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A REPRINT OF



A PROPER
NEWE BOOKE
OF COKERYE

EDITED BY CATHERINE FRANCES FRERE

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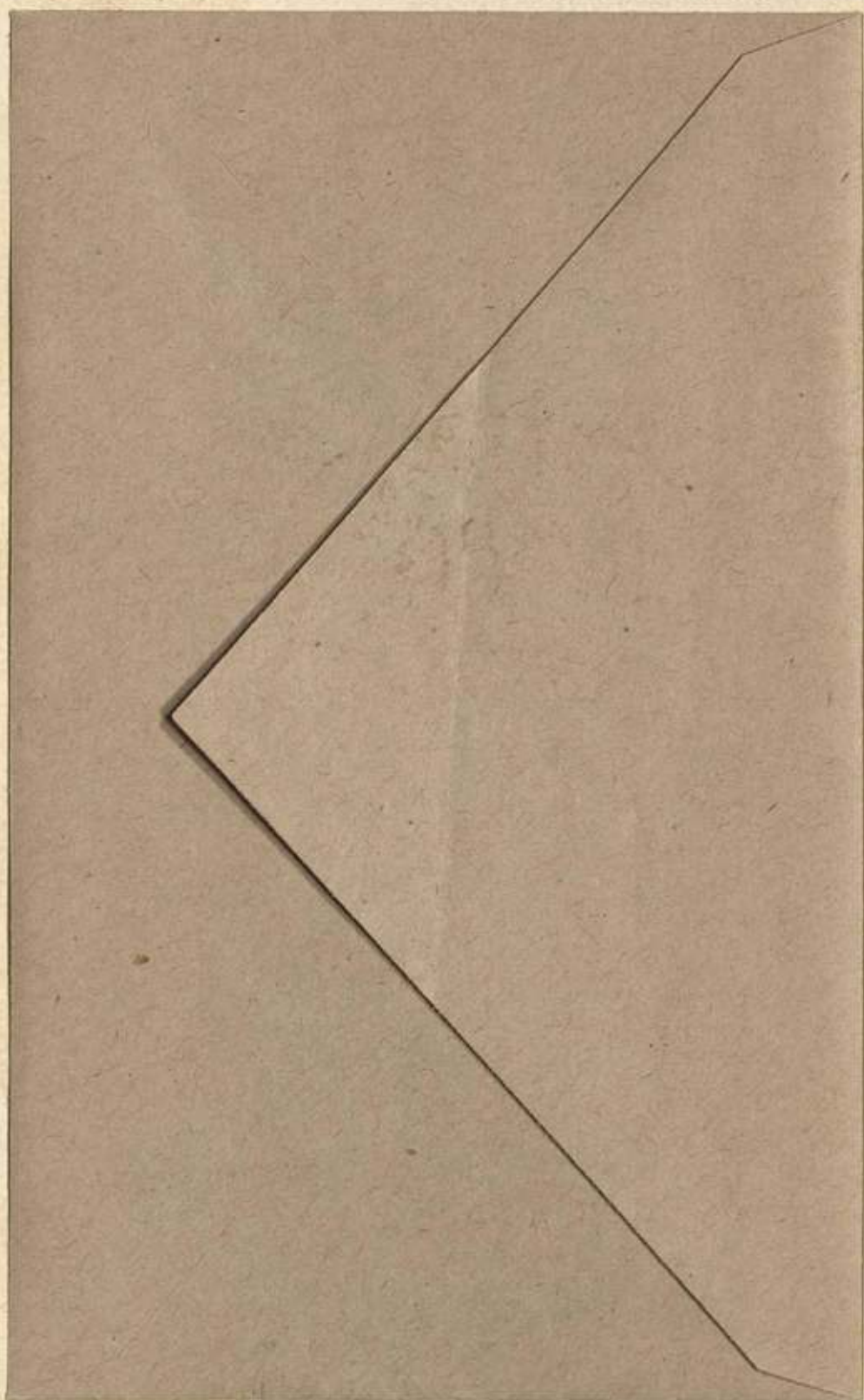


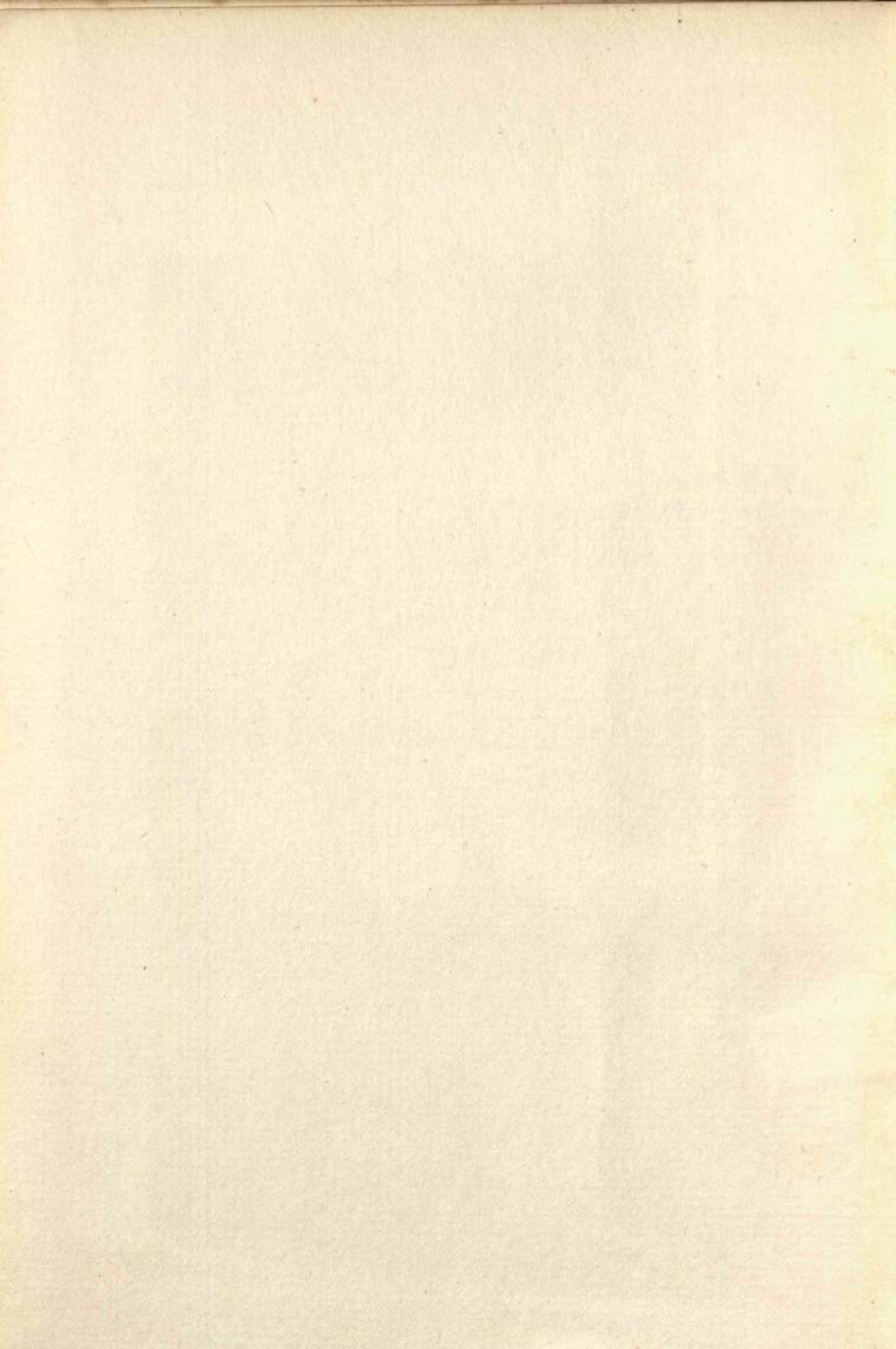
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1913 Reprint

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Delightful : see over.





BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

THE COOKERY BOOK OF LADY CLARK OF
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London. Constable. 6/- net.

"This volume is as unlike the conventional, complicated, and to the general reader extremely dull, modern cookery book, as a peacock's finest tail feather is unlike a barn-door fowl's. . . . We should say that almost any housewife, whether she requires what is called high-class cookery or simple fare, could profit a great deal by the study of this extremely delightful book."—*Westminster Gazette*.

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A PROPER NEWE BOOKE OF COKERYE.

LONDON: SIMPKIN, MARSHALL & Co. LTD.



MATTHEW PARKER
1573

Engraving by W. W. ...



MATTHEW

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A PROPER NEWE
BOOKE OF COKERYE

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EDITED BY
CATHERINE FRANCES FRERE

With Notes, Introduction and Glossary;
together with Some Account of Domestic
Life, Cookery and Feasts in Tudor Days,
and of the first owners of the Book,
Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury,
and Margaret Parker his Wife.



Original title page faces p. clxiv.

CAMBRIDGE:
W. HEFFER & SONS LTD.
1913.





Cambridge:
W. H. & S. Ltd.,
104 Hills Road.



To
*The Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi
College, Cambridge, this reprint of a
book in Archbishop Parker's
Collection is gratefully
dedicated by the
Editor.*

My sincere thanks are due to Sir Frederic Kenyon for much invaluable help at the British Museum; also to the undermentioned gentlemen for kind permission to quote from books and articles, reference to which has greatly lightened my task. Where space allowed, I have added initials or names of books or authors quoted; but I trust I shall be forgiven if, by inadvertence, anything important is given without due acknowledgment. Professor Gollancz: Publications of the Early English Text Society: *The Babe's Book, Two 15th Century Cookery Books, &c.*; Sir James Murray: *New English Dictionary*; Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons: *Kennedy's Life of Archbishop Parker*; Mr. W. W. Elsworth, President of the Century Co.: *The Century Dictionary*; Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co.: *The Badminton Library Volume on Falconry*; The Rev. H. B. Stokes, LL.D.: *History of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*; Mr. Hugh Chisholm: *Encyclopædia Britannica*; Mr. P. Lee Warner, Publisher to the Medici Society Ltd.: *The Closet of the Eminently Learned Sir Kenelme Digbie, Kt. opened*; and to the Editors of the *Spectator*, the *Studio*, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the *Daily Express*, and the *Evening News*.

My special thanks are due to Mr. John Hodgkin, F.L.S., whose valuable notes on antique culinary terms and the derivations of words are embodied in the Glossary with his initials, and whose kind help in unravelling difficulties I gratefully acknowledge. Above all I must cordially thank the Librarian of Corpus Christi College, for his unfailing assistance and encouragement throughout my work.

C. F. FRERE.

AUGUST, 1913.

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ILLUSTRATIONS.

(From photographs taken by Mr. Mason, Cambridge; by kind permission of the Master and Fellows of the College.)

FRONTISPIECE. Portrait of Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1573; from the Book of Statutes, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

(Plate by Mr. Emery Walker.)

FACSIMILE OF THE TITLE-PAGE of the original book which belonged to Archbishop Parker and is now in the Library of the College,
facing p. clxiv

DEVICE OF MAN AND HAWK, from last page of
original book - - - - - *p. 57*

INTRODUCTION.

“Cookerie . . . may make savourie what of itself is unsavourie, . . . it is said a good cooke can make you a good meate of a whetstone . . . therefore a good cooke is a iewell and to be much made of.”—(*Cogan.*)

“A good fellow on a time bade another of his friends to a breakfast: ‘If you will come you shall be welcome, but I tell you before-hand you shall have but slender fare, one dish, and that is all.’ ‘What is that?’ said he. ‘A pudding and nothing else.’ ‘Marry,’ said he, ‘You cannot please me better . . . you may draw me round the town with a pudding.’”—(*Latimer.*)

The celebrated Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, contains a large number of rare and early printed books which (together with his invaluable collection of nearly five hundred MSS.) were left to the College—of which he had once been Master—by the great and good Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury. Among these printed books you will find a little volume, bound in vellum and still showing traces of the strings with which it was originally tied. In this little volume are bound up various learned, political and other tracts, and among them all a black-letter Cookery Book of the XVIth Century, which, though it consists of but twenty-seven small pages, boasts the magnificent title of *A Proper newe Booke of Cokerye*. It is certainly curious that it should so have happened that I, who unfortunately never had the opportunity of acquiring the art of Cookery, have yet been fated to edit no less than three, or, including this one, four books on the subject;

all of them however, most interesting thus to work at, because individual and uncommon, and therefore calculated to arouse the enthusiasm of an editor.

The first of the four, *Hilda's Where is it of Recipes*—a book well known in South African homes—was written by a valued friend at the Cape, Hildagonda Duckitt, to whom (knowing how well she would do it) I had suggested the idea of collecting in "Where is it" form the excellent recipes she knew; and for her I supervised the general arrangement and corrected the proofs, which 6,000 miles of distance precluded her from doing herself. Miss Hilda Duckitt was a very delightful, capable and unusual woman, practical to her finger tips, and experienced in all the thrifty, comfortable, domestic ways of a South African farm household of thirty years ago; and she had collected not only good English and Dutch, but also many rare Indian and Malay recipes, such as I have not met with elsewhere. Later, a second volume, *Hilda's Diary of a Cape Housekeeper*, followed, from Miss Duckitt's clever hand; and to this collection, there being no time to return it to the Cape for additions, were added, with the kind permission of friends in England, some of their excellent cookery recipes, to make the book the required size. In *Hilda's Diary*, besides the Cookery part, Miss Duckitt had written a lively, truthful and attractive account of home-life on a Cape farm of those days, described with the loveable, home-like poetry of a true and simple soul—as different from sentiment as is the fresh scent of a wood violet from patchouli!

The third task presented itself unexpectedly

when an old friend, Sir John Clark, begged, on his wife's death, that I would see her valuable collection of recipes through the press, and, for old sake's sake, I could not but attempt it. So eventually *The Cookery Book of Lady Clark of Tillypronie* was published, enlivened here and there with her own witty notes, such as probably never appeared in a Cookery book before; for she had not written for the public, and had her own characteristic and amusing way of doing all she did. Who but she would have noted of a specially excellent Oyster Sauce to accompany beefsteak, that the quantity given was *sufficient for two couples, or for three bachelors?*

Finally, to *A Proper newe Booke of Cokerye* I was introduced two years ago in Cambridge by the Librarian of Corpus Christi College, who, knowing my interest in the subject, told me of this most delightful black-letter book of the XVIth Century, which has lived so long in the College Library; and at the Librarian's request on my behalf, I received the kind permission of the Master and Fellows to edit it, with such explanatory notes as the ancient wording made necessary. I found, however, that in a reprint of the book something more was required besides the Notes and Glossary, something to bring to mind the different social surroundings of those days from ours, and something also to recall the first owner of the book, his remarkable character and his history, especially as regards its domestic and personal side, as friend, as host, as husband and father, and head of a great household—as a *man* in fact—a great and typical Englishman.

Hence this explanatory Introduction; after which follows the text of the book itself on the right hand pages, word for word from the original, my own Notes being on the left. For the sake of ease in reading, a clear type has been used instead of reproducing the black-letter; and in order not to interrupt the text I have omitted any reference numbers to the Notes, merely placing them facing the page to which they referred. Where the sense and sound sufficiently explain the words, the modern equivalent is not, as a rule, given. But in both Notes and Glossary an explanation is supplied of many words which, though well known to those versed in Old English literature, are not familiar to the general reader, or which, being technical cookery terms, may be unknown to those of us who do not cook. In the Notes (for the sake of brevity) reference is sometimes made to the author's name and *not* to the title of his book, which, however, is easily seen from the bibliography.

The Index-Glossary embodies words not only in *A Proper newe Booke of Cokerye* itself, but in quotations given in the Notes, &c., from books of many differing dates. A list of the principal books consulted is also given, but the attractive old works that illustrate the life of our forefathers from the kitchen to the Court have hardly a limit. I believe a course of reading of such old books on private and domestic life in England for the last thousand years would be a very real aid to the student of History in helping him to realise the characters which, as in a cinematograph, pass before him in his library. How differently do you picture a man who could have

no potatoes for his dinner, his wife no afternoon tea, and himself no evening pipe!

In regretting the editorial shortcomings, I may say in extenuation that editing is a laborious task, and there are many pitfalls for the unwary, especially in Cookery. For instance, in the case of manuscript recipes, such as formed the first three Cookery books referred to, one is constantly confronted with the curious conversational way that cooks have of using the word "your," instead of "a" or "the," when enumerating ingredients, which, if literally copied into print, might startle the casual reader, or even seem like a grim joke. "Tie your tongue with string to a jack in front of the fire" was a recipe *as it came to me*; while for another the instructions were: "Put your feet" (fortunately only pettitoes, or sheep's trotters were meant) "into boiling water in a saucepan!" And this recalls the well-known recipe in the *English Housekeeper* of 1788: "Blanch your tongue, slit it down the middle, and lay it on a soup plate!" But the recipe which was most startling when I came upon it among proofs, and which indeed read like directions for a cannibal feast, was due to the name of the giver having mysteriously found its way into the first line of the recipe itself, in a position it had not been given in the manuscript. It boldly began: "Cut up Mrs. — into small squares or shapes"! *Could* the printer's devil have been quite blameless? Anyway, the wording had to be corrected for printing, to my undying regret.

When one comes to XVIth Century recipes in black-letter, the hunt in dictionaries and elsewhere for the modern meanings of unusual or obscure

words is an exciting one; and it is difficult, till one unravels the meaning, to believe that a "dish of leaches" could be appetising; or "coffyns" (except as reminders) appropriate at a feast; or that to make "shoes" is the work of a cook and not of a cobbler. Yet all these terms we shall come across in the present book.

The Cambridge copy of *A Proper newe Booke of Cokerye* has neither author's name nor date, nor were the pages originally numbered, but, together with the other tracts in the volume in which it is bound, it has, after binding, been paged throughout by the "well-known red pencil of Archbishop Parker." The number 167, the page of the original volume at which it commences, will be seen in the reproduction on our title-page.

Many of the world's benefactors are unknown by name, so perhaps we may ask for a tiny niche in the Temple of Fame for the man or woman who compiled this little kitchen guide. As to date, we get at that approximately from the fact that the tracts bound up with it range from 1548 to 1572; and this copy must probably have been earlier than either of the editions of the same book (dated respectively 1575 and 1576) which are in the British Museum; for Archbishop Parker, to whom the Cambridge copy belonged, died in 1575. The title-page of our reprint shows the pretty little wood block of the man with a hawk, which in both original and reprint appears again on the concluding page—the useful hawk that did so much to supply the larder with game. Perhaps Masters of Falconry could tell us from this little picture what kind of hawk it is, whether a falcon, one of the dark-eyed, long-winged hawks (the "hawks of the lure")

or of the short-winged, yellow-eyed hawks ("hawks of the fist")—I conclude the latter. If he could decide the species, he could also no doubt decide for us the rank of the man; for the laws, from Edward III to the Tudors, were most stringent as to what bird should (for falconry) be allotted to each degree and order of men—according to the man's rank and station. An Emperor had the eagle and vulture; Royalty, jerrfalcon; an Earl, the peregrine; a Yeoman, the goshawk; a Priest, the sparrowhawk; while to a "knave or servant" was allotted "the useless kestrel."

Falconry, which came to us from the East, was probably one of the oldest modes of hunting in Ancient Egypt, Arabia, Persia and Assyria. Sir Henry Layard found a bas-relief at Khorsabad of a falconer carrying a hawk on his wrist, showing that falconry was practised there in 1700 B.C. In China it was popular yet earlier, for falcons were among presents made to Princes in the year 2205 B.C. But falconry was probably not known in Europe till 300 B.C.; nor, I believe, practised in England very much before the Xth Century.

Hawks may well be represented in an Elizabethan Cookery Book, for they were flown at grouse, pheasant, partridge, landrail, duck, teal, woodcock, heron, gull, blackbird, thrush, lark, hare and rabbit; all or most of which are mentioned in our book as finding their subsequent way to the larder and the spit or the cooking-pot. And "Fesantes, Pertruche and Rayle" are specified as "beste, when they be taken with a hawke," perhaps because the hawk was quicker than the gun

of those days, and so secured the larger, stronger birds.

Falconry was at the height of its popularity in Queen Elizabeth's days. Her chief falconer was Sir Ralph Sadler, and in an old manor house in Wiltshire there is a portrait of him with a falcon on his wrist, wearing a jewelled hood. In Shakespeare are references to hawking, showing how well known were the terms of falconry, as in *Richard II.*, where "Harry of Hereford, Lancaster and Derby," having challenged the Duke of Norfolk, cries:

"As confident as is the falcon's flight
Against a bird, so I with Mowbray fight."

All the Stuarts were fond of the "princely recreation" of hawking—but it ceased to be popular after the Restoration, owing, it is said, to the great improvement in firearms. Hawking, however, has never been even temporarily extinct in England, and is practised here to this day. The hawk seems indeed to be a very dependable and untiring hunter, for the author of a treatise on Hawking, in 1619, says: "I have killed for the most part of a moneth together, with an intermewed goshawke" (that is, a hawk which moulted in captivity), "eight, nine or tenne Partridges in a day." (See also p. 4.)

We may note here two things of interest connected with hawking. First, that the expression to "cry havock"* meant originally to give the

* Halliwell gives "Haveke" as a name for hawks themselves. He also says that "Havock" was the cry of the soldiers when no quarter was given (on the authority of the Ancient Code of Military laws 1784). The *Century Dictionary* says that to cry 'havoc,' i.e. to cry "hawk!" was apparently originally a cry

hawking cry (the modern version of which is "Hooahn") raised by falconers when the quarry is sighted and before slipping at the quarry; "hafoc" being the Anglo-Saxon word for hawk.

The second point of interest is on the authority of Stow's *Survey of London*, 1598; he says: "It was in the reign of Henry VIII. that the royal hawks were removed from the 'Mews' at Charing Cross (Mews being the place where hawks are set down to moult)—where they had been kept many reigns, and the places were converted into stables. The name, however, . . . remained to the building, although, after the hawks were withdrawn, it became inapplicable. But what is more curious still, in later times, when the people of London began to build stables at the backs of their houses, they christened these places 'Mews,' after the old stables at Charing Cross."

Curiously enough, as these words are going to press I come across an article in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, headed:—

"PASSING OF THE OLD-TIME STABLES,"

which (condensed) says: "Since the advent of motor vehicles, and the rapid disappearing of the horse from our streets, the mews of London are fast being converted to other purposes than that of stabling horses.

"The name mews comes through the French

of encouragement to a hawk when loosed upon its prey, that the word was the Anglo-Saxon form, of which the Scandinavian was "hawk." The *New English Dictionary* tells us that to give an army the order "havoc!" was the signal for the seizure of spoil; and that an old military order of 1386 (Richard II's time) says: "Que nul soit so hardy de crier havok sur peine d'avoir la teste coupe."

muer from Latin *mutare*, to change, a term originally applied to the moulting of a hawk or falcon, and later to the caging of the birds while they mated or changed their feathers. Hence the term 'to mew up.'

"Ralph de Manners, the King's falconer, had the custody of the King's mews at Charing, in Edward III.'s reign; as also Sir Simon de Burley in that of Richard II. Henry VIII. is said to have kept his horses there, and the old structure was afterwards enlarged and converted into stabling by Edward VI. and Mary.

"At the Royal Mews at Charing Cross, the Royal hawks were kept from 1377 to 1537, when the building became the Royal stables. When the present Royal Mews at Buckingham Palace were built the original mews were turned into barracks and finally disappeared in the early forties of the last century to make room for street improvements."

Some modern methods of acquiring game do not compare favourably with hawking. Here is an extract from an actual advertisement lately received from abroad:—

"I herewith take pleasure to inform you that the Catching of Partridges will begin next week so that I am able to supply you at present with best fresh-caught Hungarian Partridges.

"I have contracts with the Estates of Count Z—, Count E—, Count M—, Count P—, &c., whose game is known as the strongest of Hungary & Bohemia.

"I am sending thousands of Partridges every season to America and the fact that only 5 to 7% dy during the 2 week's journey is proof for the good quality of my birds.

"I d'ont buy penned Partridges from small dealers like most of the Exporters do, but nearly all birds are caught with my own nets and are sent off immediatly after the catch.

"Over hunderd men and 70,000 yards of nets are used for catching the birds I therefore am in the position to supply every quantity of Partridges in the shortest time.

"Partridges rearing has been successfull this season so that I can quote very cheaply as follows . . ." &c.

Scattered throughout the Cookery Book is the mark ¶, which Cochrane (1623) describes as "Paragraph. A note set in the margent of a booke to observe and marke the differing discourses therein." In this instance, however, it seems used rather promiscuously, and not only at the beginning of a new subject, for many recipes have not got it at all, others have it not only to the title, but to the first line also of the recipe. (*See Gloss:*)

An amusing little decoration has been made by the XVIth Century printer—perhaps himself something of an artist—for the end of the book, just above the word *Finis*, the details of which will be found to be hyphens, brackets, and queries—a quaint conceit! The monotony of type is also occasionally varied, as was frequently done in those days (*see* title of "To make a Stewed broath," also page 57, and elsewhere), by words being arranged in a sort of inverted pyramid, composed of lines of 7, 6, 5, 4 and 3 words or syllables each, or 4, 4, 3, 2, and so on.

At the beginning of the little volume in which the Cookery Book is bound up is a manuscript

list of the tracts, political or otherwise, that share its vellum coat. The titles of these bring before us glimpses of the stirring times in which the Archbishop lived, when guests were regaled with Porpoises, Gulls, and other delights. Several of these tracts have to do with such questions as the Sovereignty of England over Scotland; the proposed marriage of the Duke of Norfolk with Mary Queen of Scots, and similar matters. There is also an interesting tract describing the destruction by lightning of St Paul's spire in Queen Elizabeth's days. Of all, however, of the constituent parts of the volume in which we find it, the Cookery Book alone concerns every-day domestic life in the XVIth Century, the cares and joys and duties of house-keeping, with its Pies and Pasties, its Custards and Preserves; the lists for "fleshe days" and "fyshe days" of over three hundred years ago.

The gay company that rejoiced and feasted, the fighters and revellers, the grave statesmen, prelates and lawyers, the admirals, bold sea captains, knights and ladies, the great lords and princes of those brilliant and stirring days, these have all passed away; and records, such as this little Cookery Book, scattered here and there in ancient libraries, are all that remain to throw a little rushlight illumination on the culinary mysteries of the once busy kitchens, roofless and empty to-day, and on the hospitalities, feasting and revels of the now silent dining halls of long ago.

The spelling of our book—a "corrupted phonetic," if one may invent a term—adds to the difficulties of understanding the directions given,

for no fixed standard in spelling appears to have been followed by the author, though the book was probably compiled but just before the golden age of English prose. The spelling of the same word even varies several times on the same page; spelling was not yet crystallised, and the recipes quite give the impression of having been written down by a practical cook, who did not stop to verify spelling from any dictionary, and who depended on memory for measurements and proportions; for the quantities of each ingredient are rarely stated with the detail and exactness a modern cook would demand. But whatever its faults, the book seems to have supplied a public want, for the various editions of *A Proper newe Booke of Cokerye* were popular for over 100 years, in spite of many rivals. Hazlitt mentions it as having been often reprinted before 1546. It is a recension, he says, of the *Book of Cookery* of 1500, of which there was a reprint by John Byddell about 1530; and that it was often reproduced, with modifications, and under various names, down to 1650. It is also mentioned in *The Book of Simples* in which the 1575 and 1576 editions are both recorded. Other household books of those days embodied large parts of it; for instance, Thomas Dawson's book, *The Good Huswife's Jewell* of 1596, is practically the same from "Here followeth the order of meates," down to the first recipe "To dresse a Crabe," though details are rather differently arranged.

Besides this dateless edition at Cambridge, the only two existing copies I know of are those already mentioned, which Sir Frederick Kenyon kindly showed me at the British Museum. Of these the 1575 edition was "imprinted at London

in Fleete Streete by William How for Abraham Veale"—this one ends with a pretty twisted ornament; while the 1576 version, "imprinted at London for Antony Kytson," has neither the twist nor the hawking woodcut to decorate it. Both are in substance practically the same as the Cambridge copy.

A feast in the XVith Century, and still more in days before that, was very different from the modern dinner party; it was a serious and lengthy undertaking, lasting for hours, and needing for the cook, days of preparation, and perhaps, for the guests, more days for recovery. What should we now think of a "solemn (*i.e.* ceremonious) longe diner, the which perhaps began at 11 and continued wel nigh till fower in the afternoone" (described by Thomas Wilson 1553) at which "the Archbushope of Yorke" was present. An Italian, who had a "sute here in Englande to the Archbushope of Yorke that then was . . . knocht at the gate, unto whom the porter, perceiving his errand, answered that my lord bishope was at diner. The Italian departed, and returned between 12 and 1; the porter answered, they were yet at diner. He came again at two of the Clocke, the porter told him they had not half-dined. He came at 3 a'clocke, unto whom the porter in a heate answered never a worde, but churlishly did shutte the gates upon him. Whereupon others told the Italian that ther was no speaking with my lord almost all daie, for the solemn diner sake," and he left, disappointed. But meeting an Englishman, a friend of the Archbishop, three years later in Rome, "I pray you, tell me," quoth the Italian, "*hath that Archbishoppe yet dined?*"

The amount of dishes prepared in old days for feasts was stupendous. At the "Stallacion" of Archbishop Neville in 1467, a hundred years before our little book, "Muttons 1,000" were consumed together with "Pygges 2,000," and other things in proportion, including "Porposes and Seales 12." It means, no doubt, that the town, or perhaps the county, was fed for a week. An even greater hospitality was exercised in the East in earlier days when King Solomon, at the Dedication of the Temple, sacrificed "two and twenty thousand oxen and 120,000 sheep." We are told "at that time Solomon held a feast and all Israel with him, a great congregation, from the entering in of Hamath unto the river of Egypt . . . seven days and seven days, even fourteen days." Nowadays faddists complain of such "slaughter" of animals. But, after all, your feast must be in proportion to your company—though the mind reels at the vast scale of the catering required if you entertain "all Israel" for fourteen days. Even a faddist, if he be also a book collector, may comfort himself with the reflection that the benefit to the world in general of "1,000 Muttons" or "2,000 Pygges" does not end in the cooking-pot; for where would old books have been without skins that they could be written on, and hides to bind them in? We do not, it is true, think of sheep, pigs and calves as a literary race, but they are well represented in most libraries, and their sacrifices in the cause of literature have been immense—for which, however, they must be content to be their own monument.

In later days classical students tell us that among the Romans Vitellius spent £7,000,000 in seven months on feasting; and Lucullus (he to whom we remotely owe the cherry orchards of Kent) squandered sixteen hundred pounds on every supper he gave. No wonder if a few choice souls preferred the simple life as then understood, and elected to live in a cave or a desert, on dates and water.

But, to come nearer to our own times, Richard II. is said to have had two thousand cooks and three hundred servitors in his kitchen! But then, "ten thousand visitors daily attended his Court, and went satisfied from his table"! This explains why twenty-eight oxen, three hundred sheep, besides "an incredible number of fowls and of all kinds of game, were slaughtered" daily. Perhaps the two thousand cooks in those days were not enough to spoil the broth. Is it not a touch of the irony of fate, that, after all this lavish expenditure on food, Richard II., we are told (on the authority of "Archbishop Scroop . . . and all the older writers") was starved to death; the story of his assassination by "Sir Piers of Exon" being said to be of late date?

Yet another instance of the magnificent plenty of old days is recorded when Richard Nevill, the great Earl of Warwick, lived in Warwick Lane (then presumably the fashionable West End of London): "Six oxen were eaten at a breakfast"!—and, says an old authority, "who (*i.e.* he) that had anie acquaintance in that house he should have had as much sod and rost" (boiled or roast meat) "as he might carry on a long dagger, so that every taverne was full of his (the

Earl's) meat!" Such was the leakage in a great house.

[Even now-a-days to partially feed 50,000 people for the "Week" at Ascot requires some catering—for one firm alone of well-known caterers in the Coronation Year of His Majesty King George V. had to prepare 2 tons of salmon, 15,000 lobsters, 1,000 chickens, 700 pigeon pies, 3,000 truffled quails, and 1,000 hares; mostly, I conclude, for luncheons only—beside what was supplied by many other caterers or brought in private hampers.]

To return to the XVth and XVith centuries. The feast once cooked, it remained to serve it with proper observance of the "splendid absurdities" of chivalry; and endless was the ceremony and etiquette that appertained to this part of hospitality—beginning with the laying of the cloth. At the Installation of Archbishop Neville, in 1467, of which mention has been made: "the cloth was then laid with greatest formality and many genuflections, profound ceremony being observed, especially in placing the salt" (the large salt cellar which divided the distinguished guests from those below the salt) "and taking the assaye" (the tasting of dishes, to guard against poison). The servants and other officers partook of every dish by means of cornets (small conical pieces) of bread, and drank a few drops from all the wines poured out. This tasting, however, does not seem to have been done for anyone below the rank of an Earl.

In the case of Queen Elizabeth, even when she supped or dined alone, the greatest formalities were observed in preparing the table; and a delightful account exists of this, written at the time by Paul

Hentzner, a German, who witnessed the ceremony. "A gentleman," he says, "entered the room, bearing a rod, and along with him another who had a tablecloth, which, after they had both kneeled three times with the utmost veneration, he spread upon the table, and after kneeling again they both retired. Then came two others, one with the rod again, the other with a salt seller, a plate and bread; when they had kneeled as the others had done and placed what was brought upon the table, they too retired with the same ceremonies performed by the first. At last came an unmarried lady (we were told she was a Countess), and along with her a married one, bearing a tasting knife, the former dressed in white silk, who, when she had prostrated herself three times in the most graceful manner, approached the table and rubbed the plates with bread and salt with as much care as if the Queen had been present. When they had waited there a little time, the Yeomen of the Guard entered, bare-headed, clothed in scarlet, with a golden rose upon their backs, bringing in at each turn a cover of four and twenty dishes served in plate, most of it gilt; these dishes were received by gentlemen of the same order they were brought, and placed upon the table, while the lady taster gave to each of the Guard a mouthful to eat for fear of poison"! Meantime, in place of a dinner-gong, "twelve trumpets and two kettle drums made the hall ring for half an hour together"; then the dishes were "conveyed by unmarried ladies to the Queen's inner and more private chamber, where she supped or dined alone."

Paul Hentzner was evidently much impressed by the amount of ceremony with which Queen

Elizabeth surrounded herself, for "wherever she turned her face as she was going along," he says, "everybody fell down on their knees." His opinion was that "they (the English) are more polite in eating than the French, devouring less bread but more meat, which they roast to perfection." Warner would agree with him as to the goodness of English cookery; in regular John Bull spirit he condemns French cookery as *an absurdity if used in England*, saying "it is *here* the art of spoiling good meat"; but he thinks French methods excusable, and indeed highly valuable in France, "where the climate is much warmer, and the flesh of the animal lean and insipid," for it is there "the art of making bad meat eatable"!

Having glanced at the ceremonies attendant on preparing the table, we must now consider the feast itself. This also differed much in old days from modern entertainments; and in reading through *A Proper newe Booke of Cokerye* and its contemporaries, we shall come across many names strange to modern menus. For instance, among the birds are gulls, lapwings, swallows, sparrows, storks, blackbirds, robins and thrushes; there are, besides these, the bustard, now practically extinct as an English bird, and swans and peacocks, both very rarely met with nowadays at a dinner-table, but both evidently plentiful in the Middle Ages at feasts.

I came, however, lately, across a sign that the appreciation of the swan, at all events, is reviving. In a daily paper (Feb: 1912), appeared the following, under the heading: "Swans for the table; return of an Old English delicacy," which I think proves this. "The swan season has

begun, and it really seems as though swans were coming back into favour as a dinner delicacy. A well-known poulterer in Water Lane told an *Express* representative yesterday, that he sold more and more every year. 'My best customer is dead,' he added, 'he was the late Mr. Justice Grant-ham, who was so fond of swan that I used to send them to him on circuit for many years. He cooked them according to an old XVIIIth Century recipe which he kept a secret. But the swan may be treated exactly as the goose, omitting the stuffing. I often get enquiries from the Service Clubs and the smart restaurants for a swan, at short notice, and it is not always easy to get them. The King, of course, has his own swanneries, at Norwich, and every year he sends presents of swans . . . to certain high officials. I will not go so far as to say that the swan is becoming fashionable, but I find no difficulty in selling as many as I can buy in the market.'" In an interesting book, called *The Family Receipt Book* (dateless, but probably of the end of the XVIIIth or beginning of the XIXth Century), a column or two is devoted to the Swan, of which it says: "We are not acquainted with the history of its disappearance"—as a dish—"either as to time or cause; and think it deserves to be restored to favour, if not to fashion." The following recipe is then given: "Before trussing and spitting a fine young swan, or cygnet, prepare a well-seasoned stuffing, the same as for other wild water-fowl, with which rub and line the inside. If wished to have a fine large and plump appearance, mash and season a sufficient quantity of fine potatoes; with which,

and three or four dozen of well roasted chestnuts, fill and sew it neatly up. Thus prepared for the spit, lay it down to the fire, baste it with fresh butter, and let it be thoroughly roasted. When nearly done, dredge it; and as soon as it becomes of a fine, deep golden colour, take it up, dish it, and garnish with watercresses, slices of Seville orange or lemon, etc. Serve it up with plenty of rich gravy, currant jelly, and apple sauce, all in separate tureens."

The same book says that the Corporation of the City of Norwich, "who pay great attention to this delicious article of food, have a building which they call the swannery, where their cygnets or young swans are carefully fed and fattened for the table"; and then proceeds to recommend the method to "our worthy friends the Corporation of the City of London."

"Among all meates," we read in a XVIth Century book, "the best and most utile to the body of man is . . . sparrows, goldfinches, linotes, thrushes, feldefare"; and there were many theories as to the effect of these and other foods on the eater. "River birds," for instance, such as swans, herons, "bytters," mallard, etc.: "ben of nature melancholyke, lesse, never the lesse, roosted than boyled." One would think that "melancholyke" results might be traced to some of the dishes for "fyshe dayes"—such as "roosted purpos" (porpoise) or whale, seal, and swordfish, which were all eaten, and apparently appreciated. In *The Compleat Cook* is a recipe "to marine" whale, among other "fish." One writer (Muffett), however, has to confess that "whale's flesh is the hardest of all other, and unusual to be eaten by our country-

men; no, not when they are very young and tenderest"; but "livers of whales smell like violets (!), taste most pleasantly, and give competent nourishment." As to porpoise, it is condemned by a friend of Warner's who tried it in Portugal, as "intolerably hard and rancid"; but that may have been due to the age of the particular porpoise he met, or the inexperience of the Portuguese who cooked it, for (see p. 14) Muffett assures us of its popularity. More doubtful dishes, however, were served than even whale, and we should be startled indeed in these days to find ourselves at a banquet such as that attended by Don Anthony of Guevara, the Chronicler of Charles V., to which he thus refers, prefacing his statement by "I will tell you no lye"—"I saw also another feast, such kindes of meate eaten as were wont to be sene and not eaten, as a horse rosted, a cat in gely, little lizzars (lizards) with whot (hot) broth frogges fried . . . but I never knewe what they were till they were eaten"—fortunately! and all this not at fried-fish shops, but at the tables of the great. "Lizzars," indeed, can be excellent—if you get the right kind—for I am told that in Burmah, iguanas, a kind of lizard a foot long, are caught by the Burmese, and when cooked are minced and served rissole fashion; and are "the best eating in the country." Then the "custards" and "tartes" of Tudor days were not what we understand by those names; nor do we make tarts of flowers—primroses and marigolds—such as are recorded in this book. Nor, again, do we pickle "broom buds" and "ashen keys," as did the disciples of *The Compleat Cook*: and there are, no doubt, many

other forgotten delicacies which the curious in such things might revive. As to "tartes," Warner says: "The tarts of our ancient bills of fare must not be confounded with those now (1791) in use" ("confound" having here the sense of "confuse," as in the National Anthem). The tart, the "immortal pie," and the pasty are of course all near relations to each other, and it is difficult to exactly define their differences. By "pie," as a general rule, we understand meat or birds baked in a dish with a pastry cover, the exception being, in Scotland, "Doo Tairt"—our pigeon pie. But we also have "raised pies" and pork pies, whose crust is their dish, so to say; mince pies, combining suet, currants, raisins, citron peel, &c., and finally, shepherd's pie and fish pie, without pastry at all, but covered with mashed potato. Our modern tarts have flaky or short crust lids and are filled with fruit; or you may have an open flat tart with jam, fruit, or treacle and breadcrumbs, without any lid or cover. The exception as to fruit *tarts* are warden (pear), apple, and cherry, all of which should always be called *pies*; witness *The Winter's Tale*; also the expression, "apple pie order"; and the classic lines: "Cherry pie is very nice, and so is currant wine," in Jenny Wren's song. And to these two is added, if you are a good Yorkshire man, blackberry *pie*, for when Burgess successfully swam across the Channel "It was thoughts of blackberry *pie*—not blackberry tart—that helped him to battle with the waves."

"Pyes of grene apples" we find in our old Cookery Book; all the other fruit dishes there with pastry are called "tartes," not excepting one of "cheryes." There are also two tarts of vegetables,

(a "tarte of beans" and one of "spinage,") and a "tarte of chese"; while the "cover tarte after the French fashyon" is, as will be seen, made of something like thick custard mixture in pastry, but takes the shape of a mince pie.

Meat pies, of course, could lend themselves to bad uses, hinted at in "Spight, foule envie's poysoned pye" (Whetstone, 1577), and the dark story of him who was "burnt alive for killing young infants and salting their flesh and putting them into pyes." The Pasty or Pastie, is defined by the *New English Dictionary* as a pie of venison, or other meat, seasoned and enclosed in a crust of pastry and baked without a dish.

