VIII.—*Some Additions to the Biographies of Sir John Cheke and Sir Thomas Smith : in a Letter addressed to Charles Henry Cooper, Esq., F.S.A., one of the Authors of the Athenæ Cantabrigienses, by JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, Esq., F.S.A.*

Read March 31st, 1859.

MY DEAR SIR,

March 27, 1859.

EVERY cultivator of our national biography and literary antiquities must rejoice at the appearance of the first volume of the *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*. That a work which was so obviously suggested nearly two centuries ago by the *Athenæ* of the sister University, which has been contemplated by so many successive collectors, and for which such large, though imperfect, accumulations have been formed, should, in spite of ever-increasing difficulties, at length greet our view in substantial paper and print, is a victory over old Time of which any generation may fairly be proud; and I therefore cannot be thought to magnify its accomplishment too highly if, on this first public allusion to the work at the Society of Antiquaries, I hail its authors as conquerors who have overtaken the spoiler, and recovered from his grasp some of his most estimable treasures.

As the epoch or commencement of the work that century has been adopted which is distinguished beyond all others by the great changes it produced in academical studies, and by the concurrent Reformation of the doctrines and discipline of the Church, and during which the University of Cambridge is illustrated, among other names little less memorable, with those of the statesmen More, Cromwell, Elyot, Seymour duke of Somerset, Dudley duke of Northumberland, Morysine, and Paget; the prelates, Rotherham, Fox, Fisher, Gardynar, Pole, Tunstall, Grindal, and Parker; the reformers and martyrs, Bilney, Frith, Tindal, Barnes, Bucer, Taylor, Ferrar, Cardmaker, Bradford, Latimer, Ridley, Cranmer, Coverdale, and Lever; the great scholars Erasmus, Lupset, Leland, Bale, and Ascham; the poets Skelton, Wyat, Howard and Gascoigne; the physicians Linacre, Record, Turner, and Caius; the lawyers, lord keeper Bacon and Plowden; besides hosts of others once even better known at Cambridge, though now less familiar to the world at large.

It is with respect to two of these great men that I have some particulars to communicate to you. Sir John Cheke and Sir Thomas Smith were at the same

time the scholars of King Henry the Eighth in the university of Cambridge; they were also at one and the same time his regius professors, Cheke of Greek and Smith of Civil Law; and they both afterwards rose to be privy councillors and secretaries of state.

As late as the year 1565 Cheke and Smith were still regarded as the two great ornaments of the university of Cambridge; for Dr. Wilson (afterwards himself a secretary of state) writing to Haddon, ambassador at Bruges, then remarked, with reference to the Queen's intended visit to Oxford, that she would not find there anyone equal to Smith or Cheke—*nec Smithi ibi simile quicquam aut Cheki occurret.*

Sir John Cheke is, in many respects, one the most interesting personages of the century, a man of great erudition, unblemished morals, a gentle temper, and sincere religion—deficient only, like Cranmer, in that firmness and intrepidity of soul, and that unflinching faith by which some of his contemporaries were enabled “the threats of pain and ruin to despise,” and to contemplate without dismay the pangs of martyrdom. As with Cranmer, when put to that awful trial, the resolution of Cheke failed him; and, like Cranmer, his apostacy was followed by the bitterest reproaches of an afflicted conscience. He did not again fall, like Cranmer, into the hands of the tormentors; but he died, a victim of shame and regret, at the premature age of forty-three.

I have first to present you with some fresh particulars of this memorable man. They have been suggested by the remarks of the Italian physician Girolamo Cardano, who visited England in 1552, and resided with Cheke during his stay in London. Cardano was a great astrologer, and was always desirous to cast the nativities of his friends.^a To humour this fancy, Cheke furnished him with the dates of some of the most important events of his own life, and these were subsequently printed and published by Cardano. They consist of the exact date, to a minute, of Cheke's birth;^b the dates of two illnesses he had encountered from fever and inflammation of the lungs, the date of his appointment to be prince Edward's schoolmaster, the date of his marriage, and another date, of his nearly losing his

^a Cardano cast the King's nativity, and contemplated a long life for him. After the age of fifty-five years, three months, and seventeen days, he was to be attacked by several diseases. See the details at length in my memoir of the King, prefixed to *The Literary Remains of Edward VI.* p. ccxv.

^b The scheme of Cheke's nativity published by Cardano shows that he was born at Cambridge, on the 16th of June, 1514, at five hours and fifteen minutes after mid-day. Another horoscope of Cheke's nativity, calculated by Sir Thomas Smith, and published in *Strype's Life*, (from the book now the MS. Sloane 325,) states his birth to have occurred on the same day, but at five minutes past 2 p.m.

employment, which is the most remarkable of the whole, because it supplies information that has not hitherto been obtained from any other source.

It states plainly a circumstance in Cheke's career of which our other intimations are obscure, and which has escaped your notice in the *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, that Cheke suffered a temporary eclipse of court favour.

In the ordinary biographies of Cheke, derived from Strype's *Life of him*, for instance in that given in the *General Biographical Dictionary* by Alexander Chalmers, it has been stated that "in May 1549 he retired to Cambridge, upon some disgust he had taken at the court;" and that "he returned to court in the winter of 1549, but met there with great uneasiness on account of some offence given by his wife to Anne duchess of Somerset." These two items of information, I am now enabled to say, are reversed from their proper order. It is clear that the latter incident belongs to the January of the historical year 1549, at which time Cheke's disgrace at court occurred, and the former to the following May, when Cheke was again settled at Cambridge, and refurnishing his library there. Both circumstances were derived by Strype from letters of Cheke's own writing, which are still extant.

Among the dates preserved by Cardano we have a distinct day named for the event of Cheke's disgrace.

"Anno 1549 die undecima Januarij a pristino honore fermè decidit."

And again Cardano repeats,

"Dixi, quod anno 1549 die undecima Januarij fermè excidit ab officio."

So that we find that on the 11th Jan. 1548-9 Cheke nearly lost his office of schoolmaster to the King, or rather entirely lost it for a time—a fact which has hitherto escaped the notice of his biographers.

Whether Cheke's dismissal had any connection with the prosecution of the lord admiral Seymour, which occurred at nearly the same time, I find no precise information^a; but in his letter written at the end of the same month of January, which was quoted by Strype, there is evident, though obscure, allusion to the lord admiral's danger. It is a letter addressed by Cheke to the duchess of Somerset, chiefly to solicit pardon for some offence which his wife had given to her grace; but it begins with a reference to his own position. Although evidently in no great personal alarm, Cheke remarks that "in this desert of other

^a Cheke was examined respecting the lord Admiral's conduct, and his "confession," dated on the 20th Feb. 1548-9, is printed by Mr. Tytler in his "England under Edward VI. and Mary," vol. i. p. 154. Cheke had on several occasions received money from the lord Admiral, as was admitted by the latter and by the King.

men's trouble, and mishap of mine own, I precisely know not of your grace's favourable goodness towards me." I shall append an accurate copy of this letter from the original now in the Harleian collection. Its very dating is remarkable, for it shows that Cheke, whose celebrity rests principally on his having reformed the pronunciation of Greek, and who was the author of a less successful attempt to remodel the orthography of his native language, was also in advance of his contemporaries in adopting the New Style in chronology. To make his intention clear he adds the year of the King's reign, "the xxvij. of January 1549, 2^o Edw. 6." that is, the year which other people in this country then called 1548.

It was probably upon this retirement of Cheke that Sir Anthony Cooke was summoned to superintend the education of Edward the Sixth.

Cheke withdrew to Cambridge; from whence, at the end of the following May, he wrote the short but remarkable letter which was seen by Strype, and quoted by him as showing Cheke's disgust with the court. It is now in the second volume of the Lansdowne Manuscripts,^a and is directed—

"To his loving frende M^r Peter Osborne."

"I fele the caulme of quietnes, being tost afore with storms, and have felt ambition's bitter gal, poisoned with hope of hap. And therefore I can be meri on the bankes side without dangring miself on the sea. Yo^r sight is ful of gai thinges abrode, which I desire not, as thinges sufficientli known and valewd. O what pleasure is it to lacke pleasures, and how honorable is it to fli from honor's throws. Among other lacks I lack bucram to lai betwene y^e bokes and bordes in mi studi, which I now have trimd. I have nede of xxx yardes. Chuse yow the color. I prai yow bi me a reme of paper at London. Fare ye wel. With comendacons to yo^r mother, M^r Lane and his wife, M^r and M^{res} Saxee, with other. From Cambridge the xxx. of Mai 1549, 3 Ed. 6. Yo^{rs} known, Joān Cheke."

It does not appear how long Cheke was absent from his place as the King's schoolmaster: it is after the lapse of more than a year that the following passage occurs in a letter written by John Rodolph Stumphius to Henry Bullinger, dated the 28th Feb. 1549-50: "Master Cheke and Master Traheron have entered upon the duties committed to them by the council: the one, that of tutor to the King: the other, that of tutor to the duke of Suffolk, who is of the same age as the King."^c

^a See a portion of this engraved in fac-simile in Nichols's Autographs, 1829, Plate 20.

^b It was at the house of his friend Peter Osborne, (sometime a scholar of Cambridge, and afterwards remembrancer of the exchequer,) that Cheke breathed his last on the 13th Sept. 1557. Osborne resided in Wood-street, Cheapside, and Cheke was buried in his parish church of St. Alban, Wood-street.

^c Zurich Letters, second series, p. 465.

