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Temporary Preface

TO THE SIX-TEXT EDITION

OF

Chaucer's Canterbury Tales

PART I,

ATTEMPTING TO SHOW THE TRUE ORDER OF THE TALES,
AND THE DAYS AND STAGES OF THE PILGRIMAGE,
ETC. ETC.

BY

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CORRECTIONS FOR TEMPORARY PREFACE,

Second Series, No. 3.

p. 16, *the state of the road.* See p. 33, note, above No. 5.
And compare this entry in Overall's Index to vols. ii, viii, of the City of London, *Remembrancia* :

"No. 112. Letter from the Lords of the Council to the Lord Mayor, requesting contributions towards the expense of repairing the highway at Broughton Bleane, between Canterbury and Faversham, on the main road between Canterbury and London, which is almost impassable. 31st March, 1632."

On the distance a woman would ride in a day in Shakspeare's time, see his *Cymbeline*, III. ii. :

"*Imogen.* How many score of miles may we well ride
'Twixt hour and hour?"

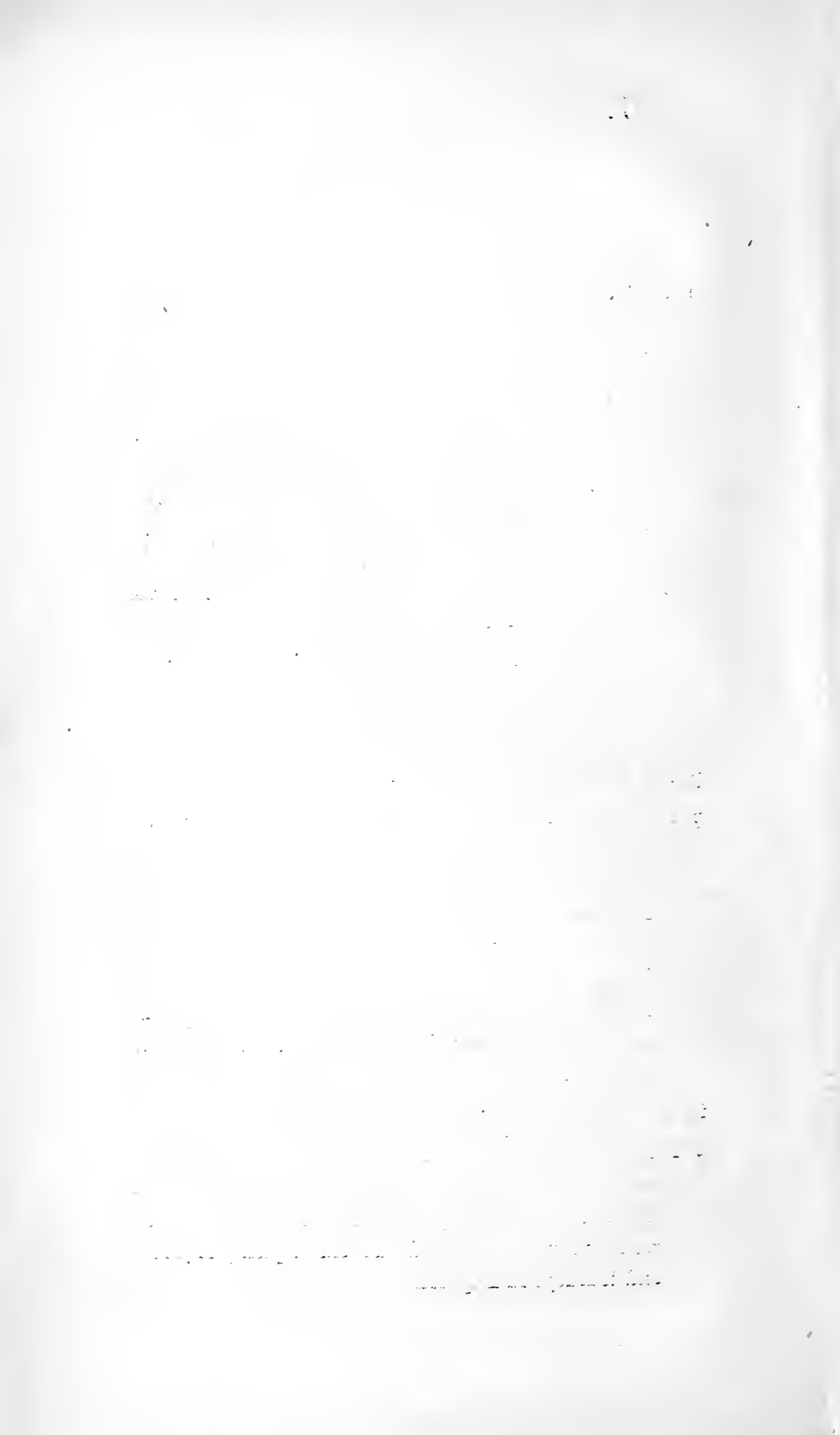
Pisanio. One score, 'twixt sun and sun,
Madam, 's enough for you, and too much too."

p. 100, l. 23, *for ut est read uel est*

p. 101, note 1 ; as *Pride and Lowlines* is not Thynne's, the note should read thus :—"This book, as Mr Payne Collier shows, is a plagiarism from another, *Pride and Lowlines* (old Shakespeare Soc., 1841), written before 1570. But Greene's prose is more readable than *Pride's* verse ; and in the *Quip* he has introduced the Sumner and many other characters that *Pride* does not notice. *Pride's* Jury consists of 15, Knight, Squire," &c. &c.

ib. l. 3 from foot, *for Thynne's read Pride's*

p. 105, *instead of* ll. 8, 9 from foot (Can . . . England)
read :—"And of course any chronicle, any book like Barnes's on the history of Edward III's reign, indeed we may say up to Edward VI's, shows plenty of jousts and tourneys in England."



TEMPORARY PREFACE.

Second Series, No. 3, 1868.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

p. 10, l. 13. *Read* Chaucer also says, l. 1201: 'But of that storie list me nought to *write*,' and makes the Shipman, &c.

p. 15. In *Froissart*, ii. 714, ed. Johnes, two knights dine at Eltham; then Dartford, Ospringe, Canterbury, Dover.

p. 15. The London Canterbury and Dover Road would probably have a paved way in the middle of it. On our roads in Queen Elizabeth's days, read the following: "Now to speake generallie of our common high waies through the English part of the Ile . . . you shall vnderstand that *in the claie or cledgie soile they are often verie deepe and troublesome in the winter halfe* . . . Of the dailie incroching of the couetous vpon the hie waies I speake not. But this I know by experience, that wheras some streets within these fiue and twentie yeares haue bene in most places fiftie feet broad according to the law, —whereby the traoueller might either escape the theefe, or *shift the mier*, or passe by the loaden cart without danger of himselfe and his horsse,—now are they brought vnto twelue, or twentie, or six and twentie at the most, which is another cause also whereby the waies be the worse, and manie an honest man encombred in his iourneie."—1577-87, *Harrison's Deser. of England*, Bk. i. ch. 19, *Holinshed*, vol. i. p. 113-14, ed. 1587.

"In 1640, the road from Dover to London was the best in England, owing, of course, to the amount of continental traffic continually kept up; and yet the journey of Queen Henrietta and (her) household occupied *four long weary days* over that short distance," &c. &c.—Chambers, *Book of Days*, ii. 227.

"Yet doth not this so fruitefull soyle [of Middlesex] yeeld comfort to the wayfaring man in the wintertime, by reason of the claiesh nature of soyle, which, after it hath tasted the Autume showers, waxeth both dyrtie and deepe: But vnto the cuntrye swaine it is as a sweete and pleasant garden, in regard of his hope of future profite, for

The deepe and dirtie loathsome soyle,
Yeelds golden gaine to painefull toyle.

The industrious and painefull husbandman will refuse a pallace, to droyle in these golden puddles. 1596. Jn. Norden. *Discr. of Middlesex*, p. 11-12, ed. 1723. See too p. 15, of 'the old and auncient high waie to High *Bernet*.' "This auncient high way was refused of wayfaring men, and carriers, by reason of the deepenes and dirtie passage in the winter season."

p. 23, l. 11 from foot: *for* his, *read* Tyrwhitt's (vol. iv, p. 284, note on Verse 14685).

p. 38. See in the Romance of Athelston in *Il liq. Antiq.* ii. 92-3, an account of a very fast journey from London to Canterbury recorded as a wonder, between undern (9 a.m.) and evensong; and back to London between evensong and daybreak next morning. The knight professes to have ridden 30 miles before or by prime, when he wants to dine; and then to be willing to ride 25 miles more. But afterwards the distance is made 50 miles.

p. 40. Maydenchurch is Maidenhead. 'Eyaghe (says Prof. Pearson) is East Yoak hamlet in Ash parish in Axton and Dartford hundred: it lay on the road from Maidstone to Croydon.' For 'Neweton', Mr J. M. Cowper suggests 'Newington about midway between Rainham and Sittingbourne: the village is built on the high road; the church (as is common) a little distance from it.'

p. 41*. Justus Zinzeling's *Itineris Anglici brevissima delineatio*, at p. 362 of his *Itinerarium Galliae*, &c., 1616, says "Riding post from Dover to Canter-

bury costs three English shillings; from Canterbury to Sittingbourne the same; from Sittingbourne to Rochester about two shillings and sixpence; from thence to Gravesend, one shilling and sixpence." Rye's *England as seen by Foreigners*, p. 131.

p. 49, l. 8 from foot: *for final read final*.

p. 51, l. 14. *for hold read holds*.

p. 57, No. 9. See Norfolk 'schesse', chess, in the *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, iii. 314; also 'shildren,' children.

p. 59, l. 6—8. It is probably for *lles*; *llis*, North. See Mr Skeat's *Lancelot*, 3154.

p. 66, l. 6 from foot. This 'White. quit, free,' is not the *wite*, tueri, defend, in 'wite Pater Noster,' Miller's Tale, l. 299.

p. 90, l. 25. "But this . . . to l. 40, 'Merchauntes Tale,' ll. 978—980." This explanation is wrong. Mr Skeat withdraws it: see his Preface to Chaucer's *Astrolabe*.

p. 92. See my Paper on the Prioress, her Nun-Chaplain and 3 Priests in the Society's *Essays on Chaucer*, Part III. 1876.

p. 95, l. 18. The Promptorium 'Schoo, clowt' should certainly be 'Schoo-clowt.' Skelton has:

"Some wyth a *sho clowt*
Bynde theyr heddes about."

Elynour Rummyng, l. 143. *Skelton's Works*, i. 100, ed. Dyce. On 'oo schoo,' one shoe, Mr Aldis Wright compares *Cant. Tales*, l. 6290:

"The clerk whan he is old, and may not do
Of Venus werkis, is not *worth a scho*."

p. 97, l. 10. Galyngale. See Dr H. Fletcher Hance's and Mr Daniel Hanbury's Papers on this spice in the Linnean Society's Journal, 1871. It is now obtained from China, where it is called *Liang-kiang*, ginger from *Kau-liang*, the old name of the prefecture of *Kau-chau-fu*, in the south-western part of the Canton province, whence Galangals and Cardamoms are still imported. F. Porter Smith in *Athenæum*, Sept. 1871.

p. 100, under *Chilindrus*; *put ut for vel*.

p. 101, note. *Pride and Lovlines* is not Francis Thynne's. See my Hindwords in the Chaucer Society's edition of F. Thynne's *Animadversions*.

p. 105, l. 7, 8 from foot. Notices of plenty of tournaments, &c., in Edw. III's and Rich. II's reigns are to be found in the ordinary Chronicles, Barnes's Hist. of Edw. III, &c. Chaucer when Clerk of the Works put up scaffolds in Smithfield for Rich. II and his queen and suite to see the jousts and sports.

Tale of Sir Thopas.

MS. Reg 17 D. 15, leaf 240, has the missing line †:
ffor in that contre · nas there none

† That to hym · durst ride or gon
Neither wif · ne chield ||

Shirley's MS. Harl. 7333, leaf 98, back, col. 2, spoils the lines:

Til he so longe hathe redyn & gone
þat he fonde in A preuy wone
In the contree of feyre
ffor in that Contre was þer none
Neythir wyf ne chyde one
So wylde

Tyl that ther Come a grete geaunt, &c.

There is a MS. of the *Canterbury Tales* in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, written by Godfrey Spurling of Norwich and his son, A.D. 1476. The Paris MS. is by "Duxwurth, scriptor," and seems about 1440-50. My friend Prof. G. Guizot kindly brought me photographs of three leaves of it.

TEMPORARY PREFACE

TO THE SIX-TEXT EDITION,

PART I.

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§ 1. My first purpose was to send out these parts of Texts without any words of introduction, but as some friends I care for said that it would not be fair to plump down before them, unknowing in manuscripts and Chaucer cram, the bare texts, I am obliged to say what little I can, though at the risk of having to unsay part of it when fuller knowledge comes to me, or those who now have it, speak out, and prove me wrong. But before entering into other details, let me state that the publication of these texts, and the foundation of the Society, are due mainly to the accom-

plished American scholar, Professor F. J. Child of Harvard, who called forth the publication of the Percy Folio Manuscript. The first time he wrote to me asking that more Chaucer MSS should be printed, must have been soon after the time when, nearly twelve years ago, I took my first Chaucer class at the Working Men's College, and went for it to see the British Museum MSS of the *Canterbury Tales*, and specially to collate part of the Harleian MS 7334 with Mr Thomas Wright's print of it. I then conceived the hope that I might some day edit Chaucer; but other work intervened; and when,—on my telling Mr George Bell in 1864 that his neck ought to be wrung if he merely reprinted Tyrwhitt's text in his new Aldine edition,—he kindly asked me if I would edit Chaucer's works for him, I was obliged, for want of both knowledge and time, to hand over the task to my friend Mr Richard Morris, who, I do not hesitate to say, has produced the best text of Chaucer yet printed. But as Mr Morris was obliged to print his text of the Poems, without giving the collations of such MSS as he had made, Professor Child still pressed me for a print of two or three of the best MSS of the *Canterbury Tales*. He had produced in the United States in 1862, his masterly and exhaustive essay on the use of the final *e* in the Harleian MS 7334, as printed in Mr T. Wright's edition of the *Canterbury Tales* for the Percy Society; and I felt that some return was due to him from England for it. Moreover, any one who reads the *Canterbury Tales*, and gets to know the man Chaucer, must delight in and love him, and must feel sorry that so little has been done for the works of the genial bright soul, whose humour and wit, whose grace and tenderness, whose power and beauty, are the chief glory of our Early Literature. Shakspeare critics there had been without end, a Shakspeare Society too—no end of minor Shakspeare Societies:—but who ever heard of a Chaucer Society till our own began? What Chaucer critic had there been, till lately, except Tyrwhitt? Was

the work of the Thynnes, Warton, Urry, &c., or of our moderns, enough for CHAUCER? Surely not. ✓

The Early English Text Society had, by Mr Skeat's generous help, undertaken to do justice to Chaucer's great contemporary—above him in moral height, below him in poetic power—William, the author of *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, by an edition of the three versions of his chief work, executed with Mr Skeat's well-proved ability, fullness, and care. The hands of that Society were too full to undertake an edition of Chaucer, or the texts of him that Professor Child wanted; and there was therefore nothing for it, but to have a Chaucer Society, for which I could print Manuscripts, and get friends to write essays, and print originals, that would be useful for an edition of the Poet's works by some man, or men, more fit for the task than myself. I am bound to confess that my love for Chaucer—and he comes closer to me than any other poet, except Tennyson—would not by itself have made me give up the time and trouble I can so ill afford to bestow on this task; but when an American, who had done the best bit of work on Chaucer's words, asked, and kept on asking, for texts of our great English poet, could an Englishman keep on refusing to produce them? When that American had laid aside his own work to help, heart and soul, in the great struggle for freeing his land from England's legacy to it, the curse of slavery, could one who honoured him for it, who felt strongly how mean had been the feeling of England's upper and middle classes on the War, as contrasted with the nobleness of our suffering working-men,—could one such, I say, fail to desire to sacrifice something that he might help to weave again one bond between (at least) the Chaucer-lovers of the Old Country and the New? No. That educated England may never so again fail in sympathy with all that is noblest in the education of America, I sincerely trust. But the Oxford rejection of Gladstone followed the Oxford rejection of Peel, while Cambridge has never been

able to tolerate a Peel or a Gladstone in any state; and therefore one must not expect too much.¹ Meantime, here is Part I of six texts of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*.

¹ If any subscriber, ex-Southern or -Northern, requires an apology for the statement above, I desire that he may find it in the saying of a clerical friend of mine, a dignified Member of Convocation, who in answer to my argument that the Romance-element—shown in the doctrines of Apostolical Succession, Baptismal Regeneration, &c.—was the ruinous one to the Church, answered, "My dear fellow, the Romance-element is the only one that makes men of us, and is worth fighting for. You're as mad as a hatter about your Early English Texts, and you wouldn't be worth a penny if you weren't."

[P.S. "One must not expect too much" (l. 2 from top).

Compare the following extract from the letter of the New-York special correspondent in America of the *Daily News*, dated Dec. 17, and contained in the *Daily News* of Dec. 30, 1868, the day after I wrote the passage above.

"Talking of the tendency of the American press to the fostering of hatred to England, in which so many Englishmen devoutly believe, I was a good deal amused last evening by lighting on the following in the *Saturday Review* of Nov. 21:

"But a genuine American believes, or at least his English admirers believe for him, that such an admirable product of civilization as himself cannot be too many times repeated. He establishes his spittoons and other institutions a thousand miles further to the west, and proclaims that the great designs of Heaven for the regeneration of the world are advancing rapidly to their fulfilment. The civilization which he propagates is better perhaps than barbarism, and that is the utmost that can be said in favour of it. The language which he speaks is an ugly corruption of English, and we can hardly conceive a greater misfortune to the world than that this language should be generally adopted."

"If I did not remember the comments of this same journal, and of the *Times*, on American men, manners, and things during the war, I should say that this was as gross a piece of insult to a nation as I had ever seen in print. But this I will say, that anything approaching to it in ignorant brutality I have never seen in any American newspaper laying the smallest claim to respectability, or anything in any American newspaper so well calculated to excite hatred between the two countries. When people in England hold up their hands over the part played by press writers in fostering enmity between the 'two kindred peoples,' they must therefore fix their eyes, not on New York, but on London."

May knowledge of this fact spread in America, that, mixed with many sensible men and (P.S.) one Caliban (*Athenæum*, Feb. 13, 1869, p. 243, col. 1) who write for *The Saturday*, are some pert puppies who much need their mummies to box their little ears and send them to bed. Till the time comes for that maternal popping, Americans *should* be "amused" by our small curs' yelps. It's generally the big dogs that they yowl at. Let our friends over the water also note what the old snarls and howls of *The Saturday*

§ 2. *Manuscripts chosen for printing.*

In the autumn of 1861, while on a walking-tour through Sussex, I had seen Lord Leconfield's MS of the Canterbury Tales, and both then and on a subsequent journey to Petworth, I thought the MS was old and good enough to deserve collation for the next edition of Chaucer. In 1864, I think, by Dr G. H. Kingsley's kindness, I had an opportunity of collating part of the Ellesmere MS, which proved to be a good text, without the provincialisms of the Harleian 7334, but with (as it then seemed to me) a superfluity of final *e*'s to its *shall*'s, *ing*'s, &c. At a later date Mr Wm. W. E. Wynne of Peniarth, the legatee of the Hengwrt collection, was kind enough to bring his MS of the Tales to town for me; and a collation of part of it with a page or two of the Man of Law's Tale from Tyrwhitt's favourite MS (the Cambridge Univ. Dd. 4. 24) that Mr W. Aldis Wright had printed privately as a basis for his edition, showed that the Hengwrt MS had more of Mr Richard Morris's theoretical final *e*'s than the Dd. MS, and was probably more worth printing. Here then were three Manuscripts which, as being in private hands, and not therefore so generally accessible as others in public libraries, it was desirable to print; and the owners of these MSS at once generously consented to let them be put in type. A fourth private MS I wished also to see—from the character of it left at the British Museum by the late Mr Garnett—and if it proved good, to print, that from the Stowe collection (I believe), the Collection which Lord Ashburnham bought, and has almost “buried in one of those sepulchres of MSS which, by courtesy, are called Libraries” (*Tyrwhitt's Cant. Tales*, iv. 166-7, *Int. Disc.* § xxvi). But unfortunately my applications to Lord Ashburnham have proved of as little against Mr Bright have lately turned to. Their turn for a change will come some day.]

El

1104

Tyrwhitt
Dd

Hj

avail as that former one for leave to print his Welsh MSS, for his answer to which Mr Matthew Arnold has *noted* him for our, and all future, time; "that by printing, the value of the MSS might be lessened on a future sale."¹ An odd nineteenth-century rendering of the old *noblesse oblige!* I had written and printed a strong comment on it, but have cut it out of the proof because I have heard that an accident to his head in early life should make us feel for, and not be angry with, Lord Ashburnham, as it exempts him from the rule that binds the noblemen and gentlemen of England, who, following the lead of a Roxburghe, a Devonshire, a Spencer, an Ellesmere, &c., gladly acknowledge that with rare literary treasures they may *not* "do what they will with their own," that they are trustees of them for the benefit of the nation; and whenever any genuine call is made on them for temporary access to those treasures, in order to print them, these owners willingly put themselves to inconvenience to enable the purpose to be carried out, and the contents of their MSS thus secured, *for* the use of scholars, and *from* the chance of destruction by fire or other accident.

For the other three MSS for our Society, I had then to turn to public Libraries; and with the desire of choosing, if possible, one from each of our great stores of MSS, London, Cambridge, and Oxford, I selected temporarily the Lansdowne 851, from the British Museum, and went up to see again the MSS at Cambridge and Oxford. At Cambridge the choice lay between two, the early paper MS Dd. 4. 24 already mentioned, which wanted many leaves, and the vellum one, Gg. 4. 27, wanting only a few leaves, but disfigured by many provincialisms and carelessnesses of the copier. So much repelled was I by the continual *hese* for *his*, *schat* for *shalt*, &c., of this latter MS that all my faith in Mr Bradshaw's assurance of its occasional good readings was necessary to make me adopt this

¹ *Cornhill Magazine*, Essay on Celtic Literature.

MS. Again and again I hesitated,—that *hese* was so offensive,—but the large omissions in Dd. 4. 24, and the fact that Gg. 4. 27 contains Chaucer's *A B C, Lenvoy to Scogan, Flee from the press, In May when every hert is lyzt, De Amico ad Amicum*, with *Answer* (in one quire, and then) *Troilus, Legend of Good Women, (Cant. Tales), Parliament of Fowls*¹ (all which we shall have to print from it in course of time), made me reluctantly settle on this latter MS. At Oxford I had no hesitation in ratifying Mr Morris's selection of the Corpus MS as the oldest in writing, and seemingly the best in text. But I wished to find another to substitute for the Lansdowne MS from the British Museum, and as the Barlow 20 had been strongly recommended to me—and it is, probably, next to the Corpus in age—I collated parts of it. Without doubt it had some fair readings here and there; but there were so many bad ones, and some were so scandalous—as in l. 2836 (*Wright*), in the mourning after Arcite's death, scratching of *chickens*, for *cheeks*,—that after three tries at it I was obliged to give it up. Arch. Seld. B. 14 was the next I tried, and I reckon it the best of the disappointing Bodleian lot, through all of which, as well as the New College and Trinity MSS, I went. Moreover, Arch. Seld. B. 14 has the merit of being the *one* MS of the Tales which groups the Man of Law's Tale with the Shipman's and its followers; though it drags the Man of Law down to the Shipman, instead of putting the Shipman and its followers up to the Man of Law, as Mr Bradshaw rightly does. But as the readings of Arch. Seld. B. 14 were poor in many places, I did not feel justified in throwing over the Lansdowne MS for it. The result then was, that the Corpus MS was to represent Oxford.

Of the British Museum MSS, the Harl. 7334 is no doubt the oldest and best. It was first picked out and edited by Mr Thomas Wright, for the Percy Society, and

Lydgate's *Temple of Glass* is at the end.

cp

Se

✓
Bradshaw

then stereotyped as a half-crown double-column reprint. Mr Jephson re-edited and cooked it for Mr Robert Bell's stereotyped post-8vo edition (J. W. Parker, now Griffin), adding final *e*'s at discretion, to make the text symmetrical. Lastly, Mr Richard Morris edited this Harl. 7334 for the new Aldine edition of Chaucer's Works, marking all his additions and interpolations by italics. After his careful print of the MS, another by me was needless, and I therefore turned to "the Lansdowne MS No. 851, which," says Mr Wright (*Introduction*, p. xi, 2-col. edition), "appears to be, of those in the British Museum, next in antiquity and value to the MS Harl." The other MS claiming most attention was the Sloane 1685, which Sir F. Madden had on two different occasions during his Keepership, decided (for me) to contain the oldest writing and vellum of any of the Museum MSS of the Canterbury Tales. I should have felt bound by his opinion, as part of the MS is probably older than the Lansdowne, but for these reasons:

1. his successor, and another officer of the Department of MSS, did not share his view as to the age of this Sloane MS.
2. The MS was in two hands, one (from leaf 63) later than the other.
3. The tales of Thopas, Melibe, the Manciple, and Parson, were not in it; and for the Society complete MSS were wanted.
4. The part of the text in the old handwriting which I collated, did not turn out well. The Harleian 1758 offered another alternative; but its text was not first-rate, its Chanons-Yemans Tale was imperfect; and as Mr T. Wright and Mr R. Morris (*Pref.* I. v.) had declared in favour of the Lansdowne, I took it on trust, after a hasty look at it; though, had I known as much of it as I do now, I should have tried harder for a substitute for it.¹ Still, it has good

¹ If we do not get enough subscribers to enable us to print 6 more MSS of the Tales together, as promised in our Prospectus, we may yet be able to print 2 or 3 MSS separately, or perhaps one,—say Arch. Seld. B. 14, or any other good MS that turns up—with collations of two others. But as we may not be able to do this, I shall fill up the gaps in the Corpus MS with extracts from Arch.

readings (see Mr Morris's Preface, I. v, vi), and is a MS that ought to be in type. Besides, its provincialisms and mistakes do not offend me, at least, more than those of the Cambridge one do. Further details as to each of the six MSS chosen, must be put off till the arrangement of the Tales is discussed.

§ 3. *Arrangement of the Tales and their component Parts.*

There is only one man in the world, I believe, who thoroughly understands this subject, and he is the Librarian of the University of Cambridge, Mr Henry Bradshaw, M.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. He has lately agreed to throw his work into the Society's publications, but is not able to fix any time for its appearance. What I say, therefore, is merely by way of a stopgap,—to explain "Group A, Fragment 1," in the *Six-Text*—and may have to be cast aside in favour of Mr Bradshaw's statements and conclusions when they appear.

[It is impossible for any one to examine any number of MSS of the Canterbury Tales, without having the differences in their arrangements of the Tales forced on his notice.] Let any one cast his eye over my Trial-Tables in *Six-Text* Part I (now superseded by my later scheme incorporating some of Mr Bradshaw's subsequent alterations and suggestions), and he will see how widely the MSS vary.

[No examiner of the MSS can fail also to see, 2ndly, that certain Prologues of Tales are made moveable by the copiers, heading sometimes one tale, sometimes another—see the *Specimens* in Part I;—and 3rdly, [that some Tales are, as Tyrwhitt says of the Monkes and Nonnes Preestes, "inseparably linked"¹ together (by "Biholde the Murie Wordes

Seld. B. 14, and the gaps in the Cambridge MS with extracts from Sloane 1685. Neither of these supplementary MSS can claim to go in the first class, even if they are admitted into the second. I should put them in the third.

¹ iv. 171, ed. 1785, *Introductory Discourse*, § xxvii.

of the Hoost¹," " Bihold the Myrie talkyng of the Hoost²," &c.), while others are independent of those preceding or following them, or of both.] [4thly,] A careful reader like Mr Alexander J. Ellis,³ notes at once on reading the Tales—what Tyrwhitt noticed before him (iv. 181, *Introd. Disc.* § xxvii, note 30, and notes on l. 12942 and 15530)—that two at least cannot have been finally revised by Chaucer, as he has made the Second Nun say of herself, while speaking her Tale to her hearers, that she is an "unworthy *sonne* of Eve" (l. 11990, p. 121, *Wright*), and

Yet pray I you that *reden* that I *write*,
Forgeve me, &c. (l. 12006, -7, p. 121, *Wright*).

Chaucer also makes the Shipman, when speaking of women, say *we*, *our*, *us*, as if he were a woman himself;] and [5thly, every reader notices that Chaucer has left his great work incomplete, for, having said that the 29 persons

¹ "to the Shipman and to the lady Prioressse." *Ellesmere MS.*

² "to Chaucer." *Hengwrt MS.*

³ It is certain that the poem is altogether fragmentary, and, as the manuscripts and editors do not all agree in the order of the pieces, it is probable that no order as yet adopted is that into which Chaucer would have cast the poems had he lived to give them the extension originally designed. For example, in the *Secounde Nonnes Tale*, supposed to be *told* by a *woman*, not *written* by a *man*, we have—

And though that I, unworthy <i>sonne</i> of Eve,	
Be synful, yet accepte my bileve.	11990
Yet pray I you that <i>reden</i> that I <i>write</i> .	12006

Again, in the *Shipman's Tale*, supposed to be *told* by a *man*, in speaking of wives we find—

The sely housbond algat moste pay,	
He most <i>us</i> clothe in ful good array,	
Al for his oughne worschip richely ;	
In which array <i>we</i> daunce jolily ;	
And if that he may not, paraventure,	
Or elles wil not such dispens endure,	
But thynketh it is wasted and i-lost,	
Than moot another paye for <i>oure</i> cost,	
Or lene <i>us</i> gold, that is perilous.	14422

These expressions are in both cases irreconcilable with the supposed speaker,* so that there must have been some jolting or oversight in the editing.—*A. J. Ellis's Early English Pronunciation*, p. 244.

* I incline to believe that the Shipman's Tale was written for the second Tale of the Wife of Bath.—F.

of his company—whom he, or the MSS we have of him, afterwards turns into 34¹—were to tell two tales on the journey to Canterbury, and two on their way back (seemingly turned into one each way, afterwards), he has yet left us only 24 Tales (for *Gamelyn* is no more his than it's mine)—22 complete, and 2 incomplete (The Cook's and Squire's).—Tyrwhitt's conclusion, then, is irresistible that the *Tales* as a whole were "left imperfect" (iv. 120, *Introd. Disc.* § iii), and that their "defects and inconsistencies . . . can only be accounted for on the supposition that the work was never finished by the Author" (iv. 121, *Int. Disc.* § iv).

The book being thus confessedly fragmentary, the question is, Can the separate fragments of it be identified, and their groupings together traced? Tyrwhitt undertook to answer the question in the affirmative, and made out the answer to his own satisfaction. He of course relied on the chats of the Host with the other characters of the Tales, or these others' chats with one another, which intervene between the Tales, and in which Chaucer has mainly told the incidents of the journey, carried on the *action* of the story (Tyrw. iv. 117, *Int. Disc.* § ii, n. 2). Tyrwhitt's arrangement of the Tales was, in fact, that of his best MSS, that of the MS which Mr Richard Morris now holds to be the best grammatically, the Ellesmere, which is as follows:

a A 1 Prologue	↳ 10 Clerk	18 Thopas
2 Knight	11 Merchant	19 Melibe
3 Miller	_____	20 Monk
4 Reeve	↳ 12 Squire	21 Nun's Priest
5 Cook	13 Franklin	_____
_____	_____	↳ 22 Second Nun
B, B' 6 Man of Law	c 14 Doctor	23 Canon's Yeoman
_____	15 Pardoner	_____
D 7 Wife of Bath	_____	↳ 24 Manciple
8 Friar	↳ 16 Shipman	_____
9 Sompnour	↳ 17 Prioress	↳ 25 Parson
_____	_____	_____

¹ Chaucer says, "wel nyne and twenty," that is, at least 29, "was come into that hostelrye." He enumerates 30, to which have to be added Chaucer, the Host, and afterwards the Chanoun and his Yeman: total, 34 pilgrims.—A. J. Ellis.

Tyrwhitt

Part II

Links

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But before we can proceed with our discussion of the Fragments, and the Groups of the Tales, and their order of succession, we must consider that of the stages and days of the journey. This question is treated by Dean Stanley in his very pleasant *Historical Memorials of Canterbury*, p. 209—218, a book that every one of our members ought to buy or borrow, and read, especially as it contains an account, p. 218—238, from the Merchant's Second Tale, or the History of Beryn, in Urry's Chaucer, and other sources¹, of what the Pilgrims saw and did in Canterbury. Dean Stanley says :

"Not only are the stages of the route indistinctly marked, but the distances are so roughly calculated as to introduce into the geography, though on a small scale, incongruities almost as great as those which disfigure the 'Winter's Tale' and 'The Two Gentlemen of Verona.' The journey, although at that time usually occupying three or four days, is compressed into the hours between sunrise and sunset on an April day; an additional pilgrim is made to overtake them within seven miles of Canterbury, 'by galloping hard for three miles;' and the tales of the last two miles occupy a space equal to an eighth part of the whole journey of fifty miles."

Our members will find, as we go on, that there is no real reason for supposing that Chaucer made such a mess of his geography, or that he compressed his journey into one day. Meantime we will take as correct the Dean's statement, that the journey (of 56 miles, or thereabouts) usually occupied three or four days, as his authorities for it are the facts that Isabella, queen of Edward II, was four days on the road (*Hist. Mem.* p. 237, note 1, referring to *Archæologia*, xxxvi. (meaning xxxv.) 461), and that

"On the last day of June, 1360, John [King of France] took his departure from the Tower of London, and proceeded to

¹ See Lydgate's Siege of Thebes, written as a supplementary Canterbury Tale (says Mr Bradshaw), and Nichols's translation of Erasmus's Pilgrimage. The History of Beryn, and Lydgate's Siege of Thebes, will be edited for our Society. The latter is printed in Speght's and subsequent black-letter Chaucers.

Eltham Palace, where a grand farewell entertainment had been prepared by Queen Philippa ; on the next day, July 1st, after dinner, the King took his leave, and passed the night at Dartford. It may suffice to observe that five days were occupied in his journey to Canterbury, where he arrived on July 4th, remaining one night, and proceeded on the following day, being Sunday, to Dover. The journal records the frequent offerings and alms dispensed liberally by the King at various places along his route from Eltham to the friars at Dartford, the master and brothers of the *Ostel Dieu* at Ospring, where he lodged for the night" . . . (p. 274, col. 1.)

We turn to the Dean's authorities for further details, and find Mr Bond in the *Archæologia*¹ writing thus :

(p. 461.) "On the 4th of June [1358] Isabella set out on

¹ Dean Stanley's authority in *Archæologia*, xxxv. 461, is a Paper "by Edw. A. Bond, Esq. [then] Egerton Librarian in the Department of MSS, British Museum" (now Keeper of the MSS there), read March, 1854, and entitled "Notices of the Last Days of Isabella, Queen of Edward the Second, drawn from an account of the Expenses of her Household." In it Mr Bond says, p. 45 . . . : "The document to which I now wish to draw attention is the Cottonian Manuscript, Galba E. xiv, injured by the fire of 1731, and since restored. It contains an account of the expenses of the household of Queen Isabella, from the beginning of October, in the year 1357, to the 4th of December, in 1358, a few days after her burial, and more than three months after her death, which it fixes at the 22nd of August.

"The account is made up in the usual form of royal household books, embracing, in distinct divisions, the general daily expenses ; sums given in alms ; miscellaneous necessary expenses ; disbursements for dress, headed 'Magna Garderoba ;' purchases of plate and jewellery, headed 'Jocalia ;' gifts, payments to messengers ; and, lastly, 'Præstita,' or imposts for various services.

"The first division of the account states simply the sums expended daily in the different departments of the household ; but in the margin are entered the names of visitors who may have been entertained during the day, together with memoranda of the movements of the household from place to place. From these notices, bald as they are, and the study of entries in other divisions of the account, we are able to gain some insight into the degree of personal freedom enjoyed by the Queen ; the connections she maintained or had formed at this period ; the consideration she obtained at the Court of the great King, her son ; and even into her personal disposition and occupations (p. 456).

(p. 456.) "About the middle of October [1357],—the actual date is lost by injury of the document,—the Queen set out from Hertford on a pilgrimage to Canterbury. She rested at Tottenham, London, Eltham, Dartford, and Rochester ; in going or returning, visited Leeds Castle, and was again at Hertford at the beginning of November."

a pilgrimage to Canterbury, and a visit of nearly three weeks' duration to Leeds Castle. She rested at Tottenham on the 4th, at *London on the 5th and 6th*, where she received the Countess of Warren to dinner, and many noblemen after dinner. At *Dartford on the 7th*; at *Rochester on the 8th* (the Countess of Warren again dining with her). At *Ospringe* on the 9th, and at *Canterbury on the 10th, and 11th*; entertaining there the Abbot of St Augustine's both days. Under the division of 'Alms,' are recorded the Queen's oblations at the tomb of St Thomas: the crown of his head (the part having the tonsure, cut off by his assassins), and point of the sword (with which he had been slain); and her payment to minstrels playing 'in volta;' as also her oblations in the church of St Augustine, and her donations to various hospitals and religious houses in the city.

"On the 12th she returned to *Ospringe*, and on the 13th proceeded to Leeds Castle, where she remained till the 2nd of July."¹

Noting then the sleeping-places on the journey,—*Dartford, Rochester, Ospringe*,²—we turn next to M. Douët-d'Arcq; ³ he gives the following sketch at his p. 282, of King John's journey to Dover, extracting it from his MS, a 4to-paper one of 96 leaves, with 14 blank, in the National (now Imperial) Library, 'où il est classé sous le n^o. 98-25 du supplément au fonds français.' (King John's first stage, to (Greenwich for) Eltham was by water.)

"Voici son itinéraire, que nous tirons, comme le premier, de notre document :

Itinéraire du roi Jean, de Londres à Calais.

Mardi 30 juin 1360. Départ de Londres.—Arrivée à Eltan.⁴

¹ The reader will find all the entries in the Cotton MS relating to the Queen's journeys to Canterbury, in the First Appendix to this Preface. Mr Bond and Mr E. M. Thompson have kindly helped me in reading some twisty bits.

² That markets were held in Ospringe in 1300, we know from *Liber Garderobæ Edw. I.* p. 1-2; for his Treasurer receives "de villa de Ospring, pro transgressionem mensurat", 13s. 4d.," among the "*Perquisites of the Market* . . . fines upon conviction for deficiency in quality or quantity of goods sold in the market, and levied on millers, bakers, brewers, persons who refused to take the current money of the realm, transgressed the measure of corn, &c., or made bread deficient in weight."—*ib.* p. xxii.

³ For King John's expenses on his journey, see the Second Appendix to this Preface.

⁴ Eltham.

Mercredi	1 ^{er}	juillet	1360.	Départ d'Eltan. — <i>Coucher à Derthford.</i> ¹
Jeudi	2	—	—	Départ de Derthford après dîner.— <i>Gîte à Rocestre.</i> ²
Vendredi	3	—	—	Départ de Rocestre.— <i>Dîner à Stiborne.</i> ³ <i>Souper et gîte à Hospringe.</i> ⁴
Samedi	4	—	—	Départ d'Hospringe.— <i>Dîner et gîte à Cantorbérie.</i> ⁵
Dimanche	5	—	—	Départ de Cantorbérie. Arrivée à Douvres.
Lundi	6	—	—	Séjour à Douvres.
Mardi	7	—	—	Séjour à Douvres.
Mercredi	8	—	—	Départ de Douvres. Arrivée à Calais."

