* leaf 2)

(I shan't touch that Inferior person, Stowe's, edition.)

You say your text is 'corrected by written copies', as if my father hadn't us'd MSS., and made a good text, because the care-
lesse (and for the most parte vnlerned) printers of Englande, not so well performed as yt ought to bee: so that, of necessytie, bothe in matter, myter, and meaninge, yt must needes gather corruptione, passinge through so manye handes, as the water dothe, the further yt runnethe from the pure founteyne. To en-
duce me and all others to judge his editiöne (whiche I thinke yo
neuer sawe wholye to-gether, beinge fyrst printed but in one coolume in a page, whereof I will speake hereafter) was the perfectest: ys the ernest desire and love my father hadde to have Chaucers Workes rightlye to be published. for the performance 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 editiöne printed in the yere 1542\(^1\); but further had comissione to serche all the liberaries of Englande for Chaucers Workes, so that oute of all the Abbys of this Realme (whiche reserved anye monumentes thereof) he was fully furnished with multitume of Bookes. emongst whiche, one coppye of some part of his woorkes came to his handes sub-
scribed in diuers places withe "examinatur Chaucer."

By this Booke, and conferringe manye of the other written copies to-gether, he deliuered his editiöne, fullye corrected, as the amendementes vnder his hande, in the fyrst printed booke that euer 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 Bradsha, citizen and grocer 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,"
I. SPEGHT'S ADDITIONS CAME FROM FRANCIS THYNNE.

Englande) will well declare, at what tyme he added manye thinges whiche were not before printed, and printed in it many new pieces.

In my father's first (cancelld) edition was The Pilgrim's Tale.

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

Thynne, 1532.

GENUINE.
Canterbury Tales. Troylus. 
†Legende. †Boethius. 
†Parl. of Fowles. †Blanche (Dreame). 
Bukton, t. i. Marriage. 
†Pity. Annelida. 
†Astrolabe. House of Fame. 

SPURIOUS.
Johan Gower: Balade to kyng Henry the fourth. Of the Cuckowe and the Nyghtyn-gale. 
(S) Scogan vnto the lordes and gent-ylmen of the kynge house. 2 stanzas 'Go forthe, kyng.' (Lydgate's?) Consyder wel euery cir-cumstance. Epitaphium Galfridi Chaucer.

† For the first time.

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

3 Does this mean that Speght borrowd 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 fene,
    Standes a reliugious 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 Pylgrymse Tale,' and begins thus:—

In Lincolnesyry fast by the fene
There stant an howes 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 Bale among Chaucer's works, in the following manner, 'Narrationes diversorum, Lib. i. In comitatu Lincolniensi 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. xxxiii and fol. xlv, 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 thys vi. stavis for to marke,
Whiche be Chaucers awn hand wark.

[Then follow four more lines from Chaucer's Rom. R. v. 7263-8, 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 xlv. 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. *1040) 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 Chaucer† most bitterlye enuoye against the pride, state, couetousnes, and extortione of the Bysshoppes, their officialls, 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, beholdinge goodlye pictures of Bysshoppes in the windowes, at lengthe the manne contynuynge in that contemplatione, not knowinge what Bishoppes they were, a grave olde manne with 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 vnto oure 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 redde, he called my father unto hym, sayinge, "Williame Thynne! I dobe this wil not be allowed; for I suspecte the Byshoppes wil call the in questione for yt."

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

Perkin werbek and Jak straw
And now of late our cobler the dawe.

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 cobler, in the second line, means the leader of the Lincolnshire rebels in 1536, who, as Hollinshed tells us, p. 941, 'called himself Captaine Cobler, 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.

† That is, the unknown author. It is clearly not Chaucer's.
to whome my father, being in great faoure with his prince, (as manye yet lyvinge canne testyfye,) sayed, "{yf your grace be not offended, I hoole to be protected by yo" := whereupon the kinge bydd hym goo his waye, and feare not. AH whiche not withstandinge, my father was called in question by the Bysshoppes, and heaved at by cardinall Wolseye, his olde enmye, for manye causes, but mostly for that my father had furthered Skelton to publishe his 'Colen Cloute' againste the Cardinall, the moste parte of whiche Booke was compiled in my fathers howse at Erie the in Kente. But for all my fathers frendes, the Cardinalls perswadinge auctorytye was so greate with the kinge,\(^1\) that thoughbe by the kinges 'faour my father escaped bodelye daunger, yet the Cardinall caused the kinge so muche to myslyke of that tale, that chaucer must be newe printed, and that discourse of the pilgrymes tale lefte oute; and so beinge printed agayne, some thynges were forced to be omitted, and the plowmans tale (supposed, but vntrulye, to be made by olde Sir Thomas Wyat, father to hym which was executed in the firste yere of Quene Marye, and not by Chaucer) with muche ado permitted to passe with the reste,\(^2\) in suche sorte that in one open parlamente (as I haue herde Sir John Thynne reporte, beinge then a member of the howse,) when talke was had of Bookes to be forbidden,\(^3\) Chaucer had there for ever byn condemned, had yt not byn that his woorkes had byn counted butt fables. Whereunto {yf yo\(^a\)} will repluye, 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.
cause Chaucer in his prologues maketh not mentione of anye suche personne, which he wolde haue donne: for after that he had recyted the knighte, the squyer, the squiers yeomane, the prioresse, her noozane, and her thre preistes, the monke, the fryer, the marchant, the Clerke of Oxenforde, seriante at the lawe, franckleyne, haberdassher, 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 Reue, and a millere,
A Sumpnoure, 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 oute somme of those whiche tolde their tales; as the chanons yomane, 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 afterwardes be one of their companye, as was that chanons yeomane, althoughe Chaucer talke no moore of this pilgrime in his prologe then he doothe 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 Bookes of Chaucer, whiche came to my fathers handes there were manye false copyes, whiche Chaucer shewethe in writinge of Adam Scruener (as yo haue noted); of whiche written copies 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.

because the Pilgrim isn't nam'd in the Prologue, [leaf 5]

(leaf 5, back)

I answer that he's left out the Canon's Yeoman, who yet told a Tale, and so he may have left out the Pilgrim.

I believe many of Chaucer's Tales are lost.

Of my father, William Thynne's collection of Chaucer's MSS.
after my fathers deathe some fyve and twentye, whereof some had moore, and some fewer, tales, and some but two, and some three. whiche bookes beinge by me (as one nothinge dobting of this whiche ys nowe donne for Chaucer) partly dispersed aboute xxvj yeres a-goo and partlye stooledoute of my howse at Popler: I gave diuers of them to Stephen Batemanne,\(^1\) 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 yf I see agayne: and yf by anye suche written copies yo\(^a\) have corrected Chaucer, yo\(^a\) maye as well offende as seme to do good. But I judge the beste, for in doctes I will not resolve with a settled iudgmente althoughhe yo\(^a\) maye judge this tedious discourse of my father a needlesse thinge in setting forthe his diligence in breaking the yce, & gyvinge lighte to others, who may moore easelye perfecte then begyne any thinge, for "facilius est addere quam Invenire"; and so to other matters.

\(^a\) Perhaps the Stephen Batman, 'Student in Diuinitie' 1577, 'Professor in Diuinitie' 1581, author of *The Travayled Pylgrime*, 1569; *The Golden Booke of the Leaden Goddes*, 1577; *The Doome warning all men to the Judgmente*, 1581; "Bateman wpon Bartholome, his Booke De Proprietatibus Rerum, newlye corrected, enlarged and amended, 1582, &c. &c.

\(^1\) Speght cites the passage from the spurious Testament of Love, saying that "in the Citie of London . . . I was forth 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 Hastings Roll, 110, 5 Ric. II, at the Guildhall, Chaucer
that no more then that Iohn Chaucer of londone, was father to Richarde; of whiche Iohn I fynde in the recordes in Dorso Rotulor. patent. memb. 24, de anno 30. Ed. 1. in the towre, that kinde 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 thre thowsande pownde;) for whiche a commissione wente forth to enquire thereof. wherbye yt semethe that he was of some Reckonynge. But as I cannott saye that Iohn 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 ancesters (as yo\textsuperscript{a} well coniecture) were strangers, as the etymon of his name (being frenche, in 'Englishe signyfyinge one who shueth or hoseth a manne) dothe prove; for that dothe the etymon of this worde 'Chausier' presente vnto vs; of whiche name I haue founde (besides the former recyted Iohn,) on \textsuperscript{1} Elias chauseryr, lyvinge in the tyme of Henrye the thirde and of Edwarde the firste, of whome the recorde of pellis exitus in the receyte of the Exchequer in the firste yere of Edwarde the firste hathe thus noted: "Edwardus dei gratia &c. Liberate de thesauro nostro Elie Chauseryr 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 West-monasterium, 24 Julii, anno regni nostri primo." With whiche Carractres ys Geffry Chausyer written in the Recordes in the tyme of Edwarde the thirde and Richarde the seconde. So that yt was a name of office or occupacione, whiche after came to be the surname desribd himself, in the Deed by which he releast his interest in his father's house in Thames Street in the City of London, as "Ego Galfridus Chausier, filius Johannis Chausier, Civis et Vinetarii Londonie," Richard was the grandfather. \textsuperscript{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,

\textsuperscript{[* leaf 7] for Chausier is 'one who shueth or hoseth a man.'}

An Elias Chaucer livd in Hen. III's & Edw. I's times, as a writ to the Treasury in 1272-3, to pay him 10s. for arrears of his pension of 14d. a-day, shows.

So Chaucer is the name of a trade,

II. OF CHAUCER'S FATHER, AND THE MEANING OF "CHAUCER." 13
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 records of the
towre, where yt is named Le Chaucer, beinge more
anniente then anye other of those recordes; for in
Dorso Clause of io: H. 3, ys this: "Reginaldus
mirifir*, et alicia uxor eius, attornaverunt Radulfum le
Chausier contra Johannem Le furber, et matildem
vxorem eius, de uno messuagio in London." This
Chaucer lyvinge also in the tyme of kinge Joãne. And
thus this muche for the Antiquytye and significatione
of 'Chaucer', whiche I canne prove in the tyme of
Edwarde the 4. to signyfye also, inoure Englyshe
tonge, bootes or highe shoes to the calfe of the legge:
for thus hathe the Antique records of Domus Regni
Anglie, ca. 53, for the messengers of the kinges howse
to doo the kinges commanndementes: that they shalbe
allowed for their Chauses1 yerely iiijs. viijd: But what
shal wee stonde uppon the Antiquyte and gentry of
Chaucer, when the rolle of Battle Abbeye affirmeth
'hym to come in with the Conqueror.2

Vnder the title of Chaucers countrye,3 yow sett

1 printed 'chawnces' in the Household Ordinances (p. 48)
publisht by the Society of Antiquaries in 1790. "MESSEAGERS,
III, attending to this courte for the King, obeying the com-
manndementes of the Chamberlayn, for the messages concernyng
the King, or secretary, or ussher of the chambre; also the
Steward and Thesauuer, for the honour and profit of household;
if it require. These sitt togeder in the halle at their meles;
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 marc; and echte for his chawnces
29, the word is spelt "chawers": "A BISHOP CONFESSOUR
. . . he kepeth in this courte 5 persones wayters now, but then
[? in Edw. III's time] he had horse mete for his horses, clothing
and chawers for his grooms in sojourne."

2 I suppose Thynne read 'Cauncy' on the Roll (according
to Holinshed), 'Chauncy' or 'Coucy' (in Duchesne's Roll),
'Corye' (in Leland's first Roll) or 'Chauncy' (in his second),
as equivalent to Chancy = Chaucer.

3 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 Antiquytie, haue borne as meane armes as Chaucer; and yet Chaucers armes are not so meane, eyther for coolour, Chardge or particione as some wilt make them. And where yo saye, yt semethe lykelye, Chaucers skilH in Geometrie considered, that he tooke the groundes and reasons of his armes oute 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 oute of Geometricall proportions, because he was skyllfulH in Geometrie: for so yo maye saye of all the anniec armes of Englande whiche consyste not of anymalls or vegittalls; for all other armes whiche are not Anymalls and vegittalls,—as Cheuerons, pales, Bendes, Checks, and suche lyke,—stande vppon geometricall proportiones: And therfore howe greate soeuer their skyll bee, whiche attribute that choyse of armes to Chaucer, [they] had no moore skylH in armes then they needed.

In the same title also, yo sett downe Quene Isabell, &c. and her sonne prince Edwarde, withe his newe maried wyfe, retourned 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 maryed her not before he came into England, since the prince was onlye slenderly contracted, and not maried, to her before his arryvalH in Englande, beinge two yeres and moore after that contracte, (betwene the erle of henalt

[2] You say some Heralds think Chaucer came of a mean house because his armes are mean. This is a poor guess.

[3] You say that Queen Isabella and her son Prince Edward, with his bride, Philippa of Hainault, came over to England together. Two mistakes.

1. The Prince didn't marry her abroad, before he came to England (in Jan. 1327), shows that you've no more knowledge of arms than you need.

2. And your notion that Chaucer took his armes out of the 27th and 28th propositions of Euclid, Book 1, shows that you've no more knowledge of arms than you need.

[* leaf 8, back*]

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 & rubeco colore partito per longituminem scuti benda ex transverso, eadem 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 9]

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

and the Records show.

She came to Edw. III on Jan. 25, 1329.

Edward III's lords inspect 5 naked ladies, to choose one for queen;

and, by the Bishop's advice, select Philippa, for her large hips.

But the lords chaff the Bishop for his knowledge of women.

...his mother,) about the latter ende of the seconde yere of his reigne; though other haue the fyrst, the solemnpytye of that mariag beinge donne at Yorke. besides, she came not ouer with Quene Isabell and the prince, but the prince sent for her afterwardes; and so, I suppose, sayethe Harding in his Cronicle,1 yf I do not mysconceve 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 thirdé yere of his reigne, wherunto he entred the 25 of Januarye. and for prooffe of the tyme when, and whoome, the Kinge sente, and what they were allowed therefore, the pellis exitus of the Exchequier remayninge in master warders office

1 Hardyng (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 lordez temporall;
  Wher, in chaumbre preuy and secretife,
  Discouerit,2 discheuely als in all, [2 At discouerit orig.]
  As semyng was to estate virginall,—
  Emong theim selfes our lordez, for hie prudence,
  Of the bishop asked counsell and sentence,
  'Whiche daughter of fiue should bee the quene,'
  Who cousnilled thus with sad auisement:
  '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 feminine,
  As the bishop moost wise did determyne.

- But then emong theim selfes thei laugh fast ay:
  The lordez then saied, 'the bishop couth
  Full mekill skyll of a woman alwaye,
  That so couth chese a lady that was vncouth.'
  [And for y° mery words that came of his mouth,]
  Thei trowed he had right great experience
  Of womanes rule and hir conuenience.
that he thus sett downe in the ferthe daye of februarye
"Bartholomeo de Burgershe nuper misso ad partes
Douor ad obuiandum filiae comitis Hannonie consorti
ipsius Regis" &c. but this recorde followinge is most
pleyne, shewing bothe who went for her, the day when
they tooke their journeye towards henalte, with de daye when & where they presented her to the kinge
after their retourne into Englande, and the daye one
whiche 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. "Rogero
country &c Lichefeld episcopo, nuper misso in nun-
tium domini Regis ad partes Hannonie pro matrimonio
inter dominum Regem et filiam comitis Hannoniae con-
trahendo, ab octauo die octobris proxime preterito,
quo die reessit 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 comitatiua filiae comitis
Hannoniae predicte, vtroque die computato, pro Cviij
diebus, percipiendo per diem iij.¹ vj.² viij.³ pro expensis
suis." Thus muche the recorde, "whiche confirmethe
that whiche I go aboute to prove: that she came not
into Englande withe prince Edwarde, and that he was
not maryed at that tyme; no, not contracted, but onlye
by agremente betwene the erle and his mother.

Next yo° seme to impyle by a coniectural argumente,
that Chaucers annesters sholde be merchants, for that,
in place where they haue dwelled, the armes of the
marchantes of the staple haue bin seene in the glasse
windowes. This ys a mere coniecture, and of no valid-
ytte. for the merchants of the staple had not any
armes granted to them (as I haue bin enformed) vntill
longe after the deathe of Chaucers parentes, whiche was

¹ MS. plainly de

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

And on March 4, 1329,
the Bp of Lich-
field was paid for
his journey in
fetching her,
from Oct. 8, 1329,
to Jan. 23, 1329,
when he delivered
her to Edw. III at
York, £3 6s. 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.]
about the 10 or 12 of Edwarde the thirde; and those merchants had no armes before the tyme of Henrye the sixte, or muche what thereaboutes, as I dobt not but wilbe weH proued, yf I be not mysenformed. But admytte the staplers had then armes, yt ys no argumente that chaucers anncesters were "merchants because those armes were in the wyndowes; as yo" shall well perceave, yf yo" drawe yt into a syllogisme; and therefore yo" did weH to conclude, that yt was not materiaH whether they were merchants or noo.

In the title of Chaucers educatione, yo" saye that "Gower, in his booke entituled 'confessio amantis,' termethe Chaucer 'a worthye poet,' and maketh hym as yt were 'the iudge of his workes': in whiche Booke, to my knowledge, Gower dothe not terme hym 'a woorthy poet' (aloughse I confesse he weH deseruethe that name, & that the same may be gathered oute 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 worordes, vterred by Venus in that booke of confessio Amantis:

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

1 Speght, sign. b. iii: "This Gower in his booke which is intituled Confessio Amantis, termeth Chaucer a worthie Poet, and maketh him as it were, the iudge of his workes."
These be all the verses whiche I knowe, or yet canne fynde, in whiche Gower in that booke mentioneth Chaucer, where he nether namethe hym worthye poet, nor after a sorte submyttethe his woorkes to his iudgmente. But quite contrarye, Chaucer dothe submytte the Correctione of his woorkes to Grower in these playne woordes, in the latter ende of the fyfte booke of Troylus:

O Morall Gower! this booke I directe to the, and the philosophicall stroode, to vouche-safe, where nede is, to correcte, of youre benignityes & zeales good.

But this error had in you byn pardoned, yf you had not sett yt downe as your owne, but warranted with the auctoryte of Bale in 'Scriptoribus Anglie,' from whence you haue swallowed yt. Then, in a margin-all note of this title, you saye agayne oute of Bale, that Gower was a Yorkshire manne; but you are not to be touched therfore; because you discharge your selfe in vouchinge your auctor. Wherfore Bale hath muche mistaken yt, as he hath donne infynyte things in that Booke 'de scriptoribus Anglie,' beinge for the most parte the collections of Lelande. for in truth the armes of this Sir Johne Gower, beinge argent, one a cheuerone azure, three leopardes heddes or, do prove that he came of a contrarye howse to the Gowers of Stytenhame in Yorke-shyre, who bare barrulye of argent & gules, a crosse patye florye sable. Whiche difference of armes semethe a difference of famelyes, vnleste you canne prove that, beinge of one howse, they altered their armes vppone somme iuste occasione, as that soome 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."—Speght, sign. b. iii,
of Cootes, for this cause, or anye other, (that I colde yet ever lerne,) shalH yo" not fynde in this familye of Gower: and therefore seueralH howses from the fyrste originalH. Then the marginall note goethe the further oute of Bale, that Gower had "one his hedde a garlande of Ivye and rooses, the one the ornamente of a knyghte, the other of a poet." 1 But Bale ys mystaken; for yt ys not a Garlande, vnlest yo" will metaphorically caH enerye cyrcle of the hedde a 'garlande, as Crownes are sometymes called garlandes, from whence they had their originall. nether ys yt of Ivye, as anye manne whiche seethe yt may weH iudge, and therefore not there sett for anye suche intente as one ensigne of his poetrye, But ys symlye a chapplett of Roses, Suche as the knyghtes in olde tyme vsed, ether of golde, or other embroderye made, after the fasshone of Rooses, one of the peculier ornamentes of a knyghte, as weH as his coller of SSS, his guilte swoorde, and spurres. Whiche chaplett or cyrcle of Rooses was as welle attributed to knyghtes, the lowest degree of honor, as to the hygher degrees of Duke, Erle, &c. beinge knyghtes; for so I haue seene JoHne 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 frome the Dukes crowne whiche had thee rooses vppon the toppe of the cyrcle, when the knyghte had them onlye vppon the cyrcle or garlande yt-selfe. 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. 1598, sign. b. iii.
creatinge 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 Normanizae cinctus est, in matrice ecclesia, per ministerium Walteri Rothomagensis Archi-
episcopi, vbi Archiepiscopus memoratus ante maius altare in capite eius posuit Circulum aureum, habentem in summitate per gyrum rosulas aureas artificialiter fabricatam," whiche chaplett of Rooses came in the ende to be a bande aboute our cappes, sette with golde Buttons, as may be supposed. In the same title yo" saye, "yt semethe that these lerned menne 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 shillinges for beatinge a Franciscane Fryer in fletstreate.\(^1\)" This is a harde collect[i]one, to prove Gower of the Inner Temple, althoughe he studied 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 Antiquytye, and ransacke the originall of the lawiers fyrst settlinge in the Temple, I dobre 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 :\(^2\) when Gower wroote that Booke. And yt is most certeyne to be gathered by circumstancnes of Rercordes, that the lawyers were not in the temple vntiH towards the latter parte of the

\(^1\) 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 house, where Geoffrey Chaucer was fined two shillings for beating a Franciscane fryer in Fleetstreate."—Speght, sign. b. iii.