One distinct advantage which we enjoy over the England of Queen Elizabeth's days is that fruits and vegetables are now far more varied and numerous; very many of those which we now consider indispensable, the Elizabethan cooks had never heard of.* Owing perhaps to the comparatively limited variety of vegetables, our ancestors seem, in Queen Elizabeth's days, to have eaten a great deal of bread, as sippets and otherwise; and there was also a large consumption of raisins, prunes, dates, almonds, currants, dried figs, &c.; so that they got vegetable food in a different form.

John Evelyn tells us that cabbages were only introduced from Holland a hundred years before he wrote. Caboches [cabbages] are, however, mentioned in *The Forme of Cury*, and often also in

* Since writing the above I see that Miss Rachel Weigall drew attention to this great contrast to our modern bills of fare, in a very interesting article on "An Elizabethan Gentlewoman" in the *Quarterly Review* (July, 1911).

ancient cookery MSS. But there were no pine-apples, tomatoes, nor bananas, all now so common on costers' barrows.

Potatoes did not come to England till 1586, when they were introduced from Virginia, more than ten years after Parker's death, though they had been brought to Europe by the Spaniards as early as the XVth Century. Can we imagine a dinner without potatoes?

The cultivation of cherries was revived in England in Tudor times, when we also find their popularity attested by the frequency with which they appear in decorative designs for needlework; a MS. note in the British Museum copy of Warner says the cherry orchard planted by Queen Elizabeth's gardener was "not entirely decayed" in 1659. Hartlieb tells us it contained 30 acres, and had produced in one year the sum of £1,000. (*Hartlieb's Compleat Husbandman.*)

Tea was first imported in the XVIIth Century; Sir Kenelm Digby, speaking of it, says: "The Jesuite from China 1664 told Mr. Waller that 'for when you come home from attending business abroad, and are very hungry, and yet have not conveniency to eat presently (*i.e.* at once) a competent meal,' it was a very good plan to have two yolks of egg to one pint of infusion (of tea, that is) and sugar, and to drink it hot." "1 dragm" of tea was to go to 1 pint of water, and the water was not to stand too long on the tea, it should be only "whiles you can say the Miserere Psalm very leisurely."

Honey was much used instead of sugar; and there was no castor, or icing sugar or ready cut lump sugar. For the latter you had to break up the cones

in which sugar is made; and for powdered sugar, it had to be brayed in a mortar or beaten. The earliest sort of sugar was probably, like the sugar candy, crystallized on string; whence no doubt the modern story of the man who, wanting a piece of string, was found hunting *first* in the sugar basin.

I have referred to the large consumption of raisins, currants, dates and prunes, which, as well as spices, were eaten on every possible and impossible occasion—such as with herring pie, fresh salmon, trout, “pyes of mutton and beif,” and so on. Raisins, of course, are very nourishing; one of our greatest modern medical men was said to take them always in his carriage to eat as he went his rounds, having scant leisure for meals; and they have been popular from ancient times as a sustaining and portable food. A hundred clusters of raisins are specified among the offerings of food which Abigail took to David and his starving followers, so vividly described in 1 Sam: xxv; and again David, when pursuing the Amalekites, finds an Egyptian slave almost dead of starvation—having been deserted when ill by his Amalekite master—and David gives him “bread and dates, a piece of cake of figs, and two clusters of raisins” to revive him; “and when he had eaten, his spirit came again,” and he rewarded David by guiding him against his enemies. 1 Sam: xxx.

If we now take a jump of something over 2,000 years we shall find in *The Winter's Tale* that the clown requires for his warden pies (wardens being a kind of winter pear) “4 poundes of prunes and as many raisins of the sun”—*i.e.* dried on the vine. “Raysins Courrance” or “raysons Corrante” (of Corinth) or

plain "Corauntz," as they were called in the XVith Century, were all what we now call currants, and were "the smal Raysens which are commonly called Corantes, but more rightly Raysens of Corinthe," as Lyte says in 1578; while "great raysynges" were probably from Malaga, whence the largest came, and which is still celebrated for its raisins. (*See Gloss: for "raisins of the sun," &c.*)

It is rather confusing that in Cornwall (Halliwell says in Somersetshire also), raisins should be called "figs"; and "a thoumping figgy pudding" means, in Cornwall, a big plum pudding. Among modern dishes, perhaps, the best known examples of the use of prunes or raisins with meat are Cockie Leekie and Pillau.

As to dates, "whole nations live on little else"; they "serve for the subsistence of 100 millions of soles," says a writer in 1712; and an earlier authority (1655) says: "Dates are usually put into stewed broth." In *Romeo and Juliet* Lady Capulet says: "Hold, take these keys and fetch more spices, nurse"; and she replies: "They call for dates and spices in the pastry" (sometimes misquoted "pantry") *i.e.* the room in which the pastry was made.

Spices were lavishly used in Elizabethan days, especially as "pouderes" such as "pouder douce," "pouder forte," and so on. (*See Glossary, and also see Notes, p. 56.*) They were added in far larger quantities than we could tolerate; cinnamon and saffron especially were mixed with the most unlikely ingredients, the latter chiefly for colouring. It may not be generally known that Saffron Walden takes its name from the cultivation of saffron, as Linton does from the growing of flax. Such a mixture as

ginger with partridge would probably not be liked now; it may, however, be excellent—will some one try it? Spices were considered to preserve as well as to flavour the other ingredients in a dish. *The Babee's Book* quotes from *The Household Book* of Bishop Percy the list of spices used in 1512, the cost for the year being over £25; in it we find "piper, ginger, cinnamon, granes" (*i.e.* "graines of Paradise, or the spice which we call graines," says Cotgrave), "Cardemones, Tornsole, Powder of Anies, Galynga, Longe Piper, Blaynshe Powder"; but, besides spices, that expenditure also included "Raysons, Corens, Prones, Mace, Clovvez, Suguor, Allmonds, Dayttes, Nuttmugs, Saunders, Rice-confitts, and Safferon" (for unfamiliar names, *see* Glossary).

A great feature at Tudor banquets was Brawn (of wild boar) with mustard, and at Christmas the Boar's head; the word brawn meant a boar in the North, but also applied to any lean meat besides wild boar. Another important dish at feasts was a "Peacock in his pride" (*i.e.* splendour), and very glorious he must have looked with all his exquisite plumage on and his tail spread. This magnificent and favourite dish apparently wound up the feast, as the directions are to "serve hym for the last Cours."

Warner, quoting from Gough, says the peacock was stuffed with spices and sweet herbs, its head covered with a wet cloth, to preserve the feathers of the crown while the bird was roasting; the head and neck being left on, though the skin, with all the other feathers and the tail attached, was put aside, to be replaced later, when it was "served whole with the comb entire and the

tail spread." Some persons, it is said, covered the peacock with leaf of gold instead of its own feathers, and put a piece of cotton dipped in spirits in its beak, to which they set fire as they put it on the table. It is more likely that they had recourse to these decorations in cooking the sober-plumaged peahen. The honour of serving it was reserved for the ladies most distinguished for birth, rank, or beauty; one of them, followed by the others, and attended by music, carried in the peacock on a gold or silver dish, and set it before the master of the house, or the guest most distinguished for his courtesy and valour; or, after a tournament, before the victorious knight, who took an oath of valour and enterprise on its head* and who had to display his skill in carving the "favourite bird." The *Romance of Launcelot*, we are told, represents King Arthur performing this office to the satisfaction of 500 guests; how many peacocks he had thus to dispose of, I cannot say.

Holinshed is the authority as to the peacock having been the favourite dish of Pope Julius III., and he gives the following amusing, if not edifying, anecdote to prove it:—"At another time he (the Pope) sitting at dinner, pointing to a peacocke upon his table which he had

* Mrs. Markham mentions that at a banquet given by Philip the Good, preparatory to going on a crusade to the Holy Land, a roasted pheasant was brought in, and carried round to each person present. The Duke first vowed by the pheasant to combat with the infidels till death; and after him all at table made similar vows. Sometimes, she says, a live peacock took the place of the pheasant."

[Both Mrs. Markham and Warner are mistaken; it was always a live, not a roasted bird; see Gibbons' *Decline and Fall*, Smith's Ed.; vol: VIII., p. 183, and Swainson's *Folk Lore of Brit: Birds*, p. 171, &c.; Folk Lore Soc: 1885.—J.H.]

not touched, 'Keepe (said he) this colde peacocke for me against supper and let me sup in the garden, for I shall have ghests (guests).' So when supper came, and amongst hot peacockes he saw not his cold peacocke brought to his table, the Pope, after his wonted manner . . . fell into extreme rage, &c., whereupon one of his Cardinals sitting by desired him, saieing: 'Let not your holinesse, I praie you, be so moved with a matter of so small weight.' Then this Julius the Pope, answering againe, 'What,' said he, 'if God was (so) angrie for one apple that He cast our first parents out of Paradise for the same, whie may not I, being His Vicar, be angrie then for a peacocke, sithens (since) a peacocke is a greater matter than an apple.'"

We have an authoritative picture of a peacock feast on the magnificent XIVth Century brass in the great Parish Church of St. Margaret which stands in the Saturday Market Place at King's Lynn. Warner's book: *Antiquitates Culinarice* has a drawing of it. The brass is dated 1364, and is to commemorate Robert Braunche and his two wives, Letitia and Margaret, "who are represented under rich canopies with eight weepers (mourners) in male and female costume." Below the figures is shown a banquet, said to be that at which Edward III. was entertained by Braunche, who was then Mayor of the town. Eight men are seated at the table; five of these wear caps, the King being distinguished by a crown round his hat; the other three have their thick hair uncovered; three ladies also sit with them at the festal board—which is a long, narrow table draped with a cloth. They are all seated facing you on a long bench with a high Gothic back, and

the wall behind is decorated with a design of stars, probably a kind of fresco, gold stars perhaps on a blue ground. Each guest has a knife (but no spoon nor fork), a platter and a piece of bread, and there are various things on the table, which may be salt cellars, and several cups and flagons, but there is not one cup for each person.

The Brass shows the moment when the "hotte peacockes" are brought in on gold dishes by the fair ladies, one at each end of the scene, escorted by musicians playing on the crwth (Welsh harp), lute, trumpets, &c. The birds have their crests on but no "fedurs," so perhaps they were gilded; two long skewers (?) which are shown sticking in the birds, may have been intended to hold by, to facilitate carving—in the absence of forks, which were not yet used, A kneeling page is offering a dish to one guest, while another page is springing over the table, one leg already thrown across it, a perilous position one would think in which to receive so large a dish!

For cooking the peacock, here is a recipe of 1381, and no doubt the same methods prevailed till Elizabeth's time: "At a feste Rialle pecokkes schalle be dighte on this manere take and flee of tho Skynne withe tho fedurs taylor and tho nekke and tho hed ther on then take tho Skyn withe al tho fedurs and lay hit on a table abroad and strawe ther on grounden commyn then take tho pecok and roste hym and *endore hym withe Rawe yolkes of

* "Endore," to make of a bright golden colour by brushing over with raw yolks of eggs.—(J.H.) Halliwell gives the same meaning, but adds that the word did not mean *gilded*, "as explained in the Glossary of Syr Gawayne."

eggus and when he is rosted take hym of and let hym Cole a while and take and sowe hym in his skyn and gilde his combe and so serue hym forthe withe tho last Cours." (Arundel MS. 334f. 162 v.—Rialle, royal; dighte, prepared; flee, flay; strawe ther on, sprinkle on it; commyn, cummin.)

Another recipe of 100 years later is similar: "Fle him the skyn and the ffethurs togidre and the hede still to the skyn of the nekke," and when roasted "wynd the skyn with the fethurs and the tail abought the body and serve him forthe as he were alive." (*Two XVth Cent: Cook: Books.*)

The peacock appears as late as 1791 at a dinner given in the West Indies to H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence, afterwards King William IV., when the "royal bird with his tail spread was placed in the middle of the table."

Though the cooks were so familiar with the peacock in the kitchen, the early writers had some strange views of the natural history of the bird. Here is a delightful description, worth recording because it so well describes the look and ways of a peacock: "Paon, the peacock, is a very fayre byrde, and it hath a long necke, and hath on his hede feders lyke a lytell crowne; he hath a long tayle the whyche he setteth on hye very rycheli, but when he loketh on hys lothely fete he lateth his tayle sinke. Be nyght, whan the pecocke can not see hymselfe, than he cryeth ernefully and thynketh that he hath lost hys beautye and with his crye he feareth all serpents in places when as they here hym crye, and whan the pecocke clymmeth hye that is a token of rain." (Rycheli, nobly; lothely, ugly; feareth, scares; for clymmeth and ernefully, see Gloss:). The peacock, it is said, eats

snakes, which may, rather than his unmusical voice, account for the fact that he "feareth all serpents."

A charming book might be written of early ideas on Natural History. For instance, Symmer (1629) says: "The partridges of Paphlagonia have two hearts." I do not know if they are still so distinguished, but I recall no mention of it in *The Rose and the Ring*. I am also much attracted by the abrupt simplicity of this entry: "Pertrytche, a byrde." Again, who nowadays recognises the healing powers of the tench? and yet we are told "The tench . . . is observed to be a physician to other fishes . . . and it is said that a pike will neither devour nor hurt him, because the pike being sick or hurt by any accident is cured by touching the tench."*

Had any of us been honoured by an invitation to a feast in Tudor days, we should have found it difficult to know how to eat elegantly the food set before us, for eating with the fingers prevailed in England till nearly 100 years after our *Cookery Book* was published; and an "ewerer" attended at feasts with water and towels, that the guests might wash their hands. Among Archbishop Parker's gifts to his native town of Norwich and to his College, we find several silver gilt basins and ewers recorded.

As to forks, these were not introduced into England till the reign of James I. when they came from Italy, and were apt to be looked upon as an affectation. Fynes Moryson, in his *Travels*, thus advises the travelled Englishman:—"Also I admonish him, after

* Mrs. Lee, in *Anecdotes of Birds, Reptiles and Fishes*, refers to the fact that the Tench, being credited with healing powers, is called "Dr. Tench" in some parts of the country.

his return home to . . . lay aside the spoone and forke of Italy, the affected gestures of France, and all strange apparel; yea, even those manners which with good judgment he allowes, if they be disagreeable to his countrymen." Before Queen Elizabeth's days the absence of forks would not perhaps have been so much felt, as the dishes were chiefly hashes, eaten with a spoon; but in her reign large joints of meat were introduced, which must have added to the difficulty.

At great entertainments the dishes, flagons, salt cellars, and other plate must have looked splendid; but for ordinary tables "treene," *i.e.* wooden platters or trenchers, only slowly gave way to pewter, and wooden spoons to those of silver or other metal. Warner indeed, writing 1791, says that trenchers continued in use in many Colleges and Inns of Court "till within these very few years." Pewter vessels could be hired by the year. The beautiful porcelain and glass of a modern dinner table were still among things to come.

Carving, as we have seen in reference to peacock feasts, was originally done by the most distinguished person present, but in later days a regular "kerver" was instituted, and elaborate rules laid down as to the details of carving, while the various terms applied to carving varied with each dish—such as "Breake that Deare," "Leach (*i.e.* slice) that Brawn," "Lift that Swan," "Dismember that Heron," and so on. Are they not all written in *The Boke of Keruyng*e [that is to say the boke of *Seruyce and Keruyng*e and *Sewyng*e and all *Maner of Office in his kynde vnto a Prynce or ony other Estate and all the Feestes in the yere*]. *Emprynted by Wynkyn de Worde at London in Flete Strete at*

the Sygne of the Sonne. The yere of our Lorde God mccccxiij. (Sewynge was assaying food against poison.) In *The Babee's Book* we have directions for carving with the knife and hand only.

The positions and privileges of the various guests at feasts in ancient days were very strictly observed; and in *The Babee's Book* is a list of the order of precedence, by one John Russell, which varies much from that of Sir Bernard Burke. It begins with the Pope! and after a Viscount came a Mitred Abbot; while the proper place of the Mayor of Calais was between the Clerk of the Crown and Doctors of Divinity.

A picturesque description is given in *Antiquitates Culinarie* of the Queen's Dinner in Westminster Hall after the Crowning of Henry V. and the "faire ladie Katharine" in 1421, when the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Winchester sat on her right, and the King of Scots on her left, and the latter was "served with covered messe as were the forenamed bishops, but yet after them." The positions assigned to Duchesses and Countesses are given. "The Countesse of Kent sat under the table at the right foote" (probably on the step of the dais), "and the Countess Marshall at the left"; while the Earl of March holding a sceptre in his hand, "kneeled on the right side, the Earl Marshall in like manner on the left of the Queene." Let us hope, for their sakes, that this dinner was not so lengthy as that of the "Archbushope of Yorke," of which mention has been made. All this ceremonial and strictness of precedence must have made the duties of a Marshall very onerous; and how to arrange all the guests appropriately at their various tables must

have been enough to turn his hair grey, had he not had the established rules to support his authority. "A Duke," he was instructed, "may not keep the hal, but each estate by themselfe in chamber or in pavilion, that neither see other, Marques, Erles, Bishops and Viscounts, al these may sit at a messe; a Baron and the Maior of London, and three Cheefe Judges and the Speaker of the Parliament, all these may sit two or three at a messe; and all other states may sit three or foure at a messe; also the Marshall must understand and knowe the bloode royale, for some Lorde is of the blood royall and of small lyvelyhood (*i.e.* in poor circumstances), and some knight is wedded unto a lady of roiall blood, she shall keep the estate of her Lord's blood—also the Marshall must take heed unto strangers and put them to worship and reverence, for if they have good cheere it is (to) your Souveraine's honour.

"Also a Marshall must take heede if the King send your Souveraine (master) any message, and if he send a Knight, receive him as a Baron, and if he sende a Yeoman, receive him as a Squire, and if he send a Groome, receive him as a Yeoman. Also it is no rebuke to a Knight to sette a Groome of the King's at his table"—a matter which, one would gather, had given rise to question among Knights.

A curious feature at Royal Wedding Feasts in ancient days was a sort of "march past" of wedding gifts. To how late a date this continued I have not ascertained; but in the days of Edward III., when his third son, Lionel, Duke of Clarence, married the daughter of Gelasius II., Duke of Milan (as described by Stow) there were thirty courses of service at table, and "betwixt every

course presents of wondrous price intermixed . . . all which John Gelasius, chiefe of the choise youth, bringing to the table did offer Lionel. . . . There were in one onely course seventy goodly horses adorned with silke and silver furniture and in the other, silver vessels, falcons, hounds, armour for horses, costly coates of mayle, . . . apparell distinct with costly jewels," and so on; while among the splendid gifts at the marriage of Richard II. with Isabel of France, one gold cup is mentioned which was studded with jewels, the value of which was then £3,000—equal to £30,000 of our money. What would it fetch to-day at Christie's?

Another great feature of bygone banquets was music—nowadays represented by the Opera singers in the music gallery of the Mansion House, who enliven the Lord Mayor's guests; or by the band at a public restaurant. But the minstrel of old days was a permanent and important member in the Courts of great people. We have seen that music took a leading part in the Peacock Feasts; and one of the best known stories in English history, whether authentic or not, is that related by the old French chronicler, of Blondel discovering the place of Richard Cœur de Lion's captivity by singing "a song in French which King Richard and Blondel had sometime composed together," and "when Richard heard that song he knew it was Blondel that sang it; and when Blondel paused at half the song, the King began the other half and completed it. Thus Blondel won knowledge of the King his Maister."

In the account of an entertainment given to Queen Elizabeth by the Earl of Leicester, in 1575,

a vivid sketch is given in a few words of the Minstrel who sang a "solemn song" before the Queen. "His cap off, his head seemly rounded tonster-wise, fair kumbed that with a sponge daintily dipt in a little capon's grease, was finely smoothed, to make it shine like a mallard's wing. . . . After three low courtesies cleared his voice with a hem . . . tempered a string with his wrest, and after a little warbling on his harp for a prelude, came forth with a solemn song, warranted for story out of King Arthur's acts." (Kumbed, combed; wrest, tuning key.)

Yet another peculiarity of ancient entertainments was the "sotylyte," or subtlety *i.e.* allegorical, heraldic, or other groups made of sugar, wax, tinsel, &c., which, appropriately or inappropriately, came in with the various courses; for instance, John Russell mentions a "subtlety" which came with the first course of a dinner, and represented:

"Maydon Mary that holy Virgyne

And Gabrielle gretynge heer with an Ave;"

—singularly appropriate to appear with the usual opening dish of "Brawne and Mustarde"!

In the second course:

"An Angelle goodly . . .

Singing with a mery chere vnto iij. shepherds
uppon a hille."

In another instance, with the four courses of a fish dinner came the Four Seasons: Spring, "a galaunt yonge man standyng on a cloud"; Summer, "a hasty man standyng in fyre"; while Autumn was described in the following words:

“A man with sikelle in his hande
 In a ryver of water stande
 Wrapped in wedes in werysome wyse,”

and so tired that “he had no wish to dance.”
 Lastly came poor:

“Wyntur with his lokkys febille and old
 Syttynge uppon a stone both hard and cold”

On another occasion, that of a “Feste for a
 Bryde,” there was brought in “an antelope with
 inscription:

“Beith all gladd and mery that sitteth at this
 messe
 And prayeth for the Kyng and all his.”

But some were much more elaborate, almost like
tableaux vivants, or like the groups that take part
 in a Lord Mayor’s Show, as can be seen from
 contemporary descriptions.

We may be glad that it is no longer the
 fashion to add to the hilarity of a feast by such
 painful surprises as the “Animated Pie” and the
 “Almaine Leap into a Custard.” Of the former,
 the best known instance is that in which Jeffery
 Hudson, the dwarf, was served up at Burleigh
 in (luckily for him) a *cold* pie in 1630—when the
 Duke and Duchess of Buckingham entertained
 King Charles and Queen Henrietta Maria; after
 which Hudson was presented by the Duchess to
 the Queen. Warner describes, I think, the last
 historical “Animated Pie” on record, which appeared
 as late as the end of the XVIIIth Century, at the
 entertainment already mentioned, given in the West
 Indies to the Duke of Clarence: “A mighty pie made
 its appearance, out of which, on its being opened, a

flock of living birds flew forth, to the no small surprise and amusement of the guests." Warner adds: "For the above account I am indebted to the friendship of a respectable military gentleman who was present on the occasion."

But the "Almaine leap" joke was of a heavier kind of wit. "A vast dish, broad and deep, was filled with custard and placed on the table, and while the company was busily employed in despatching their meal, a Zany, or Jester, suddenly entered the room, and springing over the heads of the astounded guests, plunged himself into the quivering custard, to the unspeakable amusement of those who were far enough off from the tumbler not to be bespattered by this active gambol." This custard may have been the "custard politic" mentioned by Halliwell as "the large custard prepared for the Lord Mayor's Feast," and into which it was, a recent writer tells us, the duty of the Lord Mayor's fool to leap, fully dressed. Shakespeare refers to this custom in *All's Well That Ends Well*: "You have made shift to run into't, boots and spurs and all, like him that leaped into the custard." The "Almaine leap" was evidently a favourite joke in Queen Elizabeth's days, as Warner says Ben Jonson refers to it in *Devil's an Ass*:

"He may perhaps, in tail of a Sheriff's dinner
Skip with a Rhime o' the table, from New Nothing
And take his Almaine leap into a custard
Shall make my Lady Mayoress and her sisters
Laugh all their hoods over their shoulders."

The New English Dictionary says the Almain (? German) was a "kind of Dance, hence

Almain leap" — sometimes corrupted into the "Almond leap"; and quotes Chapman, 1634: "An Almain and an upspring, that is all"; and Sedley, 1701: "I will leap the half Almond with you."

With a more serious thankfulness we may rejoice that we no longer fear the administration of intentional poison in our food when we are bidden to dinner—a fear which was evidently never absent from the feaster of old days, and led to all the precautions we have noted of having the dishes and wines tasted beforehand. Poison, as we know, was carried to an Art in the Middle Ages, especially in Italy, and was even conveyed in gloves and handkerchiefs.

Music was not the only diversion provided at entertainments; fireworks also sometimes entered into the programme in Queen Elizabeth's days—and in the latest Report of the Historical MSS. Commission is the following delightful description, quoted from a letter written by Henry Killigrew to the Earl of Leicester, which is among the Pepys MSS. preserved at Magdalene College, Cambridge, relating to the preparations for Queen Elizabeth's visit to Kenilworth in 1575. The programme is sketched as follows:—

"The first evening in the meadow:—Serpents of fire. Eight or ten pots of wonderful and pleasing things. Also birds to fly about in the air scattering fire. Two dogs and cats, which will fight in the fireworks.

"The second evening (in) the Courtyard of the Palace:—A fountain throwing wine, water and fire seven or eight hours continually. This will be worth seeing for its marvellous fireworks. Three wheels of wonderful scented fire and of different colours.

“The third evening in the river—A dragon” (a compliment probably to the Tudor emblem) “as big as an ox, which will fly twice or thrice as high as the tower of St. Paul’s, and at that height will burn away, and suddenly will issue from its whole body dogs, cats and birds, which will scatter fire on all sides. There will be many other things in these fireworks impossible to describe in writing.” Mr. Killigrew in his letter also explains that all these glories “will ask two months work,” and “the charges will draw to £50, which sum he desires not to have in his own hands but that he may receive it by £4 or £5 at a time.”

With regard to wines, the very names are different to what modern cellars produce—with the exception of “Claret wyne,” or “Clarry”; but even this, as it was made with honey and aromatic spices, was not like modern Claret; and we no longer lay in Rumney, Osey, nor Malmesey, nor do we mix the favourite Tudor drink of Ipocras.

We shall notice that our little Cookery Book gives the names of many dishes for which it records no recipe. I have traced recipes for some of these in other early books, and they will be found in the Notes: others are also worth mentioning, such as the following for “Chuettes or pyes.” In our book they are said to be “of fyne mutton,” but in *The Noble Boke of Cookery* is a recipe for “Chewettes of beef”:

“To make chewettes of beef, tak beef and cutt it small and do thereto pouders of giunger, clowes and other pouders, grapes, vergius, saffron and salt, and toile them well togedure put chekins chopped in coffins and yolkes of eggs brok smale and bak them and serve them.” Chewetts

seem always to be of minced meat or fish (beef, mutton, veal, eel or oysters are mentioned) mixed with spices, yolks of eggs, raisins, ginger, mace, dates, &c., and first parboiled, then baked in pastry—as one recipe expresses it: “and so put them in coffins”—a sort of fresh mincemeat, but with other meat than suet. Another recipe for them I find in *The Good Huswives Handmaid*: “Take a little veale and slice it and parboile it, then take it up and presse it in a faire cloth and mince it very fine, take corans and dates and cut them very small, take some marie or suet and the yolkes of three or foure egges and pepper, salt and mace fine beaten, and the crums of bread fine grated, thẽ mingle all these together and put in suet enough and they will be good pies.” (Faire, clean; marie, marrow; toile, see Gloss:)

For “Baken Lamprey,” mentioned in the second course of “Service for Fyshe Dayes,” John Russell, in *The Babee’s Book*, gives in rhyme a recipe to serve Lampreys which had been first baked in a pastry “coffin”:

“Open the pastey lid, ther in to have a sight,
Take theñ white bred thyñ y-kut and lizt,
Lay hit in a chargere dische or plater ryght,
With a spone theñ take owt the gentille galantyne,”
(which was laid on the slices of bread)—

“Then take powdur of synamome and temper hit
with red wyne,

The same wold plese a pore mañ y suppose welle
and fyne;

Mynse ye the gobyns as thyñ as a grote,
Thañ lay them vppon youre galantyne stondynge
oñ a chaffire hoote;”

(i.e. which is standing on a hot chafing dish)

“Thus must ye dize a lamprey owt of his coffyn
cote

And so may your souerayne ete merily be noote.”

(Lize, light; gobyns, pieces; chaffire hoote, hot chafing dish; dize, dight; coffyn cote, the pastry in which it was baked; souerayne, master.)

“Shrimpes” come into the same course in our book as “Baken Lamprey,” and were probably plain boiled as they are to-day. *The Babee's Book* says: “Shrympes should be picked (shelled), laid round a saucer and served with vinegar.”

As shrimps are rarely mentioned in cookery books except as a paste or a sauce, I cannot resist here recording the recipe for a dish in which they are the chief ingredient, viz.: Shrimp Pie, as given in *The Family Receipt Book* previously referred to; it is there said to be “a very delicious dish.”

“Take a quart of shrimps cleanly picked from the shells, and shred with them two or three anchovies. Season them, if well salted when first boiled, only with a few cloves, and a little mace, both finely beaten. Having made a good substantial crust, as they do not want much baking, put a tolerable quantity of butter under and over them, with a glass of white wine, and set the pie thus made into the oven.”

Our Cookery Book gives one recipe for Panne pufte; here is another for “Payn puf” from the *Forme of Cury*: “Eodem modo fiat” (*i.e.* in the same way—as the last receipt given—make) “payn puf, but make it more tendre the past (paste) and loke the past be rōude of the payn puf as a coffyn and a pye.” The preceding recipe referred to was for “Pety peruaūt: Take male marow, hole parade and kerue it

rawe, powdour of gynger, sugar, zolkus of ayreñ datus mynced, raisoũs of coraũce, salt a lytel and loke that thou make thy past with zolkes of Ayreñ and that no watur come therto; and fourme thy coffin and make up thy past"—which, though it suggests a preparation for one's end, is only a direction for shaping the pastry. (Pety peruaũt, and male marow, see Gloss: ayren, eggs; raisoũs, raisins.)

It is curious that among sweet dishes so little is said of apples—one would have thought they would figure largely in an English cook's mind. But we have here only two apple recipes—that for "apple moyse," which sounds excellent, and the "Pyes of grene apples," also good. That apples were greatly esteemed is certain, and the "eminently learned Sir Kenelme Digby" gives an attractive apple recipe—"Apples in Gelly,"—which would be well worth trying, but it is too long to quote in full. You first make a strong syrup of pippins, to which you add both lemon and orange juice; then apples (boiled separately) are swathed in the thinly-pared whole peel of oranges—"pared broad and very thin and all hanging together"—which has been properly preserved beforehand, and when these orange-coated apples are put into the pots or glasses in which they are to be kept, you pour over them the syrupy pippin-water, which then jellies "over and about the apples."

The excellent reprint of Sir Kenelm Digby's recipes, edited by Mrs. Macdonnel in 1910, will enable any cook to follow with every chance of success his clear and minute directions for doing apples thus, in the way "My Lady Paget makes her fine Preserved Pippins." Sir Kenelm however, says he himself thinks that "Apple

Johns" would be better than Pippins, "both for the gelly and substance, and especially at the latter hand (*sic*) of the year"; and adds: "I like them thin sliced, rather than whole; and the Orange Peels scattered among them in little pieces or chips"—practically a different recipe.

I have pointed out in the Notes that the so-called "Custards" of Tudor days were very different in composition to what we now have. In *Two XVth Century Cookery Books* are several recipes for custards of those days. One is made of "Vele," minced and boiled, then "take parcelly, sauge, Isoppe, sauery, wass hem, hewe hem. And cast hem into flessch whan hit boileth"; then you must add spices: "powder of peper, canel, clowes, maces, saffron, salt," all to "boyle togidre," and "a good dele of wyne with all." The meat is then taken from the broth, and into the latter, when cold, you "streyne yolkes and whites of egges thorgh a streynour . . . so many that the broth be styffe ynowe." You next "make faire cofyns and couche iij or iiij peces of flessch" (? the meat you had boiled) "in the coffyns; then take Dates, prunes, and kutte hem; cast thereto powder of gynger and a litull vergeous and put to the broth, and salt, then lete the coffyn and the flessch bake a litull, And then put the broth in the coffyns And lete them bake till they be ynogh." (Hewe, mince or cut; couche, lay.) One kind, called "Custard lumbarde," had no meat in it, only "faire Mary," *i.e.* good marrow, dates and prunes. In the same book we are given a recipe for "Partrich rosted," which says: "Dight him, larde him, and rost him as thou doest a ffesante in the same wise, and serve him forth; then sauce him with

wyne, powder of ginger and salt, and sette hit in a dissh on the fuyre til hit boyle; then cast powder ginger, canell, thereon And kutte him so, or elles ete him with sugur and mustard"! But space forbids quoting more recipes from other ancient cookery books, though they are most attractive. These are enough to show that search in their pages will introduce us to much of interest on the same subject. We must now try, from other old records, to get some idea of the original owner of *A Proper neue Booke of Cokerye*, and nothing is more heartening in the difficult times that we ourselves live in, than to see that England and her sons have survived even more harassing days than ours—and both have come out all the stronger for them.

Of the great Archbishop, Matthew Parker, himself, this is no place for a lengthy biography, but some understanding of his character, of his life and surroundings, drawn chiefly from the portrait of him by his chronicler, Strype, and from Masters* and other authorities, will add much to our interest in the little book from his Library; for Matthew Parker's was a remarkable character among his many remarkable

* Robert Masters was a Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and of the Society of Antiquaries. He published (1753) a history of his College with notices of its Founders, Benefactors, and Masters, incited thereto by "honest Master Strype's reflections" as to the sloth and ingratitude of those who did not preserve "the antiquities of their Colleges." Masters had always "looked upon such bodies as these" (the Colleges) "as instituted for the benefit of the Publick, and consequently accountable to them for the application of the goods entrusted to their care."

contemporaries, in a time of upheaval and renewal, of peril and glory, such as has rarely befallen even a country with so heroic a history as England. One likes to realise that the original of the very book we are reading belonged to one whose strong and individual character and "stout English heart" weathered stormy and dangerous days to Church and State, but who—with so many great things daily pressing on him—never neglected detail (a sure sign of a leader of men); one who found leisure to think of and arrange for supplying the winter fire for the comfort of scholars in the Hall of his College at Cambridge; the restoration and beautifying of the houses he dwelt in; the printing and binding, the paging and cataloguing of books; and who, though abstemious himself, did not neglect the details of a generous hospitality. As regards also *A Proper newe Booke of Cokerye* itself, I think it gives to it a greater interest if we recognise its "setting" in the public and private life of the days of the Tudors as illustrated in the career of the book's first owner.

Matthew Parker was singularly fortunate in having for his biographer John Strype—the son of a native of Brabant, a merchant and silk thrower, who had fled from religious persecution. Strype, though not born till nearly seventy years after Parker's death, made an exhaustive examination of the whole history and records of Parker's work and of the days in which he lived, in order, he says: "To revive and do right to the sacred memory of a righteous man . . . an illustrious member of this Church . . . reforming corrupt religion and restoring the ancient Church of England." He was no doubt specially

interested in the life and doings of so eminent a son of the University of Cambridge as Parker, for Strype was himself, when a youth, both at Jesus College and afterwards at St. Catharine's Hall. He lived to the great age of ninety-four, not dying till 1737.

Strype's *Life and Acts of Matthew Parker* is of the greatest interest in spite of some inaccuracies which information, not available to him at the time he wrote, would have rectified.

Dean Hook, commenting—as far back as 1872—on the “incalculable value” of Strype's writings says, “we may express surprise, while we give utterance to the complaint, that Strype has never had an Editor.” The latest edition of Strype's works was issued by the Clarendon Press in 1821, and was, the Dean says, merely a reprint, in which the original errors were uncorrected. Over forty years have passed since 1872 and as yet Strype has had no Editor!

Alexander Chambers' *Biographical Dictionary* says of Strype that “there is a charm in his manner which seems to bring close to us the periods of which he is writing, and renders his irregular, and sometimes digressive, anecdotes extremely interesting.” But we may say more than this, for Strype seized on the character and the very soul of the man whose Life he wrote, and we feel when we have read Strype's records that Archbishop Parker is our personal friend. The Eastern Counties may well be proud of the long roll of world-famous men who, sons of those sea-washed lands, have added lustre or interest to their country's history. Nelson and Vancouver, Gainsborough, Constable, and Borrow—to name but a

very few—while Chaucer himself has been claimed as a native of King's Lynn. But there are few characters among them all more remarkable than Matthew Parker, who was born in Norwich in the earliest years of the XVIth Century. His father, William Parker, "an honest and free citizen," a worsted weaver and "a calenderer of stuff," belonged to a "family of ancient standing in Norwich"—a man who "lived in good reputation and plenty, and was a gentleman, bearing for his coat of arms in a field gules, three keys erected." Perhaps to these three keys are due his son's idea, when Archbishop of Canterbury, of the three keys of which we shall hear later, for the use of the custodians of the Library containing his MSS. at Corpus Christi College.

When Matthew Parker, in 1559, was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, Queen Elizabeth ordered the Garter King-at-Arms, says Masters, "to make an addition to his paternal coat of three estoiles gules on a chevron Argent." Strype tells us that Parker considered his coat of arms "not so much as marks of honour as admonitions of his duty"; and therefore endeavoured to "open the gates, as it were with keys, to such as would enter the kingdom of God and . . . to bring the blind as it were by the Star in the East . . . to the marvellous light of the Word of God."

Matthew's great-grandfather, Nicholas Parker, was Registrar to the then Archbishop of Canterbury, and perhaps to this grandfather we may trace the very marked, and probably inherited, interest which Matthew Parker always took in old records. His mother was "Alice, of the worshipful house of Monins or Monings, of Suffolk," and to

her was left the care of her son's education from the time he was twelve, at which age he lost his father, when (so says Mr. P. Browne's *History of Norwich*) Matthew was sent to the old Free Grammar School in St. Matthew's Parish in Norwich, "of which he must have been one of the last scholars"; while Masters, in his *History of Corpus Christi College*, says that "for perfecting him in grammar learning" his mother "provided Mr. Neve for his instructor at her own home"—perhaps as a special tutor while he daily attended the Grammar School. Parker himself says he was "educated in the parish of St. Clement, near Eye-bridge," and gives a list of his teachers while at Norwich, mentioning those who taught him reading, writing and singing—as "severe teachers," but William Neve, his teacher in grammar, as "an easy and kind master." To the end of his life Matthew Parker took special delight in furthering the increase in the number of Free Schools, himself founding or helping to found them. Among other such schools was that at Stoke, which was "a Grammar School for children to be instructed in good learning and in the principles of the Christian religion"; they were to be taught "not only grammar but . . . all other studies of humanity . . . to sing, to play upon the organs, etc."—poor children gratis, but gentlemen's children also went.

Other schools at Sandwich, at Rockdale, and at Eastbridge owed their origin to Parker; in the last of these, schoolmasters were "to teach 20 poor children gratis" to read, to write fairly, and to sing, "and especially the skills of singing and writing." Three days a week they were "to sing

aloud the Litany and other short prayers," and they were to be provided with books, pen, ink and paper. Parker procured openings for the most promising of such scholars at both Universities, where he himself founded many Scholarships and Fellowships when he became Archbishop. Among these were three Scholarships founded in 1567 at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, for boys from his native town of Norwich, and to these in 1569 he added two Fellowships and two Scholarships at Corpus, also for Norwich boys and men, paying "£320 to the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Citizens and Commonality" of that City, in exchange for an annuity of £18 from the Corporation Estates for their use—the value of that sum in his day was about ten times what it would now represent.

In 1574 he, for their "more convenience and benefit . . . allotted them chambers in the College, and procured them several books to be used in common by them in their studies, whereby he saved them much money that must otherwise have gone out of their purses to provide them." Among the books to be used in common were: *Bible with Glossary; Greek New Testament; Concordance, Græco - Latin Lexicon; and Historia Antiquitat: Cantabrigæ, Anno 1574.* With Parker's usual thoroughness and attention to detail he also provided for three of these scholars, perhaps for more, beds, mattresses, bolsters, and "coverlids of tapestry"; nor did he forget to help towards an "increase of their pittance at dinner." Again, in 1574, we find him giving Corpus Christi College "£500 of clear money . . . for the increase of the Commons of the Fellows and Scholars."

In 1569, two scholars were arranged for by

Parker to be sent free from Canterbury to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; and about the same time he prevailed on Queen Elizabeth to give, from the rent of tenements at Westminster, £8 13s. 4d. yearly, "for the more happy progress and increase of three scholars" at the same College, two of whom were to come from Norfolk and Suffolk, and one from Lincolnshire with which Parker was connected by having been Dean of Lincoln; for one of his characteristics was to keep an unflinching interest in places with which his private history or his public duties had brought him in touch.

Parker also, in 1571, arranged with the Colleges of Gonville and Caius and Trinity Hall, for the support (at his own expense) of a scholar at each, one to study Physic, and one Law. But these appear to be only some of the cases of scholars whom he undertook to support or got others to befriend.

With regard to starting one of the Free Schools—the one at Sandwich—Strype gives an amusing account of Parker going (when Archbishop), in 1563, to inspect "the ground and situation of the School." He rode over five or six miles from Bekesbourne, where he was then living, arriving at Sandwich at seven o'clock in the morning, "that coming so soon he might prevent formalities receiving him." But "though that morning were very foul and rainy, yet found he the Mayor and his Jurats (Aldermen) ready at the Town Gate to accompany him to his lodging, and so to the Church." He writes to a friend at Court this charming description of the Holbein group that met him: that "they were men of

honest civility and comely grave personages, and of good understanding." (We seem to see them in their velvet caps, fur-trimmed robes and chains of office.) "And that their streets were clean, as might be for the straitness of them. That their service was sung in good distinct harmony and quiet devotion. That the singing men (choristers) were the Mayor and the Jurats with the headmen of the town, placed in the quire far and distant, in as good order as he could wish."

