Chaucer Society.

ANIMADUERSIONS

Upon the Annocations and Corrections of some Imperfections of Impressions of Chaucer's Workes set downe before tyne, and nowe reprintted in the yere of our Lordie 1598

written by
Francis Thynne.

Now newly edited from the MS. in the Bridgewater Library, with fresh collections for the Lives of William Thynne, the Chaucer Editor, and Francis Thynne, his son, and a reprint of the only known fragment of "The Pilgrim's Tale,"

by
F. J. Furnivall, M.A.

And a Preface by
G. H. Kingsley, M.D., F.L.S.

Published for the Chaucer Society
by N. Trübner & Co., 57 & 59, Ludgate Hill.
London.
1875.
The Chaucer Society.

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

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

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

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

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

The Society’s issue for 1869, in the First Series, is,

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

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

III. " " " " " " " " Hengwrt " 151
IV. " " " " " " " " Cambridge " 4. 27
V. " " " " " " " " Corpus " Oxford
VI. " " " " " " " " Petworth
VII. " " " " " " " " Lansdowne 851
(separate issues of the Texts forming Part I of the Six-Text edition.)

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

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

IX. " " " " " " " " Hengwrt [with an Appendix of "Gamelyn" from six MSS.
X. " " " " " " " " Cambridge
XL. " " " " " " " " Corpus
XII. " " " " " " " " Petworth
XIII. " " " " " " " " Lansdowne
(separate issues of the Texts forming the Six-Text, Part II, No. XIV.)

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

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

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

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

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

XVII. " " " " " " " " Cambridge MS.
XVIII. " " " " " " " " Corpus MS.
XIX. The Shipman’s, Prioress’s, and Man of Law’s Tales, from the Petworth MS.
XX. The Man of Law’s Tale, from the Lansdowne MS.
(each with woodcuts of fourteen drawings of Tellers of Tales in the Ellesmere MS.)
Francis Thynne's Animadversions
upon
Speght's first (1598 A.D.) Edition of
Chaucer's Workes.
ANIMADUERSIONS

upon 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.

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

"The Pilgrim's Tale,"

BY

F. J. FURNIVALL, M.A.,

AND A PREFACE BY

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

PUBLISHED FOR THE CHAUCER SOCIETY
BY N. TRÜBNER & CO., 57 & 59, LUDGATE HILL.
LONDON.
1876.
Magna quidem laus est generoso sanguine nasci,
Maior honestatis facta decusque segni,
Maxima nosse deum, fontem metamque bonorum,
Vtì sorte, pië viuere, rite mori.
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NOTICE.

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

The reader must put-up with the inconvenience of finding the facts about William Thynne, the Chaucer-Editor, and his son Francis, the Chaucer-Commentator and Holinshed-Continuer, each in two different places. Dr George Kingsley's very pleasant Preface had earn'd its right to a revis'd reprint, and so the fresh details about the Thynnes and their work had to go in the Hindwords. No doubt more entries about William Thynne will appear in Professor Brewer's Calendar of State Papers, &c. in Henry VIII's Reign as it goes on. If they do, I hope to print these entries in a short Supplement as soon as the Calendar for 1546 is out. With not enough time for Chaucer and Shakspere searches at the Record Office, &c., I cannot pretend to undertake Thynne ones. The long quotations for and from the Thynnes in the Hindwords are deliberately given, instead of the facts contain'd in the extracts being packt into short paragraphs. I enjoy the old details,
NOTICE.

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.
PREFACE.

The author of the following interesting specimen of 16th-century criticism came of a Shropshire family of great antiquity; of so great an antiquity, indeed, as to preclude our tracing it back to its origin. ¹ Much interesting matter connected with the family was collected by a late descendant of a younger branch, Beriah Botevield, 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 Boteveld 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.

¹ John de la Inne married Jane Bowdler, and their son William became Clerk of the Kitchen, and afterwards one of

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

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

¹ He calls himself Clerk of the Kitchen in the Dedication of his Chaucer to Henry VIII.—F.
² Noble so calls him, see p. xvii, below. He is not so calld in the Household Ordinances. See Hindwords, below.—F.
³ The compilers of Mr Botfield's Stemmatas Botellianæ wrongly identify William Thynne, the Chaucer editor, with the profligate adulterer Thynus Aulicus, mention'd in Erasmus's Letters, book xv, let. xiv, who divorc'd his neglected, and then erring, wife, and let her fall into prostitution and disease. This Thynus 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 call'd my attention to the mistake, and Mr Hales, have lookt very carefully into the question, and are quite certain of their result.

The adulterer Thynne is almost certainly not the Thynne mention'd in "1516, Aug. 23. 23. 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, 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. 185. 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 "envyed" against the "sophisticall abuse," not the honest use, of the Arcana. Moreover, in the British Museum (MS. Add. 11,388) there is a volume containing much curious matter collected by him on these subjects, and not only collected, but illustrated by him with most gorgeous colours and wondrous drawing, worthy of the blazonry of a Lancaster Herald. The costumes however are carefully correct, and give us useful hints as to the fashion of the raiment of our ancestors. From the peculiar piety and earnestness (most important elements in the search for the philosopher's stone) of the small "signs" and prayers appended to these papers, it is, I think, clear, that Thynne was working in all good faith and belief. Possibly the following lines, which seem to have been his favourite motto, may have been inspired by the disappointment and dyspepsia produced by his smoky studies and their ill success,

"My strange and froward fate
   Shall turn her whole aneu,
   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 meanes 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 held in the condition of so base a thing as False Semblance? Perhaps the more so from a half-consciousness that the glory of the office was declining, and that if the smallest opening were given, a ribald wit might create terrible havoc amongst his darling idols. How delicately he snubs Master Speght for not calling on him at Clerkenwell Green (How would Speght have travelled the distance in 1598? It was a long uphill walk for an antiquarian, and the fields by no means safe from long-staff sixpenny strikers); and how modestly he hints that he would have derived no "disparagement" from so doing; showing all the devotion to little matters of etiquette of an amiable but irritable old gentleman of our own day.

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

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

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 bonhomme. 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 influence: an assumption of

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

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

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

"Provided also that all bokes in Engleshe 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, prymers, prayer[s], statutes and lawes of the Realme, Cronycles, Canterbury tales, Chaucers bokes, Gowers bokes, and stories of mennes liesves, shall not be comprehended in the prohibitcion of this acte, oonelasse the Kinges saide Majestie shall hereaftter make speciall proclamacion for the condempnacion and reprovog of the same or any of them."

Thus Chaucer's works were not held to be "pestiferous and noysoome," like "the craftye false and untrue translacion of Tyndale," and the "printed bokes, printed balades, playes, rymes, soneges, and other fantasies" that were "subtillye and craftilye instructing his Hieghnes people, and speciallye the youte of this his Realme, untruelie and otherwise 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 therewyth,
It hath in it some pith."

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

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

1 I look on the story as gammon.—F. J. F.
ciscan friar would be likely to be (of course from the best motives) to a man like Chaucer, who had burnt into the very soul of monasticism with the caustic of his wit, I shall continue to believe the legend for the present. If the mediaeval 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 blazoned 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. E.LIZ. 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, r., 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 Ayleiffe, Bart. Numerous as these works are, yet there are various other literary productions of his: some of them are preserved in the Cotton Library, others were possessed by Anstis, sen. Garter. His heraldic collections are in the College of Arms, and in the Ashmoleian Museum at Oxford. Some of his manuscripts are collections of antiquities, sepulchral inscriptions, taken by him from English churches, and elsewhere. He intended to have published an edition of Chaucer's works, but declining that, gave his labours relative to it to Speght, who published them in his edition of that poet's works, with his own notes, and those of his father, who printed the first edition of this ancient writer in 1542, being the oldest of any except Caxton's. Thynne, Lancaster, had meant to have written a comment upon the text: some verses of his are prefixed to Speght's edition.
HINDWORDS

BY

F. J. FURNIVALL

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

a. Henry VIII's grants to him, p. xxi, 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 House- hold: his Contracts, p. xxviii; Duties, p. xxx; Food, p. xxxvi; and Allowances, p. xxxviii.
f. His Monument and Will, p. xxxix.
g. His edition of Chaucer, p. xl.
h. The Pilgrims Tale, p. xliii; and
'size, the best cast on the dice,' p. xlv.

II. FRANCIS THYNNE (A.D. 1545—1608).

i. His notes of his Youth, p. xlvii.
j. His Marriage, and Improvidence, p. xlviii.
k. His first antiquarian work, prxlix.
l. Is imprisoned, and nearly starved, p. li.
m. His bad opinion of Wives, p. lvi.
n. His Release, and Homo animal sociale, p. lvi.
o. His Perfecte Ambassadoure, p. lxi.
q. Continuation of Holinshed’s Chronicle, p. lxiv—lxxxix (with an account of the Castrations of that Continuation, p. lxvi).
r. Application for post in the Heralds' Office, p. xo.
s. His Speeches at the Society of Antiquaries, p. xcviii.
t. Second Application for post in the Heralds' Office, p. xcv.
u. His Discourse of Arms, p. xcvi.
w. Animadversions on Speght’s Chaucer, p. cii.
x. Emblems and Epigrams, p. ciii.
z. His Creation as Lancaster Herald, p. cv.
A. His Poem on Chaucer, p. cvi.
B. Advocate and Ant’advocate, p. cix.
C. Duty and Office of a Herald: is gouty, drinks, and dies, p. cxxii.
D. List of Francis Thynne’s Works, p. cxxviii.
E. Mr J. P. Collier quite wrong in attributing 4 books to F. Thynne, p. cxxvii. Extracts from these:
1. Debate between Pride and Lowness, p. cxxvii.
4. The Case is altered, 1604, p. cxxxvii.
F. Mr Collier wrong again, p. cxxviii.

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

I. WILLIAM THYNNE.

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

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

Wm Thynne.


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


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

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

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

2 Here insynth the hole Charge of a dyner made by the kynges highnes in the Loge in the Little parke of Wyndesour the xxvth of February, being the xix yere of hys Reyne," leaf 203.
21 July 1529. Head Clerk of the Kitchen, to be Customer 1 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 3".

1. 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 great death in London, wherefore the Terme was adonned, and the king, for to eschew the plague, kept his

1 Collector of Customs, as Francis Thynne witnesses:—"Thomas Smith of Osthanger esquire . . . who is nevertheless called by the name of Customer Smith, because in times past his office was by letters patent to collect the said custome [inward] and to yeeld account thereof, as other customers usually doo, hauing for his fee one hundred and three score pounds yearely." 1586, Fr. Thin, in Holinshed's Chron. lill. 1539, col. 1. As Chaucer was in his day Controller of Customs, so was his Editor, in his day, Collector of Customs.

2 "As 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 whose dukr brother sir John was secretary) where as an 'eques cataphractus' (that is, a chevalier arm'd cap a pe) he performed excellent service in the battel of Muscelborough against the Scots. This person I take to be the same, to whom K. Hen. 8, by his letters pat. dat. 8 May 38 of his reign, Dom. 1546, gave the office of general receiver of two counties in the Marches of Wales, commonly call'd the Earl of Marches Lands. At length when the inffirmities 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 surrender'd 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 Bottevilliana, 1858, p. 83; also p. ccxlvi.

3 Canon Jackson, from Papers at Longleat, See Notes for two letters.
Christmas at Eltham with a small number, for no manne might come theither but suche as wer appoynted by name: this Christmas in the kynges house, was called the still Christmas. But the Cardinal in this season, laye at the Manor of Richemond, and there kept open housole, to lorde, ladies, and all other that would come, with plates 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 Cardinal came to Eltham the viii. daie of January [1526 A.D.], and taried there till the xxii. daie. In whiche season the Cardinal, and other of the kynges coussaill, 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 Cardinal 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."—*Halle's Chronicle*, 1548, 1550, ed. 1809, p. 707.

These Wolsey 'Statutes of Eltham' are preservd in the Harleian MS. 642, &c., and were publisht 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, glue good attendance to see the service of the KING and his househould; and speciallye that suche stuffe of victualls as apperteyneth to the Kinges dishe be of the best and sweetest stuffe that can be gotten, and in likewise for cverie estate and other within the Kinges house, according to theire degrees; and that the stuffe maye be in the Larder in good hower, soe that the Cookes maye have² reasonable leasure for the good seasoninge of the same; [and the same] soe dressed to be served by the oversight of the sayd Clarke of the Kitchine in due and perfect manner, to the Kinges more honour and proufitte, without embosselling 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 grooms of the same," and the 'barber,' "to the clerke of the king's privy kitchen, there to be honestly and well dressed," seem to be a mistake for the *cooke* mentiond five lines below, "shall be delivered as afore, unto the cooke of the King's privy kitchen."

² MS. house.
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 amonges vs English men / whiche haue right well and notably endeuyred and employed them selues / to the beautiffynge and bettryng of thenglysh tonge. ¶ Amonges whom, mosst excellent prynce / my most redoubted and gracious souravynge lorde / I your most humble vassall / subiecte and servaunt, Wyliam Thynne / chefe clerke of your kechyn / moued by a certayne inclynation & zele / whiche I haue to here of any thyng soundyng to the laude and honour of this your noble realme / haue taken great delectacyon / as the tymes and laywers might suffre / to rede and here the bokes of that noble & famous clerke Geoffray Chaucer / in whose worke is so manyest comprobacion of his excellent lernyng in all kyndes of doctrynes and sciences / suche frutefulnesse in wordes / wel accordyng to the mater and purpose / so swete and plesaunt sentences / suche perfectyon in metre / the composedlyon so adapted / suche fresennesse in inuencion / compendiousnesse in narration / suche sensybyle and open style / lackyng neither mateste ne mediocrate covenable in disposedyon / and suche sharpnesse or quicknesse in conclusyon / that it is moche to be marueyled / howe in his tym[e] / whan doulelesse all good letters were layde a slepe through out the worlde / as the thyng whiche either by the disposedyon & influence of the bodies aboue / or by other ordynance of god / semed lyke, and was in daunger, to haue vterly peryshed / suche an excellent poete in our tong[e] / shulde, as it were (nature repugnyng) spryng and arye. For though it had been in Demostenhes or Homerus tyymes / 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 was a thyng right rare & straunge, and worthy perpetuall laude / that any clerke by lernyng or wytte could the haue framed a tonge, before so rude and imperfite / to suche a swete ornature & composedlyon / lykely if he had lyued in these dayes / being good letters so restored and renuyed as they be / if he were nat empeched by the enuy of suche as may tollerate nothyng / whiche to vnderstande their capacitie doth nat extende / to haue brought it vnto a full and fynall perfection. Wherfore, gracious souravynge lorde / takynge suche delyte and pleasure in the workes of this noble clerke (as is afore mentioned) I haue of a longe season moche vsed to rede and visyte the same: and as bokes of dyuers imprimes came vnto my handes / I easely and without grete study / might and haue deprehended in these many errorrs / falsyties / and deprauacions / whiche euydently appere by the contrarieties and alteracions founde by collacion of the one with the other / wherby I was
moued and styred to make diligent search where I might fynde or recouer any trewe copies or exemplaries of the sayd bookes / whervnto in processe of tyme / nat without coste and payne, I attayned / and nat onely vnsto such as seeme to be very trewe copies of those workes of Geffray Chaucer / whiche before had been put in printe / but also to dyuers other neuer tylle nowe imprinted / but remaynyng almost vnknownen and in oblyuion / whervpon lamentynge with my selfe / the negligence of the people / that haue been in this realme / who doubtlesse were very remysse in the setting forth or auauncement either of the histories thereof / to the great lynderaunce of the renoume of such noble princes and valyant conquerours & capityns as haue ben in the same / or also of the workes or memory of the famous and excellent clerkes in all kyndes of scyences that haue flourished therin / Of which bothe sortes it hath pleased god as highly to nobilitate this yle as any other regyon of christendome: I thought it in maner appertennant vnsto my dewtie / and that of very honesty and love to my countrey I ought no lesse to do / than to put my helpping hande to the restauration and bringynge agayne to lyght of the said workes / after the trewe copies and exemplaries aforesaid. And deuisynge with my selfe / who of all other were most worthy / to whom a thyng so excellent and notable shulde be dedicate / whiche to my conceyte 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 polycyd ieweell out of a rude or indigest masse or mater / none coulde to my thynkyng occurre / that syns / or in the tyme of Chaucer / was or is suffycient / but onely your maiestie royall / whiche by discretion and ingegent / as most absolute in wysedome and all kyndes of doctrine / coulde, & of his innate clemence and goodness wolde, addde, or gyue any authorite hervnsto.

"For this cause, most excellent and in all vertues most prestanter 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 stydye and desyrous mynde / in reducyng vnsto lyght thess so precious and necessary an ornament of the tonge of this your realme / ouer pytous to haue ben in any poynst lost / misifyed / or neglected: So that vnder the shylde of your most royall protectyon and defence, it may go forthe in publyke / & peuayle ouer those that wolde blemyshe / deface / and in many thynges celerly abolyssh, the laude / renoume / and glorie hertore over comparde / and meritoriously acquired by dyuers princes / and other of this said most noble yle / whervnto nat onely straungers, vnder preestexe of highe learning & knolwlege of their malicious and peruers myndes / but also some of your owne subiectes / bylynded in foly & ignornance / 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 faithye / whiche by your noble progenytour / the great Constantynye / somtyme kyng of this realme / & emperour of Rome, was nexte god and his apostels /
chepsely maynteyned / corroborate / and defended / almighty Iesu send to 
your highnesse the contynuall and everlastinghe habundunce of his inf-
fynite grace. Amen.

"Thus endeth the preface."

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

"We know that Wm Thynne was 'Chief Clerk of the Kitchin,' that 
is, as we should now say, that he held an appointment in the Royal 
Household (the Board of Green Cloth) at Greenwich. Sir Brian Tuke 
was Postmaster, then an appointment in the same office. When Leland 
tells us that Sir Brian Tuke wrote a *limatissima prefatio* to the edition 
of Chaucer published by Berthelet, we are all puzzled; and when Leland 
tells us that Thynne edited the edition, we are still more puzzled, because 
no such edition is known. Now the woodcut frame round the title in 
Godfray's edition (Thynne, 1532) is that which, having belonged to 
Pyson, 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 here², in its original binding, in 
which, at the top of Thynne's dedication, Sir Brian Tuke has written 
with his own hand ³:

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

"It would be difficult to find a prettier coincidence in all points— 
the tarrying for the tide at Greenwich, when we learn from quite other 
 sources 1, that Thynne's office was at Greenwich, and 2, that he lived 
down the Thames at Erith. You will allow that it is not often one has 
the pleasure of hitting things off so prettily. Observe the words then 
being. In 1532 Thynne describes himself to the king as 'Wylliam 
Thynne, chefe clerc of your keckyn.' 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 Borealliana*, 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, photographed.
I d. WM THYNNE AT ANNE BOLEYN’S CORONATION. xxvii


I wolle and commaunde you that ye deliuer or cause to be deliuered 
unto my loving frynde william Thynne, chef clerk of the kychyne2 
with the kinges grace, or vnto the bringer herof in hyss name, OKENES of good and conuenient bilding tembre with the tops, lops, and barke to be taken of my gieft, of my wodes within the parishe of shatisbrok 3 in 
the forest of windesour, any restraine or contrary commandement, what 
souer it be, hertofore by me or in my name made, notwithstanding: and this biff signed with my hande sha[l]be your sufficiaunt warrant with 
and discharge in that behalfe towarde me / yeounet at westminster the 
xxvij day of marche the xxiiiij yere of therne of our saide souereayne 
lord king henry the eight.

To the wodward or keper of my Wodes 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 Boleyn4, 
Wm Thynne was one of the Coferers "for the Queene," attending on 
er, 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 Bushp sitting at the queenes bord end, the 
daie of Coronacion, whitsonday, the first day of June, the 25. yere of 
the raigne of Henry the viij, ij served (?) one fare," are enterd as 'for 
the Queene,'

Edmond Peckham, coferer
William Thynne.
Thomas Hatchlife.
Edward Weldon for the bushop, 
and the said bushop to be served courer.

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 yardes of Length . . . .

Surveyors at the
Dresser without

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

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

1 The documents in this MS. are copies only. It may be Wm Thynne's 
entry-book, but more probably is that of some park- or wood-keeper.
2 Clarendon type only to catch the eye.
3 Shottesbrook.  
4 See my Ballads from Manuscripts, i. 364-73.
"Offcers / and Scruitors which dyd Service the same daye of Coronacion, beinge the fyrste of June: and first for the Quenes table, ij served (?) one fare / the busshoppe covered . . .

(Cofferers, struck out) Edmund Pekham and Wm Thynne for the Quene
Conveyers for them Thomas Hattyfye and Edward Welden for the Busshoppe

(leaf 39.) Officers apoyntid to geauue theyre Attendance on the lorde Spirtuall & Temporall syttinge at the myddle Bourde on the Quenes right hand / wherof the fyrst Bourde to be of xiij yardes of lengthe / to be servuid ij of like fare, & xxxix of another fare / . . .

Conveyers
- Thomas Hynde
- William Bernay

Surveyrs
- Thomas Halle—without the dresser
- William Thynne—within the dresser

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


Memorandum the xvijth day of April the xxvijth yere of the reigne of Kinge Henry the viij, that John Wylykynson of busshopgate strete in london, scourer of Synkes, hatte convened and bargayne with Edmund Pekham, Cofeirer, Thomas Hatterlyf and Edwarde Weldon, clereks of the grencloth, & William Thynne, clere comptroller of the kinges honorabole housholde / that he the saiide John Wilkyynson, for the wages of xxvij s viij d, and oon cote cloth, color red, of the price of v s, viij d, to be payed and gven vnnto hym yerely, the saiide wages to be to hym quarterly paid by even porcionz / shall scoure, clense, and substancially make clene, all & euery of the Synkes belonginge vnnto the kechyns within any of the kinges houses at Wyndesor, Rychemont, Hamptoncourt the more, Westminster, grenewiche, & Eltham, euery quarter of the yere, oone tymye yerely / if that he so often shoalbe commanded, by any of the oficers aboue menyoned, to do the same; & if he shall at any tymye refuse so to do, then he to haue his quarter wages, or more, as the case shall requyre, defaulte & taken away / In wityness herof the saiide John Wilkinson, to this agreement hathe putto his merke, the daye & yere aboue wrytten /

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


I woll and chardge you that ye deliever or cause to be delievered vnnto my lovinge frinde William Thynme, chief clerke of the kechyn with the kinges grace, vnnto 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 restraint or commandement what soever it be by me made to the contrary herof notwithstanding; & this my writinge subscribid with my hande shalbe your sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalf. Yewen at the kinges mannor of Wodso, the x day of August the xxvij yere of the reigne of our souerayn 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., 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 Peckham Esq., Coferer, Thomas Hatches, and Edward Weldon, Clerkes of the Greencloth, and William Thynne, Clerk Comptroller in the Compting-House, at the Kings mannor of Hampton Court, the 20th day of December in the 30th yeare of our said Soveraignes Reigne" [A.D. 1538].

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

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 Item, allowance to be given by the assent of Mr Coferer, Mr Edward Weldon, Master of the Household, Robert Pageman and Anthony Bricks, Clerkes Comptrollers, at Greenwich, the 12th day of April, Anno 32 Henrici VIII. unto Thomas Playfoote, Yeoman-Pig-taker, for every Neale, beinge fatt and good, as well great as small, that he shall send into the Larder, one with another, 4s. peice ; and neither more nor lesse." [Neale.]
6 In the Condition of the Bond they are calld "Wardens of the Mystrey and Occupacion of Poulters in London."
XXX I e. WM THYNNE IN HEN. VII'S 'HOUSEHOLD ORDINANCES.'

"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 Loundon, 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 remaining 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 Willelmus Mathew, Willelmus Lytchfield, Gardianus Misterii seu occupationis vocate Pulterers Civitatis Londinensis, venerunt coram Johanne Gage, Milite, Contra-rotulatore Hospitii Domini Regis, Thomas Weldon, Guilielmo Thynne, Jacobo Sutton et Anthonio Buckes, apud Westmynstre, et recognoverint cumbert eorum debere Domini Regi decem Libras, solvendas in bona et legales 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 (II. Ord. p. 226), in

"A Composition made betwixt Sir Edmond Peckham, Knight, Officer of the Kings Most honourable Household, WM Thynne, and other Officers of the Grecenclot, on the behalf of our Souveraigne Lord the King, and one Thomas Hewyt of Hythe in Kent, for the better serving his Majestie, 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 clean keeping of the Napery which shall serve for the Kings owne table", is (II. Ord. p. 216),

"Item, it was agreed by Mr Cofferer, Mr Thyne, and others of the Grecenclot, that the Cofferers Clerke that rideth to pay Carriages shall have 8d. per day, at such time as he wayteteth 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 Grecenclot" in the last quotation, do not imply that William Thynne had changed 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 t for 'Cofferer'
one of Clerk of the Greencloth (in which he'd have been concerned more with entering and posting the accounts that the Clerks Comptrollers past), let us take out the particulars of the duties, in 1540 A.D., of our 'Clerke Comptroller.' The editor, like his author, look 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 past 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 Book 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 daily in the Compting-house between the hours of 8 and 9 in the morning, calling unto them the Cofferer, Clerke of the Greencloth, and one of the Clerkes-Comptrollers at the least, the other being occupied in the Kings Service otherwise; and to sitt and to have brought before them all the Bookes of briefments of all the Officers of the Household for the day before passed; and in case they shall find any wastfull expences to have been made by any Minister in his Office, that then he, by whom such wast hath been made, to be called before the said Officers, to make answer to the same; and as he or they shall be thought culpable, soe to be punished therefore, as shall be thought necessary or meete by the said Officers."

1 William Thynne had at least one fellow-writer in the King's household.

"Bryan Ansalay, yeoman of the siller with the eyght kinge Henry," translated The Cyte of Ladyes (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 Greencloath, or one of them, be daily attendant in the compting-house for the engrossment of daily bookes of the expences of the day before, in the time of the household keeping; according to the old usage and antient customes of the King's house.

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

3 The Cofferer's duties follow.
Clerk-Comptrollers, &c., to be daily in the Comping-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 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.

Clerk-Comptroller to see that the King’s and Queen’s food is well cookt and not stolen; also that disorders in the Household be reformed; that no strangers be allowed at meale.

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

Item, the said Clerkes of the Greencloth and Clerkes Comptrollers, or two of them at the least, that is to say one Clerke of the Greencloth, and one Clerke-Comptroller, shall be daily 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 daily to the Cookes for the well dressing of the Kings Meate, and the Queenses; and also to see the said Meale set out at the Dresser daily, 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.
one of Clerk of the Greencloth (in which he'd have been concerned more with entering and posting the accounts that the Clerks Comptrollers pass’d), let us take out the particulars of the duties, in 1540 A.D., of our 'Clerke Comptroller.' The editor, like his author, lookt after accounts; and even as Chaucer wrote with his own hand counter-rolls of wool-fells and hides, if not of wine and groceries too, at the Custom-House in Thames St, London, so Thynne may there also, as Collector of Customs, have written like accounts; and he must have examind and pass’d the accounts of the Household Officers for meat, fowls, fish, &c., for King and Queen, at Windsor, Westminster, Hampton-Court and other dwellings royal. (See H. Ord., p. 228—231.)

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

2 The Cofferer's duties follow.
xxxiv  I 6. WM THYNNE'S DUTIES AS CLERK-COMPTROLLER.

dock the wages of absentees,

and of those Officers who don't dine and sup in the King's or Queen's Chamber as they're ordered to; 1

To note daily whether any extra servants,

strangers or vagabonds, are in the Household Office.

If so, to have 'em turned out by the Head of the Office.

To make quarterly a Check Roll

of all the Household (?)

and the wages of attendants.

One Clerk Comptroller

to inspect Daily all provisions,

reject all that are bad, and report the Purveyors, that they may be punished.

To enter all good provisions

check the Wages of all such as he shall finde to be absent without lycence, but also to default and check the Wages of all them which be in the House, who by the Kings order should sitt at Dinner and Souper within the Kings Chamber, and the Queens, and do note, but be absent from thence without lycence, soe to be eating in places contrary to the Kings Ordinances, and against his honour.

Item, the said Clerkes-Comptrollers, in soe perusing the house dayly, shall note well in evert Office, if that there be any more number of Servants in any of the said Offices than 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 newe there found againe after such warning given, that then evertie 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 defaultation and check of Wages of all them which shall be absent.

Item, the said Clerkes-Comptrollers, or one of them at the least, shall be at the Green-Cloth with other Officers, as is before mentioned; and one of them dayly to see the Venit and cominge in of all Provisions in every Office of the Household; discreetly 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 cominge in of the said premises being good stuff, shall make Entry and Record of the same into

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

Item, the said Clerkes-Comptrollers shall dayly take the Infra et Extra of the Weze in the Office of the Chaudry, 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 giving allowance of all the Polls in the Pantry-Roule, Kitchen-Roule, Poultry-Bills, Spicery-Docquets, 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 Necesaries; 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 advoucht to the Coffers 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 lodgd outside the Court, that “the Kings house shall be the lesse pestered,” and were allowd 6s. 8d. a day as board-wages for themselves and their servants instead of their Bouge of Court, or allowances of food, &c., when in the Court:—

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

Item, to every of them being sick, for every 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 year 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 sixe weeks; 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 booke may be dayly engrossed by ten of the clock before noone; which doeing shall be greatly to his Majestie’s profitt. 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 easer 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 sixe weeks in the Court, shall not depart from thence after the expierment 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 sixe weeks 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 Majestie shall save four messes dayly of the dietts and Bouche of Court of the said four persons; which will amount to the sume of 556l. 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.
Sunday, Tuesday, or Thursday, Monday, or Wednesday

**Dyner**

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<td><strong>Bread Cheese and</strong></td>
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<td><em>† Boeuf</em></td>
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<td><em>† Mutton</em></td>
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<td><em>† Capons</em></td>
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<th>2nd Course</th>
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<td><strong>Lambe, Chicken,</strong></td>
<td><strong>Lambe, Chicken,</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>† Phegon</em></td>
<td><em>† Phegon</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>1 mess 6d</td>
<td>1 mess 6d</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Cocks, Floyers †</strong></td>
<td><strong>Cocks, Floyers †</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>1 mess 14s 6d</td>
<td>1 mess 14s 6d</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Tarte</strong></td>
<td><strong>Tarte</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>1 3s 1d</td>
<td>1 3s 1d</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Fruite</strong></td>
<td><strong>Fruite</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 4s 4d</td>
<td>1 4s 4d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Butter</strong></td>
<td><strong>Butter</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 8d</td>
<td>6 8d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Souper**

| Breed Cheese and | Breed Cheese and |
| Manchetts | Manchetts |
| 9 4s 9d | 9 4s 9d |
| Ale | Ale |
| 4 gall 6d | 4 gall 6d |
| *Wyne* | *Wyne* |
| 1 pich 6d | 1 pich 6d |
| *† Boeuf* | *† Boeuf* |
| 1 mess 6d | 1 mess 6d |
| *† Mutton* | *† Mutton* |
| 1 3s 1d | 1 3s 1d |
| *† Veale* | *† Veale* |
| 1 4s 4d | 1 4s 4d |
| *† Capons* | *† Capons* |
| 2 12s 2d | 2 12s 2d |
| *† Conyces* | *† Conyces* |
| 1 6s 1d | 1 6s 1d |
| *† Fryansades* | *† Fryansades* |
| 1 8s 1d | 1 8s 1d |

**Sum of Sundays**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>s. d.</th>
<th>(I can't make these totals out of the figures.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15 2s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 6d</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fryday Dinner.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Course</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bread Cheese and</strong></td>
<td><strong>Bread Cheese and</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manchetts</td>
<td>Manchetts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 4s 9d</td>
<td>9 4s 9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ale</td>
<td>Ale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 gall 6d</td>
<td>4 gall 6d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Wyne</em></td>
<td><em>Wyne</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pich 6d</td>
<td>1 pich 6d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Lyng</em></td>
<td><em>Lyng</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mess 4s 4d</td>
<td>1 mess 4s 4d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Pikes</em></td>
<td><em>Pikes</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 14s 6d</td>
<td>1 14s 6d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Salmon</em></td>
<td><em>Salmon</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 12s 6d</td>
<td>1 12s 6d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Tarte</em></td>
<td><em>Tarte</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 3s 1d</td>
<td>1 3s 1d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fruite</em></td>
<td><em>Fruite</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 4s 4d</td>
<td>1 4s 4d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Butter</em></td>
<td><em>Butter</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 8d</td>
<td>6 8d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Egges</em></td>
<td><em>Egges</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 2s 6d</td>
<td>4 2s 6d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2nd Course</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tench, Troutes</strong></td>
<td><strong>Tench, Troutes</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mess 12s 6d</td>
<td>1 mess 12s 6d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Eles with lamprells</strong></td>
<td><strong>Eles with lamprells</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 12s 6d</td>
<td>1 12s 6d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tarte</strong></td>
<td><strong>Tarte</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 3s 1d</td>
<td>1 3s 1d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fruite</strong></td>
<td><strong>Fruite</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 4s 4d</td>
<td>1 4s 4d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Butter</strong></td>
<td><strong>Butter</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 8d</td>
<td>6 8d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Egges</strong></td>
<td><strong>Egges</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 2s 6d</td>
<td>4 2s 6d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sum of the Charge**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>per annum</th>
<th>18s.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>of those Messes, every</td>
<td>14 6d plus in septembris 6d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per annunsit</td>
<td>5 1 6d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* I don't know why the columns are doubled.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>† The dishes chang'd in the list are daguerre.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
duty lodgd outside the Court, that "the Kings house shall be the lesse pestered," and were allowed 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 lodgd without the Court gate, and have noe meate or drinke, or being out of the Court by command; for everie day, 6s. 8d.

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

[A.D. 1545] Item, it is agreed by the Lord Great Master, and other officers of the Compting house, the 1st 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 weekes; and one other chamber to be appointed for one of the Clerks Comptrollers, and they to waite in the Court in the like manner, by the said space; soe that by this meanes the bookes may be dayly engrossed by ten of the clock before noone; which doeing shall be greatly to his Majesties 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 lodging 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 weekes in the Court, shall not depart from thence after the expirament 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 weekes that they have waited in the Court; and the other two Masters of the household, one Clerke of the Greencloth, one Clerke Comptroller, that shall be from the Court, to have boardwages for themselves and their servants, in the time of their being out of the Court, 6s. 8d. per the day to everie four. And notwithstanding the said boardwages, the King's Majesty shall save four messes daily of the diets and Bouche of Court of the said four persons; which will amount to the sume of 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 House-hold; two Messes to the Clerke of the Greencloth; two Messes to the Clerkes Comptrollers; and one Messe to the Clerke of the Kitchen, of like fare; in all twelve Messes.
Sunday, Tuesday, or Thursday, Monday, or Wednesday

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Course</th>
<th>Souper</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dyner</strong></td>
<td><strong>Souper</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bread Chest and Manchett</td>
<td>Bread Chest and Manchett</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>9½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ale</td>
<td>Ale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 gall’ 6</td>
<td>4 gall’ 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wyne</td>
<td>Wyne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pick’ 6</td>
<td>1 pick’ 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>† Beefe</td>
<td>† Beefe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mess 6</td>
<td>1 mess 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>† Mutton</td>
<td>† Mutton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 mess 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>† Veales</td>
<td>† Veales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 mess 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capons</td>
<td>Capons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>12 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conyes</td>
<td>Conyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>6 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>† Fryandses</td>
<td>† Fryandses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>8 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2d Course.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2d Course</th>
<th>2d Course</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dyner</strong></td>
<td><strong>Souper</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambe, Chicken, Cocks, Plovers</td>
<td>Lambe, Chicken, Cocks, Plovers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mess 6</td>
<td>1 mess 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>† Pigeon</td>
<td>† Rabbit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mess 6</td>
<td>1 mess 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarte</td>
<td>Tarte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fruite</td>
<td>Fruite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>4 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butter</td>
<td>Butter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sum of Sunday | 2d |
Monday | 15 2 |
(I can't make these totals out of the figures.)

Fryday Dinner.  
Saturday Supper.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Course</th>
<th>2d Course</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dyner</strong></td>
<td><strong>Dyner</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bread Chest and Manchett</td>
<td>Bread Chest and Manchett</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>9½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ale</td>
<td>Ale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 gall’ 6</td>
<td>4 gall’ 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wyne</td>
<td>Wyne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pick’ 6</td>
<td>1 pick’ 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyng</td>
<td>Lyng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mess 4</td>
<td>1 mess 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pikes</td>
<td>Pikes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salmon</td>
<td>Salmon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playce, Garnard</td>
<td>Playce, Garnard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haddock, or Whiting</td>
<td>Haddock, or Whiting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2d Course.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2d Course</th>
<th>2d Course</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dyner</strong></td>
<td><strong>Dyner</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tench, Trowte</td>
<td>Tench, Trowte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mess 12</td>
<td>1 mess 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eles with Lamprells</td>
<td>Eles with Lamprells</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarte</td>
<td>Tarte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fruite</td>
<td>Fruite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butter</td>
<td>Butter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eggs</td>
<td>Eggs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sum of the Charge per diem | 14 6s. 8d. plus in septimana 4s. 4d. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>of these Messes, every</td>
<td>5 1 6s. 4d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Messe rated at, per annum</td>
<td>255 3 4s.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* I don't know why the columns are doubled.
† The dishes chang’d in the list are daguerred.
To Col. Chester's kindness I owe the following copy of the Will of William Thynne, dated Nov. 16, 1540:

"In the name of god, Amen! I, Wylliam Thynne, Being of good memorye, in manner and forme following Do make this my Laste will and testament: first, I bequeathe my Soule to my swete savior Iesus Criste, my only Redemer and Sauyor, And to the hole holly company of heuen, of the whiche, In faieth I beleue to be one of them, throwghe the merytes of Christis Passion, and no otherwyse: my boddye to be buryed where yt shall please my wyfe. All my goedes, movable and vnmoveable, Leases of Fernes, Debtes, and all other things whiche I nowe haue interst in, or hereafter maye haue eny interst in, I geue to my wyfe Anne Thynne, And she to depart with her childe ren at her owne will and pleasure, and no otherwyse. And I do make my saide wyfe, Anne, my only executrix, and praying her to be good mother to my childe ren and hers. And I make Mr Edmuade Peckham, cofferer of the kinges housholde,^2 and John Thynne my nepheue, my ouerser, 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 Doig, I bequeathe either of them one standing Cupp of Syluer, and gilt, with a couer. And I geue to Thomas ffysher, my servaunt, a dublet of crymesen 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 November in the xxxiijth yere of the Raigne of our Soueraigne Lorde King Henrie thefith. By me, William Thynne."

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

"On 5 June 1572, letters of Administration were granted to Elizabeth Pigott, alias Thynne, (through Francis Thynne, Gent., her proctor,^4) to adminster the goods of her mother 'Anne Thynne, alias Dame Broughton, 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. xlii) was William Thynne's nephew, and is, I suppose, the one appointed 'ouerser.'
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 Stefffastness. (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-called. He printed it, showed it to Henry VIII, and asked his protection if he publish it. This, Henry at first promised; but Wolsey proved 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-columnd handsome folio of 1532, printed with its fine borderd title-pages of the principal works, by Thomas Godfray at London. Its collation is as follows, showing a cancel or insertion after fol. CC.xix:—

"register, sigs. A—Z, Aa—Zz, Aaa—Uuu, in sixes, except A and Qq which have respectively 4 and 9 leaves."—*Brit. Mus. Catalogue*. Qq iii is leaf or folio'd Fo. CC.xix; then 3 leaves, Qq iii, 5, 6, have no leaf-marks; Qq 7 is leaf Fo. CC.xx; Qq 8, Fo. CC.xxi; Qq 9, Fo. CC.xxii, and then R i, Fo. CC.xxiii. 3-fourths of the 2nd col. on the back of Qq 6 are fill'd 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 fill'd up the space with the spurious *Testamente of Creseye*, sign. Qq iii (Fo. CC.xix.) to Qq 6.

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

I h. The Pilgrims Tale. It is a great comfort to have unearth'd 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 propos’d 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 chant on in his years of search—how this wrong story must have arisen from Francis Thynne’s informants, and himself, having known The Pilgrims Tale in the 1-columnd 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 Papistry) which was actually put into Thynne’s 2nd ed. of 1542. It is difficult to resist the arguments of two such Chaucer scholars as Tyrwhitt and Mr Bradahaw. 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 communication 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-columnd folio of Chaucer’s Works that had its wanting leaves supplied from some one-columnd edition. Still, at present Wm Thynne’s 1-columnd cancelld edition must be held the ‘flam’ or ‘fiction’ that Mr Bradshaw has call’d it.

The Pilgrims Tale also has interest for its mention of the Prophecies of Merlin and other diviners, and the evidence it gives of folk’s belief in them in the early part of the 16th century. Of such, in 1524, I quoted
an amusing [imaginary] instance from Halle’s *Chronicle*, p. 675, ed. 1809, in my notes to *Andrew Boorde*, E. E. T. Soc. p. 325.—Prior Bolton of Bartholomew’s, Smithfield, who built a house on Harrow hill for fear of a flood,—and I have had lately to collect other notices (N. S. 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 subject, 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 Dublin 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.

“Or 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 Chauser his worke.

Take tr. [?] and beaste it as thin as you can: then take aqua vitae, v. viniger distilled, that is, that is Rectified, and put these thyme plates into the v. vitae, and stop fast the glasse with wax, and let them stande to gether 4 or 5 daies, and the v. vitae will be as white as milke; then out the v. vitae that is white, from the ledd that Remaines, so sotellly as you can; then still it in balneo, and the v. vitae will destil; & that which Remayneth will lye white in the bottome; of the which matter you must destill a v. in drye ∆, and with easest ∆. that you can: 4. or 5. daies it will be a stilling or more . . .

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

**MS. E. 5. 10. Trin. Coll., Dublin, leaf Cxxv.**

\(\text{\textit{I. vulgus}}\)

*Euermore schalle the} \(\text{\textit{2}}\) * be the best cast on the dyce.

\(\text{\textit{I. vulgus}}\)

*Whan that} \(\text{\textit{1}}\) * beryth vp the \(\text{\textit{1}}\) * , ynglond schal be as paradise,

\(\text{\textit{I. vulgus}}\)

*And \(\text{\textit{1}}\) * and \(\text{\textit{1}}\) * set al on cone syde.

\(\text{\textit{I. vulgus}}\)

*Tho schal the name of the} \(\text{\textit{1}}\) * springe vonder wyde ;

\(\text{\textit{I. vulgus}}\)

*\(\text{\textit{1}}\) * set a side and \(\text{\textit{1}}\) * clene schent ;

\(\text{\textit{I. vulgus}}\)

*ye schal haue a new kinde at a new parlement ;

\(\text{\textit{I. vulgus}}\)

*\(\text{\textit{1}}\) * schal vp, and \(\text{\textit{1}}\) * schal vndur.

When dede men Rysse, that schal be moche wondur ;

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

\(\text{\textit{I. vulgus}}\)

*Yet schal the} \(\text{\textit{1}}\) * ber the pryce, and \(\text{\textit{1}}\) * schal helpe ther to.\(^2\)

**Nota.**

now haue you 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. v. 7.

“\textit{Elixer ARNOLDI DE VILLA NOVA. Take earthe of earthes, and earthes brother}” (89 lines) f. 19\(^b\)--20\(^\text{b}\).

The last line is—\textit{But take thy beades, and goo praie.} This is part of “Pearce the Black Monk upon the Elixir,” in Ashmole’s *Theatrum*, p. 269; but in this MS. a different old hand ignorantly altered the title, given above, to “Galfrius Chawere his worke.”

\(^1\) To which purpose, Fabatus the consull is worth the noting, who, in seuentie yeares which he liued, departed not one from his village of Regio to go to Messins, which was but two miles off by water. And when one asked him the cause while: ‘The barke (quoth he) is foolish, for it alwaies stirreth vp and downe; the mariner is foolish, for he neuer abideth in on opinion; the water is foolish, for it neuer standeth still; the wind is foolish, for it runneth continually. Now if we vse to go from a foole when we meet him vpon the land; what reason were it for me to hazard my life with foure fooles vpon the sea?' *Holinshed*, iii. 1568, col. 2, l. 50—62.

\(^2\) The names are generally written too, ‘aise, cinque, quater, trey, deuse, ass (or as, ace)’.
1h. THE PILGRIMS TALE. THE COURTE OF VENUS.

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

When lorde's wille is londes law,
Prestes wylle trechery, and gyle holde soth saw,
Lechery callyd pryve solace,
And robbery is hold no tresspace,
Then schal the lond of Albyon tome in to confusion.
A M' CCCC lx and on, few lorde's or ellys noone.
longe berde hertele
pynte hoode wytyles
Gay cote graces
maketh engolomd prifles.)

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 English version of the Romaunt of the Rose, formerly, the' not now, accepted without question as Chaucer's (see l. 741-6, p. 98). Further, a manuscript or block-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 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 Bocon refers to in 'The fourth parte of the booke of Matri-

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

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

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

II. 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 interteine princes comming thisther; as in my time I haue seene both king Philip & the quene [Mary] to haue rested themeslues there.”—Holinshead, vol. iii. p. 1494, col. 2, l. 53.

1558. “He [Cardinal Pole] died (as I saie) the same daie wherein the quene died [Q. Mary, on Thursday, Nov. 17, 1558], the third hour of the night, after that he had liued seuen and fiftie yeares and six moneths, had ruled in the archbishops chaire two yeares seuen moneths thre weeke and fiftie daies, and had exercised his legantie power four yeares and six daies; whose bodie was first conuieed from Lambeth to Rochester, where it rested one nigte, being brought into the church of Rochester, at the west doore, not opened manie yeres before. At what time, my selfe, then a younge schole, beheld the funerall pompe thereof, which trulie was great, and answerable both to his birth and calling, with store of burning torches and mourning weedes. At what time, his coffin being brought into the church, was couered with a cloth of blacke veluet, with a great crosse of white satten over all the length and breeth 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 his majesties reigne, falling in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred fiftie and nine, this lord did most honourable interteine the quene with his traine, at his house of Cobham hall, with sumptuous fare, and manie delights of rare invention. Amongst which, one comming now to mind, which I then being younge beheld, vrgeth me forward in the setting downe thereof: which was: a bankeeting house made for his majestie in Cobham parke, with a goodlie gallerie therevnto, composed all of greene, with seuerall deues of knotted flowers, supported one each side with a faire row of hawthorne trées, which nature seemed to haue planted there of purpose in summer time to welcome his majestie, and to honor their lord and maister.”—Cont. of Holinshed's Chron.: A treatise of the Lord Cobhams by Fr. Thyn. iii. 1510, col. 2, l. 8-23.

1 Hearne's Diary, vol. Ixiii. p. 118, April 9th, 1717. “Mr Thin, a young scholar, beheld the funeral Pomp of Card. Poole, a". 1558. See the castrated sheets of Holingshede, p. 1489. c. 1.” 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 queenes progresse into that countrie (wherein my selfe was borne & bred, and wherein I haue both manie friends & kinred (whome this progresse toucheth) I must aswell (for the loue which I naturallie bare vnto it, as for the courtesie I dailie receive in it) leaue some memorie to posteritie. Thus therefore I enter into her maiesties progresse into that countrie."—Holinhed, iii. 1493, col. 2, l. 30-6.

IIj. Francis Thynne marri’d (at about 19), and improvident.

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

2 "In 1564, both parties being under age, Francis Thynne married Elizabeth, one of the natural daughters of Thomas De la Ryves of Bransby, in the county of York, by whom he obtained some property at Brafferton and Skewsby in the same County. By the Articles of Marriage he bound himself in a penalty of 1000 marks, among other covenants, to settle, upon his own coming of age, a jointure of 100 marks a year upon his wife. It does not appear how he got into pecuniary difficulties, or what was the cause of their separation: but improvident, Thynne certainly was, and the result, as usual, was very great distress and inconvenience. His wife’s guardian, a Mr Eyres 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 claimed 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 dubs it Chaucer’s, and printed it in his Workes.

2 By Canon Jackson, from the Marquis of Bath’s papers at Longleat.
II k. FRANCIS THYNNE'S FIRST WORK.

In February 1573 Francis Thynne 'writes from Barnesey [Bermondshey] 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 dedicatorye of the booke of Armorye of Claudius Paradyne" in the first MS. of Ashmole 766, in the Bodleian, the lines being dated from "Barmondshey streathe the 2 of Auguste 1573." The next poem in the MS.—printed below, in Appendix IV, p. 103, Thynne's "dyscourse uppon y' creste of the Lorde Burghley"—is not dated. But it mentions our author's distress, and also says that he went into a garden, l. 70. If this is not a dream-garden the Southwark prison may well have had a real one; and as Thynne in his second letter, of 19 March, 1576, to Lord Burghley alludes to that nobleman's crest (p. liv, below), I conclude that the poem—a shockingly bad one—was written in or about March 1576. But I am anticipating. On Oct. 19, 1573, Thynne began his collection of alchemical and other treatises, which is now the Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 11,388. It begins "In deo nomine. Amen. 1573. 19 octobris." Notes by Thynne are on leaf 5, "I wroghte no more of this booke [The secretes of Alchymye] out of the nighshe (?) copyy I had of m' de . . . . [name rubd out] because I bought the same booke after in Latyn. F. THYNNE.

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

My strange and froward fate
Shall turne her whose anewe,
To better or to payre this state,
Whiche envye dothe pursue². F. Thynne.

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

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

¹ The letter is still at Longleat, but I am not 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. d
(leaf 25, back) at the end of 'liber ouidii qui de mutacione vite, siue de vetula Inscribitur.' "Copied out the 29 of September 1574. by me Francis Thynne" (with the 4 dashes and dots underneath, and the mottoes above, repeated).

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

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

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 aliis 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 Letters 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, 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 Visitiation of Oxfordshire a° 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 quorumcunque infra hoc Regnum, tam virorum quam femina-
rum, posita et distincta per Nobilissimum Jasperum, Ducem Bedforde, 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
Burialls 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 l. 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
first (or suppos’d Pilgrims-Tale) edition of Chaucer—‘beinge printed but with one colume 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-columnmd 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—Za, Ana—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 fill’d 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 fill’d up the space with the spurious Testamente of Cresye, sign. Qq iii (Fo. CC.xix.) to Qq 6.

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

I h. The Pilgrims Tale. It is a great comfort to have unearthed this, after its 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 proposed for insertion in Wm Thynne’s prior cancelsd 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 Pilgrims Tale* in the 1-columnd 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 *Plowmanns Tale* (also one against the abuses of Pa-pistry) which was actually put into Thynne’s 2nd ed. of 1542. It is dificult 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 communication 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 Protecter 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-columnd folio of Chaucer’s Works that had its wanting leaves supplied from some one-columnd edition. Still, at present Wm Thynne’s 1-columnd cancelsd 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 1624, I quoted
strictly his words that on March 13, 1575-6, he had been confined "for
two yeres and twoo months" (p. liii). In February 1574-5, he writes
from the White Lion to Sir John Thynne at Longleat, and says he has
"been a long time in prison. He was there still on the 16th of July in
that year."

In March 1575-6, we find him in sore trouble; rob'd by his wife's
relations (at least, so he says), still in prison, nearly starving, and writing
two such letters to Lord Burghley, praying for his release, that the
Lansdowne-MS. indexer 'writes him down' "Thynne Francis, a mad-
man"; and indeed to any one who does not know that Lord Burgh-
ley'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 touched his sanity in the 2nd letter. But
the signatures to both these letters are unquestionably our Francis's;
and so are the bodies of them, and their turns and phrases too:—

Lansdowne MS. 21, Art. 57, leaf 117.
Righte honorable (my Verye good lorde) presuminge upon the
honor of your callinge, the wisdome of your mynde, the curtesye of your
dispositione, & the favorale receyve of this my humble sute, I am the
moore encourag'd to hasarde my rashe attempte, wherein I most humbly
beseech you rather to consider the state of my enforced compleinte, then
the malipertnesse of my disordered penne, that darst so impudently
(withoute respecte of honor in yo, & thee dutye of wisdome in mee)
seeke to craue that at your Lordships handes whiche I cannot deseue, &
muche lesse shalbe able to requite. And though, my good Lorde,
fortune hath not before tyme made manifeste unto yo, eather the
perfecte knowledge of my persone, or the dowryes of my mynde, or the
welwillinge dutifullnesse of my harte (whiche alwayes in secret hath the wished
occasione to disclose what lyeth buried therein towards your honor in
any service I ame able to performe), Yet the justice of your dedes, the
force of your vertue, the valoure of your mynde, & the extremetye 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 Thynnne, (who seems to be a madman,) to Lord Burghley;
to procure his release from confinement at the White Lion, March 13, 1575.
"58. A second mad letter of F. Thynne, from his restraint at the White
Lion, to Lord Burghley, March 19, 1575."
This is adding insult to injury. The cataloguer's coolness in covering his
own ignorance and laziness by writing Thynne down 'madman,' is delicious.
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."
mysterie pouertye, hath emboldened the distressed persone to craue your honors favorabe 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 assayres of the worlde, & of suche credit in countenance, as I shall vterly be ouerthrown, withoute your Lordships good assistance therein. Whereunto I do most dutfully subnytt my selfe & my cause, desyringe your Lordship to deale with mee none otherwise then the iustnesse of my case, the simplecyte of my doings, the trothe of the matter, the credit of my good naame, & the nobilitye of your callinge, shall well deserve. But what doo I spende manye Woordes, in a iust cause, from a iust manne, to require justice, since that same is superfuous, & to seeke frendshippe in an iuste matter is meere iustice, & vterly discredit to the party that craueth yt.

