



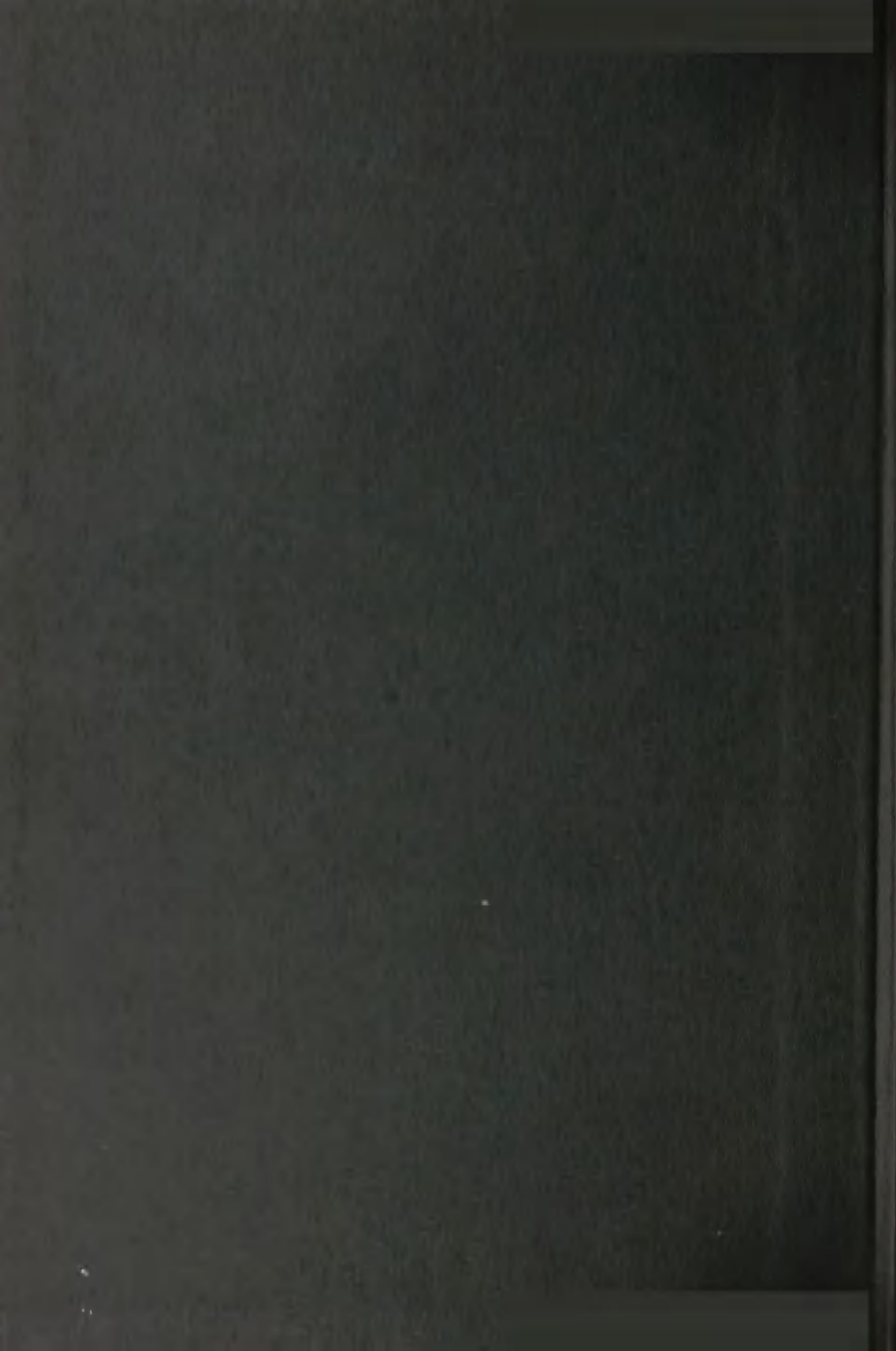
Records of Early English Drama

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CUMBERLAND  
WESTMORLAND  
GLOUCESTERSHIRE

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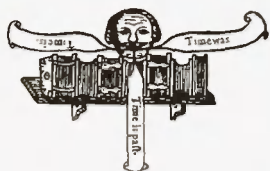


RECORDS OF EARLY ENGLISH DRAMA

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# Records of Early English Drama

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# CUMBERLAND WESTMORLAND GLOUCESTERSHIRE

EDITED BY AUDREY DOUGLAS AND  
PETER GREENFIELD

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# Records of Early English Drama

The aim of *Records of Early English Drama* (REED) is to find, transcribe, and publish external evidence of dramatic, ceremonial, and minstrel activity in Great Britain before 1642. The general editor would be grateful for comments on and corrections to the present volume and for having any relevant additional material drawn to her attention.

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# Symbols

BL	British Library	GCL	Gloucestershire County Library
BRO	Bristol Record Office	GRO	Gloucestershire Record Office
CCRO	Carlisle, Cumbria Record Office	KAO	Kent Archives Office
CH	Chatsworth House	KCRO	Kendal, Cumbria Record Office
CPL	Carlisle, Public Library	KTC	Kendal, Town Council
CRO	Cheshire Record Office	PRO	Public Record Office
DDPD	University of Durham, Department of Paleography and Diplomatic	SA	Stadtarchiv, Augsburg
		SRO	Staffordshire Record Office

A	Antiquarian Compilation
BR	<i>Boke off Recorde</i>
CWAAS	Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
EES	<i>Early English Stages</i>
MS	<i>Mediaeval Stage</i>
STC	<i>Short-Title Catalogue</i>
TBGAS	<i>Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society</i>
VCH	<i>Victoria County History</i>
*	(after folio, page, or membrane number) see endnote
<...>	lost or illegible letters in the original
[ ]	cancellation in the original
(blank)	a blank in the original where writing would be expected
°	matter in the original added in another hand
↑	interlineation above the line
↓	interlineation below the line
^	caret mark in the original
...	ellipsis of original matter
	change of folio or membrane in passages of continuous prose
®	right-hand marginalia
†	marginalia too long for the left-hand margin

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# Preface

*Cumberland/Westmorland/Gloucestershire* marks a new direction for the REED series. The pattern established for civic volumes by *York* will continue with publication of records from other important urban centres such as Beverley and Bristol. Some research areas have been defined by county rather than by borough, however, and their records will be issued in the form of county collections.

There are some items of general editorial policy relating to county volumes which may be usefully set forth at this time. Although the progress of several centuries has obscured or drastically redesigned some county boundaries, REED will observe county limits as recognized by their contemporary, pre-1642 records. Thus, modern Cumbria reverts to its earlier division into Cumberland and Westmorland. While it is clearly desirable to issue county records as discrete units, some collections will not be large enough to warrant separate publication. Smaller collections such as Cumberland and Westmorland therefore will be bound together in one volume. As far as possible, these multiple collections will share a boundary, diocese, or general region; thus, we anticipate single volumes for Herefordshire/Worcestershire or Shropshire/Staffordshire. Occasionally, smaller collections from very different areas of Britain will be ready for simultaneous publication; our determination to make our records available to others at the earliest possible date will then lead to such pragmatic but unexpected combinations as Cumberland and Westmorland with Gloucestershire.

Within these volumes of multiple collections, the autonomy of individual counties will be observed. Where one editor has responsibility for two counties, there will be a common introduction, as illustrated by Dr Douglas' discussion of Cumberland and Westmorland (pp 5-52). In addition, patrons' list, glossaries, and index will be shared.

The diversity of locations and sources for county records presents more complex problems in organization. County records volumes will have two or more of the following major divisions: Boroughs and Parishes; Monasteries; Households; Diocese; County.

Within the Boroughs and Parishes or Monasteries division, records will be presented according to the location they refer to, in alphabetical order. Under each location, entries will then be arranged chronologically along the same pattern established in REED's civic volumes. Thus, in the Gloucestershire collection, records relating

to the parish of Bisley are printed as a chronological unit before the numerous entries from varied civic and ecclesiastical sources for the important borough of Gloucester.

The Household section differs only in its style of heading. Important families sometimes had more than one residence in a county and occasionally it has proved difficult to identify the exact location for family entertainments. Households, therefore, are sorted alphabetically by family name, with chronological arrangement of records within each household.

Many ecclesiastical records refer to specific parishes in a county and may be placed under the correct location within the Boroughs and Parishes section. Other documents, such as statutes or visitation articles, relate to a diocese as a whole; these are organized chronologically in a separate section and identified by diocese (as, for example, Diocese of Gloucester, pp 345–6).

Similarly, there are county or quarter session records which cannot be pinpointed to a particular location. Such general regulations, usually from county justices of the peace, will be grouped in chronological order within a County section.

## General Editorial Procedures

Editorial policy common to all three collections included in this volume is discussed below. More specialized concerns such as the selection and dating of entries are to be found in the introductions of the two editors.

### LAYOUT

Entries are preceded by date (wherever required to mark a change of year), MS or book identification, and folio, page, or membrane number. Where folio or page numbers have been supplied editorially, they are enclosed within square brackets. Italics are used to indicate dating and account subtitles supplied by the editors (eg, *Extraordinary fees*). An antiquarian source is indicated in the left-hand margin by the letter A (Antiquarian Compilation).

Every effort has been made to preserve manuscript layout (though not precise lineation). Right-hand marginalia have been set in the left margin of the text but this transposition is indicated by the symbol ®. Routine marginal account or date headings have been modernized as part of the editorial subtitles in the interests of consistency and ease of reference.

Emendations, scribal errors, and duplicate entries in related MSS are noted at the foot of the page. Textual notes are also used to identify dates, place-names, or persons mentioned in the text. Notes to the Kendal records in the Westmorland collection supply full personal names as a reference guide to the Appendix of Kendal Tradesmen (pp 220–5), which contains short biographies of the borough's officials and tradesmen, arranged alphabetically by surname. Endnotes are used for more extensive discussion of textual and dating difficulties and to provide biographical or historical material necessary for intelligible context.

## PUNCTUATION

The punctuation of the MSS has been retained. Virgules have been indicated as / and //. MS braces, line-fillers, otiose flourishes, and diacritics used to distinguish 'y' from 'p' and 'u' from 'n' have been omitted.

## SPELLING, CAPITALIZATION, AND EXPANSION

The spelling and capitalization of the original MSS have been preserved. 'ff' has been retained for 'F' while the standard and elongated forms of 'I' have been uniformly transcribed as 'I'. Ornamental and oversized capitals have been rendered as regular capitals. Where it has been difficult to tell whether a letter is upper or lower case, the lower case has been preferred.

Abbreviated words have been expanded according to scribal practice, with supplied letters italicized and superior letters lowered to the line. Where scribal spelling practice cannot be determined, abbreviations in Latin have been expanded to standard classical forms and in English to modern British forms. Abbreviations still in common use (eg, 's,' 'd,' 'lb,' '&c,' 'viz,' and 'Mr' with a title or surname) and those cumbersome to expand, such as those typical of weights and measures ('ob'), have been retained. Generally, a 'punctus' is supplied where there is some sign of abbreviation in the MS. 'xp' and 'Xp' have been expanded as 'christ' and 'Christ.' The sign *℥* has been expanded as 'es' in the English records except when it follows an 'e'.

Treatment of the superscript 'r' in the Westmorland records is an exceptional case. In WMB/K Chamberlains' Accounts and PRO: STAC/8/4/4, there is a clear distinction between a simple superscript 'r' (usually written '℞' as in 'receiu<sup>℞</sup>') and a mark of abbreviation sometimes combined with superscript '℞' (receiū<sup>℞</sup> or westm<sup>℞</sup>land). These two forms have been distinguished by transcribing the first group as 'receiur' without expansion, and the second group as 'receiuer' or 'westmerland' with expansion.

Place-names, personal names, and surnames have only been expanded to modern spelling where that is ascertainable. Marks of abbreviation were sometimes omitted in antiquarian copies of original documents; the resulting eccentricities, such as 'Ite' (for 'Item'), have been preserved without emendation in the text.

Sally-Beth MacLean  
Associate Editor



CUMBERLAND/WESTMORLAND



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# Acknowledgments

Various people have eased the passage of Cumberland and Westmorland dramatic records from archival identification to print. To all, my thanks. In particular I am grateful to Mr Bruce Jones and Miss Sheila Macpherson of the Cumbria Record Office (Carlisle and Kendal), together with their staff, for warm interest and help; to Dr Henry Summerson for advising me of the reference to the Carlisle miracle play; and to Dr Diana Wyatt, Professor John Elliott, and Professor David George for locating respectively material in the Public Record Office, the Library of Queen's College, Oxford, and the Cheshire Record Office. With respect to the German Miners' Accounts I am indebted for help to Dr Wolfram Baer, Archivdirektor, Stadtarchiv, Augsburg and to Herr Paul Warmbrun for identification of extracts from the accounts. Professor Eckehard Catholy of St Michael's College, Toronto, and Professor Michael Sheehan of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto, gave welcome assistance with problems of translation.

All the REED staff, past and present, have been consistently cheerful and supportive. I am especially grateful to Anne Quick and Abigail Young for preparation of the glossaries, and to Ian Lancashire and Theodore R. De Welles for invaluable bibliographic work. I also thank Donna Best, William Cooke, Cameron Louis, Darlene Money, Heather Phillips, William Rowcliffe, and Elza Tiner for their meticulous help; and of course Sally-Beth MacLean whose unfailing good sense and humour have gracefully sustained – and where necessary curbed – editorial zeal.



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# Historical Background

## Cumberland and Westmorland

The popular conception of Cumberland and Westmorland, lit by images of England's Lake District, is often tinged with nineteenth-century romanticism, for which Wordsworth's poetry perhaps provides the literary starting-point. While the rugged grandeur of the Cumbrian Mountains does indeed dominate the area, the topography is more varied than this picture normally admits.

The two counties are roughly confined to the most northwesterly bulge of England from which the Furness area (historically part of Lancashire but now in the new county of Cumbria) formerly took a large bite. The mountains at their oldest and highest form craggy peaks of slate and volcanic rock. On the west they are bounded by a narrow coastal plain of red sandstone and carboniferous limestone that runs north from the tip of Furness, eventually swinging eastwards and broadening into the low lying basin of Solway Firth, the border with Scotland. Geologically one with this plain are two principal river valleys, one formed by the Eden, flowing north into Solway Firth from its source in northern Westmorland, and the other by the Kent, flowing south through Westmorland into Morecambe Bay. The Eden and the Kent form an angled axis between the Cumbrian mountain range to the west and the Pennines to the east; along this axis are strung some of the more important towns of the two counties: Carlisle, Penrith, Appleby, and Kendal. Kendal itself is surrounded by a great northerly arc of Silurian rock, rolling moorland that stretches from Lake Windermere and Conistone Water in the west to well beyond the river Lune at the county border in the east.

Archaeology and place-name evidence attest a history that stretches back at least to Celtic and Roman times. An important legacy of Roman occupation was a network of roads converging on this strategic area – Roman Carlisle stood at the western end of Hadrian's Wall – that continued to serve generations of travellers well into the Middle Ages.<sup>1</sup> From the seventh to the twelfth centuries, first Anglian, then Norse settlers moved in, the latter from Irish bases as well as from Scandinavia. It was not until the time of Henry II, however, that the institution of the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland brought the inhabitants into the overall pattern of English local government. Carlisle was grouped with the honours of Coupland and Allerdale to

become the county of Cumberland, the baronies of Appleby and Kendal forming Westmorland. Some years earlier, in 1133, a new bishopric had been established at Carlisle. With the exception of certain Durham peculiars, Carlisle had jurisdiction over the major part of Cumberland and northern Westmorland, while the diocese of York, through the western deaneries of the archdeaconry of Richmond (Copeland, Kendal, and Lonsdale) had jurisdiction over the remainder of the two counties.

Even with the county structure, royal government continued to be remote, necessarily dependent in earlier centuries on the loyalty and co-operation of strong local lords (the Percys, Cliffords, and Dacres). The fifteenth century saw the introduction of new administrative measures. The Council of the North was created towards the end of the century and wardens were appointed for the West, Middle, and East Marches of the border. In this way the government sought not only to expedite matters of local administration, including criminal jurisdiction, but to stem the constant forays of borderers intent upon horse- and cattle-thieving, sometimes with wholesale destruction of local communities. About this time local obligations of border service were systematized and peel towers erected throughout the area as places of defence and refuge from raiders who penetrated through narrow valleys well into Westmorland. In 1537, after the Pilgrimage of Grace, the king's Council of the North took its final form as a solely administrative and judicial body. Wardens continued to exercise military powers, reporting directly to the central government. Both the council and the wardenries provided a solid training ground for the talents of the northern nobility and gentry. In 1603, with the union of the Scottish and English crowns in the person of James VI and I, a theoretical peace came to the border and the old military organization was superseded by extensive commissions addressed to prominent local men.

In the sixteenth century most of the population of Cumberland and Westmorland was still scattered over the region in small settlements, distinct from the larger compact villages of southern counties. The prevalent form of land tenure was a customary tenant right that gave relative security of tenure while requiring certain services and fines. Pastoral farming was dominant, though communities might co-operate in a strip system for hay and arable, together with common grazing on moor or fell for sheep and cattle. The production of wool, stimulated by thirteenth-century monastic initiative, provided a coarse-textured export and raw material for local cloth.

Among the larger communities the most important was Carlisle, not only in virtue of its age and royal charter, but as the seat of the bishopric and of the wardenry of the West March, with quarters for a permanent garrison. Kendal and Appleby, both in Westmorland, were the only other royal boroughs in the two counties. Kendal, incorporated in 1575 by royal charter, continued to function with close links to its manorial and agrarian origins. Elsewhere small market towns such as Egremont and Cockermouth in Cumberland, though styled boroughs, were dominated by a manorial structure of government that operated through a leet court. Other local communities were each governed by a select vestry or elected body of twelve or more

members, who dealt without discrimination in church or secular matters arising within the parish.<sup>2</sup>

The later sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries brought social and economic change to the region. The Reformation and its aftermath stirred movements ranging from the Pilgrimage of Grace, a rebellious outpouring of religious, political, and economic grievances, to the growth of Puritanism (especially in the Quaker communities of the seventeenth century) and the persecution of Catholic recusants. Organizational change established the new diocese of Chester in 1541, to which were transferred the western deaneries of the archdeaconry of Richmond. Properties confiscated at the suppression of historic abbeys (St Bee's, Lanercost, Holme Cultram, Shap) and of hospitals, chantries, and religious guilds passed into the hands of a new breed of gentry, intent upon the accumulation of lands and rents, and venturing into industry and trade. These men now gratified a taste for public service primarily in borough and county rather than as formerly in border administration. Their 'halls,' already distinguished by stone structure and fortified towers, were enlarged and ornamented as country seats. At the same time customary tenants were fighting to establish a basic right to security of tenure and precision of service in the apparent face of increased, or simply more efficient, landlord exploitation.

Famine and plague also brought disturbance to the economy of Cumberland and Westmorland in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Compared with southern England, the north at this period was more easily pushed 'past the edge of subsistence' by fluctuations in trade and failures of harvest.<sup>3</sup> The seventeenth century also saw significant new factors in the economy of the region: the establishment after 1603 of relative stability on the border, with consequent improvement in the security of traffic and market conditions; the emergence of the statesman, or yeoman farmer of the northwest counties, whose interests were closely allied to those of the textile trades; and an overall rise in urban population partly created by a changing rural land-market that forced men to leave the countryside for the towns.

In the sections that follow some brief details will be given to pinpoint the various locations and households that supply evidence of dramatic and musical activity within the two counties. As preamble the reader must bear in mind certain points that condition the outcome of such inquiry and that warn us not to expect a rich dramatic vein comparable to that mined elsewhere in England. First, until 1603 the region, especially its eastern half, was under perpetual threat from border warfare and raids destructive of life, of material goods (including documentary records), and of a sense of security and continuity. Second, the rural pattern of settlement was at all times sparse, with many small communities spread over the two counties; those people isolated in narrow mountain valleys or remote moorland dales probably maintained at most an intermittent contact with the outside world. Third, we must note the absence of any towns or cities possessed of both a long history and substantial economic importance, conditions necessary for an elaborate civic ceremonial, or at least for a propensity to lavish expenditure.

## Boroughs

### CARLISLE, CUMBERLAND

The medieval history of Carlisle as an English town begins with William Rufus. In 1092 the king made it his northern outpost against the Scots, driving out their allies, the Northumbrians, from the region and effectually establishing a frontier that ran from Solway Firth along the line of the Cheviot Hills to the river Tweed. Commanding the western plain encircling the firth, Carlisle and its castle, built by William Rufus, straddled various strategic routes, often utilizing portions of existing Roman roads. These ran south by way of Penrith and Shap to meet sundry ways through the Pennine dales; north into the Scottish lowlands; west into coastal Cumberland; and east into Northumbria along the old Roman Stanegate south of Hadrian's Wall. Well sited as a garrison town and market centre, Carlisle was also an obvious target for repeated Scottish onslaught.

Internally, the city's life is amply illustrated in the incident that marred the performance of a miracle play in 1342.<sup>4</sup> As a garrison town Carlisle had to cope with the demands and excesses of a resident body of troops and their commander, housed in the castle and its precincts. With the creation of the see of Carlisle in 1133, the Augustinian priory church had become the cathedral, the canons forming its chapter. When, as in 1342, episcopal and military powers were concentrated in the hands of one quick-tempered man, the bishop, John de Kirkeby, violence must have seethed close to the surface of civic life. In the early seventeenth century relations with the bishop were more cordial; he regularly entertained the mayor and brethren during Christmas, sometimes at Rose Castle, his country seat south of Carlisle, and Henry Robinson (1598–1616) in particular favoured at least one of the city's guilds with his patronage.<sup>5</sup>

In the late fifteenth century the garrison status of Carlisle was reinforced when, with the creation of the Council of the North, the northern border area was divided into East and West Marches. Carlisle, the seat of the warden of the West March, was linked by a chain of beacons with the countryside of Cumberland and Westmorland, and with part of Lancashire. Fire kindled on the high tower of the castle summoned forth border service owed by customary tenants in the region.

Carlisle had escaped absorption into the various baronies created by Henry I in the northwest of the kingdom, being kept in crown hands. A rudimentary burgage grant may have preceded a charter of Henry II that conferred on the burgesses of Carlisle quittance of tolls and a free merchant guild; by 1221 the citizens were farming the revenues of the city, thus obtaining some degree of self-government.<sup>6</sup>

Details of city government incidentally given by jurors testifying about the miracle-play fracas in 1342 are confirmed in a charter of 1353. The city had evidently attained a high degree of autonomy, with its own mayor, bailiffs, and coroners, and judicial privileges that encompassed 'pleas of the crown and all things belonging to the office

of ... sheriff.' A market was held on Wednesday and Saturday, with a two-week fair each year starting on 15 August.<sup>7</sup> Early in the reign of Elizabeth I, at the time the Dormont Book, the city's first extant register, was begun, the government is described as vested in a mayor and eleven other citizens, with a further group of twenty-four chosen by the eleven.<sup>8</sup> Some seventy years later, in 1636, a charter of Charles I confirms the existing municipal government of mayor, eleven citizens now termed aldermen, and twenty-four capital citizens, empowered to make and enforce by-laws; the mayor, the recorder, and two senior aldermen act as justices of the peace; there is a sword-bearer with three sergeants-at-mace; and the city has a leet court and view of frankpledge.<sup>9</sup>

In the seventeenth century Carlisle had eight occupations or guilds. The Dormont Book emphasizes their active and important role in municipal government: four members from each occupation were required to assist the mayor and brethren in the annual audit, the removal as necessary of civic officials, and the creation of new freemen; in addition they had custody of two of the four keys to the city's common chest.<sup>10</sup> The fullness of power delineated here is in sharp contrast to the subordinate role in civic government accorded the Kendal trades in the same period.

#### APPLEBY AND KENDAL, WESTMORLAND

In the early seventeenth century Appleby was governed by a mayor, twelve aldermen, and a common council of sixteen burgesses. The office of mayor is mentioned in the reign of Edward I, but Appleby's history as a royal borough goes back to the twelfth century, when Henry II granted a charter c. 1179. While no written record exists of any earlier creation of a borough, it is probable that burgage tenements were in fact laid out at the foot of Appleby Castle when it was built in about 1110. The church of St Lawrence, dating from the early twelfth century, together with the castle and the 'new town,' lay on the west bank of the river Eden, distinct from an older village and church on the opposite bank (the present Bongate).<sup>11</sup> The castle, as the seat of the barony of Westmorland, was held from the thirteenth century by the Cliffords, who also served as hereditary sheriffs of the county.

In 1200 King John granted the borough the right to farm its own revenues, a significant sign of municipal independence.<sup>12</sup> From 1295 Appleby sent two members to Parliament and from the mid-thirteenth century assizes were held in the town.

In the twelfth century the borough had also acquired generous trading privileges, modelled on those held by York. Appleby's geographic position, however, in the path of periodic Scottish incursion, hampered its economic development. The town was twice occupied by the Scots in the twelfth century and twice ravaged and burnt by the Scottish raiders in the fourteenth. Economically, its medieval history was that of a small, struggling market-town. Only after 1603, as hostilities in the border area gave way to a period of security, did Appleby show signs of a new, stable prosperity.<sup>13</sup>

Appleby's neighbour, Kendal, about twenty miles to the southwest in the valley of

the Kent, was the seat of Westmorland's other barony. Kendal's recorded history as a market town goes back to 1189, when Gilbert, son of Roger fitz Reinfred and husband of an heiress to the barony of Kendal, procured for the community a Saturday market. Subsequent royal grants in 1268 and 1333 provided annual three-day fairs in early summer and mid-October.<sup>14</sup> From the fourteenth century, Kendal's fortunes were linked to the manufacture of coarse woollen cloth, the famous 'Kendal green'; by the end of the fifteenth century booths, shops, shambles, and court-houses emerge as descriptive features of the town in rentals and surveys.<sup>15</sup> By this time also the barony as a whole – and thus also the manor of Kendal of which the town formed a part – had been partitioned among three fees. As a result the rents, tolls, and profits of justice arising from Kendal were now divided among the holders of properties subsequently known as the Richmond fee (representing half the barony), and the Marquis and Lumley fees (each representing one quarter of the barony).

Early in its history some form of burgage grant had been made to the inhabitants of Kendal by a holder of the barony. The earliest extant grant of liberties, made by William de Lancastre III, dates from the thirteenth century; subsequently Peter de Brus III, who married William's sister, Helewise, confirmed to the burgesses customs granted by his 'uncle' ('advinculus'), William de Lancastre.<sup>16</sup> The term, 'advinculus,' is ambiguous and perhaps misleading. The original borough may well have been founded by William de Lancastre II, grandfather to Helewise and steward to Henry II; thus the grant of a market in 1189 would have been for the support of an existing community.

It is evident from the various records documenting the history of Kendal that here as elsewhere in England burgage tenure, held for a free rent, conferred the basic right to alienate property and to answer to a borough court separate from that held for the manor.<sup>17</sup> In this way Kendal's burgesses were marked off from a number of customary tenants in the town whose burdens (heriot, gressum, and border service), shared with the mass of Westmorland tenantry, were the subject of widespread protest in 1621.

By 1575, when Kendal obtained a royal charter of incorporation, the Marquis and Richmond fees were both in the hands of Queen Elizabeth I, a circumstance that probably facilitated the grant. The Lumley fee had come to the Bellingham family; living at Levens, near Kendal, members of the family appear in the seventeenth-century chamberlains' accounts as patrons of the corporation and as supporters of the Kendal Stage Play of 1621.

The effect of the royal charter of 1575 was to strengthen and define the authority and jurisdiction of the existing borough, while retaining elements of the old manorial organization within which it had originated. The government of the newly incorporated borough was put in the hands of an alderman, twelve burgesses, and twenty-four assistants, with common seal. Two sergeants-at-mace executed processes and mandates. The alderman and senior burgess also served as justices of the peace together with the recorder, 'skilled in law,' who effectually replaced the old manorial steward.

The court of record, which met every three weeks, and the leet courts at Michaelmas and Easter were taken over from the older jurisdictional framework, though with the significant difference that profits now went to the corporation rather than to the holders of fees. Similarly the Richmond and Marquis tolls, still so designated in the new chamberlains' accounts, were now leased by the corporation for its own profit. The charter also confirmed the two annual fairs (now centred on holidays that fell on 25 April and 28 October) together with accompanying courts of piepowder.<sup>18</sup> In 1636 the original structure of the corporation was replaced by a mayor, twelve aldermen, and twenty burgesses; the enhanced status of the corporation was symbolized by the appointment of a sword-bearer.<sup>19</sup>

The real influence of the new borough government, however, was based in the power it received to make by-laws, allowing it to regulate trade and industry in the town and to make provision for all matters of municipal welfare and concern. From 1575 such acts, set down in the *Boke off Recorde*, the first register of the corporation, show that overall supervision of the various Kendal trades was an integral part of the corporation's business. Each of the twelve trades or guilds listed in the register elected either two or four wardens as officers responsible to the alderman and brethren. The wardens' oath of office, outlining their duties, shows that the corporation approved or amended draft orders brought forward by each trade after discussion in its own assembly, punished wrongdoers and profited from consequent fines, kept apprenticeship records, and supervised the activities of 'strangers' engaged in business in the town.<sup>21</sup>

Unfortunately, the role of the trades in Kendal before 1575 – a crucial consideration, as will be shown later in discussion of the Kendal Corpus Christi Play – cannot be traced, as there appears to be no extant documentation of their activities within the old manorial borough. The long history of Kendal as a borough, however, some hundreds of years before incorporation by royal charter, and the growth of its trade and manufactures from the fourteenth century, provide grounds for the assumption that industrial and trade associations were organized long before 1575 and that some form of regulatory supervision, perhaps shared between borough and lord, was in place before that date.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century there appears to have been a decline in the population of Kendal from a figure in 1576 that was possibly as high as 3300. Throughout the seventeenth century the number of inhabitants remained relatively stable, close to 2500. Not a large town by contemporary standards, Kendal nevertheless survived regional bouts of famine, disease, and high prices in the first four decades of the century to maintain itself as a relatively prosperous community. It continued to depend upon textile and, to a lesser extent, leather industries (though by the later seventeenth century the composition of these industries and their attendant work-force was changing) and to function in both local and long-distance trade. By the eighteenth century it was supplying its 'new' draperies or cottons to the competitive London market.<sup>22</sup>

## Households

### AUGSBURG MINERS: KESWICK, CUMBERLAND

German miners were brought to Keswick as part of a project aimed at developing an English metalworking industry. In 1564 the Company of Mines Royal was formed under royal licence. Daniel Hechstetter, an original party to the agreement then drawn up, acted as agent for David Haug and Hans Langnauer, an Augsburg business company with wide European connections in textiles, spices, and banking, that had recently acquired mining interests from the Austrian house of Fugger. Twenty-four shares in the new English company were sold, some on a fractional basis; while English shareholders of varying social degree outnumbered the German, the majority of shares were in the hands of Haug and Langnauer. The initial terms of the agreement gave the Company of Mines Royal rights in various northern and western counties and in Wales, but mining operations were from the start confined to the Keswick region – for example, in Borrowdale, Grasmere, Newlands, and Buttermere. Not only expertise and equipment were imported from the continent but workers as well, whose needs, from lodging to clothing, food, and utensils, were supplied by their employers on credit allowed against their earnings.

Management was provided by the Augsburg company's agent, who took up residence in Keswick. As records show, he was responsible for accounting to his superiors in Augsburg for all expenditures, not only those strictly related to the mining operation but also sundry items of a household or domestic nature. The various company men, whether Hechstetter himself, his occasional replacement, or his subordinates, seem with few exceptions to have been on good terms with local gentry, engaging them in company business and exchanging seasonal gifts. After a period of apparent hostility, the miners too were evidently accepted in the area; some of them married English women, lending an exotic flavour to the nomenclature found in local parish registers.

The expenses involved in funding the Keswick venture, however, were considerable and for a large part were consumed in buildings erected for the various mining and smelting operations. In 1577 Haug and Langnauer withdrew from the Company of Mines Royal. Daniel Hechstetter opted to remain in England to oversee the work he had initiated, but in 1580 the company was reorganized under new management and the German business interest was to all intents and purposes at an end.

### LOWTHERS OF WHITEHAVEN, CUMBERLAND AND LOWTHER, WESTMORLAND CURWEN OF WORKINGTON, CUMBERLAND

Among the local names that occur in the sixteenth-century Keswick accounts are those of the Lowther and Curwen families. For these members of the gentry the first four decades of Stuart rule in the following century were generally prosperous and peaceful

years in which personal fortunes were repaired or enhanced and the responsibilities of public life undertaken with conscientious energy. Connections with other families of similar social and economic standing were maintained through property transactions and intermarriage, often perversely reinforced through constant estate litigation. For the most part the Cumberland and Westmorland gentry were solidly royalist in sentiment and conservative in religion; a minority, among them the Curwens, were numbered actual recusants in the seventeenth century.<sup>23</sup>

At the heart of an influential county standing was the careful management of landed properties and interests, a policy that held it 'noe lesse good husbandry to improve the wast and baren ground, as to purchas new.'<sup>24</sup> From 1617 until his death twenty years later, Sir John Lowther, a lawyer, frugally husbanded his revenues in order to amass a considerable number of properties, especially in the immediate area of Lowther itself; by the time his son and eventual heir, the second Sir John, died in 1675, the family's interests reached from Westmorland into the neighbouring counties of Cumberland, Durham, and Yorkshire. Another son, Sir Christopher Lowther, was as a young man assigned an estate at Whitehaven in Cumberland that eventually became his inheritance; here he developed thriving commercial interests.

Sir Patricius Curwen succeeded his father Sir Henry, at Workington Hall, Cumberland, in 1623 when he was twenty-two years old, holding in addition other properties and manors in the immediate vicinity. Apart from landed revenues Sir Patricius shared the commercial interests of his Lowther neighbour at Whitehaven. The Curwen income was enhanced by the exploitation of resources such as fisheries and coal and iron mines, and by ventures into sea trade. Like the Lowthers, Sir Patricius took a keen personal interest in the management of his estates and income, keeping a careful eye on the accounts kept by his steward.

Both the Lowther and Curwen families had a longstanding role in public life. Sir John Lowther the elder was a justice of the peace and member of the Council of the North; his grandfather, Sir Richard Lowther, had briefly served as warden of the West March. Elected to Parliament, Sir John was also steward of the Richmond fee, negotiating the agreement made in 1619 between Prince Charles, the holder of the fee, and protesting tenants. The second Sir John succeeded his father in 1637. Also a member of Parliament and steward of the Richmond fee, he went on to become sheriff of the county of Cumberland in 1661.

Sir Patricius Curwen was created a baronet in 1627 and had a varied experience in public life. As a young man he helped levy and lead Cumberland forces for the expedition to relieve La Rochelle and its Huguenot garrison. In 1630 he became sheriff of Cumberland, as his father had been, and was later involved in the king's defensive preparations in face of Scottish invasion. As a royalist, he took an active part in the Civil War, sending on one occasion provisions at his own expense to the beleaguered garrison of Carlisle. Like the Lowthers, he was named among the delinquents who lost property by parliamentary sequestration for their part in the war.

While each of these families maintained a principal residence in the country, the

nature of their public and economic interests brought them into constant contact with the wider world of borough and county. The shrievalty gave the Curwens stature in Carlisle where the county assizes were held. Workington Hall itself, with its peel tower and medieval hall, went back to the fourteenth century, though two wings were added late in Elizabeth's reign. The Curwens' home overlooked the small town, the village of the manor of Workington, with its Wednesday market and two annual fairs. But the family's own commercial and mercantile interests were based on the little port of Workington, whose real growth took place in the next century. Even in the earlier period, however, it provided the Curwens with a seagoing link for trade in iron and coal to Scottish and Irish ports. In 1641 'Barronett Curwen' joined forces with the Lowther interests to lobby for a fixed customs duty for the export of coal throughout the king's dominions.<sup>25</sup>

In the middle years of the seventeenth century Lowther Hall was substantially rebuilt, though most of the work was done after 1642. Lowther Hall and its park, a few miles south of Penrith, stood close to the route south to Shap, which then branched to Kendal and Kirkby Stephen. In 1640 Sir John the younger, recently created a baronet, noted that the bulk of the extant structure consisted of two towers between which lay his father's new building (1630) on the site of an older traditional hall. The lead and wood of the new roof, stripped from Kirkoswald Castle in Cumberland, had been bought from the castle's owner, Lord William Howard.<sup>26</sup>

Within the northwest the Lowthers' interests gave them a varied connection with town life. In his early years the elder Sir John had divided his time largely between his estate at Maulds Meaburn, where a house was built in 1610, and Kendal where he stayed in winter, 'attendeing,' as he wrote in his memoir, 'the markett daye in my house for the resorte that come to me for my profession.'<sup>27</sup> This policy paid off not only in profits used to purchase land but in his appointment just before his death as recorder of Kendal under the new charter of 1636. The Lowthers also had firm connections with Appleby, where Sir John had attended the grammar school. In later years Lowther livestock was brought into Appleby to be sold, as well as to Penrith and Carlisle. In fact, trading interests prompted the second Sir John to buy a burgage tenement in Appleby about 1639, a trifle that recompensed him with freedom from toll.<sup>28</sup> His standing in the borough was eventually rewarded there (as in Kendal) with the post of recorder.

#### HOWARD OF NAWORTH, CUMBERLAND

Influential and prosperous as they were, the Lowther and Curwen families ranked far below Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle, a younger son of the fourth duke of Norfolk and without doubt the most powerful English border magnate of his time. At the beginning of the period for which his household books are extant (1612), he had settled with his large family to a prosperous and stable life at Naworth, enjoying a propertied existence that included the barony of Morpeth in Northumberland and

the Dacre and Greystoke baronies in Cumberland which were the inheritance of his wife Elizabeth. The Cumberland baronies had been finally secured in 1601, though only after a dozen years of litigation in which much money and labour had been spent fighting first a rival Dacre claimant, Elizabeth's uncle, and then the crown. (The fact that two members of the Lowther family acted for the queen in this matter sowed the seeds of enmity between the two houses.)

Built on an escarpment jutting towards the river Irthing, Naworth Castle lies a few miles northeast of Carlisle, close to the ancient Stanegate road that runs into Northumberland. For the Howard family the castle was well placed for the management of their affairs in the border counties. An old Dacre fortress, it no longer maintained a garrison, though on occasion it housed prisoners before they came to trial or sped Howard sons in pursuit of border trouble-makers.

Until 1618 the Howards seem to have been busy with the repair, maintenance, and consolidation of their various properties, making up for past losses and outlays by careful management. But in that year Lord William Howard was named as a commissioner for the government of the Middle Shires, which had replaced the old administrative units of the East and West Marches; thereafter he was active in the prosecution of the theft and violence that continued to plague the border area. As a young man, Lord William Howard had become a Roman Catholic. In later life, at a time when recusancy was seen as a threat to national security, his religion confined him to a local role in justice and administration. His Catholicism earned him the enmity and suspicion of government and neighbours alike. Sir John Lowther's hostility towards Lord William Howard was compounded of distrust of his religion and inevitable dislike of his frequent appearance in court as litigant, using methods that Sir John professed to find questionable.<sup>29</sup>

Educated at Cambridge, Lord William Howard retained all his life a scholarly interest in theology and history, in manuscripts (of which he had a fine collection), and in Roman antiquities. He had his own library in the castle, and corresponded with several literati of his time. In September 1640, an ailing old man, he left Naworth for Greystoke in face of threatened Scottish invasion and died there two weeks later.

#### CLIFFORD OF APPLEBY AND BROUGHAM, WESTMORLAND

In 1617 when James I came south from Carlisle on his return from Scotland, he was entertained at Brougham Castle, about twelve miles northwest of Appleby, by Francis Clifford, fourth earl of Cumberland, who had succeeded his brother George in 1605. George's daughter and only surviving offspring, the Lady Anne Clifford, had visited the Clifford estates in Westmorland as a child in 1607. In 1616 she was at Brougham to attend the funeral of her mother, Margaret, who had died after a brief residence in the castle. Apart from these interludes, Francis Clifford's reception of the king at Brougham in 1617 seems to have been the only occasion in the early seventeenth century when the Clifford family made any display of residence in Westmorland. No

doubt this was partly because prolonged lawsuits were waged against Francis Clifford, first by the countess Margaret on her daughter's behalf, and then by Anne herself, pressing a strong claim to the Clifford barony in Westmorland and the properties, such as Brougham and Appleby, that went with it. Francis Clifford's reception for James I in 1617 was certainly linked to a recent royal award in the current round of litigation, favourable to the earl. Nevertheless, the earl, who died in 1641, and his son and successor, who died two years later, seem to have prudently shunned Clifford properties west of the Pennines in favour of residence at Londesborough and Skipton in the North Riding of Yorkshire.<sup>30</sup>

In 1643 Anne was the twice widowed countess of Dorset and of Pembroke. By the fifth earl's death in this year she came into her long disputed inheritance, acquiring Clifford properties not only in Westmorland but in Yorkshire as well. From that time on she lived exclusively in the north, devoting a good deal of her fortune to the restoration of Clifford castles, including Appleby, Brough-under-Stainmore, Brougham, and Pendragon in Westmorland.

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# Drama, Music, Ceremony, and Custom

In summarizing the evidence presented largely by borough and household records, I shall examine first activity that is local in origin – plays, civic waits, drummers, and other performers – including comment on the particular round of events that distinguished the civic life of Carlisle. Second, I shall look at the incidence of visiting performers, such as players, waits, and musicians – ‘visiting’ in the sense that such groups came from outside the locality of the borough or household whose records note their appearance; in all but a few cases these visitors are also from outside the two counties. In particular I hope to show that Kendal and Carlisle as boroughs each display distinct characteristics: Kendal, a small market town, newly incorporated, its rudimentary ceremonial and entertainment largely linked to municipal events rooted in its economic and administrative structure; Carlisle, with a long history as a troubled border and garrison town, nevertheless marking its seventeenth-century calendar with customary celebrations stemming from an even older folk tradition.

## Local Activity

### PLAYS

The performance of a miracle play (*‘quoddam miraculum’*) in Carlisle in 1345 is only incidentally remarked by a jury concerned with the violence that brought the performance to a sudden end. Thus, while the date (31 July), the location (*‘in foro ... ciuitatis’*), and the performers (*‘clerici’*) are named, nothing of substance is gleaned about the play itself. It may be noted, though, that 31 July was not marked by any customary observance in the chamberlains’ accounts of the early seventeenth century. The role of ‘clerks’ in the performance suggests a play still close to its liturgical origins in which guild organization had no part. Unfortunately we can only speculate whether the clerks were cathedral personnel (though presumably the canons themselves would have been termed *‘canonici’* in the record) or whether they were perhaps drawn from St Cuthbert’s, a neighbouring parish church equally accessible to the market-place.