When we contemplate the studies and pursuits of such men as Sir John Cheke and Sir Thomas Smith from the brighter light of our more advanced knowledge, it is impossible not to wonder for a time that their deep and varied learning did not render them superior to that great superstition of the old philosophers, the art of astrology. But there are many other instances of the like combination of wisdom and folly. Cardano, whom Cheke entertained in London, is described by Tiraboschi in his *History of Italian Literature*, as “one of the profoundest and most fertile geniuses that Italy has produced,” and as “one who made rare and precious discoveries in mathematics and medicine,” but at the same time as “a man foolishly lost in judicial astrology—a man more credulous over dreams than any silly girl—a man, in short, of whom, if we read only certain of his works, we may say he was the greatest fool that ever lived.”^a

I am not aware of any proof from Sir John Cheke’s own hand of his addiction to astrology, but from several collateral circumstances it cannot be doubted. He gave both to Cardano and to Smith the data for casting the horoscope of his own nativity. I find in one of the Latin exercises of King Edward the Sixth, which were written under Cheke’s dictation and superintendence, an assertion that by the course of the stars our bodies are governed and ruled, as well as the bodies of all beasts, herbs, flowers, trees, and everything else.^b We are told by Strype that Cheke’s “too much confidence in that uncertain art of astrology contributed in part to the most deplorable conclusion of his life.” This assertion, like many others, Strype makes without citing any authority, but I have traced it to a passage in Foxe’s *Book of Martyrs*,^c which is as follows:—“In the ende so it fell

^a Cardano’s works were collected by Charles Spon, and printed at Paris, in ten folio volumes, 1663. The fullest memoir hitherto compiled of him is that by Mr. Henry Morley, published in London, 1854, in two vols. 8vo.

^b King Edward’s declamation, which was composed in or about the year 1551, is a defence of Astronomy, which had evidently shared in the bad reputation earned by her illegitimate sister—*Sunt enim qui tenent eam neque utilem esse corpori neque animo neque Reipublicæ*. Nor do we find the King properly instructed to separate these two branches of the study of the stars: for he asks, “*Quid vero magis naturale quàm cognitio elementorum cœli, astrorum, stellarum, planetarum, per quorum cursus nostra corpora, et non solum nostra sed etiam omnium bestiarum eis subiectarum, omnium herbarum, florum, arborum, frugum, vinorum, cæterorumque omnium gubernantur et reguntur?*” See *The Literary Remains of King Edward VI.* (printed for the Roxburghe Club,) *Oratio XIb.*

^c For Foxe’s authority it would probably be vain now to inquire. John Vowell, alias Hoker, in his *Life of Sir Peter Carewe*, says nothing to the point, but he describes Sir John Cheke as being very dejected upon his apprehension. “They might speak the one to the other, but other comfort there was none. Howbeit Sir John Cheke, although very learned, but not acquainted with the cross of troubles, was still in great despair, great anguish, and heaviness, and would not be comforted, so great was his sorrow; but Sir Peter

that he woulde needes take hys journey with Sir Peter Carew, from hie Germanie unto Bruxels, and that (as I have credibly hearde of them which knew somewhat) not without the forecasting of his adventured journey by the constellation of starres and disposition of the heavens above. For as he was a man famously expert and trained in the knowledge of sundrie artes and sciences, so was he a little too much addicted to the curious practising of this starre divinitie, which we call Astrologie. But how soever it was, or what soever it was that the starres did promise him, truth was that men heere in earth kept litle promise with him.”—(Foxe’s *Actes and Monuments*, edit. 1583, p. 1955.)

I have only further to remark, in reference to Sir John Cheke, that the poetical production entitled “An Epitaph or Death Dole of the right excellent Prince King Edward the Sixth,” which occurs as No. 30 in the catalogue of his literary works given in the *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, was not his, but a production of William Baldwyn, one of the authors of the *Mirroure of Magistrates*. It was originally published with Baldwyn’s name in 1560, under the title of “The Funerallles of King Edward the Sixt;” but in 1610 was again printed from a second manuscript, and then erroneously assigned to Sir John Cheke. It is remarkable that both editions have been reprinted, the former for the Roxburghe Club in 1817, and the latter in Mr. Trollope’s *History of Christ’s Hospital*, 1834; but the identity of the two books has hitherto been unknown.

I now turn to the biography of the second of Henry the Eighth’s two great Cambridge scholars, Sir Thomas Smith, a man who was acknowledged by his contemporaries to be highly accomplished in every department of science, and yet whose predilection for astrology is testified by evidence more certain and incontestable than in the case of Cheke. A volume in the handwriting of Sir Thomas Smith, entirely filled with astrological calculations, is now preserved in the Sloane collection (MS. Addit. 325). He relates therein that he had been first struck with this fancy in the 20th and 21st years of his age; and, after he had filled many important stations in church and state, it returned to him during his enforced idleness in the days of Queen Mary. “About the months of October, November, and December, 1550, (as he has recorded,) I was assailed with the strongest passion and desire for learning astrology, so that I could scarcely sleep at night from thinking of it.”

Carew, whose heart could not be broken, nor mind overthrown with any adversities, and yielding to no such matter, comforted the other, and encouraged him to be of a good stomach, persuading him (as though he had been a divine) to patience and good contentation.” *The Life and Times of Sir Peter Carew*, by John Maclean, Esq. F.S.A., 1857, 8vo. p. 65. Also in *Archæologia*, vol. XXVIII. from Sir T. Phillipps’s MS.

It is thus again from the materials of this fanciful science that we are presented with valuable biographical information. As the basis of his astrological calculations, Sir Thomas Smith sat down, in chronological array, the principal events of his past career; and as these memoranda, resting upon the best authority, were unknown to Strype when he wrote the life of Smith,* and have not yet been interwoven into his biography, I shall now submit them to your notice.

The notes are chronologically arranged according to the years of the writer's age; and they commence from his earliest infancy. After stating the date of his birth on the 23d of December, 1513,—and which in itself is remarkable, as Strype discusses the question whether Smith was born in 1514, 1518, or 1512,—he commences by relating that in the first and second years of his life he was lively, playful, and prattling, admired above other infants, esteemed a child of the greatest promise, and especially the delight of his father; but when his third year was completed, or thereabouts, after a nightmare in his sleep, he fell into an exceedingly severe fever, which held him for two or three years, with little hope of life, and from the effects of which he never seemed perfectly relieved until he was twenty-one or twenty-two. During all that time he was low-spirited, seldom laughing, never playing, yet strongly addicted to reading history, to painting, writing, and even carving; and throughout the same period, almost up to his twenty-fourth year, he was full of eruptions, pimples, and sores, with tooth-ache, and continual weak health; yet in literature and the knowledge of languages he always learned more than his masters were able to teach him.

In the tenth and eleventh years of his age he had somewhat better health, and therefore, before the end of his eleventh year, about the feast of Michaelmas 1525, he was sent to the university of Cambridge. Of the five following years he mentions no particulars; but in his 16th year, when journeying in Norfolk, he was seized with another violent fever, which terminated in a dropsical affection, his face swelling at morning, and his feet at night. About the middle of the following February, when he was scarcely recovered from that fever, he was elected fellow of his college, and took his bachelor's degree. He was still slender and thin, and almost continually ill from too much bile and phlegm. In his 20th year he became master of arts at Midsummer; and before Michaelmas, having been appointed a public reader or professor, he taught natural philosophy

* Some of Strype's MS. notes to his Life of Smith, printed in the last Oxford Edition, seem to have been derived from this source, but without making reference to it. Mr. Cooper in his *Athenæ Cantabr.* has mentioned the existence of Smith's manuscript volume, but without having examined it.

in the public schools, and Greek literature at his rooms. About the 23rd or 24th year of his age his health was somewhat firmer, and he became more cheerful, but not much so. His election to be orator of the university, which occurred in the latter end of this year, he does not mention in his calendar; but he states that in his 25th year he began to be known to King Henry the Eighth; and then, shortly after queen Jane's death, he and Cheke declaimed before his majesty on the question whether the King should next marry a foreigner or a countrywoman. In his 27th year, in the month of May, for the sake both of study and pleasure, and to gratify his desire to visit new countries, Smith went into France and Italy. His health was now strong, and life began to be more sweet to him. In his 29th year he was recalled home, and passed the Alps on the day before Christmas. When returned to England, he became professor of Law at Cambridge, endowed with what he terms a large public salary from his sovereign. This large salary was forty pounds, which remains at the present day the stipend of the Law professor, but who probably no longer considers it large. This preferment occurred to Smith at the end of January 1544, when he had lately entered upon his 30th year. During the following summer, he says, "I undertook an honorary disputation" with my competitors, being augmented at once in health, in estimation, and in cheerfulness." In his 31st year he was made vice-chancellor of the university of Cambridge, and before the end of the year chancellor to the bishop of Ely. In the beginning of his 33rd year, being still unmarried, he was ordained priest by the same prelate (Thomas Goodrich), a fact unknown to Strype, who presumes that Smith must have been "at least in deacon's orders" when made dean of Carlisle; at the same period he received a prebend from the dean of Lincoln; and now, he adds, "I fancied myself supremely happy, to have the command as it were of the university and that province" of Ely.

At the end of February 1547, about a month after King Henry's death, Smith was summoned to court. On the 15th of March his son was born, an event he more readily records, though the son was illegitimate, because he had no children by his two subsequent marriages. In the same month of March his mother died. Having doffed his clerical dress, and changed his manner and form of life, he was now made a clerk of the privy council, and master of requests^b to the duke of

^a This was, perhaps, the disputation described in one of Haddon's Latin letters to Coxe, quoted by Strype, and assigned by him "as near as I can guess" to the year 1546.

^b "In this office (writes Strype,) was Dr. Smith placed, and seems to have been the second Master of Requests to the Protector, as Cecil was the first." But, in fact, Cecil did not obtain this office until Smith's resignation,—in Sept. 1548? The biographer of Cecil has followed the old error in stating that "Mr. Cecil

Somerset, then lord protector. Accompanying his master on his expedition towards Scotland, Smith was seized by the way with another severe fever, under which he lay at York in the utmost peril of death.

At the end of his 34th year, being still unmarried, the provostship of the college of Eton and the deanery of Carlisle were given him about Christmas. On the 14th of April following (1548) he was sworn one of the King's secretaries,^a and on the very next day he married. Shortly after, in June of the same year, he was sent ambassador into Flanders; from whence he returned in August.

The date of Sir Thomas Smith's knighthood has not been discovered; but is presumed to have been between the 17th Jan. 1548-9, and the 10th April following.^b

In his 36th year, on the 10th of October 1549, at three o'clock in the afternoon (as he records with astrological precision), "I was dismissed from the office of secretary, at Windsor Castle.^c On the 14th of the same month, I was led to prison in the Tower of London, with the greatest pomp, together with the duke of Somerset, Stanhope, Grey, and others." This, it will be remembered, was when the duke was deposed from the protectorate. Smith continued in the Tower until the 10th of March, when he was released shortly after the duke.^d On the

did not hold the office long, being succeeded by the celebrated Sir Thomas Smith" *Memoirs of Lord Burghley*, by the Rev Edward Nares, D.D., 4to, 1828, i. 180.

