

Charles I's Noble Academy

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The *Musaeum Minervae*, established by Sir Francis Kynaston in Covent Garden in 1635, has long intrigued historians of education and the “new learning” in England as an example of a noble academy which failed.¹ It set out to emulate the French noble academies of the day by providing an education in the “noble and generous qualities and exercises” of “riding, fencinge, dancing and painting”,² but at the same time offered a programme of intellectual pursuits (in mathematics, astronomy, physic, languages and heraldry) which went well beyond the scope of most such foundations. It flourished briefly in 1635 and the early part of 1636, with the enthusiastic support of the king, but then collapsed at the onset of plague in London in June 1636 and never recovered. Relatively little is known about the *Musaeum* and most of the discussion about it has relied on Kynaston's account of its *Constitutions* published in 1636.³ However, the discovery of a manifesto, in the form of a letter to Lord Keeper Coventry setting out the rationale for the academy, offers important insights into its aims and the circumstances in which it was established. It is now possible to locate the whole enterprise more clearly in the context of earlier academies in England and their continental counterparts. This is one of the aims of this article.

The other is to set the *Musaeum* within the context of Charles I's campaign to enhance the position of the English nobility and prepare them to take their place in the service of the crown. Charles's policy towards his nobles was shaped by a combination of his awareness of the importance of restoring their “ancient lustre” and his need for their political support amidst the turbulence of the early years of his reign. There was a widespread perception during the 1620s that the aristocracy were in a state of decline, as their prestige was eroded by the sale of honours and they were being displaced from their traditional role as the king's “natural counsellors” by the royal favourite, Buckingham. At the same time, in the face of widespread opposition from the House of Commons and those who refused the forced loan, Charles recognised that the crown needed their support more than ever. The watershed in his relationship with his nobles came in 1629. With Buckingham out of the way, the king was able to join forces with the Earl Marshal, the earl of Arundel, to push forward a programme to restore the status of the aristocracy by putting an end to the sale of honours, countering challenges to their prestige and reviving the values associated with “ancient nobility”. At the close of the 1629 Parliament, he proposed what was in effect a political compact, whereby he pledged himself before the House of Lords to offer “favour and protection” in return for loyalty and support. Thereafter, during the Personal Rule, he went out of his way to cultivate the peerage as partners in government, standing alongside the Laudian bishops as the twin pillars on which rested his rule of the kingdom. He drew them to court with the incentives of privileged access to his privy chamber, opportunities to participate in royal

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ceremonial and the prospect of securing his personal approval. At the same time, he pursued the sometimes contradictory policy of encouraging them to reside in their localities where they were expected to fulfil the traditional duties of providing hospitality and overseeing the execution of royal commands.⁴ It is in the context of this programme that the *Musaeum Minervae* should be assessed.

The manifesto has come to light among the papers of the fourth earl of Bedford at Woburn Abbey. It takes the form of a quarto paper book of 32 pages, written in neat, scribal hand, with occasional underlining and marginal annotations by Bedford.⁵ It is part of the earl's large collection of manuscripts and separates relating to contemporary news, parliamentary proceedings, state trials, sermons, foreign expeditions and projects.⁶ Bedford's interest in the academy may have derived from the fact that, at the time, he too was engaged in building projects in Covent Garden, but it also reflected his more general preoccupation with his status as a nobleman.⁷

The manifesto was addressed to Lord Coventry, who was one of the Privy Council referees charged by the king with investigating the viability of the academy after Kynaston and his backers had petitioned Charles for its establishment, probably while he was returning from Scotland in June 1633. It was most likely drawn up in late 1633 or early 1634, at the same time as another petition from Kynaston to the king asking that he take steps to push forward the business after it had stalled with the referees;⁸ and it was part of a lobbying campaign directed at the Lord Keeper – in whom Kynaston was said in 1635 to have “a great interest” – and the other leading peers and councillors who were acting as referees.⁹ From the start, it was clear that Charles was strongly supportive of the project, and this, and the resultant encouragement from “sundry honourable and worthy personages” had already led Kynaston to take the step of leasing a suitable property in Covent Garden, and recruiting “professors of fencing, dancing and mathematics” to act as instructors.¹⁰ His confidence was well founded. At some point during 1634, the council referees approved the project and by early 1635 the academy was up and running. On 26 June 1635, the king gave it his formal blessing with a grant under the great seal approving its constitution and naming Sir Francis as regent together with six professors. Later on in the year, he made a donation of £100 in support of it.¹¹

During 1635 and the early part of 1636, the academy was flourishing. Although it has not been possible to identify any of the young gentlemen and aristocrats who passed through its doors, it is apparent from various scraps of evidence that recruitment was healthy from the outset.¹² It received a royal visitation on 27 February 1636, when the young princes, Charles and James, attended a masque performed by the “young schollers” entitled the *Corona Minervae* which celebrated the fruits of the goddess of wisdom. According to Kynaston, numerous “worthy and bountifullie disposed persons” had flocked to follow the king's example and promise contributions to the upkeep of the college, and the demand for places was such that by mid-1636 he was looking to move into larger accommodation. But then suddenly, in June 1636, London was hit by plague, the college was forced to shut down, the pupils and professors were dispersed and the whole enterprise rapidly collapsed. The plague finally relented in late 1637, but the parlous financial position of both the academy and Kynaston himself, and the failure of those who had previously promised contributions to pay up, appear to have left it without sufficient resources to start up again. By 1639 Samuel Hartlib, a subscriber to the college in the heady days of 1635, was talking about it in the past tense and citing the verdict of his friend, Sir William Boswell, that Kynaston “proposed impossible and impracticable things. A project with too many windings and too much ostentation.”¹³

As Boswell's verdict implied, Kynaston's scheme was highly ambitious. The manifesto shows that initially it sought to emulate the noble academies in France which since the 1590s had been providing an important part of the education of young Englishmen travelling abroad. But it also drew on a legacy of other projects for noble academies in London which stretched back to the start of Elizabeth's reign and during the 1630s were being influenced by Baconian schemes for the advancement of learning promoted by Hartlib and his collaborators. The different influences at work in the development of the *Musaeum* are worth exploring because they produced an academy which was very different from its French counterparts and the scheme originally envisaged in the manifesto.

The French academies of the day were largely directed towards educating the offspring of the old nobility for a career at court or in the army. They modelled themselves on the Hôtel de Pluvinel in Paris, set up in 1594 by Antoine de Pluvinel primarily to provide instruction in Italian-style horsemanship. The emphasis was on learning the physical skills of riding, dancing and fencing, but intellectual pursuits were not entirely neglected and they also offered instruction in languages, ancient and modern, music and painting, and those branches of geometry and arithmetic which were of use for designing fortifications. The overriding aim was to cultivate a "natural grace" and "civility" which would set the nobles apart from their social inferiors and enable them to move in the polite and courtly circles which were seen as their natural milieu.¹⁴ By contrast, the early academy projects in England grew, primarily, out of humanist concern that the native nobility were neglecting to educate themselves for their rightful role as servants of the state because of their addiction to hunting and other physical pursuits.

The first such schemes that we know about were drawn up in the 1560s by Sir Nicholas Bacon and Sir Humphrey Gilbert. Their intention was to educate royal wards to become councillors, ambassadors, leaders in war and governors of the local community. Lord Burghley, Master of the Wards, was an enthusiastic proponent of the benefits of a humanist education and the programmes proposed to him reflected this. The core of the curriculum set out by Bacon consisted of the study of classical and foreign languages, music and common law, and Gilbert's far more ambitious programme envisaged coverage of university subjects like logic, rhetoric and divinity, alongside four modern languages (French, Italian, Spanish and High Dutch), history, natural philosophy, law, astronomy, mathematics and medicine.¹⁵ Physical pursuits were not to be neglected. The older boys under Bacon's scheme would spend each Tuesday and Saturday learning how to ride and handle weapons and Gilbert's instructors would have included a riding master and a master of defence. However, the main stress was on intellectual pursuits with practical outcomes. The logic and rhetoric tutor in Gilbert's programme was to get his pupils to practice by delivering orations not in Latin or Greek (as at the universities), but "in the vulgar speach, as in preaching, in parliament, in counsell, in comyssion and other offices of the common weale." Law was to be taught with a view to learning how to discharge "the office of a justice of peace and sheriffe, not meddling with plees or cunning pointes of the law."¹⁶ These proposals chimed in perfectly with the priorities of the early Elizabethan state, epitomised in various other schemes sponsored by Burghley.¹⁷ But the Master of the Wards lacked the resources and royal backing to get a noble academy off the ground, although, reportedly, he went on trying to do so right up to his death in 1598.¹⁸ By this date, however, young members of the aristocracy and the upper gentry were beginning to travel abroad in significant numbers to seek an academy education French-style. The next significant initiative of this type in England was to be much closer to the establishments of Pluvinel and his imitators.