I, Therefore, in the uprightness of my sute, most humbly beseeche your Lordship so to stand thus honorable unto mee, that yt will please thee same that I and my matter may bee called before the highe boorde of thee counsell (or rather (as I most ernestly doo craue) before your honoour,) that by your Lordships vndeserved courtsey soome remedy mighte bee prouided, to helpe my distresse, too releue my neede, to banishe my famyne, & to moderat the iuste dealings of euill persons, my case beinge suche as must be determynd by conscience & reson; for otherwise, suche is the meaninge of my adversaries (who by name & nature at my kinsmen), as yt they may bringe mee lawe (as they haue), withoute money; keepe mee (as they doo) imprisoned withoute bayle; make me helplesse (as they trauell therein) withoute freendes, & comfortlesse withoute Justice; they had the same they desyred, for that, that vnder thee coolore of prouidinge for the assurance of my wines iointure (whereby they haue withheld iJC markes by yere this fowre yeres) they [yd 117, back] haue not all only spoyled mee, but also styll receue the revenues of the same, not forcesinge what become of mee, sufferinge mee in the meane tym, withoute sustenance for my maintenence, & withoute money for the discharge of my debte (beinge but one hundred pounde), the same beinge the only cause of my imprisonment to lye these two yeres and twoo months in restreynt of my libertye, not in case able to recouer my lyvinge because I cannot (againste their iustiue 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 reson I shold, & in trothe & conscience I wolde. Wherfore, vpon the knees of my harte, an the pytyfull compleinte of a famished prisoner, I most humbly beseeche your Lordship to stande my assured patrone (as one to whombe I owe my lerninge, my trauel, my libertye, & my lyfe (the [whiche] withoute spedyre pruentiune resteth in danger of loosinge by the dissolescione of my bodye) & that yt will plese your Lordship, for the adynistratione of

1 careing : forcasth, matters, signifies.
2 See Stubbes’s Anatomie of Abuses, &c., on the poor prison debtors.
3 Can this mean that Cecil brought up Francis Thynne?
Justice, for godds cause, for the nobiltye of your estate, for the deluyer of your poore Dutyfull servante, for the defence of the oppressed, for the succor of the helplesse, & to anweree the present hoope I haue in your Lordships cortesye, not to denye this mye inste desire, but to suffer my importunitye (with the widowe mentioned in S' Luke) to overcomme your Lordships cause of refusall of this my humble sute, yf yo shold haue occasione mynistrad 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 vtermoste endeuer to rest at your Lordships good commaundande. Thus hooping your Lordship will deale with mee as most curteously heretofore yo haue alwayes delt with others, Commendinge mee & my estate to your fauorable conforte, Cravinge pardonne for my tedious writinge, & commytinge your Lordship to thee government of the almightye, who sende your Lordship further encrease of honor, & mee present release of restrynte, I most humbly take my leave, the 13 of March 1575[-6] from the White lyone\(^1\), the Vn happye place of my sorrowfull restreinte. By your Lordship to commaundande to his vtermost end euer duringe his Lyfe,

Francis Thynne

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

Endorste 13 March 1575[-6]. Francis Thinne to my Lorde from y\(^{e}\) Whyte Lyon.

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

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

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

\(^1\) This Parish [St George’s, Southwark] is of chief Note for the Kings Bench Prison, the White Lyon, the Marshalsea Prison, and the Mint, the ancient Retreats of ill principled Persons, that there sheltered themselves from the Payment of their just Debts, before the late Act of Parliament that took away that pretended Privilege. . . There was formerly in Southwark but one Prison, particularly, serving for the whole County of Surrey, and that called the White Lyon, which was for the Custody of Murtherers, Felons, and other notorious Malefactors. It was situate at the South end of S. Margarets Hill near unto S. George’s 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 Deb. —1720. Strype’s ed. of Stone’s Survey, vol. ii, B 4, p. 29-30. See Notes below.
II. P. Thynne's 2nd Letter from Prison to Lord Burghley.

with the two honorable lyons of Jupiter & Luna, therein representing unto mee the Maiestie of the golden Phebus pseyed in the ballance of Justice, supported with two most worthye Vertues, Wisdome & good governament. So now againe, lest the charge of the estate of this realme dependinge uppon the Wisdome of your fooresighte might in the tender nett of your memorye weue oblyuione of mee & my myserable imprisonment, I haue accompted yt my dyetye, (to thend that I may fynde some harborwe in your remembrance) to presente unto your honor these wavinge lynes, crracted 'in the coolor of the sable Saturne, whose malicious dispositions, by the euil complexione of his melancholye nature dothe (besides reason, Justice, conscience, Wisdome, or my deseretes,) deteyne mee in the prisoine of iniuste dealinges, in suche sorte, that I, tyed by the leaden heales of his malice, canott approche the presence of that golden soonne, Wherin is written the hande of Mercurye, that there is but one waye, & one harte, one fature, & one baptsyme, one godd, one christe, & one pathe to all philosophye & vertue, Whiche must, by the furtherance of the azured Jupiter, banish Saturne out of his kingdome, & restore me to that whiche with modestye I craue, & in reason I deserve / Wherefore, since one, or an Vnytie, is the begynninge of all thinges, & that withoute one, no nomber can bee perfoormed, & that from one, all nombers doo arise, & by circulatione doo ende againe in thee same oone, I most dutifully beseeche your Lordship, that the same one may begett & bringe forthe the other one; that is, that one manne whose harte is bente but one waye, that is, to Justice, maye at one tyne deluyer oute of prisoine one manne, whose harte, whose Lerninge, whose labor, & whose service is Vowed & sacrificed one Waye, & to one personne, 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 goud lorde,) my forture is so harde, the nature of myne enemys so greate, the goodwill of my kindred so smale, & the Loue of my frenede 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

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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, motted ' Honi soit qui mal y pense'. This, Thynne interprets thus: the argent lion stands for Luna, in the lowest sphere; and Lord Burghley is this, in 'that low'est in curteous dedes, echo doth hym know'. The golden sheaf is the Sun in mid-heaven; and Lord Burghley is this, for he is "in myddest of worthye gentryes seuent degree, a lordly baron of nobyltye". 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 crost alternately, form the Salisbury (or 2nd son, Robert Cecil) crest. The shield or coat of arms is supported by two prancing ermin lions.
deserue the, for then shold youre Lordship (yl that these impedimentes were not) bee partaker of that simple treatise whiche I haue longe tyme since dedicated vnto your honor. But since mye foortune may not beare yt, & that I haue not abyltye 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 oblyuion, burye the unskilfull labor of my hande & mynde (consecrated to the fauorable acceptance of your honor-able curtesye), I ame well contented (beinge thereunto vnvwillingly enforced, to lett the same with my other labors to dwell in silence; for though be in those trouayles I wolde seme to flye to the heauens, yet there is a heuie stooone tyed at my foote, whiche keepeth mee backe in such sorte, that where I wold discouer my dutifull service vnto your honor, there, pouertye & wante of Lybertye tyethe hym by thee feste, & dothe denye the effecte of his honest desire thereof. Whose bandes, I beseech your Lordship may be released to his no smale conforte, & for to answere the greate hoope I haue in your Lordsips vnderserved curtesye, where-unto I most humbly in euery respecte (to saue or spill) do submytt my cause & my selve, begginge, uppon the knees of my harte, to come before your Lordship to discouer his miserable estate, therby to helpe to succor hym who is lyke to famishe for wante of sustenaunce, not havinge [if 119 back] apparell to clothe hym, nor money wherewith-all to meynteyne hym.

Thus, (right honorable) cravinge pardone for my Tediousnes (since, as sayethe Salomon, 'in multiloquoio non deest peccatum' / Wishinge my lybertye, hopinge uppon the same, commendinge me vnto your fauorable conforte, & commynttinge your honor to the deyne essence (the bewyte of whose Maiestie placed, as sayethe Dauid, in the tabernacle of the golden sonne,) so lightene the honor of the golden sheaffe, that the same beinge aduanced to a seate of followinge encrease of honor in yo", may worke a presente release of imprisonment in mee, I most dutifullly take my leaue: from the White Lyone, the vnhappy place of my sorrowfull restreinte, the 19 of Marche, 1575. Your Lordships to com- maunde duringe his lyfe, to his vtermost endeuer.

Francis Thynne.

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

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

Epigrams.

(Bridgewater House MS.)

When a wife is badd, worse, and worst. [leaf 64, back]
When she is good, better, and beste.
My frend, yf that my Judgement do not fayle,
as one well taught by longe experience skil,
thy wife allwaies is but a needefull ill,
and beste is bad, thoughe faire she beare her saile;
but vnd not well, she worser is to thee,
but worst of all, when best she seems to bee
Thy wife is good when shee forseakes this light,
and yealde by force to natures destinie:
she better is, (thow livinge,) yf she die;
but best, when she doth soonest take her flight;
for soc to thee thine ease shee doth restore,
\textit{which} soonest hauid, doth conforthe thee the more.

\textbf{Mariage.}

Deepe witted menn b'experience haue contrived,
that mariaie, good and quiet is, ech hower,
where the mans heringe organs are deprived
of their right vse and sound receyving power,
and where is seelèd 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 Ielousie,
upon ech 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 minæ.

And if suspected manne were dombe to heere
the Iealous brawles of his vnquiet wife,
ech would embrace and hould the other deere,
wherby they might obtayne a quiet life;
without \textit{which} rare effects, swete mariaie is a hell;
but linkd with these guiftes, doth Paradise excell.

His 'Embleames' "Strangers more friendlie to vs than our owne
kinde and kindred" (MS., leaf 38), of 'Societie' (leaf 19), and his
Epigram "The waye to gett and keepe frendes" (leaf 43, back), chime-
in with the feelings he gives vent to in his White-Lion letters.

\textbf{II n. His Release, and 'Homo, Animal Sociale'}.\textbf{.}

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

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

"Redinge / right honorable / that ‘Homo is animal sociale,’ I cold not conceuue wherefore the same was spokken, vnlest yt were uppon these

1 Letter at Longleat, copy not allowd me.  2 See p. xxii, above."
II. FRANCIS THYNNE'S "HOMO, ANIMAL SOCIALE." II o. ix

reasons followinge, whiche have ministred cause to mee to write these tedious lettres vnto yo\textsuperscript{a}, not hauinge other occasione offred to present my selfe vnto your honor, but by the caractes of my hande in lewne of that duty which I shold bestowe in persone. Wherefore since I ame by diuers urgent enforcementes barred bodely to approche your presence, I have thought yt my chalenged dutye in absence, by penne to desplay my Inwarde mynde, whiche alwayes dothe, & shall, acknowledge your vndeserued courtesye, to the uttermost of his endenuyre, whiche beinge able to stetchte yt selfe no further then to a fewe simple woordes, thus entreth into his vnderyer discourse of 'homo is animal sociale.' Manne is demed to be a sociable lyvinge creature because that the same is so necessarye for the mainisance of his lyfe, as without companye (beinge alwayes redye to fall to the worste,) he is drowned in melancholy conceytes, the mother & norice of all euilles, bredinge despaire, wicked thoughtes, & eyyll lyfe. And therefore god (determyninge that we shold presente these myschiefes) did first by his owne example create a helper unto Adam, beinge solitarie in Paradisce, therewith bestowinge one hym a certeine meane (in that heauenly gyfte of comfortable speche) whereby eche one might with faculytie entereteyne the secret loue & sympatyee of their natuall fidelye.

(yf'[5) "Thus cravinge pardonne for these tedious lettres / the reading whereof doth heape more troble on hym which is dayly surcharged with manye more weightye affayres of the comon welthe, humbly comendinge me to your honorable lykinge, commyttinge yo\textsuperscript{a} to the tuicione of the Almightye (who sende to yo\textsuperscript{a} furtithe encrease of honor, to me an acceptable lykinge from your judgemt, & to vs bothe the aboundance of his heuenly spirite,) yeldinge my selfe at your Lordships good commaunde to be disposed in any service yo\textsuperscript{a} shall engoyne me here or eels where, I dutfully take my leave. Longleate the 20 of Octobre 1578. Your bounde by desarte

Francis Thynne
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 affairs very seldome known) I had
no intelligence of your so honourable place of Embassie in this year of
Christ 1578. untill two daies after your departure. The which bred some
corsey 1 of a Melancholy concept in me by reason of my foolish neglig-
ence that would not oftener direct my Letters to crave intelligence from
London. And by reason of the unkind forgetfulness of my kindred &
friends remaining there, who would not vouchsafe so much courtesie in a
matter so much desired by me, and of so small a trouble to them, as to
direct their Letters to me thereof. Wherefore sorrowing for that which
is past, that I could not, as the rest of my Kindred & friends did,
assume such enterprize upon me, and yet not only rejoicing at your
honourable entertainment, of the good success, of the wise Dispatch, and
of the orderly behaviour, wherwith your Lordship was received beyond
the Seas; but also desirous by pen, amongst the rest of your wel willers
at this your happy and desired return, to congratulate your Lordship with
the tokens of my old vowed fidelitie, as a sign of my hidden joy 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 concern 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 puttheth me in mind of your
honourable courteous talk which you have often used unto me in like
matters, I will here in affairs 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.

1 'To have a great hurt or damage, which we call a corsey to the herte,'
Eliot's Dictionarie, 1559, in Nares, 1859: see too the quotations there from
iii. 348. Halliwell's Glossary defines it 'an inconvenience or grievance,' and
refers to Dent's Pathway, pp. 306, 369; Tusser, p. 32; Stanhurst, p. 25.
Orators of Kings (For all these several terms do include one Function exercised in divers manners) because there are sundry sorts somewhat different from the custome of our age, I will not only intreat as they were in times past among the magnificent Romans in the middest of their greatest glory; But I will also in like order collect and digest the usage and duty of them as they are now used, & put in Office by Princes, Kings and Emperors, for the executing of their determined pleasure. In which (my good Lord) if anything shall be found, that for want of more diligent search may seem faulty, consider that 'Bernardus 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 Vniversitie; 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 Christmasses plaies, as may appear by the Christmasly handling thereof, I after Christmassse consecrate the same to your honourable acceptance, not as a thing worthy your desert and judgement, but as a thing that answereth my desire, and good meaning. The which I beseech your Lordship to accept as lovingly from mee as it is presented willingly by mee unto you, with whom (as soon as by 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 infortuniate trouble, would yield mee Abilitie to bestow.

And thus most humbly commending me to your Honourable liking, committing you to the Almighties 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 commentaries of Britaine, collected by francis Thynne, by francis Thynne [so], A° 1581, et 8 Januariij" (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 Johne oldcastell', leaf 43, back. 'Senescalli Anglie,' leaf 98; 'Erlcs of Shrewesbere' (Talbots and Furnivalls), leaf
P. F. THYNNE'S NOTES FOR HIS COMENTARIES OF BRITAYNE.

100; 'Comites Herefordie,' leaf 102, back; 'The Dukes of Northofolke,' 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 comentaries of Britayne collected by francis Thynne' (leaf 4), is now the MS. Cott. Faustina E. 9, in the British Museum. It is dated Ao 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. houes belonging to noble menne. Knyghtes fees. Scales (?). houes belonginge 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 provisio of lyvinge. . . . places of charte . . . (leaf 7) marketes, 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 kings handes by reasone of the wardshippe & monoryte of edmonde mortmore (?), erle of marcbe) was, yt semed, remoued: in whose place came the bishoppe of londone.

for the lord furnival: ypodigma, pa. 167.

A third 'Parte of the fyrste Parte of the comentaries of Britayne collected by Francis Thynne', 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 Lindisfarnessis et dunelmensis episcopis'—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 Ao 1583, Notes taken oute of a polichronicon of the house & priorie of Durham; leaf 38, 'Notes out of a Cronicle of Scotlande belonginge to Durhame Churche; leaf 40, '18 Octob. 1583, Notes taken out of a booke compiled by freer Richarde of

1 As to the erasures on the title, he writes 'these thinges are not thus cancelled because they are not true, but because they were written in other of my booke.'

2 The endings are 'is' and not 'iam, orum.'
westminster, A° 1450;” leave 41, “Notes taken out of [? MS.] Sporley, a monk of westminster. The Abbates of westminster;” leave 42, back, “Compilatio Abbatiwm excerpta ex operae fratribis Johannis fletu 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, “finit. 5 die martij A° 1584. Francis Thynne.” Leaf 75, “Things excerpted out of an olde englishe booke in rhyme of the gestes of Guarine and his sonses;” at foot of 3rd leaf, back, “Here lacked a quayre or ij in the olde inglyshe booke of the actes of the Warines; and these thinges that followe, Lelande translated out of an olde frenche historye in Ryme of the actes of the Guarines vnto the death of fulco 2 . . . ;” ends on leaf 78: “as I remember the inglishe historye of the fytzwarines attributeth this to fulco the firste. finis 6: Martij 1584, Francis Thynne.” Next page, “Taken out of scala ecronicon,” . . . finis 6 April 1584, Francis Thynne / . (the first signature without the dashes and dots underneath). Later, “Taken out of the booke of [? MS.] A° 1585, 6 Junij . . . ” “A lettre of pope paschalis to Lanfrance Bishop of canterbury, concerning horeus the first Bishop of Elye . . . ” “oute of the booke of the Churche of powles of londone . . . ” “Notes taken out of the booke belonginge to the abbey of Rumseye, treatinge of the same Abbey, 15 February 1585 . . . ” “finit 23 februarij 1585 Francis Thynne” (the second signature without dashes and dots). “Notes taken out of the dialogues of Gerviasius tilberiensis 1 Martij 1585 . . . [later side-note by F. T.]” “This Booke was not written by Gerviasius 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 gerviasius Tilberiensis, or of that booke knownen in the exchequer by the name of the blacke booke. Francis Thynne.” “Oute of the charters belonginge to the chappell of St. Stephens of Westmynster . . . ” finis, 31 Martij 1586 Fra. Thynne (no dashes or dots). “Taken out of the

1 Not now known, I believe. We have French MSS., and one or two of them printed. Of the French prose Exterre, Sir T. Duffus Hardy printed the text only, for private circulation. His intended edition, being delayed, was forestalled by some one who had got wind of it.
II q. Francis Thynne’s Continuation of Holinshed.

booke written [?] of Goodwyne & his children...” finis Fra Thynne (no dashes or dots) 11 April A° domini 1586. “Notes taken out of Dudo de sancto quintino [?] A° 1586, 30 maj [with an addition from another monk’s 6th and 7th books] finis cedem die.” “Notes taken out of Johanes [?] MS. monachus cantuariensis a° 1586, 30 Maij... finis 16 Junij a° 1586.” “Ex libro qui continebat vitam Sancti Albani, historiam regis offe, et gesta dominorum abbatium sancti albanii vsque huagonem abbatem &c cuv [?] MS. . . . Finitum. 26 Augusti, anno domini 1587: et opus vnius die[i] Francis Thynne” (no dashes or dots under). Two more leaves of extract, pedigree, sketches of seals, &c., end the book.

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

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

We now come to Francis Thynne’s first appearance in print (p. lx.), and his most important work, his share in the Continuation and Revision of Holinshed’s Chronicle. He tells us (p. lxxiii, below) “that both the historie of England & Scotland were half printed before I set pen to paper to enter into the augmentation or continuation of anie of them;” that he took the work up unwillingly, and only “by inforcement of others, whose commanding friendship it had been sacrefice 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 toiled hard for it (p. lxxxix, lxxx). He was surely fit to help in such an undertaking. He had planned, and made collections for, a “Pantographie of England, conteining 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
II. F. THYNNE AS A CONTINUER OF HOLINSHED.

of the Protectors and Cardinals certainly were (p. lxxv.). He was at least high in the second rank of antiquaries of his day; esteemed and praised by Camden (p. cvi, below), the friend of Egerius (hereafter Lord Chancellor); and he evidently knew, and was thought well of, by men like Lord Burghley, Lord Cobham, Archbp. Whitgift.

That Thynne understood the duty and office of a Historian is clear from his 'Continuation of the Annales of Scotland', in which he selects his materials, combines them, judges their value, though here even he cannot keep from giving six lists (mostly with short lives) of Protectors, Dukes (2 sorts), Chancellors, Archbishops, and Writers on Scotch History (p. lxxi-lxxii below). But when we turn to his insertions in, and continuations of, Holinshed, we find that Thynne has unluckily forgotten all about the Historian’s duty; the Antiquary, the Compiler of pedigrees and biographies, has taken the upper hand. When he came on a High Constable, Cardinal, Archbishop, Duke, in Holinshed, or Stow’s or Hooker’s Continuation, he evidently said, "Happy thought, let’s have a list of all English Cardinals, Archbishops, Dukes, &c.," and accordingly collected the lists, and stuck them into the History, or narrative, over and over again, whisking the reader off, at a moment’s notice, from the middle of Elizabeth’s reign (say) to Edward the Confessor, or William the Conqueror, and then running him gently down a list of Archbishops, say, for sixty odd folio pages, till he landed him in Elizabeth again.

Whether some of Thynne’s ‘Collections’ were thought too long for the continued Holinshed, or whether they, or any intervening matter by other hands contain 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 praised Lord Cobham, who afterwards fell into disgrace; but the William Brooke, Lord Cobham, whom Thynne praised, did not die till 1596, and was, in 1586-8, in favour, and not in disgrace, with Elizabeth (Hearne, Cur. Dioc. ii. 445, ed. 1771). True it is that Thynne also praised his sons, Henry— who was attainted in

1 Holinshed, iii. 1513. "Henrie Brooke, being the second sonne by birth, but now the eldest by inheritance, is a gentleman of whom great hope is conceived, that his following yeares, gaineing 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
1604, when his honours became forfeited (Courthope, *Historic Peerage*, p. 119), and George, 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 over into the Low Countries”; 3. Thynne’s Lists and short Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, of the Lord Cobhams, and the Wardens of the Cinque Ports. One can fancy the feelings of an editor or reader, or even one of the worthy payers for the book—‘John Harison, George Bishop, Rafe Newberie, Henrie Denham, and Thomas Woodcooke’—when, having already suffered six times from Thynne’s interrupting long lists, he came on the seventh,—thrust-in just as Leicester had been grandly received at Colchester, and was on the point of embarking his army for Flushing (p. lxxxi); and then found the 5 folio pages of this seventh list3 follow 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 signed A, B, C, D, E, paged 1421, 1490; another leaf signed F, G, H, I, paged 1491, 1536; and another leaf not signed, but paged rightly 1537, 1538.

twentieth of Novembr, 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 indowed with the gifts of nature, and so furthered therein by the helpe of studie, which he imploied in the vniuersitie of Cambridge, where he received the degree 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 Osias (a man more wittie than welsaured) may justly saie: *Ingenio forma damna rependo mea.*”—15.

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.”

3 Leicester 1688, p. 1419, col. 1, ends p. 1424, col. 2, l. 9,
The new p. 1419 reprints its first 33 lines, ending with "inter-taine" from the original; then winds-up in 16 lines, l. 34-50, three pages (1424-6) of Stow's description (from the book of one Archer,) of Leicester's triumphant reception at Flushing, and his progress to Middleborough, Rotherodam, Delph, Donhage; and then, at l. 51, after bringing him to Leyden, reprints from the original (p. 1427, l. 22, to p. 1429, l. 54) the description of the Leyden "seuen severall 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 soldiers". 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 relieved 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 here leave the netherlands, and approach to matters of England." Stowe's 10 leaves are thus cut down to 2. But now comes the cutting down of poor Francis Thynne's hundred pages (1434-1454) to one column! Had Stowe a hand in it, and was he calld "one inferior personne" for it? Let us hope not: he had himself lost four fifth 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 successuialie possessed the metropolitan see of Canturburie, therein implieng their antiquitie and authority, &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-

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

"Where, by the waie, we might touch the variety of their names (sith authors therein doo dissent) as also the time wherein they liued and flourished, with some commemoration of their acts and deeds, both in church and commonwealth. But this kind of discourse being ecclesiasticall, is unproper for this secular historie: for, wherefore, labouring no further therein, we will remit the reader to such authors as 'Ex professo' haue ample treted of that argument: minding now, by waie of note, in a few lines to touch the three late priuats, as they haue succeeded each other since the coronation and regiment of hir maiestie: the first of whom was Matthew Parker, whose predecessor, Reg. Poole, dieng, he was advanced, and inioied the same advancement certeine yeares, (hauing beene the seuenth archbishop of that see) during which time he did much good diuere waies, deserveing well, not onelie of the church, but also of the common-

Now order would, that we should descend into a discoure 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 patientie to put vp the disappointment of his expectation, upon 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 cut-
ing 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 foret cancelling of his first edition of Chaucer (p. xlii above). But as we have no record of any complaint of his treatment, though he had so many chances of making several in his different MS. treatises, we must suppose, either that he grind and bore it, seeing its reasonableness, on political or literary grounds, or that, as his copy was not castrated, he dwelt in happy ignorance that other copies were.

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

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

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

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

a. a. Francis Thynne's Forewords to his Annales of Scotland.

"The Annales of Scotland in some part continued from the time in which Holinshed left, being the yeare of our Lord 1571, untill 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 Shakspeare Society.

3 As to his prior insertions, see 1 b in the List of his Works below.
yeare of our redemption 1586, by Francis Boteuile, commonlie called Thin.'


... Accept thervore (good reader) that which I doo suppose I haue best spoken (by this my argument grounded vpon Socrates) in this my continuance of the Annales of Scotland unwillinglie attempted, but by inforcement of others, whose commanding friendship it had been sacrilege for me to haue gainesaid. And therefore rather carelessse to hazard the hard opinion of others, descanting vpon **my sudden leapin into the printers shop, (especiallie at the first, in a matter of such importance,)** than the lose of the long and assured friendship of those which laied this heauie charge vpon my weake shoulders, I haue like blind baiard boldlie run into this matter, vnder the hope of thy favourable acceptance. And though herein I shall not in euerie respect satisifie all mens minds and judgements, that for honour of persons, times & actions, will, like Protes, 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 consultation in the matter would not, or for the restriet 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, publike knowne to all men, contrarie to that order, in which they were commonlie and publike seene to be doone of all men; and so by that meanes fall into the reproch of a disseined reporter....

[p. 406. at foot]. Now before I knit vp this exordium (which may seem to thee in respect of the following historie, to be like the towne, the gates and entrance whereunto being verie great, occasioned Diogenes to will the inhabitants to shut those great gates, least that little towne did run out thereat). I am to admonish thee good reader, that in all my former additions to the historie of Scotland, I haue neither word for word, nor sentence for sentence, set downe the writings of Lesles or Buchanan, but haue chosen out the matter as I thought best and apt to my desire. After which sort I haue likewise in this my continuance of the annales of that countrie, not set downe or delinered things to the world in that sort and stile as I haue received intelligence thereof, but

¹ "Also it is naturally goen, or els it is of a deuylyshe dysposition of a Scottish man, not to love nor favour an Englyshe man." 1542-7. Andrew Boorde: see my edition, p. 137, 59. That the enimity lasted on into James's reign, see the end of Tom Tull Trothe's "free discorse touchinge the Murmurers of the tymes."—Addit. MS. 11,308, Brit. Mus.
onelie cull'd forth 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 hauing laid before thee, that he writeth best that trulie writeth publike affaires, that I was commanded by my deere frends to enter into this sand; that I cannot discourse of this historie as I willinglie would: that I ought not to forbear to write because I cannot in stile and manner equall the best: that they are to be pardoned that attempt high things: that I have purposelie in generall dedicated this labour to the common reader, and not in particular to anie honourable person: and hoping that thou wilt pardon all imperfections, I sparinglie enter into the continuation of the annales of Scotland (being such as thou maist be content to read, & I am contented to write) in this sort as here 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.

a. b. 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 Mortion which was the last regent, gouvernour or protector, of the kingdome, to set downe a cataloug of all such regents and gouvernours of that realme, as haue come to my knowledge, after the same sort as I haue done in England, at the end of the governement of the duke of Summerset, who was the last protector of that realme; into the discourse whereof I enter as followeth.

"The protectors, gouvernours, or regents of Scotland, during the kings minoritie, or his insufficiencie of gouvernemen, 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, hauing 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 ineconuenient in this place, nor disagreeable to the nature of the matter which I haue in hand, somewhat, by waie of digression, to discourse of the originall of this office in Scotland, of the etymon of the name, and other circumstances belonging thereto."
ends p. 422, col. 2, l. 21. "Thus this said for the original and name of the officer called the chancellor, of whose succession we will talk hereafter, and will now return 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 accomplish 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 country, 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 foure hundred and eightenee; which I will not refuse to doo 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 haung set downe all the dukes which haue bee in Scotland, we wil descend to such Scots as haue inioied that title in a forren nation.

(4) "That diuers of the Scots have obtai- ned the title and honor of dukes in forren countries."

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

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

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

Lastly comes the one legitimately-placed list:

[A generall catalog of the writers of Scotland, with
the times in which they liued, as well of the yeare of Christ, as of
the reigne of 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 delier
the opinion which I conceiue of some of the Scottish writers, set downe by
manie of their historiographers, who (sauing correction) finding manie
learned writers to be termed Scots, doo transfore 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 severall names, doo challenge Dunus, Columbanus, and others, to be
borne amongst them, some calling them Scots, and other naming them
Irishmen, and rebuking the Scots for chalenging those men vnto them.
For although the Scots came out of Ireland, and the Irish were called
Scots, it is no reason to call a Scot borne in Ireland, by the name of a
Scot borne in Scotland, as some writers doo vnder the amphibiological
name of Scot. But I (whose determinaition is not to advance the one,
or derogat from the other) will onlie in this place set them downe as I
find them, & shew the different opinions touching the same, still leaueing
it to the judgement of others, to thinke thereof as they please; for I
neither may, nor will, sit as Honrarious arbiter betwene those two
nations. Wherefore thus I enter into the catalog of the writers of Scot-
land as followeth."

[p. 464, 2nd col.] Thus setting end to my trauels touching Scotland
(which I have not performed as the maiestie of an historie requirith, but as
my skill, helps, & intelligences would permit). I desire thee, reader,
take it in good part, remembering that Ultr posse non est esse, sith accord-
ing to our old prouerbe, A man cannot pipe without his ypper lip. For
being denied furtherance (as in the beginning I said) both of the Scots
& other of mine owne nation, and thereby not hauing anie more subiect
wherupon to worke, I can doo no more than set downe such things as
come to my knowledge. And therefore contenting myselfe 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 perfome 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 incourage me hereafter vpon more leasure,
and better studie, to deliuer to the world rare matters of antiquitie and such other labors of mine (Absit  verbalis philautia) as maie both shew the discharge of my dutie to God, to my countrie, to my prince, and to my friends. For though I maie seeme to be idle, yet I sale with Scipio, Nunquid 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 conuenient collection concerning the high constables of England, which office ceased and tooke end at the duke of Buckingham aboue mentioned.

The death of this duke of Buckingham, being the last constable of England, dooth present apt place to me wherein to insert the names of all such honorable persons as haue beene invested with that title of the constableship of England, an office of great account, & such as sometime was the chooest place of a temporall subiect in the reigne (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 never anie advanced therewith since the beheading of this duke), I thinke it not vnmeeet to make some memorie of those persons possessing so high a place, least both they and their office might hereafter grow in vter obliuion: these therefore they were.

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

Edward Stafford, sonne to Henrie duke of Buckingham, Edward Stafford (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 tearmed in the books of the law in the said thirteenth yeare of Henrie the eight (where his arreignement is liberallie set downe) to be the floure & mirror of all courtesie. This man (as before is touched) was by Henrie the seuenth restored to his fathers inheritance, in recompence of the losse of his fathers life, taken awaie (as before is said) by the usurping king Richard the third . . . . And thus much by Francis Thin touching the succession of the constables of England.

1 See Shakspeare's Rich. III, act V, sc. i, iii.

"The protectors of England collected out of the ancient and moderne
chronicles, wherein 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 vnsitting in this place to set downe all the protectors (whereof I can as yet have intelligence) and who have beene governors, regents, gardians, or deputies of the realme, and of the kings person during his minoritie and time of his insufficiencie of governement; or else of his absence being out of the realme; whereof I have 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 have halfe a loafe than no bread, knowledge of some than of none at all. Thus therefore I begin" ... \ldots \ldots \ldots ends p. 1081, l. 48: "Edward Seimer, knight, vicecount Beauchampe, earle of Hertford, & after, duke of Summerset, was protector of the kings person, and of the kingdom, in the first yeare of king Edward the sixt, his nephewe, 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 Thyn knitteth vp this simple discourse of the protectors of England of the kings person."


[Preamble, ib. col. 1, l. 60. And thus much of cardinall Poole. Upon whose discourse presentlie ended, as hath beene done in the treatise of high constables [See pa. 865] at the duke of Buckinghams beheadding, 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 quenes reign annexed, it remaineth that quene Elizabeth shew hir selfe in hir triumphs at hir gratious and glorious coronation.]

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

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

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

Adrian, the fourth of that name, bishop of Rome, (called before that time Nicholas Breakespeare) . . . ends p. 1168, col. 2, l. 13: “Thus concluding (that of all these our English cardinals, with the description of their lives, I will more large in treat 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 art, and by a geometrical circle in natural philosophie, dooth end this cardinals discourse, resting in the centre of Reginald Poole, the last liuing cardinal in England, by whose death the said Francis took 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 margen] The collection of Francis Boteuile, alidus Thin, in the yeare of Christ 1585.*

Two sentences, the one an Italian proverbe, the other an old English byword, haue moued me to make this collection (at the request of an other) of all the dukes of England. First, the Italian said that France cannot abide anie treasurers, 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 proofs. Secondlie, the English saieong hath been, that `a Nag of five 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 fve 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 turmoilis 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 young, (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 antiquitie and titles of honor as age hath consumed with the persons which inioed

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1 For F. Thynne’s alchemical MSS., see p. 1, and his Longleat MS. in a note at the end of these *Hindwords*. 
such preheemences 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 surn-
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 chivalrie
in his time, died about the fiftith yeere of king Edward the third; in the
yeares of Christ 1378, 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 beheaded 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 Thyn, 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 majestie
at Whitehall made sir William Sicill, lord of Burghleie, lord high
treasour of England: lord William Howard, late lord chamberleine,
lord priuiie 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 Thyn in this yeare of
Christ 1585.

This adorning of sir William Cicill knight, lord Burghleie with the
honour of lord treasurer of England, hath rousesd my enuied pen
thorough the malicious barking of some (who suppose nothing well but
what they doo themselues, whereby gaine maie rise vnfo 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 Holinshed should be thankful that they didn't get the
Lords Chamberlain, and Privy Seal too, with the Principal Secretaries and
Captains of the Guard: see Preamble.
with as good authoritie as these secret backbiters can challenge any cunning to themselues, who suppose euerie blast of their mouth to come forth of Tropheonius den, and that they spake from the triuet. As I will not arrogate any thing to my selfe,—for in truth I saie with Socrates, Hoc tantum scio, quod nihil scio, or derogate from them that their worthinesse maiest, —so shall I be glad (sith nothing is at the first so perfect, but that somewhat maiest be either augmented, or amened, to and in it) that this maiest whet those envious persons to delier anie thing to the world, that maiest, in comptrolling my labours, benefit their countrie; which if they will not doo, let them cease their euill speeches: for Qui pergit discere quae libet, qua non vult, audiet. And truelie for mine owne part, I will Cunere patimodiam, and yeeld them an honourable victorie, if any better shall be produced; and be heartlie glad, that truth (which is all that I seeke) maiest 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 done, if thorough ignorance we haue committed anie escapes or imperfections: further promising, that if hereafter we espie any of our owne error; or if anie other—either friend for good will, or adversarie for desire of reprehension—shall open the same unto me: I will not, for defense of mine estimation, or of pride, or of contention by wranglings or quarrelling vpon authorities, histories and records, willfullie persist in those faults; but be glad to heare of them, and in the whole and large discourse of the lives of the lord treasurers (almost perfected) correct them. For (as I said) it is truth of antiquities that I seeke for, which being had, (either by good intention of my welwilling friends, or by occasion and reprehension of my envious 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 treasuror 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 Ireland, a man of no lesse merit for his seruice abrode in the feasts 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 maliciouslie than trulie, blemish me with the note of flatterie. For I protest I am so farre estranged from that, as I being not at all knowne to the one, and but slenderlie to the other, and never benefitted by anie of them both, there is no cause why I should vse anie flatterie: and yet such force hath vertue, as it will shine even in despite of malice. But againe to the matter . . . . .

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

1 orig. corrected
or noble name besides (for manie priuat reasons which I reserve to my selfe) I will yet speake more liberallie of hym and the Greies in my large booke of the lives of the lord treasurers 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 whome he had issue, George Greie, earle of Kent; Elisabeth, maried to Robert, baron of Greystocke; and Anne, maried to John lord Greie of Wilton.

iii. 1566, col. 2, l. 64. This sir William Cecill lord Burghlieie, 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 subiects of England, doo feele by his meanes, and all the world doth se in his rare and wise gouernment. And therefore leaung 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 tesaurous, with no lesse honorable person of the temporallie in this our age, than I began the same discourse with a rare person of the spiritualie [St. Dunstan] in that their age,—this being knowne as singular in policie, as the other was supposed to be in pre-lacie,—I here set end to that, which with much labour of bodie, travaull of mind, and charge of pursue, I haue brought to this forme, what so euer it be. Thus this much by Francis Thin touching the tesaurous 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 Stone, and others." (Hol. iii. 1268.)


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


The creation of this sir Thomas Bromleie lord chancellor, hath occasioned me to treate of the chancellors of England, a matter which I haue bene the 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 country. But since I doubt that they will not accept this in good part till that come, And as I may, & perhaps doo, (in this) somewhat more largelie (than in the judgement of others shall seeme answerable to the most receuied opinion touching the chancellors) treat of the antiquitie of them, so yet I have 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 disdain it not, sith this may gie 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 misplacing of name, person, or time; and so to the matter.

It hath beene some question amongst the best antiquaries of our age, that there were never anie chancellors in England before the coming of Edward the confessor out of Normandie, whome they suppose to haue brought the same officer with him from thensse into the realm. But sith I am, with manie reasons and ancient authorities, led to beleue the contrarie, I will imbrace the contrarie opinion thereunto, and hold in this discourse (as the order thereof shall proue) that there were chancellors before saint Edwards time; for the confirmation whereof, and for the authoritie of them; for the etymologie and originall of the name, and for the continuance of their office, thou shalt find an ample discourse is my booke purposelie written of the lives of the chancellors, whervnto I wholeie refer theé, who, I hope, shall within these few yeares be partaker thereof; and in the meane time gie thee this tast of the age and names of the chancellors, and vicechancellors, and such keepers of the great seal as serued in place of chancellors. For euerye one that was keeper of the great seal, was not intituled ‘chancellor’, no more than euerye chancellor was intituled ‘the keeper of the great seal.’ But because the one did serue in the vacancie of the other (so that after a certaine sort, the keeper of the great seal 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 wetshod 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 done onelic of my selfe, without the furtherance or help of some others, who, more inconsideratlie than trulie, doo disorderlie report, that I haue atteineth vnto this in obteining those names by some sinister means, from the priuat bookes of them who haue trauellied 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 spéédie calling on me, haue now fallen out of my pen, it shall hereafter, God willing, be corrected in the large volume of their lies. Wherefore as I neither estéeme nor feare the secret reports of some others: so for their countries good it shall be well that they would deliuer something to the world, to bring truth to perfection, (if other men haue unwillingly set downe error,) and not as they doo, for a little commoditie & gaine to themselves, neither benefit their countrie, nor speake well of such as would and doo helpe posteritie. Thus this much by Francis Thin, touching the chancellors of England."

(7) The Earls of Leicester. Holinshed, iii. 1419\(^1\), col. 1.

[Preamble, ib. l. 21-34. "In the moneths of Novemuber and December [1585], manie horses and men were shipped at the Tower wharffe to be transported ouer into the low countries. And on the first of December the right honorable lord Robert Dudleie, earle of Leicester, lord lieutenant generall (after he had taken his leaue 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 received and intretained."

"\(^2\) 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 John 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 satisifie himselfe with this, whatsoever it now be, untill it shall please God to give better abilitie & more time, to deliuer to the world the whole discourse of their lies, which I have alreadie roughlie heven out of the"

\(^1\) Hearne's Diary, vol. lxxiv. p. 240. Notes out of Mr Bridges's complete Holingshede. "The castrated sheete of Holingshed 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 init, 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 realtime." . . . [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 yeares 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 sixte yeare of queene Elisabeth, being the yeares of our redemption, one thousand, five hundred, sixtie and fourie, whose manner of creation I will omit, because it is alreadie set downe in the said yeares of Christ one thousand, five hundred, sixtie and fourie. And thus much touching the earles of Leicesters in generall, and touching Robert Sutton, in especiall, whose honourable intertempution in the lowe countries (whereinto he entered in this yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred eighttie and five) 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 condemne) were drawne to Tibusne, and there hanged bowelled, and quartered. Also on the same daie a wench was burnt at Smithfield, for poisoning of her aunt and mistresse, and also attempting to haue done the like to her vnle. On the second daie of Februarie, or feast of the purificacion of our blessed ladie, doctor Iohn Whitgift, archbishop of Canturbrie, William lord Cobham, lord warden of the fiue ports, and Thomas lord Backhurt, were chosen and taken to be of his maisties prouiue counsell: 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 Canturbrie and the lord Cobhams, with the lord wardens of the fiue ports, as he hath before doone in this chronicle of most of the other principall officers of the realme.'

"The liues of the archbishops of Canturbrie, 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, frauded pardon of the reader. Whereupon Cato the

1 Hearne's Diary, vol. ixiii. p. 126. "The Author of all four [Discourses
Elder did scofflinglie saie; Truelie he had been to be pardoned, if he had written in Greeke, as one compelled therevnto 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 deedes of the Romans in the Greeke toong; in the beginning of whose historie he hath set downe, that none ought to be angrie with him, although that he hath not written eloquentlie in those books. For being a Roman borne in Latium, a part of Italie, the Greeke toong was but a stranger vnto him. Which worke, when Marcus Cato had read, and happened on this excuse of Aulus Labienus, he reprehendingly said: 'Art not thou Aulus a great trider, which haddest rather craue pardon for a fault committed, than to be without the committting of a fault; sith we are accustomeonelie to craue pardon when we erre vnwittinglie, or offend by compulsion of others?' Wherevnto Cato further added: 'Te quis perpulit vt id committeres quod priusquam faceres, peteres vt ignocercetur?' Thus much out of Gellius. Whereby it appeareth, that in Plutarch reciting this saient 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, done to and by one man having diverse names.

Which historie I have not vouched, to the end that I would craue fauor for writing the doings of other persons in a toong wherein I am skillesse; because it desueth 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, saieng that where we offend by ignorance or by compulsion, that there we may lawfullie craue pardon therefore. Which words of so graue, so wise, and so reverend a person, incorageth me to craue pardon, if I haue offended in the discourse of these liues of the bishops of Canturburie (consecrated to thy favourable acceptance) because I haue beeenu moued and induced to the writing of them in a short space, by the intreatie of such of my friends, which vpon the inserting of this now archbishop of Canturburie, with the lords Cobham and Buckhurst (woorthlie sworne of hir maiesties priuie councell) in the new augmented chronicle of Hollinshed, han with manie good speeches animated me vnder the bands & duties of amitie (than which a greater law or burthen can not be laid vpon anie man) to enter into this discourse of the archbishops,

of the Earls of Leicester, the Archbishops of Canterbury, the Lord Cobhams, and the Wardens 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 Joscelino's Antiquitates Ecclesius 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 shortness of time which I had therefore, (all which might farte a better man than myself to withdraw his pen from laieng abroad his imperfections,) yet I hope that course, accompanied with a mild disposition of nature, will favorably imbrace my good meaning, and beare with all other imperfections in the penning thereof, both because nothing is so exacte handled, but that some Zoilus will some waie or other repine at it, and also because the reason which I haue before alleaged, and Catho hath warranted, is a sufficient defense for me, without offense, to crave pardon for the vnadvised entring into anie such vnertaken action, and a just cause to moose thee not to mistake of this, or anie thing which we doo at the intretie 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 christianitie of this reale, neither of the state of christianitie infected with the Pelagian heresie (being streckened within the borders of Wales) nor yet of the hatefull paganism with which all the rest of the parts of this He now called England was ouerspred, which Augustine the monke of Rome (not the doctor of the church and bishop of Hippo in Africa) found here when he came first into this Iland, but onlie nackedlie 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 lives of seuentie bishops of that place, as here dooth presentlie follow. Augustine, &c."

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

Afterwards, doctor Grindall, archbishop of Canturburie, dieing in the moneth of Julie 1588, it pleased God to put into her maiesties hart to nominat him [Whitgift] in August after, archbishop of that see, whose election therevnto was confirmed at Lambeth on the 23 of September following. And on the second of Februarie 1585, according to the computation of our church of England, being the 28 of hir maiesties reigne, he, with other worthie and honorable personages, was sworn one of hir maiesties priuie counsell: which honor vnder hir maiesties most gravious gouernement, I praise God he maie long intioie. Thus hauing set end to the discourse of the archbishops of Canturburie, with this reverend prelat Iohn Whitegifft 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 beeene sworn of hir maiesties counsell.

1 "He [Archbp. Matthew Parker] wrote a booke in Latin of the liues of the Archbishops of that see (as some affirme) which I haue vsed much in this discourse, of the liues of the archbishops of Canturburie," iii. 1495, col. 1, l. 61-5.
(9) The Lord Cobhams.

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 Bottenye, commonly surnamed Thin, in the yeare of our redemption 1586.

The divine philosopher Plato, diuiding nobilitie into four degrees, saith; that the first is of such as be descended of famous, good, just and vertuous ancestors; the second are they whose former grandfathers were princes and mightie persons; the third sort be such as be renowned by worthie fame, in that they have obteined a crowne and reward for anie valiant exploit, or in anie other excellent action in the seates of warre; the fourth and cheifest kind of noble men, are persons which of themselues 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. Wherevpon Socrates, being demanded what was true nobilitie, answered: Animis corporisque temperantia. And Cassiodorus proueth, that of all others, the nobilitie gotten by ourselues is the most excellent, when he saith, Nobilitas à me procedens, est mihi cordi, plusquam quae ex patrum procedit nobilitate: quia in quo desinit cutilusque nobilitas tunc auorum nobilitate congruë indiget. The reason whereof, and the cause wher a man is counted most noble by his owne actions, the graue and morall Seneca hath appointed to be; the nobilitie of his mind, which alwaies seeketh to performe woorthie and honourable actions; for thus he deliuereth vs his opinion vpon the same: Habet hoc optimum generosus animus, quod concitatur ad honesta. Neminem exceisi animi virum humilia delectant $ sordida. Felix qui ad meliora imperium animi dedit: ponet se extra conditionem fortuna, prospera tentabit, adversa comminuet, $ aliis admiranda despiciet. Now if anie one of all these things by themselues in particular, falling in seuerall persons, maketh euery such person noble, who tasteth but of one of these foure 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, euem in the cheepest 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 countrey, 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 leaving 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 may not saie that which I can, and euery man knoweth) I will orderr the 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 pedigrees of that newer sufficientlie praised lord treasuor of England, sir William Cecill, knight, lord Burleigh, is delivered to the world in my former discourse of the lord treasuors of England. [pag. 1223.] Wherefore thus I begin with the lord Cobhams. William Quatermer, &c.

(p. 1515, col. 2, l. 69.) "Thus haung finished all my coarse discourse of these lord Cobhams, it is high time for vs now to descend to the lord wardens of the ffe ports: which office the honorable baron sir William Brooke, knight, lord Cobham of Cobham now luing, dooth to his countries good, and his great honor, worthilie inioy, 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 Dover 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 five hundred fourscore and six.

It hath bin some question, whether this officer of warden of the ports were in the Romane and Saxons times, which trutlie I am resolved was then vse: and the officer rightlie to be called Limenarcha, the cheife (as it were) of the borders of seacoasts, and the governor Saxonicci litoris; which was of that shore which belonged to England, in Kent, on which the roming pirates of the Saxons lieng uppon the see 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 within my knowledge, as followeth.

Goodwine, earle of Kent, was constable of Dover castell, maister of the ports and those parts of the seacoastes, and had the towne of Dover 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 Dover 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 liberalie in my discourse of the lord Cobhams of Cobham, I will not here saie anie thing but this; that he, haunge possessed this place by the space of eight and twente 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 inioie the same, manie following yeares, to his owne honor and his countries benefit: whome I will here leave 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 Dover¹. The description of the works (in the Continuation of Holinshed) is done with relish, and reminds one of the railway embankment-making one has seen. I copy a bit which speaks of the workmen’s cleverness and good behaviour, iii. 1546, col. 1, l. 17:—

In the passage also of the courts [little wagons 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 staie made, but the courts must run ouer them, and yet no great harme hath happened that waie. And I my selfe have scene a court laden with earth passe ouer the bellie or stomach of the druier, and yet he not hurt at all therby. Manie courts also being vnladen (for expedition) were druien at low waters through the channell, 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 channell did so suddenlie swell, as manie horses, with their courts, and druiers which rode in them, were overtaken, or rather ouerwhelmed with water, and were forced to swim, with great hazard of life, though therat some tooke pleasure. For sometimes the boies would strip themselves naked, and ride in that case in their courts through the channell, being so high, as they were ducked ouer head & ecares; but they knew their horses would swim and carrie them through the stremes, which ministred to some, occasion of laughter and mirth. Finally, 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 vniuersallie 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 Herald’s Office, and a MS. on the same subject of France. Thine in Mr Pepys’s library. (sc.)” 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 unto, by means of throughfare and common passage, and had beene extremeelie visited therewith not long before, so as the towne was abandoned of most men, yea, of some of the inhabitantes themselues for that cause: and yet God blessed so the works, as in this extraordinarie and populous assemblie, there was in no part of the towne anie death or infection, either of townsmen, or workmen which resorted thither from all the parts of England.

And one thing more in mine opinion is to be noted & commended herein, that is to saie, that in all this time, and among all these people, there was neuer anie tumult, fraie, nor falling out, to the disquieting or disturbance of the works, which by that means were the better applied, and with lesse interruption. For they neuer ceased working the whole daie, sauing that at eleuen of the clocke before noone, as also at six of the clocke in the evening, there was a flag vsuallie held vp by the sargent of the towne, in the top of a tower,—except the tide, or extraordinarie business forced the officers to preuent the houre, or to make some small delai & 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 unworthy 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\textsuperscript{1} a clocke,
and a little, little, little, little past:
My bow is broke, I would vnyoke;
my foot is sore, I can work no more.

This song was made and set in Romneie marsh, where their best making is making of walls and dikes, and their best setting is to set a needle or a stake in a hedge: howbeit this is a more civill call than the brutish call at the theatre for the coming awake of the plaieres to the stage. I thinke there was neuer worke attempted with more desire, nor proceeded in with more contentment, nor executed with greater trauell of workemen, or diligence of
officers, nor provided for with more carefullnesse of commissioners, nor with truer accounts or ducer paie, nor continued with more circumspection of the deuisers & undertakers 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 loue to their countrie, haue thought good, before me, to knit vp the seuerall regne of euerie seuerall king with a generalitie of the seuerall writers in that princes daies, so haue I bene importuned by manie of my frends, to knit vp 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 living, I suppose, that can doo the same,) yet hauing done my good will therein, and that more than perhaps some others would haue done, I praie thee to beare with the defaults, and accept that which I haue done and could doe. And although perhaps I maie set downe one man twise, as first by his name, and then set downe the worke without his name, as another seuerall thing; yet is it not of purpose doone, or to the end that I would make a great shew, and seeme ambitious of names or knowledge; but for that I haue not as yet atteined to that perfection which hereafter I hope to doe in distinguishing of the same. For Rome was not built in one daie; & yet if one daies foundation thereof had not bene first laid, it had never benee after builde, and so to the matter." Holinshed, iii. 1589, col. 1, l. 42-70. Under P he notes "John Proctor, schoole-master 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 englishing 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 rehearsall omnigatherum of such as haue written in the regne of our blessed souereigne: but herein as it passeth our possibility to satisfie their expectation, their number being infinit, and many of them vnknowne, and vnworthy of remembrence: so it were to be wished that some fauourer of learned mens fame, would comprise their

¹ Note the use of this phrase above, p. lxx.
II. FR. THYNNE'S FIRST TRY FOR THE HERALDS' OFFICE.

names and works in a particular volume, therein imitating either the order of Bale, or Gesner; or else the commendable method of John James the Friislander, printed at Tigurie one thousand, five hundred, fourscore and three; either of which courses being taken, would well serve the turne."

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

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


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

"The 'Generall Answer' occupies two sides of a leaf and a quarter; it is something like a counsel's 'Opinion,' taking up the points of Mr Neville's precedents, and confuting each one strongly. (The confuter lays much stress on "the reasone and maximess 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 haue muche idle tymе and little wisdomе, to write so often & speede so seldome. Whiche yt yo\(^1\) do, I impute to the frowarde heauens distyllinge there Influence in my natvytte, wherein Saturne, beinge in his pryde, hathe as hardly threatenet, as I haue heuely felte, the ouerhwarte proccedinges of the two fyrate tryplicytes or progressions of my lyfe now almost ended: All whiche yet I beare the moore pacientlye because I ame fedd witha a swete hope, that at the entringe into the thirde progressione of the cours of my yeres, the gentile Jupiter wyll expell his father Saturne outhe of his kynроме, & so gelde hym of his malice that I shall for euer be freed from the tyrannye of his powre. Whiche I speake in all simplicyte, I protest vnto your Lordship, because I Judge that the denyall of my sute to mee, & the graunte theerof to others by your Lordship (sollicitet for the same before my lettres\(^1\) came) is rather to be holden a thinge Incidente to my vnhappye 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 propphet (answeringe one demaundinge whether he shold enter into the managinge of the commone we[l]the or no) may Iustly be applied to mee, the prophecys woordes beinge, “Sero venisti, me de principatu et rei publice administratranone consullens, & alieno tempore militiae Ianuana pulsans”.

For the office of Norrey was gonne\(^2\) before I came; The place of Chester was granted before I suet\(^3\); the doore was locked; I knockt to late; I slepte with the fyre foolyshe virgins, and was deprived of that whiche I hooped through your Lordship to haue obtayned.