The Kendal Corpus Christi play, still in existence at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was possibly unique in English town life at this late period. Various sources,

both manuscript and antiquarian, document the history of the Kendal play between 1575 when the borough was incorporated and 1605 when the play was apparently suppressed. The *terminus a quo*, however, is misleading. Any assumption that the play sprang forth simultaneously with the birth of the corporation, based on a clause within a borough ordinance of 2 February 1575/6, breaks down when that evidence is examined in detail. Rather than an enactment providing for the establishment of the play, the ordinance is an attempt to limit attendance at dinners within the borough; it makes passing reference to the play in excluding from its terms such dinners 'as have bene comonlye vsed/at or vpon/Shotinges in long bowes, or metynges of men off Occupacions/aboute orders for their severall pagiandes of Corpus Christi playe.' The overall wording of this clause implies that the play's performance was already an established fact at the very beginning of Kendal's history as an incorporated borough.

The clause quoted is also important in two other respects. First, it reveals that the organization of the play lay in the hands of the occupations or guilds; a few years later we find additional evidence of this in a Shearmen's ordinance entered in the Boke off Recorde (1580-1), demanding a payment from all freemen admitted to the occupation 'besides Custome for the Playe.' Second, the clause is important in that it incidentally gives some solid detail about the play by referring to the 'severall pagiandes' that made up its content. Even so, it is clear that the Kendal play was stationary and not processional. An ordinance of 22 September 1586, aimed at better control of the licensing of plays, refers to the 'Playe of Corpus christi,' adding 'or any other stage playes,' while an entry in the chamberlains' accounts for 1600-1 indicates that the play was enacted in one particular street location. In 1612 Thomas Heywood referred to Kendal's 'stage-playes' in a curious statement about their origin and longevity.<sup>31</sup> A lingering memory of this nomenclature probably lies behind the wording of the Star Chamber interrogatories of 1622-3, which sought to elucidate details of the Kendal 'staige plaie' mounted in July 1621 by customary tenants of the barony.

Evidence confirming the religious content of the play comes from antiquarian writers later in the seventeenth century. In his diary John Shaw noted an interview in 1637 with an old man who had seen the Kendal play in his youth and was able to recall details of what must have been the crucifixion scene. Another diarist, Thomas Crosfield, alludes in 1638 to debate with his Oxford colleagues on whether the Kendal play ran contrary to canon law, constituting 'a kind of preaching or setting out of ye scripture to edification.' John Weever, in his *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (1631), claimed to have seen the Kendal play early in the reign of James I, before its suppression 'vpon good reasons' in circumstances he does not describe.<sup>32</sup> Entries in the chamberlains' accounts for 1605 show that an inquiry was carried out by commissioners (unidentified) at the time of the Easter leet court; journeys to York later that year, made by the vicar and the schoolmaster of Kendal, raise the possibility that the ecclesiastical high commission, which sat at York, was investigating charges against the corporation. Some years later Anthony Duckett, in his deposition concerning the Kendal Stage Play of 1621, revealed that Rowland Dawson, alderman at that time, had retained

so strong a memory of the circumstances of the suppression in 1605 that he was reluctant to license yet another stage play in the town.

The *Boke off Recorde* yields some further evidence about the play in the late sixteenth century. For play days as on other festival days, members of the corporation were required in 1575/6 to wear black caps and gowns, then in 1586 their 'best vyolat gownes'; these clauses were subsequently cancelled or repealed from their respective ordinances, possibly in or after 1605. The ordinance of September 1586 reveals that the borough was already divided over the play's performance. Ostensibly the enactment is concerned with the proper licensing of this and other plays, but the preamble suggests that public demand for the play was an embarrassment to the corporation, possibly on economic grounds – 'waste' was a constant cry in Kendal – or through fear of intervention by the authorities.

Entries in the chamberlains' accounts alluding to 'the play' (rather than to 'players') fall into two groups. One group associates performance with named individual citizens: we hear of the play 'at mr wilsons' and of 'mr Ingall play' (1587–8), and of a payment to John Collen 'for his lofte for ye playe' (1589–90); in the summer of 1594 a total of twenty-eight shillings is paid out for 'Sir potters' stage play. Without other detail it is impossible to elaborate on these entries, which provide food less for thought than for speculation. The second group, three entries for the early years of the seventeenth century, are more significant. 'Wine off the play daie' and 'paven of stret whear play was' (1600–1) point to a performance of Kendal's own play, especially in the usage, 'play daie,' consistently found in *Boke off Recorde* entries. In 1601–2 the chamberlain, John Robinson, was reimbursed for thirty shillings 'which he layd ovt about the play by appoyntment.' As far as the chamberlains' accounts are concerned, these entries mark what were apparently the last performances of the Kendal play, and perhaps therefore the events that occasioned the commissioners' inquiry of 1605.

#### CIVIC WAITS AND DRUMMERS

Both Carlisle and Kendal employed waits and drummers on certain civic occasions. The records show, however, that there were distinctions in status and function. Minimal evidence also exists for waits at Appleby.

There are only eight entries in the Carlisle chamberlains' accounts concerning waits' liveries; a coat is mentioned in 1602/3 and cloaks in 1624 for which broad red was purchased (as again in 1627). The waits' cash remuneration seems to have consisted of rewards at time of performance. Apart from his livery, the wait mentioned in 1602/3 has no recorded remuneration. All succeeding references are to 'waits', in 1624 specifically to two, who together received two shillings on each of two occasions. Thereafter the more usual payment appears to be two shillings and sixpence. A payment for cloth for 'pipers' (1638–9) is the sole indication over the whole period that the waits of Carlisle may have employed the smallpipes characteristic of the

northern region, bellows-blown, with chanter and drones. The only personal identification is provided in 1616 when Mr Thompson is named as the city's wait. Thompson is also rewarded, though not specifically as wait, twice in October 1614 (once at the election), with further payments to 'his boyes' both in that month and again in 1618.

The piecemeal evidence of Carlisle sources suggests that the waits performed a variety of functions. The leet court of October 1629 requested that with the sabbath excepted, the waits 'goe' from that time until Candlemas, morning and evening, and all Christmas. Four years later the leet made a similar request alluding to 'former Custome,' which may only date back to 1629, and 'such allowance as formerly they [the waits] haue had.' If this allowance was a particular fee allotted to midwinter duties, then it is not recorded in the chamberlains' accounts. Apart from liveries, the accounts enter payments for the waits' attendance at festivities on St John's and St Peter's Eves (1614), for 5 November, when the mayor usually held a dinner (1616), on Shrove Tuesday (1635-7), on All Hallow Thursday, and at the horse-race (1635). The Tanners reward the city's waits on All Hallow Thursday 1614 and 'waits' in their chamber on that day in 1613. One of the problems encountered here, as at Kendal, is the terminology employed. The Tanners consistently paid for 'waits' (1627-31) at their annual dinner on 28 October; earlier they paid 'musicions or waits' (1626) and 'musicians' (1618-25). The conclusion that these terms are synonymous with 'city waits' is supported by entries in the chamberlains' accounts for the period 1617-25. Here there are consistent references to musicians where, on other evidence, we should expect the city's waits to be named: for 5 November (1617, 1620), at the election (1620, 1624), on Shrove Tuesday (1620, 1622), All Hallow Thursday (1621, 1625), and at the horse-race (1621). Gaps in livery allowances that exist for the years 1618-19 and 1628 do not necessarily mean that waits were not appointed; in the Kendal accounts such gaps exist even while duties are maintained - we may suspect that liveries were simply handed on until they wore out.

During the period 1583-1640 twenty-four payments at irregular intervals were made for the Kendal waits' liveries, described as coats until 1613, and thereafter, with exceptions in 1615 and 1627-8, as cloaks. The fabric varied: 'blv' was bought in 1595, and grey and black frieze respectively in 1600 and 1603; after this date the choice was consistently broadcloth, described in 1603-4 and 1619 as red. The Kendal waits were not paid a fixed stipend on any periodic basis. On 7 November 1601 they received a reward of one shilling 'at theyr first Coming'; the occasion is not otherwise detailed, but the wording suggests a term of office coincident with the civic year that began at Michaelmas. As with the Carlisle waits, cash remuneration was routinely made at time of performance rising from one shilling, normally, in earlier years, to two shillings in 1618-19, and two shillings and sixpence in 1621-2, a sum which was more or less constant over the remainder of the period.

The actual number of waits employed by the corporation, or the number attending any one function, cannot always be determined with certainty. Several entries,

however, are indicative of numbers. In the autumn of 1603 sixpence was paid to Robert Hodgson who 'shold have beine the wait' – a circumstance unexplained – and the following spring a small allocation of cloth was made to 'the wayte.' Payment was made to Jasper Hey and his man for music at the Easter leet court of 1618, the only occasion when a wait (presumably) is identified by name and in a context that suggests a professional or experienced musician working with a subordinate. Three cloaks were purchased for the waits in 1636, the year in which Kendal elected its first mayor. Oddly enough, the enhanced status of the corporation does not seem to have generated more employment for the waits; thereafter they are noted as attending only one function, a leet dinner in 1637, although purchases continued to be made for their livery (1637–8, 1639–40).

The chief function of the Kendal waits was to attend the round of corporation dinners. During most of our period three dinners were routinely held during each alderman's term of office – those marking his election at Michaelmas, the immediately following leet court, and the Easter court of the next year. Occasionally the waits attended the alderman's dinner,<sup>33</sup> and for a period of time (1617–31) the corporation venison feasts held in late summer.

It is evident from the bare bones of entries in the accounts that these dinners were relatively informal affairs, at which leading citizens (alderman, burgesses, assistants, and their wives) sat down with whatever guests the occasion allowed or demanded. Sometimes we glimpse that the event was housed in a local inn or tavern – the 1590 election dinner at Christopher Fox's, for instance, and the venison feast of 1626 at Peter Huggon's. More often wives of local men in good standing with the corporation are named as catering the victuals for the company. It is probable (and sometimes documented) that they ran taverns or eating-houses to supplement their husbands' living. The wives of James Ayrey, William Warriner, and William Chamber (at various times sergeants-at-mace) performed this service, Mrs Chamber holding almost uninterrupted sway for twenty years (1616–36). Whether these women always provided the accommodation for the dinners is not clear from the accounts, though it is very likely. The Moot Hall, built in 1592, would have been the only other contender for this honour, but no confirmatory glimpse of it as a location for corporation dinners is afforded in the accounts. Wherever the dinner was held, however, some distinction of status seems to have been preserved in the seating and serving of guests.<sup>34</sup> From about 1620 until the middle 1630s the corporation dinners moved through their heyday. Numbers were large (eighty-two persons at the 1629 election dinner), with the consumption of wine with the meal and 'drinke' after (probably beer), accompanied from 1628 by a choice of tobaccos. This was also the period of the venison feast, with meat supplied by courtesy of local nobility and gentry. In this sort of atmosphere, we can visualize Kendal's waits as providing not ceremony but entertainment for the added pleasure of the company bidden to dine at corporation expense.

Kendal's waits were rarely employed outside these routine functions. In 1587 they helped celebrate Queen's Day (17 November) for which the bells of Kendal parish

church were always rung; they greeted Dr Henry Robinson, the provost of Queen's College, Oxford, as he passed through Kendal (1591-2), and in 1596 they sped a contingent of Kendal men on the way to answer a summons to border service 'at bvrning of bekens.'

Terminology other than 'waits' occurs in the Kendal accounts. The 'minstrels' mentioned at dinners in 1588 and in each year 1596-8 were probably the waits; coats had already been provided for them before that time so they must have been an established feature of town life. Similarly we should probably read 'waits' for 'minstrel' references that occur for 5 August 1604 and for 1617 at the venison feast. The mention of 'pipers' at the 1595 election dinner and two dinners in 1600-1 (a year when they are also provided with liveries) suggests that, as in Carlisle, the waits employed the local smallpipes.

For Appleby there is only scant information about the wait (or waits), and it is impossible to form any picture of a civic function. The extant chamberlains' accounts (1585, 1609-30 with gaps) refer only three times to the possible existence of a wait, in the form of payments for the 'piper': ten shillings for his coat in 1609-10, and for his wages ten shillings in 1610-11 and sixpence in 1614-15. The waits of Appleby (in plural form) are noted in the Carlisle accounts as visiting the city twice in early spring (1610/11, 1614) and again in 1618/19. The apparently contradictory evidence of numbers and the suddenly deflated wage pose problems that cannot be answered within the context of the documents transcribed. Both are symptomatic, however, of a more universal difficulty rooted in problems of terminology: the term 'waits,' for instance, whenever it occurs in a municipal context should be allowed a good deal of flexibility. It may denote a well-developed professional organization such as the York waits. At the other extreme we may be dealing with no more than a fluctuating group - one or more local musicians - who receive little but sporadic patronage, if that, from their home town. Among the latter, in all likelihood, were the waits of the various small communities - Keswick, Millom, Kirkby Thore, Askrigg, even Appleby - named in the Carlisle accounts.

Both Carlisle and Kendal employed a drummer, though each on entirely different terms. While references to the drummer or the drum in Kendal are sporadic, we have some indication of who played it and when. The drum was beaten at the dispatch of border service in 1596 and 1601, and on 5 August (Gowrie Day) in 1604. Garnett, the man who twice played for Queen's Day (1587, 1593) is probably the cobbler, Edward Garnett, who mended the drum in 1594 (WMB/K, Chamberlains' Accounts, Book 8 f [17]). Similarly Edward Archer, sworn to the occupation of Wrights, was twice paid for beating on Queen's Day (1601-2), again in 1608, and also for repairs in 1602 (Book 16 f [21]). Rewarded on an ad hoc basis, the Kendal drummer was drawn from the artisan ranks of society, perhaps as much for his ability to keep the instrument in good repair as for his ability to play it.

Carlisle's drummer, on the other hand, enjoyed a certain status and security of tenure, signs of a more professional standing. He was retained on an annual or

quarterly basis for a fixed fee that stood at twenty shillings per annum until halved in the account for 1616-17 to ten shillings, a sum constant to the end of the period. In addition there are eight disbursements for the drummer's livery or coat (broadcloth in 1604, red kersey in 1627-8). Until he died, apparently in the winter of 1621-2, Nicholas Hudson was named as the city's drummer and another Hudson, probably a relative, was listed as drummer for the first quarter of 1642. Apart from regularly recurring entries for fees, however, there is scant information on the role of the drummer in Carlisle's civic life. Nicholas Hudson is among the 275 people who received in 1614 a gift of money customarily distributed at Midsummer, with a further charitable gift at the time of a sickness that probably led to his death. In 1635 the city's drummer attended the horse-races on Kingmoor for two days, while Richard Hudson, (probably the same 'Hudson' who is named in 1642) performed on Shrove Tuesday 1638/9.

From 1638, with the approach of civil war, the town drummers of Kendal and Carlisle were drawn into an increasingly military role. As the need for defensive preparations became apparent, payments for drum and drummer become more frequent. In Kendal these are linked to the activities of the locally raised 'trained soldiers'.<sup>35</sup> In the Carlisle chamberlains' accounts, payments also begin to appear for trumpeter and drummers belonging to the military, perhaps to the garrison itself.<sup>36</sup>

#### OTHER LOCAL PERFORMERS

Discussion of waits and drummer form the only grounds for direct comparison between Kendal and Carlisle, for the latter's accounts feature individuals not paralleled in the former. For instance, in Carlisle sums varying from one shilling to two and sixpence were paid to John Burton or John Trumpeter over the years 1602-20. Specific information for some years, coupled with the placing of entries for others, indicates that his most regular appearance was on election day, sometimes with waits or musicians. John Burton also took part in festivities on All Hallow Thursday in 1603, 1617, and 1618; on this occasion in 1615 he was described as an 'intruder' (interluder). He was also paid for his services on 1 January 1602/3 and with a New Year's gift in January 1608/9. Of added interest is the fact that a 'John Trumpeter' visited Naworth five times in the years 1612-20; the virtual coincidence of his subsequent absence from the Naworth accounts and from the Carlisle accounts after 1620 confirms his identity as John Burton of Carlisle and suggests, moreover, that he died shortly afterwards.

While we may speculate about the death of John Trumpeter in the winter of 1620-1, it is certain that a more colourful character, 'Willyam miller the Citeye foule,' died about then, since his funeral expenses are entered early in the account for that year. Entries for Willy the Fool occur regularly from December 1610 and give us some glimpses of his role in the life of the city. In the 1614-15 account he is described as 'ye naturall ffoole'; shirts, shoes, hose, and coat were routinely purchased for him, with expenses entered for fabric, tailoring, and repair. Red and white kersey for his coat, with a small quantity of canvas, were bought three times 1614-17; other distinctive items

include two bells and a feather (1614), a 'sack,' and a pair of 'dulle sole' shoes (1617-18).

There is some tenuous evidence that the fool, or if not always he then some other person, had a special part to play in entertainment at Christmas. Fabric for the fool's coat in 1617 is grouped with other such purchases for the city's 'Christames sportes.' Similarly in 1614 and 1619 shoes and stockings were bought for Willy just before Christmas. Further details from the beginning and end of Willy's tenure suggest that a 'lord' or 'abbot' presided over the Christmas festivities. In December 1610 an entry for Willy's shoes is followed on 26 December by the purchase of other items of clothing - a hat, coat, and red broadcloth - delivered not to the fool this time but to 'my lord Abbot.' In 1620 there is a payment for 'the lords coat against Christinmes.' Willy died, however, probably in the winter of 1620-1, so that the role of Christmas lord may on that occasion have been played by someone else.

Other glimpses of the fool's activities are seen in the summer of 1614. The kersey, bell, and feather bought then were probably intended for him to wear at the celebrations on St John's and St Peter's Eves in the last week of June. In the same period he is named as present at the mayor's house, carrying (perhaps dispensing) wine and sugar. Later he was outfitted with clothes for the assizes, possibly for an appearance at an entertainment or dinner following the court session.

On All Hallow Thursday 1605 payment was made for 'one that was foole'; unfortunately, gaps in the accounts make it impossible to determine whether this character was Willy himself, since we cannot pinpoint the beginning date of his career with certainty. But the noncommittal phrasing of the entry suggests that even if the reference was to Willy Miller, he had not yet become an acknowledged protégé of the city of Carlisle.

When we turn to household accounts we catch a glimpse of local musicians who had a role not only in the domestic life of gentry and noble families but in the work place on their estates. At Naworth the Howards employed John Mulcaster to entertain during the Christmas season (1629/30, 1633/4). At Workington the Curwens had Bodell, a local fiddler, and a piper often named as Anthony Troughton; here too there was piping at Christmas on a good many occasions between 1625 and 1640, as also at Hackthorpe Hall, Westmorland when Sir John Lowther the younger was in residence in 1635/6. The Workington piper was also employed at harvest time in almost every year between 1628 and 1640, a season when he earned twopence a day for periods ranging from nine to seventeen days. It is not clear whether he entertained at a meal concluding each day's work (which the small sum would suggest) or whether his airs, like functional reapers' songs, kept the harvest workers advancing in a steady and even line through the fields.

#### CARLISLE'S CUSTOMARY CALENDAR

A varied schedule of events was encompassed in Carlisle's mayoral year, distinguishing

the borough from Kendal, whose municipal entertainment was chiefly linked to routine events in the corporation's administrative round. In Carlisle the first significant occasion in the mayor's term of office was Gunpowder or Conspiracy Day on 5 November, normally marked by a dinner with accompanying entertainment sometimes detailed in the accounts. Scholars from Carlisle Grammar School appear four times in the period 1619–36, performing a 'speech play' or oration before the mayor's guests assembled at dinner, and in 1639 they were responsible for the bell-ringing (CA/4/2 f [190]), a consistent feature of the city's celebration of 5 November. In other years various musicians entertained at the dinner (1617, 1620; in 1616 together with a juggler) and in 1616 and 1620 payment was also made for a wake.

The next event on the mayoral calendar was the Shrove Tuesday games. These are occasionally called 'silverplay,' 'play,' or 'silver' games, but in such cases evidence of date and content confirms a Shrove Tuesday context. Except for the accounting years 1621–2 and 1624–5, there are entries for this event in every year for which chamberlains' accounts are extant. Apart from small itemized payments a lump sum was normally laid out, rising from a low of 15s 6d (10 March 1602/3) to erratic peaks in later years, of which the highest was £1 8s (21 February 1636/7.) The city merchant, Edward Dalton, acted as something of a Shrove Tuesday impresario, receiving a number of these large payments from 17 February 1617/18 to 21 February 1636/7.

The games traditionally took place at the Swifts, a low lying area of land just east of the modern Eden Bridge, on the south bank of the river.<sup>37</sup> On 5 February 1610/11 the accounts give their first indication that the Shrove Tuesday event centred on a game of football, with payment for the ball; on 8 March 1613/14 there was a reward for the boy 'that wonn the foote Ball.' While entries for this sport continue throughout the period, repair to the hammer shaft is mentioned for the first time on 9 February 1618/19 and again on 26 February 1627/8, when 'acocke ... & ... makeinge his pitts' forms yet another item. These two events each appear twice more in the next decade. On 21 February 1636/7 one shilling was paid for a piece of cloth on which to put the games: was this simply a custodial measure, or does it indicate a new event, such as bowls, for instance? More problematic are allusions to gunners, who made use of a door (sometimes with a sheet of 'pastboard') at the games in 1627/8 and on four occasions in the next decade. What sort of activity the gunners engaged in and who they were, cannot be elucidated from the accounts. It is conceivable that in the interest of good public relations the city invited a contingent from the garrison to display its prowess in a performance that may have involved a mock battle or some other form of scenic representation. On several occasions the accounts show that music was part of the Shrove Tuesday celebrations, with payments made to waits or musicians, or to named individual performers; the drummer, Richard Hudson, and musicians, performed in 1638/9 at the last Shrove Tuesday celebration recorded in the accounts.

All Hallow Thursday (Ascension Day) was another major occasion for the city of Carlisle, not relinquished even in the troubled year of 1643, when performances on two drums were paid for (CA/4/2 f [205]). Chamberlains' and guild accounts show

that the celebration focused on a circuit of local boundaries, an activity long associated in Christian tradition with the Rogation days immediately preceding Ascension Day. At Carlisle, all the occupations joined the mayor and brethren of the corporation in a riding of the boundaries of Kingmoor to the north of the city. From 1593 to 1635 payments are frequently entered for entertainment on this day, variously the trumpeter, waits, musicians, a fool, a fiddler, a juggler, and in 1611 simply 'the plaie.' These presentations were probably given publicly, the trumpeter and waits perhaps accompanying the riding with other forms of entertainment reserved for the procession's return to the city. Later on in the day the occupations assembled in their individual chambers for fare such as bread, cheese, cakes, and ale, sometimes enjoying their own music, as did the Tanners in 1613, 1614, and 1636, and the Merchants in 1629 and 1633. The twenty shillings uniformly paid out to the occupations on this day evidently broke down into a traditional gratuity of 2s 6d given to each of them by the mayor. After retiring with the brethren to the high chamber for refreshments, the mayor went on to visit the other chambers, sharing wine with the assembled members of each occupation. On most occasions disbursements for the day included money spent on gunpowder and we may speculate that the holiday ended with a gunnery, or more probably a fireworks display, an event to which the occasional but distinct label of 'summer games' in the chamberlains' accounts may apply.<sup>38</sup>

Kingmoor was the scene of another Carlisle event, though one only intermittently staged during the period 1621–37. This was the horse-race, run in May according to the chamberlains' accounts, some days after the boundary-riding had taken place. Horse racing in Carlisle had late sixteenth-century antecedents.<sup>39</sup> In the first twenty years of the seventeenth century it seems to have been discontinued, for it receives no explicit mention in extant civic records until April 1619, when the leet court requested that racing be resumed, urging the mayor and brethren to 'call for' (seek out from a previous holder, perhaps) 'the silver broad Arrowes and the Stock and the horse ... Bels'; these, with an additional silver-gilt cup to the value of £5 were to maintain a yearly race under an articulated agreement that the cup be awarded not outright but on a year-to-year basis. Items concerning a case for this 'boule' and for the writing of the articles were entered in the 1620–1 account. The chamberlains' accounts, however, afford evidence of the race itself only for 1621, 1631, 1635, and 1637, other sources pointing to a possible fifth event in 1636. Entries provide glimpses of weights and a scale carried to Kingmoor, of halberdiers needed to control the crowd, and of the mayor entertaining favoured visitors such as the sons of Lord William Howard of Naworth. On two occasions (1621, 1635) musicians or waits form part of the day's entertainment. In March 1635/6 an ordinance forbade the city's waits to receive what must have been a customary gratuity when they attended the horse-race.

Details, not always cogent, of prizes awarded may also be gleaned from the Chamberlains' Audit Book and guild accounts. Possibly the silver-gilt cup was never brought in after its first presentation or else other races were added, for we find the city paying for a gilt bowl in 1631 and plate in 1635 and 1636. In 1632–3 the

occupations began to subscribe to further awards, perhaps sensing benefits accruing to the city's commercial life from the popularity of the event. The Tanners contributed to the purchase of one dozen silver spoons (as apparently did the other occupations) intended for a 'third Course of Horse rase.' The Merchants in the same year gave money towards the renewing of 'a Runninge Bowle,' with further sums collected for plate over the years 1633-6.

St John's Eve and St Peter's Eve, towards the end of June, together provide the last traditional event in the mayoral year. In 1614 we have a glimpse of what was already a vestigial remainder of a Midsummer celebration, with payments for butchers' and sergeants' wakes, watchers either night, the waits, and a corporation banquet perhaps held as part of the festivities. In subsequent years the twofold occasion is seen as a time for the distribution of money to the corporation's pensioners, the chamberlains' accounts providing no further evidence of Midsummer revelry.

## Visiting Performers

### PLAYERS

According to the Kendal chamberlains' accounts, forty visits from groups of players occurred between 1585 and 1637. The Carlisle accounts show thirty-four visits from players between 1602-3 and 1639. Bearing in mind the gaps in the latter source, we may estimate that Carlisle was in fact the more popular venue, one factor perhaps being that the cash reward earned there was on the average higher than in Kendal. Matching years in borough and/or household accounts occasionally allow us to see players' companies visiting two locations within a period of weeks or even days: for instance, players of the earl of Sussex visited both Carlisle and Kendal in the autumn of 1617, as did the queen's players in the following spring, and the king's players in the latter days of February 1622/3 and early August 1627. Similarly the prince's players were at Carlisle and Naworth in the winter of 1621/2 and Lord Strange's players at Workington and Kendal in October 1636. There is only rare indication of whether players' visits were timed to exploit local events or circumstances. In November 1585 Lord Morley's players enlivened the banquet given for the auditors at Kendal, players performed there in the newly built Moot Hall in 1592-3, and the visit of the prince's players in 1623 (and also possibly the king's in 1625/6) coincided with the period of the Easter leet court. Local patrons are in evidence. The players of Edward, Lord Morley, and of his son, William, Lord Mouteagle, whose family seat was at Hornby Castle in Lancashire, appear five times between 1585 and 1614. The players of Philip, Lord Wharton, who died in 1625, and of his grandson and heir, also Philip, appear sixteen times between 1600 and 1638.

Several groups of players are denoted by provenance rather than by patron. The sums paid to them are large enough to discount the theory that 'players' is a term here synonymous with 'waits' or 'musicians.' With one exception - the Penrith players at

Naworth in November 1622 – payments fall within the January–February period. Payments to players visiting Carlisle from Penrith (1602/3) and to the local Warwick players at Naworth (1624/5) are dated from early January, indicating that performances were linked with Christmas or Epiphany celebrations. Visits of the Cockermouth players to Workington, however, in February 1628/9 and 1633/4 may hint at a Shrovetide connection.

#### WAITS AND MUSICIANS

A noticeable feature of the Kendal accounts is that no entries are recorded for waits from outside the town. In Carlisle, however, 'stranger' waits are frequently rewarded. The poverty of Kendal citizens as compared to those of Carlisle may explain this difference, or perhaps the fact that there were better opportunities for performance in the various traditional outdoor events of Carlisle's calendar. As a garrison town and the major crossing point between Scotland and England, Carlisle may well have exercised a unique attraction. It is difficult to see, though, why this attraction would not also have influenced the itinerary of players by drawing the various companies northward to the exclusion of Kendal. Furthermore, it is unlikely, though not impossible, that the waits of Kendal were able to maintain the same kind of closed shop as did their more prestigious counterparts at York, though they would certainly have won the backing of the corporation had they tried.

Judging from the number of entries in the Carlisle, Naworth, and Lowther accounts, the most frequently heard visiting waits travelled from their home towns of Penrith, Cumberland (26 entries); Kendal, Westmorland (18); and Lancaster, in the next county (11) – statistics that reflect the comparative distance of each borough from Carlisle. Other waits, local in that they originated in the western Pennines area, came from the Westmorland communities of Appleby (3 entries), Kirkby Thore, Kirkby Stephen, Orton, and Kirkby Lonsdale, and from Cockermouth, Keswick, and Millom in Cumberland. A diverse group of visitors hailed from north and west Yorkshire, journeying westward through the Pennines to arrive in Carlisle as early as March. These included waits from Barnard Castle in Teesdale; Richmond at the bottom of Swaledale (4 entries); Middleham (6 entries), Askrigg, Bedale, and Thirsk in or near Wensleydale; Ripon (11 entries) and Knaresborough in the Vale of York, with the city of York itself; and finally a concentration of communities in the Aire-Calder region: Wakefield (7 entries), Halifax (5), Leeds, Bradford, and Doncaster. From farther away came the waits of Durham, Newcastle upon Tyne, Lincoln (8 entries), and – farthest of all – the waits of Edinburgh, Bristol, and Canterbury. While in sum these entries reflect a wide provenance of waits visiting the northwest of England, several groups are named only once in the overall period of the accounts; in fact only visits from the waits of Penrith, Kendal, and Middleham (from 1608–9) span the entirety of the period covered in the accounts.<sup>40</sup>

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# The Documents

The transcriptions have been primarily organized by county; within each county they are subdivided into two sections, Boroughs and Households. It must be stressed that these are titles descriptive of institutions rather than of classes of record. Under the former, for each borough, are grouped various classes of records: 'public' or government, borough (court records, chamberlains' accounts), and guild, all bearing upon dramatic activities within the context of civic life. The latter title, on the other hand, comprises accounts drawn from private sources – household or estate – that illustrate such activities in the context of domestic or household life. Each borough and household is thus dealt with as an entity, its materials organized chronologically under yearly headings.

For the descriptions that follow, two points should be noted. First, in the case of a series or collection of manuscripts, a detailed description is given only of those volumes or individual documents from which material is transcribed. Second, errors in foliation in original manuscripts (folios omitted, gaps or repetition in numbering) and details of torn or missing folios are noted only where relevant to a particular problem in transcription.

## Cumberland

### BOROUGHs

#### *Carlisle*

##### Parliamentary and Council Proceedings

London; Public Record Office, C49/46/16; 26 September 1345; Latin; parchment; 10 membranes of varied size; modern numbering 1–10; bound in file, stiff back, limp front, white buckram, with title on front cover.

Mb 8: 240mm × 288mm (227mm × 275mm); fair condition, 2 small holes in text. Mb 10: 394mm × 315mm (300mm × 300mm); poor condition, but repaired, with some discolouration obliterating text, small cuts at sides, tear at right side, and two small holes at left side.

## Letter of Henry Scrope

London, British Library, Egerton MS 2598; 1589–93; English; paper; ii (modern) + 279 (original) + ii (modern); folio size varies (f 82, 305mm × 196mm); manuscript made up of single leaves; late 19th century foliation; good condition, with repairs throughout; British Library binding, 19th century, red leather over board covers stamped with Egerton arms in gold, spine has shelf mark and title: 'Correspondence and Papers of William Asheby, of Loseby, co. Leicester, during his embassy to Scotland ... July 1588 [–] January 1589/90 [and continuing to] 1593.' The document was transcribed by Anna Jean Mill, *Mediaeval Plays in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1927), p 299.

## Chamberlains' Accounts 1

Carlisle, Cumbria Record Office, CA/4/1; 1602–19; English; paper; iii (modern) + 76 (interspersed original and modern) + vi (modern); average original folio size 301mm × 190mm (275mm × 156mm), 37 lines per page; six paper booklets gathered between and individually separated by blank modern folios of uniform size; unfoliated; poor to fair condition, discolouration or fading at upper and lower edges, marginal decay, minor repairs; bound in leather (325mm × 201mm), covered with heavy mottled grey paper originally sealed to cover inside with wax, spine labelled, 'Chamberlains' Accounts Vol I 1602–3 | 1605–6 | 1608–9 | 1610–11 | 1618–19.'

## Chamberlains' Accounts 2

Carlisle, Cumbria Record Office, CA/4/2; 1613–44; English; paper; iii (modern) + 215 (interspersed original and modern) + iii (modern); average original folio size 393mm × 148mm (360mm × 130mm), 55 lines per page (except 1617–18: 308mm × 104mm (294mm × 77mm), 30 lines); 20 paper booklets, gathered between and separated by blank modern folios of uniform size; unfoliated; poor to good condition, discolouration and fading, some ff torn or perforated, decay at margins (occasionally severe); bound in brown calf (410mm × 155mm), scroll decoration at edges, civic crest stamped in gold, bottom front and spine, title in gold, centred front: 'Corporation of Carlisle, Chamberlains' Accounts, Vol II. Various Years, 1613–1644.'

For each volume I have ascribed sequential foliation from the first to the last original folios, including all blank folios, both original and modern, that lie between; thus for volume 1, ff [1–76v], and for volume 2, ff [1–215v].

Two chamberlains (occasionally one towards the end of the period) were chosen annually at or after Michaelmas to handle the revenues and expenditures of the corporation. REED items are found only in the record of disbursements. These are not uniformly recorded 1602–42. Certain groups may be categorized under separate heads (eg, Benevolences, Rewards) or by marginal notation (eg, 'Reward,' 'ffoole') throughout an untitled disbursements section. Fees are always listed under separate title. Up to 1628, with some exceptions, the accounts are drawn up annually; from 1634 they are given on a quarterly basis for each year, the periods ending at St Thomas's Day (21 December) or Christmas, Our Lady Day (25 March), St John's Day (24 June) and

Michaelmas (29 September). Chamberlains might assume joint responsibility for the whole year, or divide the quarters between them (as described in the endnotes).

In the chronological table that follows, each account is briefly described with reference to titles (abbreviated and modernized) from which material is excerpted in the text.

There is no actual account for 1605–6, though f [30v] is endorsed as the chamberlains' account for that year. This folio may be the last of the 1604–5 account, the endorsement based on a misunderstanding of a heading, f [28v], for demissions made by Henry Baines, mayor in 1604, to be accounted for by John Raven and William Raven at Our Lady Day (25 March), 1606. Baines's demissions (authorization of leasing of city revenues – see p 159, endnote to CA/4/9 f [25]) would have been made for the year 1604–5 at his retirement (September 1604); the Ravens, as chamberlains for that year, would have accounted for these demissions six months after their own retirement (Michaelmas 1605), that is, in the following March (see below, Chamberlains' Audit Book). The date, Our Lady Day 1606, given in the heading, may thus have been misinterpreted as the end date of the accounting period, rather than being more correctly understood as the date of the subsequent audit. A summary of the account categories for 1602–43 follows:

1602–3	CA/4/1	ff [1–20v]	Disbursements, Fees, Benevolences, Wine (annual)
1604–5	CA/4/1	ff [22–8v]	Disbursements, Fees, Benevolences, Wine (annual)
1608–9	CA/4/1	ff [32–47v]	Disbursements, Fees (annual)
1610–11	CA/4/1	ff [49–61v]	Disbursements, Fees (annual)
1613–14	CA/4/1	ff [1–15v]	Disbursements, Fees (annual); Disbursements on St John's Eve and St Peter's Eve
1614–15	CA/4/2	ff [17–22v]	Disbursements, Fees (annual)
1616–17	CA/4/2	ff [24–33v]	Disbursements, Fees (annual)
1617–18	CA/4/2	ff [35–41] ff [42–57]	Receipts Disbursements with marginal categorization, Fees (quarterly)
1618–19	CA/4/1	ff [63–76v]	Ordinary, Rewards, Fees, Liveries (annual)
1619–20	CA/4/2	ff [78–86v]	Disbursements in two separate but concurrent accounts, Fees (annual)
1620–1	CA/4/2	ff [88–94v]	Disbursements, Fees (annual)
1621–2	CA/4/2	ff [96–101v]	Disbursements with marginal categorization, Fees (annual)

1621-2	CA/4/2	ff [103-7v]	Draft of above - Disbursements (annual)
1622-3	CA/4/2	ff [109-14v]	Disbursements (annual)
1624-5	CA/4/2	ff [116-25v]	Disbursements (annual); Fees (quarterly)
1626-7	CA/4/2	ff [127-33v]	Disbursements (annual); Fees (quarterly)
1627-8	CA/4/2	ff [135-42v]	Disbursements (annual); Fees (quarterly)
1634-5	CA/4/2	ff [144-51v]	Disbursements, Fees (quarterly)
1635-6	CA/4/2	ff [153-63v]	Disbursements, Fees (quarterly)
1636-7	CA/4/2	ff [165-78v]	Disbursements, Fees (quarterly)
1638-9	CA/4/2	ff [180-7v]	Disbursements, Fees (quarterly)
1639-40	CA/4/2	ff [189-97v]	Disbursements, Fees (quarterly)
1642-3	CA/4/2	ff [199-207v]	Disbursements, Fees (quarterly)

### Chamberlains' Day Book

Carlisle, Cumbria Record Office, CA/4/9; 1569-; English; paper; 24 + ii; average folio size 300mm × 205mm (270mm × 130mm), 30 lines per page; unfoliated; poor condition; fragmentary portion of original binding (taken from a Latin parchment manuscript), measuring approximately 230mm × 190mm with many holes, is attached to f [1] and f [24v], the whole, plus 2 additional ff, is stitched into stiff grey paper covers (310mm × 202mm).

The Day Book, very faded in parts, contains some orders and various rough jottings; there are many blank folios.

### Court Leet Rolls

Carlisle, Cumbria Record Office, CA/3/21, 28-9; 1619, 1629, 1633; English; paper; written top to bottom; unnumbered. CA/3/21: 4 mbs, attached at top; 380mm × 290mm restored to 424mm × 302mm (360mm × 260mm), 36 lines per mb 1-3; faded script, mbs restored, newly sewn at top. CA/3/28: 5 mbs, attached at top; 402mm × 315mm restored to 445mm × 325mm (340mm × 270mm), 25 lines per mb; faded script; now stitched at top between modern paper folios. CA/3/29: 8 mbs, loose, formerly attached at top; 395mm × 295mm, mb 3 restored to 420mm × 302mm (310mm × 250mm), 25 lines per mb; clear script; all mbs wrinkled, marginal decay; mbs 5-8 with increasingly larger hole, bottom left, from 15mm diameter to loss of whole corner (90mm diameter) mb 8.

The leet court, or mayor's tourn, usually sat twice a year, in the spring and autumn. Ten rolls are extant for the period 1597-1633. These record, first, presentments from the leet jury for various offences that range from treason to infringement of local ordinances; second, ordinances agreed upon in court as necessary for the city's continuing welfare. REED items are transcribed from the second group.

## Chamberlains' Audit Book

Carlisle, Cumbria Record Office, CA/4/139; 1597–1684; English; paper; ii (modern) + i + 158 + i (original) + ii (modern); average folio size 295mm × 190mm (265mm × 140mm), 32–52 lines per page; 4 gatherings; foliated 1–158 in red ink, probably at later date (placing allows for wear at folio corners); good condition; bound in brown calf (310mm × 200mm), civic crest, lower front and spine, title, centred front, stamped in gold: 'Corporation of Carlisle Audit Book 1597–1684.'

The chamberlains' accounts were audited roughly six months after their retirement from office; eg, the accounts for the fiscal year Michaelmas 1613–Michaelmas 1614 were audited on or about the following 24 March (information from sources varies slightly). The city held throughout the period to a chronological year starting on 25 March; thus the audit took place roughly at the turn of the chronological year (24 March 1614/15). The current mayor and 'ye fower of ye Election of every Occupation' (f [47]) were in attendance. The accounts were prepared for audit under approximately four summary heads: arrears owing and paid; incoming revenues from sources such as tolls, rents, farmed revenues; the chamberlains' expenditures or 'allowances craved'; an estimate of the existing deficit. The 'allowances craved' (often of a grouped nature) occasionally contain items of interest to REED, either supplementing information from CA/4/1–2, or filling in gaps in that source.

## Merchants' Book

Carlisle, Cumbria Record Office, D/GC/4; 1580–1733 (approximately); English; paper; 227 leaves; average folio size 330mm × 210mm (320mm × 160mm), 36 lines per page; original and restored folios (including fragments); some earlier ink foliation preserved, modern pencil foliation 1–227; blank folios throughout; modern brown leather binding (340mm × 215mm).

The merchants formed one of Carlisle's eight occupations or trades. The carefully restored Merchants' Book contains various orders from c. 1580, including those appointing days for the annual dinner and quarterly meetings, ff 2–3; also a roll of members, admission oath, and various memoranda. Minutes of the quarterly meetings include undermasters' annual accounts; these detail routine items for the annual dinner and Ascension Day festivities excerpted below. The undermasters presented their accounts on the Friday after the feast of St Peter (29 June); the actual date is noted in the manuscript and is given editorially in the transcription.

## Tailors' Guild

Carlisle, Public Library, A453, 1652–1867; English; paper; 5 (modern) + 130 (original) + approximately 135 (modern) leaves; intermittent pagination, different inks, variously positioned, ff [4–6], 7–11, [70v–97v], 142–96; f [126]: 290mm × 174mm (255mm × 160mm), 32 lines; bound in mottled board (304mm × 185mm), miscellaneous printed, coloured endpapers, calf spine, inside front cover: 'George Thorpe, 9 Howard Terrace, Carlisle'; front end-

paper, recto, book-plate inscribed 'Tullie House' and verso, 'This Book came into the possession of Dixon Losh Thorp 1898...'; loose sheet of paper (75mm × 190mm), inscribed 'Volume of Receipts of the Tailors' Guild Carlisle (see Ferguson and Nanson's Municipal Records pp. 143 etc./.)'

Foliation has been ascribed to exclude modern folios (and to ignore the intermittent pagination), numbering the first to the last of the original, ff [1-130].

The material comprises various orders, admissions and fines, not always in chronological order (ff [1-114], 1652-1867; f [115], 1705-34; ff [125-130], 1659-96); f [125] heads a section described as orders copied (1659) out of an earlier book (see endnote, p 163, to A453 f [126]).

#### Tailors' Guild

Carlisle, Cumbria Record Office, D/Lons/L13/11, 'Taylors' Guild, No 1'; 18th century transcription of original material 1659-1703; English; paper; 96 leaves; average folio size 320mm × 195mm (275mm × 150mm), 30 lines per page; unfoliated; good condition; bound in grey board (320mm × 207mm), title written upper third front cover: 'Taylors' Guild No 1' with added comment, 'Finished Examined by R: Yarker January 1706' and modern label 'City of Carlisle 1659-1703 Tailors' Guild Minute Book (copy).'

This 1703 copy was evidently made from A453 (described above) when that volume was still in use by the guild. Material continued to be entered in A453, however, well beyond 1703; hence this D/Lons/L version is only a partial transcript of A453.