This was the academy set up at Nonsuch by Prince Henry in the early years of James's reign. We know relatively little about this. John Cleland in his *Institution of a Young Noble Man* refers to it as already in existence in 1607 and commends it to his readers as a place "where young nobles may learne the first elements to be a privie counsellor, a generall of an armie, to rule in peace and to commande in warre". A proposal put to Buckingham after the prince's death, recommending the continuation of the scheme, suggests that it was inspired, in part, by the desire to free the sons of noblemen and gentlemen from the expense and moral hazard of travelling abroad to finish their education.¹⁹ But our knowledge of what was taught there is limited. A letter to Prince Henry's tutor, Adam Newton, in 1610 suggests that he was seeking guidance on the daily regime at Pluvinel's academy, and the proposal to Buckingham implied that there was provision for mathematics and language teaching; however, the main emphasis appears to have been on equestrian skills. The members of the academy used horses from Henry's own stable and received tuition from Monsieur de St Antoine, the French riding instructor who had been sent over as a present from Henry IV to train the two young English princes.²⁰ Henry's academy collapsed with his death in November 1612, but it left an important legacy as the first, royal sponsored, academy to actually get off the ground in England.

At Henry's death Prince Charles was only 12 years old, but there were already signs that he was doing his best to emulate his glamorous elder brother. This emerged most clearly in his efforts to associate himself with the revival of the chivalric traditions of old fashioned knighthood with which Henry had been identified. From the moment of his installation as a Knight of the Garter in April 1611, he became absorbed in the rites and ceremonies of the order, punctiliously attending the annual garter feast and taking on the role of lieutenant to the sovereign in James's absence. He also established an early reputation for his skill in riding. Under the tutelage of M. de St Antoine, he earned plaudits for his success in the knightly exercise of "running at the ring"; and in March 1620, at the accession day tilt, he led the procession dressed in full armour then jousted with the offspring of the aristocracy.²¹ This early introduction to the education and values of the old aristocracy encouraged Charles to take an interest in projects for a noble academy.

Initially, however, it was George Villiers, Marquis of Buckingham, who picked up the scheme and attempted to make something of it. As the new royal favourite, he was keen to establish his credentials as a serious patron of worthy projects and was, perhaps, mindful of the enthusiasms of the young Prince Charles. In the late 1610s, he was the recipient of the anonymous proposal to revive Prince Henry's academy, and he also sponsored the antiquarian and historian Edmund Bolton when he petitioned James for the establishment of a "college, societie or Academ Royal".²² But his most important intervention was in March 1621 when he introduced a proposal to the House of Lords for the "erection and maintenance of an Academy for breeding and bringing up of the nobility and gentry of this kingdom". This was received enthusiastically by their lordships, including Charles as Prince of Wales. They immediately began to discuss "the place where such an academie shall be seated and erected", "what qualities, arts, sciences and exercises shall be there taught and practised", who should attend and how the academy should be maintained.²³ The following year, James adopted the scheme and, in a signet letter of June 1622, entrusted the responsibility for bringing it to fruition to Charles.²⁴

The scheme that James approved, however, was much more elaborate than the academy for young nobles apparently envisaged by Buckingham, and this largely explains why it never materialised. The king had been persuaded by Bolton to support a project which was not only directed at "bettering the breeding of the youth of our dominions", but also intended "to encourage divers men of arts for the honour and profite of us and our

kingdoms.²⁵ Bolton's aim was to attach to the basic educational academy a society of scholars and antiquarians dedicated to recording the virtuous and heroic deeds of contemporary Englishmen. In the first version, set before the king in about 1618, this was presented as a revival of something akin to the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries which had collapsed during James's reign, much to the regret of Bolton and his antiquarian colleagues.²⁶ By 1620, he had produced a second version which took the form of a new order within the Order of the Garter, to be based at Windsor Castle (which Bolton envisaged as "an English Olympus") and dedicated to chronicling and discussing deeds "of heroick virtue". It was apparently to this version that James gave his blessing in 1622.²⁷ Despite the failure of this particular project, Bolton went on trying and in August 1624 secured the king's blessing for a third variant, to be called "King James his Academe, Society Heroicke or College of Honour". In this version, the academy was to be divided into "inferiors and superiors" (or in another version "tutelaries", "auxiliaries" and "essentials") with the former consisting of the king, the knights of the garter and leading nobles and the latter "the most able and most famous" gentleman scholars and antiquarians of the day, charged with perpetuating the memory of the king and his leading noble companions by compiling an "authentic" history of their deeds and achievements. Once more the king promised his support, but again it came to nothing.²⁸

Undeterred, in late 1626–early 1627 Bolton tried a fourth version of the scheme on Charles and Buckingham. Renamed "the Cabanett Royall", this was geared to the "times of action" in which the nation now found itself at war with both France and Spain. More than ever, Bolton argued, historians were needed to chronicle "the glorie of action abroad" and to inspire contemporaries and future generations. The membership was opened up more widely still to include not only those engaged in "the service of letters", but also some who had achieved distinction on "land and sea, in arts of war or navigation; some for theyr skill and judgement in the excellencie of musick & painting & drawing, and other things." The "Cabanet" was also to house a collection of coins, medals, paintings and sculptures which would further memorialise the deeds of the worthy and famous. Bolton had clearly detected early signs of the king's enthusiasm for collecting, but also a willingness to recognise the need, as he put it, to "cherish heroick virtue" as "the only proper and natural basis for true and flourishing monarchie".²⁹ Again, however, the crown appears to have lacked the wherewithal to get the project off the ground.³⁰ None the less Bolton's various schemes were widely canvassed and discussed; and the model they provided, of a learned society grafted on to a noble educational academy, offered an influential prototype for Kynaston.³¹

Kynaston's own scheme went through several stages. The earliest incarnation, presented in the petition and manifesto of late 1633–early 1634, placed a heavy emphasis on emulating the French model and providing noble offspring with an educational academy to match anything available on the continent.³² As the project developed, however, it took on much more of the character of a learned society, indeed of a forerunner to the Royal Society. The main objective of the early petition and manifesto for Coventry was to answer the critics who threatened to sink the scheme with the Lords Referees. One of the early charges levelled against it was that it was just another project designed to extort money from the English people. Kynaston was particularly wary of this. It prompted him – unwisely as it turned out – to defer accepting any of the subscriptions offered by "worthy and honourable persons" until he had secured the formal approval of the king.³³ It also led to him playing safe in terms of how he described what he was offering and seeking to answer other critics of the scheme, including the universities and Inns of Court, and a group of French tutors and instructors living in London, who saw it as a threat to their livelihood.

What he presented initially was a scheme that closely matched the proposal that Buckingham had made in the 1621 Parliament. This had been revived in the 1629 session by the earl of Arundel and again greeted with approval by the Lords.³⁴ Arundel, as Earl Marshal and senior member of the nobility, was the man to whom Charles looked particularly for advice on such matters and it made sense to secure his approval. The aim, Kynaston explained in the manifesto, was to provide “virtuous education” for “the illustrious and hopeful young nobilitie and gentry of this kingdome” through teaching a combination of skills that they could never hope to acquire at the universities or Inns of Court. These would consist of the courtly accomplishments of music, dance and painting – “fine ornaments for a gentleman” – and the more martial pursuits of riding and fencing, together with mathematics, which enabled its practitioners “to lead and command both the cavallrie and infanteries, to intrench and fortifie...to range and quarter armies and many more useful thinges...of good use for the war.” As far as the parents of “young noblemen of greatest ranke” were concerned these attributes were far more likely to be of use to their offspring than the training in philosophy, logic and the law provided by the universities and Inns. In consequence, they were sending their offspring abroad in large numbers, mainly to Paris where they faced the hazards of their religion being undermined and “varietie of occasions to debauch”. Kynaston’s academy, by contrast, would offer a safe education in London for a hundred “honourable and highborne” scholars, taught by English masters who – except in the skills of horsemanship where he acknowledged that the French had the edge – were a match for any in Europe. This he insisted was no fanciful “project”, dreamed up by some “odd, overweening fellows” as his detractors asserted, but a worthy venture that would bring honour and profit to “the whole kingedome” and prestige and renown to his Majesty.³⁵