^a In connection with the preceding note, it may be desirable to notice here the inaccuracy of Strype's passage in which he states that "in the year 1548 Dr. Smith was advanced to be Secretary of State; as in September *the same year*, William Cecil, Esq., was preferred to the like office, both having been servants to the Protector." This statement is at first view supported by a passage of Cecill's own autobiographical memoranda, "Sept. 1548, cooptatus sum in officium Secretarii:" but the truth is that Cecill, at that date, became secretary to the Protector, not secretary to the King. This point is discussed at length, but not decided, in Nares's *Life of Burghley*, vol. i. pp. 304 *et seq.* It was in September 1550 that Cecill first became Secretary of State, succeeding Dr. Edward Wotton, who had succeeded Smith (14 Oct. 1549). Another error made by Strype was that Smith continued Secretary until King Edward's death, and was then succeeded by Dr. John Boxall: this remains uncorrected in the Oxford edition of the *Life of Smith*, 1820, p. 46, except by Strype's own note to the previous chapter, p. 42.

^b Lemon's *Calendar of State Papers*, 1547—1580, p. 14.

^c The "pathetic" letter which Smith wrote two days before to his fellow-secretary sir William Petre, has been published from the State Paper office by Mr. Tytler, in his "*England under Edward VI. and Mary*," vol. i. p. 228. At this crisis he distinguished himself as the only councillor who faithfully stood by the Protector to the last: "For my part (he writes), I am in a moste miserable case. I cannot leave the King's Majesty, and him who was my master, and of whom I have had all."

^d The friends of Somerset were released under heavy fines, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Michael Stanhope, and Mr. Fisher being mulcted in three thousand pounds, and Sir John Thynne in six thousand. (Tytler, i. 278.) As Smith received employment so soon after, it is probable that he paid but little, if any, of this fine.

25th of May following he was sent ambassador into France with the bishop of Ely and the marquess of Northampton to negotiate the King's marriage. He returned in August, shortly after the cessation in England of the epidemic called the Sweating Sickness.*

* This was the last occurrence of the peculiar epidemic called the Sweating Sickness, or *Sudor Anglicus*, which had before prevailed in England in the years 1486, 1507, 1517, and 1528. It was at its height in London in the middle of July 1551, when it drove the royal household to Hampton Court, as is particularly noticed by King Edward in his Journal: and it lasted during the remainder of the month, destroying more than 900 persons in the metropolis. The young duke of Suffolk and his only brother died of it at the bishop of Lincoln's palace at Buckden, on the 14th of July. At Loughborough, in Leicestershire, it prevailed at the end of June and beginning of July, and I take this opportunity to make public the following accurate copy of the curious record of its ravages in that then small town, which I recently copied from the parish register:

JUNE 1551.

☞ The Swatt called new acqyrtance alle
 Stoupe knave and know thy Master began
 the xxiiijth of this monethe 1551: Robert Kirkam¹,
 27. 28. Richard Harryman², Eliz. Andrew³, John Crockton⁴,
 29. John Dedicke⁵, Katteryn Jenkinson, George Nashe,
 30. Johan' Moone, Ellyn Fowler, John Reedes, Anderew
 Willocke, Allee Fisher: all bur. wthin ffoure dayes.

(Next page)

IN JULIJ 1551.

1.	The Sweatte, or new acq ^t mtance	
	Will'm Smithe	} all theis buried w th in three dayes.
2.	John Dale	
	Ellyn ney dahm'	
	Wyll'm Sutton	
3.	Marye Brownfeild	
	Ellyn Aslyne &	
	Edmud Aslyne	

(But that was the end of the mortality in this town, as there are no other burials during the month, except of two newly-born infants.)

The familiar names of *New acquaintance*, and *Stoop, knave, and know thy master*, were not the only ones that were given to the disease. In the register of Uffculm, co. Devon, it is termed, "the hote sickness or Stup-gallant;" and Thomas Hancocke, whose autobiographical anecdotes are among the "Narratives of the Reformation," printed for the Camden Society, calls it the "Posting-sweat, that posted from town to town thorow England, and was named *Stop-Gallant*, for it spared none." One of the most interesting books published by the Sydenham Society, entitled "The Epidemics of the Middle Ages, from the German of J. F. C. Hecker, M.D., translated by B. G. Babington, M.D., F.R.S.," 1846, contains an essay on the sweating sickness, together with a reprint of the contemporary treatise upon the subject by Dr. John Caius, first published in 1556; but there are in Blakeway's History of Shrewsbury some curious notices which escaped Dr. Hecker and his English editor. See also the Notes to Machyn's Diary, p. 319, and the Literary Remains of King Edward VI., p. 330.

About Lent in 1552 he was summoned before the Council, being in perpetual contention with the fellows of Eton : but about Michaelmas the duke of Northumberland and other lords dined with him at Eton college, and acquitted him of all blame, to the reproach and disgrace of his adversaries. This visitation of Eton is noticed by King Edward in his Journal, in the following passage: "Sept. 26. The duke of Northumberland, the marquess of Northampton, the lord chamberlain, mr. secretary Petre, and mr. secretary Cecill, ended a matter of Eton college between the master and the fellows, and also took order for the amendment of certain superstitious statutes."

Smith had in the previous year begun to build a mansion at Ankerwyke, near Eton, on the site of a nunnery dissolved at the Reformation. He mentions in his memoranda that the works of this house were in progress during the years 1551 and 1552, and were finished in 1553.

The death of King Edward in July, 1553, now wrought a change in Sir Thomas Smith's fortunes : and this change was ushered in by the loss of his wife, who died on the 3d of August, the very day on which Queen Mary first entered London. In the following year he resigned the provostship of Eton and the deanery of Carlisle, receiving in lieu from the queen a yearly pension of £100. He states that this resignation was made *quasi sponte*,^a and it seems not improbable that it was done in prospect of another wife, as he would not have been allowed to retain those preferments as a married man.^b The process of this second marriage is minutely recorded. It was on the 21st of July, between two and three in the afternoon, that the betrothal took place, and rings were given, with evidence of full consent ; the marriage was solemnized on the 23d of the same month, between nine and ten in the morning. The lady was Philippa, widow of Sir John Hampden, of Theydon Mount, in Essex, whose death had occurred just seven months before (on the 21st of December, 1553),^c and daughter of John Wilford, of London,^d gentleman.

^a He wrote first *sponte*, and then added *quasi* above the line.

^b The deanery of Carlisle was restored, on the accession of Mary, to Lancelot Salkeld, who had been the first dean of the church, and its former prior before the Reformation. On the accession of Elizabeth it reverted to Sir Thomas Smith, and he retained it until his death in 1577. He was followed in the preferment by two laymen, Sir John Wolley (sometime Latin secretary) and Sir Christopher Perkins ; so that this dignity was secularised during the whole of Elizabeth's reign, and not actually restored to the clergy until late in that of James the First. In the note at p. 44 (Oxford edit. 1820) of the Life of Smith, Strype states that in 1551 Sir Thomas "repaired to his deanery of Carlisle;" but the order of the council there quoted does not support the statement that Smith ever personally visited the church of which he was nominally the dean.

^c Morant's History of Essex, i. 156.

^d Not "of Lorie, gentleman," as misprinted in Strype's Life (edit 1820), p. 31 note. Smith introduces

This marriage led to Sir Thomas Smith's quitting his new house at Ankerwyke as his customary residence, and to his erecting another in his native county. The lady whom he had married was jointured on the manor and estate of Theydon Mount, and, her former husband having left no heirs, Sir Thomas Smith purchased the mansion.^a

In the year 1557, which was the same in which his father's death occurred, Sir Thomas began to rebuild the manor-house of Theydon Mount, otherwise called Hill Hall, which is still the residence of his family, descendants of his brother George, the London merchant elsewhere mentioned.

With the exception of this undertaking, and the ordinary occupations of a country gentleman, Sir Thomas Smith had now insufficient employment for his busy mind; and the scholar who had been a regius professor at twenty-nine, the vice-chancellor of his university at thirty-one, and a secretary of state at thirty-five, was now at forty-one only eager to devote himself to the recondite mysteries of astrology. This was a renewal, as I have already mentioned, of speculations that had occupied his attention in early life, and which, as is stated by one of his pupils, he then had the good sense to reject and despise. The passage containing that statement, which was quoted without any reference in Strype's *Life of Smith*, (Oxford edit. 1820, p. 163,) I have found in the preface placed by Richard Eden before his translation (1561) of the *Art of Navigation* by Martin Cortez. Eden there deprecates any "folyshe confidence in superstitious Astrologie, which for the vanitie and uncertaintie thereof, the ryght worshipfull and of singular learnynge in all sciences, Syr Thomas Smyth, in my tyme the flower of the Universitie of Cambridge, and some tyme my tutor, was accustomed to call *Ingeniosissimam artem mentiendi*, (that is) the moste ingenious arte of lyinge."

It is remarkable that, only a few years before this testimony to Smith's singular the name of his wife in the following curious passage of his treatise on *The Common-Welth of England*:—"Our daughters so soone as they be married loose the surname of their father, and of the family and stocke whereof they do come, and take the surname of their husbandes, as transplanted from their familie into another. So that if my wife was called before Philippe Wilford by her owne name and her father's surname, so soone as she is married to me she is no more called Philippe Wilford, but Philip Smith, and so must she write and signe, and as she chaungeth husbandes, so she chaungeth surnames, called alwaies by the surname of her last husbande. Yet if a woman once marie a Lorde or a Knight, by which occasion she is called my Ladie, with the surname of her husbande, if hee dye, and shee take a husbande of a meaner estate by whom she shall not be called Ladie, (such is the honour we do give to women) she shall still be called Ladie with the surname of her first husband, and not of the second. (*In a side-note,*) Yet she is no Ladie by the common law, although so called of courtesie."—*The Common-Welth of England, and maner of Government thereof*, 4to, 1569, p. 131.