Parker, it will be noticed, always insisted on singing being taught, as well as reading and writing, a matter in which, as in many others, he was before his time. It is remarkable to find his opinion of the importance of singing corroborated to-day by the Head Master of Eton, Dr. Lyttelton, who at a Conference of Headmasters lately gave his experience of the value of musical teaching for schoolboys, both from an intellectual and from a hygienic point of view; he said: "Boys who are continually among the *élite* in the matter of intellect are those who sing. I assert that that is partly due to the musical training they have received. Such training as sight-reading requires the immediate translation of thought into action. It is a direct stimulant of the right kind to the brain. Class singing among young children improves almost every faculty. It certainly improves the health; for singing in the proper attitude puts the body in a most hygienic position, developing the lungs and the frame."

Curiously enough no mention seems made of arithmetic as being among the subjects insisted on by Parker to be taught in the Free Schools, though one of the first things he attended to, on

taking up any new duties himself, was to set the accounts in order; at Stoke, at Cambridge and at Canterbury we find him invariably doing this.

Parker's own school days came to an end when, at the age of sixteen he was admitted to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. A friend of his family used his influence to get him admitted to the University, but Parker himself says that for a University education he was indebted solely to his mother's self-denying generosity. Masters, in his History, refers to his "extraordinary progress in Philosophical studies" at Cambridge, and says that in a few years Parker made great advances in the study of Divinity, which laid the foundation of his distinction as an authority in Ecclesiastical History and procedure. He was so distinguished a Cambridge scholar "that when Cardinal Wolsey," also an Eastern Counties' man, "was looking out for men of character to fill his new College at Oxford, he invited him thither." But, as Strype says: "Our Parker, . . . by the persuasion of . . . friends, went not"; and fortunate it was that he so decided, for such of those who went as were "favourers of the Gospel and readers of the Scriptures" were "put into a doleful dungeon in that College, for that reason . . . and many of them died."

Among Parker's Cambridge contemporaries and great personal friends were Nicholas Bacon and William Cecil (the great Lord Burghley), who both took their Degrees at the same time as he did; and his circle of intimate friends included four others—Ridley, Latimer, Bradford and Bilney—who were all afterwards martyred. To Bilney, Parker was much attached—as indeed all who knew him were;

“little Bilney,” as Latimer affectionately calls him; who, he says, was “meek and charitable, a simple, good soul, not fit for this world.” In another place Latimer reverts again to him as “Master Bilney, or rather Saint Bilney, that suffered for God’s Word sake: the same Bilney was the instrument whereby God called me to knowledge; for I may thank him, next to God, for that knowledge that I have in the Word of God.” And again: “I went with him to visit the prisoners in the tower at Cambridge, for he was ever visiting prisoners and sick folk.” Yet this gentle and loveable soul was, in 1531, burnt at the stake at Norwich, three of his College friends, Warner, Allen and Matthew Parker being with him to the last. “Nor were these three scholars,” says Dr. Stokes in his *History of Corpus Christi College*, “ever likely to forget the pathetic scene which they witnessed as they stood by the stake of their friend at Norwich. ‘Dr. Warner came to him to bid him farewell, who spake but few words for weeping. Upon whom Bilney did most gently smile and inclined his body to speak to him a few words of thanks, and the last words were these: O Master Doctor, Feed your Flock, Feed your Flock, that when the Lord cometh, He may find you so doing; and farewell, good Master Doctor, and pray for me. And so he (Warner) departed without any answer, sobbing and weeping.’”

Parker, who had stood by him at the stake, proved later his great affection for Bilney by giving a “large and distinct account of all particulars relating to him, from his condemnation to his death,” as having himself been a “diligent eye and ear witness”; and defended Bilney against the

assertion of Sir Thomas More that he had recanted at the stake.

In 1534 Parker, having been ordained and elected Fellow of his College, was appointed Chaplain to Queen Anne Boleyn, and in the same year made Dean of the College of Stoke by Clare, twenty miles from Cambridge, and "pleasantly situated," says Dean Hook, "in a close surrounded by six acres of land and an orchard." It was well endowed with lands and possessed another more curious endowment in the payment of 8,000 eels annually from Fordham and Lakenheath. Into his garden at Stoke, Parker "introduced the tube rose and pink, and regaled his friends occasionally upon apricots which had been lately introduced from Epirus."

The College of Stoke by Clare was subsequently suppressed, though Parker, who had put all there in good order, did his best to save it. And "when he could not save the College any longer, he saved at least the remembrance of it, by conveying away thence a small square of glass painted with the Coat of Arms of the Founder, the Lord Mortimer, having three lillies, which he set upon his lodge at Bene't College (*i.e.* Corpus Christi), and (it) remains there till this time." This square of glass was perhaps the origin of one of the quarterings when a new Coat of Arms was bestowed on Corpus Christi College.

Queen Anne Boleyn, says Strype, "was extraordinary munificent towards poor scholars"—a trait for which one had hardly given her frivolous nature credit. The Queen held Parker in the highest estimation, discerning his honest and reliable character. "Not long before her death" she "gave

him a particular charge to take care of her daughter Elizabeth (afterwards the glorious Queen of England)," a charge which Parker never forgot, nor Elizabeth, though in his old age her fickle nature was too often influenced by the flatteries of Leicester and others, who had set themselves to oppose the Archbishop.

Matthew Parker on taking up the work at Stoke at once evinced some of his strongest innate characteristics—his love of improving and beautifying his surroundings, and at the same time of reducing to order the business of the work in hand; and in everything making things easily comprehensible to the least learned of those he directed or taught, for he was a born teacher. To this ardent wish of his to put the best within the reach of the greatest number of his countrymen belongs the great work of that English Edition of the Bible, known as *The Bishops' Bible*, the publication of which, nearly forty years later when he was Archbishop, was due to his resolution to have "the Holy Bible set forth well translated into the vulgar tongue for private use, as well as for the use of churches." Nor did he fail to help on the work of others in this direction, for before *The Bishops' Bible* could be ready for publication, he furthered a fresh Edition of the Geneva Bible. In the Bible Exhibition (1911) in the King's Library at the British Museum, was shown a letter written by Parker to Cecil in 1565 and signed with his neatly written signature, begging for an extension of licence to John Bodleigh "for the re-imprinting of the late Geneva Bible by him and his associates for twelve years longer term. For thoughe one other speciall Bible for the

Churches be meant by vs to be set forthe as convenient tyme and leysour hereafter will permytte, yet shall it nothing hindre but rather do moche good to have diversitie of translacions and readingses."

Parker was, in fact, a very rare combination of energy and sympathy, of the artistic and the practical. His energy found an outlet in many and various ways. He "adorned the old house" at Stoke College, paved the hall and decked it with hangings; instituted new Statutes—one being that the Dean and Canons of the College should preach once in the year in every parish from which the College drew rent; he instituted "Lectures (*i.e.* readings) of Scripture" four days a week in the College (Canons bound to be present!) "the first half hour in the vulgar tongue, for the capacity of those that be unlearned," the next half hour in Latin; he founded, as has been mentioned, a grammar school, and did his best for the revenues of the College. As regards the latter, Masters describes how he got the accounts into order and caused them "to be annually engrossed on Parchment for their better preservation. So careful was he of the College estates that he wrote out all the Terriers and Rentals of their Farms and Tenements with his own hand; wherein he set forth, with great exactness, their Boundaries and the nature of their Rents, with the times of their Payment, and then marked them with Letters of the alphabet, in such manner that their situation might be accurately determined upon every occasion, and any new accessories easily distinguished."

Parker's career as a preacher began in 1533,

when he preached in the churches round Cambridge, and established a reputation for learning and eloquence among the many University men who heard him. In later life his health forbade the exertion of preaching as well as of public religious disputations, which others tried to force on him. From these his modest nature, his "natural vitiosity of over-much shamefacedness," as he calls it, made him shrink; for "he was so abashed in himself that he could not raise up his heart . . . to utter in talk to others (that) which with his pen he could express indifferently without great difficulty." But as a young man he was a great preacher. In 1535 he first preached before the Court and before the Lady Elizabeth at Hunsdon. Some two years later he boldly preached at Clare against superstitions and against "the abusive worship of relics, and withal excited" (*i.e.* exhorted) "the people to a willing payment of their taxes." His enemies sent complaints to the Lord Chancellor regarding what he then said, to which Parker replied that he had "moved them not to put their trust and affiance in the holiness and vertue of men's bonys and cotys (bones and coats) whereof we have no certainty, whether they were the reliques of saints or no"; and "that . . . if we had indeed some pieces of Christ's Cross, yet to forget the mystery of Christ's Cross and fall to the worshipping of the tree of His Cross, was a superstitious worship and reprov'd of Ambrose,"—and as to paying taxes, he argued, how could the King defend the Nation without expenses? The Lord Chancellor sent him word that "he should go on and fear not such enemies." Ten years later "at the time of the breaking out of Ket's dangerous rebellion," during

which Parker was at Norwich with his relations, Strype describes how he then not only preached in the churches "both stout and honest, in a free reproof of their courses," to exhort to peace and quietness, and obedience to their Sovereign, "but a-nights would, with the rest of the townsmen, be upon watch, armed." He also, with his brother Thomas and some friends, "one day did adventure himself into Ket's mad camp, resolving . . . to try to reclaim them from their evil course." But he there found all "drowned in drunkenness and luxury," and, deciding that it was "not convenient to talk soberly to such a mad rout," Parker returned to Norwich.

"But the next day in the morning, not having any rest in his own mind till he had discharged his conscience and spoken his mind . . . he went again to the camp with his brother . . . They were now all at their prayers under the Oak of Reformation . . . under which Ket and his party exercised their justice, and the Vicar of St. Martin's, Norwich, their 'chaplain', was reading the Litany. Dr. Parker, judging this a very fair opportunity, ascended the oak, and there preached a sermon to them of prudence, sobriety and moderation. . . . All heard him with much attention and goodwill, the Doctor being a most charming preacher, till one of the wicked . . . sort of them said 'How long shall we bear this hireling teacher, who being hired by the gentlemen, is come hither with a tongue that is sold for money, and tied up for a reward. But for all his prating let us bridle their intolerable power, and bring them under our law.'

“Upon this a tumult was made, and the Preacher was threatened. One was for bringing him down, as he said, with arrows and javelins. And presently there was heard a clattering of weapons under him, so that he looked for present death. Yet those that were next him under the tree were quiet, and none of them made the least stir or murmur against him, but rather defended him. Then Conyers, to divert the mischief, fell to singing the Te Deum, whereat the rabble was composed into some quiet, which gave opportunity to the Preacher to convey himself away.”

Next day, however, at St. Clement's Church we find that he “again spake against these wicked hurly burlies”—before returning to Cambridge.

The year 1544 was marked with good fortune for Corpus Christi College, of which Parker was a Fellow, for he was then, on the recommendation of King Henry VIII, appointed Master, and “to this College he was ever after an extraordinary friend and benefactor.” The following year he was made Rector of Landbeach, near Cambridge.

As soon as he became master of his old College Parker devoted great care to the setting in order of the neglected library, whence some of the precious chained books had been borrowed and not returned, and the contents were in great disorder. His unceasing care of the library only ended at his death.

As at Stoke College so at Corpus Christi one of Parker's first works was to set the accounts in order, and “the account books are still in existence which, written by his own hand, are living attestations of his accuracy,” says Dean Hook.

On a later occasion Parker's business capacity saved not only his own College but the University of Cambridge from "ravening wolves." The property of the University had been threatened by the rapacity of King Henry VIII's Courtiers, and Parker, who was then Vice-Chancellor, accompanied by other Heads of Colleges, personally interviewed the King at Hampton Court, when King Henry was so satisfied with the account presented to him of the revenues and expenses of the Colleges, written on "a fair sheet of vellum," that he confirmed the Colleges in their possessions, which thus "by the judicious management of Matthew Parker were preserved."

In 1547, in the reign of Edward VI, Matthew Parker, at the age of forty-three, married Margaret, who was herself twenty-eight, daughter of Robert Harlestone of Matsall, or Mattishal, Norfolk, gentleman. Margaret Parker, throughout her married life, proved indeed an ideal wife. She was "a person accomplished in all good endowments of body and mind, and towards him of great tenderness." She proved as excellent a wife as she was an excellent woman, "very obedient, indulgent, and observant of her husband, and her behaviour such as it became much taken notice of, and Bishop Ridley is reported to have asked if Mrs. Parker had a sister, as though he should have been willing to have married, if he could have found her fellow." Dr. Sandys, Bishop of London, called her "Parker's Abbess" for "her gravity, chastity, discretion and piety." Strype gives a charming sketch of her: "While Parker was in a private capacity," he says, "she showed her discretion in her good housewifery and frugality; and yet, for her husband's

credit, she had all things handsome about her. But when he was advanced to the high place of Archbishop of Canterbury, she ordered her house-keeping so nobly and splendidly . . . that all things answered that venerable dignity. And her domestic affairs she managed so discreetly and yet so exactly to the mind of her husband, that is creditably and honourably (for he had a generous spirit in him), that he was taken off from caring for these more private concerns, and the more wholly gave up himself to the affairs of the Church and Commonwealth."

Such is the enviable character of one gentlewoman in Tudor days; but, as a matter of fact, those days were as remarkable for the women they trained as for the men who then ruled England. Strype (writing later about the translation into English of Bishop Jewel's *Apology for the Church of England*—a translation made by Anne, the daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke and wife of Sir Nicholas Bacon), remarks on the women, "daughters of men of nobility and quality," who, at this time, "were bred up to skill in tongues and other human learning; taking example, I suppose," he says, "from that King (Henry VIII), who took special care for the educating of his daughters, as well as his son, in learning. And they were happy in learned instructors."

Such women were Lady Jane Grey, Margaret Roper, the devoted daughter of Sir Thomas More, "Baroness Burghley, the Lord Treasurer's Lady," famous as a Greek scholar, and many more. Nicholas Udal writes in King Edward's reign: "Neither is it now a strange thing to hear gentlewomen, instead of most vain communication about the moon

shining on the water, to use grave and substantial talk in Latin or Greek with their husbands of godly matters." Nor was the love of learning confined to one class of women, for Strype mentions "one Elizabeth Lucar, a citizen's wife . . . by the inscription on whose monument it appeared, that she writ very fairly three several hands, that she understood Latin, Spanish, and Italian; writing, speaking, and reading it with perfect utterance and readiness; that she sung in divers tongues, and played excellently upon the viol, lute, and virginals. And beside all this she wrought all needlework that women used to exercise with pen, frame, or stool; understood all drawing of pictures, curious knots and trails, beasts, birds, and flowers, with a curious fancy. And to crown all she was virtuous, read the Scriptures, and directed her faith to Christ as her only mark. And all this she arrived to in her youth, for she died at 27 years of age." All this too when notable house-keeping was required as an essential part of the daily life of wives and daughters.

The years of King Edward VI's reign were perhaps the sunniest of Parker's long life—spent as they were in busy work and a happy home life at the Master's Lodge at Corpus Christi College, and in constant intercourse with many interesting friends, for he was "intimate with all the great men of his day . . . and all that knew him valued him." Of his affection for his friends we get many glimpses in his letters. Cecil he called, "of a long time my special good friend and master"; and to Bacon he writes, "In confidence of your good old heart to me." Parker had no doubt a genius for friendship, both to

receive and to give it. He passed through King Edward's reign, says Strype, "with great reputation and esteem of all good men in Country, Court, and University." The Master's Lodge at Corpus Christi College is said to have been the first place to which men of learning and piety repaired when circumstances brought them to Cambridge; and if they wanted help it was to Parker's purse that they had recourse. Mrs. Parker too made them welcome, and "to the entertainment of her husband's guests . . . contributed by her ready wit, her genial courtesy and a conversation replete with common sense."

But on the accession of Queen Mary we come to some of the heaviest trials, anxieties, and personal dangers of Parker's life. He was despoiled of everything, and, having to resign his post as Master of his College, he retired into Norfolk among his friends, with his wife and family. But "his enemies," Masters says, "pursued him from place to place, oftentimes at the hazard of both liberty and life." In the second year of Queen Mary he and all the rest of the married clergy were "turned out into the wide world to shift for themselves," not only, as Strype explains later, for the "cause of religion," but "because they had married wives"; (on this subject *see* also Kennedy).

Queen Mary had repealed Edward VI's laws sanctioning clerical marriage, and her Commissioners "took upon them wondrous stoutly to separate men from their wives, not only regulars but seculars, against their wills and consents." "Although the marriage of priests (as well as others) were allowed by the Word of God and also by the laws . . . yet the Papists . . . who," says Strype, "equal their

decrees with the sacred Scriptures or prefer them above it, discharged them all from their offices and benefices."

For five long years Dr. Parker, who would not be divorced from his wife, lived in "extreme fear of danger." "Narrow search was made for him to take him," of which, on one occasion, "he having some notice, fled in the night in great peril, and got a fall from his horse so dangerously that he never recovered it." But in spite of loss, persecution and danger, he lived in contentment and "unbroken courage," for Matthew Parker was not the first, nor the last, to experience how God hides, by His own presence, those whom He loves from the provoking of all men; and good even came from the evil of Parker's enforced seclusion, for to the "sweet leisure for study" which this afforded him many of his valuable writings are due.

Parker himself writes, 26 Oct., 1554, of this as follows: "After my deprivation I lived so joyful before God in my conscience and so neither ashamed nor dejected, that the most sweet leisure for study, to which the goodness of God recalled me, created me much greater and more solid pleasures than that former busy and dangerous kind of living ever pleased me. What will hereafter happen to me, I know not; but to God, Who takes care of all . . . I commend myself wholly, and my godly and most chaste wife with my two most dear little sons." And again in 1556: "Hitherto I lived before God so glad, being contented with my lot, that I have neither envied my superiors nor despised my inferiors; directing all my endeavours to this, that I may serve God in a pure conscience and that my betters may not

despise me, nor my underling be afraid of me." Parker's was truly "one of the most lovely and most loveable" of characters. The persecutions of Queen Mary's reign, says Kennedy, obliged men to reason out their position, and so "largely produced religious thought"; and Parker's own character was strengthened by the misfortunes which gave him clear-sightedness, breadth of religious view, and tolerance to others "in so far as was consistent with the essential life and government of the Church."

Dr. Parker occupied himself while in retirement with literary pursuits. He translated the Psalms "into various and elegant metre," as Masters says, and these were printed later, with "the eight several tunes" at the end. Copies of his Psalter are in Corpus Christi, the British Museum and Canterbury Libraries. He also wrote a *Defence of Priests' Marriages*, which, as the full title says, were "only forbid by foreign Laws and Canons of the Pope." This work was an enlargement of a "Discourse" on the subject by another writer, in reply to Thomas Martin, which was in Parker's custody, and edited by him with his own interesting historical additions on the subject.

The *Defence of Priests' Marriages*, though written in Queen Mary's reign, was not published till 1562, when Parker was Archbishop; and "in this," says Strype, "there was nothing omitted of what could be desired, to clear that matter, out of the most ancient histories of the Kingdom, wherein none was more conversant and better acquainted" than Parker. It gives "an historical account of the marriages of priests from before the Conquest, in Saxon times, and brings it down to the reign

of Edward VIth, out of the ancient writers of our nation and the Saxon Chronologies, and some of the allegations are set down in the Saxon tongue." This question of the marriage of Priests intimately affected Parker himself. The Statute of Six Articles promulgated by Henry VIII had included one forbidding priests to marry, but this Statute was at once repealed when Edward VI came to the throne, and King Edward's decree was approved in the Lower House of Convocation. It was almost immediately after this approval by Convocation that Parker married Margaret Harlestone.

But King Edward's laws were themselves repealed by Queen Mary, and "the Edwardine Statute sanctioning clerical marriage," says Kennedy, "had not been revived when Elizabeth succeeded her on the throne,* owing no doubt to Elizabeth's well-known objections, and this injunction continued in working order at least till the middle of the reign."

Queen Elizabeth had personally a rooted dislike to the marriage of the clergy, as well as to that of her courtiers, which latter seems always to have offended her. In this matter of clerical marriage she was singularly perverse, and on one occasion when the Archbishop went to see her, she "took occasion to speak in that bitterness

* According to Sir Simon Degge, King Edward's laws "lay repealed all Queen Elizabeth's days till the first of King James, and then the latter Acts of King Edward were revived and made perpetual"; one result of the repealed laws being that when Margaret Parker died, her brother was considered her heir, though he very honourably passed on her property, chiefly that given her by her husband, to her children.

This matter of the repealed laws no doubt accounts for, though it does not justify, Queen Elizabeth's historical remark to the Archbishop's wife, when the latter was her hostess.

against the holy estate of matrimony" itself, and especially in the case of the clergy, "that the Archbishop was in a horror to hear her." The Queen in this mood issued stringent orders to forbid the wives of the clergy living in their husbands' houses in a Cathedral Close; on which the Archbishop remonstrated with her strongly. Cecil wrote to Parker at this time that "the Queen still continued an enemy to the state of matrimony in Priests; and was near at a point to have forbidden it them absolutely had he (Cecil) not been very stiff at this juncture."

Cox, the Bishop of Ely, wrote on the subject to the Archbishop, earnestly protesting against the royal decree and urging that "to forbid or deface marriage is the doctrine of devils" (quoting no doubt from St. Paul, I. Tim. iv., 1-3). Bishop Cox maintains that it was ordained that the clergy should marry, keep hospitality and bring up their families virtuously, "albeit," he adds, "of late years fond and blind devotion in the Latin Church hath marvellously perverted this godly ordinance with forbidding that which God made free, and with separating of them whom God hath joined."

Many, however, are the people who think that in this matter they know better than their Creator, "and for frail man to be wise above that, is the highest madness and an arrogance not to be suffered," says Strype, quoting from a MS. believed to be by Parker. The later Roman Church has never recognised the sanctifying spiritual value of the complete family life, but, like the Zulu despot, Cetewayo, has always very fully appreciated the formidable combative value of an army of celibates for carrying out the decrees of despotic

power. Strange it is that those so far apart as the Roman Hierarchy and the Zulu King should, on this point, entirely agree!

When Parker wrote in *Defence of Priests' Marriages* he was, as we have seen, still suffering persecution, and in danger of his life under Queen Mary Tudor.

The heavy cloud, however, at last passed away, and in 1557 the illustrious Queen Elizabeth ascended the Throne of England; of whom Camden says: "Let her noble actions recommend her to the praise and admiration of posterity; religion reformed; peace established; money reduced to its true value; a most complete fleet built; our naval glory restored; England, for forty years, most prudently governed; Scotland rescued from the French; France itself relieved; the Netherlands supported; Spain awed; Ireland quieted; the whole world sailed round." The great Queen who now held the sceptre of England "was careful," as Kennedy says, "to explain to her subjects that her claim was 'under God to have the Sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within these her realms, dominions and countries, of what estate, either ecclesiastical or temporal, soever they be, so as no foreign power shall have any superiority over them.'" On Queen Elizabeth's "coming to the Crown, our good Doctor," says Strype, "issued out" of obscurity, and there "fell out" a "great and unthought" change for him; for, from a life of poverty and persecution, he was raised "altogether without his seeking, and with much reluctancy" on his part, to the highest ecclesiastical dignity in England.

On the death of Cardinal Pole, the See of Canter-

bury had remained vacant for nearly a year. Queen Elizabeth left Church matters, for the most part, in the hands of Sir William Cecil, Secretary of State, and Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; and though "there was now before them a greater choice of learned and godly men than any age ever before produced in this land," yet "in serious debate between themselves" they chose Parker to recommend to the Queen to be appointed Archbishop, for "he had in him an admirable mixture of gravity and honesty, learning and prudence, gentleness and obliging behaviour."

A very characteristic description is given by Strype of the correspondence that ensued. Sir Nicholas Bacon wrote at the end of 1558 to Parker (who was laid up at home with the quartan ague, which was "very rife and very mortal about this time"), inviting him to come to him at Burgeny House in Pater Noster Row "for matters touching himself"—but without defining the subject on which he wished to see him. "But our modest learned man, suspecting . . . some public honour . . . endeavoured earnestly to put it by." Parker pleaded his illness, and that "without apparent danger he could not as yet commit himself to the adventure of the air." He still did not know what was suggested, but he said "he should be inwardly heavy and sorry" that he should be thought of for any post "above the reach of his ability, whereby he should but dishonest himself." His great wish was "to dispense God's Word among the simple strayed sheep of God's fold in poor destitute parishes and cures; more meet," he said, "for his decayed voice and small quality than in theatrical and great audience. . . . Of all

places in England, he would wish to bestow most of his time in the University (Cambridge); and to tell Bacon his heart, he had rather have such a thing as Bene't College (*i.e.* Corpus Christi) and a living of 20 Nobles a year at the most than to dwell in the Deanery of Lincoln, which was 200 at least . . . and at the reverence of God he entreated him either to help that he be quite forgotten, or else so appointed, that he were not entangled now of him with the concourse of the world in any respect of public State living."

The Lord Keeper being also afflicted with quartan ague, Parker, on receiving a second summons, wrote to say he would wait upon him at Burgeny or Newmarket, and advised Sir Nicholas not to "stir much abroad in that distemperance of air, so contrarious to the state of men's bodies, once pierced with that insolent quartern." Then followed another and more urgent letter from Cecil, "in the Queen's name," desiring him "to make his undelayed repair into London," but Parker was again too ill to go. Four or five days later Sir Nicholas wrote again with reference to Cecil's letter, "requiring him to come up immediately, if his health would suffer (*i.e.* allow), for certain weighty matters. . . . At these last summons the reverend man comes up," and is told about the Archbishopric intended for him—news which greatly worried him "and made him take so little joy of his being at London as he never had less in his life; and glad he was when his back was turned thereto, as his own words were."

"Hoping he had got himself off" being nominated, Parker, writing in March, 1559, describes to Bacon "what sort of man the Queen should make

choice of for this place. . . . He prayed God then to grant that it chanced neither an arrogant man, nor a faint-hearted man, nor a covetous man," for the first, he said, would both "sit in his own light" and also discourage his fellows from unity; the second would be "too weak to commune with his adversaries, who should be the stouter upon his pusilanimity; the third man not worth his bread, profitable for no estate in a Christian Commonwealth, to serve it rightly."

As regards himself and his own ability, he told both Bacon and Cecil that if they did not restrain their "over much good will" towards him, "he feared in the end he should dislike them both"! They would, he said, by reason of his own "obstinate untowardness jeopardise him into prison" (for opposing the Queen's wish), but he would rather "suffer so, than that he should be in a position wherein he should not serve the Queen's honour, nor live to the honour of the realm. And in fine," he said, "by God's favour and their good helps, he never intended to be of that order (of episcopacy) better or worse, higher or lower." He went on to explain that his means would not stand it: "he was worth thirty pounds when he came up to London, and then wasted a good part. And what would that do to furnish his household?" He pleaded also his bodily infirmity, owing to the fall from his horse, fleeing from such as sought his life, "whereby he was so dangerously hurt that he should never recover from it . . . so that he was fain sometimes to be idle when he would be occupied, and to keep his bed when his heart was not sick." In spite of all, we find Sir Nicholas Bacon in another six weeks again writing to summon him

to Court, saying that had he known anyone more like the description given, he would prefer him to Parker but otherwise he should not be following his advice; and that Parker would hear shortly about it from the Council. Only two days later, 19th May, "a short letter was sent him that for certain causes, the Queen's Majesty intended to use his service; and her pleasure was that he should repair up with such speed as conveniently he might." But Parker, "such was his extraordinary unwillingness to be a Bishop" (or perhaps still too ill to travel), "gave no answer, nor took his journey for some days after the aforesaid letter came to him; so that May 28th they both (Bacon and Cecil) writ to him again, that it was the Queen's pleasure that he should repair up with all speed possible; leaving him not to his *convenient* speed, as they had done in the former letter." Parker then at last came up to the Court, but addressed a letter to the Queen herself, urging all the same drawbacks, and saying that otherwise, for the sake of "her Grace's honourable mother's benevolence . . . he would gladly do anything the Queen wished, but referred himself 'wholly to her Grace's pleasure.'"

But though other names seem to have been suggested, "nothing would do," says Strype, "but Dr. Parker must be the man pitched upon to fill the See of Canterbury." "In the selection of Parker for her Primate" says Dean Hook, "Elizabeth exhibited that sagacity by which she read, as it were by intuition, the character of those with whom she was associated." And so Parker came to London. "It is not often in history," as Kennedy remarks, "that four such persons" (as Elizabeth, Parker, Bacon and Cecil) "are thus connected and find themselves

called in different degrees to guide the destinies of a people through circumstances of almost unique difficulty."

Six months were allowed Matthew Parker after his nomination, to prepare for his new high office, and he was consecrated Archbishop in "Lambhith Chapel," 17 Dec., 1559. Very full particulars exist of every detail of this ceremony of his consecration, and Strype devotes minute care to giving the fullest description of it; this being "one of the great and primary acts of the Reformation, in the constituting of an orthodox and able Metropolitan, since it was the ground on which stood the validity of the rest of the consecrations and ordinations of the succeeding Bishops and clergy of this Church; and likewise since this very matter hath been, with so much ridicule, malice, and falsehood, represented by divers later Popish writers; as though the consecration of this Archbishop and other his fellow Bishops, were performed at a tavern." But there was "Not one word in those days," says Strype, "of a Nag's Head Ordination."* Every

* Dean Hook, in his *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, gives a very full description of Archbishop Parker's Consecration, entirely refuting the Nag's Head legend, which was, he says, first promulgated in Antwerp by an exiled Romanist priest; he also quotes at length the complete refutation of it written to the *Birmingham Catholic Magazine* in 1834, by Dr. Lingard, a Roman Catholic. Dean Hook also mentions that to Archbishop Parker's kinsman, the Earl of Nottingham, himself a Romanist, and present at the Consecration, we are indebted for many interesting particulars of the ceremonial. Kennedy, in his *Life of Archbishop Parker*, reminds us that Dom Birt, the Roman Catholic historian, equally rejects the "ludicrous Story" and *seriatim* confutes all other objections which have been brought forward to the validity of Archbishop Parker's Consecration, and which have been shifted, as is usual in such matters, as each objection was met and negatived.

particular, every witness and ceremony, is recorded by Strype, in whose *Life of Archbishop Parker* they are to be found. All that at the moment concerns us is the character of the Archbishop himself, in whose journal appears the entry: "17th Dec., 1559. I was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury," with the following touching addition (in Latin), "Alas! alas! O Lord God, for what times hast Thou reserved me? Now I am come into the deep waters and the floods overflow me. O Lord I am in trouble; answer for me, and establish me with Thy free Spirit." "Whereby," as Strype says, "it will appear what small joy he took in his honour, and how sensible he was of the mighty burdens of his place"; nevertheless he took up his new, unsought and great responsibilities, "not merely," says Kennedy, "as the scholar . . . but with a firm belief that behind him lay the purposes of God, and underneath him the firm foothold of truth."

We shall not be surprised to find that after the disturbed times of the last reign, Parker found hard work to be done, beginning with the responsibility of filling the vacant Sees, there being then "no Archbishop at all and hardly four Bishops remaining"; for several having died of the plague just before the death of Queen Mary, and six others immediately after, had left no less than ten vacant Sees. In this difficulty, however, he had Cecil's experienced advice to help him. As with the Sees, so with the benefices—in one See alone he found thirty-four benefices vacant. The work was made far more difficult by much of the temporalities having got into the hands of Courtiers, unwilling to relinquish any gains. Parker made

unflagging efforts to have good men appointed to the vacancies, but was further hampered by the prevailing ignorance of the clergy and the great dearth of preachers.

One strange duty which devolved on the Archbishop was due to the action of his predecessor, Cardinal Pole, against all who differed from him in religion; this duty was the reinstating to honour, by posthumous reverence, those whose bodies had by the Cardinal's orders been subjected to indignities. Such were Martin Bucer* and Paul Fagius, of Cambridge, "whose dead bodies had been in the late reign . . . by Cardinal Pole's order . . . digged out of their graves and publicly burnt in the Market Place." Do we give them a thought as we cross the heart of Cambridge? To show honour to their memories "the Public Orator (30 July, 1560) made an oration publicly in St. Mary's," and the Regius Professor of Divinity preached a sermon on that occasion, when "the entrance and walls of the Church were hung with verses in the praises of these men." An account of this act of restitution was sent by the University to the Archbishop.

Again at Oxford, the body of Peter† Martyr's wife, Katharine Vermilia, had, "two years after her burial, been digged up and carried away and buried in a dung-hill" belonging to the then Dean of Christ Church, "who had done it by authority from Cardinal Pole." Having found, from those who did it, where the body had been put, Vermilia's

* The intimate friend of Parker when Professor of Theology at Cambridge. Parker preached his funeral sermon.

† Professor of Theology at Oxford.

bones were rescued and put in a receptacle for re-interment, a "learned and pious sermon" was preached, and "the University hung upon the Church doors many copies of the Latin and Greek verses composed by eminent makers thereof. To ensure that the remains of Vermilia should not again be subjected to such indignity, her bones, before re-burial, were mixed up with those of St. Frideswide (the College founded by Wolsey at Oxford was Christ's and St. Frideswide's)—which bones were kept in 'two silk bags,' and on 'solemn days' were taken out and laid upon the altar to be openly seen and revered." Vermilia and St. Frideswide being now buried in one grave, not only put an end to the paying of undue reverence to the saint, but protected another woman's bones from indignity, and I, for one, feel sure the saint would rejoice to share her tomb with that good woman who "for the love of true religion and the company of her husband" had "left her own country to come into England in King Edward's days." Anyway, by this arrangement, Vermilia's enemies could no longer "rage upon the bones of her, a woman and a stranger."

The year 1560 brings us to what may have been the date of the purchase by the Archbishop—or was it by Mrs. Parker?—of *A Proper newe Booke of Cokerye*; for we find Queen Elizabeth in that year making a Progress from Greenwich westward, and that "coming to Lambeth, she dined with my Lord of Canterbury, together with her Privy Council." How interesting it would be to know the actual menu!

This year also finds the Archbishop, as was ever his wont, befriending foreigners and strangers. In

this instance they were Flemings who had sought refuge under Queen Elizabeth from the persecution in Flanders of her brother-in-law, Philip of Spain. Their safety however was but temporary, for, returning to Flanders, they were seized, and, in spite of all appeals, put to death "by strangling and burning." Three years later again, the Archbishop, at Sandwich, took great interest "in the strangers who had fled hither, for the sake of the Gospel, from foreign parts, whether French or Dutch. Profitable and gentle strangers (they are his own words) ought to be welcome, and not to be grudged at." And indeed England has reaped great national blessing, industrially, intellectually and socially, from the industry and genius of the Huguenot and Walloon refugees, who at different times have been driven to seek shelter from the oppression and bigotry of churches and governments in their own countries. For these were not "undesirable aliens," but men of strong character, of great proficiency in their different professions and trades, many of them of good birth, breeding and stability, whose only crime it was that, sooner than be coerced against their consciences, they would leave all behind them and try their fortunes elsewhere. Strype, in describing the Archbishop's household, tells us that he always instructed his servants that "all strangers should be received and treated with all manner of civility and respect," and be placed at table "according to their dignity and quality"—like other guests.

It is curious that with this well-known kindness to strangers—or even, perhaps, because of it—we find the Archbishop, some years after the time of which we are speaking, expected practically to

support the many foreigners who had taken refuge in England from religious persecution after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and who were reduced to great straits. On that occasion (1573) Burghley sends "a sharp message" to Parker on their behalf, as though the latter had been negligent of them, saying "that hospitality and charity were especially required of such as were preferred to ecclesiastical dignities." On which Archbishop Parker sent word to the Lord Treasurer "that if he knew the truth of his abilities, he should see that he did as much as he could . . . that he was compelled to borrow every half-year before his money came in, for his own expenses, and, excepting a little money to bury him, he had no superfluities . . . As to relieving these strangers . . . it was for want of information, for that he was not slack to his utmost ability to provide for strangers, 'whose state I always pitied,' said he." He had "procured by collections a great portion" for the exiled French Ministers, and "also gave them of his own purse a large and an honest portion," which however "he had not yet much blazed, nor intended to do," for that "what he did, he would do quietly."

Leicester was possibly at the bottom of the "sharp message," for Burghley well knew Parker's generous sympathy with all in distress. It is very likely that the Archbishop had himself first interested Lord Burghley in the welfare of these refugees, for, the year before the sharp message, Protestants from the Low Countries established themselves at Stamford in Lincolnshire, invited there "out of London" by Lord Burghley, "to whom the town (Stamford) chiefly

belonged, well knowing what good profit and benefit might redound unto the place and country by the trades and business these men should bring along with them, by taking off the wools at a good price, and encouraging the growing of flax and hemp, improving land, and such like. For they were for the most part weavers of such sorts of clothes as were not yet wove or made (or very rarely), in England, as bays and says, and sammets, fustians, carpets, linsey woolseys, fringes, tapestry, silks and velvets, figured and unfigured linen; there were also some among them dyers, ropemakers, hatters, makers of coffers, knives, locks, workers in steel and copper, and the like, after the fashion of Nurenburg in Germany." They asked privileges from the Queen, similar to those of the "Strangers of Norwich and Sandwich," with both which places Parker was intimately acquainted, which makes it the more likely he was interested in these also. These Walloons continued long in Stamford, but had vanished in Strype's day, when their place of meeting was used for town feasts. He himself remembered attempts made by the burgesses to "set up again this decayed manufacture . . . (for there is good wool in those parts as anywhere in England), but it hath not as yet taken effect, and possibly will never till such a company of poor industrious men undertake it."

As early as 1567 Parker had sent contributions from Bishops and Clergy to foreign Protestants in Flanders "under the Spanish yoke," who "endured great and intolerable pressures." But the help thus sent from England "came to the Spanish Ambassador's knowledge, who then

had a great stroke" (influence) "with the Queen. And she (though for politic ends), seemed to be much led by him," as Parker heard from Cecil, to whom when writing in reply, he says he wishes that the Spanish Ambassador not only heard of their contribution but saw it; and adds "God save the Queen's Majesty from his (the Spaniard's) enchanting God make the Queen's Majesty to understand all foreign sleights," *i.e.* deceits or cunning.

At the same time (1573) as the "sharp message" from Burghley about supporting strangers, the Archbishop was again attacked, this time on the subject of his income and by the Puritan Cartwright, who inveighed against the Archbishop's revenues, saying, "how unsuitable great worldly incomes were to men whose function was spiritual, and that Archbishops and Bishops employed theirs only in retaining many idle servants, and in luxurious living." The Archbishop in reply recounts "How the Archbishop of Canterbury spendeth in living that (which) her Majesty has committed to his trust. If other men could do better," he adds, "I am pleased to be private." And he drew up a list of:

EXPENSES YEARLY BY THE ARCHBISHOP OF
CANTERBURY.

To the Poor.	{	In certain yearly rents for two hospitals, £160. Besides other almose (alms), Relief of Prisoners, Decayed persons, &c.
To Ministers, &c.	{	In certain yearly stipends, £237 13s. 4d. Besides the relief of persons learned, as others.
To Scholars and Schools.	{	In foundation of 6 Scholars, £18. Of two Fellows yearly for ever, £12. Besides Exhibition to Scholars of Cambridge and Oxford, and founding of a Grammar School in Lancashire.

To repair Churches and Highways.	{	Reparations of 13 chancels, of five mansion houses and certain fermes (farms), erecting of a highway in the University of Cambridge to the Schools.
Over and beyond.	{	Subsidies, free rents, new year's gifts and other such resolutes, £400. Annuities and fees, £400. Liveries, £100; wages, £250. £350. Household fare, £1,300 to £1,400. Apparel, armoury, bedding, hangings, linen, plate, pewter, books, &c.; physic, journeying, ferriage, carriage, suits in law, christenings, marriages, necessaries for offices, stable, with his furniture, arrearages, loss of rents, &c.

But the record of these carping criticisms on the disposal by the Archbishop of his income, have carried us to a later date than we had actually arrived at in his life, which was the year 1561, to which belongs another of the little tracts bound up with *A Proper newe Booke of Cokerye*. The name of this tract is *The true report of the burnyng of the Steple and Church of Poules*, a calamity which took place on the 4th of June that year. (My notes of this are from the copy at the British Museum, but I believe it to be identical with the copy at Cambridge.) The printing of this tract was executed with great celerity, for it is dated only just a week later. It gives a vivid description, no doubt by an eye-witness, of how it all happened during a storm: "Betweene one and two of the clocke at after Noone was seene a marveilous great fyrie lightning and immediatly insued a most terrible hydeous cracke of thunder. . . . Divers persones . . . affirmed that thei saw a long and a spearepointed flame of fier (as it were) runne through the toppe of the Broche or shaft of Paules Steple and sum . . . dyd feele a marveyulous strong ayr or whorle wynd with a smel lyke

Brimstone." It was not however till between four and five o'clock that smoke broke out; news was at once brought to the Bishop's House "But sodeinly after . . . the flame brake forth in a circle like a garlande" round the steeple, and within a quarter of an hour the Cross and the Eagle on the top fell down. . . . At the breaking out of flames a lively scene ensued. "The Lord Maior being sent for and his brethren, came with all spede possible and had a short consultaciō . . . with the Bishop of London and others, for the best way of remedy—And thither came also the Lord Keper of ye Great Seale and the Lord Treasurer, who by their wisdome and authoritie dyrected as good order as in so great a confuciō could possible be." Some of those present, "pre-tending experience in warres," advised that what remained of the steeple should "bee shot down with canons, which counsel was not liked," as endangering houses and people and also dispersing the fire. Then, "perceiving the steple to be past all recovery," it was "thought beste to geat ladders and scale the churche and with axes to hew down a space of the roofe," so as to save the rest. "But before the ladders and buckets could be brought . . . and especially because the churche was of such height that thei could not skale it, and no sufficiente number of axes could be had, ye laborers also being troubled by the multitude of ydle gasers," the greater part of the roof caught fire; "the beames and brands of the steple fell down on every side, and fired the other parts . . . so that in one houres space the broch of the steple was brent downe." Both steeple and church seeming doomed, "my Lord Mayor was advised by one maister Winter

of ye Admiraltie" to try and save the Bishop's palace at the north-west end of St. Paul's, which "house beinge large, the fier might sprede to the stretes adioyning. Wherupon the ladders, buckets and laborers were commanded thither, and by greate labor" a piece of the roof cut down and the "fier stayed, and by muche water that (North) parte quenched" and the house preserved. "There were above C. persons yt laboured in carying and filing water, and Divers substantial citizens toke paynes as if thei had bene laborers, so did also divers and sundrye gentlemen . . . and that not without great danger to thēselves. . . . In ye evening came the Lord Clinton, Lord Admiral, frō ye Court at Grenewiche, whō the Queene's maiesty assone as the rage of the fier was espied by her maiesty and others in the Court, of the pitifull inclinacion and love that her gracious highnesse dyd beare both to ye said church and the citie, sent to assist my Lord Mayor"—and the Lord Admiral's "wysdome, authority and diligēt trauayl" was a great help.