[After this we may fairly assume that the regular sleeping-places on the road were *Dartford*, *Rochester*, *Ospringe*, and that Chaucer and his fellow Pilgrims were three or four days on their journey.] [We shall now inquire whether these assumptions suit the statements and allusions of the Tales,] whether our voyagers "passed the night at Dartford," Rochester, and Ospringe, like King John of France, and Queen Isabella of England before him; whether the Pilgrims dined at Sittingbourne, also like King John. [For this purpose we return to the Tales, and the chats between them;] but let me first ask any reader who doubts whether 56 miles could take up three days and a half's ride, to recollect what this 14th-century Canterbury road—all stiff sticky London-Clay,⁶ mind, except one little bit of chalk, and two bits of drift—is likely to have been,

Whan that Aprille, with his schowres swoote,
The drought of Marche ha[d] perced to the roote,

¹ Darthford, à quinze milles de Londres.

² Rochester, à vingt-neuf milles de Londres.

³ Sittingborn, ou Sittingbourne, à trente-neuf milles trois quarts de Londres.

⁴ Ospring.

⁵ Canterbury, à cinquante-quatre milles et demi de Londres, et à seize de Douvres.

⁶ I sha'n't soon forget a spring walk in the wood by the side of Shooter's Hill, on one of our Sunday geological excursions from the Working Men's College. The wet clay was more like ice covered with soft butter, than anything else; and the way we slipt about—especially those at the tail of the party—was a joke to see.

and how Chaucer twice calls our attention to the kind of swampy field the road actually was, by making the Host say (1) of himself to the Monk, about the latter's awfully heavy *Tregedis* or Tale; and (2) of the drunken Cook:

(1) For sicurly, ner gingling of the bellis 16280
That on your bridil hong on every syde, [See 1.169-70]
By heven king, that for us alle dyde,
I schold er this han falle down for sleep,
Although the slough had never ben so deep . .

(2) He also hath to do more than ynough (l. 16995)
To kepe him and his capil *out of the slough*,

the deep holes full of slosh that, even in the nineteenth century, one has oneself occasionally flopped into on cross-country roads.

Further, the reader must recollect that the Pilgrims were out for a holiday, more or less of a lark, and not for a hard ride to lose leather; and that, even now, men and their sisters out for a riding-tour do not generally ride more than 20 or 25 miles a-day. To allow 15 or 16 miles a-day for a large party along the bad narrow roads of near 500 years ago¹ is not unreasonable, especially when we consider the

¹ Come down 365 years later, and take an account of two pieces—no doubt a fair sample of the whole—of the North-Western road from Liverpool to London, in May, 1752. First, between Warrington and Knutsford: "we set out in our post-chaise;—Valerius and the servant rid as before;—we had not gone a mile when we were obliged to relinquish it, and exchange places with the two horsemen. In all the world I believe there are not such roads as these, they being but a continued heap of ridges, so very deep that I expected every minute when I should be swallowed up in some of 'em. We suffered three overturnings before we could persuade ourselves to quit our vehicle: the poor horses were to be pitied, for one or the other was seldom five minutes on his legs." [After Knutsford,] "The frequent overturning of our chaise obliged us often to turn back to give Valerius and the servant assistance."—*Narrative of the Journey of an Irish Gentleman through England in the year 1752* (privately printed for Mr Henry Huth, 1869), p. 26-7. Second, on horseback, between Leek and Ashborne (12 miles from Derby): "The roads were almost impassable. Sometimes we were buried up to our horses' bellies [in Chaucer's *slough*], and at others we rode on such dangerous precipices as had almost endangered our falling. Certainly the roads in England are the most disagreeable [part] of it, which they attribute to the fertility of the soil; and

style of cart-horse on which men rode at the time, and that more of the Pilgrims than the Nun's Priest, who rode 'upon a jade,' a 'hors bothe foul and lene,' l. 16299, might have been mounted, like Lydgate,¹ "on a palfray slender, long, and leane," where 'slender' probably means 'scraggy.' If too we may take as correct for Chaucer's journey, Lydgate's account of how his fellow-travellers listened to him, the cavalcade could have only gone at a walk (*! paas* only : l. 827, next page),—see Arundel MS 119, leaf 18 :—

The same hour / all the hool Route
 Of the pylgrymes / rydyng round aboute
 In my tale / whan I gan procede
 Rehercyng forth / as it was in dede
 Whan Edippus / buryed was and graue
 How his sones / the kyngdam forto haue
 Among hem silf / be ful mortal hate
 ffor the crowne / gonne to debate

Storie of Thebes, Part II. Speght's *Chaucer*, 1602, fol. 358, col. 2.²

A. i. [By the chats at the end of the General Prologue, and between the Tales of the Knight and Miller, Miller and Reeve, Reeve and Cook, the General Prologue and these

[that] is so rich that the treading of a horse roots up the ground."—*Ibid.* p. 57. I am obliged to insist on the road- and horse-points, as some non-riding friends have seen no difficulty in the one April day's ride to Canterbury by the party of Pilgrims, including three women (one oldish), a ploughman on his (cart-) mare, a sailor who rode 'as he couthe,' and a Miller who was drunk before he got to Deptford. Such a party could no more have done the distance in a day than have flown.

¹ *Storie of Thebes*, in Speght's *Chaucer*, 1602, fol. 353 back, col. 1.

² Mr Bradshaw also suggests that the (to me spurious) line introduced by MSS Hatton 1, Rawl. Poet. 141, 149, Royal 17 D xv, into the Man of Law's end-Link (or Shipman's Prologue),—line 3 following—

'Now, good men,' quod oure Hoste, 'herkeneth me !
 Abydeth, for Goddes digne passioun
 Though [that] 3e stinte on this grene here adoun, 3
 For we shule haue a predicacioun :—

points to a possible halting of the Pilgrims now and then, to hear a Tale told. Another supposition that has been hazarded elsewhere, that the Tales were told in the Inns where the Pilgrims stopt for dinner and at night, is negatived by the many references in the *Tales* to the party being on horseback while the Tales were being told.

Tales are, to use Tyrwhitt's phrase quoted above, "inseparably linked" to one another (although the Hatton MS 1 does unlink the Cook's Tale, and put it, with Gamelyn, after the Man of Law's Tale). As the Cook's Tale is left incomplete—though with spurious endings, in MS Bodley 686 (of 13 lines), Rawlinson MS Poet. 149 (of 4 lines), Lansdowne 851, &c. (of a different 4 lines), and in other MSS of 2 lines—and the spurious tale of Gamelyn is put after it (in at least 20 MSS), and as there is no inseparable link¹ between the Cook's Tale and any other, the *First Fragment* naturally ends with it. Moreover, as no other Fragment groups with this first one, we may take the first Fragment as also the first Group, or *Group A*.

The two allusions to time and place in Group A are, 1. in the Prologue, l. 824-9 (Wright's 2-col. ed.), when the Host starts the Pilgrims and the Tales :

A morwe whan the day bigan to sprynge,
Up roos oure ost, and was oure althur cok
And gaderud us togider alle in a flok,
And forth we riden² a litel more than paas, 827

¹ Following Tyrwhitt and Mr Bradshaw, I adopt this term, though *hook-and-eye* is the one really wanted.

² From *The Tabard*, which still exists : see a letter in *The Daily News* of Jan. 23, 1869 :—

"Sir,—All pilgrims to Canterbury or Southwark will be glad to hear that, notwithstanding your mortuary notice in to-day's article, Chaucer's Tabard, alias the Talbot, is still hale and hearty. I had ocular and bibular demonstration of the fact no later than last Wednesday, when I drank at the bar a glass of bitter that would have warmed the heart even of Chaucer's *frere*. All lovers of old London should stroll now and then down the High-street, Borough, and drop into the antique hostelries which, with their quaint, picturesque, tumble-down, old courtyards and galleries and outbuildings, cluster close together on the left-hand side, as though to warm their old bones and comfort each other in this frightfully reforming age. The most noticeable, beginning from London-bridge, are the old King's Head, the White Hart and Silver Gridiron (where Mr Pickwick first made the acquaintance of that friend of our youth, and flatterer of the sex, Mr Samuel Weller), the George, the Tabard (now the Talbot), the Queen's Head, the Three Tuns, the Spur, and the Nag's Head. One day, as I was mooning through the White Hart courtyard, a woman leaning over the balcony asked me if I wished to see any one. I replied that I should like to see Mr Weller, who used to live here. 'Oh !' said she, 'he doesn't live

Unto the waterynge of seint Thomas ;
And there owre ost bigan his hors areste.

2. in the Reeve's Prologue, where the Host says to the Reeve, l. 3903-6,

Sey forth thi tale, and tarye nat the tyme ;
Lo, heer is Depford,¹ and it is passed prime² ;
Lo, Grenewich, ther many a schrewe is inne :
It were al tyme thi tale to bygynne.

Deptford is three miles down the road ; and as only the Reeve's Tale and the Cook's incomplete one follow in Group A, we must suppose that Chaucer meant to insert here the Tales of some, at least, "of the five City-Mechanics and the Ploughman" (*Tyrwhitt*, iv. 188, *Int. Disc.* § xlii.), which have not reached us (and which he perhaps never wrote), in order to bring his party to their first night's resting-place, Dartford, 15 miles from London.

B. II. Tyrwhitt's placing of the Man of Law's Tale after the Cook's (or Gamelyn) is justified by all the MSS I here now, sir.' 'Dear me,' said I, 'I'm very sorry to hear it.' *Sic transit gloria mundi.*—I am, &c.,

Jan. 22, 1869.

EXPERTO CREDE."

¹ Lydgate puts the Knight's Tale at Deptford.

But if ye list to see the gentillesse
Of Theseus, and how he hath him borne,
If ye remember, as ye haue heard tofore,
Well rehearsed, at *Depford in the vale*,
In the beginning of the Knight[e]s tale.

Lydgate's *Storie of Thebes*, The third Part, fol. 374 back, of Speght's *Chaucer*, 1602.

² The hour of six o'clock A.M. (*Halliwell's Glossary*). *Prime* . . . the first hour of the day (in Summer at foure o'clock, in Winter at eight).—*Cotgrave*, A.D. 1611. "I am sure that Halliwell is partly wrong. *Cotgrave* has the right *idea*. I believe *prime* to be the time from sunrise to the moment when the 'first hour' ended. That is, from 6 to 7 A.M. at the equinoxes only. *Hours* vary in length according to the time of year. If the sun rises at 4 A.M., then *prime* is, of course, from 4 A.M. to 5.20 A.M.; for each 'hour' then contains a sixth part of 8 clock-hours, i. e. 80 minutes. On April 17, the sun rose at 4.45, and therefore *prime* or the first hour of the artificial day, lasted from 4.45 to 5.57, ending 3 minutes sooner than it is commonly supposed to begin."—W. W. Skeat.

But al thing hath a tyme :
The day is schort, and it is passed prime, 7058
And yit ne wan I nothing in this day.—*Freres Tale*.

have seen, except three, the Hengwrt, Trin. Coll. Oxf. 49, and Christ Church 152. The notice of time in the Tale suits this arrangement. The Pilgrims had evidently 'made a night of it' at Dartford, or been very tired with their journey, so that they started late next morning, and may indeed, like King John, have had their dinner before setting out. Here are the first lines of the Man of Law's Prologue :—

Owre Hoste sawh that the brighte sonne
 The arke of his artificial day hath i-ronne 4422
 The fourthe part, of half an hour and more ;
 And though he were nat depe expert in lore,
 He wist it was the eightetene day
 Of April, that is messanger to May ; 4426
 And sawe wel that the schade of every tree
 Was in the lengthe the same quantite
 That was the body erecte, that caused it ;
 And therefore by the schadwe he took his wit, 4430
 That Phebus, which that schoon so fair and bright,
 Degrees was five and fourty clombe on hight ;
 And for that day, as in that latitude,
 It was ten of the klokke, he gan conclude ; 4434
 And sodeynly he plight his hors aboute.
 Lordynges, quod he, I warne you al the route,
 The fourthe party of this day is goon ;
 Now, for the love of God and of seint Ion, 4438
 Leseth no tyme, as forthe as ye may.
 Lordynges, the time passeth night and day,
 And stelith fro us, what pryvely slepyng,
 And what thurgh negligence in oure wakyng, 4442
 As doth the streem, that torneth never agayn,
 Descendyng fro the mounteyn into playn.
 Wel can Senek and many philosopher
 Bywaylen time, more than gold in cofre. 4446
 For losse of catel may recovered be,
 But losse of tyme schendeth us, quod he.
 It wil nat come agayn, without drede,
 Nomore than wol Malkyns maydenhede, 4450
 Whan sche had lost it in hir wantownesse.
 Let us nat mowlen thus in ydelnesse.]

B. III. [So far, all is straight ; but when we get to the end of the Man of Law's Tale, our troubles begin. What is to come after it ?¹ Tyrwhitt did use his head to answer this

¹ Why, the set of Tales which mentions *Rochester*, the next big

question ; but he didn't use it enough. The editors before him had put the Merchant's and Squire's Tales after the Man of Law's, and the Wife of Bath's Tale after those, although the Merchant refers to the Wife of Bath as having told her tale before him :

The wif of Bathe, if ye han understonde,
Of mariage, which ye han now in honde, 9560
Declared hath ful wel in litel space :

This was of course too strong a measure for Tyrwhitt, and he accordingly put (and rightly) the Merchant's Tale after the Clerk's, which also refers to the Wife of Bath (l. 9046¹), and the Squire's after the Merchant's. But he put the Wife of Bath's Tale after the Man of Law's, and regretted "the want of a few lines to introduce the Wife of Bathes Prologue," the want of a chat to link it on to the Man of Law's Tale. Luckily there was none. But if he had looked carefully at his MS C, the Harleian MS 7334, which Mr Thomas Wright, Mr R. Bell, and Mr R. Morris edited, he would have found the chat or link he wanted, the right hook to the Man of Law's Tale, fitting the eye of the Shipman's Tale, namely, "the Prologue to the Shipman's Tale," which, as Mr Thomas Wright observes, "The Harl. MS erroneously [that is, quite rightly] places" there (though it wrongly follows this Prologue up by The Wife's Tale). Tyrwhitt, like the rest of us, did not take this hint ; he also did not take the further hint of his MS B δ,—Arch. Seld. B 14,—which actually links the Man of Law's and Shipman's Tales together, and accordingly he did not adopt this latter manuscript's right arrangement of these Tales ; and though he saw that this chat or link of which we are treating suited (in its latter half) the Shipman,² he failed to see that its lines 3 to 6

town to Greenwich, answers the man who works by "geography;" and that's true. See below.

¹ The Lichfield MS has not the stanza containing this line.

² He says he found it before the Shipman in one MS. (*Int. Disc.* § xxxi.)

This was a *thrifty tale* for the nones, 3
 Sire parish preest, quod he, for Goddes bones,
 Tell us a tale, as was thy forward yore ;
 I see wel that *ye lerned men in lore* [t. e. Man of Law &
 Can mochel good, by Goddes digniteo Priest]

“inseparably linked” this Prologue to the Man of Law's

I can right now no *thrifty tale* sain¹ (*Tyr.* i. 174, l. 4466).

† It was reserved for Mr Bradshaw (on the receipt of my Trial-Tables, which he rebelled against,) to make this discovery, and put the Shipman's Tale, with its belongings, up to the Man of Law's ; and the proof that his discovery was right, was given at once by line 15412 (*Wright*),

Lo, Rowchestre stant heer faste by,

exactly suiting the new arrangement of the Tales, bringing the Pilgrims at the end of their second day's journey to Rochester, 30 miles from town, and removing a terrible contradiction from the old arrangement. A happy hit! And it sets us free to alter the arrangement of any or all of the MSS, to move up or down any *Groups* of Tales, whenever internal evidence, probability, or presumption, requires it.]

[Result as to Fragments and Groups: that the Man of Law's Tale is *Fragment 2*, and heads *Group B*, as the Shipman's Tale heads *Fragment 3*. The rest of *Fragment 3* is easily known, for the Tales of the Shipman, Prioress, Sir Thopas, Melibe, Monk, and Nonnes Prest, are (as Tyrwhitt implies) “inseparably linked” together (though of course some MSS unlink some of them²); and no tale is “inseparably linked” to the Nonnes Prest's.]

I pause here for a minute to note, that when, on reading

¹ Like Mr Bradshaw at first, and many another student of course, I saw long ago the fitness of this chat to the Man of Law's Tale, but none of us had the wit or pluck to move its tail of Tales with it up to the Man of Law. We should note that Harl. 7334 reads *non other for no thrifty* in l. 4466.

² See in the Tables the Petworth MS, Cambr. Univ. Mm. 2. 5, Trin. Coll. Camb. R 3. 3, Hengwrt, Rawl. MS Poet. 141, Rawl. MS Misc. 1133, Trin. Coll. Oxford 49, Christ Church, Oxford, 152.

the Ellesmere MS, I found this chat or link, which the Harleian 7334 and the MSS of its type rightly put after the Man of Law's Tale, left out altogether, I made sure that this omission was Chaucer's own doing,—that he had written the chat without feeling how the rudeness shown in it towards the Parish Priest jarred with the respect and reverence that he had shown for the Parson in the Prologue ; and that when he re-read the chat, and felt this inconsistency, he cut the chat out. This confirmed me in the notion that Tyrwhitt had hit on the right order of the Tales,—that shown by the Ellesmere,—and that in this MS we had Chaucer's revision of part, at least, of his work. This was confirmed by the stanza of chat introduced by this MS (as noticed on p. 26, below) between the Clerk's and Merchant's Tales, and by the modern men of "heigh degre" in the Monk's Tale—"Petro, the glori of Spayne" (l. 15861), "Petro king of Cipres" (l. 15877), "Of Melayn grete Barnabo Viscount" (l. 15885), "erl Hugilin of Pise" (l. 15893) being put *after* the ancient Monarchs, &c., instead of being stuck in their middle, between Zenobia and Nero, as in the Harleian 7334 (p. 171-2 *Wright*). But my notions were shown to be delusions, by Mr Bradshaw's restoration of the Shipman fragment to its right place, and his remark that lines 16249, 16252, in *Cresus* at the end of the Monk's Tale—

But for that *fortune* wil alway assayle (l. 16249)
 And cover hir brighte face with a *clowde* (l. 16252)—

when compared with l. 16268, near the beginning of the Nun's Priest's Tale,

He spak how *fortune* was clipped with a *clowde*,

conclusively proved that the ancient folk were rightly put at the end of the Tale. Two of my fancied marks of Chaucer's hand were thus shown to be the work of a subsequent reviser ; and from these and other signs Mr Brad-

shaw was led to call the MSS of the Ellesmere order, *Edited Texts*.¹ We return to the Fragments.

C. iv. ; D. v. What is to form Fragment 4? As Sittingbourne is the next important town to Rochester, on the road to Canterbury, it is clear that in Fragment 4 or 5 we must put the Wife of Bath's Tale, and those "inseparably linked" to it,—the Friar's and Sompnour's,—because in the Wife's Prologue, the Sompnour says,

' And I beschrewe me
But if I telle tales tuo or thre
Of freres, er I come to *Sydingborne* ' (l. 6429, *Wright*)

and the Sompnour's Tale ends with

My tale is don, we ben almost at tounne (l. 7876, *Wright*)²
no other Tale is inseparably linked with it.

If then these 3 Tales are thought sufficient for the 10 miles between Rochester and Sittingbourne, we must make them

¹ Marks of an *Edited Text*, or *Text C*,—to adopt Mr Skeat's Piers Plowman notation—of the Canterbury Tales :—

"Gamelyn cut out. Link after Man of Law cut out. Host-stanza inserted. Second Nonne and Chanons Yeman shunted down late. Modern instances in Monks Tale, at the end." (Harl. 7334 is *Text B*).—H. Bradshaw.

² In those MSS which cut the Sompnour's Tale short at l. 7740 *Wright*,

And forth he goth with a foul angry cheere,

and give us the following four lines for the 136 of most MSS, we still have the 'almost at tounne' :—

he ne had nat ellis for his sermoun
To parten amonge his breperen whan he come home
And þus is þis tale ydoun
For we were almost at the toun. (Petworth MS.)

Sloane 1685 has the same four :

Ne ne hade nouȝt elles for hys sermon
To part a-monge his bretheren whan he come home
And þus ys þis tale ydoñ
For we were almoste at þe towñ.

HERE ENDETHE ÞE SOMPNOURS TALE.

I incline to think that Chaucer's first draft of the Sompnour's Tale ended as these two MSS make it. Mr Wright notes (p. 86) that Tyrwhitt mentions MSS B. G. and 'Bod. B' [of which Tyrwhitt names six] as ending in the same manner. These MSS are Reg. 18 C ii., Sloane 1685, and Laud 739 (which has *y* for *þ*).

Fragment 4 and Group C. If not (which is my own opinion) we must bring up two Tales which are "inseparably linked" together, and form one Group, but which contain no internal evidence as to their proper place in the Work,—namely, the Doctor's and Pardoner's—and make these two, *Fragment 4* and *Group C*; turning the Wife, Friar, and Sompnour, into *Fragment 5* and *Group D*. This then I propose to do; and let the Pilgrims halt for a meal at Sittingbourne, 40 miles from town:—why not for dinner, like King John? See p. 15 above.

Though I have said that *Group C* (the Doctor's and Pardoner's Tales) contains no internal evidence as to its proper place in the Work, yet I conceive that it *does* contain evidence as to the time of day when it was to be spoken; and that is, in the morning, before dinner. When the Host calls on the Pardoner to tell his tale,

'Thow pardoner, thou belamy,' he sayde, 13733
'Tel us a tale, for thou caust many oon';

the Pardoner answers:

'It schal be doon,' quod he, 'and that anoon. 13735
But first,' quod he, 'her at this ale-stake
I wil both drynke and byten on a cake.'
But right anoon the gentils gan to crie,
'Nay, let him tellen us no ribaudye.
Tel us some moral thing, that we may leere.'
'Gladly,' quod he, and sayde as ye schal heere.
'But in the cuppe wil I me bethinke
Upon som honest tale, whil I drinke. 13743

* * * * *
Your likyng is that I schal telle a tale. 13870
Now have I drunk a draught of corny ale.
By God, I hope I schal telle yow a thing
That schal by resoun be at your liking.'

This bite on the cake and draught of ale leave no doubt on my mind that the Pardoner wanted a snack, by way of breakfast, before telling his tale; and that before-dinner suits the circumstances much better than after; for if he had had a hearty meal at 9 or 10, after a morning's ride, he would not have wanted a luncheon between that and

✓ supper at 4 or 5. A draught of ale he might have felt the need of, but the bite on a cake means before-breakfast.¹

¹ With regard to the Pilgrims' meals, and the times of them, we should note that even in 1624 Sir John Harington allows only two meals a day, dinner and supper—'Feed only twice a day when yee are at mans age':²—that in 1526, Henry VIII and his Court had only the same—though they were allowed 'Bouche of Court' by way of breakfast;³—and that the Pilgrims must no doubt have had only dinner and supper as their regular meals. *Liber Niger Domus Regis Edw. IV* tells us that 'Hardeknoute [who] may be called a fader noreshoure of familiarite . . . was the furst that began iiii meales stablyshed in oon day, opynly to be holden for worshupfull and honest peopull resorting to his courte' (*Household Ord.* p. 18). For time, the poem of *The Babees Book* (p. 5, l. 128) ab. 1450, gives noon for dinner; but in Henry VIII's Court in 1526, 'the fyrst dynner in eating dayes [was] to begin at tenn of the clock, or somewhat afore; and the first supper at foure of the clock on worke dayes. . . . And at such time as the Kings hall is not kept, the service for dynner . . . to be observed at one certaine and convenient houre; that is to say, for dinner at eleven of the clock before noone, or neere thereupon, and for supper at six of the clock at afternoon, or neere thereupon.'⁴

Edward IV's mother, the Princess Cecill, ordered for her household and herself

'Upon eatynge dayes at dynner by eleven of the clocke, a first dynner in the tyme of highe masse, for carvers, cupbearers, sewers, and offycers.

'Upon fasting dayes by xii of the clocke, and a later dynner for carvers and for wayters.

'At supper upon eatinge dayes for carvers and offycers, at foure of the clocke; my lady and the housholde at five of the clocke, at supper.'—*Household Ordinances*, p. *38.

Edward IV had 'brekefast,' dinner at 'none,' and 'souper'; but the times for the first and last meals are not given in *H. Ord.* p. 22. In 1474, Prince Edward's household were to be 'at the first dynner by tenne of the clocke, and at supper by fower, and every fasting daye to goe to their dynner by eleven.' As the meals of common folk a hundred years earlier would be before these times, we may perhaps put our Pilgrims' dinner about 9 A.M., and their supper at 3 or 4 P.M.; or both meals later when occasion required. (I do not suppose that the Host or Chaucer was the kind of man to follow the directions of Caxton's *Gouvernayle of Helthe*, ab. 1491 A.D., 'Bytwene two etynges, xi houres to be, is profytable; and so ete thries in two dayes, as, to-daye twyes, and to-morrow but ones; and so to continue forth.') The only hint that I remember in the *Tales* about the time of dinner is in the Shipman's Tale of the Merchant, and his wife, and cousin-Monk, all of France. The Merchant sits in his counting-house 'til it was passed prime,' l. 14499; the Monk meantime arranges matters with his wife, and after kissing her well, says—

² *Babees Book*, &c., p. 257.

³ *ib.*, p. lxxx.

⁴ *ibid.* B.

A (to me) conclusive argument against putting the *Pardoner's Tale* in either of two positions formerly suggested for it,—just before the arrival at Ospringe or at Canterbury—is found in the concluding lines of the Tale in most MSS,¹ spoken by the Knight,

And ye, sir host, that ben to me so deere,
I pray yow that ye kisse the Pardoner; 14380
And Pardoner, I pray yow, draweth yow ner,
And, as we dede, *let us laugh and play.*
Anon they kisse, *and riden forth her way.*

This surely is not the way that the end of a day's journey would be spoken of. It's much more like mid-morning: 2 Tales told; 3 to tell, and then dinner. ✓

E. vi. But 10 miles are not enough for a day's journey. Moreover, as has been noticed before, both the Clerk's and Merchant's Tales refer to the Wife's; they were evidently meant to be told on the same day as her Tale, while it was fresh in her hearers' memory. Thirdly, the Clerk's and Merchant's Tales are "inseparably linked" by what (to me) is as strong a link as any in the whole work: ✓

And let hem care and wepe, and wryng and wayle.
(end of Clerk, l. 9088, Wright)
Wepying and wailyng, care and other sorwe.
(line 1 of Merchant, l. 9089, Wright).

'Goth now your way,' quod he, 'al stille and softe,
And let us dyne as sone as ye may,
For by my chilindre it is *prime of day*.'—14617.

I do not think that this can mean *prima hora diei*, as the Monk had been up, walking in the garden, and had 'his thinges said,' before he met the Merchant's wife and had his confab with her. Some time like 9 A.M. would suit better, though that would be *terce*, 'the second quarter, or third houre, of the artificiall day; in Summer eight of the clocke, in winter tenne' (*Cotgrave*), if men reckoned by the ecclesiastical divisions of time. Still, Chaucer's 'prime,' above, may be used for about 9 A.M., as Mason rightly supposes Hoccleve's 'the prime' to be used in the following passage:

But often they hir bed loven so wel,
That of the day it drawith ny *the pryme*
Or they rise up; nat can I tell the tyme
Whan they to bedde goon, it is so late.

La Male Regle de T. Hoccleve, l. 324, ed. Mason, p. 49.

¹ The Helmingham and some other MSS end the *Pardoner's Tale* at l. 14309 Wright, "And eek the fals empoysoner also."

So strong did Chaucer, or the copiers or editors of the Ellesmere MS and those of its type, feel this link to be, that he or they actually inserted an interjectional stanza¹ between the two lines above quoted, in order to keep up the appearance of talk against the inevitable look of writing that these two lines have. Therefore for *Fragment VI*, and *Group E*, I take the Clerk's and Merchant's Tales, and end this Fragment and Group with the end of the Link, l. 10314, *Wright*:

And eek my witte suffisith nought therto
To tellen al : wherfor my tale is do.²

¹ I have mislaid my Ellesmere extract, and therefore print the stanza from Arch. Seld. B 16 (Bodleian), in which the *Wife of Bath* follows it :

This worthi clerke / whan endid was his tale
oure oste seide / & swore by Cokkis bonys
me were lever / than a barelle of ale
my wiff at hom / had herde this legende onys
this is a gentille tale / for the nonys
as to my purpos / wist ye my wille
but thing that wol nat be / let hit be stille

Bodley 686 also has these lines, and so have (at least) Additional 5140, Haistwell, New College (Oxford), Royal 18 C ii, Barlow 20, Harl. 1758 (in these 3 followed by 13 altered or spurious lines and the Franklin's Tale) and Harl. 7333 (which has not the 13 extra lines, though the Franklin's Tale follows). Sloane 1685 has the 13 spurious lines, but not the stanza—in this place, at least. That the end of the Clerk's Tale is the right place for this stanza is shown by its being in the Clerk's 7-line stanza. The last stanza of the Clerk's Tale (l. 9046-52, *Wright*) is not in the Lichfield MS; and I think it possible that this last stanza and the Envoy were, as an afterthought, inserted by Chaucer between the last stanza but one of the Tale, and the interjectional stanza above. The Host's wish follows naturally the penultimate stanza, but not the Envoy's exhortations to rebellion against a husband's authority. The Hostess did not need those, which, as the last words, would have dwelt in her mind, but the Tale alone, without the sting in its tail. Still, all this is mere guess; and without the Envoy we get no link, and no necessity for the interjectional Host-stanza,—which may have been made up from other passages in the Tales; compare Monk's Prologue, l. 15379, *Wright*.

² By referring to my Trial-Tables the reader will see that in 14 of the MSS, and in all the printed editions, there noticed, the Merchant's Tale is separated from the Squire's. This arose, no doubt, from the wrong arranging and copying of the stanzas of the Envoy at the end of the Clerk's Tale,—and instead of letting the Envoy end with stanza VI, whose last line is

And let hem care and wepe, and wryng and wayle (l. 9088, *Wright*),

The Pilgrims would thus have done 16 miles in their third day's journey, and sleep, as Queen Isabella, and as King John of France did, at Ospringe,¹ 46 miles from town.]

F. VII. [Next morning the Pilgrims would start with the Squire's Tale, with its eight introductory lines, or link, beginning

Sir Squirei, com forth, if that your wille be (l. 10315, *Wright*),
and its marking of the time of day,

I wol not tarien you, for it is pryme (l. 10387, *Wright*).²

making it end, as the Harl. 1758 does, with stanza IV (which shows by its plurals that it should follow st. III, and) whose last line is

Ay clappith as a mylle, I yow counsaile (l. 9076, *Wright*)

(or with stanza V, if I recollect the Petworth rightly), by which the perception of the link or bond made by the first line of the Merchant's Prologue,

Wepying and wailyng, care and other sorwe,

was altogether lost. This alteration (combined with the separation of the Squire's and Franklin's Tales which accompanies it) gives us then (at least) a third type of MS, *Text A*, to add to the two noted above, p. 23, 24; though, if we classify the MSS by the various readings of their texts, I find as yet only two types, that of the Ellesmere (or Tyrwhitt's printed text, containing by far the larger number of MSS), and that of the Harleian 7334 (Mr Thomas Wright's printed text). This is also Mr Aldis Wright's conclusion from his collation of MSS of the Man of Law's Tale.

¹ On the back journey, Lydgate rightly brings the pilgrims 10 miles to dinner at Ospringe:

And toward morrow, as soon as it was light,
Euery pilgrime, both bet and wors,
As bad our host, tooke anone his hors,
When the Sunne rose in the East full clere,
Fully in purpose to *come to dinere*
Unto Ospring, and breake there our fast.

Lydgate's Storie of Thebes, in Speght's *Chaucer*, 1602,
fol. 353 back, col. 2.

After dinner they would probably ride on to Sittingbourne to sleep, though they might of course, like Queen Isabella, sleep at Ospringe.

² We get another notice of the time in l. 6 of a spurious ending of the Squire's Tale in the Lansdowne MS 851, leaf 87 :—

And þere .I. left .I. þenke aȝeine begynne
[Bot .I. wil here nowe maake a knotte
To þe time it come next to my lotte
For here be felawes behinde an hepe treulye
þat wolden talke ful besilye
And haue her sporte as wele as .I.

This Tale I hold to be "inseparably linked" with the Franklin's, by lines 11011-12, *Wright*,

That know I wel, sire, quod the Frankeleyn,
I pray you haveth me not in disdein,

although by the substitution of the words "Merchaunt certeyn," for "Frankeleyn," the Link or Prologue is made moveable, and used for the Merchant's Tale in several MSS,¹—see the Specimens in *Six-Text*, Part I. The Franklin's Tale is not linked on to any other, and we may therefore take it and the Squire's as our *Fragment VII, Group F.*

G. VIII. The next Fragment and Group take the pilgrims to Boughton and the Forest of Blean. The Second Nun's Tale is "inseparably linked" to the Canon's-Yeoman's; and that tells us,

Er we fully had riden fyve myle, (l. 12483, *Wright*)
At Boughtoun under Blee us gan atake
A man, that clothed was in clothes blake . . .
It semed he hadde priked nyles thre (l. 12489)
His yeman eke was ful of curtesye, (l. 12515)
And seid "Sires now in the morwe tyde
Out of your ostelry I saugh you ryde
I say, my lord can such a subtilite (l. 12548) . . .
That al this ground on which we ben ridynge
Til that we comen to Caunterbury toun (l. 12552)
He couthe al clene turnen up so down,
And pave it al of silver and of gold."

No other Tale is linked on to the Canon's-Yeoman's, and we may therefore take it and the Nun's as our *Fragment VIII, Group G.* We note also (with Mr Bradshaw) that Chaucer, like Lydgate, gives us a pause after his Canon's-

And þe daie passeþ fast certainly
Therefore oste takeþ nowe goode heede
Who schalle next telle *and* late him speede

Explicit fabula Armigeri . Incipit prologus . vxoris de Bath.

THan shortly ansewarde þe wife of Bath
And swore a wonder grete haþe
Be goddes bones .I. wil tel next
.I. wille nouht glose bot saye þe text]
Experiment þouhe none auctorite

* * * * *

¹ Laud 739, Hatton 1, Barlow 20, Rawl. MS Poet. 149.

Yeoman's Tale, on account of the hill between Boughton and Blean Forest. On the return journey Lydgate makes the descent of this hill an excuse for the break between the First and Second Parts of his *Sege of Thebes*:—

[*Arundel MS 119, leaf 17 back.*¹]

¶ Therfor no man / be herof reklees
 But make 3oure myroure of Ethiocles
 And his brother / called polymyte
 Which in such thyng / gretlich were to wite
 As 3e shal here / of hem how it fil
 And whan we ben / descendid doun this hil
 And ypassed / her / the lowe vale
 I shal begynne the remnant^t of my tale

¶ **Explicit^t Prima pars istius Codicilli.**

¶ **Incipit^t Secunda Pars Eiusdem.**

¶ **Secunda Pars**

leaf 18

P^assed the throp / of^t Bowtoñ on þ^e ble
 By my chilyndre / I gan anoñ to se
 Thorgh þ^e sonne / þat ful cler gan shyne
 Of þe klok that / it drogh to nyne
 An saughⁿ also þ^e siluer dropes shene
 Of þe dewe / lich perelys on þ^e grene
 Vapoured vp in-to the heire alofte
 Whan 3ephyrus / with his blowing softe
 þe wedere made lusty / smoth / and feir
 And right attempre / was the hoolsom heir

Lidgate's Storie of Thebes, Part II; Speght's Chaucer, 1602, fol. 358, col. 1.

H. IX. [We have thus disposed of all the Tales except two, the Manciple's and Parson's. Of these we should have no hesitation in putting the Manciple's after the Canon's-Yeoman's on the down journey,—as it mentions the next place to Boughton under Blee, Bob-up-and-down,²—were it

¹ Siege of Thebes MSS in the British Museum:—

Arundel MS 119 (very good).

Royal MS 18 D ii (very good, with most beautiful paintings).

Addit. MS 18,632 (very good).

Cotton. Appendix xxvii, bound up with Cott. App. xxxix (late and damaged).

Addit. MS 5140 (middling).—E. Brock.

² This has been generally supposed to be Harbledown (see Wright, p. 180, col. 2, last note, and Stanley's Memorials, p. 215-16). And Queen Isabella's *Herbaldoun* (Cotton MS. Galba E xiv,

not that its Prologue seems to point strongly to early morning as the time of its action :—

leaf 32, line 2 from below), with King John's *Helbadonne*—see Appendix 2—settle the question, I think. But Mr J. M. Cowper of Faversham, who kindly undertook to walk the roads for me, proposes the field of Up-and-down, in the parish of Thanington, as the site of Chaucer's *litel town* or homestead. Here is his letter from *The Athenæum* of Dec. 26, 1868, p. 886. It should be read with the Ordnance Map by one's side.

CHAUCER'S BOB-UP-AND-DOWN.

Faversham.

“As the one who ‘declares for Up-and-down, near Thanington,’ being the place indicated by Chaucer in the Manciple's Prologue, I crave space in your pages to give the reasons why I think neither Boughton-under-Blean nor Harbledown was intended, and why I declare for Up-and-down.

“1. As far as I am aware, there is no instance of Chaucer having used a nickname to denote any place mentioned in his Tales. Rochester, Sittingbourne, Boughton-under-Blean are names as easily recognized as Southwark. Why should he nickname any place at all?

“2. When I set out on my quest to find the place, I started on the supposition that it must denote some undulating locality between Ospringe and Canterbury. But a difficulty presented itself—the whole district is undulating, and any number of places may be found which exactly suit the description, notably Boughton-under-Blean (not Boughton Street), which is quite as bob-up-and-downing as Harbledown.

“3. Could I find any place which still bears any name resembling Chaucer's? Names of places do not easily change. If any place bore that name in Chaucer's days, some similar name will be found now. Boughton has changed from Bolton and Bocton, and Harbledown has changed from Herbaldowne, and Sittingbourne from Sidenborne : but how easily all are recognized ! Was it likely, then, that the little town in question would be utterly lost?

“4. As I could find no place to satisfy me on the now well-known road between Ospringe and Canterbury, the question arose—Did the Pilgrims follow that route? In the first place, I had failed to find Bob-up-and-down in this direction—would it answer in other particulars? The Canon's yeoman overtook the pilgrims not five miles on, at Boughton-under-Blean ; supposing Ospringe to have been the ‘hostelrye’ mentioned, the *present* village of Boughton is only about three miles and a half distant ; is it likely Chaucer would have said ‘not five’—would he not have said four? But another question presented itself—Did the modern village exist in Chaucer's days? To satisfy myself on this head I turned to Hasted's ‘Kent,’ 8vo, vol. 7, p. 4, where I found the following :— ‘A little further on is a hamlet called South Street, which report says was once the only one in this parish, the London Road having gone through it instead of the present way, on which the present street of Boughton has been since built. It is remarkable that the above road, leading from Ospringe through this parish, is called in an antient perambulation of the town and parish of Faversham, so

Wot ye not wher ther stont a litel toun (16933)
Which that cleped is Bob-up-and-down,

early as King Edward the First's reign, Key Street, most probably like Key Street beyond Sittingbourne, on the same road, from Caius Julius Cæsar.'