As well as addressing objections to the scheme, the petition and manifesto were designed to speak to the enthusiasms of the king, who evidently saw the academy as a vital element in his broader policy to restore the “ancient luster” of the nobility. This was a project Charles took very seriously indeed. In contemporary parlance, he was the “fount of honour” which meant that he was responsible for regulating the honours system in such a way that virtuous service of crown and commonwealth was seen to be rewarded and the existing social hierarchy was maintained. He shared the view of his father that the exercise of this particular prerogative was the sphere in which monarchs “doe most expresse the image of that imortall God which hath placed them on their thrones. [It was] their chieftest calling and worthiest of their care.” He also recognised that it was crucial to the maintenance of royal authority, describing his nobles as those “persons in rank and degree nearest to the royal throne”, who, “having received honour from himself and his royal progenitors, he doubted not would...be moved in honour and dutiful affection.”³⁶ However, his attitude towards his nobles was less instrumental than this statement might imply. He was also very ready to acknowledge that a good king had a moral responsibility to attend to their welfare and development. He was expected to help them when they ran into personal and financial difficulties, resolve their differences and take a fatherly responsibility for the order as a whole. His acceptance of this range of obligations is, perhaps, best illustrated in the personal letters that he wrote to individual members of the peerage under the royal signet which were aimed at settling their differences, protecting their status and, on occasion, brokering their marriages.³⁷

This sense of responsibility extended particularly to younger members of the nobility. Philip Warwick, one of the grooms of the Bedchamber, recorded how whenever young noblemen came to take their leave before travelling abroad, Charles would give them a mini lecture on moral virtue and tell them that “if he heard they kept good company

abroad, he should reasonably expect they would return qualified to serve him and their country well at home.”³⁸ Such concerns were reflected in his signet office letters of 3 June 1636, requesting contributions to support the academy from noblemen, gentry and the City of London. The *Musaeum*, he declared, would “effect that which wee have long most earnestly wished . . . namely the virtuous educacon of their children at home in safety, and their preservacon from the too frequent vices of the times by a diversion of their mindes from idlenes & vanity to noble and better employments.” Not only would it provide the ideal preparation for the sort of service the king had in mind, but the prestige of the whole enterprise would “redound to the honour of us and our kingdome” and add to the “magnificence” and wealth of London “by the resort as well of strangers as of their own natives to their severall academies.”³⁹

It was this pursuit of prestige that no doubt encouraged Kynaston as he also sought to develop the *Musaeum* as a centre for academic learning and the pursuit of the new science. Because of the defensive nature of the surviving documentation on the early stages of Kynaston’s scheme, it is hard to tell how far he was already anticipating the more expansive approach of the later versions. But it does appear that once the academy was up and running, and being greeted with enthusiasm on all sides, he became more ambitious. He did not need a great deal of prompting. Sir Francis was an accomplished scholar in his own right, translating several literary works, including Chaucer’s *Troilus and Cressida*; and he was friend to the poet Francis James, the author of *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, Robert Burton, and the polymath Marc Antonio de Dominis, renegade Archbishop of Spaleto.⁴⁰ Hartlib described him as “a good scholar” and “an oeconomical, contriving head” (presumably a reference to his ambition and inventiveness). He also had every encouragement to believe that the king would approve of his expanding the academy into a base for intellectual and scientific activity. Hartlib recorded how in 1635 he presented Charles with the New Year’s gift of “a curious magnetical globe . . . which hase many great rarities in it”, “at which the king tooke great delight.”⁴¹ The aim of developing the *Musaeum* into an early version of the Royal Society was set out in the *Constitutions* that Kynaston published in 1636 and, also, in what appears to have been a prospectus for the parents of potential students.

Unlike the earlier petition and manifesto, these highlighted the intellectual content of the academy’s studies. The young entrants were to be known as Triennials because they were expected to study for three and a half years to ensure that they could be “more then vulgarly instructed”. Over this period they were expected to study no more than two subjects at a time, “whereof one shall be intellectual, the other corporall, to avoid confusion”. Only when they had demonstrated their proficiency before the Regent were they permitted to move on to another area of study.⁴² Instruction was to be carried out by a team of expert professors and their assistants. Kynaston was able to recruit from the array of talent on the private tutorial circuit and the various learned schools and professional colleges based in London that Sir George Buc described in 1615 as constituting “the Third Universitie in England”.⁴³ They were able to offer the same sort of breadth in their curriculum as the remarkably ambitious academy scheme proposed by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in the 1560s. Kynaston himself, as regent, was to pick up the agenda suggested by Edmund Bolton and teach antiquities, coins and medals, common law, heraldry and “skill of old manuscripts, deedes, evidences”. The rest of the curriculum was to be covered by six professors, each enjoying considerable distinction in his own field. Edward May, Professor of Philosophy and Medicine, John Speidall, Professor of Mathematics, and Nicholas Fiske, Professor of Astronomy, were all published authors. Thomas Hunt, Professor of Music, had been organist at Wells Cathedral, and Walter Salter, Professor

of Languages, was sufficiently versatile to cover everything from Latin and Greek to Hebrew and High Dutch. Even Michael Mason, Professor of Defence, was described as “the famous master of defence”, although such were the hazards of his profession that this did not guarantee his survival. In June 1638, he was reported to have been slain “by a Frenchman of the same profession and his associates”.⁴⁴

The task of the professors, however, was not confined to instructing the Triennials. They were also expected to provide public lectures and concerts, as well as conducting experiments and recording scientific observations which were documented in “books of secrets, experiments and demonstrations”. Access to these books, and to the well-furnished library and stock of scientific instruments, was to be open to a group of gentleman scholars and scientists who were to be associated with the academy. These were to include anyone who communicated knowledge of a successful experiment to the *Musaeum* (whose achievement was to be “recorded in the *Libro Nobilium* for a perpetuall honour to him”); those who offered donations and subscriptions (whose munificence was again to be recorded in the *Libro*); and those gentlemen who having fulfilled their three and a half-year term of study chose to continue their association with the academy and were given “priviledge to benefit themselves by all books, charts, experiments, secrets and demonstrations”. They were to be known as Septennials and, along with the Regent and the Professors, were responsible for the government of the academy.⁴⁵

The whole scheme, then, brought together a range of features from the intellectual and scientific projects of the day. As a means of gathering knowledge of scientific experiments and directing it to utilitarian ends, it addressed the agenda for the Advancement of Learning being promoted by Samuel Hartlib and his colleagues.⁴⁶ This was an approach exemplified in the invention of “a hanging furnace” which could be safely used on board ship that Kynaston and Dr May were trying to get the Lords of the Admiralty interested in during 1636–1637.⁴⁷ With its provision for recording and communicating to young noblemen, the example of “virtuous and heroick minds” and setting “before their eyes the images of the worthies of our own nation and of our own ancestours in their severall families” it also took on some of the elements of Bolton’s “Cabanett Royall” which was intended to inspire noble deeds through the promise of lasting fame.⁴⁸ And, as the *Constitutions* explained, this would also serve the ends of disseminating the values of the noble and intellectual elite throughout the kingdom:

having taken impression in the *Musaeum* from the best ideas the whole kingdome of inferiour people, in those severall counties where they shall be distributed to live, and shine, may finde example, help, reason, and happinesse in being under them.⁴⁹

Finally, with its attention to extramural education and its facilities for drawing together and focusing the wide variety of learned and academic activity being pursued in London, it picked up on Buc’s proposal to give formal recognition to “the Third Universitie”. In spite of Sir William Boswell’s verdict that it “proposed impossible and impracticable things”, it appears to have fitted well with many of the civic and intellectual priorities of the day. But this did not prevent it from collapsing remarkably rapidly after the high-point of mid-1636.

Historians have speculated on the reasons for this, pointing to the opposition from Oxford and Cambridge, the lack of a solid financial basis and the absence of practical support from the king and his courtiers.⁵⁰ However, the main cause appears to have been more prosaic. The academy suffered from wretchedly bad luck in that the onset of plague

in London in June 1636 forced it to shut down just at the moment when it was looking to expand and establish its longer term viability.

During its early months, the academy was sustained by the enthusiasm of the king and the promise of future subscriptions. Royal support remained Kynaston's greatest asset,⁵¹ and once he had successfully fended off the charge that he was simply another self-serving projector, he was able to look towards building a more solid financial base. Part of this would come from the fee income from the hundred students which were originally envisaged. Each was required to pay a £5 admission fee and then a monthly contribution. These would have yielded a relatively modest income, but from the beginning Kynaston had plans to develop his original building in Covent Garden and take in boarders. The result of this would have been a far more secure and substantial source of revenue.⁵² The other most likely source of funds was subscriptions, and here his prospects seemed equally rosy. The royal patent approving the academy in June 1635 and the lead given by the king in subscribing £100 prompted a surge in offers of support. "Divers noble personages made offer of greate somes of money to so good a work, as 50 ls. And an 100 l. a piece."⁵³ These presumably included the likes of Archbishop Laud, Lord Keeper Coventry, the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery and Viscount Monson, each of whom was mentioned at one time or another as particularly favouring the academy⁵⁴; and in October 1635, Sir George Peckham left £10 in his will "to the use of the new Academy in Covent Garden".⁵⁵ Kynaston, however, initially held back from accepting these offers, partly as he explained "least it might be conceived a project or invention for gaine and not for publique good", and partly, it would seem, because he had been jeered at when he made a "collection for the Professors of the Academy with a bason".⁵⁶ He was determined to proceed by the book.