By 10 o'clock "the fyerceness of the fyre was past, the tymbre being fallen and lyinge brenninge uppon the vaultes of stone, the vaultes yet God be thanked standyng unperished," but "the tymbre of the hole church was consumed and the lead molten," with few exceptions, but "it pleased the merciful God . . . to enclose the harme of thys most fyerce and terrible fyre within the wall of thys one church," and "in the hole city . . . no stycke was kyndled surelye. Notwithstanding that in diverse partes and stretes . . . as in flete strete and new gate market, by the violence of fyre burninge coles of great bignesse fell downe almost as thicke as

haylstones, and flawes (flakes) of lead were blowen abrode into the gardins without ye citie, like flawes of snow in bredthe, wōut hurt, God be thanked, to any house or persō."

Both religious parties seem to have thought the others to blame—the Romanists saying that it was a divine judgment on the Reformation; their opponents believing the fire to be the work of Romish incendiaries. But, as St. Martin's Steeple was also "torn" in this storm, there is little doubt that the catastrophe was due entirely to lightning. "Many fond talkes goe abrode of the original cause of this fier. Some say it was a negligence of plumbers, whereas, by due examination, it is proved that no plumbers or other workemen laboured in the Churche for sixe monethes before . . . some suspect coniurers and sorcerers, whereof there is also great likelyhode, and yet," adds the chronicler, "could not the devil have done it, without God's permissiō."

Queen Elizabeth was much concerned at the calamity, but the rebuilding of St. Paul's "being church-worke, she reckoned the Bishops and clergy should especially be contributors thereunto"! The Queen wrote to the Archbishop about it, which resulted in a fixed contribution from the clergy of both London and country dioceses. The repairing took some five years to complete.

In the year 1562 the Archbishop was greatly occupied with the Thirty-nine Articles; and, in the original book containing the Articles, in which are the alterations and additions "made by his own red lead pen," a curious light is thrown on the then great danger of books being tampered with, of which tampering the

Archbishop knew of too many instances not to dread it, for we find that he caused to be recorded the number of pages the book contained, the number of Articles, and of lines in each page.

In this year, too, Queen Elizabeth's second Parliament, in spite of Romanist opposition, passed acts "to oblige those holding office in the Inns of Court, University or Church, to take an oath which asserted that 'no foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate, hath, or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence or authority, ecclesiastical or temporal within this realm.'" To Parker, says Strype, "this severe act created some pensive thoughts"; but one hardly wonders at its being passed when one realises the perpetual plottings on all sides to subvert, in one way or another, the Queen's authority; and, under the pretext of a pretended higher sanction, actually to threaten her life and throne.

Once again we are recalled from high matters of Church and State to our Cookery Book, for "having in these first four years" furnished his house (Lambeth) "with provisions and household stuff suitable to the dignity of his place," he now (1562) "fell upon the thoughts of repairing the Palace of Canterbury, in which, when it was finished, he . . . kept vast hospitality." The following year, when he held a Visitation of his Diocese, though with his usual thoughtful kindness he would not allow his clergy to be chargeable for entertaining him, "he was resolved to maintain a table befitting his quality, and . . . to receive both the clergy and gentry with the ancient hospitality of an Archbishop of Canterbury. But he

had no parks, or at least others had spoiled them of their venison . . . Therefore, as he said, to avoid the shame of his table, if he should not have to bid his neighbours to a piece of flesh" (*i.e.* "butcher's meat," in place of game) "he requested of the Secretary (Cecil) to procure him from some of his friends in Kent, a couple of bucks; and the same request he made to others of his friends," and hinted to Cecil "that he would like to ask the Queen" for three or four bucks out of her park at Canterbury, as some recompense for taking away his Broyle in Sussex . . . a very large and noble park near Lewis . . . telling the Secretary between jest and earnest: 'Marry, because I doubt in these days whether Bishops or Ministers may be thought worthy to eat venison, I will hold me to my beef, and make merry therewith, and pray for all my benefactors.'" On one occasion, at all events, he received a gift of venison from the Royal Parks, for Lord Robert Dudley writing "in haste at Windsor" says: "The Queen's Majesty being abroad hunting yesterday in the forest, and having had very good hap, besides great sport, she hath thought good to remember your Grace with part of her prey and so commanded me to send you from her Highness, a great and fat stag, killed by her own hand"!

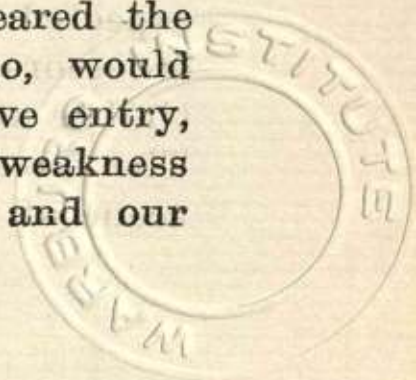
The year 1563 was a troubled one, with pestilence in London, and famine at Canterbury, where we find Archbishop Parker inviting the Mayor "and his Commonalty" to meet him at the Cathedral for special prayers—using, with some alterations, the prayers "before appointed by authority in the Guise's time." The time referred to was 1559-60, when there was great danger to

the country from the plottings of the Duc de Guise and his brother. They "ruled all France in those times, and, being uncles to the Queen of Scots, laboured to reduce Scotland under France, and to wound England on that side; and having a peculiar hatred to Queen Elizabeth, for the sake of her religion, 'bent themselves with might and main,' as Camden writes, 'to work her destruction.'"

Not only were prayers offered, but a fast was appointed for every Wednesday — on which day "one only competent and moderate meal" was to be taken; "in which meal should be used very sober and spare diet without variety of kinds of meat, dishes, spices, confections, or wines, but only such as may serve for necessity, comeliness, and health. In that meal it shall be indifferent to eat flesh or fish, so that the quantity be small and no variety or delicacy to be sought. Wherein every man hath to answer to God if he, in such godly exercises, either contempne publique order, or dissemble with God, pretending abstinence," while denying themselves nothing. And the Archbishop gave the practical advice that those whose health allowed this abstinence, should bestow the value of what they denied themselves to such poor as "either indeed lack food, or else that they have is unseasonable," that so they might be "maintayned in health." The Archbishop had altered the services as originally composed, as the "Collects were somewhat long; he wished they had been shorter, fearing the service to be too long, as he said, for their cold devotions." (The composers, Strype explains, "had designedly made them long, for this reason, that the people might continue in

prayer till four in the afternoon, and then take one meal. And this also the Archbishop seemed not to like, saying that all things agreed not everywhere"; delightfully both human and humane!)

The plague ceasing, a thanksgiving service was drawn up. But in this unhappy year not only was England afflicted with pestilence and famine, but there was also great anxiety from the fear of French invasion, for "the French forces lay upon the sea coast, over against Kent," while "the Castles on that coast, as well as the people of the country, were altogether unprovided." The Archbishop, writing to Cecil, says that Dover, Walmer, and Deal Castles, and Queenborough were "forsaken and unregarded for any provision . . . the people but feeble and unarmed and commonly discomforted." The Archbishop added further "that he feared that if the country were not comforted, some folk of wealth would be removing their household and substance." He had sent "his man" to Thanet, and now sent one to Dover to enquire how things stood—whence the "Lieutenant . . . sent word back that the people in the town were amazed, and had their hearts cold, to hear of no preparation towards their feared mischief." He also mentions that there were no Justices of the Peace between Canterbury and Dover. "Little," however, "was done at Court to the satisfying of the country," though Lord Cobham was sent to Dover Castle, "but a naked man, without strength of men." Parker again wrote to Cecil that "he feared the danger, if it were not speedily looked to, would be irrecuperable if the enemy should have entry, as, by great considerations of our weakness and their strength, of their vigilancy and our



dormitation and protraction, was like." The Court was busy making a peace with France just then (concluded the next year), "and probably," shrewdly observes Strype, "the French had made this great show of arms, almost in the sight of England, thinking thereby to procure to themselves a more advantageous peace. The gravest and wisest men apprehended the Kingdom to be in a very ill condition," not only abroad but at home, just then. "The fear of God whereby all things were wont to be kept in indifferent order, was in effect gone, and God seemed to weigh them and to conduct their doings thereafter," so wrote Sir John Mason, Treasurer of the Queen's Chamber, to Secretary Cecil.

London also "was in ill case," with "plague, pestilence and other judgments, 'there being,'" Sir John says, "in the said city and about it, numbers of men in much necessity, some for lack of work, and some for lack of will to work." History repeats itself with slight variety of detail.

1564 finds Archbishop Parker repairing the chancels in the Churches in his Diocese, as well as restoring the Archbishop's Palace at Canterbury, which had been destroyed "partly by fire and partly by time."—He was not to be discouraged (for he "had indeed naturally a spirit towards the doing of great things") though wages had risen, the price of food was increased, while land and revenues had been taken away, and people expected him to entertain more than his predecessors; and moreover there were no stores of timber and stone to fall back on for great buildings. The Great Hall was historical, and had been the scene of the festivities in honour of the Emperor

Charles V and King Henry VIII and Queen Katharine "whom, being the said Emperor's aunt, he came into England to visit; and there "they adjusted matters of state . . . and feasted together in a most splendid manner, at the incredible cost and expenses of Warham, then Archbishop." Here also had frequently been performed "the Coronation of Kings and Queens," and the enthronization of the Archbishop of Canterbury, "when personages of the greatest quality, dukes and earls, bore the offices of stewards and butlers."

In Strype's day, "old distinct printed sheets" were yet to be seen in the Canterbury Cathedral Library, describing these "magnificent solemnities and feasts"—I do not know if they still exist—and the last of these tablets recorded the repairing and re-edifying of the Palace and Hall and the heavy cost of it, and stated that "this was to remain on record, instead of any splendid feast to be made by Archbishop Parker"; though he provided the feasts also, as is shown later.

"Complaint is now commonly everywhere made," afterwards wrote the Archbishop (who "withal bestowed a secret lash on the times wherein he lived," adds Strype), "that that more than Asiatic luxury" of old days "is reduced to too much niggardise, but the Bishops are falsely blamed, whose possessions have been taken away from them and given to laymen."

A link with the Cookery Book in this year, and with its "fyshe days and fleshe days" is the fact that Wednesday was now ordered to be made a fish day, apparently by desire of the Queen, but "Sir William Cecyl was the chief author, for the

great benefit that wise men apprehended to be by spending much fish in the realm," perhaps for the good of the fishing industry. This decree, however, was "but slenderly observed, the English nation being very much addicted to flesh meats, and not pleased to have more fish days imposed upon them." Four years later the Queen issued another proclamation for the better observance of the Wednesday fast. "The Universities particularly regretted this act," and eventually Oxford, Cambridge, and Winchester were given dispensation by the Queen, apparently through the instrumentality of the Archbishop, for a copy of the letter of thanks to him from the University of Cambridge remained, in Strype's day, "in the register of the University Orator"—in the margin whereof it is thus noted, "thanks for obtaining for us a license to eat flesh on Wednesdays."

But there were bigger questions than "Fish days" to exercise the patience and manifest the learning of the Archbishop, and the many political and religious factions of Tudor days threw great difficulties in the way of a peaceful government of the Church; for religion itself was so embittered in Parker's day by the politics of his opponents, and so often assumed a personal bias, that one cannot realise his personal history without some knowledge of what so nearly affected his individual life. On the one side were the Romanists, on the other the Puritans, or "Precisians," as they were called, both, by all accounts, equally violent and difficult to deal with, and both, for different reasons, powerful. Strong indeed, and untiring, were those opponents with whom Archbishop Parker had to contend, and "all the remainder of his days," from

hence to his grave, we are told, was embittered by their controversies. For the Papal party went so far as to absolve subjects from their duty to their Sovereign, and to encourage their adherents to disguise themselves as ultra-Puritans, on purpose to divide their opponents. The Pope, Pius IV, even issued indulgences to people to set up "new tenets and principles of religion, and they themselves to be seemingly enemies to that Church" (of Rome), methods which in principle are said still to obtain. While, on the other hand, the Puritans "are content," said the Archbishop of York (in 1573), "to take the livings of the English Church, and yet affirm it to be no Church." One can understand the strong aversion of the Puritans of Elizabethan days to whatever, in any way, recalled to mind the old oppressions, superstition and terrors of Queen Mary's reign, though we can by no means approve their own violence, bitterness and insubordination to laws of Church and State, nor the baldness to which they reduced the happy service of God. Regarding the opposing parties Queen Elizabeth in a letter to her Primate in 1571 desires "that none should be suffered to decline, either on the left or on the right hand, from the direct line limited by authority of our said laws and injunctions." In the throng of all the difficulties of reducing opposing opinions to the absolute uniformity thus demanded in a truly feminine fashion by the Queen, Parker, who wisely associated other Bishops with himself in his work, wrote to the Archbishop of York "that howsoever the world might judge, he would serve God, his Prince, and her laws, in his conscience; as it was high time to set upon it. And yet . . . he would be glad to be advised to work prudently, rather to

edification" (*i.e.* in its true meaning of building up) "than to destruction."

Archbishop Parker's own attitude seems always to have been steadily to found all on the authority of the Bible, and on the facts and precedents of the ancient history of the English Church; resisting alike, on behalf of that Church, the attempted usurpation of foreign rule and the vagaries of private fancy, and taking his stand on the Bible as the first and the final test of both doctrine and conduct. He always maintained that the Holy Scriptures are the only sure guide; he encouraged by fresh editions of them in the mother tongue of Englishmen, their universal study in the homes as well as in the Churches of England—a study which the comparative cheapness of printed as compared with manuscript copies now made possible; and in his speech at the Convocation of 1572 he said (quoting from St. Basil), "that the Scripture, divinely inspired, should be made by us the great judge and umpire; and that they had the suffrage of truth, with whomsoever were found the doctrines agreeable with the Word of God." But the political twist given by both of the extreme parties to every question of the day, and the intriguing carried on by them even in matters of religion, made the Archbishop's task ten-fold more difficult than it otherwise need have been. Many of the Romanists were found to be against England's Church and State, siding with her enemies, and making great political capital of the claims of Mary, Queen of Scots ("who gaped for our kingdom") as against Queen Elizabeth; and they had in 1572, says the Bishop of Norwich writing to Bullinger, at Zurich, "by their late persecutions in France and plots

in England, made both themselves odious and formidable to this nation and her (Mary) the head of the faction here. So that they talked in the House of little less than her death," such "great disgust" had they in Parliament against Mary, "but Queen Elizabeth would not hear of any such dealing to be used towards her," and it was only "the great clemency of the Queen interposed," that protected Mary, who, one must remember, had not only asserted her right to the Crown, but assumed the arms and title of Queen of England. But this is not the place to refer to the vexed question of the rights or wrongs of Mary Queen of Scots, regarding which whole libraries have been written, except as showing the many political anxieties that beset public men at that time, when anyone with a claim, real or imaginary, to anything, was promptly made a tool of by some political party.

So far the Romanists; on the other hand among the Puritans, even "ministers of reputation," Strype says, published tracts "that went then about London, being printed and spread abroad," as early as 1559, to prove that "a lady woman," referring to Queen Elizabeth who had just ascended the throne, "cannot be by God a governour in a Christian realm"! In another tract "was matter set out to prove that it is lawful for every private subject to kill his Sovereign . . . if he think him to be a tyrant in his conscience, yea, and worthy to have his reward for his attempt." This doctrine—of killing no murder—was specially held by the Jesuits* who went

* Interesting XVIIth Century Tracts exist on this subject of "King Killing," and of the consecration of weapons to that purpose by Jesuits.

so far as solemnly to bless weapons dedicated to this object: but we learn from the above that they were not the only ones of Queen Elizabeth's subjects who held it. Poison and the dagger were but too popular everywhere at the time as methods to overcome opposition, and the dread of poison is grimly proved by the elaborate "assaying" of both food and drink; even the napkin on which the hands were dried after dinner, was tested by a "kiss of tentation" before being used. In a similar spirit was the attempt of a Puritan who lived in the house of Day, the Archbishop's printer, to assassinate not only Day himself, but his wife and other members of his family, saying, "he was moved by the Spirit to do it" — Day having printed various ecclesiastical orders and injunctions for the Archbishop which the Puritans did not approve. In the same year a zealot murdered one Hawkins, believing him to be Mr. Hatton, a Papist, and justifying himself as "warranted by the Word of God."

The all-powerful Earl of Leicester was the great supporter of the Puritans, not so much for love to them and their cause, "for he had little religion in him," but out of opposition to the Archbishop, who had had to withstand him in various controversies with regard to some of the Earl's friends. All Leicester's influence with the Queen was antagonistic to Parker; and he was "always at her elbow," says Strype, and "buzzed into her ears against the Archbishop and his requests." But Leicester also made use of the Romish party when he found it convenient to do so.

The Romanists in England in Queen Elizabeth's reign had the countenance and support of the

Spaniards as well as of the French, and we may anticipate events to note that in 1568 and in 1570, twenty years before Spanish interference in English affairs culminated in sending the Armada, Spain was encouraging rebellion in the North where the rebels looked to Alva for help; for the Pope had declared her, Elizabeth, "excommunicate by a solemn Bull, and given away her Crown"; but the Queen prepared for the defence of her kingdom, and the Privy Council issued orders for armour to be provided by clergy and laymen alike—according to their incomes. Those that had £200 a year were "rated to find i corselet, ii Almain rivets, i Pike, ii longbows, ii sheaves of arrows, ii steel caps, and i Harquebut. . . . Great pains the Archbishop took . . . that the weight (of these contributions) might lie even and just upon the clergy; and yet that the Queen might have as large aid as might be from them." He "largely taxed himself"—*viz.* at "6 horse, with armour; 10 light horse, with their furniture; 40 corselets, 40 almain rivets, 40 pikes, 30 longbows, 30 sheaves of arrows, 30 steel caps, 20 black bills, 20 Harquebuts, and 20 morions."

But to return to 1565, there were happier days when Archbishop Parker went to Canterbury this year to entertain his guests in his new repaired hall," in which he gave three Feasts. The first, at Whitsuntide, lasted three days, Sunday, Monday and Tuesday. The day began with service and the Holy Communion in the Cathedral, the Archbishop "having made his guests first feast with God, before they feasted with him." He was escorted home by the Mayor and Aldermen "and many other gentlemen of the County. . . . All took their places in

their comely order. The Archbishop himself sat in the midst of the uppermost table. On his left hand the Mayor and all other men according to their dignity and quality." On one side of the hall "a continual row of men filled the tables"—while on the Archbishop's right hand sat "noble women, and others who were wives of some persons of quality and a course and line of women the length of the hall, altogether like and corresponding to the row of men on the other side. This order of placing the women was observed in honour of the Queen's Majesty. . . This first rank of guests being risen and the tables cleared, they were furnished again the second time and filled with others . . . who straightway sat down in their places that rose, in the same order as before. And this manner of feasting continued the two next days also. His second Feast was on Trinity Sunday . . . in memory of Henry VIII," when the same ceremonies and order were observed. The third entertainment, "more grand than any of the rest, was on the 23rd of July, in Assize time, when the Archbishop invited to dine with him the Judges that went that Circuit . . . with all their train; and all the rest that were met at these assizes, as well gentlemen as meaner persons; for by messengers and officers, the Archbishop had invited also the justices of the peace, advocaters, and common lawyers, and all the rest of proctors and attorneys: who all (with a promiscuous company) in troops came in (!). The hall was set forth with much plate of silver and gold, adorned with rich tapestry of Flanders, and furnished with many tables, at which the guests were disposed according to their quality. There were dainties of all sorts, both meats and

drinks in great plenty, and all things served in excellent order, by none but the Archbishop's servants. The tables were often the same day furnished afresh with new guests, by reason of their multitude, as the former were satisfied and gone. The ladies and gentlewomen were nobly entertained in inner parlours, received there by Mrs. Parker, the hall being now filled only with gentlemen; otherwise, at these feasts it was the Archbishop's custom, in honour of matrimony, to entertain men and their wives. Of this noble hall," Strype says, there was in his day little or nothing left, except a few ruins—but "a friend of mine of late years discovered the arms of the Archbishop in stone, upon the wall of the South end of the palace, very fair, and the date 1565 as he supposed." When the destruction took place he does not say.

Archbishop Parker was, as we know, ever forward to help works of public usefulness, and in this same year he encouraged a project for salt works in Kent, set on foot by, among others, the Earl of Pembroke, Secretary Cecil, and the Queen herself. Parker's assistance took the practical form of contributing forty oaks and other wood towards the firing, and, while giving his reasons for doubting the wisdom of the plan, he suggested that the Queen and the Lords who started it, should convert part of any gains "to the repairing and maintaining of Dover Haven," which would redound to the honour and wealth of the realm. Whether his advice was followed, or what became of the salt works, I do not know.

This busy year also found the Archbishop much occupied with *The Bishops' Bible*, already

mentioned, and, in order to carry out Cranmer's original wish that the Bishops should join together in this work, Parker distributed the Bible in portions to various Bishops and learned men, to revise and return for his final supervision and publication; but the Archbishop himself ordered, directed and examined, prepared and finished all. "Great and long were the pains and study that our Archbishop took therein"—his biographer gives an interesting account of it. It was embellished with maps, of which Parker was very fond. Amongst the Archbishop's many coadjutors in this Bible were the Bishop of St. David's (himself very busy translating the Bible into Welsh), and Cox, Bishop of Ely, who writes that he "wishes that such usual words as we English people be acquainted with, might still remain in their form and sound, so far forth as the Hebrew will bear; *ink-horn terms to be avoided.*" The old translations were compared with originals and corrected.

The Archbishop in his Preface shewed that God meant the Scriptures should be read, not only by a few people "of more rank, eminency and understanding than the rest . . . but of all without exception," and he "goes forward to charge it as a fault to discourage or forbid the reading and studying of the Scripture, by secret slanderous reproaches of it, or by open laws contracting the liberty of the populace from having it"—(both which methods had been tried), for "it belongs unto us all to be called unto eternal life, and it was God's will that all should be saved." He also refers to the great dearth of Bibles in Churches, "these books," as he says, "so profound in sense, so passing natural understanding"; and he adds

too "that there be many dark places in the Gospel, which to posterity, without doubt, shall be much more open, and that the Gospel was delivered for this intent, to be utterly understood."

I imagine it was about this time that he began to make the great collection of valuable MSS. as well as of printed books, which he bequeathed to Corpus Christi College, for, being "desirous to enquire everywhere for Saxon and British antiquities" (*i.e.* ancient MSS.), "for the better knowledge of the history of the ancient state of the Church and nation"; he now "sent to the Welsh Bishops especially to gather up what ancient writings they could possibly retrieve." At this time also he sent to Davies, Bishop of St. Davids, "a manuscript of very great antiquity which seemed to be in the old British language," but of which the "letters were not known," begging him to try and get it deciphered, and to show it to Mr. Salisbury, a local antiquary. Salisbury wrote to the Archbishop that "as for that quire of antiquity, it was characted with so strange letters that he might swear he knew not one." At last he puzzled out four and twenty characters "both of the capitals and small letters, and so met with the words Sion, Melchizedeck, Israel, etc., and he found it was to be read from the left to the right hand." But the Bishop of St. Davids wrote that he himself "could find neither Welsh, English, Dutch, Hebrew, nor Greek, nor Latin, in it," and that "both he and Salisbury despaired to do anything therein." The Archbishop in reply says: "As for deciphering my quayr in such a strange charact, it shall be reserved to some other opportunity to be considered"; but there is

nothing to show whether the riddle was ever read.

So keen was Parker in rescuing ancient records from destruction, that in 1568 the Privy Council seconded his efforts and "a kind of office was granted him for the preservation of these antiquities," and he was furnished with a letter "to all persons to notify the Queen's pleasure" that the Archbishop should have access to necessary records, and any private persons who had such were required to "gently (courteously) impart the same, not meaning to withdraw them from the owners, but for a time to peruse the same upon promise or bond given of making restitution." All this authoritative help must have lightened Parker's toil in preserving to posterity the old histories of his native land, and he not only rescued them from destruction, but also republished what he could, such as those by Matthew of Westminster, Asser, and Thomas Walsingham; and "was now very busy," says Strype, "in preparing to publish the excellent history of Matthew Paris, our countryman, to the world"; this he began to edit in 1569; (it was published 1571). It is interesting to know of one outside impulse which must have strengthened the Archbishop's wish to rescue these ancient records. This impulse came nine years previously from Matthias Illyricus, "the author of the *Catalogue of the Witnesses of the Truth*, and a great collector of ecclesiastical antiquities," especially of such as showed how the Church in all ages had contained learned and godly men who opposed Papal abuses. Illyricus, writing to Parker from Jena, begged him to "make it his business that all manuscript books more rare should be . . . put into surer and

more known places"—specifying public libraries—"that they might be the better preserved from perishing." Illyricus also sent Parker a list of special books to look out for; and the Archbishop having written to him "that Matthew Paris' Chronicon could not be found among us here in England," Illyricus forwarded extracts from the book. It was after this that Parker "met with some copies thereof and published it in a fair edition," having carefully compared many—no fewer certainly than four—old manuscript copies of Matthew Paris' works, including one believed to be in the author's own writing, and having taken great pains to find out all that Paris wrote, and on what authorities it was based. When, however, the new edition of Matthew Paris, "that learned Abbot of St. Albans," was published, the Romanists charged the Archbishop "as though he had changed some things in the original, because that author (Paris) was found to declare so freely the Pope's intolerable tyranny and exactions in those times."

Parker's edition has been supported by two who are authorities on the subject of Matthew Paris, namely, Dr. William Watts, who published an edition in 1684, and who gives readings from various copies, which show that Parker in his edition followed what was probably the most correct version; and Isaac Casaubon, who showed that many copies of Matthew Paris contained the very passages regarding which the "sincerity of the publisher (Parker) was called in question" by his critics; Casaubon had in his own study a copy of Matthew Paris, believed to be "that very book that was dedicated by the author to the library of the Abbey of St. Albans"; this

he had examined and "found no diversity in those things wherein the covetousness and spoils of the Pope were spoken of."

It was in 1568 that the Archbishop obtained New Statutes for Corpus Christi College (those from which our frontispiece portrait is reproduced), and a New Charter from the Queen. The original of the frontispiece is an illuminated water-colour portrait of Archbishop Parker. Sir Sidney Colvin, in his book on *Early Engraving and Engravers in England*, tells us that Remigius Hogenberg, with his brother Franciscus—natives of Mechlin—were employed with many others to engrave maps and other illustrations by Archbishop Parker, "when that indefatigable divine, statesman, church reformer, scholar and ecclesiastical and literary antiquary . . . had in his hands the task of conducting and controlling a vast literary undertaking in the shape of a new translation of the Bible." Remigius, Sir Sidney says, executed a little portrait of the Archbishop after the picture by R. Lyne, the date of which, originally engraved as 1572, has been altered in the plate to 1573; and adds that "an impression from the Parker portrait, finely illuminated, probably by Lyne himself, so that the lines of the engraving cannot easily be traced under the painting, is pasted inside the back cover of the Elizabethan MS. Statutes of Corpus Christi College, at Cambridge." A photograph (by Mr. Mason, of Cambridge) of this portrait was specially taken for this book by kind permission of the Master and Fellows of the College. In the original, the well-preserved colouring is both delicate and brilliant; the purple and crimson carnations and

the marigolds spring from open baskets of gold; the framing border, in which rose colour predominates, is further enriched with cherubs, birds, fruit and ornamental scrolls and drapery; and surrounding the portrait are the words of Parker's favourite motto, with his name and age. The corners between the motto and the outer frame are filled in with a golden background on which are depicted four shields, viz.: Parker's coat of arms as Archbishop; his own family coat; the arms of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury; and the new arms granted to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, by Queen Elizabeth; silver lilies on a blue ground, quartered with silver pelicans on a red ground—to speak in unheraldic language.

In this portrait the Archbishop's sombre robes, black cap and fur tippet are relieved by a background of green curtain, the red and gold book he holds in his hand has gold leaves and a green marker, the frame of the window, on the sill of which stands an hour-glass, is gilded, and so are the ornamental nails of the chair, which is green and trimmed with galoon, the tablecloth also being green, on which rest his inkstand, bell, seal and pounce-box. The face is the thoughtful, grave face of the learned student, with the look, too, of one who has passed through the deep waters, and felt the flame of the purifying furnace.

In another part of the same book of Statutes is a charming little miniature picture of the Archbishop preaching before the Court. Parker himself is in a pulpit, an hour-glass and a Bible beside him. His Chaplain or Secretary sits near him. Of the Courtiers, some are sitting on very hard-

looking benches, without backs to them, which must have quite precluded any idea of "listening better with your eyes shut." The rest of the Courtiers, among whom one recognises Burghley, Leicester, and Raleigh, are standing. The men wear trunk hose, doublets and cloaks, and broad-brimmed hats, and have rapiers by their side; the ladies' dresses are edged with fur, and each holds a book. In the background, through an open window, one sees a pretty little landscape. Above the preacher is (in Latin) the text Rom. i. 16, "I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ; for it is the power of God unto salvation to everyone that believeth." Below, also in Latin, another text, St. Luke xi. 28: "Blessed are they that hear the Word of God, and keep it"; and at the bottom of the page are the words, "God Save the Queene."

In the Book of Statutes also there is an interesting illuminated portrait of Queen Elizabeth, being crowned by Justice, who holds a sword; and Mercy, with a closed book in her hand; while the Queen's throne is supported on either side by Fortitude, with her emblem of a pillar; and Prudence, with green serpents, representing wisdom, in her hand. The whole colouring of this group is very rich. The Queen is in a red robe lined with ermine, over a mauve or lavender dress trimmed with black and gold; her hair is gathered close round her wide forehead, and she wears a twist of black and gold on her head, a tight ruff round her neck, and little ruffles at the wrist. She holds in one hand a blue and gold orb, and in the other a sceptre tipped with a fleur de lis. Justice wears a cap and skirt of blue, while the bodice and scarf are red; Fortitude is robed in lettuce green with threads of gold, her lavender-

coloured bodice has sleeves of orange under short upper sleeves edged with fringe; Prudence's robe is rich orange over blue, gathered in with a golden belt; while Mercy wears a bodice edged with gold and a turquoise-coloured dress with a red and gold belt under an orange robe. The whole jewel-like effect of the illuminated page is lovely.

In 1569 "most of the great men about the Queen" did their best "to bring her into displeasure with Cecil," Parker's "chief and fast friend" and a great Church supporter. The cause Strype does not give, but says that Cecil was "in very great danger of disgrace, if not of death." Happily by the end of that year Cecil is able to write: "I am in quietness of mind, as feeling the nearness and readiness of God's favour to assist me with His grace, to have a disposition to serve Him, before the world. And herein have I lately proved His mere goodness to preserve me from some clouds and mists, in the midst whereof I trust mine honest actions are proved to have been lightsome and clear," adding that he now finds "the Queen's Majesty, my gracious good lady, without change of any part of her old good meaning towards me."

The year that followed was one "of extreme danger and apprehensions unto the Queen and kingdom, both from the Spaniard, the French King, and Scotland, all which threatened an invasion." There was also a menace, as the Archbishop heard, "intended against the Queen's navy, by poisoning the ordinance and victuals," and "some spite reached also to him . . . when some sons of Belial gouged his barge in divers places in the bottom, that, if it had not been espied,

he himself had like to have been drenched in the midst of the Thames." A new rebellion also "began to break out at home, in the parts of Norfolk. And the Pope by a Bull, which an Englishman brought into England, deprived the Queen of her kingdom and absolved her subjects from their allegiance. . . . But yet God brought the Queen to the end of this year safely and successfully, and of many more," says Strype. The Pope in this case was Pius V. He had supported the rebel Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland in a revolt in the North "by letters, emissaries, and sinews of war"; and early in 1570 he proceeded to excommunicate the Queen, an act, as Kennedy reminds us, which at once altered the situation from a religious question into one of loyalty or disloyalty to the throne. The Parliament of England immediately responded by passing severe measures, and declared it to be high treason to bring into the kingdom, or to publish, any printed bulls or absolutions. "It was Elizabeth or the Pope. It is not surprising, therefore, to find Parker taking a bold line. . . . One of his most pronounced characteristics was loyalty to the Queen. . . . Mild and gentle by nature, he could not understand the position which sought to shatter the internal peace of the country by all kinds of secret and disconcerting plots. It has been too largely claimed that these plots were for conscience' sake; but even if this were abundantly proved, it is certain that Parker would have kept a watchful eye on the conscience which needed the support of spies, traitors, and foreign gold, and eliminated patriotism completely from its consideration."

Early in 1570 Parker was again at Canterbury, and as Archbishop showed his usual hospitality at Whitsuntide in three days "noble feasting in the hall of his palace, to the citizens of Canterbury and their wives." On Trinity Sunday, Curtes was consecrated Bishop of Chichester, and "the Archbishop made another most noble feast," when the Archbishop of York was his guest, and when three other Bishops were present. The feast was again in commemoration of Henry VIII. "At the lower tables sat all the ministers and servants whatsoever, even the children that belonged to that Church, that they might remember the pious institution of the said King Henry." The guests also included the poor of both sexes of the Hospitals of St. John's and Harbledown.

In his Visitation at Canterbury this summer we find him giving, as was his wont, many practical injunctions as to inventories of Church plate, &c., being made and kept; rectifying abuses; encouraging preaching; ordering "that the chanter, master of the Choristers, and Mr. Swift (a lesser Canon), do examine the skill in the singing of the Vicars, singing men, and of the Choristers, and do certify my Lord." Nor did he permit of delay, for he adds: "And all this before Friday next." He further ordained that the church and cloister are to be no highway or passage for market folk; and that "the common Schools for the grammarians" are to be boarded, which probably implies that the floors were then of earth or stone, and very cold.

The Archbishop's hospitalities for the year were not yet over at Canterbury, for "on the 11th of July, being Assize time, the Judges, the High Sheriff,

the gentlemen and the common sort, all dined with the Archbishop at a most liberal and splendid entertainment in his great hall, according as he had treated them some years before," for he seems always to have included all classes of citizens in these great rejoicings. After this he returned to London—a two days' journey then—"the first night lodging at Sittingbourne, and the day after dining at Gravesend; and so came safe to Lambeth that night in barges by Thames, with all his family." And when at Lambeth this year "he repaired (for he was a great builder and a great repairer) the great hall at Lambeth house and covered it with shingles, and made the long bridge into the Thames, near the Palace." He also repaired "the famous Solar" in the garden, "a very elegant and curious Summer house of elaborate work," put up by Archbishop Cranmer.

But this was the last home-coming to Lambeth of the Archbishop's "beloved and well-deserving wife," Margaret Parker, who this year, at the age of 51, died of a fever on returning to Lambeth, "having taken her leave of Canterbury (her heart misgiving her she should never see it more). . . . The loss of her he took very heavily," says Strype, "she having been always a most faithful companion to him, with a conjugal love, both in his adversities and prosperities. . . . The loss of all his possessions . . . under Queen Mary was made light and easy to him by the sweet society and conversation of this excellent woman. Her children she brought up piously and liberally, in so much that it was noted how Papists themselves, who otherwise hated such as were Priests' children, yet had a great love and affection for them. It was somewhat extraordinary

in her that though she had children which might have prompted her to have called upon her husband to be thrifty and sparing, yet, whensoever he was minded to do anything magnificently, becoming his high place . . . she would earnestly study to please him therein by her counsel . . . by contriving and consulting and joining with him, that things might answer his generous inclinations. And in those most splendid and noble buildings and feastings of his before mentioned, neither was her will nor industry wanting in the ordering and managery thereof." With her sweet, bright temper, she bore her illness "patiently and christianly," says Strype, "and comforting herself with the sure and certain hopes of the resurrection and eternal life, she surrendered her soul cheerfully into the hands of God." "*Qui credit in me non morietur in æternum*" were the words written in letters of gold on her tomb in Lambeth Church. Hers was truly a character above rubies. This devoted wife left a great blank in her husband's heart and life; and, at a time when heavy cares of Church and State pressed on him, he must sorely have missed her ever ready and understanding help and sympathy.

The year following his wife's death Parker finished the new street or walk "from St. Mary's Church in Cambridge to the public schools, and paved it and caused a brick wall to be built on either side." He also continued the improvements at Lambeth and repaired two aqueducts and drained the palace into the Thames, "which cost him no small sum of money but tended much to the health of his family."

Strype records also "some kindnesses the

good Archbishop now showed to his own college of Corpus Christi, as also his peculiar regard and benevolence to two other colleges in the same University, on account of their having some relation to one another and to his native City of Norwich." For there was an old agreement made in 1353 between the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College and of Trinity Hall "as most friendly brethren . . . to assist each other in their causes and businesses," and they had then agreed, as a sign of unity, that "they of both colleges should wear the same kind of hood, of shape and cut." The Archbishop revived "this old amicable instrument," but enlarged it to include *Gonville and Caius College as well—and to each "gave certain silver plate to be kept and reserved within the said three colleges for ever." The attractive list of it must fill all collectors of plate with envy! for it includes among many other things: "One great basin with the ewer of silver, whole gilt, with the arms of the Archbishop; one great standing cup with the cover, double gilt; one great salt with the cover; two drinking pots pounced, whole gilt, with one cover; thirteen spoons gilt, with knops of Christ and his twelve Apostles; for the use of the Master and twelve Fellows for the time being." It was now also that he made provision for a fire in the common hall at his College in the winter season, and for the increase of the College Commons on some particular days, such as the days when the Masters of Caius and of Trinity Hall came to inspect the Library at Corpus; and it was now also that he founded many of the scholarships of which mention has been made.

* Gonville Hall, the original College, was a Norfolk foundation and this specially interested Parker in it.

1572 was "a year of much action" in ecclesiastical controversies, and it was marked, too, by a plot "to murder certain of the Queen's Chief Counsellors, and most affected to the Protestant religion, whereof the Lord Treasurer Burghley was one," in order to further the escape of the Duke of Norfolk. The matter however was revealed by one of the conspirators, and resulted in the Duke's being beheaded. It was in this year also that all England was shocked by the "horrible and most treacherous massacre of the Protestants at Paris . . . the Spaniard and Pope were in this plot, as well as the French, and it was to be carried out in other countries and nations, viz., the Low Countries, Germany and England, as well as in France, for the rooting out of the religion." There was great "joy and triumph" among the Romanists, and the Pope, Gregory XIII, "issued out his bull for a jubilee . . . for divers causes . . . but the first and chief cause was for the happy success of the most Christian King against the heretics," and praying for "grace and virtue to the said most Christian King, to pursue so salutary and blessed an enterprise." Strype, in an Appendix, gives the whole wording, which was "printed on a great sheet of paper in the French language," which he supposes was "the better to justify that King's doings before his subjects, who might otherwise very well boggle in their minds at such an action. But when they should see the Pope himself so well to allow of it, it was presumed there would be a sufficient cloak for the bloody fact."

The plan of the allies, "the Pope, the French, and the Spaniard," was that the French were to

“slay the chief Huguenots in the whole kingdom”—the Duke of Alva was to exterminate the “Dutch rebels”—and “the Spaniard should restore the kingdom of Navarre to the French; that he should help the same king’s brother in seizing on the Kingdom of England, and lastly, that all the confederates should join their strength and wealth to extirpate the heretics of Germany and to constitute a new form in all that empire, according to the prescript of the Pope.” They considered that “concerning England, the matter was easy, in which kingdom there were so many Papists that, if they should see any assistance from abroad, they would take up arms for the destruction of the Queen and the heretics. And that the Queen, struck with this fear, would recall her people out of the Low Countries, or at least would not send any more soldiers thither.” It seems as though foreigners as little understood England and the English in Elizabeth’s days as they do in the XXth Century.

“Upon this sad slaughter,” says Strype of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, “and the deep and strong plot in which it was contrived, the minds of the wisest and best men were sunk in great consternation. The Lord Burghley professed to some of his friends, ‘that he was at his wits’ end.’” All expected some terrible calamity to the Queen and the Archbishop. “That which aggravated the fears of the impending misery was, because the Queen was strangely secure of her worst enemies the Papists, and shewed them much favour, having many friends at Court; the Government neutral; the Queen’s Protestant subjects but little regarded; the Bishops

discouraged and checked in the discharge of their offices."