"Again, vol. 9, p. 3, speaking of the Forest of Blean, the same writer remarks that 'several houses having been built within the bounds of it, many especially on the south side of the common, at the bottom of Boughton-hill, which were inhabited by low persons of suspicious characters, who sheltered themselves there, this being a place exempt from the jurisdiction of either hundred or parish, as in a free port, which receives all who enter it without distinction. The whole district from hence gained the name of Dunkirk. * * * The high road from London to Canterbury crosses the whole length of this ville, from the bottom of Boughton-hill eastward. This part of the road being in neither hundred or parish, was neglected, and left in a ruinous state, * * * and it continued so till the beginning of the present (eighteenth) century.'

"5. Is there another road which, without violating any probability, will answer Chaucer's description? At two miles and a quarter from Ospringe the Key Street above mentioned commences on the right-hand side of the road at Brenley Corner, and running close under the walls of the Church of Boughton-under-Blean passes through the hamlet of South Street, which still bears all the marks of a very ancient village. It is, moreover, fully four miles, perhaps more, from Ospringe, and so tallies better with the Canon's-Yeoman's 'not five miles on.' This road then passes between Fishpond Wood and College Wood down to Hatch Green Wood, where it falls into the old Pilgrims' Way, so well described in Stanley's 'Memorials of Canterbury,' by Mr Albert Way. The road, as described by him, then runs through Bigberry Wood, and meets the London Road about half a mile above St Dustan's Canterbury. At this end it is known as Cut-Throat Lane; 'but they do say,' as a labourer remarked to me the other day, 'as how it is the old Loudon Road.'

"6. Still we have no Bob-up-and-down. I have gone thus far to show the existence of an old road round the hill. I now retrace my steps to the middle of Bigberry Wood, and again turning my face towards Canterbury take the road over Turnford, and thence to Thanington Church. On the right of this church is the field still known as Up-and-Down Field, and most appropriately is it so named. From Up-and-down, through Wincheap and Worthgate, into Canterbury the way is direct.

"7. Another route yet remains. From Nick-hill Farm the Pilgrims may have passed down to Chartham Mill, and thence have followed the road by Chartham, Horton and Milton, passing *through* Up-and-Down Field. In either case my theory is that Chaucer used 'Bob-up-and-down,' the name of part of the parish of Thanington for the parish itself.

"8. It may be objected to this route that the distance would be increased; but this increase of a mile—perhaps not more than half a mile—would be of no moment to men on horseback, especially if, by going this way, they could escape the difficulties and dangers

Under the Ble, in Caunterbury way ?
 Ther gan our hoste for to jape and play,
 And sayde, 'sires, what? Dun is in the myre.
 Is ther no man, for prayer ne for hyre,
 That wol awake our felawe al bylynde?
 A theef mighte [him] ful lightly robbe and bynde (16940)
 Se how he nappith, se, for Goddes boones (16941)
 That he wol falle fro his hors at ones.¹
 Awake, thou cook, sit up, God gif the sorwe! (16947)
 What eyleth the, to slepe *by the morwe*?
 Hast thou had fleen al night, or artow dronke?
 Or hastow with som quen² al night i-swonke,
 So that thou maist not holden up thyn heed?'

which seem to have beset Boughton Hill; while it is well known to all who have studied these ancient ways that 'in the dark ages the days described by Deborah the prophetess had returned. The highways were unoccupied, and the travellers walked through bye-ways; the villages were deserted. Then was war in the gates, and noise of the archers in the places of drawing water.'

"No map that I have yet seen is so satisfactory as a pilgrimage along these bye-ways and disused and forgotten roads. Their track still remains in the forest, their name is handed down from generation to generation of wood-reeves and tillers of the soil. The many 'new roads' which have been made for more civilized times are only apt to mislead in cases of this sort if researches are carried on only by the aid of a map.

J. M. COWPER.

"P.S.—Since the above was in type, I have seen the perambulation referred to by Hasted. It was made for Sir Stephen de Pensherst, Constable of Dover. A translation of it is given in Jacob's 'History of Faversham.' From this translation it seems doubtful whether that part of the main road between Ospringe and Brenley Corner or the old road which leaves the main road at Brenley Corner is meant by Key Street. It is not of much importance.

J. M. C."

¹ The next lines must refer to the Cook's second Tale, according to the Host's original arrangement that each Pilgrim should tell two Tales on the down journey as well as the up:

Is that a Cook of Londonne with meschaunge?
 Do him come forth, he knoweth his penaunce;
 For he schal telle a tale, by my fay,
 Although it be nought worth a botel hay.

² A whitey-brown one, as it was spring: "Also tempred fleshly companyng with a yong broun woman is goode in wynter, and wyth a yonge white woman ys goode in somer; is also goode & helpyng in gouernyng of helthe to body, but not to soule, except to them that mowen haue it by Goddes lawes; so netheles that ther be so moche tym betwene, that he fele hymselfe eased and lyghtened in his body, and that he ete the better, & slepe the better. But therwyth vnderstonde, that as moche as helpyth tempred companyenge, so moche noyeth dystempred companyeng, and namely [=especially] to moche, for it coleteth him, wasteth him, & febleth

This does, at first, look like early morning; but I think it might have been said any time before 12 o'clock: one must allow the Cook some miles' ride, either to get drunk or fall asleep in. Granting that he'd been flea-bitten all night, or in bed with some quean, yet the stir of starting and the morning-air would be sure to have freshened him up and kept him awake for some miles. From the Manciple's words, and the Host's second speech, however, it is clear that the Cook was drunk; and to get so must have taken him time. Are the $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles¹ from Ospringe to Harbledown too much to allow the man to have got thoroughly drunk in, and drop 'al byhynde,' so that the Blean-Forest 'theef mighte ful lightly robbe and bynde' him? I think not. This last touch settles the question for me. The Pilgrims had evidently got through the (no doubt²) robber-haunted Forest, and were approaching Harbledown, the Cook had dropped behind all the party (brought up by the Reeve³), when the Host turned round, saw Master Cook all behind, at once thought of the Forest thieves, and called for one of the company to go and fetch up the lagging Cook, before he was caught by some thief and carried back to the Forest. This incident couldn't have happened so

him. Forwhy, mannys kinde [L. *sperma*, mid.-Engl. *nature*] is made of the beste bloode & beste defyed, that hastely maye torne into manys lymmes: and forwhi, whenne a man casteth oute that noble humors to moche, he is hugely dyscolored, and his body moche febled, more then [if] he lete foure sithes so moche bloode out of his body; also, who that moche deleth or companyeth wyth a woman, lyghtly kacheth y^e palsey with more euyll."—*The Governayle of Helthe*, A 3, Caxton: repr. W. Blades, 1858.

¹ Against this view we must put the Miller's having got drunk (l. 3122, 3140) before he got to Deptford (l. 3904), three miles.

² See Mr Cowper's Letter above, p. 33, § 4, p. 34; and *Stanley*, p. 215; also the Canon's-Yeoman's account of the town (probably Ospringe, or somewhere near the Forest) he and his master lived in:

'Wher dwellen ye, if it to telle be?'

'In the subarbes of a toun,' quod he, 12585

'Lurking in hirnes and in lanes blynde,

Wher as these robbours and these theves by kynde

Holden here privé ferful residence,

As thay that dor nought schewen her presence;

So faren we, if I schal say the sothe.' 12590

³ And ever he rood the hynderest of the route, l. 624.

naturally on the return-journey: at any rate, I think not. I also claim as a confirmation of my view the fact that Lydgate, who may be fairly supposed to have known either Chaucer's own notions about his Tales, or those of his contemporaries, wrote his *Sege of Thebes* as the first Tale of the return journey from Canterbury, and expressly mentioned Boughton and its hill (p. 31, here). It is difficult to believe that he would have done this, had he known—as I think he must have done if it had been the fact—that Chaucer had written his Manciple's Tale for the same bit of the journey. But if other students think otherwise, then they must take this Manciple's Tale as the first on the journey back.]

I. x. [The next question is, Is the Parson's Tale "inseparably linked" to the Manciple's? Do they form one group or two? At first sight they clearly form one group, for the Parson's Prologue starts with

By that the Maunciple had his tale endid.

But the lines following show, that either the Manciple's name must have been introduced by a copier after Chaucer's death, or that Chaucer himself had not revised this link or prologue so as to remove the contradiction of a tale at 4 o'clock (or later) being told directly after the Manciple's, which was told in the morning:—

By that the Maunciple had his tale endid,	
The sonne fro the south line is descendid	
So lowe, that it nas nought to my sight	
Degrees nyne and twenty as in hight.	
Ten on the klokke it was, as I gesse,	
For enleven foote, or litil more or lesse,	17300
My schadow was at thilk tyme of the yere,	
Of which feet as my lengthe parted were	
In sixe feet equal of proporcioun.	
Therwith the mones exaltacioun,	17304
In mena Libra, alway gan ascende,	
As we were entryng at a townes ende.	
For which our host, as he was wont to gye,	
As in this caas, our joly compaignye,	
Sayd in this wise: "Lordings, everichoon,	

Now lakketh us no moo tales than oon, 17310
 Fulfilled is my sentens and my decreté ;
 I trowe that we han herd of ech degré.
 Almost fulfilled is myn ordynaunce ;
 Sir prest, quod he . . .
 . . every man, save thou, hath told his tale 17329
 This Persoun him auswerde al at oones
 I wol you telle a mery tale in prose 17340
 To knyht up al this fest, and make an ende" . . .
 "Sir prest," quod he, "now faire yow bifalle . . . 17362
 Telleth," quod he, "your meditacioun ; 17365
 But hasteth yow, the sonne wol adoun."

It is clear that the above reading "ten on the klokke¹" of the Harleian 7334, &c., must give way to the "four" or "five" of other MSS, as Tyrwhitt proves (iv. 186, *Int. Disc.* § xli) ; and also that, notwithstanding the seeming link of the first line of the Parson's Prologue (which misled me when drawing up my Trial-Tables), we must break the Manciple's and Parson's Tales into separate Fragments, making the Manciple's, *Fragment IX, Group H* ; and the Parson's Prologue and Tale, *Fragment X, Group I*. I have already said that I consider the Manciple's Tale must be put on the down journey. Must it also be taken as the last before reaching Canterbury ?

Can we halt the Pilgrims at Harbledown to dine, or to visit the nuns, or to take a very long time in kissing the Harbledown relic, St Thomas's shoe—not, like Colet, exclaiming, "What ! do these asses expect us to kiss the shoes of all good men that ever lived ? Why, they might as well bring us their spittle or their dung to be kissed !" ²

¹ The Man of Law's 'ten of the klokke,' l. 4434, and Chaucer's description of the state of the shadows then, prevent us taking 'ten on the klokke' here as the tenth hour unequal of the day, that is, between 4 and 5 P.M. This latter looked a pretty solution of the difficulty at first, till Mr Bradshaw brought forward the Man of Law parallel.

² Evidently Chaucer's Host didn't care much for Relics. Thus he answers the Pardoner's suggestion that he should kiss the latter's 'reliquis everichoon . . for a grote :

"Nay, nay," quod he, "than have I Cristes curs ! 14361
 Let be," quod he, "it schal not be, so theech ! [thrive I]
 Thow woldest make me kisse thin olde breech,

(*Stanley*, p. 243-4.)—I hope some one will soon find a plausible reason for keeping the Pilgrims at Harbledown till 4 P.M. Until it is found, we must give up the hope of making the time of the Parson's Prologue work in with the rest of the Tales. All that we can say is this: the Parson's Tale was evidently meant by Chaucer as the wind-up of either the down journey or the back one. We have nowhere any hint of the back journey in his Work; the writing of Lydgate's Thebes tale, and the other Beryn tale in Urry's edition, both point to no return Tales having been composed by Chaucer; the subject of the Parson's Tale—though called 'a mery tale in prose,' l. 17340—suits better the evening before the visit to the shrine of Beket, than the jolly parting supper at the Tabbard on the return to London. (The *fest* of l. 17365, *Wright*, refers to the merry journey on the road.) But if any one likes to put the Parson's Tale at the end of the back journey, no one can find fault with him. I prefer to take the Tale as written for the last of the down journey, but not finally revised by Chaucer to make it fit the time of the foregoing Manciple's Tale, and the short distance from Harbledown to Canterbury.]

Reviewing, then, what has been said, we find that

1. In opposition to the notion of a one-day's journey, the Tales themselves necessitate at least a 2-days' one, by the *pryme* (l. 10,387) of the Squire's Tale (two Tales after Sittingbourne), and the *by the morwe* of the Manciple's Tale (at Harbledown); while these same allusions oblige the first day of a 2-days' journey to be 46 miles long (Osprunge), or at least 40 miles (Sittingbourne), both of which dis-

And swere it were a relik of a seynt,
 Though it were with thy foundement depeynt.
 But by the cros, which that seynt Heleyn fond,
 I wold I had thy coylons [stones] in myn hond,
 In stede of reliks or of seintuary.
 Let cut hem of, I wol help hem to cary;
 Thay schul be schryned in an hogges tord.'

tances are (I think) improbable ones, considering the probable state of the roads, horses, and some of the 30 riders.¹ A 1½-days' journey also requires that the 15 miles from London to Dartford, as well as dinner, should have been got over, and the Pilgrims have started again, by 10 A.M. Moreover, a 1½-days' journey makes the very unequal divisions of 46 or 40 miles for the first day, and only 10 or 16 miles for the second, while a 3½-days' journey removes this inequality. (We can make a 2½-days' journey, by doing 30 miles the first day, sleeping at Rochester; and 16 miles the second, sleeping at Ospringe.)

Still, after referring to Mr Thorold Rogers's valuable *History of Agriculture and Prices in England, 1259-1400 A.D.*,—which I am ashamed to say I forgot to take from my shelves earlier in this investigation—I must allow that the 40-miles' journey is more possible than I at first thought it was; for Mr Rogers quotes an instance of a *midsummer* day's journey of more than 40 miles, from Cuxham to London, in 1331 A.D., by a bailiff, his servant, and horse; and their return the second day after, also accomplished in one day, I presume (i. 506-7). Another long journey of which Mr Rogers gives the details, was a midwinter one, from Oxford to Ponteland (N.W. of Newcastle), about 250 or 260 miles, which was done in 11½ days, exclusive of 1 day's rest at Durham (see *Appendix IV.*), from Jan. 5, 1332, giving an average of, say, 23 miles a day. 'The return journey through Lincolnshire takes 9 days . . .' says Mr Rogers. 'The number of persons . . . seems to have been at least seven—the warden, two fellows, and four servants—and the charges in the first week to have been £1 17s. 7d., in the second £1 1s. 9¾d.' 'Similar journeys are given in vol. ii. pp. 610, 612, 614, eight days being generally occupied in the route [at, say, 32 miles a day]. Another

¹ We must remember that even up to 1581, *trotting* was considered a dangerous exercise. See the extract from Mulcaster's *Positions* in *Appendix IV.*

journey, with an account of the return route, is given in ii. 613. The rate is tolerably fast.'

The journey most to our purpose in Mr Rogers's volumes, since it includes Canterbury, is one in 1329 A.D. (ii. 613), to Elham in Kent, from Oxford and back. But I cannot make out all the places or distances.

“ELHAM. JOURNEY FROM OXFORD AND BACK.

1st day.	Cuxham	
2nd „	Henley	Coledrook [?]
	Maydenchurch [?]	Kingston
3rd „	Maldon ¹	Dereford [?]
	Farley ²	
4th „	Braynford [?]	Maidenstone
	Canterbury	Gretham [?]
	Eyaghe ³ [?]	
5th „	Croydon	Maydenhead
	Maldon ¹	Cuxham”

Whatever *Eyaghe* may mean, or wherever it may be, I suppose it is beyond Canterbury (which lies quite out of the direct route to Elham), so that we may make its distance from Oxford 120 miles or more, and therefore each day's journey at least 30 miles.

Again, in the accounts of the journey of John de Middleton and his servant from Oxford to Avignon and back, from Jan. 21 to Aug. 24, 1331 (*Rogers*, ii. 631), we get the stages: *Monday*, pass through (or stay at) Thame; *Tuesday*, pass through Uxbridge and Acton, to London (58 miles in 2 days); stay there Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday; “*die Sabbati apud Neweton* [a blank for the money spent] *die dominico apud Cantuariam et Dovoriam* xix d qr.”⁴ Now if *Neweton* is Newington, just south of London,⁵ I

¹ ? Malden, S.E. of Kingston, Surrey.

² ? Farleigh, near Maidstone.

³ ? Wye, about 8 miles W.N.W. of Elham.

⁴ For the return journey we have only the expenses: “Item in expensis de Dovoriam usque Graveshende xx*d* sterling. Item in passagio ij*d* sterling. Item in expensis Londoniæ ij*d*. Item de Londonia usque ad Oxoniam vij*d*.”

⁵ I can't find a Newton or Newington any way down the Canterbury road.

suppose that John de Middleton only passed through it (or started from it, as Chaucer from Southwark) on his way to Dover, and took 2 days to do the 72 miles; but if *apud Neweton* means sleeping at Newington on Saturday, then the 72-miles' journey to Dover was done in one winter's day; but I do not suppose that this is meant.

However, if we take these instances as establishing that a man, or a small party of men, did usually ride from 25 to 35 or 40 miles a day on a business journey in the 14th century, the question still recurs whether a party of 30 Pilgrims, including 3 women—the gentle Prioress,¹ the Nun, and the hardier Wife of Bath,—out for their spring holiday-trip, would ride as far. I think they would not. But this point is not the important one, as the order of the Tales is independent of it. ✓ That order is the main point, and the one we have settled suits just as well a $1\frac{1}{2}$ or $2\frac{1}{2}$ -days' journey as a $3\frac{1}{2}$ -days'; for, instead of making the Pilgrims sleep the first night at Dartford, we can only give them dinner there; instead of sleeping at Rochester on the second night, we can either make them (for a $2\frac{1}{2}$ -days' journey) sleep there on the first night, after a journey of 30 miles, or (for a $1\frac{1}{2}$ -day's journey) make them leave that town on their left on the first day, and sup and sleep either at Sittingbourne or Ospringe on the first night; and start thence for Canterbury on the second morning,—or the third, if we make the journey $2\frac{1}{2}$ -days, dividing the whole distance thus, I. 30, II. 16, III. 10, miles. ✓

Till further evidence turns up, I take the 15 miles a day as the most probable, and say that ✓

2. All the allusions of the Tales are consistent with the scheme of a $3\frac{1}{2}$ -days' journey, except the one difficulty of the afternoon of the Parson's Prologue; and this difficulty is greater for a 2-days' journey than a $3\frac{1}{2}$ -days', on account

¹ One irreverend Professor-friend of mine who holds to the 1-day's journey, declares that women as well as men were "copper-bottomed" in the 14th century.

of the quicker pace of the former. The only objections to the 3½-days' journey are α . the entirely unfounded notion in some people's heads that Chaucer meant to put the journey into one day: β . that 15 miles was far too short a distance for a day's holiday-ride at the end of the 14th century. To this β my answer is given by the actual journeys of Queen Isabella in 1358 and King John of France in 1360, and by the arguments at pages 15—17, and 41, above.

3. In support of the 3½-days' journey we must consider the necessity of an early arrival at the town where the Pilgrims were to sleep, for the purpose of getting man and horse housed in hostels and their stables, or monasteries¹ and their barns, and of purchasing food. Mr Rogers thinks 'that in England the monasteries were not often resorted to for lodging or accommodation,' but that inns were resorted to, which 'did not provide much more than lodging for the wayfarer, and perhaps provender for his horse. On reaching his lodging the traveller set about purchasing what he needed for provisions' (i. 138-9). Mr Rogers also says of the Cuxham bailiff, his servant and horse, in 1331 (p. 39 above): 'Arrived in London, they take up their lodging at one of the numerous hostels in the city, and, according to the fashion of the time, cater for the need of themselves and their horse' (i. 506).

Tabulating, then, our present results (which must be looked on as tentative, though I hope they're right), we get the following scheme, on pages 42 and 43, which quite clears Chaucer from having made the tremendous mess of his work that Editors' and writers'² want of care has attributed to him, and which is based on a first draft by Mr Bradshaw for a one-day's journey, but contains alterations that he will probably repudiate:—

¹ At Ospringe the Pilgrims may have stopt with *Le maistre et frères de l'ostel Dieu*, as King John did: see p. 130 below.

² We can't blame 'em, as we all used to do the same; it is so much more gratifying to human nature to write your author down 'ass,' than yourself.

SCHEME
OF THE
ORDER OF THE CANTERBURY TALES,
AND THE
HALTING- AND SLEEPING-PLACES OF THE PILGRIMS
ON THEIR
JOURNEY TO CANTERBURY
WITH
Chaucer.

Groups	Fragments	Tales & Links	Allusions to Places, Times, Prior Tales, &c. (Wright's 2-col. ed.)	Distances & Stages
A	I	1 General Prologue 2 Knight 3 Link 4 Miller 5 Link 6 Reve 7 Link 8 Cook * * *	In Southwerk at the Tabbard as I lay, (l. 20) { Lo heer is Depford, and it is passed prime; Lo Grenewich, ther many a schrewe is inne. (l. 3806-7)	[? Dartford 15 miles]
B	II	Prologue 1 Man of Law 2 Link 3 Shipman 4 Link 5 Priores 6 Link 7 Sir Thopas 8 Link 9 Melibe 10 Link 11 Monk 12 Nun's Priest Link * * *	It was ten of the clokke, he gan conclude (l. 4434) Lo, Rowchestre stant heer faste by (l. 15412)	[? Rochester 30 miles]
C	IV	1 Doctor Link & Prologue 2 Pardoner * * *	[? End of the Second Day's Journey]	
D	V	1 Prologue 2 Wife of Bath 3 Link 4 Friar 5 Link 6 Sompaour * * *	{ Quod this Sompaour, "And I byschrewe me But if I telle tales tuo or thre Of freres, er I come to Sydingoorne. (l. 6427-9) My tale is don, we ben almost at toune (l. 7876) [? Halt in the Third Day's Journey for Dinner]	[? Sittingbourne 40 miles]

+ This Group may go on any morning. It is put here to make the Tales of the Third Day not less than those of the Second.

Groups	Fragment:	Tales & Links	Allusions to Places, Times, Priors Tales, etc. (Wright's 2-col. ed.)	Distances & Stages
E	VI	1 Prologue 2 Clerk 3 Link 4 Link 5 Merchant 6 Link	For which heer, for the wyves love of Batha (l. 9046) { The wif of Batha, if ye han understonde, Of marriage, which ye han now in honde Declared hath ful wel in lital space (l. 9559-61) To tellen al; wherfor my tale is do (l. 10314) [P Ospringe 46 miles]	
F	VII	1 Link (l. 10315) 2 Squire 3 Link 4 Franklin	I wol not tarien you, for it is pryme (l. 10387)	
G	VIII	1 Second Nun 2 Link & Prologue 3 Canon's Yeoman	{ Er we fully had riden fyve myle, (l. 12483) At Boughitoun under Blee us gan atake A man, that clothed was in clothes blake . . . It semed he hadde priked myles thre (l. 12489) His yeman ook was ful of curtesye, And seid, "Sires, now in the morwe tyde (l. 12516) Out of your ostelry I saugh you ryde al this ground on which we ben ryngde Til that we comen to Caunterbury town (l. 12552) [Pause. Go up Bleau Hill, and through the Forest]	
H	IX	1 Prologue 2 Manciple	{ Wot ye not wher ther stont a lital town, Which that cleped is Bob-up-and-down, Under the Ble, in Caunterbury way? (l. 16935) . . . Is ther no man, for prayer ne for hyre (l. 16938) That wol awake our felawe al byhynde? A theef mighte [him] ful lightly robbe and bynde . . . Awake thou cook, sit up, God gif the sorwe! What eyleth the, to slepe by the morwe? Hast thou had fleen al night, or artow dronke? Or hastow with som quen al night i-swonke, So that thou maist not holden up thyrn beed? (l. 16951)	
I	X	1 Link & Prologue 2 Parson	{ By that the Maunciple [P] had his tale endid (l. 17295) The somme fro the south line is descendid So lowe, that it nas nougth to my sight Degrees nyne and twentye as in height [Four] on the clokke it was, as I gesse . . . As we were entryng at a townes end (l. 17306) Now lakketh us no moo tales than oon (l. 17310) I wol yow telle a mery tale in prose, (l. 17346) To knyght al this fest, and make an ende; But hasteth yow, the somme wol adoun (l. 17366) [End of the Fourth Day's Journey. Reach Canterbury]	[56 miles]

On this scheme, then, or such improvement of it as can be shown to be right, I propose to arrange the parallel Six-Text edition of the Tales for the Society, numbering the lines of each *Group* from its first line to its last, and then starting each *Group* with a fresh 1. The separate print of each MS will follow the order of the MS itself, though its different parts will be headed, and their lines numbered, according to the arrangement of the Six-Text edition. It is indispensable, as Mr Bradshaw rightly says, that the fragmentary character of *The Canterbury Tales* shall be so stamp'd upon them that no one can mistake it; and although it may be rather a bore to refer to "*Cant. Tales* H. 1" instead of "*Cant. Tales*, l. 17037," or "A 1160" instead of "l. 1160," the grievance will not be very great, while the gain of getting a clear conception of the structure of the work will be enormous. Tyrwhitt first saw this fact, but not so clearly as Mr Bradshaw has since done. And though I worked out my Trial-Tables by Tyrwhitt, the Ellesmere MS, and the Harleian 7334, independently of Mr Bradshaw, it was only in consequence of his insistence on the general principle of Fragments. If, since seeing his Trial-Scheme, I have felt obliged to differ from parts of it, this is because he has taught me to do so.

§ 4. *A Few of the Specialties of our Six MSS.*

I. *The Ellesmere MS.*

This MS. was first described (I believe) by Todd, in his *Illustrations*, p. 128, and he was as delighted with it as he was with the noble owner's fine MS of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*. He says :

I conclude my notices of manuscripts with an account of a copy of the Tales, which in no respect is exceeded, perhaps I might say equalled, by any of those already described. It was brought from the late Duke of Bridgewater's library at Ashridge; and I am persuaded, originally belonged to the collegiate library of that place. It now [1810] belongs to the Marquis of Stafford. [1869, Earl of Ellesmere.]

This manuscript is in folio, on vellum, with illuminated capitals, and with figures, in the margin, at the commencement of every Tale, of each relater. On two leaves preceding the Prologue, are the curious Poems which form the sixth division of the Illustrations in this volume.¹ The figures are drawn and coloured with great care, and present a very minute delineation of the dress and costume of Chaucer's time.² From the margin of the *Tale of Melibeus*, the drawing of Chaucer, prefixed to this work, has been exactly copied. The writing is of the fifteenth century. It appears to me as a manuscript of excellent authority. The various readings, which it exhibits, are numerous. . . . On the cover, at the end of the volume, written in a hand coeval with the rest of the manuscript, is Chaucer's *Balade of goode counsaile*, as Urry terms it.³

Mr Richard Morris has confirmed Todd's report as to the excellence of the Ellesmere MS, so far as regards its grammatical forms, and I look on it as the best that has been through my hands. For though Harl. 7334 was probably written before it, yet the *-ud* and *-is* of the Harl. 7334's perfects and plurals, its *sch*⁴ &c., are nasty, if not all provincial, and make me hope that future editors will take the Ellesmere as the basis of their text rather than Harl. 7334.

In *readings*—to take a sample—the Ellesmere is better than Harl. 7334 in lines

- 175 Harl. This ilke Monk leet forby hem pace
 Elles. olde thynges . . .
- 232 Harl. Men mooten given silver to the pore freres
 Elles. . . moote yeue⁵
- 291 Harl. For he hadde nought geten him yit a benefice
 Elles. geten him yet no . . .

¹ p. 295-309. The poems are certainly not Chaucer's. The first begins 'Half in dede slepe, not fully revyved'; and the second, 'All thynge ys ordaynyd by Goddys provysyon,' p. 302; it is headed *Incepicio materie cum proprietatibus Vereis*, &c. It is 'a compliment to one of the noble house of Vere.'

² The figures were evidently painted after the MS was written. But how long after, I cannot say.

³ It has not the last stanza or Envoy of the copy—unique, so far as we yet know—in the Additional MS 10,340, which I printed in *The Athenæum* of September 14, 1867.

⁴ El. has *sch* occasionally, l. 496, &c.

⁵ both *e*'s silent. Though probably *pore* ought to be omitted.

- 292 Harl. Ne was not worthy to haven an office
Elles. ... so worldly for to haue ...
- 320 Harl. His purchasynge might nought ben to him suspecte
Elles. myghte nat been infecte
- 1655 Harl. Tho it semed that this Palamon
Elles. Thou myghtest wene

and especially the Ellesmere sets right the wrong Harleian arrangement of lines 2829-32, and the wrong *At* of l. 2833, by reading

- | | |
|--|------|
| In al the toun / for deeth of this Theban | 2829 |
| ffor hym ther wepeth / bothe child and man | |
| So greet a wepyng ^t was ther noon certayn | |
| Whan Ector was ybrought / al fressh yslayn | 2832 |
| To Troye | |

and removes the terrible contradiction to rime-men of the Harleian making 'jealousy-e,' 1807, rime with 'me,' 1808, by reading 'Iolitee' for 'jealousy-e.'

But the Ellesmere is worse—taking again only a sample or two—than the Harleian 7334 in lines

- 179 Harl. Ne that a monk whan he is cloysterles
Elles. reccheles
- 188 Harl. Lat Austyn have his swynk to him reserved
Elles. owene swynk
- 559 Harl. His mouth as wyde was as a gret forneys
Elles. greet
- 485 Harl. And such he was i-proved ofte sithes
Elles. preved

The Ellesmere often doubles the vowel of syllables¹, as:—

baar, 237	deeth, 1566, 1716
caas, 653	freend, 668 ; freendes, 299
compaas, 1889	garleek, 631
maad, 212, 666, 758, 1471	greet, 84, 203, 437, 472, 559
	heeld, 176, 182, 337
bokeleer, 666	heeng, 674 (but henge, 675)
cruel, 1382	weel, 87, 367

¹ "The reader will frequently meet with a duplication of vowels, as in *aart, weel, ooth*, &c., but as this does not seem to make any alteration in sound [?] or number of syllables, no further notice will be taken of it."—*Mason's Hoccleve*, p. 24. See the same thing in the Lambeth MS 853, of ab. 1430 A.D., printed in my *Hymns to the Virgin and Christ*, 1867; *Political, Religious, and Love Poems*, 1866; and *Babees Book*, 1868, for the Early English Text Society.

almost, 155	moost, 303, 796
brooch, 160	moot, 740
doon, 268	noon, 678
dooth, 98, 171	noot, 284
goon, 12	oother, 601, 1135, 1216, 1275, 1569, 1712
goot, 686	rood, 541, 681
hooly, 17	smoot, 149
hoomly, 328	soong, 122, 1055 (but song, 708, 712, 1509)
hoost, 743, 749, 835	soore, 148, 1755
hoot, 420, 685	stoon, 772
hoote, 97	stroong, 1056
loore, 527	
moore, 67, 219, 781, 1116, 1122, 1464, 1756	

It often uses *nat* for the Harl. *nought*.

The lined *h* has often no value: knygh^t, 43, &c.; fresshe, 90; parissheⁿs, 482; thresshe, 536; mygh^te, 630, &c. Sometimes it doubtless means *e*, as in l. 365, the adverb 'fful fressh and newe,' 'Yclothed was she fressh for to deuyse,' 190; 'al fressh yslayn,' 2832. Whether in nouns after prepositions the *h* means *he*, to mark a case, I cannot yet say. Compare

Whan Zephirus eek / <i>with</i> his swete breeth	5
Inspired hath / in euery holt' and heeth	6
And wayke been / the Oxen in my Plough	887
The remenant of the tale / is long ynough	888
Was risen / and romed / in a chambre an heigh	1065
In which / he al the noble Citee seigh	1066
In which ther ran / a rumbel and a swough	1979
As though a storm / sholde bresten euery bough	1980

with

The laborer / and the Bocher and the Smyth	2025
That forgeth sharpe swerdes on his Styth	2026
Of his stature / he was of euene lengthe	83
And wonderly delyuere / and of greet strengthe	84
They were adrad of hym / as of the deeth	605
His wonyng ^t was ful faire vp on an heeth	606

So with the final *g^t* there is this difficulty, that the Ellesmere has a superfluous *e* in the abstracts of action in

ynge, both in the base and the case, as also in the present participle, singular and plural:—

<i>base.</i>	<i>case.</i>
dwellynge, 1937	in portreyngge, 1938
cracchyngge, 2834	of mordryngge, 2001
rentyngge, 2834	by manasyngge, 2035
apparaillyngge, 2913	in redoutyngge, 2050
moornyngge, 2968	of retournyngge, 2095
norisshyngge, 3017	of wepyngge, 2885
	at the makyngge, 2914
	with shoutyngge, 2953
	of lesyngge, 1707

case, no e.
of huntynge, 2055

<i>part. sing.</i>	<i>part. plur.</i>
waillyngge, 1366	hangyngge, 1496
makyngge, 1366	flikeryngge, 1962
remembryngge, 1501	daunsyngge, 2201
startlyngge, 1502	passyngge, 2848
smellyngge, 1961	clateryngge, 2954
laughyngge, 2011	
sittyngge, 2028	
hangyngge, 2030	
trauaillyngge, 2083	
comyngge, 2128	
hangyngge, 2163	
sparklyngge, 2164	
thondryngge, 2174	
passyngge, 2885	
gliteryngge, ¹ 2890	

After these specimens who can say that the *g*' in the following instances means nothing?

<i>crude form.</i>	<i>case.</i>
sermonyng, 3091	to thyng', 3092
kyng', 3035	of a thyng', 3008
bigynnynge', 3007	(<i>obj.</i>) compassyng', 1996
lookyng', 2171	„ ymaginyng', 1995
saluyng', 1649	[<i>for</i>] no thyng', 1754
	in huntynge', 1679
	in fightyng', 1656
	withouten reheryng', 1650.
	in chaungyng', 1647

plural, case.
of alle thyng', 3036

<i>adv.</i>	<i>adj. sing.</i>
endelong', 1991	strong', 1992

¹ gliteryngge (*rime bryngge*), Morris: in the MS both *g*'s are *g*'.

Are the two following, instances of adverbs, or adjectives (complements of the verbs) ?

hereth hym come russhyng ^t	1641
I lete hem fightyng dwelle	1661

All these instances are from the Knight's Tale only ; judging by that, we must hold that $g^t = ge$.

The rule of Harl. 7334 seems different, to judge from the prints of it. But when you look at the MS itself, you find that nearly every final g is g^t , or has a tick of some kind to it,¹ and that this tick *must* sometimes mean e , is evident, as in lines 3019-20 in the Harl. 7334,

L O þe Ook^t þat^t haþ so long^t norisschyng^t
 L fro tyme þat^t it gynneþ first^t to spring^t

So also, on leaf 45,

fful wel accordyng^t to his gyterning^t
 This carpenter awook^t and herde him syng^t

Compare this with (leaf 11, back)

Wipouten eny lengere tarynge
 A morwe whan þat^t þe day bigan to spryng^e

If g^t then must sometimes be ge , why shouldn't it always be so? Probably it is; and represents the 'e' of the earlier participial 'inde,' as Mr Morris suggests; then, later on, the 'e' was added to the substantive in '-yng' (A.S. *ung*) as well as the participle. All I want to establish is, that the greater number of final 'e' after 'yng' in the Ellesmere, does not make it worse than Harl. 7334.

The reader will follow Mr Morris in noting how much more regularly than Harl. 7334, the Ellesmere MS has the perfect e in 'hadde, dide,' &c.; though there are exceptions. Whether it is a merit to introduce these nuisances of unpronounced final e 's, I leave other men to settle.

With regard to the final δ in nouns, it *may* be used for de , and meant to mark a case, as in 'of lond δ , 577; in Englon δ , 578; with a ber δ , 270; hon δ (*acc.*); to euery

¹ See 1496, hongyng (slight tick, leaf 20 *b.*); 1962, fleyng (slight tick, leaf 26 *b.*); 2201, daunsyng (long down-stroke, leaf 29 *b.*); 1961, smellyng (long down-stroke, leaf 26 *b.*); 2011, lauchyng (slight tick, leaf 27); 2028, sittyng (slanting tag, leaf 27 *b.*); 2030, hangyng e .

lond, 400 ; of ground, ten pound (if a plural), vpon hir heed, of fyn scarlet reed, 453-6' ; yet 'in his heed, of a leed, l. 201-2,' have no tag.

II. *The Hengwrt MS.*

✓ This I take to be the second best of our six. It is the least handsome of them, the least formally written—or rather, the most hurried-looking writing is in part of it.—It has been badly treated at one time of its life,—kept in a damp place, and so stained, gnawed at the corners of its edges by rats, who have in a few pages eaten into the words.—But it's a MS to be esteemed nevertheless. Its metrical pause-marks are well kept up ; and I do not recollect any provincialisms in it. Occasional bad readings it has, as 'Emforth,' 2235, for 'Enforce.' It has an occasional gloss, as *ad vid* (to see), 1955 ; *mare* (the see), 1956, 2298 ; *impetus* (a veze), 1985. The tagged *c*, *f*, *g*, *t*, &c.,¹ it has ; and I have printed *t* and *g* as *te* and *ge* occasionally, when the rime wanted it :—

Theffecte ne the tormentz of myn helle	2228
In his fightynge / were a wood leon	1656

The Hengwrt MS is the only one of our six that intrudes the lines

And yaf a *certeyn ferme* / for the graunt'
Noon of his bretheren / cam ther in his haunt'

between lines 252 and 253 :

He was the beste beggere ² of his hous	252
ffor thogh a wydwe hadde noght' a sho	
So plesant was his In principio	
Yet wolde he haue a ferthyng er he wente	
His purchaas was wel bettere than his rente	256

¹ This is often only the pause-mark run into the cross-line of the *t*.

² See Tyndale on the Friars and their begging :—

“As soon as the monks were fallen, then sprang these begging friars out of hell, the last kind of caterpillars, in a more vile apparel, and a more strait religion ; that, if aught of relief were left among the laymen for the poor people, these horse-leeches might suck that also : which drone bees, as soon as they had learned their craft, and had built them goodly and costly nests, and their limiters had divided all countries among them to beg in, and had prepared livings of a certainty, though with begging ; then they also took dispensations of the pope, for to live as largely and

The Harl. 7334 also has not these two intruded lines; and I have no hesitation in rejecting them, for they break the run of the description, and were evidently an after-thought, to explain l. 256.

III. *The Cambridge MS, Gg. 4. 27.*

The *Canterbury Tales* in this MS occur after other works of Chaucer, as noticed in p. 7. The MS is mostly written in a formal squareish hand, with very few tags, of about 1430-40 A.D., but towards the latter end another scribe's hand appears, and is mixed with the first one's. Many of the words are written over erasures,¹ and many others are corrected by a somewhat later hand, as I think, though Mr Bradshaw, who knows the MS far better than I, hold this hand to be contemporary with the other. Several pages have been cut out of the MS; and the places of these I have supplied, and shall supply, from the Sloane MS 1685, when it has them, and when it has not, from the Harleian MS 1758.

The square scribe—as we may call the one who wrote as lewdly as the monks.”—From ‘The Practice of Prelates,’ 1530, in 2 *Tyndale*, p. 277.

