whether the church at the present day is in such a case it is not my business to inquire; that must be left to politicians to determine.' It was the antagonism of a Wadford, and possibly of other adversaries as well, that first compelled him to bring the questions of ecclesiastical politics to the forefront.

How frequently mistakes are made, even at the present day, with regard to such questions concerning Wyclif, Lorimer himself has given a proof, when in a note he rejects Lechler's view that Wyclif's judgment respecting the oath of the papal collector Garnier was written in 1372; this judgment also belongs to the time of Richard II., as we learn from the words *regi nostro, licet in aetate iuvenili florenti*.

Wyclif was sent to Bruges in 1374, not as a man of the sword, but as a man of peace; in this capacity he could not have appeared there had he already in that year, let alone in 1365, taken the position on which he stood in 1377 and 1378.

An objection to my view has been urged by my esteemed collaborator Mr. F. D. Matthew, who asks, 'How was it possible that Wyclif in the short space of about eight years should have written such a multitude of books?' To this it must be said: how quickly Wyclif worked is seen from the rapidity with which both the voluminous second and third books of 'De Civili Dominio' were written; secondly, many of his works were put together out of various parts, some of which might have been composed at very different times, as, for example, the book 'On the Church;' again, others contain, like the 'Opus Evangelicum,' simply commentaries. On the other hand it may well be asked: if Wyclif had already written that vehement treatise (printed by Lewis) in 1366 or 1367, how was it possible that the hierarchy on the one hand, the king on the other, should leave him for nearly another ten years almost without notice? Would the intervention of the curia in that case have actually followed only in 1377, and not at a considerably earlier date? and would not the king have given to Wyclif in 1374 the place which John Mardisley held?

J. LOSERTH.

JOHN AUBREY'S BIOGRAPHICAL COLLECTIONS.

At the suggestion of Anthony Wood, who was at the time collecting materials for the 'Athenae Oxonienses,' John Aubrey, in the years 1680 and 1681, jotted down what he calls 'brief lives' of certain men and women he had met or heard about. Among these were several mathematicians, and in 1690 he added to his collections several notices of mathematical writers of an earlier date, intending to bring them out separately under the title of 'An Apparatus

towards the Lives of the English Mathematicians.' These gossip biographies are found chiefly in four manuscripts in the Bodleian (MSS. Aubrey 6-9, of which MS. Aubrey 7 was sadly mutilated by Wood).

When the Rev. John Walker and Philip Bliss printed 'Letters written by Eminent Persons in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries' (London, 1818), they added as an appendix (vol. ii. part ii. pp. 197-637) 'Lives of Eminent Men,' by John Aubrey.

This appendix undoubtedly contains the most characteristic and interesting parts of Aubrey's collections, but it cannot be looked upon as other than a most unsatisfactory piece of work. It omits many lives entirely; it leaves out, often quite arbitrarily and sometimes without the apology of asterisks, passages from the lives it gives; and its misreadings are neither few nor slight.

I have collated the printed text with Aubrey's manuscripts, and give here some specimens of the defects of this edition.

I. *Misreadings.*—Aubrey's handwriting is somewhat cramped,¹ but by no means exceptionally difficult. Only great carelessness can account for the frequency with which the printed text perverts the author's sense.

Most frequently when Aubrey uses an interesting old-fashioned word, or a characteristic spelling, the printed text substitutes a misreading.

P. 198, Aubrey says, 'I have impd some feathers of the wings of time,' using a term of that sport of falconry which he had followed in his youth. The printed text gives 'wiped . . . off.'

P. 289, Aubrey uses the word 'an astergance,' i.e. abstergence, for the loss of a friend. The printed text gives 'an after game,' thus depriving Dr. Murray of a word for the 'New English Dictionary.'

P. 558, Aubrey speaks of manuscripts in Hereford Cathedral Library, lying 'uncouth and unkiss;' 'untoucht and useless' is printed.

P. 371, Aubrey describes the discourses at the Rota club as being 'banded,' i.e. bandied, 'with great eagernesse.' This appears as 'larded.'

These misreadings in many places entirely alter Aubrey's statements.

P. 201, the printed text says Sir Robert Aiton was 'eldest son to Sir John Aiton,' where Aubrey wrote 'brother.'

P. 228, Francis Bacon's 'daughter married her gentleman-usher, where Aubrey has 'dowager.'

P. 264, Spain is represented as exchanging her 'gospel' for the 'wines' of Mexico; but Aubrey gives 'mines.'

P. 471, Aubrey's 'my coz. Boothby' becomes 'Col. Boothby.'

¹ A facsimile of it is given as plate II. in vol. iv. of Wood's *Life and Times* (Oxf. Hist. Soc., 1895).