\(^2\) 22 June 1392, to 21 June 1393, Chaucer being 52 or 53.
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 king Edward the thirde; at whiche tyme Chaucer was a grave manne, holden in greate credyt, and employed in embassye; so that me thinkethe he sholde not be of that howse; and yet, yf he then were, I sholde judge yt strange that he sholde violate the rules of peace and gravytye yn those yeares. But I witt passe ouer all those matters scito pede, and leave everye 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 concyte of others, I sholde suppose her name was Elizabethe, a waytinge womanne of Quene philippe, wyfe to Edwarde the thirde, & daughter to William erle of Henalte. but I fauor not their oppynone. for, although I fynde a recorde of the pellis exitus, in the tyme of Edwarde the thirde, of a yere lyngpende to Elizabethe Chawer, 'Domicelle regine Philippe,' whiche Domicella 'dothe signyfye one of her weytinge gentlewomen: Yet I cannot for this tyme thinke this was his wyfe, but rather his sister or kineswomanne, 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 haue touched one of that professione 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 28 May to 19 Sept. 1378.

2 Yet his raptus of Cecilia Chaumpaigne is compromised on 1 May 1380.

3 "This gentlewoman, whom hee married (whose 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, "Philippæ Chauser... per manus predicti Galfridi, mariti sui," "Philippæ Chauser... per manus dicti Galfridi" (Nicolas; C.'s Works, ed. R. Morris, i. 19, 109).
In the Latyn stemme of Chawcer yo saye, speakinge of Katherine Swyneforde, "Que postea nupta Johanni Gandauensi, tertii Edwardi Regis filio, Lancastrie duci, illi procreavit filios tres & vnican filiam." Wherbye we may inferre that Iohne of Gaunte had these childrene 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 all illegitimate, were enforced afterwarde vppon that maryage to be legitimated by the poope, & also by acte of Parliamente, aboute the two & twentythe of kinge Richardes the seconde; "so that yo" cannott saye, 'que postea nupta procreavit Lancastriae duci tres filios,' &c.

In the title of Chawcers children and their advancemente, in a marginall noote yo vouche master Campdene, that Bartholmewe Burgesshe, knyghte of the Garter, was he from whome the Burgesshes, whose daughter & heyre was maryed to Thomas Chawcer, did descende. But that is also one error. for this Bartholmewe was of a collaterall lyne to that Sir Iohne Burgershe, the father of Mawde, wyfe to Thomas Chawcer; and therefore colde not that Sir Iohne Burgershe be descended of this Barthelmewe Burgesshe, though hee were of that howse. Then in that title, yo vouche oute of m'. Campdene, that Serlo de Burgo, brother to Eustachius de Vescye, builte Knaresborowe Castle. but that ys not righte: for this Serlo, being called 'Serlo de Burgo siue de Pembroke', was brother to Iohne, father to Eustace Vescye as haue the records of the towre, and so vncl, and not brother, to Eustace. for one other marginall noote in that tytle,

9. You seem to say that Katherine Swynford's children by John of Gaunt were born after marriage.

But her children were born long before marriage, and on it legitimat ed.

[* leaf 15]

10. You say that Thomas Chaucer's wife was descend ed from Bartholomew Burgessh.

This is an error.

This is not right.

He was uncle.

[leaf 15, back]
12. You say that Jane of Navarre marri'd Henry IV, in the 4th year of his reign. But Walsingham says it was in the 5th year; Jan. 28, 1403-4.

13. You say the advancement of the de la Pooles 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, 1357, Edw. III, by writ of privy seal, ordered payment to Richard de la Poole, his Butler.

1403. King Henry married the Lady Joane de Nauarre.

1 “The messengers that had bin sent for Joan, late wife to John of Mountford, Duke of Brytanie, returned with her into England, and landed at Falmouth in Cornewall. The king met with her at Winchester the 7. of February, where they were married in the Church of S. Swithen.”—Stowe's Chronicle.

2 The fifth year of Henry IV was from 30 Sept, 1403 to 29 Sept. 1404. Halle makes Henry IV marry Jane, widow of John Duke of Britaniy, in the 2nd year of his reign (Sept. 1400 to Sept. 1401), and says that Katherine Swynford (John of Gaunt's third wife) died in the same year.
II. RICHARD DE LA POOLE WAS THE FIRST ADVANCER OF HIS HOUSE. 25

nisti decimo, vsque ad idem festum proxime sequens plenarie computaverit, et 2090\[11: 13\]°: et 11\[4d] et vnus obulus sibi per computum illud de claro debeatur: Volumus ei solutionem inde, seu aliás satisfactionem sibi fieri competentem: Nos eius supplicationi in hac parte, prout iustum est, annuentes, 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 grannted 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 fyrste of December of that yere: "Michaelli de la poole, filio et heredi Willielmi de la poole senioris, per Talliam levatam isto die, continentem iij\[c] lxxi\[ii] xvij\[s] 1\[d] ob. eidem michaeli liberat per comptum suum factum ad Scaccarium computatoris, virtute cuiusdam breuis de magno sigillo, Thesaurario et Baronibus Scaccarii directum pro huius compoto faciendo, de quodam annuo certo iij\[c] marcos per annum, quas dominus Rex Wil- lielmo de la Poole seniori defuncto, et michaeli filio suo, et heredibus eius de corpore suo exentubis, de Custuma in portis ville de kingeston super Hull per litteras suas patentes concessas percipiendum quamdiu vij\[c] xxxvi\[i] xvij\[s] i\[d] ob. eidem Michaeli per comptum predictum sic debitum, &c. Dominus Rex mandat vt ei satisfaccionem vel assignationem competentem (in locis vbi ei celeriter satisfieri poterit) fieret et haberet, per brevem de magno sigillo inter mandate de termino Paschae anno quadragesimo tercio," &c. So that Richard, Michaell de la Pooles grandfather, (a mar- chante of greate welthe in Hull,) was the fyrste that gâue advancemente to that howse: although Williame,

To Richard de la Poole's son William, and grandson Michael,

Edw. III granted 400 marks a year. And Michael was to receive for the arrears of this annuity, on Dec. 1, 1372.
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 aH the Clergy were, against temporaH menne who were nowe become chief officers of the Realme; and the spyrituH menne, tiH then possessinge those offices, displaced, whiche bredd greate Sorseye in the 1Churche 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 2may bee that he mighte have some factors in merchandise, and deale by his attorne,
ys, as manye noble menne and great persons have donne, whereuppone Walsingham (whiche wroote longe after) mighte seme to caH hym 'merchante' by reasone of othere mens dealings for hym, although in troothe he was neuer merchant in respecte of his owne persone (for whiche they are properly called merchantes,) as may be supposed. slyftlye, in the same title yo 3saye, that Alice, wyfe of Williame de la poole duke of Suffolke, "had a daughter by her seconde husbande, thomas montagne, erle of Sarisbery,——named after her mother, Alice,—maried to Richarde Neville, sonne to Raphe Neuill, erle of Westmerlande, by whom he had issue, Richard, Iohn, and George. But this is nothinge so. for this Alice, the wyfe of Richarde
euille, (erle of Sarisbery in the righte of the same Alice,) was daughter of Thomas Monntacufe, erle of Salisburye, and of Alice his wyfe, daughter of Thomas Holland erle of Kente, and not of Alice, daughter to Thomas Chawcer, and widowe to Williame de la Poole duke of Suffolke.

1 MS. has S for C. 2 MS. others. 3 Speght, leaf b, 5, back, at foot, with differences in spelling.
II. DATE OF INVENTION OF PRINTING. III. ROMAN DE LA ROSE. 27

In the latter end of the title of Chawcers death 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 Iohne Cuthembergus, and broughte to Roome by Conradus, one Almayne." 1 But the yere of Christe 1471 was not the 37. H. 6. but the eleuenthe of kinge Edward the fourthe; and [printinge] as some have ye, was not fyrst founde at Magonce or mentz, but at Strasborowe, and perfected at Magonce. David Chytreus in his historye sayethe, ye was fyrst founde in anno 1440, and broughte to Rome by Henricus Han,2 a germane, in the yere 1470; whereof Antonius Campanus framed this excellent epigrame:

Anser Tarpeii custos Jovis, vnde quod alis
Constreperis, Gallus recidit, vlter adest
Vlricus Gallus, ne quem poscantur in vsum
Edocuit pennis, nil opus esse tuis.

But others do suppose that ye was invented at Argenterote, as dothe mathewe Parker, in the lyfe of Thomas Burchier Archbyshoppe of Canterburye: whiche, for the incertentye thereof, I leave at this tyme to farther examinatione, not havinge nowe presente lesysure therefore.

[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 euerye tale and booke ye write, that the Romante of the Roose was made in frenche by Iohne Clopinell, alias Iohne Moone,3 when in truthe the booke was not made by hym alone; for ye was begonne by Guilliame de Loris, and fynished

1 Speght, sign. § c. ii. back: "This William Caxton of London, Mercer, 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 finished only by Jean de Meun.

Chaucer didn’t translate half the [\* leaf 19]
French Roman de la Rose.
Gerson wrote a Reprobation of it.

fourtye yeres after the death of Loris, by Io’hne de Meune, alias Io’hne Clopinell, as apperethe 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 Roose in verse, with Chaucer,\(^1\) with much of that matter omitted, ‘not havinge translated halfe the frenche Romante, but ended aboute the middle thereof. Againste whiche Booke, Gerson compiled one other, intituled ‘Le reprobatione de la Romante del Roose,’ as affirmethe the sayed molinett, in the 107 chapter of the sayed moralizatione, where he excuseethe Clopinell, and reprouethe Gersone, for that Booke, because Gerson soughte no further meanynghe then what was conteynd in the outewarde letter, This Clopinell begynnynge the Romante of the Roose, in these verses of Chaucer:

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

Secondlye, vnder that title yo\(^a\) saye, 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\(^a\) bee greatlye mysledde, in my conceyte; for yt cannott bee ‘the booke of the Dutches, or of the death of Blanche,’ because Iohn of Gaunte ‘was then but fowre and twentye yere olde when the same was made, as apperethe by that tretyse, in these verses:

\(^1\) ? for which Chaucer englisht.

\(^2\) William Thynne, who first printed ‘The Dethe of Blaunche,’ called it ‘The dreame of Chaucer,’ because Chaucer tells the poem 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 calls the poem ‘The dreame of Chaucer, otherwise called the boke of the Duches, or Seis and Alcione.’

\(^3\) “The booke of the Duchesse, or the death of Blanch, mist-termed heretofore [by Wm Thynne, John Stowe, &c.], Chaucers Dreame.” — Speght, leaf c, 5, back, ed. 1598.
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 kinge Edwarde the thirde; and that he was maryed to Blanche,4 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 Walsinghame, 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 lamentatione 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.5 And yf yo" replye that yt pleinlye

1 syyte.—Thynne, 1542.
2 mokell, bignes.—Speght's Glossary.
3 foure and twenty.—Thynne, 1542.
4 And in the yere of Christ a M wryten,
Thre hundreth also, syxtye and one,
The .ii. pestylence reigned, 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 saied he had well sped.

Hardyng's Chron. The C.lxxxiii. Chapiter, p. 330, ed. 1812. There is a MS. of this Chronicle in Lansd. 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 'twenty fowre' was not written at length, as the beat wants 'foure and twenty.' 'xxviiij,' as Mr Brock suggests, or 'xxix,' was no doubt written by Chaucer; this was copied 'xxviiij,' or 'xxiv,' printed 'twenty 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 DUCHESSE.

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

Her throte, as I haue memoyre, ¹
semed as a rounde towr of yuoire, ²
of good gretnesse, and not to greate;
and fayre 'white' she hetet; ⁴
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 tho' the Lady was calld 'fair white,'

[ * leaf 20, back ]

I wiH answere, that there is no nesseytye * that yt muste be of Blanche the duchesse, because he sayethe her name was 'white,' since there ys a famelye of that denomination; and some female of that lyne mighte be both 'white' in name, and 'fayre and white' ² in personne; and so 'had not her name wronge,' or in veyne, as Chaucer sayethe. or yt mighte be somme other louer of his called 'Blanche,' since he had manye paramou's in his youthe, and was not verye 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 opynyone, may well (naye, rather of righte sholde,) contynewe his former title of 'thee Dreame of Chaucer,' for that whiche yoH haue 'the Dreame of Chaucer,' is his 'Temple of Glasse,' as I haue seen the title thereof noted, and the thinge yt selfe confirmethe.

¹ now memoiere.—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 Dreame or Isle of Ladies (beginning 'When Flora, the quene of plesaunce') was spurious.)
[IV. Speght’s Mistakes in explaining some of Chaucer’s Words.]

In the expositione of the olde wordes, as you shewe greate diligence and knowledge, so yet in my opynione, vnleste a manne be a good saxoniste, frenche, and Italyane linguiste, (from whence Chaucer hath borrowed manye wordes,) he cannott well expounde the same tooure nowe understandinge, and therefore (though I wille not presume of muche knowledge in these tounges) yt semethe yet to mee, that in your expositione some wordes are not so fullye and rightlye explained as they myghte bee, although peradventure yo haue framed them to make sence. Wherefore I haue collected these fewe (from many others lefte for moore leysures) whiche semeth to mee not to be fully explained in their proper nature, though peradventure yo will semeth to excuse them by a metaphorically gloose.

‘Aketon or Haketone’ you expounde “a Iackett withoute sleues,” withoute any further additione, that beinge one indiffynyte speache, and therefore may be entended a comone garmente daylye vsed, suche as we call a Jerken or Iackett withoute sleues: But ‘haketon’ is a slevelesse Iackett of plate for the warre, covered with anye other stuffe; at this day also called a ‘Iackett of plate:’ suche ‘Aketon,’ Walter Stapleton, Bishoppe of Exeester, and Custos or Wardeine of Londone, had vppon hym secretlye, when he was apprehended and behedded in the twentythe yere of Edwarde the seconde.

‘Besante’ you expounde a ‘duckett:’ But a duc-

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1 MS. of
2 haketon, a jacket without sleeves.—Speght, 1598, sign. Aaaa iii, back. In ed. 1602, it is still ‘haketon, f. a Jacket without sleeves.’
3 ‘besant a duckett.’—Speght, 1598; but in ed. 1602 ‘Besant,
IV. 2. THYNNE EXPLAINS THE MEANING OF FERMENTACIONE.

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 Hollybaned, in his frenche-Enlishe dictionarie, make yt of the valewe of a duckett,¹ whiche duckett is for the most part eyther venetianye or spanyshe, when the Besante ys mere Grekishe; a coyne wel knowen and vsed in Engelande (and yet not therefore one anncient coyne of Engelande, as Hollybaned sayethe yt was "of france,) amongst the 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 frenche 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 Byzantium. And because yo" shall not thinke this anye fixione of myne owne, I will warrante the same with Williame of Malmesberye in the fourthe booke 'De Regibus;' who hathe these woordes: "Constantinopolis primum Bizantium dicta, formam antiqui vocabuli preferunt imperatorii nummi Bizantium dicta;" where one other copye, for "nummi Bizantium" hath "Bizantini nummi;" and the frenche hathe yt 'besante' or 'Bezantine,' makinge yt one olde coyne of france, (when he sholde haue sayed one olde coyne in France, and not of France,) of the valewe of a duckette.

"'Fermentacione' yo" expounde 'Dawbinge,'² whiche cannott anye waye be metaphorically se vsed in Chauucer, althoughe yt sholde be improperlye or harsely ap-

g. A Greekish coyne called Byzantium, as William Malmesburi sayth, because it was the coyne of Constantinople, some-
time called Bizantium.'

1 Besant, or Byzantin, an ancient piece of golde of Fraunce, worth a Ducket: m.—Cl. Hollyband's Dictionarie, French and English, 1593.
2 'fermentation, dawbing.'—Speght, 1598; but in ed. 1602 'fermentation, l. giving life to the Philosophers stone.'
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 soowe or lyfe of the philosophers stoone. Whereunto agree the Clauiger\(^1\) Bincing, one Chimicall author, sayinge, "ante viuificationem, id est, fermentacionem," whiche is before tinctinge, or gyvinge tincture or cooler; that beinge as muche to saye, as gyvinge sowle or lyfe to the philosophers stoone, wherby that may fermente, or coolour, or gyue lyfe to, a\(^h\) other metaline bodyes.

'Orfrayes' yo\(^a\) expounde 'Goldsmythes Worke'\(^2\) whiche ys as nere to goldsmythe worke as 'clothe of golde;' for this worde 'orefrayes,' beinge compounded of the frenche worde (or) and (frayes, 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 cloothe of gold;' in latyne, in tymes past, termed 'aurifrisium' or 'aurifrixorium.' A thinge well knowne to the Saxons in Englande before, as to the Normans after, the conqueste, and therafore fullye to satisfye yo\(^a\) thereof, I wille produce twoo Auctors of the weavinge and vse thereof, before the conquest and since, wherin yo\(^a\) shall pleyenely see what yt was, and in what accompl yt was holden, beinge a worke peculier to the Englishe. The lieger booke of Elye, speakinge of Ediswita, daughter to Brightnothus, aldermanne, erle,

\(^1\) or 'Claugor' or 'Clangor.'

\(^2\) Orfrayes, goldsmiths worke.—Speght, 1598; but in ed. 1602, " Orfrayes, (fol. 113, p. 1.) Aurifrisium frisled cloth of gold, made & vsed in England both before & since the Conquest, wonne booth by the Cleargie, and the Kings themselves, As may appeare 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 deliuer such Jewels, garments, and ornaments, as they had of the kings in keeping. Among the which he nameth Dalmaticum velatum de Orefreis . . . that is, a Damaske garment garded with Orfrayes." For the price in 1361-2, see the note on the next page.

THYNNE.
IV. 3. THYNNE Explains the Meaning of Orfrayes.

34

34 or duke, of northumberlande, before the conquest, sayeth: “cui tradita Coveneia, locus monasterio vicinus, vbi aurifrixaerie et texturae secretius cum puellis vacabat;” and a little after, “Tunica Rubra purpura per gyrum et ab humeris aurifri vndique circumdatum.” Then, after the conquest, Mathew Paris speakethe thereof aboute ornamentes to be sente to the Pope. but because I haue not my mathewe Paris here, I will vouche one whose name hathe muche affynitye with hym, and that is, Mathewe Parker, Archbispopphe of Canterburye, who, in the Lyfe of Bonifacius, Archbispopphe of that see, hathe these wordes. “a". domini 1246. Romae multi Anglicani aderant Clerici, qui capis, vt aiunt, chorealibus, et infulis, ornamentisque ecclesiasticis, ex Anglice tunc more gentis, ex lana tenuissima et auro artificiose intexto fabricatis, vterentur. Huiusmodi ornamentorum aspectu et concupiscentia provocatus Papa, rogavit cuiusmodi essent. Responsum est, ‘aurifrisia’ appellari, quia et emensis ex panno & lana quam Angli ‘Fryse’ appellant, simul contexta sunt. Cui subridens, et dulcedina captus, Papa: Vere, inquit,” (for these are the wordes of Mathewe Paris whiche lyved at that tyme,) “Hortus noster delitian est Anglia; verus puter est inexhaustus, et vbi multa abundant, de multis multa sumere licet. Itaque, concupiscentia illectus ocularum, litteras suas Bullatas sacras misit ad Cistercienses in Anglia Abbates, (quorum orationibus se devote ‘commendabat, vt ipsi hec aurifrisia speciosissima ad suum ornandum chorum compararent. Hoc Londoniensibus 1 placuit, quia ea tum venalia habeant, tantique quanti placuit vendiderunt:”

1 Largis: Wilelmo Vestement-maker 1 pro iij orfreys largis, precio pecia .xl. s., emptis ab eo Londonium per prefatum Willelmo de Glendale per tempus predictum—vj. li.

minutis: Eidem: pro iij. orfreys minutis, precio pecia x. s., emptis ab eo Londonium per tempus huius computi vt supra—xl. s.
In which discourse, yo" not onlye see that 'orefryes' was 'a weued clothe of golde,' and not 'goldsmythe woorke,' and that Englande had, before and since the conqueste, the arte to compose suche kynde of delicate Cloothe of golde, as Europe had not the lyke; for yt yt hadd, the poope wolde haue made suche prouisione thereof in other places, and not from Englande. And because yo" shail not thinke that yt was onlye vsed of the Clergye, yo" shail fynde, in a recorde of the towre, that yt was also one ornamente of the kinges garmente, since the Conqueste, for, in Rotulo Patentium 6. Iohannis, in Dorso (in whiche the kinge com-maunded the templers to deliuer suche Iewells, gar-mentes, and ornamentes, as they had of the kinges in kepinge,) are these wordes: "Dalmaticam de eodem samitto, vrlatani de "orfreyes et cum lapidibus." Whiche is to saye, 'the kinges dalmaticall garmente of the same samitte (spoken of before, whiche was crymsone,) vrlcd or bordrede (succe as we nowe calle 'pered') withe orfreyes.'

forthlye: 'oundye & Crispe'1 is by yo" expounded 'slyked and curled:' whiche sence, although yt may beare after some sorte, yet the proprytye of the true sence of 'oundye' (beinge an especiall terme appro-
enterd in the summary afterwards as

"Orfreyes { largi ... iij pecia
\{ minuti iij pecia."

35 or 36 Edw. III. Wardrobe Account of Receipts and Ex-

Another entry mentions 'baselard': —

Ensis { Ricardo Godchild: pro vno ense, precio vj. s.
Cultelli { viij d. / pro vno pari cultello trenchours, precio
Baselard { xiiij s. liij d. / et pro vno cultello baselard, precio

v. s., emptis ab eo Londonium per tempus huius
compti vt supra ... xxv. s.

In the summary underneath, these are enterd as "Ensis j.
Cultelli Trenchours j. par. Baselard. j."


1 'oundye and crispe, sliked, and curled.'—Spedgth, 1598; but in ed. 1602 'oundye waninge.'
IV. 5. The meaning of Resager.

But 'wavy,' like water.