“If any natural beast with his worldly wisdom strive, that one is greater than another, because that in congregations one is sent of another, as we see in the Acts; I answer that Peter sent no man, but was sent himself; and John was sent, and Paul, Silas, and Barnabas were sent. Howbeit such manner sendings are not worldly, as princes send ambassadors; no, nor as friars send their limiters to gather their brotherhoods* ; which must obey, whether they will or not.”—From ‘The Obedience of a Christen man,’ 1528, in 1 *Tyndale*, p. 212, edited, for the Parker Society, by the Rev. H. Walter, B.D.

¹ In l. 91, all the words but *day* are over an erasure:

Syngynye he was or floutynge al the day.

In l. 248 *selleris of vitay* are so too.

* “Limiters were friars sent out of their convent to collect alms, each within his assigned bound; and to induce persons to purchase a partnership, or *brotherhood*, in the merits of the conventual services. A grant of such a brotherhood, under the seal of the prior of a Dominican monastery, was expressed as follows: *Fratres prædicatores Warwice admittunt Thomam Cannings, et uxorem ejus Agnetem, ad participationem omnium bonorum operum conventus ejusdem.* 4 Non. Oct. A.D. 1347. Stevens, Suppl. to Dugdale, vol. ii. App. p. 370. Russell.”—*Walter*.

most of the MS—had evidently a great fancy 1. for swallowing *els* and *tees*; and 2. the guttural *gh* and *g*, with an *n* and *d* once; 3. for putting *oes* for *aes*, *ees*, and *us*; and 4. putting *ees* for *ies*; though 5. in the genitives and plurals of nouns he put *-is* or *-ys* for *-es*; and 6. ended his participles in *-it* instead of *-ed*; 7. this scribe used *t*, *th*, *d*, and other flats and sharps in a noteworthy way; 8. he doubled his *ens*; 9. prefixed *s* to initial *ch*; 10. used *w* for *v*, and *v* for *w*; 11. in vowels, put *eu* for *u*, used *ii* or *ij*, made wrong rhimes, and neglected the final *e*, occasionally; 12. he wrote some odd forms. Whether these peculiarities are Midland or Northern,—or some Midland, and some Northern—I must settle in the foot-notes, and now only collect instances of them, stopping however at the first sheet for *hese* and *his*; *-is*, *-ys*, *-es*; *-it*, *-id*, *-ed*; there are so many of them.

1. *t* left out: *schat* for *schalt* (which occurs in l. 2351) is in lines 1145, 1153, 1391, 1587, 1588, 1593, 4, -5, 2670; *schuderys* (shoulders) is in l. 2136; and word (world) in l. 3105.

t left out:

parlemen 1306	nygh 2490
rygh ¹ 1395, 1638, 2347, 2370,	wrough 2497
2372, 2583, 3090	ryghe 2739
wone (wont) 1557, &c., 1692	knyghede 2789
brygh 2231, 2876, 2932	wha (what) 2820
brough 2618	

2. *gh* out in the final syllable:

475 lawe, laugh	1728 hYTE, hIGHT
515 þow, though	1769 thouthe (but thouzte
1089 alþow, although	1772, &c.)
1432 þourout	2067 caut (<i>rh.</i> not)
1574 thoute ²	2256 þour (through) ⁴
1591 þow (though)	2258 þow (though)
1660 foute	2559 fytyth
1699 foutyn	2567 throuout
1711 fytyn ³	2697 IbrouT

¹ Cp. *righwisnes* in *Townley Mysteries*, p. 51.

² *þhowtes*, thoughts, *Genesis and Exodus*, 3544.

³ *fygty*n, 2539. *Figten* is Midland: 'He ne mogen *figten* a-gen,' *Genesis and Exodus*, l. 3227.

⁴ thorough, 2581.

(In 505, outhe, ought; 604, sleythe, sleight; 1214, cauth, caught, *gh*t is represented by *the* or *th*; while in 1117 sik, sigh, and 2815 schrikte (shrighte, shrieked), we have the Northern *k* for *gh*; and the same *k* is seen for *ch* in 258, mekil.)

¹*g* out, or *n* for *ng*, at the end: of *length* (as in Hampole's *Pricke of Conscience*, p. 160, l. 5898-9², and in the Midland *E. E. Allit. Poems*, p. 31, l. 1029; p. 41, l. 116; p. 50, l. 425; p. 85, l. 1594; and in the Midland *Gawayne and the Green Knight*, l. 1231) and *strength*³ (also as in the *Allit. Poems*, p. 72, l. 1155; p. 80, l. 1430).

83 lenthe	84 strenthe	2645 strenthe
1970 "	1943 "	2802 "
2646 "	2399 "	2789 strenth
2967 "	2401 "	

d out, in *vpwar*, 2756; *n* out, in *fyndy*, 1627. By way of compensation, *r* is inserted in 365, *ffrorsch*, and 368, *grerdelys*, as well as *h* in *whilhom*, noticed below.

3. *o* for *a*, *e*, *u*⁴:

90 frossche	1038 frosch
92 frosch	1068 frosche
269 hobert (Hubert)	1087 3ouyn ⁵
273 clospede (clasped)	1088 constolacioun
365 ffrorsch	1096 hort (hurt)
536 throsche (thresh)	1118 frossche
556 brostelis (bristles)	1166 3ouyn
627 bronston (brimstone)	1180 away ⁷
1037 frosscher	1304 woth (with)

¹ Mr A. J. Ellis says that "*strenthe* and *lenthe* are not examples of omitted *g*, but of the use of *n* for *ng* (one letter really), common in these words to this day, and quite familiar (though abundantly disagreeable) to me." 'þe kyndom of heuenne' is in *E. E. Allit.* p. 42, l. 161; *kyndam*, p. 88, l. 1700.

² þe gudes of kynd er bodily strenthe,

And semely shape of brede and lenthe.

See also 'þe *strenthe* of hungre,' p. 181, l. 6703; and *strenthy*, *strong*, p. 138, l. 5075.

³ The *E. E. Alliteratives* have 'strenkþe,' at p. 64, l. 880.

⁴ folfylle, *Townley Mysteries*, p. 169; fulfylle, p. 168.

⁵ Gouen (*pl.*), gave, l. 844, 2922, 2975.—*Genesis and Exodus*.

⁶ Hort, to maim; to hurt.—*Jamieson*. Compare 'Jostyse, justice, judge.'—*E. E. Allit.* p. 64, l. 877.

⁷ oway, *Hampole's Pr. Cons.*, l. 5102, 2264, 7713, &c.

1329 thorgh	1652 brothyr
1416 drogge (drag)	1850 woukis
1470 dronkyn	1983 bornede (burnisht) ³
1470 zouyn	2005 sloere (slayer) ⁴
1511 frosche	2013 bosch ¹
1517 bosch (bush) ¹	2120 Iopoun
1518 ofered (afraid)	2176 frosch
1527 bosch ¹	2385 frossche
1539 wouke (week) ²	2622 „ vb.
1579 boschis ¹	2832 frosch

But we find *a* for *o* in 443, cardial ; 2257, last (lost) ; and *e* for *o* in 467, meche (much) ; 2941, te (to) ;

ony for *any* :

198	580	1611	2178	2779
206	585	1846	2395	2983
277	675	1997	2408	3015
521	1164	2141	2591	3106
552	1213	2149	2745	

551 *oor* (or).

4. *e* for *i*. The chief example of this is *hese*⁵ for *his* in both the singular and plural. Mr Bradshaw says that in other parts of the MS this same scribe uses *his* for the singular, and *hise* for the plural ; but in the present Part I *his* is seldom used. *Hese* occurs in the singular in lines

47	201	281	341 ⁶	491
50	213	282 ⁶	348 ⁶	494
69	220	287	351	495
76	222	290	352	506
77	229	293	358	507
79	256	307	386	512
83	262	313	401	517
88	264	316 ⁶	403	518
100	265	326	415	520
106	266	330	418	529
181	267	331	423	533
192	274	332	435	553
199	275	335	489 ⁶	558

¹ Boskez, bushes.—*E. E. Allit.* p. 47, l. 322.

² Wouk, wouke, a week.—*Jamieson's Scotch Dict.*

³ Bornyst syluer, *E. E. Allit.* p. 3, l. 77 ; bornyst brace, *Gawayne*, p. 19, l. 582.

⁴ Man-sloer, man-slayer, murderer.—*Townley Mysteries*, p. 50 ; slo, to slay, *ib.* p. 16, 36, &c. ; slone, slain, p. 84. To slo, to slay.—*Jamieson*. Slon, to slay, l. 1328, 1752, 1938, 3729.—*Genesis and Exodus*. Slo (*imper.*), slay, 1939, 3505.—*ibid.*

⁵ here occurs in l. 78 : *hise*, sing. in l. 233 : *sese*, pl. in l. 425.

⁶ twice.

in the plural in lines

74?	266	402 ¹	488	508
186	273	418	495	527
193	282	424 ¹	496	539
201	299	482	506	557
203	401	486		

though *his* is used for the singular in lines

55	169	203	345	438
63	183	207	403	535
93	188	214	403	540
111	195	272	406	552
112	198	343	410	559
115				

but not for the plural, so far as I have seen.

Wele is used for *will* in lines

1354	2052	2123	2306	2741
1395	2119	2251	2311	2759
1589	2121	2253	2413	2963
1694	2122	2254	2542	2965
1745				

and for *wel* in l. 42. *Kete* occurs for *kite* in l. 1179; and *en* for *in* in l. 278; *pete* for *pity* in 1761, 2225. We find also 2741 heue (have); 2570 thebenys (Thebans).

5. *-is* plural, is seen in lines

61 bataylis	237 zeddyngis	418 ymagis
63 lystis	248 selleris	425 apotecaryis
81 lokkis	258 louedayis	426 letewaryis
95 songis	278 schildis	457 schois
107 arwis	294 bokis	460 husbondis
128 lippis	296 robis	472 hepis
146 houndis	299 frendis	475 remedijs
159 bedis	300 bokis	484 sythis
164 prestis	313 wordis	485 tythis
186 hondis	317 feis, robis	539 tythis
190 grehoundis	346 deynteis	556 brostelis
203 botis	368 pouchis	557 nosetherlis
225 orderis	377 vigilis	

-ys plural in lines

90 flourys	282 bargaynys	380 chekenys
98 sleuys	301 soulys	380 bonys
104 arwys	323 termys, domys	407 hauenys
193 sleuys	329 Barrys	473 sporys
210 orderys	347 sesenys	510 soulys
234 pynnys	355 sessiouwnys	555 herys
240 tauernys	368 gurdelys	556 erys
268 sterryys	374 wyuys	

¹ twice.

-es plural in lines

231 preyeres	234 wywes	416 heures
232 freres	366 kingues	

adverbs in -is are

63 thryis 375 ellis (elsewhere eþ (1228, 2038) and ellys)

-is genitive occurs in lines

47 lordis	481 cristis
293 bedis	537 cristis

-ys genitive

556 sowys

6. The perfect participle -it occurs in lines

89 enbroudit	414 groundit
159 I-gaudeit	508 acumbrit

-id in lines

147 rostit	525 waytid t ¹
187 servid	526 makid t
188 reseruid	549 schulderid
193 purfilid	

-ed in lines

151 pynched	180 lykened
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t is also found for *d* in 'hunderit,' 1851, 2153, 2582; and 'thousent,' 1954, 2014.

7. Of one striking Midland peculiarity, the change to *t* of the initial *th* when following another *t*, the MS has instances:

182 But tilke tixt held he not worth an oystere
3004 That tylke moeuere styлле & sterne

But against these we must set 'mayst þou,' 2496, and 'In tylke,' 1973. As, also, 'thilke' occurs in lines 2224, 2391, 2403-4, 2439, 2750, 2757, 2813, 2959, the three omissions of the *h* noted above, may be accidental. *Hat* is found for *hath*, in 1907, 2447, 3019.

We have also *t* for *th* in

2098 atenys 2981 To (tho, then) 3041 þynkyt

But *th* for *t*² in

1078 blenthe, blent	2021 marthe, Mars (rhimes to carte)
1231 sy3the, sight	

¹ perfect tense.

² Cp. *then* for *ten*.—*Genesis and Exodus*, p. 94, l. 3305; *leð* for *let*, p. 95, l. 3348; *herðe* for *herte*, p. 81, l. 2856.

2185 abouthe	2132 } bytwethyn
2258 Arcithe	3094 } (betwixt)
2256 Arcitha	

While in the following we have *d* for *t* or *th*¹:

296 fedele (fiddle) ²	1053 gäderith
381 tard (tart)	1949 champardye
410 de (the) ³	2279 mete (mead)
447 hand (haunt)	2530 dedyrward ⁵
498 to (those)	2545 dedyr (thither) ⁶
530 fodir (fother, load)	2554 dedir
977 glederyn (glitter) ⁴	2890 glederynge ⁴

On the other hand, we get the sharp *f* for *v* in 'leferē' (levere, liefer⁷), 293; and *p* for *b* in 'suptyl' (subtle), 1054; but 'taphiser' for tapicer, 362; and the flat *b* for *p*, in 'lebard' (leopard), 2186.

8. We have a tendency to double *n* (if the overline of contraction means anything), in

205 forpynnedē	2147 fynne
355 sessiounnys	2419 myrre
391 gounne	2766 „
634 onyounnys	2813 opynyounnys
1824 mynne, mine	2819 swounnyge
2064 Pennyus	2943 swounnedē

9. We find also an *s* prefixed to the initial *ch*⁸ in

195 schyn, chin	2109 schosyn, chosen
475 schauce, chance	2760 scherche, church
1400 schauged, changed	2809 schaugede, changed
2055 schastite, chastity	

This prefixed *s* is seen in the West-Midland (Lancashire) *Anturs of Arther* (Camden Soc. 1842): *schayer*, chair, p. 18, st. 38, l. 10; *schapelle*, chapel, p. 17, l. 1; *schimnay*,

¹ See many instances of *d* for *ð*, in *Genesis and Exodus*, p. 74, 76-7, 89-91, 104-5, &c. &c.

² Fydyll or fyeye, *Viella, fidicina, vituala*.—Ibid.

³ De = ðe, the: *Genesis and Exodus*, l. 167. 'Help de nedful,' l. 3507.—*ibid.*; also l. 2815, 2972, 2657, 2043.

⁴ Glyderyn, *Rutilo*.—Promptorium.

⁵ *Genesis and Exodus* has deðenward for ðeðenward, l. 1738, and often ðeden for ðeðen, as in l. 1791, 1879, 1988, &c.

⁶ *wheder, whedder*, whether.—*Townley Mysteries*, p. 302, 85, &c.; *hedir*, hither, p. 304; *heder*, p. 168.

⁷ *mefys*, moves.—*Townley Mysteries*, p. 143; *mefe, lefe, clefe*, p. 142; *theses, reprefes, lefes, clevys* (all rhiming), p. 314.

⁸ Cp. 'Schere = chere, countenance, mien, l. 334,' *Gawayne and Green Knight*.₁

chimney, p. 17, l. 2; the *schaft* and the *shol*, *shaturt* to the *shin*, the chaff, chaft (jaw), and the jowl chattered to the chin, p. 6, l. 2.

The early Northern¹ and Scotch use of *w* for *v*, and *vice versa*², is seen in

234 wywes wives)	2013 Ikorwe (carved)
251 vertywous	2184 chiwalrye
1385 vengede (winged)	2414 awow (avow) ³
1949 wenus	2563 sawe (save)
1985 wese (vесе)	3054 wasseyllage

while, if 1289 Thw (thou) is not a miswriting, *w* = *ou*.

In vowels we have occasionally the double one noticed in the Ellesmere (p. 46, above), *ee*: laugheeth, 1494; beelte (built), 1548; oor (or), 551; and a characteristic use of *eu* for *u* in

deuk (Duke) 981, 1025, 1191, 1202, 1206, 1585, 1690,-4,-6, 1704, 1742, 2190, 2528, 2569, 2715, 2731, 2853, 2906
freat (fruit) 1282
heuge (huge) 2145, 2951

We have a provincial *3a* (Scotch *ya*, Promptorium *3a*) for *yea* in 1667; and a double *i* in

429 exculapijs	1000 bedijs (bodies)
430 Rufijs	2159 liik
475 remedijs	2467 maladijs
999 ladijs	

Steyth rhimes with *smyth* in 2026-5; *stronge* with *henge* in 2421-2.

That the scribe did not pronounce the final *e* at the end of a line, we may gather from his rhiming penaunce, 223, with petauns, 224; myschaunce, 2009, with countenauns, 2010; werch, 2759, with scherche, 2760. This is Northern.

Of odd forms, besides those noticed before, we have the Promptorium⁴ *wrete* for *wart* in 555; *eynyn* for *eyes*, 2984;

¹ Cp. *venjance*, vengeance.—*Townley Mysteries*, p. 297; *deville*, devil, p. 143; *grewys*, grieves, p. 314.

² Cp. *seve* = *sewe*, pottage, broth, or soup.—*E. E. Allit.* p. 41, l. 108.

³ Cp. 'Bot I dewoutly awowe.'—*E. E. Allit.* p. 102, l. 333; and 'Schowen (*pl. pres.*), shove, push, l. 1454,' *Gawayne and Green Knight*.

⁴ WRETTE or werte yn a mannys skynne, *Veruca.* (Prompt.)

and the Northern and Midland *til* for *to*, 2158, 2162, and *wemen*—see Mr Murray's remarks on the Lansdowne MS, below—for *wommen*, 1757.

h is left out in 'wich,' 2361, put-in in 'whilhom,' 2384, 2403.

It may mean *lles*, as *eIt* stands for 'elles, else,' in 1228, 2038; *waIt* for *waItes*, 2054; but as I have never before seen *It* = *lles*, I have printed *Ile* for it.

Of miswritings we may notice *conchusyoun* for *conclusyoun*, l. 38; *anches* for *ances*, 1660; *schole heye* for *scoleye*, 302; *Hepte* for *Kepte*, 414; *tust* for *tuft*, 555; *werere* for *were*, 582; *hemereste* for *hindereste*, 622; *This* for *Thin*, 1235; *nerotikes* for *nercotikes*, 1472; *ofte* for *after*, 1682; *smyth* for *smyteth*, 1709; *sen* for *she*, 1807; *Cothis* for *Oothis*, 1924; *Enforte* for *Enforce*, 2235; *poyntys* for *contries*, 2971; *dryueth* for *deryuyth*, 3006; *we we* for *we*, 3027.

The *n* is sometimes so plainly written for *u* that I have left *vanasour* for *vauasour*, 360; *grene* for *greue* (grove), 1505; *athamanutz* for *athamauntz*, 1990.

As to the dialectal peculiarities of the MS, most are Midland, some Northern, as shown in the notes, &c., above; and they point to a place on or near the border of the two provinces, as the district of the writer of the MS.

IV. *The Corpus* (Oxford) MS.

I do not put this after the Cambridge MS because I have made up my mind that it is later and worse than that, but because I wanted to get one Text with Mr Ward's references to the *Teseide*, on each page of the *Six-Text*, to enable readers to run their eye from the referenced Text to the other two on the same page; and as the Cambridge and Lansdowne were the only two MSS in type when Mr Ward sent me his references, one of these MSS had to go 3rd in the arrangement of

Wret, a wart, Belg. wratte, *verruca*.—Forby's Vocab. of East Anglia;—*ibid.*

the *Sic-Text*; and as the Cambridge is earlier (as I think) than the Lansdowne, it was put 3rd, the Lansdowne going 6th, because I judge it to be the latest of our six MSS. The Corpus is a handsome vellum folio in a clear formal hand. It has lost its first leaf—besides several others¹—and the front page of the second leaf is much faded, from exposure when the book was unbound. The second leaf is also loose,—detached from the volume. I am not sure that this MS can go into the first class. Its ‘Opiournes’ for ‘Epicurus,’ 336; ‘accordial’ for ‘a cordial,’ 443; ‘colde’ for ‘oolde,’ 476; ‘Grece’ for ‘Crete,’ 980 (though its rime-mate ‘ybeta’ was above it); ‘bodies’ for ‘ladies,’ 999; ‘Occupied’ for ‘O Cupid,’ 1623; ‘Emforth’ (like the Hengwrt) for ‘enforce,’ 2235; ‘Busked’ for ‘Dusked,’ 2806, are bad; but still its merits may ultimately prevail over these. Almost every final t, f, g, k, is tagged (t, f, g, k). A few French-like forms are used: *magique*, 416; *phisique*, 443; *disdeigne*, 789; *pleigne* (plainly), 790 (but ‘playn,’ 1091). I do not remember any provincialisms in the part of the MS printed, unless ‘pink’ and ‘writink’ (thing and writing) are to be taken as such. The imperfect participle in *-ende*, *gapende*, 2008, may be noted, though *-yng* is almost always used.

In 237 it reads ‘witterly’ for ‘utterly.’ Mr Earle asks whether the *e* for *i*, seen in *snebbe*, 523; *es* (is), 524; *mellere*, 542, 545, &c., is a characteristic of this MS.

V. *The Petworth MS.*

This is a handsome vellum folio, and was bound in red velvet by order of the late Lady Leconfield. The binder, after the manner of his craft, cut the edges, and pared off part of the curl of an ornament here and there. Some of the vellum is very rough, so that the ink has barely caught it. At the end of the MS are blazoned, by a hand later and coarser than that of the illuminator of the MS, the

¹ The contents of these will be supplied from MS Arch. Seld. B. 14, in order to give samples of that MS.

Percy arms, as to which the Hon. Robert Curzon has left a note in the MS, saying that they were the arms of Henry Percy, 3rd Earl of Northumberland, 1455, slain, 1461; but Mr Close corrected this note, as follows:—

'Petworth, 15th January, 1863.

'I should say that the Arms of the Earl of Northumberland in the Chaucer MS must be those of Henry Percy, 4th Earl of Northumberland, K. G., and not those of Henry, 3rd Earl. In this shield, Percy *quarters* Poynings, Fitz Payn, and Bryan. Had they been the arms of Henry, 3rd Earl, the Poynings arms would have been *impaled*, or more correctly, borne on a shield of pretence; for Henry, 3rd Earl, married Eleanor, sole heir of Poynings; and his son, also called Henry, *did* quarter Poynings, Fitz Payn, and Bryan, as appears on the emblazoned shield in the above-named manuscript. Besides, Henry, 3rd Earl, was not a Knight of the Garter.

THOMAS CLOSE
of Nottingham, F.S.A.

'Henry Percy 4th Earl was Knight of the Garter, 16 Ed. IV = 1477, and was murdered, 1489, and the [arms in the] Chaucer Manuscript must have been written [t. i. painted] between those dates.'

Almost every final *t* has a tag more or less decided, and many an *f*, *g*, *k*, is also thus marked. Some of the *e*'s and *s*'s have also tags, but not so often as the Lansdowne ones: these *e*'s and *s*'s are not marked in the print. I did not think it worth while to ask Mr Childs to cut punches for them. There are but few pause-marks in the middles of lines. The MS has not been corrected after it was written by the copier; and its occasional misreadings, and frequent omissions of words¹ and final *e*'s² prevent its being put in the first class of MSS. It miswrites 'vercotiks,' 1472, for 'nercotiks;' 'layvers,' 2504, for 'layners;' 'rombled' for 'romble,' 1979; 'sparlinge,' 2164, for 'sparclinge;' 'weden,' 2214, for 'wenden,' &c.; and it repeats l. 1575. But its sins are rather those

¹ See ll. 51, 207, 220, 306, 338, 351, 366, 375, 633, 637, 656, 754, 848, 857, 1410, 1557, 1642, 1849, 1995, 2095, 2443, 2472, 2484, 2486, 2601, 2728, 2781, 2936, 2972, &c.

² See some of the square brackets in the text.

of omission than commission. The only provincialisms I have noticed are the doubling of *g*,¹ as in *kyngges*, 2182; *pinggis*, 736, 2181, 2293, &c.; and the *g* of *qwestelinge* (whistling), 2337; (? the 'venus,' 1904, for *Venus*, 1536, and 'hwe' (hue), 1038.)

The MS has often the double vowel that we saw in the *Ellesmere*; as, *teesteers*, 2499; *eende*, 2339; *sterne*, 2154; *ferden*, 2117; *foonde* (found), 2390; *roos*, 2273; *chaastite*, 2236, 2326 (but *chastite*, 2056); *chaast*, 2297, 2304 (but *chaste*, 2051).

Though the *t* has generally no more value than *t*, I have printed it *te* in some cases where the *e* was wanted for the metre, as in

Swich sorowe he makeþ þat þe grete tour	1277
But Theseus þe streighte way haþ holde	1690
Wiþ-oute Ingge or oþer officere	1712
His herte-bloode haþ baped al his here	2006
O chaaste goddes of þe wodes gren	2297
As fayn as foule is of þe briþte sonne	2437
A persone alon wiþ-oute moo	2725
Only þe intellecte wiþ-oute more, &c.	2803

So with *ð* and *h*—though they generally have no value—

This Palamon answerde hastily	1714
Myne is þe Ruyne of [t]he heghe halles	2463

If any one objects to this extension, and says it must be looked on as fudging on my part, to make the best of some faulty lines, I can only say that he may be right, but that I believe the *t* was once sometimes used—like the *ð* and *h* were regularly in early times—as a contraction, and that later scribes copied it when it had that value, but also unluckily turned many a simple *t* into it.

VI. *The Lansdowne MS.*

Of this MS, Todd says (*Illustrations*, p. 126) that it is "an ancient copy of the *Canterbury Tales* on vellum, which once belonged to Mr Ph. Cart. Webb, afterwards to the

¹ Is this Lancashire? The only man I know who sounds the double *g* was born in Lancashire.

late Marquis of Lansdowne, and was purchased, with the rest of his Lordship's valuable manuscripts, in 1807, by the truly liberal and discerning government of this country, who directed the whole collection to be deposited, for the public good, in the Museum."

The Lansdowne is, I suppose, the latest in date of our six MSS, notwithstanding that, as the compositors noted, there are more thorns (þ) in it¹ than in any other of our six. On the other hand, it has generally, if not always, the open-tailed *g*. The four other peculiarities that strike one in the *Lansdowne*, are, 1. the great number of tags, slight curls, or bars after the final *e*, *e*, *f*, *g*, *k*, *r*, *s*, *t*, which cannot have any constant value as a final *e* or pause-mark,—for instance, in line 326 every final letter, except the *o* of *no*, has a mark after it;—2. the great number of final *e*'s, which are put on to the ends of words² without reason, so far as I can see, as in

<i>verbs</i> : 3rd sing. pres.	<i>imperf. part.</i>	<i>perf. part.</i>
hæþe, l. 2, 6, 8	singeinge } 91	sleyne, 63
doþe, 98, 171	flowteinge }	ytaughte, 127
	gyngelinge } 170	rostede, 147
	whistelinge }	lernede, 480
	rollinge, 201	
	scheweynge, 275	
	lyueinge, 532	
<i>pronouns.</i>	<i>prepositions.</i>	<i>conjunctions.</i>
whiche, 4	wyþe, 1; wiþe, 65;	3itte, 563
whatte, 41	wiþþe 2049	ore, 1486
3owe, 73	towarde, l. 27	ande, 1297
hime, 79	one, 470	
	ffore, 1576	notte (not), 763

¹ The best MS of the second version (Text B) of the *Vision of Piers Plowman*, Laud 581, has the fewest thorn-letters.—W. W. Skeat.

² This is a Northern characteristic. In Hampole's Prose Works, Ed. Perry, E. E. T. Soc., 20, we have hase, duse, sese, and sesse, he sayse, I cane, we kane | we that flese | whilke, whate, hyme, þayme, whame, þire, othire, þe tothire, a-nothire, nowthire, mane, mene, womane, wymmene, Cryste (*nom.*), Gode, Godde (*nom.*), Holy Gaste, fadyre, modyre, breþire, chyldire, syghyngge, sobbyngge, brekyngge, prayenge, thynkyngge, doyingge, comyngge, draweyngge, fundene, gane, tane (=taken), sworne, comyne, haldyne, cleryde, enflawmede, forbodene, helpede, sustaynede, thoghte, araysede (all *participles sing.*), owte, doune, thurghe, wythe, whethire, fore, withowtene, apone, perhaps all the forms notcd above.—J. A. H. Murray.

3. the softening of the initial *qu* into *wh* or *w*, as *quart* changed into *whart* in l. 649,

He wolde suffer for a *whart* of wine ;

quite (requite) changed to *white* in l. 770,

The blisful Martir *white* 3ow 3owre mede ;

(yet in l. 1032 the *q* is kept,

ffor euer more þer maie no golde hem *qvyte* ;)

quick (alive) changed to *whike* in l. 629, and *whikke* in l. 1015,

Ther nas *whike*-siluer litarge or bremstone, 629.

Not fully *whikke* ne fulli dede þei were, 1015 ;

qwoke changed to *whoke*, l. 1576,

ffore ire he *whoke*, no lenger wolde he bide ;

square changed to *sware*,

Of yren grete & *sware* as any sparre ;

squire changed to *swiere*, though that is an old form (*Gawayne & Green Knight*, 824), in lines 1410, 1440, 1498, 1554,

An al alone, saue onely o *swiere*, 1410.¹

4. the Northern and Irish rolling of the *r*, producing sometimes the insertion of an *e* between the *r* and the *m* or *n* following it, as in *terems* for *termes*, l. 639, *tereme* for *terme*, l. 3028,

A fewe *terems* had he, two or thre, 639 ;

aremes for *arms*, l. 874,

And aȝ his hoste in *aremes* be his side ;

sterene for *sterne*, l. 2154, 2610,

Armed ful wele wiþ hertes *sterene* and stoute.

To this cause I put the doubling of the *r* in *Chiuallrye*, l. 878,

By Theus & be his *Chiuallrye*.

¹ Compare Hampole's *swynacy* for *quinsy*, the disease 'þat greves ful sare.'—*Pricke of Conscience*, p. 82, l. 2999.

The *drongen* of l. 637¹ for *drunken*, is provincial too, I suppose; as also *schat*, 1594, for *shalt*; ?*fu*, 1127, for *ful*; *sclepere*, l. 1264, for *sledere*; *hope* for *ope* (oath), l. 959; *hall* for *all*, 1967; ?*mayght*, l. 1236, for *might*. The *huntyn* for *huntyng*, 1687, *axen* for *axyng*, 1826, are carelessnesses which show how easily the old gerund would pass into the noun. The introduction of an *n* before *gn*, as in *singne*, l. 226, is seen in Middle Latin sometimes, and in early English. See *Lauder's Office* (E. E. T. Soc.), p. 30, note on l. 376.

Of miswritings we may notice *Theus* for *Theseus*, l. 998, 1022; *Sche* for *Ye*, 772; *The* for *Ye*, 1568; *oyment* for *oynement*, 631; *of*, 1252, for *oft*; *bulet*, 1548, for *bulle* (built); *louere* for *love her*, 1589; *Occupiede*, 1623, for *O Cupid*; *boly* for *bolys* (bulls), 1699; *Maiten* for *mainteynen*, 1788; *thas* for *that*, 1900. The form *bue* or *bne*, l. 1817, beats me. I took it for *bene* (l. 2044, 2054) with the first *e* left out; but Mr Morris says that the *ue* may be for the A.S. *eo* in *beo*. This MS has also, like the Ellesmere, *aa* for long *a*, as *maade*, 1440, 1471, 1605, 1986; *maake*, 1287; *saake*, 1317.

The district in which the Lansdowne MS was written ought to be settled by the curious omission of the initial *q* (*whike*, *whoke*, for *quich*, *qwoke*) remarked on above; and, unless a better claim can be made out for any other province, we must assign the MS to that North Countrey that has given us so many early treasures; for the Northern (Yorkshire) *Townley Mysteries* has, at p. 45, the *wh* for *qw* or *qu*, in *whartfulle*, full of *quart*, heart,² cheer, good spirits:

Whartfulle shalle I make thi gate;
I shal the help erly and late,
And alle in *quart* shalle I bryng the
Home agane to thi countre.

¹ And to begin also the secounde table,
I will ther be honest men and able,
Such as wilbe as *drongen* as a nape . .

Colyn Blowbol's Testament, in *Nugæ Poeticae*, p. 8, 9.

² Quert, 326, joy. Er. *cœur*, *queor*; cf. *hearty*, in good heart.—Morris's Gloss. to Hampole's *Pr. of Cons.* p. 312.

So it has *whake* for *quake*,¹ at p. 169, 'I tremylle and I *whake* for drede,' and at p. 53, 'every man shalle *whake* and gryse, Agans that ilk dome;' '*whik* catelle' for '*quick*, living cattle,' at p. 113; a *whyk* man, p. 287; *white* for *quite*,² requite, A.S. *witan*, at p. 106; *wheme* for *qweme*,³ please, p. 50, 53; and *whaynt*, quaint, cunning, is in the Glossary, as occurring in the *Mysteries*, but it has no reference: *quant*, quaint, is on p. 114, 116. In Brockett's Glossary of North-Country Words, 1825, we find also:

"*Whacker*, v. to tremble, to quake.—*Whackering*, trembling.

Whick, quick, alive, '*Whick and a live*,' a common expression in Newcastle, among certain ladies, who neither sell the best fish, nor speak the plainest English.

Whicks, plants or slips of the white thorn. 'A *whick-hedge*,' a quickset hedge.

Whickens, couch- [or quitch] grass, a general name for creeping weeds.—*Whickening*, plucking them up.

Why or *Quey*, the same as Heifer. *Why*, or *Quey-Calf*, a cow-calf."

To these Halliwell adds :

"*Whaint*, quaint (no district mentioned).

Whaintyse, cunning, in the Bowes MS of Hampole, p. 47 (Northern).

Whake, to quake, to tremble.—*Whaker*, a quaker. *North*.

Whamire, a quagmire. *Yorkshire*.

Whart, a quart. *North*.—*Wharter*, a quarter. *Yorkshire*.

Wheek, to squeak. *North*.

Wheene, a queen, in the Bowes MS of Hampole, p. 136. *North*.

Whicken, quicken, become alive, *Ibid.* p. 58.

White, quit, free." *Ibid.* p. 103.

Mr Morris says the Norfolk *Promptorium* shows the same change in

"*Whakyñ* or *qvakyñ*, *Tremo*. *Whakyng*e or *qvakyng*e. *Tremor*.

Whante or *qvante*, long sprete or rodde. *Contus*.

¹ *qwakys*, p. 107; *qwake*, p. 53; *qwakes*, p. 303.

² *qwyte*, p. 303.

³ *qweme*, p. 303.

Whyk or qvyk, or levynge, *Vivus*.

Whykyñ or qvykyn, *Vivifico*.

Whykly or qwykly, *Vivaciter*.

Whykenesse or qvyknesse. *Vivacitas*."

But to *whale* the Promptorium prefixes a *q*, 'quale, fysche, *Cetus*,' as it does to *what*, 'What or *quat*, quod, quid,' and other words. This is also a characteristic of the Northern Dialect: see Mr Morris's *Hampole*, &c. The following also point to a Northern district: *na* for *not*, 1677; *til* for *to*, 2289; *gapeand* for *gapeing*, 2008; the *s* plural in 'þere *schines* two figures,' 2043; *schane*¹ for *schone*, 2144; *nar*² for *nas* (as in l. 1886), was not, 2211; *whas*, whose, 2915.

On the above, Mr James A. H. Murray has kindly favoured me with the following comment:—

With regard to the Brockett words, I know them all to be Northern, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Yorkshire, and partly Lancashire. All over the Northern Counties *wh* or *w* is a common substitute for initial *qu*. *Anderson's Cumberland Ballads* give

whaker, a quaker

whart, quart

wharter, quarter

whyte, quite

whiat, quiet

whietly, quietly

whye, a quey

Whick or *wick*, for quick, alive, I know well—"as wick as twenty fooak," Lancash.

If you wish, I will find instances from Anderson for such of these as the Lansdowne shows: at present I give *whyte*—"a pictur beuk or gūd stūff for t' barnes or m' appen sūm'at *whyte* as needless for the'r sels."—*Cumberland: Bobby Banks' Bodderment*.

"An oald gentleman mak' of a fellow com in tul oor roald an' said *whyte* nateral, at he wantit somebody to gā wid him on 't fells."—*Cumberland: Joe and the Geologist*.

Whyat. "A wes maandredan aboot, gaan varra whyatly on thor street geeats amang fooak."—*Jonny Shippard in London, Westmoreland*.

(*Whiver*, to hover, *not* to quiver (I believe), is Dorset and other Western Counties. In that dialect *o* becomes changed

¹ Shynand brighter þan ever son *shane*.—Hampole's *Pricke of Conscience*, p. 169, l. 6243.

² Occasionally we have the Norse *war* for *was*, e. g. he *war* = he was.—*Preface to Hampole*, p. xxiv.

into *wo*, stone, stwone; morn, mworn; hover, hwover, hwuvver, or hwiver. This therefore does not belong to the class of *qu* words. Compare hwull or whull for hole, i. e. hoöle, whurn or hwurn, for horn, i. e. hoörn, &c., a change quite different from that of *qu* and *wh*.)

My own opinion of the Lansdowne MS, formed from a hasty collation of two sheets with Tyrwhitt, the only Chaucer I have at hand, is that it is very decidedly Northern in its variations.

I shall mention one or two points that specially strike me, in addition to those you mention:—

1. The lax use of *e* mute is a decidedly Northern usage. In this dialect it had long ceased to have any grammatical or prosodic significance, and in Hampole, Barbour, Wyntown, Blind Harry, and Gawain Douglas, it is used most capriciously. See the words from the Thornton MS (page 63, note²).

2. The use of *scl* for *sl* in *sclēpere*, which you quote, and *scleuder*, 587, is a Northern characteristic at the present day. We say *sclate*, *sklender*, *sklent* (slant), *sclye* (slide), *sclyddery*, slippy, like a hill-slope. Douglas has also *sklander*, and *sclavish*.

3. The dropping of the *-en* of the infinitive in so many cases is Northern. The *-en* had gone before the 10th century, as is shown by the Lindisfarne Gospels. See 73, 738, 792, 813, 842, 927, 2202, &c., &c.

4. The dropping of *-en* of verbs plural, which I think only a Northern scribe would do when he could help: see 745, 806, 849, 906, 929, 1792, 2111.

5. The dropping of the *y*-prefix to past participles. This was a Northern characteristic; *cleped*, 457, 867, 963, 2063, 2151, 2693.

6. The use of the *-s* form of the verb after a plural noun, 152, 591, his legges was; 2043 þere schines two figures, &c.

7. þEIRE for *her*, in

‘the bones of þeire frendes þat were sleyne’ 992

would be inserted by none but a Northern scribe. This I think a crucial case.

8. The separation of *another* into *a-nother*, and *that one* into *the tone*, 1013, were vices common to Northern scribes: see 902, 1894, 2073, &c., &c. Compare Hampole’s Prose Works, and Barbour.

9. The continual use of *be* for *by* is Northern, 589, 595, 719, everywhere indeed.

10. *Lat* (for *let*) and *fawht*, 188, 873, 891, are the forms used by Barbour, &c.

11. *Mony* for *many*, 1010, 1075, 1729, 2101, &c., &c.; *til* for *unto*, 71; *wel* for *wel*, 49, 87, are Northern.

12. Not only *whas*, as you mention, but *wha*, 2604; *wham*, 1807.

13. *Yhalow* for *yellow*, is the common Northern form still, 675, 1929, 2132, 2166, 2170.

14. *Tomorn* for *to-morrow*, 2239. So always in Barbour, Lyndesay, &c., and in the Northern Counties still.

15. *Nouht* for *not*, 74, 205, 764, 1746, 1835—everywhere indeed. The common Northern negative in Cursor Mundi, Hampole, Barbour, and the Scotch writers generally.