II. *Omissions in the Lives printed.*—In several places the omission of passages is indicated by asterisks. Some of these represent excisions of anecdotes more or less coarse. But the editors are very inconsistent in this respect, letting things nasty enough stand at times, and at other times exceeding in severity. In mentioning the jocular affiliation of Sir William Davenant to Shakespeare (p. 308) it was quite needless to asterisk these passages:² 'I have heard parson Robert³ say that Mr. W. Shakespeare haz given him a hundred kisses;' 'He⁴ would tell them the story as above,⁵ in which way his mother had a very light report.' In the life of George Monk (p. 452) the same primness has cut out Aubrey's account of the old ballad of

The five women-barbers
That lived in Drury Lane,

and its origin. Nor should the dark charge which Aubrey brings against Lord Chancellor Bacon (p. 226) have been mutilated: 'He was a *παιδεραστής*. His Ganimeds and favourites tooke bribes.' History takes note of like charges, true or false, against the king; why need she blink at them when brought against the minister?

In other cases the terrible asterisks cut out utterly inoffensive remarks. The asterisks sometimes, in fact, occupy almost as much space as the words themselves would. A reference to 'severall little bookes' of Henry Isaacson (p. 411) is followed by three asterisks; but all that is omitted is 'quaere of the minister's wife (his niece) their titles,' a trivial remark, but having this value, that it shows Aubrey had access to personal information about Isaacson.

But these asterisks by no means indicate the real facts as to omissions. Numerous phrases, sentences, and paragraphs, some of them very characteristic of the person or subject alluded to, are omitted without mark or comment. In the life of Chillingworth (p. 286), after mentioning Arundel Castle, the printed text ignores what Aubrey adds in his manuscript—'wherin he was much blamed by the king's soldiers for his advice in military affaires, and they curst *that little priest*, and imputed the losse of the castle to his advice.'

In the list of members of Harrington's Rota Club (p. 372) Aubrey had included 'Sir John Hoskins,' 'J. Arderne,' and 'Thomas Mariet, esq.,' but struck them out, adding a note on an inserted slip, 'Sir J. Hoskyns and deane Arderne, etc., would not like their names seen.' This is a poor excuse for the editor's silently expunging them.

In the life of Hobbes, in mentioning Hobbes's visit in 1634 to Malmesbury (p. 604), Aubrey says, 'His conversation about those

² Aubrey has erased them, but they are legible beneath the erasure.

³ Robert Davenant, elder brother of William.

⁴ Sir William Davenant.

⁵ That he was Shakespeare's son.

times was much about Ben Jonson, Mr. Ayton, etc.'—omitted in the printed text, with several other passages of the same kind.

In the life of Raleigh, among other passages omitted, are two which set off in a lively manner the family boorishness and violence of temper:—

My cosen Whitney⁶ was coetanean with this Walter Raleigh⁷ at Oxon: I have now forgot of what house he [Raleigh] was, but I remember he [Whitney] told me that he was a handsome lusty stout fellow, very bold, and apt to affront. Spake Latin very fluently, and was a notable disputant and courser, and would never be out of countenance nor baffled. Fight lustily; and, one time of coursing, putt a turd in the box, and besmeared it about his antagonist's face.

My old friend, James Harrington, esq., 'Oceana,' was well acquainted with Sir Benjamin Ruddyer, who was an acquaintance of Sir Walter Raleigh's. He told Mr. J. H. that Sir Walter Raleigh being invited to dinner to some great person where his son was to goe with him, he sayd to his son 'Thou art expected to day at dinner to goe along with me, but thou art such a quarrelsome, affronting . . . ,⁸ that I am ashamed to have such a peare⁹ in my company.' Mr. Walter humbled himself to his father, and promised he would behave himself mightly mannerly. So away they went (and Sir Benjamin, I think, with them). He sate next to his father, and was very demure at least halfe dinner time. Then sayd he¹⁰. . . . Sir Walter being strangely surprized and putt out of his countenance at so great a table, gives his son a damned blow over the face. His son, as rude as he was, would not strike his father, but strikes over the face the gentleman that sate next to him and sayd 'Box about; 'twill come to my father anon.' 'Tis now a common-used proverb.

In the life of Ben Jonson these anecdotes are omitted (MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 15).