Many confidential letters passed between Archbishop Parker and Lord Treasurer Burghley, written "by their own hands without date or subscription" (signature). Parker writes that the Romanist party were favoured, and that loyal subjects were "not regarded." "Is this the way to rule English people?" he cries, "O cruelty to spare a professed enemy and to drive to the slaughter herself and her best friends! O subtle dissimulation of the enemy!" The Archbishop, however, though discussing the situation thus freely with his old friend, had no wish that the enemies of England should be encouraged by knowing the acute anxieties of her leading men; and, having heard that Burghley had said he "was at his wits' end," he writes to him earnestly: "Sir, however it be, let the world know no such thing. Some friends be not secret. Blaze they will, to win credit. Now or never we must set out a good countenance. And surely, so I comfort such faithful as come lamentably dejected to me."

"Now," says Strype, "the great labour was to open the Queen's eyes, and to make her apprehend her danger from the Papists," who "had secret fautors (aiders) within the palace walls, and were slyly encouraged by some persons who outwardly pretended otherwise. And they were very confident, and well stored with armour . . . and some would not spare to utter their rejoices and to say that of long time they looked for such slaughter at home." The Archbishop was in special apprehension for the Queen's safety, as she was in a Progress and Burghley with her. Parker

and many others "looked upon Mary the Queen of Scots to be the chief cause of this audacity of the Papists"; and the fact that Queen Elizabeth with her "princely heart" was "void of all fear of any harm from Papists," was a "great anxiety to the wise men about her."

The Vidam of Chartres, John de Ferriers, one of the chief French Protestant nobles, a man of learning, wrote to Burghley regarding the massacre, at which time the Duke of Guise had followed him to his house to murder him; he hid, and having procured the King's safeguard (granted as they supposed he would go to his house and they could catch him there), he "deceived the deceiver," for he "got safe on ship board and so came to England" where he wrote to Burghley (7th September) as soon as he arrived.

This French nobleman feared the Queen would not sufficiently resent the massacre "nor deal with the French King in that openness and plainness that so false and base an act deserved to be treated by all neighbour princes." "He could not doubt," he told Burghley, "that the very remembrance of it created an horror in her, but he feared that by speaking more mildly concerning it she might add courage to those boasters, as observing how the neighbour princes dared not so much as once to mutter." He added that "those butcherly men . . . would not grow more gentle by a few light words, but . . . be more and more insolent . . . and the judgment that the world had of them was not to be discovered to them by bare words, but that there was need of action; that they might see there were not mere words. but *minds prepared to do something.*"

There seems no doubt that Parker's fears for the Queen's safety at this time were far from groundless. And now many French and Flemish Protestants fled to England (among them the refugees who settled at Stamford, as has been described), and more still to Geneva, leaving everything behind them; though the French King invited them back with many fair promises, which they, doubtless, felt little inclined to trust. Pretended prophecies of disaster to all Protestants were much in vogue among the Romanists, as though they themselves might soon expect "happy golden days"—and in fact, years before this, the Queen had been compelled to make a law forbidding people, under heavy penalties, to repeat, publish or sing any such prophecies, particularly those in which special people were hinted at by coats of arms, "beasts, badges," &c.—such "prophecies" being, no doubt, considered as incentives to murder; but even the judges were slow to convict suspects.

Leicester at this time sought to release a man who had justly been put in prison. Parker, however, "was too stiff to be carried away by any person of the greatest wealth and honour, from doing justice," with the result that "proud Leicester, who used not to be denied anything he required, and thought none dared do it . . . grew in a high passion and stormed exceedingly." Burghley, observing this, "and knowing the bad, revengeful temper of the man," advised the Archbishop "to make endeavour to reconciliation." The Archbishop accordingly wrote letters to Leicester explaining the case in question, which the latter "would not once vouchsafe, though at leisure, to read, but put them up in his pocket." Parker, hearing this,

said, "I can say no more . . . but will do as justice, prudence, and honesty shall bear me out at length." Leicester's friend (the man who had been put in prison) next tried bribing members of the Archbishop's household, "and to one he offered £100, and to another of his house £200, to mollify the Archbishop"; but Parker, who was as far ahead of his age in principle as in learning, in very vigorous language told "the hundred pound man" what he thought of such transactions; he would not consent to any idea that "justice, either by him or any of his, should be so bought and sold"—and added, "if this man, or any other, should procure in this commonwealth by such means *quod expedit* and so be countenanced out, the realm would have such a blow thereby, that our posterity shall judge of us that *money and mastership* wrought all with us in our time."

Strype gives but a sad account of those difficult days. Speaking of 1572 he says, "external matters in religion" employed everybody's thoughts, and "the better and more substantial parts of it were very little regarded . . . churches now ran into dilapidations and decays"; one instance he gives is that of "Alborogh in Suffolk," where "the chancel was fallen quite down, and the Vicarage house decayed; and the town, being a great people bordering on the sea, was many times unserved."

All that remains now of Aldeburgh as it was in Queen Elizabeth's days, before the encroachment of the fierce North Sea, is, I believe, the picturesque Moot House with its outside staircase, and the Church on the Cliff, with its pulpit carved with dolphins and seaweed, for which the original bill of £20 is said still to

exist. When the chancel was rebuilt I do not know.

“Among the laity,” continues Strype, “was little devotion, the Lord’s Day greatly profaned and little observed. The Common Prayers not frequented. Some lived without any service of God at all. Many were mere heathen and atheists. The Queen’s own Court an harbour of epicures and atheists, and a kind of lawless place, because it stood in no parish. Which things made good men fear for some judgment pending over the nation.” The “good Lord Burghley” thought much about it, and in September, at Reading, when with the Queen on her Progress, “while others were upon their pleasures,” he drew out a draft of “Things needful to be considered”—an interesting paper which Strype gives in full. Meantime this year saw the publication by Parker of *The Bishops’ Bible*—as already mentioned; and the next year we are again reminded of Parker’s love of old books and ancient authorities, when in 1573 we hear of his sending Burghley, who was then Lord Treasurer, three books; one being a copy of *Gervasius Tilberiensis*, who flourished in Henry II’s days, and was “sometime a Treasurer of the Exchequer.” This very book was, Strype supposes, the copy which in his day was still in the Exchequer archives.

The second book which Parker sent Burghley was a description of the County of Kent “written and laboured by the aforesaid William Lambard, Lincoln’s Inn, Esq., a curious” (careful) “antiquary,” which had been sent to him by Lambard for criticism, but which the writer said he did not mean “to put abroad till it had suffered the

hammer of some of his friends' judgments"—(It was duly published in 1576, having been supervised by both Parker and Burghley).

Together with these two, Parker sent his old friend a third book—his own great work, *De Antiquitates Britannicæ Ecclesiæ*, printed the year before. It was the first book privately printed in England; but it was not published then, for Parker, as well as Lambard, preferred to postpone publication rather than "suffer an undigested and tumultuous collection to be gazed on by many folks."

"The reason of his employing himself in his study" as Parker told Burghley, "was to make compensation for his not preaching oftener, 'for neither his health nor quiet would suffer him'" to preach often. "'Yet he thought it not unfit for him to be otherwise occupied in some points of religion,'" and he intended "'by this poor collection', as he modestly called it . . . to note" the history of the Church from "Augustine, his first predecessor, until the days of King Henry VIII. when the religion began to grow better and more agreeable to the Gospel." Parker had "bound it costly" for his old friend and laid in colours the arms of the Church of Canterbury, impaled with his own paternal coat, "but he added that if Burghley blamed this ambitious fancy . . . he might (if he pleased) relinquish this leaf and cast it into the fire, and he had joined it but loose in the book for that purpose." He had only given away four copies, for he "purposed to keep it by him while he lived, to add and mend as occasion should serve him, or utterly to suppress it and to bren (burn) it." He tells Burghley that for this work he had "within his house, in wages, drawers (artists) and cutters

(engravers), painters, limners, writers and bookbinders . . . so spending his wasteful (leisure) time within his own walls till Almighty God should call him out of this tabernacle."

Parker's learned Latin secretary, John Josselin, an Essex man, had a "great hand in the collections," and in making extracts from ancient histories, but all was corrected, amplified and welded together by the Archbishop. A copy is in the Cambridge University Library.

We still find the Puritans working "hard at the overthrow of Bishops," and that they "call the Prayer Book abominable," while "the Papists on the other hand were as busy to overthrow it (the Church) and the kingdom too."

Foreign Princes plotted to invade the country, "and first the King of Poland, under pretence of preparing a navy for Poland, was therewith suddenly to seize some port in England; and at the same time the Scots, persuaded by the Cardinal of Lorain, were to break into England with a very great army, made up of French and Scots; and then, on the other side the navy of the Spaniards and that of the French together were to seize another haven of the kingdom; at which time Duke D'Alva, with the aid of the Bishop of Colen and other Bishops, and the Duke of Bavaria with ten thousand foot, intended on the side of Flanders to wage war with the Queen. . . . And for the carrying on this war the more successfully, the Pope, the King of Spain, the aforesaid Bishops, and all the Popish States of France were now consulting together. And the Cardinal of Lorain, intending the kingdom for his niece, the Queen of Scots, of which he was very confident, promised for one year to provide pay

for thirty thousand men. As soon as the nation was thus invaded, great numbers of Roman Catholics, the Queen's subjects in England, were to rise."

All this plan was made known at the Baths of Aquisgrave (Aix) by "an English Lord to a certain French Lord, named De la Tours, who, being a Protestant, and sensible of the great kindness the English nation showed to his countrymen in harbouring them after the late massacre, privately, in August, related all this to Sir William Bromfield, an English officer then at the Spa, of whose faithfulness to the Queen he was well assured. And the same Bromfield wrote these advertisements (this news) . . . to England," adding the account of "one Brochart also who was present at the relation."

In spite of all these anxieties and foreign threats Queen Elizabeth in 1573 went her usual Progress—this time in Kent—and "came to see Canterbury."

Elizabeth had intended to begin her Progress as early as the middle of July, but measles and small-pox reigned at Canterbury, and the plague at Sandwich, "which stopped the Queen till the end of this month, when the weather proved very cold and wet." In the middle of August, Parker was at Bekesbourne, his country house in Kent, "full of thoughts for his ordering of his reception of the Queen," and wrote to Burghley "that he had convenient room for her Majesty, if she would be pleased to remain at his house; and he could place for a progress his lordship (Burghley), the Lord Chamberlain who was Earl of Essex, the Earl of Leicester, or Mr. Hatton, Master of the Horse; thinking their Lordships would furnish the places with their own stuff"—people seem to have travelled about in those days taking their own

furniture, tapestries, plate and linen, &c., with them—"and whereas they said that his house was of an ill air, hanging upon the Church, having no prospect to look on the people, yet he trusted, he said, the convenience of the building would serve. . . . That as for his Lordship (Burghley) several Prebendaries strove for him" as a guest—and he mentioned who they were and what their houses were like.

The Archbishop also described minutely what had been customary "when princes came to Canterbury," and sketched out details of the arrangements proposed for a feast to the Queen; and adds, "if her Highness would give him leave, he would keep his bigger hall that day for the nobles and the rest of her train; and if it pleased her she might come in through the gallery and see the disposition of the hall in dinner time, at a window opening thereinto."

"Our historians," Strype tells us, "relate that this entertainment was exceedingly great and noble." Camden notes that it luckily happened on the 7th day of September, the Queen's birthday.

We have in Parker's letters to Grindall, Archbishop of York, his own account of this royal visit to Canterbury. He writes: "I met her Highness as she was coming to Dover, upon Folkestone Down. The which I rather did, with all my men, to shew my duty to her, and mine affection to the Shire, who likewise there met her. And I left her at Dover and came home to Bekesbourne that night; and after that went to Canterbury to receive her Majesty there, which I did with the Bishops of Lincoln and Rochester, and my suffragan, at the west door. Where, after the grammarian had made his oration

to her upon her horseback, she alighted. We then kneeled down and said the Psalm *Deus Misereatur* in English, with certain other collects, briefly; and that in our chimers* and rochets. The quire, with the Dean and Prebendaries, stood on either side of the Church, and brought her Majesty up with a square song, she going under a canopy, borne by four of her temporal knights, to her traverse," a canopied chair of State, "placed by the Communion board: where she heard even-song, and after departed to her lodging at St. Austin's,† whither I waited upon her. From thence I brought certain of the Council and divers of the Court, to my house to supper; and gave them fourteen or fifteen dishes, furnished with two mess, at my long table whereat sat about twenty. And in the same chamber, a third mess, at a square table, whereat sat ten or twelve. My less hall having three long tables furnished with my officers and with the guard and others of the Court. And so her Majesty came every Sunday to Church to hear the sermon; and upon one Monday it pleased her Highness to dine in my great hall, thoroughly furnished with the Council, Frenchmen, ladies, gentlemen, and the Mayor of the town with his brethren, &c. Her Majesty sitting in the midst having two French Ambassadors at one end of the table and four ladies of honour at the other end. . . . her gentlemen and guard bringing her dishes, &c. Because your grace desireth to know some

* "The chimere was . . . the cope of black silk now worn with the sleeves of the rochet sewn to it. . . . The rochet is a peculiar kind of alb."—*Dean Hook*.

† St. Augustine's, then a Royal Palace.

part of mine order, I write the more largely unto you."

"Whereat," continues Strype, "the Archbishop of York made this reflection in an answer: 'Your Grace's large description of the entertainment at Canterbury did so lively set forth the matter, that in reading thereof I almost thought myself to be one of your guests there, as it were beholding the whole order of all things done there. Sir, I think it shall be hard for any of our coat to do the like for 100 years.'"

While the Court was at Canterbury "the Lord Treasurer in the midst of his feasting, met with some sour sauce with it," says Strype, referring to a "venomous book" written against him and the Lord Keeper by the Romanists, "which yet was not the first of many that he had felt the malice of. But it grieved much the good man . . . after his painful service and honest heart to the realm and to the Queen, to be so continually slandered and back-bitten." He forwarded the book to the Archbishop, saying: "You will see how dangerously I serve in this State. . . . If God and our conscience were not our defence and consolation against these pestilent darts, we might well be weary of our lives." Parker returned the book to him with encouraging words not to let the matter worry him. "Some things," he said, "were better put up (with) in silence than much stirred in," and added very truly: "*It is no new matter for such as take pains for the good government of the Commonwealth to be railed on.*"

The "venomous book" seems to have been written by the "Little Englanders" of those days, for they had a "wilful determination as it appeared,

to contrive all the mischief they could imagine to impeach and subvert the universal quietness and peace of the realm, *and beheld with deadly envy this their natural country.*"

Elizabeth therefore "charged all manner of persons to despise, reject and destroy" such books and libels. Their disloyalty also took the form of "dangerous designs . . . against the Queen's life, in spite of fair and smooth and loyal shows and pretences."

The English Ambassador at Antwerp writes of the machinations of the English Roman Catholic refugees there, who were encouraged to make trouble by the Spaniards, and were probably found easy enough tools by them, for they got the refugees to spread reports that King Philip would get Elizabeth to allow four Jesuits to "freely preach in England," even giving their names. All this caused grave anxiety in England.

The Puritans also still gave great trouble in many ways, and seem to have encouraged socialistic theories, for the Archbishop, who well knew that they were strongly supported by various influential noblemen, wrote to Burghley that they (the nobles themselves) "might rue it at last. And that all these men tended towards, was to the overthrow of all honourable quality and the setting a-foot a commonality, or, as he called it, a popularity."

"Both Papists and Precisians" (Puritans) the Archbishop wrote, "have one mark to shoot at, plain disobedience, some of simplicity, some of wiliness and stubbornness." Many curious sects had sprung up, and the Archbishop of York, who had previously been Bishop of London, wrote to

Parker from his own experience: "The Bishop of London is always to be pitied. For (even) if burning were the penalty of those curiosities, yet should he never lack a number of that generation."

Complaints had been made about this time to the Archbishop of a "mighty deformity" in the way of a new sect in Cambridgeshire and Essex, who were accused of irregularities in religious services and odd beliefs, together with peculiar views as regards food. But the Archbishop, after full enquiry, "found these news to be enviously uttered"—and the accused proved, in reply to searching questions put to them, to be "innocent, well-disposed people"; it would indeed be difficult to find a purer confession of faith and a sweeter rule of life than the "Declaration," in which, "according," as they said, "to our simple and small understanding," they state their ideals and convictions.

Here is part of the "Declaration":—

"We know no man so perfect . . . but that he ought truly to confess his own sin and ignorance and to pray to God daily to forgive his sins, as he doth forgive others; and to pray and study continually for the increase of his faith and knowledge.

"We . . . do profess to study . . . to learn God's Word with all humility and obedience, to this only end and purpose, to know God and truly to know virtue from vice, to love God above all things, and our neighbours as ourselves, and to pray God daily to frame our lives according to the same. . . .

"We do believe that sithence the coming of Christ there ought to be no difference between Jew and Gentile, but all that believeth, and calleth upon the name of God truly, shall be saved by

him equally. . . . The difference that is between one day and another, one apparel and another, one kind of meat from another, is and may be (? ordered) by positive laws and the authority of Christian magistrates, to the which we both are, and will be, and all good subjects ought to be, obedient; not only for fear of punishment, but also for conscience. . . . And we think it as lawful for a Christian man, with a good conscience, as well to eat swine's flesh as beef or mutton, butter or cheese. . . . And so we have done and by grace intend to do!

"The occasion of our assemblies on the holy days, after supper, was this: for that heretofore we have, at divers times, spent and consumed the same vainly in drinking at the ale house and playing at cards, tables" (*i.e.* backgammon) "dice and other vain pastimes . . . for the which we have been greatly blamed by our Parson; we thought it better to bestow the time in soberly and godly reading the Scriptures. . . ."

"We think it unlawful and ungodly to speak one thing with the mouth and think the contrary with the heart. . . . We judge it lawful and godly to give alms to the poor. . . . We . . . would be glad to learn our duty towards God, our Prince, and Magistrates, towards our neighbours and our families, in such sort as it becometh good, faithful and obedient subjects; which is our greatest and only desire, to live, follow and perform the same, according as God shall give us grace."

Among other things not so harmless were "prophesyings," which, as we know, had to be forbidden by both Archbishop and Queen, though the prophets had received some encouragement from the Bishop of Norwich and others. But the

Archbishop wrote personally at the same time to the Bishop of Norwich very wise advice on the subject: "My Lord, be not you led by fantastical folk. I mean not to desire your Lordship not to take counsel, but not to take such young men to counsel, as when they have endangered you, they cannot bring you out of trouble." Astrologers, diviners, crystal gazers, sooth sayers, and their like, got scant encouragement from Parker, especially as many such tried, as we have seen, to turn their influence with the superstitious to political account. One instance is recorded in which the Archbishop suppressed a case of supposed spiritual possession which had created a great stir; he himself discovered the trick used, but wisely got Sir Rowland Hayward and Mr. Recorder of the City to be present when the impostor was examined and confessed, so that they also "saw her play her pranks before them." After that, she and another, a "maid of Lothbury . . . did their penances at St. Paul's Cross," where their confessions were read out and "they did themselves acknowledge their counterfeiting and required (asked) forgiveness of God and the world, and the people to pray for them."

In 1574 Dr. Whitgift wrote a reply to the Puritan Cartwright's book, in which, in words which might be used to-day, he says: "I do charge all men before God and His angels, as they will answer at the day of judgment, that under the pretence of zeal they seek not the spoil of the Church." Parker's views on the subject of the alienation of the revenues of the Church are recorded in his own words in Strype's Appendix in a paper which is dateless, but which may have referred to the

abolition of Stoke College. He says: "By what colour shall we justify this, that when in a well-constituted Commonwealth all citizens at least ought to live and enjoy equal right, and that their immovable goods and revenues should not be taken away from them; whether they be lawyers, merchants, noblemen, nay, the most wicked and impure whatsoever; that the ministers of religion only should not be allowed this right equal to all others, who hitherto, in all Christian Commonwealths, nay, heathen too, have been in a better, rather than in a worse condition?"

Archbishop Parker's last Visitation of his own Church of Canterbury was in 1574; which church he strove to make a pattern to all the rest of his Diocese.

In this year also, the Archbishop helped to increase the salary of the Hebrew Lecturer at Cambridge. For this post (in succession to Wakefield), a Frenchman had been suggested by the Chancellor, but as he "was not Master of Arts, nor had taken any degree of school," the University selected instead a Fellow of Trinity, named Lively, who "was very toward in that tongue" (Hebrew). "The University," remarks Strype, "seemed not to affect foreigners to be placed in preferment among them, especially having as able men of their own" and excused themselves to their Chancellor, saying they "had, they thanked God, as many as fit to occupy the places of all the ordinary lectures as there was of any other Country. But withal, they said, they would . . . be very willing to help that Frenchman wherein they might." They also said they considered "that this preferring one of their own would tend to

encourage others to travail in that tongue." Parker's gifts of ancient books to the appreciative Burghley were added to this year when he sent to him, and to several others, a reprint of *King Alfred's Life*; and "being to wait upon the Queen at Hampton Court, to welcome her Majesty home from her progress," he intended, he tells Burghley, "to present her one which he had procured to be well bound."

There came at this time another break in the Archbishop's family circle when his second son, Matthew, died at the age of 23. He had married Frances (a daughter of Barlow, late Bishop of Chichester), whom he had "seemed to have chosen more for her virtues than for her fortune"; and we may, in passing, glance at some of the interesting private history of this good woman, as illustrating domestic life in those days. All the fortune that she brought her husband was "but £100 value: that is to say a gelding; for her apparel £10 of her own stock; £12 of damask linen, a table cloth and a towel, 2 pillow bears (cases), 2 long cushions; a silver salt and standing cup, and £10 in money, when they rode to see her mother, being a widow." On which Strype remarks: "By this may be seen what riches the Bishops in those times used to leave behind them."

Frances' husband seemed to have died in debt, but his brother John was very kind to the widow, giving her £20 in money and purchasing "her husband's jewels for her," and he "gave her a chain of gold and certain pieces of plate besides an annuity of £44," about £400 of our money. She afterwards married Dr. Toby Matthew, Dean of Christ Church, who later became Archbishop of York. Strype records of her that she proved herself a great

benefactor to the Church at York by giving to it at his death the Library of her second husband, the Archbishop of York, which library included above 3,000 volumes. Frances Barlow's "descent was honourable." Her father, who had been sent on several embassies by Henry VIII., was of an old Welsh family, and was "one of the first reformers of religion and contemporary with Archbishop Cranmer, and his friend." He became successively "Bishop of St. Asaph, St. David's, Bath and Wells, and (some years of banishment intervening) of Chichester." Frances, having lived many years in York "in great reputation for her charity and virtues," died in 1629, and was buried in York Minster, where her tombstone said of her that "she was a woman of exemplary wisdom, gravity, piety, beauty, and indeed all other virtues, not only above her sex, but the times"! Such was Archbishop Parker's daughter-in-law.

The loss of his young son was a "stroke that went very near the good Archbishop." He was, besides, very ailing now, much kept to the house, and frequently to his bed, by illness, and above all greatly worried by the friction of public matters. He writes to Burghley "that it irked him sorely to see that he could not do that good service for God and the Church that his high place required of him, using these words: 'I toy out my time, saith he, partly with copying of books, partly in devising ordinances for scholars to help the ministry, partly in genealogies, &c.'" and adds: "'I have very little help, if ye knew all, where I thought to have had most: and thus, saith he, till Almighty God comes, I repose myself in patience.' . . . He came now very seldom to Court, and seldomer wrote to the

Court or Council, as knowing how little purpose it would be."

He did not like the French books in fashion "such as probably . . . humoured the French marriage" proposed for Queen Elizabeth, and even his absences from Court were turned against him.

Another great distress to the Archbishop was to find how the "Visitors" of his native City of Norwich had oppressed the clergy. These "Visitors," appointed by some of the Court, were supposed to see that no lands were "concealed from the Crown," but in reality they were appointed "to wrack and impoverish the Church and to disgrace and grieve the Archbishop," who said that "though he had a dull head, yet he saw, partly by himself and partly by others, how the game went." The poorer ministers in self-defence, gave large bribes to the Visitors to stop any false informations; and the Archbishop learnt "that some varlets purchased £20 a year by their bribing." But of all this he knew nothing till it was done—or he would have had the Visitors discharged.

One is relieved to find that eventually two of the "Visitors," having compounded for keeping "the whole commodity" of these inquisitorial researches to themselves, "made such fearful work among the Preachers and Curates" that the Archbishop and others got the Queen to "give orders for the stay of process."

Other official abuses also came to light concerning pensions, this time the delinquents being the Receivers of the Exchequer. "By this time," says Strype, "many or most of the pensions allowed or paid out of the Exchequer

to the religious men belonging to the dissolved monasteries, ceased by their deaths or promotions. But those that were concerned in the payment of them made their advantages to the great injury of the Queen. For the Tellers of the Exchequer and the Receivers made this benefit: that when any of these died or were promoted, they brought in their accounts to the Queen as though they had paid some (of them) a year after, some a year and a half, some two, some three, some four or five years, *one seven years after*. Which payments indeed they never made, but put that money up into their own pockets."

A man called Litchfield informed against them and got a commission from the Queen to see into the matter. "But as this Litchfield, by these, his sharp inquisitions, found out the deceits of these Receivers and Tellers, so he scraped from them and kept good shares of their unjust gains to himself, and gave no true account thereof to the Exchequer. But after divers years his frauds also were discovered by others that informed against him." Sums of over £2,000 and £4,000 were found to have gone in wrongful payments of pensions—a very large sum if translated into modern money value.

An occupation more congenial to the Archbishop than bringing such rogues to justice, concerned his gifts to the University Library at Cambridge, and this year Dr. Perne, the Vice-Chancellor, "backed and countenanced by the Archbishop, set himself to furnish this Library to make it of use and reputation." Perne went to stay at Lambeth to ask "eminent men" to give books, and "got books from the Lord Keeper, the Bishop of Winchester and others"; and on his

return to Cambridge made "convenient places and receptacles for the books of each benefactor . . . that so each giver might be the better remembered to posterity."

In writing to the Archbishop, Dr. Perne speaks of the "singular beauty that the comely order of your Grace's books doth bring to the University Library, to the great delectation of the eye of every man that shall enter into the said Library. I do judge the mind of others," he adds, "that loveth learning and the University, by my own great delectation, that I do conceive of that comely placing of the said books."

The Archbishop's gift was a hundred volumes, which included books on antiquities, on birds, beasts and fishes; a parcel of twenty-five books on the Old Testament, another on the New, and twenty-five books of MSS. in vellum, and (so little can one trust book lovers!) "at the end of each volume is set down what number of pages each contain, for the better preserving of the books entire."

Parker also stirred up Burghley, then Chancellor of Cambridge, to send to the University Library the books promised by him. And as the Archbishop "was thus beneficial to the University this year, so he was again to his beloved College," says his biographer, for he now gave "£500 of clear money for the increase of the commons of the Fellows and Scholars . . . and furthermore there was granted to a Registrary of his founding his whole commons, with one chamber among the Norwich Scholars." The Registrary was to be from Norwich; he was to be "skilful and dexterous in writing," and to be called Elder Bible Clerk of

the College, and to wait, with other Bible Clerks, at table on the Master and Fellows. He was also to transcribe anything required "from the ancient books."

"And now," writes Strype of the year 1575, "we are arrived to the last year of our Archbishop, wherein he left off his toilsome work to receive his wages." But the malignant opposition of Leicester pursued him to the end. Leicester had taken great offence at the Archbishop holding a Visitation of the Diocese of Winchester in response to a request of the Bishop there, to set things in order as regarded both Romanists and Dissenters. "Clamours against him (the Archbishop) arrived to the ears of his old back-friend (*i.e.* secret enemy) the Earl of Leicester, who presently, glad of any opportunity, laboured to blacken him before the Queen for his Visitation. Insomuch that when, upon her commandment, he came to wait upon her at Hampton Court in the month of April, she suddenly charged him for his Visitation." Parker well knew whom to thank for this sudden attack, for Leicester had already tried to stir up the Bishop of Winchester against him. The Courtiers excused it on the ground of policy, but the Archbishop's words to the Lord Treasurer on the subject were: "If this be a good policy, well then, let it be so. If this be a good policy, secretly to work overthwartly against the Queen's religion, established as by law and injunction, as long as they so stand, I will not be partaker of it. Her Majesty told him once, he said, that he had supreme government ecclesiastical: but what is it, said he, to govern, cumbered with such subtilty? He added that he feared her Highness's authority

was not regarded. So that if they could, for fear of further inconvenience, they would change her government: yea, saith he to the Lord Treasurer, and yours and mine, how cunningly soever they deal in it. . . . Doth your Lordship think," he continues, "that I care either for cap, tippet, surplice or wafer-bread, or any such? But for the law so established esteem them. For he saw, he said, contempt of law and authority would follow, and be the end of it, unless discipline were used."

The letter from which this is quoted was "dictated to another (while) lying in his bed in great weakness," and was probably the last he ever wrote to Burghley, for it was dated 11th of April, and his death occurred on the 17th May, 1575.

Archbishop Matthew Parker was 72 when he died; "and that was the number of the poor men that attended his funeral. But notwithstanding his age he was of a vigorous and perfect mind and memory . . . perfect in his senses and arrived at the best age, saith one who was able to judge of it, being in the family at the Archbishop's death.

. . . His death was no surprise to him, for it employed very often his serious meditations. In his sermons he used frequently to exhort his auditory that death should not find them unprovided . . . He appointed his tombstone to be of black marble"—a plain one—and had it made in his lifetime "that he might look upon it while he lived . . . It was his mindfulness of his mortality and of the dreadful judgment that followed it, that made him choose that sentence of Scripture spoken by St. John: *Mundus transit et concupiscentia ejus*—i.e. the world passeth away and the lust thereof—which he had very often

in his mouth and wrote in his letters, had it engraved round his coat of arms and described in the walls of his house and in the glass of his windows. Whereby, in the midst of his worldly greatness, he called to mind his own brittle, frail condition, and the vanity of the most pompous state.

“And to put him in mind of judgment as well as death, he had engraven in the Seal of his See the manner of the last judgment, where Christ sat gloriously and with Majesty to judge the quick and the dead . . . that by these remembrances he might quicken himself to do God’s will and to discharge his high function.”

Matthew Parker’s own wish had been to be buried “without pomp and worldly noise,” but “a very solemn funeral was celebrated for him on the 6th June.” Strype gives the order of the funeral from a paper in Burghley’s handwriting. Among those present were “Blew Mantle” and Rouge Dragon, “Mr. Garter” and other Heralds; seventy-two poor men; gentlemen mourners in gowns, chaplains and secretaries, the Bishop of London as chief mourner; the Bishops of Ely, Lincoln, Bath, and Rochester, the Lord Chief Justice, the Master of the Rolls and other Judges; the Company of Arches; Yeomen of the Household and mourners’ servants. His body was buried in his own private chapel, under a monument on which was an inscription by Dr. Walter Haddon.

But neither stone, epitaph, nor monument remained in Strype’s time, for after the death of Charles I. Lambeth “fell to the lot of Colonel Scott, one of the regicides,” who turned the chapel

into a ball or dancing room, and demolished the "venerable monument" which stood in the way. And "out of hatred to episcopacy" dug up Parker's body, sold the lead in which it was wrapped and buried the bones in a dunghill. There they remained till after the Restoration, when Sir William Dugdale, the antiquary, told Archbishop Sancroft of it. Search was made for the bones and they were at last found and decently re-buried, though not exactly in the original place. Over them these words were engraven: "*Corpus Matthæi Archiepiscopi hic tandem quiescit.*" Archbishop Sancroft caused the original monument to be re-erected to his memory in the vestibule of the Chapel.

Archbishop Parker's will, in which he gives an account of his faith, is in the Library of Corpus Christi College. "His bequests were very noble and very large, to the Queen, to the Cathedral of Canterbury, to his successors the Archbishops of Canterbury," and to many others, not forgetting Burghley, the friend of his lifetime, to whom he left his "best blew sapphire."

"Large legacies also to the University of Cambridge and Colleges there; namely one hundred books to the public (? University) Library; to the College of Corpus Christi where he was bred and of which he was Master, all his books, printed or writ" and not otherwise bequeathed (and among the printed books, as we know, the volume containing the Cookery Book): "Upon condition that they laid them up, and kept them in their new library, and in presses in the lesser library, and in chests there prepared, together with other books, peculiarly as yet (*i.e.* hitherto) reserved

in his study and vestiary at Lambeth." What made the printed books the more valuable was that "they were of the very ancientist editions," and amongst them "*Rhetorica nova impressa Cantabrigiæ*, 1478, whence by the way," remarks Strype, "we may be informed how ancient printing was in Cambridge." The Library contained, among other books, many valuable old Bibles. As to the books which were "writ"—the splendid collection of old MSS.—the Archbishop, realising the fearful risks these same books had run from the tamperings of Italian Priests and the danger they had survived of being put to degrading uses by tallow chandlers and grocers, ere they were safely housed at Corpus Christi College, made very strict rules and conditions regarding their safe keeping for the future; and for the greater protection of these MSS. bequeathed to his College, Parker ordained that they should be kept under a lock, the three keys of which were severally lodged with the Master and two other College officers, who were to see that the Library was kept in due order. The idea of the three keys may have been taken from his own coat of arms. Parker also left legacies to Gonville and Caius and to Trinity Hall, both of which he always especially associated with his own College.

As regards the Archbishop's attitude towards the members of his household, Strype gives a delightful account from the description of "one that lived in the family," who said of Parker: "He was a good master to his servants, and gave them his countenance, favour, counsel, authority and beneficence, even to the supplying some of them with estates and fortunes. And for learning,

his house was a kind of flourishing University of learned men"; and the members of his house, encouraged by the Archbishop, "published to the world the fruits of their studies."

"Out of his house," says Strype, "came forth a correct English translation of the Bible, the *Antiquities of Britain*, and divers ancient authors, never before published, in which, though he had the greatest hand, yet his household servants assisted."

Archbishop Parker's household "consisted of the youth of both qualities, that of gentlemen and that of the plebian degree. But both sorts well chosen; for he would admit none to live under him but such as truly and sincerely feared God, and beside their daily attendance employed themselves at their leisure hours in . . . reading, making collections, transcribing, composing, painting, drawing, or some other application in learning or art." He himself "was never idle."

He paid his servants "beyond what was ever given before by former Archbishops; and to such as were needy he afforded more than their wages." His practical help followed them even after his death, for he bequeathed them "wages for the quarter wherein he died and for the quarter following his death," nor did he forget to add to his bequest their board wages.

The etiquette of the big household is interesting: "The Steward, with the servants that were gentlemen of the better rank, sat down at the tables in the hall on the right hand; and the Almoner, with the Clergy and the other servants, sat on the other side"; and there was "plenty of all sorts of wholesome provision both for eating and

drinking," while the "daily fragments" fed "a great number of poor hungry people that waited at the gate."

"The discourse . . . at meals was void of all brawling and loud talking. There was a monitor of the hall, and if it happened that any spoke too loud," or whose conversation was not such as would be approved, they were "presently hushed by one that cried *Silence!* The Archbishop loved hospitality, and no one shewed it so much or with better order, though he himself was very abstemious." (Elsewhere Strype says "he eat sparingly, drank but little wine.") "He was indeed a mortified man to the world and the things of it; yet his disposition led him to do things agreeable to his quality and condition, wherein God had placed him; and therefore, though he was above the affection of magnificence, yet he used magnificent hospitality and great housekeeping, befitting his rank; and upon occasion, sometimes he was very sumptuous both in feasts and buildings."

He was so good a manager that he met all the great expenses of the "first fruits and subsidies payable to the Queen" on his appointment, and all furnishings, &c., without running into debt. He made a practice to pay for things bought "every week, or at most every three months, so that no man ever sued him for a debt . . . from which he was very averse, considering the benefit of creditors, whom he would not have to suffer loss upon his account, that had so friendly at any time supplied him with every needful household provision."

Parker "went in the garb of a clergyman. He did indeed wear silk sometimes, not willingly, but

because it was grown then so common"; but "he would oftentimes complain of Cardinal Wolsey for bringing in among the clergy first the wearing of silk, as that which brought in the Asiatic luxury, and that it could not now be laid down again."

The Archbishop's recreations seem to have been entirely literary and artistic, and "he did not care for plays, hunting nor hawking," from which indeed his health must have precluded him. "The spare hours of his old age (which was pleasant and cheerful) he spent in searching into ancient authors . . . and especially he inquired into our British and Saxon monuments," *i.e.* ancient MSS., "which treated of this Church of Britain. Whereby he saw evidently how much this, our Church, by the encroachments of the Papacy, had deviated from its ancient doctrines and practises." In this, Parker was at one with Jewel, who, when preaching at Paul's Cross, "dared the opponents of the English Reformation to defend their opposition on scriptural principles, or on the principles of the primitive Church"; and on another occasion maintained that "where the Church of Rome differed from the Church of England, *Rome was mediæval and England primitive.*" (See Dean Hook.) "All the antique pieces that he got, for the better and surer preservation of them, he bound up together in volumes and covered with vellum." Many of these he had reprinted "for the illuminating the story of the ancient English Church and Kingdom."

Both Parker's sons were "very hopeful young men and adorned with all their father's and mother's manners." They lived "with him or very near him . . . after they married," that he might have the

“pleasure and divertisement, as well as inspection of his children and grandchildren after the loss of his dear wife”; and they were so “obliging, pleasant and humane that they had the love and esteem of all.”

Strype enumerates Archbishop Parker’s gifts and benefactions, not forgetting mention of his causing a History of his College to be written (*The Historiola Collegii Corporis Christi, by John Josselin*); and his also obtaining for Corpus Christi College a new coat of arms: the symbolic pelican feeding her young, quartered with the silver lilies of the Blessed Virgin, on an azure ground; nor the £100 he gave to the City of Canterbury “for to be lent to the poor, to set them on work in the woollen manufacture”; and that he made the river navigable to Canterbury.

The Archbishop’s help to his neighbours was always practical. To the boys he secured a good education, founded on sound principles, and with a door open to advancement for such as had higher qualifications; while in the hands of men he put the means of a self-respecting livelihood. In fact he encouraged the work of both hands and brains.

His many benefactions and “his generous acts, both in his life and at his death, made his estate that was to descend to his posterity sink considerably. But he was never of that mind to scrape together to leave great possessions to children, to be temptations to them.”

Of Matthew Parker’s personal character we get interesting particulars from various writers. Dean Hook considers he was “distinguished, not for his genius, but for a very large share of common-sense”; though, if one of the characteristics of genius be an infinite capacity for taking pains, we may surely

claim that for him, too. Strype records that he was very bashful and modest by nature, even when he was Archbishop, having "a very mean conceit of himself and his abilities"; although "in a good cause" he "feared nobody, no not the greatest men, when he had right on his side, or in the distribution of justice and discharge of his conscience." "He never sought controversy," says Kennedy, "but when he found it forced upon him, he brought to it an open mind, a considerable body of accurate learning, and the faculty of being able to see things in their proper proportion." Loyalty, as history shows, was a marked and innate feature of Parker's character—devoted loyalty, as we know, to the places with which he was connected by birth, by education, by whatever work, small or great, was his to do; for all such places, Norwich, Cambridge, Canterbury, Lambeth, he never seemed able to do enough. Loyalty also to friends, even at personal danger to himself, as when he stood beside Bilney at the stake; and in the harder task of fearlessly telling the great men who were among his lifelong and intimate companions, when he differed from them in matters of principle. And most of all, loyalty to his "Prince," the great Sovereign from whose personal caprice and diplomatic variableness arose many of his hardest official difficulties. For though the brilliant Queen's habit of throwing all responsibility on the chief counsellors, lay and ecclesiastical, of her Court and Kingdom was probably a leading factor in developing the great characters of her reign, Elizabeth too often failed to support them in carrying out her own express commands. Very hard must it have been for the Archbishop to defend and maintain, as

far as in him lay, the authority of the Throne and at the same time to protect the rights of Churchmen. "To the Queen he ever bore a high regard; and though she would sometimes take him up and other of her clergy, and be perhaps too sharp upon them for lesser matters, yet he abated not in the least his duty and love to her Majesty. She was a critical hearer," so the Archbishop carefully chose her Lenten Preachers. In fulfilling his duty to the Church and to private persons, "he gained the reputation of a most unbiassed judge, of a conscientious governor of the Church, and an unfeigned promoter of true religion and the good of his country," and received "a general reverence and respect from all good men. And if he had any enemies, they were such only as were enemies also to religion and the public weal. . . . He was one of the greatest Antiquarians of his age, and the world is ever beholden to him for two things, viz.: for retrieving many ancient authors, Saxon and British as well as Norman, and for restoring and enlightening a great deal of the ancient history of this noble island. . . . When the Abbeys and religious houses were dissolved, and the books that were contained in the Libraries thereunto belonging underwent the same fate, being miserably embezzled and sold away to tradesmen for little or nothing, for their ordinary shop uses, then did Parker, and some few more lovers of ancient learning, procure, both by their money and their friends, what books soever they could; and having got them into their possession, esteemed many of them as their greatest treasures, which other ignorant spoilers esteemed but as trash, or to be burnt or sold at

easy rates. . . . He was therefore a mighty collector of books, to preserve as much as could be the ancient monuments of the learned men of our nation from perishing."

Archbishop Parker sent people all over the country to collect. One of these, named Batman, in four years collected six thousand seven hundred books on divinity, astronomy, history, physic, arts, and sciences. In those days "many of our choicest MSS. were conveyed out of the land beyond sea," which Parker often lamented. Would that any of these could now be traced!