Now where your Lordship sayed that all the whole collidge of heracudes had suet for William Thomas\(^4\), I ame gladd to here of so grete a sympathye betwene them: whiche yt, I feare, is not so muche for loue emongst them selues, as for hatred unto others. For (I dopte) 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 examinaciane of the fier of truth. For howe so euer they shall seme to make an harmoynie (havinge two bitter factions emongst them selues, for the meynenauace whereof eche partye laboreth in that office to drawe euery one they canne to their side, in preferringe those in that office whiche wilbe beholdinge to them), yet is their suche Iarringe tunes in the greteste of their knowledge, that the truethe of manye antiquyteys and perdeegres shalbe ether meymed of her

\(^1\) 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; whiche I will sufficiently aduouche, yt Instances be called for at my handes. Whiche beinge true, dothe manyfest to the wo[r]ldide that they cannot abyde the lighte of any other mans knowledge to enter emongest them, or nourishie any further knowledge in that office then their owne (as appered in the vnquencheable & more then Vatianin hatred whiche they bare to Somersett departed) no more then the Batte cane abide the Light of the daye. But I will not Anotomysze eyuer particular default of eyerue manne and matter in that office. (Lest I might be counted one of the foolishe sonnes of Martine Mare- prevalent;) Althouge I knowe, that the glorious vanytue of Garter; The subtil conveuance of Clarenceauxe, the weake estate of Chester, the skyll of Richmonde, the pleyne meaninge of Yorke. The poetiscall penne of Somerset. The smale knowledge of Lancaster, the feeble gouverneste of Windsoare, the blemished actions of Rouge Crosse, the smale experience of Rouge Dragon, & the late prefermente of Port-cuyles and Blewmanetell, wold speake all they cold againste me, a stranger in that office. But I (layinge all my lyfe open to the world, and makinge my actions the towchestone of the honest cariage of my selfe,) feare not what their malice cane saye to my disgrace; for in the ende, I hoope the rebounde of their owne brethe shall ouere throwe them, ye I shall come to answere their objections, Whiche 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 councillors of state,) haue sayed somethinges of mee to your Lordship, whose wisdome, measuringe all mens spedes by the square of Justice, is not easely to be caried awaye with euery Idle blaste, as I haue judged. But, my good Lorde, seinge yt falthe from the mouth of hym whome I haue alwayes honored and euer wyll, that your Lordship hathe grantyd your fauor to one other for the place of Chester, and that I am excluded and hoopelesse of the Roome of an hereaude (all places beinge full,) vnlesst I will exepcte dedd mens shoes, (and so, beinge barefoote, were oute my lyfe before I possessse that legacye,) I do hold my selfe satisfied, determeninge hereafter to lyve in silence, (and lyke the snayle, not to come forthe of my shell,) vnlesst I may by youre Lordships meanes (to whose judgment I commendye my selfe) receve premermente in the world.

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


St. TUCKER, Rouge Croix, 1675.
II 2. F. THYNNE'S SPEECHES AT SOC. OF ANTIQUARIES. xciii

commandaundemente, I dulyfully take my leave. Clerken well, 15 of November, 1588. Your Lordships commande to his uttermoste

Francis Thynne

address—To the right honorable his singuler good lorde, the lord Treurer, bee These.

endorse—Mr Francis Thinne to my l.

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

II 2. Speeches.—In 1591 (or -91 and 92 if his "x of february 1591" is old style,) we find Francis Thynne one of the knot of men who were the forerunners of the present Society of Antiquaries. This knot of men was generally called 'the Society of Antiquaries', but it must of course be distinguisth 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 Ayliffe, 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, Tr. 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 Noolume, at ii of the clock in thaternoon, where your oppiniou, in wrytine or otherwise, is expected.

The question is,

'Of the antiquitie, etimologie, and priviledges of parishes in Englannde.'

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 crabbef 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' Garters [Dethick's] howse in the office of the heraldes, vpon these questions.

1. Of what antiquytie the name of 'Barones' in Englande; of their creatione; and signyficatione of the worde.
2. Of what antiquitye 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 xxij daye of June a° 1591, in the assemblye of the Antiquaries at m° garters houe aboute these questions followinge a° Elizabeth 33.
1. On the Antiquytie of Vicouts, and of other thinges concerninge the same in Englande.
2. "Of the Antiquytie of 'sealinge'\(^1\); the forme thereof; and the sealinge with Armes." This ends on leaf 52 with "And so finishing this troblesome & confused discourse, I beseeche yo\(^a\) to pardone all the imper[sec]tiones thereof, and not obiecte to me the sayinge of Salomon, that 'in multiloquio non deest pecatum.'"

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

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

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

Of what Antiquitye Shires were in England. Art. IX, p. 33-42.
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.)

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\(^1\) 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. lxxix), 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 dutfully (right honorable & my very good lorde) present my selfe vnto yo; and for that cause was yesterdaye at your Lordships howse. But since I cannott, I ame, in place thereof, to Acknowledge my selfe and service (redye at your Lordships disposition,) by my penne. Withe whiche, desyringe your Lordships favor (the rather be cause yo willed mee to expecte the next auoydane wherein your Lordship wold afford me your honorable furtherance,) that I may, by your meanes, (for I haue alwayes, and styll will, depende uponne your Lordship, and one none other) attayne to a place emongesthe the Heraldes.

How worthye I maye be thereof, yt besemeth not me to speake; because, to praysye my selfe were vanyte, & to dispraysye my selfe were follye; and to compare with ane of the office, were odious; yet this muche withoute offence I maye saye, that I beseeche your Lordship to put me to the triall, whether I maye not in skyl of learning (even in the depest pointes of Armorie, whiche cannott be knowne withoute the mysteries of Philosophie and the judgmente of histories) desire that place as well as some others.

Manye, I knowe, haue, and yet doo, labore for the offices of Clarencieux 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 & countruye, & of howe great contynuance in Haroldrye. But yet yt yt lyke your Lordship to cast a favorable lykinge to hym (whiche hath wholly tyed hymselfe to yo; & to your howse) yt may be that he which cometh last, maye be preferred with the firste.

My nowe contynuall traualye, my Lord, is, in finisheinge the worke of the tresurers of England, whiche I haue brought vnnto Henry the fourth, and hoepe to finishe before Easter next; vntill whiche (yt your Lordship shall haue in lykinge to favor my present suyte) I onlye crave of your Lordship that some staye maye be made of bestowinge those offices vntill I haue finisshed that booke of tresurers & certeyne cirt-

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 promisst, “my large booke of the Iuues of the lord treasurers of England,” p. lxxvili above. See List of F. T.'s Works below.
cutury perdegrees of the Erles & Vicontes of Englannde, whiche in mynde I haue alredye consecrate to your honorable Protectiune. Howe suche I haue alredye donne of those thinges (yf yt please your Lordship to see in suche rude and indigested forme as they bee) I wylle weyte vppon your Lordship with them, whene your Lordship will vouchesafe mee admynytance to your presence, by appointinge a tyme therefore; for otherwise I knowe not howe or when I shall fynde your Lordship at lesure, or willinge therunto. Thus in all dytuye I humbly comende me to your honorable furtherance, & comyte your to godde, who sende to your Lordship manye happye yeres, and to me the contynuance of your vndeserued fayor. Clerkenwell Grene, this 2 of December, 1593.

Your Lordships wholye to dispose,

Francis Thynne

[address, on outer leaf] [endorst, with a wrong date]
To the righte honorable
his singuler good lorde
The Lorde Tresurer
be these.

20 No. 1593
Mr Fr: Thinne to my lorde
For prefern^1 to y^2 place of
one of ye Kings at Armes

For his appointment, Thynne has to be patient, and wait still above eight yeres, 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. 3

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

1 It may be 'circulatry'.
2 Messrs Cooper, Gent.'s Mag., July 1865, p. 87.

THYNN.
“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 Thinne'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 Arms of the Chancellors, collected into one Catalogue by Francis Thynn, declaringe the yeres of the reignes of the kings, and the yere of ooure lorde in whiche they possessed that office.” Motto ‘Je suis envie maugre envie, et pur ceo sorte pur bien ou ne sorte rien.’ The arms of the Chancellors 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 Chaucerye, Francis Thynn wyshethe manye happye and helthful yeares.

Yet nedeth not (my verye goode lorde) to lay downe a cause or reasone whye I presente your lordship (beinge lorde keper of the greate seale, and havinge the auctorty of the Chancelor) withe the names and armes of suche your predecessors as have possessed that place and preheminence. for besides that yo well merithe this and moore from me (to thome your honorable courtesye hathe vouchesafed manye fawors beyoynde my desartes) your singuler vertues and ornameentes of nature and industirye (by whiche yo imitate, or rather excell, the fame of your predecessors before yo knowe their names and act[i]one doo and may iustelye challenge this Catalogue of the Chancelors and kepers of the greate seale to be offred vnto yo. Wherefor I will

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

What care and industrie I have vse in settinge downe that Catalogue of their entrance and contynuance in that place, and in aptinge the yeres of the Kinges reigne to the yeres of Christe, modestye envoyyneth me not to write, yppon payne of havinge my cheekes steyned with vermilion, and my redytte blotted with philautia1, selffe love, and vanytie. And the daughter of tyme, I hoope, shal afterward gyve sufficiente shewe to the worlde, and confirme this labor by the auctoryte of approved hystoryes, and warrante of vncontrolable Recordes, bothe whiche do wyete yppon my peine to witsene what care I have had for the true deliuereance thereof. And for that cause nether praysinge nor dispraysinge my selffe (synce 'laudare se vani, vituperare se stulti est') I leave the consideracione thereof to your Lordships rare Judgetme, the Eagles sighte whereof canne perce the sonne of all knowledge, and espie the imperfect[i]ons of all writers. 'Sed quo nunse propriept iste?' I had almooste (in spekinge of your lordships vertues, and myne owne labors) looste my selffe, for the firste ys so spacious a field for me to runne ower, that I shall be oute of brethe befor I haue ended halfe my course; and the other is so barreyne, as yt affordeth not matter worthe remembrance, and so haue juste to feynete before I doo beginne, and so to loose my selffe in boote.

Wherefore to retorne 'in gradum,' I will prosecute the intente of my forespeche to this Catalogue, and (vnder your lordships correctione) bringe forthe suche thinges as I haue observed in the gatheringe thereof, concerninge the originall, the antiquitie, the office, the auctoryte, & suche other thinges belonginge to the chancelor. Wherefore, in fynishinge hereof, I ame to impornte your Lordship to pardonne two grosse imperfections in this course discourse and Rapsodicauff collectione of the Chancellors/. The firste whereof is, the tedious leng[t]he and the disordered compositione / and the other is, the deformed blotted and rude wrytinge. for excuse of the fyreste I hoope your Lordship will not laye before mee that whiche I herde one saye of a longe speche made by a frende of myne, 'Hic desinit flumen verborum et gutta mentis,' here endeth manye woordes and little 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 auctoryties as the selfe conceyted mistravile, proueste of Eatone, is reported (F 16, bk) to saye of Lipsius his politickes, that they be 'sentencie pueriles' tyed together with pointes. although I know that our speche sholde be answerable to the propordon of moneye, wherof the lesser quantyte comprehendeth the gretest value, as appereth in golde; and in fewest wordes is often tyme the gretest

1 Us'd before, in the Scotland bit, on p. lxxiv, l. 2.
wydome, . . . . Yet since I ame lyke the peintuer whiche cannott take
his pnsil from his worke before he marre his labor by addinge and
changelinge by ouermuche curiositie, and desire to have his picture well
performed, I beseeche your Lordship not to thinke what I have donne but
what I wolde and sholde have donne in avoydinge Battologia and
manologia, wherinto I confess I haue fallen . . . . . I leave that matter:
And for the other falte, the blotted and rude wryttinge, I craue your
Lordship also to passe yt ouer, remembrique that ‘sub sorrido pallio
latet sapiencia,’ and that we are taught by Christe not to juge ‘secundum
faciem aut vestem;’ for pure wyne is no lesse comfortable to nature yf
yt be dronke oute of a wodden vessell (wherinto yt is naturally first
powred) then yf yt were receved oute of a cuppe of golde. And the
swete chestnute is couered with a harse and rooife coote, as is the peche
and other delicate frutes. So that I nothinge dopte but that your
Lordship will pardonne all imperfections hereof, withe that curteysye
whiche hitherto hathe alwayes accompanied your former actions; and
accept this from me with such a mynde as I present the same to yo,
for so shal yo encourage me herafter to consecrate sorne other my
labors to your favorable acceptance; & I fully rest satysfied of your
good mynde towards mee. Thus in all duetie 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
Loordship. ClerkennweH 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 Records founde
in the rooles of the towre, concerning the Chauncelors and the tymes
wherin they were invested with that office,”—Latin documents from the
Close and Patent Rolls, all copi’d in Thynne’s own hand. Another hand
has added on leaf 51 (as on 22, bk) the names of the later chancellors
to ‘Sir Henage Finch, after, Lord Finch of Braintree; since Earle of
Nottingham.’

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

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,

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

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

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

On Feb. 28, 1598-9, Francis writes again from the place where he has finally settl'd down, "Clerkenwell Green." Both letters are address't to the second Sir John Thynne, of Longleat, where they still are. Copies of them are not allow'd me; but I suppose they appeal to the duld conscience of Sir John to carry out his father's agreement with Francis (p. xlvii 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 Visitacione of Norfolke, made anno domini 1563 by William Harvye, clarenceux. 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, Erie of Shrewsbery, Captayne of Coustence.")

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

"20. Miscellanies of the Treasury, with the history of the lives of some of the lord treasurers." Written to Thomas Lord Buckhurst, 1599, but not completed. MS. formerly in the possession of John 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 at his possessing.
Francis Thynne inherited his father's love for Chaucer and manuscripts, and had made preparations for a new edition of his father's book, when, in 1598, his acquaintance Thomas Speght publish'd his new edition of Chaucers Workes, and in his Preface insinuated that no editor before him had collated manuscripts for his text. Nor had Speght paid due homage to the hereditary editor Francis Thynne, by consulting him as to the new edition. This put the worthy herald's back up, and he took advantage of the custom of literary men presenting their noble patrons with a new book or treatise as a New Year's Gift, to write the following Animadversions,—dedicated and given to the friend of his 'yonger yeares' (p. ciii), Lord Ellesmere—snubbing Speght for his injustice to William Thynne, his presumption towards himself, Francis Thynne, and his ignorance, as shown by the many mistakes in his edition, of which the vex 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 cancell'd 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 thadauncement 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 wrong (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 declar'd intention of re-editing Chaucer (p. 75), and specially trying to distinguish the genuine works of the poet from the spurious ones attributed to him (p. 69). For, with William Thynne's collection of MSS., and specially that 'examinatur-Chaucer' one, Francis Thynne might have given us invaluable evidence—now, alas, irrecoverable—of

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

"Of whom [Archbp. Whitgift] I will say no more in this place, because I haue before, in the yeare 1600, saied somewhat, and my good friend master Francis Thynne, Lancaster Herald, 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. lxxv above) he referrd to Stow as an authority:

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

And Francis Thynne is, I suppose, the 'one painfull 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 z. 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 thinges don and sayed by such as were well knowne to your Lordship and to my selfe, 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) unto your good likinge, and commiting me to your honorable good favoure and furtherance (to add oyle to the emplie lampe of my muse for maintenence of the light thereof, which without the comfortable heate of your honorable patronage will soone be extinguished) I humbly take my leave, from my howse in Clerkenwelle Grene the 20 of December 1600. Youre Lordshippes in all dutye, Francys Thynne” (underdotted and dash, 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 geett and keepe frendes’ (leaf 43, back), ‘Spencers Fayrie Queene’ (leaf 53, back), ‘Camdens Britania’ (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 Anglie, 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 Herald’s 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 whom the Mowbrayes and Howards hold the same office, as yt wasre in right of their discents; of which lyne your Lordshippe is lineally extract, being descended of the howse 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 liues, to be opened at large with all suche worthye actions as they have 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 Curtesye which encourageth mee thus boldly to offer to your honorable acceptance this slender Collection, I dutifully take my leaue. Clerkenwell greene, 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. 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 Herald.

"Regina omnibus, ad quos &c. Salutem.

"Sciatis quod Nos, de Gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa Scientia & mero Motu nostris, necon in consideratione boni, veri ac fidelis Servitii quod, dilectus Serviens nostro, Francisca Thynn Armiger, nobis durante Vitâ suâ impenedere intendit, fecimus, nominavimus, creavimus, erigimus, & investivimus, ac, per Presentes, facinus, nominamus, creamus, erigimus, & investimus, eundem Fransiccam unum Heraldorum nostrorum ad Arma, eique nomen illud vulgariter nuncupatum Lancaster imponimus, ac Stilum, Titulum, Liberalem, & Praheminentias, hujusmodi Officio, convenientia & concordantia, ab antiquo consueta, damus & concedimus per Presentes:"

"Habendum & exercendum Officium illud, ac Nomen Stilum Titulum Libertatem & Praheminentias predicta, prefato Francisco Thynn alias Lancaster, durante Vitâ suâ. Et ulterior concessimus, ac, per Presentes pro Nobis, Heredibus, & Successoribus nostris concedimus eidem Francisco Thynn alias Lancaster, singulis Annis durante Vitâ suâ predictâ, pro Exercitio Officii predicti, quandam Annuitatem sive annualem Rediditum 20 Mare. bone & legalis Monetae Angl. habendam & annuatim perciendam eidem Francisco Thynn alias Lancaster a Feste Annunciationis beate Marie Virginis ultimâ præterito durante Vitâ suâ, de Thesaurii nostro, ad Receptam Seaccarii nostri, per Manus Thesaurarii & Camerariorum nostrorum libidem pro tempore existentium, ad Festâ Sancti Michaelis Archangeli & Annunciationis beate Marie Virginis, per aequales Portiones, unà cum omnibus aliis Commoditâibus, Ad- vantaggiis, Praheminentias, & Emolumentis, eidem officio debitis & consuetudinis, 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\(^4\) George, Windsor, then likewise created, in the custody of D. Rawlinson.—He was the son and Heir of Wm Thynne of Kent Esq.; Master of the Household to H 8; of the antiently knightly family descended from the Botevills; who had his first\(^3\) Education in Tunbridge school under m\(^7\) 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.\(^6\) m\(^7\) 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 kingdome.\(^9\)

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 inlus, sive aliqui aliis Heraldorum nostrorum nuper habuit
aut percepit, habeuerunt & perceperunt pro Exercitio Officii prædicti,

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

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

(Rymer, Fædera. xvi. 471, ed. 1715.)

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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.
4 “Hollingshead’s Hist. p. 1091,” (p. xlviii, 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. xlvii, above. It is Thynne’s friend’s Letter at the end of the Advocate and Ant’advocate, which is “from Lyneolnes Inne this :28 of Marche :1604 :" MS. leaf 64. Thynne’s own letter, MS. leaf 65-6, is “from my house on Clerkewell greene this xlii:” of Maye, 1605 :” as on page cxiii.)
6 “Britannia in English, in the preface, p. Clxi.”
7 “In Cambridgeshire.”
8 “In Yorkshire, p. 714.”
II A. FRANCIS THYNNE’S POEM ON CHAUCER.

What lasting praise sharpe-witted Italie
By Tasso’s and by Petrarkes penne obtained;
What fame Bartas vnto proud France hath gained,
By seuen daies world Poetically strained:

What high renowne is purchas’d vnto Spaine,
Which fresh Dianaes verses do distill;
What praise our neighbour Scotland doth retaine,
By Gawine Douglas, in his Virgill quill;
Or other motions by sweet Poets skill,
The same, and more, faire England challenge may,
By that rare wit and art thou doest display,
In verse, which doth Apollos muse bewray.

Then Chaucer liue, for still thy verse shall liue,
T’unborne Poëts, 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 praised by name in the sonnet, I suppose we must take
“The helpefull notes” to mean Speght’s Life of Chaucer, and the
Head-notes which he has put before nearly every ‘Tale’ as well as
longer ‘Minor Poem.’

Of the Animadversions uppon Chaucer.

In reading of the learn’d praise-worthie peine,
The helpefull notes explaining Chaucers mind,
The Abstruse skill, the artificiall veine;
By true Annalogie I rightly find,
Speght is the child of Chaucers fruitfull breine,
Vernishing his worke 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-
caster. Indorsed, 'Offic. uñ Herald ad arma nuncupatür Lancaster. per [Franciscum] Thynne. April 1602.'"

An autograph collection of Pedigrees &c. made by Francis Thynne in the years 1602-5 is now the Harleian MS. 774. 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 delivered to me 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 Bole written aboute the tyrne of edward the thirde kinge off Englande or the kinges of france and belonginge to an outlandishe manne was brought yt into Engelande and lent yt to Mr Campden Clarenceux a. 1602 who lent yt vnto mee. Wherefore muche avouching the howse of Bullein is conferm'd by oure auncient histories". This seems to be a Pedigree of the *Dukes of Lotharingia.*

Leaf 3, back. "ex relatione christophori Aubry 14 maij 1603". *Wiloughby Lord Broke.*

Leaf 4. "Oute of the office of the harolds 16 Maij 1603". *Willoughby of Eresby.*

Leaf 4, back. "Somersett 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'Eresby.*


Leaf 7, back. "Ex relatione elenero Edolphe vxoris willelmi Page armigere a. 1603". *Tustone.*


Leaf 9. "The copys of a perdegree sent to me by Mr Edward musgrave, knight of the shire for Cumberlane at the first parliament holden by kinge Jeannes, a. 1603: et 19 martij when the same beganne". *Tulliolle, Musgrave and Weston.*

Leaf 9, back. "Oute of a perdegree, a. 1604, sett dounne by Smythe Roughedragon, for the house of Essex of Lambourne". *Grosegley.*

Leaf 10. "Oute of perdegree a. 1604, sett dounne by smythe, Roughedragon, for the howse of Essex of Lambourne". *Casteneis.*

Leaf 10, back. "Mr Smythe, Ruggedragon, 1604 in the pedegree of Essex of Lamburne". *de Shottesbrooke.*

Leaf 11. "Mr Smyth, ruggedragon, a. 1604 in the perdegree of Essex of Lamburne". *Rogeris de Benham.*

Leaf 11, back. "29 Novembe 1604. ex relatione rowler warde". *Peers.*

Leaf 13. "Collections and perdegree made by Mr Drurye 1604". *Petit.*

Leaf 32, back. "Ex relatione Rowler warde 29 nov 1604". *Underhill.*

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 34, back. "Ex relatione Ric. Cabell, 5 Decemb. 1604". *Leveredge.*

Leaf 35. "This a. 1604 was taken oute of the visitacione of London made by Harvye Clarenceux". *Heywardse.*
The fly-leaf is signed "Francis Thynne Lancaster, 24 Januar. 1602."
The MS. is in Thynne's hand, except the last page, which bears
the date 1609.

II B. In 1605, Francis Thynne composed, wrote out in most careful
wise, and dedicated to King James, "The Plea betweene the Advocate and
the Ant'advocate" concerning the Bathe and Bacheher Knights, wherein

Leaf 37, back. "ex relatione Johannis Dormer de Dorbrinalet (?) feb' a
1604". Dormer.
Leaf 38. "collections of Raphe Brooke Yorke harelde". 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 Lothingia.
   ,, 4. bk. Beko Lord d'Eresby.
   ,, 5. Roselyne.
   ,, 6. Rogiers.
   ,, 7. Fitzwilliam.
   ,, 7. bk. Tusstone.
   ,, 8. Amyera.
   ,, 8. bk. Musgrave.
   ,, 10. Casteneis.
   ,, 10. bk. Shottteabroke.
   ,, 11. Rogers de Benham.
   ,, 13. Petit.
   ,, 15. "Gentlemen of Cheshyre
do begun here."
   ,, 15. Tymperley.
   ,, 15. bk. Aston.
   ,, 17. Chetilton.
   ,, 17. bk. Broke of Leighton. Brad-.
   ,, 18. bk. Calcott, Chetwood.
   ,, 19. Dodd.

Leaf 22. Hayes, Hulmes, Houghe.
   ,, 22. bk. Hyde.
   ,, 22. bk. Hassall, Huxley, Le-
   ,, 23. cester.
   ,, 23. Moreton.
   ,, 25. Nuthall.
   ,, 25. bk. Roope, Rotter.
   ,, 27. Smethwicke.
   ,, 27. bk. Spurstowe.
   ,, 28. bk. Tilsone.
   ,, 29. Wynnington.
   ,, 29. bk. Wilbram.
   ,, 30. Wynnington, Rode, and
   ,, 30. Rowe.
   ,, 30. bk. Wright.
   ,, 31. Wetnall.
   ,, 31. bk. Woodnet.
   ,, 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 Bird.
   ,, 37. Dormer.
   ,, 37. bk. Dormer.
   ,, 38. Nevill.
   ,, 38. bk. Montacute.
   ,, 40. bk. Day and Parker.

1 Messer Cooper say that another copy is in "MS. Lambeth 931, f. 42.
There was a copy in the library formed at Naworth Castle by the famous
are heard manye Antiquityes towchinge knighthood by Francis Thynne Esquier, Lancaster Herold. Tandem aliquando in meliorem." 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 followd by 1. a criticism from a friend of Thynne's on the tract, written "from Lyncolnes Inne this 28: of Marche 1604" 1 (that is, 1605), 2. Thynne's answer to his friend the censurer; and, 3. a second answer or letter of Thynne's (leaves 65, 66) "from my house on Clerkenwell greene this xiiijth 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 faythe, 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 soever it be, many pregnant causes offered themselves to moue me to dedicate the same to the honorable Comissioners 3 substituted in place of the Earle Marshall, to whom vnder your sacred Maiestie it duly belongeth,


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

3 Hearne's Diary, vol. ex. p. 6. Oct. 20, 1725. "Mr Anstis, in his Letter of the 12th inst. tells me, that if the treatise of Mr Thynne [that Mr Oldisworth 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 see might hope to have this disordered answer the sooner graced by their favorable acceptance; whereas, being altogether 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 worthy [a] kinge, and therefore fearefull to approche the beames of your splendor, [1] deemed it best to consecrate the same to those inferior lightes participating of the brightnes of your Regall Septer. But on the other side, remembring 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 endless bounds of the Oceane of your magnificent clemency, (which from the center of your bounty doth spreade it selfe into the circumference of all orders of your subiectes, as well highe as lowe, learned as unlearned,) I some what gathered my selfe into my selfe, and casting a way all feare (for most duty is always accompanied with greatest feare), I thought it my bounden Duty, and one especial part of my function, to offer to your Maiestie the frutes of my labore, which I have gathered by the only Maynteynance and support of your Maiesties benevolence and liberallity; for since by you I lyue, and lyving must serue you, and serving you, must wholly imploye all my partes to perfoeme what your Maiestie may justly challenge 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 labore in matters of honor, but vnto your Maiestie, the fountayne of all honor, from which those Comissioners doe deryue their authority. Wherefore hoping that your Maiestie will not permitt me your subiect, your seruant, your officer, alone of all others to departe sorrowfull from your presence, as one discountenanced in this disordered discourse, (since as the Emperour Vespasian said, "non oportet quemquam a vultu Caesaris tristem discedere," I most humbly prostrating my selfe before the seate of your Clemency, that only Ancor of my hope, beseech that same favorably to accept this whatsoeuer booke, gratefully do countenance the subiect thereof, (conteyning the worthynes belonging to the honorable degree of the Knightes of the Bathe,) and princely to defende those Knightes made in your Maiestys atteyning to the Crowne of England, as you have 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 juncta in vno;" for so shall the honor of those Knightes made in your Maiesties tyme be no more obscured, or their shyne eclipsed (by the emulation of others which ought not to dispute your Maiesties fact) then it was in the former and famous government of your heroicall predecessors, whereof neuer any equalled your Maiestie in largenes of dominions, in abundance 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 Maiesties feete, craving pardon for my presumption, hoping of your Lumerited favour, and desiring that the Tautologies, or needles repetitions in the answere
II B. F. THYNNE'S ADVOCATE AND ANT'ADVOCATE.

(occasioned by the Aduocates manner of writing,) and all my other imperfections therein may be over passed without mislike: I pray the Almighty Lord to send to your Maiestie 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 have learned that "Qui cum Regibus loquitur, aut raro aut quam breuissime loqui debeat." from my house on Clarkenwell Greene the 2 of Apriill, 1605.

Your Maiestyes
most humble
servant

Francis Thynne
Lancaster

[Conclusion.]

That in Respect the Knights of the Bathe are a Distincte precedency for ye Bache Knights & their wives. Bachelors: that they are more honorable in ceremonyes, that they have still contenued the possession of the place: that they always fought & servd under Banners of their owne, when Bachelors servd 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 have pruulged them in their creation before Knights of the Garter & Bannerets: that they have at all tymes one honorable place in princely proceedings above Bachelors: 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 pompe to be caried before them by one Harrode, which the Bachelors hath not: that it is no spirituall nor officiall order: & that the King hath further honord them with the Bulla or tablet of his devise, to distinguishes them from other Knights: That now in like sort as in former tyme they ought to have precedency of Bachelor Knights¹ and their wises (because they participate of the Digniture of their Husbands: because by Custome they haue obteyned & kept possession of their place: & because all the arguments alledged agaynst them by the Aduocate are of no validitie,) ought also to haue the precelegny of the wyues of Bachelor Knights, therein to answere the Digniture of their husbands :

The Ende of the Plea betweene the Aduocate & the Ant'aduocate concerning Bathe and Bachelor 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. Phillips 8,979, 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 Arme."
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) deluered my opinion, I doubt not but that you & all others (whose desire is not to seeke a knott in a Rushe, or Spider-like to sucke poysen out of Flowers, & to peruer every thinge well meant, by perverse exposition to the worse construction,) I doubt not, I say, but that you & all others will holde themselves contented with that judgement which I haue before written in answere to the Advocates sixt and Seuenth chapter; for otherwise both they and you should wronge me: Thus wishing to you as to myself, commendinge me to your favour, and Committinge you to God, I end ∴ from my house on Clerkenwell greene this :xiiij. of Maye. 1605 ∴"

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

"A Discourse of the Dutye and Office of an Heraulde of Armes, written by Frauncis Thynne Lancaster Heraulde the third daye of Marche anno 1605.

"My very good Lord [? Chancellor Egerton]"

"That cruell Tyrante the unmercyfull Gowte, which triumpheth over all those that are subject to him, of what estate soever, takinge on him, in that parte to bee a God, because hee respecteth noe person, hath so paynefully imprisoned me in my bedd, manacled my hands, fettered my feete to the sheete, that I came not out thereof since I sawe your Lordship on Christmas Eve. But having by meere force at length shaken off the manacles from my hands, (although I am still tyed by the Feete) I have now at the last (which I pray God may bee the last troubling my hand with the Gowte) attempted the performance of my promise to your Lordship, and doe here send you a Chaos and confused Rapsodye of notes, which your Lordship, as an expert Alchimiste, must sublyme and rectifie" (p. 231). p. 268: "I humbly take my leave, as one wholy devoted to your Lordship, and in you to your honourable Famelye, further craving pardon for this goutye Scriblinge, distilled from the Penn gyued by a late gowyte hand."

Your Lordshipps in what hee maye
Fra. Thynne
Lancaster

Clerken well Greene
the third of March 1605.

veteri stilo"

1 For F. Thyhne'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.
This gout may perhaps justify the report in Hearne's Diary, vol. six. p. 100. Sept. 14, 1725. "Mr Anstis told me the same time, that he had heard (from the Weymouth Family) that Mr Thynne, the Herald, tho' a very learned man, was a very hard Drinker."

On June 30, 1606, Francis Thynne writes again to Sir Thomas Thynne\(^1\), asking for money, and signing himself "Lancaster\(^2\)".

As Thynne did not surrender his Patent, and that of his successor in the Heralds' Office as Lancaster is dated November 19, 1609, Thynne no doubt died in that year.

Certain features of his character, Dr Kingsley has already sketched (p. xii). His early extravagance\(^3\) he stou'd for by his 2½ years'

\(^1\) The third Baronet. Letter at Longleat: copy not allowd me.
\(^2\) His arms were, 'Barry of ten, or and sable. Crest: on a wreath, a reindeer statant, or.'
\(^3\) Canon Jackson's just-receivd note of an early (1573-8) volume of copies o. Alchemical Treatises by F. Thynne, now at Longleat, confirms my fancy that his early extravagance may have been due to his dabbling in Alchemy.

He says he "was famlyiar in pratyse" with a writer on the subject:—

Treatises on Alchemy. MS. vol. at Longleat, containing:
2. The Ordinall of Alchemie made by Mr Norton of Bristowe. "He flourished in the year of our Lorde 1477 and was the scoller of Rypley." F. T. June 1574."
3. Tractatus de Magnete. "Copied out the 20 Aug. 1574. by me F. T. Aut novus, &c." [as on page xlii above.]
6. George Riplie's 12 Gates of Alchemy. "This was written out by me Francis Thynne at Longleat in Wiltshire & there finished the 5 day of April 1578. My strange," &c.
7. Certayne Remembrances touchinge the two greate offices of the Seneschaloy or highe Stewardshipp of England and of the Quenes house. At the end "Thus much out of the booke called Domus Regis Angliae."
8. A Treatise on the Philosopher's Stone, with this heading. "This booke was made by Mr [Edward] gent, and dedicate to Mr Haddon one of the Masters of the request to quene Elisabethe as here ensueth."

"As the stone of Philosophers is most precius," ending "but also to dye at your foote. E. D."

Then follows:

"This was copied out the 9th of Sept. 1573 in the XV of Elizabeth from the originall of the hande of the said auctor\(^a\) by me Francis Thynne was famlyiar in pratyse with the said auctor. Francis Thynne."

\(^a\) "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 Longleat, 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 Herald’s 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 nagging 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 esteemed and respected. Somewhat punctilious and fussy he no doubt was, as fond of stuffing catalogues into histories as the suppos’d Perkins was of poking emendations into Shakspere; but careful he was, and honest; went to original authorities whenever he could, and gave his others when he couldn’t; an intelligent critic too, and an industrious

[In the first page of the Treatise on the Philosopher’s Stone is this passage:—“So sayeth the sonne of hamill, ‘This art, sayeth he, is y’th, 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 & Nortone.”)]

9. A disputacione betweene Merlyne and Mariam of the marriage betwene Sylas and Anul, begins, “As the childe sat on his father’s knee”; ends, “12 tyne of day.”

Then follows this note:

* Copied out of the originall the 18 of October 1573 by me Francis Thynne whiche originall I had of Mr. Tho. Peter, written with the thande of the same Thomas Peter but I thinke this worke is imperfect because as yt seemeth their lacketh some verses to furnish the ryme but notwithstandinge I have followed the Copye. F. T.*

1 So Bacon’s ideal (New Atlantis) was a land and buildings for unlimited experiments in natural science, with the company of grave and learned men. Note F. Thynne’s “rare matters of antiquitie,” (p. lxxii, 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 help to say 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 ask him to prepare a new edition
of the tract for our Reprints; and he did begin it, in the interval of his
professional travels all over the world—is he not the Doctor of ‘The
Earl and the Doctor’ who help 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 Thyne’s autograph MS. which Lord Ellesmere had kindly
consented to let me have. I have therefore read the text twice through
with the MS., put such notes to it as my limited leisure and knowledge
allowed, got together, in these Hindwords, such details as I could, of old
William Thyne’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 Thyne’s Works. I make no excuse for giving in full the
details above as to William Thyne; 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 Shakspeare read
the Troilus and Cressyde, and learnt to write The Rape of Lucrece, which
echoes ‘Chaucer’ all through, as Beethoven’s early work does Mozart.

1 Had I but known earlier of the Messrs Coopers’ Letter in the Gentle-
man’s Magazine, the notes on Francis Thyne 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-sprain’d ankle: a punish-
ment for “making a beast of burden of myself” (Martin) in my old age, and
towing sitters in a boat instead of sculling ‘em.
In the bright air on this chalk down, memories of all four Masters come to me. The wild thyme under foot gives out its sweet scent, the tender graceful harebell nods, the golden lady-slipper glows, the crimson ground-thistle gladdens in the sun, the fresh blue sky and fleecy clouds look down well pleased¹. Would that Chaucer and Shakspere were here!

_Biddlesdown, below Croydon,_  
_Sep't. 5, 1874._

¹ And here I am, simmering in town, looking over Manuscripts and adding Francis-Thynne bits, this 16th of August, 1875! Why _still_ 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 / Phamix 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 Ambassadors 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 other, though sometimes of only a few words, on many other pages. His long insertions are marked 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-lxxxiii.)


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, aliäs Thin, in the yeare of Christ 1585." iii. 1230-8 (p. lxxvi, above).

10. "A treatise of the treaurors 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 Hollinshed's Chronicles [iii. 1419-1537, ed. 1637] reprinted in folio in 1728 (for insertion in the original ed.), and in the quarto reprint of 1807-8.)

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

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

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

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

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


II D. LIST OF FRANCIS THYNNE'S WORKS.


23. ⁴The Antiquity and Office of the Earl Marshall of England. Art. XXIII, p. 113-116, vol. ii, ed. 1771. Evidently one of Thynne's speeches before the Antiquaries. It begins: "I know that in this learned assembly, there can nothing be overpassed . . . but that will be delivered by some one, and therefore I might be silent: but since by order I must say something, although for aliquid, nihil est, I will first speak of the verge, and then of some few Tower records . . . (ends) and that in some part of his office our marshall 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, xcvii, and Appendix IV, p. 103.

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

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

² Not in ed. of 1720.

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


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

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

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

(2. No. 26, above.)

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

On the back of the title are printed the armorial bearings of Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley [as Ld. Chancellor Egerton's on the back of the Animadversions title]. The first article is dated from "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 rcycted in this discourse, after the order of the alphabett," and three others which are blank. In Wood's Athenae Oxonienses. (quarto edition, II. 109), this book is wrongly noticed as contained in No. 1374.—Black's Catalogue, col. 383. (See Mr G. Parker's extracts from the MS., in 'Notes' below.)


29. Francis Thynne, to the Lord Burghley; with a long dissertation of his on the subject Homo Animal Sociale, from 'Longleat...
the 20 of October, 1578.' Lansdowne 27, art. 36, 6 folio leaves, 70-5. (p. lxiii, 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 Heralde, 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. xcvi, above.)


33. The Plea betweene the Advocate and the Ant'advocate concerning the Bathe and Bachelor Knights. A.D. 1605. Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 12,530. (For extracts and other MSS.¹ 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 sealinge² with arms. Ib. f. 45. (p. xciv, above.)

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

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

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

37. “Collections of Francis Thynne, Lancaster Herald, 1564-1606.” 
Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 11,388. (See p. xl ix, ci, above.) 
(This volume contains much curious matter collected and illustrated by Thynne, part of it bearing on the philosopher's stone. 
One paper is an illustrated copy of a ryming Latin poem, 
“De Phenice sive de Lapide Philosophico,” referred to in the tract below, p. 36.) The largest treatise is “The kynges booke of all the lordea, 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 Angliae,' con- 
teyning the orders of the Kinges house, written in latine and 
English, being made in the tyme of king Edward the 4th, 
dated from Clerkenwell greene the one & twentith 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 
familia nobilium, et presertim de comitibus Huntingdoniae et 
Lincolniae, et ducibus Norfolciæ: 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 yeares of our redemption 

1 Leaves 291, 319 are in Stowe's hand. Thynne writes leaves 1-217, 266- 
290, 341-397.
1601, etc.” dedicated to Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham.1
Black, p. 626.
43. Epitaphia. Sive monumenta Sepulchrorum tam Anglice Latine
quam Gallice conscripta: ab illo in suu Anglice peregrinatione
collecta, & variorum librorum lectione. Item de Episcopis

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

“The names and armes of the Earles Marshalls of England, Collected by
Francis Thynn in the yeares 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 addresed to Charles Howard,
Earle of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral, on the “new Commission di-
rected” 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 end-
ing paragraphs, the last being signd by F. Thynn’s own hand:

“I make no question, Right honourable and thrice Renowned Erle, but
that manye (who owe both love and dutye to your good Lordship) have
after this new Commission directed to the lorde Threasurer, to your Lordship,
and to the Erle of Worcester, presented vnto you such rare Antiquities con-
cerning your honorable Office, as may both manyest their loving dutie, and
give light to things which have long lyen hidden: for which cause, I might
justly stake 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 whose hath alwaies lived in silence, although a well wiler
to Antiquities,) ye your noble birth, honourable disposition, and rare Curtesy,
did not addo wings to my desire, which of long tyme wished to have some
occasion ministred, wherein I might manifest my dutiefull Affection to your
Lordship. Wherefore, as one amongst the rest, willing to present vnto your
Lordship some outward pledge of inward dutye; I offer vnto your Lordship
these fewe cares of knowledge which I have gleaned out of the leavings of
suintent histories and Records.”

“[ende] . . . . . . the latter end of this book doth sett downe a Cata-
logue of all the Earles Marshalls;* and I meane hereafter to make a more
liberrall discourse of them in the fore-touched Booke of their lives, to be penned
at large, with all suche worthy actions as they haue performed.

“Thus, my good lord, in all dutye humblie committing mee and my labours
to your Lordships favourable Countenance and furtherance of my sute, and
Cominding your Lordship to the protection of the Almighty, who send to
your Lordship further increase of following honor, and to mee the comforte
of your Lordships undeserved Curtesy, which encourageth mee thus boldlye
to offer to your honourable acceptance this slender collection, I dutfully take
my leave. Clerkenwell Grene, the one and twenty of Marche, 1601.
Your lordships 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.
H. D. LIST OF FRANCIS THYNNE'S WORKS.

(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 Congreseebye, 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 Edwar
di 2nd.' ("Notes taken out [of the history of] Sir Thomas
delamore who wrought his history in frenche, and being
turned into latyne by one who lyved in his tyme. taken out
of a copye written by lawrence nowell." A fragment of the
history of Edward II.) leaves 127 back—128 back.

An. 1433. leaves 128 back—131 back.

Art. 13. Compendium Cronicae Glaconiensis Wilhelmi Malmes-
buriensis per Laurentium Nowell. leaves 131 bk—147. Signed,
"Francis Thynne 7 octobris Anno domini 1592 in Domo Wil
tielmi Lambard armigeri apud Hallinge in Kantia."

("A fragment of the draught of the will of Mr Thynne, Lancaster
herald, apparently in his own handwriting;" Lansdowne Cata-
logue—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 injured
by fire.
II E. Mr J. Payne Collier, and his attributing four spurious Books to Francis Thynne.

After Mr Collier’s practical jokes—to call them by no harsher name—on Shakspere, one is not surprised to find him practising on Francis Thynne, and indulging in the pleasantry of attributing to our author 1. The Debate between Pride and 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 of four different tracts, evidently by 3 or 4 different men, all differing in style and temper from him and from another, is a real joke. The notion that the critic of Speght’s Chaucer, who resented that editor’s poaching on his Chaucerian would sit still and see Greene clear-out his park of the Debate, and, under his eyes, set his choice deer in the said Greene’s meadow of the Quip, labeld Greene’s stag, is delightful. Why, Thynne would have flayed him for it, and have left his skin peppered and salted, to posterity. Mr Collier seems to have argued, “Here are two books by F. T., argal they’re by Francis Thynne. Here’s another by T. F., argal that’s by Francis Thynne too.” And here’s a fourth anonym-

1 Seeing that Mr Collier had made a good deal of the signature “Fr. Th.” on the title-page of Lord 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-curv 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 L, 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 Thynne 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, argul 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. lxx, above), leaves no doubt as to the spuriousness of the first three of these four books.) Here is a little bit from each book, by way of sample.

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

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

Besides all this, least any man misjudge
Of these my woordes, or hold me parciall,
As hearyng to the buttockes any grudge,
More then unto the other members all,
Because my matter hath ben of a broche,
Which is their habit and their courterure,
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 deede,
For reason ought to have his dwelling there,
Not in the buttockes, who know nothing lesse
Then what is seemly 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 describ'd an Epythyme:
Warme it, and lappe it close unto thy brest.
It was compounded with great diligence,
Of symples by an Apothekeyar,
Both trustie and skilful in that science,
And from these iii. verses doth not vary.

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

2. The Cap-and-Head Disputation, 1564:

(Lambeth Library, 28. 8. 23, the 5th tract in the vol.)
A Dialogue betwene the Cap and the Head.

O How indiscretely 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 aystlest 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 Pleasant / Dialogue or disputacion betweene the Cap, and the Head. / Imprinted at Lon/don by Henry Denham, for Lucas Harrison, dwelling in / Pauls Churchyarde at the / signe of the Crane. / Anno 1564 Novembria. 11. / (Colophon) Imprinted at London in Whitecrosse streate by Henry Denham, for Lucas Harrison, dwelling in Pauls Churchyard, at the Signe of the Crane. Anno domini. 1564. Novembris 11. Svo. A B C in eights. Colophon only on C 7, C 8 blank. The Press mark is 28. 8. 23 (art. 6). (Proof of extract not read with original.)
bare it, had bene denoured with Dogges, or that it had bene burned in the filthy fingers of the ilsauced olde queane that spunne it.

The Head.

Why, what meanest thou by thyss cursing? I never did thee any harme.

The Cap.

No diddest thou euill entreating of mee is the whole cause of my grieue, thou art 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 sweetlye 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 cleans 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 pouder, and then set thee on the hyghest and moste honorable place that I have. What wouldest thou have 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 live in peace and quietnesse without reproche, and bestowe thy rose water and damaske pouder upon thy Nice pickes me dainties, for I passe not for it, but one while thou wearest mee aloft, another while our thine eyes; one while on this fashion, and another while on that fashion, without anye discretion: moued, put of, put on again, I assure thee I esteme the patche in the breeches to be happier than I... Who is able to beare such injurys at thy hand? that art never 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 Souldier, and sometime lyke an Antique; sometime plicated, & anone after unplyted; and not being contented with that, thou bindest mee with garishe 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 chaunges?... it semeth that thou goest about to shame mee vtterly; for thou art not contented with making mee to weare Read, Yellowe, Greene, and Blewe laces, but besides that, thou encombrest mee wyth Brouches, Valentines, Rings, Kayes, Purses, Gloreus, yea, fingers of glocues! thou wrappest me in Chaine, thou settest me with Buttons and Aglets, thou dardest mee wyth rybans and bandes, thou cuttest mee, boreset mee, and slaushet mee, 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. . . . And as for the feathers which thou prickest and stickest in me, one while Ostrige, another while Cranes, Parrats, Bittors, cockes and Capons feathers, signify nothing else but the lightnesse of thy brayne: for we have a common proverbe, “Thou art as light as a Feather” . . . thy toyshe deuises in thy Brouches, & thine vnconstant wearing of Feathers, do shew the waiering of thy foolish brayne. . . But to come againe to our matter. All this grieueth me not so much as other intollerable injuries that thou dost me, which maketh me many times wish my self an euon sweerer. For when thou art drunk, and that the superfluity of thy bybbed Wine distylleth forth in sower sweateye droppes, then throwest thou me away, thou tredest on mee, and so leauest me in daunger of Dogs and Cattes, which many tymes both pyssse and shyte on me. I woulde I were then whelmed on thy drowesye 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. Student / Aut bibe aut abi. / Printed at London / at the long Shop, adjoyning vnsto / Saint Mildreds Church in the / Pultrie, by Edward / Alde, 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 proceed by the following amusing derivation of gallant: “First, gallantnesse is derived of this word Gall, which is a superfluity that groweth on the oke tree, vнопrofitable, wythout seede, light; and so rounde that it can scarce lyte still on the playne ground. Wererof some nations haue a proverbe: ‘thou art as fickle as a Gall.’ And thou shalt vnderstande, that of Gall, commeth this word Gallig, which signifieth a fretting and wearing awaye of hymselfe, or a hurtinge and offending of other. And so consequently they are called Gallant, because eyther they consume and spende awaye 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 gall) eyther gall the Marchaunt in his boke, or else, by shamefull shifting, gall so many to maintain their Gallantnesse, till they bring themselves at the length to the gallomes, which we see commonly to be most furnished with gallants: god giue 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, lx, lxi.
as thou maist understand by their Discourse, which I have gathered and reported as faithfully and as truly as my simple memory could retain the same, and that with some trauail which I accounted my dutie. First vnto them and others by them heerin mentioned. And secondly vnto all and euery good man and woman whose mindes and harts God may sturre vp vnto Godlynes and Vertue by their good ensample. Namely\(^1\) all such as are Fathers and Maisters of householde; but cheefly and principally of common Iunes 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 edifying 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 maist heer finde with out traueling to Rippon in Yorkshire to learne; and so for a grote or sixpence thou maist know that which cost mee abowe five markes to learne, besides my trouail and time spent, which yet if it please theee to accept, I shal account right wel bestowed, which God graunt, and that in all thy Journeis thy head ake not before thou alight in such an History. Farewel.  
\[\text{Aut bibe aut abi.}\]

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 Countrie. And one day among others, toward even 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." "SimCertain (quoth I), surely
these are very strange names," and so bidding her farewell, I de-
parted into the town wardes, 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 hang-
ing forth as a common signe, even as the olde woman had tolde me
before. And thither I went; and entering into the house, I found in
the Hall the Good man, his two Sonnes, his Chamberlain and his
Hostler singing the C.iiiij Psalm of Dauid 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 curte-
ously 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 gaue him
harty thanks. Then he enquired of mee, of whence I was, where I
had been, and whether I was bound. I tolde him I was a Southern
man borne and dwelling, and that I had been at Edenborough in
Scotland, and was thus farre in my way homeward. "In good time,
sir (quoth hee), and yee are hartyly welcome into this part of York-
shire." "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 pause. The refusall of the Hoste, the question thereupon
moued, beeing the matter of the conference.

Chap 2.

By that time we had talked scant half an houre, there came in a
Cuntrie man, a Neighbour, a lolly olde fatherly man, bringing vnder
his arme a fardell of Bookes, as many as hee might well holde vnder-
neath one of his armes; he gaue vs the time of the day. "What!
neighbour Pierce" (quoth our Hoste); "welcome from London! Sir,
(quoth he to me), this Neighbour of mine is lately come from where
you are going, God willing." "Truely (quoth I) and this is happily
met by grace of God, and as I verily suppose neere in the mid way
betweene Edenborough and London." With that, "Neighbour
Simon," quoth this Pierce Plowman, (for that was his name) "I am
come to desire your help." "What is the matter, neighbour Pierce"
(quoth our Hoste). "Neighbour (quoth hee) to lend mee five pound for half a yeer; for truely (quoth hee) I haue spent all my mony at London, and haue not left 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 shouold alwaies so vse your matters that the main stock be saued whole." "Fye, neighbour Simon! quoth he, speak no more of that, for the reverence of God, for truely I am ashamed of myself; but what remedy now saue patience, and to learne to be wiser hereafter?" "What means all these paper Books" (quoth our Hoste). "Mary, neighbour, quoth Pierce, they shalbe suretie vnto you for the repayment of your five pound." With that they were unbound; and beeinge opened and looked vpon, they were Billes, Answers, Replications, Reio[nders, Coppies of Depositations, 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." "Perauenturo so, quoth our Hoste, but that proueth not that they are worth fiftie points, saving vnto him that were as mad to buy them of you, as you bought them at their hands that solde them vnto you. But or you meet with any such chapman, I beeleeue you will be weary of keeping them." With that, Pierce began to be half offended. "Neighbour Pierce," quoth our Hoste, "five pound is a small matter between us twain, you shall haue it vpon your word. But as for your Books: heer dwelth a Lady not far hence, care 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 confesse, that these great and excessive Charges and large Expences haue rebuke me, haue chasticed and amended me; but to say that I think or judge it thank worthy vnto them that haue receuied my money: I say 'the Deuil kisse his arse that so amendeth me or any frend of mine;' for verily such amending, in my judgment, deserueth as much and the very like thanks, as did the Wife who gaue her husband two strong poisons, meaning to sped him in deed, but the poisons being of contrary natures, wrought one vpon another, and destroyed either others force, whereby the man being hardly handled for a season, yet being druen into a lask by their extremities, auoyed them bothe, and with them much corruption, so that where before he was a very corrupt body, he was by their clensing the better xx. yeers after. Thus she did him good by accident, but far from her intent or purpose, and vitally against her will. . . .

Cap. 14. . . For I haue partly shewed you heer what leaue
and libertie the common people, namely\textsuperscript{1} youth, haue to follow their own lust and desire in all wantonnes and dessolution of life. For further proof wherof, I call to witnesse the Theaters, Curtines,\textsuperscript{2} Heauing houses, Riffing boothes, Bowling alleyes, and such places, where the time is so shamefully misspent, namely the Sabaoth daies, vnto the great dishonor of God, and the corruption and vter distruction of youth. All which (I say) are either the causes or the effects of these great gains and reuennues, 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 profit to the Maiestraies and Officers, in the godly liues and honest conversacion of the common people, as there is in the contrary, these harbours of ungodlines & misnurture would haue lesse favour 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 departe: my Hoste and Pierce Plowman (whether I would or no) bring me on my way to Doncaster; and did, and there caused mee to haue great entertainment without a peny charges for one whole day; and then we took either leaue of other, and departed each of vs toward his owne. After which departure, vpon the way as I trauelled, I remembred the Prophet Davud, 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 neuerthelesse I may safely say I found it. And therefore 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 vncliiul, but surely for mine owne parte (that am a Southern man, and borne in Kent), to speak indifferently for any thing that euer 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 enui vs, concerning either Godlynes, Vertue, or good maners; for heer I haue spoken of the basest kind of People, whereby 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 truth as I could, neither adding therto nor taking there from, the desire wherof caused mee to take the lesser Iournies homewarde, and to write it by parcells at my Innes least I might haue forgotten it.

\textsuperscript{1} specially
\textsuperscript{2} The Theatre was James Burbage'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 utterly corrupted this whole common welth, and had clean oversped it with his generation of all vngodlynes, and wickednes, wherof all times and ages doo agree with him to be the father, sitheence this Iourney I begin to hope that God wil haue mercy ypon vs, and hath, 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 he offered vnto Abraham, touching Sodome and Gomorra.

Therefor 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 Almightye God, of his great mercie and clemency to graunt vnto the same no wursse effect than I haue ment therin, and that by the Apostles council, we may consider that wee are but strangers and pilgrimes heer in earth, and that there after wee may order our lues and conversacion longing for our owne Cuntrie, content to suffer, and to forbear, 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.

Felix qui potuit Rerum cognoscere causas.

Who wil arise with me against the wicked, or who wil take my part against the euill doers?