#### Tanners' Guild

Carlisle, Cumbria Record Office, D/Lons/L, 'No 1 Tanners' Guild'; 18th century transcription of original material c. 1566-; English; paper; 108 leaves; average folio size 320mm × 200mm (300mm × 150mm), 27 lines per page; 9 gatherings; unfoliated; good condition; bound in grey board (320mm × 200mm), title written twice, upper third front cover: 'No 1 Tanners Guild' and 'Tanners Guild No 1-'.

An order made 8 Elizabeth I, f [6v], establishes a possible starting date c. 1566 for the material transcribed in this antiquarian volume. The earlier folios are taken up with various orders, including those relating to quarterly meetings, f [5-5v], and the annual dinner, ff [6], [9]. Minutes of quarterly meetings, with masters' accounts detailing receipts and expenses, run from 1610 through 1642, ff [13v-55v], and include items for the occupation's dinner and All Hallow Thursday, some of which have been transcribed here. The masters presented their accounts on Friday after All Hallows Day (1 November); the accounts are dated by the All Hallows Quarter in the manuscript, but the probable date has been editorially supplied in the transcription.

## HOUSEHOLDS

*Augsburg Miners**Agent's Accounts*

Augsburg, Stadtarchiv, Handelsbücher Nr. 20, Fasz. 1, 6–8; 1569–74; German; paper; annual volumes of accounts for the Augsburg mining company of David Haug and Hans Langnauer; original foliation for individual accounts (therefore not sequential through each volume); all in good condition with exceptions noted; each volume in parchment, with title (upper portion, front cover), eg, '1569 Journal der Bergwerksandlungen in Engellant, dass 69. Jar Betreffennt' (others similarly descriptive). Fasz. 1, 1569: 269 + iii; folio size 296mm × 202mm. Fasz. 6, 1571: 186 leaves; folio size 323mm × 221mm; binding damaged. Fasz. 8, 1573: 122 leaves; folio size 322mm × 223mm. Fasz. 7, 1574: 118 leaves; folio size 320mm × 222mm.

Handelsbücher Nr. 20 consists of 12 volumes, 1569–77, of which seven relate to the Keswick and five to the London ends of company business. In the Keswick volumes, disbursements are grouped under various heads for the company's operations in the area. Details concerning the domestic life of the company officials and their household needs are also included in the accounts, occasionally yielding information of interest to REED. Collingwood (*Elizabethan Keswick*) deals in some detail with these volumes, excerpting and summarizing material of local interest rather than providing actual detailed transcriptions. He points out (p 6) that the accounts, made up seven times a year, covered periods roughly ending at Shrovetide, Easter, Whitsun, St James Day (25 July), Holy Cross Day (14 September), All Saints' Day (1 November) and Christmas (end of December). Foliation is editorially ascribed sequentially throughout each volume.

*Curwen of Workington**Curwen Account Book*

Carlisle, Cumbria Record Office, Account Book of Sir Patricius Curwen, Bart. (Workington Estate); 1625–46; English; paper; 254 leaves; average folio size 315mm × 195mm (290mm × 155mm), 54 lines per page; unfoliated; good condition overall, first folio fragmentary; bound in folded flexible board (340mm × 525mm), sheets bound in with pink tape, remains of pink tie on front binding, title on labels (modern), front cover and spine: '1625–46 Account Book of Sir Patricius Curwen, Bart. (Workington Estate).'

Curwen himself began this book (f [3], 'a booke of my receates and disbursements') ending towards the bottom of f [5v] where his steward, William Thwaite, continues. Receipts and disbursements are not recorded on any consistent periodic basis, but

cover several weeks to several months, each group audited by Curwen himself (with signature). Disbursements are not categorized, household and estate items being intermingled.

### *Howard of Naworth*

#### Household Books

University of Durham, Department of Paleography and Diplomatic, Howard of Naworth C706; 1612–34; English; paper; 11 household books; Books 2–10 with initials WM near title, Book 1 title, front cover, '1612 Naward Ephemeris seu Liber Expensis domesticis ibidem a Primo Ianuarij ... Thomas Widmerpoole' (most others similar).

Book 1: January 1612/13–30 December 1613; ii + 58 + i; average 312mm × 195mm (275mm × 165mm), 44 lines per page; contemporary foliation; good condition, worn margin; bound in parchment (recording loan to which Richard, bishop of Coventry, is a party), 305mm × 210mm.

Book 2: 1 August 1618–31 July 1619; i + 67; average 310mm × 195mm (280mm × 175mm), 38 lines per page; contemporary foliation 1–65; good condition; bound in parchment, back 302mm × 210mm, front 295mm × 168mm.

Book 3: 1 August 1620–end July 1621; i + 56; average 304mm × 192mm (275mm × 185mm), 39 lines per page; contemporary pagination 1–79; fair condition, 17 ff missing (probably unwritten); bound in parchment, front 303mm × 205mm, back 303mm × 185mm.

Book 4: 1 August 1621–July 1622; i + 62; average 305mm × 195mm (275mm × 165mm), 40 lines per page; contemporary foliation 1–61; fair condition; bound in parchment, front only remains, 304mm × 185mm.

Book 5: 1 August 1622–31 July 1623; i + 56; average 304mm × 198mm (275mm × 175mm), 42 lines per page; contemporary foliation; fair condition; bottom outer corners ff 1–17 crumpled, bottom two thirds f 52 missing; bound in parchment, front only remains, 290mm × 195mm.

Book 6: 1 August 1624–end July 1625; i + 54; average 305mm × 195mm (255mm × 160mm), 43 lines per page; contemporary foliation 1–57; good condition, f 10 missing; bound in parchment, front 287mm × 204mm, back 295mm × 187mm, title severely faded.

Book 8: 1 August 1626–beginning of June 1627; ii + 46; average 305mm × 195mm (265mm × 155mm), 42 lines per page; contemporary foliation 1–41; fair condition, some ff mutilated or missing (index, f [ii], gives last section at f 50); bound in parchment, front 285mm × 215mm, back 286mm × 183mm (holed).

Book 9: 19 May–5 November 1628; i + 39; average 320mm × 195mm (300mm × 170mm), 45 lines per page; contemporary pagination 1–77; good condition; blank spaces filled in with material *temp.* 1671–75; bound in parchment, front only remains, 328mm × 212mm, title, p 1.

Book 10: 5 November 1629–October 1630: iii + 59; average 320mm × 185mm (295mm × 155mm), 48 lines per page; contemporary foliation 1–64; fair condition; marginal decay (especially ff 1–10, 58–64), 5 ff missing, probably unwritten; bound in parchment, front 330mm × 210mm, back 315mm × 195mm (several holes 2–15mm diameter), title severely faded.

Book 11: 1633; i + 89; average 290mm × 190mm (265mm × 155mm), 44 lines per page; contemporary foliation 1–80; bound in parchment (or fine leather), backed with original first and last ff of book, front 284mm × 198mm, back 285mm × 182mm (six holes 4–10mm diameter); spine holed, remains of two pairs of leather ties attached to front and back covers, labels pasted front, top right and bottom, probably contemporary, inscribed '5' and 'Digging coal ...' respectively, title severely faded.

The Naworth Household Books, kept by Thomas Widmerpoole, Lord William Howard's steward, record incoming revenues from various manors and expenses under a variety of heads (My Lord's Parcels, My Lady's, Rewards, Extraordinary).

A twelfth book, for 1640, contains nothing of interest to REED. Book 7, August 1625–July 1626, lacks f 51, on which, according to the book's index, was 'Extraordinary Payments,' the section normally relevant.

Ornsby (*Household Books*) excerpted these accounts, for 1612–13 and 1640 in full, and elsewhere *in extenso*. He errs, however, in summarizing the years covered (p vi), nor does he indicate clearly his editorial method. Ornsby also examined a book of accounts kept by John Pildrem which gives the expenses of Lord William Howard on a journey to and from 'Spa' in 1623, with partial records for the years 1619, 1622, and 1627. From this Ornsby transcribed extensively the full record for 1619, with extracts from other years. He states that (c. 1838) the book had been in the possession of 'Mr Lawson of Longhirst in Northumberland,' but at the time of writing (1878) it was in Naworth Castle (p vii). It does not appear to have been included among the records deposited in Durham and I have not been able to trace its history or location.

### *Lowther of Whitehaven*

Sir Christopher Lowther's Notebook

Carlisle, Cumbria Record Office, D/Lons/W1/4; 1635–7; English; paper; vi + 67 + ii; 145mm × 85mm (145mm × 75mm); contemporary foliation; good condition; fly leaves i–vi with notes of purchases, living costs, etc at Hamburg c. 1637, recipes, part of a letter, and index I–W; end leaves i–ii with index A–H.

This paper booklet, in the hand of Sir Christopher Lowther of Whitehaven, Cumberland, is the last of three notebooks or diaries (1632–7) recording his domestic and business activities. The notebooks, with other documents, have been transcribed and edited by D.R. Hainsworth, *Commercial Papers of Sir Christopher Lowther*.

## Westmorland

### BOROUGHS

#### *Appleby*

##### Chamberlains' Accounts

Kendal, Cumbria Record Office, 1585, 1609–30; 16 separate accounts, variously receipts and disbursements, 1–16 leaves; English; paper; all leaves pierced 2 holes, top; all accounts endorsed 'RB 102.' Account 2: 1609–10; 1 leaf; 305mm × 193mm (270mm × 160mm), 31 lines recto, 6 verso; receipts and disbursements, title (f [1] at foot): 'anno domini 1610 / the account of Iames Marton and Charles Emerson Chamberlains for the aforesaid yeare.' Account 4: 1610–11; 1 leaf; 398mm × 153mm (260mm × 140mm), 34 lines recto; untitled disbursements. Account 8: 1614–15; 8 leaves; ff [1], [3–6] 395mm × 150mm (225mm × 140mm), average 27 lines per page; ff [2], [7–8] from 125mm × 100mm to 190mm × 105mm; the whole sewn together at top of folios, folded once; receipts and disbursements, endorsed f [6v]: 'The Chamberlaynes accompt in Anno 1615' (contemporary or approximate) and 'Accounts of Receipts & Disbursements & other papers etc / No: 102 / being 40 in Number' (possibly later hand).

Two chamberlains were chosen annually to handle receipts and disbursements for the borough. The volume of business transacted was not large; the pierced holes in the leaves of the accounts indicate that they were originally kept fairly casually, probably tied in bundles. Disbursements were not categorized under separate titles, except as in Account 8, 1614–15, which includes special building or repair projects. Accounts, where titled, are given one chronological year; but Account 11 f [1], headed 1618, notes that the chamberlains were sworn 9 October 1617, and Account 15 f [1], headed 1629, dates the first receipt 20 October 1628. This evidence suggests that the chamberlains entered office in the Michaelmas season preceding the year given as the date for each account. Thus for Account 11, the fiscal year effectually runs 1617–18, for Account 15, 1628–9, with presumably a similar span for the rest of the accounts. But as at Kendal the fiscal year sometimes seems to have extended beyond Michaelmas itself: Account 13, 1620–1, is endorsed with the note that the account was made by the chamberlains, 2 December 1621, f [2v]; both Account 15 f [1] and Account 16 f [1] 1629–30 refer to their respective accounts as ending 30 November.

The material has been numbered editorially in chronological sequence; each number refers to a separate item, whether this is a single leaf containing, for example, one

receipts account or several leaves stitched together as in Account 8. Thus Account 4, disbursements for 1610-11, is separate from Account 3, receipts for the same period; the date of Account 4 has been ascertained from internal evidence (the balancing of the sum of receipts in Account 3 with the sum of disbursements and remainder in Account 4).

### *Kendal*

#### Chamberlains' Accounts

Kendal, Cumbria Record Office, WMB/K; 53 books, 1582-1641; English; paper; average leaves 27 (highest 48, Book 52; lowest 12, Book 23); unfoliated except modern Book 1, 1-34, and contemporary (sometimes not in correct sequence or with gaps) Book 10, 1-8; Books 12, 22, 2-10; Books 16, 18, 19, 2-11; Book 41, 2-21; Book 43, 1-26; paginated, contemporary, Book 14, 4-10; Book 47, 2-26; Book 15, 1-26; average folio size 401mm × 151mm (380mm × 128mm), 56 lines per page (except Book 11, 300mm × 100mm (285mm × 90mm), 48 lines); leaves variously arranged and stitched, 1-12 gatherings; overall condition fair, marginal decay, some discolouration, loose or missing stitching, torn or excised folios throughout; bound with heavy greyish paper, Books 30, 31, 43; same binding, but with fragments of blue-grey end-papers in red scroll pattern, Books 45, 50, 51; bound with light board, Book 4 (lower third front and back missing), Book 34; bound with parchment, Book 37 (dilapidated), Book 38 (with leather thonging), Book 39 (light tooling at edges); remaining books unbound, first and last folios forming covers, all books, title centred, front cover, top portion. Unbound and unfoliated books have been numbered editorially from front title/cover page to back cover.

Two chamberlains, elected annually at Michaelmas, were responsible for receipts and disbursements for the corporation; the accounts were audited at Martinmas (or roughly mid-November) for the preceding fiscal year. Many books keep separate titles for routine categories of payments, such as those made in respect of the town's mills or profits from town by-laws. Disbursements of a general kind, among which REED items are found, are most frequently listed in the 'Extraordinary' section. Book 1 contains accounts for 1582-7; in succeeding years the record was entered in one paper booklet per year. No REED items are found in Book 2, 1582-3, a book of receipts, or in Book 20, 1605-6, which lacks an Extraordinary Payments account (perhaps originally written on ff [15-16], now missing). A second book of receipts, Book 11, 1596-7, includes disbursements that duplicate those in Book 10, the chamberlains' book for that year. Numbers 29A, a special assessment account, and 29B, an audit voucher (both 1617 and boxed with the chamberlains' books) are described in the endnotes.

Kendal, Cumbria Record Office, WD/AG/Box 5; 1593-4; English; paper; 32 unnumbered leaves; 205mm × 142mm (195mm × 125mm), average 35 lines per page; 4 gatherings; good condition; bound in portion of parchment music manuscript, with red four-line stave and

ornamentation, black notes and words ('videt Iacob vestimenta ...'), 215mm × 155mm, edges folded to inside and sewn.

This account is an alternative version of Chamberlains' Accounts, Book 7, with which it is collated in the transcription.

#### Boke off Recorde

Kendal, Cumbria Record Office/Kendal Town Council; 1575–early 18th century; English; paper; iii + 351; 298mm × 200mm; contemporary foliation; bound in worn brown leather, 3 decorative thonged panels back and front, evidence of linear decoration at edges, title page: 'A boke off Recorde or Register, Contayninge all the acts and doings in or concerning The Corporation within the Towne off Kirkbie Kendall. Begynnyng the Eighte day off Ianuarij ... 1575' (abstract of title also on label inside front cover).

The Boke off Recorde is the first register of the borough, dating from its incorporation in 1575. The book includes lists of free inhabitants, aldermen, mayors, civic officers, and occupation members, as well as ordinances for the borough and occupations and various memoranda. Many pages are blank. It is written in several hands, the first (1575–1580s) recurring throughout the book, but separated by later hands as blank pages were subsequently filled. R.S. Ferguson edited a transcript of the register, based on two earlier transcripts, in *A Boke off Recorde*.

#### Diocese of Chester: Consistory Court Paper

Chester, Cheshire Record Office, EDC5/1625/13; Latin heading, English text; paper; single sheet; 305mm × 195mm (140mm × 150mm); fair condition (one small hole and creases in paper); endorsed in different hand '*Responsa personalia Willelmi Miller parochie de Kendale Capta 22<sup>do</sup> Octobris Anno domini 1625.*'

#### HOUSEHOLDS

##### Clifford

#### Household Accounts

Chatsworth House, Bolton Abbey ms 97; English; paper; i + 209 + i; 244mm × 190mm (265mm × 115mm); foliated 1–204; good overall condition except ff 201–4 detached from binding; bound in parchment, 168mm × 195mm, front and back, with remnants of green tape ties, front cover, stained, with title, '1616,' top third, centred, '97' in blue pencil at top left, '24' in pencil at bottom left.

This account book records disbursements, dated 3 November 1616–23 March 1616/17, for the fourth earl of Cumberland, under such headings as Rewards, Riding Charges, Extraordinary. It includes reference to preparations for the visit of James I to Brougham, one of the earl's castles in Westmorland. The book is one of

an extensive series of accounts (estate and household) kept for the Clifford earls from the late sixteenth century to 1643 when the fifth earl died. This material is numbered, not always in chronological order, in the Chatsworth finding-aid, 'Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Devonshire: List of Household Accounts etc. at Bolton Abbey'; numbers 94-100 (1610-25) are household accounts prepared by Thomas Litton, primarily for charges at Londesborough. As indicated on p 16 and in note 30, though they continued to draw revenues from their Westmorland estates, the Clifford earls of this period confined their residence to Yorkshire.

#### Diary of the Lady Anne Clifford

Maidstone, Kent Archives Office, U269 F48/2; 1616-20; paper; 38 leaves; unnumbered; 230mm × 90mm; each leaf folded to form two folios; each folio written recto only in two vertical columns, the smaller about 51mm wide; no binding, except the whole wrapped in one leaf.

The document has been transcribed, with an introductory note, by V. Sackville-West, *The Diary of the Lady Anne Clifford*.

#### Lowther of Lowther

##### Estate Accounts

Carlisle, Cumbria Record Office, Lowther Estate Accounts (John Lowther of Lowther), D/Lons/L3/1/5; 1638-71; English; paper; 293 leaves; average 390mm × 148mm (370mm × 120mm), 55 lines per page; unfoliated; early folios marginally worn, top outer corners missing, folios bound with tape into folded flexible board, overall 410mm × 380mm.

Disbursements account for undifferentiated household and estate items; these are grouped in periods of seven days and upwards, each group summarized as a total disbursed up to a particular date.

#### MISCELLANEOUS

##### State Papers Domestic

London, Public Record Office; English; paper. Within each group (designated by letter and number), documents are bound into a series of volumes and numbered within each volume. SP1/134, No 1346: articles of accusation; 9 July 1538; 1 leaf, partly restored; 302mm × 210mm. SP1/134, No 1370: letter dated 13 July 1538, originally accompanying No 1346; 1 leaf, partly restored; 301mm × 182mm; endorsed in same hand as text 'To the right honorable and my Singulere goode lorde my lord preuy seall be this yeuyn' (and see p 214, ll 14-16). SP 14/40, No 11: rough memorandum; undated; 2 ff, partly restored, each with 2 holes 10mm apart, centred in top margin; originally one folded sheet, 338mm × 245mm; endorsed f [2v] 'Concerninge the Lord William Howard.' SP14/86, No 34: memorandum; 2 ff; originally one folded sheet, 596mm × 390mm; endorsed in hand distinct from text '1616/Mr Saundersones Note.'

## Star Chamber Records

London, Public Record Office, STAC/8/34/4; 1621-2; English; parchment and paper; 59 leaves; modern numeration at foot of folios, 1-59 in smaller hand, 1-56 in larger hand (used here for reference purposes) added at time of microfilming, omitting blank folios; large bundle of individual documents of varying sizes, tied together with string at top left corners; fair condition; unbound. Ff 14-15, examination of defendants, 16 February 1621/2; paper; 330mm × 210mm. Ff 18-19, sworn deposition, 19 November 1622; paper; 325mm × 210mm. F 26, interrogatories, undated; parchment; 1325mm × 215mm. Ff 31-8, sworn depositions, 10 September 1622; parchment; 8 leaves numbered 1-8 (contemporary) in top and bottom margins; 500mm × 225mm (f 35). F 40, interrogatories, undated; parchment; 774mm × 320mm. F 49, joint answers of defendants, undated; parchment; 3 membranes stitched bottom to top forming one leaf; 1006mm × 520mm. F 51, portion of interrogatories, undated; parchment; 716mm × 320mm. F 54, portion of answers of individual defendants, 29 April 1622; parchment; 737mm × 280mm. F 55, bill of plaintiff; parchment; 510mm × 785mm; endorsed 5 December 1621.

Problems presented by ff 49-54 are further discussed below, pp 236-7, endnote to STAC/8/34/4 f 49.

## Thomas Crosfield's Diary

Queen's College, Oxford, ms 390; English and Latin, some French and Greek; paper; 228 leaves; 182mm × 130mm; contemporary foliation; original binding, leather and board.

Entries in the diary (ff 16-81v, 84v, 87-92v, 173v-177) are interspersed with notes on books read, almanacs, and sermons. Entries are dated 6 January 1626-9 November 1638, 15 November-25 December 1638, January 1640, 2 February 1653-1 February 1654, and 1 November 1632-10 September 1638 (ie, a second set of entries for this period).

Thomas Crosfield was a student and fellow at Queen's College from 1618 until 1640. His diary, recording his thoughts and activities, together with events of local interest, has been edited by Frederick S. Boas, *The Diary of Thomas Crosfield M.A., B.D. Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford*.

## Life of John Shaw

London, British Library, Add. ms 4460; c. 1707; English; paper; iii (modern) + 84 (original) + iii (modern); contemporary pagination, with subsequent foliation 1-84; 250mm × 140mm; narrow paper booklets bound together; small hole (from burn) at top inner corner on f 43; 19th c. British Library binding, marbled paper over board covers with leather corners, stamped front and back with scroll device and 'E Bibliotheca "Birchiana"', leather spine has shelf mark and title, 'Bibliographical Notes: Mus. Brit.; Bibl. Birch 4460,' f 1 inscribed 'Tho. Birch - bought at the sale of the Museum of Ralph Thoresby Esq. 7th March 1764.'

The manuscript (ff 3-16v) contains 'a transcript of the life of Mr. John Shawe formerly vicar of *Rotherham* and Preacher afterwards at Kingston upon *Hull* wr(....)n by

himself' (f 2); it was copied from the original by Ralph Thoresby. Additional material follows, relevant to the lives of Dr Tobias Matthews (bishop of Durham and archbishop of York), Dr Samuel Winters, and others.

Shaw's 'Life' has been published as *Memoirs of the Life of Master John Shawe* and as 'The Life of Master John Shaw' in *Surtees Society*, vol 65.

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# Editorial Procedures

## Principles of Selection

Included for each location or group of household records are all references to local and visiting waits, players or plays, minstrels and musicians, and entertainers such as jugglers, bearwards, puppet-players, and fools.<sup>41</sup> Entries for the Carlisle and Kendal drummers are routinely transcribed with the exception of duties carried out at the time of local musters, levy of trained bands, or similar militia activities. Items for the purchase and repair of drums are omitted from all accounts. Payments to the Kendal waits and/or drummer, related to the summons of border service, have been retained. This service, regional in scope, was performed as a traditional obligation by customary tenants within the barony of Kendal; as such it also provides illustrative detail of the tenant protest that sparked the Kendal Stage Play of 1621.

Where waits, musicians, or other forms of entertainment are noted for civic or guild dinners, catering details and numbers in attendance are also transcribed for context purposes.<sup>42</sup> The Tailors' Guild ordinance for the observance of Corpus Christi Day is included in Appendix I (p 146), largely because it is the sole basis for the conjecture that Carlisle mounted a procession on that day in which all the guilds took part.

All references to the visit of James I to Carlisle, Brougham Castle, and Kendal in August 1617 have been included. Omitted, however, are items for the ringing of bells on those royal or national occasions that were routinely observed throughout the kingdom.<sup>43</sup>

The civic life of Carlisle, as instanced in the chamberlains' and guild accounts, necessitates some selective culling of material. The primary concern of the selection process has been to preserve the sense of a traditional calendar of events, as the city moves each year from the Michaelmas election through to the Midsummer celebration of St John's Eve and St Peter's Eve. In the early seventeenth century a round of time-honoured activities still gave Carlisle a strong corporate identity that distinguished it from a relatively new royal borough such as Kendal.

The records, however, pose particular problems for the transcriber. These include the fact that certain events do not *consistently* reveal evidence of a dramatic or ceremonial nature, that entries from more than one source have sometimes to be pieced

together to document the whole of a particular event, and that while a number of items appear to be germane to REED, both their origin and their contemporary significance remain obscure. The short discussion that follows will illustrate ways in which these problems have been variously approached.

Full details for the Shrove Tuesday games, a traditional event, have been transcribed for every recorded occasion, including not only entries for entertainment, but details of the games themselves and the equipment required. The celebration of All Hallow Thursday, however, has been treated differently. A perambulation of Kingmoor was the core of the occasion, and the day's events, taking a set form, would normally fall outside REED's scope.<sup>44</sup> A variable factor, however, occurs in occasional payments for entertainment made on that day. These entries appear either in the chamberlains' accounts or in guild records. Where such payment is noted, all entries for that particular All Hallow Thursday are transcribed.<sup>45</sup> Thus the day's events (for which the two sets of records provide complementary information) are documented as fully as possible in order to furnish an intelligible context for the entertainment item. Entries for gunpowder, included in this scheme, present a subsidiary problem; they are transcribed in the hope that future research may shed light on a possible connection with an older 'summer games' tradition.<sup>46</sup>

The third and final event singled out for comment here is the Carlisle horse-race on Kingmoor, run in May in occasional years. Horse-racing in Carlisle went back at least to the sixteenth century, and may have had a Shrove Tuesday connection. Resumed after 1619 by public demand, the event appears to have had a strong claim to inclusion in the traditional schedule of civic events. All recorded entries for the race have been transcribed, including those descriptive of the guilds' role in the presentation of plate.

For household records a few additional points should be noted. Payments made for waits, players, or other forms of entertainment have been omitted where the location patently falls outside the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland.<sup>47</sup> In the Howard household books sums sometimes noted as spent 'at play' or 'at a play' have been omitted since they appear to be gambling expenses (however phrased).<sup>48</sup> Payments for an 'instrument' and for 'organs' that occur in the Curwen accounts have not been transcribed.<sup>49</sup>

### Dating and Chronology

The bulk of the Cumberland and Westmorland transcriptions are taken from the chamberlains' accounts for Carlisle and Kendal. The chamberlains' term of office, in both cases coincidental with the mayoral or aldermanic term, ran from Michaelmas to Michaelmas. For this reason I have chosen a chronology for the transcriptions as a whole based on the chamberlains' accounting year: eg, the heading '1618-19' indicates a year that runs from 29 September 1618 to 28 September 1619. Furthermore, the preservation of documentary integrity is more crucial for these boroughs than for

other areas dealt with in this volume. In the case of Carlisle especially, each annual chamberlains' account records a traditional succession of events, a local calendar, which if at all possible ought not to be fragmented by the imposition of an alien chronology.

Of course no system is ideal. This one, presenting the line of least resistance and obviating the problems of old and new style chronology, must still bend to accommodate certain inconsistencies. In particular, the chamberlains' year, while linked to the mayoral and aldermanic term, sometimes extended beyond Michaelmas – well into October in Kendal. This overrun probably stems from the fact that while the alderman was elected on or close to 29 September, the chamberlains themselves were not chosen until the burgesses and assistants met for the first time in the new aldermanic year, obviously at a later and more flexible date; there would then be delays in settling up the old account and handing over office. In Kendal also the annual audit, which took place at Martinmas (mid-November), probably came to represent a more realistic climax to the chamberlains' term of office than Michaelmas itself. In the transcription, items specifically dated after 28 September are given an extended editorial date that includes the year, to avoid any inference that they belong to the preceding September or October: eg, WMB/K 1, f 20v, is dated 30 September 1587<sup>+</sup>, indicating that the payment date falls within the succeeding year (1587–8), but for the sake of documentary integrity the entry has been kept within the original account. Similar inconsistencies presented by guild and household accounts are dealt with below.

The editorial dating of entries is also affected by other aspects of the chamberlains' accounting procedures, in particular the methods employed for cash rewards made, for instance, to visiting players and waits, or for the more routine payments made to those responsible for the Carlisle Shrove Tuesday games or the provisioning of the Kendal corporation dinners. The accounts of both boroughs indicate that a large number of payments were handled on the authority of the mayor or alderman, being made by his 'appointment' or 'command.' For want of actual evidence we may infer that a written instruction authorized the chamberlains to make specific payments on many such occasions and to claim these expenses at the end of the accounting year. At other times it is clear, especially in Kendal, that on-the-spot payments were made by the alderman or individual citizens as the occasion demanded; subsequent reimbursement was claimed from the chamberlains, though sometimes at a date much later than that of the event itself.<sup>50</sup> The final account, made up with the help of hired penmanship, was presumably based on a day-to-day record of vouchers and receipts detailing claims and payments made throughout the year – evidently a ticklish process that was understandably eased by recourse to the amenities of a local tavern.<sup>51</sup>

What the system, if it may so be described, presents to the modern editor is a series of possible dates, all relative to the accounting process, any one or none of which may be given in the final form of the account. A dramatic entry, for example, may conceivably be dated in the account by the event itself, the act of payment, or the reimbursement of the payer; where none of these details is supplied, it is in a sense

dated according to the time at which the final account containing this information was made up. Which of these dates are we to select for editorial purposes as (1) sound, (2) consistent, (3) useful to the researcher? Unfortunately the answer to (1) and (2) is not always the answer to (3), though (3) of course should have priority.

The editorial solution here is based on the self-evident premiss that the account itself is primarily concerned with documenting the record of payments; to those who kept such accounts the events themselves are only of interest insofar as they pin down the occasion or purpose of expenditures. In keeping with this premiss, and with the aim of preserving documentary integrity, editorial dates assigned in parentheses, eg, (9 May), refer to the date of payment as indicated in the account itself. As demonstrated above, the payment date may in fact be quite distinct from the date of the event or activity for which it was made. In such a case the date of the event, if known, is supplied in a textual note. In some instances, of course, the date of payment and of event coincide, but this is normally clear from the context of the entry.

The difficulties of dating are compounded by the actual format of the chamberlains' accounts, where dates if included at all are not always given on a consistent basis. Two basic approaches are found: one dates items 'externally,' usually in the left margin or centred; the other dates them 'internally,' that is, as part of the entry itself. Normally I have not transcribed marginal or centred dates; instead these have been given editorially in parentheses. Internally dated entries have been left to speak for themselves. More problematic is the fact that very few accounts take either approach consistently, so that we are often faced with an entry for which there is no explicit date in the account. Where an account is intermittently dated I have assigned payment periods in parentheses for undated items, using the immediately previous and immediately following explicit dates for this purpose, eg, (4 June–5 July), or where there is no *terminus ad quem*, using the format (21 September<sup>+</sup>). I have done this, however, only where two criteria are met: first, the account must demonstrate a reliable chronology of successive items, tested by the proper sequence both of dates, where they occur, and of references to known routine events (eg, the Michaelmas and Easter leet courts in Kendal); second, the intermittent dates must be spaced in such a way as to make the payment periods significant: (4 June–15 July) not (3 January–6 June). The most that can be said for this method is that it narrows down the date of payment and hence possibly the date of the event if otherwise unknown. The reader may not agree that because a particular entry occurs between two sequential dates it records a payment made within the period, but he or she has at least a glimpse of where it occurs on the face of the document, with the option of repudiating the editorial conclusion. It should also be added that a parenthetical payment date refers to all items that follow without other editorial interruption.

The adoption of a Michaelmas year poses some minor problems also in the incorporation of other types of accounts into the edited text. Almost all the material excerpted from the Carlisle Merchants' and Tanners' accounts concerns either the occupations' dinners – for the former the first Sunday after 8 September (Our Lady's

Nativity), for the latter St Simon's and St Jude's Day (28 October) – or their role in the All Hallow Thursday celebrations (May–early June). The Merchants' under-masters accounted to the occupation on the Friday after the feast of St Peter (29 June); the Tanners' masters made their account on the Friday after All Hallows Day (1 November). Thus we know only the date when the final account was rendered, and cannot pin down the actual date or period when money changed hands, though in most cases it was probably close to the events for which payments in the account are recorded. Again this circumstance means some accommodation both of the basic premiss that the edited accounts date the record of payments, not events, and also of the Michaelmas accounting year format. With the occupations' records it seems unwise to separate either single events such as dinners or intrinsic parts of an event such as All Hallow Thursday from the year of their occurrence. For this reason entries of this type are incorporated into the Michaelmas year according to the date of the events themselves (given in the textual notes). The editorial ascription, however, is extended to indicate that the entries are from an account of a particular date, one that may fall outside the year of occurrence. Hence in the transcription under the year 1618–19, the Tanners' All Hallow Thursday entries are headed 'f [26v] (*Masters' Accounts dated 5 November 1619*)', that is, information relative to the event (6 May 1619) is taken from an account whose date falls after 28 September 1619, the terminal date of the Michaelmas accounting year, and within what is properly 1619–20. On the other hand, information relative to the annual dinner (28 October 1618), taken from the annual account rendered a few days later, is headed 'f [24v] (*Masters' Accounts dated 6 November*)', the account and the event both falling within the Michaelmas year 1618–19.

Household accounts, while not conforming in the original to the Michaelmas year, present less of an editorial problem than the occupations' accounts. Entries in the Curwen account book are dated internally with some frequency; the Lowther account book contains dated summaries of expenses at roughly ten-day intervals. Thus entries from both sources may be assigned narrow payment periods, if not specific dates. This has facilitated fitting dramatic entries into the Michaelmas year. Naworth account entries are also closely dated, normally within two to three days of one another. These accounts, however, were kept annually in separate books, usually beginning in August. To preserve a consistent Michaelmas year it has occasionally been necessary to split entries from one household book between two years: thus Howard Household Book 4 runs from August 1621 to July 1622; transcribed entries dated in August (ff 30–30v) are given under 1620–1, while those dated from 12 November (f 30v) are given under 1621–2.

Finally, it should be stated that in the introduction and notes frequent reference is made under date to material in the text. Events that fall on dates in the period 1 January–24 March are given as, for example, 2 February 1575/6; where an exact date is lacking, material is referred to under the accounting year, as, for example, Shearmen's ordinance, 1580–1. In all other cases the references are straightforward, eg, 7 November 1601.

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# Notes

- 1 For an historical approach to the development of roads, see Brian Paul Hindle, *Lakeland Roads: From Early Tracks to Modern Highways* (Clapham, N. Yorks, 1977), and 'Roads and Tracks,' *The English Medieval Landscape*, Leonard Canter (ed) (London, 1982), pp 193–217. The main Roman road from the south followed the Lune valley to Low Borough Bridge, Ewe Close, Brougham, Old Penrith, and Carlisle; the Gough map (1360) shows it running from Carlisle to Penrith and Shap, thence branching to Kendal and Kirkby Lonsdale. Roman routes west through the mountains ran from Watercrook (south of Kendal) via Ambleside and Hardknott Pass to Ravenglass, and from Old Penrith through Keswick to Cockermouth, Papcastle, and Maryport. In the Middle Ages a dangerous southerly route crossed Morecambe Sands from Furness to Lancashire. Monasteries founded on the edges of the Lake District had a stake in the upkeep and development of roads for estate and marketing purposes. Stimulus also came from the creation of peel towers and from the need for 'corpse' roads that communicated with distant parish churches. The foundation of Keswick in 1276 and the establishment of small market-towns in the south and west of the Lake District also spurred road development, as did the growth of mining in the sixteenth century.
- 2 C.M.L. Bouch and G.P. Jones, *A Short Economic and Social History of the Lake District Counties 1500–1830* (Manchester, 1961), pp 150–5, summarize the evidence for select-vestry government in Cumberland and Westmorland.
- 3 See Andrew B. Appleby, 'Disease or Famine? Mortality in Cumberland and Westmorland 1580–1640,' p 430. Appleby discusses four major crises: an outbreak of typhus, probably accompanied by famine (1587); plague (1598); and famine (1597 and 1623).
- 4 See pp 63–4, PRO: C49/46/16
- 5 See p 152, endnote to D/Lons/L, f [16v], f [17].
- 6 Adolphus Ballard, *British Borough Charters 1042–1216* (Cambridge, 1913), pp 185, 205; and Adolphus Ballard and James Tait, *British Borough Charters 1216–1307* (Cambridge, 1923), p 303.
- 7 Richard S. Ferguson and William Nanson (eds), *Some Municipal Records of the City of Carlisle*, pp 10–11.

- 8 Ferguson and Nanson, *Municipal Records*, p 12; the only duty laid on the twenty-four is to help elect the mayor.
- 9 Oaths of office and ordinances in the Dormont Book, begun in 1561 (Ferguson and Nanson, *Municipal Records*, pp 47–87) suggest that the new charter added little to the city's existing administrative and judicial framework; the sword-bearer is a new feature. Names of the mayor and bailiffs, given in the charter, checked against the chamberlains' accounts (CA/4/2 f [166], account title) show that its terms took effect at Michaelmas 1636.
- 10 Ferguson and Nanson, *Municipal Records*, pp 29–30; the occupations comprised Merchants, Weavers, Smiths, Tailors, Tanners, Cordwainers, Glovers, and Butchers.
- 11 Maurice Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages* (London, 1967), p 502.
- 12 Ballard, *British Borough Charters 1042–1216*, p 27.
- 13 Taxation assessments for 1334 show that Appleby ranked below the average village assessment of some southwestern counties (Beresford, pp 262–3). Henry VIII cited Scottish incursion when he reduced its fee-farm rent from twenty to two marks (*Appleby and its People*, Curwen Archives Trust (1979), p 3), while the cursory nature of extant seventeenth-century chamberlains' accounts suggests a continuing paucity of economic life. By the middle decades of the century Appleby played an important role in the economic life of the Lowther family (see above, p 14 and note 28). By 1700 it had added a small suburb (Roy Millward, 'The Cumbrian Town between 1600 and 1800,' *Rural Change and Urban Growth*, C.W. Chalklin and M.A. Havinden (eds) (London, 1974), p 222).
- 14 J.F. Curwen (ed), *Records relating to the Barony of Kendale*, vol 1, pp 2, 9, 18.
- 15 Curwen, *Records*, vol 1, pp 50, 53, 55.
- 16 Curwen, *Records*, vol 1, pp 6 (1222–46), 8 (1247–60). Julian Mumby analyses a newly found *full* text of William's grant in CWAAS, Transactions (forthcoming).
- 17 Curwen, *Records*, vol 1, p 37 (burgage tenement held for money rent and suit of court), p 54 (alienation of tenement with delivery of seisin). A Kendal court roll of 1441–2 shows that the three-weekly court sat for the borough on Mondays and for the manor on Tuesdays (PRO: SC2/207/110).
- 18 *BR* pp 275–8.
- 19 *BR*, pp 310–11, 332–3. Frequent references to provision for 'judges' (WMB/K, Chamberlains' Accounts, Books 1, f [5]–52, f [25], 1583–1639), normally in or about the month of August, indicate that assizes were held in the borough.
- 20 The trades listed c. 1578 are those of Chapmen, Mercers, Shearmen, Tailors, Cordwainers, Tanners, Innholders, Butchers, Cardmakers, Surgeons, Smiths, and Carpenters, each with subsidiary or allied trades (*BR*, pp 110–11).
- 21 *BR*, pp 47–8.
- 22 C.B. Phillips, 'Town and Country: Economic Change in Kendal c. 1550–1700,' *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns: 1600–1800*, Peter Clark (ed) (London, 1984), pp 99–131; I am indebted to the author and the editor for

- allowing me to read the proofs of this chapter. Signs of municipal self-confidence after 1575 include improvements to Kendal parish church designed to accommodate corporation dignitaries (WMB/K, Chamberlains' Accounts, Books 42, f [22]; 43, f [20]; and 46, f [31]; numerous benefactions to Kendal Grammar School and local charities (BR, pp 222–54); and evidence of well-attended municipal feasts in the peak years 1620–36 (see p 21).
- 23 J.A. Hilton, 'The Cumbrian Catholics,' *Northern History* 16 (1980), p 49. The percentage of Cumberland and Westmorland gentry families who were Roman Catholic rose from 13% in 1600 to 19% in 1642.
  - 24 'Memorable Observations' of Sir John Lowther (died 1675), *Lowther Family Estate Books 1617–1675*, C.B. Phillips (ed), Surtees Society, vol 191 (Gateshead, 1979) p 237.
  - 25 *Commercial Papers of Sir Christopher Lowther 1611–1644*, D.B. Hainsworth (ed), pp 224, 226.
  - 26 'Memorable Observations,' p 233.
  - 27 'Autobiography' of Sir John Lowther (died 1637), Phillips, *Lowther Family*, p 213.
  - 28 Phillips, *Lowther Family*, p 60.
  - 29 'Autobiography,' pp 214–19; see also Appendix 1, p 218.
  - 30 Walter L. Woodfill's indication that the Bolton Abbey MSS have dramatic materials for the Westmorland castles of Appleby and Brougham (*Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1953), p 256) is not borne out by research at Chatsworth. Extant Clifford household books and accounts for 1610–25 (Bolton Abbey MSS 79, 94–100) and for 1632–42 (*ibid*, MSS 169–70, 173–80) show that Clifford household life in the north was conducted at Londesborough and Skipton and in the surrounding areas.
  - 31 *An Apology for Actors* (London, 1612), sig. G3: '... to this day, in diuers places of England, there be townes that hold the priuiledge of their Faires, and other Charters by yearely stage-playes, as at Manningtree in Suffolke, Kendall, in the North, & others.' The Kendal play's alleged origin cannot be documented from any known charter; no record documents a stage play at this date for Manningtree.
  - 32 A manuscript chronicle of 1736, written by Bartholomew Noble (buried in Kendal parish church in 1773), noted a performance of the Corpus Christi play in 1604 (*Local Chronology*, p vii). I have been unable to trace the original manuscript. It is unlikely that a subsequent reference to 'the play' in the chamberlains' accounts for 1607–8 is evidence of a Corpus Christi performance.
  - 33 See endnote on p 229 to WMB/K [Book 3] f [16v].
  - 34 The alderman's table was served with apples and nuts at the 1615 election dinner and sometimes, as at the 1630 Michaelmas leet dinner, a higher price per head was charged for the fare served to its occupants. The leet jurors had to be content with bread, cheese, and beer, and were presumably served in a separate location.