Around May 1636, therefore, he petitioned the king for formal signet letters authorising a collection to be taken from the nobility, the gentry and the City of London to support his plans for extending the building in Covent Garden. On 3 June, the letters went out, with the fulsome statement of royal approval for the scheme.⁵⁷ The letters were everything Kynaston could have hoped for, but unfortunately they were due to be dispatched just as the city was struck by the most serious plague in a generation.⁵⁸ Later in the month Kynaston had to petition again, explaining that the spread of the disease had prevented the letters being "as generally published as is requisite" and had forced him to shut down the academy and disperse the students. Once more Charles demonstrated his support. On July 2, he sent an order to Dr Featley, warden of Chelsea College, set up to train ministers, to take immediate steps to receive Kynaston and his students so that the academy could go on operating.⁵⁹ However, Featley was very obstructive, suspecting a longer term plan to take over his college to provide the more permanent accommodation required by the boarders. In spite of additional pressure from Laud, he resisted and in May 1637 the academy was still shut. Sir Francis and Dr May were reported to be sheltering elsewhere in Chelsea amidst rumours that one of the students had contracted the disease and that the Covent Garden building was about to be turned into a pesthouse.⁶⁰ This is the last extant reference to the functioning of the *Musaeum*. The plague abated in 1638, but the overwhelming likelihood is that the academy never reopened. By 1639, as we have seen, it was being referred to in the past tense.

The reasons for its collapse, then, were not due to any lack of royal or courtly support, or the absence of the prospects for a solid financial base, or even the overambitious scope of the project referred to by Boswell. The indications are that without the plague Kynaston would have been able to raise the money he had been promised and carry out his expansion; and that the broader plans for the academy would probably have worked as

well, since they fitted well with the agenda for the Advancement of Learning which was being so vigorously promoted by the likes of Hartlib. Whether it could have survived Kynaston's death in 1642, or the disruptions of civil war, is another matter. But compared to the other academy schemes of the late Tudor and early Stuart period it was viable, well supported and, during its short lifetime, made a considerable impact.

It also provides an important insight into the priorities of the Personal Rule. This was one of the king's personal hobby horses, articulating many of the ideals that he sought to associate with his monarchy. Not only did it speak to his determination to prepare young noblemen for the service of crown and state, it also chimed in with his concern to develop projects which would promote the good of the commonwealth; to enhance the prestige of London as his imperial capital; to spread effective aristocratic governance to the localities; and to celebrate the artistic, intellectual and scientific achievements of the English nation.⁶¹ Kynaston's *Musaeum* was an enterprise whose time had come. This did not prevent it from failing, but it does mean that it can tell us much about the *zeitgeist* of the 1630s.

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Sir Francis Kynaston's manifesto

Woburn Abbey, Bedford Estate Archive, item 267, "A letter to Thomas Lord Coventry, Lord Keeper, touching the institution of an Academie in London for the education of the young nobility and gentry in armes and artes, etc."⁶²

To the Rt Honoble Thomas Lord Coventry Lord Keeper of the Great Seale of England⁶³
Sir Fra Kinnastonn⁶⁴

[p.1] It pleased your lordshipp not longe since to receave and peruse a small treatise which I humbly presented to your judicious view touching the institution of an Academie in London for the virtuous education of the illustrious and hopeful younge nobilitie and gentry of this kingdome in armes and artes, that for the honor of England they might truly be said to have both cheaply conveniently and with safety that brave breeding at home and to learne those noble and generous qualities and sciences in their own native country which at deare rates and not without some great hazard of bodie in the state of their health and life by sicknesse, and of soules in the too frequent deprivation of their religion and manners, they travell to attaine beyond seas, and which the Academies in France (takeing a just advantage of our sloth and negligence) doe pretend to teach them.

This treatise, together with an annexed peticon, being presented to the Kinge by some gentlemen whose zeale to the publique good and whose great and masterlike perfeccion of knowledge in all sciences which the[sic] profess being equally good and inferiour to none in Europe, it gratically pleased his Majestie to refer the consideration of the peticon and the designe specified in the [p.2] treatise to a select committee of some lords of his Majesties most honorable Privye Councell, amonge whom your lordship (to the peticoners singular content) was made a most desired and honorable referee.

The approbation which his Majestie by his gracious word and countenance gave of the designe touching the institucon of an Academie in London being seconded by your Lordshipp and all the rest of the referees who vouchsafed to read the abovesaid treatise, petition and reference, together with the favourable opinion of sundry honourable and worthy personages who had seene transcripts of the same, did auspiciously promise a speedy and fortunate deliberacon of soe important a

business and gave hopes of a timely maturation and resolucon of soe vertuous and soe profittable an enterprise.

Nevertheless soe it is that, since the tyme of the reference signed being at Greenwich the ... of ...⁶⁵ last and the signification then of his Majestie's royall pleasure, there hath beene noe further progress made in that affaire, but the business seemes as it were forgotten or neglected [p.3] to the greife and discouragement of the peticoners who staid in London to attend the pleasure of the Lords Referees and the acceptation or the refusall of their profer'd duties and services.

Amonge your peticoners myselfe, being the meanest and most unworthy as being nothing but the weake organ to voyce the mind⁶⁶ of the rest, and to make a crude draught with my penn which your Lordships in your grave wisdoms are to consumate of a perfect and absolute Academie, doe yet find myselfe since the delivery of the petition and treatise to his Majestie the greatest marke of scorne and obloque, and the deepest adventurer in disgrace, in case this designe of an Academie doe miscarry and not arrive at the intended period of our intentions.

As I am not ignorant that every good thought every holy intention, every virtuous enterprise and action are ever by man's prevaricacon and inbreed perverseness encountered with a stronge opposition of malignity, soe I cannot but hope that there is soe much noble goodness in the Lords Referees that howsoever this action seemes out of mind (which I must attribute to a diversion which other affaires have made [p.4] of it rather then to any other cause) yet in due tyme it will be admitted into the conclave of their serious deliberacons, and through their wisdoms and united power, and their approved credit with his Majestie, it shall find a passage above all opposition and paramount to all envie or detraction, and will be found and approved for a designe highly conducing to his Majetie's renowne and honor, and really concerning the good and profit of this whole kingdome, things which every good patriott and true hearted Englishman ought in dutie to wish and from his heart to pray for.

Yet in the meane tyme, because it's truly said that in all good actions delay breeds daungers, I most humbly crave leave of you Lordshipp that I may humbly represent some such obstacles as I am sure may be offered to hinder the good success of the institution of an Academie in London, and that for a further explanation of what I have written to that purpose I may remove some doubts and answeare some objections that may be made, and lastly [p.5] according to my poore understanding I may propose such accommodations and conveniences of all particulers as shall concerne the compleate establishment of the Academie.

First therefore it is most certaine that the French nation is noe lesse sencible of the commoditie and riches which they gaine by the education of Englishmen in Paris and their academies then they are of the moneyes which they yearly receive from England for their wines, their discipline being as needless and superfluous and oftentimes as bad and pernicious as their wines if there were in England here that providence and temperance as ought to be; and therefore it must demonstratively follow that anyway that shall lessen the frequent comerce of the English with France for the one or the other will upon notice thereof be strongly opposed.

Secondly it is as evident that the Courte of England and Cittie of London are pestered and oppressed with Frenchmen and other strangers who under coullor of teaching the mathematiques, [p.6] musique, danceing, fenceing and horsemanship engrosse that maintenance to themselves which should be bestowed, and that more worthily, on the king's native true hearted subjects, among whome many hundred more skillfull and more deserving masters may be found (if they were countenanced and encouraged) in all sciences and professions then any ever came out of France, which Monsieurs being exalted by the vaine opinion of some phantasticall, kittbrained younge courtly gallants doe not only scorne us English, but robb us of our honor and money: for it is dayly seene that comeing starke beggars hither after that they have staid here a Christmas they for their apish ridiculous gesticulacons and dog tricks are for their dauncing in a masque some old overworne footeing and gestures in the courte of France (not halfe soe good as our Christmas gambolls), or for a little ignorant fiddling, are sent over with £500 for a reward, or carry with them more money then all their kindred are worth, and gaine estates worthy the fortunes of an English knight.