5. Resager should be Resalgar.

[no leaf 25]

It is Ratesbane or Arsenic,

And is called

Venom or Poison,

Or any poisonous thing,
as a toad, dragon, &c.

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 styred with the winde, and not slyked or playne, &c.

Syftlye: Yo expounde not 'Resagor,'1 beinge a terme of Alchymye; as yo leave manye of them vntouched. This worde sholde rather be 'resalgar:' wherefore I wyl shewe yo what Resalgar ys in that abstruce scyence whiche Chawcer knewe ful wel, although he enveye againste the sophisticall abuse thereo in the chanons yecomans tale. This Resalgar is that whiche by some is called 'Ratesbane,' a kynde of poysone named 'Arsenicke,' whiche the Chimicall philosophers call their venome or poysone. Whereof I colde produce infynyte examples; but I wyll gyve yo onylye these fewe for a taste. Aristotle, in Rosario philosophorum, sayethe, "nullum tingens Venenum generatur absque sole et eius umbra, id est, vxore." Whiche venome they call by aH 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 Philosophorum,' apperethe, wher aqua simplex is called 'venenum, Argentum viium, 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 maternam 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 Thynne's hand-writing, and marvellously illustrated by him, is in the Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 11,388.—G. H. K.
"Begyn and Bigott,' yo' expounde 'supersticious hypocrites,'1 whiche sence I knowe ye maye somewhat beare, because ye sauoreth of the dispositione of those begins, or 'Beguines,' for that ys the true wrytinge. But this woorde 'Begyn' sholde in his owne nature rightely haue ben expounded, 'supersticious or hipocritical wemenne,' as apperethe by chaucer. himselfe, whiche nombrethe them emongest thee wemen in the Romante of the Roose, when he sayethe,

But empresses, & duchesses,  
These queenes, & eke countesses  
These Abbasses, & eke Bigins,  
These greate ladyes palasins. (vi. 209, l. 6861-4.)

And a little after, in the same Romante, he dothe write,

That dame abstinence weyned,2  
Tooke one a Robe of camelyne,  
And ganne her gratche 3 as a 'bygin,'  
A large cover-cheif of Thredde  
She wrapped all about her hedde. (vi. 224, l. 7370.)

These wemene 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 wordes of Mathewe Westmynster (otherwise called "Flores Historiarum" or "Florilegus") in this sorte:—"Sub eisdem diebus 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, cuiu4 vite simplicitate profitentes, se voto priuato deo obligarunt. Mulieresque, quas 'Bigrinas' vulgariter vocamus, adeò multiplicate sunt, quod earum

1 'bigin, bigot, superstititious hypocrite.'—Speght, 1598. The 1602 ed. repeats this, but adds 'or hypocriticall woman.'  
2 streyned 3 graithe 4 ? MS.
The meaning of Citrinatione and Forage.

numerus in vna Ciuitate, scilicet Colonia, ad plus quam mille asseritur ascendisse, etc. After whiche, speakinge yn the yere of Christe 1250 of the encrease of religiosis orders, he sayeth, "Item in Alemania et Francia mulieres, quas 'Bigrinas' nominant," &c.

'Citrinatione' yo do not expounde,1 beinge a terme of Alchymye. Whiche Citrinatione is bothe a coolor and parte of the philosophers stoone. for, as hathe 'Tractatus Avicenne' (yf yt be his, and not liber suppositi[ti]us, as manye of the AlchimicaH woorkes 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: "Citrininatio est, quae sit inter album et rubrum; et non dicitur 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 stoone, followinge the worke of nature, hathe lyke coolor in the same degree. for as the vrine of manne, being whitishe, shewethe imperfecte digestione: But when he hathe well rested, and slepte after the same, and the digestione perfected: the vrine becomethe Citrine, or of a depe yellowe coolor: So ys yt in Alchymye. whiche made Arnolde call this 'Citrinatione,' perfecte digestione, 'or the coolor provinge the philosophers stoone broughte almoste to the heigh[t]e of his perfectione.

'Forage,' in one place yo expounde 'meate,' and in other place 'fodder,'2 boothe which properly cannotte stande in this place of chauuer in the reues prologe, where he sayethe, "my fodder is forage." for yf

1 *citrination* in Speght's Glossary of 1598, but not explained. In ed. 1602 *citrination, perfect digestion, or the colour prouing the Philosophers stone.*

2 *forrage meate... forrage fodder* (with 7 entries between the two).—Speght, 1598. In ed. 1602, only once, *forrage, f. fodder, course meate.*
forrage be fodder, then is the sense of that verse, "my fodder is fodder." But fodder, being a general name for meate gyven to Cattle in winter, and of assynytic withe foode applied to menne and beasts, dothe onlye signyfye ‘meate.’ And so the sense is, "my meate ys forage," that is, 'my meate is suche arch old and hard provision harde and olde prouis/one 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 weH shewe yt, when the Reve sayethe,

I am olde, me liste not play for age,
Grasse tyme is donne, my fodder is forrage.

Yet metaphorically yt may be taken for other ’then drye horse meate, although improperlye; as Chaucer hathe, in Sir Topas Ryme, where he make thyt grasse for his horse, and sethe 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 forage.

'Heroner' yo expounde 'a certeyne kynde of Hawke,'¹ whiche is true; for a Goshawke,² sparrowe hawke, TasseH, &c. be kyndes of Hawkes. But this 'heroner,' is an especial long winged 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, insomuche, that when she fyndethe her selfe in danger, she wiH lye in the ayre vppon her backe, and turne vpp her bellye towards the hawke, and so defile her enymye with her excrementes, that eyther she wiH blinde the hawke, or ells with her byH ‘or talentes pierce the hawkes brest, yf she offer to cease vppon her.

¹ ‘heroner a certaine kinde of hawke.’—Speght, 1598; but in ed. 1602 ‘a speciall long winged hawke.’ ² MS. Gowshake.
The 'Hyppe' is not simply 'the redde berye one the Bryer,' vnlest yo adde this epithetone, and saye, 'the redde Berrye one the swete Bryer,' (which is the Eggletyne,) to distinguysh yt 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 yt helpe yo that yo saye 'the redd Berye,' to distinguysh yt from the Blacke, for the blackebery e ys also redde for a tyme, and then may be called 'the redde Berye of the Bryer' for that tyme.

'Nowell,' yo expounde 'Christmesse,' which ys that feaste, and moore; for yt is that tyme whiche is properlye called the Aduente, together with Christmesse and Newe yeres 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, placinge ther Christemas, a parte of this tyme of Nowell, for aH the tyme that Nowell conteyneth. for in the same worde is conteyneyd, sometyme xx, but for the most parte thirtye dayes, before Christmesse, asweH as the Christmesse yt selfe, that woorde beinge deduced, as hathe Willelmus Postellus in 'Alphabeto 12 Linguarum,' from the hebrune worde Noell; for thus he writethe: "\textit{5N2 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,' which

1 'nowell christmesse,' ed. 1598. 'nowell signifieth 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.
IV. 13—15. MEANINGS OF SENDALE, TREPEGETT, AND WIVER. 41

marble ys genus, but purpherye is species; for as there is white and grey marble, so ys there redde marbeH, whiche is this purpherye, a stone of reddishe purple coolor, distincte or enter"laced with white veynes, as yo" may see in the great pillers entringe into the royalle exchange or burse in CornehH.

'Sendale,' yo" expounde 'a thynne stuffe lyke Cypress.'¹ but yt was a thynne stuffe lyke sarcenette, and of a rawe kynde of sylke or sarcenett, but courser and narrower, then the Sarcenett nowe ys, as my selfe canne remember.

'Trepegett;'² yo" expounde 'a Ramme to batter walles.' But the trepegete was the same that³ the magonell; for Chaucer calleth yt a trepagett or magoneH; wherefore the trepegett and magoneH beinge aH one, and the magoneH one instrumente to flynge or cast stones (as youre selfe expounde yt) into a towne, or againste a towne walles, (one engine not muche vn-lyke to the Catapulte, an instrumente to cast forthe dartes, stones, or arrowes,) the trepeget must nedes also be one instrumente to cast stones or suche lyke against a walt or into a towne, and not a Ramme to batter wall[les]; since the Ramme was no engyne to flinge anye thinge, but by mens handes to be broughte *and pushed againste the walles; a thinge farr different in forme from the magonell or catapulte, as apperethe by Vigetius and Robertus Valturius 'de re militari.'

'Wiuer,'⁴ 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 knoen vnto the Heroldes, vsinge the same for armes, and crestes, & supporters, of manye gentle and

¹ 'sendall, a thinne stuffe like cipresse,' ed. 1598, and 1602, but 1602 spells 'thin.'
² 'trepeget, a Ram to batter wals,' ed. 1598; 'an instrument to cast stones,' ed. 1602.
³ 'as
⁴ 'wyuere' (without explanation), ed. 1598: 'wyuer, a kind of serpent much like to a dragon,' ed. 1602.
noble menne. As the erle of Kent beareth a wiuer for his Creste and supporters; the erle of Penbrooke, a wiuer vert for his Creste; the erle of Cumberlande, a wiuer geules for his supporters.

‘Autenticke,’ yo" expounde to be ‘antiquytye.’ But howe yo" may seme to force and racke the worde to Chaucers meaninge, I knowe not; but sure I ame, the proper signyficatione of ‘autenticke’ is, ‘a thinge of auctorytye or credit allowed by menne of auctorytye, or the originaHl or fyrste archetypum of any thinge’; whiche I muse that yo" did not remember.

‘Abandon,’ yo" expounde ‘libertye’; whiche in aHl Italiane, Frenshe, and Spanishe, signyfyeth ‘relin-quere, to forsake and leave a thinge’; whiche me thinkethe yo" most hardly stretche to ‘libertye,’ vnlest yo" witt saye that, when one forsaketh a thinge, he leaveth yt at libertye; whiche ys but a streyned speche, althoughe the frenche Hollybande, not understaundinge 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 Cor-rections of, the Text of Chaucer.]

Vnder the title of youre
Annotacions and Corections.

In youre Annotacions yo" describe, oute of the

1 ‘autentike, of antiquitie,’ ed. 1598; ‘of awthoritie,’ ed. 1602.
2 ‘abandon, libertie,’ ed. 1598; ‘Abandon, f. libertie. aoandon, f. giue ouer,’ ed. 1602. Palsgrave (1530) gives, p. 831, col. 2, “At large, that men maye take what they wyll, A abandon ; as toute planté de biens y estoyst a abandon ; il met ses dayns, a abandon ;” and on p. 832, col. 1, “At pleasure, A abandon, and a talent ; as et que le voye a bandon, and ma femme ma batu a son talent.”

Abandon, bandon, licence, liberty : m. Abandonner ... to giue ouer, or to license, to cast off : as also, to deliuer 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 crucyfied, and witha
d a napkyn whereine was the printe of his face.11 but the vernacle did not conteyne the instrumentes of his deathe, but only the cloth wherein was the figure of his face; as I conceive yt with others.

fo: i. pa: 2. For 'Campaneus' you wolde reade 'Capanerus,' wherunto I cannot yelde.2 for although Statius and other latine authors do call hym 'Capaneus'; yet all the writers of Englande 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 tonge 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, caH him 'campaneus'; for so the Italians pronounce woordes begynninge with 'Cap': with the interpositione of the lettere m, pronouncinge yt 'camp': for, whiche the Latins caH 'capitolium,' the Italians call 'campidoglio'; and suche lyke. Wherefore, since yt was vniuersallye receued in that age, to caH him 'Campaneus,' lett vs not nowe alter yt, but permytte yt to have free passage accordinge to the pronuntiatione and wrytinge of that age, since, in deducinge woordes from one language to one other, there ys often additione and substractione of letters, or of Sillabes, before, in the middle, and in the

18. The Vernicle is not a brooch with the instrumentes of Crucifixion, but only the cloth with the picture of Christ's face.

19. In The Knight's Tale you must read 'Campaneus,' [* leaf 30, back] not 'Capaneus;'

for the Italians alter the Latin cap- into camp-.

[* leaf 81]

1 Sign. Bbbb, iii. back, ed. 1598. 'Vernacle (Prolog.) A cloth or napkin, wherein 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, 932. Capaneus was one of the seven heroes who besiegd Thebes.
ende of those wordes. whereof infynyte examples mighte be produced, whiche I nowe shonnse for brevtye.

fo : 3. pa : 2. ("noughte comelye lyke to louers maladye of heroeo," for whiche woorde 'hereos,' yo" reade eros, i. cupide,1 a very good and probable correc-
tione, weff gathered out of Luciane. But (salua pati-
entia vestra, and reservinge to myselfe better judgmente hereafter, yf I nowe mystake yt,) I wolde, for the
printed 'hereos' of Chancer, 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 Arcyte, in this furrye of his love, did
not shewe those courses of gourer[n]mente, whiche the
Heroes, or valiante persons, in tymes paste vsed; for
thoughe they loued, yet that passione did not generally
so farre ouerrule them (although ye mighte in some
one particulier personne) as that they lefte to 'con-
tynewe the valor, and heroicke actions, whiche they

1 Speght reads 'Eros' in his 1602 ed., as against 'Hereos'
in his 1598 one; and puts this note in his Glossary:—
"Whereas some copies haue Hereos, some Hernes, and
some such like counterfeit word, whereof can be giuen no
reason, I haue set downe Eros, i. Cupid, as most agreeing 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 behauoir.
The words in the Greeke are thus much in Latine: Si voles
amabilis esse, neque concutias Aeegida, neque fulmen geras;
sed suauissimum teipsum exhibe, & vestem sume purpuream,
crepidas subliga auraturas: ad tibiam & et Timpana composito
gressu incedes, & videbis quod plures te sequentur, quam Bac-
chum Manades. So that the louers of Eros, that is, Cupids
seruaunts, doe cary themselues comely in all their passions, &
their maladies are such as shew no open destemperation of body
or minde: which medioeritie this Arcite was farre from keep-
ing. And wheras some [t. i. 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. Tit iii, back.

The three A MSS. of the Six-text rightly read 'Hereos';
the three B ones 'Heres.'—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 passion, did not observe "lye to louers malady of Heroes." Whereof I colde produce six hundred examples, (as the prouerbe ys,) were yt not that I avoyde tedious prolixyte.

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 tyme, whiche, takinge his name of the woorkemenne, beinge florentynes, (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 tyme of kinge Henry the seconde. for two shillinges frenche ys not equaH in valewe (as I nowe take yt) to two shillinges Englyshe: and much 'lesse equaH to the florens in Chaucers tyme, whiche was of the valewe of thre shillinges, fowre pence, or halfe a noble, or, at the leaste, of two shillinges tenne pence fartllinge, as apperethe by recorde and historye: some of them beinge called 'florens de scuto,' or of the valewe of the 'shelde,' or frenche crowne, and of some them called florens regalH. Where-of yo" shalt fynde, in the recorde of pellis exitus in the exchequier, in michelmas terme 41: Ed: 3. this note: "Bartholomeo de Burgershe, militi, in denariis sibi liberatis in parte solutionis 8000 florenorum de scuto, pretii petii, ijs iiijd, sibi debitis de illis 30000 florenorum de scuto, in quibus Rex tenebatur cidem

21. A florin is not 2s. French.

The Florin in Chaucer's time was of 2 kinds, one (de scuto) worth 3s. 4d., the other (Regal) worth 2s. 10d.

Of Florins de scuto,

8000, worth 3s. 4d. apiece, were paid to Sir Bartholomew de Burgershe in 41 Edw. III.

1 'A florene is two shillings French, a Gilder is the same in Dutch.'—Speght, ed. 1598, annotaciones, sign. Bbb iii. 4 '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. Ttt iii, back.
Bartholomeo pro comite de Ventadoureu, prisonario suo apud Bellum de Poyters in guerra capto, et ab eodem Bartholomeo ad opus Regis empto, vt patet per litteras Regis patentes, quas idem Bartholomeus inde penes se habet. in Dorso, de summa subscripta, per breve de magno sigillo, inter mandata de Termine Michaelis, de anno 36—xxii." To the valewe whereof agreeth 'Hipo-digma Neustriæ,' *pa. 127, where, settinge downe the ransome of the frenche kinge taken at Poyters, to the valewe of thre milliones of florens, he sayethe, "of whiche florens, duo valebant vjs. viijd." These florens the same Walsingham in other place callethe 'scutes,' or frenche crownes, pa. 170, sayinge: "Rex quidem Franciae pro sua redemptione soluit regi Angliae tres milliones scutorum, quorum duo valent vnum nobile, videlicet, sex solidos et octo denarios." Whiche scutes in lyke manner, in the tyme of kinge Henry the sixte, were of the same valewe, as apperethe in Fortescues comentaries of the lawes of Englande. 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 xd quadranta. called 'florene regales,' as apperethe 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 martyne, In denariis sibi liberatis, per manus Walter Hewett, militis, in pretio 4000 florenorum regalisum pretii petii—ijs xd quadranta; de quibus florenis regalibus, 7 computantur pro tribus nobilibus, eidem Guiscardo debitis." Whereby yo see the meanest of these florens did exceed the valewe of ijs frenche, (althoughe yo sholde equall that with ijs englyshe,) as yt did also in other countryes. for in the lowe countryes at those dayes yt was mucho aboute the valewe of
V. EMELYE’S GARLAND WAS OF ‘OKE UNSERIALL,’ NOT ‘CERRIALL.’ 47

... and beinge halfe a pistolet Italiane or spanyshe, for so sayethe 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 Inglische. Heuterius’ woordes be these: “Illustris viri aliorumque nobilium mors adeo comitem comovit, vt relict a obsidione exercitus ad commenatus ducendos in proxima loca distribuerit. Decem millibus florenorum (moneta Belgica est semipistoletum Italicum pendens) pro Anglicani, aliorumque nobilium cadauerum redemptione solutis,” &c.

fo: 7. pa: 2. For “vnseriall” yo will vs to reade “Cerriall,” for Cerrus1 is a kynde of tre lyke one oke, beringe maste; and theerfore by your correction ye sholde be “a garlande of Grene oke CerriaH’; But for the same reason (because Cerrus ys a kynde of oke, as ys also the Ilex) I Judgeth yt sholde not be redde ‘CerriaH,’ but ‘vnseriaH,’ that ys, (yf yo will nedes have this word ‘Cerriall,’) ‘a garlande of Greene oke not Cerrell,’ as who sholde saye, she had a Garlande of Grene oke, but not of the oke Cerriall; and therefore, a garlande of oke Unseriall, signyfyinge a garlande that was freshe and Grene, and not of dedd wannyshe Coolor, as the oke Cerriall in some parte ys. for the Cerrus, being the tree whiche we comonly caLl the ‘holme oke,’ (as Cooper also expoundeth the Ilex to be that whiche wee call holme,) producethe two kyndes; whereof the one ‘hathe greater, and the other lesser

1 The Quercus cerris, the mossy cupped oak.—G. H. K. The MS. may be read ‘Cerris,’ for, though written ‘Cerrus,’ the first stroke of the u has a dot under it, as if for omission, and the second stroke has a dot above, as if meant for i; but the word is written ‘cerrus’ afterwards in the MS. The three A MSS. rightly read ‘cerial’; the three B ones, ‘serial’ (P. seriaH). A 2290.

22. In The Knight’s Tale the oak-leaf garland of Emelye is rightly calld ’unserial,’ which should not be changed to ‘cerriall.’

‘Unserial’ means fresh and green, not wan, like the Cerriall or Holm Oak.

[* leaf 33, back (MS. repeats Decem millibus).]

[* leaf 34]
acornes, whose leaves being somewhat grene one the one syde, and of one ouer russett and darkyshe Coolor on the other syde, were not mete for this garlande of Emelye, which she sholde be freshe and Grene one everye parte,—as was her yonge and grene yeres, lyke to the goddesse to whom she sacryfyced,—and therfore a garlande of Grene oke vnseriaH, not beinge of oke serriall; for yt yt had byn oke serriall, yt wolde haue shewed duskysh, and as yt were of dedishe leaves, and not freshe and orient, as chaucer wolde haue her garlande. And this for your e[x]positone of ‘vnseriall,’ in some parte: for I wolde suppose that this worde ‘vnseriall’ dothe not vnaptly signyfye perfectione of Coolor, so that she havinge a Garlande of Grene oke vnseriaH, dothe signyfye the oke to be grene and vnseriall, that is, (as some do expounde this worde vnseriall,) vnsered, vnSinged, vnwithered, of freshe color, lyke unto the oke Quercus, which haathe no sered nor withered coolor in ’his leafes. And yt was of necessytye that Emely (sacryfysinge to Diana) must haue a garlande of the Grene oke Quercus, because that they whiche sacryfyced vnto Diana, otherwise called Heccate, (which name is attribute to Diana, as natalis Comes affirmethe with statius in his Acheleidos, in his first Booke, sayinge,

Sic vbi virginem Heccate lassata pharetris,

being Diana adorned with her bowe and arrowes, called also ‘Triuia,’ because Luna, Diana, and Heccate, were alH one, whereof Virgill speaketh,

Tergeminamque Hecaten, tria virginis ora Dianæ,)

who were adorned with a crowne of the grene oke Quercus, because that Heccate was wont to be crowned therewith, as hath Pierius Valerius in his 51 booke of Hieroglyphes, sayinge, “Heccate quoquè Quercu coronari solita est.” for althoughe Quercus be consecrate to Jupiter, because he gave his oracles in the same ‘in
Sylva Dodonea,' and therefore called 'Jupiter Dononeus'; Yet Antiquytye adorned and crowned Diana Heccate with the same 'crowne also. Wheresfore I conclude, since she [Emelye] had a garlande of Grene oke, (as Chauer of purpose addethe that woordre 'Greene' to explaine 'vnseriatt,' whiche signyfie the vnsered, vn-parched, vnwithered in every parte, not lyke to the oke serriall, whose leafe one the one syde is dusky she, as thoughe yt were somewhat withered,) that the same worde 'vnseriatt' must stande vnamended, as well (as I sayed before) by youre owne correctione and the nature of the worde; as for that Diana, called Heccate, was crowned with the oke Quercus, and not with the oke Cerrus. But yf yo" obiecte to mee that, in this place, yt must be a garlande of oke Cerrus accordinge to the woordes of Chauer in one other place, because that he, in 'the flower and the leafe' (newely printed by yo")¹, hathe these woordes;

I sie come first, all in their clokes white,
a companye that ware, for delighte,
Chaplettes freshe of oke serriall
Newly spronge, and Trumpettes they were all;

I denye that therefore in the Knightes Tale "yt must be oke serriall. for yt maye weff bee, that such mean persons as trompettes might be crowned with so base one oke as the serriall ys, whiche I ca ff base in respecte of the oke Quercus (dedicate to the godd Jupiter) wher-withe Heccate was crowned, and whereof Garlandes were gyuen to the Romans for their nooble desartes in the warres, as apperethe 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

¹ Speght was the first to print the spurious, though beautiful, *Flower & Leaf*; as Chaucer's, both in his ed. of 1598 and that of 1602.
but only of imperfect holm or cerniall oak leaves.