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 sayle of bothe, To wit, of Learning and also of time,
II E, 4. THE CASE IS ALTERED, BY F. T., 1604. cxxxvii

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 wherewith it to fulfil.

¶ These are the causes why I took on mee,
To be reporter of this Conference
Which I have 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 prove either vnwise, or vnkinde, I should call in my Title: So it is, that having nothing to do, I set my selfe 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 over, no doubt but some of them will please you:
if any of them do otherwise, I am sorry, I knowe not your humour;
but if you finde your selfe touched with any euil, rather mend
the fault in your selfe, then finde fault with me. In brief, I only write
upon Cases, neither kniue-Cases, Pinne-Cases, nor Candle-Cases, but
only a fewe merry pittifull Cases: In which if I haue lost time, I
am sorry for my labour; If I haue lost my labour, I am sorry for my
time; but if I haue gained your good will, all is not lost: and I
thanke you; but, because I knowe not where to come to you to tell
you so, I leau 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. As the day. there is a pittifull Case indeed, if you speake
of a Case to be pittied. A young wench, a faire wench, a fine wench,
a pretty wench, a sweet wench, a gallant wench, a proper wench, a
wise wench, an honest wench, a kinde wench, a good wench; that
could speake well, and daunce well, and sing well, and play well,
& works well, and do cuery thing well, to be cast away; I say, cast
away: yea utterly cast away upon a Noddy, a Ninny-hamer, a Tame
goose, a Woodcoke, a Meacocke, a Dawcocke, 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 mischiefe: is not this a pittifull Case?

Dal. It is: and poor heart (were not wishing in vaine) I could
beteme 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
loue with a pretty, neate, nimble, spruce, lively, handsome, & in truth,
lovely 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 pray you come neere," if it were neere her house, and "I pray 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 sarie I have no good cheere for you, but such as I haue, I pray you doe not spare: if I haue any thing in my house, it is at your commande: In deed I never loued you of a childe, and if I had a daughter I would give her, with all I haue, to you; that I would, I, truly, would I: but, and you could make much of an old woman, it may be. I haue some old Rudderkees that saw no day these twenty winters and ten, that may make a young man merry: yea, and perhaps make you lieue by their noses that holde their heads full high." And thus, with shewing of him all her wealth, which she conjured him to keepe secret, & giving a piece of gold, or two with him, she made him doe, yea mary did he, that which his conscience had no comfort in, and he found no good of; for hausing robbed her cupberd of a great deal a coine, only bearing her in hand to be her Asse-band, and for a little illfauoured kindness, 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 joyned, hearts were joyfull, the Banes were asked, the Bride and Groome were married, the guests were bidden, the dinner was readie; the minstrels plaid, the youth danced, and the old fooles laught, and the day was well past, and nothing longed for but night, and then the supper done, the guests 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 sprinkle with rose water, and all things in order, for the comfort of these young couple; the old woman that grewe mad at this match, though she durst not forbid the banes, being at the church, and hearing of divers saying "God give you joy," fell to mumbling to herself, and some sorrow too; when how she wrought with her Inchantment, I know not, but the young people might kisse, while she might sigh, and he fret, but there was no further matter to be performed; and this continued some two yeares, till she in love and modesty, concealing her miserie, & he seeking all 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 upon 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 weekes 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.

&Dag. 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 live. But to requite you: not many miles from the town when I dwel, there was an old man, a filthy old man, a coughing, sneueling, bleer-eidow, wry-mouthed, bottle-nosed, lame-legged, palsie-handed, stumpe-footed, wry-bodied, gagge-toothed, slanderine-tongue, fohe, stinking-breathed, who walked but vpon cruches, read but with spectacles, and spake with a shaking, nodding, or a noddy head; this ougly object, or rather abiet of nature, the sorrow of youthes eie-sight, the disprofite 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, giuing a noode to her curtesie, sent the next day for her to his house; but the wenche 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 yeeld to her request, put on his best shooes, & a cleane hand, & being but a little way to his house, through want of a horse went on foote, when, but a little wet shod, with slipping into a ditch, he comes at last to the doore of this rich clowne, who being head Bailiffe to the chiefe Lord of the manner, kept a house, the best thatched of all his neighbours in the parish; there being saluted by a couple of fowle curies, 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 meizil, 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 spailing spot 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 servite: which he answering with an excuse, that it could not be, for she had taken easnest of a gentlewoman, to waite on her in her chamber; which he believing, answered that he would do more for her then any gentlewoman of them all, for he had no children, and he would make her both his childe and his wife; and therefore she should take no care for service: the poore man, glad of this message, went home merily to his daughter, told her what good fortune was towards her, for joy sent for the other pot, & now thought to take no care for rent, when his child should be his Landlady: but the poore girl—seeming to her father to be as joyfull 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 meant to marry her to the duell, intreated her to put her to service, for she had rather wash buckets 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 lives; 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 knowing that she could set a seame together, and handle her needle prettily, for a plaine hemme, & could tell how to eate a peece of meate, however she could dresse it, spake to a gentlewoman neere vnto her, to take her into her seruice, droue a bargaine for her wages, brought her to her, and placed her with her: where she behaued her selfe well, and was well thought on; and there I 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 fales 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 doores'; and is as good as her word; the next morning with an open mouth goes to his doores, where lowder then both his Mastiffes shee maketh an outcry for her childe.

The man, knowing her to be an unreasonabe woman, entreats her to be quiet, sweares by the cross of his Crutch that he knowes not whither she is gone; and with much ado 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 griefe takes such thought that he can eate no meat, and she weary, & almost out of breath with scolding, goes to bed for anger; and the old man, with sorrow to loose his loue, and to see her parents misery, after a fit of the stone, with a stitch of the Collick, being gripped at the heart & fearing to leaue the world, sendes for his Tenant, forgives him his rent, & gies 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 meanses he could, and by her parents good care and travaile, 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, euen for Loue, (because he
could lie no longer) dyed. And is not this of a long Case, a pittifull Case?

Mil. Yea, if it were true, but surely tis a jest; there was never such a man, nor such a matter.

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

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

(sign. D. 4.)

When they had thus ended their Cases, and given each other a good night, and came home to their wives in good time, that all 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 Oak, under which, when they had a little rested themselves, upon their walking statues, 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 towe, 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 have them, in the [meane] time hoping you will have 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 leave the last, and take the first,
And take the best, and leave the worst.

FINIS.

II F. With consistent recklessness, Mr Collier also says¹ that the following poem written by George Turberville, to a friend whose age (l. 8) he contrasts with his own youthfull yeares (l. 9) "must have been" address to "Francis Thynne," when Turberville was actually older than Francis Thynne, probably 15 years older, as Turberville's conjectured 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 forming steede
Athwart the fields in peace to practise warre,
In Countrie whilst your keneld Hounds doe feeede,
Or in the wood for taken pray doe iarre;
Whilst you with Haukes the sielie Foule doe slaye,
And take delight a quick retrieu to haue,
Wasting your age in pleasure passing braue:
To ffe to marke, and heare the Spanels baye,
In Cittie 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 now:
(What lack ye? 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 Cittie is a place of bate and strife.
Wherefore I thinke thee wise and full of thrift,
That flest the Towne, and hast that blessed gift.

[In Turberville's volume there is another poem, of 3 pages, "To his Friend T: hauing bene long studied and well experienced, and now at length louing a Gentlewoman that forced² him naught at all," leaf 76, back.]

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
Messrs 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.  
clxvii. cccxliii.  
Collier\'s Bridgewater Catalogue, 217, 311, 312.  
Collier\'s Rarest Books, i. p. xlii. 334; ii. 247, 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.  

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

In one of the Bodleian copies (C. 13. 10. Lincl., Pamph. 124 (imperf.),) of "A / Discourse / concerning the / Basis and Original / of / Government, / with / The Absolute and Indispensable Necessity of it; / Wherein the Excellence 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, "Fran. Thyyn 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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2. Hasn’t markt the spurious Works (p. 69).

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ANIMADVERSIONS.

To the righte Honorable his singuler good Lorde Sir Thomas Egerton, knight, lorde keper of the greate seale, and master of the Rooles of the Chancerye.

It was (Ryghte Honorable and my verye good lorde) one anniente and gretlye Estemed Custome emongeste the Romans in the heigh[t]e of their glorye, that eche one, accordinge to their abyltye 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) presente somme gyfte vnto his frende as the noote and pledge of the contynued and encreased amytye "betwene them, a pollicye gretlye to be regarded, for the manye good effectes whiche issue from so woorthy 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 perticular Countrye where theyr powre and gourmente stretched, passed also ouer the Oceane into the litle worlde of Brytannye, being neuer exiled from thence, nor from those, whome eyther honor, amytye, or dutye doth combyne. ffor whiche cause, lest I myghte offende in the breche of that most excellente and yet em-braced Custome, I thinke yt my parte to presente vnto THYNNE.
your Lordship suche poore newe yeares gyste as my weake estate and the barrenesse of my feble skylt will permytte: Wherefore, and because Cicero affirmethe, that he whiche hathe once ouer passed the frontiers of modestye must for euers after be impudente, (a grounde which I fynde fully veryfyed in my selue, havinge once before outgonne the boundes of shamefastnesse in presentinge to your Lordshippe my confused collections and disordered discourse of the Chauncelors) I ame nowe become vitterly impudente in not blusheinge to salute yo\^ agayne (in the begynnyng of this newe yere) with my petye animadversions, vppon the annotacions and corrections deliuered by master Thomas Speghet vppon the last editione of Chaucers Workes in the yere of oure redemptione 1598; thinges (I confess) not so answerable to your Lordshippes judgmente, and my desyre, as bothe your desatte and my dutye doo challenge. But althoogh they doo not in all respectes satisfye youre Lordshippes expectacione and my goodes will, (accordinge as I wyshe they sholde), yet I dobt not but your lordshippe (not degeneratinge from youre former cur\^esye wontinge to accompanye all youre actions) will accepte these trifles from your lovinge well-willer in suche sorte, as I shaft acknowledge my selue beholdinge and endeuted to your Lordshippe for the same. Whiche I hoope your Lordshippe will the rather doo (with pardonyng my presumptione) because yo\^ haue, by the former good acceptance of my laste booke, emboldened me to make trya\^H of the lyke acceptance of this pampelette. Wherefore yf your Lordshippe shaH receve yt curteouslye (and so not to discharge

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1 MS. gyste
2 MS. astre be impudente
3 "The names and Armes of the Chauncelors collected into one Catalogue by Francis Thynn declaring the yeeres of the reignes of the kings 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 soome better labor of
moore momente and higher subiecte, answerable to the
excellencye of your iudgments, and mete to declare
the fulnesse of the dutyfull mynde and service I beare
and owe vnto yourre lordshippe, to whome in 'all reuer-
ence I commytte this simple treatyce. Thus (withe
hartye prayer comendinge youre estate to the
Almightye (who send to your
Lordshippe manye happye
and helthfu[l] yer[es
and to me the
enlarged
contynuance of
Youre honorabile favo[u]r)
I humblye take my leave.
Clerkenwell grene
the xx of
December
1599.

Your Lordshippes wholye to
dyspose,

Francis Thynne.

\[ *// */ */\]
To Master Thomas Speighte

Francis Thynne sendeth
greetings.

Master Speight, your new edition of Chaucer deserves praise,
but as nothing is perfect,
you must let me,
[1st leaf, back]
as my father edited the poet,
examine your book,

The Industrye and love (master Speighte) whiche yow haue vsed, and beare, vppon and to oure famous poete Geoffrye Chaucer, deserveth bothe comendatione and furtherance: the one to recompense your trauayle, the other to accomplyshe the dutye, whiche we all beare (or at the leaste, ye we reverence 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 nothing so fullye perfected, by anye one, whereine somme imperfectione maye not bee founde, (for as the proverbe is, 'Barnardus,' or as others have, 'Alanus, non videt omnia,') yow must be contented to gyve me leave, in discharge of the dutye and love whiche I beare to Chaucer, (whome I suppose I have as great interesse to adorne with me smale 'skyll 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 yow,

1 Thynne was the first man who profest to edit Chaucer’s Works. He printed for the first time, Chaucer’s Adam Scrivener, Legende, Boece, Blanche, Pity, Astrolabe, and Steadfastnesse (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 accept your labors in good parte, whiche, as I most willingly doo, so meaninge but well to the worke, I ame to lett yo\(^n\) vnderstande my conceyte thereof, whiche before this, yf yo\(^n\) wold have vouche-safed my howse, or have thoughte me worthy to have byn acqueynted with these matters (whiche yo\(^n\) might well have donne without anye whatsoeuer dispargement to your selfe,) yo\(^n\) sholde haue vnderstooode before the impressione, although this whiche I here write ys not nowe vppon selfe will or fonnd conceyte to wrangle for one assesse shadowe, or to seke a knott in a rusha, but in frounlye sorte to bringe truthe to lighte, a things whiche I wolde desire others to vse towards mee in whatsoeuer shall fall out of my penne. Wherefore I will here shewe suche things as, in mye opynion, may seeme to be touched, not medlinge with the seconde editione to one inferior personne\(^1\) then my fathers editione was.

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

The curious History of those Editions.]

\textbf{Fyrste in your} foreschepe to the reader, yo\(^n\) saye you say your text is 'corrected by written copies', as if my father hadn't us'd MSS., and made a good text.

\(1\) John Stowe's, 1561.
\(2\) "Secondly, The text by old written Copies corrected :" Speght 'To the Readers'.
\(3\) Only twice, so far as we know : 1. about 1550, by or for
lesse (and for the most parte vnlerred) printers of Englande, not so well performed as yt ought to bee: so that, of necessytye, bothe in matter, myter, and meaninge, yt must needs gather corrupctione, passinge throuthe so manye handes, as the water dothe, the further yt runnethe from the pure founteyne. To enduce me and all others to judge his editione (whiche I thynke 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 Woorkes righte to be published. for the performance whereof, my father not onely used the helpe of that lerned and eloquent kn[ilight]e and antiquarye Sir Briane Take, but had also made greate serche for copies to perfecte his woorkes, as appereythe in the ende of the squiers tale, in his editione printed in the yeer 1542 1; but further had commi{ssione to serche all the librarie of Englande for Chaucers Workes, so thatoute of all the Abbies of this Realm (which reserved anye monumentes thereof) he was fully furnisshed with multitude of Bookes. emongest whiche, one coppye of some part of his woorkes came to his handes subscribbed in diuerse places withe the "examinatur Chaucer." By this Booke, and conferringe manys of the other written copies to-gether, he deliuered his editione, 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, Petitt, 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 tym he added manye thinges whiche were not before printed,\(^1\) as you nowe haue donne soome,\(^2\) of whiche I am persuaded (and that not withoute reasons) the origina\(\mathcal{L}\) came from mee.\(^3\) In whiche his editione, beinge printed but with one colume in a syde, there was the pilgrymes tale, a thinge moore odious to the Clergye, then the specche of

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

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**Thynne, 1532.**

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\(\dagger\) For the first time.

\(^2\) Speght added the 2 spurious poems 'Chaucer's Dreame,' 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 notic 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.
1. THE STORY OF THE PILGRIM'S TALE.

the ploumanne; that pilgrimes tale begynnynge in this sorte;

"In Lincolneshire fast by a fenne,

Standes a religious housse who dothe

yt kenne," &c."

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 Pilgrimus Tale,' and begins thus:—

In Lincolneshyr fast by the fene
There stant an hows and you yt kenne,
And caldyd sempnyham 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 Lincolniense 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. xiv, 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 Chauers awn hand wark.

Thus moche woll our boke synfy
That while Peter hath masterly, &c.

[Then follow four more lines from Chaucer's Rom. R. v. 7963-8, 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 xiv. 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. 61040) of Sundry fragments of old black-letter books, by Mr Herbert of Gulston's Square, who very obligingly permitted me to examine it. [Though Mr Hazlitt, in his Handbook, says that Douce had it, but it did not go to the Bodleian; it is there.]
I. THE STORY OF THE PILGRIM'S TALE.

In this tale did Chaucer¹ most bitterly enveye against the pride, state, contentious, and extorcioné of the Byshoppes, their officialls, Archdeacons, vicars generalls, comissaryes, and other officers of the spirituall courte. The Inventione and order whereof (as I haue herd ye related by some, nowe of good worshipp bothe in courte and countrie, but then my fathers clerkes,) was, that one comyng into this religiuous howse, walked vpp and downe the churche, beholdinge goodlye pictures of Byshoppes in the windowes, at lengthe the manne contynuyng in that contemplacione, not knowinge what Bishoppes they were, a grave olde manne witthe 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, "'tis true, they are lyke, but not the same, for oure byshoppes are farre degenerate from them," and with that, made a large discourse of the Bishoppes "and of their courte.

This tale, when kinge henrye the eighte had redde, he called my father unto hym, sayyng, "William Thyinne! I doobe this wille not be allowed; for I suspecte the Byshoppes wille call the in questione for yt."

passage will fix the date of this composition still more clearly. In fol. xxxix x1 are the following lines:—

Perkin warbeck and Jak straw
And now of late our coblin 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 1386, who, as Hollinshed tells us, p. 941, "called himself Captaine Cobler, but was indeed a monk, named Doctor Mackarel." The Pilgrim's Tale therefore was not written till after 1536, and consequently could not possibly be in Mr Thyinne's first edition, which, as has been shown above, was printed at latest in 1532."—Tyrwhitt, Appendix to Preface to Canterbury Tales, p. vi, note, Moxon's ed. 1855; p. xv-xvii, notes, ed. 1775.

¹ That is, the unknown author. It is clearly not Chaucer's.
to whom my father, being in great favor with his prince, (as manye yet lyvinge canne testyfye,) sayed; "yf your grace be not offended, I hoope to be protected by yo":" wherevpon 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 enymye, 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 Erithe in Kente. But for all my fathers frendes, the Cardinalls persuadinge auctorythe was so greate with the kinge,\(^1\) that thoughge by the kinges favor 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 forsed to be omitted, and the plowmans tale (supposed, but vtrulye, 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 euer bryn condemned, had yt not bryn that his worke had bryn counted but fables. Whereunto yf yo\(^4\) will replye, that their colde not be any suche pilgrymes tale, be-

---

\(^1\) This must have been before Wolsey's impeachment on 9th October, 1529, and probably before the beginning of the coolness between Wolsey and the King on the Divorce-cause being shifted to Rome in June 1529.

\(^2\) That is, to pass in the 2nd extant edition by Thynne of Chaucer's Works (1542), for the Plowman's Tale is not in the first extant edition of 1532. Both editions are in double columns, folio.

\(^3\) See p. xi, above.
cause Chaucer in his prologues make the not mentione
of anye suche personne, which he wolde haue done
"yeft ye had byn so: for after that he had recyted the
knighte, the squery, the squiere yeomane, the prieresse,
her noonne, and her thre preistes, the monke, the fryer,
the merchant, the Clerke of Oxenforde, seriancie at the
lawe, franckleyne, haberdaishier, goldsmythye, webbe,
dyer and tapyster, Cooke, shypmane, doctor of phy-
sicke, wyfe of Bathe, parsonne and plowmane, he
sayethe at the ende of the plowmans prologue,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 Chaucer²: Where-
fore ye 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, although
Chaucer talke no moore of this pilgrime in his prologue
then he dooth of the Chanons yeomane: whiche I
dobt not wolde fullye appere, yeft the pilgrimes prologue
and tale mighte be restored to his former light, they
being nowe loose, 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 Scruene (as ye 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,
after my fathers death the some fyve and twentye, where-
of some had moore, and some fewer, tales, and some
but two, and some three. whiche booke beinge by me
(as one nothinge docting of this whiche ys nowe donne
for Chaucer) partly dispersd aboute xxvij yeres a-goo
and partlye stooled oute of my housw at Popler: I gave
diuers of them to Stephen Bateman,\textsuperscript{1} person of
New-
ington, and to diuers other, whiche beinge copies
vperfecte, and some of them corrected by my fathers
hande, yt maye happen soome of them to coome to
some of your frendes handes; whiche I knowe yf I
see agayne: and yf by anye suche written copies yo\textsuperscript{n}
have corrected Chaucer, yo\textsuperscript{o} maye as wel offende as
seme to do good. But I judge the beste, for in dotbes
I wyl not resolwe with a settled judgmente althoughhe
yo\textsuperscript{n} maye ȝudge this tediouse discourse of my father a
needlessse thinge in settinge forthe his diligence in
breaking the yce, & gyvinge lichte to others, who maie more
easelye perfekte then begyne any thinge, for "facilium
est addere quam Invenire"; and so to other matters.

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

\textbf{Under the tyle of Chaucers countrye, yo\textsuperscript{n} seeme
to make yt probable that Richard Chaucer, vintener
of London, was Geffrye Chaucers father:} \textsuperscript{2} But I holde
\begin{flushleft}
1 Perhaps the Stephen Bateman, 'Student in Divinitie'
1577, 'Professor in Divinitie' 1581, author of \textit{The Triavled
Pylygrine}, 1569; \textit{The Golden Booke of the Leaden Goddes},
1577; \textit{The Doome warning all men to the Judgments}, 1581;
\textit{Bateman vpon Bartholome}, his \\textit{Booke De Proprietatibus
Rerum, newlye corrected, enlarged and amended}, 1582, &c. &c.
2 Speght cites the passage from the spurious \textit{Testament of
Love}, saying that "in the Citie of London ... I was fourthe
growen"; 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 years 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
\end{flushleft}
that no more then that Iohn Chaucer of Londone, was
father to Richarde; of whiche Iohn I fynde in the re-
cordes in Dorso Rotulor. patent. memb. 24, de anno 30.
Ed. 1. in the towre, that kinge Edwarde the firste had
herde the compleinte of Iohn Chaucer of london, who
was beaten and hurte, to the damoage of one thousand
pownde (that some amountinge at this daye to thre
thousande pownde;) for whiche a comissione wente
fortho to enquire thereof. wherbye yt semeth that he
was of some Reckonynghe. 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
antiquytie of the name of Chaucer, that his anncesters
(as yo* well conceiucture) were strangers, as the etymon
of his name (being frechne, in English signifyinge
one who shueth or hooseth a manne) dothe prove; for
that dothe the etymon of this worde 'Chausier' pre-
sente vnto vs; of whiche name I haue founde (besides
the former recyted Iohn,) on1 Elias chauseryr, lyvynge
in the tyme of Henrye the thirde and of Edwarde the
firste, of whome the recorde of pellis exitus in the
receyte of the Exchequier in the firste yere of Edwarde
the firste hath 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 occupatione, whiche after came to be the surname
describid himself, in the Deed by which he releas his interest
in his father's house in Thames Street in the City of London, as
"Ego Galfridus Chaucer, filius Johannis Chaucer, Civis et
Vinetarii Londonie." Richard was the grandfather. 1 one

But this no more
follows than that
the John Chaucer
who in 1391 was
beaten and dam-
aged to the tune of
£3000.

was Richard's
father.

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

[* leaf ?]

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

As Elias Chaucer
lived 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,
of a famelye, as did Smythe, Baker, Porter, Bruer, Skyner, Cooke, Butler, and suche lyke: and that yt was a name of office, appereth in the records of the towre, where yt is named Le Chaucer, being more anncionte then anye other of those records; for in Dorso Clause of ro: H. 3, ys this: "Reginaldus mirifi", et alicia uxor eius, attornaverunt Radulfum le Chauier contra Johanness Le furber, et matildem vxorem eius, de uno messuagio in London." This Chaucer lyvinge also in the tyme of kinge Johnes. And thus this muche for the Antiquyte of and significatione of 'Chaucer', whiche I canne prove in the tyme of Edwarde the 4. to signyfye also, in oure Englyshe tonge, bootes or highe shoes to the calfe of the legge: for thus hathe the Antique 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 Chauces1 yere lyij. viijd: But what shalf we stanpe upon the Antiquyte and gentry of Chaucer, when the rolle of Battle Abbey affirneth hym to come in with the Conqueror.2

Vnder the title of Chaucers countrie,3 yow sett

1 printed 'chaunces' in the Household Ordinances (p. 48) publishd by the Society of Antiquaries in 1790. "MESSAGERS, III, attending to this courte for the King, obeying the commanndementes of the Chamberlayn, for the messages concerning the King, or secretary, or washer of the chambre; also the Steward and Thesaurer, for the honour and profit of household, if it require. These sitt togeder in the halle at thyr meses; and whythes be present in courte, everyce of them taketh, by the cheker rolle, iii d. and every man for his clothing wynter and some yere, one marre; and ech of his chauces iii s. viii d." Liber Niger Domus Regis Edw. IV. But on p. 29, the word is spelt "chawcers": "A BISHOP CONFESSOUR . . . he keeth in this courte 5 persones wayers now, but then [7 in Edw. III's time] he had horse mete for his horses, clothing and chawcers for his groome in sojourn."4

2 I suppose Thynne read 'Caunyc' on the Roll (according to Holinshed), 'Chauce' or 'Coucy' (in Ducheane's Roll), 'Coreye' (in Leland's first Roll) or 'Chauney' (in his second), as equivalent to Chaucer = Chaucer.

3 No, not under the first title of 'His Country', but under
II. OF CHAUCER'S ARMS, AND THE DATE OF EDW. III'S MARRIAGE.

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 grante Antiquyte, haue borne as meane armes as Chaucer; and yet Chaucers armes are not so meane, eyther for colour, Chardge or particione as some will make them. And where yo° saye, yt semethe lykelye, Chaucers skilh in Geometrye considered, that heoke the groundes and reasons of his armes oute of seuen tyntye, & eight and tyntye, propositiones of Euclide's first booke: that ys no inference that his armes were neuwe, or fyrst assumed by hym oute of Geometrical proportions, because he was skyllyff in Geometrye: for so yo° maye saye of allt the anniente armes of Englande whiche consyste not of anymall or vegetalls; for "all other armes whiche are not Anymalls and vegetalls,—as Cheuerons, pales, Bendes, Checkes, and suche lyke,—stande vpon geometrical proportiones: And threfore howe greater souerain their skyl bee, whiche attribute that choyse of armes to Chaucer, [they] had no moore skilh in armes then they needed.

In the same title also, yo° sett downe Queene Isabell, &c. and her sonne prince Edwarde, with 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 maried her not before he came into England, since the prince was onlye slenderly contracted, and not maried, to her before his arryval in Englande, beinge two yeres and moore after that contracte, (betwene the erle of henalnt

the second, of "His Parentage": "yet in the opinion of some Heraldes (otherwise then his vertues and learning commended him) hee descended not of any great house, which they gather by his Armes, De argento & rubeo colore partito per longitudinem scuti cum benda ex transverse, eisdem coloribus sed transmutatis de picta sub hac forma."—sign. b. ii.
but after he came back, at the end of the 2nd year of his reign (1339) at York.

[* loJ 9]

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

and the Records show.

She came to Edw. III on Jan. 25, 1339.

and his mother,) about the latter ende of the seconde yere of his reign; though others haue the fyrste, the solemnptyye of that mariage beinge donne at Yorke.

'besides, she came not over with Quene Isabell and the prince, but the prince sent for her afterwardes; and so, I suppose, sayethe Hardinge in his Cronicle,¹ yf I do not misconceve yt, not havinge the historye now in my handes. But whether he saye so or no, yt ys not material; 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 Januare followinge, whiche was aboute one daye before he beganne the thirde yere of his reigne, wherunto he entred the 25 of Januare. and for proffe 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. 1619) 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 youths intelligence,  
In his third yere so of his his regence,  

¶ He sent furth then to Henauld, for a wife,  
A bishop and other lordes temporall;  
Wher, in chaumbe preuy and secretife,  
Discouerit,² discheuely als in all,  

[² At discouerit orig.]  

As semyng was to estate virgall,—  
Emong them selues our lordes, for his prudence,  
Of the bishop asked counsall and sentence,  

¶ 'Whiche daughter of fuye should bee the quene,'  
Who counsailld thus with sad ayssemble:  
"Wee will hawe her with good hippis, I mene;  
For she will bere good souennes, at myne entent,"  
To which thei all accorded by one assent,  
And chase Philip, that was full feminie,  
As the bishop moost wise did determyne.  

¶ But then emong them selues thei laugh fast ay:  
The lordes then saide, 'the bishop couth  
Full mekill skyll of a woman alwaye,  
That so couth chase a lady that was vncoyouth.'  

[And for y° mery wordes that came of his mouth,]  
Thei trowed he had right great experience  
Of womenes rule and his conuenience.
II. DATE OF EDWARD III'S MARRIAGE. CHAUCER'S ANCESTORS. 17

Hathe thus sett downe in the furthe dayes of februarye
"Bartholomeo de Burgershe nuper missa 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 yournye tawadres hentale, with de
dayes when & where they presented her to the kinge
after their returne into Englaunde, and the days one
whiche they wer payed their charges, beinge the furthe
of marche; one whiche dayes yt is thus entred in the
records of pellis exitus, Michael. 2. Ed. 3. "Rogero
country & Lichefield episcopo, nuper missa in nun-
tium domini Regis ad partes Hannonie pro matrimonio
inter dominum Regem et filiam comitis Hannonie con-
trahendo, ab octauo die octobris proxime preterito,
quo die recessit de Nottingham ipso domino Rege ibidem
existent, arripiendo iter suum predictum versus partes
predictos, vaeque vicesimum tertium diem Januarii
proxime sequentem, quo die rediit ad ipsum Regem
predictum apud Eboracum in comitatu filiae comitis
Hannonie predictae, vtroque die computato, pro Civij
diebus, percipiendo per diem iiij. viij. pro expensis
suis." Thus muche the recorde, "whiche confirmethe
that whiche I go aboute to prove: that she came not
into Englaunde with the prince Edwarde, and that he
was not married at that tyne; no, not contracted, but ony
by agremente betwene the erle and his mother.

Next yo" seme to implye by a conjectural\ argumente,
that Chaucers anneesters shold be merchants, for that,
in place where they haue dwelled, the armes of the
merchants of the staple haue bin seene in the glasse
windowes. This ys a mere conjecture, and of no valy-
yye. for the merchants of the staple had not any
armes granted to them (as I haue bin enformed) vntil\ longe after the death of Chaucers parentes, whiche was

And on March 4, 1326,
the Bp of Lich-
field was paid for
his journey in
fetching her,
from Oct. 8, 1329,
to Jan. 25, 1329,
when he delivered
her to Edw. III at
York, £3 6s. 6d.
a day.

Thus I've shown
you two mistakes.

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

In the title of Chaucers edicatione, yo" saye that "Gower, in his booke entituled 'confessio amantis,' termethe Chaucer 'a worthye poet,' and maketh hym as yt were the judge of his worke's1": in whiche Booke, to my knowledge, Gower dothe not terme hym 'a woorthy poet' (although I confesse he welh desereythe 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 judge of his Worke, (whereof I wolde be glad to be enformed,) since these be Growers woordes, uttered by Venus in that booke of confessio Amantis:

And grete wel Chaucer whende ye mete, as my disciple and my poet:
'for, in the floweres of yourthe,
In sondrye wise, as he well couthe,
of dytyes and of songes glade—
the whiche for my sake he made,—
the lande fulfilled is over all:
Wherefore to hym in especiall
above all others I am most holde;
for thy nowe in his dayes olde
thow shalt hym tell this message,
'that he 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[en]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 worthise Poet, and maketh him as it were, the Judge of his worke."
These be all the verses whiche I knowe, or yet canne fynde, in whiche Gower in that booke mentionethe Chaucer, where he nether namethe hym worthys poete, nor after a sorte submyttethe his woorkes to his judgments. But quite contrarye, Chaucer dothe submytte the "Correctione of his woorkes to Gower in these playne woorde", in the latter ende of the fyfte book of Troylus:

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

But this error had in you byn pardoned, ye you had not sett yt downe as your owne, but warranted with the actuoyte of Bale in 'Scriptoribus Anglie', from whence you have swallowed yt. Then, in a margin all note of this title, you saye agayne oute of Bale, that Gower was a Yorkshire mane; 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 thinges in that Booke 'de scriptoribus Anglie,' beinge for the most parte the collections of Lelande. for in truth the armes of this Sir John Gower, beinge argent, one a cheuerone azure, three leopardes heddes or, do prove that he came of a contrarye house to the Gowers of Stytenhame in Yorks-shyre, who bare barrulye of argent & gules, a crosse patye floryle sable. Whiche difference of armes semeth a difference of famelyes, vnleste you canne prove that, beinge of one house, they altered their armes yppone somme iuste occasione, as that soome of the howse maryinge one heyre, did leave his owne armes, and bare the armes of his mother; as was accustomed in tymes past. But this difference

1 Corrected from 'firste.'
2 "John Gower, a Yorkshire mane borne, & a knight, as Bale writeth."—Speght, sign. b. iii.
of Cootes, for this cause, or any other, (that I colde yet evere lerne,) shal yo\n not fynde in this famelye of Gower: and therefore seuerall howses from the fyrst e original. Then the margina\H note goethe further outhe of Bale, that Gower had "one his hedd a garlande of Ivye and rooses, the one the ornamente of a kynyghte, the other of a poet." 1 But Bale ys mystaken; for yt ys not a Garlande, vnlest yo\n with metaphorically calle\e euyere cyrle of the hedd a "garlande", as Crownes are sometymes called garlandes, from whence they had their original. nether ys yt of Ivye, as anye manne whiche seeithe yt may wet iudge, and therefore not there sett for anye suche intente as one ensigne of his poetrye, But ys sympleye a chaplett of Roses, Such as the knyghtes in olde tyme vseyed, ether of golde, or other embroderelye made after the fasshone of Roses, one of the peculiar ornamentes of a knyghte, as wel as his coller of SSS, his guilde swooder, and spurrees. Whiche chaplett or cyrle of Roses was as wel attributed to knyghtes, the lowest degree of honor, as to the hygher degrees of Duke, Earle, &c. beinge knyghtes; for so I have seene Johne of Gaunte, pictured in his chaplette of Roses; and kinge Edwarde the thirde gaue his chaplett to Eastace Rybamonte; only the difference was, that as they were of lower degree, so had the[y] fewer Roses placed one their Chaplett or cyrle of golde, one "ornament deduced from the Dukes crowne whiche had thee rooses vppon the toppe of the cyrle, when the knyghte had them onlye vppon the cyrle or garlande yt-selue. of whiche dukes crowne to be adorned with little Roses, Mathewe Paris, speakinge of the

1 "Hee [Gower] lyth buried in Saint Mary Queres in Southwarke, with his image lying evere him in a habite of purple damaske downe to his feete: a coller of esses golde about his necke, and on his head a garland of yvie and rooses, the one beinge the ornament of a knight, and the other of a Poet."—Spaught, ed. 1598, sign. b. iii.
CHAUCER DID NOT BEAT A FRANCISCAN FRIAR IN FLEET STREET. 21

creating of Johne erle Mortone, duke of Normandye, in the yere of Christe 1199, dothe saye "Interim comes Johannes Rothomagum veniens in octavis pasche, gladio ducatus Normanie cinctus est, in matrice ecclesia, per ministerium Walteri Rothomagensis Archiepiscopi, vbi Archiepiscopus memoratus ante maius altare in capite eius posuit Circulum aureum, habentem in summitate per gyrum rosulas aureas artificialiter fabricatas," whiche chaplett of Rooses came in the ende to be a bande aboute ourc cappes, sette with golde Buttons, as may be supposed. In the same title yo8 saye, "yt somethe 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 shillings for beating a Franciscane Fryer in fletestreate.1" This is a harde collect[i]one, to prove Gower of the Inner Temple, although he studied the lawe. for thus yo8 frame your argumente. 'Mr Buckley founde a recorde in the Temple that Chaucer was fyned for beatinge the fryer, Ergo Gower and Chaucer were of the Temple.' But for myne owne parte, yf I wolde stande vppon termes for matter of Antiquitye, and ransacke the origina[l] of the lawers fyrst settleinge in the Temple, I dobe whether Chaucer were of the temple or noe, vsleast 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 circumstancies of Recordes, that the lawers were not in the temple vntill 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 yeeres since, Master Buckley did see a Record in the same house, where Geoffrey Chaucer was fined two shillings for beating a Franciscane fryer in Fleetstreete."—Speght, sign. b. iii. 2 22 June 1392, to 21 June 1393, Chaucer being 52 or 53.

7. You've the odd argument, that because the Temple Records are said to have noted that [* leaf 15, dock]

Chaucer beat a Franciscan Frier,

therefore Gower belonged to the Temple, as well as Chaucer.

Now I doubt whether Chaucer ever belonged to the Temple. He was old in 1392-3, and the lawyers were not in the Temple till the latter part of Edward III's reign. (Died 21 June 1377.)
OF CHAUCER’S WIFE, AND KATHERINE SWYNFORD.

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

8. You do not know the name of Chaucer’s wife [Philippe]; nor do I.

For though some think it was Elizabeth, a waiting-woman to Queen Philippa,
who had a grant of a yearly stipend,
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 thinketh he sholde not be of that howse; and yet, ye he then were, I sholde judge yt strange that he sholde violate the rules of peace and gravyltye yn those yeares. But I wyl passe ouer all those matters scito pede, and leave enyne manne to his owne iudgemente therein for this tyme.

In the title of Chawer’s mariage, yo saye yo cannot fynde the name of the Gentlewoman whome he maryed. Trulye, ye I did followe the conceyte 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 favor not their oppynyone. for, although I fynde a recorde of the pellis exitus, in the tyme of Edwarde the thirde, of a yere lyystypende to Elizabethe Chawer, ‘Domicelle regine Philippa,’ whiche Domicella dothe signyfye one of her waytinge 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 Seint 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 compromysed on 1 May 1380.

3 “This gentlewoman, whome hee married (whose name we can not finde)” — Spedgh, 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, “Philippe Chauuer . . per manus predicti Galfridi, mariti sui,” “Philippe Chauuer . . per manus dicti Galfridi” (Nicolas; C. x Works, ed. R. Morris, i. 19, 109).
In the Lateyne stemme of Chawcer yo5 saye, speakinge of Katherine Swnyforde, "Que postea nupta Johanni Gandauensi, tertii Edwardi Regis filio, Lancastrie duci, illi procreavit filios tres & vnicam filiam." 1 Wtherbye we may inferre that Iohn 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 ait illegitimate, were enforced afterwarde vpon that maryage to be legytymated by the poope, & also by acte of Parliament,2 aboute the two & twentythe of kinge Richarde the seconde; "so that yo" cannott saye, "que postea nupta procreavit Lancastrie duci tres filios," &c.

In the tittle of Chawcers children and their advancemente, in a marginaH noote yo5 vouche master Campdene, that Bartholomewe Burgershe, knyghte of the Garter, was he from whom the Burgershesh, whose daughter & heyre was maryed to Thomas Chawcer,3 did descend. But that is also one errore. for this Bartholomewe was of a collaterall lynne to that Sir Iohn Burgershe, the father of Mawde, wyfe to Thomas Chawcer; and therefore colde not that Sir Iohn Burgershe be descended of this Barthelme wase of this Barthelmewe Burgersh, though hee were of that howse. Then in that tittle, yo5 vouche out of m'. Campdene, that Serle de Burgo, brother to Eustachius de Vescye, builde Knaresbówowe Castle. but that ys not righte: for this Serlo, beinge called 'Serlo de Burgo siue de Pembroke', was brother to Iohn, father to Eustace Vescye as haue the recordes of the towre, and so vnclle, and not brother, to Eustace. *for one other marginall noote in that tytle,

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

10. You say that Thomas Chaucer's wife was descend
11. You also say that Serlo de Burgo was brother to Eustace de Vescy.
You say that Jane of Navarre was maryl'd Henry IV, in the 4th year of his reign. But Walsingham says it was in the 5th year. Jan. 26, 1403-4.

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

[* leaf 16*]

On Dec. 14, 1357, Edw. III, by writ of privy seal, ordered payment to Richard de la Poole, his Butler.

1403. King Henry married the Lady Joanne de Navarre.

1 "The messengers that had bin sent for Joan, late wife to John of Mountford, Duke of Brittany, returned with her into England, and landed at Falmouth in Cornwall. The King met with her at Winchester the 7. of February, where they were married in the Church of S. Swithin."—Sloane'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 Brittany, 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 ADVANCE OF HIS HOUSE. 25

nostri decimo, vaque ad idem festum proxime sequens
plenarie computaverit, et 209c\textsuperscript{a} : 13\textsuperscript{a} et 11\textsuperscript{d} et vnum
obulus sibi per computum illud de claro debeatur:
Volumus ei solutionem inde, seu alias 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 Vndeceimo.” To whose sonne this William
de la Poole the older, and to his sonne Michaeell de
la Poole (who was after Chancellor), and to his heyres,
the kinge grannted fowre hundred markes by yere oute
of the custome of Hull, as appereth in the recorde of
pells exitus of 46 Ed. 3., the same Michaeell de la
poole recevinge the arrerages of that Annuitye ; for
thus yt is entred in Michaelmas terme one the fyreste
of December of that yere: “Michaelli de la poole, filio
et heredi Willielmi de la poole senioris, per Talliam
levatam isto die, continentem iiij\textsuperscript{c} lxx\textsuperscript{vii} viij\textsuperscript{i} 1\textsuperscript{d} ob.
eidem michaeil liberat per comptum suum factum ad
Scaccarium computatoris, virtute cuiusdam breuis de
magno sigillo, Thersaurario et Baronibus Scaccario direc-
tum pro huius compoto faciendo, de quodam anno
ob certo iiij\textsuperscript{c} marcas per annum, quas dominus Rex Wi-
llielmo de la Poole seniori defuncto, et michaeli filio
suo, et heredibus suis de corpore suo exeuntibus, de
Custuma in portis ville de kingeston super Hull per
litteras suas patentes concessas perciendum quamdiu
vij\textsuperscript{c} xxxv\textsuperscript{ii} viij\textsuperscript{i} 1\textsuperscript{d} ob. eidem Michaeli per comptum
predictum sic debitum, &c. Dominus Rex mandat vt
ei satisfactionem vel assignationem competentem (in
locis vbi ei celeriter satisfieri poterit) fieret et haberet,
per bresem de magno sigillo inter mandata de termino
Paschas anno quadragesimo tercio,” &c. So that
Richarde, Michaeell de la Pooles grandfather, (a mar-
chante of greate welthe in Hull,) was the fyreste that
gauen advancemente to that howse : although Williame,
II. SPEIGHT'S MISTAKES ABOUT THE DE LA POOLES.

father to this michaell, were of lyke estate, and a knyghte. nether canne I fynde (nor ys yt lyke) that michaell de la poole was a marchante, (havinge two such welthy marchantes to his ancestors before hym,) notwithstandinge that Walsingham (moore offended then reasone, as all the Clergyre were, against temporall menne who were nowe become chief officers of the Realme; and the spiritual menne, till then possessinge those offices, displaced, whiche bredd greate Sorseye in the 1Churche menne againste them;) sayeth that michaell de la poole "fuerit à puertia magis merci-
moniiis (vtpote Mercator Mercatoris filius) quam militia
occupatus." And yet yt 'may bee that he mighte have
some factors in merchandise, and deale by his attor-
neyes, as manye noble menne and great persons have
donne, whereupon Walsingham (whiche wroote longe
after) mighte seme to cal hym 'merchante' by reasone
of othere 2 mens dealinges for hym, althouche in trooth
he was neuer merchant in respecte of his owne persone
(for whiche they are properly called mercantes,) as
may be supposed. fyftlye, in the same title yo" saye,
that Alice, wyfe of Williame de la poole duke of
Suffolk, "had a daughter by her seconde husbande,
thomas montague, erle of Sarisbery,—named after
her mother, Alice,—maryed to Richarde Neville, sonne to
Raphe Neull, erle of Westmerlande, by whom he had
issue, Richarde, Iohn, and George. 3 But this is
nothinge so for this Alice, the wyfe of Richarde
Neville, (erle of Sarisbery in the righte of the same
Alice,) was daughter of Thomas Montacute, erle of
Salisbury, "and of Alice his wyfe, daughter of Thomas
Hollande 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, 6, back, at foot, with differences in spelling.
In the latter end of the title of Chawcers desethyeo says, that printinge was brought "oute of Germanye in the yere 1471, being the 37. H. 6., into Engelande, beinge fyrst founde at Magunce by one Iohn Cuthem-bergus, and broughte to Roome by Conrady, one Almayne." But the yere of Christe 1471 was not the 37. H. 6. but the elenenthe of kinge Edward the fourthe; and [printinge,] as some have yt, was not fyrste founde at Magonc or-menz, but at Strasborowe, and perfected at Magonc. David Chytreus in his historye sayethe, yt was fyrst founde in anno 1440, and broughte to Rome by Henricus Han, a germane, in the yere 1470; whereof Antonius Campanus framed this excellent epigramme:

Anset Tarpeii custos Jovis, vnde quod allis
Constreperis, Gallus recidit, viter adest
Virius Gallus, ne quem poscantur in vsum
Edocuit pennis, nil opus esse tuis.

[Isa/18, back] Others say at Argentorote.

But others do suppose that yt was invented at Argentorote, as dothe mathewe Parker, in the lyfe of Thomas Burchiere Archbyshoppe of Canterburye: whiche, for the incertentye thereof, I leave at this tyme to farther examinatione, not havinge nowe presente leysure therafore.

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

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

1 Speght, sign. § c. ii. back: “This William Caxton of London, Mercer, brought printing out of Germany,” &c.
3 Speght, leaf c, 5, at foot.

III. 1. You say the Romant of the Rose was written by Jean de Meun. Whereas it was begun by Guilliam de Loris,
and finisht only by Jean de Meun.

Chaucer didn’t translate half the French Roman de la Rose.

Gerson wrote a Reprobation of it.

fourtye yeres after the death of Loris, by Iohone de Meune, alias Iolone Clothipell, as appereth by Molinet, the frenche auctor of the moraltye 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 muche of that matter omitted, ‘not havinge translated halfe the frenche Romante, but ended aboute the middle thereof. Againste whiche Booke, Gersone compiled one other, intituled ‘Le reprobatione de la Romante del Roose,’ as affirmethe the sayed molinett, in the 107 chapter of the sayed moralizacione, where he excuseth the Clothipell, and reproueth the Gersone, for that Booke, because Gerson soughte no further meanyng then what was conteyned in the outewarde letter, This Clothipell begynnynge the Romante of the Roose, in these verses of Chaucer:

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

Secondlys, vnder that title yo" saye, the woorke, before this last editioun of Chaucer termed ‘the Dreame of Chaucer,’ is mystermed,2 and that yt is ‘the Booke of the Duches, or the Death of Blanche.’3 wherein yo" bee greatlye mysledde, in my conceyte; for yt cannott bee ‘the booke of the Dutches, or of the death of Blanche,’ because Ioohn of Gaunte ‘was then but fowre and twentye yere olde when the same was made, as appereth by that tretyse, in these verses:

1 3 for which Chaucer enliisht.

2 William Thynne, who first printe ‘The Dethe of Blaunche,’ calld 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 1561 in the body of the book; but in his ‘Table of all the names of the worikes 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, mistermued heretofore [by Wm Thynne, John Stowe, &c.], Chaucers Dreame."—Spright, leaf c, 5, back, ed. 1598.
Then founde I sytt, even vprighte
A wonder well faringe knighte,
By the manner me thought so,
Of good mokele, & right yonge therto,
Of the age of twentye foure" yere;
Uppe his bearde but little beare.

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

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1 sytt—Thynne, 1542.
2 mokell, bignes.—Spaght’s Glossary.
4 foure and twenty.—Thynne, 1542.
4 And in the yere of Christ a M wryten,
Three hundredth also, syxtye and one,
The ii. pestylene reignd, as was weten;
Duke Henry dyed, for whome was mekyll mone.
Dame Blanche his daughter, full faire of fleshe and bone,
His heire was then; whom Iohn of Gaust did wed;
The duchy [by hir] had: men saied he had well sped.


Francis Thynyne’s argument is of course a strong one, if the existing MSS. —of which we have only two left,—and Wm Thynyne’s MS. really have the age which Chaucer wrote. But the rhythm shows that ‘twenty foure’ was not written at length, as the beat wants 'foure and twenty.' ‘xxviiiij’ as Mr Brock suggests, or ‘xxix,’ was no doubt written by Chaucer; this was copied ‘xxviij’ or ‘xxiv,’ printed ‘twenty foure,’ 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.

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

Her throte, as I haue memoyre,
semed as a rounde towre of yuore,
of good gretnesse, and not to greate;
and fayre 'white' she hete;
that was my ladies name righte:
she was thereto fayre & brighte;
she had not her name wronge;
right fayre sholders, and body longe, &c.

I will answere, that there is no necessayte 'that yt
muste be of Blanche the duchesse, because he sayeth
her name was 'white,' since there ys a famelye of that
denominatione; and some female of that lyne mighte
be both 'white' in name, and 'fayre and white'
in persone; and so 'had not her name wronge,' or in veyne,
as Chaucer sayeth. or yt mighte be somme other louner
of his called 'Blanche,' since he had manye parameter's
in his youte, and was not verye contynente in his age.
Wherefore, to conclude, yt appereth 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 opyn-
yone, may well (naye, rather of righte sholdse,) con-
tynewe his former title of 'thee Dreame of Chaucer,'
for that whiche yo' will haue 'the Dreame of Chaucer,'
is his 'Temple of Glass,' as I haue seen the title
thereof noted, and the thinge yt selfe confirmethe.

1 now memoyre.—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 Glass.'
The handwriting is of Edward the Sixth's time (1547-53).—H.
Bradshaw. (Mr Bradshaw long ago pointed out that this
Dreme or Isle of Ladies (beginning 'When Flora, the quene of
pleasounce ') was spurious.)
[IV. Speght's Mistakes in explaining some of Chaucer's Words.]

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

'Aketon or Haketone' yo' expounde "a Iacket withoute sleeves," withoute any further additione, that beinge one indiffynyte speache, and therefore may be entended a comone garmente daylye vsed, suche as we calf a Jerken or Iackett withoute sleues: But 'haketone' 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 Excester, and Custos or Wardeine of London, had vppon hym secretlye, when he was apprehended and beheaded in the twentythe yere of Edwarde the seconde.

'Besante' yo' expounde a 'duckett:' But a duc- 1 a. Aketone is not only a Sleeveless jacket, 1 b. A besant is not a ducket,
kett ys farre from a besante, bothe for the tyme of the
inventione, and for the forme; and, as I suppose, for
the valewe, not withstandinge that Hollybanede, in his
frenche-Englishe dictionarye, make yt of the valewe of
a duckett,1 which duckett is for the most part eyther
venetianes or spanyshe, when the Besante ys mere
Grekishe; a coyne well known and vsed in Engelande
(and yet not therefore one ancint coyne of Engelande,
as Hollybanede sayethe yt was "of france,) emongest the
Saxons before, and the Normans after, the Conqueste,
the forme whereof I wil at other tyme desribe, onlye
nowe settinge downe, that this besante (beinge the
frenche name, and in armorye rightulye, 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
Bizantium. And because yo shall not thinke this
anye fixatione of myne owne, I wille warrante the same
with William of Malmesbery in the fourthe booke
"De Regibus," who hathse these woordes: "Constantin-
opolis primum Bizantium dicta, formam antiqui vocabuli
preferunt imperatorii nummi Bizantium dicta;" where
one other coppye, for "nummi Bizantium" hath "Bizonti-
nini nummi;" and the frenche hath ye "besante" or "Be-
zantine," makeinge ye 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 so used in Chau-
cer, although ye sholde be impropere lye or harsely ap-
g. A Greekish coyne called Bizantium, as William Malmes-
buri sayth, because it was the coyne of Constantinople, sometyme called Bizantium.'

1 Besant, or Byzantin, an ancient piece of golde of
France, worth a Ducket: m.—Cl. Hollyband's Dictionarie,
French and English, 1588.
2 'fermentation, dawbing.'—Speght, 1588; but in ed. 1602
"fermentation, l. gluing life to the Philosophers stone.'
IV. 3. THYNNE EXPLAINS THE MEANING OF ORFRAYES.

plied. For fermentacione ys a peculiur terme of Alchyme, deduced from the bakers fermente or leyve. And therefore the Chimicall philosophers defyne the fermente to bee 'animam,' the sowle or lyfe of the philosophers stooone. Whereunto agreeeth Clauiger\(^1\) Bincking, one Chimicall author, sayinge, "ante viuificationem, id est, fermentacionem," whiche is before tintinge, or gyvinge tincture or cooler; that beinge as muche to saye, as gyvinge sowle or lyfe to the philosophers stooone, whereby that may fermente, or cooylour, or gyve lyfe to, all other metaline bodyes.

"Orfrayes" yo\(^a\) expounde "Goldsmythes Worke"\(^2\) whiche ys as nere to goldsmythes woroore as 'clothe of golde;' for this worde 'orefrayes,' beinge compounded of the freuiche worde (or) and (fayres, 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 Englane before, as to the Normans after, the conqueste, and theryore fullye to satisfye yo\(^a\) thereof, I will produce twoo Auctors of the weavinge and vse thereof, before the conquest and since, wherein yo\(^a\) shal pleyenely see what yt was, and in what accompt yt was holde, beinge a worke peculiur to the Englishe. The lieger booke of Eyle, speakinges of Ediswitha, 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 frised cloth of gold, made & vsed in England both before & since the Conquest, wore booth by the Cleargie, and the Kings themselves, As may appeare out of Mathew Paris, where he speaketh of the Ornaments sent by the abbes of England to the Pope: And also by a Record in the Tower, where the King commandeth the Templars to deliver such Jewels, garments, and ornaments, as they had of the kings in keeping. Among the which he nameth Dolmaticum relatum 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 ORFREYS.

or duke, of northumberlande, before the conquest,
sayethe: "cui tradita Covencia, locus monasterio vici-
inus, vbi aurifrixorix et texture secretiuis cum puellis
vacabat;" and a little after, "Tunica Rubra purpurea
per gyrum et ab humeris aurifrei vndique circumdatum."