16. *Terems*, *arems*, *worems*, *worold*, *sherew*, *sherúb*, *elem*, *filem*, are the common Scotch and Northern pronunciations still.

17. *Sal*, 731; *wald*, 1702. *Wemen*, the plural constantly used for *wommen* in the MS, was the form used by all the Northern writers, Hampole, Barbour, Harry, Douglas, &c.

18. *Fro* for *from*, 44, 324, 3018. *Blawe* for *blowe*, 565.

A Baggepipe *wel* coupe he *blawe* and *sowne* :

a good instance.

19. "Be mi fader *sowe*," is a thoroughly Northern form.

20. *An* and *on* for *a*; *an morwe*, 822; one goddess name, 854; *on nyght*, 1042. The Northern *o* is usually a contraction of *of*, not of *on*, which we do not contract. This MS usually has *on*, *an*, for *o*, *a* of Tyrwhitt.

21. *Ploughe*, *longe ynoughe* (not *plow*, *ynow*), is what a Northern would say.

22. I wriche whiche þat wepeþ and weyleþ þus 931
for the true Northern *wepes* and *wails* thus. I do not think any other dialect would add terminations to the 1st pers. sing.

The dropping of the compounds *nis*, *nare*, before another negative,

Ther is (= *nis*) no more to telle 974

na es for *nis*, 1677. The Northern dialect had a great objection to the *nis*, *nill*, *nould*, *nas* forms. They are often dropped in this MS.

The dropping of the *n* of the perfect participle after another *n* or *m*, *ng*, 1002; *wonne* for *wonnen*, *come* for *comen*, 1696.

The dropping of *-eth* of the imperative, 1710; *telle!* for *telleth!* 1868, 2208.

I do not say that all these were by any means exclusively Northern.¹ What I say is, that they *are* all Northern, and that in almost every word where this MS differs from Tyrwhitt's text, it is in favour of a form which is Northern. The points are not arranged in the order of their importance, but as they turned up.

P.S. Many of the foregoing are West-Midland as well as Northern; but to say "they went, would, have, were," instead of "they wenten, wulden, han, wern," is Northern, as against West-Midland.

Some are perhaps also East-Midland as well as Northern; but the East-Midland were fond of *nis, nave, vare, nold*, &c., which this writer drops.

The dropping of the *y-* (clad) is conclusive against its being Western, where, and in the South, the tendency was to retain the *y-* and reject the *-en*. Modern Dorset, "We be a-bid (*y-bidde*)." North. "We're budden."

Considering all the points, then, the Northern dialect is that in which the evidence meets.²

The treatment of the final *e* in all the MSS I leave to Prof. Child and Mr A. J. Ellis; and to the latter the pronunciation- and rhyme-questions.

VII. *Our Six MSS compared with one another and the Harleian MS 7334.*

Mr Richard Morris has been kind enough to jot down for us the following notes on the readings of the different MSS in the Prologue, as a sample of these differences of the MSS.

ll. 5, 6. Arch. and Lansd. have final *e* in *brethe* and *hethe*. This is absent in Harl. and Heng. In other MSS the *h* has a *mark*.

l. 18. Arch. and Lansd. omit *that*. (This is good—it gives *werë*; in the other MSS this *e* must be silent.)

l. 14. Very corrupt reading in Arch., to *serve* halowes.

l. 27. Lansd. stands alone in the order of words.

¹ They are not so.—F.

² The numerous *thorns* noted by the printers (p. 63, line 8) point in the same direction. It is well known that *th* was never written in full by Scottish writers down to a very recent period. The *thorn* (*þ*) sank of course into a *y* in the writing of later times, in which form I have it in full use in a copy-book of 1630. But the other dialects had adopted the full *th* long before the Northern.—J. A. H. M.

l. 36. *forthere* (*ferther*). So all copies except Lansd. : *forther*, the cp. of *forth* (good). Chaucer's ordinary cp. of *fer*, *far*, is *ferre*.

l. 38. *alle*, Harl. ; *alle*, Lansd. All other copies *al* (*good* in the sing. number).

l. 49. *in* hethenesse (Camb. in *hethnesse*, &c. ? so pronounced). So all copies except Harl. and Heng., which omit *in*.

l. 54. *hadde reyced* (*reysed*), Harl. ; *had he*, Pet. and Lansd. All the rest have *hadde he reyced*.

l. 60. Camb. and Harl. stand alone in reading *aryve*. All the rest have *armeye*, *arme*, or *armee*.

l. 70. *ne sayde*. *Ne* is omitted by Heng. (which reads *he*) and Lansd. ; it is in all the rest.

l. 74. Camb., Pet., Corp., Elles., and Heng. use *hors* as a plural, and the *vb.* in the plural number. Harl. and Lansd. in the singular—*his hors was*. *Hors* was an old plural.

l. 76. Camb. stands alone in reading *bestoteryd* for *besmotered*.

l. 77. *late ycome*. So Elles., Corp., and Pet. (3 MSS).

late come. Camb., Lansd. (2 MSS).

late comen

laate comen

} Harl. and Heng. (2 MSS).

l. 95. In Harl. this line is badly arranged ; *wel* comes before *songes* (in previous line *wel* is wrongly repeated and wrongly placed ; *faire* is a better reading, and in all other MSS), instead of before *endite*, as in all copies except Heng., which puts it before *make*, and Camb., which has *fayre endite* (crept in from previous line).

l. 98. *sleep*. So Harl. and Corp. All the rest *slepte* (Lansd. *slepete*). Of course *sleep* is the more ancient.

l. 110. Harl. and Heng. stand alone in reading *wel* before *al* ; the rest have *wel* before *couthe* or *koude*.

l. 120. Pet. *sey[n]te Loy*. But Lansd. reads *othe*. All the rest have *oth* or *ooth* (nine syllables in this line).—*The Image of Ypocresye*, l. 1144, has 'christ saue the and Saincte loy.'

l. 121. *clept* (Harl.). All rightly read *cleped*.

l. 122. Nine syllables in line. So in all, except Camb., which has 'seruyse of deuyne' for 'servyse deuyne.'

Variants of verb *sang* (Harl.), *song* (Camb., Corp., Pet.), *soong* (Elles., Heng.).

l. 123. *nose so*. Camb. alone. All the rest, *nose ful*.

l. 131. Harl. and Heng. stand alone in dropping *ne*. All the others insert *ne* before *fel*, *fil*, or *felle*.

l. 132. (1.) Harl. stands alone in *al hire lest[e]* (1 MS).

(2.) *ful meche here lyst* (Camb.) (2 MSS).

ful moche hire leste (Corp.).

1. 132. (3.) *ful mochel*, &c. (Pet.).

ful muchel (Elles., Heng., Lansd.) (4 MSS).
Notice, Lansd., Corp., and Pet. take *e* in *breste*, *leste*; Heng. has *brist*/, *list*/. Elles. and Camb. omit *e*.

ll. 135-6. *draughte*, *raughte*, *e* (which is grammatically right) in Elles., Heng., Lansd., Corp., Pet.; not in Camb. and Harl.

1. 148. Elles. *any* for *oon* (all the rest *on*, *one*, or *oon*).

1. 151. *ipynched*. Harl. alone has *i*.

1. 152. (1.) Elles., Heng., Camb. read *tretys*, *tretez*, *tretis* (3 MSS).

(2.) Corp., Harl. read *streight* (2 MSS).

(3.) Pet., Lands. read *was streight* (2 MSS).

1. 161. Corp. and Lansd. wrongly insert *with*.

1. 162. *that* in Harl. alone. Omitted by all the rest.

1. 170. (1.) Elles., Camb. *gynglen*, *gyngelyn* (*inf.*).

(2.) Heng. and Harl. *gyngle* (*inf.*).

(3.) Corp., Pet., Lansd. *gynglyng*, &c.

1. 172. Lansd. alone has *the lord*.

1. 175. Harl. alone has *forby hem pace*. All the rest, *olde thinges* [*thyng*e, Camb.] *pace*.

1. 177. *þe text*, Corp., Pet., Lansd. All the rest, *þat text*.

1. 192. *hond*, *lond* (no *e*), Harl., Elles., Corp., Camb.; in Heng. and Pet. a *mark*; in Lansd. *honde*, *londe*.

1. 195-6. *Shyn*, *pyn*, Harl., Elles., Heng., Camb. (4 MSS); *chynne*, *pynne*, Corp., Pet., Lansd. (3 MSS).

1. 197. Lansd. alone has *on* for *in*.

1. 198. *and*, Harl. alone; all the rest, *þat*.

1. 201, 202. (1.) Harl., Elles., Heng., Camb. *heed*, *leed*, *hed*, *led* (no *e* final).

(2.) Corp., Pet., Lansd. *hede*, *lede* (have *e* final).

1. 206. Pet. and Camb. *lovede* (the full form of the preterite). All the other copies *loved* (the *e* remaining unwritten because silent before *he*).

1. 207. Harl. and Heng. *as eny* (*any*) *berye*; the rest have *as is a berye*.

1. 211. Harl., Heng., Lansd. *moche* (*much*e); Camb. *mekil*; Elles. *muchel*; Corp. *mochil*; Pet. *mochel*.

1. 212. Harl. alone has *haddē imad* (MS *imade*); Heng. *haddē maked*; Elles. and Camb. *haddē maad* (*mad*); Corp. and Pet. *haddē made* (the *e* in *made* pp. is not grammatical). *many* (Harl.); *ful many* (Elles., Heng., Corp., Pet.); *ful manye* (Camb.).

1. 215. Harl., Heng., Lans., Pet., Camb. *ful*; Elles. *and*.

1. 217. Harl., Heng. read *eek*; the rest omit it.

1. 221. Harl., Camb., Corp. read *swetly*; the rest (more rightly) *swetēly*.

1. 223. Harl., Elles., Heng., Corp., Pet., Camb. have to *3eue* (*3iue*, *yeue*); Lansd. stands alone in reading to *3ef* (which gets rid of final *e* in *3eue*).

1. 224. *wistē han* (Harl.); *wistē to have* (Elles., Heng., Corp., Lansd.); *wistē to han* (Camb., Pet.).

1. 225. Harl., Elles., Corp., Pet. read *For unto a poure* [pouer] *ordre*; Camb. *Unto pore orderis*.

1. 230. Elles., Corp., Pet., Lansd. *wepē althogh* (*althouh*, *although*) *hym*; Harl., Camb. *wepē though him* (*e* sounded as the inf. ending); Heng. *weepē thogh that he*.

1. 232. *Men mooten yiuen silver to the pore freres* (Harl.).
Men mote 3eue siluer to the poucre freeres (Corp.).
Men mootē¹ 3euē siluer to the pourē freres (Elles., Heng.).

Men mote 3eue siluer to the pore freres (Camb.).

Men mote yeue seluer to the pore freres (Pet.).

Men mote 3iue siluer to the poure freres (Lansd.).

1. 234. (1.) *to yiue [yeue] faire wyues* (Harl., Corp., Pet., Lansd.).

(2.) *to yeuen [yeuyn] fayre wyues* (Heng., Camb.).

(3.) *to yeuen yonge wyues* (Elles.).

1. 235. *certayn*, Harl.; *certainly* (*certeinli*), Elles., Heng., Camb., Corp., Lansd.

1. 236. *pleye* (Harl.); *playen* [*pleyen*] (Elles., Heng., Camb., Corp., Pet.); *pleine* (Lansd.).

1. 237. (1.) *witterly* [*witterli*] (Corp., Lansd.).

(2.) *outrely* (Elles., Heng.); *utturly* [*uttyrli*] (Harl., Pet., Camb.).

1. 239. (1.) *strong was* (Harl., Elles., Heng., Camb.).

(2.) *was strong* (Corp., Pet.); *was also stronge* (Lansd.).

1. 240. *wel the tavernes* (Harl.); the rest of the MSS rightly read, *the tavernes wel*.

1. 241. (1.) *And euery ostiller or gay tapstere* (Harl.).

(2.) *And euerich hostiler and tappēstere* (Elles.).

„ *euery hostiler* „ „ (Heng.).

„ *eueriche Osteller* „ *tappēstere* (Pe., La.).

„ *euericch hostiller* „ *tapstere* (Corp.).

„ *eueryche osteler* „ *tapstere* (Camb.).

The reading of Elles. and Heng. seem preferable to the other lections.

1. 242. (1.) *Bet than a lazer or a beggere* (Harl., Corp., Pet.).

(2.) *Better than a lazar or a Begger* (Lansd.).

(3.) *Bet than a lazar [lazer] or a beggēstere* (Elles., Heng.).

(4.) *Bet than a laser or a bakystere* (Camb.).

¹ The correct reading was probably *men mot* = one must.

1. 243. *Such* (Harl., Corp.); *suche*, Lansd.; *swich* (Elles., Heng., Pet., Camb.).

1. 245. (1.) *To haue with sike* [*syke*], &c. (Harl., Elles., Heng.).

(2.) *To haue with suche seke*, &c. (Lansd., Corp.).

” ” ” *swiche seke* [*sike*], &c. (Pet., Camb.).

1. 247. (1.) *For to delen with such poraile* (Harl., Corp., Lansd.).

(2.) ” ” ” ” *swich* ” (Pet.).

For | to dee|len with | no swich | poraile (Elles., Heng.).

” ” *de|lē* ” | *non* ” | *parayle* (Camb.). The lection (2) is better than (1).

1. 249. (1.) *And oueral ther eny profit schulde arise* (Harl.).

(2.) *And oueral ther as profyt scholde arise* (Harl., Elles., Heng., Corp., Pet., Lansd.).

(3.) *And oueral therē profit schulde aryse* (Camb.).

The Camb. lection is more metrical than (1) and (2).

1. 250. *lowe* (Harl.). The rest rightly read *lowly* (*lowely*).

1. 251. (1.) *was . . . no wher* (Harl., Heng.).

” . . . *no w[her]* (Camb.).

(2.) *was . . . nowher* (Elles., Corp., Pet., Lansd.).

1. 252. *al*, inserted by Harl., is rightly omitted by all the rest. Heng. stands alone in reading *of* for *in*.

ll. 253, 254. Heng. alone has these lines.

1. 255. (1.) *but oo schoo* (Harl.).

(2.) *nought* [*not, noght*] *a scho* (Elles., Heng., Lansd., Corp., Pet., Camb.).

1. 255. *or* (Harl., Corp., Pet.); *er* (Elles., Heng., Camb.); *ar* (Lansd.).

1. 256. (1.) *was bettur* (Harl. alone).

(2.) *was wel bettre* (Elles., Heng., Camb., Corp., Pet., Lansd.).

1. 257. (1.) *and pleye[n] as a whelpe* (Harl.).

(2.) *right as it were a whelpe* (Corp., Lansd.).

(3.) *as it were riht a whelpe* (Elles., Heng., Pet., Camb.).

1. 258. (1.) *In louedays ther couthe he mochil helpe* (H.):

” *louedayes* ” ” ” *moche* ” (Corp.).

” ” ” *koude* ” *muchel* ” (Ell.).

” *louedaies* ” *coude* ” *mochil* ” (Pet.).

” *louedayisthere couthe* ” *mekil* ” (Cam.).

” *louedaies thare* ” ” *muchel* ” (Lan.).

(2.) *In louedayës koude he muchel* ” (Hen.).

1. 259. (1.) *For ther was he not like*, &c. (Harl.); all the rest read

1. 259. (2.) *For ther he was not liche* [*like*].
1. 260. (1.) *as a* (Harl., Corp., Pet., Lansd.).
 (2.) *as is a* (Elles., Heng., Camb.).
1. 263. (1.) *That rounded was as a belle out of presse* (Harl.).
 (2.) *That rounded as a belle on the presse* (Corp.).
 (3.) *That rounded as a belle out of the presse* (Elles., Pet., Camb.).
 (4.) *That rounde as a bell out the presse* (Lansd.).
 (5.) *And rounded as a belle out of the presse* (Heng.).
1. 264. *lipsede* (Harl., Pet., Camb.); *lipsed* [*lypsed*] (Elles., Heng., Corp.); *lisped* (Lansd.); *his* omitted by Harl.; retained by all the rest.
1. 266. *that*; omitted by Lansd.; retained by all the rest.
1. 268. *in the* (Harl., Corp., &c.); *in a*, Pet. alone.
1. 269. *called* (Harl.). All the rest *cleped* (*clepid*).
1. 271. (1.) *In mottēleye high* (Harl.).
 (2.) *In mottle and heigh* (Corp.).
 „ motlee „ hye (Elles., Heng.).
 „ motle „ heyh (Pet.).
 „ motteley and hye (Lansd.).
 (3.) *In motle an-heigh* (Camb.).
- In (3) *an-heigh* is an adverb = aloft. I prefer the Camb. lection to (1) and (2).
1. 272. *heed* (Harl., Elles., Heng.); *hed* (Camb.); *heved* (Corp., Pet., Lansd.).
1. 275. *Swownynge alway the encres of his wynnyng* (Harl.).
Sownynge „ thencrees „ „ wynnyng (Elles., Heng.).
Sownynge alwey the[n]cres „ hese wynnyng (Camb.).
Schewyng „ the encres „ his wynnyng (Corp.).
Schewynge alway thencres „ „ „ (Lansd.).
Schewynge alwey the encres „ „ „ (Pet.).
1. 279. *witte* (Harl., Corp., Pet.); *wit* (Elles., Heng., Camb., Lansd.). The final *e* is not required for the metre.
1. 281. *So estately was he of governaunce* (Harl.). All the remaining six texts agree in reading *his gouvernaunce*. Corpus reads *statly*, when the other copies read *estatly* (*estately*).
1. 282. *With his bargayns, and with his chevysaunce* (Harl., &c.). Corpus and Camb. alone omit the second *with*.

1. 284. *Soth to say* (Harl.). Corp., Pet., and Lansd. read *Sothly to sein* (*Sothely to seyne*); the other MSS agree with Harl.

1. 288. *And he was not* (Harl., Heng., Pet., Lansd.). *And he nas not* (Elles., Camb., Corp.).

1. 287. *Also* (Harl.); all the other MSS read *As*.

1. 291. (1.) *For he hadde nouȝt geten him zit a benefice* (Harl.).

(2.) *For he hadde geten hym yet no benefice* (Elles., Heng., Camb.).

(3.) *For he hadde yit geten him no benefice* (Pet.).

(4.) *For he had geten him no benefice* (Cor., Lansd.).

1. 292. (1.) *Ne was not worthy to haven an office* (Harl.).

(2.) *Ne was so worldly for to haue office* (Elles., Heng., Corp.).

Ne was so wordely for to hauyn offys (Camb.).

(3.) *Ne was so werdly to haue office* (Lansd.).

Ne was so wordly to haue office (Pet.).

1. 293. *For him was lever haue at his beddes head* (Harl.). Camb. and Corp. read *to haue, &c.*; Corp., Lansd., and Pet. read *bed-hede*.

1. 294. (1.) *clothed* (Harl.).

(2.) *Clad* (Elles., Heng., Corp., Pet.).

Cladde (Lansd.).

(3.) *Iclad* (Camb.).

1. 295. *of his* (Harl.). *of* is omitted by all our six MSS.

1. 296. (1.) *or sautre* (Harl.).

(2.) *or gay sautrie*. So all our six MSS.

1. 297. (1.) *But although that* (Harl.).

(2.) *But al be that* (Elles., Heng., Pet., Camb.).

But al by that (Corp., Lansd.).

1. 298. (1.) *but litul* (Harl., Elles., Heng., Camb., Pet., Lansd.).

(2.) *but a litel* (Corp.).

1. 299. (1.) *But al that he mighte gete and his frendes sende* (Harl.).

(2.) *But al that he myghte of his frendes hente* (Elles., Heng., Camb., Corp., Pet., Lansd.). The reading of the Harl. MS is evidently corrupt. Lansd. has *on* for *of*.

1. 300. (1.) *and his* (Harl., Elles.).

(2.) *and on* (Heng., Camb., Corp., Pet., Lansd.).

1. 303. (1.) *and heede* (Harl.).

(2.) *and moost heede* (Elles., Heng., Camb., Corp., Lansd., Pet.). For *cure* Camb. alone substitutes *kep* = *keep*, care, attention.

1. 304. *oo word* (Harl., Heng.); *o word*, Elles., Corp.; Pet., Camb., and Lansd. read *a word*.¹

¹ It is probable that Pet. and Camb., as well as Lansdowne,

1. 305. (1.) *Al that he spak it was of hey prudence* (Harl.).
 (2.) *And that was seyð in forme and reuerence*
 (Elles., Corp., Camb., Pet., Lansd.).
1. 306. (1.) *And schort and quyk and ful of gret sentence*
 (Harl.).
 (2.) *And short and quyk and ful of hy sentence*
 (Elles., Heng., Corp., Camb., Pet.).
„ schorte „ whike „ „ „ hihe „
 (Lansd.).
1. 307. (1.) *manere* (Harl.). All six MSS agree in reading
vertu (*vertue*).
1. 309. *of Lawe* (Harl. Heng.). The rest of the MSS
 read *of the Lawe*.
1. 310. *atte* (Harl., Pet.). The rest of the MSS read *at*
the.
1. 313. *Such* (Harl.). Our six MSS read *swich* (Lansd.
swyche).
 (1.) *were* (Harl., Camb., Corp.).
 (2.) *weren* (Elles., Lansd.).
weeren (Heng.)
wern (Pet.).
1. 318 (1.) *was ther nowher* (Harl.).
 (2.) *was nowher* (Elles., Heng., Lansd., Corp., Pet.).
 (3.) *was neuere* (Camb.).
1. 320. (1.) *His purchasyng might[e] nought ben to him*
suspecte (Harl.).
 (2.) *His purchasyng myghte nat been infecte*
 (Elles., Heng., Camb., Corp., Pet., Lansd. [*be infecte*]).
1. 322. *Semed* (Harl.). Only the Camb. MS has the
 full form of the pret. *semede* (? pronounced *semde*).
1. 323. *haddē caas* (Harl.). All the MSS but Lansd.
 (*had he*) read *haddē he*.
1. 324. (1.) *That fro the tyme that King [Will] werē*
falle (Harl.).
 (2.) *That from the tyme of King William werē*
yfalle (Elles.).
 (3.) *That fro [from] the time of Kynge William*
were falle (Camb., Corp., Pet., Lansd.).
 (4.) *That from tyme of King William weere falle*
 (Heng.).
1. 326. *man*. (Harl. and Camb.) All the remaining
 MSS read *wight*.
1. 328. (1.) *medled* (Harl.).
 (2.) *medlee* (Elles., Heng.).
medly (Corp.).

have followed a Northern recension of Chaucer's Tales. — R. Morris.

1. 328. (2.) *medle* (Lansd., Pet.).
medely (Camb.).

1. 329. *seynt, seint* (Harl., Corp., Lansd., Pet. (*sent*), Camb.). *Ceint, Ceynt* (Elles., Heng.).

1. 331. *ther was* (Harl.). All the six MSS rightly omit *ther*, and read *Frankeleyn* as a word of three syllables.

1. 332. *berde* (Harl.). So all the MSS except Elles., which reads *heed*.

1. 334. (1.) *Wel loved he in the morn a sop of wyn* (Harl.).

(2.) *Wel loved he by the morwe a sop in wyn* (so all our six MSS ; Camb. and Lansd. *be*).

1. 335. (1.) *To lyve[n] in delite was al his wone* (Harl.).

(2.) *To lyven in delit was euere his wone* (Elles., Heng., Camb.).

(3.) *To lyven in delit euer was his wone* (Corp., Pet., Lansd.). Lansd. *leuen* for *lyuen*.

1. 338. (1.) *verrailly* (Harl.).

(2.) *verray, verrey, very* (Elles., Heng., Camb., Corp., Pet., Lansd.).

1. 341. (1.) *alway* (Harl.) ; *alwey* (Camb., Lansd.).

(2.) *Alweys* (Elles., Heng., Corp.) ; *Alleweys* (Pet.).

1. 342. (1.) *nowher* (Harl., Pet., Camb.).

(2.) *neuer, nevere* (Elles., Heng., Corp., Lansd.).

1. 343. *Withoutë* (Harl.). So all our MSS except Heng., which reads *withouten*.

1. 344. (1.) *Of fissh and flessch* (Elles., Corp., Pet., Camb.).

(2.) *Of ffische of flessche* (Lansd.).

(3.) *Of fleissch and fisch* (Harl.).

(4.) *Of fresshe fisshe and flesshe* (Heng.).

1. 345. *Hit snowed in his hous* (Harl.). So all the MSS except Camb., which has the absurd reading *It snowede in his mouth*.

1. 346. (1.) *deynteas, deyntes, deynteis* (Harl., Elles., Heng., Corp., Camb.).

(2.) *deynteþes, deyntethes* (Lansd. and Pet.).

1. 348. (1.) *He chaunged hem at mete and at soper* (Harl.).

(2.) *So chaunged he his mete and his soper.* (So all our six MSS.)

1. 363. (1.) *Weren with us eeke clothed in oo lyvere* (Harl.).

(2.) *And they were clothed alle in o lyvere.* (So all our six MSS.)

1. 364. (1.) *and gret* (Harl.).

(2.) *and a greet* (Elles., Heng., Pet.).

and a gret (Corp., Camb.) ; *grete* (Lansd.).

1. 365. (1.) *piked* (Harl.).
 (2.) *apiked, apyked*. (So all our six MSS.)
1. 366. (1.) *Here knyfes were ichapud nat with bras* (Harl.).
 (2.) *Here knyues werë chaped noght with bras* (Elles., Heng., Camb., Lansd.).
 (3.) *Here knyfes nere chaped nought with bras* (Corp., and Pet., with *chap* for *chaped*).
1. 371. (1.) *Everyman* (Harl.).
 (2.) *Euerych, Everiche* (Elles., Heng., Corp., Camb., Pet., Lansd.).
1. 375. (1.) *hadde thei ben to* (Harl.).
 (2.) *werë they to* (Elles.).
weryn they to (Camb.).
 (3.) *they were to* (Heng., Corp., Pet., Lansd.).
1. 376. (1.) *It is right fair for to be clept madame* (Harl.).
 (2.) *It is ful fair to been yclepēd ma dame* (Elles., Heng.).
 (3.) *It is ful fair to be cleped ma dame* (Camb., Corp., Pet., Lansd.).
1. 377. (1.) *And for to go to vigilies* (Harl.).
 (2.) *And goon to vigilies*. (So all our six MSS.)
1. 378. (1.) *rially* (Harl.).
 (2.) *roiialliche* (Elles.).
realliche (Heng.).
rialliche, ryalliche (Corp., Pet., Camb., Lansd.).
1. 380. (1.) *To boylē Chiknes with* (Harl.).
 (2.) *To boille the chicknes [chikenes] with* (Elles., Heng., Corp., Pet., Lansd.).
 (3.) *To boile the chekenys and the* (Camb.).
1. 381. Petworth alone has *of Gallyngale* instead of *and, &c.*
1. 383. (1.) *sethē, broille* (Harl.).
 (2.) *sethe and boille* (Elles., Camb.).
 (3.) *seethe and broille* (Heng., Corp., Lansd., Pet.).
1. 384. *Make* (Harl.). All the six MSS read *maken* or *Makyn*.
1. 385. *semede* (Harl., Camb.). *thoughte* (Elles., Heng., Corp., Pet.); *thought* (Lansd.).
1. 387. (1.) *He madē with* (Harl.).
 (2.) *that made he with*. (So all our six MSS.)
 Camb. alone reads *at* for *with*.
1. 393. (1.) *arm adoun* (Harl., Elles., Heng., Corp., Camb.).

1. 393. (2.) *armē, doun* (Pet. and Lansd.).
1. 396. (1.) *drawe* (Harl.). So all the MSS except Corpus, which reads *Idrawe*. Lansd. has *wynē* where all the rest read *wyn*; Camb. *weyn*.
1. 397. (1.) *From Burdeaux ward whil that the* (Harl., Elles., Heng., Camb.).
 (2.) *From Burdeaux warde while the* (Corp., Pet.).
 (3.) *From Burdeaux warde whan the* (Lansd.).
1. 400. (1.) *to* (Harl., Elles., Heng., Corp., Pet.).
 (2.) *by, be* (Camb., Lansd.).
1. 401. (1.) *the tydes* (Harl.).
 (2.) *his tydes*. (So all our six MSS.)
1. 404. (1.) *Ther was non such from* (Harl., Heng., Corp.).
 (2.) *Ther nas-noon swich from* (Elles., Camb., Lansd.).
Ther nos noon such (Pet.).
1. 407. (1.) *He knew wel allē the havenes* (Harl.).
 (2.) *He knew alle the hauenes* (Elles., Heng., Camb., Corp., Pet.).
 (3.) *He knewē al þe hauenes* (Lansd.).
1. 408. (1.) *From Scotlond to the Cape of Fynesterre* (Harl.).
 (2.) *From Gootlond to the Cape of Fynystere* (Elles., Heng., Camb.).
 (3.) *From gotlond to the Cape de Fynystere* (Corp., Lansd., Pet.).
1. 411. (1.) *Ther was also a* (Harl.).
 (2.) *With us ther was a*. (So all our six MSS.)
1. 415. (1.) *He kepte his pacient wondurly wel* (Harl.).
 (2.) *He kepte his pacient a ful greet deel*. (So all our six MSS.)
1. 417. *fortune* (Harl., Corp., Lansd., Pet.). The remaining MSS read *fortunen, fortunē*.
1. 420. (1.) *Were it of cold or hete or moyst or drie* (Harl.).
 (2.) *Were it of hoot or cold or moyste or drye* (Elles., Heng., Pet.); *of hoot of cold* (Corp.); *of colde of hote* (Lansd.).
Were it [of] hot or cold or moyst or dreye (Camb.).
1. 421. (1.) *And where thei engendrid and* (Harl., Elles.).
 (2.) *And where it engendred and* (Heng.).
 (3.) *And wher engendred and* (Corp., Pet.).
 (4.) *And where they engendere* (Camb.).
 (5.) *And whereōf engenderde it* (Lansd.).
1. 428. (1.) *was not, was noght* (Harl., Heng., Camb.).
 (2.) *nas nat, nas nat* (Elles., Corp., Pet., Lansd.).

- l. 438. *on the Bible* (Harl., Elles., Heng., Corp., Pet., and Lansd.); *in, &c.* (Camb.).
- l. 441. *in dispence* (Harl.); *of disp.* (So all our six MSS.)
- l. 450. *byforn* (Harl.); *bifore* (Heng., Elles.); *toforne* (Lansd.); *toforn* (Corp., Pet.); *tofore* (Camb.).
- l. 451. *so* (Harl.); omitted by Corp., Lansd., Pet.; retained by the other MSS.
- l. 452. *thanne* (Harl.); omitted by all our six MSS.
- l. 453. (1.) *weren ful fyne* (Harl.).
 (2.) *ful fynë werën* (Elles.).
ful fyne weere (Heng.).
ful fyne were (Camb., Corp., Pet., Lansd.).
- l. 454. (1.) *weyghede* (Harl.).
 (2.) *weiden* (Lansd.).
weyēden (Elles., Heng., Corp., Pet.).
weyedyn (Camb.).
- l. 455, 456. *were* (Harl.); *weren* (Elles., Corp., Pet., Lansd.); *weeren* (Heng.); *weryn* (Camb.).
- l. 460. *hadde sche* (Harl.); *sche hadde.* (So all our six MSS, *sche had*, Lansd.)
- l. 464. *straunge* (Harl.). The Camb. MS has the absurd reading, *strong.*
- l. 470. *Wympled ful wel* (Harl.); *Ywympled wel.* (So all our six MSS.)
- l. 472. *hupes* (Harl.); *hepis* (Camb.). All the other MSS *hipes.*
- l. 474. [*sche*] *lawghe* (Harl.); *sche* is in all our six MSS.
- l. 476. (1.) *For of that art sche knew the, &c.* (Harl.).
 (2.) *For she koude of that art the, &c.* (So all our six MSS.)
- l. 483. (1.) *gladly* (Harl.).
 (2.) *trewely, trewly.* (So all our six MSS.)
- l. 485. *iproved* (Harl.). The prefix *i* is omitted in all the six MSS. Heng. has *proeued.*
- l. 486. *curse* (Harl.). All six MSS read *cursen* (*cursyn*).
- l. 496. *unto* (Harl.); *to* (in all our six MSS).
- l. 497. *after that* (Harl.); *afterward* (so all six MSS).
- l. 499. (1.) *And this figure he addid yit therto* (Harl.).
 (2.) " " " " *added eek* " So all our six MSS, except Camb., which omits *eek.*
- l. 508. *lefte* (Harl.); *leet* (*let*): so all our six MSS.
- l. 510. *for soules* (Harl.). So also all our six MSS, except Lansd., which has *to singe for soules.*
- l. 514. (1.) *and no* (Harl.).
 (2.) *and nocht a.* (So all our six MSS.)
- l. 516. *to senful . . . nought, &c.* (Harl.). In all our six MSS, *nought to sinful, &c.*
- l. 519. *by clenness* (Harl., Camb.); *by fairnesse.* (So

the other five MSS, except Heng., which reads *with fairnesse*.)

- l. 520. [*this*] *was* (Harl.). *This* is found in all six MSS.
- l. 524. *ther* (Harl., Heng.); *that* (Elles., Corp., Pet., Lansd.). Camb. has, *I trowe nevere non is*.
- l. 525. *ne* (Har., Cam.); *and* (Ell., Hen., Cor., Pe., Lan.).
- l. 529. *his* (Harl.); *was his* (Elles., Lansd., Heng., Corp., Pet.); *that was hese* (Camb.).
- l. 533. *his trewe herte* (Harl.); *his hoole herte* (Elles., Heng., Pet., Camb.); *his herte* (Corp., Lansd.).
- l. 534. *him* (Harl., Heng., Corp., Camb.); *he* (Elles., Pet., Lansd.). Camb. has *gamenede* for *gamed*.
- l. 537. *with* (Harl., Heng.); *for* (Elles., Corp., Lansd., Pet., Camb.).
- l. 540. *owne* (Harl.); all the other six MSS read *propre*.
- l. 544. (1.) *was no* (Harl.).
 (2.) *nare no* (Lansd., Corp.); *nar na* (Pet.).
 (3.) *were no, weere na* (Elles., Heng., Camb.).
- l. 548. (1.) *he wolde bere away* (Harl.).
 (2.) " " *have alwey* (Elles., Heng., Camb.).
 (3.) " " *away* (Corp., Lansd., Pet.).
- l. 550. (1.) *There nas no dore that he nolde* (Harl.).
 (2.) " " " " " " *ne wolde* (Elles.).
 (3.) " *was* " " " " *noolde* (He., Co.).
 (4.) " " " " " " *ne wolde* (Pe., La.).
 (5.) *Ther nas* " " " " *wolde* (Camb.).
- l. 551. *with a* (Harl., Lansd.); *at a* (the other 5 MSS).
- l. 556. *berstles* (Harl., Corp.); *brustles* (Elles.); *bristles* (Hen.); *brystiles* (Pet.); *bresteles* (Lan.); *brostelis* (Cam.).
- l. 558. *a* (second) is omitted by Corp., but is retained by all other MSS.
- l. 560, 561. *harlotries, thries* (Harl. and all six MSS, except Camb., which reads *harlotrye, twye*).
- l. 568. *take exemple* (Harl., &c.). Lansd. alone inserts *goode* before *ensample*.
- l. 571. *acate* (Har., Cam.). 5 MSS read *achate* (*achaat*).
- l. 572. *ay* (Harl., &c.). Lansd. alone reads *al*.
- l. 575. *lernede* (Harl., Corp., Camb.); *lerned* (Heng., Elles., Pet., Lansd.).
- l. 576. *hadde mo* (Harl., Corp.); *hadde he mo* (Elles., Heng., Camb., Pet.); *had he mo* (Lansd.).
- l. 577. *were* (Harl., Corp., Pet., Camb.); *weren* (*weeren*) (Elles., Heng., Lansd.).
- l. 578. *were, weere* (Harl., Heng., Camb.); *weren* (Elles.); *was* (Corp., Pet., Lansd.). All our six MSS read *that*, against *an* (Harl.).
- l. 579. *be* (Harl., Lansd.); *been, ben* (Elles., Heng., Camb., Corp.); *bene* (Pet.).

1. 580. *lord* (Harl., &c.); Lansd. alone has *lordes*.
1. 581. *propre* (Harl., &c.). Camb. alone has *owene*.
1. 582. *but if he were* (Harl., Elles., Heng., Lansd.); *but if that he were* (Corp., Pet.). Camb. has *but he werere wod*.
1. 583. *can* (Harl.); *list* (Elles., Heng., Corp., Pet., Camb.); *lust* (Lansd.).
1. 586. (1.) *here aller* (Harl.).
hir aller (Heng., Elles.).
 (2.) *here alther* (Corp., Lansd.).
 (3.) *ther althir* (Pet.).
 (4.) *hère allerys* (Camb.).
1. 589. (1.) *neighe* (Harl.).
 (2.) *rounde* (Lansd.).
 (3.) *ful round* (Elles., Heng., Camb., Corp., Pet.).
1. 592. *al like a* (Harl.); *Ylyk a* (Elles.); *Ylik a* (Heng., Camb.); *Ilik/* (Corp.); *Ilike* (Pet., Lansd.).
1. 594. *on him* (Harl., Heng., Camb., Corp., Pet., Lansd.); *of him* (Elles.).
1. 593. *and a* (Harl., Elles., Heng., Camb.); *or a* (Corp., Lansd., Pet.).
1. 604. *they ne* (Harl.). All our six MSS have *he*, but Elles. and Camb. omit *ne*.
1. 607. *ischadewed* (Harl., Camb.); *shadwed* (Elles., Heng.); *shadēwed* (Corp., Lansd., Pet.).
1. 609. *istored* (Harl.); *astored*. (So all six MSS.)
1. 612. (1.) *a cote and eek an hood* (Harl.).
 (2.) *yet a gowne and hood* (Elles.).
 (3.) *and yet a coote and hood* (Heng., Corp., Pet., Camb.).
 (4.) *and 3it a cote and an hooode* (Lansd.).
1. 613. *he lerned hadde* (Harl., Heng.); *he hadde lerned* (Lansd., Elles., Corp., Camb.); *had lered* (Pet.); *had lerned* (Lansd.).
1. 615. *wel good stot* (Harl., Heng., Pet.); *ful good stot* (Elles., Camb., Corp., Lansd.).
1. 616. *a pomely gray* (Harl., Heng., Camb.); *al pomely grey* (Elles., Corp., Lansd.); *al pomel grey* (Pet.).
1. 617. *blew* (Harl.); *peers* (Pet., Lansd.); *pers* (Elles., Heng., Corp., Camb.).
1. 622. *the route* (Harl.). All the six MSS read *our (oure)*.
1. 628. *children weren aferd* (Harl., Corp., Pet., Camb.); *children were aferd* (Elles., Heng., Lansd.).
1. 629. *ne* (Harl., Elles., Heng., Camb.); *or* (Corp., Lansd., Pet.).
1. 642. *ye knowe wel* (Harl., Heng., Camb.); *3e knownen wel* (Elles.); *3e knownen it wel* (Pet., Corp., Lansd.).
1. 644. *wolde* (Harl.); *coupe* (Lansd., Corp., Pet., Camb.); *koude* (Elles., Heng.).