Bale, another great antiquary, says "a great number of those that purchased these monasteries reserved the books of those libraries . . . some to scour their candlesticks, some to rub their boots, some they sold to the grocers and soap sellers, and some they sent over sea to the bookbinders"; and this, alas! "not in small numbers, but at times whole shipsfull, to the wondering of foreign nations. . . And he said he knew a merchant that bought two noble libraries for forty shillings," and used them for ten years, "and yet he had store enough for as many more years to come"! Bale upbraids "our nation with the dishonour of it, wishing heartily the Pope's laws and the Schoolmen had undergone this fate, rather than our ancient authors both of history and divinity." He protests that "to put our ancient chronicles, our noble histories, our learned commentaries and homilies upon the Scriptures to so homely an office of subjection and utter contempt, we have both greatly dishonoured our nation and also showed ourselves very wicked to posterity."

Of the books which he rescued Archbishop Parker published a good many, and his "great skill in antiquity," in matters ecclesiastical as well as historical, made him "acquainted with the ancient liturgies and doctrines of the Christian Church in former times. He utterly disliked therefore, the public offices of the present Roman Church," says Strype, "because they varied so much from the ancient." This, no doubt, urged him to a great activity in printing the old authorities and he was "the great instrument in publishing the Saxon Gospels in 1571"—a work superintended by John Fox, and reprinted in 1665 at Dortrecht, by Dr. Marshal, the English chaplain there. Parker's interest in the Anglo-Saxon language was great. "He was the chief retriever of that our ancient native language, the Saxon I mean, and encouraged heartily the study of it," for he considered it interesting to compare "our Country language which we now use" with obsolete forms. He tried to get a Saxon Dictionary composed and published, but owing to the death of those who first undertook it, this was not carried out till 1659—long after the Archbishop's death.

Parker also got "Day, the printer, to cut the Saxon types in brass, who was the first person that did it."

As to the reliability of the reprints of ancient books which the Archbishop had made, Strype tells us how conscientious he was in adhering to the originals, "for he feared . . . if he should have put in anything of his own, out of pretence to smooth the wrinkles and wipe off the stains of antiquity . . . that they might not seem so

much their histories that writ them, as his own."

And this very conscientiousness on his part in preserving the integrity of the wording of the old MSS. made him keenly alive to the treatment such works had received from those who tried to falsify history by suppressing whatever did not agree with their own opinions or teaching. Such methods had been in existence for some five hundred years, and up to Parker's own day, for "In Archbishop Lanfrank's time, who lived under William the Conqueror, all latin books," says Strype, "that had any expressions against a bodily presence in the Sacrament, were craftily abolished by the Papists"; and adds that in Lanfranc's and Pope Innocent's days "studying by all means how to prefer and further this their new-come doctrine of transubstantiation, they did abolish and raze out of libraries and churches all such books which made to the contrary." In the case of sermons translated from Latin into Saxon, though no Latin original survived, the *Saxon translations* of them had escaped destruction; for as the Italian Priests in England fortunately did not understand Saxon, "the Saxon books, because they knew them not, remained." Strype mentions "one certain piece or fragment of a Latin Epistle" written by Ælfric, Abbot of St. Alban's, and then in the Library of Worcester, "wherein so much as maketh against the matter of transubstantiation was discovered to be so erased, that no letter nor piece of a letter did there appear. And there was about the middle a very notable sentence of that nature defaced. But the Saxon copy being found in the archives of Exeter Church, the whole sentence is very happily restored."

A further reference to Lanfranc's action is given by Strype, who says that he had been shown "a parchment of very venerable antiquity" at Rochester, in which Lambard, the antiquary, had, by the Archbishop's direction, written some lines to the effect that when William the Conqueror, being abroad, left the Government in Archbishop Lanfranc's hands, Lanfranc "caused the Holy Scriptures and the writings of the Holy Fathers to be all collected and gotten together, and then appointed them all to be mended, purged and corrected"—in other words, altered to suit his own views. "Perhaps from this time," as Lambard wrote in 1573, "chiefly is to be dated the foisting of many spurious pieces upon the Fathers and falsifying the text of the Vulgar Latin Bible." The use of printing no doubt helped to make such methods at all events more difficult of execution, by multiplying and dispersing copies of books.

One great service which Archbishop Parker rendered to England by his preservation of old MSS. was that he thereby collected the materials for reliable history. Camden said it was "one of the great wants of our country that it had not yet any entire complete history of England"; and added that "Archbishop Parker was the first and chief that made provision for such a desirable work." His opinion is supported by Bishop Godwin, who asserts that "our ancient histories," but for Parker, "were even upon the point utterly to perish."

A few more touches we get in the last chapter of Strype's biography of Archbishop Parker, which complete that fine portrait of the life and character of a great man. The household at Bekesbourne, of which he was head, and where "he lived in the

true quality of an English Archbishop," was as remarkable as its master, for it consisted of "little less than one hundred persons," besides the servants left at Lambeth; and "he had within his walls," as we know, many experienced artisans and artists, including good engravers, besides his permanent staff and officials, many chaplains and learned men, "foreigners as well as others," whom he entertained, "so that his housekeeping must needs be great and splendid, in that he had such a large family to provide for."

The number of the Archbishop's household was added to, from time to time, by some of the deprived clergy who had been prisoners in the Tower, and whom the Queen committed to his care. Such were Thirleby, formerly Bishop of Ely, who lived at Bekesbourne and Lambeth altogether some seven years; and Boxall, who had been Dean of Windsor; and "each of them one man allowed." Parker seems always to have treated them as honoured guests, "in all courteous and gentle manner." A very friendly letter exists, written by the Archbishop to Thirleby, who had apologised for coming as "an unbidden guest"; in it Parker assures him of welcome, and describes the best route to take from London. Boxall, after some time, removed to Bromley, and wrote on leaving to thank the Archbishop "for my very good entertainment, which so long time without desert your Grace exhibited to me . . . which I do acknowledge, and most heartily wish I were able by any means to declare myself mindful of it." Such were two of the men whom Strype says the Romanists represented as "miserable prisoners."

As the Archbishop, says Strype, "was a great patron and promoter of good learning, so he took care of giving encouragement to printing, a great instrument of the increase thereof." His printer, Day, has been mentioned before. He got the Queen's permission for Binneman, another printer, to print "a few usual Latin books, for the use of grammarians, Terence, Virgil, Tully's Offices, &c.; a thing not done here in England before, or very rarely." The Archbishop submitted a specimen of Binneman's printing to Cecil, and said he thought such books could be printed cheaper here than they would cost to import; adding that "it were not amiss to set our own countrymen on work, so they would be diligent, and take good characters."

Of the affection inspired by Parker in those who lived constantly with him there are many instances; and one of his household, Dr. Ackworth, writing to Burghley an account of the Archbishop in his own family circle, says of him, after recording his great learning, that "his more private conversation was the best discipline and rule of living." In Dean Hook's words, what struck Dr. Ackworth "more than anything else was the visible effect tacitly produced by the example and conversation of Parker upon all his servants and dependants"; and again: "From the highest to the lowest, from the young lordling to the menial servant, Parker extended his friendship, and instructed them, both by lectures in his chapel and by a bright example in the daily walks of life."

In spite of the heavy expenses of his office and the great drain made on the Archbishop's

revenues by his liberal charities, "he subtracted nothing from the possessions and benefits of his church, but maintained all the rights and privileges of it, and delivered them over safe to his successors."

Those who wish to study Archbishop Parker's teaching and opinions regarding the great religious questions of his day, and care to realize what we owe to him for the renewal, instruction and purifying of the ancient English Church, will find all conscientiously told by Strype with the greatest detail, in his biography of the Archbishop, with a candour and freshness which makes that history delightful reading. They will also there find shown, as in a faithful mirror, the difficulties put in Parker's way by opposers belonging to various creeds and many nationalities, who had their own objects to serve, and how, one by one, he met and overcame those difficulties with a learned patience, though indeed they wrung from him the cry: "I am not weary to bear, to do service to God and to my prince, but an ox can draw no more than he can!" They will find also recorded there his long and laborious toil on behalf of all that made for righteousness, for truth and enlightenment, for honour and high principle; his great courage, the courage of a God-fearing man, working on under the weight of cares and of illness which depressed his naturally buoyant spirit; and his modesty, that of a truly learned man, together with all other characteristics and events of Matthew Parker's long life.

"And so," in the words with which Strype concludes his thick volumes, "with all honour and respect we cease this . . . narrative of Arch-

bishop Parker, taking our leave of him as one of the best deservers, in this our island, of religion, learning, antiquity, of his country and of the Church of England, triumphant at last over the malice of all his ill willers."

To Englishmen of the XXth Century it is cheering to realise that storms, which must have then seemed as threatening as any we have encountered, were weathered nearly 400 years ago by honest and courageous men in both Church and State. They, standing on the strong rock of Scripture against overwhelming odds, were not to be terrified by the craftiness nor the power of their assailants, and came out triumphant.

But before we close this chapter and turn to the study of the homely Cookery book itself, we would, with Strype, lay a wreath on the graves of its first owners, Matthew Parker and Margaret Parker, his wife, thanking God for the example of their lives—the fortitude of a fearless Englishman, the devoted home life of his wife. As for ourselves, let us take courage from their experience of the past to face in their spirit whatever of good or ill may be in store for our native Country, and look forward undismayed.

A REPRINT OF

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WITH NOTES AND GLOSSARY

BY

CATHERINE FRANCES FRERE

TABLE OF SUBJECTS, RECIPES, &c.

[Note by Editor.—There is in the original no such guide to the contents; it is added here for convenience of reference.]

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NOTES.

Brawne, lean meat; here wild boar's flesh is meant. Most XVith Century feasts seem to have begun with "Brawne of boore, the wild swyne," served with mustard. The wild boar was still found in the great forests, where he fattened on the acorns.

A Stubblegoose, the grayling goose, "mustarde and vynegar" was served with it, as sauce (see p. 9). Mone, means month.

Pecocke. Peacocks were a very favourite dish from before the days of Queen Elizabeth to quite late times. In the "Forme of Cury" a Roll of Ancient English Cookery of about 1390, by Master Cooks of Richard II., we learn that "Pecokys and Partrigehis, schul ben y parboyld and larded and etyn wyth gyngegyr" (ginger). Peacock, "the food of lovers and the meat of lords" was in "high fashion" in the XIIIth and XIVth Centuries, and the recipes of those times throw much light on our old XVith Century Cookery Book.

Sinettes (Signetes in 1576 Edition), Cygnets.

All Hallowen daye, i.e. All Saints Day, 1st Nov.

Mallarde, here means the male wild duck.

Candlemas, 2nd February.

Teile, teal; also spelt teyle, toyle, &c.

Ousels, blackbirds. From our nurseries we knew of the "Four and twenty blackbirds, baked in a pie"; (see Introd. regarding "Animated pies").

Thryesselles, thrushes (and written "thrushes" in 1575 Edn.; but "Thrystels" in 1576 Edn.:

"Glad is the throstel, whane the floures spring

"The somer is to him so acceptable"

(Old MS. quoted by Halliwell).

¶ THE BOOKE OF COKERYE.

BRAWNE is beste from a forte-nyghte before Mychalemas tyll lente. Beife and Bacon is good all tymes in the yere. Mutton is good at all tymes, but from Easter to myd Sommer it is worste. A fatte pygge is euer in season. A goose is worste in midsomer mone and beste in stubble tyme, but when they be yong grene geese, then they be beste. Veale is beste in Januarye, and February, and all other times good. Lambe and yonge kydde is beste between Christmas and lente, and good from Easter to Witsontyde. Kyd is euer good. Hennes be good at all tymes but beste from Nouember to lente. Fat Capons be ever in season. Pecoockes be euer good, but whē they be yong and of a good stature, they be as good as fesantes, and so be yonge grouces. Sinettes be beste between All Hallowen daye and Lente. A Mallarde is good after a froste, tyll Candelmas, so is a Teile and other wilde foule that swymmeth. A Wodcocke is beste from Octobre to Lente; and so be all other byrdes as Ousels and Thryesselles, Robins

Bitture, bittern [1575 Edn: "Bussarde" follows this, and 1576 Edn: "Bustard."]

Rayle. Landrail.

Partridge &c: "taken with a hauke." The trained hawk was in great request to supply the larder. "I sende owte my hawke this day to kill your parterige for super on Monday." (N. E. Dict: quoting Ellis' letters, 1550.) See also Introduction for Falconry, &c.

Connies, rabbits when more than a year old. "Formerly a Manor house had a conyngery or place for breeding connies." [MS. note Brit: Mus: copy of Warner.]

Doo, on line 14 opposite means a hind; but on line 7 probably means a doe rabbit.

Pollarde, a stag without horns (Halliwell).

Holye Rood daye, 14 Sept. Mighelmas, Michaelmas, 29 Sept:

Principal in Maye, i.e. he is at his best in May.

Pricked, a buck in his second year (Halliwell).

Sorrell Syster; a hind three years old, see Halliwell (under Hunting).

and suche other. Herons, Curlus, Crane, Bitture, Bustarde, be at all times good; but beste in wynter. Fesauntes, Patriche and Rayle be euer good but beste when they be taken with a hauke. Quayle and Larkes bee euer in season. Connies be ever good and so is a doo. A hare is euer good, but beste from October to Lente. A gelded dere whether he be falowe or readde, is euer in season. A Pollarde is speciall good in maye, at Midsommer he is a Bucke, and is verye good tyll holye Rood daye before Mighelmas so lykewyse is a stagge, but he is principal in Maye. A barren doo is best in wynter. A Pricked and a sorrell syster is euer in season. Chekins be euer good, and so bee Pigions yf they be younge.

¶ Here after foloweth the order of meates how they must be served at the Table with their sauces for fleshe dayes at dynner.

¶ THE FYRSTE COURSE.

Bolde meate, boiled meat.

Powdred beyfe, beef salted: or beef sprinkled with salt (*Babee*).

Pygge. No recipe is given in this book for cooking pig, but in "The Good Huswives handmaid" is one "To bake Pig like a Fawne"!

"Custarde." (1.) "Custardes" with "Coffyns" or raised crusts; hence the name, from "Crostatata" the crust of a pie. Some had meat in them, like the following "crustade": Take a cofyn and bake him drye; then take Marwbonys and do ther-in, thenne nym hard yolkyes of Eyroun and grynde hem smal, and lye hem vppe with Milke; than nym raw yolkyes of Eyroun and melle hem a-mong chikonys y-smete and do ther-inne and, yf thou luste, Smal birdys; and a-force wyl thin comade with Sugre or hony, than take clowys, Macez, Pepir, Safron, and put ther-to and salt yt and than bake and serue forth." (*Austin*, "Two XVth Cent: Cook: Books."—Marwbonys, i.e. marrowbones; do, put; nym, take; Eyroun, eggs; hem, them; lye, mix or thicken; melle, mix; chikonys y-smete, minced chickens; lust, like; a-force wyl, thicken well; thin, thine; comade, mixture.)

(2.) "Custarde," a batter made in squares like Yorkshire Pudding.

Sewe, stew or soup with meat in it; the word has other meanings. (See recipe "To make Shoes," at p. 51, also see Gloss:.)

Salette, salad. One, a salad for Fish days in another old book, is of "Salmon cut long waies with slices of onions laid upon it and upon that is cast violets, oyle and vinegar"!

A pygges Petytoe (see Gloss:.)

- C.** Potage or stewed broath.
 Bolde meate or stewed meate.
 Chekins and Bacon.
 Powdred beyfe.
 Pyes.
 Goose.
 Pygge.
 Roosted beyfe.
 Roosted veale.
 Custarde.

C. THE SECONDE COURSE.

- Roosted Lambe.
 Roosted Capons.
 Roosted Connies.
 Chekins.
 Pehennes.
 Baken Veneson.
 Tarte.

C. THE FYRSTE SERVICE AT SUPPER.

- C.** Potage or sewe.
 A salette.
 A pygges petytoe.
 Poudred beyfe slyced.
 A shoulder of mutton or a Breste.
 Veale.
 Lambe.
 Custarde.

Pestle of Venison upon a browes, Pestle, the leg of an animal—perhaps the primitive pestle, of a pestle and mortar, was a large leg bone?

Browes or brewis, broth; or bread or oat-cake soaked in hot water, fat, gravy, &c. (Eng: Dial: Dict:)

Chuette, chewit, a small pie (Halliwell).

Grenegeese (see Gloss:) Stubblegoose (see p. 2).

Sauce Chadel or Chawdon, chaudwyn or “Chaudern for Swannes” which was made of “chopped liver and entrails and broiled with blood, bread, wine, vinegar, pepper, cloves and ginger.” (Babee.) Sorrell Sauce (see p. 20).

“Sauce pepper and vinegar” for beef—perhaps the sauce of butter, pepper and vinegar, mentioned p. 21, for broiled fish may be meant; or the same as “Pevrate Sauce for Veel or Venison” (Warner): “Take bred and frie it in greese and drawe hit up with the brothe and vynegar and do thereto powder of peppeer and of clowes and let hit boyle and serve hit forthe.” (Greese, lard; drawe hit up, mix or strain through sieve).

Sauce Orengers, Orange Sauce for Veal, Lamb or Kid; probably like that now used for Wild Duck.

Except it be upon soppes, unless served on sippets.

Soppes, “toasted bread soaked in gravy . . . or ale or wine.” (Eng: Dial: Dict:) Austin says: “Soupe, a sop or piece of bread in broth.” The word also means a “pottage or broth wherever there is store of sops or sippets. . . . Soup is still served thus in France”—‘pot au feu’ for instance.

¶ THE SECONDE COORSE.

Capons roasted.
 Connies roasted.
 Chekins roasted.
 Pigeons roasted.
 Larckes roasted.
 A pye of pygeons or Chekins.
 Baken venison.
 Tarte.

¶ THE SERVICE AT DYNER.

Brawne and mustarde.
 Capons stewed, or in whyte broath.
 A pestle of veneson upon a browes.
 A chyne of beyfe and a breste of mutton
 boylde.
 Chuettes of pyes of fyne mutton.
 Thre grene gese in a dyshe, sorel sauce; for
 a stubble gose, mustarde and vineger. After
 all halowen daye, a swan Sauce chadel.
 A pygge.
 A dubble rybbe of beyf roasted, sauce pepper
 and vyneger.
 A loyne of veale or a brest sauce
 Halfe a lambe or a kyd orengers.
 Two capons roasted sauce wyne
 and salte, ale and salt, except it be upon
 soppes

Leches (leaches in 1575 Edn:). "Leche cremy ryall" is mentioned by Austin in the feast "atte the Stalling of John Stafford Archibisshoppe of Caunterbury the xxj yere of King Harry VJ"—A.D. 1443 (Stalling, installation). An excellent Spanish dish "Leche Crema," of milk, flour, sugar and lemon, is given at p. 404 of "The Cookery Book of Lady Clark of Tillypronie." "Leche" is Spanish for milk, "crema" for cream. (See Gloss:)

Heronshewe, hernshaw, heron (Halliwell).

Crane. In the 1576 Edn: this is "Crabbe."

Sauce galentyne in 1575 Edn: is given for Heron, Crane, Curlew, Bittern and Bustarde; another old book (Austin) decrees "no sauce but salt" for "Curlewe" and for "Bytor rosted." For sauce galentyne "The Noble Boke of Cookry" says: "Tak crust of broun bred and stepe them in venyger, put ther to pouder of candelle, and let it step till it be brown, then streyn it ij or iij tymes, cast it to pouder and salt, and let it be standing." (Bytor, bittern; canelle, cassia bark—see Gloss:—; step, soak; cast it to pouder, i.e. throw spices on it; standing, stiff).

Quayles. For boiling quails, "The Good Huswives handmaid" says they are set on the fire with sweet broth with carrot, parsley, sweet herbs "chapped up," cinnamon, ginger, nutmeg, pepper, a little "vergiuous" and salt; the quails are served on "sops" and you "garnish them with fruite"—probably dates, raisins &c., then constantly used in meat dishes. (Sweet broth, i.e. fresh.)

Tarte. Tarts in old days were made of meat, eggs, vegetables or even flowers, as well as of fruit.

Gensbread, gingerbread, is "gengerbread" in 1576 Edn: This cake made with treacle and highly flavoured with ginger, was often made into shapes of men, animals or letters of alphabet and gilded (N. E. Dict:) hence to "take the gilt off the gingerbread." (See also Gloss:)

Sallett, &c., salad garnished with hard boiled eggs.

Lampern, the river lamprey.

Read hearynge, red (smoked) herring; "grene broyled strawed upon" was probably fried parsley scattered over it. To "straw" was to strew, as in the old Ballad of "Lord John":

"She strawed the roses on the ground

Threw her mantle on the bier." (Cent: Dict:)

Whyte herynge, fresh herring, salted not smoked.

Lynge and Haburdyn. (see Gloss:)

Plyace, plaice. Thorneback, a kind of skate; pepper and salt crushed and strewn over it.

Grene Sauce is "Vert Sauce." Recipe in "Noble Book of Cookry" says: "Take parslye, myntes, sorell, cyves and sauce alone, then tak bred and step it in venygar, do therto peper and salt and grind them and temper them up; (cyves, chives; step, soak; temper, mix).

A dosen of Quayles.

A dyshe of Larkes.

Two pasties of redde deare in a dyshe.

Tarte.

Gensbread.

Fritteris.

¶ SERVICE FOR FYSHE DAYES.

Butter.

A sallett with harde Egges.

Potage of Sande Eles and Lamperns.

Read hearynge, grene broyled strawed upon.

Whyte herynge.

(

Lynge.

(

Haburdyn

(mustarde.

Salte samon minced.

Sauce Mustard and Vergis and a lyttle suger.

Powdred Conger.

(

Shadde.

(Sauce vineger.

Makrell.

(

Whytinge

Sauce wyth the lyuer and

mustarde.

Plyace, Sauce sorel, or wyne and salte, or mustard, or vergys.

Thorneback

Sauce lyver and mustard,

peper and salte strawed upon, after it is brused.

Fresh codde

Sauce, grene sauce

Base, Bass (*Dace in 1576 Edn:*)

Pyke Sauce (see p. 20). There is also an old recipe ("Good Housew: Treas:" 1588) for sauce for Carp or Pike "Take water and yest and boyl them together, then take whole mace, currans, Pruines, Pepper and salte, Percelye, Time and Rosemarye bound together, with a little vergis and vinegar and a good piece of sweet Butter and boyle them all together. To all kinde of Fish the same broth excepting prunes"—i.e. prunes to be used only for Carp or Pike. (Broth, Sauce.)

Tenche in gelly or gressell. Tench, the fresh water fish, in jelly or soup, (see Gloss:).

Floex or Floykes, Flewke (Flokes 1576 Edn:) same as Flounder.

Turbutte, turbot, "some call the sea pheasant" (Muffett, in Babee). It is called "Brette" in the East of England (see Gloss:).

Sauce vinegar, 1575 Edn: gives this also for salmon and conger.

Porpas, porpoise; Warner (*Antiq: Cul:*) says: "I find them dressed in such a variety of modes, salted, roasted, stewed and cut into junks that I conclude the porpus was not only common food but a very favourite dish . . . it is even now (1791) sold by the pound in the markets of most towns of Portugal;" but he adds that a friend whose "curiosity led him to taste it," found it "intolerably hard and rancid"; Muffett however says "Many ladies and gentlemen love it exceedingly bak'd like venison" (Babee).

Holybutte, Halibut. Creues, crayfish.

Shrimpes are spelt "Serimpes" [very possibly a misprint for Scrimpes J. H.] in 1576 Edn:

Base.
 Mulette.
 Eles upon soppes.
 Roche upon soppes.
 Perche.
 Pyke in pyke sauce.
 Troute vpon soppes.
 Tenche in gelly or in gressell.
 Custarde.

THE SECONDE COURSE.

- C** Flownders or floex in pyke sauce.
 Freshe Salmon.
 Freshe conger.
 Brette. (
 Turbutte. (Sauce Vineger
 Holybutte. (
 Breme upon soppes.
 Carpe upon soppes.
 Soles or any other fyshes fryed.
 Roosted Eles Sauce the dryp-
 Roosted Lamperns. pynge.
 Roosted purpos Sauce, galentine.
 Freshe Sturgeon.
 Creues. (
 Crabbe. (Sauce, Vineger
 Shrimpes. (
 Baken Lamprey.

To dresse a Crabbe, i.e. to prepare or "dight."

Chafyngdyshe or chafer, a vessel to hold charcoal or other fuel to heat anything placed on it; "Chafer" was sometimes a saucepan; chafed is heated in a chafyngdyshe.

Coles; Scott (*Talisman*) speaks of a chafing dish filled with charcoal, while Izaak Walton advises boiling a chubb "over a chafing dish with wood coles."

Broath for capons, mutton, beef and fresh fish, i.e. a sauce for them.

Bundle, later (p. 20) called a "Posye," a modern cook's "bouquet" of herbs.

Threde, thread. In 1576 Edn: spelt "thrid" and probably pronounced as the similar word in the old rhyme:

"It is so dark I cannot see
To thriddle my grandmother's needle."

Thread meant literally: "that which is twisted," perhaps a strand of three, for thriddel meant a third part.

To skum or scome, is to skim off the scum (of soup, &c.)

Charger, a large dish.

Tarte.	Chese.
Fygges.	Raysyns.
Apples.	Peares.
Almondcs blanchcd.	

¶ TO DRESSE A CRABE.

Fyrste take awaye all the legges and the heades, and then take all the fysh out of the shelle, and make the shell as cleane as ye canne, and putte the meate into a dysche, and butter it uppon a chafyng dysche of coles and putte therto synamon and suger and a lytle vyneger, and when ye haue chafed it and seasoned it, then putte the meate in the shelle agayne and bruse the heades, and set them upon the dysche syde and serue it.

¶ To make a stewed broath for Capons, mutton, beyfe, or any other hoate meate, and also a broathe for all maner of fresh fyshe.

Take halfe a handefull of rosemary and as muche of tyme and bynde it on a bundel wyth threde after it is washen, and put it in the potte after that the potte is cleane skummed, and lette it boyle a whyle, then cutte soppes of white breade and put them in

Put it on the same skaldynge broath, meaning, pour the skaldynge broth over the "soppes." This inverted way of writing often occurs, as here, where "put it on" means "put (or pour) on it"; and at p. 10, "cast it to powder" means "cast powder" (i.e. spices) "on it."

So that it be not tarte, meaning, don't let it taste too sharp of the wine or ale.

Be ynoughe, i.e. be cooked enough. The word "ynoughe" is often used elliptically, as here, omitting some other word such as "done," "cooked," "boiled," &c., as the case may be. The celebrated Mrs. Glasse writes: "As soon as you find the greens are shrunk . . . they are" ('boiled' or 'done' understood) "enough." A recipe of 1440 says: "When thai arne" (i.e. are, 'done' understood) "ynoughf take hem up and let hem kele" (cool).

One spelling (in 1340) was "ynoghe"—"ynoghe may we find of men that within is rotten as molde and without, gilt as gold" (Halliwell).

Pyes, see note on "Vente," p. 44.

Paest-royall, see Gloss:

"Tempre the floure," i.e. mix the flour with the things mentioned—the word is sometimes abbreviated to *tēper*.

Veneson. For paste in which to bake Venison, see p. 22.

a great charger and put it on the same skaldyng broath and when it is soken ynoughe, strayne it throughe a strayner with a quantitye of wyne or good ale, so that it be not tarte; and when it is strayned, poure it in a pot and than putte in youre raysons and prunes, and so lette them boyle tyll the meate be ynoughe. Yf the broathe be to swete, putte in the more wyne or else a lyttle vyneger.

¶ TO MAKE PYES

Pyes of mutton or beif must be fyne mynced and ceasoned wyth pepper and salte, and a lyttle saffron to coloure it, suet or marrow a good quantite, a lyttle vyneger, prumes, greate raysins and dates, take the fattest of the broathe of powdred beyfe, and yf you wyll have paest royall, take butter and yolkes of egges and so tempre the flowre to make the paeste.

¶ TO BAKE VENESON.

Take nothyng but pepper and salte, but lette it haue ynoughe, and yf the Veneson be leane, larde it throughe wyth bacon.

¶ TO ROOSTE VENESON.

Roosted Veneson must have vyneger,

Maye not bee to tarte, i.e. the sauce must not be too sharp.

Sorrel Sauce: For this sauce, frequently used in the XVith Cent., I record the following ancient recipe—the plant is named Sorrel from its sharp, sour taste; “Take Sorell, grynde hem small and draw (strain) him through a streynoure, and caste thereto salt and serve hit forth.” (Austin.)

Pyke Sauce. For another sauce for Pike see p. 14.

Brouke fyshe means river or fresh water fish.

Posye. See “bundle,” p. 16.

Caudron. A cauldron, a large kettle or boiler, as in: “What shal commune the Caudron to the pot?” *Ecclus*: XIII. 3. (Wyclif.) *Cotgrave*: *Chauderon*, a cauldron or kettle.

Pretye whyle, a moderate time.

The sauce for “broyled fyshe” here described may be the “*Sauce pepper and vynegar*” for “*Rybbe of beyf*,” referred to on p. 9.

Suger and Cinomome and butter boyled upon a chafing dyshe with cooles, but the sauce maye not bee to tarte, and then laye the Veneson upon the sauce.

¶ CHEKINS UPON SOPPES.

Take sorel sauce a good quantite and put in Cinomone and Suger, and let it boyle and powre it upon the soppes, and then laye on the chekins.

¶ A Pyke sauce for a Pyke, Breme, Perche, Roche, Carpe, Eles, Floykes and al maner of brouke fyshe.

¶ Take a posye of Rosemary and time and bynde them together, and put in also a quantitye of perselye not bounde, and put into the caudron of water, salte and yeste, and the herbes, and lette them boyle a pretye whyle, then putte in the fysshe and a good quantitye of butter, and let them boyle a good season, and you shall have good Pyke sauce.

For all those fysshes above wrytten yf they muste bee broyled, take sauce for them, butter, peepper and veneger and boyle it upon a chafyngdyshe and then laye the broyled fyshe uppon the dysche; but for Eeles and freshe Salmon nothing but Pepper

Overboyled, to boil so as to overflow the pot.

Sodden, i.e. boiled.

A Custarde the Coffyn, meaning the coffin or crust for a "custarde" (see p. 6). Coffin is the mould of paste for a pie (Sir K. Digby). Coffyn, the raised crust of pie (Halliwell). Coffyns, pies with or without lids; a quill was often inserted in these wherewith to blow up the top crust. (Noble Booke of Cookry) "The Good Huswives Handmaid for Cookerie in her kitchen" (1588) gives the following recipe: "To make paste and to raise coffins"—which sounds gruesome—"Take fine flour and lay it on a boord and take a certaine" ('quantity' understood) "of yolkes of egges as" (i.e. in proportion to what) "your quantitie of flower is, then take a certain of Butter and water and boile them together but you must take heed ye put not too many yolkes of egges, for if you doe it will make it dry and not pleasant in eating, and ye must take heed ye put not in too much Butter, for if you doe, it will make it so fine and so short that you cannot raise (it): and this paste is good to raise all manner of coffins; likewise if ye bake veneson, bake it in the paste above named."

"Long Coffins" were pies without lids (Warner).

"Put into the Coffin butter," &c. This means, I think, in materials used for crust.

"Fayre," clean.

and vyneger over boyled. And also yf you wyll frye them, you muste take a good quantitie of persely, after the fyshe is fryed, put in the persely into the fryinge panne, and let it frye in the butter and take it up and put it on the fryed fyshe, and frye place, whyttinge and suche other fyshe, excepte Eles, freshe Salmon, Conger, which be never fryed but baken, boyled, roosted or sodden.

¶ TO MAKE A CUSTARDE.

A Custarde the coffyn must be fyrste hardened in the oven, and thẽ take a quart of creame and fyve or syxe yolkes of egges, and beate them well together, and put them into the creame, and put in Suger and small Raysyns and Dates sliced, and put into the coffyn butter or els marrowe, but on the fyshe daies put in butter.

**¶ HEREAFTER FOLOWETH A NEWE
BOOKE OF COKERYE.**

¶ TO MAKE CLEARE JELLYE.

¶ Take two Calves feete and a shoulder of Veale, and sette it upon the fyre in a fayre potte wyth a gallon of water and a gallon

Drayne, this is "straine" in other editions.

Turnesole, used for colouring. (See Gloss:) In "The Babee's Book" we read: "Turnesole is good and holsom for red wyne colourynge"; and again: "Take red turnesole steeped wel in wyne and colour the potage with that wine"; and again: "then a little turnesole, make it of high murrey colour." (Murrey, mulberry.)

"Turnesole blue" (see Gloss:)

"Take one apple and set it in the myddes." In the version of this recipe for "Snowe" in "The Good Huswives handmaid" a loaf of bread with the "crost" cut away takes the place of the apple, and the recipe ends: "then lay your snow with a spoone upon your rosemary and upon your bread and gilt it"!

Wafers. A wafer is "a leaf of paste" or a "small and delicate Cake or biscuit usually sweetened, variously flavoured and sometimes rolled up."

of claret wyne, than lette it boyle till it be Jellye, and than take it up and drayne it, and putte thereto Synamon, Gynger and Suger and a lyttle turnesole to coloure it after youre dyscrecion.

TO MAKE A DYSCHEFULL OF
SNOWE.

Take a pottell of swete thicke creame and the whytes of eyghte egges, and beate them altogether wyth a spone, then putte them in youre creame and a saucerfull of Rosewater, and a dyshe full of Suger wyth all, then take a stycke and make it cleane, and than cutte it in the ende foure square, and therewith beate all the aforesayde thynges together, and ever as it ryseth take it of and put it into a Collaunder, this done take one apple and set it in the myddes of it, and a thicke bushe of Rosemary, and set it in the myddes of the platter, then cast your Snowe uppon the Rosemarye and fyll your platter therewith. And yf you have wafers caste some in wyth all and thus serve them forthe.

TO FRYE BEANES.

Take youre Beaness and boyle them

Dyshe, dysche, dyche,—dish, “a cupful, as of tea” (*Halliwell*).

Pannepuffe, see “stock frytures” (p. 33).

Blewemanger, or spelt “blaminger,” “blank mange,” or “blanc mange” according to current pronunciation. Quite distinct from modern blanc mange, for it was always made of white meat, generally capon with various other ingredients. Chaucer (“*Cant: Tales*”) mentions one, a compound of capon minced with flour, sugar and cream; and the “*Noble Booke of Cook:*” gives: “Blank mange: Veal, chicken, rabbit or other white meat stewed with rice and milk and flavoured with almonds.”

Cut out the brawne of hym a lyve (see *Gloss:*).

A Payre of Cardes. Card, a comb of wires set in leather for dressing wool. “For cardynge of hare mayde wyth a payer of carddes soch as doth carde wolle with-alle” (1556 *Chron: of Grey Friars—New Eng: Dict:*). “Carde hym” therefore means to tear it small; compare *Saracen Sauce* (*Warner*): “take the braun and tese hem smal,” (like teasing wool).

A Pottell was 2 quarts.

and putte them into a fryinge panne with a dyssche of butter, and one or two onions, and so lette them frye tyll they be browne altogether, then caste a lyttle salte upon them, and then serve them forthe.

TO MAKE PANNE PUFFE.

Take the stuffe of Stock frytters and for hys paest take a quantite of ale and a lytle yest and Suger, Mace and Saffron, than heate it on a chafyndysche and put it to youre floure with the yolcke of a rawe egge, and so after this maner make up your paest.

TO MAKE BLEWE MANGER.

Take a capon and cut out the brawne of hym a lyve and perboyle the brawne till the flesshe come from the bone, and then drye him as drye as you canne, in a fayre clothe, then take a payre of cardes and carde hym as small as is possyble, and than take a pottell of mylke and a pottell of creame, and halfe a pounce of Rye flower, and your carded brawne of the capon and putte all into a pan, and stere it al together and set it upon the fyre, and whã it

"As ye doe lieche," as you like. (It means, as you do a leche, see p. 10).

Pyes of grene apples. This and "Applemoyse" (p. 42) are the only ways here given for cooking apples, but "The Good Huswives handmaid" has an unusual recipe for an apple and orange pie: "For a tarte of apples and orange pilles. Take your orengees and lay them in water a day and a night, then seeth them in faire water and honey and let seeth till they be soft; then let them soak in the sirrop a day and a night: then take forth and cut them small and then make your tart and season your apples with suger, synamon and ginger and put in a piece of butter and lay a course of apples and between (i.e next to) the same course of apples a course of orengees, and so, course by course, and season your orengees as you seasoned your apples with somewhat more sugar; then lay on the lid and put it in the oven and when it is almost baked, take Rosewater and sugar and boyle them together till it be somewhat thick, then take out the Tart and take a feather and spread the rosewater and sugar on the lid and let it not burn." (Orange pilles, peels or rinds; seeth, boil; lid, crust).

"Core them as ye wyll a Quince," means as you core quinces.

Hoate, hot.

"Lyke paest," i.e. paste like that used in last recipe (see—for this recipe—note on "vente" for meat pies, p. 44).

begynneth to boyle put thereto halfe a pounce of beaten Suger and a sauserfull of Rose water and so let it boyle tyll it be very thicke, then put it into a charger tyll it be colde, and then ye maye slyce it as ye doe lieche and so serve it in.

¶ TO MAKE PYES OF GRENE APPLES.

Take your apples and pare them cleane and core them as ye wyll a Quince, then make youre coffyn after this maner, take a lyttle fayre water and half a dyche of butter and a little Saffron, and sette all this upon a chafyngdyshe tyll it be hoate then temper your flower with this sayd licuor, and the whyte of two egges and also make your coffyn and ceason your apples with Sinemone, Gynger and Suger ynoughe. Then putte them into your coffin and laye halfe a dyshe of butter above thē and so close your coffin, and so bake them.

¶ TO BAKE CHEKINS IN LYKE PAEST.

Take youre chekins and ceason them with a lytle Ginger and salte, and so putte them into your coffin and so put in them

Vergis (*veriuycce*, 1575 Edn:). "The Babee's Book" says "veriuice" is sauce made of grapes not fully ripe. This is not correct. By rights "verjuice" is the juice of crab apples. A MS. note in Brit: Mus: copy of Warner says: "Our ancestors made verjuice of crabs (crab apples) as cyder is made of apples. They used much of it in Cookery."

To drawe, has two meanings in this recipe, (1) in the sense of to strain or drain the eggs; (2) meaning to draw the chickens from the oven. The strained egg sauce was poured over the fruit-stuffed chickens in the coffin, as soon as they were drawn from the oven.

To bake pygeons, &c.: Cooked like apples, in dumplings (see note on "Vente" for meat pies, p. 44), or possibly enclosed in paste to bake, the paste taking the place of the modern "paper bag" in cookery, and not appearing at table. (See for a similar method, two excellent recipes, for Haunch of Venison in Lady Clark's Cookery Book, where a paste of oatmeal or bran, and paper also, is wrapped round joint while cooking.)

Vautes. This was a kind of fritter, see Gloss: "The yolkes of three or foure egges" in vautes were evidently hard boiled. Halliwell says: "Vaunt, a dish made in frying pan with marrow, plums and eggs."

barberies, grapes or goose beryes, and half a dyshe of butter, so cloose them up, and sette them in the ouen and when they are baken, take the yolkes of syxe egges and a dyshfull of vergis and drawe them through a streyner and sette it upon a chafingdyshe, than drawe youre baken chekins and put ther to this foresayde egges and vergys and thus serve them hoate.

¶ TO BAKE PYGEONS IN SHORT PAEST AS YOU
MAKE TO YOUR BAKEN
APPLES.

¶ Season youre pigeons with peper saffron cloues and mace, with vergis and salte, then putte them into youre paeste, and so cloose them up, and bake them, they wyl bake in halfe an houre, then take them forthe, and yf ye thinke theym drye, take a lyttle vergis and butter and put to them and serve them.

TO MAKE VAUTES.

¶ Take the kydney of veale and per-boyle it tyll it be tender, then take and choppe it small wyth the yolkes of three or foure egges, then ceason it with dates small cutte, small Reysons, Gyn-

Pescoddes, lit: pods of peas—the dish may have got the name from the shape, but this is not described.

Apparently *Pescoddes*, *Vautes*, *Pannepuffe* and *stock frytures*, had all something in common.

Mary bones, *marrowbones*.

Mary hole, *marrow*, *whole*, *unbroken*.

Stock frytures. In "The Good Huswives handmaid" these are said to be made of a handful of marrow, or veal kidneys chopped small, ten yolks of eggs and a handful of currants, ten dates, two handfuls of grated bread, two spoonful of ginger and one of cinnamon, a spoonful of cloves, mace, sugar and a little saffron, the mixture made into "pilles as bigge as a walnut," then dipped into a batter of two handfuls of "fine flower" and "5 yolkes of egges" mixed with ale and saffron; lastly the balls were fried in a frying pan with suet, and served with cinnamon, sugar and ginger "cast on them."

ger, suger, synamon, saffron and a lyttle salte, and for the paest to laye it in, take a dosen of egges, bothe the whyte and the yolkes, and beate theym well al together, then take butter, and put it into a frying panne, and frye them as thynne as a pancake, then laye your stuffe therein, and so frye them together in a panne, and caste suger and gynger upon it, and so serue it forthe.

¶ TO MAKE PESCODDES.

Take marybones and pull the mary hole out of them, and cutte it in two partes, then season it with suger, synamon, ginger and a little salte, and make youre paeste as fyne as ye canne, and as shorte and thyn as ye canne, then frye theym in swete siette and caste upon them a lyttle synamon and ginger and so serve them at the table.

TO MAKE STOCK FRYTURES.

Take the same stuffe that you take to a vaute and that same paeste ye take for pescoddes, and ye maye frye them or els bake them.

TO STEWE TRYPPES.

Take a pynte of Claret wyne and set

Onyõ, abbreviation for onyon (onion).