- 35 WMB/K, Chamberlains' Accounts, Book 51, f [22v], repairs to town drum; ff [24], [25], and Book 52 f [27], to Webster for drumming and for his suit.
- 36 CA/4/2 f [183], beating the drum (twice); f [184v], Colonel Trayford's trumpeter, Irish drummers; CA/4/139 f 90, Lord General's trumpeter, Captain Warriner's drummer; CA/4/2 f [191v], four trumpeters; f [195], Corporal Brown's boy 'for beating with our company.'
- 37 J.A. Wilson, 'Some Early Sporting Notes relating to Cumberland,' CWAAS, Transactions, O.S., 12 (1891), p 193, cites an opinion that horse-racing on Kingmoor took place on Shrove Tuesday. Contemporary sources transcribed here, however, clearly distinguish between Shrove Tuesday games at the Swifts held in February or March, and the Carlisle horse-race held on Kingmoor in May (discussed below). It is conceivable that the Shrove Tuesday term, 'playsilver games,' alluded to competitive cock-fighting or horse-racing of an informal or local kind. See p 158, endnote to CA/4/2 f [128v], for the Shrove Tuesday 'running of naggs' at the Swifts at an earlier time. For either activity the silver bell was a possible prize (Wilson, p 193).
- 38 See p 153, endnote to CA/4/2 f [6].
- 39 J.A. Wilson, 'Some Early Sporting Notes,' pp 191-3, includes a description of the racing bells belonging to this period, which were awarded as prizes; these are now in the museum in Tullie House, Carlisle.
- 40 Household accounts frequently record payments to itinerant pipers; with players, waits, and other musicians, they made up the main body of visitors rewarded at Workington and Naworth. Such callers are often anonymous. Administrative and legal records, however, occasionally identify persons who probably earned a living as casual or itinerant performers. The following constitute examples noted during research. Pipers: John Batie al. Sudby, John Bell, William Robinson, 1611; William Smith al. Piper, 1615; Robert Corbett, 1616; Thomas Bell, 1617 (CCRO: Esther C. Beattie, 'The City of Carlisle, Quarterly Records of the Mayor's Court, Index and Guide,' vol 1, pt 2); William Caldbeck, Hugh Machell, 1630; William Heslop, 1632 (ibid, vol 2); William Rigg of Kirkland, 3 July 1614 (KCRO: WMB/K, Kendal Court Records, Quarter Sessions, Recognizances, 1612-16, f [9]). Waits: John Docker of Carlisle, 17 May 1584 (KCRO: WMB/K, Kendal Court Rolls, Easter-Michaelmas 1584, mb 3); John Pattinson 1625 (CCRO: Beattie, 'Quarterly Records,' vol 1, pt 2). Minstrels: John Warryner of Kirkland, 3 February 1584/5 (Kendal Court Rolls, Michaelmas 1584-Easter 1585, mb 15d); John Armstrong, (1641 Protestation return for [Nichol] Forest in Kirkandrews in Esk parish - CCRO copy of original in the Record Office, House of Lords). Also Beatrice 'la harpereste' [of Brandhouse in Natland], 6 Edward II (Sizergh Castle, Westmld: Thomas West, 'An Abstract of the Ancient Writings belonging to Thomas Strickland of Sizergh, Esq.,' vol I, modern transcript, p 38); John Decker, fiddler, 5 October 1612 (Kendal Court Records, Quarter Sessions, Recognizances 1612-16, f [1]); John Bird, fencer, 1614 (CCRO: Beattie, 'Quarterly Records,' vol I, pt 2).

- 41 An exception is Howard Household Book 3, f 39, 3 January 1620/1, 'to the foole of Brampton ij s vij d,' probably a charitable donation.
- 42 Small amounts of wine and sugar for toasts are omitted unless providing useful detail; see p 93, CA/4/2 f [80v], ll 35-6, for Shrove Tuesday 1619/20.
- 43 Kendal ringers observed Queen Elizabeth's accession day, 17 November 1583-1602, WMB/K, Chamberlains' Accounts, Book 1, f 3v-17, f [16], and 5 November 1608-40, Book 22, f [13]-53, f [20], continuing at least through the Interregnum to Book 70, 1660. Carlisle marked 5 November 1613-42, CA/4/2 ff [1v-201v].
- 44 In the sixteenth century Kendal citizens spent the three Rogation days perambulating town boundaries, followed by a 'comon walk' on Easter Day; on 1 May and the Sunday next there were 'certayn pastymes and recreacons' on the town's outskirts (in the Barnhills), the young people gathering birch boughs, and the populace then returning up Stramongate and 'so to the church' (BR, p 130).
- 45 Extant chamberlains' and/or guild records include no entertainment payments for All Hallow Thursday as celebrated in the years 1609-10, 1612, 1616, 1622-8, 1630-2, 1634, 1637-42.
- 46 See p 153, endnote to CA/4/2 f [6].
- 47 See, for example, Howard Household Book 11, f 36v, 4 March 1633/4, a payment to Lady Arundel's dwarf for bringing a gift to Lord William Howard. Surrounding payments indicate that this occurred during a visit to London.
- 48 Frequent sums in the Howard household books were allocated for gambling. Doubtful readings include Howard Household Book 4, f 53, 17 December, 'Giuen at a play in Brampton for mrs mary etc vij s vj d'; and Book 11, f 15, 29 June 1622, 'to my lady a play sent by mr w. Charlton xx s' following a payment dated 27 June, 'to mr William as lent by him to my lady at play.'
- 49 Curwen Account Book, 1631, f [63v], 16-21 May, nails and glue for the instrument; f [65v], 27-9 June, cords; 1635, f [127v], 25-6 March, dressing and tuning the organs, leather, glue, cords, a key and a band for it, f [129], 8-14 May, the organist for a second tuning.
- 50 'pd mr Alderman the 7<sup>th</sup> of Ianuarij as appeareth by his note money disbursed per him to souldiers etc from the 13<sup>th</sup> Novembr, till this daye' (WMB/K, Chamberlains' Accounts, Book 43, f [19v]).
- 51 'Paid at the Taverne when we received the accomptes of ould Chamberlaines by mr Mayors appointment' (WMB/K, Chamberlains' Accounts, Book 50, f [23v]).

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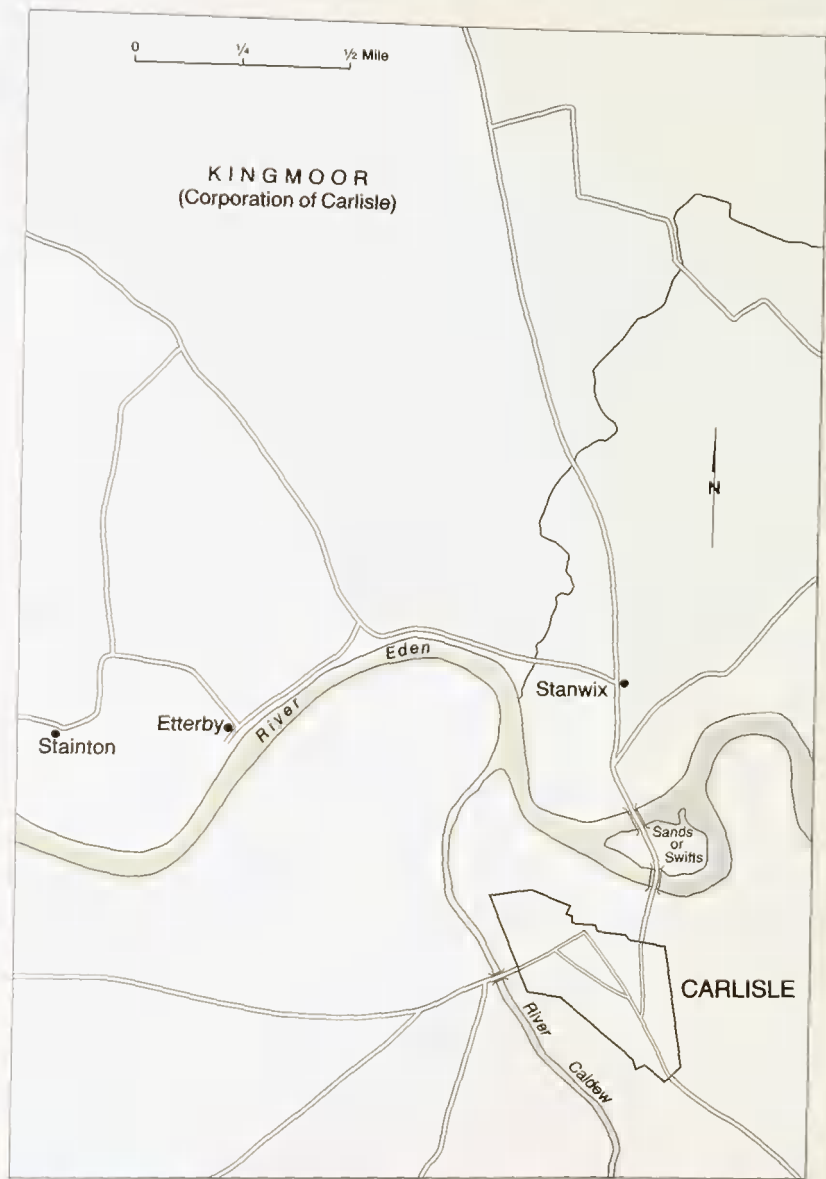
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Cumberland and Westmorland with principal renaissance routes



Carlisle and environs 1597: a conjectural map adapted from J. Hughes, 'The Plague in Carlisle 1597/98,' CWAAS, NS 71 (1971), by kind permission of the author



16th c Carlisle, from BL: Cotton Augustus I.i.13 by permission of the British Library

- |                          |               |              |
|--------------------------|---------------|--------------|
| 1 Cathedral              | 4 Castle      | 7 Fiskergate |
| 2 St Cuthbert's          | 5 Botchergate | 8 Castlegate |
| 3 Market-Place and Cross | 6 Rickergate  | 9 Caldewgate |



Map of Kendal from John Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*, by courtesy of the Huntington Library

## CUMBERLAND RECORDS



# Boroughs

## CARLISLE

1345-6

*Parliamentary and Council Proceedings* PRO: C49/46/16

mb 8\* (26 September)

Inquisicio capta apud karliolum die Lune proxima ante festum sancti michaelis anno regni regis Edwardi tercij a conquestu decimo nono coram domino Thoma de Lucy Ricardo <.....> <...>g'ton per Commissionem domini Regis assignatis super quibusdam dissencionibus et discordijs inter homines in municione Castri domini Regis karlioli existentes & Communitatem Ciuitatis karlioli <.....> per Adamum de Kyrkeby Petrum ffrankys Thomam de Neuby Iohannem de mulcastre Ricardum de Scraityngham Ricardum del sandes <.....> Thomam de Canonuby Iohannem de Ireby Iohannem de Agillonuby Iohannem de Cokedene & Iohannem filium simonis de kyrkandres Iuratores Qui dicunt super sacra <.....> quod die dominica in vigilia sancti Petri aduincula anno supradicto Cum Clerici fecerunt quendam ludum in foro dicte ciuitatis karlioli quedam contumelia mota fuit inter Edmundum Walays seruientem domini Episcopi karlioli & Walterum Cole hominem domini Petri de Tillioll' eo quod idem Edmundus percussit dictum Walterum cum quadam virga grossa ter in capite <..> dictus Walterus cepit ipsum Edmundum per capucium & delacerauit capucium & tunicam et Ricardus del Botelry seruiens dicti domini Episcopi karlioli videns hoc percussit dictum Walterum cum quodam cultello in dorso fere ad mortem & super hoc ludus recessit Et tunc dictus Petrus de Tillioll'

9/ dissencionibus for dissensionibus

16/ in vigilia sancti Petri aduincula: 31 July 1345

videns hominem suum sic esse in periculo mortis misit Willelmum (...) Wyclyf Coronatorem domini Regis & cum eo Iohannem de stapelton' & Thomam de Neuby ad dictum dominum Episcopum karlioli supplicando eidem domino Episcopo quoniam cum haberet dictum Ricardum del Botelia in comitiua sua in Castro karlioli qui hominem predictum percussit quod faceret ipsum responsurum de predicta transgressione secundum legem (...) predictus Episcopus karlioli concessit pro se & hominibus suis quod nulla mala fieri deberent quousque veritas fuerit inde inquisita ...

mb 10\* (26 September)

Acta apud karliolum die Luna proxima ante festum sancti michaelis archangeli anno regni regis Edwardi tercij a conquestu decimo Nono coram domino Thoma de Lucy (...) assignatis per Commissio(...) domini Regis ad inquirendum de diuersis articulis in Commissione contentis per Adamum de Crofton' Robertum de Tybay Nicholas le spenser Willelmum de morley Thomam kaskell' stephanum de Acton' gilbertum de kirkandres Robertum growce henricum de musgrauae Iohannem de Tybay stephanum aurisfabrum & Adamum de Appylby' Iuratores qui (...) super sacramentum suum quod die dominica in vigilia sancti petri ad uincula sicut clerici inceperunt ludere quoddam miraculum in foro karlioli in medio Ciuitatis quid(...)iger Episcopi Edmundus Walays percussit in capite Walterum Cole de Skaleby cum grossa virga ter & Walterus volens impedire dictum Edmundum ne ampl (...) cepit eum per capucium & interim Ricardus frater Walteri de Botellar' percussit dictum Walterum Cole retro in dorso cum quodam cultello fere ad mortem propter quod populus erat perter(...) vnde maior & balliui multum moti Connotauerunt Communitatem ad aulam Communem ad inquirendum veritatem de dicta contumelia et interim vicecomes maior Ciui (...)Crofton' iuerunt ad Episcopum & rogauerunt eum vt pacificaret homines suos ne amplius delinquerint quousque veritas de transgressione predicta fuerit inquisita ...

1,14/ 2 holes, vertically spaced in the MS, each about 8mm wide

12/ Luna for Lune

14/ Commissio(...): probably Commissionem

20/ (...): probably dicunt

22/ (...)iger, ie, armiger

## 1588-9

*Letter of Henry Scrope* BL: Egerton MS 2598

f 82\*

After my verie hartie Comendacions: vpon a letre receyved from Mr  
 Roger Asheton, Signifying vnto me that yt was the kinges earnest  
 desire for to have hir Majestes players for to repayer into Scotlande  
 to his grace I dyd furthwith dispatche a servant of my owen vnto them  
 where they were in the furthest parte of Langkeshier, whervpon they  
 made their returne heather to Carliell, wher they are, and have stayed  
 for the space of ten dayes, wherof, I thought good to gyue yow notice  
 in respect of the great desyre that the king had to have the same, to  
 Come vnto his grace: And withall to praye yow to gyve knowledg  
 therof to his Majestie / So for the present, I bydd yow right hartelie  
 farewell / Carlisle the xxth of Septembre / 1589

...

## 1602-3

*Chamberlains' Accounts* CCRO: CA/4/1f [Iv]\* (7-22 December) (*Disbursements*)

Item for Clothe vnto the drummer belman and beadell  
 with Clarke to be theyre leveryes xlvj s

...

(10 March)

Item for silver playgames vpon Shrovetewesdaie xv s vj d

...

f [3v] (*Fees and Annuities*)

...

Item vnto nycholas hudson xx s

...

ff [4-4v] (13 October-19 November) (*Benevolences*)

...

Item vnto Iohn troumpeter ij s

...

22/ the drummer: *Nicholas Hudson*

26/ Shrovetewesdaie: 8 March

36/ Iohn troumpeter: *John Burton*

(19 November-14 December)

Item vnto a blinde harper xij d

...

(1 January)

Item vnto Iohn troumpeter capteine boyer Droommer 5  
and other ij musitians iiij s

...

(1 January-8 February)

Item vnto the players of penrethe x s

...

Item vnto Iames baines and his felowe players 10  
x s

Item for a Coatt vnto the waitte xx s

Item for Candles to the players iij d

(8 February)

Item vnto my lorde morleyes players xxx s 15

...

(8 February-2 June)

Item vnto the waittes of penreth xij d

...

(2 June, All Hallow Thursday)

Item vnto Iohn troumpeter xij d 20

(2 June<sup>+</sup>)

Item vnto Iohn grayson waitt of Cokermouthe xij d

...

Item vnto ij Scotcs minstrels xij d 25

...

Item vnto Iohn nixon piper vj d

...

Item vnto j scotes gentlewomanminstrell ij s

Item vnto my lorde evers players xij s iiij d 30

...

Item vnto the waittes of lankaster iij s iiij d

Item vnto Certeine players in december x s

...

35

f [5] (*Wine, Ale, and Cakes*)

...

Item in chardgies in the highe chamber vpon mr Maior

29/ gentlewomanminstrell: ie, gentlewoman's minstrel

38/ mr Maior: Richard Warwick, f [1], account title

and his bretheren vpon hallowe thursdaie xvj s ij d

...

# 1604-5

*Chamberlains' Accounts* CCRO: CA/4/1

5

f [22v]\* (*November-3 December*) (*Disbursements*)

...

Item for vj *quartes* stamell brodclothe vno the droummer xx s

...

10

f [22] (*10 February-7 April*)

...

Item for playgames vpon shrovetewesdaie xviii s (... ) d

...

15

f [23] (*9 May*)

...

Item vnto the eighte occupations vpon halow thursdaie xx s

...

20

f [23v]\* (*Fees and Annuities*)

...

Item vnto nycholas hudson droummer xx s

...

25

f [24] (*2 October*) (*Benevolences*)

first vnto Iohn troumpeter ij s

...

(*6 April-9 May*)

Item vnto the waittes of Penrethe ij s 30

...

Item vnto the waittes of leaddes ij s

Item vnto the waittes of kendall xij d

Item vnto the waittes of Rychmonde ij s

...

35

(*9 May*)

Item vnto one that was foole vpon hallow thursdaie xij d

...

13/ shrovetewesdaie: *12 February*

13/ (... )d: *marginal repair*

f [24v] (13 May<sup>+</sup>)

Item vnto Craggell the singer

xij d

...

Item vnto the waittes of waikfeald

ij s

...

5

f [25] (9 May) (Wine, Cakes, and Spices)

...

Item for one gallon of Secke one pottle Clared wine one  
 quarte whitt wine j li of Suger 3 pottes beare one box of  
 comfittes and wheatt Caikes vpon halowethursdaie at  
 afternoone in the heighe Chamber

[⟨...⟩ s ⟨...⟩ d] xiiij s

10

...

**1608-9**

15

*Chamberlains' Accounts* CCRO: CA/4/1

f [34] (October) (Disbursements)

...

Item to Iohn Burton trumpiter vpon the election day at  
 mr maior comand

ij s vj d

20

...

f [37v] (January)

...

Item vnto Iohn Burton trumpiter for his Newyeares gifte

xij d

25

...

(28 January-1 February)

Item vnto the waits of Newcastle at mr maior command

ij s vj d

...

30

f [38] (February)

...

Item the 3 day vpon the waits of kendall at mr maior  
 commande

ij s vj d

35

...

Item the 7 daie vpon the waits of peareth at mr maior  
 command

ij s

...

20/ mr maior: John Pattison, elected 3 October, f [34], account title

ff [38v-39v]

...

Item the last day In the citties games  
beinge Shrovetewesday

xviij s

Item vpon Iohn blacke fylder piper  
the same day

xij d/

*(March)*

...

Item the 3 day to the waits of hallifax at mr maior  
commande

ij s vj d 10

Item vnto a musition of mr dudleys at mr maior  
commande

xij d

Item the 5 day vnto one maior vavicers musitions at  
mr maior commande

ij s vj d

Item the 6 day vnto the waits of durham at mr maior  
commande

ij s vj d 15

...

Item the 10 day vnto the waits of Lemin at mr maior  
commande

ij s vj d/

...

Item the 24 day vpon the waits of midlam at mr maior  
commande

xij d

...

f [39v] *(30 March)*

25

Item ... vpon the waits of wakeffeilde at mr maior  
commande

ij s vj d

...

f [40v] *(April)*

30

...

Item the 18 day vpon a Trumpiter at mr maior  
commande

vj d

...

Item the xxiiij day [for] vpon my lord stafforde players at  
mr maior commande

x s

35

4/ Shrovetewesday: 28 February

18/ Lemin/ Leeming in North Riding or Leeming in West Riding, Yorkshire

f [41] (13-25 May)

...

Item vnto the waits of Richmonde at mr maior commande xv iij d

...

f [42] (July)

...

Item the xxiiijth day vpon my lord of lincolne players at  
mr maior commande

xx s

...

f [43] (28 August)

Item (...) to the waits of york at mr maior commande

ij s vj d

...

f [43v] (29 September)

...

Item to nicholas hudson for his hex

xx s

...

f [47] (Fees and Annuities)

...

To Nicholas hudson the drumer

(...)

...

**1610-11***Chamberlains' Accounts* CCRO: CA/4/1

f [52] (October) (Disbursements)

...

Item to Iohn Burton trumpiter vpon the election day at  
mr Maior commande

ij s vj d

Item vnto the waits of peareth the same daie at mr maior  
commande

ij s vj d

...

18/ hex for hexpenses (?), possibly for livery; preceding and following items respectively for  
sergeants' cloaks and beadles' liveries

23/ (...) triangular tear 60mm wide at outer edge of folio, penetrating 45mm

31/ mr Maior: Edward Aglionby, elected 1 October, f [52], account title

f [53] (28 November)

...

Item to my lord wharton players at mr Maior  
commande...

xx s

...

5

(19-24 December)

Item for a paire of shoes to willy the fowle at mr maior  
commande

xviij d

...

10

f [53v] (December)

...

Item the xxvjth day for a coat to my lord Abbott at mr  
Maior commande

xvij s

Item for a hat vnto [my] 'the' said lord read in the  
makeinge of his coat & hat & for candles

viij s vj d

15

...

f [54]\*

...

Item for the games vpon Shrove tewesday

xxix s

Item to the waits of peareth at mr maior command the  
same day

iij s iij d

Item for a foat ball the same day at mr maior commande

viij d

...

25

f [54v]

Item the xxth of february to the waits the waits of  
lancaster at mr Maior commande

iiij s vj d

Item the xxijth daie to the waits of Midlam at mr maior  
command

ij s

30

...

Item the iiijth of March to the waits of Appleby at  
mr Maior commande

ij s

...

35

Item the xxvjth day to the waits of wackefeilde at  
mr Maior commande

iii s iij d

...

21/ Shrove tewesday: 5 February

28/ the waits the waits: ditto graphy

f [55]\* (*April*)

...

Item to the drummer for his coat

xx s

...

f [55v]

...

Item the seconde of Maie being alhallowe thursday to the chambers at mr Maior commande

xx s

Item to Philip Burtholme the same day at mr Maior commande

xij d

Item to musitions the same day

iiiij s

Item to the plaie hase at mr maior commande

xij d

Item to henry mounk for xvij li of powder at mr Maior commande

xxiiiij s

Item to Michaell warde for x li of powder at mr Maior commande

xiiij s iiiij d

Item to Iohn Jackson for xvij li of powder

xxij s viij d

...

f [56] (*1-15 July*)

...

Item vnto the waits of lincolne at mr Maior commande

iiiij s

Item to the waits of peareth at mr Maior commande

xviij d

...

f [56v]\* (*July*)

...

Item to the waits of leads at mr Maior commande

iiiij s

...

Item to george wilson &amp; his thre sones being waits who offerd them selves to be hird at mr Maior command

ij s vj d

...

f [57] (*15-27 August*)

...

Item to my lord Awbeny plaiers at mr Maior commande

xx s

...

(*18 September*\*)

Item payed for Makinge of the fowles coat and his stockins at mr Maior commande

iiiij s

5

10

15

20

25

30

35

40

Item for his coat & his stockins to Michael warder xiiij s ij d

...

f [60v] (*Fees and Annuities*)

...

Item to nicholas hudson drummer XX S 5

...

- A *Tanners' Guild Minute Book* CCRO: D/Lons/L  
f [14]\* (*Masters' Accounts dated 2 November*) 10  
(*Disbursements*)

Item for ye settinge of ye occupacion dinner

Item for wylde foole Capons & cunyes

Item to [Minstrels], 'minstrells' at ye Dinner

Item for Strangers at ye same Dinnere

Item ffor wyne & suger then

...

vj s:—

xij s. v d.

xiiij d. 15

viiij s. vj d.

xvij s.—

f [14v] (*Masters' Accounts dated 8 November 1611*)  
(*Receipts*) 20

...

Item rec of the Cittyes benevolence ffor accompayninge

Mr Maior to the kinge moore

...

ij s— vj d

25

f [15] (*Disbursements*)

Inprimis disbursed in Charges at our Chamber uppon ye

Rydinge with Mr Maior of the bounder of the kings

moore

...

xxij s iiij d. /

30

# 1611-12

- A *Tanners' Guild Minute Book* CCRO: D/Lons/L 35  
f [15] (*Masters' Accounts dated 8 November*)  
(*Disbursements*)

...

Item for ye settinge of [the] 'ye' Occupacion Dinner

v s.

13/ ye occupacion dinner: 28 October

23/ accompayninge for accompayninge

23-31/ for All Hallow Thursday, 2 May

39/ 'ye' Occupacion Dinner: 28 October

Ite for Capons, wyled foole & Connyes	xj s. -	
Ite for sertayne Strangers	vj s. vj d. -	
Ite for wyne & Sewger in all	xxj s. -	
...		
Ite to minstralls at ye Dinner	xij d	5
...		

**1612-13**

A	<i>Tanners' Guild Minute Book</i> CCRO: D/Lons/L		
	f [16v]* ( <i>Masters' Accounts dated 6 November</i> )		10
	( <i>Disbursements</i> )		
	...		
	Ite ffor settinge of ye Dinner	ij s	
	Ite for [(.)]wyldefoole and Capons	vj s.	
	Ite for Strangers	vj s - vj d -	15
	Ite for wyne over my lords allowance of x s and x s to		
	ye howse	xvij s vj d. -	
	...		
	Ite to the Minstrells	xij d	20
	...		
	f [17]*		
	...		
	Ite geven to ye Chamberlens to paye the howse where ye		
	Dinner was madd	x s -	25
	...		
	f [17v] ( <i>dated 5 November 1613</i> ) ( <i>Receipts</i> )		
	...		
	Ite off Mr Maiors giffte & ye Cittyes for ryding ye kings		30
	moore	ij s vj d.	
	...		
	f [18] ( <i>Expenses</i> )		35
	...		
	Ite bestowed upon Mr Maior & his brethren in ye		
	Chamber upon hallowe Thursdays	v s. vj d.	
	Ite to ye wates & Drummer	xij d. -	
	...		

## 1613-14

*Chamberlains' Accounts* CCRO: CA/4/2

f [I]\* (4-11 October) (Disbursements)

Imprimis given to Iohn Bvrton trumpeter	ij s vj d	5
to Iohn Gyles and other his Men dwelling in		
Cockermouth being sir henry Curwens Muzistians	iijs iiij d	

...

(13-16 October)

given to A blind harper called hingerham Stewart A scotes		10
Man	xij d	

...

the 19th given to george Little piper	xviiij d	
---------------------------------------	----------	--

...

15

f [IV] (4-5 November)

...

payed to Mr maior wic'h he gave to A blind harper with		
other of his Companye	ij s	

...

20

(6-13 November)

Given to Muuiissians that came from yorkshire	iijs 4 d	
---	----------	--

...

f [2] (28 November-10 December)

25

...

to my lord Quarton plaires	xiijs 4 d	
----------------------------	-----------	--

...

(14-22 December)

to willye Milner A paire shoes and paire hoisen	<....>	30
---	--------	----

...

f [2v] (4-7 January)

...

to sir Mvngo and the boyes for singing at Mr Maiors	v s	35
---	-----	----

...

18/ Mr maior: *Thomas Blenerhassett, CA/4/139 f 47, account title*30/ willye Milner: *the city's fool*30/ <....> *bottom right corner of folio missing*

(8-9 January)

to the waytes of lancaster iiij s 4 d

...

to kendall players not permitting yem to play iiij s 4 d

...

given to sir henrye Curwens Musissians at last court iiij s 4 d

...

ff [3-3v] (9-15 January)

...

given to the players came from barnycastle v s 10

...

to the waiytes of pearith ij s vj d

...

(15-16 January)

to my lord Staffordes players xiiij s 4 d 15

...

the ffirst day March to the waites of Canterburie iiij s 4 d

...

(1-8 March)

when my lord Cumberland dynned with yow pottle sack 20

pottle Clared dli suger iiij s 8 d

to his man &amp; his three boyes that was our waites iiij s 4 d

...

(8 March, Shrove Tuesday)

A foote Ba<sub>x</sub> w'lle vpon the sandes [(....)] vj d- 25

...

to a Boy that wonn the foote Boll xij d

...

given to Mr maior &amp; John Hodbye to bestowe of waites 30

Riton and other passengers iiij s 4 d

...

(26 March-1 April)

to the whaites of Appelby ij s

...

35

6/ ie, at quarter sessions, mentioned 4-7 January, f [2v]

21/ yow: ie, Thomas Blenerhassett, mayor

22/ dli: di. li.

26/ entry interposed at top of folio

(1-3 April)

given to waites of Midlam

iij s 4 d

...

f [4] (3-30 April)

5

...  
given to the waites of Lancaster

iij s 4 d

...

given to the waites of Hellifax

iij s 4 d

...

(3-11 May)

10

°giuen to the waytes of Altherton

iij s 4 d°

...

f [4v]\* (16-27 May)

15

...  
[th] To thre munisseners that Came frome Barwick

iij s 4 d

...

f [6]\* (2-23 June)

20

...  
To the occupations

xx s

ffor Games

xviiij s

ffor powder fortie shillings

for Carridg and browne paper

xij d

25

Mr Maior in the merchantes chamber two *quarts* of white

wyne and Suger 8 d

ij s

Shoemaker Chamber a *quart* of white and Suger

xij d

...

To Iohn Earle when you brought in the Games

xij d

30

...

f [6v] (23 June-8 July)

...

At yor awne house Carried by lytell Wille a *quart* of

Clarrit &amp; suger

xij d

35

...

12/ Altherton: *probably Atherton, Lancs*35/ yor awne house: *ie, referring to Thomas Blenerhassett, mayor*35/ lytell Wille: *William Milner, the ciy's fool*

Paied to henrie Monk for three yardes of white Carsay  
for the fooles Cotte v s 8 d and white threed and read  
threed 8d for a year and a halfe of harne 8 d

Paied to Thomas hodg for three yardes of Read Carsaie  
for the foole ix s

paied to Mathewe Cape for two bells for  
the foole and a fether

vj d

...

f [7]

...

ffor makeing of the fooles Cotte

[v s] v s

...

°To the waytes of Bristo not sufferinge them to play°

v s

...

f [7v] (8 July-10 August)

...

given to the waites of knarshbrough

v s

...

f [8] (18-25 August)

...

for a paire of Shooes and hose to the foole at the Sizes

ij s

...

(25 August<sup>+</sup>)to three mussishiners one of them said he was borne in  
Carelell

(blank)

...

f [8v]

...

given to the waites that was last here at Mr Maiors  
appointment

iiij s 4 d

...

to william ffoole half yeard half quarter saye

xviij d

f [9v] (Fees)

...

to the Citytes dromer

xx s

...

39/ ff [9v-10], untitled list of fees and annuities

5

10

15

20

25

30

35

40

f [13]\* (*Disbursements on St John's Eve and St Peter's Eve*)

...

Nicholas hudson xij d

...

® x8: the two waites ij s 5

...

f [14v]\*

...

ffor the bouchers waike and the seargantes waike ij s 10  
to the watchers either night one pott of Ale xij d

...

°Giuen to the Cities waites St Iohn Euen and St Peters  
even° ij s 15

*Chamberlains' Audit Book* CCRO: CA/4/139

f 48 (*Allowances Craved*)

...

Item to ye wates ffor their wages iiij li. 20

...

A *Tanners' Guild Minute Book* CCRO: D/Lons/L

f [19] (*Masters' Accounts dated 4 November*) (*Receipts*)

...

Ite receaved of Mr Maior as his gifte for Rydinge 25  
kingmoore ij s vj d

...

(*Expenses*)

Ite bestowed in ye Chamber upon ye Daye of Rydinge 30  
the kinge moore xvj-viiij

Ite to ye wates of ye Cittye xvj d

...

1614-15

*Chamberlains' Accounts* CCRO: CA/4/2

f [18] (3-10 October) (*Disbursements*)

...

Item to Iohn Trumpiter by mr maiors Comand ij s. vj d. 35

26-32/ for All Hallow Thursday, 2 June

39/ mr maior: Richard Bell elected mayor 3 October, f [18], account title

Item to Mr Thompson ye musicion at mr maiors comand vj s viij d  
 Item to his boyes then by mr maiors Comand xvijj d.

...

Item to ye fforesayde Thompson musicion ye x<sup>th</sup> of  
 october mr Aglionby mr hasset & others v s. 5

...

(5 November-2 December)

Item to ye wates of kirkbesteven xvijj d 10  
 ...

f [18v]\*

Item the 2 of december to my lord whartons players, at  
 Comand of mr maior vj s viij d. 15  
 ...

(2-8 December)

Item to the wates their leveres cost iiij li. iiij s 20  
 ...

(Disbursements of Henry Baynes, mayor)

Item ye last daye of december to one Iohn dockara ye  
 wate of lancaster ij s vj d. 15  
 ...

f [19] (15 January<sup>+</sup>)

Item to ye wates of pearethe xvijj d.  
 Item to ye lord Staffoordes playeres v s: 30  
 ...

Item to ye waites of kerkbethure xvijj d.  
 Item the newers gift by mr maior to ye Cittyes wates ij s vj d.

...

\*Caldew Bridge Item ffor ye Summergames xx s. 35  
 ...

Item ffor A ffooteball to yonge men vpon Shraffe tewsdaye	vj d	
...		
Item to ye Chambers and occupacions of ye Citty vpon all hallow daye	xx s.	5
Item in ye merchantes Chamber then a quart of Sacke sett vpon mr maores head	xij d	
...		
Item to Iohn Trumpeter as an intruder vpon alhallowes thursdaye	ij s	10
Item in powder wasted ye same daye	xliii s iiii d	
...		
Item to ye wates of kendall	ij s	
...		
Item to ye wates of lincoln	ij s	15
Item ffor A Coote to ye naturall ffoole miller tow payer of showes & tow payer of hosse	xxviiij s:	
...		
f [20]*		20
...		
Item to ye wates of knasburghe	ij s	
...		
Item to Sir Thomas metcalfes musicions	ij s	
...		25
Item to ye wates of Bristowe	ij s vj d	
...		
Item to ye wates of lancaster	ij s vj d	
...		
(Fees)		30
The wates ffee	(blank)	
...		
Item to ye Cittyes drummer	xx s:	
...		

1-2/ Shraffe tewsdaye: 21 February

5/ all hallow daye: 18 May

22-8/ each entry is preceded by a dot in left margin

- A *Tanners' Guild Minute Book* CCRO: D/Lons/L  
 f [20] (*Masters' Accounts dated 3 November*) (*Receipts*)  
 ...  
 Imprimis receaved of Mr Maior as a Gratuity for  
 accompaing him & his brethren to ye kinge moore upon  
 Allhallowe Thursday ij s. vj d. 5  
 ...  
 (*Expenses*)  
 Inprimis at ye Rydinge of the bounder bestowed in our  
 Chamber xiiij s. iiij d. 10
- 1616-17**  
*Chamberlains' Accounts* CCRO: CA/4/2  
 f [24] (*1 October*) (*Disbursements*)  
 ... 15  
 Item to Iohn burton trumpiter vpon the election day at  
 mr Maior commande ij s  
 ...  
 f [24v] (*26 October*) 20  
 ...  
 Item to (...) Thompson the cities wate xxij d  
 Item to the waits of thiske at mr Maior commande xij d  
 ...  
 Item the v<sup>th</sup> of November to mr Maior for his diner the 25  
 same day xx s  
 Item to the Iudgler the same day at mr Maior commande vj s  
 Item to mr thompsons the wait xxij d  
 ...  
 Item for a shert to wille the ffowle xx d 30  
 f [25] (*18-22 December*)  
 ...  
 Item to wille the ffoall for a paire of shoes & hoas iiij s [(...)] 35  
 ...

4-10/ for All Hallow Thursday, 18 May

17/ mr Maior: Adam Robinson, elected mayor 30 September, f [24], account title

22/ (...) / stained; probably Mr

## f [25v] (22 January-22 February)

...  
Item to one william hutton a musitian & 3 of his company  
at mr Ma commande xviiij d

...  
Item for the games vpon Shrovetewesday xx s  
Item for a foat ball iiij d

...

## f [26v]\* (Mayor's Disbursements) 10

...  
°Item payde ffor leadinge 8: Carfull of wood ffrom  
Corbye, beinge for Rayles againste his majesties Cominge  
to Carlell, ye 27 of Iune viij s iiij d:

...  
Item in rewarde to ye waytes of Barwicke ij s vj d. 15

...  
Item to ye paynter ffor ye kinges Armes vpon Richard  
gayte, & payntinge ye Crosse with ye ffayne over &  
besydes. 40 s. payde to him by Iohn Iackson iiij li. iiij s. 20

...  
Item geuen to A tumbler & his musicions iiij s.

...  
Item to Anthony Sanderson, Thomas Blackelocke  
Mychaell pattinson, William hynde, Robart watson &  
Richard Stodart for wating of mr Maior when ye kinges  
Majestie was heare° xxx s. 25

...

## f [27] (John Jackson's Disbursements) 30

first to the occupations vpon alhallowe thursday in their  
chambers xx s

to Iohn Burton trumpiter xij d

to the waits of lincolne xviiij d 35

In wine & sugar the brethren beinge present the same day ij s vj d

...  
In powder the same day xvj s viij d

...

Item to the waits of lancaster	xij d	
...		
f [27v]		
...		
Item for whit & Read carsey to the foalls coat	xiiijs 4 d	5
Item for harne to his clothes	ix d	
...		
Item for Making the foall coat	v s	
...		10
f [30v]* ( <i>Fees and Annuities</i> )		
...		
to nicholas hudson drummer	x s	
...		15

*Chamberlains' Audit Book* CCRO: CA/4/139

f 53\*

The Accounte...begininge At Mychaelmes 1616 And endinge At Mychaelmes 1617: In which yeare his Majestie kinge Iames the ffirst was at Carelell & did Solemnise his ffeast their vpon Gowryes daye. ye vth of August:/...

...		20
f 54		
The Alowances now Craved with ye nessesarye expences disbursede Againste his Majestie Comminge, As also in fees to his offisers, At his heighnes beinge their...		
...		25
Item ffor a present to his Majestie which was a Cupp of goulde duble giltt with a Cover of three full quarters heigh	xxvij li:	
Item to Thomas Blackelocke ffor goinge to London aboute ye same to Robert pattinson their	xx s:	30
Item ffor ffortye duble peaces of goulde with a purse of blewe Silke & Silver, presented with ye Cupp: to his Majestie & for ye Charge & procuringe ye said gould	xlvi li:	35
Item in ffees to all offisers of his Majesties howsholde as by A particuler vnder mr hebburns hande, beinge gentilman vsher to his Majestie appearede	xxix li xij s:	40
Item in more ffees to ye offisers of his Majesties querye as		

by a particuler appeared vnder Sir Robert Osburnes  
hande

vj li vj s viij d:

...  
Item alowede in mr Robinsons hande ffor his  
extraordinarij Chargis in entertayninge ye kinges  
servantes & for his howse kepinge to ye more worshipp  
of ye Citty

xv li:

A *Tanners' Guild Minute Book* CCRO: D/Lons/L  
f [23] (*Masters' Accounts dated 7 November 1617*)  
(*Receipts*)

10

...  
Ite of Mr Maior for accompainge him at ye kinge moore

ij s. vj d

...  
(*Expenses*)

15

Item at ye Rydinge of our bounder bestowed in ye  
Chaber

xvij s—

...

f [22v]\*

20

Memorandum that the kings most excellent Majestie Iames ye firste  
was heare at Carelell ye ffourth Daye of Auguste where ye maior of  
the Citty Mr Adam Robinson with Mr Thomas Carelton Recorder  
and ye Brethren of [ye]<sub>A</sub> [the]<sub>A</sub> Citty presented him first with a Speatche 25  
then a cupp of gold vallewed at 30 li: and a purse of Sylk with 4<sup>tie</sup>  
Iacobusies or peaces in ye same his Majestie vouchsafed very  
pleasinglye the Speatch & Gifte & thanked Mr Maior & all [the]<sub>A</sub> [ye]<sub>A</sub>  
cittizens theirfore and then presentlye went to [the]<sub>A</sub> [ye]<sub>A</sub> Church  
accompanied with his nobles bothe of Englande & Scotlande The next 30  
Daye he did keepe a feast Royall went agayne to ye Church in State  
with his nobles / beinge gowryeidaye / where preached before him  
Robert Snadon Bishopp of Carelell And ye maior that Daye goinge  
before him to & from [the]<sub>A</sub> [ye]<sub>A</sub> Church at ye Courte gate kissed his  
Hand & so (...). At his Departure ye third Daye ye Maior & his 35  
Brethren tooke their leues of his Majestie who used all of them very  
graciouslye talkinge a good Space with them./

4-7/ for All Hallow Thursday, 29 May

13/ accompainge for accompaninge

17/ Chaber for Chamber

33/ Snadon: Robert Snowden, bishop of Carlisle, 1616-21

## 1617-18

*Chamberlains' Accounts* CCRO: CA/4/2f [42]\* (*Disbursements*)

Rewarde Imprimis	disbursed to Iohn Trumpetter ...	xviiij d	5
	f [43] ...		
rew	disbursed to the musetions at mr mayre the v <sup>t</sup> of november beinge gowres day ...	xviiij d	10
	f [43v] ...		
ffoole	disbursed for willyam miller the Citye foule for a sacke	ij s iiij d	15
foole	disbursed for a pare of hose	xviiij d	
foole	disbursed for a pare of dulle sole shewes ...	xx d	
Rewarde	geauen to me Lord Quarton players ...	v s	20
	f [44v] ...		
	disbursed to mr mayre for gonpowdr diner the v <sup>t</sup> of november ...	xx s	25
Rewarde	geauen to the Earle of Sussex players ...	xiiij s iiij d	
			30
	f [46v] ( <i>St Thomas Day</i> ) ( <i>Benevolences</i> ) ...		
ffee drummer	to nicholas hudson ...	ij s vj d	
			35
	f [47] ...		
Rewarde	geauen to the wates of kendall ...	xviiij d	

10/ mr mayre: *Thomas Pattinson, signature at end of account, f [56]*

11/ beinge gowres day added after payment entered

ffoole	disbursed to willye foule for a pare of shewes ...	iiij s vj d	
	f [47v] ...		
rewarde	geauen to hobbye Corbutt ...	xviiiij d	5
not.	disbursed to Edward dalton for the games ...	xxvj s viiij d	
ffoole	disbursed for leadder to men willye foule shewes f [49]* ...	ij d	10
Rewarde	geauen to a tumler ...	xij d	
Rewarde	geauen to the Irishe wates ...	xij d	15
Rew	geauen to the wates of Durham	xviiij d	
Rewarde	geauen to sir Iohn dalton musetions ...	xij d	20
	f [49v] ( <i>Lady Day</i> )( <i>Benevolences</i> ) ...		
ffee drummer	to nychols hudson ...	ij s vj d	25
	f [50] ...		
Rewarde	geauen to the quenes players ...	xxij s	30
	ff [50v-1] ...		
Rew ffoole	geauen to the wates of Penreathe disbursed to Thomas Raylton for makeing willye foule cotte ...	iiij s iiij d v s	35
	disbursed for Clothe delivered to the Chamberlayns for the Citty vse at Christames sportes		

6/ hobbye Corbutt: a musician, see p 95, L.6

8/ the games: Shrove Tuesday, 17 February

Imprimis	vj yeardes of read kersaye at iijs iiij d a yeard disbursed for vj yeardes of kersaye whit and read Peniston	xx s xiiij s	
	iiij qurtrs of Peniston and Coulert thred	j s x d	
	iiij yeardes and a halfe of grey kersaye	viiij s ix d/	5
	for the saregantes Clokes Lace and neckes	iiij li.	
ffoole	for Willym myller cott vj yeardes of whit and read kersaye	xv s	
foole	for Canvice	xij d	
	...		10
	disbursed for puder	xxvij s	
	disbursed to ye eight Occupations	xx s	
Rew	geauen to Iohn Trumpetter	xij d	
Rew	geauen to the Wates of hellefax	xij d	
	...		15
Rewarde	geauen to the wates of wakfeld	xviiij d	
Rewarde	geauen to mr Thompson boyes	xviiij d	
Rew	geauen to a Iugler	xij d	
	...		
	f [51v]		20
	...		
Rewarde	disbursed to the fidler on Allathursdaye	xij d	
	...		
	f [52] ( <i>St John's Day</i> ) ( <i>Benevolences</i> )		25
	...		
ffee	to nichols hudson	ij s vj d	
	...		
	f [53]		30
	...		
ffoole	disbursed for read and white for mending willye foule cott	iiij s	
	...		35

11-12/ for All Hallow Thursday, 14 May

23/ Allathursdaye: All Hallow Thursday, 14 May

f [53v]\*

...