Then, after the conquest, mathew Paris speake the
thereof aboute ornamentes to be sents to the Poopse.
but because I have not my mathewe Paris here, I will
vouche one whose name hathe muche affinetye "with
hym, and that is, Mathewe Parker, Archbiashoppe of
Canterburye, who, in the Lyfe of Bonifacius, Arch-
biashoppe of that see, hath these woordes. "a" domini
1246. Romae multi Anglicani aderant Clerici, qui capis,
vt aiunt, chorealibus, et infulis, ornamentisque ecclesi-
asticis, ex Anglice tunc more gentias, ex lana tenuissima
et auro artificiosè intexo fabricatis, vterentur. Huius-
modi ornamentorum aspectu et concupiscientia pro-
vocatus Papa, rogavit cuiusmodi essent. Responsum
est, 'aurifrisia' appellari, quia et eminens ex panno &
lana quam Angli 'Fryse' appellant, simul contexta
sunt. Cui subridentis, et dulcedina captus, Papa: Vere,
inquit," (for these are the woordes of Mathewe Paris
whiche lyved at that tyme,) "Hortus noster delitiam
est Anglia; verus puteus est inexhaustus, et vbi multa
abundant, de multis multa sumere licet. Itaque, con-
cupiscientia illectus oculorum, litteras suas Bullatas
sacras misit ad Cistercienses in Anglia Abbates, (quorum
orationibus se deuote 'commendabet, vt ipsi hec aurii-
frisa speciosissima ad suum ornandum chorum com-
pararent. Hoc Londoniensibus1 placuit, quia ea tum
venalia habebant, tantique quanti placuit vendiderunt:"

| Willemo Vestment-maker | pro iiij orfreys
|------------------------|---------------------
| Largis                 | largis, precie pecia .xl. a., emptis ab eo
|                         | Londinium per prefatum Willeme de Glen-
|                         | dale per tempus predictam—vj. li.
| Orfreys                 |                          
|                        | Eidem: pro iiij. orfreys minutis, precio
|                        | minutis pecia x. s., emptis ab eo
|                        | Londinium per tempus huius commuti vt supra—xl. a.
IV. 3, 4. THE MEANING OF ORFRAYES AND OUNDYE.

In whiche discourse, yo" not onlye see that 'orfrayes' was 'a weued clothe of golde,' and not 'goldsmythe woork,' and that Engelande had, before and since the conqueste, the arte to compose suche kynde of delicate Clothe of golde, as Europe had not the lyke; for yt yt hadd, the poope wolle haue made suche prouisone thereof in other places, and not from Engelande. And because yo" shal not thinke that yt was onlye us'd of the Clergye, yo" shal fynde, in a recorde of the towre, that yt was also one ornamente of the kinges garmente, since the Conqueste, for, in Rotulo Paten-gium 6. Johannis, in Dorso (in whiche the kinges com- manded the templers to deliuer suche Iewells, gar- ments, and ornamentes, as they had of the kinges in kepinge,) are these woordes: "Dalmaticam de coddem samitto, vriatani de 'orfrayes et cum lapidibus." Whiche is to saye, 'the kinges dalmaticall garmente of the same samitte (spoken of before, whiche was crymsone,) vrield or bordrode (sucche as we nowe calle 'garded') with the orfrayes.'

forthlye: 'oundye & Crispes' is by yo" expounded 'slyked and curled:' whiche sence, although ye may beare after some sorte, yet the proprtye of the true sence of 'oundye' (beinge an especiell terme appro-

entered in the summary aftewards as

"Orfreys $ largi . . . . iiiij pecia


Another entry mentions 'baselard':--

Ensias { } Ricardo Godchyl, pro vno ense, precio vj. sa.
Cultelli { } vij d. / pro vno pari cultello trenchours, precio
Baselard { } xij j. liij d. / et pro vno cultello baselard, precio
v. s., emptis ab eo Londonium per tempus huius compacti vt supra ... xxxv. s.

In the summary underneath, these are entered as "Ensia j. Cultellii Trenchors j. par. Baselard. j." 35 or 36 Edw. III. (A.D. 1361 or 1362) Wardrobe Account of Receipts and Expenses. Record Office, 39/4.

1 'omndy and crispes, slied, and curled.'—Speght, 1598; but in ed. 1602 'omndy wauling.'
IV. 5. THE MEANING OF RESAGER.

priate to the arte of Heraldye) dothe signyfye 'wavinge or movinge, as the water dothe;' being called 'vndye,' of the latyne 'vnda' for water; for so her heare was oundy, that is, layed in rooles vppone and downe, lyke waues of water when they are styrred with the winde, and not slyked or playne, &c.

ffyftyxe: Yo\textsuperscript{a} expounde not 'Resagor,'\textsuperscript{1} beinge a terme of Alchymye; as yo\textsuperscript{a} leave manye of them unhonoured. This worde sholde rather be 'resalgar:' wherefore I wyl shewe yo\textsuperscript{a} what Rosalgar ys in that abstruse scyence whiche Chawcer knewe fuyf well, although he enveye againste the sophistical abuse thereof in the chanons yeomans tale. This Resalgar is that whiche by some is called 'Ratesbane,' a kynde of poysone named 'Arsenicke,' whiche the Chimical philosophers call their venome or poysone. Whereof I colde produce infynyte examples; but I wyl gyve yo\textsuperscript{a} onyly these fewe for a taste. Aristotle, in Rosario philosophorum, sayethe, "nullum tingens Venenum generatur absque sole et eius umbra, id est, vxtore." Whiche venome they call by al\textsuperscript{a} names presentinge or signyfyinge poysone, as a toode, a drachen, a Basiliske, a serpente, arsenicke, and suche lyke; and by manye other names, as "in exercitacione ad turbam Philosophorum," appereth, wher aqua simplex is called 'venenum, Argentum viuum, Canabar, aqua permanens, gumma, acetum, vrina, aqua maris, Draco, serpens,' etc. And of this poysone the treatyce 'de phenice,'\textsuperscript{2} or the philosophers stonne, written in Gotyshe rymynge verses, dothe saye;

Moribunda, corporis virus emanabat
quod maternam faciem candidam sedabat.

\textsuperscript{1} resegor (with no explanation)—Spenght, 1598; but in ed. 1602 'resagor rata bane.'

\textsuperscript{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.
IV. 6. THE MEANING OF BEGYN AND BIGOT.

"Begyn and Bigott, ye expounde 'supersticious
hipocrates,'1 whiche sence I knowe yt maye somewhat
beare, because yt sauorethe of the dispositions of those
begins, or 'Beguines,' for that ys the true wrytinge.
But this woorde 'Begyn' sholde in his owne nature
rightly haue ben expounded, 'supersticious or hipo-
critical' wemenne,' as appereth by chaucer. himselfe,
whiche nombretie them emongst thee wemen in the
Romante of the Roose, when he sayeth,

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

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

That dame abstinence weyned,²
Toke one a Robe of camelyne,
And ganne her grachte ³ as a 'bygin.'
A large cover-cheifte of Thredde
She wrapped all aboute her hedde.

(vi. 224, l. 7370.)

These wemen the Frenche call 'Beguynes' or nonnes;
being in Latyne called 'Bigrinae' or 'Biguinae.' Whose
original order, encrease, and contynuance, are set
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
Westmynyster (otherwise called "Flores Historiarum"
or "Florilegus") in this sorte:—"Sub eisdem diebus
(whiche was in the yere of Christe 1244, and aboute
the 28 of kinge Henry the thirde), quidam in Almänia
precipue se asserentes vitam et habitum religionis
ellegisse, in vtroque sexu, sed maxime in muliebri, con-
tinentiam, cuius ⁴ vite simplicitate profitenste, se voto
priato deo obligarunt. Mulieresque, quas 'Bigrinas'
vulgariter vocamus, adeo multiplicates sunt, quod earum

1 'bigin, bigot, superstitious hypocrite.'—Speght, 1598. The
1602 ed. repeats this, but adds 'or hypocritical woman.'
2 streyned
3 graithe
4 'MS.
numerus in vna Ciuitate, scilicet Colonia, ad plus quam mille asseritur ascendisse, etc. After whiche, speakinge yn the yere of Christe 1250 of the encreas "of religous 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 cooler and parte of the philosophers stone. for, as hath 'Tractatus Avicennae' (yf yt be his, and not liber suppositi[ti]us, as manye of the Alchimica workes are foysted in ynder the names of the best lerned authors and philosophers, as Plato, Aristotle, Avicen, and suche others,) in parte of the 7 chapter: "Citrinatio est, quae sit inter album et rubrum; et non dicitur Coolor perfectus," whiche Citrinatione, as sayethe Arnoldus de nova villa, li. i. ca. 5. "nihil alind est quam completa digestio." for the worke of the philosophers stone, followinge the worke of nature, hathelyke cooler in the same degree. for as the vrine of manne, being whitishe, sheweth the imperfecte digestione: But when he hath well rested, and slepte after the same, and the digestione perfected: the vrine becometh Citrine, or of a depe yellowe cooler: So ys yt in Alchymye. whiche made Arnold call this 'Citrinatione,' perfecte digestione, "or the cooler provinge the philosophers stonoe broughte almoste to the heigh[t]e of his perfectione.

'Forage,' in one place yo® expounde 'meate,' and in other place 'fodder.'² bothe whiche properly cannotte stande in this place of chaucer in the reves prologe, where he sayeth, "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 prooving the Philosophers stone.'
² 'forraga meate ... forraga fodder' (with 7 entries between the two).—Speght, 1598. In ed. 1602, only once, 'forraga, / fodder, course meate.'
forage 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 affynytie with foode applied to menne and beastes, dothe onyse signifye 'meate.' And so the sense is, "my meate ys forage," that is, 'my meate is suche harde and olde prouisioane as ys made for horses and Cattle in winter;' for so doth this worde 'forragium' in latyn signifye. and so dothe Chaucer meane. for the worde next before dothe well shewe yt, when the Reve sayethe,

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

Yet metaphorically yt may be taken for other "then drye horse meate, although improperly; as Chaucer hathe, in Sir Topas Ryme, where he makethe yt grasse for his horse, and vsethe 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 gyse hym good forage.

'Heroner' yo expounde 'a certeyne kynde of Hawke,\(^1\) which is true; for a Goshawke,\(^2\) sparrowe hawke, TasseH, &c. be kyndes of Hawkes. But this 'heroner,' is an especiall hawke (of anye of the kyndes of longe winged hawkes) of moore accompte then other hawkes are, because the flighte of the Herone ys moore daungerous then of other fowles, insomuche, that when she fyndethe her selfe in danger, she wyl lye in the ayre vpon her backe, and turne vpp her bellye to-wards the hawke, and so defile her enyme with her excremente, that eather she wyl blinde the hawke, or ells with her byft 'or talentes pierce the hawkes brest, yt she offer to cease vpon her.

\(^{[*}\text{leaf 37, back (M.S. repeats 'for other')}]\)
\(^{[*]}\text{leaf 36,}\)

\(^1\) 'heroner a certayne kinde of hawke.'—Speghet, 1598; but in ed. 1602 'a speciall winged hawke.'
\(^2\) MS. Gowsahake.
The 'Hyppe' is not simply 'the redd berye one the Bryer,' vnlest yo adde this epithetone, and saye, 'the redd Berrye one the swete Bryer,' (which is the Eggletyne,) to distinguyshe yt from the comone Bryer or Bramble, beringe the blakke Berye; for that name 'Bryer' ys comone to them boothe, when the 'Hyppe' is proper but to one; nether maye yt helpe yo that yo saye 'the redd Berye,' to distinguyshe yt from the Blakke, for the blackebery ye also redd for a tyme, and then may be called 'the redd Berye of the Bryer' for that tyme.

'Nowell,' yo expounde 'Christmesse,'1 whiche ys that feaste, and moore; for yt is that tyme whiche is properlye called the Advente, 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 comyng of Christe in the flesh; whiche peraduenture after a sorte, by the figure Senecode, yo may seeme to excuse, plange ther Christemas, a parte of this tyme of Nowell, for all the tyme that Nowell conteynethe. for in the same worde is conteyned, sometyne xx, but for the most parte thirtye dayes, before Christmesse, aswelle as the Christmesse yt selfe, that woorde beinge deduced, as hathe Willelmus Postellus in 'Alphabeto 12 Linguarum,' from the hebrue worde Noell; for thus he writethe: "[N]oel, sonat deus noster, siue Deus nobis aduenit. Solitaque est hec vox cantari a plebe ante Christi natalitia viginti aut triginta dies quodam desiderio."

1 'nowell christmesse,' ed. 1598. 'nowell signifieth Deus nobiscum; and is taken for Christmas, & xx. or xxx. daies next before.'—ed. 1602.

2 'porpherye marble,' ed. 1598. 'porphery, f. a marble mingled with red.'—ed. 1602.
marble ys genus, but purpherye is species; for as there is white and grey marble, so ys there reede marble, which is this porpherye, a stone of reddish purple color, distincte or enter’laced with white veynes, as yo may see in the great pillers entringe into the royalle exchange or burse in CornehiH.

'Sendale,’ yo expounde ‘a thynne stuffe lyke Cypres.’ but yt was a thynne stuffe lyke saranet, and of a rawe kynde of sylke or saranett, but course, and narrower, then the Sarcenett nowe ys, as my selfe canne remember.

'Trepegett,’ yo expounde ‘a Ramme to batter walles.’ But the trepegete was the same that the magonell; for Chaucer calleth yt a trepegett or magonell; wherfore the trepegett and magonell beinge all one, and the magonell one instrumente to flynge or cast stones (as youre selfe expounde yt) into a towne, or against a towne walles, (one engine not muche vnlyke to the Catapulte, an instrumente to cast forthe darters, stones, or arrowes,) the trepeget must nedes also be one instrumente to cast stones or suche lyke against a wall or into a towne, and not a Ramme to batter wal[l]es; since the Ramme was no engine to flinge anye thinge, but by mens handes to be broughte and pushed against the walles; a thinge farr different in forme from the magonell or catapulte, as appereth by Vigitius and Robertus Valturiius ‘de re militari.’

‘Wuyer,’ yo expounde not: wherefor I will tell yo, a Wyuer is a kynde of serpent of good Bulke, not vnlyke vnto a dragon, of whose kinde he is, a thinge well knowne vnto the Heroldes, vsinge the same for armes, and creates, & 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 ‘wuyere’ (without explanation), ed. 1598: ‘wyuer, a kind of serpent much like to a dragon,’ ed. 1602.
noble menne. As the erle of Kent bearethe a wuer for his Creste and supporters; the erle of Penbroke, a wuer vert for his Creste; the erle of Cumberlande, a wuer geules for his supporters.

'Antenticke,' yo" expounde to be 'antiquyte.'

But howe yo" may seme to force and rackle the worde to Chaucers meaninge, I knowe not; but sure I ame, the proper significatione of 'antenticke' is, 'a thinge of antiquyte or credit allowed by menne of antiquyte, or the original or fyrste archetypum of any thinge'; which I muse that yo" did not remember.

'Abandon,' yo" expounde 'liberty'; whiche in all Italiane, Frenshe, and Spanishe, signyfeth 'relin- quere, to forsake and leave a thinge'; whiche me thinketh the yo" most hardely stretche to 'libertye,' vnest yo" wiff saye that, when one forsaketh a thinge, he leaveth yt at libertye; whiche ys but a streyned speche, although the frenche Hollybande, not understandinge 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 Corrections of, the Text of Chaucer.]

Vnder the title of yourse
Annotacions and Corections.

In yourse Annotacions yo" describe, oute of the

1 'autenticke, of antiquite,' ed. 1598; 'of awhoritie,' ed. 1602.
2 'abandon, libertie,' ed. 1598; 'Abandon, f. libertie. abandon, f. quie ouer,' ed. 1602. Palgrave (1630) gives, p. 831, col. 2, "At large, that men maye take what they wyll, A abandon; as toute planté de biens y cutoyent a abandon; il met ses dayna, a abandon;" and on p. 832, col. 1, "At pleasure, A bandon, and a talent; as et que le voye a bandon, and ma femme ma batu a son talent."

Abandon, bandon, licence, liberty: m. Abandonner ... to quie 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 wherwith Christe was crucyfied, and witha[n] a napkyu whereine was the printe of his face.’

But the vernacle did not containe the instrumentes of his death, but only the clothe wherein was the figure of his face; as I conceive yt with others.

For ‘Campaneus’ you wolde reade ‘Camaneus,’ wherunto I cannott yeid, for although Statis 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 Statis, and Chaucer hym style in many other places. so that yt semythe they made the pronutiatione 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 Thesyde of Boces, written in Italiane (and of late translated into frenche,) dothe there, after the Italiane manner, calfe him ‘campaneus’; for so the Italians pronounce woordes begunnyinge with ‘Cap’: with the interpositione of the lettere m, pronuncinge yt ‘camp’: for, that whiche the Latins cal[le] ‘capitollium,’ the Italians call ‘campidoglio’; and suche lyke. Wherefore, since yt was vniuersally receued in that age, to calfe him ‘Camaneus,’ lett vs not nowe alter yt, but permytte yt to have free passage accordance to the pronuntiatione and wrytinge of that age. since, in deducinge woordes from one language to one other, there ys often additione and subtractione of letters, or of Sillabes, before, in the middle, and in the

1 Sign. Bbb, iii. back, ed. 1598. ‘Vernacle (Prolog.) A cloth or napkin, wherin was the figure of Christ’s face,’ ed. 1602.

2 Speght leaves ‘Campaneus’ without comment in his 1602 ed. All the MSS. of my Six-Text read “Cappaneus.” A, 982. Capaneus was one of the seven heroes who besiegd Thebes.
ende of those wordes. whereof infynyte examples mighte
be produced, which I nowe shonne for brevitye.

fo: 3. pa: 2. ("noughte comelye lyke to louers
maladye of heroe."") for whiche woorde 'heroe,' yo" reade eros, i. cupide, a very good and probable corre-
tions, well gathered out of Luciane. But (salua pati-
entia vestra, and reservinge to myselfe better judgmente
hereafter, yt I nowe mystake yt,) I wolle, for the
printed 'heroe's of Chaucer, read 'heroes': whiche
two woordes onelye differ in misplacinge of the letters;
a comone thinge for the printer to do, and the correcto
to overpass. for Arctype, in this furie of his love, did
not shewe those courses of gour[n]mente, whiche the
Heros, or valiante persons, in tymes past veed; for
thoughe they loued, yet that passione did not generallye
so farre ouerrule them (although yt mighte in some
one particuler personne) as that they lefte to "con-
tynew the valor, and heriocke actions, whiche they

1 Speght reads 'Eros' in his 1602 ed., as against 'Heres'
in his 1598 one; and puts this note in his Glossary:—
"Whereas some copies haue Hereos, some Heres, and
some such like counterfeit word, whereof can be gien 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 behauour.

The words in the Grecce are thus much in Latine: Si voles
amabilis esse, nonesse concutias Aeegida, neque fulmen gerant;
secundum subtilissimum eis, et quam satis purpureum,
crepidis tibi subligas avrestas: ad tibi et Tempora composito
gressu incende, et videbis quod plures te sequentur, quam Bac-
chum Manades. So that the louers of Eros, that is, Cupids
seruaunta, doe cary themselves comely in all their passions, &
their maladies are such as shew no open distemperature of body
or minde: which mediocritye this Aroite was farre from keep-
ing. And wheres 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.

The three A MSS. of the Six-text rightly read 'Heres';
the three B ones 'Heres.'—A. 1574.
before performed, for the Heroes sholde so love, as that they sholde not forgett, what theye were in place, valor, or magnanymtye, whiche Arcite, in this passione, did not observe "lyke to louers malady of Heroes." Whereof I colde produce six hundred examples, (as the prouerbe ys,) were yt not that I avoyde tedious prolixtye.

fo: 6. pa: 2. "Manye a florence." In whiche note ye expounde a florence to be ijs frenche, and a gelder to be the same in dutche.¹ Wherein yo mistake the valewe of a florens, suche as was vsed in Chaucers tyme, whiche, taking his name of the woorkemenne, beinge florentynes, (of the terrtorye of florence in Italye,) were called 'florens'; as sterlince money tooke their name of Esterlinges, whiche refinued and coyned the silver in the tyme of kinge Henry the seconde. for two shillinges frenche ys not euanta in valewe (as I nowe take yt) to two shillinges Englyshe: and much 'lesse euanta to the florens in Chaucers tyme, whiche was of the valewe 4 of the shillinges, fourre pence, or halfe a noble, or, at the leaste, of two shillinges tenne pence farthinge, as apperethe by recorde and historye: some of them beinge called 'florens de scuto,' or of the valewe of the 'sheldre,' or frenche crowne, and some of them called florens regaH. Whereof yo shaft fynde, in the recorde of bellis exitus in the exchequer, in michelmas terme 41: Ed: 3. this note: "Bartholomew de Burgesshe, militi, in denariss sibi liberatis in parte solutionis 8000 florenorum de scuto, pretii petii, iijs iiiijd, sibi debitis de illis 30000 florenorum de scuto, in quibus Rex tenebatur eadem

¹ A florence is two shillings French, a Gilder is the same in Dutch."—Spengt, ed. 1598, *Annotacions*, sign. Bbbb iii.ii. A coin 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 Ventadour, prisonario suo apud Bellum de Poyters in guerra capto, et ab eodem Bartholomeo ad opus Regis emptio, 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 Termino Michaelis, de anno 36—xxv. "To the valewe whereof agreeth 'Hipo-digma Neustria,' 'pa. 127, where, settinge downe the ransome of the frenche kinge taken at Poyters, to the valewe of there 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 solutis regis 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 comptaries 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 Pelliis exitus before sayed, where yt is thus entred one the sixte "of Iulye: "Guiscardo de Angles. Domino de pleyne martyrne, In denariis sibi liberatis, per manus Walter Hewett, militis, in pretio 4000 florenorum regalium pretii petii—ijs xd quadranta; de quibus florenis regalibus, 7 computantur pro tribus nobilibus, eidem Guiscardo debitis." Whereby yo'st see the measte of these florens did exceed the valewe of ijs frenche, (although yo'st sholde squall that with ijs englyshe,) as yt did also in other countres. For in the lowe countres at those dayes yt was muche aboute the valewe of
V. EMELYE'S GARLAND WAS OF 'OKE UNSERIAL,' NOT 'CERRIALL.' 47

Iijs iiijd, beinge halfe a pistole Italiane or spanyshe, was worth about 3s. 4d.

for so saythe Heuterius Delphicu, (in the historye of Burgundye, in the lyfe of Philippe le hardye,) lyving at that tyme, and sone to the frenche kinge taken prisoner by the Ingleshe. Heuterius' woordes be these: "Illustris viri aliorumque nobilium mors adeo comitem comovit, vt relicta obesidone exercitus ad commetatus ducendos in proxima loca distribuerit. Decem milibus florenorum (moneta Belgica est semipistoletum Italicum pendens) pro Anglicani, aliorumque nobilium cadauerum redemptione solutis," &c.

fo: 7. pa: 2. For "unserial," yo will vs to reade "Cerriall," for Cerrus¹ is a kynde of tre lyke one oke, beringe maste; and therefor by your correctione yt sholde be 'a garland of Grene oke Cerriall': But for the same reasone (because Cerrus ys a kynde of oke, as ys also the Ilex) I Iudge yt sholde not be rede 'Cerriall,' but 'unserial,' that ys, (yf yo will nedes have this word 'Cerriall,') 'a garlande of Grene 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 Vnserial, 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 caft the 'holme oke,' (as Cooper also expoundeth the Ilex to be that whiche wee call holme,) produceth the 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 w 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.

"Unserial," read. Cerriall: Cerrus is a kind of tree like an Oke, and beareth maste. Vnde Pliniuin."—Speght, ed. 1598, sign. B bbb. iii. The 'unserial' is left in the text of ed. 1602, without note or explanation in the Glossary.
whose leaves, though greenish on one side, are russet and dark on the other, not fit for the young Emelye, 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, whiche sholde be fresehe and Grene one everye parte,—as was her yonge and grene yeres, lyke to the goddesse to whom she sacryfyced,—and therefore a garlande of Grene oke vnseriall, not beinge of oke serrial; for yf yt had byn oke serrial, yt wolde haue shewed duskyshye, and as yt were of dedishe leaves, and not freshe and orient, as chaucer wolde haue her garlanda. And this for your e[x]posion of 'vnseriall,' in some parte: for I wolde suppose that this worde 'vnseriall' dothe not vnaptly signyfye perfectione of Coolor, so that she haveinge a Garlande of Grene oke vnseriall, dothe signyfye the oke to be grene and vnseriall, that is, (as some do expounde this worde vnseriall,) vnsered, vnsinged, vnwithered, of freshe coolor, lyke unto the oke Quercus, whiche hathe no sered nor withered cooloor in his leafes. And yt was of necessytys that Emely (sacryfysinge to Diana) must haue a garlande of the Grene oke Quercus, because that they which sacryfysed vnto Diana, otherwise called Heccate, (which name is attribute to Diana, as natalis Comes affirmeteth with statius in his Acheleidos, in his first Booke, sayinge,

Sic vbi virgines Heccate lassata pharetris,

being Diana adorned with her bowe and arrowes, called also 'Truia,' because Luna, Diana, and Heccate, were all one, whereof Virgill speakesteth,

Tergeminamque Hecaten, tria virginis ora Diana,)

were adorned with a crowne of the grene oke Quercus, because that Heccate was wont to be crowned there-with, as hath Pierius Valerius in his 51 booke of Hieroglyphes, sayinge, "Heccate quoquæ Quercu coronari solita est." for although Quercus be consecrate to Jupiter, because he gave his oracles in the same ' in
Sylvia Dodonea,' and therefore called 'Jupiter Dodoneus'; Yet Antiquitye adorned and crowned Diana Heccate with the same 'crown also. Wherfore I con-

clude, since she [Emelye] had a garlande of Grene oke, (as Chaucer of purpose adde the that woorde 'Greene' to expleane 'vnseriaH,' whiche signysfie the vnsere, vn-
parched, vnwithered in every parte, not lyke to the oke serriaH, whose leafe one the one syde is dusksyshe, as though ye were somewhat withered,) that the same woerde 'vnseriaH' must stande vnamended, as well (as I sayed before) by youre owne correctione and the nature of the woerde; as for that Diana, called Heccate, was crowned with the oke Quercus, and not with the oke Cerrus. But ye yo' objecto to mee that, in this place, ye must be a garlande of oke CerriaH according to the woordes of Chaucer in one other place, because that he, in 'the flower and the leafe' (newely printed by yo')1, hathe these woordes;

As to Chaucer's giving,

I sse come first, all in theire clokes white,
a companye that ware, for delighte,
Chaplettes freshe of oke serriaH
Newly spronge, and Trompettes they were all;

I denye that therefore in the Knights Tale 'yt must be oke serriaH. for yt maye well bee, that such meane persons as trompettes might be crowned with so base one oke as the serriaH ys, whiche I caH 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 noble desartes in the warres, as appere 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 beauti-
ful, Flower & Leaf, as Chaucer's, both in his ed. of 1598 and that of 1602.

THYNNE.
Emelye, in that the trompettes chappettes were of oke serria\h newly spongge, and not coome to perfectione, whiche yet, yf they had byn perfecte, wolde not haue byn soo orente and Greene one bothe sydes as ys the oke Quercus, wherwithe he wolde haue this Emelye crowned, as was her goddesse Heccate Diana (to whome she dyd sacryfye) accustomed to bee. for so in tymes past (as I sayde before) the sacryficer sholde be adonred with the garlandes of suche thinges as were consecrate to the goddes to whome they sacryfyed. for whiche cause also I ame not moved, thoughghe Caxt\-tone in his seconde editione do call yt one oke serria\h. for I knowe (not withstandinge his fayre prolege of printinge that by a true copye) there be manye imperfections in that Booke.

Fo.: 9: pa. 1. for (euerye ) yo" wiill 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 boote 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 correction, thoughghe some coppies do warrant yt:

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

1 "Euery 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 'eyther,' &c.).
2 'Saue onely, 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 gonne, as yt wolde bee yf yo\textsuperscript{a} sholde reade, “and also the intellecte” for “saue only the intellecte.” for Chaucers meany\textsuperscript{a}e ys, that all his streng[t]he and vital\textsuperscript{d} sprites aboute his outewarde partes were gonne, save onlye his intellecte or vnderstandinge, whiche remayned sounde and good, as apperethe after by the following woordes; for when deathe approched, and that all outewarde senses fayled, lie [Arcite] yet cast eye vpon Emelye, remembringe her, thoughhe the chefest vitall sprite of his harte and his streng[th]e were gonne from hym. but he colde not hawe cast his eye vppone Emelye, yf his intellecte had fayled hym. Yet yf yo\textsuperscript{a} liste to reade, “and also the intellecte,” for “Saue only the intellecte,” yt maye after a sorte somewhat be borne withait, nothewithstandinge that a pointe at streng[t]he is looste; and a parenthesis incluydnye (“Save only the intellecte, without moore,”) will make the sence good, in this sort as I have here pointed yt:

And yet moore ouer, from his armes two
the vital streng[t]he is lost: & all agoo
(saue only the intellecte without moore)
that dwellith in his hart sicke & soore
gan faylen: When the hart felt death &c.

Fo: 10. pa. 2. for “armes straughte” you wolde reade “yt haughte,”\textsuperscript{1} when ‘straughte’ is moore significant, (and moore answerable to Chaucers woordes whiche followeth) then ‘haughte\textsuperscript{2}’ ys. for he spekethe of the Bredthe and spredinge of the boughes or armes or branches of the tree, whiche this woord ‘straughte’ dothe signyfye, and is moore aptlye sett downe for stretched, then this woorde ‘haughte,’ whiche signyfye the catchinge holde, or holdinge faste, or (yf

\textsuperscript{1} “Armes straughte, 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 ‘strauhte.’

\textsuperscript{2} MS. straughte
yo" wilt streyne yt againste his nature) stretchinge on heighe, whiche agreeth not well with Chaucers mean-ynge; for thes bee his wordes:

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

"fo: i1. pa: i. "for all forgotten in his vassal-age," yow wolde haue vs reade, "for all forgotten is then his Visage"; a thinge more impertinent.1 for the forgettynge of his visage and personage is not materialH, nor regarded of anye to haue his face forgotten; but yt is muche materiall (and so ys Chaucers meanynge) that his vassalage, and the good service done in his yowthe, shold be forgotten when he waxeth 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 yowthe forgotten;' whiche I colde dilate and prove by manye examples; but I cannott stande longe vpon euerie pointe, as well for that I wolde not be tedious vnto yo", as for that leasure serueth me not thereunto.

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

Fo: i4. pa: i. 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. Spedgh feels it so, and accordingly leaves 'For all foryeten is his vassallage' in his ed. of 1602, Fol. 10, back, col. 2, l. 1. All the Six-Text MSS. read 'vassallage', 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 gabb" (A, 3510). There is no line with 'lothe' in it; and the only other line with lefe is, "And said: Johan hoste myn lefe and dere." Both are rightly lefe in ed. 1602.—(Group A, 3501.)
3 Absolon.
V. 29. THYNNE PREFERENCES SURRYE TO RUSSYE IN SQUIRE'S TALE. 53

her windowe, to make her the better to heare, then that he coughed. For although he those wordes "with a semely sownde" maye haue relatione to the voyce, yet they maye as wele, and withe as much consonancye, haue reference to a semely and gentle kynde of knockinge at the windowe, as to the voyce; and so his meanyng 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 sayed,

So mote I thyryve, 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, although 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 wryttyn copies, and some auncient printed copies before my fathers editione. But yt I shal interpone my opynione, I wolde more willingly (for this tyme) receve Surre, because yt is most lykely that the tartarians whiche dwelt at Sara (a place yet well knownen, and bordering vppone the lake 'Mare Caspium,' is nester to Sorria, or the countryes adyonyng called Syria, then to Russya. for as Hato the Armeniane, in his Tartarian Historye, sayethe, The Cyte 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, 'cogeth'; Cambridge, 'coude'; Corpus, 'coughed'; Petworth, 'koughe'; Lansdowne, 'couched.' All agree in reading 'semy', half (sound) for 'semely'.
3 At Sarra, in the lond of Tartarie.
4 Speghe leaves it Surrie in his 1602 ed. All the Six-Text MSS. read 'Russye' or 'Russy.'
auncently the famous Cyttye of the Countrye of Cumania; and that the Tartarians obtayned the kingdome of Syria in the yeare 1240, which must be in the tyme of the fyrst Tartariane Emperor called Caius cane, beinge (as I suppose) he whome Chaucer nameth Cambiuscan, 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 meanyng further to consider of yt.

Fo. 31: ps. 2. for these woordes, “that may not saye naye,” yo reade “there may no wighte saye naye,” bothe whiche are good, and bothe founde in written copyes; and yet the firste wiff better stonde, in my conceyte, because [the king of Faerie] there speakinge to his wyfe, he urgethe her that she cannott denye yt, when he sayethe 'my wyfe that cannott saye naye,' as who sholde saye "yo" cannot denye yt, because yo knowe yt, and experience teacheth yt;” so that these woordes, “that cannott saye naye,” muste be taken as spoken of his wyfes knowledge, and so as good and rather better then “there maye no wighte saye naye,” consideringe that these woordes “that cannot saye naye,” dothe 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. 470, Group F, l. 4.

2 ‘My wife (q.d. he) that may not say nay.
The experience so proveth it every day.’

(The Marchant’s 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 “pat maie not seie naye,” E. 2237 (p. 470); all the rest have, in varied spelling, and the Cambridge putting ‘man’ for ‘wight’:—

My wyt, quod he / ther may no wight seye naye

In the second line the three A MSS. read,

The experience / so proueth every day

the three B ones (both A and B having varied spelling)

ye experies proueth it every day.
naye," in suche sorte that this relatyve (that), meanynghe (whoe), must haue reference to his antecedente, this woorde 'wyfe.'

Fo: 35. pa: 2. for "he cleped yt valerye & theophraste," yo" saye 'some wolde haue vs reade "Valery and his Paraphrase."' But as yo" haue left yt at libertee to the reader to judge, so I thinke yt must nedes be Theophraste;¹ as the author [of] Policraticon in his eighte Booke, ca. ii. (from whome Chaucer borroweth the almost worde for worde a great parte of the Wyfe of Bathes prologue,) doth vouche yt; for the author of that Booke, Johannes Sarisburiensis, lyvinge in the tyme of Henrye the seconde, sayethe, "Fertur Autore 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 turnynghe yt oute of verse into prose, writethe, "Ha, se i'eusse creu Theophrates!" &c. 'Oh, yf I had beleued Theophraste, I had never maried womeane'; for he dothe not holde hym wise that marieth anye womeane, be she fayre, fowle, poore, or Richo; 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 Sloane MSS. of course read 'Theophraste,' D, 671, p. 362.

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 Paraphrase. This Valerie wrote a booke De non ducenda exore, with a Paraphrase vpon it, which I haue seene in the studie of Master Allen of Oxford, a man of as rare learning as he is stored with rare bookees. 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 Ripam. But yet there was one called Valerius, who wrote a booke of the same Argument printed among S. Jeromes worke. And likewise one called Theophrastus Erastus, who, among many things, did write of such matters. Let the Reader judge."
32. Your Coun-
try for Coun-
try (Neas’s Priest’s
Tale) is a mis-
take.
[* leaf 40]*

33. So is your
waketh for
makedeth.

Fo: 38. pa: 2. for this worde “Countrye”¹ yoⁿ will
ys to reade “Countrye.” 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 worde “makedeth” is corrected
by yoⁿ, who for the same do place “waketh”; whiche
cannot well stonde;² for Chaucers woordes beinge, “this
makedo the fende,” dothe signyfye (by a true con-
versione after the dialecte ofoure tonge, whiche withe
beawtye vsethe suche transmutacione as I colde gyue
yoⁿ many pretye instances,) that the sence thereof ys,
“the fende makedeth this,” for whiche Chaucer vsethe
these wordes by Transpositione, (accordings to the
rhotricall figure Hiperbatone,) “This makedeth the
fende:” Whiche this? Anger: for that cometh, ys
made, or occasioned, by the diauH. 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 slombreth nor
slepethe, but alwayes watcheth, “and howrelie seeketh
occasione to destroye vs, lyke a roringe lyon. But yf
yoⁿ will nedes saye “this waketh the fende,” that is,
by conversione, after this manner, “the fende waketh
this,” whiche signyfye the, ‘the fende waketh or sty-
reth the this in manne,’ yt maye, after a harde and ouer-

¹ “Whylome there was dwelling in my countrie”

² *Freres Tale*, l. 3.

In his ‘Annotations,’ Speght says, “Countrye, read Countrie” ;
but he rightly leaves the word ‘coultre’ in his 1602 edition,
Fol. 57, col. 1. The Corpus, alone, of the *Six-Text MSS. reads
‘Counitre’; the others, rightly, ‘contrey’ or ‘contre.’ D, 1301,
p. 372.

² Is, indeed, “a things mere impertinent,” as Thynne said
before, p. 52, in this passage—
O Thomas, ie you die, Thomas Thomas
This maketh ye fende, this must been ameued
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.
streynd sorte, beare somme sence, whiche yet hath not that energe, sprite or lyfe, whiche haue Chaucers woordes, "this maketh the fende." Whiche woordes are in my written copies, and in all written and auncient printed copies which I haue yet seene.

Fo: 96: pa: 2. vppon these woordes, "o hughe of Lincoln sleyne also, &c." Yo" saye, that "in the 29. H. 3. eightene Iewes were broughte [to London] from Lincolne, and hanged for cruycyfinge a childe of eight yeres olde." Whiche facte was [in] the 39. H. 3. so that yo" mighte verye weH haue sayed, that the same childe of eighte yeres olde was the same hughe of Lincolne; of whiche name there1 were twoe, viz. thys younger Seinte Hughe, and Seinte Hughe Bishoppe of Lincolne, which dyed in the yere 1200, longe before this litle seinte hughe. And to proue [that] this childe of eighte yeres olde, and that yonge hughe of Lincolne, were but one, I will sett downe two auctorties oute of Mathewe Paris and Walsingham, whereof the fyreste 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 deluyerethe at large; and further, in the yere 1256, beinge 40. H. 3. he sayethe, "dimissi sunt quieti 24. Iudei à Turri London, qui ibidem infames tenebantur compediti pro crucifixione sancti Hugoii Lincolnii:" All whiche, Thomas Walsingham, in 'Hypodygma Neustria,' confirmeth; saying, A°. 1255. "Puer qui dam Christianus, nomine Hugo, à Iudeis captus, in opprobrìum Christiani nominis crudeliter est crucifixus."

Fo: 86. pa: 1. ("Where the sonne is in his ascensione," &c.) yo" will vs to reade for the same,2

1 MS. their  2 MS. sume

Speght spells "sunne, ascension, find, humours hote, if
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 colerick 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,) collerick of complexione, where (whiche signyfyeth the 'when') the sonne is in his ascentione. Wherefore he must take heede, that he did not fynde hym replaete (at that tyme of the sonnes being in his ascentione) of hoote humors, for ye he did, he sholde surelye haue one ague. And this wille stand with the woordes "where the sonne is in his ascentione," takinge 'where' for 'when,' as yt is often vsed. But yt yow\(^3\) mislyke that gloss, and wille begyn one new sence, as yt is in some written copyes, and saye, "Ware the sonne in his ascentione, ne fynde you not replaete," &c. Yet yt cannotte boe that the other woordes, ("for yf yt dowe,") canne anserwe the same, because this pronounne relatye ('yt') cannott haue relatione to this worde ('yow") whiche wente before in this lyne, "Ne fynde yow not replaete of humors hotte." So that yf yowe wille nedes reade "ware" for "where," yet the other parte of the followinge verse must nedes be, "for yf yow dowe," and not "for yf yt dooe"; vnyeste yow\(^3\) wille saye that this woordes ('yt') must have relatione to these woordes, ("the sonne in his ascentione,") whiche yt cannott have, those woordes gouinge two lynes before, and the pronounne (yow") it," ed. 1598. In his 1602 ed. he rightely leaves out the 'is': "Ware the sonne in his ascension, Ne finde ye not replaete of humours hote."

\(^{1}\) The fair Pertelote.\(^{2}\) Chaunticleare.
interposed betwene the same and that his corelatyve (yt). wherfore these woordes, ("for yf yt doe," ) must nedes stande as they did before, thoughe yo\textsuperscript{a} will correcte "where the sonne &c." and saye "ware the sonne &c." whiche yf yo\textsuperscript{a} will nedes haue, yo\textsuperscript{a} must you must alter correcte the rest in this sorte:

\textit{Ware the sonne in his ascensione,}
\textit{that yt fynde yo\textsuperscript{a} not repleat of humors hotte,}
\textit{for yf yt do, &c.} 

*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 Kenelm we reade,") yo\textsuperscript{a} saye that "Kenelm was sleyne by his sister Quenda,"\textsuperscript{1} whiche sholdie be Quendrida, as William of Malmsberye and Ingulphus\textsuperscript{2} have. Whiche Quendrida dothe signyfye Quene Drida, as the author of the Antiquyties of Seint Albons and of the Abbottes thereof (supposed to be Mathewe Paris) dothe expounde yt. for that auctor, speakinge of the wyfe of Offa the greate kinge of Mercia (a wicked and proude womanne, because she was of the stocke of Charles the greate,) dothe saye, that she was called Drida, and beinge the kinges wyfe was termed Quendrida, id est, Regina Drida.

Fol: 87. p: 1. Vppon these woordes of "Taurus was fortye degrees and one," yo\textsuperscript{a} saye that this place ys misprinted, ase\textsuperscript{2} in not namyng of the sygne, as of the mysreckonymge 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 semyngge to correcte the former printe (whiche in truthe desyneth the amende-mente, but not in that order,) yo\textsuperscript{a} seme to mee to erre,

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

\textsuperscript{2} His chronicle is held to be spurious.
as far as heaven is from earth.

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

for his 22 or 23 days must be reckoned from the end of March,

When the month in which the world began,
That bright March, when God first made man,
Was complete, and passed were also
Since March began, &c.

Wherbye you must begin to reckon the number of days from the time of March complete; and then would the sign fall out to be in Taurus. If you hold your to the print (for the 22 day after Marche, which is the 22 day of April, in which the sun is about 20 degrees in Taurus;) or to the written copy of thirty two days, (which is the second of Maye, at what time the sun is also about some 20 degrees in Taurus;) the signe is not misreckoned or mianamed, as you suppose. Neither can these woordes, "since Marche began," help you to reckon them from the beginynge of Marche, (as you seem to

All the Six Text MSS. have 'thirty,' in some spelling, or in figures. Group B, 4380, p. 293.
doo;) because they muste answere and be agreeable to the former wordes of Chaucer, whiche sayeth the marche was complete; and, for that we sholde not dothe thereof, he addeth also farther, “And passed were also since Marche beganne”: Where the worde “beganne” ys mysprinted for “be gonne,” that is, since “marche be gonne,” this word ‘beganne’ being put for ‘is gonne,’ or ‘gonne bye, or departed.’ so that the genuynacht sence hereof is, ‘When marche was complete, and also were passed, since marche is gonne, or gonne bye, or departed.’ for, in many olde inglyshe worodes, this syllable (be) is sett before to make yt moore significante and of force; as, for ‘moone’ we says, ‘bemone,’ for ‘sprincled,’ ‘besprincled’; for ‘dewed,’ ‘bedewed,’ &c., as in this case, for ‘gonne’ ys sett downe ‘begonne.’ But although ther be no mysnamynge of the signe; yet yt is true the degrees of the signes are mysreckoned, the error whereof grewe, because the degree of the signe, is made equauff with the degree of the sonne ascended above the Horizone, beinge at that tyme xli degrees in heighte from the Horizon. But to remedye athis, and to correcte yt accordinge as Chaucer sett yt downe in myne and other written copies; and that yt may stande with all mathematicall proportione, whiche Chaucer knewe and observed there, the printe must be corrected after those written copies (wichhe I yet hold for sounde tis I maye disproove them) havinge these worodes:

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 begonne, thirty dayes and two: "[4]" besill that Chanteclere in all his pride, his seven Wiues walkinge him beside, cast vppe his eyen to the bright[e] sonne, that in the signe of Taurus had yronne "[8]" Twentye degrees and one, & somewhat moore; & knewe by kynde, & by noone other loore, That yt was pryme, and crewe with blisfull steven:"
the sonne, quod he, is clombe vp on heauen
Fortye degrees and one, and moor, ywis, &c. [12]

And that this sholde be mente xxxij dayes after
Marche, and the seconde of Maye, there be manye
reasons, besides those that Chaucer nameth; whiche
are, that the sonne was not farre from the middle of
his ascensione, 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* ouerslipped; and because
I thinke yo* knewe not what to make of yt, (as in dede
by the printinge fewe menne canne vnderstande yt,) I
will sett downe the correctione of the same; beinge
the worde "Mereturicke,"* farr corrupted for "Mercenricle,"
in saxone *merencnyke whiche is the king-
dome of Mercia, for so was Kenelume the sonne, and
Kenulphus the father, bothe kinges of Mercia; the one
raignynge 36 yeres, * and the other mundred by his
sister Quondrida, as ys before noted. And that yt is
the kingdome of Mercia, the stymone of the woord
dothe teache; for *nyk* in the saxone tonge signy-
fyethe a kingdome; *mencen* signyfyethe markes, or
bounde, or marches of Countryes, so that Mercenricke
is *regnum Merciae,* or the kingdome of Mercia, or of

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1 The correctness of Thynne's argument, and of his corre-
tion of the old readings of twenty in line 4 above to thirty; and
of Forty in l. 9, to Twenty (which all the Six-Text MSS. have,
B, 4835), is shown by Mr Brae in his edition of the Astrolabe,
and Mr Skeat (who follows him) in his edition (E. E. T. Soc.
and Chaucer Soc.), p. lxi, 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 Merturike.—ed. 1593; Meroenryke, ed. 1602.
Oddly enough, the Lansdowne MS., alone of the Six-Text ones,
reads rightly 'Mercenrike.' The Cambridge has 'Merturyke';
the others 'Mertenrike,' the scribes mistaking c for s, two
letters hardly differing in many MSS.
the boundes, so called because almoste aH the other
kingdomes of the saxons bounded vppon the same, and
that lykewise vppon them, since that kingdom dyd
lye in the middle of England, and conteyned most of
the shires thereof.

Fo: 90. pa: 2. for "pilleoure" yo\textsuperscript{a} wil\textsuperscript{a} vs to reade
"Pellure," signyfyinge furres,\textsuperscript{1} but although the
Clergye ware furres, and some of them had their outer-
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 pilleoures, yf I be not deceived. for
every cardinal h\textsuperscript{a} had, for "parte of his honorable ensignes
borne before hym, certeine siluer pillers; as had
cardinal H Wolsey,\textsuperscript{2} in the tyme of kinge Henryxe the
eighte, and Cardinal Poole, in my memory. So that
‘pilleoure’ in that place is better then ‘pellure,’ because
pilleoures were a noote of moore pride and maiestye
(against whiche the Plowmanne dothe enveye in those
woordes,) then ys the weringe of furres.

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

\textsuperscript{1} In the spurious ‘Plowman Tale.’
And so should eyvery Christened be
Priests, Peters successours
Beth lowliche and of low dege
And vaen none earthly honours
Neither crowne, ne curious couetours
Ne pilleoures, ne other proude pall.—ed. 1598.
‘pillour, ne other proude pall.’—ed. 1602.

\textsuperscript{2} See Roy’s Satira, and ‘The Impeachment of Wolsey,’
p. 340, note, and 360/256 of my ‘Ballads from Manuscripts, I,’
(Ballad Society).
V. 41. Speght Makes a Needless Mess of His Metre.

...unctione (et. and :)—as, "with pride misedd the poore, & with money filled manye a male, &c." so he contynueth yt stiH with that preposytion, "with many change of meates"; whiche ys as good as the other, for euerie one knowethe Chaucer's meanyng to be, that they eate of many meates, when they haue change of many meates; for whye sholde they haue change of meates, but for varyctye to please the palates tast in eatyng. In the next staffe, for "myters moe then one or two") yo*t teache vs to reade, "Myters they weare mo then one or two"; whiche, me thinkethe, neleth the not. for the weareinge of their myters is included in these woordes, "and myters moore then one or twoe." Whiche wordes are curteyled for the verse his cause, that the same mighte kepe one equall proportiones and decorum in the verse, whiche wolde be lengthened one foote or silleable moore then the other verses, yf youre readinge sholde stande. But yf yo* saye, that in this and other things I ame ouerstreghthe laced, and to obstinatlyte bente to defende the former printed editione,—in that I wolde rather alowe one imperfecte sence, and suche as must be vnsterode, when yt ys not fully expressed, then a playne style,—"I wiff answere withe a grounde of the lawe, "quod frustra fit per plura, quod fieri potest per pauciora," and "quod subintelligitur non decet." wherefore yt is nedelese to make that playner by aditione of woordes, when yt maye be aswell conceuyed in any reasonable mens understandinge without suche aditione. But in these

1 The 1542 edition of William Thynne (Francis's father), in which the Plowman's Tale was first printed, reads 'punished.' Speght in 1598 reads 'punished,' and in 1602 'punisheeth.'
2 Speght leaves the reading 'With chaunge 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 wil not nowe longe inste,
(being thinges of no greate momente,) vntil I haue
further examyned moore written copyes, to trye
whether wee shal reade the olde texto or your newe
Correctione.

Fo. 122: pa. 2. "The lordes sonne of Windsore.")
Up on these wordes yo" saye, 'this maye seme strange,
bothe in respecte that yt is not in the frenche, as also
for that there was no lorde Windsore at those dayes.'
But yt semethe to me moore strange that these wordes
sholde seme strange to yo", not to bee in the frenche,
where yo" shal fynde them. for thus hath the
frenche 'written Romante, as maye appere in the olde
frenche vsed at the tyme when the Romante was com-
posed, in this sorte:

Pris a Franchise lex ales,
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 yt he had byynne sonne to the
lorde of Windsore': where in olde frenche this woorde
'fuiz' (vsed here, as in manye places of that Booke,) is
placed for that whiche wee wryte and pronounce at this
daye for 'filz' or 'fiz,' in Englishe, 'sonne.' and that yt
is here so mente, yo" shal 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 these woorde in proese. 'A
Franchise s'estoit, prins un ieune Bachelor, de qui ne
scay le nome, fors bell, en son temps filz du "seigneur
de Guindesores." Whiche yo" mighte have weH seeo,
had yo" but remembered their orthographie, and that
the latyne, Italiane, frenche, and spaynshe haue no
doble W, as the Dutche, the Englishe, and suche as

THYNNE.
haue affynyte with the Dutche, since they use for
doble W (a letter comone to vs) these two letters
‘Gu,’ as in ‘Guilem,' whiche we wryte ‘William-
mus’; in ‘Guerra,’ whiche we call and writte
‘warre’; in ‘Gualterus,’ whiche we write ‘Walter’;
in ‘Guardeine,’ whiche we pronounce and write ‘War-
deyne’; 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 Windesore Castle was in buildinge.
for then I suppose that Chaucer was but yonge; where-
of I wythout stande at this tyme, no moore then I wyl
that there was no lord Windesore in those dayes; al-
thoughe I suppose that sir Williame Windesore, being
then a worthye knighte, and of great auctoryte in
Englande, and in the partes beyonde the seas vnder the
kinge of Englande, mighte be lorde Windesore, of
whome the Frenche tolke notice, beinge in those
partes, and by them called ‘seigeneur de Windesore,’
as every gouernour was called ‘seigneur’ Amongest
them. But whethere he were a Baron or no in Eng-
lande, I cannott yet saye, because I haue not my bookes
of somes of Barons to parliamete in my handes at
this instante.

43. Your definition of ‘ordeall’ is bad.
It was not triall by fire onely,
but also by water; not for chastity
only, but for many other
matters.

[* leaf 48]
ordale was a tryaſ for manye other matters. Thirdlye, yo\textsuperscript{a} saye yt was by goinge throughe the fyer. when the fyere ordale was onlye 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 Edward the confessor, receued this tryaſ 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 barefoot vppone nyne burnyng shares, fowre for her selfe, and fyve for Alwyne, Bishoppe of Winchester, with whome she was suspected with Incontynencye; whiche hystorye yo\textsuperscript{d} maye see at large in Ranulphus Higden, in his polieroncone 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 wil passe them ouer, and only deliuer to yo\textsuperscript{a} a thinge knowne to fewe, howe this ordale was contenued in Engelande in the tyme of kinge Iohane, as apperethe in Claus. 17. Iohannis, m. 25, vntiH yt was taken awaye by the courte of Rome; and after that, in Engelande, by the auctoryte of kinge Henrye the thirde, whereof yo\textsuperscript{a} shalt fynde this recorde in the towre, Patente, 3. H. : 3: mem. 5, where yt speakethe of judgmente and tryaſ by fyer and water to be forbydden by the Churche of Roome, and that yt sholde not be vsed here in Engelande; as apperethe by these woordes of that recorde: "Illis vero qui mediis criminibus vectati sunt, et quibus competetet iudicium ignis vel aquae, si non esset prohibitus, et de quibus si regnum nostrum abireant, nulla fieret postea, maleficendi suspicio, regnum nostrum abireant," &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 propytye of his nature, may be as yo" says, but accordinge to one other propytye 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 harborethe. for Aristotle sayethe, & Bartholomeus de proprietatibus rerum li. rz. cap. 8.1 with manye other auctors, that yf the storke by anye meanes perceve that his female hath brooked spouschedde, he wyl no moore dwel with her, but srykethe, and so cruelly beaseth her, that he wyl not suesase vntill he hathe killed her yf he maye, to wreake and reuenge that adulterye.

§ VI. Six more Mistakes.

[VI. Five more Mistakes of Speght's, and then one more.]