- l. 648. *nouher* (Harl.); *nouht* (Lansd.); *noght* (Elles., Heng.); *not* (Corp., Camb., Pet.).
- l. 652. *And pryvely a Fynch eek* (Harl., Elles.).
Ful prively eek a Fynch (Corp., Pet.).
Ful prively a Fynch eek (Heng., Camb.).
- l. 655. *such a* (Harl.). The other MSS omit *a*, but Lansd. reads *suche*.
- l. 657. *punyssched* (Harl.). Elles. and Heng. read *ypun-
ysshed*. Pet. reads *punshed*.
- l. 659. *lyeth* (Harl., Camb.).
lyede, lyhede (Lansd., Corp.).
lyed (Elles., Heng., Pet.).
- l. 660. *oweth . . . to* (Harl.).
owyth . . . [to] (Camb.).
oghte . . . [him] (Elles., Heng.).
ought . . . him (Lansd., Corp.).
ought . . . to (Pet.).
- l. 665. *owne assise* (Harl.); *owne owen, owene* *gise* (our six MSS).
- l. 667. *and was al here red* (Harl., Elles., Heng., Camb.).
and what was al here rede (Lansd., Corp., Pet.).
- l. 669. *rood* (Harl., &c.). *was* (Elles. only).
- l. 674. *come hider love to me* (Harl., Elles., Corp., Heng., Lansd.).
come hidere love come (Pet.).
love come hedir come (Camb.).
- l. 677. *hynge* (Harl.). The other MSS read *henge, heenge* (*heng, heeng*).
- l. 679. *Ful thinne* (Harl.); *But thinne* (all six MSS).
- l. 680. *ne wered* (Harl.). All our six MSS omit *ne*.
- l. 685. *sowed on* (Harl., Corp.); *sowed upon* (Elles., Heng., Pet., Camb.); *sewe upon* (Lansd.).
- l. 687. *come* (Harl., Camb.). The other MSS read *comen*.
- l. 689. *ne hadde* (Harl.). *ne* is omitted in Elles., Heng., Lansd., and Camb.).
- l. 711. *For* (Harl., &c.). Lansd. alone reads *ful*. Harl. alone reads *wyst he*; our six MSS have *he wiste* (*wist*).
- l. 714. *ful meriely* (Harl.); *so meriely* (Corp., Pet., Lansd.); *the merierly* (Elles., Heng., Camb.).
- l. 721. *bare us in that* (Harl.). All our MSS omit *in*.
- l. 726. *ne arette* (Harl.); *ne rette* (Pet., Corp.); *ret* (Lansd.); *narette* (Elles., Heng., Camb.).
- l. 727. *I speke al pleyn* (Harl.); *I pleynly speke* (Elles., Heng., Corp., Pet., Camb., Lansd.).
- l. 733. *Every word* (Harl.); *Everiche word* (Pet.); *Everich a* (Elles., Lansd., Heng., Corp., Camb.).
- l. 735. *moste* (Harl., Lansd.); *mot, moot, mote* (Heng., Elles., Corp., Camb., Pet.).

- l. 743. *that can* (Harl.). All our six MSS omit *that*.
- l. 743. *Also I pray you to foryeue* (Har., Ell., Hen., Pet.).
Also I pray-zë yow forziue (Corp.).
Also I preië yowe forzif (Lansd.).
Also I preye yow to forgeue (Camb.).
- l. 746. *thinne* (Harl.); *schort*. (So all our six MSS.)
- l. 752. *han been* (Harl.). All our six MSS omit *han*.
an halle (Harl.). Lansd. alone reads *a lordes halle*.
- l. 756. *lakkede he* (Harl.); *hym lakkede* (our six MSS).
- l. 764. *I ne saugh* (Harl.). *I saugh (seigh) not*, the other six MSS.
- l. 772. *talken* (Harl.). All the other MSS read *talen* = tell tales.
- l. 781. *fadres soule* (Harl.); *faders* (Pet.). The rest *fader soul*. Sloane 1685 (see Cambridge, p. 22) has *Now so god saue me at my most nede*.
- l. 782. *smyteth of myn heed* (Harl.).
I zëuë yowe mine hede (Lansd.).
I wol yeue yow myn heed (Elles., Heng., Camb., Corp., Pet.).
- l. 789. *taketh not* (Harl.); *Taketh it not* (Heng.); *taak it, take it* (Elles., Camb., Corp., Pet., Lansd.).
- l. 795. *that ther han* (Harl.); *that whilom han* (Elles., Heng., Corp.); *whilome þat hane* (Lansd.); *þat han whilom* (Pet.).
- l. 798. *of solas* (Harl.). All the rest read *most* instead of *of*.
- l. 799. *your alther* (Harl.). All the rest *our aller (alther, alder)*.
- l. 803. *myselven gladly* (Harl.); *myself goodly* (Elles., Heng.); *myseluen goodly* (Camb., Corp., Pet., Lansd.).
- l. 806. *for al* (Harl.). The rest omit *for*, and read, *Shal paye al that we, &c.*
- l. 824. *togedur alle in* (Harl., Corp.); *togidre alle in* (Ell.); *togydres in* (Hen.); *togider in* (Cam., Pet., Lansd.).
- l. 827. *ost bigan* (Harl.). Lansd. and Pet. only read *hooste gan*; Corp. *oost/ gan*; Camb. *oost gan*.
- l. 831. *telle* (Harl.). The other MSS read *telle the*.
- l. 835. *forther* (Harl.); *ferther* (Camb., Pet., Corp., Lansd.); *ferrer* (Elles., Heng.).
- l. 836. *which* (Harl., Camb., Pet., Lansd.). Elles., Heng., Corp. read *He which*.
- l. 854. *thou cut* (Harl.). The rest read *the cut. a goddus* (Harl.); *a goddes* (Elles., Pet., Corp.); *in goddes* (Heng.); *one goddes* (Lansd.).
- l. 858. *His tale and seide ryht in this manere* (Harl.).
His tale anon and seyde in this manere (Elles.).
His tale anon and seyde as ye may heere (Heng., Lansd., Corp., Pet.). [See p. 117, No. 2, below.]

§ 5. *The general Agreement of the MSS, and Mr Earle's conclusion from this.*

The general agreement of our six MSS in text, which the reader will notice, disappointed me at first. I hoped that readings would turn up to set straight all the rough lines, and remove doubts as to every disputed point. But it was not so. For example, a reference to some twenty MSS for the awkward line in the Miller's Tale (l. 3485, Wright), which Mr Richard Morris instanced in his Preface, l. vii.—

For the nyghtes verray the white Pater-Noster (Harl. 7334), and for which "Tyrwhitt reads,

Fro the nyghtes mare the wite pater-noster,
which is not a whit more intelligible,"—failed to produce any better reading, and none so intelligible as that which Mr Morris suggested,

Fro nyghtes mare werye the with Pater-noster.

Other like instances occurred, and I thought people would say, "What's the good of printing all these Texts for so slight a result? Why not have given us the Ellesmere only?" On mentioning this to the Editor-designate of the Oxford-Press edition of Chaucer's works, the Rev. John Earle, the able editor of the parallel texts of the Saxon Chronicle, &c., he sent me the following letter, in the sentiments of which I hope our members will agree.

"Swanswick, Dec. 29, 1868.

"MY DEAR FURNIVALL,

"I do not at all agree with you that the value of your labours is minished by the small amount of variation you have as yet discovered in the Chaucer Texts. Indeed, it seems to me to tell rather in the other direction. It comes to this: we are in possession of the real and palpable words of Chaucer, and there is no room to doubt it; at least, as concerns his most famous and popular poems. That is, *if* the same range of variation holds throughout the Canterbury Tales. It may prove larger in some than

in others. Especially, I shall be curious to see how it fares with the *Cokes Tale of Gamelyn*. It would, of course, have been more fruitful in curiosities of the English language if a great and complicated system of varieties had been discovered; but, on the other hand, a small number of variations, and those all within a limited and definite range, has the result of assuring us that we look upon the veritable text of Chaucer with hardly a film of interposed modification.

"The Lansdowne is, indeed, full of varieties, and those of a very strongly-marked character; but they are hardly of a nature to raise a question about the original text of the poet. They seem to me to be provincial work. I suppose Mr Morris will take this particular in hand, as he has devoted so much attention to the local dialects.

"Your plan for exhibiting the relations of the Knight's Tale to the *Teseide* strikes me as very effective; and what a lot of talk it will obviate!"

§ 6. *The Treatment of the MSS.*

I have tried to make the printed text represent the MSS as near as type will do it, with these exceptions:

1. The contractions of the MSS have been extended in italics, when I felt certain of the value of the contractions in the places where they occurred. When I have not felt certain about the contractions, I have printed them. As I have noticed above, p. 62, the extension of a contraction (or a supposed one) in one place, and leaving it as a contraction in another, may be considered fudging; but the user of the Texts cannot be misled by it after this warning. The \bar{n} (=ne, or *ne*, or *un*, or *n*) may have been sometimes, or often, meant by the scribes for *un*. All readers of MSS know that it is often (nay, generally) impossible to say whether a letter is 'u' or 'n.' The same t, f, &c., have been used for letters with a strongly marked tag, and those with a slight one. I cannot guarantee that the slight twists to some t's and f's have not been passed over. In the Cambridge MS the contraction for *and* has been printed &, because I forgot to direct otherwise, and thought the after-alteration to *and* not worth its cost.

2. All hyphens, and letters and words between square brackets, have been inserted by me. Some, perhaps most, readers will think that all these should have been left out, especially as the insertion of them is not consistent. My pleas in excuse are, first, the weakness of human nature (in my own case—I couldn't resist the temptation of touching-up now and then): secondly, the want of a hyphen or letter often threw me out so, that I had to read a word or a line twice to know what it was. This, being a bore to me, would, I supposed, be a bore to others; and in, accordingly, the hyphen, letter, or word, wanting, was stuck. I don't repent of this, but wish I had done it oftener, for the [] is a guarantee to readers that—barring oversights, which must occur—my attention was drawn to the omission noted, and that in such cases I am not liable to the exclamation one hears sometimes, "Why, the careless dog's left out an *l* (say), and printed *kild*, *kid*; confound him!" The [] does, in short, answer to the ordinary (*sic*); and we all know the comfort of that.

3. For the reason 'secondly' of the last paragraph I have separated the adjective (or article) *a* from the noun of which it is sometimes written as part.

4. I do not guarantee all the capitals at the beginning of lines. Sometimes they are small letters, with a touch of red, or the later yellow of the Cambridge MS; sometimes they are hardly to be distinguished from small letters.

5. The MS paragraph marks are the old dumpty ones—like a **¶** with the curve blocked up,—and have no legs like the **¶** of modern type.

6. The 'oversights which must occur' (2, above), I have tried to make as few as was possible to me in the time at my disposal; but tired eyes will sometimes fail; one can only do one's best.

The **Clarendon** letters in the headings and tails of Tales, &c., mark the rubrics of the MSS; the small-pica letters the larger black ones of the MSS.

I have used the word *leaf* instead of the ordinary *folio*, because the foliation of the grand Vernon MS in the Bodleian shows that our modern librarians do not, and the early printers did not, know what a *folio* is and was. Book-keepers have kept the true tradition, that a *folio* is the open sheet or double-page that presents itself when a book is opened flat. And until common sense prevails on Librarians to page their MSS, for greater convenience of reference, they ought to be chaffed with not knowing the meaning of their pet *folio*. I could name more than one library in which a MS that has been paged by a former owner, has had its handy numbers struck out, and those of a miscalled foliation substituted for them. I enter my protest against the nuisance of the modern forcing on referrers of 'fol. 18 r^o or v^o, a or b,' or 'leaf 18 or 18 bk,' instead of 'p. 36 or 37,' and pass on.

§ 7. *A few Notes on the Prologue.*

The greatest gain of late times as to the Prologue is clearly Mr Skeat's showing that Chaucer's *Ram* of line 8 is not the blunder for the *Bull* that Tyrwhitt and his followers supposed it to be; but is quite right. Such a blunder in the author of a Treatise on the Astrolabe would have been unpardonable, and it is no end of a comfort to have our old poet's reputation cleared from this undeserved slur. A vote of thanks to Mr Skeat from all Chaucerians is hereby recorded. Mr Skeat's letter on the point is as follows:—

Chaucer's Chronology, by the Rev. W. W. Skeat, M.A.
(*Notes and Queries*, 4th Ser. II. 271, 19 Sept. 1868.)

"Every reader who has ever opened a Chaucer must remember the opening lines of the Prologue, where the poet speaks of the showers of April, and has the lines—

' the yonge sonne
Hath in the Ram his halfe course i-ronne.'

But this passage has never been explained up to the present moment, and I therefore think that many of your readers

would be glad to hear that it *can* be explained so as to be perfectly consistent and correct.

"Tyrwhitt saw the difficulty of speaking of the sun being in the *Ram* in the month of *April*, and therefore has proposed to read *Bole*, i. e. *Bull*. But the MSS. are here against him.

"The exact day of April to which Chaucer refers is most probably the 17th, as will be shown presently. Where then was the sun on the 17th of April at that time? The answer is affected by the precession of the equinoxes, which may be accounted for by considering the change of style; with sufficient accuracy, that is, for our present purpose.

"The difference between the old and new styles, which now amounts to twelve days, amounted in Chaucer's time to only eight days. Hence the sun, on the 17th of April, 1386, would be very nearly where he is now on the 25th of April—i. e. in the fifth degree of Taurus. This can be verified by Chaucer's own words, for he says in his Treatise on the Astrolabe, in a passage which Tyrwhitt appositely quotes, that the vernal equinox, or first degree of Aries, corresponded in his time to the 12th of March; from which it follows, by the use of an astrolabe, that on the 17th of April (old style) he would be in the fifth degree of Taurus, as already calculated. But this is not the *actual* and *visible*, but only the *theoretical* and *supposed* position of the sun. This is best explained by the following quotation from Milner's *Gallery of Nature*, p. 149:—

'The effect [of the precession of the equinoxes] has been to separate the asterisms from their denominational signs, so that . . . the *constellation Aries* is in the *sign Taurus*,' &c.

And, in fact, a glance at a modern celestial globe shows that the meridian of the eleventh degree of Taurus (which is *now* nearly where the fifth degree was *then*) passes near the star μ Arietis, which is *exactly the central star of the constellation of the Ram*. Hence it appears that Chaucer is perfectly and most accurately correct.

"In the same way the sun would be in the *constellation Gemini* when in the *sign Cancer*, as so expressly stated by our poet in the 'Merchauntes Tale,' ll. 978-980.

"The date, 17th of April, depends on the name given to the day following in the beginning of the 'Man of Lawes Prologue.' On the fifth line of this Mr Wright remarks, '*Eightetene* is the reading in which the MSS. seem mostly to agree. The MS. Harl. reads *threttenhe*. Tyrwhitt has *eight and twenty*.' But the context may here help us out. The poet (and astronomer) is speaking

of a day in which the altitude of the sun at ten o'clock is forty-five degrees. Now on the 18th of April the sun, being in the sixth (now twelfth) degree of Taurus, will have an altitude of about forty-seven degrees at ten o'clock, as nearly as I can tell by the use of a celestial globe; but on the 28th his altitude will be at least fifty degrees. Hence the reading *eighttene* is more correct. The reading *threttene* would make the sun in the first degree of Taurus, and would give an altitude of almost exactly forty-five degrees; but this rests only upon the authority of one MS., and it would be absurd to press the argument from astronomy so closely as this, when we notice that the fact of the sun's altitude being about forty-five degrees was merely derived from the rough observation of perceiving a shadow to be as long, to all appearance, as the object that cast it. The 'half an houre and more' mentioned in this passage must be interpreted much less strictly; for the fourth part of a 'day artificial,' *i. e.* of the time between sunrise and sunset, would be at about half-past eight, leaving a difference of an hour and a half till ten o'clock. Yet Chaucer speaks very naturally, since it is very difficult to guess at all closely by such an observation of the sky. Hence, what does he make 'our host' do? He *first* notes that the sun has performed a quarter of his course, and half an hour besides—ay, and more too, from which he knows it must certainly be already nine o'clock—a fact which his interest in the stories he has heard has prevented him from perceiving before; and, *secondly*, he takes another observation of a more exact character, from which he concludes that it can want but a few minutes of being ten o'clock (I calculate that the sun would be forty-five degrees high at about a quarter to ten), and he at once bursts out into exclamations about the loss of time.

"Since writing my note upon the 'Knights Tale,' a friend has drawn my attention to the very ingenious letters signed A. E. B. in 'N. & Q.' 1st S. iii. I cannot agree with much that is there advanced, though stated with great ability. For instance, the *third* of April is there said to be the day of Palamon's being found by Arcite, whereas it is the *fourth*, since the 'third night' is followed by the fourth day, as a matter of course. The true key is Chaucer's own Treatise on the Astrolabe, never yet correctly printed, but on which I am now bestowing much labour, that the E. E. T. S. edition may be as perfect as possible.

WALTER W. SKEAT."

On another point we must say *Adhuc sub iudice lis est*. Tyrwhitt dwelt a good deal on it (*Introd. Disc.* § vi. vol. iv. p. 126-9)—the Prioress's Nun-Chaplain, and three Priests :—

Another Nonne / with hir hadde she 163
That was hire Chapeleyne and preestes thre

Tyrwhitt shows how this "very suspicious article . . of the three Preestes" throws out the number of the company, —though that is got over by understanding *wel* (nyne and twenty) to mean 'at least,' as Mr A. J. Ellis does,—how Chaucer would hardly have introduced three men of the same profession, how the Host speaks to the *Nonnes Preest* (l. 14814) 'in a manner which will not permit us to suppose that two others of the same denomination were present,' how these characters are not described, and how no Nun could be a Chaplain; Tyrwhitt therefore concludes that we may reject these two lines as an interpolation, or at least the second (which is the alternative he himself adopts), by which means we shall get rid of *two* of the Preestes, and the detail of the characters will agree with the gross number in ver. 24, Chaucer himself being included among the *nine and twenty*.

Mr Bradshaw, following the hint of the MS copiers who shift the Franklin's Prologue by the use of that blessed refuge for the destitute, "certeyn," has shown how Tyrwhitt's suggestion to get rid of two of the Priests can be worked into the text by reading,

Another Nonne with hire had she certeyn
And eke a Prest that was here chapelleyn.

But whether subsequent editors will, against the reading of *every* MS—at least, every one that I have seen; for they all agree in the Nun-Chaplain and three Priests,—will adopt this emendation, time will show. With the fact before their eyes, of Chaucer's introducing into his *Tales* the Canon and his Yeoman, unnoticed in the Prologue, I should say, at present, 'Oh Editors, stick to your MSS in your

text; but mind and put Mr Bradshaw's emendation in your notes.' Something about Nun-Chaplains may yet turn up. ✓

In principio, l. 254. Tyrwhitt, in his note on the line, leaves it doubtful whether these words refer to the beginning of St John's Gospel, the beginning of Genesis, or some passage in the conclusion of the Mass. (He notes that the words are also used in l. 15169.)

The following passage from Tyndale sets the question at rest :

"And where he [the priest] should cross himself, to be armed and to make himself strong to bear the cross with Christ, he crosseth himself to drive the cross from him; and blesseth himself with a cross from the cross. And if he leave it undone, he thinketh it no small sin, and that God is highly displeased with him, and if any misfortune chance, thinketh it is therefore; which is also idolatry, and not God's word. . . Such is the limiter's saying of '*In principio erat verbum*,' from house to house."—3 *Tyndale*, pp. 61, 62, in his "Answer to Sir T. More's Dialogue," 1530, edited for the Parker Society, by the Rev. H. Walter, B.D.

Blessings on 'Henry Gough, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law,' for making that 'General Index to the Publications of the Parker Society,' 1855! This volume shows also, by its referencè to Calhill, how widely known the Canterbury Tales must have been in 1565. See the end of the next extract :—

"How chanceth it then, that this truth of the Cross, for four hundred years together was hidden from them? From the death of Christ till the time of Helena, no man or woman ever talked of it. When she came, she found it, two hundred years after it was utterly consumed. I think that such idle Chaplains, such morrow-mass Priests as you, so slenderly furnished out of the storehouse of faith to feed the people, would be glad to deal more of your popish plenty, if this at the first were gently accepted. We should have extolled S. Leonard's bowl, S. Cornely's horn, S. George's colt, S. Anthony's pig, S. Francis's cowl, S. Parson's breech, with a thousand Reliques of superstition as well as this. For miracles have been done by these, (or else you lie;) nor authority of men doth want to these. Longolius, a learned man, and Charles the V, a noble

Emperor, requested to be buried in a Friar's cowl, and so they were. Therefore the Friar's cowl must be honoured. Ye remember what the host in Chaucer said to Sir Thopas for his lewd rhyme.¹ The same do I say to you (because I have to do with your Canterbury tales,) for your fair reasons."—*Calfhill's Answer to the Treatise of the Cross*, 1565, pp. 287, 288, Parker Society's edition.

(How many people in England would understand the allusion now without referring to the passage? One? or two?)

To the same effect are the following earlier, though less complimentary, extracts from Cranmer and Latimer, for their days :

"The church of God, most dearly beloved brethren, ought not to be reputed and taken as a common place, whereunto men resort only to gaze and to hear, either for their solace or for their pastime. But whatsoever is there declared of the word of God, that should we devoutly receive, and so earnestly print in our minds, that we should both believe it as most certain truth, and most diligently endeavour ourselves to express the same in our manners and living. If we receive and repute the gospel as a thing most true and godly, why do we not live according to the same? If we count it as fables and trifles, why do we take upon us to give such credit and authority unto it? To what purpose tendeth such dissimulation and hypocrisy? If we take it for a *Canterbury tale*, why do we not refuse it?"—From the "Sermon on Rebellion," in 2 *Cranmer*, p. 198, Parker Society's edition.

"Then must we as well live the word as talk the word; or else, if good life do not ensue and follow upon our reasoning, to the example of others, we might as well spend that time in reading of profane histories, of *Cantorbury tales*, or a fit of Robyn Hode."—From Sermon VIII. in 1 *Latimer*, edited for the Parker Society, by the Rev. G. E. Corrie, B.D., pp. 106, 107.

Schoo, l. 253. 'For though a widewe hadde but oo schoo.' Mr W. Aldis Wright suggests that this is not *shoe*,

¹ "No more of this for Goddes dignitee,
Quod oure hoste, for thou makest me
So wery of thy veray lewednesse,
That, al so wisly God my soule blesse,
Min eres aken of thy drafty speche."

Tyrnwhitt's Chaucer, 1775, Vol. II. p. 239, lines 13847-51.
Calfhill had been a poet and a player before he turned parson.

but *sous*; as of a shoe Chaucer would hardly have said, 'Yet wolde he have a ferthing or he wente.' "What would he do with it?" when he (the Friar) had got his quarter of a shoe. A farthing, or a quarter of any coin, he could spend. But I know no other so early use of *sous* in English, and it has yet to be shown what the value of the *sous* was in 1390. Burguy says, '*Sol, sou, monnaie dont la valeur a changé selon les pays et selon les temps; de solidus, d'abord monnaie d'or, puis aussi d'argent, c'est-à-dire, monnaie épaisse par rapport à la monnaie bractéate.*' Palsgrave (A.D. 1530) gives 'Schelyng of money—*sovldz m.*' Cotgrave (1611) '*Sol: m. A Sous, or the French shilling; whereof tenne make one of ours; (But this is to be vnderstood of the Sol Tournois . . . the tenth part of our shilling, or one part in six better then our pennie. . .*' Would Chaucer, who so often used penny, go so far out of his way to name a coin not corresponding to any English one? I doubt it: and at present suggest the Promptorium '*Schoo, clowt. Lanipedium, vel linipedium,*' assuming, that here *clowt* is '*Clowte of clothe (cloute or ragge), Scrutum, panniculus, pannucia,*' and not '*Clowte of a schoo, Pictasium.*'¹

I referred the question to Mr Albert Way, the able editor of the Promptorium, and he kindly writes from his winter retreat, Bournemouth, without books or notes to refer to:—

"The notion that I had formed, most vaguely, was, that the sort of shoe distinguished as a clout, in *Prompt.* 447, was a wrapper, or rude slipper, either of woollen or linen material, *lanipedium* or *linipedium*.² An old rag of a cloth, a *torchon*, Fr., is (I think) familiarly called a clout."

Now it so happens that Cotgrave renders *torchon* by 'A rubber, a wiper, a *shooe-clowt*³,' and this favours our read-

¹ '*Pictatium, vide Pycatium.*' '*Pycatium . . . Scribitur etiam Pictatium apud Celsum, pro panno modico qui aliquo medicamento illinitur vt imponatur corporis parti malè affectæ. A linnen bonde or cloth.*'—Cooper's Thesaurus, 1584.

² Our MS Dictionary gives '*Linipedium dij h° .i. lineum calceamentum.*'—W. Aldis Wright.

³ Levins has "ye clout set on a garment or on a shoe. *Cento.*"

ing the Promptorium 'Schoo, clowt' as a compound word. But it seems clear that the writer of the Promptorium took 'clowt' as the meaning of 'Schoo,'—compare his general custom of putting the definition after the catchword, and—

SCHOO, manns fote hyllnge. *Sotularis, calceus*, C. F.

SCHOO, for buschopys. *Sandalium*, Comm.

SCHOO, for hors. *Ferrus, babbatum*, DICE.

SCHOO, clowt. *Lanipedium, vel linipedium*, U G. V in P.

Granting, then, that *Schoo* may mean a coarse foot-cloth, we may compare with the Friar's taking a bit of it from the poor widow of the Prologue, the Sompnour's desire to take 'every cloth' from the old widow in the Friar's Tale, when he can get no pence out of her. The Somnour describes the old widow thus :

"Brothir," quod he, "her wonyth an old rebekke,
That had almost as lief to leese hir necke
As for to give a peny of hir good.
I wol han twelf pens though that sche go wood,
Or I wol somone hir to oure office" . . . 7159

And then, when he can get neither twelve pence nor one penny out of her, he says,

"Nay, olde stot, that is not myn entente,"
Quod this sompnour, "for to repente me
For eny thing that I have had of the ; 7214
I wold I had thy *smok and every cloth*."

Poudre-merchant, l. 381. A suggestion has been lately made that *poudre* is here a verb—like *boille* of 380—and not part of a noun, *poudre-marchant* :—

A Cook they hadde with hem for the nones
To boille chiknes with the Marybones
And poudre Marchant tart and galyngale. 381

From the *Babees Book* (see Index), Cotgrave, and other sources, we know how regularly *poudre* was used for the flavouring of meat, puddings, &c., besides its verbal sense of salting, or pickling, beef, &c. ; and Cotgrave gives also '*Pouldrer*, To powder ; dust or bedust ; . . to season,

228, 32. Torriano's Eng.-Ital. Dict. (appended to Florio) has "a shoe-clout or a dish-clout. *Straffinaccio*."—H. B. Wheatley.

sprinkle, or dredge with, powder or dust.' But when we find that *poudre-merchant* is a well-known flavouring-powder for meat in the 15th century we cannot doubt that it was the same in Chaucer's time, and that he meant to name this powder in the lines quoted above. The word *tart* would then mean either that *poudre marchand* was a sharp powder—which I believe—or that, like *merchant*, *tart* was another epithet to *poudre*, and named another flavourer, like the *powdour fort*¹ of the *Forme of Cury*, p. 15. About *Galyngale* there is no question: it is a well-known spice, and is used for *Chekyns in cretene* (Liber Cure Cocorum, p. 8), with ginger, canel, and cummin. The extracts for *Poudre Merchant* are as follows:

BLAUNCHE PORRE.

Take the qwyte of lekes, and parboyle hom, and hew hom small; and take onyons, and mynse hom therewith; and do hom in a pot, and put thereto gode broth, and let hit boyle, and do therto smale briddes, and seth hom therewyth, and colour hit wythe saffron, and do therto *poudre marchand*, and serve hit forthe.—*Household Ordinances*, p. 425.

CONYNGES IN CLERE BROTH.

Take conynges, and parboyle hom, and smyte hom on gobettes, and sethe hom in watur and wyne; and when they arne ysethen, then take hom up, and pike hom clene, and clense thi brothe into a faire pot, and do thi flessch therto, and gode herbes and *pouder marchaunt*, and let hit well stew, and colour hit with saunders; and in the settinge doun, put therto powder of gynger medelet with a lytel vynegur; and serve hit forthe.—*Household Ordinances*, p. 434-5.

CONGUR IN SAUSE.

Take coungur, and scalde hym, and washe hym clene, and sethe hym; and when hit is ynogh, take hit up, and let hit kole: then take parysly, myntes, peletur [pellitory], rosemaryn, sauge, and a few crummes of bred, and a lytel garlec

¹ Colour it with saffron, and do *per-inne* 'powdour fort.' See also the Recipe for a Tartlet, *ib.* p. 30,—pork boiled, and ground up with saffron, eggs, currants, 'and powdour fort, and salt,' &c. Compare 'powdour douce' on the same page, p. 15, &c.; *poudre blanche* (Babees Book; Northumberland Book, p. 14, &c.). See Pegge's Pref. to *Forme of Cury*, p. 29-30.

and salte, and grinde al this in a mortar with *pouder marchaunt*, and a fewe clowes; and drawe hit up with vynegur, and a lytel wyn: then do thi fissh in a faire vessell, and poure hit aboue, and serve hit forthel colde.—*Household Ordinances*, p. 451.

So in the *Forme of Cury*, p. 55, Recipe 113 'For to make Flaumpeyns' or baked pasties of pork, figs, eggs, &c., we are told 'þenne take powdour of peper, or els powdour marchaunt, & ayreñ, and a porcioun of safron and salt.' Also in the recipe for 'Veel in Buknade,' directions are given to add to the chopped veal, bread, saffron, and parsley, 'a porcioun of wyne & powdour marchant.'

It is not at all impossible that Chaucer may have referred to some special dish of chickens in which their bones, or the marrow-bones of other animals, were used, like the following from *Household Ordinances*, p. 437:

GELE OF CHEKYNS OR OF HENNES.

[MS leaf 322.] Take chekyns, hennes, or cokkes, or capons, and sethe hom; and when thei arne ynogh, take hem up, and take out the braune,¹ and kepe hit; and bray the other dele, *bones and all*, and do therto a lytel bredde, and drawe hit up with the same broth, but blowe of the grees; and do therto wyn, and a lytel vynegur and sugur, and let hit boyle; then take the braune, and bray hit smalle, and put hit therto unstreynd; and do therto *pouder of gynger and of canel*, and colour hit with saffron; then take the pestelles [legs] of the chekyns, and couche hom in dysshes, and poure the sewe above, and serve hit forthel.

Lodmanage, l. 403. *Lodmannagium* is a regular Low-Latin word for 'pilotage.' In the *Vadia Nautarum*, &c., of the *Liber Cont. Gard. Edw. I.* 1299-1300, p. 276, is

Lodmannagio. Magistris 30 navium prescriptorum, pro *Lodmannagio* earumdem navium per totum costeram Scocie et Hibernie, videlicet, pro qualibet nave 20s. per manus Willielmi Charles, 30 l. Simoni Kingesman, magistro de la Margarete de Kilhavene. . . pro *Lodmannagio* ejusdem navis, 6s. 8d.—*ib.* p. 273. See also p. 55.

So also *Lodmannus* for a pilot: "Ricardo de Geyton, magistro navis que vocatur la Nicholas de Geyton, . . . pro

¹ ? the head, neck, liver, lights, and other odds and ends.

vadiis unius *Lodmanni* conducti pro eadem navi guianda inter Kirkcudbrith et Karlaverok, per idem tempus, 2s."—*ib.* p. 273.

l. 425-6. fful redy hadde he / hise Apothecaries
To sende him drogges and his letuaries (*Ellesmere*).

Compare the following purchases in 1300 A.D. for Margaret, the young Queen of the old Edward I.

Speciaria empta pro Regina	{	Perroto <i>Apothecario</i> Regine, pro <i>electuariis</i> diversis, pomisgranatis, et <i>aliis rebus medicinalibus</i> emptis per eundem pro eadem Regina, apud London' mense Aprilis, per manus proprias, per duas vices apud Westmonasterium et Ebor' £4. 17. 0 <i>Liber Quotid. Contrarot. Garderobæ Edw. I.</i> , p. 63.
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l. 559, 202, *forneys*. 'Why,' asks Mr Earle, 'should Chaucer so readily fall on the simile of a *furnace*? What, in the uses of the time, made it come so ready to hand?' The Weald of Kent was then, like our 'black country' now, a great smelting district, its wood answering to our coal: and Chaucer was Knight of the Shire, or M.P., for Kent.

For *faldyng* in the Prologue, and *chilindre, cope, deye, kernel, voluper*, &c., in other parts of the Canterbury Tales, Mr W. Aldis Wright has been kind enough to send me the following extracts from a MS of the Catholicon of Jacobus Januensis, with occasional English glosses, through part of which only he has had time to search.

Chaucerian Words from MS O. 5. 4, Trinity College, Cambridge.

Amphibulus — vestis equi villosa, an^{ce} *a sclauayn or faldyng.*

'In a gowne of *faldyng* to the knee.' A. 391.

Anadrogia, an^{ce} *a deye.*

Androchia, an^{ce} *a deye.*

'For sche was as it were a maner *deye.*'

Nonne Prestes Tale, l. 26.

(A *deye* = a dairy-woman. See Du Cange. The Trinity MS gives 'Androchia, qui curam gerit de lacticiniis.'—W.)

Armilausa² . . . genus collobii, an^{ce} *a sclauayn.*

¹ Anglicè.

² Armilausa.—Sagum militare quod thoraci superinducebatur; *casaque militaire, soubreveste.*—D'Arnis.

Calamandrum, an^{ce} *a volupere.*

'The tapes of hir white *voluper.*' *Milleres Tale*, l. 55.

Cancellus¹ . . . ala palacij .i. paruum foramen parietis,
an^{ce} *a kernell* :

And in the *kernels* heere and there,
Of arblasters grete plenté were.

Romaunt of the Rose, l. 4195.

Caracalla,² an^{ce} *a sclauayn or a cope* :

ffor there he was not lyk a Cloystrer
With a thredbare *cope* / as is a poure scoler. A. 260.

Caracus, an^{ce} *a carryk.*

And now hath Sathanas, saith he, a tayl
Broder than of a *carrik* is the sayl.

Sompnours Prologe, l. 24.

Cesia, an^{ce} *a pokke or frakene.*³

A fewe *frakenes* / in his face yspreynd
Bitwixen yelow / and somdel blak ymeynd

Cant. Tales, A. 2169.

Cherucus, an^{ce} *a fane.*

For every yate of fine golde
A thousand *fanes*, aie turning,
Entuned had.—Chaucer's (?) *Dream*, l. 77.

Chilindrus, an^{ce} *a leuel*, uel est instrumentum quo hore no-
tantur ; an^{ce} *a chylaundre* :

'For by my *chilindre* it is prime of daye.'

Schipmannes Tale, l. 206.

Citator, an^{ce} *a Sompnere.*

Citator, an^{ce} *a Sumnere.*

Cito, An^{ce} *to sompny.*

Citola, an^{ce} *a cytole.*

Claretum, an^{ce} *Clareye.*

Clitella, an^{ce} *a cliket or a forsere.* } ? not the sense of *cliket*
Clitorium, an^{ce} *a clyket.* } or 'key' in the Mer-
chant's Tale :

This freissche May, that I spek of so yore,
In warm wex hath empyrnted the *cliket*
That Ianuary bar of the smale wiket. (l. 872-5.)

¹ Cancellus . . . Interstitium inter propugnacula ; *ouverture pratiquée dans les fortifications pour lancer des projectiles.* (Auct. Mamot.)—D'Arnis.

² Caracalla. Ap. Romanos, vestis urbana et militaris pænula similis, quæ, apud scriptores ecclesiasticos, passim pro *cappa* sumitur ; hinc Gallicum *casaque* deducunt nonnulli.—D'Arnis.

³ *Cesia*, Lenticula ; *lentille*, *tache de rousseur* (Vet. Glos.).—D'Arnis. *Lentilles*, Round speckes, red pimples ; *wanne*, small, and *Lentill*-resembling freckles, on the face or hands.—Cotgrave.

Crispus, an^{ce} *cryps*.

Dormitorium, an^{ce} a *Doortur*.

Dorsorium, an^{ce} a *dorsere* (*Dosser* in Chaucer.—W.).

With the characters in the Prologue, the reader should compare those in Greene's *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, 1592.¹ The Knight—the 'great old man, with a white beard all in russet, and a faire blacke cloake on his back, and, attending uppon him, some five men : their cognisance, as I remember, was a peacock without a taile' (p. 48)—has changed in appearance, not in spirit ; the Squire is now an ancient gentleman ; the Serjeant-at-law is represented by a rascally Lawyer—in Chaucer's time Wat Tyler's rebels took care to revenge themselves on the lawyers ;—the Merchant has turned usurer (p. 56) ; the Parson has a red nose, and takes a good glass of ale with his neighbours (p. 58-9) ; the Miller 'tolls twice' instead of thrice,² and has 'false hoppers to convey away the poor mans meale' ; the Cook still cousens 'the poore men and country Teamers [? Teamers] with your filthy meat, and if you leave any meat over night, you

¹ This book, as Mr Payne Collier shows, is a plagiarism from another, *Pride and Lowliness* (Shakspeare Soc., 1841), written before 1570. But Greene's prose is more readable than *Pride's* verse ; and in the *Quip* he has introduced the Summer and many other characters that *Pride* does not notice. *Pride's* Jury consists of 15, Knight, Squire, Gentleman, Baker, Brewer, Vittaller, Tanner, Graisier, Husbandman, Haberdasher, Vintener, Bricklayer, Smyth, Weaver, and Shoemaker. He discusses and rejects the Informer (p. 44-8), Dicing-House keeper (p. 48-50), and Dancing-Master (p. 50-3). Greene, on the other hand, has 24 men in his Jury (p. 66) : Knight, Esquire, Gentleman, Priest, Printer, Grocer, Skinner, Dier, Pewterer, Sadler, Joyner, Bricklaier, Cutler, Plasterer, Saylor, Ropemaker, Smith, Glover, Husbandman, Shepheard, Waterman, Waterbearer, Bellowsmender and Poet. He rejects 'a Plaier,' and 'a Musitian,' alias the Usher of a dauncing schoole (p. 69), a Milainer (p. 65), a Grasier (p. 62), a Pedler and a Tinker (p. 61), Vintner (p. 58), Merchant, Goldsmith, Mercer and Draper (p. 56-7), Butcher, Baker, Brewer and Vitler (p. 54-5), Tanner, Shoemaker, and Currier (p. 43-48), Collier (p. 42), Gaoler and Informer (p. 40-42), Serjeant (p. 38-9), Lawyer (p. 36-7), Barber, Surgeon and Apothecary (p. 32-5), Broker (p. 29-32), and a Tailor (p. 27-29). The *Quip* is fuller and more interesting than *Pride's* [this book isn't Thynne's] book.