Alowes, "aloes" in 1576 Edn: (see Gloss:). The "stekes," i.e. the slices of mutton, were rolled up with the stuffing inside them, like beef olives, and laid in the pie, which was then filled up with the other ingredients and the "syrope." It sounds rather good? A recipe for stewing "stekes" of mutton is at p. 55. The "syrope" was the savoury sauce added by lifting the crust (or perhaps through the "vente," see p. 44) and pouring it in hot, the moment before the pie went to table.

Roosted breade in this recipe is "toasted breade" in 1576 Edn: of the book.

it upon the fyre, and cutte youre trypes in small peces, and therto putte in a good quantitye of svnamon and gynger, and also a slyced onyo or twayne, and so let them boyle halfe an houre, and then serue them upon soppes.

TO MAKE A PYE OF ALLOWES.

Take a legge of mutton and cutte it in thyn slyces, and for stuffing of the same take perselye, tyme, and sauerye and chop them smal, then temper among them three or iiij yolckes of harde egges chopt smal and small reysons, dates cutte with mace, and a lyttle salte, then laye all these in the stekes and then role them togeather.

This done make your pye, and laye all these therein, then ceason theym wyth a lyttle suger and cynamon, safiron and salte, then cast upon them the yolckes of three or foure harde egges and cut dates, wyth small raysynges, so close your pye, and bake hym. Then for a syrope for it, take roosted breade, and a little claret wyne and strayne them thyn togeather, and put thereto a lyttle suger, synamon and gynger and putte it into your pye and then serve it forthe.

A cursey of fayre water. In 1575 Edn: it reads "a little faire water." (See Gloss:)

Dysche. The terms *dysche*, *saucer*, *saucerful*, so constantly recur when the quantities of ingredients used are stated that it is well to repeat that *dysche* or *dysh*, seems to mean a teacupful (see p. 25)—"a dish of tea" used to be spoken of in the XVIIIth Cent:—and *saucer* or *saucerful* meant a sauceboatful.

For instance, of Rosewater we are told to take a "dysche" for "egges in moneshyne," and a "saucerful" for "Blewemanger" and for "Snowe."

Rosewater was much used to beat up sugar with, the most delicate kind being "Damask water," distilled from the Damask Rose, a rose said to have been first brought from Damascus (New Eng: Dict:) Before the Cape or the Suez Canal were routes to India, Damascus was of course on the high road to the Far East.

"With Damask water made so well
That all the house thereof shall smell
As it were Paradise."—Four elements (New Eng: Dict:)

"Damask Roses have not been known in England above 100 years and now are so common." (Bacon.) We also hear of "Damaske or sweet water distilled from all sorts of odoriferous herbs." Cotgrave 1611. (New Eng: Dict:) I was told by a lady who had lived in Persia, that, before the Otto of Rose was distilled, the rose petals were sprinkled thickly all over the floors of the rooms and the stairs of the house to be trodden on and bruised, that the scent might be more easily extracted.

TO MAKE SHORT PAEST FOR TARTE.

¶ Take fyne floure and a cursey of fayre water and a dysche of swete butter and a lyttel saffron, and the yolckes of two egges and make it thynne and as tender as ye maye.

TO MAKE A TARTE OF BEANES.

¶ Take beanes and boyle them tender in fayre water, then take theym oute and breake them in a mortar and strayne them with the yolckes of foure egges, curde made of mylke, then ceason it up with suger and halfe a dysche of butter and a lytle synamon and bake it.

TO MAKE A TARTE OF GOSEBERIES.

¶ Take goseberies and parboyle them in whyte wyne, claret or ale, and boyle with all a lyttle whyte breade, then take them up, and drawe them throughe a strayner as thicke as you can with the yolckes of syxe egges, then season it up with suger, halfe a dische of butter, so bake it.

TO MAKE A TARTE OF MEDLERS.

Take medlers when they be rotten, and bray them with the yolckes of foure egges, then ceason it up wyth suger and sinamon and swete butter, and so bake it.

Stuffe to every of them, i.e. materials for each of them.

And the same ceasonynge; in 1576 Edn: this reads "seasoning the same in lyke sort."

Cheryes; cherries were brought to Rome from *Cerasus in Pontus*, by Lucullus, B.C. 70, and brought into England by the Romans (Cent: Dict:) A MS. note to the following effect is in the "Forme of Cury" (see Warner's *Antiq: Culin: at Brit: Mus:*) A cherry orchard was planted at Sittingbourne, Kent, in Queen Elizabeth's time by her gardener. Before that, dried cherries were perhaps used. Pliny tells us that cherries were brought from Rome to England, but lost, probably by neglect, in the lamentable times which succeeded. Another authority says we must thank Harris, gardener to King Henry VIII., for our cherry orchards—anyway cherries were well known in Tudor days. "We grew together like a double cherry" (*Midsummer Night's Dream*).

Forme, or form, is said to mean the customary way of doing anything, the pattern or model, as in: "Agaynst the forme of Common Law" (*Spenser 1596*); or in "The glass of fashion and the mould of form." (*Hamlet*.) So "Forme of Cury" might be translated "Model Cookery."

Cury, means cookery. A well known street in Cambridge is called "The Petty Cury." Mr. J. W. Clark, late Registrary of the Univ: of Camb: says in his *Guide to Cambridge* that in Ed: III's reign it was called "Petite Curye" ("Parva Cokeria") that is, "Little Cookery," probably on account of its numerous hostels and cookshops.

TO MAKE A TARTE OF DAMSONS.

Take damsons and boyle theym in wyne, eyther red or claret, and put there to a dosen of peares, or els whyte bread, too make theym styffe wyth all, then drawe theym up wyth the yolkes of syxe egges and swete butter and so bake it.

¶ TO MAKE A TARTE OF BORAGE FLOURES.

Take borage floures and perboyle them tender, then strayne them wyth the yolckes of three or foure egges, and swete curdes, or els take three or foure apples, and perboyle wythal and strayne them with swete butter and a lyttle mace and so bake it.

¶ TO MAKE A TARTE OF MARIGOLDES PRYMROSES OR COUSLIPS.

Take the same stuffe to euery of them that you do to the tarte of borage and the same ceasonynge.

TO MAKE A TARTE OF STRAWBERYES.

Take and strayne theym wyth the yolkes of foure egges, and a lyttle whyte breade grated, then season it up wyth suger and swete butter and so bake it.

TO MAKE A TARTE OF CHERYES.

Take all thynges that ye do (for) the Tarte

Perys, Pears (the name of Perry, a drink similar to cider, is from this old name). "Peares" in 1576 Edn:

Wrynge out the water cleane, i.e. thoroughly.

Set it in a platter to cook; the last word is "coole" in 1576 Edn: and this is obviously the right word (see also p. 45).

Hard Chese, that is such as Cheshire, Cheddar, Dutch.

Throwe, i.e. through.

Guyse of beyonde the Sea, or "after the foreign fashion," as we should say.

of damsons so that ye put no Perys therto.

¶ TO MAKE A TARTE OF SPINAGE.

Take Spynage and perboyle it tender, then take it up and wrynge oute the water cleane, and chop it very small, and set it uppon the fyre wyth swete butter in a frying panne and season it, and set it in a platter to coole then fyll your tart and so bake it.

¶ TO MAKE A TARTE OF CHESE.

Take harde Chese and cutte it in slyces, and pare it, than laye it in fayre water, or in swete mylke, the space of three houres, then take it up and breake it in a mortar tyll it be small, than drawe it up thorowe a strainer with the yolkes of syxe egges, and season it wyth suger and swete butter, and so bake it.

¶ TO MAKE A STEWE AFTER THE GUYSE
OF BEYONDE THE SEA.

Take a pottel of fayre water, and as much wyne, and a breste of mutton chopt in peces, than set it on the fyre and scome it cleane, than put therto a dyschefull of slyced onyons, and a quantite of synamō, gynger, cloves and mace, wyth salte and

Moneshyne (in 1575 Edn: "moneshine") moonshine, represented by rosewater and sugar'

Every one from other, separate, not touching each other; the eggs, I suppose, were lightly poached.

Applemoyse; a popular and elaborate kind of apple compôte. Austin gives the following, quoting from Laud MS. 553; the sense of the quaint English would be difficult to follow but for our later XVith Cent: recipe: "Nym appeles, seth hem, let hem kele, frete hem thorwe an her syve; cast it on a pot and on a fless day cast therto good fat broth of bef and white grese sugur and safron and on fissh days almand mylke and oille de olive and sugur and safron; boille hit, messe hit, cast above good poudre and zif forth." Another, from Harleian MS. 279, adds honey, grated bread, and "Saunderys" i.e. Red Saunders (see p. 52), to the ingredients, and when you have "caste all in the potte" it adds: "Let hem sethe and loke that thou stere it wyl." (Nym, take; kele, cool; frete, rub; her syve, hair sieve; white grese, lard; almand mylke, an emulsion of sweet blanched almonds and water (New Eng: Dict:) used by R. Caths: in Lent when milk was not allowed; messe hit, portion it out; zif forth, give forth, serve; stere it wyl, stir it well.)

Byskettes, possibly like "wafers" (p. 24). They were used as we use ratafias.

stewe them all together, and than serve them with soppes.

¶ TO MAKE EGGES IN MONESHYNE.

Take a dyche of rosewater and a dyshe full of suger, and set them upon a chaf-fyngdysh, and let them boyle, than take the yolkes of viii or ix egges newe layde and putte them therto everyone from other, and so lette them harden a lyttle, and so after this maner serve them forthe and cast a lyttle synamon and sugar upon thē.

¶ TO MAKE APPLEMOYSE.

Take a dosen apples and ether rooste or boyle them and drawe them thorowe a streyner, and the yolkes of three or foure egges withal, and, as ye strayne them, tēper them wyth three or foure sponefull of damaske water yf ye wyll, than take and season it wyth suger and halfe a dysche of swete butter, and boyle them upon a chaffyngdysche in a platter, and caste byskettes or synamō and gynger upon them and so serve them forthe.

¶ TO FRYE TRYPES.

Take your Tripes and cutte them in small peces and put them into a panne and put therto an onyon or two and a

Manshet, or manchet, a small loaf of the best kind of white bread (Halliwell)—at a time when so called bread was made of a variety of materials: "their poor neighbours in some shires are forced to content themselves with rie or barlie, yea in time of dearth, manie with bread made of bones, pessen* (peas) or oats, or of altogether, and some acorns among."

One old book has a recipe for manchets "after My Ladie Graie's way." (*The Good Huswives Handbook*.)

[*Pessen, or Peson, Peasen, Peasyn, was the original plural of "Pease," which was itself originally singular. Raleigh writes: "Of the bigness of a great Peaze." But about 1600 a new singular, "Pea," arose, with pease (now peas) as plural. (*New Eng: Dict:*)]

A cover tarte. Apparently shaped like a huge mince pie and filled with a custard mixture.

Vente, the hole to let out steam, in the top of the crust. In some meat pie recipes in this book no mention is made of this "Vente," the use of which is imperative for all meat pies, if the eaters are not to risk being poisoned.

In large pies the hole is concealed by a "rose," or ornament of pastry.

Whyte brothe. "*The Good Housewives Treasurie*" recipe (1588) is more elaborate: "To make white broth" for Capon, mutton or chicken: "Take a legge of Beefe or a rumpe or els a shorte marrowbone" (Note contd: p. 46)

dysche of swete butter, and let them frye tyll they be browne, and then take them oute and set them upon a chaffindysh and put thereto a lyttle verges and gynger and serue it.

TO MAKE A TARTE OF PRUNES.

Take prunes and set them upon a chafer wyth a little red wyne and putte therto a manshet and let them boyle together, then drawe them thorowe a streyner with the yolkes of foure egges and season it up wyth suger and so bake it.

¶ TO MAKE A COUER TARTE AFTER THE
FRENCH FASHYAN.

Take a pynte of creme and the yolkes of tenne egges, and beate them all together, and put therto half a dyche of swete butter, and suger, and boyle them til they be thicke, then take them up and coole them in a platter, and make a couple of cakes of fyne paeste, and laye youre stuffe in one of them and couer it wyth the other, and cutte the vente aboue, and so bake it.

¶ TO STEWE CAPONS IN WHYTE BROTHE.

Take foure or fyve biefe bones to make your brothe, then take them oute when they are sodden and streyne the brothe

(Note contd:.) "and cleave it long waies and take out the marowe whole and seeth the bone with the meat"; when well boiled take of "the uppermost of the broth and strain it through a boulter or streyner while your meat is seething," then take "a faire Pipkin," put in this strained broth and to a quarte of broth a pint of white wine or half pint of "muskadine," add "halfe a dossen of Great Mace, a little whole Pepper, sugar, salt, a little stick of sinamon," also a bouquet of "Endive, Succory, Marigolds, Margerum, Percelye, a little Tyme and Rosemary," and, after boiling half an hour, add 6 Dates cut in half; the marrow from the bone; also Currants and Prunes, first tied in a cloth and boiled in water by themselves; and "let your broth scæthe no longer than while your marrow is hot throughly"; then take 4 yolks of egg and 3 or 4 spoonsful of Rosewater beaten well together, and mix them with "half a porrengerful" of broth, stirring well; add to it the broth first made with spices and herbs "till it scæth up," then dish it and laye the fruit (dates, &c.) upon the meat. (Boulter, a flour sieve; muskadine, muscatel wine; succory, chicory.)

Gusset. A broth (see Gloss: and p. 48).

Pottage, a thick soup. "Broathe of the same capons" refers to capons in last recipe.

Stere, stir.

Or, i.e. "before," as in Daniel VI. 24: "or ever they came at the bottom of the den."

Margerum, sweet marjoram (herb).

into another potte, then putte in youre capons hole wyth rosemarye and putte them into the pot, and let them stewe, and after they have boyled a whyle, putte in hole Mace bounde in a whyte clothe, and a handfull or twayne of hole perseley and hole prunes, and lette them boyle well and at the takyng up put to a lyttle vergis and salte, and so strawe them upon soppes and the marybones aboute and the marrowe layde hole above them, and so serve them forth.

¶ FOR GUSSET THAT MAY BE ANOTHER
POTAGE.

Take the broathe of the Capons and put in a fayre chafer, then take a dosen or syxtene egges and stere them all together whyte and all, then grate a farthynges whyte loafe as smale as ye canne, and mynce it wyth the egges all together, and putte thereto salte and a good quantite of safiron, and or ye putte in youre egges, putte into youre brothe, tyme, sauerye, mageron and parseley small choppd, and when ye are redye to your dynner, sette the chafer upon the fyre wyth the brothe, and lette it boyle a lyttle and putte in your eg-

Quaylinge here perhaps means curdling. We should now say: "Stir it well that it may curdle the less." (See also Gloss:)

The "Gusset" had no meat in it. The broth in which the capons stewed (very savoury with herbs, prunes, &c.) was, after adding more herbs, boiled up afresh the last thing, and the (separately prepared) eggs, grated bread and saffron stirred in at the last moment, when the broth was just off the boil, for fear of "quaylinge" the eggs. It resembles "Feather Fowlie" soup in Lady Clark's Cookery Book.

So that it be tarte of the vergis, i.e. so (? or see) that it taste sharp of the vinegar.

Goo, go—pronounced so still in Norfolk.

Long Wortes, vegetables, generally cabbage; but in this recipe lettuce and spinach are used, and cabbage in the recipe for "How to make Long Worts"—a dish of salt beef and cabbage (Good Huswives Handmaid):—"Take a good quantite of Cole wortes and seeth them in water whole a good while, then take the fattest of powdered beefe broth, and let them seeth a good while after; then put them in a platter and lay your powdred beefe upon it"—("Bubble and Squeak" in fact). (Cole wortes, cabbage; powdered, salted.)

Yf ye lyst, i.e. if you like. Slyce, ? spoonful. If "sliced," the dish must have been a solid one.

ges and stere it up well for quaylinge the less. The less boylunge it hathe the more tender it wyll be, and then serve it forthe two or three slyces upon a dysshe.

¶ TO MAKE A WHYTE BROATHE.

Take a necke of mutton and fayre water, and sette it upon the fyre and scome it cleane, and lette it boyle halfe awaye, then take forthe of the broathe two ladlefull and put them in a platter, then chop two handefuls of parsely not to small, and let it boile with the mutton, then take twelve egges, and the sayde two ladlefuls of broathe and vergis, so that it be tarte of the vergis, and streyne them all together then season your broathe with salte and a lyttle before you goo to diner put al these to your mutton, and stere it well for quailing, and serue it forth with soppes.

¶ ANOTHER BROATHE WITH
LONGWORTES.

Take mutton and fayre water, and let them boyle upō the fyre and then take lettuce or spynage, and put therto, and yf ye lyst to boile therwith two or three chekins, and put therto salt and vergis after your discretion, and serve them forth, the flesh

Frasye. *Fray* in 1575 Edn: *Frayse* 1576 Edn: [This last is the correct spelling, and meant something fried. J. H.] "From *Fraise*, Pancake? they were round fritters," says one old book; "*Fraise* pancake, with bacon in it," says another; while Warner (*Antiq: Cul: p. 39*) has this: "For to make a froys nym veel and seth (boil) it wel and hak it smal and grynd bred, peper and safron and do thereto, and frye yt and presse yt wel upon a bord and dresse yt forthe." (*Froys, frayse; hak, cut.*)

Gybernes, "giserdes" in 1576 Edn:—i.e. gizzard.

Shoes is "sewes" in both other Edns: "sewe, stew," in "*Noble Boke of Cookry.*"

Stocke dove, the wild pigeon or wood pigeon (*Cent: Dict:*)

Porraye ("Porraie" in 1575 Edn:); this recipe is perhaps a Purée and the name corrupted (but see Gloss:)

And eyther; in 1576 Edn: this reads "or els."

Braye, to pound, as in: "Though thou shouldest bray a fool in a mortar among wheat with a pestle, yet will not his foolishness depart from him." *Prov: xxvii., 22.*

under, the herbes aboue.

¶ TO MAKE A FRASYE AT NYGHT.

Take chekins heades, lyvers, gybernes, wynges, fete, and chop them in peces of halfe an ynche longe, and boyle them al together, and when the broath is almoste soden away, chop a lyttle parseley, and put therto with vergis, and halfe a dysshe of butter, and so lette them boyle, and let it be tarte ynoughe, and so serve it in.

¶ TO MAKE SHOES.

Take a rumpe of beyfe and let it boyle an houre or two, and put therto a greate quantitye of cole wortes and lette them boyle together thre houres, then putte to them a couple of stockedoues, or teales, fesande partriche, or such other wylde foules, and let them boyle al together, then ceason them wyth salte, and serve them forthe.

¶ TO MAKE PORRAYE.

Take a capon or a hen and eyther beyf or mutton to make the broath swete withal and boyle theym all together tyll they be very tēder, thē take the capon or hen oute of the pot, and take out al his bones and braye hym in a mortar with ii poude of almōdes

Overblanched (in 1576 "blanched"); to blanche is to whiten almonds by scalding off the outer skin. "One word and I'll blanch thee like an almond."—Fletcher.

Metely, appropriately.

Saunders; it was used for colouring only; one old recipe says: "Colour it with Saunders," where, in a similar recipe, saffron is used. The Clown in the Winter's Tale says: "I must have saffron to colour the warden pies" (Act IV. sc: III); i.e. pies of warden pears.

Serve you as that tyme (? for "as" read "at")—meaning it should be nearly dry, the rosemary and mace juice making the gravy for the dish.

Fleshe, i.e. meat. Strayne, i.e. pass through a sieve.

Thē scome it clene, or, as we should now say: "Then skim it carefully." Scome is an old form of scum or skim.

For to stewe mutton. Put clearly this is: Make broth of the mutton; put some of this broth in separate saucepan, and in this boil raisins till tender; then pass raisins, broth, and some bread through a sieve; meanwhile chop the herbs and add them to the mutton (still cooking in remainder of broth), next add the strained broth, raisins, and bread, also whole prunes, salt and spices, before serving. You may stew birds with it if wished.

overblauced, then wyth the broathe of your Capon or Henne, strayne them metely thicke, then putte it into a lyttle potte, and ceason it wyth a lyttle suger, saunders, cloues, mace and small reysons, so boyle hym, and serve hym upon soppes.

¶ TO STEWE BONES OR GRISTELS OF BIEFE.

Take gristels of beyfe, and stewe them as tender as ye canne, syxe houres so that there be no broathe lefte that shall serue you as that tyme, then putte a good boundell of rosemarye in a fayre linnen clothe, and a good quantite of mace in another clothe, and boyle them all together, then wrynge oute the juyce of the rosemarye, and mace uppon the fleshe, and ceason it with salte, and so serve hym.

¶ FOR TO STEWE MUTTON.

Take a necke of mutton and a breste to make the brothe stronge, and thē scome it clene, and when it hath boyled a whyle take part of the brathe and putte it into another pot and put therto a pounce of reysons, and let them boyle till they be tender, then strayne a little bread wyth the reysons and the broth all together, then chop tyme, sauery and perseley with other

Sparowes were much eaten. "The Good Huswives Handmaid" gives a very "tasty dish" of stewed sparrows: "Take of your mutton broth the best and put it in a pipkin and put to it a little whole mace, whole pepper, claret wine, marigold leaves, Barberies, Rosewater, vergious, sugar and marrow, or else sweet butter." First parboil the birds in plain water, then you "boyle them in the same broth and lay them upon soppes."

The late Sir Henry Peek once described a "game pie" which he had had, and bade us guess the ingredients. As he kept emus and many foreign creatures in his beautiful park at Wimbledon, we suggested some of these, but no guess was right. He then explained that his gardener had shot six or eight predatory sparrows with one charge of small shot, and these were the "game." In the pie each bird was placed on bacon and each bit of bacon on an oyster—the result, he said, was excellent! I offer the suggestion and both recipes to Sparrow Clubs.

Wardens, large baking pears much used in pies; Winter pears (Sir K. Digby).

Romney, a wine. (See Gloss:)

Wyll be kepte, i.e. will keep.

Barke, i.e. skin of the fruit.

small herbes, and put into the mutton then putte in the streyned raisins wyth whole prunes, cloues and mace, peper, saffron and a lytle salte, and yf ye lyste ye may stew a chikin withal or els sparowes or such other lytle byrdes.

TO STEWE STEKES OF MUTTON.

Take a legge of mutton and cot it in small slices, and put it in a chafer, and put therto a pottell of ale, and scome it cleane then putte therto seven or eyghte onions thyn slyced, and after they have boyled one houre, putte thereto a dyshe of swete butter, and so lette them boyle tyll they be tender, and then put therto a lyttel peper and salte.

¶ FOR TO MAKE WARDENS IN CONSERUE.

Fyrste make the syrope in this wyse, take a quarte of good romney and putte a pynte of claryfied honey, and a ponde or a halfe of suger, and myngle all those together over the fyre, till tyme they seeth, and then set it to cole. And thys is a good sirope for manye thinges, and wyll be kepte a yere or two. Then take thy warden and scrape cleane awaye the barke, but pare them not, and seeth them in good redde wyne so that they

Nere hāde, &c.: (in 1576 Edn: "nere hand") meant "almost," "nearly."

Vessell. A pottery or glass jar.

Pouders, i.e. powdered spices like "Powder ginger," "white powder," "Pouldre blanche," or "Blaynshe powder"—"compounded of ginger, cinnamon and nutmegs, much in use among Cookes" (Cotgrave); "powder douce" probably the same as Cotgrave's "Pouldre de duc," which was made "of sugair and cinnamon and having (sometimes) other aromaticall simples added unto them"; and "Powderfort"—a mixture of pepper, ginger, &c. The spices besides adding to the flavour, had also a preservative quality. But by the term "powdered" is meant pickling, either by rubbing in powdered salt or by making a brine. Brine is metaphorically alluded to in Harvey's quaint lines (1640):

"He that his joyes would keep
Must weep,
And in the brine of tears
And fears
Must pickle them. That powder will preserve."

As thou wylt worke in quantyte; i.e. according to the quantity of pears you wish to preserve.

[The 1575 Edn: ends with a pretty ornamental twist below the word *Finis*. The 1576 Edn: was "C Imprinted at London for Antony Kytson."

The queries and brackets opposite are in the original, which also ends with the same little wood block as is on the Title-page.]

be wel soked and tender, that the wyne be nere hāde soked into them, then take and strayne them throughe a cloth or through a strayner into a vessell, then put to them of this syrope aforesayde tyll it be almost fylled, and then caste in the pouders, as fyne canel, synamon, pouder of gynger and such other, and put it in a boxes and kepe it yf thou wylt and make thy syrope as thou wylt worke in quantyte, as if thou wylt worke twenty wardens or more or lesse as by experience.

(?)) = ((?)
(?)

FINIS

¶ Imprynted at London in Crede Lane by John Kynge and Thomas Marche.



GLOSSARY-INDEX.

[EDITOR'S NOTE.—Many words in this Glossary-Index do not occur in *A Proper newe Booke of Cokerye* itself, but in the quotations from other books which are used to illustrate the subject; they are not therefore all of one date. Where a word has been explained in the Introduction or Notes, the page-reference is given here, but the explanation is not generally repeated, though sometimes more is added on the same subject. To save space, names of authorities (Halliwell, *New Eng: Dict.:*, *Cent: Dict.:*, &c.) are not always given in Index.

The valuable additions to this Glossary, kindly made by Mr. John Hodgkin, F.L.S., will be found marked with his initials, J. H.

All references to Parker's life and work are under his own name, Parker (Matthew).—
C. F. F.]

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ALAY, to mix; as applied to a mixed drink (<i>see</i> Hippocras) - - - - -	<i>Gloss:</i>
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ALMAIN RIVETS, moveable rivets; a term applied to a light kind of armour rivetted or buckled after the old Alman (German) fashion - - - - -	cvii

ALMAINE LEAP, or **ALMOND LEAP**, a dancing leap or kind of jig. Almain was the name of a dance. "Hereupon did enter nine knights in armour, treading a warlike almain by drum and fife" (Halliwell).

[Cotgrave says: "Trois pas et un saut, *The Almond Leap*." Florio Ed. Torriano, 1659, says:

"Chiarantána, a kind of caroll or song, full of leapings like a Scottish gigge; some take it for the Almaine-leape."—J. H.]

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ALMOND MYLKE, or **ALMAND MILK**; blanched almonds ground and mixed with broth or water to make an almond emulsion

42

ALMONDES BLANCHED, *i.e.* whitened by scalding and removing the skin

17

ALOWES, **ALOES**; to make a pye of.

[This word is possibly an Anglicised derivative of the Provençal word *alo*, a wing. The *Dict: Prov: et François*, Avignon, 1723, gives "*alouyeou d'un Buou*," and explains it thus: "*on dit aloyau de la première pièce, et aloyau de la seconde pièce*." *Alon* is a Spanish word, meaning a *wing* without feathers; and the word *alowe*, or Fr. *aloyau*, would seem to mean the *wing-rib*, which is the one rib left on the hind quarter just above the Sirloin. The etymology of the French word *aloyau*, which has so long baffled etymologists, may perhaps be correctly assigned to the root *ala* a wing. It is possible that an *alowe* was the *wing-rib* with the bone removed, and was subsequently used as another term for a steak or similar piece of meat.—J. H.]

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ALYVE. "Cut out the brawne of him a lyve." This sounds dreadful! but Mr. Hodgkin says that "it means probably, if not certainly, what it says, and would not have frightened any cook in those mediæval days."

With modern English cooks a similar phrase, "take a live sole," is merely a technical, market term for "absolutely fresh," says the Principal of Marshall's School of Cookery. All the same there is, beyond doubt, much yet to learn *and to practice*, in the way of the merciful slaughtering of beasts, the cooking of lobsters, &c., a matter to which attention was drawn in an Appendix to Lady Clark's Cookery Book, and which

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APPLE JOHNS, a kind of late ripening apple, considered in perfection when shrivelled and withered; several times mentioned in <i>K. Hen: IV.</i>	
A good relished apple that lasts two years	liii-iv
APPLE MOYSE. Halliwell says, from one authority who spells it "apple mose," that it was made of apples after they had been pressed for cider, seasoned with spices. The recipe in this book is for a kind of apple compôte.	
[There are many variants of the word apple moyse; <i>appul mose</i> , Sloane MS. 1201; <i>appul mus</i> , Sloane MS. 1108; <i>apple mose</i> , or <i>muse</i> , Harl: MS. 279. In the reprint of the <i>Noble Boke of Cookery</i> it is incorrectly described as Appilnose—a misprint probably (the word really is <i>Appilmose</i> in the heading of the recipe), while the text gives it as <i>Appillmoisse</i> , and the Index <i>Appilmosse</i> . This latter is probably the most correct form of all—the <i>mosse</i> being the same word as the Fr: <i>mousse</i> , e.g. <i>mousse de jambon</i> . It is not the same word as <i>Appul moy</i> , or <i>moyle</i> , for which recipes exist.—J. H.]	liii, 42, 43
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ARCHIL, ORCHIL (<i>see</i> Turnsole Blue)	<i>Gloss:</i>
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ARREARAGES, ARERAGE, may here mean arrears of sums due to him, or "a sum remaining in the hands of the accountant" (Cowell). "I trowe money in arerages wol falle, And to perpetual prisoun gonge."—MS. Ashmole, 41 f. 177	xcii
AS, <i>i.e.</i> in proportion to what, &c.	22
ASCOT	xxv
ASSAYE; in this book is used to mean the "tasting of dishes at the tables of high personages";	

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Halliwell quotes the following to illustrate it: "King Rychard sate doune to dyner, and was served without courtesie or assaye; he much mervaylyng at the sodayne mutacion of the thyng, demanded of the esquier why he dyd not his duety" - - - - -	xxv, cvi, &c.
ASSAYER, taster, sometimes called Sewer - - - - -	xxv
ASSONE, as soon - - - - -	xciv
AYRENE, AYREN, EYREN, EYRONE; Eggs - - - - -	liii, &c.
(see also "Eyroun") - - - - -	Gloss:
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BARGE, the Archbishop's, maliciously damaged - - - - -	cxvii
BARKE, skin of fruit—here, of pears - - - - -	55
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BASE, or BASS; a kind of perch - - - - -	15
BAYS, BAYES (woven by Walloon refugees); baize - - - - -	xc
BEANES (TARTE OF). A more recent recipe (1842) for beans not unlike this, but savoury, not sweet, is in <i>The Practice of Cookery</i> . Boil $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of blanched beans; pound them in a mortar, along with the crumbs of a new roll soaked in milk; add 2 ozs. of butter, some salt and pepper and mix it well with the beaten yolks of four eggs. Boil it in a basin and bake it in a pudding dish, lined with puff paste	37
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BENE'T COLLEGE (Corpus Christi College was sometimes so called from St. Benedict's Church, see <i>Footnote</i> , p. 32, of Robt. Masters' <i>History of Corpus Christi College</i>) - - - - -	lxv
BE NOOTE, or benote; to observe.—(N. E. D.) - - - - -	lii
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BEYFE, POWDRED, OR POU DRED, <i>i.e.</i> salted - - - - -	7
BEYFE, ROOSTED - - - - -	7
BEYFE, RUMPE of (see "To make Shoes") - - - - -	51
BE YNOUGHE, <i>i.e.</i> cooked enough - - - - -	18, 19
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BIBLE, Parker's resolution (see p. cix) to have the Bible well translated for private use. On this subject	

- I should like to note Professor Harnack's words, as quoted in *The Bible in the World*, Jan: 1913, from the translation (recently published) of his book, *Bible Reading in the Early Church*. He says: "According to the present teaching of the Roman Catholic Church, Holy Scripture is the property of the Church as a body, and she—*i.e.* in the last instance, the Pope—is bound . . . to determine how and in what measure Holy Scripture is to be made accessible to the individual Christian . . . this claim of the Roman Catholic Church is an innovation. Neither in the first three centuries nor in the fourth was the Bible in any sense subordinate to the Church; . . . we cannot discover any authoritative episcopal ordinance restricting laymen in their reading of the Bible. . . . The Bible belongs to the individual in the same sense as it belongs to the Church. . . . Protestantism has thus the testimony of the Early Church on its side in not allowing the Church to dictate the relations between the individual and Holy Scripture.' Thus," adds the Editor, "Dr. Harnack emphatically endorses the view that the Reformation, in placing the Bible in the hands of every Christian layman, only returned to the simple confidence of the primitive Church"
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- BILNEY, burnt at the stake . . . lxiv
- BIOGRAPHER (Archbishop Parker's), John Strype - lvi, clxiii, &c.
- BITTOURE, BITOURE, BYTOUR, &c. Bittern, allied to the heron, but smaller; also called "Bitter bump," "bump" being the noise the Bittern makes with its bill . . . 4, 5, 11
- BLACKBERRY PIE, *not* blackberry tart! . . . xxxi
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- BLAMINGER, BLEWE MANGER, BLANK MANGE, blanc-mange; in those days made with white meat . . . 26, 27
- BLAYNSHE POWDER, or blaunch (*i.e.* white) powder, a powdered spice (*see* Pouders) . . . xxxvi, 56
- BLAZE (TO), to publish abroad . . . cxxv
- BLONDELL and King Richard . . . xlv

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BOAR. "The wild boar under old forest laws was one of the 'beasts of the forest,' and as such, under the Norman Kings, the unprivileged killing of it was punishable by death or the loss of a member. It was hunted in England on foot and on horseback, with dogs, the weapon of attack was always a spear. . . As an article of food the Boar's head was long considered a special delicacy, and its serving attended with much ceremonial. At Queen's College, Oxford, the dish is still brought in on Xmas Day in procession, accompanied by the singing of a carol."—(<i>Enc: Brit.:</i> , XI. <i>Edn.</i>) -	2
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BONYS AND COTYS, <i>i.e.</i> bones and coats	lxviii
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BOULTER, flour sieve, fine cloth, from which "boultered," sifted. "Such and so finely boultered didst thou seem" (<i>Hen: V.</i>)	46
BOXALL, Dean of Windsor	clxi
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BRAWNE, lean meat (brawn and muscle is the reverse of fat and flabby)	xxxvi, 2, 3, 9
BRAYE, to pound in a mortar	50
BREAKE, term for carving venison: "breake that deare"	xlii
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BRENNINGE, bren, brent; burning, burn, burnt	xciii-iv, cxxx
BRETTE. The <i>N. E. D.</i> quotes: "What they call Bret in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire and in all the East part of England is the Turbot of the West Country, where the name Bret is not known." [Bret: Yarrell calls this <i>Pleuronectes rhombus</i> ; and the Turbot <i>Pleuronectes maximus</i> .—J. H.]	14-15
BREWES, BROWES, BRUES, bread soaked in gravy; it also means broth. The similar word, brewet, or bruet, is from French 'brouet,' pottage, or broth. (Note in <i>Forme of Cury</i>)	8, 9
BROATH, BROATHE; broth, sauce or gravy	14

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BROATHE, WHYTE - - - - -	49
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BUSTARDE. I lately read the following suggestion in a book, said to be written or inspired by Sir Walter Scott, <i>The Practice of Cookery, adapted to the business of every-day life</i> , by Mrs. Dalgairns: "The Bustard will probably thrive well on the same food as the turkey. It is seldom reared; but, as its flesh has ever been considered most delicious, it appears particularly worthy of the attention of those who aim at variety and novelty." Who will start a Bustard farm? - - - - -	11
BUTTER; here probably meant melted butter for fish. [Butter was also considered an antidote to poison] -	13
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CABBAGE, or CABOCHE. Originally the "cabbage" was
the head (only) of the plant, cole or cole wort.

["Caboched" is an heraldic term for a decapitated
head] - - - - -

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CANEL, CANELLE

[Canelle, is Cassia Ligneæ, cassia bark; this,
according to Flückiger and Hanbury's *Pharma-
cographia* (1874) p. 477, "has a general resem-
blance to cinnamon, but is in simple quills, not
inserted one into the other. . . Good cassia
in taste resembles cinnamon, than which it
is not less sweet and aromatic, though it is
often described as less fine and delicate in
flavour." John Russell, p. 10, *Babee's Book*,
says:—

"Looke that your stikkes of synamome be thyn,
bretille and fayre in coleure,

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And in youre mowthe, Fresche hoot and swete that is best and sure	
For canelle is not so good in this crafte and cure	
Synamome is hoot and dry in his worchyng while he will dure."	
In making Ypocras for "Lordes," <i>synamome</i> was used but "for commyn peple," <i>canelle</i> .—J. H.]	10, &c.
CANTERBURY, Archbishop of (<i>see Parker</i>)	lviii, &c.
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CAPONS (STEWED) IN WHYTE BROATHE	45
CARDEMOME, CARDEMONES, etc. Cardamom	xxxvi, &c.
CARDES (PAYRE OF); a card was a wire comb for wool combing. "Card hym" means "tear it small"; and "cardynge" is from the same. The <i>Eng: Dial:</i> <i>Dict</i> : gives: "the cat'll card your dress if you pick her up; she'll only card, she won't scratch," as an Oxford expression	26, 27
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"CAST IT TO POWDER"; "CAST ABOVE GOOD POWDRE"; "CASTE THERTO SALT"— <i>i.e.</i> throw spices, or salt, on it	4, 42, &c.
CAT IN GELY	xxx
CAUDRON, a cauldron, a large kettle or boiler; as in Wycliff's Bible, 1382: "What sal commune the caudron to the pot?" Ecclesiast: xiii., 2	20, 21
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CHAFED, heated in a chafing dish	17
CHAFER, or CHAFFIRE, a chafing dish, or saucepan "Chaffire hote"	li, 17
CHAFYNG DISCHE (variously spelled); a vessel to hold charcoal or wood, to heat what was placed in it	17
CHAPPED UP; chopped, minced	12
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CHIKOYNS Y-SMETE, chickens minced - - - -	6
CHIMER, a cope of black silk - - - - -	(<i>Footnote at</i>) cxxxiv
CHOISE, selected, chosen - - - - -	xlv
CHUETTE (<i>see</i> Chewit) - - - - -	1
CHURCH REVENUES (alienation of) - - - - -	cxxxix
CINAMONE SAUCE FOR VENISON (<i>see</i> "To Rooste Veneson") - - - - -	19
CINOMONE, synamon, the spice - - - - -	21, &c.
CLARK (LADY) OF TILLYPRONIE'S COOKERY BOOK - - - -	xi
CLARRY, or CLARET WINE. Not like modern claret, but a "wine made with grapes, honey and aromatic spices," and strained; was called "clarry" or "clarré," <i>i.e.</i> cleared or clarified wine - - - -	1
CLARYFYED HONY, honey run clear from the comb. Honey was much used in place of sugar. (<i>See</i> Hippocras in <i>Gloss</i> :) - - - - -	55, &c.
CLERICAL MARRIAGE - - - - -	lxxvi-viii
CLOWYS, CLOVVEZ, CLOWES; cloves, spice - - - -	8, xxxvi, &c.
CLYMMETH HYE; to clim (said of a peacock), is, Halliwell says, to call or challenge, and peacocks certainly utter their cry constantly before rain. [I have looked up this in Palsgrave and feel quite sure in my own mind that Halliwell is mistaken. Palsgrave mentions the word as having been used by Lydgate in the sense of to <i>claym</i> , <i>i.e.</i> <i>claim</i> (probably pronounced like the word <i>climb</i>); and Halliwell evidently derives his definition from the fact that Palsgrave mentions the word as meaning, to claim a thing; or, to <i>challenge</i> anyone else's right to it. I believe it to mean that when the peacock <i>climbeth</i> <i>high</i> (<i>i.e.</i> in the trees) that is a token of rain.—J. H.] (<i>See</i> also under Peacock. <i>Gloss</i> :)	xl
COAT (OF OUR), <i>i.e.</i> of our profession - - - -	cxxxv
CODDE WITH GRENE SAUCE - - - - -	13
COFFIN, COFFYN; a mould of paste, raised crust for a pie, xiv. (<i>see</i> also Long Coffins; also Coffin Cote, p. lii); Cote, a bed or cradle which means here the crust in which the lampreys were baked - - - -	22, &c.