These and suche lyke, in my conceyto, are woorthy to be touched in your Annotacions, besides other matters whiche yo" haue not handled; whereof "(because tymre requyrethe after all this tedious treatyce to drawe to one ende) I wyl not nowe entreate; but onyse speake a little moore of fyve especiall thinges, woorthy the animadversione; of whiche the fyreste ys, that yo" make the plowmans tale to goo next before the persons tale, sufferinge the persons corrupted prologue to passe with the begynynge, "By that the plowmanne had his tale ended," when aH writhen

1 "while the female liueth, the male accompanieth not with another with seruice of Venus, but keepe threly to hir in neast, and in office of generation. And if the male espieth in anye wise that the female hath broke spoushood, she shall no more dwell with him, but he beaseth and striketh hir with his bill, and slaieth hir if he may, as Aristot saith."—Bateman ypon Bartholome, leaf 181, col. 2, and back, col. 1, ed. 1583: it is Treviss's translation, the same words, with slight differences of spelling; see Berthelet's edition (A.D. 1535), leaf clxivii, col. 1. See Ep. Stanley's Hist. of Birds, 6th ed. p. 322.
copies, (whiche I colde yet see,) and my fathers edytione, haue yt, "By that the manciple\(^1\) had his tale ended." And because my father colde not see by anye prologues of thee other tales, (whiche for the most parte 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 'euerye 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 distinguysshed 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 sufficienclye be proud of 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. M5, 1133 (which reads 'merchant'; by mistake for 'franklin') had not pass 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. 1532-35), or Thynne's of 1542) for the Rolls Series, in Political Poems, i. 304—346.

\(^3\) Assuredly. And although Francis Thynne has been maintaining his father's edition against Speght, he shows his judgment here, in repudiating as Chaucer's, the 'Testament of Cressyde,' 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 pleasant : 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 Scruiener," Fol. ccclv, back, in his edition of 1561.
whene yt was first published in print, was dedicate to
kinge Henrye the eighte." But that is not soo.\textsuperscript{1} for
the first dedicatione to that kinge was by mye father,
when diuers of Chauncers worke was byn thris.\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{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), 1661, 1739, 1692, 1697, and 1721.

\textsuperscript{2} Only one edition of Chaucer's Works had been publish
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 Canterbury tales; 2. the boke of Fame . . .
with dyuers other of his workes [Assemble of Foulis, La belle
Dame, Morall Proverbes]; 3. the boke of Troylus and
Cryseyde. But of separate works of Chaucer before 1532, the
following had been publish:

- \textit{Canterbury Tales}. 1. Caxton, ab. 1477-8, from a poor MS.;
  2. Caxton, ab. 1483, from a better MS.; 3. Pynson, ab.
  1493; 4. Wynkyn de Worde, 1498; 5. Pynson, 1536.
- \textit{Troylus}. 1. Caxton, ab. 1483; 2. Wynkyn de Worde, 1517;
  3. Pynson, 1526.
- \textit{Parlement of Foulis}. 1. Caxton, ab. 1477-8; 2. Pynson,
  1526; 3. Wynkyn de Worde, 1530.
- \textit{Truth} (The good counceyl of chawer; 'Fle ye fro p' presse').
- \textit{Fortune} (Balade of the village without peyntyng). 1. Caxton,
  ab. 1477-8.
- \textit{Envoy to Scogan}. 1. Caxton, ab. 1477-8 (all lost, after the
  3rd stanza).
- \textit{Purse} (The compleyt of chauncer vnto his empty purse). 1.
  Caxton, ab. 1477-8.
- \textit{Mars}; \textit{Venus}; \textit{Marriage} (Bukton). 1. Julian Notary, 1499-
  1602.

Wm. Thynne's editions.

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

\textsuperscript{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; whereas of two editions were by William
Caxtont, the fyreste printer of Englanide, "who first
printed Chauers tales in one column in a ragged letter,
and after in one column in a better order; and the third
editione was printed, as farre as I remember, by winkle
de word or Richard Pynson, the seconde and thirde
printers of Englanide, as I take them. Whiche three
edit[ion]s beinge verye imperfecte and corrupte, occa-
sioned my father (for the love he oughte to Chauers
lernynge) to seckye the augmente and correctione of
Chauers Woorkes, whiche he happly fynysshed; 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 fyreste imperfectione of youre
peynfult and comendable labors: yet because the pro-
erbe ye "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 vouchyd by
chawer; and therefore dyd rightlys intitle yt, 'moost,'
'and not aH, 'of the auctors cyyd by geffrye Chawer.'

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

My kinge of Haroltes shalte thou bee,

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

My kinge of Haroltes shalte thou bee.

And so ys yt in the editione of Chauers Workes,
printed in anno Domini 1542, accordinge to the frenche
moralizatione of Molinet, fo. 149, where he is called
"Royle des Ribauldez," whiche is, 'the kinge of Ribaldes,'
in his Animadversiones—which added the spurious 'Dreme,'
and 'Flower & Leaf.' This was followed by Speght's 2nd edition
in 1602, in which Francis Thynne helpt him, and to which were
added Chaucer's 'A B C,' and the spurious Jack Upland. (Jack
Upland had been before printed, with Chaucer's name on the title-
page, about 1536-40 (London, J. Gough, no date, 8vo).—H. B.)
or Harlottes, or eviH or wicked persons; one officer of
greate accompte in tyues pasto, and yet vsed in
the court of France, but by one other name, in some parte
being the office of the marshaH of Englande. AH
whiche, because yoH shalt not thinke I dreame,
(though yt may seme strange to the ignoraHte to haue
so greate one officer intituled "of suche base persons as
to be called 'kinge or governour of Ribauldes,') yoH shalt
here Iohannes Tyllius (in his seconde Booke de rebus
gallicis, vnder the title de Prefecto pretorio Regis)
conHrme in these woordes: "In domesticis Regum con-
stitutionibus, quos proximo capite nominavimus, fit
mentio Regis Ribaldorum, officii domestiH, quem sem-
per oportet stare extra Portam pretorii," &c. and a
little after the explanyng of their office, he addeth:
"sic autem appellantur, quia iam tum homines perditii
Ribaldi, et Ribaldæ, mulieres puellaque perdita, vo-
cantur. Regis nomen superiori aut Judici tribuitur.
Quemadmodum magnus Cubicularius dicitur Rex Mer-
catorum," &c. Where he maketh this "Regem Ribal-
dorum" an honorable officer for manye causes, as
Vincentius Luparius in his fyrste booke of the magis-
trates 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 auliciis hospitias assignare solebat." In
whiche pointe, bothe for orderinge and correctinge the
harlottes and eviH persons followinge the court of
Englande, (whiche is the dutye of the marshaH,) the
defence and wee agree. Wherfore, touchinge that parte,
yoH shalt 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 marshalcye; where, emongest
other things, are these woordes: “eorum (whiche was of the marshalls deputyes executinge that he shold ells do hym selfe) interest virgatam & meretricibus pro-hibere, et deliberare, et habet ex consuetudine marsi-callus, ex quâlibet meretricie com[m]uni infra metas hospitii inventa—iiiijl. primo die. Que, si iterum in-venta in Balliâus sui Inveniatur, capiatur; et coram seneschallo inhibeantur ei hospitia Regis et Reginae et liberorum suorum, ne iterum ingrediatur,” &c. And so afterwaerde shewethe what shalbe donne to those wemen, yf they be founde agayne in the kinges courte, in suche sorte, that, as by Tillius, this Rex Ribaldorum his auctoryte was ouer ‘hominem perditos, mulieres puellasque perditas.’ And that yt was, by Lupanus, to asigne to Ribaldes lodginge oute 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 Marshall’s office, to banyehe those harlotes the courte, and be-stowe them in some other place, where they might be lesse annoyance. Wherefore I conclude with the frenche, and the former editions 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 nugae in the Romante of the Roose:

¹ William Thynne’s second publish edition,—not counting the first cancelld one, if that ever really existed: see p. 75-6.
² Speght says in his glossary, or rather “The hard words of Chaucer explained,” in his 1602 edition: “Harrolds, fol. 144, whereas in some booke 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 Roi des Ribaldes, which is, the king of harlotes, or wicked persons: an office of great account in times past, and yet vsed in the court of France. Of this office speaketh Johannes Tillius in his second booke De rebus Galliota, vnder the title De Prefecto pretorio Regis. But more hereof when time shall serue in M. F. Thins comment."
I cannot (as 'the proverbe ye) take my hand from the table, (fynding 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 impressiones:

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

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

Enze eux le milieu vi hayne,
qui de courous et datayn
Sembia bien entre moueresse
et courouse et tencерesse.

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

Amyde, sawe I hate stonde,
that of wraethe and yre & onde
semed well to be moueresse,
one Angry wighte, & chyderesse.

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

Thus hoopinge that yo" will accepte in good and
frendlye parte, those my whatsoeuer conceytes uttered

1 No doubt, before Speght's of 1598, namely, Stowe's of
1561, and the booksellers' of about 1550.
vnto yo*, (to the ende Chawcers Woorkes by much[e] conference and manye judgmentes mighte at leng[t]he obteyn[e] their true perfectione and glorye,—as I truste they shal, 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 largel[y] comented Petarche ;)—I sett ende to these matters; comyttinge yo* to god, and me to your Curtesye. Farewell!

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 curiae Veneris, lib. 1, 'In Maio cum virescent,' &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 multituidinem, 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 smoothly covered the ground that was bare
as Mr Bradshaw expected. Mr W. Christie-Miller adds: "Chaucer's name I do not see upon the sheet, nor any trace of the name of the author." But see Chaucer's name in the Douce fragment of the book, p. 98, l. 740, below.

2 The dropt lines and misprinted words show the Douce fragment to be part of some reprint.
APPENDIX I.


[From the reprinted Courte of Venus, Douce Fragments, 92 b.]

The pylgrymse tale.

¶ In lincolneshyr, fast by the fene, ther stant a hows, and you yt ken, and callyd sempynham of religion; and is of an old foundation, buyldyt full many ayer ago, to helpe sowllis out of there payn and wo,— or ellis tho beyn begyled, at whos cost such houses were byld;— but there I was, as fortune showpe, a-fore I ouer the fen toke toward walsingham apoon my pelgrymag. [leaf xxx, back]

In Lincolnshire is the old Abbey of Sempingham.

4

In my pilgrimage to Walsingham, (I car'd more for the outing than saint-seeking.)

[leaf xxxii]

12

16

I stopt at Semp-pringham, walkt about it, and lookt at the Abbey, with its lead-roof buildings, and

20

24

but in myn In or ouer I to my case, [toke my ease] to walke about, it did me best please, ouer a brydg, throwr a gren meyd, where I might behold in evry 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,
APPENDIX I. THE PILGRIM'S TALE.

wer well I-bylt, & of a great costag; and forther with-out, as is the vsag,
about the cowrt the barns of great strenghe wer bylt, and the stabyls in lenghe
were wyd and fayr and comly for to se,
sau 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 vse to swynk, and erne ther met or that they drynk,
as austen wrytys to them in heremo,
& wold suche brethren shold do so;
for he that by husbandry wyll tryue & the,
must not trust in "go!" but in "now goe we!"
therefore the labourers, the monk barnadyns,
came in reprof of the benedictins.
then was good housse and hospytalte, 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 the days there was no suche presumption that thorow there prayer there shold be redemption; for a-mongst an hundreth—this is of certitude—of thes religyuse brethern, as I can read,
where skarse .ii. prestes out of dred.
benet, which was an holy man,
St Benedict was no priest, but a worker.
was a brother & no pryst, as I here can,
& gat his liuyng 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 beggar;
for yf that he had taught beggyng,
then had he done agaynst godis byding,
and agaynst the order of charyte,
except they be hold blype, lame, or sykly.
but as I wanderyd here to and fro,
from place to place, alon as I dyd go,
looking on the old and antyk bulding,
in myn eyr beynd 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 ydelyn
& then it was a brother in his holynes,
which of the hous was sum officer—
be-lyke the bowcer or the tresurer,
or sum rowm ells I thinke he had,—
a solome man, that small chere made.
it was not met to suche a man as he
to take acquantans in low degre,
except it were a knyght 1 or a lord,
that mor to his appetyd dyd accord;
then could he fation in the best wyce
many a deynte 2 dyche in seruys,
and handell him-selue full fayr at his table,
and therto had men seerychable,
that low on kne, with keuering of his cup,
cwolf saue his clothys from fallinge any drope.
the croniks old from kynge Arthur
he could hersehe, and of his founder
tell full many a whorthy story.
wher this man walked, there was no farey
ner other spiriths, for his blessynges
& munbling of his holy thinges
did vanquyche them from eryu buch and tre:
there is nother incubus but he;
for chaucer sathe, in the sted of the quen elfe,
[‘ Ther walketh now the lymytop itself;’]
for whan that the incubus dyd fle,

1 orig. knyght 2 orig. denyte
he left 7 worse
demons behind
him,

even those holy
friars,
of whom each
wears the dis-
stinctive dress
of his order,

the man he’s
vowed to.

They make men
believe in their
brotherhoods in-
stead of in Christ.

[Leaf xxxiii]
The Pied Friars
wear magpie
colours; some go
barefoot; some
shoed.

They agree only
in wearing a hood.
They envy one
another.
The Dominicans
hold up their
Doctor, Thomas
Aquinas, as a
better divine than
the Franciscan
Duns Scotus.

yt was to bringe .vii. worse than he;
& that is the cause there bey in now no fareys
in hallis, bowris, kechyns, ner derys.
thes holy men beyn thus about sperd,
thorow all this lond, in every sled:
of there awn reteneu they weare the differens,
to whom they haue professeyd 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 rekis them, the sayng of paull,
which wylnith ‘to men we shall not call’?
we ought not playn, by there theachyng,
to gyue crëdens ner red suche wryting;
suflisyth ynohe to ther dome,
to do as our elders haue don;
to mok & dissayue men of there lyuelod,
in making beleue in thece brother-hod,
wher we shold only beleue in christis name,—
as we be taught of the churchwe our dam,—
er a-mo[n]get our selues to haue suche sectis,
which the innocent people sore infectis,
deuzyng christ as in-sufficient,
to simple wyttis a great incomberment.
in dyuerse colors flekyd lyke a pye,
sum gurd with ropis to seme holy;
sum go barfoot, & 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 they is suche enuy:
the dominikis hold vp thomas the aquin,
that then douns he shold be better deuyne;

orig. cheaching

orig. folue
APPENDIX I. THE PILGRIM'S TALE.

& the minors agayn with hasty breth
defendis dowsn even to the deth;
tho Carmell[i]tes haue set vp albert;
the hermytes with austen takis part,
greatly requyng to gyue him the fame,
but not to folow, but only his name,
wher-with the chanons can not agra,
bout clamis him of there religyion to be.
& yet amongst them there is dispyt,
sum goth in blak, and sum in whyt;
the whyt refuis the blak for his brother,
& sayth they be not of that chapter.
of the mendicantes ther be orders four,
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 anthony
but he whom I salute was gylbertin:
full loue reuerens I made with kne,
and ouer his sholder he lokyd a-wry,
as though he sawe me; it was ynochge.
toward the churche I me droghe,
for I herd tell that by foundation
of bothe the sixis there was religion.
the women where closyd vp by the ysiter;
you know what perrel is togethers,
to ley hyrdis fast vnto the fyer,

THYNNE.

---

1 orig. she

---

The Minorites
(Franciscans)
defend Duns.

The Carmelites
set up Albert;
the hermits, St
Augustine.

The Black Friars
(Dominicans)
reject the White
ones (Carmelites).

The Four Orders
of Mendicants

sprang from
Cain.

Some Hermites are
Paulines;
others, Antonines.

My solemn burnar
was a Gilbertine.
(St Gilbert was of
Sempringham.)

Both monks and
nuns were at
Sempringham;

flax next the fire.
which some 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 y* churche ther I spyed walkyng
a comely pryst, and a welfaryng,
lokyng in the wyndows all about,
as thoughe sum old armis he wher sekyng out;
in a shord gown gurd by the wast,
and a cersurt1 hod ouer his sholders cast,
with a blak fryng hemyd al about,
slyt sum-thing before, and takyd in a lowpe;
his goun-sleue was narow at the hand,
in whom he bare a Ioly whyt wand;
he ware his geyr full well and semly;
his bottis sat cleyyn and clasyd feytyously;
rownd visagyd, and sum-thing son-ybrent,
he loked not as he were closter-pent;
from place to place he dyd about rowm,
hel semyd a master whan he was at home.
I longyd sum tydynges of him to cære,
because I toke him to be a straunger;
thinking him rather to enclyne,
because we ware both perrygryne,
and dysiiryd him hertely of his curteisy,
of that fundation to show me the anscety.
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 fyrest began,
and so thoro-wout the hole story.
I kepdy it well in memory,
dessyryng him to swow me what he thought,
in his consciens whan he had sough,
whether mans rule is so to be regardit,
and how he him-selue beleued to be rewardyt
by godis will & by his byding,
or ellis by tradition of mens inuentyng.
& then he dyd planly confesse
that mans work was wrechydnes;
& to the corintheans he could rhehrs,
that in mans work we shold not reioce;
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 own what ever we do,
which is nought when we do best,
exceptyd only our faith in christ.
the thing for good that we pretend,
takis non effect as meritoriuse end;
therefore merit in vs is non,
but in our redeemer christ alon.
Abraam, Isac, & Iacob,
samuel, ely, ner patient Iohe,
for ther workes lay in pryson fast,
tell the kyng of glory in-brast,
& fechyd them out wer as they ley.
we must [be] deleyuered 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 semre right,
[... line left out]
but humbly be-sekyng of syns remision,
sayeng "demite," by christis instruction;
& this he gaeue 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 conte
had ben any so perfyt at Judgment;"
& he answerd, "yes, verament;
but we dar not for the bishops preche,
APPENDIX I. THE PILGRIM'S TALE.

er the people instruct & teache;
wher other\(^1\) tyller they do non know
but him that the cokyll doth sowe,
that makis them knell to stokis & stons,
& kyse & offer to rottyn bons;
& god wot here is full small diligens
to show the people there obedyens,
which they ought aboue all thing
to god him-selue, & to ther kyng,
which vnder him hath here the gueuernans,
& made our hed by godis ordinans,
to whom is guyen 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,
when it was takin from the clergy,
whan they wer warnid from suche presumpcion,
not for to tak no iurisdiction,
but he that wold haue the preferment,
to be ther minstre shold be diligent,
as Christ himselue, to teache vs nought for-gett·
\[. . . . . . . . . line left out\]
and first he dyd yt, and after he taght;
thes wordis," sayd he, "haue I caught,
whiche put me ceyn owt of dowt
that bishopis to kingis shold lowt;
er amongst them to haue no hed,
for christ him-selue it for-beyd,
and confirmid kingis in suche renown,
next him in ethes to haue dominion;
but her," he sayd, "cowd I tell a tall."
"now I pray the," quod I, "vnbulke thy malle,
\(^1\) orig. other
and tell forthe: the bishopp is not her,
his sonner, 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,
sprong 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 chrisis entent
was neuer to set prist on Iugment,
but to teache men in-to better lyf,
and not cruellly to sile with blody knif.
"well," sayd he, "interrupt me no more,
my tall I will begin wher I left\(^3\) befor;
but firstr 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 sprong out of iudas succession,
ther cheffe captayn of transgression,
dothe paull spek of to the tesselonians,
that in this world hathe don so muche greuans,
which shall not be known to the vittermost
but what ther coms a dissention first;
for thses that from christ be appostalat,
deuidit in-to sectia in-ordinat,
agaenst godis ordinans be rebellion,
and as fyndis in hell full of dissention,
and dothe extoll ther awn noghtihod
aboue all that is called god,
in the temple sitting, an vnmet thing,
showing him-selue as heueny kyng:
scriptur dothe show and determin
\(^1\) orig. reherhid  \(^2\) orig. liefeld  \(^3\) orig. left
APPENDIX I. THE PILGRIM'S TALE.

that he shall be opinid in his tyme,
whiche is constitut, and by god set:
It is not ther burning that can it let,
ther mischeuouse tyrannye ner cruellnes,
clokyd with ypocrasy and falsnes.
he shalbe shoude, & his iniquite,
the son of perdition perde,
whom Iesus christ with the strap rod
of the spirit of his mo[u]the, which is God,
shall destroy, & make lyght his workyng,
that in satan workis many strang thing,
& illude the people thorow there craftynes,
there mokus, there mous, & there feynid holynes;
in all dissayt, full of iniquyte,
repungnant to god & to his verite.
this is the woman, the sorcerse wich,
whom Iohn saw in the apocalips,
syting apone a monstros best,
with .vii. hedis & .x. hornsis mosit odiust.
the woman that this bestrode,
was gorgiously be-seyn as she rod,
in purple, with stons set so well,
most rychesty chast with margarites eueri dell;
in hir hand she kar a golden cuppe,
were-in was venom eueri drope,
with whom she norichyd hir abhominacion,
& caused the people to comit fornication.
for we be called fornicators
when tyme we be ydolotors,
& take anthychrist 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,

orig. ther ther  mistake for sharp? orig. xxviii
in whos forhed was wrytyn babylon,
the great mother of fornication;
for out of this monster is sprung
thes ydell lobers that do suche wrong,
& takis the swet from true mens face:
I beseeke 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 folycye in our opynyon;
for they dyd labour, toyle, and swet,
to get power clothes, and to ther bely meat;
& now be they takyn amongst the children of god,
& we expellyd for our ydelhod.
we insensat haue eryd from the way of trueth,
with-out light of Iustycye, now to our ruthe,
& haue mad our-selue wery in the way of perdition,
walking strayt-ways to bryng vs to destruction,
that trust in our-selue, & owr workes hath vs ouerthrow,
because the way of god we dyd not know.
what now auallyth our ryches & pryde?
all saue our ydnelnes doth from vs slyd;
as much to say, oure cloters ner farmeris,
whom we haue bleryd innocent eyes,
wher we were wont to work the workes of falsnes,
is now obiect to oure opprobryusnes."
John saith he saw this woman dronk—
that this multitude of sectis hath sonk—
of the bloud of many an holy marty,
and of Jesu 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 fraud, disobedient, & surquidus,
agaynst there own princes presu[m]ptuuse;
APPENDIX I. THE PILGRYSms TALE.

and suche as to princes be not obedient, 380
be antichristes against God repungnant;
but this howr of Babylon that hath rengned so long,
yt hath not beyn by trueh, but by strong hand.
I can not expresse, I han non such wyt,
how in every part theyr sectis were set 384
quckly to accuse them that begon to spye,
by reyding of scripture, to se there heresy;
and then all such must be burned,
or ellis ab-Iuryd, and to hething scornyd.1 388
the multitude of the people beleueth them well,
that from god by inspyration dyd not seyl
her in this contrey contynus the infection
yet styll of antechrist, which causis insurrection;
for it is only the old pharizies pretens
392
to kepe the people in ingnorans,
styll in egipt vnder pharo thrall,
for by bloudshed they hop to be kepyd in stall,
euen as nature doth them bynd,
for they be come of cams kynd,
to whos sacrifysce god had no respect,
but, as ysay saith, doth them cloyn abiect; 400
for wher the seyd of god is wassawn,
for his ner his children they be not known.
there-for to this ignorant rebels
ysay the prophet this tall tels, 404
and bydyse them here the word of god
in serful termis for there noughthydol,
which knewe before of there sodomi, 408
& so callis them, and of golomy,
the princes witch be infernall,
fygured in daniell by beall;
and bydis them to godis word gyue herynge,
and of ther sacrifysce2 to mak leaung;
and saith, 'when you shall come to my presens,
1 orig. stornyd
2 orig. sacrifyre
then shall I ask, who gaine 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 theryfore there shalbe no religion
not truely plantyed without destruction.
thes be the prophesyes 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 mowe 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 opynyon
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 vaen;
and thoes that folow suche niffels and fablis
they cary them in bowsum, and writyn in tablis;
by the harolydis terms they call him the lyon,
the son and the mon, & the dreadfull 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 martyn swarthe, and many an other mo,
hath mischeffe asked, vengens and wo,
on them that suche craft cowd
enguent to sheyd crystyn mens bloud—
perkyn werbek¹ and Iak straw,
and now of lat owr cobler the dawe.

¹ *orig.* werbek

and not presume
to set themselves
up to be masters.

On the other
hand,
some men invent
lying prophecies

about the Lion
and the Dragon;

like Martin
Swarte, &c.

Perkin Warbeck,
Jack Straw, and
[see xi]
Captain Cobler
(see p. 9, note).
A districe against
Matam (and ma-
llicious Papists).

"Wicked worm! "

an exclamation of the auctor
against satan owr old ennemy.

"O wycked worme, to pensunce con-Iuryd,
and of god him-selfe first accorsyd,
amongst all creatures most to be aborred,
by whom in-to this world came first
the fal of man! tell me how thou durst
prosum to ryse, most vngracioso beast,
and so by god inpted to crepe apon thy brest.

"O false pretens of gratiuse pilgramage,
for the comyn-welth which is the destrower!
wyll thu neuer leue to bryng folke in dotage,
which of all lyes was the fyrst father?
euen so of eue thou wast the disayuer.
to comen-welthe thou sayd me shold be brought;
of all thy begynnynge the end is noght.

and wast first
cast down into
hell.

"Thou wase thy-selue the fyrst rebellyon,
& therfore eicet down in-to hell;
not geuyng due honor was thy confusyon.
with god and his ordinans thou wold mell,
& eyyn lyke thes innocentes compel,
workyng in thy-selue antichristes clerkes,
thy shanaylynges, thy ministerys of bealles markes.

"for eyyn as adam hyd him for shame,
when he had broken godis commaundment,
so wold the rebellious; alas! wo can them blame,
there awn consciou[n]s must nedis be ther Iugment,
by fals temptacion hoping preferment,
oo-thing to haue deseruyd but cruell dethe.

wo worthe1 that worm, that euer it drue brethe,

"That be-twyx sowll and spryt hath put diissonen,
thorow which the sowll is banychyd cleyn,
that with the spryt of god afore was in vniou;

Antichrist's
clerks are thy
ministers,

rebels against
God,

[I orig. morte]

449
452
455
456
459
462
463
466
469
470
473
476
477
in paradyce now it must no mor be seyn:

in the same case our rebellious beyn,
eiect for breking godis ordinans,
and greuously accursyd for ther disobedien.

"The spryt is desolat from thes rebellious,
& called woman, for lak of a make,
which in the apocalipis, in pay[n]s dolorus,
to bryng forth and be deleyuered doth tak
great payns; and this is for our sake,
promysed by god, that the womens seyd
shold distroyt and breke this fals serpentis heyd.

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

"This is antichrist, the howr of babylon,
spoke of agayn in this same bok;
waching the woman hir chyldis destruction,
whom god from heuin preseruid and toke.
it is the son of man, yf you lyst to lok,
this world for to ruell, with the yron rodi.
this must be true, yt is both man and god.

"And here doth your prophesy take effect,
agaynst the son of man sedeciusly to ryce.
yf scripture be true, they shalbe subiect;
for we, taking godis part, must them dispye.
thee be our papystes rotyd in malis,
waching godis word as ner as they can,
whycch now is come forth by the son of man.
I. THE STORY OF THE PILGRIM'S TALE.

the plowmanne; that pilgrimes tale begynnynge in this sorte;

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

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

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

"There can be no doubt, I think, that this is the piece of which Mr Speght had received some confused intelligence. It seems to have been mentioned by Bale among Chaucer's works, in the following manner, 'Narrationes diversorum, Lib. i. In comitatu Lincolnieni fuit.'—Script. Brit., p. 526, ed. 1593. But it is impossible that any one who had read it should ascribe it to Chaucer. He is quoted in it twice by name, fol. xxxii and fol. 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 loafe just from the end,
To the second page ther he did me send,
He prayd me thes vi. stavis for to marke,
Whiche be Chaucers owen hand wark.

Thus moche woll our boke signify
That while Peter hath mastery, &c.
[Then follow four more lines from Chaucer's Rom. R. v. 7268-8, 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, versa, 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 if did not go to the Bodleian; it is there.]
APPENDIX I. THE PILGRIM'S TALE.

"Moses dyde fygure the kyng upon erthe, 547 Moses typified
seignifying the spiryt aboue the sowll; Christ as King;
to whom was comytted to kepe in helth, 550
record to aaron, whom he dyd controle;
the spiryt ys the son, the mon is the sowll;
the mon is a subjicent of very right
vnto the son, of whom she takis here lyght.

"Paull spekis, whan he wryttes to thymothy,
& shows the mis[c]heffe of thes sundry sectis;
& how thes be they that refusys vreyte,
which the ignorant people in-fectis;
they tak no lyght wher they be subiectis,
therfor he conservs them to Iannes & manbres,
rebellers to god and his ministre moses.

"But paull tretynis them to be ouer-trown,
as Ianes & manbres were at that season;
& from hensforth openly to be known
there ignorant folcythe rebellion,
of the spryt of god hauyng non intellection,
but resisting moses, godis minister,
folowyng antichrist out of godis order.

"These things are wryten for our instruction,— 568 followers of
so hath paull to the corinthyanas,—
and shows how many hath suffrest destruction,
which crepyd not vnder godis gouernans.
our rebellious, I trow, be alians
to dathan¹ and abiron, the truth to tell,
for resisting 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 gospel."
"thuche!" quod he, "ther was no suche man
gotyn by the deuyll sense the world began;

¹ orig. dathan
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 heuyyn in the ayr fleyng,
yf he teache ageynst godis bidinge;
which in his testament we may reyd,
and bownd to beleue as owr cred.
thus yimagining, it doth aper playn
that antichrist in all them doth rayn
that belene in the deuyls loor,
to desayue vs styll as he had don before;
thes be they that paull callis ‘herityks,’
which after monicion from vs inhibitis.
christen men shold not with thes monoesters mell,
which do beleue in the deyule of hell.
yf lucifer had dryuen god out of heuyyn,
then shold merlyn hane kepyd his steuyn.”
“you spok,” quod I, “of the son & the mone,
of whom I desyrr to here interpretation.”
“thos be matters,” he sayd, “misticall,
and be very hyghe and theologall:
the son is the spryt, & so doth it syngnify;
beleue not me, but reyd exody,
that whan moses apon the mont syon
had of the lord owr creator a vysion,
for bryghtnes the people cowld not behold,
of the son-beames yt can not be told;
the clernes & light that from him did spryng,
of quykyng & lyf it was a presentyng.
for the letter ther to hym geuyng
by god, was of the spryt a fyguryng,
vs to reuyuiue at suche tym and whan
the sele spryt vnit to the son of man.”
“I persaue,” quod I, “that moses is the spryt.”
“no ! perde,” he sayd, “but figure it;
APPENDIX I. THE PILGRIMS TALE.

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 deucls determine;
for if he were a fend, & spok carnally,
necesyte compelliis it a fals prophesy;
but thus dyd he take the spryt 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 euuen it, the vnunnaturall things,
out of his awn realm to baniche the kyng;
for christ is a kyng, god, & man,
& also a pryst, as I leare cane.
marke of his kyngdom, Iohn his diuinete,
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 falcon,
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,
wer-of babylon hath ryngen howrdom,
the lyon, the oxe, the man, & the falcon.
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, whom 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 euer was of christis comyng."

"I am satisfied," quod I, "what merlyn meat."
"bede," sayd he, "coms esyn to the same entent;
for all the desayr and policy
was to drye it in-to hedis witty,
that the pope was antichrist & the hower 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 longe,
shold his awn autorte in-to his hond fonge."
& then he asked me and I were cantiibrygion.
I sayd no, I was an oxonion.
"there haue you herd," sayd he, "a prophesy,
which is true without any lye:
hoc magnum studium quod floret ad vada bonum
ante finem seculi, &c."
"I haue herd it," quod I, "full oft a-forne,
and therto my-selue on a boke sworn,
neuer with-in stampford to reyd logyk,
diunite, phylosophy, ner yet retoryk;
for for that oxford, which once was flowryng,
shold remove to stampford for god learnyng."
"I told you before there was crafty wyttis,
and thus he sayd apon both the partis;
for they that inuentyd that othe fyrest,
of god him-selue be accurst.
ther was a prouerbe I knew wan,
callyd ‘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 though he spiritually he had known no feling;
but thus this prophesy is understand,
that oxford now, which is bond
vnder the howr, the monsterus beaste,
& is here ford for most and least
that there doth pease thorow any degre,
mantenythe babylon vterly;
sau the good yoth begynys to spryng,
and of the well of lyf to haue tasing,—
which water christ promysyd thyn
at Jacobs well to the samaritane,—
and leuis the slechy podell, full of frogis,
to the old cenkanter phariziecall dogis,
where-in ther delyte is spyttfull chyding;
I besoke god send them a mending,
to fulfyll the prophesy thorow the ford of stone,
in which pathe-way christ byld apon,
and leave ther falshed, craft, and lyes,
suffering the word of god to ryse.”
with that he stod, and toke his leave,
disseiring me my-selue not greue
of his taryng, ner his long tale;
and I besought god to kepe him out of bale,
saue I longyd, for yf euere we met agan,
of the blak flet of norway me to sayu.
he sayd he durst not it dis[c]lose,
but bad me reyed the ‘romant of the rose,’
the thred leafe, Just from the end
to the second page, ther he dyd me send;

THYNNE.
sui maturitate consili, undique decoramur congruum arbitramur & dignum, ut meritorum suorum intuitu, ac gracioea 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 diei Avunculi nostri, genitoria 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 quaecumque Honores, Dignitates, Preeminentiae, 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, & admitti, 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 nostrae Regalis Potestatis, & de assensu Parliamenti nostri, tenore presentium dispensamos. 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.*
Thynne, ed. 1542, Fol. cxix.

¶ Here begynneth the Plowman's Prologue.

The Plowman plucked vp his plowe
whan mydsummer mone was comen in,
And sayd his beeetes 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 shake of share, and cultre of drowe,
And honge his harneys on a pynne;

¶ He took his tabarde and his staffe eke,
And on his head he set his hat,
And sayde he wolde saynt Thomas seke.
On pylumage he goth forth platte;
In scrippe he bare both breed and lekes;
He was forswonke and all forewatte;
Men might have sene through both his chekes,
And every wange toth, and where it sat.

1 The *Plowman's Tale* was first printed separately by Thomas Godfrey 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 *Plowman's 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 Ploughman's Crade*, p. 45-6. E. E. Text Soc.
Our Host saw: Our host behelde wele all about, And sawe this man was sunne ybrent; He kneue 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 religiouslye loute, And therefore was he fully shent.

Our host him axed, "what man art thou?"
"Syr (quod he) I am an hyne, For I am wont to go to the plowe, And erne my meate yer that I dyne.
To sweete and swynke, I make auowe, My wyfe and chylde rent therwith to fynde; And server God, and I wyst howe; But we leude men bene full blynde;

The Flowman said his work was to sweate and earn his family food.

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

They could curse him.

They took the corn, and left him the dust.

[four lines lost . . . . . . . . . .]

"what, man!" quod our host, "canst thou preache? Come nere, and tell us some holy thynge."

"Syr," quod he, "I herde on the preache A prest in pulpitty a good præche." "Saye on," quod our host, "I the beseche." "Syr, I am redy at your byddying, I praye you that noman me reproche whyle that I am my tale tellynge."

Thus endeth the prologue, and here followeth the first parte of the tale.

1 sunburnt 2 fayne, in Godfray's edition: see Notes below.
3 quencht 4 read speakth 5 once
APPENDIX IV.

[Ashmole MS. 766, leaf 5, back.]

A discourse vpon the lord
Burghleygh the crest.

[By Francis Thynne.]

[Lord Burghley's Crest, blazoned, a sheaf of golden corn, supported by two lions rampant, the left one white, for silver, the right one, blue: the whole surrounded by the Garter, with its motto 'Honi soit qui mal y pense'.]

(1)

When burninge sonne with gleames of golden lighte had close his spredinge beames to take his reste,
And darksome shade had brought in dolful nighte with sable clooke vpon his slepinge breste,
with cristall starres twinklinge in azur skye, wiche solombringe dyes, to rest-full bedde I flye.

(2)

The tyme, I gesse, when Titans ruddy chaire did kepe his course in equall peyed weyte,
with lowe descent enforced to repayre
to Libras house, where Equinoctiall strayte with juste proporctions cuttes the night & daye
in nombred bowres a-lyke for Phebus waye.

(3)

When dolful mynde & very lymmes were layed to quiet rest in softe and carefuld bedde,
my wretched state my moorninge brest dismayed, hopelesse of helpe, since craftye faithlesse hedde
had woen the meane by powre for to subdue that honest harte whome enuye did pursue.  

1 The whole 88 leaves are by Fr. Thynne, whose name also appears at the end of the book. All is in verse. The hand is difficult to decipher.—G. Parker.

2 Compare the thrice-repeated motto on p. xlix, above. Note the bookes, his 'surest frendes,' p. 106, l. 99, and his mention of Chauceuer, p. 114, l. 411.
Yet, with this hevye car, a wakefull slepe
possest my shuyering corps in depe diapaye;
for weylinge sorrowe whiche in hart did crepe
(by hevye vapoure thickere then the ayre,)
so nooimd my nusinge witnes, & chokd the breyne,
that slombringe must the yeldinge hart distreine.

In whiche unceretne trothe not full awake,
nor soundlly huld aslepe as thoughtes had made,
a trembringe feare my sprytes did ouerake,
and secretly my senses gaine to fade;
for, lo! the Dragon with quick-siluerd face
approchd my sight with wise & pleasant grace,

Cladde in a slender lawne to ease his peyne,
when with quicke spede he skowrette from the skye,
with winged hedde & fete, with sugred veyne,
with rodde devyne, & mase of maiestye,
whose heuenly voyce, after a little staye,
this future good from goddes above did saye:

What meanes thy forginge breyne, with pointe devise
to turne her tender nett with dolefull thoughtes?
what nedes thow thus with care to be so nyce,
since all thy toylinge peine shall serue for noughte?
for one there lyves, yf thou canst finde his name,
whose wyse forecase may well advance thy fame.

He is the lowest, and stald 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 thoue forthe, as worthiest in this lande,
vnder that one whiche secret wonder bredes,
for to enooye 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."
APP. IV. P. THYNNE ON LORD BURGHLEY’S CREST. 105

(10) Whiche sayed, he fledde, and that his saved wande with gentle stroke lett fall upon my bedde. when anorlinge Morpheus by my side did stande, and thwart myne eyes his sleping hand did spredde, whereby my harte possesse such quiet reste, as musinge thoughtes were baniish from my breste. 58 60

(11) And soundly thus enyoyinge silente ease, till pointed tyme of nighte did ende his rase, and gladsome Elios, risinge from the seas with purple hue, did siluer starres displace, And forde me to for-sake that plesant bedde, whose late swete dreames my carefull senses fedde. 64 66

(12) Thus shakinge of the force of drowsye nighte, I deckd my-self after my woented guyse, and downe dissend 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. 70 72

(13) For nowe my former dreame was quite exild, my wandringe wittes forgatt that sodden sighte; those presente shewes myne other thoughtes begilde; the flowres of soundrye hue were my delighte; for as newe yoyes to olde peine brings reliefe, so newe conceytes abandonde my olde greife. 76 78

(14) This sotesome soyle where buylded was my yoye, bedeckd with natures seuerall tapestrye, was farre vnlyke that deintye garden icye,1 whiche quene Semiramus did edyfye, where garden2 godd freshe Prapus did reste, with his fayre nymphes to weyte upon his heste. 82 84

(15) ne lyke the stately seate and fertill grownde of Bell-vider, placd in riche Italye, where rare strange showes do plentuously abounde, where plesures all ddo fede the curious eye; but this smale clodde is suche as workes myne case, when hevy dompes wolde mery hart displease. 90

1 yoye altered by another hand. 2 ? MS. ar
(16)
Where, when I roomed had my wanton fill,
and frest my wittes with herbes of deinty smell,
I lefte that paradice againste my will—
for in suche place my harte wolde alwayes dwell—
And put my selle where I did hoope to fynde
some leand conceyte to glitte my serching mynde;

94

(17)
Where settled downe emongest the wisest sorte,
& surest frendes that menne fynde now in vre,—
I meane my bookes, the whiche for my disporte,
do lerninge, wysdome, trothe, & mirth, procure—
I raughte for the one, whereby I might discerne
the course of heauen and wandrigne starres to leerne.

100

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 birth to guyde—
for I was taughte that heuenebodies doo
rule mortall menne as course of starres doo goo;

106

(19)
Els, toylinge binde, lay downe thy cuttinge plowe,
lett herbes and trees surrender all their mighte;
lett godd Apollo with his cunynge 1 Crowe,
and Aesculapius with his depe insignte,
gyve place hoopelesse by arte for to recure
suche lothesome plages as hated dethe procure;

112

114

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

118

(21)
The Auctor whiche to reade I vndertooke,
has gathered rules of the celestiall sphere;
and as I chanced vppon the same to looke,
the thinge whiche fyrste yt selde presented there
to my quicke sighte, was, how the planettes hie
in order doo their right-full course supplye,

124

126

1 † MS. b

1 MS. was
APP. IV.  F. THYNNE ON LORD BURGHLEY’S CREST 107

(22)
Where Luna firste, as loweste of them all,
her rome possesse; next Mercurye the wise;
the thirde seate to faire Venus lott did faile;
the forth the golden sonne did ryse;
the fift by course did blodye Mars possesse;
the nexte save one dothe Jupiter expresse.

(23)
And markeinge 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 regnhe of this good lande:
I deper soughthe the same to vnderstande.

(24)
The lower place the silver Luna kepte,
a bodye firme, that rulethe all alone;
the golden sonne into the middest is lepte,
a perfecte governour, that nedeth none
to gyve hym ayde; then Jove, as well as theye,
nedlesse of helpe dothe beare a rulinge swaye.

(25)
These thre distincte as goddes of sondrye mighte
colde not bee hee whome Mercurye did Deame:
he spake of one, and these are thre in sighte;
thre is not one, and these yet well might seme
to have by the theye, yt he had tolde of more;
But he nee spake but of one manne before.

(26)
This colde not bee the meaninge of his mynde;
suche hidden tales the goddes wold not power oute
to mortall menne, whose wittes were not assinde
(lyke Oedipus) to loose eche subtill doble;
yet well I knewe the goddes vsde this pretence,
answere to gyve in speche of doble sence;

(27)
Witnesse therof the woo-full greciafe knighte,
to whome the Oracle in dobt-full speake,
shew’d to Cleicides, when he sholde fighte,
suche doble dome as fatall lyfe did breake,
who, hoopinge victre by their sacred reede,
yet lost the fielde when truthe the goddes decreed.
APP. IV. F. THYNNE ON LORD BURGHLEY’S CREST.

(28)
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 devye in twayne,
And was depriu’d of all the dreminge skil
which did Sinesius and gregoras fiH,

(29)
Yet pondringe moore what this darke speche might bee—
for hevenly goddes, in veyne do neuer sende
suche warninge sightes as then apper to mee,
for perfectnes workes no imperfecte ende,—
I was resolu’d, by healpe of heuenly seate,
this hidden dopte to open lighte to beate;

(30)
For mov’d with secrete fancye in my hedde,
(thoughe reasons grownde ledde me not therunto,)
the same suche depe impress[i]one in mee bredde,
as from thee woorkinge breyne yt mighte not goo,
but that Mercurius, in somme secret thoughte,
by these three planettes had this purpose wroughte.

(31)

[Leaf 9, back]
Thus still pursuynghe 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[1]he the wyshed ende I wonne,
for endles labor endes the worke begonne.

(32)
And prouerbe olde was not deuis’d in veyne,
that ‘roolinge stone doth neuer gather mosse:’
who lightly leaves in myuldest of all his peyne,
his former labor frustrates with his losse;
but who contynues as he did begynne,
with the equall course the pointed goale doth wyne.

(33)
The course I kepte for to vnshale this dowte,
and laye abrode this clowdye hidden speache,
was by vnytinge planettes brought aboute,
and by coniuctions whiche the lerned teache,
for heavenly bodyes oft in one agree,
thoughe seuered farr, and sondred by degree.
APP. IV. F. THYNNE ON LORD BURGHELY'S CREST. 109

(34)
Fyrst I devis'd—when I had v[i]ewd their seate, to answere righte this ridles outwarde shewe,—that Sol in middest did yeld for the staming heate, & Luna water colde, and frostye dewe; for I was taughte that thus these planettes mente, whiche hidden thinges doo seeme to reprente.

(35)
This sonke not depe in mynde, for reasonne tolde—two contraryes in one canne neuer reste: howe canne the burninge heate agree with colde? so this conceyte yet springinge was suppreste.—and then I thoughte what weyled¹ thinge might lye vnder the same, in righte philosophye.

(36)
That true and secret skill Voarchoadumye² [?] perfectly vnd by grace of heuenely sprite, (for, with-out that, tis subtilly vanytie, and mere deceit ye vnfyte for skilles wighte,) strayte tolde my wyte, whiche I will here vnfolde, what secret mystrye heauenly planetts holde.

(37)
The horn'd Diana chaste, is siluer brighte, whiche wanninge moone dothe vnto vs bewraye; the sceptred Sol, with steames of shyninge lighte, the horded metall golde dothe here displaye; the Crowned Jove, as dothe don Plato teH, is inglishe Tynne, whiche dothe emongest vs dwelH.

(38)
All whiche sem'd not to answere my entente; for lead, lowest mettaH, was excluded quite, and chefest was in place, whiche was not mente; for thoughe that siluer gayne next place by righte to glystringe golde, as dothe experience teache, yet none of these to lowest leade do reache.

(39)
And then I dem'd it some-what strange to bee, that siluer, golde, and tyne, sholde yoyne in one, yf the[y] had answered vnto eche degree; wherefore I thoughte to lett the same alone; But in the end I founde Mercurius witte, by one coniugion colde these bodyes knitte.

¹ veiled ² MS. Voarchadymye altered.
For wyae Mercurius is so quicke by kinde, 
and gredye, hungrye, that he will devoure 
golde, siluer, Tynne; and with their powre him bynde 
all in one bodye, lesse then in an howre, 238
and vnder this, vvhiche I dare not expresse, 
yles hidden thinges vvhiche I doo leave to gesse. 240

Yet colde I saye that wisdome knittes in bande, 
by sage advyece, bothe welth & worldlye reyne; 
and witte and welth may compassse thinges vnskande, 
vvhiche Mercurye dothe rule, as poeetes fynye; 244
and this I meane by that I tolde before, 
contente your thoughte, and serche not any more. 246

But yf soo bee (as well yt may in dede) 
that these lynknd mettalls may one body make, 
therby mee thinkes that Mercurye hathe decreed, 
that manne, vvhiche dothe of eche of them partake, 250
muste nodes as farr excelle the rest, as they 
above all crthy mettals beare the sweye. 252

I, yet not satisfied with this ex[p]ounde, 
to higher muse did stretche my serching breyne, 
and mongest Astronomers this lesson founde, 
that these thre planettes in their loftye reigne 256
do many greate and secret gyftes bestowe 
one mortall creatures, vvhiche doo lyve belowe. 258

for welthye Phebe lended store of stampèd golde; 
And Cynthia guydes the lyfe and helthfull state; 
Pheton, fortune and gounereste doth holde; 
all vvhiche thre gyftes mighte dwell in one by fate, 263
for by thaspectes and yoyninge of the same, 
these planettes do their vertues in vs frame. 264

When this devise had percèd my conceyte, 
that theise thre goddes mighte powre forthe in one man 
these seuerall blessinges, & then wayinge streyte 
their seuerall place in Sphere as I did skanne, 268
swete helpinge comfohte cladde my hart in hoope 
that further skill wolde hitt the fynall scope. 270
Then I beganne afreshe to rouse that witte
\[\text{whiche dulled was by fyndinge oute that depte,}\]
\[\text{& so pursued yt with-oute stayinge fytte,}\]
\[\text{that at the laste, upon} \text{ the righte I lepte,}\]
\[\text{& then disclosd the secrete of this riddle,}\]
of the lowest, the seconde, and the middle.

But first I was enforc'd, with humble sute,
to skylfull heraules ayde to haue repayre,
to see what thinges they did to them depute;
where I was rydde from all my longe despaire,
for blason sayed in Armes the trycke them thus,
as more at large my penne shall here dyscusse:

The lowest, Luna, with her perle, dost stande
for 'Argente or white,' a coolor fayre to viewe
the mydelle, 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.

When this was blasde, I nede no longer staye
to plodde & prowle aboute this hidden thinge,
there rested noughte, by this disclosed waye,
but all these three into one forme to bringe,
and lerne yt one mannys armes or crest might shewe
these thre riche coolors, borne but of a fewe.

And turnnge ofte an olde armoriall booke,
after discourse of manye soundrye cootes—
\[\text{whiche Auncientes scochions I did ouer-looke—}\]
with hidden pointes of armories secret notes;
emongest the noblest creastes by vertue rare,
I founde a wighte suche worthy creste that bare.

For there was lynck'd with-in one worthy knott,
The lowest, middle, & highest next the beste,
Luna, Sol, and Jupiter that gott
the seconde place, were blased in his creste
by whiche devysse that courtely I fynde,
whiche tolde the hydden vertues of his mynde.
(52)
For fyrste, in philosophye, by hym is borne
the lyons two, of siluer and of tynne,
whiche dothe supporte a golden garbe of corne.
next, with Astronomye for to begynne,
two lyons of lune & Jupiter he beares,
holdinge a sheafe of Sol with glystringe eares.

(53)
Then to discende to secretes hearaldes veyne,
in vertuous stones, where lerned cumnyng was,
of orient erle and Saphyre, lyons twoine,
whiche do advance a garbe of riche Toopes.
whiche lower yet as I must streyne my quill,
in coolors thus do blaze theire hidden skill.

(54)
Two princely beasts he beares of corage bolde,
of argent white, and color'd azure blewe,
holdinge a garbe of ore whiche they call golde,
& thus eche one dothe Stilbons mynde pursue,
for by discypberinge of these seuerall artes,
are drawen in one these planettes seuerall partes.

(55)
Now howe this riddle fytteth the noble wighte
who beares this creaste of state by due desarte,—
since that these coolors and these mettalls brighte
do answere iusthe the vertue of his harte,—
yt restes to saye, and so to yoyne the same,
with-oute lewde blemyshe to his flowinge fame:

(56)
The lowest in seate I do not hym accompte,
whose mynde devyne, with gyftis of nature rare,
doeth cheuest wittes of comow mould 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

(57)
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 we fynde,
so is he stald, by dome of heavenly fate,
in myddest of worthye geintries seuente degree,
a lordly barow of noblytye.
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; 346
then is faire Maias' sonnes darke hidden doble, 
by darke and princely heroldes skill founde oute. 348

The famous manne which gyues this goodly creste, 
by wysdomes force, next one beares cheuest awaye; 
good vertue hym advanced aboue the reste, 
one whome grave counsells burden semes to staye; 352
he reynes and rules; he careth for vs aft; [Leaf 15]
his depe fore-sight preuentes our thretned fall. 354

fly Trimagistus, flye! goo hyde thy face! 
thy subtil wyte is knowne to mortall menne; 
the myuis nowe hathe lost his wondering grace; 
thy darkn'd speche in every pointe wee skanne; 358
& I haue founde one manne whiche restes allonne, 
lowest and myddle, and highest next one. 360

his lyon Luna, low'est in degree, 
his dedes dothe shewe of humble curtesye; 
his garbe Sol, in circule myddst wee see, 
answered his myddle place, nobilytie; 364
his lyon Jupiter, in seconde Sphere, 
is seconde rule, which he dothe justly bere. 366

for as the golden sheafe is vanced there, 
by beastes of severall hue, as her cheife holde, 
so quene and ladye justice euer-ywhere 
maynteyned is by bulbarkes doble folde, 370
where wisdome and good gouernmente dothe guyde 
the ruling sterne, in calme or boystrous tyde. 372

This thynge disclosd, that Mercury had sayen, 
that suche an manne most worthye was, 
to reape the frute of all my toylinge payne 
& lamed verse: when they were brought to pas, 376
my gladde sprite redoubled all his yoye 
that suche a patron sholde my woorke enyoye. 378

\textsuperscript{1} MS. Marsæ.
APP. IV.  F. THYNNE ON LORD BURGLEY'S CREST.

(64)
As for his lerned skyll in studied arte,
for knowledge depe in tonges of diverse sounde,
for plenteous vertue of his godly harte,
for Justice dome, which dothe in hym abounde,
for curteous dedes shewed to eche wight alyve,
\(^1\)deserves farre bett\(^1\) then my rude muse may gyve.  \(^{384}\)

(65)
But what use I suche needes speche in veyne,
(to seme to close as euill tonges will deme,)
when his wyse woorkes, more famous praise do geine  \(^{387}\)
then I canne speke, which meymed make them seme;
And Syracks sayes emongst his lerned sawes,
"praye no manne, whi[l]st his vitall brethe he drawes."

(66)
Whose sacred heste, though I dare not geinsaye,
but must in willese silence let \(^2\) to dwel\(^{e}\)
suche rare exploiters, performed euerie daye,
as present age dothe wittessee to excell;
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 guawinge tyme & space;
but he which did from\(\omega\) Auncient Sitcill springe,
lord Burgley, Cecili, borne of gentle race,
whome princely garter, with his azurz hue,
dothe bewelyfye with mede for honor due.

(68)
Whose golden lettres, ringe into eache eare
a golden sentence, worthye to be toughte,
who[\(\omega\)] princelye worde this inglshe sence doth beare,
'yll be to hym which any yll hath thoughte;'
and so, my lorde, reyecte not this withe hate,
for nought is mente but honor to your state.

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

\(^1\) MS. has under these words, in a different hand, merrits much more.
\(^*\) for altered to let
APP. IV. F. THYNNE ON LORD BURGHLEY'S CREST. 115

(70)
Deme not the manne by this imperfecte sense;
in brittell glasse is wholesome wyne conteynde;
in painted talke, and wordes of highe pretence,
dissembling lurkes, with falsheed vile disteynde, 418
but as my future followinge dedes do craue,
so lett desertes their guerdoune due to have. 420

(71)
Till whiche, this guyfte with frendly browe receue,
whiche wyse Mercurius coragd me to sende;
as my hart meanes, so, my good lord, conceive
these haltinge lynes whiche barrein soile doth lende; 424
& ye suche rashe found dede seme worth reproue,
blame not my factes, but threatninge godes aboue 426

finis
Francis Thynne.