Caxton, it is true, reads 'serriall:' but then his second edition of the Canterbury Tales has many mistakes in it. [True, oh Thynne!]

23. Either for euerye (Knight's Tale, A, 2570), is 'an overnice correction.'

24. Your And also, for save only [*leaf 36, back] (Knight's Tale, A, 2808), is also wrong.

Emelye, in that the trompettes chapplettes were of oke serrialle newly spronge, and not coome to perfectione, whiche yet, yf they had byn perfecte, wolde not have byn soo oryente and Greene one bothe sydes as ys the oke Quercus, wherewith he wolde have this Emelye crowned, as was her goddesse Heccate Diana (to whome she dyd sacryfye) accustomed to bee. for so in tymes past (as I sayed before) the sacryfye sholde be adorned with the garlandes of suche thinges as were consecrate to the goddes to whome they sacryficed.

For whiche cause also I ame not moved, though Caxton in his second editione do call yt one oke serrialle. for I knowe (not withstandinge his fayre prologue of printinge that by a true copye) there be manye imperfections in that Booke.

Fo: 9: pa. 1. for 'euerye') yo wiH us to reade 'eyther.' But the sence ys good, as well that they dyd ryde one euerye syde of hym, as of eyther syde of hym. for they bothe colde not ryde of euerye syde of hym, no moore then they both colde ryde of eyther syde of him; and therefore they two ryding one euerye 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 therfore an ouer nice correctione, though some coppies do warrant yt:

Fo: 10. pa: 1. for "save onlye the intellecte,") yo wolde haue us reade "and also the intellecte." But yf yo wiH consider the woordes of Chaucer, (as I haue donne in all the written copyes whiche I haue yet seen,) his meanynge ys not that the intellecte was

1 "Every read Either."—Speght, 1598 (in 'These two Thebans on euery 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 'cypher,' &c.).

2 'Saue onlye, read And also', ed. 1598; but the 1602 edition leaves it 'Saue 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 ye yo" sholde reade, “and also the intellecte” for “saue only the intellecte.” for Chaucers meanyng ys, that all his streng[t]he and vital sprites aboute his outewarde partes were gone, save onlye his intellecte or understandinge, whiche remayned sounde and good, as appereth after by the followinge woordes; for when death approached, and that all outwarde senses fayled, he [Arcite] yet cast eye vppon Emelye, remembringe her, though the chefest vsall sprite of his harte and his streng[th]e were gone from hym, but he colde not haue cast his eye vppon Emelye, ye his intellecte had fayled hym. Yet ye yo" liste to reade, “and also the intellecte,” for “Saue only the intellecte,” yt maye after a sorte somewhat be borne withall, nothewithstandinge that a pointe at streng[t]he is looste; and a parenthesis includyng (“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 agoon
da saue only the intellecte without moore)
that dwelleth in his hart sicke & soore

Fo: 10. pa. 2. for “armes straughte” you wolde reade “yt haughte,”1 when ‘straughte’ is moore signficant, (and moore answerable to Chaucers woordes whiche followeth) then ‘haughte’ ys. for he speaketh 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 signyfyeth the catchinge holde, or holdinge faste, or (ye

1 "Armes straught, read It haught;" ed. 1598: 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 ‘straughte.’

2 MS. straughte
DIVERS OF SPEGHT'S 'CORRECTIONS' PROV'D WRONG.

yo wiill streyne yt againste his nature) stretchinge on heighe, whiche agreeethe not well with Chaucer's meanynge; for thes bee his worde:

And twenty fadome of breed th'armes straughte;
That is to sayen, the Bowes were so broode, &c.

"fo: i. pa: 1. "for all forgotten in his vassallage,)" yow wolde haue vs reade, "for all forgotten is then his Visage"; a thinge mere impertinente.1 for the forgettinge of his visage and personage is not materiaL, nor regarded of anye to haue his face forgotten; but yt is muche materiall (and so ys Chaucer's meanynge) that his vassalage, and the good service donne in his youthe, shold be forgotten when he waxethe olde. And therefore yt must bee "his vassalage forgotten"; as presently after Chaucer sayethe, '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 forgotten;' whiche I colde dilate and prove by manye examples; but I cannott stande longe vppon euerye pointe, as well for that I wolde not be tedious vnto yo"as for that leysure seruethe me not thereunto.

Fo: i3. pa: 1. for "lothe" yo" bidde vs reade "leefe,"2 whiche annotacione neded not to haue byn there sett downe, because the verye woorde in the texte is "lefe."

Fo: i4. pa: 1. for "knocked" yo" reade "coughed"; but, the 'circumstance considered, (althoughe they maye both stande,) yt is moore probable that he3 knocked at

1 Certainly a well-deserved snub. Speght feels it so, and accordingly leaves 'For all foryetten is his vassallage' in his ed. of 1602, Fol. 10, back, col. 2, 1. 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.
her windowe, to make her the better to heare, then that he coughed, for althoughe those woordes "with a semely sownde" maye haue relatione to the voyce, yet they maye asweH, and withe as much consonaneye, haue reference to a semely and gentle kynde of knockinge at the windowe, as to the voyce; and so his meanynge was by that sounde to wake her, whiche wolde rather be by the noyes of a knocke then of a coughe; for so he determyned before to knocke, as apperethe in these verses, when he said,

So mote I thryve, I shall at Cockes crowe full priuely knocke at his windowe:

And so apperethe by the tale afterwarde, that he knocked, as he did before, althoughe he coughed also at the latter tyme, for he knocked twyce.

Fol: 23. pa: 2. for "Surrye" yo read "Russye." true yt is, that some written copies haue 'Russye,' and some 'Surrye.' And therfore indifferent after the wrytten copies, and some auncient printed copies before my fathers editione. But yf I shaH interpone my opynione, I wolde more willingly (for this tyme) receive Surrey, because yt is most lykelye that the tartarian which dwelt at Sara (a place yet weH knownen, and boordering vppone the lake 'Mare Caspium,') is nerer to Sorria, or the countryes adyoynyng called Syria, then to Russya. for as Hato the Armeniane, in his Tartarie Historye, sayethe, The Cytye of Sara was

1 The Carpenter's wife's.
2 "Knocked, read Coughed", but 'knocked' is left in ed. 1602. The best MS., the Ellesmere, reads 'knokketh', A, 3696 (Miller's Tale). The other Six-Text MSS. have: Heng-wrt, 'cogheth'; Cambridge, 'coude'; Corpus, 'coughed'; Petworth, 'koughej?'; Lansdowne, 'couched'. All agree in reading 'semy', half (sound) for 'semely'.
3 At Sarra, in the lond of Tartarie Ther dwelt a kind that warred Surrie. (Squier's Tale.)
4 Speght leaves it Surrie in his 1602 ed. All the Six-Text MSS. read 'Russye' or 'Russy.'
aunceyntly the famous Cyttye of the Countrye of Cumania; and that the Tartarians obteyned the kingdome 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 namethe Cambiuscan,¹ for so ys the written copies, suche affynytye 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 meanynge further to consider of yt.

Fo : 31: pa : 2. for these woorde, "that may not saye naye," ² yo" reade "there may no wighte say naye." bothe whiche are good, and boothe founde in written coppyes; and yet the firste witt better stande, in my conceyte, because [the king of Faerie] there speakinge to his wyfe, he urgeythe her that she cannott denye yt, when he sayethe 'my wyfe that cannott say naye,' as who sholde saye "yo" cannot denye yt, because yo² knowe yt, and experience teachethe yt;" so that these woorde, "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 woorde "that cannot saye naye," dothe signyfye, "whoe cannott saye

¹ This is the reading of the best MSS., the Ellesmere and Hengwrt: see my note in the Six-Text, p. 473, Group F, l. 4.

₂ 'My wife (qd. he) that may nat say nay.
   The experience so proveth it euery day.'

(The Marchauntes 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 Cambridge putting 'man' for 'wight':——

My wyf, quod he / ther may no wighte seye nay
In the second line the three A MSS. read,*
   Theexperience / so proueth euery day
the three B ones (both A and B having varied spelling)
{:e exepieri proueh it euery day.
naye," in suche sorte that this relatyve (that), meanynge (whoe), must haue reference to his antecedente, this woorde 'wyfe.'

"Fo: 35. pa: 2. for "he cleped yt valerye & theophraste," *you" saye 'some wolde haue vs reade "Valery and his Paraphraste."' But as you haue left yt at libereee to the reader to iudge, so I thinke yt must nedes be Theophraste; as the author [of] Policraticon in his eighte Booke, ca. 11. (from whome Chaucer borrowethe almost worde for worde a great parte of the Wyfe of Bathes prologe,) doth vouche yt; for the author of that Booke, Johannes Sarisburiensis, lyvinge in the tyme of Henrye the seconde, sayethe, "Fertur Authore Hieronimo Aureolus Theophrasti liber, de nuptiis, in quo queritur an vir sapiens ducat vxorem," &c. And the frenche molinet, moralizinge the Romante of the roose in frenche, and turnyngge yt oute of verse into procse, writethe, "Ha, se i'eusse creu Theophrates!" &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 'Theophraste,' D, 671, p. 352.

In Speght'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 vxore, 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 Authour known, and termed it Valerius ad Rustinum. But yet there was one called Valerius, who wrote a booke of the same Argument printed among S. Jeromes workes. And likewise one called Theophrastus Ercsius, who, among many things, did write of such matters. Let the Reader iudge."
32. Your Country for Country (Nun's Priest's Tale) is a mistake.
[* 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 wakes or stirs up anger in man.'

Fo: 38. pa: 2. for this worde "Countrye"¹ yo will vs to reade "Coutrye." But in my writtene copies yt is, "in my Countrye," whiche I holde the truer, and for the sence as good, yf not better.

Fo: 41. pa: 1. This word "maketh" is corrected by yo, who for the same do place "waketh"; whiche cannot we stande;² for Chaucers woordes beinge, "this maketh the fende," dothe signyfye (by a true conversione after the dialecte of our tonge, whiche withe beawtye vsethe suche transmutacione as I colde gyue yo many pretye instances,) that the sence thereof ys, "the fende maketh this," for whiche Chaucer vsethe these wordes by Transpositione, (accordinge to the rethoricall figure Hiperbatone,) "This maketh the fende:" Whiche this? Anger: for that comethe, ys made, or occasioned, by the diuH. But yf yt sholde be "waketh," then must the sence bee, that this (whiche is the anger he speaketh of before) waketh the fende; whiche our offences cannot do, because he cannot be waked, in that he neyther slombrethe nor slepethe, but always watcheth, *and howrely seekethe occasiome to destroye vs, lyke a roringe lyone. But yf yo will nedes saye "this waketh the fende," that is, by conversione, after this manner, "the fende waketh this," whiche signyfyceth, 'the fende waketh or styr- rethe this in manne,' yt maye, after a harde and over-

¹ "Whylobe there was dwelling in my countre"
(Freres Tale, l. 3).

In his 'Annotations,' Speght says, "Coutrye, read Couentrie"; but he rightly leaves the word 'coutre' 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 mere impertinente," 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 somme 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 whiche I haue yet scene.

Fo: 96: pa: 2. vpon these woordes, “o hughe of Lincolne sleyne also, &c.” Yo" saye, that “in the 29. H. 3. eightene Iewes were broughte [to London] from Lincolne, and hanged for crucyfyinge 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 eight yeres olde was the same hughe of Lincolne; of whiche name there1 were twoe, viz. thyss younger Seinte Hughe, and Seinte Hughe Bishoppe of Lincolne, whiche dyed in the yere 1200, longe before this litle seinte hughe. And to proue [that] this childe of eight yeres olde, and that yonge hughe of Lincolne, were but one, I will sett downe two auctoryties oute of Mathewe Paris and Walsinghame, whereof the fyrste wrytethe, 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-lyuerethe at large; and further, in the yere 1256, beinge 40. H. 3. he sayethe, “dimissi sunt quieti .24. Judei à Turri London, qui ibidem infames tenebantur competiti pro crucifixione sancti Hugonis Lincolniae:” All whiche, Thomas Walsingham, in ‘Hypodygma Neustria,’ confirmethe; saying, Aº. 1255. “Puer qui-dam Christianus, nomine Hugo, à Judeis 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

* ware the soone3 in his ascentione 
ne synde yo" not replete of humors hotte, for yf yt doe ...
But, savinge correctione, the former sence is good: for these woordes: "Where the sonne is in his ascentione," must haue relatione to the woordes of the verse before,

ye be righte colericke of complexione,

and then is the sence, that she\(^1\) willed hym\(^2\) to purge, for that he was righte (that is, extremelye, and in the highest degree,) colericke of complexione, where (whiche signyfyethe 'when') the sonne is in his ascentione. wherefore he must take heede, that he did not fynde hym repleate (at that tyme of the sonnes being in his ascentione) of hoote humors, for yf he did, he sholde sureuely haue one ague. And this will stand with the woordes "where the sonne is in his ascentione," takinge 'where' for 'when,' as yt is often vsed. But yf yo\(^n\) mislyke that glose, and wiH begyn one new sence, as yt is in some written copyes, and saye, "Ware the sonne in his ascentione, 'ne fynde you not repleate," &c. yet yt cannott bee that the other woordes, ("for yf yt doo,") canne answere the same, because this pronoune relatvye ('yt') cannott haue relatione to this worde ('yo\(^n\)') whiche wente before in this lyne, "Ne fynde yo\(^n\) not repleate of humors hotte." So that yf yowe wiH nedes reade "ware" for "where," yet the other parte of the followinge verse must nedes be, "for yf yo\(^n\) doe," and not "for yf yt dooe"; vnleste yo\(^n\) wiH saye that this woorde ('yt') must have relatione to these woordes, ("the sonne in his ascentione,") whiche yt cannott have, those woordes gouinge two lynes before, and the pronowne (yo\(^n\)) it," ed. 1598. In his 1602 ed, he rightly leaves out the 'is': "Ware the sunne in his ascention, Ne finde ye not repleate of humours hoote."

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 re-pleet of humours hoote.'

\(^1\) The fair Pertelote.

\(^2\) Chanticlere.
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interposed betwene the same and that his corelatyve (yt). wherfore these woordes, ("for yf yt doe,"") must
nedes stande as they did before, though he yo^n wilH cor-
recte "where the sonne &c." and saye "ware the
sonne &c." whiche yf yo^n wilH nedes haue, yo^n must

\[\text{you must alter} \]

\[
\text{the next line}
\]

(as the A MSS.
do).

\[\text{"leaf 42, back}\]

But this correctione (savinge, as I sayed, correctione)
semethe not so good as the former texte.

Fol: 86. pa: 2. Vppon these woordes, ("lo, in
the lyfe of Kenelme we reade,"") yo^n saye that "Kenelme
was sleyne by his sister Quenda,"\(^1\) whiche sholde be
Quendrida, as Williamo of Malmsberye and Ingulphus\(^2\)
have. Whiche Quendrida dothe signyfye Queene Drida,

\[\text{Fol: 86. You wrongly use Quenda for Queen Drida.}\]

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.

\[\text{Fo: 87. p: 1. vppon these woordes of "Taurus
was fortye degrees and one," yo^n saye that this place ys
misprinted, awseH in not namynge of the sygne, as of the
mysreckonynge of the degrees, 'that the two and
twentye of Marche the sonne is in Aries, and that but
eleven degrees, or there-aboutes, and hath in aH but
thirtye degrees. In whiche, in semynge to correcte
the former printe (whiche in truthe deservethe amende-
mente, but not in that order,) yo^n seme to mee to erre,\]

\[\text{you mistake Chaucer's mean.}\]

1 "This Kenelmus, king of the Mercians, was innocently
slaine by his sister Quenda, therby he obtained the name of a
martir." ed. 1598.

2 His chronicle is held to be spurious.
ing as far as
heaven is from
earth.

The day Chaucer
writes of was not
March 22, but
April 22 (or
May 2),

[+ leaf 43, back.
MS. repeats by
the]
for his 22 or 32
days must be
reckoned from the
end of March,

when the sign
would be in
Taurus,
whether you take
22 days (April 22)
or 32.

[+ leaf 44]
So the sign is
right.

as far as heauen and yerthe, in mystakinge Chaucers
meanyng and his woordes, as well for the daye of
the monthe, as for the signe. for where yo suppose that
Chaucere meaneth the two and twentithe daye of
Marche, yo mystake yt. for although ye sholde be
the 22 of the monthe, as the printed booke hathe; yet
canne yt not be the 22 daye of Marche, but must of
necessytie bee the two and twentythe of Aprille: and
so the signe Taurus trulye named. But first I must
saye, the number of the dayes are mysprinted,
for where yt is twentye dayes and two, yt must be (and so
are my written copyes) thirtye\(^1\) dayes and two, which
must be the seconde of Maye, as yo shall wefft see by the
\(^*\)woordes of Chaucer; for whether you reckon
thirtye two dayes, with the truthe, as hathe the written
copye, or xxij dayes, with the printe: yet must yo
begynne to reckon them from after the laste of Marche.
for so doth Chaucer, sayinge Marche was compleate,
in these woordes:

When the month in whiche the worlde began,
That hight Marche, when God first made man,
Was complete, and passed were also
Since Marche byganne, &c.

Wherbye yo see, that yo must begynne to reckon the
number of dayes from the tyme of marche complete;
and then wolde the signe fall oute to be in Taurus. yf
yo holde yo to the printe (for the 22 daye after
marche, which is the 22 daye of Aprill, in whiche the
sonne is aboute xi degrees in Taurus;) or to the writ-
ten copye of thirtye two dayes, (whiche is the seconde
of maye, at what tyme the sonne ys also aboute some
xxi degrees in Taurus;) the signe is not *misreckoned
or misnamed, as yo suppose. nether canne these
woordes, “since Marche beganne,” helpe yo to reckon
them from the begynnynge of Marche, (as yo seme to

\(^1\) All the Six-Text MSS. have ‘thirty,’ in some spelling, or
in figures. Group B, 4380, p. 293.
V. 37. SPEIGHT MISTAKES THE DATE OF CHANTICLEER'S MISHAP. 61

do; because they muste answere and be agreeable to
the former wordes of Chaucer, whiche sayethe marche
was complete; and, for that we sholde not dobre
thereof, he addeth also farther, "And passed were also
since Marche beganne": Where the worde "beganne"
ye mysprinted 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 genuynat
sense hereof is, 'When marche was complete, and also
were passed, since marche is gonne, or gonne bye, or
departed.' for, in many olde inglyshe woordes, 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 althoughte there be no mysnamynge 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 Horizone, beinge at that tyme xli
degrees in heighte from the Horizon. But to remedye
aH this, and to correcte yt accordance as Chaucer sett
yt downe in myne and other written copies; and that
yt may stande with aH mathematical proportione,
whiche Chaucer knewe and observered there, the printe
must be corrected after those written copies (whiche I
yet holde for sounde tiH 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 marche beganne, thirty dayes and two:
besfill 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 yroune
Twentye degrees and one, & somewhat moore;
& knewe by kynde, & by noone other loore,
That yt was pryme, and crewe with blisfull steven:
the sonne, quod he, is clomben vp on heauen
Fortye degrees and one, and moor, ywis, &c.

And that this sholde be mente xxxij dayes after
Marche, and the seconde of Maye,1 there be manye
reasons, besides those that Chaucer namethe; 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 woord in the same, deservinge
correctione, whiche I see yo\textsuperscript{n} ouerslipped; and because
I thinke yo\textsuperscript{n} knewe not what to make of yt, (as in dede
by the printinge fewe menne canne vnderstande yt,) I
wil sett downe the correctione of the same; beinge
the worde ‘Mereturicke,’\textsuperscript{2} farr corrupted for ‘Mercenricke,’” in saxone \textit{Merce}cennyke 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 woord
dothe teache; for ‘nyk’ in the saxone tonge signy-
fyethe a kingdome; ‘merce’ signyfyethe the markes, or
boundes, or marches of Countryes, so that Mercenricke
is ‘regnum Merciae,’ or the kingdome of Mercia, or of

1 The correctness of Thynne’s argument, and of his corre-
tion of the old readings of \textit{twenti} in line 4 above to \textit{thirty}; and
of \textit{Forty} in l. 9, to \textit{Twentiye} (which all the \textit{Six-Text} MSS. have,
B, 4835), is shown by Mr Brae in his edition of the \textit{Astrolabe},
and Mr Skeat (who follows him) in his edition (E. E. T. Soc.
and Chaucer Soc.), p. lx, lxii. 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 Kenulphus sonne, the noble king
Of Mereturike.—ed. 1598; Mercenryke, ed. 1602.
Oddly enough, the Lansdowne MS., alone of the \textit{Six-Text} ones,
reads rightly ‘Mercenrike.’ The Cambridge has ‘Merturyke’;
the others ‘Mertenrike,’ the scribes mistaking c for t, two
letters hardly differing in many MSS.
the boundes, so called because althe other
kingdomes of the saxons bounded vpon the same, and
that lykewise vpon 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\textsuperscript{a} will vs to reade
"Pellure," signyfyinge furres.\textsuperscript{1} but although the
Clergye ware furres, and some of them had their oute-
warde ornamentes thereof 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, ye I be not deceived. for
every cardinal had, for parte of his honorable ensignes
borne before hym, certeine siluer pillers; as had cardinaH Wolsey,\textsuperscript{2} in the tyme of kinge Henrye the
eighte, and CardinaH Poole, in my memory. So that
'pilloure' in that place is better then 'pellure,' because
pilloures were a noote of moore pride and maoestye
(against whiche the Plowmanne dothe cuveye in those
woordes,) then ys the weringe of furres.