Rewarde	geauen to me Ladye Elibethe players	xxvj s viij d
---------	-------------------------------------	---------------

...

Rewarde	geauen to musetions of hellefax at the dynner at Besse Parker	ij s
---------	---	------

...

f [54]

...

Rew	geauen to the players the xij <sup>o</sup> of September by mr mayre drection	x s
-----	--	-----

...

f [54v]\* (12-29 September)

...

Rew	geauen to Sir Iohn sawell musetiones	xij d
-----	--------------------------------------	-------

Rew	geauen to the wats of Bedell	xij d
-----	------------------------------	-------

Rew	geauen to the wates of Linkon	xviiij d
-----	-------------------------------	----------

...

f [55] (Benevolences) (Michaelmas Day)

...

ffee	to nycholas hudson	ij s vj d
------	--------------------	-----------

...

A *Tanners' Guild Minute Book* CCRO: D/Lons/L  
f [24v] (Masters Accounts dated 6 November)(Receipts)

...

Ite of Mr Maior a gratuetie for accompainge him to ye kinge moore	ij s. vj d.	30
---	-------------	----

...

(Expenses)

Ite at ye Rydinge of ye bounder bestowed in [the] <sub>A</sub> 'ye' <sub>1</sub> Chaber	xiij s. viij d.	35
---	-----------------	----

...

3/ Elibethe for Elizabethe

30/ accompainge for accompainge

30-35/ for All Hallow Thursday, 14 May

35/ Chaber for Chamber

## 1618-19

*Chamberlains' Accounts* CCRO: CA/4/1f [63] (*Ordinary Disbursements*)

In primis geuen to Iohn Trumpeter ye ffirste daye of  
October, beinge ye election day ij s 5

...  
Item to Edwarde dalton ffor ye Sommergames xxvij s: vj d:  
Item ffor a ffote ball, & ye breatch of a hammer shafte viij d.  
Item to ye occupacions vpon alhallowe daye xx s: 10  
Item ye same daye to Iohn trumpeter xij d.

...

f [64v] (*Rewards*)

...  
Item to ye wates of Millam iij s. 15

...  
Item to Sir wilfryde lawsons Musecions iij s.

...  
Item to ye wates of pearethe ij s. vj d. 20

...  
Item to ye wates of Barnardcastle xij d.

...  
Item to ye wates of Rippon ij s. vj d. 25

...  
Item to ye wates of wakeffelde iij s.

...  
Item to A knightes musicions yat Came oute of  
yorkshyer iij s iij d. 30

## f [65]\*

...  
Item ye 20<sup>th</sup> of November geuen to my lord whartons  
playeres xiiij s. iij d. 35

...  
Item to ye wates of kendall iij s  
Item to ye wates of Applebye xij d:

8/ ye Sommergames: Shrove Tuesday, 9 February

10/ alhallowe daye: 6 May

Item to hobbye Corbett & lebodye vpon hall thursdaye	xij d.	
...		
(5 June)		
Item to the Bearwarde...	vj s.	5
...		
(5 June <sup>+</sup> )		
Item to George Bell & other tow wates	ij s	
...		
Item to ye kinges playeres	xxx s:	10
...		
f [66] ( <i>Fees</i> )		
...		
The drummers ffee	x s.	15
...		
( <i>Liveries</i> )		
The Seriantes leueries		
The Beedles leueries		
The hirdes leuerye		
The wates leverye	xi li xij s viij d.	20
The drummers leverye		
The Bellmans leverye		
The ffooles Cote & other Chargis ffor him	xxvij s xj d. /	
...		
		25
f [76v]*		
Trumpeter.	(blank)	
...		
Leveres 11 li. 5s. 2d: 7s 6d: / - 11 li: 12s. 8d: /		30
ffoole 18d. 23d. 5s: 16s: 12d 2s 6d - 1 li: 7s: 11d.		
...		
<b>Court Leet Rolls</b> CCRO: CA/3/21		
mb [2] (21 April)		35
...		
Item we Request that Mr Maior and his brethren shall call for the silver broad Arrowes and the Stock and the horse <sup>a</sup> 'nages' Bels with all expedytion[s] and the same so called [into] in to bestowe the same and ffive poundes more in A silver Cup gilded to be Employed for		40

1/ hall thursdaye: 6 May

1/ lebodye: Robert Lebody, a musician, see p95, l.21

manteyning of A horse Rase for the Cytties vse (vpon the kinges more)  
at such tyme yearlye as theye shall thinke convanient, And to Article that  
the same cup shall be brought in yearlye as they shall thinke ffittinge  
...

A	<b>Tanners' Guild Minute Book</b> CCRO: D/Lons/L	5
	f [24v] ( <i>Masters' Accounts dated 6 November</i> ) ( <i>Expenses</i> )	
	...	
	Ite for [ye] Strangers at our Dinner	vj s—
	Ite for wyne & Sewger then	viij s vj d. 10
	Ite for wylde foole Cunnyes & Capons	vij s. iij d.
	Ite at ye settinge of ye Dinner	ij s.—
	...	
	f [25]	15
	...	
	Ite to ye Musicians at our Dinner	viij d.
	...	
	f [26v] ( <i>Masters' Accounts dated 5 November 1619</i> ) ( <i>Receipts</i> )	20
	...	
	Ite from Mr Maior of hallow Thursdaye	ij s. vj d.
	...	
	( <i>Expenses</i> )	25
	Ite bestowed in ye Chamber upon hallowe Thursday	xvj s. viij d.
	...	
	<b>1619-20</b>	
	<b>Chamberlains' Accounts</b> CCRO: CA/4/2	30
	f [79]* ( <i>William Simson's Disbursements</i> )	
	...	
	Item to Iohn Burton trumpiter vpon the election day at mr maior commande	ij s vj d
	Item to 2 musitions beinge mr navell his men at mr Maior commande	xviij d
	...	

9/ our Dinner: 28 October

23/ hallow Thursdays: 6 May

34/ mr maior: Thomas Blenerhassett, elected 4 October, f [79], account title

Item for Amending wille the ffoale his clothes	xvj d	
...		
Item for 2 shertts to wille the foale & for makeinge of them	iiij s x d	
Item bestowed vpon my lord dudley players at mr Maior <i>commande</i>	x s	5
...		
Item to the waits of kendall at mr Maior <i>commande</i>	ij s vj d	
...		
f [79v]		10
...		
Item to a piper & a drummer at mr Maior <i>commande</i>	vj d	
...		
Item bestowed vpon Sir wilfrid lawson foale at mr Maior <i>commande</i>	xij d	15
...		
Item for a paire of shoes to wille the foale vpon christmas even	ij s vj d	
Item for a paire of stockins & making them to him	ij s vj d	20
...		
f [80]*		
...		
Item to the schollers for a speach play	ij s vj d	25
...		
Item to a scotts foale	vj d	
...		
f [80v]		30
...		
Item to 2 musitions at thomas Atkinson mariage	xij d	
...		
Item for the cites gams vpon Shrove tewesday	xxv s	
Item in wine & sugar after the brethren came from the meadowe	vs viij d	35
Item for a foatball	4 d	
Item for a bar	ij d	
...		
Item to 2 pipers vpon Shrovetewesday at night at		40

mr Maior commande	vj d	
...		
Item to puppie players	xij d	
Item to 3 musitions at mr Maior commande	xij d	
...		5
f [8I]		
Item to a Iudgler that would have gone in the town at divers tymes	xviii d	10
...		
Item vpon alhallow thursday in the occupations chambers	xx s	
In powder the same day	xxiiij s	
...		15
Item vpon the late quenes Majesties players	xxj s	
...		
f [8Iv]		
...		20
Item for a coat to wille the foal	xj s	
Item for sherts to him & making them	vs vj d	
Item for a paire of stockins	xx d	
Item for a paire of shoes	ij s vj d	
Item for making his coat	iiij s 4 d	25
...		
Item to the waits of kendall	xviii d	
Item to one of mllam that playd vpon a drume & a pipe	vj d	
...		
Item to a piper when the veneson was eaten at mr Maior	vj d	30
...		
Item for a band to wille the foale	iiij d	
...		
f [82] ( <i>Dalston Dalton's Disbursements</i> )		35
...		
Item to one Iohnston a ffoole at mr Maior commande	vj d	
...		

16/ xxj s: folio torn through descenders of xx; j written over x

28/ Item: word almost obliterated by a marginal tear

Item to my lord hume his ffoole

vj d

...

f [82v]\*

5

Item vpon hobby corbat vpon shrove tewesday for  
musicke

ij s vj d

...

Item to the waits of Aske at mr Maior commande

ij s

Item to the waits of midlam

xviij d

10

...

Item to the waits of peareth

xviij d

...

f [83]

15

Item to the waits of Rippon

ij s vj d

...

Item to a Iudgler vpon alhallowe thursday

ij s vj d

20

Item to Robert lebody for musicke vpon alhallowe  
thursday

ij s

f [83v]

25

Item to the waits of lincolne at mr Maior commande

ij s

...

Item bestowed vpone my lady elizabeth players

xv s

...

30

f [85] (*Fees*)

...

The drummers ffee

x s

...

35

A *Tanners' Guild Minute Book* CCRO: D/Lons/L  
f [26v] (*Masters' Accounts dated 5 November*) (*Expenses*)

...

Ite for xiiij Strangers at our Dinner

vj s. vj d.

6/ shrove tewesday: 29 February; and above, pp 93 l.34 - 94 l.1

19/ alhallowe thursday: 25 May

Ite for wyne & (Sewger besydes Mr [gents] <sup>a</sup> 'Gents') <i>our</i>		
Dinner	vj s. vj d (vj d.	
Ite for wylde fowle Cunnyes & Capons	viii s. viii d. -	
Ite at ye settinge of <i>our</i> Dinner	ij s. -	5
f [27]		
...		
Ite to ye Musecions for playing at <i>our</i> Dinner	vj d.	
...		
f [28] ( <i>Masters' Accounts dated 3 November 1620</i> ) ( <i>Receipts</i> )		10
...		
Ite frome Mr Maior of hallowthursdaye	ij s. vj d -	
...		
f [28v] ( <i>Expenses</i> )		15
Ite bestowed in [the] <sup>a</sup> [ye] Chaber upon hallow Thursdaye	iii s -	
...		20

## 1620-1

*Chamberlains' Accounts* CCRO: CA/4/2f [89]\* (*Disbursements*)

...		
Item to Iohn Trumpiter	xij d	25
Item to the Musitians att Mr Maior comand	ij s	
...		
f [89v]		
...		30
Item giuen for makinge awake the fifte day of nouember		
att Mr Maior comand	xviii d	
Item giuen to Mrs Maioras <sup>a</sup> 'for' the dyner the v <sup>th</sup> of		
nouember	xxiiij s iiiij d	
...		35

1-2/ *our* Dinner: 28 October  
 13/ hallowthursdaye: 25 May

18/ Chaber for Chamber  
 26/ Mr Maior: *Thomas James*, f [89], account title

Item giuen to the Musitians the same day att Mr Maior comand	ij s	
...		
Item giuen to the kings players att Mr Maior comand	xxiij s	
...		5
f [90]		
...		
Item disbursed for william Mylners buriall and his funerall expenses att mr maior comand	x (...)	10
...		
f [90v]		
...		
Item giuen to towe Musitians of Ednebrough att Mr Maior comand	xij d	15
...		
Item giuen to Edward Dalton vpon shroufe theusday for the gams Mr Maior comand	xxxij s	
Item giuen for a foot ball the same day att Mr Maior comand	viii d	20
f [91]		
<... ..> the Musitians the same		25
<... ..> Maior comand	<... ..>	
Item giuen to the princis players the xxth of december att mr Maior comand	xxij<..>	
...		
Item giuen to thre Musitioners goeing to workington att Mr Maior comand	xviii d	30
...		
Item giuen to the waits of penrith att Mr Maior comand	xij d	
...		

1/ Mr Maior: Thomas James, f [89], account title

10/ x (...): remainder of payment obliterated by heavy discolouration

18/ shroufe theusday: 13 February

25/ first three words obliterated by a hole 80mm in diameter, placed 32mm from the left edge of folio and 10mm from top, with fading in surrounding area; probably Item giuen to

26/ first three words faded—probably day at Mr; payment obliterated by discolouration

28/ payment partly illegible because of discolouration

Item giuen to the waites of midlim In yorke shire att Mr  
Maior comand xviiiij d

...

Item giuen to Edmond Chraister <sup>^</sup>for<sup>1</sup> the lords coat  
against Christinmes Mr Maior comand

xs 5

...

f [91v]

...

Item giuen for powder vpon allhallow thursday

xxxviiij s 10

...

Item giuen vpon allhallowthursday to the chambers of the  
ocupations

xx s

Item giuen to the Musitians the same day att Mr Maior  
comand

ij s vj d 15

...

f [92]

Item giuen for makinge a case for the giltinge bo(.)le att  
Mr Maior comand

vj d 20

...

Item bestowed vpon my lord william sonnes the horsrace  
day In beare att Mr Maiors

ij s

Item giuen the Musitioner for plainge the same daye att  
Mr Maior comand

xij d 25

...

Item giuen for parchment for writtinge the Artickels for  
the giltinge boule

vj d

...

30

f [92v]

...

Item giuen to the waites of durham

ij s

35

f [93]

...

Item giuen to the waites of Rippin att Mr Maior comand

xviiiij d

...

10/ allhallow thursday: 10 May

23/ my lord william: Lord William Howard of Naworth

Item giuen to the waites of kendall ij s

...

f [93v]

...

Item giuen att the assize to Sir Henry Curwen Musitians xviii d

Item giuen to the waites of kendall xij d

Item giuen to the waites of Millam xij d

Item giuen to the kings players xxij s

...

10

f [94v] (*Fees and Annuities*)

...

To the drummer x s

...

15

A *Tanners' Guild Minute Book* CCRO: D/Lons/L

f [28v] (*Masters' Accounts dated 3 November*) (*Expenses*)

...

Ite ffor v: Strangers at our Dinner ij s. vj d. 20

Ite ffor wyne then xx s

Ite in tow pences ffor everye brothers Dinner & Strangers  
amountinge to 82. psons xv s. vj d.

...

Ite to Musetions of ye Dinner vj d. 25

...

f [29v] (*Masters' Accounts dated 2 November 1621*) (*Receipts*)

...

Ite of Mr Maior [(<.)]<sub>a</sub> 'a' benevolence to [the]<sub>a</sub> 'ye'<sup>1</sup> 30

Company [(<....)d] ii s. vi d.

...

(*Expenses*)

Ite bestowed in [the]<sub>a</sub> 'ye'<sup>1</sup> Chamber upon hallow

Thursday xv s. ij d. 35

...

20/ our Dinner: 28 October  
23/ psons for persons

30-5/ for All Hallow Thursday, 10 May

## 1621-2

*Chamberlains' Accounts* CCRO: CA/4/2f [97]\* (*Disbursements*)

Reward	Item to a poore singingman one Busse Cominge out of Irelande	ij s	5
ordnere	Item ffor a dinner to the bretheren vpon ye gunpowder daye Sir Iohn dalston & other Strangers ther	xx s	
Reward	Item to ye Scollers ffor an exercyse or an oracion deliuered by them to Mr Maior & his Company then	ij s	10
	f [97v]*		
Reward	Item to ye wates of Boston in linconshyer	ij s	15
Reward	Item to my Lorde Wharton playeres	x s	
Reward	Item to Nycholas hudson in ye tyme of him self & his howsouldes vicitacion	ij s vj d	20
Reward	Item geuen to offiseres in Christinmes at nawart ye Maior & bretheren beinge ther	x s	
Reward	Item to a musicion their at ye same tyme	ij s	25
Reward	Item to Richeson ye Ieaster or Counterfeete	xij d	
	(February)		
Reward	Item to ye kinges Iugler	xx s	30
Reward	Item to ye wates of kirkbylonesdell	xviii d	
	f [98] ( <i>March</i> )		
ordnere	Item payde vnto Edmonde Craster ffor ye seriantes ffreese Cotes & viij <sup>th</sup> yeardes and a halfe of brode Reed ffor ye beadles drumme & hirdes leveres	v li ij s iij d	35

8-9/ ye gunpowder daye: 5 November

11/ Mr Maior: Henry Baines, f [97], account title

27/ Item to a poore man one Richeson a Iester f [104v]

Reward	Item to ye wates of lincon (April)	xviiij d	
Reward	Item to ye wates of lancaster ...	xviiij d	
Reward	Item to ye wates of pearethe	xij d	5
Reward	Item to ye wates of kirkbyelonesdell	xviiij d	
Reward	Item to ye wates of Rippon ... (May)	xviiij d	
ord'	Item to Edward dalton ffor ye Summergames	xxviiij s	10
Reward	Item to ye wates of Barwicke ... f [98v]* (May-June) ...	ij s	
Reward	Item to ye wates of kendall ...	ij s	15
Reward	Item to ye kinges playeres ye 13 of September f [99] (Fees) ...	xx s	
	Item to ye drummer of ye Cittye	x s	20
A	<i>Tanners' Guild Minute Book</i> CCRO: D/Lons/L f [29v-30] ( <i>Masters' Accounts dated 2 November</i> ) ( <i>Expenses</i> ) ... Ite for two Strangers at <sup>a</sup> our <sup>1</sup> Dinner Ite bestowed in Wine then Ite in towpences for every Brothers dinner beinge Parsons Ite for setting of [the] <sup>a</sup> ye <sup>1</sup> Dinner Ite to Musitions ...	xij d v s viiij d  xvj s ij s vj d	25  30

3/ xviiij d: xij d f [104v]

10/ ye Summergames: see p 153, endnote to CA/4/2 f [6]

11/ ij s: xviiij d f [104v]

27/ 'our<sup>1</sup> Dinner: 28 October

**I622-3****Chamberlains' Accounts** CCRO: CA/4/2f [110v] (*Disbursements*)

...

More giuen to my lord wharton players att Mr Maior  
Comand

xij s

5

...

f [111]

...

More given to the princes players att Mr Maior comand

xx s

10

...

More given to the Musitians vpon ffastineven day att Mr  
Maior comand

ij s vj d

15

...

f [112]

...

More given to the kinges players att Mr Maior comand

xx s

More given for the games vpon fastineven day

xx s

20

...

A **Tanners' Guild Minute Book** CCRO: D/Lons/Lf [31] (*Masters' Accounts dated 8 November*) (*Expenses*)

...

Ite for [the]<sub>A</sub> 'sex' Strangers

ijj s

25

Ite ffor wylde foole Cunyes & Capons

vj s. xj d: &amp; vj d.

for a malert

Ite in Wyne

[(&lt;.)s iijj d] v s: iijj d.

Ite at ye setting of ye dinner

ij s

30

...

Ite to ye Musicians

vj d

...

**I623-4**A **Tanners' Guild Minute Book** CCRO: D/Lons/Lf [32] (*Masters' Accounts dated 7 November*) (*Expenses*)

35

...

Ite ffor Settinge of our dinner

ijj s

Ite ffor viij Strangers invyted to ye same at 8 d

[v s iijj d]<sub>A</sub> 'v s. iijj d'

Ite ffor wyne beinge both Sacke & Claried

v s. iijj d

5/ Mr Maior: *Thomas Gent*, f [110], account title

13,20/ ffastineven day: *Shrove Tuesday*, 25 February

29/ ye dinner: 28 October

37/ our dinner: 28 October

Ite ffor wylde ffooll Capons &amp; Cunyes

vj s.

...

Ite to [the] <sup>^</sup>ye<sup>1</sup> Musicions

vj d

...

5

**Merchants' Book** CCRO: D/GC/4f 87 (*Undermasters' Accounts dated 2 July 1625*)  
(*Disbursements*)

...

Item at our dinner for 16 Straingers

00-08-00

10

Item for the Occupation and weadoes being in Number  
36. at 6 d

00-18-00

Item 13 quartes of Clared wine

00-08-08

Item for 5 quartes of secke

00-05-00

Item to the Cookes, and vnder Cookes

00-03-04

15

Item to the Musitians

00-01-06

...

**1624-5****Chamberlains' Accounts** CCRO: CA/4/2

20

f [117] (*Disbursements*)Imprimis given to the musitians at michaelmas at mr  
maior Command

00 02 06

...

25

f [117v] (*30 November-14 December*)

...

Item given to the waitts of lincoln at mr maior Command

00 01 00

...

30

Item the 14th of december given to balife ward pro  
15 yard [of] & aquarter of brod read pro the waitts Clocks  
the 3 beadles Cotts the belman Cotte the drummer Cotte  
& the hird Cotte at 7s per yard at mr Maior Command

05 6 9

...

35

f [118] (*11 January-22 March*)

...

Item given to George tayler pro makeinge of aplay at mr

10/ our dinner: 12 September

23-4/ mr maior: Thomas Blenerhassett, f [117], account title

maior Command	00 02 6	
...		
f [118v]		
...		
Item to the waitts of Rippon at mr maior Command	00 01 04	5
...		
(21 April-30 May)		
Item given to the waitts of peareth	00 01 00	
...		10
f [119] (11 June-5 July)		
...		
Item given to the waitts of lincoln at mr maior Command	00 01 00	
...		15
Item given to the <sup>x</sup> 'kings' players vpon the 5th of Iulij at mr maior Command	01 00 00	
...		
(5 July-17 August)		
Item given to the waitts of peareth	00 01 00	20
...		
f [119v] (24 August <sup>+</sup> )		
...		
Item to the waytes of wakefeild	00 01 00	25
...		
Item to the waytes of kendall	00 01 00	
...		
Item to the waitts of darinton	00 01 00	
...		30
f [121]* (Fees) (Christmas)		
...		
Item to the drummer pro his ffee	00 02 6	
...		35
(Our Lady Day)		
Item to the drumer pro his ffee	00 02 6	
...		
(St John's Day)		
Item to the drummer pro his ffee	00 02 06	40
...		

f [121v] (*Michaelmas*)

...

Item to the drummer pro his ffee

00 02 6

...

5

A *Tanners' Guild Minute Book* CCRO: D/Lons/Lf [33] (*Masters' Accounts dated 5 November*) (*Expenses*)

...

Ite ffor Setting ye Occupacions Dinner ij s vj d in ye hands

Ite ffor viij Stranges invyted to ye same at 8 d apeace v s. iiij d 10

Ite ffor Wyne bothe Sacke and Clarrede vj s ij d

Ite bestowed in wyld ffoole Capons and Cunyes vj s vj d

...

Ite to the Musitions vj d

...

15

f [34] (*Masters' Accounts dated 4 November 1625*) (*Receipts*)

...

Ite ffrome Mr Maior as A gratuetie to ye Companie ffor

Rydinge with him of he Cittyes bounder ij s vj d. 20

...

(*Expenses*)

Inprimis bestowed upon ye Companie at ye Rydinge

of ye kings moore upon ye assention daye in breede

cheese drinke &amp; Cake x s- 25

Ite ffor our quarter of Sacke &amp; one quart whyte wine xx d.

Ite ffor [...] 'dressinge &amp; trinning of ye' Chamber vj d

Ite to ye Musitions that daye iiij d

...

30

*Merchants' Book* CCRO: D/GC/4f 88 (*Undermasters' Accounts dated 29 June 1626*)(*Disbursements*)

...

Imprimis 45 persones that were at our dinner 01-02-6 35

ffor wine at our dinner 0-13-0

to the Cookes and vndercokes 0-03-0

ffor Musik 0-01-0

9/ ye Occupacions Dinner: 28 October  
19-28/ for All Hallow Thursday, 26 May27/ [...]: 6 words of about 25 letters  
35/ our dinner: 11 September

ffor beare

0-06-06

...

**1625-6**A *Tanners' Guild Minute Book* CCRO: D/Lons/L

5

f [34] (*Masters' Accounts dated 4 November*) (*Expenses*)

...

Ite ffor setting of [the] <sup>a</sup> 'ye' occupacons dinner

ij s

Ite ffor vij Strangers at ye dinner

iiij s. viij d

Ite ffor wyne both Sacke &amp; Clarred to ye sayd dinner

viij s viij d.

10

...

Ite to ye musisions at ye dinner

vj d

...

*Merchants' Book* CCRO: D/GC/4

15

f 89 (*Undermasters' Accounts dated 6 July 1627*)  
(*Disbursements*)

...

ffor 57 persones at our dinner

01-08-06

ffor wine the same tyme

00-15-08

20

ffor Musike

00-01-06

to the Cookes

00-03-00

Bestowed in beare

00-01-00

...

25

**1626-7***Chamberlains' Accounts* CCRO: CA/4/2f [128v]\* (*Disbursements*)

...

Item given to thomas porter pro makeinge of the games at  
(.....) the 6th of february

l. 7. 0

30

...

Item given pro afoott balle on shrough tuesday

o. o. 6

...

Item given to the waitts of kendall the 8th of february at  
mr maior Command

o. l. 0

35

...

8/ 'ye' occupacons dinner: 28 October  
19/ our dinner: 10 September

31/ 6th of february: Shrove Tuesday

f [129] (8 February-3 May)

...			
Item given to the waitts of Ripon at mr maior Command	0.	1.	0
...			
Item to the waitts of peareth at mr maior Command	0.	0.	8 5
...			

f [129v]\* (3 May-11 June)

...			
Item bestowed vpon the waitts of lancaster	0.	1.	4 10
...			
Item given to the lord dudles players ye 18 Iune	0.	3.	4.
...			
Item payde the 5th of auguste to Edward dalton pro adrumme to the Cittye at mr maior Command	1.	6.	8. 15
...			

f [130]\* (5 August<sup>+</sup>)

Item given to the kings players at mr maior Command	1	l.	10. 0	
...				20
Item bestowed vpon the waitts of lancaster 'Darinton' and Sir thomas Medcalfe [Mu] players	0.	3.	4	
...				
(Christmas) (Fees)				
Item to the drummer	0.	2.	6.	25
...				

f [130v] (Our Lady Day)

...				
Item to the drummer	0.	2.	6.	30
...				
(St John's Day)				
Item to the drummer	0.	2.	6.	
...				

f [131] (Michaelmas)

...				35
Item to the drummer	0.	2.	6.	
...				

- A *Tanners' Guild Minute Book* CCRO: D/Lons/L  
 f [35] (*Masters' Accounts dated 3 November*) (*Expenses*)

...		
Ite to ye setting of ye Occupacons dinner	ij s	
Ite for x Strangers at ye same dinner	vj s viij d	5
Ite ffor wyne bothe Sacke & Claret to ye sayd dinner	v s: ij d	
Ite ffor wylde ffowle Capons & Cunnyes	v s 2 d.	
...		
Ite to ye Musicions or wates	vj d	
...		10

### 1627-8

- Chamberlains' Accounts* CCRO: CA/4/2  
 f [136] (*Disbursements*)

...		15
Item given to mr maior for the dinner that was bestowed vpon the brethren and other gentlemen and Cittizens vpon the gunpowther day	l. 0. 0.	
...		20

f [136v]

...		
Item given to the schollers that maid the oration ye 5th of november at mr maior Command	0. 02. 9.	
...		25
Item given to Edward dalton of Shrougtuesday for makeinge of the gaimes at mr maior Command	01. 07. 4	
Item for 2 foott balles j s pro ahammer shaftinge ij d	00. 01. 2.	
Item for acocke that day & for makeinge his pitts	00 00 10	
Item for adoore for the gunners that day	00. 00. 10	30

f [137]\*

...		
Item given to ye waitts of kendell at mr maior Command	0. 02. 0.	
Item given to ye waitts of peareth at mr maior Command	0. 01. 0.	35
...		

4/ ye Occupacons dinner: 28 October

16/ mr maior: *Matthew Cape*, f [136], *account title*

18/ gunpowther day: 5 November

26/ Shrougtuesday: 26 February

Item given the 10th of martch to ye waitts of Rippon 0. 01. 6.

...  
Item given to william heslehead for playinge at Caldowe 0. 00. 6.

...

f [138]

...  
Item given to hobbye Corbitt for playinge at Michaelmas  
when mr maior was Elected and other times 0. 5. 0.

...

Item given to the waits of hallifacke at mr maior  
Command 0. 1. 0

...

f [139v]\* (*Christmas*) (*Fees*)

...

Item to the drumer 0. 2. 6.

...

f [140]\* (*Mayor's Disbursements*)

...

Item payed to the kings Ravelles ye 29 of Iulij 01. 00. 0

...

Item for the waitts vj yeard of fine Read at 8 s 2. 08. 0.

...

Item for 3 yeard of Read kersay for the drumer 0. 10. 0.

...

A *Tanners' Guild Minute Book* CCRO: D/Lons/L

f [36] (*Masters' Accounts dated 2 November*) (*Expenses*)

...

Ite at ye settinge of ye occupacions dinner ij s.

Ite payed ffor 8 Strangers invited by thoccupacion v s: iij d:

Ite ffor wyne & Sacke to ye sayd dinner v s vj d

Ite ffor wyld ffowle Capon & Cunyes vj s iij d 35

...

Ite to ye Wates in benevolence vj d

...

22/ ye 29 of Iulij added after payment entered

32/ ye occupacions dinner: 28 October

**Merchants' Book** CCRO: D/GC/4

f 91\* (*Undermasters' Accounts dated 5 July 1629*)  
(Disbursements)

Imprimis to Thomas Blaymer who had the Occupation dinner		5
ffor wine the same tyme	I-9-0	
More given to the Cookes	0-16-0	
To the Musike	0-3-0	
More for settinge the dinner in beare	0-1-0	
...	0-2-0	10

**1628-9****Chamberlains' Day Book** CCRO: CA/4/9

f [25] col a\* (*Fees quarterly*) 15

...		
To ye drummer	ij s vj d	
...		

A **Tanners' Guild Minute Book** CCRO: D/Lons/L 20  
f [37] (*Masters' Accounts dated 7 November*)  
(Expenses)

...		
Ite at ye settinge of ye occupacions dinner	ij s	
Ite ffor aleavene Strangers at ye sayde dinner	vij s. iiij d	25
Ite ffor wyldeffowle, Capons & Cunyes	vij s. iiij d	
To wyne & Sacke	ix s iiij d	
...		
Ite to ye Wates for ther musycke at dinner	vj d	
...		30

f [38] (*Masters' Accounts dated 6 November 1629*)  
(Receipts)

...		
Ite Mr Maiors gift at ye Rydinge of his bounder	ij s vj d	35
...		

**(Expenses)**

Imprimis bestowed in this Chamber upon thassencion		
Daye, havinge accompaned Mr Maior upon ye rydinge of		
ye Cityyes Bounder upon ye kings moore, in wyne Ayle,		40

5-6/ the Occupation dinner: 14 September  
24/ ye occupacions dinner: 28 October

35-40/ for Ascension Day, 14 May

breed, Cakes &amp; Cheese

xviiij s. ij d. /

...

**Merchants' Book** CCRO: D/GC/4f 90v (*Undermasters' Accounts dated 5 July*) (*Receipts*)

5

...

More of the Chamberlines vpon Assention daye

0-2-6

f 91 (*Disbursements*)

...

More vpon assention day disbursed

0-10-0

the Musike same daye

0-0-6

10

f 92v (*Undermasters' Accounts dated 2 July 1630*)  
(*Disbursements*)

15

...

Payed at our dinner for comp &amp; Strangers

01-08-00

More ffor wine at our dinner

0-13-04

payed to the Cookes and Musicke

0-04-06

payed at setting our dinner

0-01-00

20

...

**1629-30****Court Leet Rolls** CCRO: CA/3/28mb 5 (*23 October*)

25

...

[Item we order that the waytes of this cyttie Shall goe euerye day  
Morning and evening vtill candlemas, (saving onely the saboath daye)  
And likewise that goe all Christenmasse tyme except sabaoth daye]

...

30

A **Tanners' Guild Minute Book** CCRO: D/Lons/Lf [38] (*Masters' Accounts dated 6 November*)  
(*Expenses*)

...

Ite At ye settinge of ye occupacions dinnere

ij s

Ite ffor Strangers at ye dinner x:

vj s. viij d

Ite ffor wilde ffoole Capons &amp; Cunnyes

vj s

35

7/ Assention daye: 14 May

36/ At written over to

20/ our dinner: 13 September

36/ ye occupacions dinnere: 28 October

Ite ffor wyne & Sacke	vij s iiij d
...	
Ite to ye Wates for musicke at dinner	vj d
...	

**Merchants' Book** CCRO: D/GC/4

f 93v (*Undermasters' Accounts dated 1 July 1631*)  
(Disbursements)

Imprimis at our dinner for 54 persones at 6 d	01-07-00	10
ffor wine at our dinner	0-13-04	
Payed to the Musicke	0-02-00	
To the Cookes and vndercookes	0-03-00	
ffor settinge the dinner	0-01-00	
...		15

**1630-1**

**Chamberlains' Audit Book** CCRO: CA/4/139

f 78v (*Allowances craved*)

...		20
Item ffor a ffree gilt Bowlle provyded by ye Citty to be		
Rune ffor vpon ye kinges moore	vj li	
Item ffor Chargis to Mr Maior that he was att to Strangers		
at those Rases	ij li	
Item bestowed vpon sertayne Scittizens beinge halbert		25
men to se good order kept vpon ye moore	vj s viij d:	
...		

A **Tanners Guild Minute Book** CCRO: D/Lons/L

f [39] (*Masters' Accounts dated 5 November*) (*Expenses*)

...		30
Ite at ye settinge of the occupacion Dinner	ij s	
Ite ffor Strangers at our dinners	ij s	
Ite ffor Wylde ffoole Capons & Cunyes	vj s:	
Ite ffor Wyne & Sacke	v s. iiij d	35
...		
Ite to ye Wates in benevolence	vj d.	
...		

10/ our dinner: 12 September

32/ the occupacion Dinner: 28 October

## 1631-2

- A *Tanners' Guild Minute Book* CCRO: D/Lons/L  
f [40] (*Masters' Accounts dated 4 November*) (*Expenses*)

...		
Ite at the settinge of the Occupacions Dinner	ij s	5
Ite ffor Strangers bidd to our Dinner	vij s iiij d	
Ite ffor Wylde ffowle & Capons	v s. x d.	
Ite ffor wyne & Sacke	vij s	
...		
Ite to ye Wates in benevolence	vj d	10
...		

- Merchants' Book* CCRO: D/GC/4  
f 95v (*Undermasters' Accounts dated 5 July 1633*)  
(*Disbursements*)

15

...		
Item given to the Musicke	0-2-00	
for setting the dynner	0-01-00	
...		
for 47 at our dinner	1-3-6	20
ffor wine at the same tyme	0-13-4	
...		

## 1632-3

- A *Tanners' Guild Minute Book* CCRO: D/Lons/L  
f [42] (*Masters' Accounts dated 8 November 1633*)  
(*Receipts*)

25

...		
Ite of ye Chaberlens as frome Mr Maior	ij s vj d	
...		30
( <i>Expenses</i> )		
Ite upon all hallowe Thursdaye (with ye Collection of the Brotherhoode) in accompaninng Mr Maior in rydinge of ye bounder upon ye Kings more spent in this our Chamber as by pticuler note appeared	xix s iiij d. /	35
Ite gene towards ye price of one dosan of Silver spoones by consent upon ye motion of Mr Iohn Baynes then maior as every of other 7 Companies did ffor a third		

5/ the Occupacions Dinner: 28 October  
18/ the dynner: 9 September  
35/ pticuler for pticuler

29/ Chaberlens for Chamberlens  
29-35/ for All Hallow Thursday, 30 May

## Course of Horse rase

x s. /

...

*Merchants' Book* CCRO: D/GC/4

f 95 (1 February)

5

Receaved of Mr William Barwicke <sup>a</sup>[ffor] <sup>r</sup>in<sup>n</sup> money  
towards the renewing of a Running Bowle  
[and deliuered to Edward dalton]

iij li

...

10

f 95v (*Undermasters' Accounts 5 July*) (*Receipts*)

...

of the Chamberlines

0-02-6

...

15

*(Disbursements)*

on assention day for a cheise

0-3-4

ffor bread and Cakes

0-3-04

ffor beare same tyme

0-3-06

ffor wine the same tyme

0-1-6

to the Musike

0-0-6

20

...

The whole stocke of Money now remayinge due to the  
occupation the 5 of Iuly 1633

13-07-00

of wch the money for the plate is a parte thereof

01 li-0-206

25

**1633-4***Court Leet Rolls* CCRO: CA/3/29

mb 3 (23 October)

...

30

Item we request mr maior that the three wates wche now are  
allowed may continue and commanded to play begininge presently  
and soe to continue vntill Candlemas and to play both att Christmas  
and at all other times according to former Custome excepted onely  
the Sabbaoth dayes and to haue such allowance as formerly they  
haue had, this is resone to the whole Company

35

...

14-21/ for All Hallow Thursday, 30 May

25/ 0-206 recte 02-06

23/ remayinge for remayninge

**Merchants' Book** CCRO: D/GC/4f 96\* (*Undermasters' Accounts dated 3 July*)

...  
 ...resting in Edward dalton handes for the plate 02-0-0

...  
 more to him for the plate iij li 4 s ij d 5

f 99 (*Undermasters' Accounts dated 3 July 1635*) (*Disbursements*)

...  
 More for 35 at our dinner 0-17-6 10

Payed ffor 5 widdoes 0-02-6

ffor 6 Straingers 0-03-00

More given to the Cookes 0-03-00

More to the Musicke 0-02-00

ffor wine at our dinner 0-13-00 15

More for settinge the dinner -01-00

**1634-5****Chamberlains' Accounts** CCRO: CA/4/2f [146]\* (*Henry Sewell's Disbursements, first quarter*) (*Fees*) 20

...  
 Item to the drummer 0. 2. 6

...

f [146v] (*Thomas Wawby's Disbursements, second quarter*) (*12 February*) 25

...  
 ffor the siluer games against Shroftuesday 1. 8. 0

for expenses about them 0. 2. 8

one sheet pastboard for the Gunners 0. 0. 6 30

two footballs 0. 1. 0

for carrying and bringing home the doore  
 for the Gunners and bar from the sandes 0. 1. 0

...

(*Fees*) 35

To the drummer 0. 2. 6

...

8/ MS incorrectly numbers f 97 as f 99  
 10/ our dinner: 14 September

28/ Shroftuesday: 10 February  
 31/ 1. 0 written over 0. 6

f [147v] (*Thomas Wawby's Disbursements, third quarter*)  
(19 April-7 May)

...

paid to the waites of Askrig	0. 0. 6	
paid to the Waites of Orton	0. 0. 6	5
paid to the Waites of Bradforth	0. 0. 6	
to the waites of Cockermoth	0. 0. 6	
to the waites of Orton	0. 1. 0	

...

(7 May, Ascension Day)

10

Paid to *william Atkinson & Allexander dalton* for 36. li.

3 ounces of powder 2. 10. 10

paid to the seuerall companies vpon ascention day 1. 0. 0

...

(13 May)

15

ffor carrying the weightes and scales to ye kinges moore

two daies at our courses 0. 2. 0

To the halbyteers for attending there 0. 2. 0

To the drummer 0. 2. 0

To the Waites 0. 2. 0 20

bestowed on the Waites of Penreth 0. 0. 6

...

Bestowed on the Waites for their attendance on

shroftuesday and ascention day 0. 5. 0

...

25

(Fees)

To the drummer 0. 2. 6

...

f [148v] (*Thomas Wawby's Disbursements, fourth quarter*) (4-16 August)

30

...

Item bestowed vpon ye waites of Barwicke 0. 1. 0

...

35

f [149] (*Fees*)

...

Item To the drummer 0. 2. 6

...

24/ shroftuesday: 10 February

24/ ascention day: 7 May

**Chamberlains' Audit Book** CCRO: CA/4/139  
f 85\* (*General Disbursements*)

...  
Item to ye Scolleres ffor their Oracion vij s. vj d.

...  
Item ffor ye plate ffor ye horsrace vj li. xiiij s. iiij d.

Item to Mr Maior ffor his expenc then xx s

...  
Item in Rewarde to dyveres strangeres wates xx s

10

A **Tanners' Guild Minute Book** CCRO: D/Lons/L  
f [44] (*Masters' Accounts, dated 6 November 1635*) (*Receipts*)

...  
Ite Receaved of Mr Maior ffor accompanying him in  
Rydinge of ye kings moore ij s vj d

15

...  
(*Expenses*)

Inprimis upon hallow Thursdaye spent in ye Cha'm'ber  
(over yat was Collected of everye brother towards ye  
defrayinge of yat expence beinge: ix s x d: x s j d the some  
oute of the Stocke xx s. xj d

20

Ite ffrom Dressinge of the Chamber then vj d

...

**Merchants' Book** CCRO: D/GC/4  
f 96v\* (*3 April*)

25

...  
Thes following are to pay arrerages behind for plat the last  
yeare 1634

Edward Barwis

30

Thomas Atkinson

Iohn: Iacksoun

Thomas Robinson

Iohn hewart

Edward durrance

35

Thomas Blaymer

Mdum yt is agreed by consent of the whole trade this quarter day 1635

7/ Mr Maior: Ambrose Nicholson, f 84, account title

14-22/ for All Hallow Thursday, 7 May

22/ ffrom instead of ffor; written over prior word

37/ Mdum for Memorandum

that thes whose Names are vnder written shall pay every of them  
towardses the Maintenance of the Plate this next yeare ffor that they have  
payed nothing heretofore

Mathew wilkinson

[Ioseph Jefferesoun

Thomas Warde

William Slee

Thomas Monke]

*Merchants' Book* CCRO: D/GC/4

f 97 (*Undermasters' Accounts dated 3 July*) (*Receipts*)

...

of the Chamberlines vpon assen day

02-6

...

f 98 (*Undermasters' Accounts dated 1 July 1636*) (*Disbursements*)

...

ffor settinge the dinner

0-01-00

ffor wine at the dinner

0-09-00

...

ffor Strangers at our dinner

0-05: 6

...

ffor Musicke at the dinner

0-02-00

...

f 97v (*25 September 1635*)

...

owing by Edward dalton towardses a New pece of plate to  
be Run the next yeare 1636

03-0-0

...

**1635-6**

*Chamberlains' Accounts* CCRO: CA/4/2

f [149]\* (*24 March*)

...

<sup>a</sup>An Act

made & Consented vnto at ye Last Auditt by Mr Maior & his bretheren  
with the ffowers of ye occupacions that no Barr monnye was heareafter  
to be alowte to ye seriantes nor no monnyes to ye wates at ye goinge

4-6/ irregular double line in left margin

13/ assen day: 7 May

13/ assen for assention

18/ the dinner: 13 September

to ye kinges more or ye horsrace°

...

f [154v]\* (*John James's Disbursements, first quarter*) (*Fees*)

...