^a Morant's *Essex*, i. 157.

good judgment was published, he should privately have falsified the opinion of his pupil; and returned to the pursuit of this barren and visionary science. The circumstance, however, affords an example confirming the truth of a statement which is made by Dr. Lawrence Humphrey, that astrology was at that time "so snatched at, so beloved, and even devoured by most persons of honour and worship," that, whatever might be its merits, upon which he was personally undetermined, he felt it perfectly superfluous to say anything in its recommendation.^a Even Cecill himself appears to have yielded to this delusion; for a paper in his handwriting was seen by Strype,^b containing astrological calculations upon the results to be anticipated from the Queen's marriage, made, as Strype conjectured, either by Sir Thomas Smith, or by Bomelius (a Dutch physician then resident in England), at the time when Elizabeth's projected alliance with the Duke of Anjou was in agitation, in the year 1570.

With Sir Thomas Smith, the result of his passion for astrology was his composition of the MS. volume containing his autobiographical memoranda, to which we will now return.

Under the year 1562, Sir Thomas Smith mentions some bickerings that occurred between himself and a party designated by the letters Se., and which were unwillingly reconciled. There can be little doubt that this means the Secretary Cecill, between whom and Smith traces of "some unkindness" that occurred about this time were observed by Strype.^c However, in the same year, Smith was sent

^a "Nam Astrologiam sic rapi, sic adamari et devorari a plerisque Nobilibus video, ut non opus habeant stimulo, sed freno: non buccinatore ad incitandum, sed vituperatore ad retardandum hunc vehementem impetum. Cui multi adeo fisi sunt, ut Deo propemodum diffisi, exitum sortiti sint non ita felicem, ab astris non præsignificatum, nec ab ipsis expectatum. Artem in totum non damno: sed Nobiles ad ejus studium me nec suasorem habebunt, nec applausorem. Satis ubique præconum est." (Optimates, sive de Nobilitate. Laurentio Humfredo autore. Basileæ, 1560, p. 347.) I append the translation of the passage, published in 1563: "But Astrology I see so ravened, embraced and devoured of many, as they neede no spurre to it, but rather a brydle from it, no trompetter to encourage them, but a chider to restrayne theyr vehement race. Whereto some have so much credyted, as almost dyscrediting God, they lyghted not on altogether luckye ende, nor foretolde of the starres nor foreseene of them. I condemne not universally the arte: but thereto get they me not counseller, nor favourer. It hath plenty enough of prayrsers." (The Nobles, or of Nobilitye. By Lawrence Humfrey, D. of Divinity, and President of Magdaleine Colledge in Oxforde. London, 1563.)

^b This curious document is printed in the Annals of the Reformation, vol. ii. Appendix, No. IV. from the original said to be in the Burghley MSS "written by Secretary Cecil *propria manu*." As I have not been able to find the original in the Lansdowne MSS. or elsewhere in the British Museum, it may perhaps exist at Hatfield. Dr. Nares has noticed some of its absurd prognostications, in his Memoirs of Lord Burghley, vol. ii. p. 534.

^c Life of Smith (Oxford edit. 1820), p. 82.

ambassador to France ; departing from London on the 20th of September, and landing at Calais on the 24th, on which night he slept at Boulogne sur Mer. He records the murder of the duke of Guise on the 24th of February following ; and under the date of the 28th of August, he states, “I was detained as a prisoner : the next day sent to the castle of Melun, and released on the 17th of the next month.” Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, the English ambassador resident in France, was made a prisoner at the same time, a circumstance noticed by Strype in his *Life of Smith*, but Strype was not aware that a similar treatment affected the subject of his biography.

On the 12th of April 1564 a treaty of peace was concluded at Troyes ; and on the 24th of May Sir Thomas Smith began a journey in order to visit Geneva. Being at Toulouse in January of the following year, he fell sick from the cold, and remained so until the 28th of February. On the 1st of March he considered himself well.

He continued ambassador in France until May 1566, when on the 16th of that month he received his reward from the French king, and on the next commenced his journey homewards. On the 28th he landed at Rye ; on the 1st of June had his audience of the Queen, and closed his embassy.

About March in the following year (1567) he was again sent into France : but he does not mention the date of his return.

In 1568 he began to build in a stronger and handsomer fashion the north and west sides of the mansion of Hill Hall, which he completed in the next year.

At the end of 1571 he was again sent ambassador into France, returning in the following July ; on the 5th of which month he presented himself to the Queen, and on the 13th was again made secretary of state. He had previously, whilst in France, received the appointment of chancellor of the order of the Garter, vacant by the resignation of Lord Burghley.

His notes at this place contain a description of the comet which appeared in that year, and was first seen in England at the back of the chair of Cassiopeia. Strype has printed a letter which Smith wrote upon this subject to Sir Francis Walsingham, then ambassador in France.

The next year, being the 59th of his life, is the last to which these autobiographical notes extend. It contains the death of his son, who was slain on the 18th of October, in Ireland, where Sir Thomas Smith had founded an English colony at the Ardes, on the eastern coast of Ulster. On the 4th of December, writes Sir Thomas, “I experienced a return of the same illness which I had suffered at

Toulouse and at Blois, with loss of appetite. On the 23rd I began to get better. On the 3rd of January I returned to court."

This is the last entry. Sir Thomas Smith lived more than four years longer, but did not again open his manuscript book. Its subsequent pages are for the most part occupied with those astrological calculations which were generally termed nativities, but which were made upon any accident or other remarkable event of a man's life, as well as upon his birth; and the only rational information to be gleaned from them consists in the dates of the births of various members of his family, and of a few of his friends.^a

There is, however, also in the British Museum another autobiographical paper of Sir Thomas Smith to which it will not be superfluous for me to draw attention upon the present occasion; for, although it was employed by Strype, and is in fact the authority for some of his most important statements upon the life and character of Sir Thomas Smith, yet his allusions to it are obscure, whilst the materials derived from it are scattered in various parts of his book,^b often without citing its authority. This document is now preserved in the Harleian MS. 6989. It is a paper of several sheets, addressed by Smith to the duchess of Somerset; and consists of an elaborate defence against various aspersions with which his character had been assailed. No date is affixed, but internal evidence shows that it was written in the autumn of 1549, not long before his dismissal from the office of Secretary of State.^c

In this paper Sir Thomas Smith defends himself, first from the charge of haughtiness, next from that of being a sore and extreme man, and thirdly from covetousness. It had been said that he was a great purchaser. So far, he declares, was this from the truth, that all the land he possessed in the world, besides one little house in Canon-row and another in Philpot-lane, consisted of the manor of Yarlinton, in Somersetshire, worth 30*l.* a year, and the college of Derby, worth 33*l.* The former, he says, was purchased entirely with money he possessed before he entered into the duke of Somerset's service, and which he had saved from his income at Cambridge. The details of this are remarkable: "for (he says) I thank God I was well contented with my living there, and had enough yearly and to spare: for

^a These are given in the Appendix to this paper.

^b In his chapters i., iii., iv., xvii. and xviii., at pp 5, 26, 28, 31, 32, 170, and 176 of the Oxford edition of 1820.

^c This is ascertained from his statements respecting the revenue of Eton College. He was made Provost at Christmas 1547, and two Midsummers had since occurred. In October 1549 he ceased to be Secretary of State.

my living was yearly 120*l.*, after this sort : my lecture of Civil Law was to me yearly 40*l.*, the office of chancellorship to my lord of Ely 50*l.*, and my benefice of Leverington 36*l.* ; and yet I so ordered the matter, that mine own board, my three servants, three summer nags,^a and three winter geldings, all this did not stand me in much above 30*l.* yearly ; so that, except I would spend of unthriftyness, I might save well enough, as I did, and I trust honestly.”

Smith afterwards states the account of his income at the time he was writing. His fee as secretary was yearly 100*l.* The advantage of the seal, he had been told, was wont to be good ; this three months (he declares) it hath not been to me 7*l.* The deanery of Carlisle produced 80*l.*, besides 40*l.* pension paid to its late holder, who remained a Romanist. The income of the provostship of Eton he had not ascertained, from the unsettled state of its affairs.

Other aspersions circulated against him were that he bought benefices, and that he had been a chopper and changer of land. These he wholly denied.

Smith appears even at this early period to have been somewhat jealous of Cecill, who was as yet only Master of Requests : “ And Mr. Cecill (he exclaims) is a great mote to be cast against me, that he, poor man, is none such. Truly, for Mr. Cecill, I take him to be an honest and a worthy man, nor see I cause why he should be brought and used to my displeasure, whom I have ever loved.” But yet the tale-bearers had been known to remark, That poor man is no purchaser ! “ Let him (replies Smith) change his book of purchase he had this year with mine, and I will give him one thousand pounds to boot, and yet win almost five hundred pounds by the bargain.” Some other very remarkable statements follow, respecting favourable purchases of crown lands, but whether the whole apply to Cecill or not, is ambiguous.

Two further points of covetousness had been alleged against Sir Thomas Smith. One was that his wife did not go so gorgeously as some would have her,—“ if that be a fault (he replies,) although she is little, let her bear it ; she hath all my money.” The other charge respected his housekeeping. “ At Eton, (he declares,) where I have one, whosoever cometh, whether I be there or not, shall know whether I keep house or not. At London, where I can get no house, it is hard for me to keep an house.” He had taken as much pains as any man to procure a suitable residence, and was not so mad, or so little a lover of his ease, but that it would have been sometimes a pleasure to him, when he might steal a leisure, to eat a morsel of meat, dressed after his fancy, in his own house ; or not to prefer to

^a Strype, in making use of this passage, in his third chapter, has unaccountably altered this word, stating that “ he kept three servants, *three guns*, and three winter geldings.”—Oxford edit. 1820, p. 28.

be sometimes at his ease, rather than to be always pent up in one chamber at Court. It further appears that Carlisle house, in Lambeth, was in his possession, but that, being on the south side of the river, it was of no use to him.

But the most grievous charge of all that had been made against him, was that he was a neutral in religious matters. “A strange thing (he exclaims) if in time of persecution I was known what I was, now I should be doubted of! If when few durst profess, I not only did it myself, but defended others that professed Christ, from fire and bearing of faggots, in the bishop of Winchester’s most ruffe, before all Cambridge, and in a manner against all the doctors of Cambridge, and all the justices of peace in the shire, and saved many, and so still continued, and now in my Lord’s grace’s time (*i.e.* the Duke of Somerset’s) I should shrink!” He excuses any caution apparent in his conduct as arising from a regard to the honour and safety of the King and the lord Protector, “whom I reckon at this time as it were all one.” That done, he adds, there was no man that would go further than himself.