Fo: 90. pa: 2. for these woordes, "withe change
of many manner of meates," yo\textsuperscript{a} wolde have vs reade,
"they eate of manye manner of meates." Touchinge
whiche, althoughhe the sence stande well, yet suire
Chaucer followethe this matter in manye staues to-
tgether with this prepositi\textsuperscript{e}n (cum, with) and this con-

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{1} In the spurious 'Plowmans Tale.'
    And so should euery Christened be
    Priests, Peters successours
    Beth lowlische and of low degre
    And vsen none earthly honours
    Neither croune, ne curious couetours
    Ne pillourre, ne other proude pall.—ed. 1598.
  \item \textsuperscript{2} See Roy's Satire, and 'The Impeachment of Wolsey,'
    p. 340, note, and 360/256 of my 'Ballads from Manuscripts, I,'
    (Ballad Society).
\end{itemize}
V. 41. SPEGHT MAKES A NEEDLESS MESS OF HIS METRE.

junctione (et, and;)—as, "with pride misledd the poore, & with money filled manye a male, &c." so he contynueth the yt stiH with that preposytion, "with many change of meates"; whiche ys as good as the other, for euerye one knowethe *Chaucers meanynge 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 eatyngne. 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 thinketh, nedethe not. for the wearninge 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 equah 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 ouerstreyyghte laced, and to obstinatlye bente to defende the former printed editione,—in that I wolde rather allowe one imperfecte sence, and suche as must be vnderstoode, when yt ys not fully expressed, then a playne style,—"I will answere withe a grounde of the lawe, "quod frustra fit per plura, quod fieri potest per pauciora," and "quod subintelligitur non deest." wherefore yt is needlesse to make that playner by addit^one of woordes, when yt maye be asweH conceyued in any reasonable mens vnderstandinge without suche addit^one. 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 chauge 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 mo 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 wyl not nowe longe insiste, (being things of no greate momente,) 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 lordes sonne of Windsore."

Vppon these wordes yo" saye, 'this maye sema 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 wordes sholde sema strange to yo", not to bee in the frenche, where yo" shaH fynde them. for thus hathe the frenche 'written Romante, as maye appare in the olde frenche vsed at the tyme when the Romante was com-
posed, in this sorte :

Pris a Franchise lez alez,
Ne sai coment est apelles,
Biaus est et genz, se il fust ores
Fuiz au seigneur de Guindesores :

Whiche is thus Englished : 'next to Franchise went a yonge Bachelor, 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 wordre '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 Enlishe, 'sonne.' and that yt is here so mente, yo" shaH see in the Romante of the Roose turned into proese, moralized, by the frenche Molinet, and printed at Paris in the yere 1521, who hathe the same verses in theese wordres in proese. 'A Franchise s'estoit, prins vn ieune Bachelor, de qui ne scay le nome, fors bell, en son temps filz du 'seigneur de Guindesore.' Whiche yo" mighte have weH scene, had yo" but remembered their orthographie, and that the latyne, Italiane, frenche, and spanyshe haue no doble W, as the Dutche, the Enlishe, and suche as

THYNNE.
SPEGHT'S DEFINITION OF 'ORDEAL' IS WRONG.

As to your other guesses,

haue affynytye with the Dutche, since they vse for doble W (a letter comone to vs) these two letters 'Gu,' as in ' Gulielmus,' whiche we wryte 'Willielmus'; 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 Windesore, they are of [no] great momente; neque adhuc constat that Chaucer translated the Romante, whene Windsore Castle was in buildinge. for then I suppose that Chaucer was but yonge; whereof I wyH not stande at this tyme, no moore then I will that there was no 'lord Windsore in those dayes; althoughe I suppose that sir Williame Windsore, being then a worthye knighte, and of great auctorytye in Engelande, and in the partes beyonde the seas vnder the kinge of Engelande, mighte be lorde Windesore, of whome the Frenche tooke notice, beinge in those partes, and by them called 'seigneure de Windesore,' as euery gouernour was called 'seigneure' emongest them. But whether he were a Baron or no in Engelande, I cannott yet saye, because I have not my booke of somons of Barons to parlimente in my handes at this instante.

Fo : 171 : pa. 2. "by ordall," &c. Vppone whiche yo" write thus: "ordalia is a tryal of chastitye, throughe the fyre,—as did Emma, mother of the Con- fessor,—or ells over hoote burnynge cultors of yrone barefotte, as did Cunegunde, &c." But in this de- scríbinge defynitíone, yo" have comyttted manye imper- fections. first, that ordell was a tryal by fyre, whiche is but a species of the ordell; for ordalium was a tryal by fyre and water: secondlye, that "yt was a tryal of Chastytye, whiche was but parcell thereof; for the
ordale was a tryal for manye other matters. Thirdlye, yo\textsuperscript{a} saye yt was by goinge throughe the fyer. when the fyerye ordale was onelye by goinge one hoote shares or cultores, or by holdinge a hoote pece of yrone in the hande, and not goinge throughe the fyer. forthlye, that Emma, mother to Edwarde the confessor, receued this tryal by goinge through the fyer: But she passed not throughe the fyer—as yo\textsuperscript{a} bringe her fore one example of your ordale—but passed barefotte vppone nyne burnynge shares, fowre for her selfe, and fyve for Alwyne, Bishopp of Winchester, with whom she was suspected with Incontynencye; whiche hystoreye yo\textsuperscript{a} maye see at large in Ranulphus Higden, in his policrone 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 vsed emongest the saxons before, and "the normans since, the Conqueste, and of manye other things belonging vnto yt,—but I wiH passe them ouer, and only deliuer to yo\textsuperscript{a} a thinge known to fewe, howe this ordale was contynued in Englande in the tyme of kinge Iohane, as apperethe in Claus. 17. Io hannis, m. 25, vntill yt was taken awaye by the courte of Rome; and after that, in Englande, by the auctortye of kinge Henrye the thirde, whereof yo\textsuperscript{a} shal fynde this recorde in the towre, Patente, 3. H: 3: mem. 5, where yt speakethe of iudgmente and tryal by fyer and water to be forbydden by the Churche of Roome, and that yt sholde not be vsed here in Englande; as apperethe by these woordes of that recorde: "Illis vero qui mediis criminibus vectati sunt, et quibus competeter iudicium ignis vel aque, si non esset prohibitum, et de quibus si regnum nostrum abiuarent, nulla fieret postea, maleficiendi suspitio, regnum nostrum abiurent," &c.

Fo. 246: pa. 1. speakinge of the storke, yo\textsuperscript{a} saye "that Chaucers woordes "wreaker of adulterye" sholde
rather bee "bewrayer of Adulterye"; whiche in truthe, accordinge to one propysecthe of his nature, may be as yo" saye, but accordinge to one other propysecthe of his nature, yt sholde bee "the wreaker of Adulterye," as Chaucer hathe; for he ys a greater wreaker 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 harboretthe. for Aristotle sayeth, & Bartholomeus de proprietatibus rerum li. 12. cap. 8.\(^1\) with manye other auctors, that ye the storke by anye meanes perceveth that his female hath brooked spousehedde, he wiH no moore dweH with her, but stryketh, and so cruelly beateth her, that he wiH not surcease vntill he hathe killed her yf ye 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 requyrethe after alH this tedious treatyce to drawe to one ende) I wiH not nowe entreate; but onlye speake a little moore of fyve especial\(^1\) things, woorthy the animadversione; of whiche the fyrste ys, that yo" make the plowmans tale to goo next before the persons tale, sufferinge the persons corrupted prologue to passe withe this begynnynge, "By that the plowmanne had his tale ended," when alH written

\(^1\) "while the female lyueth, 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 anye wise that the female hath brooke spousehood, she shall no more dwelle with hym, but he beateth and striketh hir with his bill, and slaieth hir if he may, as Aristote saith."—Batman uppone 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. 1535), leaf clxviii, 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 mancype 1 had his tale ended." And because my father colde not see byaney prologues of thee other tales, (whiche for the most parte shewe 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 apperethe by the persons prologue, where the hooste sayethe, that 'euyere '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 woorkes were distiguysshed from the adulterat, and suche as were not his, as the Testamente of Cressyde, 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,

1 This shows that the Christchurch manuscript (which reads 'yeoman') and the Rawl. Misc. MS. 1133 (which reads 'marchant', 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 Godfray (ab. 1532-32), 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 Hoccleve's 'Letter of Cupide,' which his father included in both his editions of 1532 and 1542. Stowe in 1561 first printed (Fol. cccxliiiij) the spurious "A balade pleasaunt: 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 "Chaucers woordes vnto his owne Scriuener," Fol. ccclv, back, in his edition of 1561.
when yt was first published in printe, was dedicate to kinge Henrye the eighte." But that is not soo.\(^1\) for the firste dedicatione to that kinge was by mye father, when diuerse of Chaucers woorkes had byn thrise\(^2\)

\(^1\) 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 had been published 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 Proverbes]; 3. the boke of Troylus and Cryscyde. But of separate works of Chaucer before 1532, the following had been publisht:


**Book of Fame.** 1. Caxton, ab. 1483; 2. Pynson, 1526.

**Troylus.** 1. Caxton, ab. 1483; 2. Wynkyn de Worde, 1517; 3. Pynson, 1526.


**Truth** (The good counceyl of chawcer; 'Fle ye fro þe presse').


**Envoy to Skogan.** 1. Caxton, ab. 1477-8 (all lost, after the 3rd stanza).

**Anelida and Arcyte.** 1. Caxton, ab. 1477-8.


**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 Wyllyam 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 (Thon Kyngston; Henry Bradsha, 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 Thynne comments

\(^3\) All in one little volume in the Cambridge University Library (and the British Museum).—See my Trial-Forewords, p. 116-117.

\(^4\) In one quire at Cambridge.—See my Trial-Forewords, p. 118.
VI. 3-5. READ HARLOTTES, NOT HAROLTES, IN ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE. 71

printed before; whereof two editions were by William Caxtome, the fyrste 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 thirde editiōne 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 corrupte, occa-sioned my father (for the love he oughte to Chawcers lernynge) to secke the augmente and correctiōne of Chawcers Workes, whiche he happily fynyshed; the same beinge, since that tyme, by often printinge muche corrupted. of this matter I sholde have spoken fyrst of aH, because yt is the fyrsst imperfectione of youre peynfuH and comendable labors: yet because the pro-uerbe ys “better late then never,” I holde yt better to speake of yt here then not at aH.

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 aH, ‘of the auctors cyted by geffrye Chawcer.’

The fyfte matter ys in the Romante of the Roose, fo. 144; that this worde ‘Haroldes,’ in this verse,

My kinge of Haroltes shalte thow bee,

muste, by a mathesis or transpositione of the letters, be Harlotes, and not Haroltes, and the verse thus,

My kinge of Harlottes shalte thow bee.

And so ys yt in the editiōne 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 Animadeversions—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.)
The king of Ribalds or Harlottes was an officer of great account in times past.

or Harlottes,' or cuiH or wicked persons; one officer of greate accompte in tymes paste, and yet vsed in the courte of France, but by one other name, in some parte beinge the office of the marshall of Englane. AH whiche, because yo shaH not thinke I dreame, (though ye tyme may seeme strange to the ignorante to have so greate one officer intituled 'of suche base persons as to be called 'kinge or gouernor of Ribauldes,) yo shaH here Iohannes Tyllius (in his seconde Booke de rebus gallicis, vnder the title de Prefecto pretorio Regis) confirme in these woordes: "In domesticis Regum constitutionibus, quos proximo capite nominavimus, fit mentio Regis Ribaldorum, officii domestici, quem sem-per oportet stare extra Portam pretorii," &c. and a little after the explanynge of their office, he addethe: "sic autem appellantur, quia iam tum homines perditii Ribaldi, et Ribaldae, mulieres puellæque perdite, vocantur. Regis nomen superiori aut Judici tribuitur. Quemadmodum magnus Cubicularius dicitur Rex Mercatorum," &c. Where he makethe this "Regem Ribaldorum" an honorable officer for manye causes, as Vincentius Luparius in his fyrste booke of the magistrates of France dothe also, vnder the title of "Rex Ribaldorum et prouostus Hospitii"; makinge the Iudex pretorianus, and this Rex Ribaldorum or Prouostus hospitii, *to seme aH one, addinge further (after manye other honorable partes belonginge to this office) that "meretricibus aulicis hospitia assignare solebat." In whiche pointe, bothe for orderinge and correctinge the harlottes and eviH persons followinge the courte of Englane, (whiche is the dutye of the marshall,) the frenche and wee agree. Wherfore, touchinge that parte, yo shaH here some what of the marshalls office sett downe and founde in the Customes whiche Thomas of Brothertonne (sonne to kinge Edwarde the fyrste) challenged to his office of marshalseye; where, emongest
other things, are these wordes: "eorum (whiche was of the marshalls deputyes executinge that he shold ells do hym selfe) interest virgatam à meretricibus pro-
hibere, et deliberare, et habet ex consuetudine maris-
callus, ex quálibet meritrice com[m]uni infra metas
hospitalii inventa—iiijd. primo die. Que, si iterum in-
venta in Balliūā suā Inveniatur, capiatur; et coram
seneschallo inhibeantur ei hospitia Regis et Reginae 'et
liberorum suorum, ne iterum ingrediatur," &c. And
so afterwarde shewetho what shalbe donne to those
wemen, yf they be founde agayne in the kinges courte,
in suche sorte, that, as by Tillius, this Rex Ribal-
dorum his auctorytye was ouer 'hominen perditos,
mulieres puellasque perditas.' And that yt was, by
Lupanus, to assigne to Ribaldes lodginge oue of the
courte, (for so modestye willethe vs to vnderstande,
because they sholde not offende and infecte the courte
with their sighte and manners). So ys yt oure Marshalls
office, to banysh those harlottes the courte, and be-
towe them in some other place, where they might be
lesse annoyance. Wherefore I conclude with the
frenche, and the former editione of Chaucer in the
yere of Christe 1542,\(^1\) that 'false semblance' was of
righte to be made kinge of Harlottes, and not of
Haroldes, who wolde mightely be offended to have
them holden of the conditions of 'false semblance'.\(^2\)

Nowe here be nuge in the Romante of the Roose:

\(^1\) William Thynne's second publisht 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
144, whereas in some bookes it is, 'my king of Harrolds shalt
thou bee'; it is now corrected thus (my king of Harlots shalt
thou bee.) For so it is in the French Moralization of Molinet
149, where hee is called Rois des Ribauds, which is, the king
of harlots, 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, vnder the title De Praefecto pretorio Regis. But
more hereof when time shall serue in M. F. Thins comment."
I cannot (as the proverbe ys) take my hand from the table, (fyndinge so manye ouersyghtes in the twoe last editiones,\(^1\)) but must speake of one thinge moore, deservinge Correctione, in these woordes of the Romante, fo. 116 of the last impressione:

Amide saw I hate stonde,
That for wrothe and yre & onde
Semed to be a minoresse;

Where this woorde 'Minoresse' sholde bee 'Mooversesse,' signyfyinge 'a mover or styrrer to debate'; for these be the frenche verses in the oldest written copye that euer was (to be founde in Englande, yf my conjecture fayle me not,) by the age of the frenche woordes, which are these:

Beinge thus englyshed, as of righte they oughte, accordinge to the frenche:

Enz euz le milieu vi hayne,
qui de courouz et datayn
Sembla bien estre moueresse
et courouse et tencerresse.

Moline, in his later version, also calls Hate a Ducteresse or leader.

Whiche woord 'mooversesse,' the learned molinet, in his moralizacione of that Romant, dothe turne into 'Ducteresse,' a leader or leadresse, so that they agree yt shoulde not be a 'minoresse,' but a 'mooversesse' or leadresse of and to anger and yre; anye of whose woordes will as weft, and rather better, fytt the sence and verse of Chaucer, and better answere the frenche original and meanynge, than the incerted woorde 'Minoresse.'

Thus hoopinghe that yo\(^1\) will accepte in good and frendlye parte, these my whatsoeuer conceytes vuttered

\(^1\) No doubt, before Speght's of 1598, namely, Stowe's of 1561, and the booksellers' of about 1550.
VI. FRANCIS THYNNE’S INTENDED EDITION OF CHAUCER.

unto yo", (to the ende Chawcers Woorkes by muche conference and manye iudgmentes mighte at leng[t]he obteyne their true perfectione and glorye,—as I truсте they shaH, yf yt please godde *to lende me tyme 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; comyttinge yo“ to god, and me to your Curtesye.

Clerkenwell Greene, the xvi of december 1599.

Your loyinge frende,

FRANCIS THYNNE.

Mr Bradshaw’s note on William Thynne’s cancelld 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. 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, 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 smothly couered 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 ouer the fen toke toward walsingham apon my pelgrymag. I had caght 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 euer I to my cace, [toke my eace] to walke about, it did me best pleace, ouer a brydg, throrow a gren meyd, where I might behold in every sted the greate buyldyng of this obbey, strong ynoghe, 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 strenge
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!"
therfore the labourers, tho monk barnardyns,
came in reproife of the benedictins.
then was good housses 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.
ner was not as the bord seruid with couerd mese;
suche super-fluyte was had for nedles.
ner at tho days there was no suche presumption
that thorow there prayer there shold be redemption;
ner 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:
 tho 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 ydelenes :
& 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 ellis I thinke he had,—
a solome man, that small chere made.
it was not met to suche a man as he
to take acquantants in low degre,
extcept it were a knyght\(^1\) or a lord,
that mor to his appetyd dyd accord ;
thcn could he fation in the best wyce
many a denyte\(^2\) dyche in seruys,
and handell him-selue full fryr at his table,
and therto had men seruychable,
that low on kne, with keuering of his cupe,
cwold saue his clothis from fallinge any drope.
the cronikis old from kynge 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 blessynges
& munbling of his holy things
did vanquyche them from euery buch and tre :
there is no nother incubus but he ;
for chaucer sathe, in the sted of the quen elfe,
[‘ Ther walketh now the lymytour himself ; ’]
for whan that the incubus dyd fle,

\(^1\) orig. knyght \(^2\) orig. denyte
he left 7 worse demons behind him, even these holy friars, of whom each wears the distinctive dress of his order, the man he's vowd to. They make men believe in their brotherhoods instead 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 euery sled: of there awn reteneue they weare the differens, to whom they haue professyed there obediens; for euere valcant 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 chastite. what rekus them, the sayng of paull, which wylnith 'to men we shall not call'? we ought not playn, by there theachyng, to gyue credens ner red suche wryting; suffisyth ynoghe to ther dome, to do as our elders haue don; to mok & dissayue men of there lyuelod, in making beleue in thecse 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 wytts a great incomberment. in dyuerse colors flekyd lyke a pye, sum gurd with ropis to seme holy; sum go barfot, & sum go showd, & euere secte hath a straunge God, to whom they teache the people to call. in this on they aggre,—they be hodyt all, & ellis, euere on other doth deny, amongst them-selue 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 minors agayn with hasty breth
defendis douu\n\neuen to the deth;
tha carmell[\text{[i\text{]tes 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,
wer-with the chanons can not agre,
but clamis him of there relygion to be.
\& yet amongst them there is dispyt,
sum 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 fowr,
which haue mad many a ryche man powr;
\& yf it be as old men sayn,
they spryng out of the name of caym;
for even as abell was slayn with his brother,
so be thos slayn that trust in that order,
and by a false fayth cleyn dismist,
that haue not holy beleue in Christ.
heremittes there be that holdyse 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 gylbertin:
full loue reuerens I made with kne,
and ouer his sholder he\text{[}\text{[1\text{] lokyd a-wry,
as though he sawe me; it was ynoghe.
toward the churche I me drogte,
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 hyrdis fast vnto the fyer,
\begin{footnote}{\textit{orig. she}}\end{footnote}
Then I saw a
comely priest

in a short gown,

[leaf xxxv]
[1 or cersuet?] with a white wand
in his hand.

Like Chaucer's
Monk, he had

neat boots,

and lookt 'a
master,' when
at home.

I askt him the
Abbey's history.

He told it me;
and that St Gil-
bert was born at
Sempringham.