These companions out of their naturall [p.7] impudence and effronted disposition will be sure (if they be not still the prime masters and professors in the Academie) to withstand withall their power any accon that may lessen them in estimacon or their profit, and will be as sure to move the Queene to crosse any designe that they dislike; nor shall they misse amongst us courtiers powerfull assistants for to second their desires.

The institution of an Academie would⁶⁷ much free his Majestie and the Queene of much insolent importunitie which they now connive at and beare withall in the too frequent begging of suits, and the kingdome of an universarie burden of strangers under which now it labours: for if as in France soe here, noe stranger should be superior to a native borne in the teaching or the profession of any quallitie or science, Englishmen would be encouraged in vertue, and yet noe doubt there would strangers enough resort hither.

Although it be not hereby intended that any strangers should be restrained to teach in England now more then that gentlemen should be [p.8] forbidden to travel beyond seas, but only that as is fitt strangers should be subordinate to our natives in the educacon especially of the best and choicest of our nobilitie, and in the Academie principally. Yet it must be infallibly expected that all papists and popishly affected will publicly or privately oppose the institution of the Academie, as being conscious that our choicest nobilitie and gentry, having meanes at home of being well grounded in our true religion and well formed in manners, as of being completely instructed in all fitting qualities, they will have the lesse occasion to travel beyond seas, and soe consequently be lesse, or not at all, exposed to the daunger of being altered or perverted in religion, their educacon now being made the coullor of their travel and oft tymes the cause of their ruine.

These are the principal opposers of that honor and profitt which the institution of an Academie would bring to the kingdome who without all doubt will prevaile if they can divert or retard the resolucons of the Lordds Referees [p.9] from a reall and speedie proceeding in the business which I for my owne parte doe already give as lost had I not a most assured hope and confidence in my Lord Archbishop⁶⁸ and your Lordship that noe unjust opposition shall overthrow soe good, soe honourable, soe just and profitable a designe, both to the kinge and commonwealth, as shall hereafter be demonstrated.

But before I touch upon that it is fitt to remove some doubts: for it may be objected:

- obj.1. First that the erecting of a new Academie in London may be a meanes to lessen the universities and Inns of Court in students and consequently in reputacon, or to divert yonge noblemen and gentlemen from colledges and places of settled government and discipline to an unregulated societie.
- 2. Secondly that London, being a place of much libertie and of much diversion from studie, the scholars of the Academie would profit little or nothinge at all, in their studies or exercises.
- 3. Thirdly that it will be very hard if not altogether impossible to stemme the current of the generall opinion already for a longe tyme conceived, that there is noe such exact breeding, [p.10] nor that there can be soe compleat educacon for a yonge nobleman at home in England as is in France or Ittalye.
- obj.4 Fourthly, that if there were an Academie in London, and that any of the students thereof havinge beene three years brought upp therein should afterwards travel for further instruction to any academies beyond seas and returne home more accomplished, it would be a disgrace and dishonour to our nation to profess and pretend a place and meanes of perfect and exact educacon for noblemen and gentlemen, and then to be excelled by other academies beyond sea, soe as it were better for the Kinge and state to save the labour and charge of instituting an Academie at home and to send the nobilitie and gentry of our kingdome at once to those academies beyond seas where they may have the best breeding.
- 5. Fifthly, since France and other kingdoms have gotten the start of England and have had of longe tyme settled Academies of the brave discipline whereof our nobilitie and yonge gentrye and their parents have had longe and good experience, and received good content, [p.11] it now would but seeme as an emulous project to institute an Academie in London, and a thing done rather upon ostentation and comparison with other nations who are more opulent powerful, and of better meanes and capacities, to teach and instruct in all sciences then England is, they haveing beene the originall source and fountaine heads from whence wee ilanders and (as the Italian calls us, and other northerne people) *Freddi Tramontani* have drawne all the best of our lawes, disciplines and manners, and that now Englishmen begin to thinke better of themselves then they were wont, or indeed have cause, and therefore this idle proposition of an Academie is but the project of some odd overweening fellows who vallue themselves too much, and others better deserving too little.
- obj.6 Sixthly, admitting it were fitt to have an Academie instituted in London, it may be objected that the manner and meanes doe not apeare how it may be done, as first where and how a fitt house may be had ready built, or may be erected for the purpose. Next *non*

*constat*⁶⁹ whether it shall be only for lodgings and touching places for the masters, or for the masters and [p.12] schollers to dwell and to lodge in together. Thirdly, it is not determined how or where the masters and schollers shall eat; whether together in the house, or apart at severall places, whether at ordinaries or, as Englishmen in Fraunce, in *pension* paying soe much by the weeke. Fourthly, it is not regulated what howers the masters and schollers shall observe for their instruction and learning nor how oft in a weeke the professors shall teach, what recreations and exercises shall be used and allowed both in theoricall and gymnasticke part or practicke. Lastly, which is the thinge of most importance to the state, it is not resolved who shall looke to the religion and morall conversation of the masters and schollers, that the one be not depraved nor the other debauched, and of whom the parents of the schollers shall receive a due account of their sonne's proficiencies.

These undetermined circumstances necessarily (I confess) conducing to the institution of a perfect Academie may occasion disputes in those who are not very jealously bent both to discusse them and to regulate them; those disputes may beget doubts, delays and those delayes a destruction of the whole designe [p.13] (for in good purposes or actions a cessation is a recidivation), but it will be in such men as will stumble at a straw and leape over a blocke. For if the kinge please⁷⁰ but only to countenance soe virtuous a purpose and to addresse his lettres to the nobilitie and some of the gentry of his Majesties dominions for their voluntarie contribution to a worke and designe intended for the honor of our Kinge and Nation, and the benefit of their posteritie and shall but please to make choice of the 100 schollers which is all that is humbly desired of his Majestie, as money, masters and schollers be not wanting which is the essence and materials of the Academie, the greatest maine difficulties are overcome, the greatest letts removed, and for these forerecited objections, or any other that can be made, they are and shall be thus easily ausweared and all pretended inconveniences fitly accommodated.

For an answer therefore to the first objection touching the lessening of the number or the reputacon of the universities and Inns of Court, I must professe I hold him not worthie to live that shall projecte any things to the prejudice of the one or the other [p.14] in the least degree; but if it be understood truly that noe student is desired, nor is indeed soe fitt to be admitted of the Academie, but hath bene first of the universities or Inns of Courte, or both, it can be noe losse nor prejudice to the universities nor Inns of Courte, nor yet noe disreputation to them, if only those noble and generous qualities & exercises be profest and taught in the Academie, as riding, fencinge, dancing, painting which are not taught in the universities, at least wise in any fitting or courtly perfection, or if the perfeccion of the knowledge of the mathematiques, as geometrye, musicke, astronomie, opticks, tactics, heraldrye, historie and the like be *de industria* and *ex professo*⁷¹ taught in the Academie as a place haveing all mathematicall instruments and other accommodations for demonstration and accou which are learned but *obiter*⁷² and on the by in the universities and Inns of Courte. Besides since, as hath bene said, the maine body, or battalion, of the universities consisting of the schollers and professors of divinitie, phisicke and lawe, as those of our Inns of Courte doe of meere common lawyers, young noblemen and gentlemen while they are under tutors in the universities may learne the rudiments of logicke or a little philosophie [p.15], naturall, or philology when they come first thither, as they maye learne some notions of Littleton⁷³ and termes of lawe when they come first to the Inn of Courte, but if they stay longer and should remaine seaven yeares in the one place or the other, and should profess neither divinitie, phisicke nor lawe, they should worthily be thought as Hereclytis in directing their studies to noe end at least to noe publique good.

Furthermore the institution of an Academie in London would be soe farr from derogating from the honor and benefit of the Inns of Courte that it would rather be an exceeding augmentacon of both: for whereas now few younge noblemen of the greatest ranke (the more is the pittie if not the shame) are sent to the universities, but none to the Inns of Courte, the reason being that their parents conceiving that it is to little or noe purpose to send their sonnes thither, since they intend not to make their sonnes lawyers, and since there is noe other science but lawes to be attained in the Inns of Courte they are (as indeed there is reason for it) loath to purchase a chamber, which in the houses of Courte is esteemed in lawe a freehold for terme of life, for their sonnes who they intend [p.16] shall stay there at most but a yeare or two, to see fashions. And therefore when they come from the universities they rather send their sonns to travell to get those noble qualities beyond seas which they could not attaine at home. Now if an Academie were erected in London, albeit there were noe thing in it but a place for noblemen and gentlemen to resort unto, to be only instructed, and noe other accommodation, it would be a meanes to draw noblemen to be admitted to the Inns of Courte,

to buy chambers there and consequently for the more grace of those honorable true societies to stay longer there, and to love and esteeme their owne countrye the more and the better. But for a finall aunswere the number of the academiques being but a hundred and noe more it would not be considerable nor a diminution any way proportionable to the thousands of students that are at all tymes resident in the two universities and the fower Inns of Courte.