Item to the drummer 00: 02: 6

...

f [156] (*Christopher Knagge's Disbursements, second quarter*)

...

Item given for 2 ffoott balles & acocke of  
shroughtuesday 00: 01: 06:

Item for a doore and paisboard pro the gunners yat day 00: 01: 00:

Item given to Edward dalton for the games 01: 14: 00

...

Item given to the Citties whaitts 00: 02: 6

...

f [156v] (*Fees*)

...

Item to ye drummer 0: 02: 6:

...

f [157] (*John James's Disbursements, third quarter*)

...

Item given to ye waitts of kendell 00: 01: 00

...

f [157v]

...

Item given vpon Assention day amongst the  
occupations 01: 00: 00

Item given for 36 lb of powther 03: 10: 00

...

f [158] (*Fees*)

...

Item to the drummer 0: 02: 6

...

12/ shroughtuesday: 1 March

31/ Assention day: 26 May

f [159] (*Christopher Knagge's Disbursements, fourth quarter*)  
(*Fees*)

...

Item to the drumer 0: 02: 6

...

*Chamberlains' Audit Book* CCRO: CA/4/139

f 87\* (*General Disbursements*)

...

Item ffor a peace of plate ffor ye horse Course 5 18 11 10

...

A *Tanners' Guild Minute Book* CCRO: D/Lons/L

f [45] (*Masters' Accounts dated 4 November 1636*) (*Receipts*)

...

Ite Rec ffrome Mr Maior ij s vj d 15

...

(*Expenses*)

Inprimis for 1 quart of Sacke & Musyk xvij d

Ite upon hallowe Thursdays in cheese 4 s. 4 d. 20

in breede & Cakes - 5 s. 8 d. Ayle 6 s. 9 d.

wyne 20 d. Rishes 2 d. in all xvij s. vij d:

...

*Merchants' Book* CCRO: D/GC/4 25

f 98 (*Undermasters' Accounts dated 1 July*) (*Receipts*)

...

ffrom the Chamberlines 0-02-6

...

(*Disbursements*)

vpon assention day 1 quarte of wine i p sacke 0-01-02 30

...

f 97v (*1 July*)

...

Remaining in Mr William Iames Maior for the plate 1-10 35

16/ Rec for Received

16-31/ for All Hallow Thursday, 26 May

## 1636-7

*Chamberlains' Accounts* CCRO: CA/4/2f [166v]\* (*Charles Crookbane's Disbursements, first quarter*) (*Fees*)

...

to the drummer

0-2 6 5

...

f [170]\* (*John Nicholson's Disbursements, second quarter*)  
(6 February-23 March)

...

Item given to Edward dalton for makeinge the games  
against Shrougtuesday & for apeace Cloth to put  
them on

01: 18: 10

Item given that day for 2 foott balles

00: 01: 02

Item given for a Cocke that day

00: 00: 08

Item given for adooore and paysboud for the guners

00 01: 00

Item given for makeinge 2 new hammer shaftes that  
was broken that day

00: 00: 04

Item given to the Citties whaitts of Shrougtuesday

00: 02: 06

...

Item given to the skhollers for makeinge an Oratioun  
the 5th of november before mr maior & his brethren

00: 10: 00:

...

Item given to the waitts of Rippon at mr maior  
Command

00: 02: 06

...

f [170v] (*Fees*)

...

Item to the drumer

00: 02: 06

...

f [168] (*Charles Crookbane's Disbursements, third*  
*quarter*) (18-25 May)Item more the 25th May for careing of the weights to  
the moore 2 times  
more for packthred

0-2-0

0-1-0

Item more that was bestowed in wine at the Crosse	0-3-4	
Item given to them that caried halbertes to the Moore	0-5-4	
...		
(Fees)		
to the drumer	0-2-6	5
...		
f [171] ( <i>John Nicholson's Disbursements, fourth quarter</i> )		
(2 September <sup>+</sup> )		
...		10
Item given to the waitts of darinton	00: 02: 06:	
...		
f [171v]		
...		15
Item given to the waytts of Barwicke	00: 02: 00	
...		
Item given to the waitts of kendell	00: 01: 06	
...		20
f [172] ( <i>Fees</i> )		
...		
Item to the drumer	00: 02: 0	
...		25
<b>1638-9</b>		
<i>Chamberlains' Accounts</i> CCRO: CA/4/2		
f [181v]* ( <i>Disbursements, first quarter</i> )		
...		
To my lord Whartons players by the command of Mr		30
Maior November the 15th	0-10-0	
...		
f [182] ( <i>Fees</i> )		
...		35
To ye drummer	0-2-6	
...		

1/ Crosse perhaps for Corsse

30-1/ Mr Maior: *John Aglionby, f [182], signature*

*(Poor)*

In cloth for the Sergiants, pipers, Beadles and drummer 13-14-⟨.⟩

f [182v] (*Disbursements, second quarter*) (7-26 February)

...			5
To the Waites of Keizwicke	0-1-0		
To the Waites of kendaill	0-1-6		
...			
To the musitions vpon fasten Euenday by the comand of Mr Maior	0-2-0	10	
...			
ffor the playes for fasteneuenday	1-12-6		
To one for carriege the doore	0-0-4		
ffor two footebals	0-0-8		
			15

f [183]

...			
To Richard Hudson for fastenuen day & the same day	0-0-6		
...			

*(Fees)*

To the drummer	0-2-⟨6⟩		20
...			

f [184v] (*Disbursements, third quarter*)

...			25
To the waites of Rippon Aprill 10th	0-1-0		

f [185] (*Fees*)

...			
To the drummer	0 2 6	30	
...			

2/ placed at foot of 'Poor' account, the payment included in combined totals for 'Fees' and 'Poor'

2/ ⟨.⟩: bottom outer corner of folio decayed

9/ fasten Euenday: 26 February

12/ playes: ie, games

18/ the same day: 8 March

21/ ⟨6⟩: marginal decay of folio

f [186v] (*Fees*)

...

To ye drummer

0 2 6

...

**1639-40**

5

*Chamberlains' Accounts* CCRO: CA/4/2f [191] (*Fees*)

...

Item to the drummer

00: 0[3]<sup>f</sup>2<sup>l</sup>: 0[4]<sup>f</sup>6<sup>l</sup>

10

...

f [191v] (*Disbursements, second quarter*)

...

Item giuen to the players att Chrisinmas by the  
Commaund of mr mayor

00. 10. 00

15

...

f [192]

...

Item 7 february giuen to the waites of kendall by the  
Commaunde of mr mayor

00: 01: 00

20

...

f [192v]

...

Item 17 february giuen to the waites of askrigg by the  
Commaund of mr mayor

00. 01. 00

25

...

f [192v] (*Fees*)

...

Item to the drummer

00: 02: 06

30

...

f [193] (*Disbursements, third quarter*)

...

Item 20 Aprill giuen to the waites of Rippon by the  
Commaund of mr mayor

00: 01: 00

35

...

40

f [194] (*Fees*)

...

Item to the drummer 00: 02 06

...

5

f [194v] (*Disbursements, fourth quarter*) (9-26 August)

...

Item bestowed by mr mayor on the waites of (*blank*) 00. 01. 00

...

10

f [195v] (*Fees*)

...

Item to the drummer 00: 02: 06

...

15

*Chamberlains' Audit Book* CCRO: CA/4/139f [91] (*Disbursements*)

...

to William Iames the drummer 01 00 00

to a drummer for teachinge of Heslop 00 10 00 20

...

**1642-3***Chamberlains' Accounts* CCRO: CA/4/2f [201v]\* (*Disbursements, first quarter*) (19 November) 25

...

To Robert Browne a puppie player 00: 10: 00

...

f [202] (*Fees*)

...

30

to the drummer hudson 00: 02: 06

f [202v]\*

...

35

to William Iames drummer 00: 05: 00

...

paid for cloath for the Sergiants Cooke and waits 13 18 00

...

32/ hudson added after payment entered

# Households

## AUGSBURG MINERS

1568-9

*Agent's Accounts* SA: Handelsbücher Nr. 20, Fasz. 1

f [19v]\* (*Account dated 22 January*) (*George Needham's expenses*)

...  
Verehrt Spilleütten In Weihennächt Feirtagen £- 1.- 5

f [114]\* (*Account dated 30 May*) (*Daniel Ulstät's expenses*)

...  
Des Lord Moundtyadt Spileüten verehrt. £- 2.-

...  
Ettlichen Spilleüten In Weÿhenächten £- 3.- 10

f [114v]

...  
Den Knappen verehrt, so Ine am 3 Konigstag  
angesungen. £- 5.- 15

...

1570-1

*Agent's Accounts* SA: Handelsbücher Nr. 20, Fasz. 6

f [8v] (*Account dated 26 February*) 20

...  
In 2 malen Comedias oder Spil Zustehen verert Jedes mals  
3 s - 6.-/ 25

f [69] (*Account dated 4 June*)

...  
Mer Spilleütten In 2 mal als frembde leutt sein hier  
gewesen verert. - 2.-/ 30

...

15/ so: *adverb replacing pronoun, here with sense 'who'*

**I571-2**

*Agent's Accounts* SA: Handelsbücher Nr. 20, Fasz. 6  
f [134v] (*Account dated 3 November*)

...

Einem frembden Spilman verert.

- .8/ 5

...

**I572-3**

*Agent's Accounts* SA: Handelsbücher Nr. 20, Fasz. 8  
f [4] (*Account dated 1 January*)

10

...

Den Hofierern alhie, Geiger und Pfeiffer.

- .4.-

...

**I573-4**

*Agent's Accounts* SA: Handelsbücher Nr. 20, Fasz. 8  
f [89v] (*Account dated 26 December*)

15

...

Milorts Scrups Dinern so ein Comedi gehalten verert.

- .2.-

...

20

Fasz. 7, f [4] (*Account dated 1 January*)

...

Den Spilleüten alhie.

- .2.-

...

25

f [6]\* (*Account dated 27 March*)

...

Dem Schuelmaister von Bireth verert, so ein Comedi gehalten.

- .1.4. 30

...

12/ Hofierern: *musicians*; alhie: *here*

19/ Milorts: *my lord's*

19,29/ so: *adverb replacing pronoun, here with sense 'who'*

24/ alhie: *here*

## CURWEN OF WORKINGTON

## 1625-6

*Curwen Account Book* CCROf [5] (25 October-14 February) (*Disbursements*)

5

...

Item to the players this last Chistinmas v s

...

f [5v]

10

Item to the piper for his wages this last Christenmas x s

...

f [7] (3-14 May)

15

...

To the pypers at newbiggin &amp; penrith xij d

...

## 1626-7

20

*Curwen Account Book* CCROf [23v] (28 July-4 August) (*Disbursements*)

...

To the Musicians... xij d

...

25

f [25v] (7 September-15 October)

To Troughton the pyper xiiij s iiij d

...

30

## 1627-8

*Curwen Account Book* CCROf [29] (3-19 January) (*Disbursements*)

35

...

To Troughton the pyper in Christmas x s

...

7/ Chistinmas for Christinmas

17/ newbiggin: Newbiggin, Cumberland, about 3 miles southwest of Penrith

f [33v] (15-24 September)

To my Lady, for Anthony the [p] pyper

ij s

5

**1628-9***Curwen Account Book* CCRO

f [35] (14-18 October) (Disbursements)

To the pyper in harvest

ij s 10

f [35v] (9-15 November)

To my Lord Whartons players

ij s vj d 15

f [36] (12-13 December)

To the Earle of derbyes players

xx s 20

f [37v] (11-14 February)

To Cockermoth players

x s 25

f [43v] (24-8 August)

To Bodell the fidler

v s 30

f [44v] (27-9 September)

To the pyper, for 16. dayes in harvest

ij s viij d 35

**1629-30***Curwen Account Book* CCRO

f [45] (4-6 November) (Disbursements)

40

To my Lord Whartons players

ij s vj d

f [47]

...

To my Master for the players. 6. Ianuarij

To Anthonie the pyper

...

xiiij s iiij d

x s

5

f [48]

...

To Bodle the fiddler. 26: februarij

...

iiij s

10

f [53v] (31 July-7 August)

...

To a pyper

...

xij d

15

f [55]

To a Companie of players 2: september

...

v s

20

f [55v] (26 September-4 October)

...

To the Musicions for my Lady

...

ij s vj d

25

**1630-1****Curwen Account Book** CCRO

f [56] (16-17 October) (Disbursements)

...

To henrye the pyper for harvest

...

ij s

30

f [56v] (29-30 October)

...

To Will Bodle the fiddler

...

ij s

35

f [57] (8-10 November)

...

To a Company of players

...

iiij s

40

f [58] (16-20 November)

...

To the players

v s

...

5

f [63] (18-23 April)

...

To players, by my Lady

v s

...

10

**1631-2***Curwen Account Book* CCROf [69v] (23 October) (*Disbursements*)

...

To the pyper in harvest

ij s iiii d

15

...

f [72v] (6-7 January)

...

To the pyper in Christmas

x s

20

...

f [74v]

To two Trumpetters, 8. Martch

xviii d

25

...

**1632-3***Curwen Account Book* CCROf [79] (28 October-3 November) (*Disbursements*)

30

...

To the pyper in harvest. for 9. dayes

xviii d

...

f [83] (4-7 January)

35

...

To the pyper for Christmas

x s

...

f [83v]

40

...

To my Lord Whartons players. 21: february

x s

...

f [84] (*1-3 March*)

...

To a poor fidler

iiij d

...

(*16 March*)

5

To yorkshyre Musicians...

xij d

...

f [89v] (*28 September-6 October*)

10

...

To the pyper for 15. dayes

ij s vj d

...

**1633-4**

15

*Curwen Account Book* CCROf [92] (*Disbursements*)

...

To my Lord Whartons men. 7. december

x s

...

20

f [93v] (*5-12 January*)

...

To Troughton the pyper

x s

...

25

f [94v] (*15-20 February*)

...

To my Maister, for Cockermoth players

x s

...

30

f [103] (*4-5 September*)

...

To Bodle the fidler

ij s vj d

...

35

(*5-6 September*)

To the Pyper for watching horses

viij d

...

**1634-5***Curwen Account Book* CCROf [109v]\* (*Disbursements*)

...

To Troughton the pyper, 9 Ianuarij

XX S

5

...

**1635-6***Curwen Account Book* CCROf [122] (*4-10 October*) (*Disbursements*)

10

...

To the pyper for harvest

ij s vj d

...

f [132v] (*1-5 August*)

15

...

To a Company, of Musicians

o. 2. o

...

f [134] (*22-6 September*)

20

...

To the pyper, for 15. dayes in harvest

o 2: 6.

...

**1636-7***Curwen Account Book* CCROf [134v] (*3 October*) (*Disbursements*)

25

...

To my Lord Strange men

o 2. o.

...

30

f [148] (*9-12 September*)

...

To the pyper for . 16. dayes in harvest

o 2. 8

...

35

f [149]\* (*28 September-1 October*)

...

For making the Ialor and Trumpiters Cloakes

o 5 o

...

40

**I637-8***Curwen Account Book* CCRO

f [159] (4-8 September) (Disbursements)

...

To the pyper for 16: dayes

0 2 8 5

...

**I640-1***Curwen Account Book* CCRO

f [175] (12-14 October) (Disbursements)

10

...

To the pyper, in harvest, for 17. dayes at 2 d

0 2: 10

...

f [178] (11-16 January)

15

...

To Anthonyroughton the pyper in Christmas

0 10 0

...

**I641-2**

20

*Curwen Account Book* CCRO

f [187] (10-16 October) (Disbursements)

...

To the pyper, for 15: dayes in harvest, at 2 d

0 2 6.

...

25

f [190v] (31 December-8 January)

...

To Anthonyroughton, the pyper

0 10 0

...

30

**I642-3***Curwen Account Book* CCRO

f [200] (4-5 November) (Disbursements)

35

...

To the pyper, for his harvest wages

0 2: 8.

...

12/ at 2 d added after payment entered

## HOWARD OF NAWORTH

## 1612-13

*Household Books I* DDPD: Howard C706f 10\* (1 August) (*My Lady and the Little Gentlemen*)

5

...  
 [...] 3. pair of 'red' dauncing pumpes for the children      iij s  
 ...

f 21 (3 January) (*Rewards*)      10  
 ...

To Iohn Trumpetor      vs.  
 ...

(14 January)  
 To iij pipers at the gates      iij s.      15  
 ...

(15 January)  
 To the waites at Carlyle      ij s vj d.  
 ...

(23 January)  
 to Sir Henry Curwens iij waites      xij d.      20  
 ...

(21 March)  
 To ye waites of Pearoth      ij s.      25

f 21v (25 March)  
 ...  
 To the waites of Rippon      ij s vj d  
 ...

(31 March)  
 To ye waites of Carlyle      ij s      30  
 ...

(26 April)  
 to a pyper at ye gate      vj d      35  
 ...

(9 May)  
 To ye waites of doncaster      iij s  
 ...

f 22 (28 June)

...

To Iohn Trumpeter

v s.

...

5

f 22v (13 July)

...

To a musician sent from Mrs Tayler

xx s.

...

10

f 23 (12 August)

...

To Rbert for teaching the gentlemen to daunce

xl s.

...

(2 September)

The waites of wakefield

ij s vj d.

15

...

Iohn Trumpeter

v s.

...

20

**1617-18***Household Books 2* DDPD: Howard C706

f 33 (1 August) (Rewards)

...

To iij pipers at the gates

ij s vj d. 25

...

(5 August)

To iiij musicians at the gates

ij s vj d.

...

(12 August)

To the Princes players

x s.

30

...

(13 August)

...iij consorts of musicians vij s vj d....

35

...

Carlile

13/ Rbert for Robert

13/ the gentlemen: the sons and/or grandsons of Lord William Howard

## 1618-19

*Household Books 2* DDPD: Howard C706f 34 (12 November) (*Rewards*)

...  
 To a piper yat came out of Lankyshire

ij s. 5

...

f 34v (9 January)

...  
 Iohn Trumpetor. ij s vj d ...

10

...

(19-21 January)

... musicians iiij s vj d ....

...

(22 January)

To a iugler

xij d. 15

...

f 35 (14 February)

...

To a cornetter

ij s. 20

...

(27 February)

to iiij minstrells giuen by mrs mary

xviij d.

to ij other

xij d. 25

...

(13 March)

to 2. pipers

xij d.

...

30

f 35v\* (28 April)

...

to a piper ij d ...

...

Giuen at Askerton by my lady . 12 of Iune .

35

... a piper vj d

...

(20 June)

To iij musicians at the gate

xij d.

...

f 36\* (27 July)

5

...

To the waites of Carlyle

ij s vj d.

...

(31 July)

To the musicians of Penreth

ij s vj d. 10

...

f 62 (23 July) (Extraordinary Payments)

...

to mr Heymore for teaching to daunce in part

XX S. 15

...

**I620-I***Household Books 3* DDPD: Howard C706

f 20v\* (My Lady's Expenses)

20

...

a pair of daunsing pumpes

ij s vj d.

...

mr Gray for  
mrs mary.  
per bill.

december . 1620.

f 38v\* (31 October-10 November) (Rewards)

25

...

To the poor at my lady going to Thornthwate v s ...

...

mr Radclif

to the dawncer

XX S.

To the players

X S. 30

...

f 39 (31 December)

...

To Iohn trumpeter

V S. 35

...

f 39v (16 February) (Rewards)

...

To the princes players

X S. 40

...

(28 February)

To the waites of Penreth  
to a minstrell at the gates vij marcij

ij s.  
xij d.

...

(16 March)

To the waites of midlam

xij d.

...

(18 March)

To the waytes of Richmond

xij d.

...

(24 April-1 May)

To the waites of Carlyle

xij d.

...

**Household Books 4** DDPD: Howard C706

15

f 30 (14 August) (Rewards)

...

To ij. fidders at the gate

xij d.

...

(30 August)

To the waites of kendall

xviii d.

...

f 30v\* (15 August)

...

To a company of players

v s.

...

**I621-2****Household Books 4** DDPD: Howard C706

30

f 30v (12 November) (Rewards)

...

To mrs mary to giue vnto 2. fidders

ij s vj d.

...

(30 November)

To Players

v s.

...

f 31v (6 April)

...

to iij waytes of Rippon

ij s

...

mr Radclif

	(22 April)		
	To a harper	vj d.	
	...		
mr Radcliff	(23-6 April)		5
	To pypers at ye gate	ij s.	
	...		
	(5 May)		
	To the waites of lancaster	xij d.	10
	...		
	f 32 (26 June-2 July)		
	...		
mr william Radclif	to ye waites of berwick	ij s.	15
	...		

**Household Books 5** DDPD: Howard C706

f 28 (18 September) (Rewards)

...		20
To a harper at the gates	vj d.	

**1622-3****Household Books 5** DDPD: Howard C706

f 28 (10 October) (Rewards)

...		25
To a piper	iiij d.	
(14 October)		
To a cornetor	ij s.	
...		30
f 28v* (17 November)		
...		
To ye players of Penreth	iiij s.	
(18 November)		35
[Sent to them afterward for mrs Howard	vj s]	
...		

6/ first of 3 items enclosed in marginal brace under Radcliff's name

15/ fourth of 30 items enclosed in marginal brace under Radcliff's name

f 29v\* (8 May)

...  
To a company of players at [Brampton] Coomcach.

v s.

...  
(11 May)

To the waites of lancaster

xviiiij d.

5

**1624-5***Household Books 6* DDPD: Howard C706

10

f 31v\* (5 January) (Rewards)

...  
To the Players of warwick

xxij s.

...

15

f 32 (11 April)

...  
to the waytes of Penreth

ij s.

...

20

f 32v (22 May)

...  
to the waites of Carlyle

ij s.

...

25

**1625-6***Household Books 7* DDPD: Howard C706

f 27v (5 June) (Rewards)

...  
to the waites of Penreth

ij s.

30

...  
(24 June)

to iiij trumpeters

iiij s.

...

35

**1626-7***Household Books 8* DDPD: Howard C706

f 26v (30 December) (Rewards)

...  
To ye scottish piper

ij s vj d.

40

...

f 27 (30 December-5 January)

...

To the piper of Brampton

ij s vj d.

...

(8 January)

To ye piper by my ladyes commaund

ij s vj d.

...

(14 March)

To the waites of Penreth

xij d.

...

10

### 1627-8

*Household Books 9* DDPD: Howard C706

p 42 (26 May) (Rewards)

...

To the waites of Carlile

xij d

...

15

p 43 (26 September)

...

To 2 Pypers

ij s

...

20

### 1629-30

*Household Books 10* DDPD: Howard C706

f 31 (1 January) (Rewards)

...

To a Piper by my ladie

ij s vj d

...

f 31v (8 January)

30

To Iohn Mulcaster the Piper for playinge at Naward this  
Cristenmas time

xv s.

...

(5 March)

To thre Pypers the waytes of Richmonde

ij s vj d

...

35

f 32v (13 July)

...

To a Companie of Players

v s.

40

f 33 (12 August)

...

To a Companie of Players by my ladies Commaund v s  
(13 August)

To a Companie of ffidlers ij s vj d 5

...

**1630-I***Household Books 10* DDPD: Howard C706

f 33v\* (19 October) (Rewards) 10

...

To a Pyper at [Carlile] 'Corbie' xij d

...

**1633-4***Household Books 11* DDPD: Howard C706

f 36 (30 December) (Rewards) 15

...

To a fellow with a Hobbie Horsse by my ladies  
Commaund ij s vj d. 20

...

(1 January)

To the Piper by my lady vpon New yeares daye v s ...

...

(6 January)

To Iohn Mulcaster the Piper for playinge here all  
Christenmas xx s. 25

...

f 36v (4 March)

...

To 3 Pypers at Corbye xviiiij d. 30

...

(7 March)

To the waytes of darneton ij s. 35

...

f 37 (14 March)

...

To 3 ffidlers ij s

(17 March)

To a Companie of Pipers ij s vj d 40

...

*(28 March)*

To 2 Pipers the waites of Durham

ij s.

...

*(1 April)*To 3 Severall Companies of Musitions at the Gate, by  
Iohn Porter

v s vjd

5

...

f 37v *(21 May)*

...

To the waites of Penreth

ij s.

10

...

*(17 June)*To the waites of Durham  
To a fiddlerv s.  
xij d.

15

*(21 June)*

To a blinde Herper by my ladies Commaund

v s.

...

f 38 *(24 July)*

20

...

To a Herper by my ladies Commaund

xij d.

...

f 38v *(12 September)*

25

...

To a Companie of Players

x s.

...

f 74v *(22 August) (Extraordinary Payments)*

30

...

To Mr Robert Hymes for one Moneth Teachinge Mr  
William Howard and Mrs Elizabeth<sup>a</sup> 'his Sister' to daunce

xl s

...

## LOWTHER OF WHITEHAVEN

1634-5

*Sir Christopher Lowther's Notebook* CCRO: D/Lons/W1/4

f 30v (4 December)

5

...

Gyuen Fiddlers 4 d: yat came toye doors

-0-4

...

f 32\* (30 December)

10

...

Igaue piper 6 d: &amp; Coocke 6 d. and came to Whithauen

-0-1-0

...

f 34v (14 January)

15

...

Gaue pipers at house

0-0-4

...

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APPENDIX 1

Undated Document

*Tailors' Guild* CPL: A453

f [126]\* (*transcribed 5 January 1659*)

...

Also it is ordained & appointed by ye said Occupation that vpon  
Corpus Christy day, as old vse & Custome was befor time, the whole  
Light, with ye whole Occupation & Banner to be in St Maries  
Churchyard at ye Ash tree at [x] 7<sup>10</sup> of ye clock in ye forenoon, &  
he yt comes not befor ye banner be rased to come away (...) pay vj d.  
each offender toties quoties.

7/ 7<sup>10</sup> above [x]

8/ (...): ink blot or erasure; probably to

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# Translations

## CARLISLE

1345-6

*Parliamentary and Council Proceedings* PRO: C49/46/16  
mb 8 (26 September)

Inquisition taken at Carlisle, Monday next before the feast of St Michael in the nineteenth year of the reign of King Edward, the third from the Conquest, before Sir Thomas de Lucy, Richard (<.....>)g'ton, assigned by a commission of the lord king concerning some dissensions and discords between the men (who) are in munition of the lord king's castle at Carlisle and the community of the city of Carlisle (<.....>); by the jurors, Adam de Kyrkeby, Peter Frankys, Thomas de Neuby, John de Mulcastre, Richard de Scraityngham, Richard del Sandes (<.....>) Thomas de Canonuby, John de Ireby, John de Agillonuby, John de Cokedene, and John, son of Simon de Kyrkandres, who say on their (oath) that on Sunday, the vigil of St Peter ad vincula, in the year mentioned above, when the clerks performed a certain play in the market-place of the said city of Carlisle, a dispute broke out between Edmund Walays, servant of the lord bishop of Carlisle, and Walter Cole, man of Sir Peter de Tilliol, because the same Edmund struck the said Walter three times on the head with a certain large stick (and) the said Walter took him, Edmund, by the hood and tore both hood and tunic, and seeing this, Richard del Botelry, servant of the said lord bishop of Carlisle, struck the said Walter with a knife in the back, almost killing him and thereupon the play stopped. And then the said Peter de Tilliol, seeing his man was for this reason in danger of death, sent William (<...>) Wyclyf, the lord king's coroner, and with him John de Stapleton and Thomas de Neuby, to the said lord bishop of Carlisle, beseeching the same lord bishop, since he had in his retinue in Carlisle Castle the said Richard del Botelria, who struck the aforesaid man, that he would make him answer for the said offence according to the law (<...>); the said

bishop of Carlisle agreed on behalf of himself and his men that no wrongful acts ought to be committed until the truth of the incident should be ascertained ...

mb 10 (26 September)

Transacted at Carlisle, Monday next before the feast of St Michael the Archangel in the nineteenth year of the reign of King Edward, the third from the Conquest, before Sir Thomas de Lucy (.....) (they) having been assigned by a (commission) of the lord king to inquire into various articles contained in the commission; by the jurors, Adam de Crofton, Robert de Tybay, Nicholas le Spenser, William de Morley, Thomas Kaskell, Stephen de Acton, Gilbert de Kirkandres, Robert Growce, and Adam de Appylby, who (say) on their oath that on Sunday, the vigil of St Peter ad vincula, just as the clerks began to perform a certain miracle play in the market-place of Carlisle in the middle of the city, Edmund Walays (a certain squire) of the bishop, struck Walter Cole of Scaleby on the head three times with a large stick, and Walter, wishing to prevent the said Edmund from (further .....,), grasped him by the hood and meanwhile Richard, brother of Walter de Botellar, struck the said Walter Cole from behind in the back with a knife, almost killing him, and on this account the people were (angry); whereupon the mayor and bailiffs, much disturbed, summoned the commons to the common hall to find out the truth about the said outbreak of violence and meanwhile the sheriff, the mayor (of the city .....) Crofton, (these men) went to the bishop and asked him to restrain his men lest they commit further offences, until an inquiry should be made concerning the truth of the said offence ...

## AUGSBURG MINERS

1568-9

*Agent's Accounts* SA: Handelsbücher Nr. 20, Fasz. 1

f [19v]\* (*Account dated 22 January*) (*George Needham's expenses*)

...

Given to players at Christmas-time

£-1.-

f [114]\* (*Account dated 30 May*) (*Daniel Ulstär's expenses*)

...

Given to Lord Mountjoy's players

£-2.-

...

To some players at Christmas £-3.-

f [114v]

...

Given to the miners who sang for him (Daniel  
Ulstät) at the feast of Epiphany £-5-.

...

#### 1570-1

*Agent's Accounts* SA: Handelsbücher Nr. 20, Fasz. 6  
f [8v] (*Account dated 26 February*)

...

For 2 comedies or plays, given each time 3 s -6-

f [69] (*Account dated 4 June*)

...

More given to players on 2 occasions when  
visitors were here. -2-

...

#### 1571-2

*Agent's Accounts* SA: Handelsbücher Nr. 20, Fasz. 6  
f [134v] (*Account dated 3 November*)

...

Given to a visiting player -8/

...

#### 1572-3

*Agent's Accounts* SA: Handelsbücher Nr. 20, Fasz. 8  
f [4] (*Account dated 1 January*)

...

To musicians here, fiddlers and pipers -4-

...

#### 1573-4

*Agent's Accounts* SA: Handelsbücher Nr. 20, Fasz. 8  
f [89v] (*Account dated 26 December*)

...

Given to my lord Scrope's men who presented a  
comedy -2-

...

Fasz. 7, f [4] (*Account dated 1 January*)

...

To players here

-2-

...

f [6]\* (*Account dated 27 March*)

...

Given to the schoolmaster from Penrith who presented a  
comedy

-I.4.

...

---

# Endnotes

63-4 C49/46/16 mb 8, 10

Portions of these two leaves, especially at the margins, are severely faded. Dots within diamond brackets represent approximate numbers of illegible letters.

The episode described in this documentation, of which the play's interruption was only a part, has all the elements of a widespread feud between the citizenry of Carlisle and the garrison. Both John de Kirkeby, bishop of Carlisle 1332-52, and Peter de Tilliol of Scaleby Castle, about six miles northeast of the city, were men of standing with an active role in public and military life. The bishop, before he ever came to the see, had incurred the hatred and contempt of the citizens while prior of St Mary's, Carlisle; at the time of this incident he was serving as governor of Carlisle and hence commanded the garrison. Peter de Tilliol had been sheriff of the county 1327-30 and was at various times elected knight of the shire for Edward III's parliaments. The initial clash between the two parties, described here, escalated in a series of progressively more violent incidents in which the garrison fired indiscriminately on the citizenry, killing a woman. In ensuing resistance to attempts by the city authorities to arrest individual members of the garrison, a city bailiff was also killed.

65 Egerton MS 2598 f 82

Henry Scrope, ninth Lord Scrope, was at this time warden of the West March and captain of Carlisle. Scrope's letter, though unaddressed, was presumably sent to William Asheby, England's ambassador to Scotland (1588-90), in whose collection of papers it is found.

65 CA/4/1 f [1v]

The 'belman,' entered annually in the Fees account, was the town crier. In the 1622-3 Disbursements account he is paid 2d 'for going through the towne twice for the heighe Chamber dore key'; payment for a new key entered in the same account suggests that the 'belman' was used in this instance to publish a case of loss or theft (CA/4/2 ff [111-11v]).

67 CA/4/1 f [22v]

This account begins f [22v] (account title and payments for October) and continues f [22] before moving to f [23]. Repair to the outer edge of the lower two-thirds of the folio masks wholly or partially marginal dates for f [22v] and portions of payments for f [22].

67 CA/4/1 f [23v]

The Fees account is repeated [f 27] with some additional items; the entry concerning Nicholas Hudson is identical (except 'drommer' f [27] for 'droummer' f [23v]).

71 CA/4/1 f [54]

The three items for Shrove Tuesday (5 February) are included in the account under the marginal heading for January. While two out of the three may conceivably have been prepaid, the waits of Penrith were surely paid on the day of performance. Hence the marginal heading for February, lined up with the item succeeding those for Shrove Tuesday, is misplaced.

72 CA/4/1 f [55]

This item may be approximately dated mid-April: the fifth preceding payment is for 13 April, the next succeeding for 12 April.

72 CA/4/1 f [56v]

It is impossible to narrow down the date of these payments. The first of the thirteen entries on f [56v] is given for 'the last of July'; the next folio ([57]) has a marginal heading for August. It would, however, be misleading to ascribe any of the intervening twelve items, all undated, to 31 July.

73 D/Lons/L f [14]

In 1594 the membership ordered that no strangers be bidden to the Common Dinner except the mayor and bailiffs and the 'preacher'; their table was to be allowed two bottles of wine '& no more,' 2s 6d worth of wild fowl, 2s worth of capons, 16d in conies, and 16d at the setting of the table, that is, a further allowance for drink, such as beer (f [9v], 34th order).

74 D/Lons/L ff [16v], [17]

From 1609 until his death in 1616, Henry Robinson, bishop of Carlisle, annually provided the membership with 10s for wine at the dinner (Receipts, ff [12v], [13v], [14v], [17v], [19], [20]). On this particular occasion, however, the bishop gave 20s. The account indicates that the extra 10s (l. 16), was used 'to paye the howse where ye Dinner was madd' (ll. 24-5), that is, the eating-house or tavern that catered to the event and possibly accommodated it. These lines are the only suggestion in the Tanners' accounts that the dinner may have taken place at such a location, rather than in the occupation's chamber itself.

75 CA/4/2 f [1]

Two hands are evident in the Disbursements account: the first writes ff [1-4], roughly October-April, f [7v], 8 July-10 August, and f [8v], the last nineteen items of the account; the second writes ff [4-7], 1 May-end of June, and f [8], 10-25 August. The two hands may indicate a division of work between alternating chamberlains, though they do not coincide with the traditional quarters of the fiscal year established at Carlisle.

77 CA/4/2 f [4v]

'Munisseners' (l. 17) is probably an errant form of 'musicioners.' Scribes seem to have had particular trouble with this word, in whatever form they penned it. Waits from 'Barwick' visited

Carlisle five times in the period 1614–37; waits from 'Berwick' were at Naworth in 1622. Both orthographical forms may refer to Berwick-upon-Tweed; alternatively either or both may refer to Barwick-in-Elmet (Yorkshire, West Riding). The latter suggestion is supported by the fact that waits from other West Riding communities (Bradford, Darrington, Doncaster, Halifax, Leeds, and Wakefield) visited Carlisle at roughly the same period (1605–37).

77 CA/4/2 f [6]

The payment of 20s to the occupations and expenditures in the Merchants' and Shoemakers' chambers are relative to All Hallow Thursday (2 June), as are, probably, items for powder, carriage, and brown paper. More problematic are references to 'the Games'; possibly these sums are late entries for Shrove Tuesday (9 March), 'you' (l.30) being the mayor, Thomas Blenerhasett, who may have closed the games with some ceremony. Elsewhere in the chamberlains' accounts, however, are entries for 'summer games,' one of which, entered for the month of May 1622, may refer to All Hallow Thursday (30 May 1622). In the two remaining instances – p 80, l.34 and p 90, l.8 – the allusion is less clear. In both cases the positioning of the item in the account, the absence of any other lump sum payment for Shrove Tuesday, and the naming of Edward Dalton (responsible in five other instances for the Shrove Tuesday games) as the payee suggest that 'summer games' is a misnomer for the Shrove Tuesday event. (It may of course be an alternative usage for that occasion, though hard to believe for Carlisle in February.) The 1614–15 entry, however, is apparently lined up with the marginal notation, 'Caldew Bridge,' as the location of the games; this information is not consonant with other evidence showing that the Shrove Tuesday games were staged at the Swifts (see Introduction, p 25). Overall, there is some indication that an event known as 'summer games' was staged in Carlisle on or close to All Hallow Thursday; what its component parts were remains a mystery, though in the context of payments for 'powder' (l.24), it may have been at this period a gunnery or fireworks display terminating the All Hallow Thursday holiday.

79 CA/4/2 ff [13–14v]

A separate account detailing expenditures on St John's Eve and St Peter's Eve was retained for this year; in other years the total amount spent on that occasion was normally entered without details in the Disbursements account. The sums for Nicholas Hudson, the city's drummer, and 'the two waites,' (ll.3, 5) are included in a list of almost uniform payments of one shilling made to approximately 275 individuals; the second entry for 'the Cities waites' (ll.14–15) probably represents a reward for performing on the two occasions. The general Disbursements account for this year contains items for wine at a banquet (f [6v] 23 June–8 July) that was perhaps part of the celebration.

The feast of the nativity of St John the Baptist falls on 24 June, the feast of St Peter and St Paul on 29 June. In Carlisle 24 June was a quarter-day when, for instance, fees were due. Quarterly chamberlains' accounts from 1634–5 split payments for the two saints' days between the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth quarters, thus confirming that 29 June is the feast of St Peter intended in the record (rather than, for example, the feast of St Peter ad vincula, 1 August).

The connotation of 'Eve' needs some discussion. In the early seventeenth century we are witnessing the vestiges of an event at least partly rooted in a folk celebration of Midsummer; in this context the 'Eve' (ie, the preceding night or vigil of the feast) had particular significance

for the feast of St John the Baptist, marking a time when Midsummer revelry traditionally took place. Occasional terminology in the accounts (CA/4/2 f [26], 1617, 'midsomer eave' and f [98v], 1622, 'at midsomer & st peters eaven') points to the popular maintenance of this tradition and hence to the nights of 23 June and 28 June as the occasions for the twofold celebration. By the seventeenth century, however, the old Midsummer element is already in decline as St John's quarter-day exerts its fiscal influence. In 1603 we catch a vestigial glimpse of banquets together with the princely sum of £12 8d spent on pots of ale (CA/4/1 ff [2], [5v]) – enough to slake the thirst of some hundreds of citizens. The 1614 celebration was probably one of the last of such occasions marked by any kind of traditional revelry. Certainly the sum then dispensed, £14 6d, though matched in the following year (CA/4/2 f [19v]), was never approached again. In the years that followed, the chamberlains' accounts show that the eves of St John and St Peter were used for the distribution of fluctuating sums of money among a limited group of citizens often described as those who had borne office – in other words, corporation pensioners (eg, CA/4/1 f [63], 1619; CA/4/2 f [92], 1621; f [129v] 1627); in 1639 a calendar of such persons is mentioned (CA/4/2 f [185v]). The distribution was carried out in some traditional form, however, for in 1635 a gratuity was paid to one 'going about with ye Chamberlaine both nightes' (CA/4/2 f [148]). Nevertheless in later years sums denoted as paid out on St John's Eve and St Peter's Eve were virtually assimilated to the third-quarter distribution of fees.

80 CA/4/2 f [18v]

Starting 11 December, items in the Disbursements account are headed 'Heare Beginnith the disbursements Comanded by Mr henrye Baynes Maior of the Cittye Elected ye 9th daye off december [vpon ye deathe of mr Bell] 1614....'

81 CA/4/2 f [20]

Sir Thomas Metcalfe (l.24) of Nappa Hall, Yorkshire, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Henry Slingsby of Scriven, Yorkshire, and his wife, Francis, who was half-sister to Maior Vavasour (see p 456). Colourful details of his life are given in Joseph Foster, *Pedigrees of the County of Families of Yorkshire*, vol 4. Metcalfe was known as 'The Black Knight of Nappa' for his armed assault on the Robinson family of Raydale House in furtherance of an hereditary claim to the property; summoned to Star Chamber for this breach of the peace, he was fined £1500. James I is said to have stayed at Nappa Hall while on progress, hunting with his host in Raydale. Metcalfe's 'roystering hospitality' and personal extravagance, together with losses suffered for the Royalist cause in the Civil War, eventually left his successors impoverished.

83 CA/4/2 f [26v]

The chamberlains' disbursements conclude at f [26]. There follow (i) in a second hand, 'Mr Maiors disbursements in behalf of his Chamberlens,' (f [26v]), a self-contained account dated internally June–August in which, apart from the king's visit, most expenditures are for repairs and maintenance, wine, and benevolences; (ii) in the first hand, 'Iohn Iacksons disbursements in behalf of ye Chamberlens,' f [27–7v], starting with All Hallow Thursday (29 May), similar in content to (i) but with no items dated. John Jackson was a city bailiff 1614–15 (CA/4/2 f [18], account title). It is possible that the chamberlains, Thomas Gent and Rowland Edgden

(account title, f [24] – 'hegdell' for 'Edgden,' CA/4/139 f 53), were unable to carry out their duties in the latter part of their term.

The principal route from the north into Carlisle crossed the river Eden and entered the city by way of 'Richard gayte' (ll. 18–19, modern Ricker gate). Evidently James entered Carlisle by this gate on his return from Scotland on 4 August. Other items for this year refer to 'Riddinge & dressinge Richard gate' f [26v], 'pavinge of Richardgate' f [27], and 'cariage of the painter oiles from yorke' f [27v].

84 CA/4/2 f [30v]

Yearly fees and annuities are given three times for this year. The first list (f [30v]) is transcribed here, perhaps being a fair copy of those that follow (ff [31v] and [32v]), which are marred by frequent cancellations; items on f [32v] are each preceded by a cross in the left margin. Information about Nicholas Hudson is identical on all lists.

84 CA/4/139 f 53

On 5 August 1600, three years before he came to the English throne, King James VI of Scotland survived what he claimed was an attempt on his life at Gowrie House, Perth; his hosts (the alleged would-be assassin, the master of Ruthven, and his brother, the earl of Ruthven) were killed in the ensuing fracas. In spite of contemporary scepticism about James' version of the event, the Scottish Kirk was coerced into proclaiming a day of thanksgiving for the king's deliverance, held annually thereafter on 5 August (David Harris Willson, *King James VI and I* (London, 1959), pp 126–30). After James's accession to the English throne this episode was eclipsed by an authentic conspiracy much closer to home as far as the English were concerned – the Gunpowder Plot of 1605. The annual celebration of 'conspiracy' or 'gunpowder' day on 5 November was fairly quickly taken up by the English population; the 5 August thanksgiving, as exemplified in Carlisle at least, seems to have had much less continuing impact. Early in James' reign, in 1604, 'a waike' is recorded for that date, with payments for wood, peats, and ale (CA/4/1 f [26]), but thereafter the observance drops from sight until 1617 when the king himself visited the city and formally celebrated Gowrie(s) Day on 5 August (see also Tanners' Guild Minute Book, p 95). Bruce Jones, archivist at the Carlisle Record Office, points out that in the northern counties 'gowrie,' a variant of 'gowdy' or 'gaudy,' may mean 'festive' or 'frolicsome' in local usage (*The English Dialect Dictionary*, Joseph Wright (ed), vol 2 (London, 1900), pp 695, 698). Certainly this or some other circumstance soon blurred the strict origin of the term as applied to one particular event and date (5 August); three months after the king's visit, the words 'beinge gowries day' are added as an afterthought to an entry for 5 November 1617 (p 86, l. 11) and towards the end of his reign, in 1624, payments occur for 'the gowries day' again on this date (CA/4/2 f [117]).