Ben Jonson had 50 *li.* per annum for . . . yeares together to keepe off Sir W. Wiseman of Essex from being sheriff. At last king James prickt him, and Ben came to his majestie and told him he had 'prickt him to the heart,' and then explayned him selfe (*innuendo* Sir W. W. being prickt sheriff) and got him struck off. . . . When B. J. was dyeing, king Charles sent him but X *li.*

In the same life (p. 413), 'old parson . . . Hill' is erroneously marked as the authority for Jonson's residence at Cambridge, whereas Aubrey cites him as saying that Jonson had worked as a bricklayer on Lincoln's Inn garden wall.

III. *Omissions of Entire Lives.*—The preface says that 'a few

⁶ James Whitney, who matriculated at St. Mary Hall, 19 April 1611, but took his degrees from Brasenose.

⁷ Walter (eldest son of Sir Walter) matriculated at Corpus in 1607. The disputations which bore the name of 'coursing' excited great rivalries between individuals and colleges, often leading to blows: see Wood's *Life and Times*, ii. 75.

⁸ Blank in manuscript, Aubrey apparently having forgotten the epithet said to have been used. ⁹ ? 'To have such appear.'

¹⁰ He narrates as having happened to his father and himself that day a variant on the old story of *Lais* rejecting the suitor.

short lives, containing nothing of importance,' have been omitted. As a matter of fact the printed text gives 130 lives, but Aubrey's manuscripts contain at least 140 other lives,¹¹ many of them short, but a good number of them of substantial length and not yielding in interest to those printed.

I give here a list of these biographies or notices, short or long alike, with the manuscript references.

Francis Anthony, chemist, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 21 v.

John Aubrey,¹² an autobiography, MS. Aubrey 7, fol. 8, and MS Aubr. 26, pp. 9, 10.

Isaac Barrow, D.D., MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 99, and MS. Aubr. 6, fol. 51.

'Old Mr. Beeston,' MS. Aubr. 7, fol. 6, and MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 45 v. Of him Aubrey notes that Dryden termed him 'the Chronicle of the Stage.' He is cited in several places by Aubrey as a source of information about players and playwrights, e.g. about Ben Jonson. See also *infra*, under Shakespeare.

Richard Benese, mathematician, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 71.

Mistress Berkeley, MS. Aubr. 7, fol. 6.

Henry Billingsley, mathematician, MS. Aubr. 6, fol. 95 v.; MS. Aubr. 7, fol. 9; MS. Aubr. 8, ff. 18, 76, 89 v., 90.

Sir Thomas Billingsley, MS. Aubr. 6, fol. 67 v.

Edward Brerewood, MS. Aubr. 6, fol. 98 v.

Henry Briggs, MS. Aubr. 6, ff. 47 v.-49.

Thomas Brightman, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 49.

Christopher Brookes, MS. Aubr. 7, fol. 8 v.

Elizabeth Broughton, MS. Aubr. 6, fol. 101 v.

Robert Burton ('Melancholy'), MS. Aubr. 23, fol. 29.

Thomas Bushell, MS. Aubr. 6, fol. 97 v. The notice in the printed text is from MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 12 v.

— Canning of Bristol,¹³ MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 65.

Ludwig van Ceulen, MS. Aubr. 6, fol. 5.

Thomas Charnock, alchemist, MS. Aubr. 8, ff. 9 v., 58 v.

George Clifford, third earl of Cumberland, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 28; MS. Rawl. D. 727, fol. 96 v.

Lord Chief Justice Coke, MS. Aubr. 6, fol. 28.

Jean Baptist Colbert, MS. Aubr. 6, fol. 5.

John Colet, dean of St. Paul's, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 60 v.

Henry Coley, astrologer, MS. Aubr. 6, fol. 86.

Samuel Cowper, painter, MS. Aubr. 6, fol. 2.

Henry Danvers, earl of Danby, and his mother, Elizabeth Nevill, MS. Aubr. 8, ff. 25, 25 v., and MS. Aubr. 8, ff. 44 v., 46.

¹¹ Anthony Wood has rifled several of them for his *Athenae*, incorporating, e.g., in his own work Aubrey's life of Penn.

¹² Printed in Britton's *Memoirs of Aubrey*, Lond. 1845, but with several misreadings. Aubrey, in mentioning his going to school to the Rev. Robert Latimer, notes in the margin, 'delicate little horse'—i.e. he did not walk to school, but rode a nice pony, like the 'young gent.' he was, a fact which he mentions also in MS. Aubr. 9, fol. 31, in the life of Hobbes. Britton has misread the note and taken it to be a description of the schoolmaster as a 'delicate little person.'

¹³ Aubrey visited relatives in Bristol as a boy and was keenly interested in its antiquities.