(Then follows:—A discours uppon the philosophres Armes.
The sacred booke dothe truly tell in speche of heuenly penne
whiche holy Daniell did vnfold 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 fellowshippe perfected fyrst wee finde
by Philippe duke of Burgundy, 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 Jasones Flesse of golde,
whose poesy wittylly 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\(^1\) saythe that in the liij\(^a\) 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 preppinge to battell in those dayes; the raven for hounger shalbe lick to perishe, and yet betwen the twoe battelles shalbe neuer a stroke stroke. Then A pilgrimage to marye in Aken of women shalbe wofully sought; & after the mylde countinaunce of this, m[arye] shall depart from kenyngale, to which she tooke hir waye, and towards the light she shall bare A countinuæle heat. A man of bondes she shall release by menes Judgment. in hir yere shalbe many Tyrantes abrode that were in bondes, & they shall sitt strayt in Judgment to oppresse the light.

A welch-man called Robart locke vppon the liij yeare: G. beinge dominycall letter. he did recyte that A woman wytlès 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 cease vntill the man god haue the full tuicion and strength, and his ministers shall have greate gyftes. And yet I beheld on woman,

\(^1\) Taliessin.
the wife of two men, gyvinge hir honor to the man god; & ase for xxxiv days shall he execut fyer & sword; & I loked toward the Santuary, & ther I sawe the throne of the vnknown god, & the wicked having the vpper hand, whetting ther tussh like bores in blude.

David Apian sayth these wordes: "in liijth I sawe the lyonesse execute great iudgment. I beheld when this troble beganne, ther weir fyve wicked monthes, & in the vy wicked monthes I save xxxth 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 Egles chicken layng hand vppon the crowne & 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 witt of the fox, & he ceased not vntill he conveyed the fox cleane, & no man again in britaine shalbe combed with him; and in those dayes the mone shall losse hur light. Then I beheld A yong coke that crowed wondres bould, & A young henne did egerly barte, & the lione began to rore; and kent reioysed, & Sussex daunced, & manye chekynes more for gladnes; for now the Egles chickyn is gonne, & the widowe of calabrye shall whet hir tuskes, but the bores counsell shalbe of non effecte. & I be-held another sorowe more grovoser then the fyrst: great crye wase ther Amongest women betwen the hiest of the sonne & the reping of the corne."

Edward Aprian Trevar for the liijth yere also sayth:
"wher is the lionesse that executed iustes falsaly! for Thomas Buynyttes (?) sayth that anne arrow shalbe the destruction of thangry lyonesse."

"Edward Apoveh sayth that the tong shall cleaue to the roffe of hir mouth, & the arrowe that shaft strike
APP. V. PROPHECIES BY WELSHMEN.

hir is death, & [she] shall [have] no tym of Inward repentance, but shall deliver hir soyle 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 Aryste, a kynge whose generation was of a dunne cowe, and generated out of the sea, & this kynge shalbe governed one yere by an sungH. vppon Eōward the vj thy time is comme; the profisie sayth then necessarie 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 aswagen the prid, moseell the mouthe of preachers that preache mens dreames: ' the moste parte of the peopl shall saye 'wher are thaye cleane consumed in on yeare.' A Byshoppbe beinge no gentill-man shalbe enioye the crowne, & vse it as him lysteth for on yeare; & xxvij days shall he brincke many wonders to passe, & then the sonne of man, after iij sorowes, shall occupe the sword, & make euery man & woman offycere, & genie commaundement on payne of death to kyll all that were with the pye, the pykerd, & the fulmer; for aff that shalbe kyllde are knowne by ther marke; and then shalbe sene many A blodye Rochet, & the lione shall hunt the1 bore out of his denne.

[leaf 23, back] "An I. & a Roche shal be to dethe for their traterous plaie, & the yelowe lyone tonges also shall suffer execution, & many also of the affutie2 of the blodye pie; & Immediatlye shal euery man enioye his owne wife a-gayne; & I did see the hedde of the world cleane vanishe awaye, and his dignitie cleane banished out of England, and A chylde with A chaplett had againe in his owne honor;" and Robart Duce speaketh no more of the liijth, yet he sayth that "the dead man that neuere woman sawe borne, nor neuer

1 MS. y* the
2 ? affinitie
man shal be buried, shalbe kinge of syx kyngdomes, and Emperour of Rome.”

Owen longeith sayth that “A lyon shalbe generated out of the sea by the fult strengthe & natur of A dunne cowe, and that lyone shalbe gouerned by an Aungell, which Aungell shal bled to death. And in the liij year thys lyon shalbe gonne. but verye few shall fynd him, & he shalbe awaie xvij montthes; and after xvij montthes hee shall come agayne, and execute justice in his fathers house; & that which is darke shall he make lyght, & shall make free wyaye to the holye Crosse.”

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

Merleoun le Paule sayth “he shal be the stronge buld that shal enter in the yerly wnyter, & he shal destroye the hed of the world; & by this token shal you knowe him, for he shalbe 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 shal he enter in-to Britaine with thre grevous bestes, A redd lyon, A redd dragone, & A white graye-hownd; & then shal the land of the mone reioyce.”

Iohn Aprobardwyn sayth “the sonne of man is caeled A commone proverbe maledeine steremone for the generation of the Theodorse, otherwise caled tewthers, came out of Englonld; and yt is profisied² of him that he shoule kyll his mother, & yt shalh have hir blesinge, & the blesinge of god and the britanes. & he shal make glade the people that shalbe out-castes in those dayes, & he shal labour to se the sedde of the egle; but he shal neuer fynd him, nor neuer anye after him,

¹ MS. propisid
& shall make A swifte requiring for the shepheardes that he lefte be-hind him. then shalt every man to his owne livinge agayn, & establish a lawe in Britaine. ther is no more to speake of him that is caled Edward in the liijth yeare; but in the lvth yere he shall go forth to conquere; & or he shall ceasse, he shall plant a true religion in syx kyngdons, & shalt make A vniuersal pease throughout 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 26] 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 / & vengeance shall falle vpon him for sinne. ¶ In the first yere of his regne he shall have, of all good, grett plentie in his lond, & toward him also / & in his londe he shall have great praysinge / till the tyme that he shal suffere his people live in to moche pryde with-out chastisinge, wherfor god wilbe wrothe ¶ Thenne shall aryse vp a dragon of the north that shalbe full ferse / & shal move warre ayaynst the forsayd moule warpe / & shal yeue him battell vpon a stone. Thys dragon shal gader ayene into his company a wolfe, that shal come out of the west to move warre againste the forsayd mold warpe in his side / so shal the dragone, & bynd their^1^ tayles to-gyders ¶ Then shal come A lyon out of Ireland / that shal fall in company with them; And thene shall tremble the londe that shalbe calede

^1^ MS. their the
Englond, as an aspen lefe / & in that time shall Casteles be felled downe vpon Tamyse. & yt shall seme that Seuerne shalbe drye / for the bodyes that shall [be] deed ther-in, The fower chefe floudes in England shall run in blode, & great drede shalbe, & anguish, that shall Arisee.¹ "¶ After the mold warpe shall flee, & the dragon ; The lyone, & the wolfe, shall them drue Awaye, & the [y]one shalbe without them, & the mold warp shall haue no maner of power, save only a shippe wherto he maye winder, & after that he shall goo to lond where the see is withdrawne; & after that, he shall geue the third part of his londe, for to haue the fourth part in pease & in rest; & after he shall liue in sorowe 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 see. his sed shalbe-come fatherles in strang lond for euer-mor; & then shalle² the lond be departed into iiij partes, that is to saye, to the wolfe, to the dragon, & to the lyon; & so shal it be for euer-mor. & then shall this lond be called the lond of conqueste, & so shall the ryght heyers of Englond Ende.

¹ MS. Arisee o. ² MS. shalbe
APPENDIX VI.

THOMAS CHAUCER'S COMPLAINT ON PARTING FROM HIS WIFE, WHEN HE WENT ON EMBASSY TO FRANCE.

WRITTEN BY LYDGATE.

[Ashmole MS. 59, copied by Shirley, leaf 45, back.]

Here foloweth next a compleynte made by Lydgate for his departing of Thomas Chaucier in-to fraunce by hes servaunts vpon his kynges ambassate.

Every maner creature disposed vn-to gentylesse
Boothe of kynde and of nature,
Hope in his hert moste gladnesse
For tabyde / in soopefastnesse
Where þat his ioye is moste entiere;
1 And I live ever in hevynesse,
But whane I. seo my ladye dere.

¶ Eke every wight / of every kynde,
Is gladd 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, ¶ absence of Thom[a]s Chaucier by Lydgate.
APP. VI. TH. CHAUCER’S COMPLAINT ON PARTING FROM HIS WIFE. 123

¶ Who parteþe oute / of Paradys /
frome þat place / so ful of glorie,
Where as mirth, is mooste of pryse,
And ioye haþe, souereine victorie /
What wonder, whane he haþe memorie
Of al, þat he beo duþ of chere /
sfor I am ever1 in Purgatorie,
But whane I see my ladye dere /

¶ þe sterres of þe hegüe heven
sreyrest shyne / vn-to oure sight,
And þe planetys eke. alle seven,
Moste fulsomly / give þeire sight,
And Phebus, with hees beemis bright,
Gladdest shyneþe / in his spere /
But I am never / gladde ne light,
Save whane I see my lady dere /

¶ Eke phebus, in oure emyspere /
Aftter þe derknes of þe night,
At his vprisst, yolowe as golde clere,
Eorly on morowe / of kyndely right,
2Whane clowdes Blake / haue no mght
To chace aweye / þe clowdes clere /
Right so frome sorowe I stonde vpright,
Whane þat I see / my ladye dere /

¶ þe fooles þat flyen, in þe ayre,
And freusly singe / and mirthes make
In May þe sessoun. is so fayre,
With al right / hem aught awake,
Reioweþe eche one / with his make /
With þeire hevenly notes clere /
Right so al sorowe / in me doþe slake,
Whane þat I see. my² ladye dere /

1 MS. every.
² MS. has heading to this page, ¶ Balade by Lidgate.
³ MS. my my.
APP. VI. TH. CHAUCER'S COMPLAINT ON PARTING FROM HIS WIFE.

† be herte, pe hynde / in wylde foreste /
Moste lusty beo / of peire courage /
And every. othere maner beeste,
Boþe pe tame / and eke sauvage,
Stonden moste at avauntage
In lavndes whane pey reine efoere,
‡us ever gladde / is my visage,
Whanne þat I. see / my ladye deere.  52

† I. haue seyne / þat. buk / and doo /
Amonge þe holtis / hoore and graye,
þe Reyndere / and þe wylde Roo /
In mershes / haue þeire moste playe,
Where þey bee voyde frome al affraye / Right even soo with-outen were,
Myne hert is gladde / boþe night and daye,
Whane I. looke / on my ladye deere /  64

† What is a fishe oute of þe see /
1For alle heos seles / silver sheene,
But dede anoone (as man may see.
Or in Ryvers cristal. clene /
Pyke or tenche with fynnes grene,
Oute of þe water whane þey peere /  68
‡us drode / dareþer2 myñ herte keene,
þere I. seo nouȝt / my ladye dere /  72

† þe Ruby stant best in þe ring'
Of golde whane it is polisht newe;
þemeraude is aye wele lasting
Whilst it abydeþe / with hert truwe;  76
þe saphire with his hevenly huwe

[‡ MS. Makenbou] Makeþe3 gounded eyene clere;
‡us my ioye / doþe ay renuwe,
Whane þat I. see my ladye dere.  80

1 MS. has heading to this page, § Lydegate / see my ladye dere.
APP. VI. TH. CHAUCER'S COMPLAINT ON PARTING FROM HIS WIFE. 125

¶ Be flouris on beire stalkes vnclose,
Springege / in be bawmy mede;
Be lylies, and be swate roos,
Be dayeseyes / who takepe hede. 84
Whane Phebus / doþe his beemis vnsprede,
In somer / as men may wele leere /
So gladde am I. in thought and dede /
Whane þat I. seo my ladye dere / 88

¶ In somer whane I. seo / þe sheene1 soñe /
Hape shewed bright a gret[e] space,
And towadres night, þe skyes doñe,
His cleernesse / doþe aweye chace /
Righþ so dedly / and pale of face /
Mortal of looke / and sorry chere /
L. waxst, suche woo / me did embræce
At parting. of my lady deere /

¶ Summe folke / in signe of hardynesse,
Taphe hem to coloure þat is rede /
And summe, in tokenyng of clennesse / 92
Weren white / yee may take hede ;
And summe, grene / for lustynesse ;
But I ellas / in blacke appere,
And ever shalft / in sorowes drede,
Til þat I. seo my ladyye dere /

¶ Now god þat art so eternal
And bast al thing in governaunce,
And arte also / Immortal,
Stableþ withoute variaunce ; 100
Þowe guyde, lorde / so my chaunce /
Of þy power / moste entiere /
Þowe sone abrege my penaunce,
Þat I. may seo / my ladye dere /

[leaf 47, back]

1 MS. I sheene.
2 MS. heading, Lidgate.
Th. Chaucer's Complaint on Parting from His Wife.

To live in lowly wise,
Unto myne hertis souereyne /
And praye to hir / for til devyse
Summe releas / of my mortal peyne;
Whan ye art at hir, ye reste ne seyne
Only of pitee / hir to require,
Dat of mercy / aseo not diadeye,
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:—

Venüs

which had me in the snare
of pensyue thought and payn.
She saw that faithfully
I dyd my hert resynghe
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 cor. Finis.

🔥 Dryuen by dissyr to set afsectioun.
a great way alas abowe my degre
chosen I am I thinkes by election.
to counc that thing that will not be.
I serue in lour not lyke to spedi.
I loke alas a lytell to hye.
agaynst my will I do in ded.
counc that thing that will not be.

My fanzy alas doth me so bynd
that I can se no remedy
but stylly to folowe my folyce mind.
and counc that thing that wyll not be.

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

But rather to leue now at the last,
then stylly to folowe fancye.
content with the payn that is past
and not counc that thing that will not be.

Finis.

[Follows:—The pylgryme tale.]
NOTES.

p. vi. Lancaster Herald. The 5th Herald, under the 3 Kings of Armas. 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 xiij persons, wherof Three be Kings of Armes,—videlicet, Garter (principal Kinge of Armes and chief Officer of Armes for the Order, having yearly fee of x£), Clarencieux (Kinge of Armes of the East, West, and South partes of the realme of England from the ryver of Trent southward), Norroy (Kinge of Armes of the East, West, and North partes of the realm of England from the ryver of Trent northward), Eche of them receavinge yearly fee of xx pountes; Six be Heraldes of Armes—Somerset, Chester, Windesore, Richemond, Lancaster, Yorke,—Euer of them receavinge yearly fee of xx markes; Fower be Poursuyvantes of Armes, viz. Rouge-Dragon, Rouge-Croiz, Bleemantle, Portcullis, Euer of them receavinge yearly fee of x pountes." Of these "Some be appoynted to direct and to gouerne in the Societie, as Garter... Clarencieux... and Norroy... Some be apoynted to be dyrected and governed, and to obey, As All the Six Heraldes, All the lower Poursuyvantes, In all matters conninginge the Princes service, or otherwise tendinge to the regiment of the Societie, or their owne emolument and profyte."

ad extremam devenit calamitatem, præter infamiam, scabiei etiam, quam Gallicam vocant, obnoxia. Hie cum omnibus tentatis, quo uxor et marito reconciliaret, nihil ageret, nec durus ille, vel affiniim respectu, vel liberorum communium affectu, vel sua ipsius conscientia, qui tot adulteriis, qui suo neglectu occasionem dedisset, flecteretur, reliquit hominem seu deploratum. Is paulo post ex more, petasonom, aut armum suillum misit. Ceterum Joannes, nam tum Guardianum agebat, mandarat janitori, ne quid recipieret nisi se vocato. Cum adesset munus, vocatus est: ibi famulis, qui deferebant heri nomine, "Referte, inquit,onus vestrum unde attulistis; nos nou recipimus munera diaboli." Itaque tametsi non ignorabant illius vitam ac doctrinam esse seminarium egregium Evangelicem pietatis, tamen quoniam non perinde conducbat proventui culinie, iussus est deponere Guardiani munus, quo nihil ille fecit lubricius: & suffectus est illi quidam, quem ego novi, aliounde desitato homo non dicam qualis, at quam alteri dissimilis, in summa est mihi visus est, cui nemo prudens cauletum suum vellet committere: sive hunc obturerant, quia cupiecabant absesse, 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 Botelville),—the grandson of John Botelville 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. clii. '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.

THYNNÉ.
Longleat was built by him on the site of a dissolved priory. It took 12 years in building (p. clxxvii).

p. viii. Camden's Estimate. Camden's words in his Britannia, iii. 7, col. 2, are, "Francis Thun, who has long pursued the study of English antiquities with equal application and judgement."

p. ix. William Thynne rests beside his wife, &c. This 'beside' is more than doubtful. Col. Chester writes, "You will find the Inscription on Wm Thynne's tomb, and some account of Thynne, in the Rev. Joseph Maskell's 'Collections in illustration of the Parochial History and Antiquities of the Ancient Church of All Hallows, Barking' (London, 4to, 1864)—but Maskell was not very correct usually, and his statements must be tested).

"I see the date is wrong. Mr Maskell says Thynne's wife Anne, mother of Francis, was buried by his side. As in my voluminous and careful collections from the All Hallows register I do not find her burial recorded, I doubt not Mr Maskell is in error, and was misled by the figure of the lady on the brass. I suppose it was not contemplated that she would twice re-marry."

p. xiv. Stowe's licenses to beg and put alms-basins up in the City churches.

The Musists, though themselves they please, Their Dotage els finds Meede nor Ease; Vouch't Spencer in that Ranke preferd, Per Accidents, only interv'd Nigh Venorable Chauier, lost, Had not kind Hebrham read him Cost, Found next the doore Church-outeoned neere, And yet a Knight, Arch-Lauriat Heere.


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. xviiij, 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 Hearseays 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 Hindewords, p. xlv.

p. xxi. Mr Martin sends me a few corrections, &c., as to Thynne's appointments: line 2, Essex, ?Sussex. Ric. ?John, Shirley. line 5, the Manor of Cleobury Barns was in the lordship of Cleobury, parcel of the Earldom of March. Last line: Stoke Clynnisdand 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.

[Add. MS. 1147, iv, leaf 77.]

The Othe of the Comptroler of th3 Customes.

Ye shall swere, that well and faithfully ye shall serve the kinge in thoffice of Comptroller of the Customes and the kinges Subedies in the porte of L[ondon]; and faithfully ye shall enter the thinges customable which shall cum to the saide porte, or passe from the same. And that ye shall take noe gifte for your office doinge, nor for non other thinge which may fall to the disadvauntage of the kinge. Nor ye shall suffer noe merchandises nor noe other thinges customable to passe out of the said porte without paying of due custome. And that ye shall doe the said office, and dwell vpou the same, in your proper person, without puttinge any Substitut vnder you. And ye shall write the rolles by your owne lande demesned. And the profite of the kinge ye shall awayte to doe as moche [p. 72] as in you is, accordigne to your knowledge and to your power. See 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 13th day of February in the xxij yere of the Reyne of our souerain Lorde the kyng, & ys for the space of iiij xix [== 99] yerys, payng yerly vij li xij s iiiijd therfore, may be found in the said office: it is tolde me that, in case it so be, it wylbe 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 haue you in his kepynge! from Eltham this present Thursday, by the rude hande of yours at commandement.

W. Thynne.

Address, To the Right worshipfulle maister CromweH, on of the Kynges moste honourable Consele, this be delyuered.

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 personage of Eryth & lesones at x li; and yet notwithstanding I shalbe no sauer, for I moste, be sydes this x li, pay yerly lx s for almes corne. In this helpynge me will [== while] tyyme ys, ye bynde me hereafter 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 contenevwe [you] in long lyfe & good helth: this presand saterday, by the rewed hande of your own

W. Thynne.

Sir, the breche ys inned.

Address, To the Right worshipfulle maister CromeweH, this be delyuered.

There is nothing about William Thynne in the other Calendars and Historical MSS. Commission Reports yet publish'd. References to large masses of Thynne letters, in the 16th and 17th centuries, are in the Hist. MSS. Com. 3rd Report, p. 199.

p. xxxix. The inscription on Wm. Thynne’s Tomb. Mr Maskell, author of 'The Ancient Church of All Hallows, 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 one of the Masters of the honourable household to King Henrie VIIIth our soverain Lord. He departed from the prison of this frayle body the Xth day of August Anno Dom. 1546 in the XXXVIIIth yeere of our said Soveraine Lord the King; whose bodye, & every part thereof, in the last dayes 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
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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 archeology, many things of which I was very ignorant when I first began to explore the church of All-Hallows, Barking. I began to make collections towards the history of the parish, and those collections were (somewhat immaturely) published at the desire of friends. If they are worth your consulting, there is an interleaved copy in the British Museum Library. Please to remember that I call them merely 'collections,' and I hope they may be useful with all their imperfections to others better able to put them into a more complete shape. Thus, you will find a little about Wm Thynne, and a copy of his will on p. 50—52. This copy was taken for me by Mr George Corner, F.S.A., and was printed from his abbreviated MSS. All the early part of the volume was unfortunately corrected for the press in my absence from England, and not by me. This copy of the Will contains only the substance of the Testament, and is by no means a correct 'orthographic' copy.

"But to return. When I learned the true inscription from Stowe I showed it first to our churchwardens,—who would not hear of 'Pray for the Soule,'—and then to the Ordinary, the late Archbishop 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 Athenae 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 grammatical in Tunbridge school in Kent . . . where being fitted for higher learning by Jo. Proctor,
master thereof, was thence sent to this university, at which time several of his surnames of Wilts, studied there; & one of both his names, and a knight's son of the same county, was a commoner of Magd. coll. in 1577. Whether our author Franc. Thynne went afterwards to Cambridge, or was originally a student there before he came to Oxon, I cannot justly say."

p. xlii. 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 'air William Cecil, knighte, lorde burghleye.'

. . . . 'The thinge whiche presently I presente, I must confesse for the deuyce to be but meane; for the order, of smale tranyle; for the matter, of litle vulture; & for the necessary use, not nedefull at this instante tyme; beinge but the geneologye and marriages of the noble houesse of france, a forteine Realme vnto vs.' . . . 'And yet to one addicted to serche Auncient perdegrees, gyven to the honorable knowledge of Armorye . . . I doo not dohte but this worke of Claudius Paradyne (somewhat bewythed to the eye by my endoe and charge, although somewhat stuffed with envious corruptione, or rather, ignorance of the auctor,) may brede some sweete pleasure in thee readings, & good profytt in the vnderstandinge (though ye be not composed in the highest style, for the manner of penninge yt; nor with the highest matter, for substance in devysinge of yt,) ye wee do but barely consider this (&c.) . . . . And so I ende: from Barmondsay Stretehe the 2 of Auguste 1573, your Lordships to commaunde to his vittersmoste endevor

Francis Thynne.'


' A discoursse vppon ye creaste of the lorde Burghley.
 [printed above, p. 103.]

Another discoursse vppon the Philosophers Armes.'

It begins with a description of the interpretation by Daniel of the writing on the wall during the feast given by 'Balthassar thassyrian 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 yeere frome Christe his birthe . . . [p. 44.]
A thowsand four hundred & fifteene, this order did beygne
In the noble house of Austria; for in the yere aforesayd the Christians at Nicopolis by turke beigne dismayed amongst the reste at that lost fielde Donne Johnes which was ye sonne of bolde Philippe beinge take[n] prisoner when that battell was woonne by Amurathes themperour . . .

and beinge broughte into that ile of ye see Euxinus
to whome the fame of historyes echo one did there discusse
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on the golden fleece of Phrixius, and that Seint Andrewe there
had fyreste the sede of Christes gospel preached in eche place where
of that same Ile, this Johne then beinge moued with prophecye
of a turkysh Astrologer whiche was call’d Astolgate
this noble order of the flese he fyrest did take in hande . . .

Mentiona Colchois Isle, Medea, Jason, Morpheus, Cupid, Cluidianus,
Phœbus, 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
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 wen[n]s werke
. . . . . The authores cheife of whiche same were Hermes trisegmitus,
. . . . . of later tyme sprange from that roote the lerned Reynmund Lully,
the inglishe frier olde Bacon, & the good britishe Riplye,
with Arnold of the newe towne, & the wise & princely legate
the famous grene Sir Geffray chaucer broug[h]te (altered to come)
to light but of late

the morall Gower, and Bumbelimo who clerkly did compose
the shyninge starr of Alchymye in romaine tonge & prose.
Eke the inglishe philosopher Johne Garland whiche did penne
this arte in later phrase . . .
Then [Thomas] Nworton . . of whome Bristowe may bragge,
in lerninge worthy to bee first, in tyme thoughge he were lagge,
as lyvinge in the yere of Christe seuenty seuen abowe,
a thowsande and fowre hundred, as his owne wortes well do proove.
When they of truthe haue not one yote but counterfeiting wavyes, [p. 86]
the whiche, Chaucer and Norton dothe most plenteously vulofde.
And humbly thus comyttinge me & this my simple stile
Vnto your Lordshippes furtherance, for whom I did compile
this rude and indigested chaos / in lyke sort comending
You and your honorable state . . to heenely Jones blessinge,
This metabolis Metamorphosis . . is nowe ended by mee
in yere of xx Christe a Thowsande fyue hundred seuenty three
Francis Tynhe.

The table of the auctors recayted in this discourse, (2 pages,) follows—
Albertus magunus, Alanus, Anaxagoras, Aristoteles, Ars chimea,
Avicenna, . . . Halie de judiciae astrorum, Hardinge englishe chronicle
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. H. Hart,” which con-
tains petitions of prisoners in the White Lion, from 1628 to 1665, with correspondence thereon, and a petition of Stephen Harris in 1662, who was candidate for the post of keeper of the prison. Harris obtained his desire, and afterwards took as a partner Joseph Hall, who fell into disgrace from his wrongful actions. The paper also contains a territorial history of the White Lion from 1654 to 1798, when it was ordered to be taken down."—H. B. Wheatley.

p. 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 Fourty 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 Regards 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 Shakspere Soc., 1876, gives Stow a good character:—

“But hereof let this suffice, & in stead of these enormities, a table shall follow of the [Law] termes, containing their beginnings and endings, as I have borrowed them from my friend John Stow, whose study is the onelie store house of antiquities in my time, and he

¹ Scotlant’s Sover. 8vo. Lond. 1695, per totum. ² D. Episc. Eliani.
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worthie therefore to be had in reputation and honour."—Holinshed 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 publishd 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,
occaisioned by m'. Thynnes singular respects to the Lord Cobham,
whose disgrace happening at the time of his publication, it seems to
Laue 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-
maineing. 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'. 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 Mss.
divers Treatises, as a discourse of Arms, Collections of several sorts of
Antiquities, Miscellaneis of the Treasury, Epitaphia siue Monumenta
sepulchorum, Anglice et Latine quam Gallice, with Notes on, and
Corrections of, Chaucers works, which comment on Chaucer. He had
an intention to have published as an addition to the Edition of that
Author made by his father when he was Clerk of the Kitchen 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 Donus regni Anglie, Nomina Episcoporum in Somerset, Collect-
anea Saxonica de donationibus a Regibus Eadfrido, Eadgaro et
Edwardo. Catalogus Episcoporum Bathoni & Welleña, a Book of
various Collections, et Commentarij de Historia et rebus Britannicis,
and a learned letter touching the Herald. 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. 60.
5 Spght's Edition of Chaucer.
7 G. x. penes me, p. 46. 8 Julius C. 8. 9 Vitell. E. 5.
concerning the Bathe and Batchelour Knights, wherein are shewed many Antiquities touching Knighthood, wrote by him in 1605; The History and lies of the Lord Treasurers continued to, probably the remainder was never finished in that method, by reason of his disappointment in not supplying at first one of the vacancy's then in the College of Arms abouementioned, and by the death of the Lord Burleigh soon afterwards; a Tract of the names and Arms of the Earl-Marshalls, with some materials 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 mo' 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 Musee, the Nine Worthies, the ten Sibyla, the three Fates, all successively refuse to defend Disperance, and reproach him for abusing Venus. At last, Vesta undertakes his defence. The trial proceeds; Disperance is convicted, and put in the will of Venus. She orders him to be punisht and imprison'd; but on the entreaty of Esperance, &c. remits the punishment on Disperance's promise to serve her. She christens him Dalliance; and dances, turneys 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 have not before bene imprim- ted.

1 B. 2.; D. 3.; E. 8.; E. 9.  
2 Vol. i, p. 319.
NOTES.

The Prologue.
In the moneth of may when the new tender grene
Hath smothly covered 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 fayre
Thycke of grasse among the floures sweete
And many a \textit{sic} hoisome herbe fayre vnder the fete.

(14 more stanzas, then)

\textit{\textcopyright} Thus endeth the prologue, and hereafter followeth 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 permorme the last
Labour that thou and I shal wast,
And end that I haue new begone
For when this songe, is gon and past
My lute be stille for I haue done.
(And 6 more stanzas.)
Finis.

To whom should I sue to ease my payne
To my mysteres, 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
Dysdaine me not.
(And 4 more stanzas.)
Finis.

\textit{sic}
NOTES.

Fortune what ayleth the
Thus for to banyshe me
Her company whom I loue best,
For to compayne me
Nothing ausyleth me
Adew farewell 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 favour
As I deserue and shal
My loue my lady paramour
should loue me best of al.

(And 8 more stanzas.)

During of payne and grevous smart
Hath brought me lowe & woderous weake
that I cānot 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.
Loue whom you lyst and spare not
Therwyth I am content
Hate whom you lyst and spare not
For I am indyfferent.

(And 4 more stanzas.)

Finis.

Merueile 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 graneu 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 wo. "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 goyng 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 four. Augustines or Austin Friars; Carmel-
ites 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,

p. 81, l. 151. Paul. Hélyot gives 3 Orders of Paulines, i. 360, 473,
1152; and 4thly, the Ordre des Erémites de Saint-Paul, iii. 126; see my
Ballads from MSS. i. 245, n. 9.

p. 81, l. 155. Anthomy. Cruched Friars nam'd after St Anthony: said
to be founded by the great St Anthony, who was born in Egypt
in 251. His monastery of Faioum at first consisted of a group of
separate cells, and is supposed to have been the origin of cenobite life.
Ballads from MSS. i. 245 n.

1 Cordeliers: f. A Grey Friars girdle (made of a piece of a rope full of
equally-distant knots).—Cotgrave.
p. 81, l. 165. *La grange est près des bateurs.* (Said of a Nunnerie that's neere vnto a Fryerie;) the Barne stands neere the Thresher's. 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 1554, 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, article and deprived divers of the clergy for this cause: namely, H. Williams, Dean of the church of Lichfield, 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 Bolleston" [and 10 others] (*Eccl. Mem.* III. i. 168-9). In 1553 also, David Pole, Archdeacon of Derby, was one of the Commission who found Bp Bonner's sentence null, and restored him (*ib*, 36-7). In 1554 he was present at—and evidently approved—the trial of Bp Bonner, and that of Dr Taylor, when he was sentenced to be burnt, and martyred. On 30 Sept. 1554 the Dean of Canterbury, acting as Archbishop during the vacancy of the see, gave Pole a commission to exercise episcopal jurisdiction in the see of Lichfield, vacant by the death of Bp Sampson (*Strype's Cromaner*, 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

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.
NOTES.

(Eccl. Mem. III. i. 477-8). In 1557 he was consecrated Bp of Peter-
borough—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 Decem-
ber 1559 he, with 4 others, signed a letter to the Queen in behalf of the
Papist religion, entreatings 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 calls 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 All Souls coll. in 1520, took
the degrees of civ. and can. law, that of doctor being completed 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. Whereupon being committed to custody for a
time, was soon after set at liberty, ‘& principia beneficio (as one⁴ tells
us) in agro suo mature etate decrepit.” “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. 694.”
NOTES.

Good old age. He gave way to fate in the latter end of May, or beginning of June in 1568, but where, unless near to St. 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 Allsoule coll. — ii. 801.

p. 89. Lying prophecies. See Dr John Harvey’s (Gabriel H.’s brother’s) Discourses Probleme concerning Prophecies, 1588, p. 68: — “Now touching the Findall why; or the general and speciall ends thereof, were not these extravagant prophesyes, mostwhat invented and published to some such great holie effect as the tales of Hobgoblin, Robin Goodfellow, Hogmagog, Queene Gregorton, king Arthur, Bevis of Southampton, Luuncelot du Lake, Sir Tristram, Thomas of Lancaster, John à Gaunt, Guy of Warvike, Orlando furioso, Amadis du Gaul, Robin Hood and little John, Frier Tuck and maid Marian, with a thousand such Legendaries, in all languages; viz. to busie the minds of the vulgar sort, or to set their heads aworke withal, and to auert their conceits from the consideration of serious, and grauer matters, by feeding their humors, and delighting their fancies with such fabulous and ludicrous toyes. For was it not the ground pollitie of that age, wherein those counterfet prophesiers cheefly flourished, to occupye and carry away the commons with od rumors, by flinfams, wily cranks, and sleightie knacks of the maker, even with all possible indeuors and vnderminnings, fearing least they might otherwise ouermuch or ouer deeply intend other actions, and negociations of greater importance, private or publike affairs 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 meere handled, and disposed by the cleargie, or other professed in learning; thinking thither to maintaine themselves, and vphold al their proceedings in the greater credit, authoritie, and admiration amongst the people. It was a trim works indeede, and a gay world no doubt, for some idle Cloistermen, mad merry Friers, and lustie Abbey-lubbers, when themselves were well whittled, and their panches pretty stuffed, otherwhiles to fall a prophesying of the wofull dearths, famines, plagues, wars, and most wretched, lamentable and horrible Tragedies of the dangerous dais imminent: other whiles, when haply they had little else to do, or lesse to suffer, to tell the world a lewd tale, or some notable miracle, as namely of Saint Francis, how he turned water into wine, walked drie footed upon the waters, forbaid the swallowes to sing; and how good S. Francis made all creatures reasonable and unreasonabe to obey his devout 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, i. 508.
of Christ's owne Spouse, and so forth in the same miraculous veine.  
Lo, I beseech you (as an ancient poet said of soothsayers) how, *Sui
guestus causa fictas susciat sententias*; and to increase their owne
private ease, libertie, and wealth, with publique reputation and reuer-
ence; how they trouble al the world besides, and procure the perpetuall
servitude, bondage and confusion of infinite good simple soules . . . .
(p. 70). I touch not alone any one onely calling, degree or qualitie:
that not every vocation, profession and estate yeelded some such
counter-prophets and pennyfathers, very gromelgainers, self-louers,
libertines, epicures, Lucianists, perpetuall incrochers, ingrossers and
aspirers, publique forestallers, and regators of al publique commodities
and honors, libellers, factioners, troublers of al waters, saving their
owne, hartie friends to themselves onely, and deadly foes to all the
world besides . . . .

Non sunt enim ij, aut scientia, aut arte diuini:
Sed superstitioni vates, impudentesque harioli . . . .

As the good old Ennius long ago vttered his affection towards such
bribing copesmates, and incroching Bisogniers . . . . (p. 71) Such
small ends as commonly overthrow and destroy the best established
states, and at length bring most flourishing kingdoms, principalities,
and commonwealthes to their small endes, even most woeful, most
dolefull, and most horrible endes; 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 diuell, to vndoo 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 vnruyl & presumptuous insolencie
of such imposturall prophets: (as namely 5. Elizabeth .15.)

(p. 73) I before mentioned the like Vllsceau policie: and nothing
doubt, but some of Achtyophets mightie oracles saured of the same
humor: as more lately som of Machiauels 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 clousterly stuffe; now lateward, sitthence those frierlie skarcrowes,
and moonkish dumps began to be lesse dreaded or regarded, there haue
not wanted iolly fine pragmaticales wares, of the maker, whereby no
small intendiments, or base enterprises haue beene attempted in most
kingdomes and principalities thorow out Christiandome. Forsooth
loosers must haue their words: and beggers will needes be somewhaies
bulbeggers. I cannot stand to make any curious deuision; howbeit
some of them would be noted for terrible Eiphes, and Goblines: som
other of them can be contented to insinuate themselues like Robin
goodfellow and frier Tuckes. Amongst whom (p. 74) can we better
compare the former, than vnto such pedlers, tinkers, and sturdy rogues,
as were woont to carie about with them their fierce maustines & terrible
bandogs, to serue their knauish and villanous turnes, vpon advantage
givn? 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 complaine of Achitophels, Vlysses, and Machiavel, than of late yeeres: but take away, or contemne, all malitious suborning of calumnies, libels, and prophesies: and shall they not hurt or preuaile much lesse, as well in publique, as in private, notwithstanding their other wiliest conuiances and suttellest practises? Were it not ouer great pitie, that any such knack of knauerie, or cœnous cheuisance, or bipcritical policy, or Mercuriall stratageme, either by false libelling, or false prophesieng, or other falsi-fieng of matters & maners, should peremptorily overthrow or traiterously vndermine, any well governed or wel established state? God, they say, sendeth commonly a curt sworh short horns: and doth not the diuell, I say, in the winde-vpall, and in fine, ofter play wilie beguile him selfe, and crucifie his owne wretched lims, then atchieuie his mis-chievous and malicious purposes, howsoever crafitlie conuied, or feately packed, either in one fraudulent sort or other?

p. 86, l. 310. Popish Masses and Persecutions.—"Sivquilla (== Ali-qui) . . . . after I departed from the carnal Gospellers, I came among the perverse Papists, among whom was such Superstition, Idolatrie, and Massing, with other abominations, beside the imprisoning, rack-ing, punishing, killing and burning of the true professors of Christ, that I could not choose but openely tell the truth & their faults. Which in no wise they could abyde to heare. Wherby quickly I was imprisoned, & there so punished that the vnchristen Turkes would not so haue vsed me.

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

"Sic. 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 Aigna (== Anglia) for England, sign. B. Omens (or Nemo's) country is Mauquen (== Nesquam, 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 Stamfordiam 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,
NOTES.

‘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 prechynge

¶ Say / on quod our host / I the beseche
Syr I am redy at your byddynge
I pray you that no man me reproche
Whyle that I am my tale tellyng.

¶ Thus endeth the prologue / and here
foloweth the first partes of this
present worke.

(Colophon) ¶ Printed at London by Thomas
Godfray.
Cum privilegio.
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94/615 means page 94, line 615.

a for ei: persuade, perceive, 94/615 (see desayue, disayuer); for ea, staming, steaming, 109/201.

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ace = the King, xlv.

adamant, 106/118, loadstone, magnet?


adquired, xxv, acquired.

advouch, v. tr. xxxv, examine, or credit.

adyng, 83/226, addition.

Æsculapius, 106/112.


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and, 96/675, if.

&., 84/252, if.

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tryue, 78/37, thrive.

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unbuckle, 84/272, unload (or unbuckle?).

uncontrolable, xcix/9, uncontradictable.

undowtyd, 89/433, undoubtedly.

unit, 94/614, became united.

unity, lv.

unleste, 19, unless.

unorderly, adj. lix.

unsawn, 88/401, unsown.

unsered, 48, not yellowed.

unsinged, 48, not singed, fresh.
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wher, 82/172, were.
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whittled, 145/1, fill’d with drink.
whom, 82/178, (hand) which.
whom, 87/366, which.
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yer, 102/28, ere, before.

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XXI. A Parallel-Text edition of Chaucer’s Minor Poems, Part I:—'The Deete of Biaunehe the Ducheess,' from Thynne’s ed. of 1532, the Fairfax MS 16, and Tanner MS 346; 'the Complent to Pite,' 'the Parliament of Foules,' and 'the Complent of Mars,' each from six MSS.

XXII. Supplementary Parallel-Texts of Chaucer’s Minor Poems, Part I, containing 'The Parliament of Foules,' from three MSS.

XXIII. Odd Texts of Chaucer’s Minor Poems, Part I, containing 1. two MS fragments of 'The Parliament of Foules;' 2. the two differing versions of 'The Prologue' to the Legende of Good Women,' arranged so as to show their differences; 3. an Appendix of Poems attributed to Chaucer, i. 'The Balade of Pitre by Chaucier;' ii. 'The Cronycle made by Chaucer,' both from MSS written by Shirley, Chaucer’s contemporary.


The issue for 1872, in the First Series, is,

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The issue for 1873, in the First Series, is,

XXX. The Six-Text Canterbury Tales, Part V, containing the Clerk’s and Merchant’s Tales.

The issue for 1874, in the First Series (ready in June 1873), is,

XXXI. The Six-Text, Part VI, containing the Squire’s and Franklin’s Tales.

XXXII to XXXVI. Large Parts of the separate issues of five MSS.

The issue for 1875, in the First Series (ready in September 1873), is,

XXXVII. The Six-Text, Part VII, the Second Nun’s, Canon’s-Yeoman’s, and Maniple’s Tales, with the Blank-Parson Link.

XXXVIII to XLIII. Large Parts of the separate issues of the Six MSS, bringing all up to the Parson’s Tale.

XLIV. A detailed Comparison of the Troilus and Cressidae with Boccaccio’s Filastroto, with a Translation of all Passages used by Chaucer, and an Abstract of the Parts not used, by W. Michael Rossetti, Esq., and with a print of the Troilus from the Harleian MS 3943. Part I.

XLV. An Alphabetical list of Chaucer’s rhymes in the Canterbury Tales, as shown by the Ellesmere MS, by Henry Cronie, Esq. (This will not be ready till 1875.)

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1. Early English Pronunciation, with especial reference to Shakespeare and Chaucer, by Alexander J. Ellis, Esq., F.R.S. Part I. This work includes an amalgamation of Prof. T. Wright’s ed. of The Canterbury Tales and by Gower (in Dr Paul’s ed. of the Confessio Amantis).


3. A Temporary Preface to the Society’s Six-Text edition of Chaucer’s Canterbury Tales, Part I, attempting to show the right Order of the Tales, and the Days and Stages of the Pilgrimage, &c., &c., by F. J. Furnivall, Esq., M.A.

Of the Second Series, the issue for 1869 is,

4. Early English Pronunciation, with especial reference to Shakespeare and Chaucer, by Alexander J. Ellis, Esq., F.R.S. Part II.

5. Of the Second Series, the issue for 1870 is,

6. Trial-Forewords to my Parallel-Text edition of Chaucer’s Minor Poems for the Chaucer Society (with a try to set Chaucer’s Works in their right order of Time), by Fredk. J. Furnivall. Part I. (This Part bring-out, for the first time, Chaucer’s long early but hopeless love.)
A distraught against Satan (and malicious Papists).

an exclamation of the auctor agaynst sathan owr old ennemy.

Wicked worm! "¶ O wycked worme, to penaunce con-Iuryd, and of god him-selfe first accorsyd, amongst all creatures most to be aborred, by whom in-to this world came first the fat of man! tell me how thou durst presum to ryse, most vngracious beast, and so by god inputed to crepe apon thy brest. 449 452 455

how darest thou rise, whom God bade creep?

"O false pretens of gratiuse pilgramage, for the comyn-welth which is the destrower! wyll thou neuer leue to bryng folke in dotage, which of all lyes was the fyrst father? even so of eue thou wast the disayuer.
to comen-welthe thou sayd me shold be brought; of all thy begynnynge the end is noght. 459 462

Thou art the first father of all lies, and wast first cast down into hall.

"Thou wase thy-selue the fyrst rebellyon, & therfore eict down in-to hell; not geuyng due honor was thy confusyon. with god and his ordinans thou wold mell, & euyn lyke thes innocentes compell, working in thy-selue antichristes clerkes, thy shanyllynges, thy ministerys of bealles markes. 463 466 469

Antichrist's clerks are thy ministers,

"for euyn as adam hyd him for shame, whan he had broken godis commaundment, so wold the rebellious; alas! wo can them blame, there awn consciou[n]s must nedis be ther Igument, by fals temtpacion hoping preferment, no-thing to haue deserued but cruelle dethe.

rebels against God, [I orig. morthe]

wo worthe¹ that worm, that euer it drue brethe, 470 473 476

"That betwyx sowll and spryt hath put dissention, thorow which the sowll is banychid cleyn, that with the spryt of god afore was in vnion; 477
in paradyce now it must no mor be seyn:
in the same case our rebellious beyn,
eiect for breking godis ordinans,
and greuously accursyd for ther disobediena.

"The spryt is desolat from thes rebellious, 484
& called woman, for lak of a make,
which in the apocalipis, in pay[n]s dolorus,
to bryng forth and be deleyered doth tak
great payns; and this is for our sake,
promysed by god, that the womans seyd
shold distroyd and breke this fals serpentis heyd.

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

"This is antichrist, the howr of babylon, 501
spoke of agayn in this same bok;
waching the woman hir chylidis destruction,
whom god from heuin preseruid and toke.
it is the son of man, yf you lyst to lok,
this world for to ruell, with the yron rod.
this must be true, yt is both man and god.

"And here doth your prophesy take effect, 505
agaynst the son of man sedecially to ryce.
yf scripture be true, they shalbe subiect;
for we, taking godis part, must them dispyce.
thes be our papystes rotyd in malis,
waching godis word as ner as they can,
whych now is come forth by the son of man.

APPENDIX I. THE PIGFLYMS TALE.

[Leaf xii]
APPENDIX I. THE PILGRIM'S TALE.

“Moses dyd fygure the kyng apon ethe, 547
segni fyeng 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.

“Paul spekis, whan he wryttys to thymothys,
& shows the mis[.]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 paul tretnis them to be ouer-trown,
as Ianes & mambres were at that season;
& from hensforth openly to be known
there ingnorant folyche rebellion,
of the spryt of god hauyng non intellction,
but resisting moses, godis minister,
folowyng antichrist out of godis order.

“Thees things are wrytten for our instruction,—
so hath paul to the corinthians,—
and shows how many hath suffreth distruction,
which crepyd not vnder godis gouernans.
our rebellious, I trow, be alians
to dathan1 and abiron, the trueth to tell,
for resistinge moses that sock 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 repunge the gospell.”

“thuche !” quod he, “ther was no suche man
gotyn by the deyyll sense the world began ;

1 orig. dathan
APPENDIX I. THE PILGRIM'S TALE.

and euyn so dyd he fygure the sone,
from whom all light and knowleg doth come.
& now do I say that merlyn was a donine ¹,
& no deuyll, as deuils determine;
for if he were a fend, & spok carnally,
necessyte compells it a fals prophesy;
but thus dyd he take the spryt for heuyn king,
which in the sowll shold haue his byding.
& now doth the mon losse hir light,
ot ressayuing the spryt aganst all right;
for that sowll is perished and ded
where the spryt of god is not hed.
& this is euenn it, the vnnaturall thinge,
out of his awn realm to baniche the kyang;
for christ is a kyang, god, & man,
& also a pryst, as I lear cane.
mark of his kyangdom, Iohn his diuinite,
luke of his prysthod, mathu the humanite,
dyd wryt; & theryfore take hed,
for theses 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 banched from his kyangdom,
wer of babylon hath rygned howrdom,
the lyon, the oxe, the man, & the faulcon.
all theses in on be son of man,
prophysed to ruelle 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 mysticall 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 mysticall 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 heu enly;
& as moche mistery of the wordis rysyng
as euer was of christis comyng."

Martha's and Bede's prophesies

mean that the Pope is Antichrist and the Whore of Babylon, and shall fall.

"I am satisfied," quod I, "what merlyn ment."
"bede," sayd he, "coms euyn to the same entent;
for all the desyr 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 dome,
then after that, all quiet & queume.
the true minister, lying a mort longe,
shold his owne autorte in-to his hond fonge."

& then he asked me and I were cantibrygion.

"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 magnus studium quod floret ad vada bonum
ante finem seculi, &c."

"I haue herd it," quod I, "full oft a-forne,
and therto my-selue on a boke sworn,
neuer with-in stamford to reyd logyk,
diuinite, phylosophy, ner yet retoryk;
for for that oxford, which once was floryching,
shold remoue to stamford for gud learnyng."
"I told you before there was crafty wyttis,
and thus he sayd apon both the partis;
for they that inuentyd that othere fryst,
of god him selue be accurst.
ther was a prouerbe I knew wan,
callyd '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 thoughpe spiritually he had known no feling;
but thus this prophesie is vnderstond,
that oxford now, which is bond
vnder the howr, the monserus beast,
& is here ford for most and least
that there doth pease thorow any degre,
mantenythe babylon vttterly;
sau the good yoth begyns to spryng,
and of the well of lyf to haue tastyn—
which water chrest promysyd than
at Iacobs well to the samaritane,—
and leuis the slechy podell, full of frogis,
to the old cenkanter phariziecall dogs,
where-in ther delye is spytfull chyding;
I beske god send them a mending,
to fulfyll the prophesie thorow the ford of stone,
in which pathe-way chrest byld apon,
and leaue ther falshed, craft, and lyes,
suffering the word of god to ryse."
with that he stod, and toke his leue,
dissirying me my-selue not greue
of his taryng, 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 flet of norwey me to sayn.
he sayd he durst not it dis[cl]ose,
but bad me reyd the 'romant of the rose,'
the thred leafe, Iust from the end
to the secund page, ther he dyd me send;

THYNNE.
wher I shold se mater plenty ynoghe,
sawe only vnder the coler of the wolfe
is conferyd al the stinking fuet—
so the hunters call it whan 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, whan he flys on hye,
in the calue or the oxe mistaris be;
as well in the old tyme there fation & gyes,
as of his awn-selue the sacrifice;
but the wolfe wol neuer owtt of his hyd,
tyll first he be flayn both bely, bak, & syd.
he prayd me thes vi. stauis for to marke,
whiche be chauncers awn hand wark:—
¶ Thus moche woll our boke sygnify,
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 bylynd.

¶ And by & by he doth away fie,
& conuys him-selue as it had neuer beyn he;
but I beseeke 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.]
APPENDIX II, p. 23.

LEGITIMATION OF JOHN OF GAUNT'S CHILDREN BY
KATHERINE SWYNFORD.


28. Fait a remembrer, que le Maresdy, le quinzisme 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 habliz & 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 poir 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. Laquele 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 Anglice & Francie, & Dominus Hibernie, carissimis Consanguineis nostris nobilibus Viris, Johanni, Militi; Henrico Clerico; Thome, Domicello; ac dilecte Nobis nobili Mulieri Johanne Beauford, Domicelle, germanis precarissimi Avunculi nostri nobilibis Viri Johannis Ducis Lancastrie natis, ligies 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.
sui maturitate consili, undique decoramur congruum arbitramur & dignum, ut meritorum suorum intuuit, ac graciosa contemplatione personarum, vos qui magne probitatis ingenium vite, ac morum honestate fulgetis, & ex regali estis prosapia propagati pluribusque virtutibus, munereque insigniti divino, specialis prerogative munimine favoris & gratie secundemus. Hinc est, quod dicit 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 quicumque 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 inmediate a Nobis dependant seu teneantur, prefici, promoveri, eligi, assumi, & admirari, illaque recipere, retinere, gerere, & excercere, provide, libere, & licite, ac si de legitimo thoro nati existeretis, quibuscumque Statutis seu Consuetudinibus Regni nostri Anglie in contrarium editis, seu observatis, que hic habemus pro totaliter expressis, nequaquam obstantibus; de plenitudine nostre Regalis Potestatis, & de assensu Parliamenti nostri, tenere presentium dispensamur. Vosque & vestrum quemlibet Natalibus restituimus & legitimamus.”

[For a translation of this document, and an account of Katherine Swynford and her family, see Eseerpta Historica, 152-9, 427-8.]
APPENDIX III, p. 69.

PROLOGUE TO THE SPURIOUS PLOWMANS TALE

Thynne, ed. 1542, Fol. cxix.

¶ Here begynneth the Plowmans Prologue.

The Plowman
The Plowman plucked vp his plowe
whan mydsumner mone was come in,
And sayd his beastes 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 scripphe he bare both breed and lekes;
He was forswonke and all forswatte;
Men might have sene through both his chekes,
And everie wangi toth, and where it sat.

1 The Plowmans Tale was first printed separately by
Thomas Godfrey in folio, without date, but about 1532-35,
probably under W. Thynne's care. Why it was omitted from
the edition of 1532 does not appear, unless F. Thynne's report
of his father having been compelled to omit the Pilgrims Tale
from his first edition be a mistake, based on the fact that the
Plowmans Tale was omitted from that edition for some such
reason as is alleged, though printed separately at the same
press. From this separate edition (of which the only remain-
ing copy, formerly Askew's, Farmer's, and Heber's, is now at
Britwell) it was reprinted in W. Thynne's second edition of
Chaucer's works in 1542, and separately in octavo by W.
Powell, about 1547-8.—H. Bradshaw.

2 Mr Sket printed this prologue from the undated edition
(of 1550), in his Notes to Piers the Plowmans 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.

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 quench  4 read speketh  5 once
APPENDIX IV.

[Ashmole MS. 766, leaf 5, back:]

A discourse vpon the lord Burghleyghe his creste.

[BY FRANCIS THYNNE.]

[Lord Burghley’s Crest, blazon’d, a sheaf of golden corn, supported by two lions rampant, the left one white, for silver, the right one, blue: the whole surrounded by the Garter, with its motto ‘Honi soit qui mal y pense’.

(1)

When burninge sonne with gleames of golden lighte
had closed his spreiding beames to take his reste,
And darksome shade had brought in dolefull nighte
with sable clooke vpon his slepinge breste,
with cristalle starres twinklinge in azur’d skye,
whiche slombringe dyes, to rest-fuil bedde I flie.

(2)

The tyme, I gesse, when Titans ruddy chaire
did kepe his course in equall pyesed weyte,
with lowe descent enforced to repayre
to Libras house, where Equinoctiall strayte
with just proporcions cuttes the night & daye
in nombred howres a-lyke for Phoebus waye.

(3)

When dolefull mynde & wery lymmes were layed
to quiet rest in softe and carefull bedde,
my wretched state my moorninge brest dismayed,
hopelesse of helpe, since craftye faythlesse hedde
had woen the meane by powre for to subdue
that honest harte whome enuye did pursue.}

1 The whole 88 leaves are by Fr. Thynne, whose name also appears at the end of the book. All is in verse. The hand is difficult to decipher.—G. PARKER.

2 Compare the thrice-repeated motto on p. xlix, above. Note the bookes, his ‘surest frendes,’ p. 106, l. 99, and his mention of Chaucer, p. 114, l. 411.
APP. IV. F. THYNNE ON LORD BURGHELEY'S CREST.