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COLE, COOLES; charcoal or woodcoals	17, 21, &c.
COLE WORTES; cabbage, or rather the plant of which cabbage was the head (<i>see</i> Cabbage)	xxxii, 48, 51
COLLEGES, accountable to the public	(<i>Footnote at</i>) lv
COMADE, mixture is here meant. [Austin interprets this word as meaning a mixture; but it may be referred to the Spanish word <i>Comedor</i> , meaning a greedy person, or glutton. (Latin, <i>comedere</i> , to eat). <i>Comade</i> , <i>comadre</i> , <i>comadore</i> , <i>comede</i> , and even <i>commode</i> , all occur as variants, and the word probably meant a dish fit for a glutton or epicure.—J. H.]	6
COMMING SEED, COMMYN, cummin; spice (also <i>see</i> Cumin)	xxxix, &c.
COMPLEAT, as in titles of <i>The Compleat Cook</i> , <i>The Compleat Angler</i> ; perfect, accomplished in respect of a particular art or pursuit	<i>Bibliography</i>
CONFIDENT; bold, daring, having no fear of failure	xvi
CONFITS, COUMFITS; sweetmeats, preserves. <i>See</i> Hippocras <i>Gloss</i> :	
CONFOUND, to confuse or silence, as in Gen. xi., 7	xxxii
CONGER (POWDERED, <i>i.e.</i> salted) with Sauce Vinegar; CONGER FRESHE; CONGER NEVER FRYED, BUT BAKEN, ROOSTED OR SODDEN	13, 15, 23
CONNIE, CONIE, a rabbit over a year old	4, 5, 11
CONNIE ROOSTED, for a second course	9
CONSERVE (WARDENS IN), preserved Warden pears	56
CONYNGERY, a place for breeding rabbits	4
COOKERY BOOKS	x, xi, & <i>Bibliography</i>
CORANTS, CORENS; currants (<i>see</i> Raysins also)	xxxvi, &c.
CORNETS (OF BREAD), three-cornered pieces of bread used in an assaye of food	xxv
CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, Parker goes to; his gifts to; New Statutes for; <i>Historiola</i> . ix, lx, lxiii, cxiv, cliv, <i>Gloss</i> ., &c.	
CORSELET, body armour	cvii
COT, cut	55
COUCHE (TO), to lay flat, to place	liv
COURTESIE, bow, obeisance	xlvi
COUSLIPS (TARTE OF)	39
COVER TARTE AFTER THE FRENCH FASHYAN	45
CRABE (TO DRESS A) [According to "The Boke of Keruyng" in <i>The Babee's Book</i> , the sauce for crab was composed of "vergyus . . with poudre of synamon."— Sometimes "vynegre and poudre" were used.—J. H.]	15, 16, 17

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CRANE. "The Crane was a darling dainty in William the Conqueror's time," who was so partial to it that when "William FitzOsborne, the steward of his household, served him with a crane scarcely half roasted, the King was so highly exasperated that he lifted up his fist and would have stricken him had not Eudo. . . warded off the blow." (Warner) - - - - -	5, 11
CRANE, with sauce galantyne - - - - -	10
CREVES, CREVISE, cray fish. (Halliwell says: "Sometimes a lobster, MS. Arund: 249") - - - - -	14, 15
CROSTATA, crust of a pie - - - - -	6
CRUSTADE (<i>see</i> Custard) - - - - -	6
CRWTH (or crowd), an ancient Welsh and Irish musical instrument, the earliest known specimen of the viol class, that is, of stringed instruments played with a bow. (<i>See</i> account of Peacock Feast). "A lacquey that . . can warble upon a crowd a little" (Ben Jonson) - - - - -	xxxix
CULLIS, a very fine, strong broth, well strained; <i>see</i> Geese (Grene) - - - - -	<i>Gloss:</i>
CUMIN, or COMYN, a fennel-like plant, grows wild in Egypt and Syria, its fruit agreeably aromatic; used in India in curry powder.—(<i>Cent: Dict:</i>) Sweet cumin is anise (which <i>see</i>) - - - - -	xxxix, &c.
CURDES - - - - -	39
CURIOUS, careful, inclined to research - - - - -	cxxxix
CURLUS, Curlews; and with Sauce Galentyne - - - - -	5, 10, 11
CURRENTS (<i>see</i> Raysins, <i>Gloss:</i>) - - - - -	xxxiv-v
CURSEY ["A cursey of fayre water"; Cursey is possibly a metaphrastic form of <i>cruse</i> , <i>cruce</i> or <i>croise</i> : a mug, a cup, a small pot. Dan: <i>Kruus</i> , a mug. Du: <i>Kroes</i> , a cup. M.H.G. <i>Kruse</i> , mug. It means here a cupful of fresh water."—J. H.] - - - - -	36, 37
CURY. [Contraction of word <i>cookery</i> .—J. H.] - - - - -	38
CUSTARD (TO MAKE); and as used in Tudor days - - - - -	liv, 23
CUSTARDE, or CRUSTADE, a dish made in a "coffyn" or crust like a raised pie. It differed from modern custard, for it contained meat, fruit, etc. Such were "custard politic," p. xlvi, a large custard made for Lord Mayor's Feasts; "custard lumbarde," etc. The name <i>custard</i> was also given to a kind of batter cut in squares like Yorkshire pudding	xlvi, 6, 7 11, 15, 22, 23
CUTTERS, engravers - - - - -	cxxx-xxxix
CYVES, Chives; a herb - - - - -	12

DAMASK WATER, the most delicate rosewater made from Damask (Damascus) roses. Damaske, or sweet water, was also the name of a water made from all sorts of odoriferous herbs. Damask roses were prized for their delicious scent, and *The Good Houswives Treasure* (1588) has a delightful recipe headed "How to make very swete cakes either of Damaske or of red roses" which would be worth trying; the "cakes" were kept to scent linen in drawers and cupboards. It is as follows: "Take your Roses very faire coloured and somewhat close" (? not opened out too much); "if you will make your cakes large, take a pecke of Roses to every Cake, or half a pecke, and put two cakes together, bottom to bottom, and put into every cake besides two handfull of sweet Margerum rootes and all, for at that time of yere cut Margerum is not sweet, cut of the rootes of sweet Margerum, and two good handfull of lavender and an ounce of the best Damaske powder you can get, a quarter of a pound of orris and one ounce of Cloves, let not the cloves or the orris be beaten much; when you do searce (sieve or sift) your orris see it be not worm eaten and smell wet. All this powder will serve for but foure cakes; straw into your still some Roses firste in the bottom, then Margerum, Lavender, and some (Damask) powder and then Roses againe and a little powder, then Lavender and Margerum, more powder than you did before, then put a few Roses in the top somewhat thin(ly). Whē they be half stilled take them fourthē and laye them betwixt two papers and laye not one Cake against another before they be colde; then saue (save) them in papers and cut the papers bigger than y^e Cakes and sewe them round, as soon as you can put them into an oven no hotter than if it were after Pyes or Cakes, and let them stay no longer thē a day or a night; then take them out and when they be cold lay them betwixt your clothes, and if they be not drye then set them in (? to the oven) again a week or a fortnight (? later), and after they be through drye prick the papers on both sides unto the brim everywhere thicke(ly). These cakes will continue (good) three or foure yeare"

DAMSONS (TARTE OF)

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GLOSSARY-INDEX.

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DANGEROUSLY (YOU WILL SEE HOW) I SERVE, <i>i.e.</i> with what difficulty (Halliwell), or danger	cxxxv
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DAY, the printer (attempted murder of), cvi; he cuts Saxon types in brass	clviii, clxii
"DECLARATION" OF A RELIGIOUS BODY IN ESSEX	cxxxvii
DEPRIVED CLERGY, AS PARKER'S GUESTS	clxi
DERE, FALOW AND REDDE, when best; pasties of	5, 11, 13
DIGHTE, to prepare or dress; to adorn	xxxix, &c.
DINNER (ARCHBUSHOPE OF YORKE'S)	xxii
DISHONEST (TO), to detract; "should not dishonest himself;" <i>i.e.</i> should not do himself justice	lxxx
DISMEMBER, term used for carving a heron: "dismember that heron"	xlii
DISTEMPERANCE, unhealthiness	lxxxii
DISTINCT. <i>Cent: Dict:</i> says this is a "rare latinism" for decorated or adorned	xlv
DO THER-INNE, DO THERE TO; <i>i.e.</i> "put in," or "put with" <i>do</i> was often used for <i>put</i> , as in "do him dead" in <i>Hen. VI.</i> for "put him to death"— "dout" for "put out," in <i>Henry V.</i> and in <i>Hamlet</i>	1, 6, 7
DOO; a hind; a doe rabbit; or (Scotch) dove or pigeon	4, 5
DORMITATION; sleepiness	xc-c
DOSEN, DOSYN, a dozen	11, 13
DRAFTES, dregs (Halliwell)	<i>See Hippocras. Gloss:</i>
DRAWE (TO), to strain through a sieve; or, to drain, as in the "Child's Ballad of the Two Sisters:" "O Father, father, draw your Dam, There's either a Mermaid or a Swan" (no doubt a drowning tragedy). It also sometimes means, to mix, as in "drawe hit up," p. 8	30
DRAWER, artist	cxxx
DRAYNE (TO), to strain	24, 25
DRIED FRUITS; raisins, etc.; much used	xxxiv, &c.
DUCKITT, MISS HILDAGONDA	x
DYSCHEFULL OF SNOWE	25
DYSHE, DYSHE, DISSHE, a dish or plate; and sometimes, when defining a measure, it means a cupful, as in a "Dysche of butter," dyscheful, etc. In the XVIIIth Century they spoke of a "dish of tea"	26, &c.
EASTERN COUNTIES MEN (some distinguished)	lvii
EATING WITH FINGERS	xli
EGGES IN MONESHYNE	43
EGKYL, eagle, etc. (<i>see also Hawks, Gloss:</i>)	xv

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"ELDER BIBLE CLERK" for Corpus Christi College	cxlv
ELES, eels; and ELES ROOSTED WITH DRYPPYNGE SOPPES WITH POTAGE; ELES WITH PIKE SAUCE	15, 21, 23
"ELIZABETH OR THE POPE"	cxviii
ELLES, else	lv
ENDORE	(Footnote at) xxxix
EODEM MODO, in the same way	lii
ERNEFULLY, mournfully. Earnful or ernfull meant sad, mournful, as in "their wooful cries . . . their earnefull plaints" (quoted from Rogers, 1575, by <i>New Eng: Dict:</i>). To erne is an obsolete verb, meaning to grieve or mourn. "My manly heart doth erne . . . for Falstaffe, hee is dead and we must erne therefore." (<i>Hen: V.</i> , 1623 edn.)	xl
ETIQUETTE at feasts	xxv
EVERY, or EVERYCHE, each	See Hippocras Gloss:
EVERYCHONE, everyone	See Hippocras Gloss:
EVERYONE FROM OTHER, <i>i.e.</i> separate, not touching each other	42, 43
EWERER, the servant who brought round the ewer and basin for guests to wash their hands after dinner	xli
EXCEPT IT BE UPON SOPPES, <i>i.e.</i> unless served on sippets	9
EXCITE, to incite or exhort	lxviii
EYROUN, eggs (like German <i>eier</i>). In the end of the XVth Century the words <i>eyroun</i> and <i>egges</i> were evidently both used, for Caxton in 1490, writes: "What solde a man in thyse doyes now wryte, egges or eyroun? Certainly it is harde to playse every man"	6
FAGADU (INDIAN) (<i>see</i> Shrimp pie)	Gloss:
FALCONRY AND HAWKS	xiv-xviii
FAUTORS; aiders, supporters	cxxv
FAYRE, FAIRE, FEYRE; clean, fresh, pure	22, &c.
FEARETH; to fear, is to scare or terrify—"The bluidy swords wou'd fear ye" (Lullaby, <i>Buchan Ballads</i>)	xl
FEASTS, at Canterbury; at crowning of Henry V.; at Weddings; extravagant expenditure in ancient; great plenty at; to Queen Elizabeth	xxiii-iv, xliii-iv, cxix, cxxxiv
"FEATHER FOWLIE," a soup in Lady Clark's book (the name is a corruption of "œufs filés")	48
FEBILLE; feeble, wretched, miserable	xlvii
FEDURS, FFETHURS; feathers	xxxix, &c.
FELLOWSHIPS FOUNDED BY PARKER	lx, &c.

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FERME, farm	xcii
FERRIAGE, FERIAGE; boat or ferry hire	xcii
FESANDE, FESANTE, FFESANTE; pheasant; and with "onyon sauce"	liv, 3, 51, 11
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FIREWORKS, at Kenilworth	xliv
FLAWES, flakes	xcv
FLEE; to flay, skin	xxxix, &c.
FLEMISH, FRENCH, AND DUTCH REFUGEES	lxxxviii, cxxvii
FLESS DAY, flesh day; not a fast	5, &c.
FLEWKE, FLOEX, FLOKE, FLOYKES; Flounders	15, 21
FLOUNDERS	15
FLOWER, flour (floeer of rys, rice flour, ground rice)	22
FOND, foolish	xcv
FOREIGN INVASION, threatened 1563, 1570, 1572	xcix, cxvii, cxxiv, &c.
FORKS, imported from Italy in James I's reign. But we know of one "forcke" that Queen Elizabeth herself possessed, which is mentioned in Nichols' book describing the Processions of Queen Elizabeth; he quotes from a letter written by Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney: "A spoone and a forcke of fair agatte," Whyte says, were among the things which, "to grace his lordship more, she of herself took from him"; the Queen's host being the lord keeper, Sir John Puckering, at whose house at Kew she was staying	xli
FORME, FORM, pattern, model. <i>Forme of Cury</i>	38
FRASYE	
[The printer or the scribe who wrote the MS. from which the book was originally printed frequently inverts the sequence of letters. <i>Frayse</i> , or <i>Froise</i> , meant something fried. Palsgrave (1530) gives: "Froyse of Egges, uovte doeuf = voute d'œuf," which we have seen was a fried dish. Cotgrave (1650) says: "Fraisé m. pain fraisé, a Panadoe of the crummes of stale manchet, steeped some while in two or three changes of water, and then boiled in a pipkin with butter, or in chicken or capon broth, and often stirred with a spoon untill it be ready."—J. H.]	50, 51
FREE SCHOOLS, many founded by Parker	lix-lx
FRENCH BOOKS IN FASHION	cxliii
FRETE, to rub (like to fret)	42
FRITTERIS. Halliwell says were small pancakes with apples in them; also a name for wafers	13
FRUIT, greater variety now than in XVIth Century	xxxii

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FURNISHED, supplied (as in the Wedding Feast, St. Matt: xxii., 10) - - - - -	cxxxiv
FURNITURE (OF HORSES), horse trappings, harness -	xlv, cvii
FUSTIAN - - - - -	xc
FYGGES, for dessert at p. 17 meant figs; but "figgy" is said to apply to raisins in a plum pudding locally in Cornwall - - - - -	xxxv, 17
FYRE, FUYRE, fire - - - - -	xciv, &c.
GALAUNT, GALLANT, finely dressed - - - - -	xlvi
GALENGA, GALYNGE; galingale, the long rooted cyprus. <i>New Eng: Dict</i> : says is (A) the aromatic root of an East India plant of genera <i>Alpinia</i> <i>Kœmpferia</i> , formerly much used in medicine, and by Indian doctors for dyspepsia; much used also in cookery. (B) An English species of sedge, <i>Cyperus longus</i> , the "English Galingale," a root with similar properties to those of the true Galingale. The Chinese name for Galingale is "Ko-liang-Kiang," literally: "Mild ginger from Ko" (Canton); Cogan (1636) writes: "Galingale, or rather Cipresse roots, though it be rare, yet it is found in some gardens" In the <i>Cant: Pilg</i> : (1386) the cook was "To boil the chicknes and the marybones and poudre marchant Tart and Galingale." Powder marchant: "a tart kind of flavouring powder."—(<i>N. E. D.</i>) -	xxxvi, 10, &c.
GALENTYNE, GALENDYNE. Sauce galentine for "roosted purpos," Curlew and Crane. Pegge (<i>Forme of Cury</i>) calls galentyne a preparation made with galingale, but galingale is mentioned in <i>one</i> only of the recipes I have seen for this sauce; it is as follows: "Powdered crusts, galingale, ginger or salt, steeped in vinegar and strained" (<i>Babee</i>). <i>N. E. D.</i> says name is derived from galatine—a sauce for fish—1420. <i>Liber cocorum</i> (reprint 1862): "Take Lampreys . . . serve Galentine made in sale With gyngere, canel and galingale." 1658, Sir T. Moyerne: "When it is baked, make a galentine of claret wine and cinnamond and suger and pour it on the pye." [Pegge seemed to think that the etymology of <i>galentyne</i> had something to do with <i>galingale</i> ; but this does not appear to be the case. The word would seem to be derived from the root seen in the words <i>gala</i> , <i>galant</i> , &c.: and is not the	

same word as that used when describing foods as being "in galentyne," which simply means "in gelatine." Fish, such as lampreys (*see* p. 11, *Introd* :) were then often preserved in gelatine, and would keep so a long time, in a cool place; like *tenche* in *gelly*, pp. 14, 15. "A Nominale of the 15th Century," Wright's *Vocabularies*, vol. 1, 1857, p. 242, gives

Hec delicie
Hec lautica
Hec galanticie } dantyths.

J. H.]

li, 10, &c.

GAME PIE (SIR HENRY PEEK'S) - - - - - 54

GELLY, TENCHE IN; CAT IN GELY [*see* also Mr. Hodgkin's note on Galentyne]. Lawmbre geele was amber jelly - - - - - xxx, 14

GENEVA BIBLE (THE) - - - - - lxvi

GENSBREAD, GENGERBREAD, GYNGEBREED, gingerbread; originally "gingibretum," but the third syllable was early confounded with "bread," and the insertion of an 'r' in the second syllable completed the semblance of a compounded word. Chaucer says: "They sette hym Roial spicerye and gyngerebreed"; and Shakespeare: "An' I had one penny in the world thou shoudst have it to buy gingerbread" (*Love's Lab: Lost*). Originally no ginger was included; a recipe of 1430 for "gyngerebrede" includes "a quart of hony, safroun, poudere Pepir and gratyed Brede," but no *ginger* is mentioned. The illustrations of the autumn number of *The Studio*, 1912, include some delightful instances of carved wooden moulds for gingerbread. Regarding these we read: "Gingerbread was largely used in the XVIth and XVIIth, and even the XVIIIth Century, not only as a natural article of food, but also as a much appreciated gift. According to the meaning and subject of the design, it was offered at birth, wedding, and even at funeral feasts. There were also gingerbreads of 'honour' which, made to order and of exceptional size, were sometimes more than a yard wide, and weighed as much as 150lbs. They were offered as a welcome, a gift of honour, by workmen to their patrons, by the young to the old, as a sign of humility and respect. Thus, on the occasion of the birth of the Czar, Peter the Great, many huge gingerbreads of different designs were presented to his father, amongst them one bearing the arms of the City of

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Moscow; two others, each weighing 100lbs. with enormous double-headed eagles . . . others in the shape of a duck, a parrot or a dove; and great decorative gingerbreads representing the Kremlin with its turrets, surrounded by horse-soldiers, and so forth. Altogether there were offered to him on this occasion more than 120 gingerbreads and other sweet dishes. This same custom was also very widespread among the nobles and among the peasants"	12, 13
GENTILE (GALENTYNE), beautiful Fashionable, elegant, refined, delicate.—(N. E. D.)	li
GENTLY, courteously	cxii
GERFALCON, GERFAWCN; the large falcon used by Royalty for hawking; (here spelt jerfalcon). "A Gerfawcon whyte as mylke In all thys worlde is non swylk" (such) (Quoted by Halliwell.)	xv
GHEST, GEST, really meant stranger; and so, guest. The great hall of the Deanery, Worcester, is still called the Gesten Hall	xxxviii
GOBYNS, GEBENES; pieces, lumps [Literally, mouthfuls; "Gob" being a Celtic word for mouth.—J. H.]	li
GOOSE	3
GOOSE (GRENE), a young or midsummer goose; for "A young goose," says the <i>Family Receipt Book</i> , "is never called a gosling in culinary language." A Fair held at Bow in Essex was called Green Goose Fair. Young geese are called Green Geese till they are four months old. A green goose is only seasoned with pepper and salt; no onion, no sage. The <i>Cook's Oracle</i> says geese are at their best between the middle of June and 1st Sept. Mrs. Glasse (1803 Edn:) gives the following recipe for Sorrel Sauce, which she calls "Green Sauce, to be served in a boat for Green Geese": "Take $\frac{1}{2}$ pint of the juice of Sorrel, if no Sorrel, Spinage juice; have ready a cullis (a strong broth) of veal broth—about $\frac{1}{2}$ pt., some sugar, the juice of an orange or lemon, boil it up for 5 or 6 minutes; then put your sorrel-juice in, and just boil it up. Be careful to keep it stirring all the time, or it will curdle; then put it in your boat." (Regarding other Sorrel Sauces, see Sorrel.)	3, 9
GOOSE (STUBBLE), a grayling goose; this, according to Mrs. Glasse, you first hang up "in the feathers" for	

- two or three nights, and when you dress it you "season it well with pepper and salt, take two middle-sized onions, half a sour apple, a few sage leaves; chop these well and put them into the inside with a lump of butter the size of an egg, and a teacupful of water; tie it up close at both ends." It will take one or one and a half hours to roast, according to size. "Dish it up; pour into your dish some brown gravy with two spoonfuls of red wine, the same of ale; serve it up with apple sauce," made as follows: "Pare, core, and slice your apples, put them in a saucepan with as much water as will keep them from burning, set them over a slow fire, keep them close covered till they are all of a pulp, then put in a lump of butter, and sugar to your taste; beat them well . . . add a piece of lemon peel." I see that Dilly—in Boswell's *Life of Johnson*—says that Mrs. Glasse's *Art of Cookery* was written by Dr. Hill - - 3, 9
- GOOSEBERYES WITH CHEKINS - - - 31
- GOOSEBERYES (TARTE OF) - - - 37
- GOSHAWK, the (female) hawk allotted to yeomen for falconry. "Ther is a Goshawke and that hawke is for a yemen," says the *Book of St. Albans*. The male of the Goshawk was called a tercel - - xv
- GRAMMARIAN, head boy of Grammar School - - cxxxiii
- GRANES, or GRAINES OF PARADISE, GREYNES DE PARYS, a spice; small pungent seeds brought from the East Indies (Warner); Cardamoms (*N. Bk. of Cookery*); but it is sometimes mentioned together with Cardamoms, as though a different spice - - xxxvi
- GRAPES (WITH CHEKINS) - - - 31
- GREENFISH was the name for the kind of Cod which, when salted, was called Ling - - (See Lynge) Gloss :
- GREESE, probably fat used for frying; "White Greese" was lard - - 8, 42
- GRENE SAUCE (WITH CODDE). For another Green Sauce see Goose (Green), above
- [*Grene Sauce* was one of the Standard sauces; "Vert Sauce" in French; "Salsamentum Viride" in Latin.—J. H.] - - 12
- GRESSEL
- [Probably should be the word *Gussell* (correctly spelt *Jussell*) soup is meant, similar to that at p. 47, and there put as *Gussett*—a chicken broth, for which recipe is given. Or the word *gressell* may possibly be *Graisselle* (?) which

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should be a fatty broth or soupy compound.— J. H.] - - - - -	14
GRISTEL, GRISTLE OF BIEFE (TO STEW) - - - - -	53
GROTE, a very small Dutch coin. A groat (Halliwell) -	li
GROUCES, grouse - - - - -	3
GUISE, DUKE OF - - - - -	xcviii
GULLES (FOR SECONDE COURSE AT DYNER) - - - - -	11
GUSSETT. Halliwell gives "Gusschelle" as the name of an old dish, which might be the same. Mr. Hodgkin says a twirl across the <i>ll</i> in the MS. represented an omitted final <i>e</i> , and that this was mistaken by the printer for <i>tt</i> , and so printed Gussett, instead of Gussell. The capital letter used in the Cambridge copy of the book is the same for both G and B, but the other editions show which was meant in other cases (<i>i.e.</i> Gulles, not Bulles—Goose, not Boose); there is no dish called Bussett, and in 1575 Edition the word is clearly "Gussett." [It is doubtless meant for Gussell or Jussell, a kind of broth.—J. H.] - - - - -	46, 47
GUYSE OF BEYONDE THE SEA (TO MAKE A STEWE AFTER THE) <i>i.e.</i> after foreign fashion - - - - -	41
GYBERNES, gizzard of a fowl is meant - - - - -	50, 51
GYNGENER, ginger - - - - -	2
HABERDYN, the spotted Cod; large fish used for salting [Haburdyn. Cotgrave says: " <i>Mouschebout</i> : m. the spotted Cod whereof Haberdine is made." Haberdine, or Haburdyn, is simply a corruption of the place name <i>Aberdeen</i> , whence the dried fish was exported in very large quantities.— J. H.] - - - - -	13
HÅDE, abbreviation of "hande" - - - - -	56
HAK, to cut or chop up - - - - -	50
HALIBUT (<i>see</i> Holybutte) - - - - -	14, 15
HARDE EGGES, hard-boiled eggs. A writer of 1670 com- plains: "Constrain'd to . . . keep Lent with Bisket and hard egges only"—which must have been dull fare! - - - - -	13, &c.
HARE - - - - -	5
HARQUEBUT, Arquebus, a species of firearms cocked with a wheel; the predecessor of the musket -	cvii
HASTY MAN (A) - - - - -	xlvi
HAUNT, pronounced "hont"—to hunt - - - - -	4

HIPPOCRAS, IPOCRAS, YPOCRASSE, or wine of Hippocrates; named after the ancient Greek physician. In 1613 "The King and Queen were both present and tasted wafers and hippocras, as at ordinary weddings." *Court and Times of James I.* "After the christening were brought wafers, comfits . . . and hypocras and muscadine wine" (Strype, 1709.) See *N. E. D.* (abbrevd.) "A beverage composed of wine with spices and sugar, strained through a cloth. It is said to have taken its name from 'Hippocrates' sleeve,' the term apothecaries gave to a strainer" or filter of flannel—a jelly bag is very like a long pointed sleeve. "It was a great favourite with our ancestors, being served up at every entertainment, public or private. It generally made a part of the last course, and was taken immediately after dinner with wafers or some other light biscuits. According to Pegge, it was in use at St. John's College, Cambridge, as late as the XVIIIth Century, and brought in at Christmas at the close of the dinner," says Halliwell, who gives several recipes for it, of which the oldest, from the *Forme of Cury*, is as follows: "To make Ypocrasse for lords with gynger, synamon, and graynes, suguor and turnesoll; and for comyn pepull gynger, canell, longe peper and claryfyed hony. Loke ye have feyre pewter basens to kepe in your pouders and your ypocrasse to ren ynne, and to Vj basens ye muste have Vj renners on a perche . . . and loke your poudurs and your gynger be redy and well paryd or hit be beton into poudur. Gynger Colombyne is the best gynger. . . Now then thou knowest the properties of (*i.e.* what is wanted for) ypocras. Your poudurs must be everyche by themselfe, and leid in a bledder in stove, hang sure your perche with baggs and that no bagge twoyche other, but basen twoyche basen. The fyrst bagge of a galon, every on of the other a potell. Fyrst do into a basen a galon or ij of red wyne, then put in your poudurs and do it into the renners and so into the second bagge. Then take a pece and assay it and yef hit be anythyng to stronge of gynger, alay it withe synamon, and yef it be strong of synamon alay it withe sugour cute. And thus schall ye make parfyte ypocras. And loke your bagges be of

boltell clothe and the mouthes opyn, and let it run in V or Vj bagges on a perche and under every bagge a clene basen. The draftes (dregs) of the spies (spice) is good for sewies (stews). Put your ypocrasse into a stanche wessell, and bynde upon the mouthe a bledder strongly; then serve forthe waffers and ypocrasse."

[Comyn pepull, ordinary folk; ren ynne, run into; renners, jelly bags; perche, rod; paryd, pared; or hit, before it; everyche, each—as everychone was Ang: Sax: for every-one; leid, from lele, to lay, Ang: Sax; twoyche, touch each; pece, a drinking cup; yef, if, is, by rights, written zef. (The first letter is neither 'y' nor 'z', but z, the corruption of an Ang: Sax: letter more resembling 'g' in value, says Halliwell, but "no other character represents its exact force"); alay, mix—as applied to mixed drink; boltell cloth, see Boulter.]

Arnold's Chronicle recipe, quoted by Halliwell, is shorter: "Take a quarte of red wyne, an ounce of synamon, and half an unce of gynger, a quarter of an ounce of greynes and long peper, and halfe a ponde of suger; and brose all this and than put them in a bage of wullen clothe, made therefore, with the wyne, and lete it hange over a vessell tyll the wyne be run thorowe." Cogan has the same materials (but leaving out "long peper") and adds all when pounded to 1 quart of Claret or white wine. He also leaves all to steep together at least one night, close covered in a stone bottle, and "when you would occupy (*i.e.* use) it, cast a thinne linen cloath . . . over the mouth of the bottle and let so much run through as you will drink at that time, keeping the rest close, for it will keep both the spirit, odor and vertue of the wine and spices." *The Book of Simples* gives another recipe which includes nutmegs and milk, and in which a "sprig of rosemarie" is put in the bag through which you run it before bottling; and also suggests a little bag of musk or ambergrese being put into each bottle

	1
HISTORIOLA; history of C. C. Coll: by Josselin	cliv
HISTORY. (Archbishop Parker's great services to)	clx
HIT, it	li, &c.
HOATE, hot	li, &c.

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HOLE; whole. "Hole Parade" (in Pety Peruaunt) may mean, peel or skin it whole (<i>see</i> 'Paryd' and Recipe for Pescoddes) - - - -	lii, 33
HOLYBUTTE, Halibut; literally, Holy Plaice, holy Flounder; it was specially eaten on holidays (Holy days). The largest of the flat fish family. (<i>Cent</i> : <i>Dict</i> : abbrev :) - - - -	14, 15
HOLY ROOD DAY, 14th September - - - -	4
HONEST, noble - - - -	lxii
HONEY, much used instead of sugar - - - -	xxxiii
HONY (CLARYFIED) - - - -	55
HOHAHN, the cry the falconer uses to a hawk - - - -	xvii
HORSE ROSTED - - - -	xxx
HURLY BURLIES, (?) <i>i.e.</i> armed crowds or tumult. <i>Hurly</i> was a noise and tumult, and <i>burled</i> meant armed; both words in Shakespeare - - - -	lxx
HUSWIFE, from (A.-S.) hus wife, woman of the house, as in <i>Good huswife's jewell</i> - - - -	<i>Biblio</i> :
HYE, high - - - -	xl
I; for the use of this letter as a prefix, <i>see</i> Y - - - -	<i>Gloss</i> :
INK-HORN TERMS (TO USE), to write affectedly or to use fine language - - - -	cx
INSTRUMENT, agreement - - - -	cxxii
INTERMEWED (HAWK), a hawk which moulted in captivity - - - -	xvi
INTRODUCTION - - - -	ix-clxiv
IPOCRAS (<i>see</i> also Hippocras, <i>Gloss</i> :) - - - -	1, &c.
ISOPPE, YSOOP; hyssop "Sprinkle me, lord, with ysoop That myn herte be purged clene" - - - -	liv
ITALIAN AND ARCHBUSHOPE OF YORKE - - - -	xxii
JELLYE, GELY, JEALEY; also cat and horse in - - - -	11, 15, 23, xxx
JELLYE, TO MAKE CLEARE - - - -	23
JERFALCON (<i>see</i> Gerfalcon); the name used for the female of a species of large falcon which was flown at heron; the male bird was called "a tircel," literally, "thirdling," from the belief that of 3 eggs laid by a hawk the third always hatched out a male bird of smaller size than the other eggs. (<i>N. E. D.</i>) - - - -	xv
JESUITE FROM CHINA'S RECIPE FOR TEA - - - -	xxxiii
JOSSELIN, Parker's Latin Secretary - - - -	cliv, &c.

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JUNK, lump; piece, (?) chunk	14
JURATS, municipal officers of the Cinque Ports similar to Aldermen. "The Corporation (of Rye) consists of Mayor, 12 Jurats and the Freemen."—(N. E. D.)	lxi
KEEP THE HALL	xliv
KELE; KEEL, to cool; as in Shakespeare: "While greasy Joan doth keele the pot"	42
KEMB (TO), to comb; kembed, combed	xlvi
KERUYNGE (THE BOKE OF), but see <i>Bibliography</i> for full title	xlii
KERVER, carver	xlii
KESTREL, "the useless kestrel," allotted to the servant for hawking	xv
KEYS (THE THREE) of Parker's Coat of Arms, and of his Library	lviii, cl
KISS OF TENTATION, to guard against a poisoned napkin (see <i>Tentation</i>)	cvi
KNAVE, boy or lad employed as a servant	xv
KYDDE (BEST FROM CHRISTMAS TO LENT)	3
KYDDE, WITH SAUCE ORENGERS	9
LAMBE (BEST SEASON FOR); HALFE A LAMBE WITH SAUCE ORENGERS; LAMBE ROOSTED	3, 7, 9
LAMPERN, LAMPRON. [<i>Lampern</i> is the River Lamprey, <i>Petromyzon Fluviatilis</i> . The <i>Lamprey</i> is <i>Petromyzon Marinus</i> ; formerly taken in immense quantities outside Nantes, and largely imported into this country in mediæval times.—J. H.]	13
LAMPERN WITH POTAGE; ROOSTED, WITH DRYPPYNGE SAUCE; BAKEN	li, 13, 15
LAMPREY	li, &c.
LANFRANC'S TREATMENT OF OLD MSS.	clix
LARKES (A DYSHE OF)	5, 13
LATTER HAND OF THE YEAR, <i>i.e.</i> latter end	liv
LEACH, LIECHE (TO); a term of carving as applied to Brawn ("leach that Brawne") and to other dishes helped in slices, or to a slice itself. [The Harl. MS. 279 gives a list of no less than 64 kinds of "Leche metys."—J. H.]	xlii
LEACHES, LECHEs. The Editor of the <i>Two XVth Cent: Cook: Books</i> was, I think, misled when tracing the meaning of the name of a dish called "Let lardes" by the similarity of the word "leche"—	

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a dish made of milk, etc., and the word "leche," which meant a slice; for he says: "'Let' even got changed into 'leche' . . . the larded milk being cut into 'leches.'" It is true that "Let" (Fr: lait) has changed into "leche," but it was, I would submit, by pure translation of the word for milk, from French to Spanish, and <i>not</i> by an alteration in <i>meaning</i> , from "milk" to "slice."	
[In confirmation of this I would note that the title given in <i>Le Viandier</i> of <i>Taillevent</i> for the recipe referred to is "Lait lardé." Though <i>Leche</i> strictly means a <i>slice</i> , and therefore came to mean what could be helped in a slice, the word <i>leche</i> in the title, "Leche cremy ryall," mentioned on p. 10 of Notes, is possibly the same word as the modern Spanish <i>Leche</i> in "Leche crema," the recipe given by Lady Clark.—J. H.] "Leche Crema" may be the sort of dish that Halliwell refers to when he says: "Leach, a kind of jelly, made of cream, isinglass, sugar and almonds"	xiv, 10, 11
LEICESTER AND WINCHESTER	cxlvi
LEICESTER'S PROTEGÉ	cxxvii
LEIE (TO), to lay (A.-S.)	(See Hippocras) Gloss :
LEYSOUR, leisurre	lxvii
LIBRARY OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE	ix, &c.
LIECHE (in "AS YE DOE LIECHE"); <i>i.e.</i> "the way you serve slices or leaches"	28, 29
LIFT, a term used in carving swan: "lift that swan"	xlii
LIMNER, painter	cxxxix
LINOTE, linnet	xxix
LINTON, the town so called from growing flax, where however it is said none will now grow	xxxv
"LITTLE ENGLANDERS" IN TUDOR DAYS	cxxxv
LIZARDS, EATEN IN BURMAH	xxx
LIZZARS IN WHOT BROATH	xxx
LOKE; look, see, be sure, take care	liii, &c.
LOKKYS, locks of hair (<i>Cent: Dict:</i>)	xlvii
LONG COFFINS, Pies without lids	22
LONGE PIPER, a spice	xxxvi, &c.
LONG WORTES, a dish like "Bubble and Squeak"; also the name for a vegetable, generally Cole worte or cabbage; also, as in the present case, lettuce or spinach	48, 49
LOTHELY, ugly	xl
LUCULLUS, HIS SUPPERS; BRINGS CHERRIES FROM PONTUS	xxiv, 38

GLOSSARY-INDEX.

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LUSTE (YF THOU), if you like ; sometimes "yf ye lyst"	6, 48, 55
LYE HEM UP ; mix or thicken them - - -	6
LYNGE (<i>see also</i> Greenfish).	
[Lynge, the Common Ling, <i>Gadus Molva</i> . Linn : much caught in the northern Scottish coasts. —J. H.] - - - - -	13
LYVER and MUSTARD SAUCE FOR WHYTINGE -	13
MAKRELL - - - - -	13
MALE MARROW (<i>see</i> Pety Peruaut) - - -	lii & <i>Gloss</i> :
MALLARDE, the male duck is meant ; the term now-a-days is understood to mean a wild fowl—and the male of the tame bird is called drake - -	3, 11, &c.
MALMESEY, a wine. (From <i>N. E. D.</i>) The name Malmsey was a corruption of a Greek place name, Monem Vasia, in the Morea, where it was originally produced ; a strong, sweet wine. It is now obtained from Spain, Madeira, the Canaries, etc., as well as Greece. In 1508 "½ gallonne of Maluasy" was "price iiii s and viii d." <i>Cook's Voyages</i> : "Canary Sack . . . which the French call Vin de Malvesie and we . . . name Malmesey. 1513 "attainted was hee" (the Duke of Clarence, <i>Hist : of Richd : III.</i>) "by parliament and judged to the death and thereupone hastily drowned in a Butt of Malmesey" - - - - -	1
MANSNET, MANCHET, a small loaf of best white bread -	44, 45
MARGENT, margin - - - - -	xix
MARGERUM (herb), sweet marjoram - - -	46, &c.
MARIGOLDS (TARTE OF) - - - - -	39
MARINE (TO), to pickle in a marinade, <i>i.e.</i> a pickle of wine, vinegar, herbs or spices in which fish is steeped. "Prepare a marinade (for fish) by boiling together an onion in rings and some cayenne and salt" (<i>Cassel's Dict : of Cook :</i>) - - - - -	xxix
MARK TO SHOOT AT, <i>i.e.</i> object to aim at - - -	cxxxvi
MARRY! an exclamation ; probably a relic of an appeal to the Virgin, but here used to mean "truly" -	xcvii, &c.
MARWBONYS, marrowbones - - - - -	6
MARYBONES FOR PESCODDES - - - - -	33
MARY, MARIE ; marrow - - - - -	li, &c.
MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS - - - - -	xx, xcvi, civ-v, cxxvi, cxxxii
MARY TUDOR (QUEEN) - - - - -	lxxiv, lxxvi-vii
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MASTERS, ROBERT	lv
MEDLERS (TARTE OF)	37
MELANCHOLYKE, EFFECT OF RIVER BIRDS	xxix
MELLE, mix	6
MERY CHERE (<i>see</i> Chere, <i>Gloss</i> :—ante)	xlvi
MESSE, mess (A) a portion of food, as in "a covered messe" p. xliii; (B) the people who sat together at dinner; now, I suppose, only used in the case of Naval and Military Officers at mess, or the Bar Mess. For instance the "lower mess" meant those who sat "below the salt." "Nor should there stand any great cumbersome, uncut up pies at the nether end" of the table, "filled with moss and stones, partly to make a show with, and partly to keep the lower mess from eating"!—(Beaumont and Fletcher). (C) Also, as a verb, it means to portion out a meal. (<i>See</i> Verde Sauce, <i>Gloss</i> :)	xliii-iv, cxxxiv
METELY; suitably, appropriately—from meet, suitable. "It is not meet to take the children's bread, etc.," St. Mark vii., 27	52, 53
MEWS; a place for hawks moulting was called a "mewe"	xvii-xviii
MIGHELMAS, Michaelmas, 29th September	6
MINSTRELS	xlv-vi
MONE (MID SOMER), mone here means a month.	
"And so befelle upon a day And that was in the mone of May" (Gower).	
The word had various other meanings. The Midsummer moon was supposed to drive people mad, and to say "It is midsummer moon with you," meant "you are mad!"	3
MONESHYNE (EGGES IN)	43
MORIONS, conical iron skull caps with a rim	cvii
MORYSON (FYNES) and forks	xli
MURREY COLOUR, the colour of mulberry	24
MUSIC AT FEASTS	xlv
MUSKADINE, muscadine, or muscatel; a rich spiced wine, strong and sweet, mentioned by old writers as made from muscat or similar grapes in many places, such as Trani in Apulia, Frontignac, St. Laurent, the Hungarian vineyards, and the Convent of Hirschau, of which Longfellow sings:	
"The beautiful town that gives us the wine With the fragrant odour of muscadine."	
<i>The Compleat Gardener</i> (1719) says there were three kinds of muscat grapes—white, red, and black	46
MUSTARDE (BRAWNE AND), a usual first dish at dinner	9

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OUSEL, blackbird - - - - -	2, 3
OVERBLAUNCED, blanched (almonds) - - -	53
OVERBOYLED, boiled till it overflows the pot - -	22, 23
OVERTHWARTLY, in opposition, or contrary to -	cxlvi

PAEST ROYALL, FOR PYES. Halliwell gives the following recipe for the ancient manner of making Paste Royal from the *True Gentlewoman's Delight*, 1676, which seems more like Italian paste rolled thin and cut out in patterns, but it has no flour, and is sweet and scented! It is said to be for use in "sauces," which may mean it was used for garnishing only—as to "sauce" means, in Devonshire, to garnish or adorn; or it may have been for use in sweet sauces for puddings, or to decorate jellies and shapes? "How to make Paste-royal in sauces: Take sugar, the quantity of four ounces, very finely beaten and searced (sieved) and put it into an ounce of cinnamon and ginger and a grain of musk, and so beat it into paste with a little gum dragon steep'd in rose water; and when you have beaten it into paste in a stone mortar then roul (roll) it thin and print it with your moulders; then dry it before the fire and, when it is dry, box it up and keep it all the year"

PAEST (SHORT) FOR TARTES OR BAKEN APPLES, and for pygeons - - - - -	19
PAEST for Vautes - - - - -	31, 37
PAINFUL SERVICE (arduous) - - - - -	33
PANCAKE (<i>see</i> Frasye) - - - - -	cxxxv
PANNE PUFFE (or PAYN PUFF). Austin, in Glossary to <i>Two XVth Cent: Cook: Books</i> , says that Pety Pernautes and Pety Pernollys, for both of which that book gives recipes, are the same dish, and identifies them with Payn Puff in the <i>Forme of Cury</i> , which he says is glossed "Pety panel and march payne," which Austin considers is from Italian "panello, any little loaf, bun, roul or manchet" (Florio)—the puffs being like little loaves.	50

[Payn Puffe and Panne Puffe are evidently one and the same thing. Austin mixes up several things. The word *Payn* in this dish does not appear to have anything to do with *Pain*=bread, which appears in *Payn perdu*. The name *Payn*