- Sir John Danvers, the regicide, and his father, MS. Aubr. 8, ff. 18 v., 25 v.
- The family of Danvers-Villiers, MS. Aubr. 21, ff. 97, 97 v.
- Michael Dary, mathematician, MS. Aubr. 6, fol. 1 v.
- Edward Davenant, merchant, MS. Aubr. 26, p. 16; MS. Aubr. 6, ff. 43, 45.
- Captain John Davis, MS. Aubr. 7, fol. 18 v.
- Robert Devereux, first earl of Essex, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 3.
- Sir Everard Digby, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 10.
- Leonard Digges and Thomas Digges, mathematicians, MS. Aubr. 8, ff. 73, 75 v.
- Sir Erasmus Dryden, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 102.
- John Dryden, MS. Aubr. 23, ff. 87, 121.
- Sir William Dugdale, MS. Aubr. 7, fol. 8 v.
- John Evelyn, MS. Aubr. 23, fol. 94; MS. Aubr. 26, fol. 14.
- Thomas Flatman, MS. Aubr. 7, fol. 8 v.
- Thomas Gale, MS. Aubr. 6, fol. 3.
- Adrian Gilbert, MS. Aubr. 6, ff. 74 v., 79 v.
- Alexander Gill, father and son, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 28 v.
- John Glanville, of Bath, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 9 v; MS. Aubr. 6, fol. 2.
- Sir Arthur Gorges, MS. Aubr. 7, fol. 16 v.
- John Gower, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 58 v.
- Captain (or Major) John Graunt, MS. Aubr. 6, fol. 97.
- Bishop Gunning of Ely, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 14 v.
- Edmund Gunter, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 78 v.
- Alderman Guy of Bristol, MS. Aubr. 6, fol. 2.
- William Habington, MS. Aubr. 7, fol. 7.
- Sir Matthew Hale, MS. Aubr. 23, ff. 8, 20 v.
- Sir Robert Harley, MS. Aubr. 23, fol. 72.
- John Hawles, MS. Aubr. 7, fol. 9.
- William Herbert, third earl of Pembroke, MS. Aubr. 6, fol. 81; MS. Aubr. 21, fol. 106 v.; MS. Aubr. 23, fol. 55 v.
- Mary, countess of Henry, second earl of Pembroke, MS. Aubr. 6, fol. 81. Aubrey has attached to 'Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother,' a vile fabliau which I have heard farm servants in Scotland narrate of Mary queen of Scots.
- John Heydon, alchemist, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 4 v.
- John Hoskyns, serjeant-at-law, MS. Rawl. D. 727, fol. 98.
- Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon, MS. Aubr. 6, fol. 2.
- Ingelbert, first projector of the 'New River' scheme, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 42 v.
- Sir Leoline Jenkins, MS. Aubr. 6, fol. 25.
- Richard Knollys, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 12.
- John Lacy, the player, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 20 v.
- Sir Henry Lee of Ditchley, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 91 v.
- William Lilly, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 86; MS. Aubr. 6, fol. 45 v.; MS. Aubr. 23, fol. 122.
- Franciscus Linus, MS. Aubr. 6, fol. 49 v. The life in the printed text is from MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 83.
- Sir Matthew Lister, MS. Aubr. 7, fol. 9 v.