² Wel koude he stolen corn / and tollen thries.—*Elles*. A. 562.

make a shift to heate it againe the next day¹: nay, if on the Thursday at night there be any left, you make pies of it on Sunday mornings, and almost with your slovenly knavery poyson the poore people'; the Carpenter, Husbandman, Dyer, and Sailor, are honest men (p. 59); the Weaver is 'a crafty knave,' who 'can filch and steale almost as il as the Tailor' (p. 60); the Haberdasher is a scamp, who trims up old felts, and makes hats of gum'd taffata that come in two as soon as the heat of a man's head gets to them; and as to the Sompnour—why, he's still the biggest blackguard of the Company:—

For the *Sumner*, it bootes me to say little more against him then Chaucer did in his *Canterbury tales*, who said hee was a knave, a briber, and a bawd: but leaving that authority, although it be authentically, yet thus much I can say of my selfe, that these dronken drosy sonnes go a tooting abroad (as they themselves term it,) which is, to heare if any man hath got his maid with child, or plaies the good fellow with his neighbours wife: if he finde a hole in any mans coate that is of wealth, then he hath his premtory scitation ready to scite him to the archdeacons or officials court, there to apeere and abide the shame and penalty of the law: the man, perhaps in good credit with his neighbours, loath to bring his name in question, greseth the Sumner in the fist, and then he wipes him out of the booke, and suffers him to get twenty with child, so he keepe him warm in the hand. He hath a saying to wanton wives; and they are his good dames; and as long as they feede him with cheese, bacon, capons, and such od reversions, they are honest, and they be never so bad: he sweares to the official, 'complaints are made upon envy, and the women are of good behaviour.' Tush! what bawdry is it he wil not suffer, so he may have mony and good cheere, and, if he like the wench well, a snatch himselfe; for they know all the whores in a country, and are as lecherous companions as may be. To be breefe, the Sumner lives upon the sins of the people; and out of harlatry gets he all his commodity.—1592. *R. Greene's Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, p. 39-40. Collier's Reprint.

¹ And many a Jakk of Dover hastow sold,
That hath be twyes hoot and twyes cold.

Of many a pylgrym hastow Cristes curs.

(The Host to the Cook) *Cant. Tales*, l 4345-7.

§ 8. *Chronology of Chaucer's "Knight's Tale,"* by the Rev. W. W. Skeat, M.A. (*Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, II. 243, Sept. 12, 1868.)

"After some little trouble, I have arrived at the conclusion that Chaucer has given us sufficient *data* for ascertaining both the days of the month and of the week of many of the principal events of the 'Knights Tale.' The following scheme will explain many things hitherto unnoticed. I refer to the lines of the Aldine edition, ed. Morris, 1866.

"On Friday, May 4, before 1 A.M., Palamon breaks out of prison. For (l. 605) it was during the 'third night of May, but (l. 609) a little *after* midnight.' That it was Friday is evident also, from observing that Palamon hides himself at day's approach, whilst Arcite rises 'for to doon his observance to May, remembryng of the *poynt of his desire.*' To do this best, he would go into the fields at sunrise (l. 633), during the hour dedicated to *Venus*, i. e. during the hour after sunrise *on a Friday*. If however this seem for a moment doubtful, all doubt is removed by the following lines:—

'Right as the *Friday*, sothly for to telle,
Now it schyneth, now it reyneth faste,
Right so gan gery *Venus* overcaste
The herthes of hire folke, right as *hir day*
Is gerful, right so chaungeth hire aray.
Selde is the *Fryday* al the wyke alike.'

"All this is very little to the point unless we suppose Friday to be the day. Or, if the reader have *still* any doubt about this, let him observe the curious accumulation of evidence which is to follow.

"Palamon and Arcite meet, and a duel is arranged for an early hour on the *day following*. That is, they meet on Saturday, May 5. But, as Saturday is presided over by the inauspicious planet Saturn, it is no wonder that they are both unfortunate enough to have their duel interrupted by Theseus, and to find themselves threatened with death. Still, at the intercession of the queen and Emily, a day of assembly for a tournament is fixed for '*this day fifty wekes*' (l. 992). Now we must understand '*fyfty wekes*' to be a poetical expression for *a year*. This is not mere supposition, however, but a *certainty*; because the appointed day was in the month of *May*, whereas fifty weeks and no more would land us in *April*. Then '*this day fifty wekes*' means '*this day year*,' viz. on May 5.

"Now, in the year following (supposed not a leap-year),

the 5th of May would be *Sunday*. But this we are expressly told in l. 1330. It must be noted, however, that this is not the day of the *tournament*,¹ but of the *muster* for it, as may be gleaned from ll. 992-995 and 1238. The tenth hour 'inequal' of Sunday night, or the second hour before sunrise of Monday, is dedicated to *Venus*, as explained by Tyrwhitt (l. 1359); and therefore Palamon then goes to the temple of Venus. The third hour after this, the first after sunrise on Monday, is dedicated to Luna or Diana, and during this Emily goes to Diana's temple. The third hour after this again, the fourth after sunrise, is dedicated to Mars, and therefore Arcite then goes to the temple of Mars. But the rest of the day is spent merely in jousting and preparations—

'Al the *Monday* jousten they and daunce.' (1628.)

The tournament therefore takes place on Tuesday, May 7, on the day of the week presided over by *Mars*, as was very fitting; and this perhaps helps to explain Saturn's exclamation in l. 1811, 'Mars hath his wille.'

"Thus far all the principal days, with their events, are exactly accounted for. In what follows I merely throw out a suggestion for what it is worth.

"It is clear that Chaucer would have been *assisted* in arranging all these matters thus exactly, if he had chosen to calculate them according to the year *then current*. Now the years (not bissextile) in which May 5 is on a Sunday, during the last half of the fourteenth century, are these: 1359, 1370, 1381, 1387, 1398. Of these five, it is at least curious that the date 1387 *exactly* coincides with this sentence in Sir H. Nicolas's *Life of Chaucer*:—"From internal evidence it appears that the "Canterbury Pilgrimage" was written after the year 1386."

WALTER W. SKEAT."

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On the question of Chaucer's *Knight's Tale* being 'translated,' or 'taken bodily from Boccaccio's *Teseide*,' I think no one can turn over Mr Henry Ward's sidenotes to the Cambridge and Lansdowne texts, without a feeling of relief and satisfaction. When one finds that out of 2250 of Chaucer's lines, he has only translated 270 (less than $\frac{1}{8}$ th);

¹ It has been objected, that this makes the tournament to take place, not on the *anniversary* of the duel, but two days later. I cannot help it. It is Chaucer's doing, not mine. Let the reader judge.—W. W. S.

that only 374 more lines bear a general likeness to Boccaccio's, and only 132 more, a slight likeness, any talk of the *Knight's Tale* being a 'translation only,' or 'taken bodily from the *Teseide*' (of 9054 lines), is of course absurd. Chaucer's work is an *adaptation* of his original. Mr Ward's forthcoming Essay will tell us how far Chaucer has borrowed, how far altered, his characters from Boccaccio, and how far Boccaccio has borrowed his from Statius. One has no desire to detract from the originality of the Italian poet, who, doubtless, owes less to his original than Chaucer does to his; but one does want to know whether the facts show our man to be, in his *Knight's Tale*, merely a *grand translateur*, or an adapter, using his own discretion in his treatment of the personages and incidents of the story, cutting out rigmaroles or elaborate descriptions that hinder the action of the story, altering characters, &c. The few lines in the *Knight's Tale* (1164-6, 1262-3, 2988, *seq.*) that are taken from Boethius's *De Consolatione*, Tyrwhitt has long agoned.

The special point in the translation-question that interested me, was, whether the lines about English Knights being only too glad to join in a fight for a lady's sake—

for if ther fille tomorwe swich a caas	
Ye knowen wel / þat euery lusty knyght	
That loueth paramours / and hath his myght	2112
Were it in Engelond / or elles where	
They wolde hir thankes / wilnen to be there	
To fighte for a lady / benedicitee	
It were a lusty sighte / for to see	2116

were Chaucer's, and therefore true of England in 1387—1400 A.D. And of course any chronicle, any book like Barnes's on the history of Edward III's reign, indeed we may say up to Henry VIII's, shows plenty of jousts and tourneys in England.

A few lines in another passage one did not doubt would prove to be Chaucer's own, inconsistent though they are, to some extent, with his character of the Knight,—

This Emelye / with herte debonaire	
Hir body wessh / with water of a welle	
But hou she dide her ryte / I dar nat telle	2284

But it be / any thing^t in general
 And yet^t it were a game to heeren al
 To hym þat meneth wel / it were no charge
 But it is good / a man been at his large 2288

Accordingly, Mr Ward marks only l. 2283 as from the *Teseide*, VII. 72.

In the well-known word-cruX of the Knight's Tale, the *hoppesteres* of l. 2015,

"Yet saugh I brent^t the shippes hoppesteres,"

the Italian gives us no further help than the *bellatrici* often commented on of old. The only fair guess is that of our Member, Mr Brae, who, taking advantage of the reading 'opposteres,' explains it as the feminine of 'opposer,' made by affixing the termination *-ster*¹. The Latin *oppositores* has also been suggested. And I, seeing *cromster* as the name of a class of early English vessels, and supposing that it came from the Dutch *krom*, crooked², thought that a name *opster* or *oppester* (then *hoppester*, with the often-prefixed *h*) might well have been derived from the Dutch *op*, up, meaning a vessel with a prominent prow, a high fore-castle, or something of the kind. But of neither *kromster* nor *opster* could Mr Hoets's naval friends in Holland find a trace. We can only hope that when our early naval records come to be printed, 'shippes hoppesteres' may appear in some of them, with an explanation.

§ 9. *Intentions.*

The less said about these, the better, perhaps. But, l. I hope that Members will supply money enough to enable Pt. 2 of the *Six-Text* to be issued in 1869, and thus complete Group A of the Tales, with its Appendix of the spurious Tale of Gamelyn. I feel bound to print this Tale, as it is in so many MSS, but I sincerely trust that no future Editor of *Chaucer's Works* will admit it into his

¹ This is of course one of those desperate derivations resorted to in hopeless cases.

² Halliwell gives '*Cromster*, a kind of vessel with a crooked prow (*Dut.*).' The name is often used.

edition. Its rigmarole never came from Chaucer's pen : there's not a touch of him in it.

2. I hope we shall issue in 1869 Mr Ward's Essay on the *Knight's Tale* and *Teseide*, and Mr W. M. Rossetti's on the *Troilus* and *Filostrato* ; also Lydgate's *Sege of Thebes*. Mr Skeat's Introduction to Chaucer's *Bred & Mylk for Children*, or Treatise on the Astrolabe, for the Early English Text Society's Extra Series, will deal fully with all the questions of chronology in *The Canterbury Tales*.

3. The two French fabliaus from which Chaucer may have taken the outline of his *Reeves Tale*, we shall reprint in 1869, from the MSS, if possible. The original of *The Milleres Tale* is not known (to me, at least).

4. Mr A. J. Ellis's important *English Pronunciation* will be completed late in 1869, or early in 1870 ; and I trust that one of these years will see Mr Bradshaw's various Chaucer essays, lists of Chaucer's rhimes, descriptions of MSS, &c. &c., published. Some have been in type for years, and are immensely wanted by Chaucer-students. Meantime, I wish that our Members would work at the question of the genuineness or spuriousness of the following Poems, which Mr Bradshaw (I believe) holds not to be Chaucer's, though they have been assigned to him by previous editors :—

The Court of Love, iv. i (*Chaucer's Poet. Works*, ed. Morris).

The Boke of Cupide, or the Cuckow & the Nightingale, iv. 51.

The Flower & the Leaf, iv. 87.

Chaucer's Dream, v. 86.

The Romaunt of the Rose, vi. 1.

The Complaynte of a Loveres Lyfe, or The Black Knyght, vi. 235.

A Goodly Ballade of Chaucer, vi. 275.

A Praise of Women, vi. 278.

Leaulte vault Richesse, vi. 302 (printed by Pinkerton as 'Pious Lines').

? Proverbes of Chaucer, vi. 303; the next 2 stanzas are a separate poem,¹ 'The worlde so wyde, the ayer so remuable,' attributed by Shirley, who 'dyed in 1456, aged 90 years,' to 'Halsam, squiere,' in 'MSS Harl. 7333' (Ritson, *Bibl. Poet.* p. 57, 102).

Roundel, vi. 304.

Virelai, vi. 305.

Chaucer's Prophecy, vi. 307.

If I understand Mr Bradshaw rightly, all these poems contravene the laws of rhyme observed by Chaucer in the works, both of youth and old age, that are certainly his, while the evidence for most of the poems in the list above being Chaucer's, is merely editors' guesses; and in the case of the *Romaunt of the Rose*, which Lydgate names as a work of Chaucer, Mr Bradshaw holds that there is no so strong internal evidence of the poem we possess with that name, being Chaucer's, as to rebut the evidence of the false rhimes². For instance, *if* in Chaucer's undoubted works you find that *mal-a-dy-e* or *Cur-tei-si-e* is four syllables, and rhimes only with other nouns in *y-e* or *i-e*, proved by derivation to be a 2-syllable termination, and with infinitives in *y-e*, then if you find in the *Romaunt*

Sich joie anon thereof hadde I	
That I forgate my maladie	1850
Sone he was unto Curtesie, ³	
And he me grauntid fulle gladly	2986

you get a rhyme that isn't Chaucer's; for he didn't mix false rhimes and true ones, as the *Romaunt* does: compare the above with

¹ This poem is printed in Lydgate's *Minor Poems*, for the Percy Society, p. 193, and in *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, i. 234.

² On pages 251-2 of my *English Pronunciation* you will see all the bad rhymes in Chaucer, and see reason to discredit the *Court of Love*, *Dream*, *Flower and Leaf*, and *Romaunt* at once,—so far as the editions we have, are concerned. But the number of errors is not enough for me to discredit, at present, more than these editions. A very detailed examination is necessary for the rest.—*A. J. Ellis*.

³ To riden out / he loued chialrie
Trouthe and honour / fredom and curteisie.

Cant. Tales, A. 46.

	That yvelle is fulle of curtesie, That knowith in his maladie	2294
and the following		
	So thou thee kepe fro folye, Shalle no man do thee vylanye ¹	2994
with		
	I curse and blame generaly Alle hem that loven vilanye	2180
	If oon be fulle of vilanye, Another hath a likerous ighe ²	4264
So too the treating of an infinitive <i>e</i> as nothing, and making a 2-syllable <i>y-e</i> rhyme with an adverbial <i>-ly</i> , as in the Romaunt, would be impossible to Chaucer.		
	And thus enduryng shalt thou lye, And ryse on morwe up erly	2646
	May no man have good, but he it bye, A man loveth more tendirly	2738
or again		
	At prime temps, Love to manace : ³ Ful ofte I have been in this caas. ⁴	3374

¹ He for despit and for his tiranny
To do the dede bodyes vileynye.

Cant. Tales, A. 942.

{ vileynye 2729	{ vilonye 9665 (<i>Wright</i>)
{ cowardye	{ espye (infin.)

² And smale foweles / maken melodye
That slepen al the nyght / with open eye

Cant. Tales, A. 10.

This prison caused me nat for to crye
But I was hurt right now thurgh out myn eye

Cant. Tales, A. 1096.

{ Emelye	
{ eye	2680

At every tyme he lokith in hir face,
But in his hert he gan hir to manace.

Cant. Tales, 9626 (*Wright*.)

He rubbith hir about hir tendre face,
And sayde thus : " Allas ! I mot trespace."

ibid. 9701-2.

⁴ And shortly / for to tellen as it was
Were it by aventure / or sort or cas.

Cant. Tales, A. 844.

{ caas 797	{ allas	{ was 1355, 2361	{ cas
{ solaas	{ cas 1074	{ allas	{ was 1412, 2080
{ was	{ paas	{ cas (event) 2357	{ las (lace)
{ caas 2110	{ was 2218	{ caas (sheath)	{ allas 2390

Take also *Jelousie*: at one time it has 4 syllables, at another, 3:

Which hath ordeyned Ielousie,¹
 An olde vekke for to espye 4286
 Now it is tyme shortly that I
 Telle yow som thyng of Ielousie 4146 (and 3909-10)

It will be well to prepare oneself, by previous independent work, to accept or contest Mr Bradshaw's argument and conclusions when they appear. They will not be of the poohpoohable kind, as they are the result of careful and honest hard work by a man with a pair of eyes and a head. But I, for one, am not prepared to give up the *Romaunt* as Chaucer's, without a fight,—willingly as I let go the other poems I have examined, the *Dreme*, *Flower & Leaf*, *Goodly Ballade*, and *Praise of Women*, in the present state of some of their stanzas.

The difficulty of the question in the case of the *Romaunt* is great, because we have only one 15th-century MS of it; and the question is, how far may we suppose the late scribe to have gone in altering the rhimes of his original? There is a notion abroad that scribes didn't alter rhimes: but that won't do. Just take a couple of instances from my edition of the two versions of the *Compleynt of Christe*, from the Lambeth MS 853, ab. 1430 A.D., and the Lambeth MS 306, ab. 1460 A.D.

1430 A.D.		1460 A.D.
But y myzte aftirward be saaf	But þou wolt after-warde me	
	save	
Lete not my soule come in hett caaf	Leve nat my soule in helle cave	

Political, Religious, & Love Poems, p. 179, l. 166, 168; p. 178, l. 299, 301.

¹ I speke / as for my suster Emelye
 ffor whom ye haue / this strif & Ialousye.

Cant. Tales, A. 1834.

ffor loue of yow / and for my Ialousye

And Iupiter / so wys my soule gye.

Cant. Tales, A. 2785. (See too 'frie' (infin.) 'jalousie,' 6069-70, *Wright*.)

{ Emelye 1731	{ thou shalt dye	{ flaterye
{ I shal dye	{ Emelye 1588	{ Ialousye 1928
{ Emelye 2341	{ moot dye	{ gye (infin.)
{ gan to crye	{ Emelye 2762	{ Emelye 2816

þe moppis þat þi cloþis ete	the mothes that thy clothys etys
þi drinkis þat sowren & þi mowlid mete	thy drynkis soweren, þou mouledest metis

ibid. p. 181, l. 208, 210 ; p. 180, l. 342, 344.

Take another case involving the infinitive and adverbial *e* from the Vernon MS, ab. 1375 A.D., and the Lambeth MS 853 above-named, ab. 1430 A.D., where the later MS is grammatically better than the earlier one, if rigid grammarians are to be believed :

1375 A.D.		1430 A.D.
Such lust vn leueful . let hit pas . . .		Such lust vnleefful, late it passe . . .
þat founden is so foul trespas.		þat founden it is so foule a trespase
And lokes . þat nouþer more ne las . . .		And loke þou, neiþer more ne lasse . . .
Leste þou syngē . þis songe allas.		Lest þou singe þis song, alas

Hymns to the Virgin & Christ, p. 110, l. 74-6-7-9 ; p. 111, l. 58, 60-1-3.

Compare these with Chaucer's rhimes in the *Canterbury Tales*, ed. Wright,

Thou art so fals and so unkynde, alas ! 14318 (& 16905-6)
Now, goode men, God forgeve yow your trespas²

That may assoyle you, bothe more and lasse 14354
Whan that the soule schal fro the body passe¹

But as a child of twelf month old or lesse,³
That can unnethes eny word expresse 14896

See also the *iolitee* and *jelousye*, p. 44, above. Still, it is more than doubtful whether any later scribe could have made such alterations in the *Romaunt*, &c., as must have been made if Chaucer ever wrote these poems on the same rhyme-laws as his other poems. But are poets always consistent in their rhimes during their whole lives? The sooner Mr Bradshaw opens his attack, the better for all of us.

¹ passe 16797
thasse

² to trespase (*infin.*)
grace (*sb.*) 15668
place (*sb.*) 16052

³ sikernesse
richesse
lesse
gesse 15371

5. I hope that we shall be able to print all Chaucer's originals, with translations, so that we may know his exact debt to them, and see whether he only went to school to the French poets, to College to the Italian, and then worked his own way in the world; or whether he was in French leading-strings all his life.

6. I hope that our Chaucer-Society work will be at once used by editors and writers. Mr Richard Morris has promised to use what he can of it for the new edition of his school *Selections from Chaucer*, and to put part also into some revisions of his Aldine edition of Chaucer's Poetical Works. I lay on Prof. Child the burden of preparing a school edition of the Prologue and a Tale or two for use in the United States, as an edition by him there will certainly sell, and be used, far more widely than any English editor's book. I trust that the learned German translator of Chaucer, M. Hertzberg, or failing him, that Goldbeck and Mätzner, or one of them, will publish an edition for the Continent, so that we may have more German work at our poet and Early English. I look to our texts being the basis of Mr Earle's edition for the Oxford Delegates. Our work is not done in order to keep our work to ourselves; but in order that Chaucer's words may be more studied, his memory cleared from unjust blame, and he more loved and honoured by ever-widening circles of readers.

That the time is coming for this latter end, I take as warrant, the universal acclaim which greeted the appearance of Mr W. Morris's *Jason*. He has told us in whose school he learnt his craft:

Would that I 5

Had but some portion of that mastery
That from the rose-hung lanes of woody Kent
Through these 500 years such songs have sent
To us, who, meshed within this smoky net
Of unrejoicing labour, love them yet.
And thou, O Master!—Yea, my Master still,
Whatever feet have scaled Parnassus' hill,
Since like thy measures, clear, and sweet, and strong,
Thames' stream scarce fettered bore the bream along,

Unto the bastioned bridge, his only chain—
 O Master, pardon me, if yet in vain
 Thou art my Master, and I fail to bring
 Before men's eyes the image of the thing
 My heart is filled with : thou whose dreamy eyes
 Beheld the flush to Cressid's cheek arise,
 As Troilus rode up the praising street,
 As clearly as they saw thy townsmen meet,
 Those who in vineyards of Poictou withstood
 The glittering horror of the steel-topped wood.

1867. W. MORRIS. *Life & Death of Jason*, Book xvii, p. 317.

I hope he has sent many a student to sit at his Master's feet. Dean Stanley's Chaucer Window in Westminster Abbey¹ tells the same tale ; and I can answer for Chaucer being read in some workmen's homes.

But it is time to draw this Preface to a close. There are, however, two points on which I must first speak, 1. the talked-of uniform spelling of Chaucer in future time : 2. our thanks to those who have helped us.

1. There are some men to whom the irregularities of nature and facts, the waywardness of growth, are a perpetual irritation. Trained mostly in classics, themselves, they cannot bear the thought of Chaucer's words being spelt with less regularity than Virgil's or Horace's. They do not stop to inquire whether the (to them) beautifully uniform spelling they have, was that of Rome or Greece itself, at any time, or that of an Italian Renaissance of the 15th century ; they swallow the orthography of their text-books, without question, as the genuine article, thank the Lord for its delightfulness, and say they must and will make Chaucer and our early men conform to the like smooth rotundity. On these points I hold, 1. that the Latin spelling of our ordinary text-books is *Poggiesque* or *Opera* spelling,—as little true to the real varied early spelling as an opera shepherdess is to a real one. 2. That if Poggio Bracciolini and his fellows of the Classical Renaissance of the 15th century, had had MSS of Horace and

¹ See Appendix 3.

Virgil, written within 20 or 30 years of the deaths of those authors, even their love of uniformity—and impudence, shall we say?—would not have led them to tamper with the spelling of these MSS, and reconstruct for their authors a uniform spelling which, in the nature of things, could not have prevailed in such early times; 3. that, as regards Chaucer, I have never yet seen or heard of a 14th-century MS, autograph or not, which is uniform in its spelling; and that I am entitled to conclude that no such MS of any length ever existed; 4. that to force a uniform spelling on Chaucer—by whatever process arrived at—would be to force a lie on him and on the history of the English Language¹; an evil for which no fancied gain in convenience of teaching boys could compensate. Before him for hundreds of years is no uniformity²; after him for centuries, none: why in the works of him—the free and playful—above all others, are letters to lose their power of wandering at their own sweet will; why are words to be debarred their rightful inheritance of varying their forms? This notion of a uniform spelling, as applied to Chaucer's words, is to me a Monster, bred by Artificialness out of False Analogy.

If the day for a Poggioed Chaucer ever does come, I hope the Editor of it—whoever the modern Poggio may be—will give it that name, or call it *Chaucer-cum-Poggio* (*Tomkins* or *Vavasour*), so that all people may have unmistakable warning of what they are to read. I repeat my words of 1861: “far more experienced readers and better judges than I, have condemned the attempt to impose on a language constantly changing in words, inflexions, and

¹ You are hard on — and me for systematizing orthography. See pages 401, 403-4, 406-7, of my *English Pronunciation*.—A. J. Ellis.

² There are terminal changes also occurring in prepositions and adverbs, which appear to have been used or omitted, according as the rhythm or metre might require, e. g. *fra mann to manne*, l. 11219; *to king* 8449, *to kinge* 8370; *to grund* 11773, *to grunde* 12547 . . . *i Godess hus* 625, *inn huse* 2112; *off slap* 1903, *off slape* 3143 . . . *att inn* 12926, *att inne* 12739; *off, offe*; *whæroff* 13694, *whæroffe* 13704 . . . R. M. White, in the autograph *Ormulum*, i. lxxx.

spelling, written often by half-lettered men, a rigid rule applicable only to the well-settled speech and literature of a cultivated nation" (*Early English Poems and Lives of Saints*. Philol. Soc. p. vi.). All honour to those who work painfully and faithfully at our early writers' grammar, at their early spellings and rhimes! My protest is only against those who insist on forcing the forms of the majority on the minority, who will tolerate no exceptions to their rules—of inflexion and spelling, at least,—who insist on a mechanical uniformity instead of the variety of nature and of fact.

2. The names of most of those to whom we are indebted have already appeared in these pages: of Chaucer-students, Child, Bradshaw, Morris, Ellis, Skeat, Ward, Ebert, Earle, Aldis Wright, Cowper, Rossetti, Murray, Brock, a fair array of men who have not spared themselves:—of Chaucer-owners, Lord Ellesmere, Lord Leconfield, Mr W. W. E. Wynne, the authorities of the British Museum, the Cambridge University Library, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford; to all of these, as well as to the Duke of Devonshire, Sir Morton Peto, the Rev. J. G. Lonsdale (Chancellor of Lichfield), Mr W. A. Dalziel, Mr George Parker of the Bodleian, Mr D. Hall of the Cambr. Univ. Library, and last, though not least, to Messrs Childs and Co., our liberal and patient printers, the thanks of the Society and myself are due for willingly-rendered help of various kinds. The only return we can make them is in Shirley's words, though we know it is from other motives than he urges, that they will study Chaucer's works:

"O yee so noble and worthi pryncis and princesse, oþer estatis or degrees, what-euer yee beo, þat haue disposicione or plesaunce to rede or here þe stories of olde tymis passed, to kepe yow frome ydelnesse and slowþe, in escheuing oþer folies þat might be cause of more harome filowyng, vowch-ethi sauf, Ibe-seche yowe, to fynde yowe occupaciõ in þe Reding here of þe tales of Caunterburye, wiche beoñ compilid in þis boke filowing / First foundid, ymagenid, and made / boþe for disporte and leornyng of all þoo that beon

gentile of birthe or of condicions, by þe laureal and moste famous poete þat euer was to-fore him as in þemvelissing of oure rude moders englisshe tonge, clepid Chaucyer a Gavfrede ; of whos soule, god for his mercy have pitee of his grace. Amen!" (*Harl. MS 7333, leaf 37.*)

3, *St George's Square, Primrose Hill, N.W.*
18 February, 1869.

P.S.—1. *The Cambridge MS*, p. 51-9.

Mr A. J. Ellis says he thinks this MS is like Audelay's Shropshire Poems (Percy Society, 1844). In the Preface to these Mr Halliwell says that the similarities of the old to the modern Salopian dialect, as exhibited by Mr Hartshorne, "are not very easily perceptible. The tendency to turn *o* into *a*, and to drop the *h*, may be recognized in the following pages, as *ald* for *hold*, &c. *I* is still turned into *e*, which may be regarded [as] one of Audelay's dialectal peculiarities, especially in the prefixes to the verbs¹; but the *ch* for *sh* or *sch*, so common in Audelay, has not found a place in Mr Hartshorne's Glossary."

The following list of specialties seen in turning over a few pages of Audelay, are not much like those of the Cambridge MS. Audelay's most striking peculiarity is the *u* of his inflexional *-ud*, *-un*, *-us*, *-ust* (2 sing.).

e

gestle, ghostly, p. 25
selare, salary, p. 16
deers, doers, p. 17

negard, niggard, p. 16
epocryte, hypocrite, p. 15
e-blaw, blown, p. 13

u

thai blessun her burth, p. 20
Goddus lawys, p. 20
lordus, *pl.*, p. 20
knelud, p. 21
y-cluggun, p. 19
lyppus, p. 18
synnus, p. 17
mysdedus, p. 17
uche (each), p. 16, 14, 9
woldust, p. 53

wentust, p. 51
nedus, p. 14
kepus, p. 12
ellus, p. 8
dud (did), p. 9
schulun, p. 11
fallus, p. 12
lungus (belongs), p. 33
frerus, p. 31

¹ There are far more *i-* and *y-* prefixes than *e-* ones.

<i>o</i>	
<i>pot</i> , put, p. 25	<i>comawndon</i> , p. 19
<i>thonke</i> , thank, p. 9	<i>leedon</i> , lead, p. 17
<i>choson</i> , chosen, p. 24	<i>woldon</i> , <i>wro3ton</i> , p. 13
<i>holdoun</i> , olden, p. 22	<i>hosbondmen</i> , p. 13
<i>acordon in hon</i> , p. 19	<i>hochon</i> , each one, p. 50
<i>a</i>	
knowlache, p. 19	mat (mightest), p. 8
consians, p. 19, 50	apon (upon), p. 10
consyans, p. 14, 12	obedyans, p. 11
clanse, p. 14	kay (key), p. 36
clannes, p. 56	astatus (estates), p. 75
afend (offend), p. 8	
<i>c</i>	
<i>governour</i> , governour, p. 23-4	<i>personache</i> , personage, p. 33
<i>worchyp</i> , honour, p. 21	<i>cheddust</i> , shededst, p. 55
<i>chewyn</i> , show, p. 18	<i>choule</i> , jowl, p. 77
<i>d and t</i>	
<i>cumford</i> , comforted, p. 22	<i>conford</i> , comfort, p. 10
" comfort, p. 18	
<i>g</i>	
	<i>coindom</i> , kingdom, p. 22
<i>f and v</i>	
soferayns, p. 13	<i>vor</i> , for, p. 10
<i>w and v</i>	
<i>woys</i> , voice, p. 11	<i>dewoutly</i> , p. 59

2. *Note on Mr Morris's Comparison of our 6 MSS with Harl. 7334.*

The comments on lines 95, 175, 250, 252, 281, 307-13, 320, 331, 363, 377, 411-15, 474, 483-516, 540, 604, 622, 665, 756, 772, 795, &c. &c., here, with other like instances in later Tales, justify the assertion on p. 29, top-note, that the readings show only two (main) types of MSS, 1. the Ellesmere, 2. the Harleian 7334.

3. *Notes to the Prologue*, p. 93.

The lines 212-13 on the Friar,

He hadde inade many a fair mariage
Of yonge wymmen at his owne cost,

have given some trouble to commentators. I suspect that

the true explanation lies in the following extract from a letter of Dr Layton to Cromwell, in 1535 A.D., in Mr Thos. Wright's edition of *Letters on the Suppression of the Monasteries*, for the Camden Society, p. 58 :

[At Maiden Bradley, near Bristol,] "is an holy father prior, and hath but vj children, and but one dowghter mariede yet of the goodes of the monasterie, trystyng shortly to mary the reste. His sones be tall men, waittyng upon him ; and he thankes Gode a never medelet with marytt women, but all with *madens*, the faireste cowlde be gottyn, *and always maredede them ryght well.*"

Compare this with the Miller's determination only to have a virgin for his wife, in *The Reves Tale* :

For Symkyn wolde no wyfe, as he sayde,
But sche were wel i-norissched, *and a mayde*,
To saven his estaat and yomanrye.

'Do not these three words *and a mayde* mean a good deal, as applied to the morals of the poor, and the rich who used them ?'—(*Ballads from MSS*, ed. F. J. F., for the Ballad Society, p. 80, p. 76.)

APPENDIX I.

QUEEN ISABELLA'S EXPENSES AND SLEEPING-PLACES ON HER JOURNEY FROM LONDON TO CANTERBURY, AND BACK TO OSPRINGE, FROM WEDNESDAY, JUNE 6, 1358, TO TUESDAY, JUNE 12, 1358; AND HER ALMS ON HER FORMER PILGRIMAGE.

Cotton MS Galba E xiv, leaf 18, back.

[Apud] Die Martis, quinto die Iunij : Dispensa : xix s.
 Londoni- v.d, ob. Buttillaria : xxiiij.s. j.d, ob. q.¹
 am [Co- Vinum : xxxvij.s. iiij d. Garderoba : xvij.s.
 mitissa] Garreni² v.d. Coquina : Lxxij.s. v.d, q. Pulletria :
 ad cenam : xxij.s. xj.d. Scuttillaria : xij.s, j.d, ob. Sal-
 saria. xvij.d. Aula & Camera : xxxiiij s. ix.d.
 Stabulum : Cvj.s. vj.d, ob. q. Vadia : xj.s. v.d.
 Elemosina : ij.s :

Summa : xvij li. iiij.s. ob. q :

³De incremento mensis, vj busselli dimidium auenarum.

... [Co- Die Mercurij, sexto die Iunij : Dispensa :
 mitiss]a xxj.s, ij.d, ob. Buttillaria xix.s. ij.d, ob. q.
 Garreni Vinum : xxxv s : Garderoba : xxxiiij.s, q. ; Co-
 ad pran- quina : Cij.s. xj.d. Pulletria : xiiij.s. xj.d ;
 dium ... Scuttillaria : vij.s, viij.d, ob. Salsaria : ij.s.
 & plures

¹ *obolus* is a ha'penny, *quadranta* a farthing. The commas and semi-colons are not in the MS.

² The Countess of Warren : see page 14 above.

³ These entries are in the right-hand margin of the accounts. What the *increment* or *income of the month* may be is not certain. *De presento* means 'received as presents,' Mr Bond says.

magnates Aula & Camera. j.d, ob ; Stabulum : Cv.s. xj.d.
 post prandium Vadia : xj.s. v.d :

Summa : xvij li, xvj.s. vj.d, ob :

De incremento mensis, vj busselli dimidium auenarum.

[Apu]d
 Dorte-
 ford :

Die Iouis. vij^o. die Iunij : Dispensa : xxj.s. j.d, ob ; Buttillaria : xvj.s, vij d, q. Vinum : xlv.s. vij.d, ob ; Garderoba : xiiij.s. vj.d, q. Coquina : Liiij.s. iij.d, ob. q. Pulletria : xxiiij.s, iij.d, ob. Scuttillaria : xj.s. j.d ; Salsaria. xx.d. q. Aula & Camera. xix.s. ij.d, ob ; Stabulum : vj li. vj.s. v.d, ob. Vadia : xj.s. ix.d, ob. Elemosina. ij.s :

Summa : xvij li. v.s. ix.d, ob :

De incremento mensis, v. busselli auenarum.

[Apu]d
 Rouces-
 tre
 [Comi-
 ti]ssa
 Garrenñ
 ad pran-
 dium :

Die Veneris, viij^o. die Iunij : Dispensa : xvj.s ; Buttillaria : xiiij.s, iij.d, ob ; Vinum : xxxviij.s, ix.d, ob. Garderoba : xxvij.s. ij^d. ob ; Coquina. L.s. iij.d ; Pulletria : v.s, v.d, ob. Scuttillaria : iij.s, viij.d, ob ; Salsaria. xviiij.d, ob. q ; Aula & Camera : xiiij.s, xj.d ; Stabulum : Cxv.s, x.d, ob. q. Vadia : xj.s, ix.d, ob ; Elemosina : ij.s :

Summa xv.li. xij d, ob.

De incremento mensis, iij busselli iij pecci auenarum.

[Apu]d
 Osprenge
 ad
 prandium

Die sabbati : ix^{no}. die Iunij : Dispensa : xviiij.s. ix.d. q. Buttillaria : xiiij.s. vj.d ; Vinum : xxxix.s, x.d, ob. Garderoba : xxj.s. vij.d, q. Coquina : xliiiij.s. v.d, q. Pulletria : vj.s ; Scuttillaria : iij.s, ij.d, ob ; Salsaria xviiij.d. Aula & Camera : xv.s. iij.d, ob. Stabulum : vj.li. iij.s, vij.d. ob. Vadia : xj.s, ix.d, ob. Elemosina : ij.s.

Summa : xv.li. iij.s, viij.d. q :

De incremento mensis, iij busselli iij pecci auenarum.

*Summa expensorum istius septimane : Cvij.li :
x.s. xj d :
. istius ixⁿⁱ mensis : CCCLxv.li. x.s,
iijd, ob. 3 probatur.*

[leaf 19]
Apud
Cantua-
riam: Ab-
bas sancti
Augusti-
ni ad
Cenam :

Die dominica. x^{mo} die Iunij : Dispensa : xxvij.
s. ob. Buttillaria : xij s ; Vinum : Lij.s. Gar-
deroba : xxxiiij.s. ix.d ; Coquina : Lxvij.s. x d,
q. Pulletria : xxij.s. vij.d, ob. Scuttillaria :
vij.s. x.d. Salsaria : ij.s, vij.d, ob. Aula &
Camera : x.s. j.d, ob. Stabulum : C . . s. ob.
q. Vadia : xj.s. ix.d, ob. Elemosina : ij.s.

Summa : xvij.li. . . .

De presento . . .

De incremento mensis

Abbas
sancti Au-
gustini ad
prandium

Die Lune, xj^{mo}. die Iunij : Dispensa : xvij.s.
ij.d ; Buttillaria : x.s. ix.d. q. Vinum xxxix.s.
j.d ; Garderoba : xij.s. ij.d, ob. Coquina : xxij.s,
j.d, q. Pulletria : xxvj.s. iiij.d, ob. q. Scuttill-
laria : iiij.s. v.d. Salsaria : iiij.s. x.d ; Aula &
Camera : j.d, ob ; Stabulum iiij.li, xvj.s, ij.d, q.
Vadia : xj.s, ix.d, ob. Elemosina. ij.s.

Summa, xij.li. ix.s. . .

De presento, j carcos', j porcus, iij vituli ;

De incremento mensis

Apud Os-
prenge :
Abbas
sancti Au-
gustini ad
prandium

Die Martis : xij^{mo} die Iunij : Dispensa : xvij.s.
Buttillaria : xj.s. ij.d, q. Vinum : xlvj.s. j.d :
Garderoba : xij.s. vj.d. q. Coquina : xxix^s. ij.d ;
Pulletria : xiiij.s. ob. Scuttillaria : vj.s. iiij.d.
Salsaria : xiiij.d, ob. Aula & Camera : xxij.d,

ob. *Stabulum*: iiij.li. xvij.s. iij.d; *Vadia* xj.s,
ix.d, ob. *Elemosina*: ij.s.

Summa xij.li. xij.s. v.d.

De presento, j carcos' di. j porcus di. viij.
auce vj. capones. *De presento*, iiij.

[The next entry is 'Apud Ledes.']

ALMS GIVEN BY QUEEN ISABELLA ON HER JOURNEY, AND AT
CANTERBURY, IN 1358, AND ON HER FORMER PILGRIMAGE.

ALMS ON THE FIRST PILGRIMAGE (? 1357 A.D.).

Cotton MS Galba E xiv, leaf 32.

A poor
Frenchman
who came to
Hertford.

4 of the
Queen's poor
men, for a pair
of shoes each.

A poor clerk,
a student at
Oxford, who
came to Hert-
ford.

Minoreesses of
London with-
out Aldgate,
20 gold
nobles.

Rector of St
Edmund's,
London, the
Queen's par-
ish-church.