85 D/Lons/L f [22v]

The illegible word (l. 35) appears to be made up of four letters with brevisgraph, perhaps 'parted' in the original from which the antiquarian scribe made his copy. M. Creighton, *Carlisle*, 2nd ed (London, 1889), p 151, quotes this passage, modernizing the spelling and giving no citation; 'gowryeidaye,' however, appears as 'a Saint's Day' and the mayor kisses the king's hand 'at their departure.'

86 CA/4/2 f [42]

Though lacking specific quarterly titles, the chamberlains' general disbursements this year are recorded – undated with few exceptions – on a quarterly basis. Items normally headed Fees and Poor are not given under separate annual titles; instead these payments are lumped together as being disbursed '... on St Thomas daye in benevolence for the Citty' (f [45v]) and so on for each of the quarter-days. As such these lists are interpolated chronologically into the general disbursements, ff [45v–6v], [49v–50], [54v–6], marking the end of each quarter.

87 CA/4/2 f [49]

Hasler, *History of Parliament*, vol 2, p 8, gives the last known date for Sir John Dalston (l. 19) as 1609; according to the Chamberlains' Accounts, however, Sir John attended the mayor's dinner on 5 November 1621 (CA/4/2 f [97]).

89 CA/4/2 f [53v]

The location of this event (ll. 5–6) together with an item for wine and sugar at Bess Parker's, dated 12–29 September (f [54]), suggests that the dinner comprised a corporation venison feast. This is also arguable from evidence in 1614 in the form of a bill pasted on the lower portion of f [14v]; dated 17 September, it includes 2s 6d owing to Margaret Barwick for wine supplied to the venison feast at Bess Parker's (evidently an inn or eating-house). The venison on that occasion was a present from Lord William Howard.

89 CA/4/2 f [54v]

The letter 'w' as in 'sawell' appears to be occasionally substituted in the manuscript for 'v' – eg, in 'sewerall' (several) at f [51v]; hence Savell, an alternate form of Savile, is intended here.

90 CA/4/1 f [65]

George Bell and the two waits (p 91, l. 7) were probably itinerant musicians. Carlisle's waits are usually named as 'the waits' or 'the city's waits' in the accounts. The date of the item does not suggest that George Bell and his fellows performed in connection with any civic event.

91 CA/4/2 f [76v]

Rough summaries of expenditures are given under categorized heads on this the last page of the 1617–18 account. These calculations, however, are relevant to the 1618–19 account (CA/4/1 ff [63–76v]) and appear to be written in the same hand. The categorized titles that appear in the 1618–19 account are repeated for the most part on CA/4/2 f [76v]; in addition other categories are excerpted from the account, as 'Trumpeter,' 'wyne in presentes,' 'ffoole,' and 'Paper.' In the 1618–19 account sums for liveries (£11 12s 8d) and the fool (£1 7s 11d) are given (CA/4/1 f [66]); these are identical with those in CA/4/2 f [76v], where the component parts of each sum are also recorded.

92 CA/4/2 f [79]

William Simson and Dalston Dalton, (p 94, l. 35) each account for disbursements as chamberlains for the year 1619–20, (f [79], account title). Internal evidence shows that Simson and Dalton kept their accounts separately but concurrently, rather than dividing the quarters or the halves of the year between them. For example, Simson accounts for items for election day,

4 October, f [79]; Christmas Eve, f [79v]; 5 November, f [80]; Shrove Tuesday, 29 February, f [80v]; and the venison dinner (normally an early autumn event). Dalton accounts for 5 November activities, f [82]; Shrove Tuesday, f [82v]; and All Hallow Thursday, 25 May, f [83]. Payments are not specifically dated in these accounts.

93 CA/4/2 f [80]

Grammar school pupils performed their speech play at the mayor's dinner on 5 November (see Introduction, p 25). An entry in Dalton's disbursements noting a payment of 10s for 5 November (f [82]) represents payment for the dinner this year.

95 CA/4/2 f [82v]

Aske Hall, near Richmond in North Riding, Yorkshire, may be intended here (l. 9). Until his death in 1622 Sir Thomas Wharton, son of Philip, third Baron Wharton, lived at Aske Hall, the home of his sister Lady Eleanor, who had married the owner, Robert Bowes.

96 CA/4/2 f [89]

The full form 'comand' (l. 26) is found frequently in this account. Brevigraphs appearing over the word in this orthographical form are therefore treated as superfluous.

100 CA/4/2 f [97]

There are two versions of this account. The first, ff [97–9], from which the transcription is excerpted, is fuller and appears to be the final version: the general disbursements are each marginally designated by category ('Reward,' 'reparacion'); separate titles appear for 'power' (poor), 'ffees,' and 'Rentes,' f [99]; the signature 'Henry: Baines. Mayor' appears at the end, f [99]. The second account, ff [104–5], bears a pencilled note (?modern) stating 'This next is a draft of the last'; here the payments are grouped under marginal heads for October, f [104]; February–May, f [104v]; and July–August, f [105]. Both top and bottom outside corners of f [104] are missing to a depth of 25–30mm square, a fact that may explain the absence of marginal heads for November–January and for June. Items in the transcription, ll. 5–11, 20–1, 23–7, and p 101, l. 22 are omitted in the draft version. Editorial months and collation notes where significant are supplied from the draft.

100 CA/4/2 f [97v]

The word 'vicitation' (l. 21) suggests that some calamity befell Nicholas Hudson and his household. It is a word sometimes synonymous with an outbreak of plague; but the steep rise in the burial rate for Cumberland and Westmorland parishes occurs later, in 1623–4, and even then is arguably attributable to famine rather than disease (Andrew B. Appleby, 'Disease or Famine?' pp 424–30). This occasion, however, is the last on which the name of Nicholas Hudson appears in the Chamberlains' Accounts.

101 CA/4/2 f [98v]

'Reward' (l. 18) is written beneath a small oblong of original paper, 15mm × 24mm, apparently attached to the folio with a dab of sealing wax.

104 CA/4/2 f [121]

Fees are accounted for here, and in all accounts that follow, under the four quarter-days; the third is mistakenly given as 'Our Lady Day' in the manuscript, f [121] and has here been corrected with reference to the 1617-18 account, f [52], where it is named as St John's Day, 24 June.

106 CA/4/2 f [128v]

There is a horizontal tear 55mm long, narrowing from 30mm wide at the outer edge of the folio to 4mm, through the first approximately sixteen letters of the line, which are all but illegible. From what is visible, Bruce Jones of the Carlisle Record Office suggests the reading 'kings meede bridge,' a location equivalent to the Sands, or the Swifts, the land lying between Eden Bridge and the former Priestbeck Bridge on the south bank of the river Eden. This reading is supported by information relative to the Swifts given by Anthony Curwen, a native of Carlisle, in the early seventeenth century:

Many old men and women about Karliell do well knowe and rememr. that all the grounds was one contynuse ground, and when I was a scholler at Karliell no hinderance to the footeball play nor to the essayes of running of naggs, men and women leaping dauncing &c. upon every Shrove Tuesday.

Curwen was agent for crown lands in Carlisle and his reminiscence, noted in a survey of 1612, is cited by J.A. Wilson, 'Some Early Sporting Notes relating to Cumberland,' CWAAS, Trans. O.S., vol 12 (1893), 195, as from a document 'amongst the archives of Bolton Abbey.' I did not locate this manuscript at Chatsworth, and a check of LR2/212, Misc. Books, Carlisle, 8 James I, in the Public Record Office in London, an evidently similar survey of the same date, did not yield the passage quoted.

107 CA/4/2 f 130v

In the manuscript 'darinton' is centred in very small script above 'lancaster' (l. 21), suggesting that the scribe may have intended to delete the latter.

107 CA/4/2 f [130]

One obvious dating difficulty should be noted: the penultimate date given in the account is 5 August, but the seventh item thereafter is dated 29 July, f [129v]. Nevertheless, in order to preserve textual chronology, I have ascribed entries from f [130] to the date 5 August<sup>+</sup>.

108 CA/4/2 f 137

Entries immediately preceding the payment to 'william heslehead' (p 109, l. 3) refer to the repair of Caldew Bridge (provision of lime, gravel, and clay, and workmanship); William's 'paving' rather than 'playinge' may have been intended. Or was William perhaps a piper, employed to encourage the workers?

109 CA/4/2 f 139v

Fees for 1627-8 are itemized for the first quarter (Christmas), and total £3 3s 9d; only this

total is repeated for each of the remaining quarter-days. The drummer's total annual fee would have been the 10s usually noted in the later period of the accounts.

109 CA/4/2 f [140]

Items transcribed from this folio are part of a list for which it is noted: 'these disbursments per mr maior are nott to be Craved allowance by this Chamberlaines booke'; ie, they cannot be claimed at time of audit as the chamberlains' expenses.

110 D/GC/4 f 91

This entry suggests that Thomas Blaymer, an occupation member (p 117, l. 36), also ran an eating-house or tavern that may have accommodated the 1628 dinner as well as catering to it. As in the case of the Tanners' Guild (see p 74, ll. 24-5), this is the sole indication that the annual dinner did not take place in the occupation's own chamber.

110 CA/4/9 f [25] col a

This Fees account seems to be part of an *aide-mémoire* to the chamberlains for the year 1628-9 (Thomas Syde and Robert Nicholson, account title, f [25]). It instructs them as to what revenues to collect, from whom, and when, and then itemizes necessary expenditures from these revenues under Rents and Fees and Poor (both quarterly). All but two of the incoming and outgoing items are preceded by a cross (or four). Fees and Poor accounts are in parallel columns. This record may be connected with the demissions of the outgoing mayor; the Audit Book (CA/4/9, f 47) makes it clear that customarily one of the retiring mayor's last acts (on St Matthew's Day, 21 September) was to authorize the farming or leasing of certain city revenues to particular individuals.

115 D/GC/4 f 96

Details in the account show that the entry of £3 4s 2d for the plate was made up of the initial sum of £2, plus an allocation from stock funds of £1 4s 2d.

115 CA/4/2 f [146]

For the first quarter Henry Sewell accounts for all disbursements including Fees; Thomas Wawby similarly for the three remaining quarters. Wawby's neatly kept accounts have marginal monthly heads and occasional dates, allowing payment-periods to be ascribed to excerpted entries.

117 CA/4/139 f 85

In the chamberlains' account for this year (CA/4/2, f [145]) payment of £1 15s is entered for the mayor's dinner of 5 November, the occasion when the scholars performed their oration or speech play.

117 D/GC/4 f 96v

The heading and seven names listed (ll. 30-6) form the second of two parallel columns of names under the general heading of Amercements. The whole entry for 3 April 1635 indicates a lack of interest in a prize for the horse-race, for which money was collected from as early as the previous accounting year, 1633-4 (p 115, ll. 4-6). Presumably the plate referred to was offered

in one of the races run a few weeks later on 13 May 1635 (p 116, ll. 16–21). A subsequent entry for 25 September 1635 in the Merchants' Book (p 118, ll. 28–9) also indicates that a new piece of plate was assigned to the coming year (1636).

118 CA/4/2 f [149]

This act was probably passed on or about 24 March 1635/6 when the account for the fiscal year Michaelmas 1634 to Michaelmas 1635 was presented for audit. The act is recorded in a hand distinct from that used in either chamberlain's account; the signature of Ambrose Nicholson (mayor 1634–5) appears between this passage and the preceding final entry of Wawby's account, suggesting that the record was entered on the folio after the audit had taken place. In fact the sergeants continued thereafter to receive bar money: for 1636–7, ff [166–6v], [170], [171v]; for 1638–9, ff [181v], [183]; and for 1639–40, f [189v].

119 CA/4/2 f [154v]

John James and Christopher Knagge account respectively for the first and third, and second and fourth quarters of 1635–6, including quarterly portions of *Fees*.

120 CA/4/139 f 87

This entry and a further isolated reference to plate in the Merchants' Book (l. 36) provide the only indication that the horse-race may have been run in 1636; the Chamberlains' Accounts, however, lack the detail that they normally record for this event. Possibly the plate was held over for the race run the following year (p 121, l. 36–p 122, l. 2).

121 CA/4/2 f [166v]

Although the two chamberlains for this year accounted for alternate quarters, each kept his own book; that is, each book has a distinctly characteristic hand, paper, and watermark, with separate audit signatures of Richard Barwis, mayor (ff [168v], [171v]). These books were subsequently bound into CA/4/2 consecutively so that Charles Crookbane's quarters (the first and third) precede John Nicholson's quarters (the second and fourth).

121 CA/4/2 f [170]

A payment of twenty shillings to the mayor for 5 November is entered in disbursements for the first quarter (CA/4/2 f [166]) – that is, for the dinner at which the scholars performed (ll. 21–2).

122 CA/4/2 f [181v]

Receipts and disbursements are accounted for each quarter by only one chamberlain, Mathew Wilkinson.

Two unabbreviated forms ('comand' and 'command') both appear in this account; the brevigraph in a third form, 'comand,' has been taken as a sign of abbreviation and the word transcribed 'command' (l. 30).

125 CA/4/2 ff [201v], 202v

Again only one chamberlain, 'Chamberlane Crookbane,' kept the account for this year, though on a quarterly basis. The payment for cloth (l. 38) is one of two disbursements

interposed between the Poor Account and second-quarter payments. Hudson's 2s 6d (l. 32) continues as a quarterly payment throughout the fiscal year 1642-3.

126 Handelsbücher Nr. 20, Fasz. 1 f [19v]

George Needham was holding a quarter-share in the Company of Mines Royal in February 1565/6, and was still listed in 1580 when the company was reorganized. Throughout much of 1567 Needham was in the Keswick area transacting company business. In the late autumn he returned again for this purpose, remaining in the area for well over a year (W.G. Collingwood, *Elizabethan Keswick* (Kendal, 1912), pp 3-4, 22-3, 26-9).

126 Handelsbücher Nr. 20, Fasz. 1 f [114]

Daniel Ulstät, who was in Keswick as resident agent for company affairs in 1568, returned to Germany the following year. Lord James Mountjoy was a shareholder in the Company of Mines Royal from February 1565/6 (Collingwood, *Elizabethan Keswick*, pp 3-4, 62).

127 Handelsbücher Nr. 20, Fasz. 8 f [6]

The Penrith schoolmaster was John Davis, first master of the Free Grammar School of Penrith (1569-76) (Percy H. Reaney, *Records of Queen Elizabeth Grammar School, Penrith*, CWAAS, Tract Series, vol 10 (Kendal, 1915), p 16). An historical account compiled in the early eighteenth century by Dr Hugh Todd, the vicar of Penrith, draws on earlier sources and includes a confirmation, dated 1708, of ten general rules for the school. Two of these (Reaney, pp 57-8), both based on ecclesiastical ordinances of 1571, are possibly significant in the case of the performance at Keswick. The eighth rule urges that the master and usher 'so form the Speech and Language of all their Scholars, by constant and frequent Exercise, that they may speak with a Clear, Audible and Distinct Voice.' The tenth rule lists authors whose works will prove beneficial to the scholars' language and manners; among these is the Roman playwright, Terence (Publius Terentius Afer, 195?-159 BC), one of whose comedies may have provided the text for the performance brought to Keswick from Penrith.

133 Curwen Account Book f [109v]

This payment was first entered on f [108v] ('to Anthony Troughton') with fifteen other items, headed 'disbursed since 31 december 1634.' These were subsequently cancelled when the steward presumably realized that he had forgotten to enter the receipts for the period, which were normally given before the disbursements. All the cancelled items were included in the disbursements that begin on f [109v].

133 Curwen Account Book f [149]

These payments probably stem from Sir Patricius Curwen's responsibilities as sheriff of Cumberland, an appointment he received in 1637; the allusion to 'the Ialor' is perhaps connected with the county jail in Carlisle.

135 Howard C706 [Book 1] f 10

Payments made for children in the family, either as individuals or as a group, are frequently entered in Lady Elizabeth's account. For this year there are entries for her fifth son Thomas; youngest daughter Mary; and grandsons William, son of Sir Philip Howard, and Thomas, son

of Sir Henry Bedingfield (who married the eldest daughter, Elizabeth). All seven sons (Philip, Francis, William, Charles, Thomas, Robert, and John) were at Naworth in 1612 – those who married remained until the last decade of Lord William Howard's life. Sir Philip's widow continued to live there with her six children after her husband's death in 1616 (George Ornsby, *Household Books*, pp viii–x, xxxviii–xli; pp 9–10, notes).

137 Howard C706 [Book 2] f 35v

Through his wife, Lord William Howard became lord of the barony of Gilsland, part of the Dacre inheritance. Askerton Castle, Cumberland, was a small border fortress within the barony, manned by the Land Serjeant of Gilsland, and a small garrison (Ornsby, *Household Books*, pp xxiv, xxxv).

138 Howard C706 [Book 2] f 36

The Penrith musicians (?waits) were probably heard in Carlisle. The payment recorded is the second of a bracketed group of four, one of which was for 'loan of sheets at Carlyle'; another was made 'at the assyses.'

138 Howard C706 [Book 3] f 20v

Cuthbert Gray, described in a letter of 1608 as a Newcastle merchant, also farmed the revenues of Newbiggin, Northumberland (Heddon with Newbiggin, a Howard estate). He frequently supplied the household with goods and, more in the role of agent, performed a variety of services for the family (Ornsby, *Household Books*, pp 69, 412). The dancing pumps are fifth in a list of seven items attributed to him, enclosed in a marginal brace.

138 Howard C706 [Book 3] f 38v

Lord William Howard purchased Thornthwaite, near Hawes Water, Westmorland, from Sir Henry Curwen of Workington; the estate lay in the parishes of Shap and Bampton (Ornsby, *Household Books*, pp 5, 222, notes). It was in the latter parish that the misrule episode, involving Lord William Howard's tenants, allegedly took place (see p 218). Mr Radclif (William Radclif, p 140, ll. 15–16) was auditor and receiver-general to Lord William Howard (Ornsby, *Household Books*, p 90, note). Payments for the poor, the dancer, and the players are included in a bracketed list of five payments attributed to Mr Radclif and apparently all connected with the Thornthwaite visit.

139 Howard C706 [Book 4] f 30v

The item for 15 August is one of fourteen grouped with marginal brace under the name of 'mr Radclif.' The chronological sequence of the Rewards account is interrupted here since these entries are variously dated October, August, and September.

140 Howard C706 [Book 5] f 28v

Mary Howard, daughter of Lord William Howard, is probably intended here (l. 36). A marginal cross precedes this item.

141 Howard C706 [Book 5] f 29v

The name of the month, usually found as a marginal heading in the *Household Books*, has

been omitted from the group of ten items among which these payments are included. Listed between groups for April and June, they are almost certainly for the month of May, which is nowhere else recorded in this Rewards account. Cumcatch and the manor of Brampton (both in Cumberland) were Howard lands; the latter, about three miles southwest of Naworth, was the market town nearest the castle.

141 Howard C706 [Book 6] f 31v

There are numerous entries in the Household Books for Warwick (Warwick and Wetherall, Cumberland, a Howard estate about four miles east of Carlisle). The date suggests that the players came to Naworth in connection with festivities for the Christmas season.

143 Howard C706 [Book 10] f 33v

Corby, Cumberland, lies about six miles east of Carlisle. The moieties of the manor were successively purchased by Lord William Howard in 1606 and 1624 (Ornsby, *Household Books*, p 111, note).

145 D/Lons/W1/4 f 32

During Christmas 1634 Sir Christopher Lowther was in Westmorland en route home from a business trip to York. According to the notebook (f 32) he dined with his brother John on 29 September at Hackthorpe Hall (not far from Lowther), where presumably he slept before setting out for Whitehaven the next day.

146 A453 f [126]

This ordinance is one of several headed by the statement that in 1659 they were copied out of an earlier book (see Document Descriptions, p 34), without any indication of the date(s) of their original enactment. The remainder of A453 contains other entries for the guild 1652–1734 in various contemporary hands, indicating that the 1659 transcription of older ordinances was an administrative measure designed to restore and maintain continuity of guild records, probably undertaken because of loss, damage, or interruption suffered during the preceding period of the interregnum.

This volume in turn evidently provided the exemplar for the version of the Corpus Christi Day ordinance given in R.S. Ferguson and W. Nanson, *Municipal Records*, p 147, and in D/Lons/L13/11, Tailors' Guild Minute Book, an eighteenth-century copy. Collation of all three reveals no substantial differences between them and in the two latter versions only minor variants in spelling or expansion: eg, at line 6, Ferguson gives 'gt Maries church yard' where in A453 the elongated 's' in 'st' has been read as 'g'; and the D/Lons/L13/11 version consistently substitutes 'the' for 'ye.'

In a footnote to the transcription of the ordinance, Ferguson remarks: 'This is a most interesting entry, and carries us back to the pre-Reformation Corpus Christi procession in Carlisle. Great Mary's church would be the parish church in the cathedral nave, and its churchyard is now known as S. Mary's burial ground.' The cathedral in Carlisle was served by canons of the Augustinian priory, and as was usual in such cases parishioners were confined to the nave for the purposes of worship. Ferguson's reference to 'the pre-Reformation Corpus Christi procession' is given uncorroborated by any other evidence and must remain speculative. It is admittedly unlikely that Corpus Christi Day was simply one of the guild's

quarter-days – the movability of the feast, ranging from 21 May to 24 June, would have made the choice impractical. Nevertheless, as it stands, the ordinance merely provides for an assembly of the guild brethren (and probably sisters, as implied by the phrase ‘the whole light’); whether this was for an event confined to the guild itself or a preliminary to a full-scale turnout of the eight occupations cannot be determined from the ordinance alone.

The reference to the banner is not in itself significant of any extraordinary ceremonial nor of activities dating from the pre-Reformation period. Well after the Reformation the Carlisle Merchants, for example, had their yard wand (or standard) and banner; at St Peter’s quarter these were ritually delivered by outgoing to incoming undermasters (Merchants’ Book, ff 86–6v, 87v, 88v, 1624–7); in 1629 a long table covering was purchased (f 91) and in 1631 a new banner, described as ‘cullers,’ was made for the guild (f 93v). The two purchases were added to those items delivered to incoming undermasters (f 94v, 1632, and f 99, 1635). These few objects seem to have furnished a minimal ceremonial for guild events – probably quarter-day assemblies, the annual dinner, and the All Hallow Thursday perambulation of Kingmoor in which all the guilds took part before returning to their chambers for refreshments. Cautiously, therefore, we should refrain from jumping with Ferguson to any conclusion, based on the transcribed ordinance, about the existence of a pre-Reformation Corpus Christi procession, unless evidence can be adduced from other sources.

WESTMORLAND RECORDS



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# Boroughs

## APPLEBY

**1609-10**

*Chamberlains' Accounts* 2 KCRO

f [1] (*Disbursements*)

...

Item to Iohn Simpson for the pipers cote

x s 5

...

**1610-11**

*Chamberlains' Accounts* 4 KCRO

f [1]

10

To Mr. smith for the piper wages x s

...

**1614-15**

*Chamberlains' Accounts* 8 KCRO

15

f [3] (*Disbursements*)

...

to Iohn simpson for ye piper wayge

vi d

...

20

## KENDAL

1575-6

*Boke off Recorde* KTC

f 219\* (2 February)

Stett/.

No bydden  
dynners or  
drynkynges:

Item it is Orderide & Constituid: lykewise by the Alderman / and  
Burgesses, withe the hole assennte and advise aforesaid / That no  
person or personns. off what callinge or estate so ever. he. she. or they  
bee off / Whiche either. be nowe dwellinge / or whiche hereafter. shall  
fforton to be dwellinge & residente. within this Boroughe / or liberties  
hearoff / ffrome & after / the sayd sevynt daye off ffebruarij nexte  
comynge / shall. / either provide. prepare. desyer. byd. warne. have or  
make / or cause or suffer to be had provided prepared. desyerid bydden  
warnyd. or made / at or with in / any his. hers. or their seuerall howse /  
or in or at any other howsse or place / within this / Boroughe. / or  
liberties hearoff / any dynner. super or ffeaste / ffor moneye offor. for  
personns <sup>^</sup> towne ffolkes, to any Number moore or lesse<sup>1</sup> above the  
Number off / twelve which makes vpp. three measses off ffolkes (Suche  
lyke dynners supers. ffeastes or drynkyns / as have bene comonlye  
vsed / at or vpon / Shotinges in long bowes, or merynges of men off  
Occupacions / aboute orders for their severall pagiandes of Corpus  
Christi playe / <sup>^</sup> Or at the Aldermans electyon / Or at any court day<sup>1</sup>  
at accustomed tymes in the yeare / onely exceptyd and resservyd) Or  
shall provide / prepair / desyer. byd. warne make. or have/or cause or  
suffer to be provided. prepared desyerid. bydden warnyd or made any  
open or generall drynkynges Nutcastes. merye nyghtes. aplecastes. or  
others suche lyke at all / ffor moneye offor ffor any number <sup>^</sup> of  
townsfolkes<sup>1</sup> greate or. small vpon payn to fforfeite & losse to thusse  
off the Chamber / . off this Boroughe ffor everye ffault so comyttyd  
& donne x s...

f 224v\*

An Other Order for metinges off Burgesses & xxiiij<sup>ti</sup> etc on: Certayn  
stacion & apoyntyd dayes  
14<sup>o</sup>: day Iune [⟨....⟩] <sup>^</sup> 1576<sup>1</sup>†

7/ Item in heavily stroked larger script  
18-19/ above... ffolkes: 12 words underlined MS  
35/ An Other Order for in larger heavily stroked script; ✓ in left margin

7/ the Alderman: Henry Wilson  
31/ x s preceded by small sign

Item it is Ordeyned & Constitutyd by the Alderman Burgesses and  
 xxiiii<sup>th</sup> Assistauntes off this Boroughe / that aswell everye one off the  
 xxiiij<sup>th</sup> Assistauntes, as the xij<sup>o</sup> Pryncipall Burgesses off this Boroughe  
 / nowe & ffrome hencefurthe, ffrome tyme to tyme beinge in some  
 convenyente tyme after he be called into either off the same ij<sup>o</sup>  
 companys and have receyved his Othe, shall provide & have A playne  
 Clothe gowen off black or off some other sad color, or mor at his  
 pleasure, and the same gowen shall putt & wear vpon hym with A  
 rownd black capp on his head moost commonlye on all Sondayes in  
 the year, and on all holye dayes lykwise when the wether is ffayr &  
 vphold, But especiallye on theis dayes ffollowinge, (as many as be at  
 home & in healthe / or have not some busynes or presente occacion  
 to go furthe off this Boroughe, abowte some busynes tollerable, that  
 is to say, on the dayes off the Election / etc & othe takynge of every  
 Alderman, The day off every Alderman his pryncypall ffeaste or  
 dynner, [On Alhallowe day], On Christenmes day [On Newe years  
 daye / The Twelfth day], On Easter day [Thassencion day], & On  
 Whitsondaye ([Excepte some of the same holye dayes happen on any  
 Setterdaye]) And shall on everye of the same dayes before or at tyme  
 off Rynnginge off the Third peall, be redye accordinglye to  
 accompanye the Alderman or his deputie ffor the tyme alwayes beinge  
 everye one at and ffrome the Alderman or his deputye his owen  
 dwellinge howsse, to the Churche, bothe to mornynge & evynge  
 prayer, every one in his order rowem & place / as he nowe is or  
 hereafter may be lawfullye called & placyd and not otherwise, And  
 agayne ffrome the Churche in lyke order to accompany the sayd  
 Alderman or his deputye to anempste everye one his owen dwellinge  
 howse, [And also] \*Sub pena forisfacturae tocies quociens / xij d to be  
 levyed etc°

...

f 225\*

in like maner & order to and ffrome the proclamacion on the ffayer  
 dayes and play dayes and ffrome thence to and ffrome the hall, as  
 occation shall requyer, Sub pena fforisfacturae tocies quociens xij d

...

1/ Item in larger heavily stroked script

11/ vphold: the phrase or clause which should follow this verb has been left out

°caps repealed°

°Stacion Dayes:  
 repealed

22 Maij 1578;  
 viz:

Alhallowe daye:  
 Newe yeare &  
 xij<sup>th</sup> Dayes:  
 Thassencion  
 Daye: etc°

vacat

## 1580-1

*Boke off Recorde* KTC

f 237v

Stet:

18. Maij 1581

ad Curiam

ibidem

Shearmen,

Item it is likewise Ordeyned / that all & every person & persons beinge  
 A Shearman (when he hath Served owte [of] his Apryntishippe / and  
 before he be admyttid ffreeman of the same Company), shall pay to  
 thuse of the hole Companye of Shearmen aforesaid / besides Custome  
 for the Playe) xij d (suche persons as have alredie paid to the  
 corporacion / only exceptid)

...

## 1582-3

*Chamberlains' Accounts I* KCRO: WMB/K

f 5v (23 September)

...

payd to edward garnett for waites cootes

xxiij s 4 d

...

## 1584-5

*Chamberlains' Accounts I* KCRO: WMB/K

f 13 (Payments)

...

pd ... by mr edward potter

ij s 25

...

pd to him for ye waites cotes

xxv s vj d

## 1585-6

*Boke off Recorde* KTC

f 225\* (25 April)

...

St: Mark 1586

And it is further declaryde to be the trewe meaninge & entente of  
 the same Alderman & Burgesses that everye one of them on everye  
 of the foresayd: three Cheiff ffestivall dayes of christenmas. easter &  
 penticost [and also on every of the sayd dayes of the ffayres &  
 playdayes], shall have vpon them & weare their best vyolat gownes  
 [(<.....>)] Sub pena xij d

18/ edward garnett: *Edward Garnett* (1)

34/ ✓ in left margin

34/ the ... Alderman: *John Armer*

38/ 2-3 words of about 12 letters illegible

f 244

Ad Curiam

tentam 22:

September 1586

ffor the Playe

Forasmuche as verry many & dyvers of the common Inhabitan-  
 tes of this Incorporacion (suche of them onely as rather preferr their owne  
 pryvate commodities / and the common customes & vsages hear / and  
 more respecte the Satisfyinge of their / owne delighes & fantasyes,  
 by A greate deale than the Benyfite & common welthe of all others  
 in generall (beinge the greater parte) doo covytt & earnestlye Crye for  
 the havinge of Corpus christi play, yearlye vsuallye to be had played  
 and vsed heare as in former tymes without admyttinge or allowinge  
 almost any occacion or necessitie for the stayinge therof in any yeare  
 Holdinge pryvate opynyons sometymes and affirmynge that the  
 havinge or denyinge therof onely restethe in the Alderman / for the  
 tyme beinge) Althoughe (that in trewth) in all matters & causes  
 belonginge this Bourghe he is (at it were) tyed to the Societie Counsell  
 and Brotherhead of others with hym Not havinge power in hymselff,  
 to appoynte & sett downe Orders & constitucions of hymselff [to  
 appoynte & sett downe] in all thinges specially in suche as generallye  
 Concerne the Common state & affayrs of the same Bourghe without  
 the ayde & counsell & grave advise & assistaunce of his Bretherne the  
 head Burgesses adioyned vnto hym / ffor the redresse & certaynty  
 of reformation wherof / It is Ordeyned & constitutid by the Alderman  
 and head Burgesses of this Bourghe of Kyrkbykendall / That it shall  
 not be lawfull at no tyme hereafter / ffor the Alderman of the same  
 Bourghe for the tyme beinge or any his deputie or deputies, to  
 appoynte & geve lycence ffor the same Playe of Corpus christi / or  
 any other stage playes to be had or vsed heare, onely of hymselff in  
 any yeare at or aboute the accustomed tyme therof, or at any other  
 tyme Excepte it shalbe lyked of and consentid vnto by his sayd  
 Brethern the head Burgesses or the more parte of them frome tyme  
 to tyme beinge vpon payne to forfeyte & losse to the vse of the  
 Chamber of this Bourghe tociens quociens C s

5/ Forasmuche in larger heavilystroked script

17/ at for as

34/ C s preceded by small sign

*Chamberlains' Accounts I* KCRO: WMB/Kf 16\* (*Wine and Sugar*)

...

pd to william fox wif for Ale bread &amp; Apples at A banket

when ye Auditor &amp; receiueres was ther at martinmas

iiij s 5

pd to mr dickson for comffites ye same tyme

xxij d

pd to ye players of my lord [of] morlaies at ye same tyme

v s

All yis was bistowid vpon ye Auditor &amp; receiuer &amp; for

ther plesure bothe for yat ye Auditor was for my lord of

warwick then / &amp; Also ye receiuer did help hus to our

10

mony at my lord wardens had at yat tyme

**1586-7***Chamberlains' Accounts I* KCRO: WMB/Kf 20 (*Wine and Other Expenses*)

15

...

pd ye iiij of Iune for ye waites cotes

xxvij s

...

f 20v (30 September 1587<sup>+</sup>)

20

...

pd to ye waytes at ye election diner

viiij d

...

f 21v\* (*Additional Payments*)

25

...

pd to mr potter yat he paid to ye plaiers of my lord of

sussex &amp; my lord of essex

ij s

...

30

**1587-8***Chamberlains' Accounts 3* KCRO: WMB/Kf [16]\* (*Payments*)

...

pd to waites in reward

xij d 35

...

pd to garnet for plaieng on ye drome

vj d

...

6/ mr dickson: *Henry Dickson*27/ mr potter: *Edward Potter or Thomas Potter (alderman 1584-5)*37/ garnet: *Edward Garnett (2)*

f [16v]\*

...		
pd for A pot of Ale when ye playe was at mr wilsons	x d	
...		
pd to garnet for plaieng on ye drome	iiij d	5
...		
pd for ye diners of mr doctor mr Ingall for ye curat & clarke & peter Alansons at ye elections diner	iiij s viij d	
pd more in od mony at yat tyme	xiiij d	
pd to ye minstrels & for ye seriantes	xvj d	10
...		
pd to ye waites at mr Alderman diner	xij d	
...		
pd for candles when mr Ingall play was	iiij d	
...		15

**1589-90***Chamberlains' Accounts 4* KCRO: WMB/Kf [11]\* (*Payments*)

...		
pd to Iohn collen for his lofte for ye playe	iiij s	20
...		

f [10v]\*

...		
pd to ye menstrells at ye dener at christofer foxes	xij d	25
more for the [⟨..⟩] clarkes & outhers	viij s viij d	
...		

**1591-2***Chamberlains' Accounts 5* KCRO: WMB/Kf [15v]\* (*Extraordinary Payments*)

...		
paid to ye waytes when mr <sup>a</sup> 'docktor' robinson was here	viij d	
...		
pd for x quartes of wyne when mr robinson was here to him & his company	v s x d	35
...		

5/ garnet: *Edward Garnett* (2)  
 7/ mr doctor: *Ambrose Hetherington*

12/ mr Alderman: *Henry Fleming*

**I592-3***Chamberlains' Accounts 6* KCRO: WMB/Kf [12]\* (*Extraordinary Payments*)

...

pd to Iarvis dickson wif for ij pottes of Ale more at ye maske

xx d

...

pd for ij *quartes* wine at ye maske

xiiij d

...

pd to mr dawson for ye charges of ye banket at ye maske

xij s iiij d 10

...

f [12v]\*

pd to ye plaiers in ye newe hall

v s 15

...

pd to mr dawson for ye waites cotes

xxxiiij s

...

pd to ye quenes players *yis somer*

xx s

...

pd for charges at ye diner at ye election &amp; for wine &amp; to ye waites

x s iiij d

...

**I593-4***Chamberlains' Accounts 7* KCRO: WMB/Kf [22]\* (*Extraordinary Payments*)

...

Item pd to cudbert pearsons *yat* he layd forth to ye players at ye dragon the last yeare

ij s vj d 30

Item pd to cudbert *yat* he pd to garnat ffor playing on the drome on the crownatyon daye

iiij d

...

f [22v] (7 June-28 July)

35

...

Item pd by the Apointment of mr Alderman for the

10, 17/ mr dawson: *Roger Dawson*

30/ at ye dragon] at mydlames WD/AG/Box 5 f [18]

31/ garnat: *Edward Garnett* (2)37/ mr Alderman: *William Wilson*

Charges of the Staig of Sir potters playe	viiij s	
...		
f [23] (28 July <sup>+</sup> )		
...		5
Item pd to Sir potter by cuthbert	xx s	
...		
Item pd Iames Aryey wyff for xxxvj mens dinners of the election day	xviiij s	
Item pd for the ij Sargents dinners the same daie	viiij d	10
...		
Item pd mr Swaynson for A gallanne of Claried wine & A quart seck on the election daie	ij s viij d	
pd Cudbert yat he pd ye waytes on ye electkyon day	xij d	
...		15

**1594-5****Chamberlains' Accounts 8** KCRO: WMB/K

f [17]* (Extraordinary Payments)		
...		20
Item to william Iudsons wyfe for the dinners of ix messe and one person at the election dinner	xv s vj d	
...		
Item to the pypers which Iames Ayraye layd forth at ye election dinner	xij d	25

**1595-6****Chamberlains' Accounts 9** KCRO: WMB/K

f [17v] (28 November-29 December) (Extraordinary Payments)		
...		30
Item to mr fleminge for iij yards and a half of blv to the wets cots	xxxij s	
...		
f [18]* (3-24 July)		35
...		

6/ ye 10 awgust added WD/AG/Box 5 f [19v]

8/ Iames Aryey: James Ayrey

12/ mr Swaynson: William Swaynson

12-13/ to Iames ayrays hovse added WD/AG/Box 5 f [20]

14/ Cudbert: Cuthbert Pearson

31/ mr fleminge: Henry Fleming

Item to the drvmer at bvrning of bekens	iiij d	
...		
(24 July-28 September)		
...		
Item to Rowland michell for goinge to perit at bvrnings of bekens	ij s	5
Layd out for chesse to go to perit at the burnings of the beking and bred	viiij s iiij d	
Item to edward the cariar of it	ij s	
Item to the weats and drvmer	vj d	10
Item for drinke that time	iiij d	
...		
Item to Richard selle for letther to a par of hampers yat went to Carlill at the bvrning of the bekinngs	xij d	15
...		
f [18v]		
Item payed at the eleckcion dener for vij meas and on man at vj d pes	xiiij s vj d	20
...		
Item to the menstrills at dener	xij d	
...		
<b>1596-7</b>		
<i>Chamberlains' Accounts 10</i> KCRO: WMB/K		25
f [18v]* ( <i>Extraordinary Payments</i> )		
...		
Item pd to one playing on the dromme ye Quenes daye	xij d	
...		
		30
f [8] col a*		
...		
mor at hwnts to the whaytts	xij d	
...		
mor to whayets at my masters°	xij d	35
...		

**1597-8****Chamberlains' Accounts 12** KCRO: WMB/Kf [29]\* (*Extraordinary Payments*)

...		
Item pd to Iames Ayreye wyffe for the leete courte dynner mychelmas 1597	ix s vj d	5
Item to the mynstrells at a dynner at Iames Ayreyes	xij d	
Item paid to Edmund Hunt wyffe at the dynner of mr Iames willsons election	xxiiij s 8 d	
...		10
Item pd in reward to the lord Montegles players	x s	
Item pd in reward to Therle of derbys players	x s	
...		

**1598-9****Chamberlains' Accounts 13** KCRO: WMB/Kf [18v]\* (*Extraordinary Payments*)

...		
payed vnto ye mvisioneres in kendall Church for playeng thar by Mr Aldrmanes Appoyntment		20
payed them 6 s 8 d	[vj s] <sup>r</sup> vij s <sup>l</sup> <.....>	
...		

**1599-1600****Chamberlains' Accounts 14** KCRO: WMB/Kf [19v] (28 May-20 July) (*Extraordinary Payments*)

...		
paid to my lorde quarton playeres	vj s viij d	25
...		
f [20] (19 September-10 October 1600)		30
At the election of Mr Twhaite Alderman / paid to William denison Wife for a dinner	xj s x d	
more for iij quartes of wine which was feched to the diners	ij s ij d	35
more to the wettes	xij d	
...		

## 1600-1

*Chamberlains' Accounts 15* KCRO: WMB/Kf [21]\* (*Extraordinary Payments*)

...

paid the 28th off october to Christoffor Eskrige ffor ix  
yardes off grey ffrese ffor the pipers Cottis

ix s

5

...

*(21 March-12 June)*

paid Christoffor hodgson when beakenes brunt ffor  
going to peareth

ij s vj d

10

paid Robert Ayre ffor playing off drum at same time

vj d

...

paid mr Alderman ffor otes that he bestowed off a horse  
when beakenes brunte

vj d

15

paid to Richard scales that he paid ffo v tarbareles when  
beakenes brunte

ij s vj d

paid to a lad ffor plainge on the drum when wach was sett

vj d

...

f [21v] (*1 August-17 September*)

20

...

paid ffor wine off the play daie

iij s

...

25

*(17 September-11 October)*

paid to Iohn Robinson wiffe ffor xxvij menes dinneres  
sam daie Mr Alderman was chosen

xiiij s vi d

...

°pd pipers for theyr fee same daye mr alderman was chosen

xij d

30

...

pd piper the 11 of ottutober for playinge at mr aldermans  
diner

vj d

...

35

f [22]

...

pd Gowen Caslaye for paven of stret whear playe was°

xij d

...

14/ mr Alderman: *John Thwaite*28/ Mr Alderman: *John Smythe*

**1601-2****Chamberlains' Accounts 16** KCRO: WMB/Kf [20v] (*Extraordinary Payments*)

...  
 pd in Reward to ye new waytes at theyr first Coming 5  
 7.nov xij d

...  
 pd to edward archer for playing on drum quens day vj d  
 ...

... 10  
 f [21]

...  
 pd mor to Iohn robinson which he layd ovt abovt the play  
 by appoyntment xxx s  
 ... 15

...  
 pd more to Iohn Robinson wif for vij mease on the  
 election day <sup>^</sup> 14 s<sup>1</sup> wyne 20 d & waytes 12 d xvj s viij d  
 ...

**1602-3****Chamberlains' Accounts 17** KCRO: WMB/K

f [16]

...  
 Item payd to Edward Artcher for playinge of the drume  
 vpon the quens daie xij d 25

f [17]\* (*April*)

...  
 Item payd to mr Robert Wilkinsonne as his note dothe  
 Appeare 30

...  
 Item 31 of same viij<sup>th</sup> yeardes of blake ffreyse xij s  
 Item ffor ffasinge button and bayse ffor the Waytes  
 Cottes iiij s

... 35

**1603-4****Chamberlains' Accounts 18** KCRO: WMB/Kf [19]\* (*before 22 October*) (*Extraordinary Payments*)

... 40  
 pd to Robert hodgshone shold have beine the wait vj d  
 ...