I askt him
whether he in his
conscience be-
lieved monkyry
to be

God's bidding,

which sone to kyndyll 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,
lokying in the wyndows all about,
as though he sum old armis he wher sekyng out;
in a short gown gurd by the wast,

and a cersurt\(^1\) hod ouer his sholders cast,

with a blak fryng hemyd al about,
slyt sum-thing before, and takyd in a lowpe;
his gown-sleue was narow at the hand,
in whom he bare a Ioly whyt wand;
he ware his gayr full well and semly;
his bottis sat cleyyn and claspyd feytuosly;
rownd visayd, and sum-thing son-ybrent,
he lokyd not as he were closter-pent;
from place to place he dyd about rowm,
he semyd a master whan he was at home.
I longyd sum tydynges of him to eare,
because I toke him to be a straunger;
thinking him rather to enclyne,
because we ware both perrygryne,
and dyssiryd him hertely of his curtesy,
of that fundation to show me the ansetry.
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 whan 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 izuentyng.
& 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 whan we do best,
exceptyd only our faith in christ.
the thing for good that we pretend,
takis non effect as meritoriuse end ;
therfore merit in vs is non,
but in our redemer 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] deluyered by the same key,
& not by man, ner in his inuention,
for there ruell is but confucion ;
for it is expresse agaynst godis beading,
that we to his ruell shold mak any adyng,
ner with any-thing thought it seme right,
[ . . . . . . . . . . line left out] 228
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\textsuperscript{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 gueluernans,
& made our hed by godis ordinans,
to whom is gyuen his houll power,
both to pu[n]yche, & 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,
whan it was takin from the clergy,
when they wer warnid from suche presumpcion,
not for to tak no iurisdiction,
but he that wold haue the preferment,
to be ther ministre shold be diligent,
as Christ himselue, to teache vs nought for-gett
\[ \text{line left out} \]
and first he dyd yt, and after he taght;
thes wordis,” sayd he, “haue I caght,
whiche put me cleyn owt of dowt
that bisishopis to kingis shold lown;
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,
\textsuperscript{1} orig. other
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 reherhid\(^1\) nothing but papry, 
sprung owt of Antichrist, full of foxry;"
and of the chansler of lichfeld\(^2\) begun to spek,
but I desyrid him not his fast to breke;
for I knew wel christis entent
was neuer to set prist on Igument,
but to teache men in-to better lyf,
and not cruelly to sle with blody knif.
"well," sayd he, "interrupt me no more,
my tall I will begin wher I left\(^3\) befor;
but fyrst or I can bring mi purpos,
I must his contrary disclos.
the son of perdition, it is a strang term,
and began in iudas, as I can deserne,
which for mony sold his master;
and now they be growin in-to a gretter number,
whiche be sprung out of iudas succession,
ther cheffe captayn of transgression,
dothe paull spek of to the tessalonians,
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,
deuidit in-to sectis in-ordinat,
against godis ordinans be rebellion,
and as fyndis in hell full of dissention,
and dothe extoll ther awn nogthihod
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. reherhid \(^2\) orig. liehfeld \(^3\) orig. left

276 Then the comely Priest
abus'd the Chancellor of Lichfield,

[leaf xxxvii]
and said he must speak of the Devil's brood, before Christ.

These monks and friars began with Judas.

Their chief Captain

sits in the Temple as God.

But the Bible
that he shall be opinid in his tyme, which is constitut, and by god set:

It is not ther\(^1\) burning that can it let, ther mischeuuse tyranny ner cruelnes, clokyd with ypocracy and falsnes.

he shalbe shoude, & his iniquite, 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 workyng, that in sathan workis many strang thing, & illude the people thorow there craftynes, there mokis, there mous, & there feynid holynes; 320 in all dissayt, full of iniquyte, repungnant to god & to his verite.

this is the woman, the sorcerus wich, whom Iohn saw in the apocalips, syting apon a monsterus best, with .vii. hedis & .x. hornis most odiust. the woman that this bestrod, was gorgiusly be-seyn as she rod, 328 in purple, with stons set so well, most rychestly chast with margarites every dell; in hir hand she kar a golden cupe, were-in was venom every drope, 332 with whom she norichyd hir abhomination, & caused the people to comit fornication.

for we be called fornicators when tyme we be ydolotors, 336 & 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,

\(^{1}\text{orig. ther ther} \quad ^{2}\text{mistake for sharp} \quad ^{3}\text{orig. xexviii}\)
in whos forhed was wrytyn babylon,
the great mother of fornication;
for out of this monster is sprong
thes ydell lobers that do suche wrong,
& takis the swet from true mens face:
I beseke god amend it for his grace.
for when the son of man enteris his kyngdom,
then shall they know what wrong they haue done,
& say, "thes be they whom we had in derision,
& Iugyd them folyche 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.
we insensat haue eryd from the way of trueth,
with-out light of Iustyce, now to our ruthe,
& haue mad our selue wery in the way of perdicion,
walking strayt-ways to bryng vs to destruction,
that trust in our selue, & owr workes hath vs owerthrow;
because the way of god we dyd not know.
what now auallyth our ryches & prydt?
all saue our ydelnes doth from vs slyd;
as much to say, oure closters ner farmeris,
with whom we haue bleryd innocent eys,
wher we were wont to work the workes of falsnes,
is now obiect tooure opprobryusnes."
John saith he saw this woman dronk—
that this multitude of sectis hath sonk—
of the bloud of many an holy martyr,
and of Iesu christ many a confessore;
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 fore the trueth dyd neuer a drope bled;
but wher fraurd, disobedient, & surquidus,
agaynst there own princes presu[m]ptuuse;
and suche as to princes be not obedient, 380
be antichristes against God repungnant;
but this howr of Babylon that hath regnied so long,
yt 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
quyckly 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. 388
the multitude of the people beleued 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,
styl in egipt vnder pharo thrall,
for by bloud-shed they hop to be kepyd in stall,
euen as nature doth them bynd,
for they be come of cams kynd,
to whos sacrifyce god had no respect,
but, as ysay saith, doth them cleyn abiect;
for wher the seyd of god is vsawn,
for his ner his children they be not known.
there-for to this ignorant rebels
ysay the prophet this tall tels,
and bydyse them here the word of god
in serful termis for there noghtyhod,
which knew before of there sodomi,
& so callis them, and of gomory,
the princes wich be infernall,
fygured in daniell by beall;
and bydis them to godis word gyue heryng,
and of ther sacrifyce to mak leauyng;
and saith, 'when you shall come to my presens,' 412

footnotes:
1 orig. stornyd
2 orig. sacrifyre
then shall I ask, who gane 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 therefore 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 praty 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 agayne of the contrary opynyons
dyd lyes inuent, & set them out in prophesy,
in hope to allure the people therby;
thorow which vndowtyd 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;
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-tweyn the sykyll and the syth.
thes prophesis come of the deuyll,
which is perseuyed be there end euyll,
as martin swarthe, and many an other mo,
ahath mischeffe asked, vengens and wo,
on them that suche craft cowd
ienuent to sheyd crystyn mens bloud—
perkyn werbek and Iak straw,
and now of lat owr cobler the dawe.

1 *orig.* werkek
APPENDIX I. THE PILGRIMS TALE.

A diatribe against Satan (and malicious Papists).

\[\text{an exclamation of the auctor agaynst sathan owr old ennemy.}\]

"Wicked worm!

\[\text{O wycked worme, to penaunce con-Iuryd,}\]

and of god him-selfe first accorsyd,

\[\text{amongst all creatures most to be aborred,}\]

by whom in-to this world came first

\[\text{the fal of man! tell me how thou durst}\]

presum to ryse, most vngraciose beast,

and so by god inputed to crepe apon thy brest.

\[\text{false pretens of gratiuse pilgramage,}\]

for the comyn-welth which is the destrower!

\[\text{wyll thou neuer leue to bryng folke in dotage,}\]

\[\text{which of all lyes was the fyrst father?}\]

\[\text{euen so of eue thou wast the disayuer.}\]

\[\text{to comen-welthe thou sayd me shold be brought;}\]

\[\text{of all thy begynnynges the end is noght.}\]

"Thou wase thy-selue the fyrst rebel
g\[\text{yon,} & \text{therfore eiect down in-to hell;}\]

\[\text{not geuyng due honor was thy confusyon.}\]

\[\text{with god and his ordinans thou wold mell,}\]

\[\text{& euyn lyke thes innocentes compell,}\]

\[\text{workyng in thy-selue antichristes clerkes,}\]

\[\text{thy shanyllynges, thy ministerys of bealles markes.}\]

"for euyn as adam hyd him for shame,

\[\text{whan he had broken godis commaundment,}\]

\[\text{so wold the rebellious; alas! wo can them blame,}\]

\[\text{there awn consciou[n]s must nedis be ther Igument,}\]

\[\text{by fals temtptacion hoping preferment,}\]

\[\text{no-thing to haue deseruyd but cruell dethe.}\]

wo worthe\[\text{1} that worm, that euer it drue brethe,

"That be-twix sowll and spryt hath put dissention,\]

\[\text{thorow which the sowll is banychid cleyn,}\]

\[\text{that with the spryt of god afore was in vnion;}\]
in paradyce now it must no mor be seyn: 480
in the same case our rebellious beyn,
et for breking godis ordinans,
and greuously accursyd for ther disobediens. 483
turnd out for breaking God's command.

"The spryt is desolat from thes rebellious, 484
& called woman, for lak of a make,
which in the apocalipis, in pay[n]s dolorus, 487
 to bryng forth and be delyueryd 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
But the woman's seed shall break
the head

"Which dragon stondis ready to deuor, 491
with .vii. hedis, an odius beast,
and ten great horns styf and stowr,
that in-to malis is dayle encreasyd, 494
and diademis .vii. apon thes hedis be impressyd;
and with hir tayll the steris out of heuyn rownd
the thred part pullid and thrown to grond. 497
[leaf xli]

"This is antichrist, the howr of babylon, 498
spoke of agayn in this same bok;
waching the woman hir chyldis destruction,
whom god from heuin preseruid and toke. 501
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, 505
agaynst the son of man sedeciusly to ryce.
yf scripture be true, they shalbe subiect;
for we, taking godis part, must them dispyce. 508
means the ma-
licious Papists.
thes be our papystes rotyd in malis,
waching godis word as ner as they can,
whych now is come forth by the son of man. 511
“The true church of god figuryd in the woman 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 shall thes dragon deouer and chace with moses rod turnyd in-to a serpent, to eate vp the ask manteyned 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 vnder this dragon shold suffer payn, tyll restorment by the minister of the son of man; "Of whom I haue herd many on spek, that knew, god wot, ful lytyll 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 diuinite 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 trown; 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 tyms ready for to fulfyll, 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, segnyfying 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 mone is the sowll; the mon is a subiect of very right vnto the son, of whom she takis here lyght.

"Pauull spekis, whan he wryttys to thymothys, & 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 pauull tretynis them to be ouer-trown, as Ianes & 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.

"Thes thinges are wryten for our instruction,—so hath pauull to the corinthyans,—and shows how many hath suffreth distruction, which crepyd not vnder godis gouernans. our rebellious, I trow, be alians to dathan and abiron, the truch to tell, for resistinge moses that sonk vnto hell."

By owr lord," quod I, "this is well sayd, I durst haue 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 deuyll 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 paull warnyd vs, wher he doth tell

that we shold not beleue an angell

from heuyn in the ayr flyeng,
yf he teache agaynst godis bidinge?

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 desayue vs styll as he had don before;

thes be they that paull 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 have kepyd his steuyn."

"you spok," quod I, "of the son & the mone,

of whom I dessyr to here interpretation."

"thos be matters," he sayd, "misticall,

and be very hyghe and theologall:

the son is the spryt, & so doth it sygnify;

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 persaue," 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 donine¹,
& no deuyll, as deuels determine;
for if he were a fend, & spok carnally,
necessary 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 losse 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 euyn it, the vnnaturall thinge,
out of his owne realm to baniche the kyng;
for christ is a kyng, god, & man,
& also a pryst, as I lear cane.
marke of his kyngdom, Iohn 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-selue the way & veryte,
which hath byn banyched from his kyngdom,
wher-of babylon hath rygned howrdom,
the lyon, the oxe, the man, & the faulcon.
all 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, when we it truly geyt,
The Lion is the mystical image of the Son of Man.

Ministerid vnto vs by the lyon, the misticall 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 agre; it passis man, it is so heuenly; & as moche mistery of the wordis rysyng as euuer was of christis comyng."

"I am satisfied," quod I, "what merlyn ment." "bede," sayd he, "coms euyn to the same entent; for all the dessyr and policy was to dryue it in-to hedis witty, that the pope was antichrist & the howr of babylon, and shold haue a fall & destruction; a ded man shold ryse, dukis to deme, then after that, all quiet & queme. the true minister, lying a mort lange, shold his awn autorte in-to his hond fonge."

"I'm not a Cantabrigian, but an Oxonian;" 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-sealue on a boke sworn, neuer with-in stampford to reyd logyk, diuinite, phylosophy, ner yet retoryk; for fer that oxford, which once was floryching, shold remoue 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,
of god him-selue be accurst.

ther was a prouerbe I knew wan,
eallyd 'turnyng the cate in the pane';
for that that was spoken in the spryt,
in the fleche they wold haue vs to take yt.
so wold they haue vs to tak merlyn,
as thoughe spiritually he had known no feling;
but thus this prophesy is vnderstond,

Merlin's prophecy

means that Oxford now, which is bond
under the howr, the monsterus beaste,
& is here ford for most and least
that there doth pease thorow any degre,

Merlin's prophecy

at Iacobs well to the samaritane,—

Merlin's prophecy

and leuis the slechy podell, full of frogis,
to the old cenkanter phariziecall dogis,
where-in ther delyte is spytfull chyding;
I beseke god send them a mending,
to fyllyll the prophesy thorow the ford of stone,
in which pathe-way christ byld apon,

Merlin's prophecy

and leaue ther falshed, craft, and lyes,
suffering the word of god to ryse.”

Merlin's prophecy

with that he stod, and toke his leaue,
dissiring me my-selue not greue
of his tarying, ner his long tale;
and I besought god to kepe him out of bale,
saue I longyd, for yf euer we met agan,
of the blak flét of norway me to sayn.
he sayd he durst not it dis[cl]ose,
but bad me reyd the 'romant of the rose,'
the thred leafe, Inst from the end
to the secund page, ther he dyd me send;

THYNNE.
where the Wolf means all the stinking beasts

that join the Dragon in devouring Christ.

This Wolf must be flayd.

The next 6 staves are Chaucer's own: Rom. Rose, l. 7167-7172, ed. Morris, vi. 218.

While the Pope rules, Christ can never prosper.

I pray God that Christ may have his right.

where I shold se mater plenty ynoghe, saue only under the color of the wolfe is conferyd al the stinking fuet—

so the hunters call it when they mak ther suet— the lyzard, the polcat, the fox, & fulmerd, which with the drogon takis part, to deuor the chyld, the son of man, or ellis a lyon in his kyngdom ;

the egle or the falcon, when he flys on hye, in the calue or the ox tysteris be ;

as well in the old tyme there faction & gyes, 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 chaucers awn hand wark :

Thus moche woll our boke syngnify, that whyle peter hath mastery, may neuer Iohn show well his myght. now haue I declaryd right

the meyning of the bark and rynd that makis the ententions byldynd.

And by & by he doth away fle, & conuys him-selue as it had neuer beyn he ; but I beseke god, Iohn may haue his might, & the son of man to posses his right, in his kyngly ymage to haue his ministre.

[The fragment ends here.]

[Is the t for th in toughe 22, tryue 37, and for d in excepd 62, appetyd 78, shord 173, tessalonians 295, tretynis, ouertrown, 561, a provincialism, like awn for own 303, 427, &c., vnsawn for unswnn 401? Note whom for which in l. 178, 366. See too c for s, ryce, dispyce 506, -8, baniche 630, banyched 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.¹


28. FAIT a remembrer, que le Maresdy, le quinisme jour de Parlement, 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 Lancastre, & 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'abilite & legitimation, solonc la fourme de la Chartre du Roy ent faite. Laquelle Chartre feust lue en pleine Parlement, & 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, carissimis Consanguinecis nostris nobilibus Viris, Johanni, Militi; Henrico Clerico; Thome, Domicello; ac dilecte Nobis nobili Mulieri Johanne Beauford, Domicelle, germanis precarissimi Avunculi nostri nobilis Viri Johannis Ducus Lancastrie natis, ligeis nostris, Salutem & benivolentium nostre Regie Magestatis. Dum interna consideracione pensamus, quot incessanter & quantis Honoribus parentili & sincera dileccione prefati Avunculi nostri, &

¹ John of Gaunt died in 1399.
APP. II. LEGITIMATION OF JOHN OF GAUNT'S CHILDREN.

sui maturitate consilii, 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 munimine favoris & gratie fecundemus. Hinc est, quod dicti 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 sequumque Honores, Dignitates, Preeminentias, Status, Gradus, & Officia publica & privata, tam perpetua quam temporalia, atque feudalia & nobilia, quibuscumque nominibus nuncupentur, etiamsi Ducatus, Principatus, Comitatus, Baronie, vel alia Feuda fuerint, etiamsi mediate vel immediate a Nobis dependant seu teneantur, prefici, promoveri, eligi, assumi, & admitter, illaque recipere, retinere, gerere, & exercere, 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 nostre Regalis 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
whan 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 goth 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 wang 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 remaining 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 Crede, p. 45-6. E. E. Text Soc.
Our Host saw he was not a monk from a cloister.

The Plowman said his work was to sweat and earn his family food.

But Clerks told him to sweat for them, for nothing in return.

They could curse him.

They took the corn, and left him the dust.

The Plowman says he'll tell what he heard a Priest preach.

If Our hoste behelde wele all about,
And sawe this man was sunne ybrent; 1
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.

If 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 swynke, I make auowe,
My wyfe and chyldren therwith to fynde;
And serue God, and I wyst howe;
But we leude men bene full blynde;

"For clerkes saye, we shullen be fayne
For her lyuelod swet and swynke,
And they ryght nought vs gyue agayne,
Neyther to eate ne yet to drinke.
The[y] mowe by lawè, as they sayne, 2
Us curse and dampe to hell[e] brynke;
Thus they putten vs to payne
with candles queynt 3 and belles clynke.

"They make us thrallès at her lust,
And sayne we mowe nat els be saued;
They haue the corne, and we the dust;
who speaketh 4 ther agayn, they say 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 teache
A prest in pulpyt a good preachynge."
"Saye on," quod our host, "I the beseche."
"Syr, I am redy at your byddyng,
I praye you that noman me reproche
whyle 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 quencht 4 read speakth 5 once
A discourse vppon 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'.]

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 vppon his slepinge breste, with cristalle starres twinklinge in azurd skye, whiche slombringe dyes, to rest-full bedde I flye.

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 proporcions cuttes the night & daye in nombred howres a-lyke for Phebus waye.

When dolefull mynde & very lyrmes were layed to quiet rest in softe and carefultt bedde, my wretched state my moorninge brest dismayed, hopelesse of helpe, since craftye faythlesse hedde had wouen the meane by powre for to subdued that honest harte whome enuye did pursue.

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.

Compare the thrice-repeated motto on p. xlix, above. Note the bookes, his 'surest frendes,' p. 106, l. 99, and his mention of Chaucer, p. 114, l. 411.
Yet, with this hevye care, a wakefull slepe
possest my shyueringe corps in depe dispayre;
for weylinge sorrowe whiche in hart did crepe
(by heavye vapoures thicker then the ayre)
soon'd my musinge wittes, & chokd the breyne,
that slombringe must the yeldinge hart distreine.

In whiche vncerteine trothe not full awake,
nor soundly luld aslepe as thoughtes had made,
a trembringe feare my sprytes did ouertake,
and secretly my senses ganne to fade;
for, lo! the Dragon with quick-siluerd face
approchd my sight with wise & plesant grace,
Cladde in a slender lawne to ease his peyne,
when with quicke sped he skowrethe from the skye,
with winged hedde & fete, with sugred veyne,
whose heuenly voyce, after a little staye,
this future good from goddes above did saye:
"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 forecaste may well advance thy fame.
"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.
"Him serche thowe forthe, as worthiest in this lande,
vnder that one whiche secret wonder bredes,
for to enyoye thy sweate of workinge hande;
for frome his heuenly mynde alwayes procedes
a curteous harte, for to accept in gree
those frendly shewes whiche oft presented bee."

1 So MS. ? for trembleinge. 2 MS. Hin
Whiche sayed, he fledde, and that his saved wande
with gentle stroke lett fall vppon my hedde.
when snorting Morpheus by my side did stande,
and thwart myne eyes his sleepeing hand did spredde,
whereby my harte posseste such quiet reste,
as musinge thoughtes were banisht from my breste.

And sownedly thus enyoinghe silente ease,
till pointed tyme of nighte did ende his rase,
and gladsome Elios, risinge from the seas
with purple hue, did silver starres displace,
And forced me to for-sake that plesant bedde,
whose late swete dreames my carefull senses fedde.

Thus shakinge of the force of drowsy nighte,
I deckd my-self after my woonted guyse,
and downe dissende to honor Phebus lighte
In frutefull gardeine, where I did devise
whiche waye to spende that bright ensuynge daye,
lest idle thoughtes might vertuous lyfe decaye.

For nowe my former dreame was quite exild,
my wandrigne 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.

This sotesome soyle where buylded was my yoye,
bedeckd with natures seuerall tapestrye,
was farre vnlyke that deintye garden ioye,¹
whiche quene Semiramis did edyfye,
where garden² godd freshe Priapus did reste,
with his fayre nymphes to weyte vppon his heste.

ne lyke the stately seate and fertill grownde
of Bell-vider, place 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 woorkes myne ease,
when hevy dompes wolde mery hart displaise.

¹ yoye altered by another hand. ² ? MS. ar
(16)
Where, when I roomed had my wanton fill,
and fresht my wittes with herbes of deainty smell,
I lefte that paradise againste my wiH—
for in suche place my harte wolde alwayes dwell—
And put my selfe where I did hoope to fynde
some lernd conceyte to glutte my serching mynde;

(17)
Where settled downe emongest the wisest sorte,
& surest frendes that menne fynde now in vre,—
I meane my bookes, the which for my disporte,
do lerninge, wysdome, trothe, & mirthe, procure—
I raughte for the one, wherby I might discern
the course of heauen) and wandringe starres to lerne.