These extracts will be sufficient to show the curious nature of this document; of which I shall append to this letter a complete copy, in order that it may be printed in the *Archæologia*.

I am, dear Sir,

Very sincerely yours,

JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS.

Charles Henry Cooper, Esq. F.S.A.

APPENDIX.

I.

EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF CHEKE, COMMUNICATED BY HIM TO CARDANO.

Natus Anno 1514, die 16 Junij, hora 5 minut. 17 post meridiem.

Anno 1540, die septima Septemb., laboravit acuta febre.

Anno 1552, die quinta Maij, peripneumonia.

Anno 1544, die decima Junij, in regium preceptorem electus est.

Anno 1549, die undecima Januarij, a pristino honore ferme decidit.

Anno 1547, die undecima Maij, uxorem duxit.

Hier. Cardani Lib. de Genituris, edit. 1558, p. 37.

DESCRIPTION OF CHEKE, WITH PROGNOSTICATIONS, BY CARDANO.

Formâ corporis est gracili, flavâ, maculosâ, rariore cute, capillis mediocribus, oculis decentibus cæsiisque, staturâ procerâ, hirsutus, rubescens satis ob solem, pulcher, incommensuratus tamen, et anterioribus debilior, sicci temperamenti, sed in activis qualitatibus temperati. Calvescet citò ob id, canescetque celerius. Morietur ex morbo longo, &c. &c. (*After various fanciful prophecies, Cardano adds:*)—Erit autem talis, ut maximè loco et tempori accommodare se novit. Et ultimum splendoris ac gloriæ humanæ consequetur, opinionemque sapientiæ quasi divinæ nisi a communibus constitutionibus impediatur: quas etiam modo evaserit, maximus fiet. . . . Erit in universum officiosus, gravis, liberalis, sapiens, humanus, Anglicæque gloria gentis. Apud quem diversatus cùm fastum omnem, cùm gloriam consultè compresserim, ut agnoscerem, non agnoscerem, quod veræ felicitatis est, contemni aut negligi minimè potui.—*Ibid.* p. 40.

II.

LETTER OF CHEKE TO THE DUCHESS OF SOMERSET.

(MS. Lansdowne 2, No. 34.)

Yo^r graces singular Fauor towardes me, hath alwaies been one of mi chefe confortes in mi diligēt Service of y^e K. M. which was y^e easier to me, bicause it was wel taken. And althoughe in this desert of other mens troble, and mishap of mine owne, I præciseli know not of yo^r graces fauorable goodnes towarde me, yet I iudge y^t yo^r g. good minde^a towarde me, vnderdeserved to bee gotten, and vnderdeserved to be lost again, is sich, y^t I passe the quietlier thorough the hole course of mi danger, and fele y^e lesse storme of causeles hap, bicause I do miche stai miself in yo^r g. wisdom of taking thinges truli, and in yo^r goodnes of helpinge the honest fauorable. Wherefore præsuming to give yo^r g. thanks for miself, bicause I trust wel, and moost humbli requiring yo^r g. of continuans of yo^r fauor worthilie as I trust to be bestowd on me, I can not chuse but make half a sute for half miself, being dissevered as yet from y^e other half of miself. In mi wife's misbehavior towarde yo^r g. whosoever is sorie for it I am moost sorie, not redie to excuse y^t which is fautie, but desiring of pardon, where forgivenes is plentiful, and knowing y^t forgivenes of fautes past is amendment of time to cōme, and no vice in anie meane woman to bee soo great, but y^e vertue of nobiltee is as large to mercie. Mi moost humble request therfor is, y^t yo^r g. gentilnes overcōme mi wife's fautes, to fauor of clemencie, where iustice wold have straitnes, to be more noble in vertue then other be in offence, y^t where as faute is greatest, yo^r g. mai moost appeare. In other matters I have charged her to be plaine, and I trust her honest nature wil content yo^r g. wheerin if she be fautie, I must nedes naturalli pitie her, iustli I can not speke for her, and yet as I trust sche wil shew herself true and plaine, so I wold faine speke If I thought theer were nede, and put yo^r g. in minde, y^t yow of wisdom consider y^t in yough theer mai be pardon, wheer experiens lacketh,

^a Misprinted in Strype's Cheke, edit. 1820, "your good Graces mind."

and towarde sich women pitie,^a as wisdomē can not be loked for of, and towarde womē with childe fauor for the īnocentes sake. But what meane I to enter into sich matters as yo^r g. knoweth best, and tel yo^r g. y^t of yo^r self ye consider. Onli I beseche yo^r g. and that moost humblie, to extende yo^r gracious fauor so far above the requirers^b desert, towarde mi wife and me both, as mi good minde towarde yo^r g. which is æqual with yo^r gretest clientes, is above mine habillitee, which is vnderneath y^e cōmen state of wel minded. God send yo^r grace moost p^osperous^c estate and long quietnes to his mightie wil.

From Westmester y^e xxvij of Januarie 1549. 2 Ed. 6.

Yo^r g. moost bownden

Orator, Joān Cheke.

Directed, To mi Ladie of Somersets good
Grace.

III.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL NOTES OF SIR THOMAS SMITH.

(MS. Addit. Brit. Mus. 325, f. 2.)

1513	23	Decē.	Anno 1 ^o . 2 ^o . et tertio graciosus, ludibundus, loquax, in sūma gratia supra coæ-
1514	1		quales, ut in illa ætate sūme videbar indolis, et patris præcipue deliciæ.
	2		
1517	3 ^o		Anno tertio cōpleto aut circiter ex nocturno terriculamento in sōno, incidi in
1518	4 ^o		grauissimā febrē, quæ plusq ^a biēnio aut triennio me detinuit, sub exigua spe
1519	5		vitæ, a quo nō videbar plene liberatus usq ^a ad 21 aut 22 annū. Toto hoc
1520	6		tempore tristis, pauci risus, nullius lusus, lectioni tamen historiaꝝ, picturæ,
1521	7 ^o		scriptioni, etiam sculptoriæ, vehementer deditus, et vniuerso illo tempore usq ^a ad
1522	8 ^o		24 fere annū plænus scabie, pustulis, ulceribus, dolore dentiū, semper imbecilli
1523	9 ^o		valetudine, sed in literis & linguaꝝ cognitione plus semper didici quam præ-
			ceptores poterant docere.
1524	10		10 et 11 ^o interpolti valetudine, et ita aliquātulū meliore, sub fine 11 āni circa festū
1525	11 ^o		Michis Cantabrigiam sū missus ad bonas lras.
1530	16 ^o		16 ^o febris me invasit, circa Michaelis, peregrinātē in Norfolchia, grauis, putrida,
			et fere pestifera, quæ desiit in hydropē, intumescēte mane facie, noctu pedibus.
1531	17 ^o		Vix sanus ex ea febre, circa Februarij mediū Socius Collegij sū electus, & bacca-
1532	18		laureus factus,—gracilis adhuc & macilētissim ^o , bili ac pituita nimia fere
1533	19		perpetuo morbosus.

^a Misprinted in Strype's Cheke, edit. 1820, "and sich we pittie."

^b Ibid. "required."

^c Ibid. "plenteous."

- 1534 20 Anno xx°. Maġr artiū ad solstitiū, & ante Michis factus prælector publicus phām
1535 21 in scholis publ. domi græcas literas profitebar.
1536 22
1537^a 23 Anno xxij°. aut xxiiij°. valetudo firmior aliquantū, & hilarior sū factus, sed nō
1538 24 ita multū.
1539 25 Anno xxv°. cœpi notus esse Regi H° octavo, tū ego et Chækus coram eo declama-
bamus, nuper mortua Regina Jana, super deliberatiōe, hospitem an popularem
duceret.
1540° 26 Anno xxvij. Mense Maio, studioꝝ et voluptatis causa, cupiditateq, visendi nouas
Cromellus capite regiōes, in Galliam me cōtuli & Italiam. Valetudine iā firma, vita iam primū
multat^r. cœpit esse mihi suavior.
1543 29 Anno xxix°. domū reuocabar, alpes prætergressus p^die nat. dñi domū reuersus sū,
auctus stipendio mag° publico a principe, leges p^ofitebar, corpore iam etiam
firmiore facto. Fuit hoc in fine Mensis Januarij qⁱ fuit xxx° āno inchoante.
1544° 30 A°. xxx°. in æstate contentiones honorificas suscepi cū æmulis, auctus opibus,
existimatione, hilaritate.
1545^b 31 A°. xxxj°. p^ocancellarius academīæ Cantab. factus, et vix finito āno, Cancellarius
Epī Elyens.
Bologna dedita mense
septēbri.
1546 33 A°. 33°. inchoante, q^d celebs essem, Sacerdotio sum donatus ab eodem, et præ-
benda a decano Lyncolñ, videbarq, mihi beatus esse, academīæ & illi p^ouinciolæ
quasi imperare.
1547 34 A°. xxxiiij°. circa Februarij finē, vocatus sū in aulam. 15° Martij natus est mihi
In initio filius.
Henricus 8°
moritur.
Edoardi 1°. A. 1547 Martio mense mortua est mater mea.
Mutata clericali veste, modoq, ac vivendi forma, primū Secretioris concilij scriba
ut vocant sum factus & a supplicū libellis D°. Somers.
23° Augusti in profectione versus Scotiam febris synveha calidissima oppressus,
Eboraci in grauissimo fui periculo mortis.
1548 34 A°. xxxv°. in initio, aut potius circa finē xxxiiij^u, quod adhuc celebs essem,
Præpositura Collegij Ætoñ & decanatus Carlioleñ dabant^r circa fñ Natalis.
1549 35 A°. 35 (inchoāte) April. 15° duxi uxore (mane ho. circ. 3^{am} po^tmer. nod. (?)
pridie (s. 14) sū delectus Secretarius regis, eodem die iuratus post Meridiem
circa horā 4^{am}. Et paulo post eodem Anno mense Junio missus in Flandriā
legatus. Augusto mense Redij.
1550 36 A°. 36 10° Octob. ho. 3^a post Merid. deiectus officio Secretarij in Arce Wynde-
sori. 14° die Octobris cū maxima pompa vna cū Duce Somersetto, Stanopo,
Graio & aliis sū deductus in carcerē in Arcē Londiñ.