The aunswere to the second objection for matter of diversion is easie and therefore shorte: for if noe fault be found by those whoe send their sonns for education into France, nor noe exception taken that the academies are instituted in Paris which is a [p.17] cittie of greater libertie and varietie of occasions to debauch, more vanities not to say more vices, a place of greater daunger for depravation in religion, for murthers and quarrels, and in summe much inferior to London for all manner of good government, I cannot see any reason whie an Academie should be denied to London which God be praised is a cittie soe well governed that there are farr more examples of goodness and vertue to be dayly seene in it then of vices. Besides a care being had by the president and masters of the morall conversation of the academiques, that if any of them (which is not to be presupposed) should be a hunter [*sic*] of taverns, brothels or diceing houses, he should be expelled out of the Academie. The major part of the academiques (which is necessarily to be presupposed) being all of virtuous carriage and civill demeanoure, and being all personages of prime rancke by their birth, the great example of vertue in them would best shine in London as on a loaftie stage and publike amphitheatre to which all the gentrye of the whole kingdome doe resort, and the president of vertuous living, which persons of their eminent qualitie would not only meliorate the manners [p.18] of the gentry of the Inns of Courte, but draw all the gentlemen that live loosely about London to a noble emulacon of their virtues; soe as for these and many more reasons which might be alleaged London is the fittest place of all other for the residence of an Academie.

It cannot be denied but that it is true that there are divers leud places in London and much leud companie, but it is as true that there are more of both in Paris or any great cittie of Fraunce or Italie, and therefore whosover send their sonnes thither from England send them out of the grace of God into the warme sunne, or as the proverbe is they leape out of the scalding water into the hott fier. But the truth is this objection is scarce worth the aunswearing, nor will it be made by any one but by such or by such like people who if they heare of three or fower schollers in the universities roaring in a tavernne will straight conclude that Oxford and Cambrdge are debauched places, that there is noe government in them and soe will not send their children thither, therein condemning the Right honoble and Right reverend [p.19] chancellors of the universities, their venerable vice chancellors and the superiors of the colledges, and blameing all for the faultes of a few, the major and better parte being scandalously traduced for the sake of the lesse and worse, which, how hatefull and unjust a thinge it is any one may easily judge and determine.

As for the current generall opinion which is the third objection, that there can be noe such compleat breeding to be attained as is beyond seas, it may be confest and avoided, that as thinges stand now there is at this present noe such exact educacon for noble spirits in England as is in other places, and a good reason whie, because there is noe place instituted nor meanes designed for it, such as are beyond seas. But if there were (which is the thinge wee would be at, and which is desired) I must censure his opinion whatsoever he be very prejudicate of England his owne countrye, that shall thinke soe meanely of Englishmen that either their knowledge, abillitie, mind or fashions cannot be compared with other nations, or that shall say wee are inferiour to any nations of the world, but only in these two particulars, providence and industrie, wherein the trueth is wee are deficient.

[p.20] True it is that our morall⁷⁴ actions are repulated [*sic*] and allow'd or disallowed by the emperie [*sic*] of opinion who is the arbitress of fame⁷⁵: for even honor itselfe, the highest earthly objecte of man's soule, takes its originall from opinion and the estimation of other men, and therefore it is truly said that *Honor est in honorante* and not in *honorato*.⁷⁶ But then true honor, as Aristotle defines it, must be *Laus sive opinio* [*sic*] *sita in hominum mentibus recte sententiam* [*sic*].⁷⁷ And therefore opinion that gives honor must be rightly grounded on good causes and true merit. But if any ladiesied feminine judgment shall say or thinke that no gentleman can be compleate that hath not bene abroad, that noe man can dresse himself handsomely, can salute one with a good garbe, or looke or carry himselfe wth any assurance, that hath not bene bredd in France or Italie, such opinion is fitter to be disputed in a daunceing schoole then anywhere else, and such theses are more proper for the capacitie of taylor or a barber, and to be regulated by the measure of the one, or the curling irons of the other then by any discreet understanding man. The taylor's goose [*sic*] and the barber's pied apron shall determine the opinion.

[p.21] The fourth objection touching upon a disgrace that would reflecte upon an English Academie if any English gallants travelling beyond seas should returne more compleate then the academiques of England may seeme, *prima facie* to be somethinge worth the aunswearing; but being well weighted is just nothinge. For first it is but hypotheticall if they should returne more compleate. But as yet noe man knows if an Academie were erected in London whether any one travelling abroad would returne more compleate: for it is not yet knowne what abillitie, what perfeccion would be attained in that Academie which it might be would in many thinges if not in all excel all other academies. But admitting that any gentleman that had been breed three yeares in the English Academie should better his breeding beyond seas. Yet this could be no ...⁷⁸ to the English Academie: for varietie of places must needs add somethinge to any man's knowledge or experience, and it may well be that for some one particular, as for ryding or playing on the lute, the sight of the French ayres in horsemanship as the heareing of their courantoos, a gentleman may returne home to England more knowing in some one or two qualities then he went out, and may perhaps by imitation attaine to some outlandish garbe [p.22] which for the newness of it may make him more acceptable or remarkable, especially among ladies and those men that looke noe further then the outside of thinges. But yet neither ought wee to graunt or admit any such matter: for if an Academie be erected in London in such manner as is designed, that is to say by the countenance of the King and his gracious superintendance it will soe farr excel all other academies beyond seas as the royall power and patronage of a kinge doth surmount the qualitie of a private gentleman: for even noe better men are the best of the founders, presidents or governours of the academies beyond seas, and as farr more noble and compleate will the English Academie be above all others as the honorable and highborne selecte Centenarie of Schollers, and the Right honorable president and choice best learned masters in all sciences and qualities dignified by the King's royall and prudent election of them will exceede a promiscuous assemblie of vulgar students and a sorte of needy instructors and mercenary masters whose cheapness in teaching is most regarded by the presidents of the academies in France, who in trueth under coullor of instructing of younge gentlemen make gaine in boording. [p. 22b⁷⁹] dyetting and lodging from their principall aime and end, and pretending to have their schollers compleate in all gentlemanlike qualities doe teach them noethinge but horsmanshipp and musique or dauncing, at the most fenceing, in all which English instructors if they were defective of themselves (which is not to be yet vanted) might have Frenchmen their substitutes here or ushers, and as good as any are in France that are here in England already or would come over hither, and be glade to be entertain'd, though I thinke there would be little need of their assistance for the reallitie of riding, musicke, dancing or fenceing but only to shew how thinges are done *Au le mode de France*.

Now it is true that musique and dancing are fine ornaments for a gentleman, as riding and fenceing are of good use for the war and the good of the publique. And France not without great cause and reason doth professe and practice the dexteritie of horsmanshipp more then England, for that France is a continent and a great land; and for that there is soe great a distance between the nobles and peasantrie there. But if the French should excel the English in that particular (which will [p.23] not be yielded unto) yet the English being ilanders⁸⁰ would, or at least wise ought to, exceed them in the mathematiques, as in geometrie and arithmetique, as in studies inabling ilanders to make shippes, the walls and fortresses of our kingdome and then to carry them and saile them about the world, to make fortifications, to range and quarter armies and many more usefull thinges. For whereas horsmanshipp even in its best perfeccion, doth noe more but enable a man to serve dexterously in the warr, the knowledge in the mathematiques doth enable a man to lead and command both the cavallrie and infantries to intrench and fortifie an armie, in which knowledge and sciences, and particularly in arithmetique, though France may justly glorie of Budeus and Francis Viett [*sic*]⁸¹ as two most famous men, yet this isle of Great Brittain hath noe lesse renowne beyond seas (for at home they are not justly valued) for her Roger Bacon, John Scotus of old, for Doctor Dee, Doctor Gilbert⁸² of the later dayes, and for that noble miracle in learneing the Lord Napper of Merchiston whose rare invention of the logarithms enlarged by Mr Bridges⁸³ for all operations in arithmetique hath famoused not only this iland, but even this [p.23 b⁸⁴] latter age of the world. Now if when as there is noe academie, at least wise noe such countenance or grace from the students and professors of mathematical sciences as by the grace of God will be when the kinge shall be graciously pleased to institute one and favour and foster it with his royall power and countenance, England hath produced soe learned mathematitians, soe able navigators, soe accomplished master in all reall and usefull studies that concerne the welfare of the commonwealth and generall man, soe knowing in all professions, *a fortiori* learning and all noble discipline will be

much advanced by the institution of an academie in England; and then I will not say it is impossible, but it will be very unlikely that any good science or quallitie shall be attained in the whole Christian world that may not be found in as much perfection in England.