- Richard Lovelace, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 9.
 Cyprian Lucar, MS. Aubr. 8, ff. 77, 84.
 Sir John Mandeville, MS. Aubr. 3, fol. 217.
 — Markham ('Husbandry'), MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 102 v.
 Richard Martin, recorder of London, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 18; MS. Rawl. D. 727, fol. 96.
 Thomas May, poet, MS. Aubr. 8, ff. 27, 42 v.
 Thomas Merry, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 82.
 Sir Hugh Middleton, MS. Aubr. 8, ff. 42 v., 43; MS. Aubr. 6, fol. 60 v.
 Sir Robert Moray, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 53.
 Cardinal Morton, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 18 v.
 Thomas Moult, naturalist, MS. Aubr. 6, fol. 83 v.; MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 9.
 — Munday, MS. Aubr. 21, fol. 77.
 Robert Murray (the penny post), MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 28.
 Archbishop Neile, MS. Aubr. 7, fol. 6.
 Roger North, seaman, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 92 v. This life contains an attack on Sir Walter Raleigh.
 Richard Norwood, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 79 v.
 William Noy, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 26.
 William Outram, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 51.
 John Overall, dean of St. Paul's, and his wife, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 93.
 Sir Thomas Overbury, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 90 v.
 John Partridge, astrologer, MS. Aubr. 6, fol. 98.
 James Peele, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 72.
 John Pell, D.D., MS. Aubr. 6, fol. 52; MS. Aubr. 23, fol. 20.
 William Penn, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 34.
 Katherine Philips ('Orinda'), MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 38.
 Thomas Pigot, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 97 v.; MS. Aubr. 23, fol. 92 v.
 Sir William Platers, M.P., MS. Aubr. 7, fol. 15; MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 16.
 Sir Thomas Pope, MS. Aubr. 26, fol. 23.
 Samuel Pordage, MS. Aubr. 7, fol. 9 v.
 Vavasor Powell, MS. Aubr. 8, ff. 11, 91 v.
 Francis Quarles, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 15 v.
 Thomas Randolph, MS. Aubr. 6, fol. 114.
 Robert Record, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 71 v.; MS. Aubr. 7, fol. 8 v.
 John David Rees, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 11.
 George Ripley, alchemist, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 10 v.
 Robartes family (earl of Radnor), MS. Aubr. 6, fol. 55 v.
 — Robson, glass-blower, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 42 v.
 Laurence Rooke, MS. Aubr. 6, ff. 6 v., 117.
 John Rushworth, MS. Aubr. 21, fol. 78.
 Sackville, earls of Dorset, MS. Aubr. 6, fol. 100 v., 102 v.; MS. Aubr. 7, fol. 9 v.; MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 20 v.
 William Saunderson, historian, MS. Aubr. 8, ff. 9, 50.
 John Securis, MS. Aubr. 6, fol. 83 v.
 William Shakespeare. Besides the notice of Shakespeare (pp. 537-9 in the printed text) in MS. Aubr. 6, fol. 109, he is mentioned also in MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 45 v.
 'W. Shakespeare—quaere Mr. Beeston, who knowes most of him from

Mr. Lacy. He lives at Shoreditch at Hoglane within 6 dores north Folgate. Quære etiam pro Ben Jonson.' Just above 'W. Shakespeare' are the words, 'The more to be admired (quaere) because he was not a company-keeper, lived in Shoreditch: would not be debauched, and if invited to Court he was in paine.' There is nothing in the manuscript to show whether Aubrey wrote this jotting for John Ogilby, the name preceding it, or Shakespeare, the name under it, or for Beeston, the name occurring in the body of the note underneath.

John Sherburne, MS. Aubr. 23, fol. 73 v.

James Shirley, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 9.

Thomas Shirley, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 91.

— Spiedell, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 85.

William Stafford, MS. Aubr. 7, fol. 5 v.

Alderman Richard Staper, MS. Aubr. 6, fol. 84 v.

Thomas Stapleton, MS. Aubr. 6, fol. 88 v.

John Stowe, MS. Aubr. 6, fol. 91; MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 1 v.

Thomas Street, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 88.

Thomas Sutton (Charterhouse), MS. Aubr. 9, fol. 59 v.

John Taylor, the water poet, MS. Aubr. 6, fol. 114 v.

Herbert Thorndike, MS. Aubr. 6, fol. 50 v.

Nathaniel Torporley, MS. Aubr. 7, fol. 8 v.; MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 91.

Thomas Triplett, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 51 v.

— Twisse, D.D., MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 59 v.

William de Visscher, MS. Aubr. 7, fol. 14.

Isaac and Joh. Ger. Vossius, MS. Aubr. 7, fol. 8, and MS. Aubr. 6, fol. 5.

Sir Isaac Wake, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 98.

Clement Walker, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 11.

Lucy Walters, MS. Aubr. 6. I have lost the reference to the folio; but the note is a very brief one, and may be given here in full: 'Memorandum:—Mr. Freeman (who married the lady Lake) has the duke of Monmouth's mother's (Miss Lucy¹⁴ Walters, who could deny nobody) picture, very like her, at Stanmore, neer Harrow-on-the-Hill.'

John Wells, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 81 v.

John Whitson, alderman of Bristol, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 104.

John Wilmot, earl of Rochester, MS. Aubr. 6, fol. 55 v.

Theophilus Wodenoth, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 10 v.; MS. Aubr. 2S, fol. 75 v.

Sir Christopher Wren, MS. Aubr. 23, fol. 53; MS. Aubr. 6, fol. 28 v.; MS. Aubr. 7, fol. 8 v.; MS. Aubr. 21, fol. 69—all slight jottings.

Edward Wright, MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 82 v. The notice in the printed text is from MS. Aubr. 8, fol. 60 r.

ANDREW CLARK.

¹⁴ 'Lucy' substituted for 'Betty.'