^a Here he has subsequently inserted this astrological mem. $\left. \begin{smallmatrix} h \\ f \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ in Ω .

^b $\left. \begin{smallmatrix} 2 \\ f \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ in $\eta\zeta$.

- 1551^a 37 A°. 37° circa 10. Martij, paulo post ducē Somersett & alios, carcere ego et reliqⁱ liberati sumus. 25° Maij cū Eḡo Elieñ et Marchione Northampton missus sū legatus in Galliam p^o nuptiis regis Edoardi. Augusto Mense redij, paulo postq^o cessavit Sudor in Anglia.
- Et in hujus Anni initio cœpi Ankerwicū ædificare.
- 1552° A°. 38. 22° Jan. Dux Somersetj decapitatus. Circa pentecostē vocatus corā consiliariis & in perpetua cōtētionē cū socijs Ætoñ. Circa Michis festū dux North. & alij proceres mecū pransi sunt in Ætoñ Collegio cū sūmo honore et accusatoꝝ meoꝝ infamia ac dedecore me absoluerūt ōi calūnia.
- Et toto hoc Anno Ankerwicū ædificabat^r.
- A° 1553° 39 Mortuus est Rex Edoardus, Julio mense 6° die.
Ed. 7°.
Mariæ 1°.
- Mortua et uxor mea chariss. 3° August. eo die quo Regina Maria Londinū ingressa est.
- Atq^o isto āno finis impositus est Ankeruici ædificationj.
- A° 1554^b 40 Circa Maiū mensem aut paulo post quasi sponte cessi præpositura Æton. & decanatu Carleol. & habui pencōem a Regina C^{li} p an. 23° Julij inter 9^{am} ac 10^{am} mane duxi Philippam uxore, quæ circa 2^{am} aut 3^{am} p^t meridiem die 21 eiusdem mensis arrabonē ānuloꝝ accepit quasi nuptiaꝝ noīe, vt tū pīmū plānus adpareret consensus.
- Regina nupta regi Philippo 25. Julij.
- A° 1555° 41 Circa Menses Octob. No. et Decēber vehemētissimus ardor et desiderīū me incessit astrologiam discendj ut vix noctu p^opter illud studiū conq^uiescerem, cuiusmodi etiam cupiditas āno ut cōiectabam 20. aut 21° meæ ætatis me inuasit.
- [The preceding portions of these annals (except various insertions) appear to have been written at one time; and the entries which follow to have been added at several subsequent periods, but not always when the events occurred.]
- A° 1556 42 Januario mense, nocte eadem q^o ☾ cōiūcta est, tonitru maximū & fulgetræ, tota fere nocte; fulminavit autem octo continuis ante noctibus, sed apud nos non tonabat. Mense Febuario, die xij^a, ho. 8^a. ante merid. leui ictu perstrinxi genu. consutū vulnus cito coaluit, ☾ tū ☿ iūgebatur in ♋. 9° Februarij cū ☾ rursus erat in ♋ intumuit iterū genu, cū dolore.
- 1557° 43 Montaulā ædificauj.
- Hoc āno pater mortuus est, et frater natu maior.
- 1558° 44 Ædificaui ad huc montis aulam.
- Mortua regina Maria, 17. No.
- Elisabeth 1°
1559 45
1560 46
1561 47

^a ☿ } in ♊.

^b ☿ ☾ ☿.

^c ☿ } in ♋.

- 1562 48 Jurgia inter me et Se. Reconciliatio inuita. Missus legatus in Galliam. 20. Septembris egressus Londino. 24. appulimus Caletas, noctu Bonomiæ maritimæ cubuimus.
- 1563 49 24 Feb. D. Guysiæ ex vul.morit. 28 Aug. Vt captius detinebar. 29. missus in arcem Meleunj. 17 Septēb. liberatus.
1564. 50. 12 April, the peax concluded at Trois. 24 Maij incoepti iter ad visendam Geneuam.
- 1565 51. 19 Jan. Ægrotui ex frigore Tholosæ ab hoc die usq. ad 28. Feb. 1° Martij convalij.
- 1566 52 23 Jan. the fray wher Pakman was killed at Burbois. 16° Maij donatus a rege Gallorū. 17 Maij Reditus versus Angliā. 28 Appuli Riam. 1° Junij colloquutus sū cū regina; finita est legatio.
- 1567 53 Circa Martiū rursus in Galliā missus. 31° Martij Caletas appuli, postridie Caletas cū Wintero repetij, inde ad Gallorū regem.
Nouēbri et Decēbri toto æg^otau^j e catarro frigido.
- 1568 54 Cœpi ædificare fortius et splendidius boreale et occidentales Montisaulæ, p^omo Januarij p^ope enectus tussi et catarro.
- 1569 55 Hoc āno perfeci.
- 1570 56 P^omo Januarij e catarro egrotus, sed mox convaluj.
- 1571 57 Missus iterū legatus in Galliā 10 Decēb. valedixi vxori. 15° Caletas appuli.
- 1572 58 Blesis. Ægrotui nausea et vomitu pituitæ crassæ p^om. 19. Martij. Vix plæne liberatus 3° Maij. reuersus a legatione ad aulā reginæ 5° Julij. 13° eius[dem] factus sū secretarius. Cancellarius Garterij factus ante in Gallia.
Hoc anno Nouēbri mense visa est noua stella * in cathedra Cassiopeiæ. magnitudine 4. quæ durauit p^ope ānū, sed iminuendo se tandem disparuit.
- 1573 59 18. Octob. filius meus in Hibernia occisus est. 18 Octob.
4 Decēb. Cœpi æg^otare vt Tholosæ et Blesis deiectione appetitus.
23 cœpi conualescere. 3° Janu. reuersus ad aulā.

OTHER NOTES FROM SIR THOMAS SMITH'S ASTROLOGICAL MANUSCRIPT.

- F. 7. 1560 Tailerus natus 6° die Septembris ho. 9^a mi. 30 ante Merid.
- F. 13 b. Elizabetha Carkek 1529. Die 29 Nouēb. ho. 6^a. min. 40° ante Merid. (His first wife.)
Philippa Wilfredi 1522. 24 Apr. ho. 7^a ante Merid. (His second wife.)
- F. 21. 1513 xxiiij° Decemb. ho. 7^a mi. 5° post Meridiem. Thomas Smithus filius Joánis. (His own birth.)
- F. 22 b. 1547 Die 16 Martij ho. fere 5^a mane. Thema extractū e natiuitate filij. (His natural son.)
- F. 30. 1547 Martij 2° ho. 12 mi. 20. Dies Mercur. Emma Georgij Smithi Primogenit. (This entry and the following relate to the birth of the children of his brother.)

F. 31 *b.* 11° Sept. 1548. hora fere 6^a mane Die Martis. Elizabetha 2° genita.

F. 34. xxxj° Aug. 1549 Media Nocte. Sabbati. Thomas tertio genit.

F. 34 *b.* 1550. 27 Septemb. hora secunda mane, Susanna 4^a.

At fol. 58 occurs the horoscope of Sir John Cheke, which Strype has inserted in his Life of Cheke.

F. 58 *b.* 1514 Decemb. 23 ho. 8^a ante Merid. fere Die Sabbati. Thomas Smithus, Waldini.

(His own birth, a year later than before stated.)

F. 78. 1483 22 Octob. ho. 10 post Merid. Martini Lutherj. E. C. genit. Cardanj Alt. pa. 44.

Ibid. Antonius Grene, 30 Nouēb. 1555° ho. 8^a 25° mi. ante Merid.

Mortuus est 16° Jan. 1556° ho. 6^a noctu, q° tēpore tonabat valde, Egghamj.

IV.

SIR THOMAS SMITH'S DEFENCE OF HIS CONDUCT AND CHARACTER, ADDRESSED TO THE DUCHESS OF SOMERSET.

(MS. Harl. 6989, fol. 141.)

IF it please your grace, The furst and chief poinct in my mynde to be wisshed of a servaunt is faithfully and truly to serve his master to his master's most honour and profit. The next is that his master have a good opinion of him. The furst I take chief, for truthe is better then apperaunce, and, how long soever it be kept backe with envious or whispering tales, at the last it will appear. The other is next: for the cheafest comfort to bothe the master and servaunt is, the maister to have a trust and confidence of his servauntes well doinge, and the servaunt to thinke his service well accepted; and this even the trustie and faithfull servaunt most desireth, the untrew and ey servaunt to have it most laborith.

Your grace, peradventure, marvelith what I shulde meane thus to write. Yf I thought I might have had tyme to have declared the same by wordes, without any troble or grief to your grace, I wolde more gladly, obteigning licence first, so have done it. Now I being at commaundement, and not able to attende my tyme, lest I shulde seame, by not answering to such thinges as I hear say be objected unto me, to confesse them and graunt miself gilty; or els it might be taken, if the thing appeare otherwise, as I doo not doubt it doth and will doo, that I shulde neglect and not esteeme your grace's opinion of me, I am forced to write this my declaracion, simple in wordes, and true in effect, the which I will averre and justefie furst to God, and next to your grace and all the worlde, before those whisperers and tale-tellers, if it please your grace to call me to their rebuke, or let me die therefore.

And, furst, I am gladde that I cannot lerne that either untruth, slaknes, or doblenes in my sevice was ever laide to my chardge, the which not being hable to be done somych as of myne enviers and enemies, as I trust never shalle, for the rest, I hope, I shall wade away.

I doo remembre about th'ende of the last parliament your grace shewed me certain of my faultes, the which, ye saide, men noted in me. It was no litle discouragement unto me, after wache and

care wherewith I was then a little vexed, to have suche a reresouper, and a clapping of the backe after my travaile, most of alle for that your grace seamid to me to speake as half persuaded that their saiences was true, I coulde not then hide my grieve and sorowe; and I tooke that I had then aunswerid those thinges fully, and had lefte your grace my good ladie, of whose goodnes I coulde never despaire. Sith Mr. Thynne hath shewed me agayne mych like thinges, I aunswered him hoole, and in the most part I toke him for witnes, as hearin I must, and required him to reoport the same to your grace (tyme by like not servyng) or how soever it was, I perceave by thinges of late, that it was not done.