To the fifth objection of the precedencie in reputation and tyme which other nations have gained from England by experience of the goodness and perfeccion in their discipline, it may be answered that it is true England hath found some good in the education of her nobles beyond seas, but it hath beene *per accidens non per se*: for young noblemen and gentlemen have been sent for [p.24] instruction in rideing, fenceing, musique and dancing to academies beyond seas not only because there were none soe good places for educacon at home as abroad, but because there were none at al, least not settled, regulated places for the learneing and practice of such sciences and qualities as was requisite or as was beyond seas.

It is true, and not to be denied, England hath had some most rare masters on the late, as Mr Dowland⁸⁵ who besides the honors and rewards he received in the Emperor's courte, the high estimation he was in with the kinge of Denmarke, the Elector of Saxonie and other German princes, had such publique honors done him at Rome as never was done to any musitian that I can reade of since Septimius Cytharedus, of whome, and whose vast rewards for his conquest in musicke, Mr Selden⁸⁶ in his most learned booke stiled *Marmora Arundeliana*⁸⁷ makes mention. For as I had it from auditors and eie witnesses of undoubted credit, as well as by his owne relacon to me, he had a kind of theatre built for him, to which the cardinals and the greatest persones publicly resorted to heare him play, whose ende [p.25] of every lesson was not only commended and admired by them, but applauded with publique acclamations, shouts and throwing upp of hatts, expressions not usually found amongst the gravities even of the common sorte of Italians.

Soe likewise Mr John Daniell's⁸⁸ most rare and curious compositions for four lutes, which upon Diomedes the late King of Poland cheife lutenist his commendacons (who is held the skillfullest man on the lute in the world) gott Mr Daniell a chaire of gold and a medal of the king's portraite worth £400 sterling, have lett the world see what able musique masters Enland produces, noe less then old Mr Birde's⁸⁹ grave descante whose *ne irscaris* [*sic*] and *ivitas sancti* are yet in the highest estimation and principall songes in the Pope chapple; and then *Doctor Bull*'s⁹⁰ inimitable hand and invention on the organ on whome that may be said for play of him which I have oft heard painters speake of, Rapahael Urbin, that he was the best that ever was or ever will be hereafter. And for a close noe lesse then that stupendous piece of descant for skill and paines made by Mr Thomas Warricke⁹¹ and presented as a New Yeare's gift for last Christmas to his Majestie, being 40 partes in one upon the plaine songe of *Miserere*, [p.26] the like of which I dare mainetaine was never done by any man, nor I suppose will never be againe.

That perfection Englishmen have attained in dancing may be spoaken of by those, and of those, who daunce after the Italian way from which nation we had that brave grave way of dancing measures, and the manly, loaftie dancing of galliards which was in fashion in the magnificent tymes of Henry the 8th and of his Majestie's daughter Queene Elizabeth, & in perfection in the raigne of those most glorious princes Kinge James and Queene Ann for which our English were famous in all princes' courtes save only in France, where some feeble monsieurs seeing an English gentleman at a balle rise capreolls [*sic*]⁹² farr more loafitly then they could cryed out in scorne *L' Anglois mangeray des chandelles*, that is the Englishman would eate the candles that were hunge over head.⁹³ But soe poore an envious scorne may be retorted on the French way of dancing wherin there is neither any activitie nor yet gravitie for setting a few capreolls [*sic*] aside which the monsieurs most an end [*sic*] performe very spareingly and cautelously [p.26 b⁹⁴] for feare of dislocating of gimmall [*sic*] joints or shakeing their bones out of their skins the women dance as loafitly as the men; and all that know footing know this to be true, that were it not for a little arte of breaking the even tyme and whole measure of the moode call'd the Imperfect of the More in galliards courants [*sic*], which the French call their conretemps, their danceing were utterly a large, despicable measur'd walking, or an effeminate gesticulation.

Now for fenceing, whether the English need to come learne of any nation I referr to the relacon of all the German and French fencers who have come with bravadoes over into England, but have returned more slasht by our English masters on their pates and flesh then their clothes were by the tailors. For they have not only byn cutt, but minced and made a hashe or as a *poullfricasse* or as a carbonado'd brest of mutton.

Whether England hath had tilters wherein the warlike true perfection of horsmanship for government of a horse in his careere and stopp is exprest, and the perfect seate, the steady eie and hand of the man is shew'd, will not be denied by the most envious, nor [p.27] will that palme

be pretended to that Sir Henry Lee, the Lord Wallingford, the late Earle of Desmond⁹⁵ and above all the king's Majestie that is gained to the admiration of all beholders.

Thus much had not been spoaken but to stopp their mouthes who shall say that by erecting an academie Englishmen begin to thinke better of themselves then they were woont, or then there is cause, for it shall and doth appeare that Englishmen,⁹⁶ if it be a fault, have this defecte, that they have too much worth and sufficiency in them rightly to value themselves, or estimate aright their own perfections.

Lastly for a summarie aunswere to all those that shall slight or oppose this designe of the institution of an academie for soe great and honorable a good purpose as the virtuous educacon of the yonge nobilitie and gentry of the kingdome let this suffice, that if the kinge and state have given way & licence to some few men by lettres patents already⁹⁷ made under the great seale of England authorizing and enabling them to erect an amphitheatre to purchase ground, and thereon [p.28⁹⁸] to build a house for that purpose to entertaine Masters that shall practice armes and shall exhibite shoves and spectacles to the people, the maine end therein being gaine and commoditie to the private purses of the patentees as may easily be collected and plainly concluded out of the words and tenor of their letters patents first granted by King James and since confirmed by King Charles. It is then noe emulous projecte of some odd fellows who gave an *outrercydance* [*sic*]⁹⁹ of themselves that a noble designe for erecting an academie is proposed by them to the king and state or that a thinge is humbly wished by them to be instituted here in London for the good and honor of the whole kingdome which being confirmed by the example and the experience of our neighbour nations will bringe in not only honor, but profit, since the academie in Paris is estimated to bring into that cittie not soe little as £20,000 a yeare and will be a thinge of greater consequence to this land, and of more use to the Kinge and his royall progenie, then the erecting of twentie amphitheatres were they all more sumptuous then that of Domitian's in Rome, soe scelebrated by Martiiall with an *Omnis Caesare cedat labor amphitheato*.¹⁰⁰

[p.29] This might most easily be made to appear by words, but I trust on God, the honor, reputation & wealth which an academie will necessarily bringe into London by many wayes will be better and more lively demonstrated by the good effects it will produce by his Majestie's royall power and gracious favour and the wisdom of the Lords Referees, and therefore for the place where the Academie shall be scited, what house, what lodgings or accommodations shall be provided, with all other circumstances incident to the foundacon and government thereof, though it were noe great difficultie to designe in this discourse, yet any single man's opinion is to noe purpose to be delivered when the care of the well disposing of every thinge that concerned the well being of the Academie rests in the brests of the Lords Referees to whose fidelities and wisdoms the whole designe hath already by his Majestie byn most graciously and effectually recommended.

Notes

1. Webster, *Great Instauration*, 218; Caudhill, "Development of English Virtuosi Interests," 286–93.
2. "A Letter to Thomas Lord Coventry," 14.
3. *Constitutions of the Musaeum Minervae*.
4. Cust, *Charles I and the Aristocracy*, 1–4, 46–7, 95–6.
5. "A Letter to Thomas Lord Coventry." For a full transcription, see the Supplementary information.
6. "A List of manuscripts in the Duke of Bedford's study at Woburn," 1–4.
7. Russell, "Fourth Earl of Bedford, 1587–1641"; Smuts, "The Court and Its Neighbourhood," 135–47. The earl's surviving volumes include numerous commonplace books kept by the earl in which one of the most commonly recurring themes is the nature of honour and nobility and the duties and responsibilities of the nobleman: see, for example, "Observations Concerning the Nobillitye of England" and four large folio volumes in a fair hand of commonplace material collated under headings (with "FR" on the cover of the volumes).
8. SP 16/257/61. This follow-up petition is undated, but is endorsed "1633" and contains reference to the fact that the king had received and approved a "Treatise touching the institution of an Academie for the Instruction of Yonge Noblemen and Gentlemen" the previous June. As an esquire of the royal body, Kynaston was accompanying Charles on his progress to Scotland in May–June 1633 which would have provided the ideal opportunity to promote his academy: Williamson, "Life and Works of Kinaston," 32–4.