(4)
Yet, with this hevye care, a wakefull slepe
posset my shuyeringe corps in depe dispayre;
for weylinge sorrowe whiche in hart did crepe
(by heawy vapours thicker then the ayre,)
so noom'd my musinge wittes, & chokd the breyne, 22
that sloombringe must the yeldinge hart distreine. 24

(5)
In whiche uncerene 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; 28
for, lo! the Dragon with quick-sluerd face
approachd my sight with wise & plesant grace,

(6)
Cladde in a slender lawne to ease his peyne,
when with quicke spede he skowretethe from the skye,
with winged hedde & fete, with sugred veyne,
with rodde devyne, & mase of maiestye, 34
whose heuenely voyce, after a little staye,
this future good from goddes above did saye: — 36

[leaf 5, back]
(7)
“What meanes thy forginge breyne, with pointe devise
to turne her tender nett with dolefull thoughte?
what nedes thou thus with care to be so nyce,
since all thy toyllinge peine shall serve for noughte? 40
for one ther lyves, yt thou canst finde his name,
whose wyse forecaste may well advance thy fame.

(8)
“He is the lowest, and stalld in mydelle place,
and by the course of heauen rules next the beste;
sett next the higheste, whose flaminge selyninge face,
In Ceres shape dothe by Diana reste, 46
and Azurd skye supported to his prayse,
whose lyvinge fame shall blome in following dayes.

(9)
“Him serche thowe forthe, as worthiest in this lande,
vnder that one which secret wonder bredes,
for to enjoye thy sweate of workinge hande;
for frome his heuenely mynde alwayes procedes 52
a curteous harte, for to accept in gree
those frendly shewes whiche oft presented bee.” 54

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

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

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

For nowe my former dreame was quite exild,
my wandringe writtes 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 releife,
so newe conceytes abandonde my olde greife.

This solettes soyle where buylde was my yoye,
bedecked with natures scuerall tapestrye,
was farre vnyke that deintye gaden ioye,¹
which quene Semiramis did edyfye,
where gaden² godd freshe Priapus did reste,
with his fayre nymphes to weyte yppon his reste.

ne lyke the stately seate and fertill grownde
of Bell-vider, plaed in riche Italye,
where rare strange showes do plentuously abounde,
where pleasures all doo fede the curious eye;
but this smale clokke is suche as woorkes myne ease,
when hery dompe wolde mery hart displeasce.

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

(17)
Where settled downe emongest the wisest sorte,
& surest frendes that menne fynde now in vre,—
I meane my bookes, the whiche for my disporte,
do lerninge, wysdome, trothe, & mirthe, procure—
I raughte for the one, wherby I might discerne
the course of heauen) 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 fartall 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)
[leaf]
Els, toylinge hinde, lay downe thy cuttinge plowe,
lett herbes and trees surrender all their mighte;
lett godd Apollo with his cunninge [Crowe,
and ]Esculapius 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 thy sterne,
lett saylinge shippes flote one the raginge foddle,
throwe backe thy cardre and nedle (to discerne
the northen poole) dipt in the adamantes blodde;
for yf the starres guyde not thy hidden waye,
to cooestes vknownen hed-longe thy barke wold stray.—

(21)
The Author whiche to reade I vnderstoake,
ahas gathered rules of the celestiall sphere;
and as I chancd yppon 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,

1 ? MS. b
2 MS. was
(22)
Where Luna firste, as loweste of them aH,
her rume posseste; next Mercurey the wise;
the thirde seate to faire Venus lott did faß;
the forthe vnto the golden sonne did ryse;
the fefte by course did blodye Mars possesse;
the nexte save one dothe Jupiter expressse.

(23)
And markinge this, I ganne recorde in harte
the former riddle Mercurey 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.

(24)
The lower place the siluer Luna kepte,
a bodye firme, that ruleth aH alone;
the golden sonne into the middest is lepte,
a perfecte governour, that nedeth none
to gyve hym syde; then Jove, as well as theye,
nedlesse of helpe dothe beare a rulinge swaye.

(25)
These thre distincte as goddes of sondrye mighte
colde not bee hee whom Mercreye did Deame:
he spake of one, and these are thre in sighte;
thre is not one, and these yet well might seme
to have byz they, yf he had tolde of more;
But he nce spake but of one manne before.

(26)
This colde not bee the meaninge of his mynde;
suche hidden tales the goddes wold not power oute
to mortall menne, whose wittes were not assinde
(lyke Oedipus) to loose eche subtilt dopte;
yet well I knewe the goddes vsde this pretence,
answere to gyve in speche of doble sence;

(27)
Witnesse therof the woo-full greciañe knighte,
to whom the Oracle in dobt-full speake,
shey’d to Gacides, when he sholde fighte,
suche doble dome as fallay lyfe did breake,
who, hoopinge victrye by their sacred reede,
yet lost the fielde when truthe the goddes decreed.
(28)
And though I wanted happye Josephs arte,
kinge Pharaohs dreame so lively to expayne,
and of the holy Daniell lackd the harte,
thassiryan kingsdome to devyde in twyne,
And was deprui'd of all the dreninge skil
whiche did Sinesius and Gregorius fift.  

(29)
Yet pondring moore what this darkke speche might bee—
for hevenly goddes, in veyne do neuer sende
suche warninge sightes as then apperd to mee,
for perfectnes worke no imperfecte ende,—
I was resolu'd, by healpe of heuenly seate,
this hidden dopte to open lighte to beate;  

(30)
For mov'd with secrete fancye in my hedde,
(thoughe reasons grownde ledde me not therunto,)
the same suche depe impressione in mee bredde,
as from thee workinge breyne yt mighte not goo,
but that Mercurius, in somne secret thoughte,
by these three planettes had this purpose wroughte.  

(31)
Thus still pursuynge onne my former Brayde,
(for fleetinge witnes no perfecte judgemente geye,)
I manye tymes with deeper muse assayed,
for longe contynuance dothe the depe atteyne,
wherbye at lengte the wyshed ende I wonne,
for endles labor endes the worke begonne.  

(32)
And prouerbe olde was not deuis'd in veyne,
that 'roolinge stone doth neuer gather mosse:'
who lightly leaves in myddest of all his peine,
his former labor frustrates with his losse;
but who contynues as he did begynne,
with equall course the pointed goale doth wyne.  

(33)
The course I kepe 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.
APP. IV. F. THYNNE ON LORD BURGHLEY’S CREST.

(34)

Fyrst I devise’d—when I had v[i]ewed their seat,
to answere righte this ridles outwarde shewe,—
that Sol in middest did yeld for the staming heate,
& Luna water colde, and frostye dewe;
for I was taughte that thus these planettes mente,
whiche hidden thinges doo seme to represente.

(35)

This sonke not depe in mynde, for reasonse tolde—
two contraryes in one canne neuer reste:
howe canne the burninge heate agree with colde?
so this conceyte yet springinge was suppresse.—
and then I thoughte what weyled thinge might lye
vnder the same, in righte philosophye.

(36)

That true and secret skill Voarchoadumye ² [?] 
perfectly vsd by grace of heuenely sprite, 
(for, with-oute that, tis subtilly vanytie, 
and mere deceyte vnfyte for skilles wighte,) 
strayte tolde my wytte, whiche I will here vnfold, 
what secret mystrye heauenly planetts holde.

(37)

The horn’d Diana chaste, is siluer brighte, 
whiche waninge moone dothe vnto vs bewraye; 
the sceptred Sol, with steames of shyninge lighte, 
the horded metall golde dothe here displaye; 
the Crowned Jove, as dothe don Phaeto tell, 
is inglishe Tynne, whiche dothe emongest vs dwelly.

(38)

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

(39)

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

¹ veiled ² MS. Voarchadymye altered.
For wyse Mercurius is so quicke by kinde, and gredy, hungrye, that he will devoure golde, siluer, Tynne; and with their powre him bynde all in one bodye, lesse then in an howre, and vnder this, wāche I dare not expresse, lyes hidden thinges wāche I doo leave to gesse.

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

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

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

for welthy Phebe lendes store of stampèd golde; And Cynthia guydes the lyfe and helthfull state; Phelon, fortune and gourmes e doth holde; all wāche three gyftes mighte dwell in one by fate, for by theaspectes and yoyninge of the same, these planettes do their vertuues in vs frame.

When this devise had perçed my conceyte, that theis three goddes mighte powre forthe in one man these seuerall blessinges, & then wayinge streyte their seuerall place in Sphere as I did skanne, swete helpeinge comforte cladde my hart in hoope that further skill wolde hitt the fynall scope.
APP. IV. F. THYNNE ON LORD BURGHLEY'S CREST.  111

(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, vpon 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, with humble sute,
to skylfull herauldes syde to haue repayre,
to see what thinges they did to them depute;
where I was rydde from all my longe disspaire,
for blason sayed in Armes the trycke them thus,
as more at large my penne shall here dyscusses:

(48)
The lowest, Luna, with her perle, dost stande
for 'Argente or white,' a coolor fayre to viewe
the mydelle, 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 azurde shewe to bee.

(49)
When this was blasde, I rede no longer staye
to plodde & prowle aboute this hidden thinge,
there rested noughte, by this disclosed waye,
but all these three into one forme to bringe,
and lerne yt one mannes armes or crest might shewe
these thre riche coolors, borne but of a fewe.

(50)
And turninge ofte an olde armoriall booke,
after discourse of manye soundrye cootes—
whiche Auncientes scotchions I did ouer-looke—
with hidden pointes of armories secret notes;
emongest the noblest crestes by vertue rare,
I founde a wighte suche worthy creste 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, wereblas'd in his creste
by whiche devysse that courtely I fynde,
whiche tolde the hydden vertues of his mynde.
For fyrste, in philosophye, by hym is borne
the lyons two, of siluer and of tynne,
whiche dothe supporte a golden garbe of corne.
next, with Astronomye for to begynne,
two lyons of lune & Jupiter he beares,
holdinge a sheafe of Sol with glyestring eares.

Then to discende to secretes hearalde veyne,
in vertuous stones, where lerned cunynge was,
of orient perle and Saphyre, lyons tweine,
whiche do advance a garbe of riche Toopas.
whiche lower yet as I must streyne my quilte,
in coolors thus do blase theire hidden skill.

Two princely beastses he beares of corage bolde,
of argent white, and color'd azure blewe,
holdinge a garbe of ore whiche they caff golde,
& thus ech one dothe Stibons mynde pursue,
for by decypheringe of these seuerall artes,
are drawen 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 metallis brighte
do answere inste the vertue of his harte,—
yt restes to saye, and so to yoyne the same,
with-oute lewde blemyshe to his flowering fame:

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

Thus lowest nowe he is by course of kinde,
and then advanc'd to place of myddle state;
for as the sonne in myddle sphere wee fynde,
so is he stald, by dome of heauenly fate,
in myddest of worthye geintres seuente degree,
a lordly baron of noblyttie.
APP. IV.  F. THYNNE ON LORD BURGHLEY’S CREST.  113

(58)
In which two thinges, with Hermes I consente,
the middle and the lowest ar in sighte.
nowe nothinge wantes to fill vp his entente,
but next to one for to be brought to lighte; 346
then is faire Maias¹ sonnes darke hidden dopte,
by darke and princely heroldes skill founde oute. 348

(59)
The famous manne which gyues this goodly creste,
by wysdomes force, next one beares chefest swaye;
good vertue hym advanced aboue the reste,
one whom grave counsells burden semes to staye; 352
he reynes and rules; he careth for vs ait;
his depe fore-sight preuenties our thretned fall. 354  [leaf 15]

(60)
fly Trimagistus, fye! goo hyde thy face!
thy subtill wytte is knowne to mortall menne;
the myvia nowe hathe lost his wondring grace;
thy darke’n speche in everye poynete wee skanne; 358
& I haue founde one manne which rests allonne,
lowest and myddle, and highest next one. 360

(61)
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, nobilitye; 364
his lyon Jupiter, in seconde Sphere,
is seconde rule, whiche he dothe justly bere.

(62)
for as the golden sheafe is vanc’d there,
by beastes of seuerall hue, as her cheife holde,
so quene and ladye Justice every-where
maynteyned is by bulwarikes doble folde,
where wisdome and good gouernemente dothe guyde
the rulinge sterne, in calme or boystrous tyde. 370

(63)
This thinges disclos’d, that Mercury had sayned;
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, 376
my gladded sprite redoubled all his yoye
that suche a patron sholdie my woorkes enyoye.

¹ MS. Maras.
(64)  
As for his lerned skyl 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 ech wight alvyve,  
1deserues farr bett1 then my rude muse may gyve.  

(65)  
But what vse I suche needes speche in veyne,  
(to seyme to close as cuill tonges will deme,)  
when his wyse woorkes, more famous praise do geine 387  
than I canne speke, whiche meymed make them seme;  
And Syracke sayses emongest his lerned sawes,  
“prayse no manne, whi[1]st his vitall brethe he drawes.”

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

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

(68)  
Whose golden lettres, ringe into eache care  
a golden sentence, worthye to be toughte,  
who[se] princely worde this inglishe sence doth beare,  
‘yll be to hym whiche any yll hath thoughte;’  
and so, my lorde, reyecet not this withte hate,  
for nought is mente but honor to your state.

(69)  
By this poore penne of me, vsnkillfull wighte,  
that here presentes vsnto your lerned vewe  
sir Thopas ryme, not fytt for Chaucers sigte,  
in whom the Muses do their force renewe;  
for in eche gyfte, yt is the chefeate parte  
to way the mynde and take the thayftfull harte.

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 brittel glass is wholesome wyne conteynde;
in peinted talke, and woordes of highe pretence,
dissembling lurkes, with falshoodde vile disteynde;
but as my future followinge dedes do craue,
so lett desertes their guerdoune due to have.

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

finis

Francis Thynne.

(Then follows:—A discours vpon the philosophes Armes.

The sacred booke dothe truly tell in speche of heuenly penne
whiche holy Daniell did unfold 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 fellowshippe perfected fyrst wee finde
by Philippe duke of Burgundye, in yere as comes to mynde,
A thousands fowre hundred twentye nyne, vnto whiche knyghtes he gaue
a color of golde, brethynge forthe fyer from fiinte, 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\(^1\) sayth 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 betwen the twoe battelles shalbe never a stroke stoken. Then A pilgrimage to marye in Aken of womens shalbe wofullly sought; & after the mylde countinaunce of this, m[arye] shall depart from kenyngale, to which she tooke hir waye, and towadeth the light she shalf bare A countinuale heat. A man of bondes she shalft release by menes Judgment. in hir yere shalbe many Tyrantes abrode that were in bondes, & they shall sitt strayt in Judgment to opresse the light.

A welch-man called Robart locke vppon the liij yeare: G. beinge dominycall later. he did recyte that A woman wythes shoulde regne in Cadwaladors seat, and do out the heate of the somer, and cause paynted cloudes to seme bright after the metinge of A lord & A lady in on daye.

these plages shall not ceasse untill the man god hace the full tuicion and strength, and his ministers shall have greate gyftes. And yet I beheld on woman,

\(^1\) Talissin.
the wife of two men, gyvinge hir honor to the man god; & asse for xxx
dayes shall he execut fyre & sword; & I loked toward the Santuary, & ther I sawe the throne of the vknown god, & the wicked having the vpper hand, whetting ther tussch like bores in blude.

David Apian sayth these wordes: "in liiij\textsuperscript{th} I sawe the lyonesse execute great judgment. I beheld when this troble begane, ther weir fyve wicked monthe, & in the v wicked monthe I sawe xxx\textsuperscript{u} euall dayes. out of heaven I beheld A white lambe, and a great scroll in his hand, and mens names writte in with blod, & yet I sawe the Eagles chicken layng hand vpon the croune & Septer, and executed the sword with bloud xij dayes together; & in these dayes the counsell of the prisoner shalbe swefter then the wynd. & I beheld A white hare standinge in judgment in Ceasars house, & caste a grime countenaunce A-gaynste the former Witt of the ffox, & he ceased not vntill he conveyed the ffox cleane, & no man again in britaine shalbe comred 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 reioysed, & 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 be-held another sorowe more grevoso then the fyrst: great crye wase ther Amongest women betwen the hiest of the sonne & the reping of the corne."

Edward Aprian Trevar for the liiij\textsuperscript{th} yere also sayth: "wher is the lionesse that executed iustes falsly? for Thomas Bynynyes (?) sayth that anne arrow shalbe the destruction of thangry lyonesse."

"Edward Apove\textsuperscript{H} sayth that the tong shall cleaue to the roffe of hir mouthi, & the arrowe that shal strike
hir is death, & [she] shall [have] no tyme of Inward repentance, but shall deliver hir seyle to mans merits: then shall the bright Cler sonne begyne to aperen.

Also Robert Duce in the same liiiith yere sayth, "that A dead man shal Aryse, a kynge whose generation was of a dunne cowe, and generated out of the sea, & this kynge shalbe governed one yere by an anungel. vpon Eeoward the vj thy time is come; the profisie sayth then necessarlye for god, thou must lose that which other men haue mad strayght; & unringed 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 enjoye the crowne, & vsee 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 commandement on payne of death to kyll all that were with the pye, the pykerd, & the fulmer; for aff that shalbe kylled are knowne by ther marke; and then shalbe seene many A blodye Rochet, & the lione shal hunt the1 borne out of his denne.

"An I. & a Roche shal blede to dethe for their traterous plaie, & the yelowe lyone tongles also shall suffer execution, & many also of the affutie2 of the blodye pie; & Immediatelye shal euery man enjoye his owne wife a-gayne; & I did se the hedd of the world cleane vanishe awaye, and his dignitye cleane banished out of England. and A chyld with A chaplett had againe in his owne honor;" and Robert Duce speakeseth no more of the liiiith, yet he sayth that "the dead man that neuer woman sawe borne, nor neuer
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 strengthe & natur of A dunne cowe, and that lyon shalbe gouerned by an Angell, which Angell shal flde to death. And in the liijth yere thes lyon shalbe gotten. but verye few shall fynd him, & he shalbe awaie xvij monthes; and after xvij monthes hee shall come agayn, 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 lxxvj of the house of Tuheodre that shal gue Armes, & Edward is his name & he shal[e] crownid Twyse in Englonde & once at Rome.

Merleon le Paule sayth “he shalbe the stronge bull that shal ente in the yerly wynter, & he shal destroye the hedd of the world; & by this tokenes shal you knowe him, for he shal neuer be borne of A woman, his name shalbe Edward of the house of Tuheodore, & he shalbe bakyngge xviij score dayes, lx dayes, & xl dayes, & thene shall he entyer in-to Britaine with thre grevous bestes, A redd lyon, A redd dragone, & A white graye-hownd; & then shall the land of the mone rejoyce.”

Iohe Aprobardwyn sayth “the sonne of man is caled A commone proverbe maledene steremone for the generation of the Theodore, otherwise caled tewthers, came out of Englonde; and yt is proffesid of him that he should kyll his mother, & yet shall have hir blesinge, & the blesinge of god and the britanes. & he shall make glade the people that shalbe out-castes in those dayes, & he shall labour to se the sedde of the egle; but he shall neuer fynd him, nor neuer anye after him,

¹ MS. propised
& shall make A swifte requiring for the shepherdes that he lefte be-hind him. then shalF euerye man to his owne livinge agayn, & stablishe a lawe in Britaine. ther is no more to speake of him that is caled Edward in the lizijth yeare; but in the lvyth yere he shall go forth to conquer; & or he shall cease, he shall plant a trve religion in syx kyngdons, & shalH make A vniuer-sall 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 26]

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 shalF suffer his people live in to moche pryde with-out chastisinge, wherfor god wilbe wrothe ¶ Thenne shalF aryse vp a dragon of the north that shalF be full fere / & shalF move warre agaynst the forsayd moule warpe / & shalF yeue him battell vpon a stone. Thys dragon shalF gader ayene into his company a wolfe, that shalF come out of the west to move warre againste the forsayd mold warpe in his side / so shalF the dragone, & bynd their1 tayles to-gyders ¶ Then shalF come A lyon out of Ireland / that shalF fall in company with them; And thene shalF tremble the londe that shalbe caled

1 MS. their the
Englund, as an aspen lefe / & in that time shall
Casteles be selled downe ypon Tamyse. & yt shall seme
that Seuerne shalbe drye / for the bodyes that shall [be]
deed ther-in, The fower chefe floudes in England shall
run in bode, & great dread shalbe, & anguish, that
shall Arise.

After the mold warpe shall flee, &
the dragon; The lyone, & the wolfe, shall them drue
Awyae, & the lyone shalbe without them, & the mold
warp shall haue no maner of power, save only a shippe
wherto he maye winder, & after that he shall goo to
lond where the see is withdrawne; & after that, he
shall geue the third part of his londe, for to haue the
fourth part in pease & in rest; & after he shall lye in
sorowe al his lyftime; & in his tyme the hott bathes
shalbe could, & after that the mold warpe dye, Auentur-
ously & sodenly. Alase for sorrow! for he shalbe
drowned in A flode of the sea. his sed shalbe-com-e
fatherles in strang lond for ever-more; & then shalle 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-more. & then shall this lond be called the
lond of conquete, & so shall the ryght heyers of Eng-
lond End."
APPENDIX VI.

THOMAS CHAUCER'S COMPLAINT ON PARTING
FROM HIS WIFE, WHEN HE WENT ON
EMBASSY TO FRANCE.

WRITTEN BY LYDGATE.

[ Ashmole MS. 59, copied by Shirley, leaf 45, back. ]

Here folowpe neext a compleynente made by Lydagte for
pe departing of Thomas Chaucier in-to fraunce by
hes servauntz vpon pe kynges ambassate.

Every maner creature
disposed vn-to gentylesse
Boope of kynde and of nature,
Haje in his hert moste gladnesse
for tabyde / in sooepastnesse
Where pat his ioye is moste entiere;
And I live ever in hevynesse,
But whane I. seo my ladye dere.

Æ Ecke every wight / of every kynde,
is gladde and mury for to abyde,
Whe[n] pat his wille / bope thought and mynde /
Beo fully sette / on every syde:
And where so / pat I. goo or ryde.
I ne cane be gladde / in no maners,
As god and fortune list provyde,
But whane I see / my ladye dere.

1 Heading to this page, Æ absence of Thom[a]s Chaucier
by Lidegate.
APP. VI. TH. CHAUCER'S COMPLAINT ON PARTING FROM HIS WIFE. 123

¶ Who parteþe oute / of Paradys / frome þat place / so ful of glorie, Where as mirth, is moste of pryse,
And ioye hap[e], souereine victorie / What wonder, whane he hape memorie Of al, þat he beo dul of chere / for I. am ever in Purgatorie,
But whane I. see my ladye dere / 24

¶ þe sterres of þe heglie heven ffreyst shyne / vn-to oure sight, And þe planetys eke. alle seven,
Moste fulsomly / give þeire sight, And Phesus, with hees beemis bright, Gladdest shyneþe / in his spere / But I. am never / gladde ne light,
Save whane I. see my ladye dere / 32

¶ Eke phesus, in oure emysper / Aftter þe derknes of þe night, At his vprist, yolowe as golde clere,
Early on morowe / of kyndely right, 36 ²Whane clowdes blake / haue no might
To chace awei / þe clowdes clere / Right so frome sorowe I. stonde vpriȝt,
Whane þat I. see / my ladye dere / 40

¶ þe fœoles þat flyen, in þe ayre, And fresely singe / and mirthes make
In May þe sesoun. is so fayre,
With al right / hem aȝght awake, 44
Reiȝte þe ech one / with his make /
With þeire hevenly notes clere /
Right so al sorowe / in me döþe slake,
Whane þat I. see. my³ ladye dere / 48

¹ MS. every. ² MS. has heading to this page, ¶ Balade by Lidgate. ³ MS. my my.
APP. VI. TH. CHAUCER'S COMPLAINT ON PARTING FROM HIS WIFE.

"If be herte, pe hynde / in wylde forest \\
Moste lusty beo / of peire courage \\
And every. oþer maner beeete, \\
Boþo pe tame / and eke sauvage, \\
Stonden moste at avantage \\
In lavndes whane pey reine efoere, \\
þus ever gladde / is my visage, \\
Whanne þat I. see / my ladye deere."

"If I. haue seyne / þat. buk / and doo / \\
Amonge þo holtis / hoore and graye, \\
þe Reyndere / and þe wylde Roo / \\
In mershes / haue þeire moste playe, \\
Where þey bee voyde frome al afferaye / \\
Right even soo with-outen were, \\
Myne hert is gladde / boþe night and daye, \\
Whane I. looke / on my ladye deere /"

"What is a fyshe oute of þe see / \\
For alle heos seles / silver sheene, \\
But dede anoone (as man may see. \\
Or in Ryvers cristal. clene / \\
Pyke or tenche with fynnes grene, \\
Oute of þe water whane þey peere / \\
þus drede / dareþer myyn herte keene, \\
þere I. seo nouzt / my ladye dere /

"þe Ruby stant best in þe ring; \\
of golde whane it is poliisht newe; \\
þemerande is aye wele lasting \\
Whilst it abydeþe / with hert truwe; \\
þe saphire with his hevenly huwe

"Makeþe gounded eyene clere; \\
þus my ioye / doþe ay renuwe, \\
Whane þat I. see my ladye dere."

¹ MS. has heading to this page, ² Lydgate / see my ladye dere.
APP. VI. TH. CHAUCER'S COMPLAINT ON PARTING FROM HIS WIFE. 125

† Of flowres on faire stalkes vnclose,
Springinge / in faire bawmy mede;
Of lilies, and faire swate roos,
Of dayeseyes / who takepe hede.
Whane Phoebus / dope his beemis vnspred
In somer / as men may wele leere /
So gladde am I. in thought and dede /
Whane †at I. seethe my ladye dere / 88

† In somer whane I seethe / faire sheene¹ sothe / 92
Happe shewed bright a grete space,
And towards night, faire skies done,
His cleennesse / dope aweye chace /
Right so dedly / and pale of face /
Mortal of looke / and sory chere /
I. waxst, suche woo / me did embrace
At parting. of my ladye deere /

‡ Summe folke / in signe of hardynesse,
²Take hem to colour †at is rede / [leaf 47, back]
And summe, in tokenyng of clennesse / 96
Weren white / yee may take hede ;
And summe, grene / for lustynesse ;
But I elles / in blacke appere,
And ever shaff / in sorowes dere,
Til †at I. see my ladye dere / 100

‡ Now god †at art so eternal
And hast al thing in governaunce,
And arte also / Inmortal,
Stabled withoute variaunce ; 108
 yöe guyde, lorde / so my chaunce /
Of yö power / moste entiere /
 yöe sone abregge my penauce,
†at I may see / my lady dere /

¹ MS. I sheene.
² MS. heading, Lidegate.
Go litel bille / in lowly wyse,
Vn-to myne hertis souereyne /
And preye to hir / for til devyse
Sumne relees / of my mortal peyne;
Whane you art at hir. you reste ne feyne
Only of pitee / hir to requere,
Dat 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 reaynge
to take it gentylly.
she dyd nothing repyn.
Wherefore 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.
agaynst my will I do in ded.
couet that thing that will not be.
My fanzy alas doth me so bynd
that I can se no remedy
but styll to folow my folych mind.
and couet that thing that wyl not be. [leaf xxxi, back]

I hopyd well when I began
and sens the proue is contrary.
why shold I any longer than.
couet that thing that wyl 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. 96, leaves 177-8), says that "The Societie and Corporation of the officers of Armes consisteth of xiij persons, wherof Three be Kings of Armes,—videlicet, Garter (principal King of Armes and chief Officer of Armes for the Order, having yerly fee of xi£), Clarencieux (Kinge of Armes of the East, West, and South partes of the realme of England from the ryver of Trent southward), Norroy (Kinge of Armes of the East, West, and North partes of the realme of England from the ryver of Trent Northward), Eche of them receaving yearly fee of xx pounds; Six be Heraldes of Armes—Somerset, Chester, Windeore, Richemonde, Lancaster, Yorke,—Eury of them receaving yearly fee of xx. markes; Fower be Poursuyvantes of Armes, viz. Rouge-Dragon, Rouge-Croiz, Bleu-mantle, Portcullis, Eury of them receaving yearly fee of x. pounds." Of these "Some be apoynted to direct and to governe in the Societie, as Garter . . . Clarencieux . . . and Norroy . . . Some be apoynted to be dyrected and governed, and to obey, As All the Six Heraldes, All the fower Poursuyvantes, 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, prœter infamiam, scabiei etiam, quam Gallicam vocant, obnoxia. Hic cum omnibus tentatis, quo uxorem marito reconciliiaret, nihil ageret, nec durus ille, vel affinitatem, vel liberorum communium affectu, vel sua ipsius conscientia, qui tot adulteris, qui suo neglectu occasionem dedisset, flecteretur, reliquit hominem eum deploratum. Is paulo post ex more, petasonem, aut armum suillum misit. Ceterum Joannes, nam tum Guardianum agebat, mandarat janitorii, ne quid recipieret nisi se vocata. Cum adesset munus, vocatus est: ibi famulis, qui deferebant hcri nomine, "Referta, inquit, onus vestrum unde attulistis: nos novi recipimus munera diaboli." Itaque tametsi non ignorabant illius vitam ac doctrinam esse seminarium egregium Euangeliœ pietatis, tamen quoniam non perinde conduccebat proventi culinae; jusse est deponere Guardiani munus, quo nihil ille fecit lubentius: & suffectus est illi quidam, quem ego novi, aliunde ascitus homo non dicam qualis, aut quam alteri dissimilis, in summa est mihi visus est, cui nemo prudens cauletum suum vellet committere: sive hunc obturerunt, 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 to Sir John Thynne who built Longleat (1587—1590) 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. clii. '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.
Longleat was built by him on the site of a dissolved priory. It took 12 years in building (p. clxxvii).

p. viii. Camden’s Estimate. Camden’s words in his Britannia, iii. 7, col. 2, are, “Francis Thinn, who has long pursued the study of English antiquities with equal application and judgement.”

p. ix. William Thynne rests beside his wife, &c. This ‘beside’ is more than doubtful. Col. Chester writes, “You will find the Inscription on Win 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 Hallowes register I do not find her burial recorded, I doubt not Mr Maskell is in error, and was misled by the figure of the lady on the brass. I suppose it was not contemplated that she would twice re-marry.”

p. xiv. Stowe’s licenses to beg and put alms-basins up in the City churches.

The Musists, though themselves they please,
Their Dotage els finds Neede nor Ease;
Vouch’t Spencer in that Ranke prefer’d,
Fair Acooon, only inter’d
Nigh Venerable Chaucer, lost,
Had not kind Brigham read him Cost,
Found next the doore Church-outed neere,
And yet a Knight, Arch-Lauriat Heere.

Adde Stowe late antiquarious Pen,
That annal for vngratefull Men:
Next, Chronicler, omit it not,
His licenc’t Bason little got;
Liu’d poorly where he Trophies gane,
Lies poorly There in notelesse grave.


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-xij. 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. xviij, col. 2.

He affected likewise old printed Books, and was a great Collector of them, . . the Names of divers whereof we mentioned before, An. 1568, when by Order of Council his Study was searched for Superstitious Books. p. xix.

Stow was a true Antiquarian, in that he was not satisfied with Reports, or with the Credit of what he found in Print; but had recourse to Originals. He knew how much falsehood is commonly thrust upon Readers, either by the Carelessness of Authors, or by taking up things too credulously, and upon slight Grounds, or upon 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 Hindwirds, p. xliiv.

p. xxi. Mr Martin sends me a few corrections, &c., as to Thynne's appointments: line 2, Essex, ?Sussex. Ric. ?John, Slurley. line 5, the Manor of Cleobury Barnes was in the lordship of Cleobury, parcel of the Earlom of March. Last line: Stoke Clymaldon was in the diocese of Exeter.

In the State Papers are mentions of a Mr Thynne, servant of the Earl of Hertford in 1545-6.

p. xxii. Oath of the Controller of Customs.

[Ashm. MS. 1147, iv, leaf 77.]

The Othe of the Comptroller of the Customes.

Ye shall awhere, that well and faithfully ye shall serve the kinge in thoffice of Comptroller of the Customes and the kinges Subsidies in the porre of L[bou[n]] ; and faithfully ye shall enter the things customeable which shall cum to the saide porre, or passe from the same. And that ye shall take noe gifts for your office doinge, nor for non other thinge 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 porre without payinge of due custome. And that ye shall doe the said office, and dwell vpom the same, in your proper person, without puttinge any Substitut vnder you. And ye shall write the rolles by your owne hande demesed. And the profite 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 commend me vnto your maistershipe, and am informed that ye will fynde an office of the Landes of Cristechurche to the kynges vse. Sir, I besche you that it
may please you that my Indenture of the parsonage of Lesones & Erith, which berith date the ijth day of February in the xxiij yere of the Reygne of our souerain Lorde the kyng, & ys for the space of iiiij xx xix [== 99] yerys, payng yerly yxli xiiij s iiij d therefore, may be founde in the sayd office: it is tolde me that, in case it so be, it wylbe a grete suerte to me hereafter; and in doing herof ye bynde me to do you & yours suche pore pleasure as may lye in my smale power; & besydes that, bynde me & myne to pray for you, as knoues god, who haue you in his kepyng! from Eltham this present Thursday, by the rude hande of yours at commandement.

W. Thynne.

Address, To the Right worshipfull maister Cromwoth, on of the Kynges moste honourable Counsele, this be deluyerd.

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 Cristechurch, as to valewe the parsonage of Eryth & lesones at x li; and yet notwithstanding I shalbe no sauer, for I moste, be sydes this x li, pay yerely lx s for almes corne. In this helpyng me will [= while] tyne ys, ye bynde me hereafter 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 knoues god, who contenwwe [you] in long lye & good helth: this presand saterday, by the rewed hande of your own.

W. Thynne.

Sir, the breche ys inned.

Address, To the Right worshipful maister Cromeworth, this be deluyered.

There is nothing about William Thynne in the other Calendars and Historical MSS. Commission Reports yet publish’d. References to large masses of Thynne letters, in the 16th and 17th centuries, are in the Hist. MSS. Com. 3rd Report, p. 199.

p. xxxix. The inscription on Wm. Thynne’s Tomb. Mr Maskell, author of ‘The Ancient Church of All Hallows, 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” one of the Masters of the honourable household to King Henrie VIIIth our souerain Lord. He departed from the prison of this frayle body the Xth day of August Anno Dom. 1546 in the XXXVIIIth yere of our said Soveraigne Lord the King; whose bodye, & every part thereof, in the last days 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
NOTES.

them that earnestly repent their sins everlasting life, through the death of his dearly beloved Son Jesus, to whom be everlasting praises. Amen.”

The discrepancy between the two versions Mr Maskell has kindly explained to me:—

“Emanuel Hospital, Westminster, Sept. 7, 1875.—Dear Sir, The tomb and inscription of Wm. Thynne was restored at my suggestion by the Marquess of Bath in 1860-61. When, with the assistance of one of the Churchwardens, I took a rubbing of the Memorial brass, I found the early part and many letters of the original inscription obliterated. Of the first part, only the letter y remained. Acting on my own judgment, and with the advice of others, I wrote out the inscription from the letters which remained, taking the y as the second letter of lyeth, and this was placed on the restored brass. The Marquess never saw the tomb, but I believe Messrs Waller sent him a rubbing of it. After the restoration was complete, I became acquainted with the original inscription, and I learned from it, and from an increasing knowledge of archaeology, many things of which I was very ignorant when I first began to explore the church of All-Hallows, Barking. I began to make collections towards the history of the parish, and those collections were (somewhat immaturely) published at the desire of friends. If they are worth your consulting, there is an interleaved copy in the British Museum Library. Please to remember that I call them merely ‘collections,’ and I hope they may be useful with all their imperfections to others better able to put them into a more complete shape. Thus, you will find a little about Wm Thynne, and a copy of his will on p. 50—52. This copy was taken for me by Mr George Corner, F.S.A., and was printed from his abbreviated MSS. All the early part of the volume was unfortunately corrected for the press in my absence from England, and not by me. This copy of the Will contains only the substance of the Testament, and is by no means a correct ‘orthographic’ copy.

“But to return. When I learned the true inscription from Stowe I showed it first to our churchwardens,—who would not hear of ‘Pray for the Soule,’—and then to the Ordinary, the late Archdeacon Hale. By the latter I was informed that the inscription ‘Pray for the soule’ would be illegal, and could not be restored, and I had already learned that all inscriptions savouring of purgatory had been obliterated throughout the church; I was advised therefore to let the matter rest. It never occurred to me till I saw Stowe’s work that the inscription could have begun ‘pray for the soule’ because of the very protestant character of the remainder of the Inscription.—I am faithfully yours, J. MASKELL.”

P. xlviii. “Francis Thynne never in any University.” Wood in his Athenae 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 grammaticals 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 surname 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 Cambridge, or was originally a student there before he came to Oxon, I cannot justly say.

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

“An epistle dedicatory of the booke of Armorye of Claudius Paradyne

“Dedicated to ‘sir Williams Ceciff, knighte, lorde burglheye.’

..... The thinges whiche presently I presente, I must confesse for the devyce to be but meane; for the order, of smale trasayle; for the matter, of little valure; & for the necessary use, not needfull at this instante tyme; beinge but the geneologye and mariages of the noble howes of france, a forreine Realme vnto vs.’ ‘And yet to one addicted to serche Auncient perdegrees, gyven to the honorable knowledge of Armorye..... I do not dothe but this worke of Claudius Paradyne (somewhat bewtified to the eye by my endeavor and charge, althoughme somewhat stuffed with envyous corruttione, or rather, ignorance of the authour,) may brede some sweete pleasure in thee readinge, & good profyft in the vnderstandinge (though ye be not composed in the highest style, for the manner of penninge yt; nor with the highest matter, for substance in devyngye of yt,) ye wee do but barely consider this (&c.)

..... And so I ende: from Barmondsay Streathie the 2 of Auguste 1573, your Lordships to commande to his uttermoste endeavor

Francis Thynne.’


‘A discourse vpon ye creste of the lorde Burghley.

[printed above, p. 103.]

Another discourse vpon the Philosophers Armeys.’

It begins with a description of the interpretation by Daniel of the writing on the wall during the feast given by ‘Balthasar.thassyrian kinge.’

The heathen gods are often mentioned in the poem, with coloured illustrations. Erasmus is quoted, also Guido Bonatius, king David, & ‘Plynye’: he says ‘I will defyne what thinge an eclipse is’; and a drawing of it is above.

‘Who [Cuspusiusus] says in yere frome Christe his birthre... [p. 44] A thowsande fowre hundred & fiftene, 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 fiele Donne John, which was ye sonne

of bole Philippine beinge take[n] prisoner when that battell was woonne

by Amurathes themperowr... .

and beinge broughte into that ile of ye see Euxinus

to whom the fame of historyes echone did there discusse
NOTES.

on the golden fleece of Phrixius, and that Seint Andrewe there
had fyrste the sede of Christes gospell preched in eche place where
of that same Ie, this Joynhe then beinge moued with prophecye
of a turkysh Astrologer whiche was call’d Astolgonde,
this noble order of the fleece he fyrst did take in hande ...

Mentions Colchos Isle, Melea, Jason, Morpheus, Cupid, Claudianus,
Phoebus, Deucalions thersalye, Mars, Saturn, Eolus, Hermes the Kinge,
Alexandrye, Macedonie, Tropolyme, Cleopatra, Venus, Mars, Mercurye,
Jupiter, Museus, Orpheus, Hermes, Beda, Gemini, Castor and Pollux,
Vulcan, 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
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 sprange fromthat roose the lerned Reynumd Lully,
the inglishe frier olde Bacon, & the good britishe Riplye,
with Arnold of the newe towne, & the wise & princely legate
the famous grave Sir Geffray chaucier broug[ht]e (? altered to come)
to light but of late
the morall Gower, and Bumbelim who clerkly did compose
the shyninge starr of Alchymye in romaine tong & prose.
Eke the inglishe philosopher Joynhe Garland whiche did penne
this arte in later phrase ....
Then [Thomas] Noortn .. of whome Bristowe may bragge,
in lerninge worthy to bee first, in tyme thoughge he were lagge,
as lyvinge in the yere of Christe seuyenty seuen aboue,
a thowsande and fourre hundre, as his owne wortes well do prove.
When they of trueth have not one yote but counterfeiting wayes,[388]
the whiche, Chaucer and Norton doth most plentously vufold,
And humbly thus comyttinge me & this my simple stile [3188]
Vnto your Lordshipps furtherance, for whose I did compile
this rude and indigested chaos / in lyke sort comending
You and your honorable state · to heuently Joues blessinge,
This metalls Metamorphosis · is nowe ended by meo
in yere of xx Christo a Thowsande fyue hundred seuyenty three
Francis Thynne.

The table of the auctors receted in this discourse, (2 pages,) follows—
Albertus magnus, Alanus, Anaxagoras, Aristoteles, Ars chimea,
Avicenna, .. Haly de iudicijas astrorum, Hardinge englishe cronicle
... Scala philosophorum, .. Rosarium philosophorum, .. Suidas, ..
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. H. Hart," which con-
tains petitions of prisoners in the *White Lion*, from 1628 to 1665, with correspondence thereon, and a petition of Stephen Harris in 1662, who was candidate for the post of keeper of the prison. Harris obtained his desire, and afterwards took as a partner Joseph Hall, who fell into disgrace from his wrongful actions. The paper also contains a territorial history of the White Lion from 1654 to 1798, when it was ordered to be taken down."—H. B. Wheatley.

p. 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 Fourty 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] termes, containing their beginnings and endings, as I have borrowed them from my freend John Stow, whose studie is the onelie store house of antiquities in my time, and he

¹ *Scotland’s Sover.* Svo. Lond. 1595, per totum. ² D. Episc. Eliensi.
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 Embassadors & 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,
occaisioned by m'. Thynnes singular respects to the Lord Cobham,
whose disgrace happening at the time of his publication, it seems to
have 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
remaining. 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'. Thinne 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 Kingdom &c. He composed also the Catalogues of English
Cardinals and Chancellors of England; and there remain in Mss.
divers Treatises, as a discourse of Arms, Collections of several sorts of
Antiquities, Miscellanies of the Treasury, Epitaphia siue Monumenta
sepulchrorum, Anglice et Latine quam Gallice, with Notes on, and
Corrections of, Chaucer's works, which comment on Chaucer. He had
an intention to have published as an addition to the Edition of that
Author made by his father when he was Clerk of the Kitchin to H. 8.
In the late Bp. of Ely's Library 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 Donus regni Angliae, Nomina Episcoporum in Somerset, Col-
lectanear Saxonia de donationibus a Regibus Eadfrido, Eadgaro et
Edardo. Catalogus Episcoporum Bathoñ & Welleis, a Book of
various Collections, et Commentarij de Historia et rebus Britannicis,
and a learned letter touching the Heralds. Besides these, there remain
in this Collectors custody, the following peices 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.
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 Lives 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 aboue-mentioned, and by the death of the Lord Burleigh soon afterwards; a Tract of the names and Arms of the Earl-Marshalls, with some materials relating to their power and Jurisdiction; Divers Collections out of MS. Historians, Abbey Registers, Private Evidences in 4 Volumes in fol.¹ The death of this laborious Officer is plased by m' Wood² in 1611 ; but it must happen sooner, since He never surrender'd his patent, and that to his Successor is dated in Nov. 1608."

p. 8. The Pilgrim's Tale. See Appendix I, p. 77, and Notes, below.

The other Courte of Venus is T. Rolland's, 1575 (?). On Valentine's day, gay young Esperance praises Venus, while the grave Disperance abuseth 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 conviceted, and put in the will of Venus. She orders him to be punish'd and imprison'd; but on the entreaty of Esperance, &c. remits the punishment on Disperance's promise to serve her. She christens him Dalliance; and dances, tourneys and feastings end the book, which is very prolix and dull, though luckily not very long.

p. 66. Ordeal by Fire. See William Harrison's account of the procedure in this kind of trial, on pages 194-9 of my edition of his Description of England for the New 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 corrected with many proper Ballades newly amended, and also added thervnto which haue not before bene imprinted.

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The Prologue.
In the moneth of may when the new tender grene
Hath smothly covered the ground that was bare
Poudred with flours, so wel be senne
I would haue brought my hart out of care
And as I walked in the wood so sayre
Thycke of grasse among the flours swete
And many a 1hoisome 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 lyttle 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, saye 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 desir
Nor leave me not so soyly
Sence wel ye wot that in my hart
I meane nothing but honesty
Dysdaine me not.
(And 4 more stanzas.)

Finis.

sio
NOTES.

Fortune what ayleth the
Thus for to bany she me
Her company whom I loue best,
For to complayne me
Nothing auyleth me
A dew farewel this nights rest.
(And 4 more stanzas.)

Finis.

---

I may by no meane 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 sauour
As I deserue and shal
My loue my lady paramour
should loue me best of all.
(And 8 more stanzas.)

During of payne and greuous smart
Hath brought me lowe & woderous weake
that I cãnot cõsort 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.

Louve whom you lyst and spare not
Therwyth I am content
Hate whom you lyst and spare not
For I am indyfferent.

(And 4 more stanzas.)

Finis.

Meruaile no more al tho
The songs I sing do mone
For other life then woe
I neuer proued none
And in my hart also
Is grauenv with letters depe
And many thousands mo
The flouds of teares to wepe.

(And 3 more stanzas.)

Finis.

Shal she neuer out of my mynd, &c.

In this sonnet the fragment ends.

p. 78, l. 38, go, and now goe we. "This is a curious illustration of
Win Forrest's Second Grisild—Henry VIII's first Queen, Katherine of
Aragon,—just issued by the Roxburghe Club in the History of Joseph,
p. 171:

This word 'Gawe we,' and 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 four. Augustines or Austin Friars; Carmel-
ites 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 cord1 with
which they were girded.—Skeat's note to Pierce the Ploughman's Crede,

p. 81, l. 151. Paul. Hélyot gives 3 Orders of Paulines, i. 360, 473,
1152; and 4thly, the Ordre des Érémites de Saint-Paul, iii. 126; see my
Ballads from MSS. i. 245, n. 9.

p. 81, l. 155. Anthonym. 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 suppos'd to have been the origin of cenobite life.
Ballads from MSS. i. 245 n.

1 Cordeliers: f. A Grey Friars girdle (made of a pcece of a rope full of
equally-distant knots).—Cotgrave.
p. 81, l. 165. La grange est près des bateurs. (Said of a Nunnerie that's neere unto a Fryrie;) the Barne stands neere the Thresher. 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, article and deprived divers of the clergy for this cause: namely, H. Williams, Dean of the church of Lichfield, 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 restord 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 sentenc to be burnt, and martyrd. 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.
NOTES.

(Ecl. 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, entreat ing 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 called forth our poetaster's condemnation in 1536-40.

"David Pole, or Poole, of noble race, as it seems, some say 1 bastard brother to cardinal Pole, became fellow of Allsouls coll. in 1520, took the degrees of civ. and can. law, that of doctor being completed in 1527, at which time being archdeacon of Salop, he was much in esteem for his great sufficiencies in those laws. Afterwards he was made dean of the Archen, archdeacon of Derby [Jan. 8, 1542] and chancellor of the diocese of Lichfi. and Coventry. At length, upon the death of Joh. Chambers being nominated to the see of Peterborough, was consecrated thereunto 2 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. Whereupon being committed to custody for a time, was soon after set at liberty, & principis beneficio (as one 3 tells us) in agro suo mature estate 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."
NOTES.

good old age. He gave way to fate in the latter end of May, or beginning of June 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 All Souls coll.”—ii. 801.

p. 89. Lying prophesies. See Dr John Harvey’s (Gabriel H.’s brother’s) Discourse Probleme concerning Prophesies, 1588, p. 68:—

“Now touching the Finall why; or the generall and speciall ends thereof, were not these extravagant prophesies, most what invented and published to some such great holie effect as the tales of Hobgoblin, Robin Goodfellow, Hogmagog, Queene Grogorton, king Arthur, Bevis of Southampton, Launcelot du Lake, Sir Tristram, Thomas of Lancaster, John à Gaunt, Guy of Warwick, Orlando furioso, Amadis du Gaul, Robin Hood and little Iohn, Frier Tuck and maid Marian, with a thousand such Legendaries, in all languages; viz. to busie the minds of the vulgar sort, or to set their heads a worke withall, and to avert their conceits from the consideration of serious, and grauer matters, by feeding their humors, and delighting their fantasie with such fabulous and luridoyes. For was it not the grounde pollicie of that age, wherein those counterfet prophets chiefly flourished, to occupie and carry away the commons with od rumors, by flurnflame, wily cranks, and sleightkie knocks of the maker, even with all possible induens and vnderminings, fearing least they might otherwise overmuch or over deeply intend other actions, and negotiats of greater importance, private or publike affaires of higher value, matters of state or religion, politike or ecclesiastical government, which from time to time they kept secret and curvet, as mysticall privities, and sacred intendiments, to be meerly handled, and disposed by the cleargie, or other professed in learning; thinking therby to maintaine themselves, and vphold at their proceedings in the greater credit, authoritie, and admiration amongst the people. It was a trim worke indeede, and a gay world no doubt, for some idle Cloister-men, mad merry Friers, and lustie Abbey-lubbers, when themselves were well whittled, and their panche pretilly stuffed, otherwhiles to fall a prophesying of the wofull deartis, famines, plagues, wars, and most wretched, lamentable and horrible Tragedies of the dangerous\(2\) daies imminent: other whiles, when haply they had little else to do, or lesse to suffer, to tell the world a lewd tale, or some notable miracle, as namely of Saint Francis, how he turned water into wine, walked drie footed vpon the waters, forbad the swallowes to sing; and how good S. Francis made all creatures reasonable and unreasonable to obey his deout commandements; or of S. Margaret, how she conquered and killed the diuell with the signe of the holy \(\Phi\); how she was saluted by an Angell from heaven, in the likenes of a doe, and called by the name

1 “His will was dated May 17, and proved July 6, 1568. See Willis, Cathedrals, 505.”

2 To drive infection from the dangerous year.

Shakspere, Venus & Adonis, l. 508.
of Christ's own Spouse, and so forth in the same miraculous vein.
Lo, I beseech you (as an ancient poet said of soothsayers) how, Sui quemus causa factas suscitant sententias; and to increase their own private ease, libertinie, and wealth, with publice reputation and reuerence; how they trouble all the world besides, and procure the perpetuall servitude, bondage and confusion of infinite good simple soules . . . . (p. 70). I touch not alone any one onely calling, degree or qualitie: hath not euer vocation, profession and estate yeilded some such counter-prophets and pennyfathers, very gromelgainers, self-flouers, libertines, epicures, Lucianites, perpetuall incrochers, ingrosers and aspiers, publice forestallers, and regrators of all publice commodities and honors, libellers, factioners, troublers of all waters, sauing their owne, hartie friends to themselves 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 uttered his affection towards such bribing cosemates, and incroching Bisogniers . . . . (p. 71) Such small ends as communely ouerthrow and destroy the best established states, and at length bring most flourishing kingdomes, 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 prophesies, the very prophesies of the diuell, to vndo and destroy the world. Which our noble and well affected princes of England well knowing, and accordingly considering, haue purposely ordeined & enacted penal statutes to bridle the vnruly & presumptuous insolencie of such imposturall prophets: (as namely 5. Elizabeth .15.)

(p. 73) I before mentioned the like Vissean 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 pretily tasted & relised therof. In former times, and in a simpler age, it was no difficult matter, to shift out with good plaine rude cluseterly stuffe: now lateward, sithence those frierlie skarrows, and moonkish dumps began to be lesse dreaded or regarded, there haue not wanted lolly fine pragmatical wares, of the maker, whereby no small intendiments, or base enterprises haue beene attempted in most kingdomes and principalities thorow out Christiandome. Forsooth loosers must haue their words: and beggers will needs be somewaies bulbeggers. I cannot stand to make any curious desision; howbeit some of them would be noted for terrible Elphes, and Goblins: 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 unto such pedlers, tinkers, and sturdy roges, as were woot to carie about with them their fierce mastiues & terrible bandogs, to serue their knauish and villanous turnes, vpon advaungage.
gious? 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 Achitophel, Vlyssees, and Machiauels, than of late yeeres: but take away, or con-
temne, all malitious suborning of calumnyes, libels, and prophesies: and shall they not hurt or preuaile much lesse, as well in publike, as in priuate, notwithstanding their other wiliest conuincues and suttellest practises? Were it not ouer great pitie, that any such knack of knauerie, or conuenous cheuissance, or hipocrical policy, or Mercuriall strategeyme, either by false libelling, or false prophesieng, or other falsi-
fieng of matters & maners, should peremptorily overthrow or traiter-
ously undermine, any well gowerned or wel established state? God, they say, sendeth commonly a curt cow short horns: and doth not the diuel, I say, in the winde-vpall, and in fine, ofter play wilie beguile him selfe, and crucifie his owne wretched lims, then atchieue his mis-
chievous and malicious purposes, howsoever craftilie conueied, or feately packed, either in one fraudulent sort or other?

p. 86, l. 310. Papish Masses and Persecution. — "SIVQUILA (= Ali-
quis). . . . after I departed from the carnal Gospellers, I came among
the peruerse Papists, among whom was such Superstition, Idolatrye,
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 openely 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 vnchristes Turkes would not
so haue vsed me.

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

"St. They are christians in name: but Diuels in their deeds." 1580. Thomas Lupton, Sivquilla, p. 2-3 (A later and poorer Utopia,
that gave Stubbes the name of Aitgna (= Anglia) for England, sign.
B. Omens (or Nemo's) country is Mauquen (= Nasquam, 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
seccison 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
seccion, 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, Annales,
Gutch's ed. i. 431.

"For the existence of schools at Stamford see Spenser, F. Q. IV.
xii. 35,
NOTES.

`And shall see Stamford, though now homely hid,
Then shine in learning, more then ever did
Cambridge or Oxford, England’s 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 beseeche
Syr I am redy at your byddynge
I pray you that no man me reproche
Whyle that I am my tale tellyng.

Thus endeth the prologue / and here
foloweth the first part of this
present worke.

(Colophon) ¶ Printed at London by Thomas
Godfrey.
Cum priuilegio.
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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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