And wordes I see goeth away; my writings may be tried whither they be false or no. And I think your grace wolde that I shulde knowe your grace's opinion of me, or at the least what others say unto your grace of me, for I do not take it, nor cannot, that alle that is objected is firmelie beleved of your grace, and I am sure lesse will, when I have made myne aunswere; but this your grace wolde have notified, that if I were guilty, I shulde amend, if I were unguilty, I shulde answer, the which, with pardon obteigned, I most gladly desire.

Haultenes was objected, and, as it was termed, high in th'instep. Of that fault, which is great, for I take it pride, if it be ment inwardely, and in my stomake and mynde, God can onely be judge; and it is ment^a that I shulde be prowde, disdaynefull, mych regarding myself, despising other, as I saie of the hart God judgeth only truly. And I myself, tought I trust by God, knowing myne owne vilenes and weakenes, neither knowe cause whie I shulde be so, nor knowe the fault to raigne in me; whearin I may be deceyved, but my conscience doth not accuse me, and, as I saide before, God only can judge me. For outwarde apparaunce of pride, I am sure there is occasions whye I shulde be thought to base myself to mych, and so I have ben notid (so that it is harde to please every man) rather then to take uppon me to myche; and let men looke uppon my order, gesture, sitting, capping, and such like thinges, either at the Counsaile or otherwise, and I am sure they may have more just occasion so to think and judge. For the rest I cannot denye but I am of nature hault of courage and stomake, to contempne all perill and worldly thinges or daungers, to doo my master service, and more wolde be, but I am by suche thinges somtymes plucked backe, and so am contented to rule meself, being hable, I thanke God, to serve in the bodie and thilles (as carters calle it) asweale as in the rome of a fore-horse.

The seconde was, that I was a sore and extreme man, as I understode it, as it were an oppressour. To this I require nothing, but sith I came furst to the Court, and xx yeares before, let eny man come and prove, that I have, I will not say taken, but axid th'extremite and rigour of eny man where equitie wolde moderate, I shall give him the hoole I axid, and pay him yet doble the wourth. Yf I had any man to the lawe, I will give him his coastes and the thing I sued for, let them come before your grace and axe it. I never entrid accion against any man in my lief, nor never pledid. Ones in deade I had bought an house of Thexecutours,^b which, as me thought after, shulde have ben the Kinges; I moved my Lordes grace of it,^c and if it were the Kinges I required only of his grace the preferrement. An other had boughte the same house by an other title.

^a *i.e.* if it be meant.

^b *i.e.* the executors of King Henry the Eighth.

^c The duke of Somerset.

Betwixt us two, that were else parties, there was no controversie, for we both, or the first, offered agreement and refused the lawe; mary, neither of us both durst agree with the other till the Kinges title was acquietid. This was, I cannot tell how, against both our myndes dalied by th'officers. Betwixt us the matier was so easy to agree, that I put it to his wife's brother, onely to apoint th'ende, and therto I stande: and his own lawiers to drawe the writings. Yf this be extremite, I knowe not what is gentlenes. The house my yonger brother lieth in, and it is rather his house than myne, altho it be faire, yet so farre of that I can have no comodite of it.^a Neither of myne nor any of the colledgis Carlile or Eaton I never raised rent, nor heightened fyne, either of copie or free, nor yet to this daie put out tenaunt, nor to my knowlege yet have had none in sute. I mervaille where th'extremite and soreness shulde be. I beseche your grace let the reaporters tell, for I cannot gesse.

A thirde point was covetousness. In this behaulf it is in two parties, th'one of mynde, wherein God onlie can be judge, that point I must dispute with him, whom onely I like, and knowe to judge not by envieuse men and women's tales, but by truth; and therefore I remit me unto him aither to stonde or falle thearin at his mercie.

Th'other for outwarde apparaunce; whearin I am so stoute of courage, that I think I am hable to aunswere all the worlde, howsoever I can be charged; and because the charge I am sure can be but fonde of those that hath shewid your grace, and moved you hearin, I can but gess at their gessings, and fondely aunswere there fonde mocione.

I am a great purchaser, they say, as I heire saie. I besech your grace let them tell wherof. Lande cannot runne away, and it may soone be lerned where it is. All the lande I have in the worlde, besides one litle house in Chanon rowe of xxx^s. by yere, which Mr. Comptroller^b hath, and that other my brother hath in Philpot lane, yet not fully all paid for, is in two places.

Yarlington, in Somersetshire, which is a manour to me wourth xxx^{li}. a yere, is one, and the Colledge of Darbye, of xxxiiij^{li}. a yere, th'other.

The furst I boughte at my furst commyng to my Lordes grace service.

The money I bought that for, I must nedes have it of bribery, as they saie; and here is a great evidence that when I had Mr. Cicilles rome,^c I was a great bribour. Yf the money came of bribery, it was gotten at Cambridge, not here, and that none can better beare witnesse then Mr. Thynne,^d for as sone in maner as I had any acquaintance with Mr. Thynne (which was within litle more then fortnighte after I came fully to my Lordes grace service) before I had any thing to doo or office with my Lordes grace, I shewid him I had money of myne in coyne to the summe of CCC^{li}. or thereabouts in my yonger brother's handes here in London, a merchaunt, the which money I had at tymes alwaies, as I savid any money of my living at Cambridge, sende to him, to occupie and amend his stocke, without peny or half-peny profit to me, but onely to helpe him; for, I thanke God, I was well contentid with my living there, and had ynoughe yerely and

^a This house was in Philpot Lane, in the city of London, and is again mentioned presently.

^b Sir William Paget; Strype states incorrectly that it was let to him for thirty pounds a year, instead of thirty shillings. See another passage, hereafter.

^c That of Master of Requests, in which Cecill had succeeded him.

^d Sir John Thynne, steward of the Duke of Somerset's household.

to spare ; for my living was yerely Cxx^{li}, after this sort—my lecture of Civile [Law] was to me yerely xl^{li}, th'office of Chauncelership to my Lorde of Elye l^{li}, and, my benefice of Leverington xxxvj^{li}; and yet I so orderid the matier, that myne owne borde, my iij servauntes, iij somer naggges, and iij winter geldinges, all this did not stonde me myche above xxx^{li}. yerely ; so that, except I wolde spende of unthriftynes, I might save well ynough, as I did, and I trust honestly, my conscience doth not accuse me. Well, howsoever it was, I tolde Mr. Thynne of this money, and required him to helpe me where I mighte best employ it. He wisshed me to this Yarlinton, the whiche I bought in reversion after the late Quenes^a death, and was put in my Lord Marques Northampton's booke, and so it stode me in CCC^{li}. If the quene had lived, it had bene wourth nothing unto me; her death made it wourth me xxx^{li} a yere. The money I paide to my Lord Marques; his booke was that was given him at the coronacion.^b This as for Yarlinton, and of all this, as I saide, no man can be better judge and witness then Mr. Thynne: the purchase after x yeres, the money myne owne before I came from Cambridge, and before I had Mr. Cicles office, or any other in the courte.

Th'other the College of Darbie is xxxiiij^{li} a yere. This I bought this yere of the Commissioners of Chaunteries according as the price goith. That money then I must have of briberye. Yt is not unknowen, I suppose, neither unto your grace nor to many other, that I had with my wief^c one thousand markes; that thought I mete, and in maner my dutie, and half promise, to employ in lande, and so I did, and boughte that lande with it.

And here is all the purchases that ever I made; here is all the lande I have in the worlde; one peny rent more I have not; I wolde every man in England coulde give so good accomptes where he had the money wherwith he bought his lande; the worlde hathe then less cawse to crie then it semeth to have.

Office and preferment I have bought none. My Lordes grace can tell of whom I have had all that I have. Ferme I occupie none, neither bieng nor selling, nor usury for love of money, nor never did, and God willing never entende to doo.

My livinges be not unknowen. The Secretaries fee is yerely C^{li}. Th'advantage of the seale, they say, was wont to be good; this three monethes, it hath not bene to me vij^{li}. The deanry of Carlile, paieing xl^{li} pencion to him^d that resigned it to me, is iiij^{xx} li. What Eaton Colleage is I cannot tell: from Christmas that I furst had it, till Midsomer that I went into Flaundes, I had of it lx^{li}; from that tyme till Midsomer last I had never a peny, and yet I was fayne, before Bartholomewe tyme, to borowe cl^{li} for them till the rentes come in, to bie liveries of the house. This is the great livinges I have, the which, saving the secretaries office, be but spirituall livinges as they call them, putting the Kinges Matie to no charge, nor my L. grace to no blame; and without somewhat I can not be hable to serve in this rome. The whiche if they be thoughte to myche to be bestowid uppon me, I wolde some priest had them.

^a Queen Katharine (Parr.), the marquess of Northampton's sister.

^b Of course at the coronation of Edward the Sixth, not, as Strype imagined, "at the coronation of Queen Katharine." The "book" was a list or schedule of lands, made preparatory to a grant by letters patent.

^c His first wife, Elizabeth Carkek.

^d Lancelot Salkeld.

I am sure others have had asmoche lande as this commith to, with less grudge, and yet I will compare with hertie service, with the best of my degree, none exceptid; for myne habilitie, power, and wit I must acknowledge my unworthynes, but as it pleaseth my Lordes grace of his goodnes t'accept it.

It is tolde, I heire say of late, I shulde bye benefices; let those develish feyners of such tales and false rumours justefie it if they can, and take for their labour all that I have, that I ever boughte or solde benefice. I have given this yere three; if ever I tooke peny for eny one of them, he that can prove it I give him all my lande for it. How and where I shulde bye any benefice, or to what purpose, I cannot devise.

Yea and I am a great chopper and chaunger of land. As I saide before unto your grace, lande cannot runne away, and the thing, if it were true, may soone be proved; fote of lande I never yet exchaunged with any person, and solde none, but one house, parcell of my purchase at Derby. The lande I bought I bought of the King, and paide th'extremite, as other did, as my particulers can showe. I circumvented no man for it; I bought it of no unthrifty heires; I beguiled no Innocentes with my bargaynes, nor had it by morgage, or other crafte; but symply and plainly. And yet such tales can be brought to your grace.