9. Turnbull, "Hartlib's Connection," 33–7. The early supporters probably included the earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, the newly elevated Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud and the Earl Marshal, the earl of Arundel, who had promoted a similar scheme in the 1629 Parliament: see above, p. 6.
10. SP 16/257/61; "A Letter to Thomas Lord Coventry," 2–3.
11. Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. 8, pt. 4, 130–1; "Museum Minervae," 265.
12. See, for example, Kynaston's prospectus for parents (Harleian MS 7571, fo. 42) and the request to accommodate his scholars at the spacious Chelsea College when plague struck in July 1636 (Tanner MS 142, fos. 69, 71).
13. Turnbull, "Hartlib's Connection," 36.
14. Motley, *Becoming a French Aristocrat*, Chap. 3.
15. Stone, *Crisis of the Aristocracy*, 679–80; Davies, "Elizabethan Plans and Proposals," 1–8; and Gilbert, "Queene Elizabethes Achademy," 1–12.
16. Gilbert, "Queene Elizabethes Achademy," 2, 7
17. Elton, *Parliament of England*, Chap. 10.
18. Gilbert's scheme, in particular, demanded massive resources which he estimated at £3000 p. a.: Gilbert, "Queene Elizabethes Achademy," 9.
19. Cleland, *Institution of a Young Noble Man*, 35–6; Gutch, *Collectanea Curiosa*, i. 212–15.
20. Charlton, *Education in Renaissance England*, 220–1; Strong, *Henry Prince of Wales*, 8, 41–3, 215.
21. Ashmole MS 1108, fos. 85-7; Cust, "Charles I and the Order of the Garter"; Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments*, 38–40, 207.
22. Gutch, *Collectanea Curiosa*, i. 212–15; Woolf, "Edmund Mary Bolton, 1574/5–1634."
23. *Journals of the House of Lords*, iii. 36; Additional MS 39,177, fo. 3.
24. SP 14/141/70.
25. Ibid.
26. Evans, *Society of Antiquaries*, 16–18; Additonal MS 39,177, fo. 5v.
27. Harleian MS 6103, fos.13–15.
28. Additional MS 39,177, fos. 5–6; Gutch, *Collectanea Curiosa*, i. 209–12.
29. Additional MS 39,177, fos. 2–7; Royal MS 18A. LXXI, fos. 1–10.
30. SP 16/112/43.
31. Bolton's schemes have also been described as prototypes for the Royal Academy or British Academy: Hunter, "An Account of the Scheme," 132–49; Portal, "Academ Royal of King James I," 189–208.
32. SP 16/257/61; "A Letter to Thomas Lord Coventry."
33. SP 16/341/134i.
34. *Journals of the House of Lords*, iv. 39.
35. "A Letter to Thomas Lord Coventry," 1, 13–18, 22–3, 28–9.
36. Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, ii. 1163.
37. Ibid.; SO1/1, fo. 208.
38. Warwick, *Memoirs of the Reign of Charles I*, 73–4; Cust, *Charles I. A Political Life*, 188–9.
39. SO1/3, fo. 8.
40. Cuttica, "Sir Francis Kynaston," 140–1; Smuts, "Sir Francis Kynaston."
41. Turnbull, "Hartlib's Connection," 34.
42. *Constitutions of the Musaeum Minervae*, 2–4; Harleian MS 7571, fo. 42.
43. G[eorge] B[uc], *Third Universitie of England*.
44. Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. 8, pt. 4, 130–1; Webster, *Great Instauration*, 218; Williamson, "Life and Works of Kinaston," 57–68; *Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1637-8*, 523.
45. *Constitutions of the Musaeum Minervae*, 2–3, 17–18; Harleian MS 7571, fo. 42.
46. Webster, *Samuel Hartlib and the Advancement*, 1–21.
47. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1636-7*, 37, 251, 370, 458.
48. *Constitutions of the Musaeum Minervae*, 14.
49. Ibid.; Herrup, "Gender and Honour in the Castlehaven Story," 147.
50. Webster, *Great Instauration*, 219; Williamson, "Life and Works of Kinaston," 78; Caudhill, "Development of English Virtuosi Interests," 289–90; Cuttica, "Sir Francis Kynaston," 146.
51. Charles was also prepared to try to bail out Kynaston's personal finances, interceding with his father to make a settlement in his favour during 1637–1638: SP 16/383/17; 388/63-4; 439/15.

52. *Constitutions of the Musaeum Minervae*, 9; Harleian MS 7571, fo. 42; SP 16/341/134. Kynaston noted that French academies made much of their income by taking in boarders: "A Letter to Thomas Lord Coventry," 22–22b.
53. SP 16/341/134i; Turnbull, "Hartlib's Connections," 35.
54. "A Letter to Thomas Lord Coventry," 9; Turnbull, "Hartlib's Connections," 34, 36; Tanner MS 142, fo. 69.
55. Williamson, "Life and Works of Kinaston," 71.
56. SP 16/341/134i; Turnbull, "Hartlib's Connection," 35.
57. SP 16/341/134; SO1/3, fo. 8.
58. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1635-6, 1636-7, passim*.
59. SP 16/376/8,8i; Tanner MS 142, fo. 69. Kynaston also requested that the king issue a royal proclamation to solicit the contributions, and assign him the funds from the abortive New River Project and a beneficial lease from the recent discovery of crown lands in Denbighshire. He did not issue the proclamation or reroute the New River funds, but Kynaston was allowed to pursue the request for a lease until, in July 1637, it was discovered that another courtier had a prior claim: *Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1637*, 113, 245.
60. Tanner MS 142, fos. 69, 71.
61. For a fuller discussion of Charles's pet projects and the ideals which informed these, see Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 120–4, 157–8, 180–2, 194–6, 403–22.
62. This is the description given in HMC, *2nd Report, Appendix*, 4. The "letter" is a quarto, paper volume of 32 pages. In this transcription, contractions have been silently expanded, capitalisation and punctuation have been modernised, but the spelling of the original has been retained.
63. Thomas Lord Coventry, Lord Keeper 1625–1640: Cust, "Coventry, Thomas, First Baron Coventry (1578–1640)."
64. Added in the hand of the 4th earl of Bedford.
65. The date is missing.
66. Underlined by the 4th earl of Bedford.
67. Bedford underlined the final word in each line of this paragraph.
68. William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1633–1640: Milton, "Laud, William, Archbishop of Canterbury (1573–1645)."
69. "it is not established."
70. Underlinings in this paragraph by Bedford.
71. "intentionally and avowedly."
72. "in passing."
73. Sir Thomas Littleton's fifteenth century treatise on tenures was the standard primer for early modern law students: Baker, "Littleton, Sir Thomas (d.1481)."
74. Underlined by Bedford.
75. "Actions of men" in margin in Bedford's hand.
76. "Honour is in the one conferring honour and not in the one being honoured."
77. "Praise and reputation are properly a judgement in the minds of men."
78. One word missing.
79. Page number missing.
80. "France et England" in margin in Bedford's hand. Underlinings by Bedford.
81. Guillaume Budé, French humanist scholar, and Francois Viete, French mathematician.
82. Roger Bacon, Franciscan philosopher, Duns Scotus, Franciscan theologian, Dr John Dee, Elizabethan polymath and Dr William Gilbert, Elizabethan physician.
83. John Napier of Merchistoun whose work on logarithms was expanded by Henry Briggs in 1631.
84. Page number missing.
85. John Dowland, the Elizabethan composer who visited Germany and Denmark in the 1590s and early 1600s: Greer, "Dowland, John (1563–1626)."
86. Dr John Selden, legal, historical and linguistic scholar, whose *Marmora Arundeliana* was first published in 1628: Christianson, "Selden, John (1584–1654)."
87. Bedford underlines the first word of each line of this paragraph down to here.
88. John Daniel, early Stuart composer. Underlinings in this paragraph by Bedford.
89. William Byrd, Elizabethan composer.
90. Dr John Bull, Elizabethan and early Stuart organist and composer.

91. Unidentified.
92. “Capriols”, i.e. leaps in dancing.
93. Bedford underlines the first word of each line of this paragraph up to here and inserts “dancing” in the margin.
94. Page number missing.
95. Sir Henry Lee, the queen’s champion under Elizabeth; William Knollys, Viscount Wallingford and earl of Banbury (d.1632); Richard Preston, Lord Dingwall and earl of Desmond (d.1628).
96. Bedford writes “1” and “worth” in the margin.
97. Bedford writes “2” in the margin.
98. Page number missing.
99. “presumptuousness.”
100. “Everyone had to yield to the work of Caesar’s amphitheatre.”

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