Iohanni de Louere, pauperi Francie, venienti vsque Hertford ad dominam Reginam & imploranti Auxilium ab eadem, de elemosina eiusdem per manus domini Roberti de Elmham, vltimo die Septembris .v.s. Ricardo de Essex', Iohanni de Illeford, Ade Bisshop', & Rogero de Kenyngton, pauperibus Regine, cui libet istorum pro vno pari sotularium¹ sibi emend. vj.d. de elemosina Regine, per manus proprias .ij.s. Iohanni de Alman, pauperi Clerico studenti Oxonie, & venienti vsque Hertford ad dominam Reginam, de consimili elemosina per manus proprias .vj.s. viij.d. Priorisse & sororibus suis Minorissis Londonie extra Algate, de elemosina Regine in presencia sua eundo ibidem illas visitand in peregrinatione sua versus Cantuariam, in precio .xx. nobilium Auri, per manus dicte Priorisse .xvj^o. die Octobris: vj li. xij.s. iiij.d. Magistro Philippo de Londonia, Rectori ecclesie sancti Edmundi Regis, Londonie, in cuius parochia hospicium Regine situatur, de consimili elemosina per manus

¹ *Sotulares* or *subtulares*, shoes; hence Fr. *soulier*. See Du Cange.

proprias, eodem die: xij.s. iiij.d. Iohanni de Hakeney, Clerico eiusdem ecclesie, de *consimili elemosina*, eodem die: ij.s. Sororibus Predicatricibus de Derteford, de *elemosina* Regine in Aduentu suo *ibidem* versus Cantuariam, per manus *proprias* in presencia sua, eodem die. C.s. Domino Roberto de Elmham, Principali Capellano Capelle Regine, in precio magni denarij oblatorij per dominam Reginam in diuersis ecclesiis ad missam celebratam in presencia eiusdem, in peregrinatione sua versus Cantuariam, per quinque vices; pro qualibet vice .vij.d, per manus *proprias* eodem die: ij.s, xj.d. In oblationibus domine Regine, in Capella sancti Thome, iuxta Roucestriam, per manus Senescalli .iij s. iiij d. Dompne Margarete de Burstaff, Moniali de Dauntoun, venienti ad dominam Reginam vsque Ospreng, & imploranti Auxilium ab eadem, de *consimili elemosina*, per manus *proprias* eodem die. vj.s. viij.d. In oblationibus domine Regine in ecclesia Christi Cantuarie, videlicet, ad Tumbam sancti Thome .v.s. Ad Coronam Capitis. v.s. Ad punctum gladij. v.s. Ad missam celebratam in presencia sua, ad Altare sancti Thome, in precio vnus florene Auri iij.s. iiij.d, cum ij.s datis Ministrallis, coram ymagine beate Marie in volta: xx^{mo}. die Octobris .xx.s. iiij.d: Et in *consimilibus* oblationibus eiusdem Regine, in ecclesia Conuentuali sancti Augustini eiusdem Ciuitatis, videlicet, ad feretrum eiusdem sancti, in precio trium florenarum Auri precio pecij. iij.s iiij.d. x.s. Ad feretrum sancti Adriani .v.s. Ad feretrum sancte Mildred v.s. & ad capud sancti Augustini .v.s. eodem die xxv.s. In distribucione facta per manus domine Regine quinquaginta pauperibus in

A Clerk of St Edmund's, London.

Nuns Preachers of Dartford.

The Queen's chief Chaplain,

for 5 Masses on her journey.

St Thomas's near Rochester.

Nun of Davington, who came to Ospringe.

Offerings at Canterbury Cathedral,

at St Augustine's, Canterbury.

50 poer men, 2d. each.

honorē *dicti sancti ibidem*, de *elemosina* eiusdem speciali, cuilibet pauperi pro pitancia¹ sua .ij. d. eodem die: viij. s. iiij. d. In denariis distributis per manus domini Roberti de Elmham per preceptum Regine diuersis pauperibus in ecclesia Christi Cantuarie, vltra .ij. s. Assignū quolibet die itineris, de consimili elemosina .xij. d. Diuersis fratribus & sororibus eiusdem Ciuitatis Ad pitanciam sibi emendū in Aduentu Regine ibidem, videlicet, Fratibus Minoribus .xx. s. Predicatoribus, xij. s. iiij. d. Augustinis .x. s. Fratibus & sororibus hospitalis sancti Iohannis ad consimilem pitanciam .v. s. Fratibus hospitalis sancti Laurencij .v. s. Sororibus ante portam sancti Augustini .v. s. fratribus hospitalis sancti Iacobi .v. s. Sororibus beate Marie iuxta Castrum .v. s. Monialibus de sancto Sepulcro .v. s. Fratibus & sororibus hospitalis sancti Nicholai de Herbaldoun .vj.^s viij. d. Et prisonis in Castro ibidem iij. s. iiij. d. de consimili elemosina eiusdem Regine per manus proprias eodem die: iiij. li. iij.^s. iiij. d.

Poor people
in Christ-
church, Can-
terbury.

Friars, &c., at
Canterbury.

Monks and
Nuns of St
Nicholas at
Herbaldoun,
and Prisoners
there.

Summa Pagine:—xx. li. xij. s. iij. d. probatur.

[leaf 32, back.]
A Hermit of
Sitting-
bourne.

Prisoners at
Maidstone.

Carmelites

Fratri Ricardo de Lexden², heremite de Sydyngbourū, venienti ad dominam Reginam vsque Ledes, & imploranti Auxilium ab eadem, de elemosina Regine per manus Petri de sancto Paulo: xxiiij.^{to} die Octobris .xx. s. Prisonis de Maideston supplicantibus Auxilium a domina Regina per quandam petitionem, ibidem, de consimili elemosina per manus Iohannis atte Rye, eodem die iij.^s. iiij. d. Fratibus Carmelitanis

¹ The mark of contraction is that for *ur*; but as D'Arnis makes *Pitura* mean 'modus agri vel vineæ', and *2d.* would not buy that, I suppose that the word meant is 'pitancia,' though that is elsewhere written 'pitanc'.

² Chevalier anglois, p. 130, l. 9 from the bottom.

de Aylesford obuiantibus domine Regine apud Roucestriam & implorantibus Auxilium ab eadem per quandam petitionem, de elemosina eiusdem per manus domini Roberti de Elmham eodem die .vj.s. viij.d. Abbati de Berlyngs presentanti domine Regine dimidium pannum blanketti, de consimili elemosina per manus Ricardi de Rauens' eodem die : x.li. In oblationibus domine Regine in ecclesia beate Marie atte Stroude, in honore .xj. Milia virginum, per manus eiusdem Ricardi, eodem die .vj.s. viij.d. Fratribus Minoribus Londonie ad vnam pitanciam sibi emend, per manus vallecti fratris Rogeri de Coneway eodem die .xl.s. Prisonis de Neugate Londonie, de consimili elemosina, eodem die .vj.s. viij.d. Diuersis Operarum facientibus Capelle apud Shyngeldewell, de elemosina eiusdem in transitu suo versus Cantuariam, primo die Nouembris xij.d. Iohanni Heremite de Couentria obuianti domine Regine ibidem, de consimili elemosina, eodem die .xij.d. In distributione facta per manus Regine .CC. pauperibus in honore festorum Omnium sanctorum & Commemoracionis Animarum, cuilibet pauperi pro pitancia ¹ sua .ij.d, per manus domini Thome Rous, Elemosinarij, eodem die .xxxij.s. iij.d. In oblationibus domine Regine ad magnam missam celebratam in capella sua apud Hertford, in precio vnus florene Auri, eodem die .iij.s. iij.d.	of Aylesford, who came to Rochester.
	Abbot of Berlyngs.
	Church of St Mary at Stroud.
	Friars Minor of London.
	Prisoners of Newgate, London.
	Chapel at Shyngeldewell.
	A Hermit of Coventry.
	200 poor, 2d. each.
	Mass at the Queen's Chapel at Hertford.

ALMS ON THE PILGRIMAGE IN JUNE, 1358.

Elene Moleward, de elemosina Regine, in recompensacionem quarundam cast in domo sua combustarum, iij^{to}. die Iunij. xx.s. Priorisse &

[leaf 35.]
Ellen Moleward, for loss by fire.
Prioress and

¹ See note ¹, p. 124.

Nuns of
Cheshunt.

Friar John,
confessor of
the King of
Navarre.

Prior of the
Carmelites at
Maldon.

Friars and
Nuns Preach-
ers of Dar-
ford.

Chapel at
Shyngeldewell.

St Thomas's
near Roches-
ter.

A Hermit at
Sitting-
bourne.

Margaret, a
Nun of Day-
ington, who
came to Os-
pringe, 6s. 8d.

Offerings at
Canterbury
Cathedral.

Monialibus de Chesthunte, obuiantibus domine Regine in regia via ad Crucem ante domum suam, in itinere Regine versus Cantuariam, de elemosina Regine .viij^o. die Iunij : xx.s. Fratri Iohanni, Confessori Regis Nauarre, de elemosina Regine, in recessu suo versus partes Francie, per manus Petri de sancto Paulo, eodem die. Lxvj.s. viij.d. Fratri Thome, Priori ordinis fratrum Carmelitanorum, apud Maldoñ, de elemosina Regine, ad generale Capitulum tentum apud Gippewicum, eodem die : xx.s. Fratri Ade de Neuiff de ordine predicatorum, de consimili elemosina, ad generale Capitulum tentum apud Eboracum, eodem die .xl.s. Fratribus & sororibus Predicatricibus de Dorteфорд, de elemosina Regine, ad vnam pitanciam sibi emend, in peregrinacione eiusdem versus Cantuariam, eodem die .Lx.s. Diuersis Operarum facientibus Capellam apud Shyngeldewell, de elemosina Regine, eodem die .vj.s. viij^d. In oblacionibus domine Regine in Capella sancti Thome iuxta Roucestriam, in precio vnus florene auri, xij^o. die Iunij : iij.s. iiij.d. Fratri Ricardo de Lexedoñ, heremite apud Sydyngbourn, de elemosina Regine, eodem die .xx.s. Dompne Margarete de Borstaff, Moniali de Dauentoñ, venienti ad dominam Reginam vsque Osprengⁱ & imploranti auxilium de eadem, de consimili elemosina, per manus proprias, eodem die .vj.s. viij.d. In oblacionibus domine Regine in ecclesia Christi Cantuarie, videlicet : ad Tumbam sancti Thome .v.s. Ad Coronam Capitis v.s. Ad punctum gladij v.s. Ad missam celebratam in presencia Regine ad altare sancti Thome, in precio vnus florene Auri. iij.s. iiij.d. vna cum .iij.s. iiij.d. datis Ministrallis in volta, eodem die .xxj.s. viij.d. In

consimilibus oblationibus eiusdem Regine in ecclesia Conuentuali sancti Augustini eiusdem Ciuitatis, videlicet: ad feretrum sancti Augustini, in precio iij. florenarum Auri .x.s. Ad feretrum sancti Adriani .v.s. Ad feretrum sancte Mildred .v.s. & ad capud sancti Augustini .v.s. Et ad missam celebratam in presencia eiusdem Regine ad feretrum sancti Augustini, in precio vnus florene auri .iij.s. iiij.d, eodem die. xxviij.s, iiij.d. In distribucione facta per manus Elemosinarij .viiij.s, iiij.d. Diuersis fratribus & sororibus eiusdem Ciuitatis ad pitanciam sibi emend, de elemosina eiusdem, videlicet: fratribus Minoribus .xx.s. Predicatoribus xiiij.s, iiij.d. Augustinis .x.s. Fratribus & sororibus hospitalis sancti Iohannis .v.s. Fratribus & sororibus hospitalis sancti Laurencij .v.s. Sororibus ante portam sancti Augustini .v.s. Fratribus hospitalis sancti Iacobi .v.s. Sororibus beate Marie iuxta Castrum .v.s. Monialibus de sancto sepulcro .v.s. Sororibus sancti Nicholai iuxta Herbal-doun vj.s. viij.d, eodem .xij^o. die Iunij. iiij.li. In oblationibus domine Regine factis ex voto eiusdem in ecclesia sanctorum Cosine & Damiani apud Lusarches, iuxta parisios, per manus Lodowici de sancto Paulo, deferentis denarios ibidem nomine eiusdem Regine .xviiij^o. die Iunij apud Ledes .x li. Cuidam Heremite de Holyngbourne, de elemosina Regine, apud Ledes, per manus Petri de sancto Paulo, eodem die .iij.s. iiij.d. In distribucione facta per manus Regine. C pauperibus in honore festi sancti Iohannis Baptiste, cuilibet pauperi pro pitancia¹ sua .ij.d, per manus Elemosinarij, eodem die .xvj.s. viij.d. In denariis datis de elemosina Regine ad lumi-

Offerings
at the Con-
ventual
Church of St
Augustine,
Canterbury.

Friars at
Canterbury.

Nuns at
Canterbury.

Sisters of St
Nicholas,
near Harble-
doun, 6s. 8d.

A Hermit of
Holling-
bourne at
Leeds, 3s. 4d.

100 poor, 2d.
each.

Light of St

¹ See note ¹, p. 124.

Eulegius in
Hertford
Priory.

*narium sancti Eulegij in Prioratu Hertford per
[ma]nus Nicholai Panmar eodem die : vj.s.
viij.d.*

Summa Pagine:—xxxj li .viij.s. iiij.d. probatur.

[leaf 35, back.]
100 poor, 2d.
each.

*In distribucione facta per manus Regine .C.
pauperibus in honore festi apostolorum Petri &
Pauli, cuilibet pauperi pro pitancia¹ sua .ij.d. per
manus domini Thome Rous, Elemosinarij .xviij^o.
die Iunij .xvj^s, viij^d.*

Carmelites of
Aylesford, at
Dartford.

*Fratribus Carmelitanis de
Aylesford, de elemosina Regine, apud Dorte-
ford, per manus Roberti de Corby xxvii^o. die
Iunij .vj.s. viij.d. Cuidam femine venienti ad
dominam Reginam vsque Ledes, & imploranti
Auxilium eiusdem, de elemosina eiusdem, per*

Prioress and
nuns of
Cheshunt.

*manus proprias, eodem die .ij.s. Priorisse &
Monialibus de Chesthunte obuiantibus Regine
in regia via ad Crucem ante hospicium suum, de
consimili elemosina per manus Iohannis la
Touk, eodem die .vj.s. viij.d. In oblacionibus*

The high
altar at Leeds
Priory.

*Regine Scocie ad magnum altare in Prioratu de
Ledes, .ix^{no}. die Iulij .xl.s. Ricardo de Essex' &
tribus sociis suis, Oratoribus Regine commoran-*

Four Bedes-
men at Hert-
ford.

*tibus retro Reginam, apud Hertford, in itinere
suo versus Cantuariam per .xxxij. dies cuilibet
pro vadio oris sui per diem .j.d. per manus dicti
Ricardi .x.s. viij.d.*

¹ See note ¹, p. 124.

APPENDIX II.

EXPENSES OF KING JOHN OF FRANCE IN HIS JOURNEY FROM
LONDON TO DOVER, THROUGH CANTERBURY, 30 JUNE TO
8 JULY, 1360 A.D.

[*June 30.*] “Les bateliers qui amenèrent le Roy, par
yaue, du chastel de Londres jusques à 3 lieues de Londres,
en venant à Eltan, le jour qu’il se parti, pour don fait à
eulx, à larelation M^e J. le Royer, 5 nobles, valent 33s. 4d.

Les veneurs du roy d’Angleterre, pour don fait à eulx
par le Roy, à la relacion maistre J. le Royer, 100 escuz,
valent 16l. 13s. 4d.

Les varlez de chambre du Roy d’Angleterre, pour sam-
blable et à ladicte relacion, 20l.

Deux frères d’Erménie, pour don d’aumosne faicte à eulx
par le Roy à la relacion maistre J. le Roier, 10 escuz,
valent 33s. 4d.

Thomassin l’espicier, pour 2 sarreures aus coffres des
espices du Roy, 3s. 6d. ; et pour corde pour lier les coffres
à les charier en venant de Londres à Calais, 4d. ; pour toile
à faire sas à claré pour le Roy, 2s. ; pour la façon des diz
sas, 4d. ; et pour une male de cuir et 2 trousses pour ledit
Thomassin, 20d. Pour tout, 7s. 10d.

JUILLET.

Mercredy, premier jour de juillet, que le Roy parti de
Eltan après disner, et vinte au giste à Derthford.

Le Roy, offerande à la messe, à Eltan, 1 royaul, 3s.

Un varlet du roy d’Angleterre qui asporta venoisons au
Roy, que ledit roy d’Angleterre li envoioit pour don fait

audit varlet par le Roy, à la relacion du maistre d'ostel, 4 nobles, valent 26s. 8d.

Les Jacobines de Derthford, pour don fait à elles en aumosnes, par le Roy, à la relacion M. J. le Royer, 50 nobles, valent 16l. 13s. 4d.

L'oste du Roy à Derthford, pour don à li fait par le maistre d'ostel, pour ce que ledit hoste disoit que l'on li avoit ars certain merrien,¹ 2s.

Hannequin l'orfèvre, pour l'or de unes patenostres qu'il a faites pour le Roy et de son commandement, à la relacion maistre Jehan le Roier, 123 roiaux.

Li, sur la façon des dictes patenostres, et de anneaux, et une croiz qu'il a faicte, païé à la relacion M. J. le Royer, 10 nobles, valent 56s. 8d.

Jedy II^e de juillet, que le Roy parti de Derthford après petit disner, et vint au giste à Rocestre.

Le Roy, pour offerande faicte par li à l'église de Rocestre, 40 escuz, valent 6l. 13s. 4d.

Vendredi III^e jour de juillet, que le Roy parti de Rocestre, et vint à disner à Stiborne, et sopper et giste à Hospringe.

Le Roy, offerande à la messe, 6d.

Deux carmelites du couvent d'Agliford, pour aumosne faicte à eulx en chemin, du commandement du Roy, à la relacion M. J. le Roier, 2 nobles, valent 13s. 4d.

Messire Richart Lexden, chevalier anglois qui est hermite lez Stiborne, pour don à li fait par le Roy, à la relacion M. J. le Royer, 20 nobles, valent 6l. 13s. 4d.

Samedy, IIII^e jour de juillet, que le Roy parti de Hospringe, et vint au disner et giste à Cantorbérie.

Le Roy, offerande ce jour, 6d.

Le maistre et frères de l'ostel Dieu de Hospringe, ouquel hostel le Roy fu hébergiez le soir devant, pour aumosne faicte à eulx par le Roy, 10 nobles, valent 66s. 8d.

¹ MERRAIN, *merrein*, *merrien*: Bois de charpente et de construction; L. *materiamen*. Roquefort. *Ars* = burnt. *ib.*

Ler nonains de Helbadonne lez Cantorbérie, en venant de Rocestre, pour aumosne commandée par le Roy, à la relacion maistre J. le Royer, 10 escuz, valent 23s. 4d.

Les malades de 4 maladeries depuis Rocestre jusques à Cantorbérie, pour samblable, 20s.

Le Roy, offerande faicte par li en 3 lieux de l'église de St Thomas de Cantorbérie, sanz les joyaux qu'il y donna, 10 nobles, valent, 33l. 6s. 8d.

Monseigneur Philippe, pour samblable, en ce lieu, 16 royaux, 3s. pièce, valent, par mons. de Jargny, 48s.

Li, pour deniers à li baillez pour acheter un coustel qu'il devoit au conte d'Aucerre, pour ce, à la relacion monseigneur de Jargny, 6 nobles, valent 40s.

Les frères prescheurs de Cantorbérie, aumosne par le Roy, à la relacion M^e J. le Royer, 20 nobles, valent 6l. 13s. 4d.

Les Carmélites de Sandvis, pour samblable, 10 nobles, valent 66s. 8d.

Les nonains de Norgaite de Cantorbérie, samblable, 10 nobles, valent 66s. 8d.

Les nonains de St Augustin de Cantorbérie, samblable, 3 nobles, valent 20s.

Les femmes de l'ospital de Nostre-Dame de Cantorbérie, pour samblable, 2 nobles, valent 13s. 4d.

Les Cordeliers de Cantorbérie, 20 nobles, valent 6l. 13s. 4d.

Les Augustins de Cantorbérie, pour samblable, 20 nobles, valent 6l. 13s. 4d.

Jehan Perrot, qui apporta au Roy 1 instrument appellé l'eschequier, qu'il avoit fait (*sic*), le roy d'Angleterre avoit donné au Roy, et li envoioit par ledit Jehan, pour don à li fait, à la relacion M^e J. le Royer, 20 nobles, valent 6l. 13s. 4d.

Dymenche V^e jour de juillet, que le Roy parti de Cantorbérie, et vint au giste à Douvre.

Le Roy, offerande à St Augustin de Cantorbérie, où il

oy messe, 75 nobles, à la relacion maistre J. le Royer, valent 25*l*.

Mons. Philippe, pour samblable, 1 royau, 3*s*."— Pp. 270—273 of *Comptes de l'Argenterie*, publiés pour la Société de l'Histoire de France, par L. Douët-d'Arcq.

APPENDIX III.

 THE CHAUCER WINDOW

IN

WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

For the following account of this window, opened in the Winter of 1868, I am indebted to Dean Stanley, to whom I attribute the putting up of the window, though he does not acknowledge it. But surely no other than he who for us renews the bond between London and Canterbury that Chaucer wove, has thought of this Memorial to him who wrote the *Canterbury Tales*. Dean Stanley tells me that the details of the window were approved, though not suggested, by him.

"WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

SOUTH TRANSEPT, OR POETS' CORNER.

"The Memorial Window to Chaucer, immediately over his tomb, is intended to embody his intellectual labour, and his position amongst his contemporaries. At the base are the Canterbury Pilgrims, showing the setting out from London, and the arrival at Canterbury. The medallions above represent Chaucer receiving a commission, with others, in 1372, from King Edward III to the Doge of Genoa, and his reception by the latter. At the Apex, the subjects are taken from the moral poem entitled 'The Floure and the Leafe.' 'As they which honour the Flower, a thing fading with every blast, are such as look after beauty and worldly pleasure; but they that honour the Leaf, which abideth with the root, notwithstanding the frost and winter storms, are they which follow virtue and during qualities, without

regard to worldly respects.' On the dexter side, dressed in white, is the Lady of the Leafe, and attendants; on the sinister side is the Lady of the Floure, dressed in green. In the spandrils adjoining are the Arms of Chaucer. On the dexter side, and on the sinister, Chaucer impaling these of (Roet) his wife. In the tracery above, the portrait of Chaucer occupies the centre, between that of Edward III and Philippa his wife; below them, Gower and John of Gaunt; and above are Wickliffe and Strode, his contemporaries. In the borders are disposed the following arms, alternately: England, France, Hainhault, Lancaster, Castile, and Leon. At the base of the window is the name Geoffrey Chaucer, died A.D. 1400, and four lines selected from the poem entitled, 'Balade of gode counsaile.'

"Flee fro the prees, and dwell with sothfastnesse,
Suffise unto thy good though it be small;"

• • • • •
"That thee is sent, receyve in buxomnesse;
The wrastling for this world asketh a fall."

This window was designed by Mr J. G. Waller, and executed by Messrs THOMAS BAILLIE and GEORGE MAYER, 118 Wardour Street, London, 1868.

THE CHAUCER MEMORIAL,

STAINED GLASS WINDOW.

EXPLANATION OF THE SUBJECTS.

THE PILGRIMS ARE ARRANGED IN THE FOLLOWING MANNER:—

THE DEPARTURE FROM THE TABARD, THUS:

1. 2.	3. 4.	5. 6. 7.	8. 9.
1. The Reve.		6. The Squire.	
2. The Manciple.		7. The Serjeant of Lawe.	
3. Chaucer.		8. The Shipmanne.	
4. The Knight.		9. The Doctor of Physick.	
5. The Yeoman.			

THE ARRIVAL AT CANTERBURY, THUS :

10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.
10.	The Sompnour.					15.	The Nun.	
11.	The Pardoner.					16.	The Frankelein.	
12.	The Parson.					17.	The Plowman.	
13.	The Monk.					18.	The Clerk of Oxenforde.	
14.	The Prioress.							

The Medallions need no further explanation than that given in the preceding pages.

The following lines from "The Floure and the Leafe"¹ are given in illustration of the upper groups.

At last out of a grove even by,
That was right goodly and pleasaunt to sight,
I sie (*saw*) where there came singing lustily
A world of ladies.

.
.

But one there yede (*went*) in mid the company
Sole by herself; &c.

.

On her head, ful pleasaunt to behold,
A crown of gold rich for any king;
A branch of *Agnus castus* eke bearing
In her hand; and to my sight trewly
The Lady was of the company.

And she began a roundell lustely
That *Sus le foyle vert moy men call*,
Sine etmon joly ceur est endormy :

.

And at the last I cast mine eie aside,
And was ware of a lusty company,
That came roming out of the field wide,

.

The Ladies all in surcotes, that richly
Purfiled were with many a rich stone;

.

.

And everich had a chapelet on her hed,
Which did right well upon the shining here,
Made of goodly floures white and red.

.

¹ Mr Bradshaw does not allow this Poem to be Chaucer's.—F.

And so dauncing unto the mede they fare
 In mid the which they found a tuft that was
 All overspred with floures in compas,

And at the last there began anon
 A Lady for to sing right womanly
 A bargaret in praising the daisie :
 For, as me thought, among her notes swete,
 She saide, *Si douce est la Margarete.*

And when the storm was clean passed away,
 Tho in white that stood under the tre,
 They felt nothing of the great affray,
 That they in grene without had in ybè ;
 To them they yede, for routhe and pite.

When I was ware how one of them in grene
 Had on a crowne rich and well fitting ;
 Wherefor I demed well she was a Quene
 And tho in grene on her wer awaiting.

Then the Nightingale, that all the day
 Had in the laurer sate, and did her might
 The whole service to sing longing to May,
 All sodainly began to take her flight ;
 And to the lady of the Leaf forth right
 She flew, and set on her hond softly,
 Which was a thing I marveled of greatly.

The Goldfinch eke, that fro the medler tre
 Was fled for heat into the bushes cold,
 Unto the Lady of the Floure gan fle
 And on her hond he set him.

Arrangement of Portraits in Tracery.

WICKLIFFE.

STRODE.

EDWARD III.

CHAUCER.

PHILLIPPA.

GOWER.

JOHN OF GAUNT.

APPENDIX IV.

ROADS AND JOURNEYS IN THE 14TH CENTURY.

Mr Thorold Rogers thinks better of the roads than I do (p. 15-17, above). He says (*History*, i. 138).

Habitual pilgrimage needed safe roads and the ordinary conveniences of shelter. . . . The roads . . . repaired by common law at the charge of all owners of property, were in all likelihood far better than existed after the Reformation, when the necessity for easy and convenient communication was annulled by the abandonment of the custom of making these religious journeys, and by the fact that estates were more compact, and, therefore, the visitation of remote properties was less frequent. The monasteries, too, whose interest on many grounds was bound up with the existence of easy and safe communication, must have done their best to keep roads open and in good repair.

Page 39 above. The journey from Oxford to Ponteland (North-west of Newcastle), beginning on Sunday (*a vigilia Epiphaniæ*), Jan. 5, 133½. (Rogers, ii. 635-6. The side-notes are mine.)

Expensæ in victualibus prima septimana.

Item computat in diversis rebus emptis per Thomam Odiam ante recessum primo die nostrum v s. xj d. ob. ut patet per cedulam.	Sunday, Jan. 5.
Item computat iij d. qr. in pane pro equis, et cerevisia pro magistris et famulis, apud Mudelington.	Middleton Stony,
Item illa nocte apud Brakele iij s. x d. ob. qr.	Brackley (20 miles).
Item ibidem j d. in potu pro famulis die lunæ, videlicet, in die Epiphaniæ	Monday, Jan. 6.
Item xvij apud Davyntre eodem die	Daventry (20 miles).

Item iij s. iij d. de nocte apud Lillebourne	Lilbourn (10 miles)
Item v s. ij d. ob. apud Lecestram die Mercurii [? Martis] et illa nocte.	(? Tuesday), Leicester (19 miles).
Item v s. viij d. apud Preswolde die Mercurii	Wednesday, Prestwold (13 miles).
Item iiij s. j d. illa nocte apud Betyngham.	Betyngham.
Item ix d. apud Alresford, die Jovis.	Thursday, Alresford,
Item iij s. ix d. ob. illa nocte apud Blith.	Blithe.
Item vj d. apud Donkastre, die Veneris.	Friday, Doncaster.
Item iiij s. iij d. qr. nocte sequente ¹ apud Feri- brygg.	Ferrybridge.
Item die Sabbati in passagio apud Kawode iij d., et ibidem, et nocte sequente Eboraci iiij s. iij d.	Saturday, Cawood, York.
Summa xxxviij s. vij d.	

Secunda septimana.

Item die dominico sequente, apud Eboracum, in jantaculo ² iij s. ij d. ob. Item in oblatione custodis ibidem j d.	Sunday, breakfast at York.
Item nocte sequente apud Esyngwolde xvj d. in cibo, potu, et lectis. Item in equis ibidem xxij d.	Easingwold.
Item die Lunæ apud Thriske, in pane et potu ii d.	Monday, Thirsk,
Item ibidem in equis iiij d.	
Item nocte sequente in equis apud Yarme ij s. j d.	Yarm.
Item ibidem in prandio et potu ij s. vj d.	
Item die Martis apud Dunelmam in equis xx d.	Tuesday, Durham.
Item in prandio et potu ibidem xxij d. Item in barbitonsori ibidem ij d. Item in oblatione Custodis ij d.	(barber 2d.)
Item die Mercurii ibidem in expensis equorum xxij d. Item in cibo, et potu, et lectis xix d. ob.	Wednesday (Durham).
Item die Jovis apud Novum Castrum in equis iiij d. ob. qr. Item ibidem in pane, carne, et potu, xij d.	Thursday, Newcastle.
Item Thomæ le Bakere, ut expectaret Dunelmæ, et Akland, pro commissione xij d.	
Item die veneris apud Ponthelande, in pisce xiiij d. ob., in allece, ob.	Friday, Ponteland.
Summa xxi s. ix d. ob. qr.	

¹ I suppose the *nox sequens* to be that following the *dies Veneris*, and so with the other cases below.

² *Jantaculum*, cibus quo solvitur jejunium ante prandium: Fr. *dejeuner*.—D'Arnis.

The same journey back in 1305 A.D., say 256 miles in 8 days, or 32 miles a day, with 5 men and 3 horses (*Rogers*, ii. 610, col. 2).

1st day Durham	5th day Nottingham
2nd „ Stillington	6th „ Leicester
3rd „ Burnbrigg	7th „ Canon Ashby
4th „ Donecastel	8th „ Oxford

The same journey in 6 days travelling, and 1 of rest (if rightly given by Mr Rogers¹), at nearly 43 miles a day (*Rogers*, ii. 614, col. 1).

1st day Middleton	Brackley
2nd „ Daventry	Leicester
	Pulteney
3rd „ Prestwold	Allerton
	Nottingham
4th „ Blyth	Wentbrygg
	Schirburn
5th „ York	Thirsk
	Ewerby
6th „ (Rest)	
7th „ Durham	Newcastle
	Chert

Other journeys in 1283: Clare. (*Rogers*, ii. 609, col. 2.) London to Leicester, 3 days (99 miles, 33 miles a day). Lichfield to Leicester, 1 day (say 33 miles). Melton to London, 3 days (106 miles, 35½ miles a day). The other cross-country places, *Tresgruk*, &c., mentioned by Mr Rogers, I have not time to look up.

Page 39, note.—MULCASTER'S OPINION, IN 1581 A.D.,
ON TROTTING.

Thus writes Mulcaster in his *Positions*, p. 97: “Of *trotting*, it is said euen as we see, that it shaketh the bodie to violently, that it causeth & encreaseth marueilous

¹ I say this because he states (i. 140) that the journey to Newcastle in 1332,—the first in this Appendix IV.,—was done in 10 days, while I, from his document, make it 11. He may be right, and I wrong. Let the reader do the sum.

aches, that it offenes the head, the necke, the shoulders, the hippes, & disquieteth all the entrailes beyond all measure. And though it may somewhat helpe the digestion of meate, and raw humours, loose the belly, prouoke vrine, driue the stone or grauell from the kidneyes downward, yet it is better forborne for greater euilles, then borne with for some sorie small good. . . . As for *posting* . . . [besides other great evils] It infecteth the head, it dulleth the senses, & especially the sight: euen til it make his eyes that posteth, to run with water, not to remember the death of his friendes, but to thinke how sore his saddle shakes him, and the ayer bites him." It is clear that men even then—and much less in Chaucer's time—didn't rise in their saddles, but 'set vpon a trotting iade to iounse them thoroughly,' just sat and got jolted. Fancy 40 miles of that on a cart- (or carty) horse in one day!

Compare the Italian proverb '*Cavallo corrente, sepultura viva*: A galloping horse, a living grave.'—Howell's Diet. Italian Morall Proverbs, p. 2.

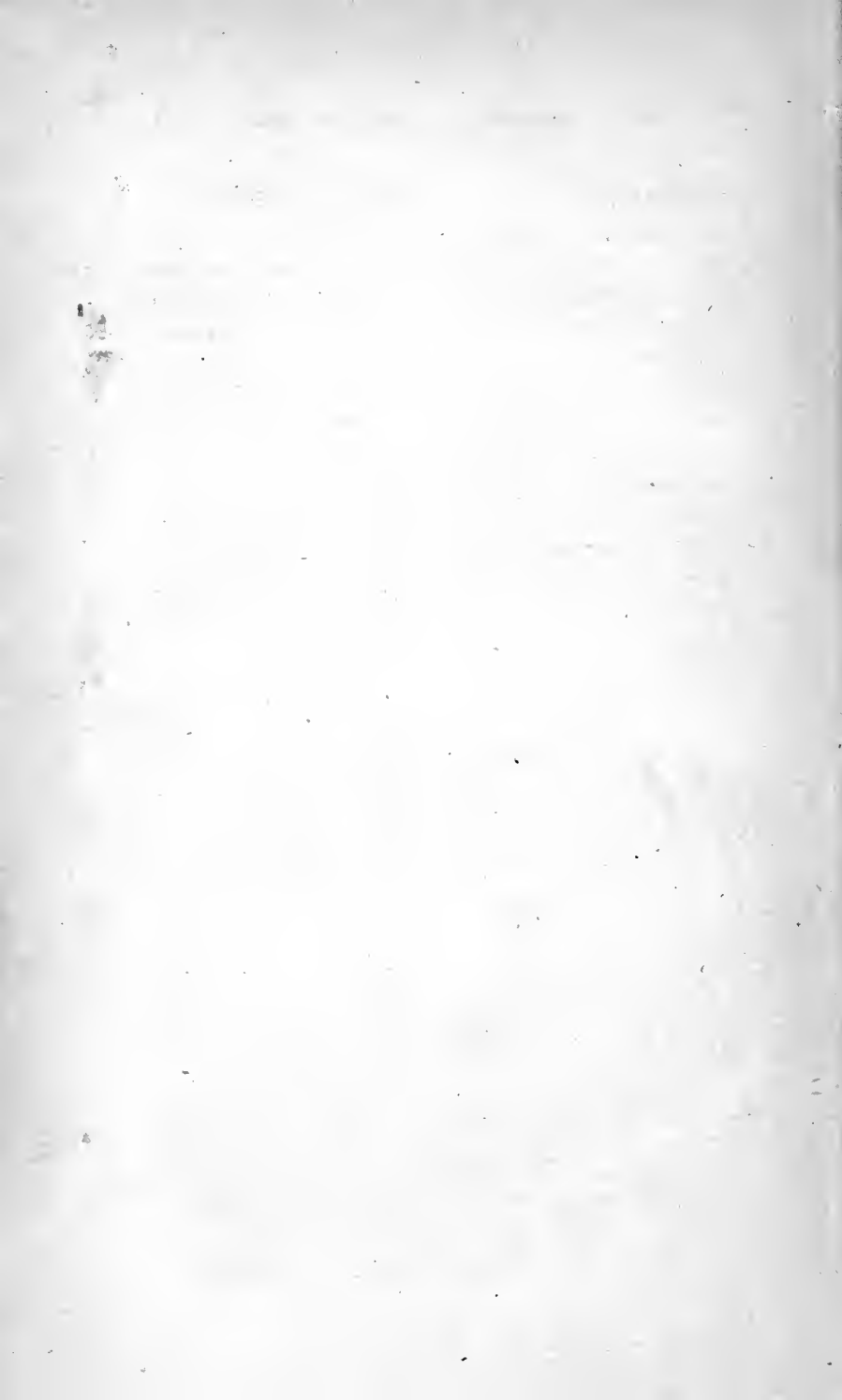
For fairness' sake I must add Mulcaster's objections to 'slow riding,' or walking: "Of *Slow riding* they write that it wearieth the grines very sore, that it hurteth the buttokes and legges, by hanging downe to long, and that yet it heateth not much: that it hindreth getting of children, and breadeth aches and lamenesse," p. 96. Good reasons for not doing too much of it in one day! Walking on his 'legges' was what Mulcaster approved of, and gives us a pleasant bit of Elizabethan England in the fields: "I dare saye that there is none, whether young or olde, whether man or woman, but accounteth it [walking] not onely the most excellent exercise, but almost alone worthy to beare the name of an exercise. *When the weather suffereth, how emptie are the townes and streates, how full be the fieldes and medowes, of all kindes of folke* which by flocking so abroad, protest themselues to be fauourers of that they do, and delite in for their health."

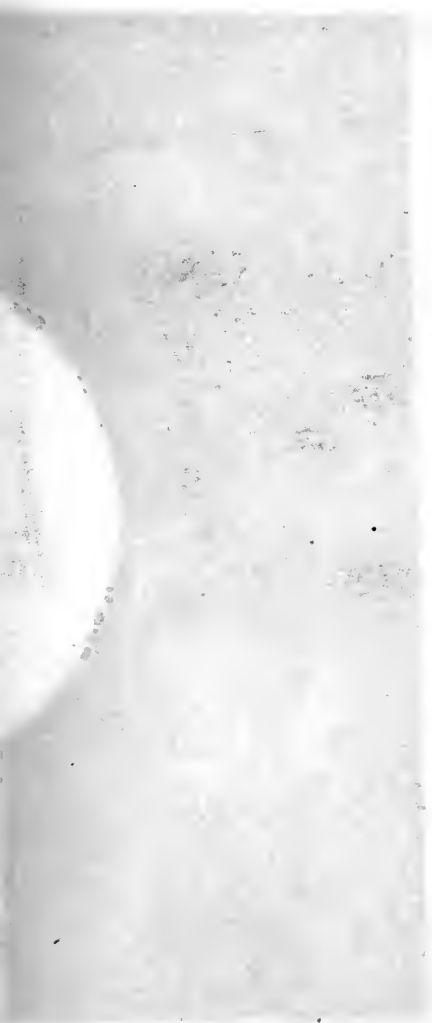
Page 40.—THE ONE-DAY'S JOURNEY TO CANTERBURY.

A suggestion has been made that the Pilgrims *might* have hired fresh horses at Rochester or Sittingbourne, on which they might have ridden half the journey. To this I answer, that, to suppose the existence, at a provincial town, in the 14th century, of great posting-establishments at which a chance party would find 30 horses to hire—and, shall we say, half-a-dozen other like parties, 30 horses more each before the first lot were brought back—is a stretch of imagination too great for me. This horse-hiring notion, as applied to so large a party as Chaucer's, is a nineteenth-century notion quite inapplicable to the fourteenth century. Professor Brewer and Mr Gairdner both agree with me in this.

Page 41.—THE 3½-DAYS' JOURNEY.

In a note just received from Mr Thorold Rogers (April 2, 1869), he says: "Your Pilgrims no doubt took their ease. Why should they not have done so? Commercial travellers (such as these bursars were) travel much faster than picnic parties do."





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