And Mr. Cicille is a greate mote to be cast against me, that he, poore man, is none suche. Surely, for Mr. Cicille, I take him to be an honest and a wourthy man, nor I see no cause why he shulde be brought and used to my displeasure, whom I have ever loved. But yet the comparisons are like to those that bringethe those tales unto your grace, that poore man is no purchaser. Let him chaunge his booke of purchase he had this yere with myne, and I wille give him one thousand poundes to bote, and yet wyne almost five hundreth poundes by the bargayne. It wilbe saide there was another joyned with him; so there was with me in my booke, Mr. Eresby with him, Nedeham with me. Yea, but he hath made myche of it away, and he bought it for other; who then doth choppe or chaunge lande, I or he? If it please your grace, I doo not like these comparisons; and I am soray they are used with me. But I knowe one man, who this yere boughte a colleege in London after less than v^{li} a year, and paide for it less then iij^{xx} xv^{li}, and without any cost of buildinges or reparacion maketh now yerely iij^{xx} vj^{li} or thereaboutes; so that for his threscore and fifteen poundes he hath more landes then I have for my Thowsande poundes.

Yf I had done so, Smyth had bene a mervelouse man, covetous, extreame, and an heighter of rentes. What other doo or can doo, or howsoever they can height their rentes, or helpe their surveies, yt perteyneth not to me, nor he is not living that can charge me that ever I grudged at it—but rathir wisshe it mych more; and yet he that makith of iijj^{li} xvj^s viij^d one hundreth markes a yere and more, and with laieing out of lxxij^{li} x^s gayneth one Thowsande poundes at the Kinges handes without any more trouble, daunger, or crafte, is the sely poore man, none suche as Smyth is.

Yf of alle the lande I have boughte of the Kyng (and, except the house my brother dwelleth in, alle that I have I bought of the Kyng), I have raised one peny rent, or put out one tenaunt, who that can shewe it, I give him my lande; and yet I am the covetouse and th'extreme man, the bier and chopper of lande, when I neither take fyne, raise no rent, bye at the derest, have strife nor controversy with no man living, never chaunged one fote, and bieth but of the King.

These thinges be apperaunt, easy to be convinced, if I shulde saie untruth in any point, and I

desire no more of your grace but to heare both parties, before your grace enclyne to th'one, as I doo not doubt your grace will and doth; for else, if I knewe I were condempned in your grace's judgement, I wolde neither write nor speake, but paciently suffer, and lament my fortune.

I doo not doubt but your grace shall fynde that fewe about my lorde hath purchased lesse, usid lesse extremite, or any such thinges as myne evill willers wolde faynest lay to my charge, then I have; and I offer myself to be tried and ransaked to every coffer and booke I have, to see what they can fynde in me. They may see the money I boughte land with came not by briborye, and for that matier I offer me to alle the worlde for any peny I have taken dishonestly. I put two of my servauntes away, when I was in Mr. Cicilles office, for taking money, and selling dispatches of sutes, and my Lordes grace lettres, of whom also I shewid my L. grace. Seyng I did so to them, if I had ben giltye myself it is mervaile they wolde not accuse me, for I movid my L. grace to have had one of their eares nayled to the pillory. Th'other is in London every daie, and yet may accuse me, if he can. They be both on life at this day, and in most displeasure with me of eny man living, and for that cause onelie, and none other. But I am no vawnter of my doinges meself. Now I am constreyned to excuse, nor I have none other to whisper my tale for me, but I have ynough of whom I never deserved it, to invent and pike out of their nailes all that ever they can to deface me, and make me lesse hable to serve my Lordes grace; but pacience shall endure, and my true and loving hart shall [never] faile me to his grace, whiles I shall live. Nor their malice shall not make me thinke evill, or mistrust, or trust lesse of his goodnesse, whose nature me thinkes I shulde knowe, and therefore I love.

Other points of covetousness is two; th'one that my wief doth not goo so gorgeously as some wolde have her. If that be a fault, although she is litle, let her beare it. She hath all my money; I never debarrid her of peny, and I have often spoken to her, whie she doth not goo more court-like. I never reproved her for bestowing to mych of apparelle, or any thing that shulde advaunce her service, or be convenient for her estate. I myself I thinke shulde rather be noted to goo to sumptuously then otherwise, and therefor, as it is true, so men shulde judge that I shulde rather be content she sholde doo so.

Th'other is keaping of house. At Eaton, where I have one, whosoever cometh, whither I be there or not, shall knowe whither I kepe house or not. At London, wheare I can get no house, it is harde for me to kepe an house. I am sure I have made asmoche labour and paide aswell to have an house as any man in London, who soever is the other. And I thinke your grace doo not suppose that I am so madde, or that I love myself so litle, that now and then it wolde [not] be pleasure to me, when I mighte steale a leasure, to eate a morselle of meate, dressed after my phantasy, in myne owne house; or that I had not rather (if I might) lie somtyme at myne ease, then alwaies pent up in one chambre.^a Though other men have good fortunes to have chambres in the Savoy, other men wolde as gladly have had such romes there as they if they could have gote it. For me, it is twelve monthes agoo sith I bargayned with Mr. Sadler^b for CC markes for the lease of his house in the Chanon rowe; and, making alle the meanes I can, and alle the shifte and

^a *i.e.* his chamber at Court.

^b Sir Ralph Sadler, master of the wardrobe.

labour, it wilbe Michaelmas next save one before I shall come in it.^a What trouble it was to me, and how desirous I was, ynoughe can testifie. Not somiche as my litle house there, whiche I paide for twelve monethes agoo, I can get into, unlesse I wille fall at unkindness with Mr. Comp-troller.^b Carlile house, having another house one this side the water, wille serve me for some purpose;^c as it is now, unhandsom, and over the water, wille doo me no pleasure for diverse causes.

Lastly of alle, and which in deade greaveth me most, for it toucheth my love and deutie to God, to whom I owe alle thinges, is that, as I understond, for my judgement they make me a neutrall. A straunge thinge, if in tyme of persecution I was knowen what I was, now I shulde be doubted of! Yf when fewe durst professe, I not only did it myself, but defendid other that professid Christ, for fire, and bearing of fagotes, in the Busshoppe of Winchester's most ruffe, afore all Cambridge, and in a maner against all the doctours of Cambridge, and all the Justices of peax in the shire, and savid many, and so stille contynued, and now in my Lordes grace tyme^d I shulde shrinke.

Let eny man say whearin or how. It is not the furst time these tales hath bene brought to your grace. I remember Trahern^e at the first parliament, whom yet I never spake unto of it, for I had rather by dedes convince such men then by wordes.

Let them all say if any oone of them in dede hathe done more then I, or with reason gone further; but all these hotlinges, when they come where daungier is, they shrinke; when none is, they can come to kneale upon your grace's carpettes, and devise common welthes as they like, and are angry that other men be not so hastie to runne streighte as their braynes croweth.

For my part, first I regarde my dutie to God, who is judge to my conscience; and secondly to the Kinges Ma^{te} and my Lordes grace, whom I reconne at this tyme as it were all one, to have regarde to their honour and saufetie. That doone, there is no man will goo farther then I, that to conserve my conscience I meane, the honour of the Kinges Ma^{te} and my Lordes grace I will staie, what haste soever the hotte spurres maketh, that knoweth not what the matier meaneth.

And yet my staie is nothing but as of one man, who can be content to take it, as it is accepted. But I marvelle whie they steppe not further then I doo then in alle those matiers, or whearin I

^a Strype states that Smith lived in this house in the reign of Elizabeth, and that this was the house where the commissioners met in the first year of that queen, to consult for the reformation of religion, and preparing the Book of Common Prayer. But Strype has overlooked the fact that Smith's "little house" in the same locality, which was let to Mr. Comptroller, was a different tenement to that which he bought of Sir Ralph Sadler. Strype has confused the two, and, as already noticed, has mis-stated the sum for which the little house was let.—Oxford edition, 1820, p. 31.

^b Sir William Paget.

^c The meaning of this passage, put into other words, is,—Carlisle House, were it once removed to this side of the river, might be of some use to me: as it is, inconvenient, and on the Surrey side, it is on many accounts unavailable.

^d *i.e.* the protectorate of the Duke of Somerset.

^e Bartholomew Traheron, mentioned in a former page as the duke of Suffolk's preceptor. He was made dean of Chichester 1551, though a layman like Smith. See *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, i. 180.

am founde colde in that that perteigneth to Goddes honour, if any reasonable man be founde in the same hote.

What I have doone I have witnesses ynoughe. I did it not by whisperinges in eares; but in the universite before alle the lerned men, in the consesse before alle the Bushoppes, in the parliament before alle the Lordes and commons.

And yet now they wille make me a neutralle, which I never yet was, sith I was borne; nor, in somme, of other opinion of religion then I am now. The which I take only the gifte of God. Nor I never knewe of my kynne by my father's side either neutralles or papistes, but all enclyned to the truthe, and Gospell, both olde and yonge, in the first and before libertie given, and so knowen and noted. Yf I shulde degenerate now, or knowe it not, it were to me straunge. To be wrongfully blamed it must nedes greve me. But, having confidence in the goodnes of your grace, whom I knowe right welles and cannot doubt of, I am thus bolde as to write, for whom I serve with alle my hart, power, and mynde, and whom, next God, and my Prince, with my Lordes grace as I am bounde, I most love and honour. I cannot but desire to have a good estimacion of me, whereby I shulde be most animated, and as were put in comfort and harte, which knowen, alle labours whatsoever I shalle take shalle appear but light. As contrary, if I knowe it to be otherwise, my harte yet and love shalle not faile, as dewty byndeth, but dismay shall make heavy that welles accepting wolde make light.

And for any thing of the thinges before rehersed, or any other that can be objected unto me, I most humbly doo require but to aunswer unto them; and for one of my most lowlie requestes I make this, that it wolde please your grace to heare the informer and me toginther, and your grace so to be judge. I doo not doubt, but, the truthe appering, I shall finde your grace my good Ladie and Mistres, and me mych quieted of that wherewith I have bene long greaved.

Indorsed in the hand of Cecill,

Sr Tho. Smyth to
ye Duch. of Som^rsett :

to which Strype has added,

By way of Apology and justification
of himself against slaunders reported
of him to her Grace. Wrot about ye
year 1550.