(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 birthe to guyde—
for I was taughte that heuenly bodies doo
rule mortall menne as course of starres doo goo;

(19)
Els, toylinge hinde, lay downe thy cuttinge plowe,
lett herbes and trees surrender all their mighte;
lett god Apollo with his cuynynge Crowe,
and Escuralipius with his depe insighte,
gyve place hoopelesse by arte for to recure
suche lothesome plages as hated dethe procure;

(20)
And Palinurus wise, lett goo thye sterne,
lett saylinge shippes flote one the raginge flodde,
throwe backe thy carde and nedle (to discern
the northen poole) dipt in the adamantes blodde;
for yf the starres guyde not thy hidden waye,
to coostes vnknoven hed-longe thy barke wold stray.—

(21)
The Auctor whiche to reade I vnertoke,
has gathered rules of the celestiall sphere;
and as I chancd vppon the same to looke,
the thinge whiche fyrste yt selfe presented there
to my quicke sighte, was, how the planettes hie
in order doo their right-full course supplye,
Where Luna firste, as loweste of them all, her rome posseste; next Mercurye the wise; the thirde seate to faire Venus lott did fall; the forthe vnto the golden sonne did ryse; the feste by course did blodye Mars possesse; the nexte save one dothe Jupiter expresse.

And markinge this, I ganne recorde in harte the former riddle Mercurye mee tolde, that lowest, middle, and the highest parte save one, sholde, vnder one as cheife hedd, holde the happye rule and reigne of this good lande: I deper soughte the same to vnderstande.

The lower place the siluer Luna kepte, a bodye firme, that rulethe all alone; the golden sonne into the middest is lepte, a perfecte gouernor, that nedeth none to gyve hym ayde; then Jove, as well as theye, nedlesse of helpe dothe beare a rulinge swaye.

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; thre is not one, and these yet well might seme to have byn they, yf he had tolde of more; But he nee spake but of one manne before.

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 doyte; yet well I knewe the goddes vsde this pretence, answere to gyve in speche of doble sence;

Witnesse therof the woo-full greciafie knighte, to whome the Oracle in doibt-full speake, shewd to Eacides, when he sholde fighte, suche doble dome as fatall lyfe did breake, who, hoopinge victyre by their sacred reede, yet lost the fielde when truthe the goddes decreed.
And though I wanted happye Josephs arte,
kinge Pharaos dreme so lyvely to ex[p]layne,
and of the holy Daniell lackd the harte,
thassiryans kingdome to devyde in tweyne,
And was depriu'd of all the dreninge skill
\( \text{whiche} \) did Sinesius and gregoras sith,

Yet pondringer moore what this darke speche might bee—
for heenly 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 heenly seate,
this hidden dohtbe to open ligtte to beate;

For mov'd with secrete fancye in my hedde,
(thoughe reasons grownde ledde me not therunto,)
the same suche depe impress[1]one in mee brede,
as from thee workeinge breyne yt mighte not goo,
but that Mercurius, in somme secret thoughte,
by these three planettes had this purpose wroughte.

Thus still pursuyng onne my former brayde,
(for fleetinge wittes no perfecte iudgmente 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 foromer 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 coniunctions whiche the lerned teache,
for heauenly bodyes oft in one agree,
thoughe seuered farr, and sondred by degree.
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 taugthe that thus these planettes mente, whiche hidden thinges doo sem to represente.

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 conceyte yet springinge was suppreste.—and then I thoughte what weyled thinge might lye vnder the same, in righte philosophye.

That true and secret skill Voarchadumye \(^2\) perfectly vsd by grace of heuenly sprite, (for, with-out that, tis subtilly manytie, and mere deceyte vnfytte for skilles wighte,) strayte tolde my wytte, whiche I will here vnfolde, what secret mystreye heauenly planetts holde.

The horn'd Diana chaste, is siluer brighte, whiche waninge moone dothe vs bewraye; the sceptred Sol, with steames of shyninge lighte, the horded mettal golde dothe here displaye; the Crowned Jove, as dothe don Plato teH, is inglishe Tynne, whiche dothe emongest vs dwell.

All whiche sem'd not to answere my entente; for leade, lowest mettal, was excluded quite, and chefest was in place, whiche was not mente; for though that siluer gayne next place by righte to glystringe golde, as dothe experience teache, yet none of these to lowest leade do reache.

And then I dem'd it some-what strange to bee, that siluer, golde, and tyne, sholde yoyne in one, yf the[y] had answered vs to ech degree; wherefore I thoughte to lett the same alone; But in the end I founde Mercurius witte, by one conjunctione colde these bodyes knitte.

\(^1\) veiled \(^2\) MS. Voarchadymye altered.
(40)

For wyse Mercurius is so quicke by kinde,
and gredy, hungrye, that he will devour

golde, siluer, Tynne; and with their powre him bynde
all in one bodye, lesse then in an howre,
and vnder this, whiche I dare not expresse,
lyes hidden thinges whiche I doo leave to gesse.

238

(41)

Yet colde I saye that wisdorae knittes in bande,
by sage advyce, bothe welth & worldly reyne;
and witte and welth may compasse thinges vnskande,
whiche Mercurye dothe rule, as poetes feyne;
and this I meane by that I tolde before,
contente your thoughte, and serche not any more.

244

(42)

But yf soo bee (as well yt may in dede)
that these lynckd mettalls may one body make,
therby mee thinkes that Mercurye hathe decreed,
that manne, whiche dothe of eche of them partake,
muste nedes as farr excelle the rest, as they
above all erthly metalls beare the sweye.

250

(43)

I, yet not satisfied with this ex[p]ounde,
to higher muse did stretche my serchinge breyne,
and mongest Astronomers this lesson founde,
that these thre planettes in their lofty reigne
do many greate and secret gyftes bestowe
one mortall creatures, whiche doo lyve belowe.

256

(44)

for welthye Phebe lendes store of stampèd golde;
And Cynthia guydes the lyfe and helthfull state;
Pheton, fortune and gouermewte 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.

262

(45)

When this devise had percèd my conceyte,
that theise three goddes mighte powre forthe 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 hitt the fynall scope.

268
(46)
Then I beganne afreshe to rouse that witte whiche dULled was by fyndinge oute that depte, & so pursued yt with-oute stayinge fytte, that at the laste, vppon the righte I lepte, & then disclosd the secrete of this riddle, of the lowest, the seconde, and the middle.

(47)
But first I was enforc'd, w'zt'humble sute, to skylfull herauldes ayde to haue repayre, to see what things 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 dyscusse:

(48)
The lowest, Luna, with her perle, dost stande for 'Argente or white,' a coolor fayre to vie the myddle, sol, with Topas in his hande, is called 'or,' a coolor brighte in hue; & next one Jupiter did note to mee with Saphire blewe, the azurd shewe to bee.

(49)
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 yf one mannes armes or crest might shewe these thre riche coolors, borne but of a fewe.

(50)
And turninge ofte an olde armoriall booke, after discourse of manye soundrye cootes— which Auncientes scochions I did ouer-looke—with hidden pointes of armories secret notes; emongst the noblest crestes by vertue rare, I founde a wighte suche worthy crestes that bare.

(51)
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 whiche devyse that couertly I fynde, whiche tolde the hydden vertues of his mynde.
For fyrste, in philosophye, by hym is borne the lysons two, of siluer and of tynne, whiche doth supporte a golden garbe of corne. next, with Astronomye for to begynne, two lysons of lune & Jupiter he beares, holdinge a sheafe of Sol with glystringe eares.

Then to discende to secretes hearaldes veyne, in vertuous stones, where lerned cunninge was, of orient perle and Saphyre, lysons tweine, whiche do advance a garbe of riche Toopas. whiche lower yet as I must streyne my quit, in coolers thus do blase theire hidden skill.

Two princely beastes he beares of corage bolde, of argent white, and colord azure blewe, holdinge a garbe of ore whiche they catt golde, & thus eche one dothe Stibons mynde pursue, for by discypheringe of these seuerall artes, are drawn in one these planettes seuerall partes.

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 iuste the vertue of his harte,— yt restes to saye, and so to yoyne the same, with-oute lewde blemyshe to his flowring fame:

The lowest in seate I do not hym accompte, whose mynde devyne, with gyftes of nature rare, doth chefest wittes of comon moulde surmounte, as one whome Pallas bleste with speciall care; but gentle lyfe dothe humble him so lowe, that low'st in curteous dedes eche doth hym knowe

Thus lowest nowe he is by course of kinde, and then advance'd to place of myddle state; for as the sonne in myddle sphere wee fynde, so is he stald, by dome of heuenly fate, in myddest of worthy geintryes seuente degree, a lordly baron of nobyltye.
In which two things, 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 dofte, by darke and princely herdolde skill founde oute.

The famous manne which 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 aflf; his depe fore-sight preuences our thretned fall.

fly Trimagistus, flye! goo hyde thy face! thy subtil wytte is knownen to mortall menne; the myuia nowe hathe lost his wondring grace; thy darkn’d speche in euer pointe wce skanne; & I haue founde one manne which rests allonne, lowest and myddle, and highest next one.

his lyon Luna, low’st in degree, his dedes dothe shewe of humble curtesye; his garbe Sol, in circule myddst wee see, answere his myddle place, nobilytie; his lyon Jupiter, in seconde Sphere, is seconde rule, which he dothe iustly bere.

for as the golden sheaft is vanced there, by beastes of seuerall hue, as her cheife holde, so quene and ladye Iustice euer-where maynteyned is by bulwarkes doble folde, where wisdome and good gouernement dothe guyde the rulinge sterne, in calme or boystrous tyde.

This thinge disclosd, that Mercury had sayen, that suche an noble manne most worthye was, to reape the frute of all my toylinge payne & lamed verse: when they were brought to pas, my gladded sprite redoobled all his yoye that suche a patron sholde my woorkes enyoie.

? MS. Maras.
[leaf 13, back] As for his lerned skyll in studied arte, for knowledge depe in tonges of diuerse sounde, for plenteous vertue of his godly harte, for Iustice dome, whiche dothe in hym abounde, for curteous dedes shewed to eche wight alyve, 1 deserues farr bett 1 then my rude muse may gyve. 382

(65)
But what yse I suche nedelles speche in veyne, (to seme to glose as euill tonges will deme,) when his wyse woorkes, more famous praise do geine 387 then I canne speke, whitch meymed make them seme; And Syracke sayes emongest his lerned sawes, “prayse no manne, whi[1]st his vitall brethe he drawes.”

(66)
Whose sacred heste, though I dare not geinsaye, but must in willesse silence let 2 to dwelH suche rare exploitcs, performed euery daye, as present age dothe witnesse to excell; 394 In herte I honor yet that Pallas hedde, & kysse the grounde that suche good corne hath bredde.

(67)
Not olde foreworne Cecilius, britaine kinge, almost consum’d by gnawinge tyme & space; but he whiche (did from) Auncient Sitcill springe, lord Burgley, Cecill, borne of gentle race, whome princely garter, with his azurd hue, dothe bewtyfye with meide for honor due.

(68)
Whose golden lettres, ringe into eche eare a golden sentence, worthye to be toughte, who[sc] princely wordes this inglishe sence doth beare, ‘yll be to hym whiche any yll hath thoughte;’ 400 and so, my lorde, reyecte not this withe hate, for nought is mente but honor to your state, 408

(69)
By this poore penne of me, vnskilfull wighte, that here presentes vnto your lerned vewe sir Thopas ryme, not fytt for Chaucers sighte, in whom the Muses do their force renewe; 412 for in eche gyfte, yt is the chefeste parte to way the mynde and take the faythfull harte. 414

1—1 MS. has under these words, in a different hand, merritts much more. 2 for altered to let
Deme not the manne by this imperfecte sence; in brittell glasse is wholesome wyne conteynde; in peinted talke, and woordes of highe pretence, dissemblinge lurkes, with falsshodde vile disteynde; but as my future followinge dedes do craue, so lett desertes their guerdoune due to have.

Till whiche, this guyfte with frendly browe receue, whiche wyse Mercurius coragd mee to sende; as my hart meanes, so, my good lord, conceve these haltinge lynes whiche barrein soile doth lende; & yf suche rashe found dede some worth repronue, blame not my factes, but threatninge godes aboue finis

Francis Thynne.

(Then follows:—A discours vpon the philosophers 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 knighthoodes fellowshipppe perfected fyrst wee finde
by Philippe duke of Burgundye, in yere as comes to mynde,
A thousande fowre hundred twentye nyne, vnto whiche knightes he gaue
a coolor of golde, brething forthe fyer from flinte, who further haue appendante to that honours cheyne, Don Jasons Flese 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.]

Thalysonne\(^1\) saith that in the liij\(^{th}\) 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 Cadwaldour. their shalbe great preparinge to battell in those dayes; the raven for hounger shalbe lick to perishe, and yet betwenn the twoe battelles shalbe neuer a stroke stroken. Then A pilgrimage to marye in Aken of women shalbe woefully sought; & after the mylde countinaunce of this, m[arye] shall depart from kenynge, to which she tooke hir waye, and towards the light she shalH bare A countinüale heat. A man of bondes she shalH release by menes Judgment. in hir yere shalbe many Tyran tes abrode that were in bondes, & they shall sitt strayt in Judgment to opresse the light.

A welch-man called Robart locke vppoñ the liij yeare! G. beinge dominycall letet. he did recyte that A woman wytles shoulde reigne in Cadwaladors seat, and do out the heate of the sommer, 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, gyyvinge hir honor to the man god; & ase for xxx" dayes shall he execut fyer & sword; & I loked toward the Santuary, & ther I sawe the throne of the vnknown god, & the wicked having the vupper hand, whetting ther tusshe like bores in blude.

David Apiuan sayth these wordes: "in liij"th I sawe the lyonesse execute great iudgment. I beheld when this troble begaune, ther weir fyve wicked monthes, & in the v wicked monthes I save 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 save the Eagles chicken layng hand vppon the croune & Septer, and executed the sword with bloud xij dayes together; & in these dayes the counsell of the prisoner shalbe swefter then the wynd. & I beheld A white hare standinge in iudgment in Ceasars house, & caste a grime countinaunce A-gaynste the former wit 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 shall losse 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 reioyced, & Sussex daunced, & manye chekynes more for gladnes; for now the Eagles chickyn is gonne, & the widowe of calabrye shall whet hir tuskes, but the bores counsell shalbe of non effecte. & I beheld another sorowe more grevoser then the fyrst: great crye waseth 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 lionesse that executed iustes falsly? for Thomas Buynytes (?) sayth that anne arrow shalbe the destruction of thangry lyonesse."

"Edward AroveH sayth that the tong shall cleaue to the roffe of hir mouth, & the arrowe that shaft 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 apere./.

Also Robart Duce in the same liijth yere sayth, "that A dead man shal Aryse, a kyngye whose generation was of a dunne cowe, and generated out of the sea, & this kyngye shalbe gouverned one yere by an angt. vpon Eedward the vj thy time is comme; the profisie sayth then necessarye 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 prechers 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 iij sorowes, shall occupe the sword, & make every man & woman offycere, & geue comaundement on payne of death to kyll all that were with the pye, the pykerd, & the fulmer; for all that shalbe kylled are knowne by ther marke; and then shalbe sene many A blodye Rochet, & the lione shall hunt the1 bore out of his denne.

"An I. & a Roche shaff blede to dethe for their traterous plaie, & the yelowe lyone tongles also shall suffer execution, & many also of the affutie2 of the blodye pie; & Immediatlye shaff euery man enioye his owne wife a-gayne; and I did see the hedd of the world cleane vanishe awaye, and his dignitie 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 shall se buried, shalbe kinge of syx kyngdomes, and Emperour of Rome."

Owen longheith sayth that "A lyon shalbe generated out of the sea by the full strength & natur of A dunne cowe, and that lyone shalbe gouerned by an Aungell, which Aungell shall blede to death. And in the liij yere thys lyon shalbe gonne. but verye few shall fynd him, & he shalbe awaie xvij monthes; and after xvij monthes hee shall come agayne, and execute iustice in his fathers house; & that which is darke shal he make lyght, & shall make free waye to the holye Crosse."

David Trevar sayth that the same lyon shal be defyled, & that this is the lxxxvj of the house of Tuheodre that shall geue Armes, & Edward is his name & he shall[e] crownid Twyse in England & once at Rome.

Merleon le Paule sayth "he shalbe the stronge buH that shalH enter in the yerly wynter, & he shalH destroye the hedd of the world; & by this tokene shalH you knowe him, for he shalH neuere 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 shall he entyer in-to Britaine with the grevous bestes, A redd lyon, A redd dragone, & A white graye-hownd; & then shall the land of the mone reioyce."

John Aprobardwyn sayth "the sonne of man is caled A commone proverbe malecene steremone for the generation of the Theodorse, otherwise caled tewthers, came out of Englon'd; and yt is profisied\(^1\) of him that he should kyll his mother, & yet shall have hir bles-inge, & the blesinge of god and the britanes. & he shalH make glade the people that shalbe out-castes in those dayes, & he shalH labour to se the sedde of the egle; but he shalH neuer fynd him, nor neuer anye after him,

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\(^1\) MS. proposed
& shall make A swifte requiring for the shepherdes that he lefte be-hind him. then shaH euerye 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 yeare he shall go forth to conquere; & or he shall ceasse, he shall plant a trve religion in syx kyngdons, & shaH make A vniuer-
salH 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.)

[leaf 25]

After this lambe shal come a mold warpe, Cursed of goddes mouth, a caytife, A cowarde, 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 shaH 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 / & shaH 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\(^1\) tayles to-gyders ¶ Then shaH come A lyon out of Irelond / that shaH fall in company with them; And thene shall tremble the londe that shaH calede

\(^1\) MS. their the
Englond, as an aspen lefe / & in that time shall Casteles be felled downe vpon Tamyse. & yt shall seme that Suerne shalbe drye / for the bodyes that shall [be] deed ther-in, The fower chese floudes in England shall run in blode, & great dread shalbe, & anguish, that shall Arisee.\(^1\)  

\[\text{\textit{After the mold warpe shall flee, & the dragon; The lyone, & the wolfe, shall them drive Awayne, & the \[y\]one shalbe without them, & the mold warp shalbe haue no maner of power, save only a shipphe 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 lieue in sorowe al his lyftime; & in his tyme the hott bathes shalbe could, & after that the mold warpe dye, Auenturously & sodenly. Alase for sorow! for he shalbe drowned in A flode of the sea. his sed shalbe-come fatherles in strang lond for euer-more; & then shal be the lond be departed into iij partes, that is to saye, to the wolfe, to the dragon, & to the lyon; & so shal it be for ever-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 folowþe nexst a compleynte made by Lydgate for þe departing of Thomas Chaucier in-to fraunce by hes seruauntz vpon þe kynges ambassate.

Ever maner creature disposed vii-to gentylesse
Booþe of kynde and of nature,
Hæþe in his hert moste gladnesse
ffor tabyde / in sooþefastnesse
Where þat his ioye is moste entiere;

1 And I live ever in hevynesse,
But whane I. seo my ladyesse dere.

1 Eeke every wight / of every kynde,
Is gladde and mury for to abyde,
Whe[n] þat his wille / boþe thought and mynde /
Beo fully sette / on every syde :

And where so / þat 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, Þ absence of Thom[a]s Chaucier by Lidegate.
Who parthe oute / of Paradys / 
ffrome pat place / so ful of glorie, 
Where as mirth, is moste of pry, 
And ioye haþe, souereine victorie / 
What wonder, whane he haþe memorie 
Of al, pat he beo duH of chere / 
for I. am ever in Purgatorie, 
But whane I. see my ladye dere / 

The sterres of hegie heven 
ffeyrest shyne / vn-to oure sight, 
And he planetys eke. alle seven, 
Moste folsomly / give heire sight, 
And Phebus, with hees beemis bright, 
Gladdest shynhe / in his spere / 
But I. am never / gladde ne light, 
Save whane I. see my ladye dere / 

Eke phebus. inoure emyspere / 
Aftter he derknes of he night, 
At his vprist, yolowe as golde clere, 
Eorly on morowe / of kyndely right, 
Whane clowdes blake / haue no might 
To chace aweye / he clowdes clere / 
Right so frome sorowe I. stonde vpright, 
Whane pat I. see / my ladye dere / 

The fooles pat flyen, in he ayre, 
And fressly singe / and mirthes make 
In May he sesoun. is so fayre, 
With al right / hem aught awake, 
Reioye he one / with his make / 
With heire hevenly notes clere / 
Right so al sorowe / in me doþe slake, 
Whane pat I. see. my ladye dere / 

1 MS. every. 
2 MS. has heading to this page, Balade by Lidgate. 
3 MS. my my.
He herte, he hynde / in wylde forste /  
Moste lusty beo / of peire courage /  
And every. oper maner beeste,  
Bope pe tame / and eke sauve,  
Stonden moste at avantage

In lavndes whane pey reine efoere,  
Bus ever gladde / is my visage,  
Whanne peat I. see / my ladye deere.

I. haue seyne / pat. buk / 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 daye,  
Whane I. looke / on my ladye deere /

What is a fisshe out of pe see /  
For alle heos seles / silver sheene,  
But dede anoone (as man may see.  
Or in Ryvers cristal. clene /  
Pyke or tenche withi fynnes grene,  
Oute of pe water whane pey peere /  
Bus drede / dareper myn herte keene,  
Bere I. seo nouzt / my ladye dere /

Pe Ruby stant best in pe ring  
Of golde whane it is polissh newe ;  
Demeraude is aye wele lasting  
Whilest it abydepe / withi hert truwe ;  
Pep saphire with his hevenly huwe  
Makepe gounded eyene clere ;  
Bus my ioye / dope ay renuwe,  
Whane peat I. see my ladye dere.
APP. VI. TH. CHAUCER'S COMPLAINT ON PARTING FROM HIS WIFE. 125

[floure on fleire stalkes vnclose,
Springinge / in fle bawmy mede;
fle lylies, and fle swate roos,
fle dayesyes / who takefle hede. 84
Whane Phebus / dofe his beemis vnspred,
In somer / as men may wele leere /
So gladde am I. in thought and dede /
Whane pat I. seo my ladye dere /

In somer whane I seo / fle sheene sofe /
Hape shewed bright a gre[e] space,
And towards nit, fle skyes done,
His cleerensse / dofe awye chace / 92
Right so dedly / and pale of face /
Mortal of looke / and sory chere /
I. waxst, suche woo / me did embrase
At parting. of my lady deere /

Summe folke / in signe of hardynesse,
Tape hem to colour pat is rede /
And summe, in tokenynge of clennesse /
Weren white / yee may take hede ; 100
And summe, grene / for lustynesse ;
But I ellas / in blacke 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 / Inmortal,
Stabled with-outere variaunce ; 108
bowe guyde, lorde / so my chaunce /
Of by power / moste entiere /
bowe sone abregge my penaunce,
pat I may seo / my lady dere /

1 MS. I sheene.
2 MS. heading, Lidegate.
Go lightbille / in lowly wyse,
Vn-to myne hertis souereyne /
And preye to hir / for til devyse
Summe relees / of my mortal peyne;
Whane þou art at hir. þou reste ne feyne
Only of pitee / hir to requere,
þat of mercy / sheo not disdeyne,
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_ [leaf xxxi]

which had me in the snare
of pensyue thought and payn.

She saw that faithfully
I dyd my hert resynge
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 dissyr to set affection.
a great way alas aboue my degre
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 hye.
agynst 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 styll to folow my folych mind.
and couet that thing that wyll not be. [leaf xxxi, back]

I hopyd well whan I began
and sens the proue is contrary.
why shold I any longer than.
couet that thing that wyll not be.

But rather to leaue now at the last.
then styll 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 xiiij persons, wherof Three be Kinges of Armes,—videlicet, Garter (principall Kinge 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 realm 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,—Euyry of them receavinge yearly fee of xx. markes; Fower be Poursuyvantes of Armes, viz. Rouge-Dragon, Rouge-Croix, Blew-mantle, Portcullis, Euyry of them receavinge yearly fee of x. poundes." Of these "Some be appoynted to direct and to gouerne in the Societie, as Garter . . . Clarencieule . . . and Norroy . . . Some be apoynted to be dyrected and governed, and to obey, As All the Six Heraldes, All the fower Poursiuantes, 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, praeter infamiam, scabiei etiam, quam Gallicam vocant, obnoxia. Hic cum omnibus tentatis, quo uxorom marito reconciliaret, nihil aget, nec durus ille, vel aflaminum respectu, vel liberorum communium affectu, vel sua ipsius conscientia, qui tot adulteris, qui suo neglectu occasionem dedisset, flectetur, reliquit hominem ceu deploratum. Is paulo post ex more, petasonem, aut armum suillum misit. Caeterum Joannes, nam tum Guardianum agebat, mandarat janitori, ne quid reciperet 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 seminarium egregium Euangelicæ pietatis, tamen quoniam non perinde conducbat proventus culinae, jussus est deponere Guardiani munus, quo nihil ille fecit lubentius: & suffectus est illi quidam, quem ego novi, aliunde adscitus homo non dicam qualis, aut quam alteri dissimilis, in summa est mihi visus est, cui nemo prudens cauletum suum vellet committere: sive hunc obtruserunt, 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 wary 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. clxxviii).

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 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 Parsons, 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. xvijj, 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 falshood is commonly thrust upon Readers, either by the Carelessness of Authors, or by taking up things too credulously, and upon slight Grounds, or upon Hearsays 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 Hindwords, p. xlv.

p. xxi. Mr Martin sends me a few corrections, &c., as to Thynne's appointments: line 2, Essex, ?Sussex. Ric. ?Jolin, Shurley. line 5, the Manor of Cleobury Barnes was in the lordship of Cleobury, parcel of the Earldom 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 Customs.

Ye shall sware, that well and faithfully ye shall serve the kinge in thai office of Comptroller of the Customes and the kinges Subsides in the porne of London; and faithfully ye shall enter the thinges customeable which shall cum to the saide porne, 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 disadvauntage of the kinge. Nor ye shall suffer noe merchandises nor noe other thinges customeable to passe out of the said porne without paying of due custome. And that ye shall doe the said office, and dwell upon the same, in your proper person, without puttinge any Substitut vnnder you. And ye shall write the rolles by your owne hande demesned. And the proffite of the kinge ye shall awayte 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 herty maner I commende me vnto your maistershipe, and am informed that ye will fynde an office of the Landes of Cristechurch to the kynges vse. Sir, I beseeche you that it
may please you that my Indenture of the parsonage of Lesones & Erith, which beareth date the ijth day of February in the xxxiiij yere of the Reygne of our souerain Lorde the kyng, & ys for the space of iiiij\footnote{99} xix \[= 132\] yerlys, payng yerly vj li xxxiiij d therfore, may be founde in the sayd office: it is tolde me that, in case it so be, it wythe a greate 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; & besydes that, bynde me & myne to pray for you, as knowes god, who have you in his kepyng! from Eltham this present Thursday, by the rude hande of yours at commandement.

W. Thynne.

\textit{Addressst}, To the Right worshipfulle maister Cromwe\textit{H}, on of the Kynges moste honourable Counsel, this be deliuered.

No. 21. Sir, In my herty maner I commende me vnto you, and in like maner 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 notwithstand-\[ing\] I shalbe no sauer, for I moste, be sydes this x li, pay yerely lx s for almes corre. In this helpynge me will \[= \text{while}\] tyme ys, ye bynde me herafter to do you suche pore pleasure as may lye in my smale power, whiche ye may be as sewer of as ye ar of your moste deryste frynde, 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.

\textit{Addressst}, To the Right worshipfulle maister Cromewe\textit{H}, this be deliuered.

There is nothing about William Thynne in the other Calendars and Historical MSS. Commission Reports yet publisht. 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. \textit{The inscription on Wm. Thynne's Tomb}. Mr Maskell, author of 'The Ancient Church of All Hallows, Barking;' 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{a} one of the Masters of the honourable household to King Henrie VIII\textsuperscript{th} our sovereign Lord. He departed from the prison of this frayle body the X\textsuperscript{th} day of August Anno Dom. 1546 in the XXXVIII\textsuperscript{th} yeere of our said Soveraigne 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 immaturity) 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 Inscription.—I am faithfully yours, J. Maskell.”

p. xlviii. “Francis Thynne never in any University.” Wood in his Athenæ 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 sirname 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. Thynne went afterwards to Cam-
bridge, or was originally a student there before he came to Oxon, I cannot justly say."

p. xlix. Francis Thynne's first antiquarian work. Mr G. Parker sends me these further notes on the Ashm. MS. 766.

"An epistle dedicatorye of the booke of Armorye of Claudius Paradyne

"Dedicated to 'sir Williame CeciH, knighete, lorde burghleye.'

. . . . 'The thinge whiche presently I presente, I must confesse for the
deuyce to be but meane; for the order, of smale traualye; for the
matter, of litle value; & for the necessary use, not nedefull at this
instante tyme; beinge but the genealogye and mariages of the noble
howses of franche, 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 doble but this worke of Claudius Paradyne
(somewhat bewtyfied to the eye by my endevor and charge, although
somewhat stuffed with envious corruptione, or rather, ignorance of the
uctor,) may brede some sweete plesure in the readinge, & good profyt
in the vnderstandings (though 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 do but barely consider this (&c.)
. . . . And so I ende: from) Barmondsey Streathe the 2 of Auguste
1573, your Lordships to commaunde to his vttermoste endevor

Francis Thynne.'


'A dyscourse vppon ye 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 thassryian
kinge.'

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 eclipse is'; and a
drawing of it is above.

'Who [Cuspianus] sayes in yere frome Christe his birthe . . .
[44] A thowsande fowre hundred & fifeteene, this order did begynne
In the noble house of Austria; for in the yere aforesayd
the Christians at Nicopolis by turkes beinge dismayed
amongst the reste at that lost fielde Donne Jofine which was ye sonne
of bolde Philippe beinge take[n] prisoner when that battell was woonne
by Amurathes themperour . . . .

and beinge broughte into that iel of ye see Euxinus
to whome the fame of historyes eche one did there discusse
on the golden flese of Phrixius, and that Seint Andrewe there
had fyrste the sede of Christes gospeff preched in eche place where
that same Ile, this Johne then beinge moned with propheecye
of a turkyshe Astrologer whiche was call'd Astolgande,
this noble order of the flese he fyrst did take in hande . . .

_Mentions_ Colchos Isle, Medea, Jason, Morpheus, Cupid, Claudianus,
Phoebus, Deucalions 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 trismegistus, metals and precious stones, &c &c.

'And so haue the philosophers obscur'd their secret skill [p. 85, back]
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]s werke . . .
The authores cheife of whiche · same were Hermes trimegistus,
. . . . of later tyme sparge from that roose the lerned Reynmond Lully,
the inglishe frier olde Bacone, & the good britishe Riplye,
with Arnolde of the newe towne, & the wise & princely legate
the famous grav[e] Sir Geffray chaunder broug[ht]e (? altered to come)
to light but of late
the morall Gower, and Bumbelim who clerkly did compose
the shynyng[e] starr of Alchymye in romaine tong & prose.
Eke the inglishe philosopher Johne 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 thoughhe he were lagge,
as lyvinge in the yere of Christe seuenty seuan abone,
a thousande and sowre hundred, as his owne wor tes well do prove.
When they of truthe haue not one yote but counterfeiting wayes,[II 88]
the whiche, Chaucer and Norton dothe most plenteously vnfolde.
And humbly thus comytinge me & this my simple stile
_Vnto your Lordshipps furtherance, for whom I did compile
this rude and indigested chaos / in lyke sort comending
You and your honorable state · to heuenly Jouses blessinge,
This mettals Metamorphosis · is nowe ended by mee
in yere of xx Christe a Thowsande fyne hundred seuynty three
Francis Thynne.

_The table of the auctors receyted in this discourse, (2 pages,) follows—_
Albertus magnus, Alanus, Anaxagoras, Aristoteles, Ars chimea,
Avicenna, . . . Haly de iudicijs astrorum, Hardinge engilshie cronicle
Turba philosophorum.

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. II. 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. lxv. *F. Thynne’s Lists or Catalogues.* ‘John Vowell *alias* Hooker, gentleman,’ was a fellow-sinner with Francis Thynne. He put in ‘A catalog of the bishops of Excester,’ pages 1300-1310.

- p. lxv. 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) Lancaster-Herald, and an eminent Antiquary. He [Holinshead] has been severely treated by Sir Thomas Craig¹, 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 Castrated: above Forty Pages (from p. 1491. to 1536.) being omitted. I have seen one² Copy which supplies this Defect; and shews manifestly [?] that it was occasion’d by *F. Thynne’s* singular Respects 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. ciii. *John Stow.* William Harrison, the Essex parson, in his *Description of England* 1587 (1st ed. 1577), which I am now editing for the New Shakspeare Soc., 1876, gives Stow a good character:—

“But hereof let this suffice, & in stead of these enormities, a table shall follow of the [Law] terms, 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."—Holinshead i:
my reprint, p. 207.

p. cv. Anstis’s MS. Hist. of Officers in the Heralds’ Office. As this
compil’d Life of Francis Thynne speaks with authority as to some of
his MSS., I print the rest of it here:—

"There is nothing publish’d of his works besides Certain Histories
concerning Embassadours & their functions, dedicated by him to his
Good Lord Wm Lord Cobham, printed long after 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,
ocasioned by m’r Thynnes singular respects to the Lord Cobham,
whose disgrace happening at the time of his publication, it seems to
haue been thought wise to leave out the whole, reserving (as a Right
Reverend Author 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-
maininge. 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’r Thynne that the Collector hath perused, and
even in that part of the Genealogical History of Cobham now in his
Custody. The Annals of Scotland from 1571 to 1586 are of his
writing, 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 quan Gallice, with Notes on, and
Corrections of, Chaucers works, which comment on Chaucer. He had
an intention to haue 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 was his Original History of Dover
Castle and the Cinque Ports, to which He refers in a MS. now with the
Collector; And in the Cotton Library are preserved his Collections
out of Domus regni Angliae, Nomina Episcoporum in Somerset,
Collectanea Saxonica de donationibus a Regibus Eadfrido, Eadgaro et
Edwardo. Catalogus Episcoporum Batoñ & Welleñs, a Book of
various Collections, et Commentarij de Historia et rebus Britannicis,
and a learned letter touching the Heraldes. Besides these, there remain
in this Collectors custody, the following pieces finished by him, A dis-
course of Arms, The plea between the Advocate and Anti-Advocate

1 London, 1651.
3 G. x. penes me [Anstis], p. 50.
5 Speght’s Edition of Chaucer.
7 G. x. penes me, p. 46.
8 Julius C. 8.
9 Vitell. E. 5.
10 Cleopatra C. III.
11 Faustina D. 8.
12 C. 7.
concerning the Bathe and Batchelour Knights, wherein are shewed many Antiquities touching Knighthood, wrote by him in 1605; The History and lines 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-Marshal, 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 mr 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 punishd and imprisond; 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 Shakspere 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 haue not
before bene
imprin-
ted.

The Prologue.

In the moneth of may when the new tender grene
Hath smothly couered the ground that was bare
Poudred with flours, 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 flores swete
And many a ^1 hoisome herbe sayre vnder the fete.

(14 more stanzas, then)

Thus endeth the prologue, and hereafter foloweth the new court
of Venus.

My penne take Payne a lytle 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
Fortune what ayleth the
Thus for to banyshe me
Her company whom I loue best,
For to complayne me
Nothing auayleth me
Adew farewel this nights rest.

(And 4 more stanzas.)

Finis.

I may by no meanes surmyse
My fantasy to resyst
But after the old gyse
To cal 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 fauour
As I deserue and shal
My loue my lady paramour
should loue me best of al.

(And 8 more stanzas.)

During of payne and greuous smart
Hath brought me lowe & wöderous weake
that I cănot cōsort my hart
Why sighest 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 vnto
I was both true & playne
No one and to no mo
And vnto me againe
Alas she was not so.

(And 5 more stanzas.)

Finis.
NOTES.

Loue whom you lyst and spare not
Therwyth I am content
Hate whom you lyst and spare not
For I am indyffereuent.

(And 4 more stanzas.)

Finis.

Meruaile 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 Wm 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 goynge with them too,
Dyd six tymes more good then 'goo yee' shulde doo;
speaking of Joseph's gentleness, and his wisdom in dealing with his servants."—H. Bradshaw.

p. 81, l. 143. Orders fowr. 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\(^1\) with which they were girded.—Skeat's note to Pierce the Ploughman's Crede, 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 Erémités de Saint-Paul, iii. 126; see my Ballads from MSS. i. 245, n. 9.

p. 81, l. 155. Anthonyn. 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 Faïoum 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: f. A Grey Friars girdle (made of a pceee 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 neere vnto a Fryerie;) the Barne stands neere the Thresher. 1611. Cotgrave. Compare too *The Land of Cockayne, &c. &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, artificed and deprived divers of the clergy for this cause: namely, II. 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 [*so*], 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 sentencet to be burnt, and martyr'd. 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 *Cranmer*, 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.
(Eccl. 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 summoned 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, entreatmg 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 say1 bastard brother to cardinal Pole, became fellow of Allsouls 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, ' & principis beneficio (as one4 tells us) in agro suo mature ætate decessit.' "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 Willis he was collated to this archdeaconry April 2, 1536, 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-
ning of June¹ 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 Allsoul's coll."—ii. 801.

p. 89. Lying prophecies. See Dr John Harvey's (Gabriel H.'s
brother's) Discoursive Problemes concerning Prophecies, 1588, p. 68:
"Now touching the Finall why; or the generall and speciall ends therof,
were not these extrauagant prophesieng, mostwhat inuented and published
to some such great holie effect as the tales of Hobgoblin, Robin Goodfellow,
Hogmagog, Queene Gregorton, king Arthur, Beuis of Southhampton,
Launcelot du Lake, Sir Tristram, Thomas of Lancaster, Iohn à Gaunt,
Guy of Warwike, Orlando furioso, 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 wthal, and to auert their conceits from the
consideration of serious, and grauer matters, by feeding their humors,
and delighting their fancys with such fabulous and ludicrous toyes. For
was it not the grund pollicie of that age, wherein those counterfet
prophesieng cheerfully flourish'd, to occupie and carry away the commons
with od rumors, by flimflams, wily cranks, and sleightie knacks of the
maker, euin with all possible indeuors and vnderminings, fearing least
they might otherwise ouermuch or ouer deeply intend other actions,
and negotiations 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 professed in learning; thinking
therby to maintaine themselves, and vphold al 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 themselves
were well whitled, and their panches pretily stuffed, otherwhiles to fall
a prophesieng of the wfofull dearths, famines, plagues, wars, and most
wretched, lamentable and horrible Tragedies of the dangerous² daiers
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 vpon the waters, forbad the swallowes to sing; and how good
S. Francis made all creatures reasonable and vreasonable to obey his
deuot 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 doue, 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.
Shakspere, Venus & Adonis, l. 508.
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 questus causa fictas suscitant sententias*; and to increase their own private ease, libertie, and wealth, with publique reputation and revere-
ence; how they trouble al the world besides, and procure the perpetuall seruitude, bondage and confusion of infinite good simple soules . . .

(p. 70). I touch not alone any one onely calling, degree or qualitie: hath not every vocation, profession and estate yielded some such counter-prophets and pennyfathers, very gromelgainers, self-louers, libertines, epicures, *Lucianists*, perpetuall incrochers, ingrosers and aspirers, publique forestallers, and regrators of al publique commodities and honors, libellers, factioners, troublers of al waters. saving 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 superstitionis vates, impudentesque harioli . . .

As the good old Ennius long ago vtttered 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 florishing kingdoms, principalities, and commonwealthes to their small ends, even most wooful, most dolefull, and most horrible ends; such in effect, and in conclusion, or rather in confusion, are the ends of such wretched and wicked pro-
phesies, the very prophesies of the dinell, to vnndo and destroy the world. Which our noble and well affected princes of England well knowing, and accordingly considering, haue purposely ordained & enacted penal statutes to bridle the vnrule & presumptuous insolencie of such imposturall prophets: (as namely 5. Elizabeth.15.)

(p. 73) I before mentioned the like *Vliessan* policie: and nothing doubt, but some of *Achytophels* mightie oracles sauored of the same humor: as more lately som of Machianels politique resolutions and practises haue pretly tasted & relised therof. In former times, and in a simpler age, it was no difficult matter, to shift out with good plaine rude cloisterly stuffe: now lateward, sithence those frierlie skarcrowes, and noonkish dumps began to be lesse dreaded or regarded, there haue not wanted iolly fine pragmatical wares, of the maker, whereby no small intendiments, or base enterprises haue beene attempted in most kingdoms and principalities thorow out Christiandome. Forsooth 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 *Goblines*: som other of them can be contented to insinuate themselves like *Robin goodfellow* and frier *Tuckes*. Amongst whom (p. 74) can we better compare the former, than vnto such pedlers, tinkers, and sturdy roges, as were woouit to carie about with them their fierce mastiues & terrible bandogs, to serue their knaunish and villainous turnses, vpon adventage

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giuen? As for the rest, notwithstanding the sweete and plausible honie in their mouthes, haue they not also spitefull and pestilent stings in their tailes? The world neuer more complained of Achitophels, Vlysses, and Machiavels, than of late yeeres: but take away, or con-
temne, all malitious suborning of calumnies, libels, and prophesiengs: and shall they not hurt or preaule much lesse, as well in publike, as in private, notwithstanding their other wiliest convernances and suttellest practises? Were it not ouer great pitie, that any such knack of knauerie, or couenous cheuiseance, or hippocritical policy, or Mercuriall strategem, either by false libelling, or false prophesieng, or other falsi-
fieng of matters & maners, should peremptorily overthrow or traiter-
ously vndermine, any well gouerned or wel established state? God, they say, sendeth commonly a curst cow short horns: and doth not the diuel, I say, in the winde-vpall, and in fine, ofter play willie begunle him selfe, and cruificeth his owne wretched lims, then atchieue his mis-
chievous and malicious purposes, howsoevere craftilie connued, or feately packed, either in one fraudulent sort or other?

p. 86, l. 310. Popish Masses and Persecutions.—"Sivquila (= Ali-
quis) . . . . after I departed from the carnal Gospellers, I came among the peruerse Papists, among whom was such Superstition, Idolatrie, and Massing, with other abominations, besides 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 vnchriste an Turkes woulde not so haue vsed me.

"Om (Omen = Nemo). How chaunceth that? for they name them-
selues christians.

"St. They are christians in name: but Diuels in their deeds." 1580. Thomas Lupton, Sivquila, p. 2-3 (A later and poorer Utopia, that gave Stubbes the name of Ailgna (= Anglia) for England, sign. B. Omens (or Nemo's) country is Mauesun (= 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. xi. 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 fayne
Us curse and dampne to helle brinke
Thus they putten vs to payne
With candels queynte and belles clynke
¶ They make vs thralles at her lust
And fayne 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 prechyng

¶ Say / on quod our host / I the beseche
Syr I am redy at your byddyng
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 Lon-
don by Thomas
Godfray.
Cum privilegio.
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94/615 means page 94, line 615.

a for ei: persaue, perceive, 94/615 (see desayue, disayuer); for ea, staming, steaming, 109/201.
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adament, 106/118, loadstone, magnet?
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&; 84/252, if.
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