*(4 March-7 April)*

pd for 6 quarters of brod Read to the wayte 7 s x s vj d

...

f [19v]

5

...

pd 5 August 1604 to drumer &amp; mynstrells xij d

pd 11 same for mending drume to watr backus ij s

...

10

**1604-5***Chamberlains' Accounts 19* KCRO: WMB/Kf [15]\* (*Extraordinary Payments*)

...

pd the 12 of Aprill to Iames Ayray for the Leete Coarte dynner ix s x d 15

pd the same daye [f] to Robert holme wif for Chardges for the Commissoneres About the play iiij s

paid to Iames Ayraye wyfe the same daye for the Commissinares xij s 20

...

f [15v] (*12 April-9 May*)

More pd to hughe Iackson wyf for the Chardges of the Commisinores ix s 25

pd to hir for wyne the same tyme ij s iiij d

...

pd to Iames Ayraye the 10 of Iune which was paid for A Iorneye to yorck xls

30

...

*(25 June-2 September)*

pd more for mr tyrares seckond Iorneye to yorck for Chardges iiij li

...

pd the 4 of september for Chardges About mr Tyrar &amp; mr Ingalle iiij li xij d 35

...

**1607-8***Chamberlains' Accounts 21* KCRO: WMB/Kf [14v] (15 October 1608<sup>+</sup>) (*Extraordinary Payments*)

...

pd when we wente to the play

ij s

5

...

**1608-9***Chamberlains' Accounts 22* KCRO: WMB/Kf [13]\* (26 November-8 December) (*Extraordinary Payments*)

10

...

pd to Edward Archer for playeing vpon the Drvme at ye  
queenes departure

v s iij d

...

15

f [13v]\*

...

pd to william warriner ye 18 of march that his master gave  
to ye Earle of da<sup>r</sup>byes men

v s

...

20

(8 June-29 July)

pd to ye earle of Lincolne his men

ij s vj d

...

**1610-11**

25

*Chamberlains' Accounts 23* KCRO: WMB/Kf [8] (15 September) (*Extraordinary Payments*)

...

pd per the aponymet of mr alderman to my lord  
mouteagell playres

00-02-06

30

...

**1611-12***Chamberlains' Accounts 24* KCRO: WMB/Kf [3] (24 September<sup>+</sup>) (*Monies Disbursed*)

35

...

pd to the Players

ij s vj d

...

**1612-13***Chamberlains' Accounts 25* KCRO: WMB/Kf [5v] (*Paid for the Chamber*)

...  
 pd mor to mr ffisher which was for the waittes Cottes 0 8 8 5

**1613-14***Chamberlains' Accounts 26* KCRO: WMB/Kf [16v] (*13 August*)

...  
 payd Bryan Preston ffor the waytes [cottes] Clokes iiij li v s vj d 10

...

f [17]\* (*26 September*)

...  
 payd the waytes ffor playinge xij d 15  
 payd ffor the Elekxtion diner xxvj d  
 payd for wyne same tyme iiij s vj d

...

(3 October 1614)

pd ffor the Leet Courte dinner xvj s vj d 20  
 payd ffor drinke & Bread to the Iurie xvij d  
 payd ffor ij quartes of sake ij s  
 payd ffor dresinge of A holbert to Iames Ienniges iiij d  
 payd William Warrinner for buildinge the stage iiij s 25

...

**1614-15***Chamberlains' Accounts 27* KCRO: WMB/Kf [13] (*14 November*) (*Extraordinary Payments*)

payd mr willson Alderman which was bestowed in 30  
 Reward of the players belonging to the lord mounteagle 0 5 0

...

5/ mr ffisher: *Edward Fisher*17/ xxvj d: *properly xxvj s to make up total of £1 10 s given for the month of September, f [17]*25/ for buildinge the stage *added after payment entered*32/ mr willson Alderman: *Thomas Wilson*32/ w of which *written over s*

f [13v] (31 May)

...  
 pd mr Alderman which was geiuen to the players 5 s ...  
 ...

f [14] (August)

...  
 pd ffor xj yerds yerds off Cloth to the wayts Clokes &  
 Iacketts att 7 s 6 d yerd 4 2 6  
 ... 10  
 pd to william waryner wif... 1 1 6  
 pd hir more for the diner att the Chusing of the Alderman  
 vizd for xiiij mease att 6 d pece 1 6 0  
 pd ffor 'aples & nuts after diner att mr Alderman table 0 1 0  
 pd for drink after 0 1 0 15  
 pd to the wayts for Reward 0 1 6  
 ...

**1615-16**

*Chamberlains' Accounts 28* KCRO: WMB/K 20  
 f [11v] (*Extraordinary Payments*)

...  
 Payed to William Warriner the first of November yat was  
 given to the quens players 0-10-0  
 ... 25

f [12]

...  
 pd to the quens men the 13 of Awgust for playing 0-10-0  
 ... 30

**1616-17**

*Chamberlains' Accounts 29* KCRO: WMB/K  
 f [14v]\* (16-18 January) (*Extraordinary Payments*)

°payd per mr Aldermans Consent and mr wilkinsons with 35

3/ mr Alderman: Thomas Wilson  
 12,14/ Alderman: James Dixon (1)  
 36/ mr Aldermans: John Robinson  
 36/ mr wilkinsons: Edward Wilkinson or Robert Wilkinson

8/ yerds yerds: dittography  
 15/ final o written over 5

the rest of of ye companye vnto one Symcock and		
frannerton two of his majestis vshurs of the gard when		
they cam to the towne for looking for housses to		
intertayne ye king	2-0-0	
pd more ffor ther Charges in meat and drink one night &		5
one daye	00-08-0	
more for 2 quartes of sack to theme	0-02-0°	
...		

(30 April)

payd for wine att the leet Court	0-3-⟨.⟩	10
payd to the kinges harbinger The Same tyme	0-3-0	
...		

**Chamberlains' Accounts 29A** KCRO: WMB/K

f [2v]\* (Assessment) 15

	august this .6. 1617	
payd vnto mr Sledall ffor a pursse	01-05-00	
...		
put mor in to the kinges pursse	33-00-00	20
payd to the groumes of the Stable of estat	03-06-08	
payd to The litter men	00-10-00	
payd to mr harres	26-02-00	
payd to the trumpeters	00-06-08	
payd ffor proclaying the proclamacion	00-10-00	25
payd to mr wilson ffor nacies	07-06-03	
...		

f [1]

	october this .16. 1617	30
...		
payd vnto the Quense players	0-11-0	
...		

1/ of of: dittography

10/ ⟨.⟩ digit altered several times; possibly 8

18/ mr Sledall: Thomas Sledall

26/ mr wilson: Thomas Wilson \*

26/ nacies for necessities

*Chamberlains' Accounts 29B* KCRO: WMB/K

f [1]\*

...

pd for glass & othr things when the king was heere att mr  
Aldrmans Comandment which he promist me to [p]

Allow me

viii s

...

*Chamberlains' Accounts 29* KCRO: WMB/K

f [15] (15 September)

10

pd more ... to ye minsterels at ye venyson ffeast

0-1-0

pd william Chamber wiff the same daye ffor the venyson

diner being 14 mease

01-14-0

...

15

**1617-18***Chamberlains' Accounts 30* KCRO: WMB/K

f [22] (Extraordinary Payments)

20

...

pd to William Chamber the 12th of november that was  
given to the earle of Sussex players

00-05-00

...

f [22v]

25

...

pd more the 22th of march that was given to the queens  
players in gould

00-11-00

...

pd more the 17th of Aprill 1618 to william Chamber wif  
for the Leit Court diner beinge/5/mease & three [f]

30

men/8d/a peece

00-15-04

pd more for [meat]<sup>1</sup> bread<sup>1</sup> & drink yat was sent to Ieurie

00-01-06

pd more to Iasper [garnet] hey &amp; his man for musack

00-01-00

...

35

4-5/ mr Aldrmans: John Robinson

34/ [garnet]: Jasper Garnett; see pp 237-8, endnote to STAC/8/34/4 f 18

(17-25 April)

pd more to Mr Alderman... 00-01-06

pd more to him *which* he had given to other towe poor  
men the one was a Trumpater... 00-01-00

f [23]

...

pd to walter Beck the 20th of August for a peece of  
broadcloth xij yeardes for the waites Cloakes 03-17-00

...

f [23v]

...

pd more the 30th of August to the yonge princes players 00-11-00

...

**1618-19***Chamberlains' Accounts 31* KCRO: WMB/Kf [12v] (5 April) (*Monies laid forth*)

...

pd the waitts at leet Court dinner 00.02.00

...

pd Bartholomew Shiphard ffor a meass *which* dined at  
Court leet dinner 01.00.00

pd ffor Beare and Bread to the Iurie 00.02.00

...

f [14]

pd the 22th Iulie 1619 ffor ix yardes 1/4 Brode Read  
*delivered* accordinge to mr Aldermans Appointment ffor  
the waites Cloackes at 7.2. 03.06.03

...

f [24] (1618)

...

pd more the 7th of October to Bartholomew Shipperd wif  
for the leit Court diner being Seven mease & twoe men 00-15-00

pd more for bread &amp; drinke that was sent to the leit Iurie 00-01-10

pd more the sam day to our Waites for musacck at diner 00-02-00

...

**1619-20***Chamberlains' Accounts* 32 KCRO: WMB/K

f [20]

...  
 more pd to mr Alderman that he payed vnto a company of  
 players 00-05-0 5

...

f [20v]

... 10  
 more pd to the Queens of bohemia players per mr  
 Alderman 00-10-0  
 more pd for 9 yardes of brood clooth for the wayts  
 clookes 03 00 00

...

(1620)

more pd to the kings players the 21th of October per mr  
 Alderman dawson appoyntment 00-10-0 15

...

more pd to mr Alderman that he disbursed to the princes  
 players as apears per his note 00-10-0 20

...

**1620-1***Chamberlains' Accounts* 33 KCRO: WMB/Kf [17v]\* (*Monies Paid*)

...

Pd to the players 00 10 0 25

...

(17 September)

Pd to mr Steven Nuby... 01 16 4 30

...

Pd him more at same time for the princes players in the  
 old account 00 05 0

...

(27 September)

Pd for the wattes Cloakes 03 02 10 35

...

5, 11-12/ mr Alderman: *Steven Nuby*17-18, 20/ mr Alderman dawson: *Rowland Dawson*33-4/ the princes players in the old account: *see above, ll. 20-1*

## 1621-2

*Chamberlains' Accounts* 34 KCRO: WMB/Kf [20] (*Extraordinary Payments*)

...

pd to mr Alderman which he gave to the kinges players 00-10-0 5

...

f [20v]\*

...

pd the waytes at leete court dinner 00-02-6 10

...

*Star Chamber Records* PRO: STAC/8/34/4f 55\* (5 December) (*Kendal Stage Play: Bill of Plaintiff*)

...And to make the said Lordes the more odious to the people, Soe  
 it is further if it maie please yor moste excellent Majestie that the said  
 Confederates haue alsoe stirred and raysed vp one Richard Helm,  
 Henry warde, Thomas Duckett and diuers others whose names are as  
 yett vnknowne to yor said Attorney but humbly desireth that hee maie  
 incerte the same when they shalbee discovered they beinge Players and  
 Actors in a stage playe publickeleie to personate & represent the persons  
 of the said Lordes of Mannors in theire said playe, and accordinglie  
 the said Helme, warde, and duckett and the said other vnknowne  
 persons on or aboute the moneth of Iulie last in the Nineteenth yeare  
 of yor Majestes Raigne did publickly act a stage plaie at kendale Castle  
 in the said County and did therein make a representacion of Hell and  
 in the same did personate and acte manie Lordes of the Mannors of  
 the said Countie which they did libellouslie and disgracefullie then and  
 there represent to bee in hell to the greate abuse of the said Lordes,  
 by which they were prouoked to haue fallen into outrage and to haue  
 broken yor Majestes peace and haue sought private Revenge of suche  
 disgracefull iniuries, had not they beene restrained by the due respecte  
 of the obeydience to yor majestes lawes Edict and proclamacion In  
 tender Consideracion whereof ... It maie therefore please yor most  
 excelent Majestie to graunt vnto yor said Attorney yor most gracious  
 Writtes of Subpena to be directed to the said [persons including]  
 Richard Helme Henry Ward and Thomas duckett ... Commaunding  
 them and euery of them ... to be and appeare before yor highnes and  
 yor majestes most Honorable Councill in yor Majestes High Courte  
 of Starcham<...> ...

f 49\*

The Ioynt and severall Answares of ...  
 Rycharde Helme [and other defendants named] ...  
 to the Informacion of Sir Thomas Coventrey  
 knight his majesties Attorney generall /

5

...

... And the defendant Richard Helme Confesseth that he was by the  
 perswasion of one Iasper Garnett (who was the Authore of the play)  
 'in the information mentioned /<sup>1</sup> an actor in the [play] 'same etc'<sup>1</sup>  
 acted at (...)dall Castell about the tyme in the Informacion mencioned 10  
 But denyeth that he did in any sorte Represent or Act the part of any  
 Landlord or tenante in the same as in 'the' said Informacion is  
 supposed And saith that the said play was penned by the said Iasper  
 Garnet aboue fower yeares agoe he being a Scholemaister in Lancashire  
 And drawn into fower large bookes And was seene and lyked by some 15  
 landlord and divers men in the barrony of kendall before the same was  
 acted....

f 51 (*Interrogatories to be put to the defendants*)

20

11

Itim whether doe you know that Richard Helme Henrie ward Thomas  
 Duckett or any of them in or a bout the month of Iulij last 1621 did  
 ackt or plaie a staige plaie att Kendall Castle in the said Countie of  
 westmerland whether weere you priuie afore hand y<sup>a</sup>t the sayd plaie  
 was then to be plaied whether weare you pressent att the then actinge 25  
 of the said plaie whether was ther then in the same any representacion  
 of Hell & whether was any thinge then Acted or mencioned of any  
 landlordes of westmerland to bee seane there in hell, wherefore weare  
 they the said landlordes represented soe to bee in hell, what was the  
 Conseite or morallitie there of, weare you priuie to the Inueninge 30  
 makeinge or settinge forth of the said plaie who was the Inuentor or  
 maker ther of and by whose meanes or abettment or procurment was  
 the same soe inuented & maid & enacted accordinglie declare yor  
 knowledge therein & how you know the same to be true://

35

f 14\* (*16 February*) (*Examination of defendant*)

Samuell Knipe of ffairbancke in the Countie  
 of Westmerland gentleman sworne etc

40

...

7/ And written in large heavily stroked script

f 15v

11. Hee saieth that hee knoweth not that Richard Helme Henrie Ward, Tomas Duckett or anie of them did in or about the moneth of Iulie last 1621. act or play anie Stage play at Kendall Castell in the said Countie of Westmerland. neither was hee this defendant privie that anie such play would bee there plaied, nor was present at the acting therof. And therefore cannot depose whether there was in the same anie representacion of hell, or the mencion of anee of the Landlords of Westmerland to bee [in] seene in hell or not. neither doth hee. this Defendant know what the conceipt or moralitie of the said play was. neither was hee this defendant privie to the inventing, setting fourth or making of the same. nor knoweth who was the Inventor or maker therof, nor by whose meanes, abettment or procurement the same was invented, made, or acted.

f 54 (29 April 1622) (*Examination of defendants*)

...

Thomas Prickett of Audland in the said Countie of westmrland gentleman aged xxxviiij yeares or thereaboutes sworne & examined

- 11 To the xj th Interr he Cannot depose otherwise then that he did heare that there was such a play acted at kendall aforesaid as in the said Interr is mencioned./

...

f 54v\*

...

Richard Helme of whinfell in the said Countie of westmerland aged liij yeares or thereaboutes sworne & examined

- 11 To the xj th Interr he saith that about the time in the Interr mencioned there was a stage play acted at kendall Castell, & that he this Examinat was an actor in the said plaie, haueinge a parte Called Raymond, & that Thomas duckett Henry ward with others to the number of twentie or thereaboutes were actores also in the said plaie, but denieth that in the said play there was anie representacion of hell or of anie land-lordes within the said Barronie to be in hell, saue onely there was a ieast betweene thomas Duckett and Henry ward who acted the partes of

towe Clownes in the said plaie deliuered by thone of them to thother  
 in these wordes vizt, Rauens quotha no, thou art farr byth square, ites  
 false landlordes makes all that Croakinge there, & those sheepe wee  
 poore men, whose right these by their skill, would take awaie, & make  
 vs tennantes at will, & when our ancient liberties are gone, theile puke  
 & poole & peelee vs to the bare bone. the which speeches passed  
 betweene the the said Clownes vpon former speeches vsed betweene  
 them of hell, And also saith that the said plaie was made by one Iasper  
 Garnett borne in the Barronie of kendall Schoolemaister at Lancaster  
 at the time of the makeinge of the said plaie, And at the time of the  
 said Actinge thereof resident within the said Barronie of kendall. /

ff 40-40v\* (*Interrogatories to be put to witnesses against the  
 defendants*)

- ...  
 22 Item whether did the said defe(.....)of them & which and 15  
 howe many of them by name styrrvp or procure any players & acters  
 in a Stage playe pvblickelie to personate & represent the persons of  
 the Lordes of Mannors in their said playe which were oppressors of  
 the said Custome of Tenant right howe & in what maner were the said  
 Lordes represented / I 20  
 23 Item did the said defendant Helme one Ward & one Duckett together  
 with other Actors and Stage players on or about the moneth of Iuly  
 in the nynteenth year of his Majestes Raigne acte a Stage playe at  
 Kendall Castle in the said Countye of Westmerland & which & howe  
 many of them by name did act or reprsent the persons or accions of 25  
 any the lordes of Mannors within the said Countye & was the same  
 playe acted in disgrace or contempt of the lordes of Mannors there  
 declare yor knowledge herein at large.

...

f 26v\* (*Interrogatories to be put to witnesses for the defendants*)

- ...  
 31: Item whethether doe you knowe that the defendantes did [effe(...)]  
 publikely act a stage play and there in did personate and present the  
 persons of the Lordes of the Mannors within the Countie of 35  
 Westmerland in the moneth of Iuly in Anno domini 1621. in Kendall  
 Castell And whether did the said defendantes in the said Stage play

7/ the the: dittography

15/ (.....) faded; (.....) all or anie f 29

33/ Item: large and heavily stroked letters

33/ whethether: haplography

33/ [effe(...)] : fading at edge of folio

make a representacion of Hell And in the same did personate and Act manie Lordes of the said Mannors *which* they did lybellouslye and disgracefully then and there represent to be in hell yea or noe, yf yea then *which* or how manie of the defendantes did soe make a representacion of Hell and did personate and represent the said landlordes to be in hell, or *which* or how manie of the said Land Lordes was so personated by anie of the defendantes or how manie of the said defendantes did act the said stage play or what part or partes did anie of them act therein or what wordes can you declare *which* was spoken in anie part or partes *which* the defendantes or anie of them did act or how manie of the defendantes were at the actinge of the said play declare the trueth vpon your oath./

32: Item who was the Author or Composer of the play *which* was acted at Kendall Castell, and hath not Sir ffrancis duckett knight seene and redd the said play or some part thereof and liked allowede or Commended the same before the actinge thereof, And was not Iames Duckett *which* is grand sonne to the said Sir ffrancis Duckett one of the actors in the said play at Kendall Castell and his bayliffe and Tennantes actors therein and whether did he or they act the same by the privity or consent of the said Sir ffrancis Duckett, And whoe did speake anie wordes in nameinge of Hell in the said play or make anie representacion thereof.

33: Item doe you knowe that these defendantes haue Raised vp anie players or actors in anie stage play or playes to act and personate anie of the Lordes of the Mannors of the Countie of westmerland, And to represent the said Lordes or anie of them to be in hell and to make a representacion of Hell and the Land Lordes therein, yea or noe, yf yea declare whoe what where when and the circumstances thereof and how you knowe the same to be true./.

...

f 33\* (10 September) (*Depositions of witnesses for the defendants*)

Ierom Garnet of Ouerleuens in the Countie of westmerland about the age of xxviii yeares sworne and examined

...

31 To the xxxj th Interrogatory he deposeth and saith that about the time in the Interrogatory mencioned there was a Stage plaie publikly acted at kendall Castle wherein Richard Helme one of the defendantes and Thomas ducket and one ward in the Informacion named were amongst

others actores, And further saith That he hath heard That in the same plaie there was a representacion of Hell and that landlordes were represented to be in hell but this he doth not knowe of his owne knowledge, because he was not present at the Actinge of that parte of the said plaie if anie such was. /

32 To the xxxij th Interrogatory he cannot certainly depose otherwise then formerlie to the xxxj th he hath deposed. /

33 To the xxxiij th Interrogatory he deposeth and saith That he doth not knowe nor now remember of any act done by these defendantes or anie of them in the said stage plaie by personateinge of the lordes of the Mannor of the Countie of westmerland or reprsentacion of hell otherwise or in anie other sort then in his answeare to the xxxj th Interrogatory he hath deposed, /

...

f 35

...

Anthonie Ducket of Grayrigge in the  
Countie of westmerland esquire about the  
age of 36 yeares sworne & examined

...

f 35v

...

31 To the xxxj th Interrogatory he deposeth & saith That Richard Helme one of the defendantes & Thomas ducket and Henrie Ward who as he thinketh were named in the Informacion were Actores in a Stage Play which was Acted at kendall Castle about the time in the Interrogatory mencioned, And that he this deponent was present at a parte of the said plaie wherein hell was represented, And in which Thomas Ducket & Henry Ward did Act the partes of towe fooles or Clownes & demaunded of a Boy who did looke into the said represented hell who <sup>he</sup> did see there which boy declared vnto the [(.)] Clownes & they to the people that they did see Land lordes & puritanes & Sheriffe Bailiffes & other Sortes of people whom they would haue made odious and gaue this reason (as he now remembreth) why the Landlordes were there in regard they did seeke to make their tennantes, tennantes at will, & in this or the like manner to this Examinate now remembrance was that parte of the said plaie acted. /

32 To the 32 th Interrogatory he deposeth and saith That he doth not knowe who was the Author or Composer of the said plaie neither doth

he knowe that Sir ffrancis Duckett knight this deponentes father Did read Comend allowe or like the said plaie before the Actinge thereof neither as he thinketh did [allowe] [knowe] thereof in particuler or otherwise then by Common report that in generall there would be a plaie, And he further saith That Iames Duckett sonne to this deponent beinge then about the age of Seauen yeares was then an actor in the said plaie by the priuitie and Consent both of this deponent and the said Sir ffrancis Duckett this deponentes father, he the said Iames Duckett beinge a younge Scholler, & therefore they willinge that he should be an actor in a play, But denieth that he this deponent knewe what the said play was or would be in particuler or anie parte thereof, which if he had knowne he would neuer haue suffered his Sonne to haue beene an Actor therein, And he further saith that the said Henrie ward beinge then Bailiffe and tennant to this deponentes father and the said Richard Helme being Tennant to the said deponentes father were actores in the said plaie. /

...

## 1622-3

*Chamberlains' Accounts* 35 KCRO: WMB/K

f [23] (*Payments*)

...  
pd for mr Alderman and his Companie the 22th of february to the kings majestie his players 00.10.00

f [23v]

...  
pd to the waytes at the leet Court diner the 22th of Aperill 1623 00.02.6

pd to the prince his players by the appointment of mr alderman the 27th of aperill 1623 00.10.00

...  
pd to william Chamber wiffe for 3 mease at the leet Court diner after Easter 00.08.00

pd the same tyme for Seven measse 00.14.00

pd for Bread and drinke to the Iury 00.02.00

...

f [24] (*10-13 September*)

pd to the waytes at the venison feast 00.01.00

23,30-31/ mr Alderman: *Michael Gibson*

pd to peeter huggon for 18 quartes of wine at the feast 00. 12. 00

...

(24 September-3 October 1623)

pd to william Chambers wiffe for 17th measses at the  
venison feast 01. 14. 00 5

...

pd to the waytes at the leet Court dinner at mychalmas  
1623 00. 2. 6

*Star Chamber Records* PRO: STAC/8/34/4

10

f 18\* (19 November) (*Deposition of witness for the defendants*)

Iasper Garnett of [Penroethe] Penrothe [of]  
in the County of Cumberland gentleman of  
the age of 36. yeares or thereabouts sworne  
& examined /

15

...

2 To the 2. interrogatory this [defendant] 'deponent' sa he doth know  
of the actinge of a Stage play at Kendall Castle in the moneth of Iuly  
1621 & confesseth that this deponent was auther & Compositor of the 20  
*said* playe & noe other & sa that there were not any of the *defendants*  
'Actors [actors]' [be] in the Stage play saving the defendant Richard  
Helme '[whoe acted the ... parte]' [but denieth] '[whoe acted the parte  
but denieth] that the *said* H[ell] defendant Helme[prsentd] did make  
any representation of Hell but there were two other actors in the *said* 25  
play called by the Names of Thomas duckett & one Henry Warde that  
in their actinge the represented a supposed hell vnder the stage but  
'[whether]' there were not any of the *defendants* '[presente] att the  
actinge of the *said* playe to this *defendants* knowledge '[only] savinge  
the defendant Helme whoe was an actor in the same play neither 30  
werq any of the *defendants* to his knowledge acquainted nor privy  
to the same before the same was [acq] acted savinge the defendant  
Helmes whoe was drawn by this defendant to play his parte in the *said*  
playe.

3 To the 3. inter this deponent sa that Sir ffrancis duckett knight & 35  
Anthony Duckett his sonne did move & intreate Mr Rowland dawson  
in this interrogatory mencioned that the *said* playe might be acted att  
Kendall & [vpon] 'by' there [p inter] meanes the saide [was played  
there] Mr Dawson gave way vnto the [acted] actinge of the same, at  
which tyme [of] the *said* Sir ffrancis duckett & his sonne moved 40  
[(.....)f] the *said* Mr Dawson this defendant was present & at the first  
movinge of the *said* mr Dawson the *said* mr Dawson seemed to be  
[vnwillig] vnwillinge to give way vnto by reason the whole

Corporacion of kendall had bene formerly questioned for suffering of a play to be played there 1605 wherevnto this [defendant] deponent answered the *said* mr Dawson that [the Clerk of t] mr George Warde clerke of the peace both for the Countrie & towne of kendall had seene & perused the *said* play bookes & had libertie to correct [&] any thinge that was offensive in the *said* play bookes which [th] Mr Dawson acknowledged to be true [& that] sayinge that <sup>^</sup>'neither' mr warde [coulede & h.] nor he coulede fynde any thinge containyd in the *said* play bookes which were not to be allowed to be played, therevpon mr Anthoney duckett replyed he sawe noe reason whye mr Dawson or any othrs should lett the *said* playes to be acted alledginge that it woulde bringe a greate Concourse of people to the towne & woulde cause much money to be spent there & therevpon the *said* mr Dawson gave way therevnto condiconally that there should be noe more added to the playe then that which they had perused

f 18v\*

- 4 To the 4. inter he saith he [neuer] had conferance & speeche with the *said* Sir ffr Duckett & Anthony his sonne concerning the *said* play in desiringe their helpe & furthrance that the same might be acted but whether they had seene the *said* play bookes or any parte thereof before the same was played this deponent knowth not but by <sup>^</sup>'the' relacon of one Thomas ducket whoe was an acter in the *said* playe tolde this [defendant] 'deponent' that the *said* Sir ffrancis Duckett had seene parte of the *said* plea. & this deponent furthr sa that Iames duckett is grand sonne to the *said* Sir ffrancis Duckett <sup>^</sup>'&' was one of the Actors in the *said* plea at Kendall castle & <sup>^</sup>'the *said* Sir ffr' his Balive & [te] some of his tennantes were actors therein & played their partes in the *said* play with the privity & consent of the *said* Sir ffrancis Duckett for any thing this deponent did know or hearde to the Contrary & [furth] to the rest of the questions in this interrogatory mencioned this [defendant] deponent hath before set downe saving that the *said* playebookes were [...] made 7. yeares or thereabouts before the same <sup>^</sup>'were' acted but there was not any intent of hurt or disgrace intended against the landlodes of the County of westmerland [then] but [what] that the same concerned all in generall & furthr deposeth not /
- 5 To the 5 inter this deponent sa there was not any of the *defendants* nor any other players that acted any of the stage playes wherein they represented or personated any of the lordes of the Mannors within the

County of Westmrlande [nor] neithr were any of them personated to be in Hell but what was then acted [...] was a representation of ravens feeding of poore sheepe [which whoe] 'in Hell' which ravens were compared to [lan] greedy landlordes & the sheepe to 'their' poore tennantes whoe oppressed them & fedd vpon their [Carcasses] Carkesses but the same was not intended more against any of the County of westmrlande then against other counties & all in generall  
 6 To the 6. inter he saith that the Actors of the said pleas which were acted at Kendall castle [the] had [their a] 'all' the best & the greatest parte of their apparrell & playing Clothes lent them by & from the howses of Sir Iames Bellingham knight & Sir ffrancis duckettes whoe were the furthrers. of the acting of the said pleas & there were [so divers] att the acting of the said pleas 'which were' of Sir Iames Bellinghams howse Mr Allen Bellingham & Sir ffrancis duckettes howse the Lady duckett Mr Anthony duckett & his wife with divers others & furthr he cannot depose  
 7 To the 7. inter this [defendant] deponent saith that [Ier. m. Ga] Ierom Garnett this [defendant] deponentes brother [writ] & servant to Sir Iames Bellingham writ alettere to this [defendant] deponent that he should keepe out of the way alledgeing [tha] by his letteres that the defendant Samuel Knipe had a proces to serve on him but he knew not for what cause the same was but as he [supposed] 'thought' it was for a libell supposed to be made against him the said Samuel Knipe by this [defendant] deponent, & the 'said' Ierom Garnett by his lettere advised this [defendant] Deponent to come over vnto Leavens to where Sir Iames Bellingham then dwelt, & then the said Ierom Garnett & this deponent would consider furthr concerning the busines or word to that effect & sa, vpon 'receipt of' the said lettere he absented him self & send worde vnto the defendant knipe by divers persons concerning the said supposed writt which the said Ierom had written vnto him thereof & that he should send this [defendant] deponent an answere there 'of' wherevpon this deponent received answer from the said Knipe that he had a writt of suppena to serve on him to testifie the truth in this he [...] Cort 'on the defendantes behalfe' Concerning the said plays & for noe othr cause & this deponent thought he was in Conscience bounde to testife the truth on the behalfe of the defendant, & this deponent saith that after [the] he [h] received informacion from the defendant knipe this deponent met with his brothr Ierom att Ascham in the County of westmerland where his brothr Ierom seemed to be offended because this deponent had

8/ were written over was  
 17/ do of deponent written over s

27/ cocerning for concerning  
 28/ sa for saith

diclosed the secrettes of his *letteres* to such as had [infored] informed the defendant knipe thereof alledging that the defendant knipe would informe against the said Ierom vpon <sup>the</sup> writing of the said *lettere*, & this deponent was likewise angrie with his brother for writing vntruly vnto this deponent knowing as this deponent was perswaded to the Contrarie [& furthr depo]

f 19

8 To the 8 inter this deponent sa [he sa] there were not any of the defendantes made acquainted nor [knewe] of the makinge of the said playes [vnto] neithr did any of them to his knowledge see or heare reade [any of the said playes] 'the same' [for that that] savinge the defendant Helmes for that this [defendant] deponent was not then acquainted with them neithr had any of the said defendantes any hand in the Contrivinge & composinge thereof before the same was acted as in this inter is questioned & further he cannot depose / 15

# 1623-4

*Chamberlains' Accounts 36* KCRO: WMB/K

f [23] (*Extraordinary Payments*)

...  
paid to william Chamber wife ffor the Leet dynner att micheallmas for 12 measse and A halff whereof 3 measse were 8 d apece and the Rest 6 d apece  
paid for bread and drink to the Iury

01 07 00 25  
00 01 10

f [23v]\*

Paid to mr Alderman Bank the 26th of march 1624 for 9 yeardes & A half of broad Cloth for the waites

02 17 00 30

...  
pd Sir ffrancis keeper when he brought venyson which was Eaten att william Chambers

00 02 06 35

...  
paid william Chamber wife for 13 meass att the Leet dynner att Easter where of 3 mease was 8 d apece and the Rest 6  
pd in bread and drink to the Iury

01 08 00  
00 02 00 40

10/ sa [he sa] for saith [he saith]

30/ mr Alderman Bank: William Bank

more which was fetch to william Chamber att the				
venyson feast I quart sack	00	01	04	
more when mr Alderman was Chosen I gallon Claret				
and I quart Sack	00	04	00	
more for wyne and Sack att his house att the venyson feast	00	09	00	5
more for five measse att the venyson feast	00	10	00	
...				
pd the waites att Easter att Leet dynner	00	02	6	
...				
				10
f [24]*				
...				
pd william Chamber wife att venyson ffeast for 9 measse				
att 6: apece	00	18	00	
pd the waites att thatt tyme	00	01	00	15
pd william Chamber wife att the Ellection dynner for 17				
measse whereof 3 measse was 8 d apece and the Rest 6	01	16	00	
paid the waites the same tyme	00	02	06	
...				
				20

**1624-5***Chamberlains' Accounts 37* KCRO: WMB/K

f [24]\*

...				
more a gallon of Claret wine to the election dinner	00	02	08	25
more 2 quarts of sack same tyme	00	02	08	
...				
payd Ned Ienninges wife at the election dinner for 16.				
mease [at] whereof 3. mease at 8 d. and the rest at 6 d. a				
peece	01	14	00	30
given the Wayts then	00	02	06	

**1625-6***Chamberlains' Accounts 38* KCRO: WMB/Kf [21] (*Extraordinary Payments*)

...				35
paid to Edward Ienings wyf for 14. mease at leet Cort				
dinner at mighallmas wheareof 3 mease was at 8 d a pece				

3/ mr Alderman: *James Cock*25,28/ election dinner: *Michaelmas 1625*

28,37/ Edward Ienings: see p 238, endnote to WMB/K [Book 37] f [24]

and and the rest at vj d a pece	1	10	0	
paid waites for playing same tyme	0	2	6	
...				
paid Petter Hugon for a leuen quartes of wyne and a pynt				
was had at the leet dnnr at mighalmas	0	7	8	5
...				

f [21v]

...				
paid the waites for their attendance at the leet dinner at easter	0	2	6	10
...				
paid to the kings plaies by the apoyntment of mr Alderman	0	10	0	
...				15
paid to Petter huggon for 9 quartes of wyne and a pynt to the leet Cort dinner at easter	0	6	4	
...				
paid Edward Ienings wyf for 12. mease at the lete court dinner at Easter wheareof 3. mease were at 8 d apece, and the rest 6 d apec	1	6	0	20
for drinke and bread to the Iuri	0	2	0	
paid mor for drinke after dinner	0	1	0	
...				25

f [22]

...				
paid the waites for playing at the venyson ffeast, and the election diner	0	3	6	
...				30
paid to Mr Becke ffor the waites Clockes and wine had at Sundeir tymes as by his note doth apeare	5	10	0	
paid to Edward Ienings wyf for the Election dinner, for tenn mease wheareof 3 of them was at 8 d apece and the other at vj d a pece	1	2	0	35
...				

1/ and and: *ditto*graphy  
 13-14/ mr Alderman: *James Dixon* (2)  
 31/ Mr Becke: *Walter Becke*

paid at Petter hugons ffor venyson ffeast 4 16 4

...

paid to him which browght the venyson ffrom Greyrige 0 6 0

paid to him which browght the venysoun ffrom Leuens 0 6 0

...

5

### 1625-6

*Diocese of Chester: Consistory Court Paper* CRO: EDC5/1625/13  
single sheet (22 October)

10

*Responsa personalia Willelmi Miller parochie de Kendall presentacioni  
contra eum date et exemplificate per gardianos de Kendall capta  
Octobris xxij do 1625 vi Iuramenti prout sequitur*

That vpon a Saturday this respondent was one yat Consented vnto 15  
and brought in a [...], 'showe before' a sommer rodd or Maypole  
diuers beinge disguised some in Mens apparell and others in Womens  
apparell as namely Iohn Sale a boye henry sonne of Richard Peareson  
Anthony sonne of William Wilkinson and Roland Chambers. were  
attired lyke women Iohn Phillipson James Jackson & Iohn Nuby 20  
were in Mens apparell and sayth the sayd Anthonie Wilkinson Carried  
a booke in his hand butt, 'denieth' yat he was in the habite or shape  
of a devill as is objected or yat there was anie intent (...) purpose to  
deprave or scoffe att religion

Signum dicti Miller 25

### 1626-7

*Chamberlains' Accounts 39* KCRO: WMB/K  
f [21v]\* (*Extraordinary Payments*)

30

Payd Iohn Troughton wyfe for 14 mease at Court leete  
dynner at michaelmas whereof 3 mease at 8 d a peece and  
the Rest at 6 d

01 10 0

payd for breade and drinke to the Iury

00 02 0 35

Payd to Robert wylkinson for 13 quarts of wyne for the  
court leete dynner at 7 d the quart

00-07 7

Payd The Waytes for Theyre Atendence That day

00-02 6

4/ Leuens: *Str James Bellingham of Levens, Westmld*

16/ [...]: *word heavily smudged over in ink; possibly church*

25/ Miller signed with his personal mark between Signum and dicti

Payd The first of November to my Lord Whartons players by mr Aldermans apoyntment	00 05 0	
...		
Payd the 23th of November to the kyngs players by mr Aldermans apoyntment	00-10 0	5
...		

f [22]\*

...		
payd To wylliam Chambers the 4th of aprill 1627 for 13 mease at Court leete dynner whereof 3 mease at 8 d a peece		10
And the Rest at 6 d and for drinke and breade to the Iury	01 10 6	
payd The waytes for theyre Attendance	00 02 6	
...		
payd by mr Aldermans apoyntment which was given to The kyngs players The 4th of August	00 10-0	15
...		
Payd to wylliam Chambers wyfe for The Ellection dynner	02 07 6	
payd The waytes for theyre atendance	00 02 6	20

## 1627-8

*Chamberlains' Accounts 40* KCRO: WMB/Kf [18v] (*Extraordinary Payments*)

...		25
pd william Chamber wife for 16 mease at leet Court diner whereof 3 mease at 8 d the peece and the rest at 6 d and for drinke and bread to the Iury	1. 14. 0	
pd the waites for their allowance that day	0. 2. 6	
...		30
pd to mr bankes the 11th of march 1627 for sarientes Coates, waites coates, and beadle coat as may apeare by his noate of parcelles	4. 18: 0	
...		

2,4-5,15/ mr Aldermans: *Henry Parke*26/ leet Court: *Michaelmas 1627*

27-8/ and for drinke: see p 239, endnote to WMB/K [Book 39] f [22]

31/ mr bankes: *William Bank*

f [19]\*

...		
pd to william Chamber wife for 7 mease & 3 forkes at leet court diner whereof 3 mease at 8 d peece	0. 17. 6	
pd for drinke after diner	0. 2. 0	5
pd for drinke that went to the Iury	0. 1. 6	
pd fo the waites at leet coort diner	0. 2. 6	
...		
given to my lord Morley his seruant that brought halfe a bucke, to the Companie	0. 5. 0	10
...		
pd william Chamber wife for 8 mease where of 3 mease of the 12 at 8 d peece	0. 18. 0	
...		
		15

f [19v]\*

...		
pd to mr Alderman that he gave the waites at the venison feast 18 d...		
...		20
pd to william Chamber wife for 16 mease at the venison feast at 6 d peece	1. 12. 0	
pd for drinke afterward	0. 3. 4	
pd for tobacco & pips	0. 1. 5	
pd for 16 mease want one bodie at the ellection diner whereof 3 mease of the 12 at 8 d peece & therest 6 d peece	1. 13. 6	25
pd for drinke afterwarde	0. 1. 0	
pd for tobacco & pips	0. 1. 5	
pd to the fidlers for playinge at 2 feastes	0. 2. 6	
...		30
pd to the waites for playinge at the mr Aldermans at the sweareinge diner	0. 2. 6	
...		
given to Sir ffrancis keper vj s...		
...		35

3/ forkes for folkes

3-4/ leet court: Easter 1628

13/ 12 in error for 8

18/ mr Alderman: James Rowlandson

26/ 12 in error for 16

31/ mr Aldermans: Laurence Parke

pd peter huggon for 8 quartes of wine at 2 venison feastes 0. 5. 4  
 pd to the players in August by mr fisher for agratuitie 0. 10. 0  
 ...

## 1628-9

*Chamberlains' Accounts 41* KCRO: WMB/Kf [20v] (*Extraordinary Payments*)

pd will Chamber wyffe the leettes Courte dyner vizett 14  
 mease wherof 3 mease at 8 d apece and the Reste at 6 d 10  
 pece 01-10-00  
 pd waytes at lett Court dyner 00-02-06  
 ...  
 pd ffor drinke & breat [to] the Iury at leete Courte 00-01-06  
 pd ffor tobaco & pipes 00-00-06 15  
 pd mr becke ffor v quartes of Clartt and one quart of  
 sacke at leett Court dyner 00-04-10  
 ...  
 pd will Chambr wyffe the Court leete dyner for 3 mease  
 at 8 d pece & 12 measse at vj d pece 01-12-00 20  
 pd ffor drinke & bread at Court leete Iurry 00-01-06  
 pd to waytes at that dyner 00-02-06  
 pd ffor tobaco & pips 00-01-02  
 pd ffor drinke after dyner 00-02-00  
 ... 25

f [21]

...  
 pd to the earle of darbie his players by Aldrman deections 00-05-00  
 ... 30  
 pd my lord wharton plays by mr aldrman derections 00-05-00

f [21v] (1629)

... 35  
 pd to will Chambr wyffe 29 sept ffor ffor election dyner  
 vizett 13<sup>1</sup> measse at 8 d pece .8 s. 17 measse & 2 folkes  
 at 6 d pece. 35 s. all 02-03-00  
 pd to the waytes same tyme 00-02-06

2/ mr fisher: *Edward Fisher*  
 9/ leettes Courte: *Michaelmas 1628*  
 16/ mr becke: *Walter Becke*

19/ Court leete: *Easter 1629*  
 29,31/ Aldrman: *Laurence Parke*  
 35/ ffor ffor: *dittography*

pd ffor 3 <i>quartes</i> of sacke same tyme	00-04-00	
pd ffor v <i>quartes</i> Clarrett 8 d <i>quart</i>	00-03-04	
pd ffor vj <i>quartes</i> of wt wyne	00-04-00	
pd ffor tobacco & pipes	00-00-10	
pd ffor drinke afterwarde	00-01-00	5
...		

## 1629-30

*Chamberlains' Accounts 42* KCRO: WMB/Kf [2IV] (*Extraordinary Payments*) 10

Paid this 7 <sup>t</sup> of Ocktober to william Chamber wife for :14: mese and a halfe [of] at leete Cort diner .3. mese at :8:d apece and the rest vj d a pece and for drinke and bread to Iurie	1 10 6	15
paid the waites for their allowance for mewsike at diner	0 2 6	
...		

f [22]

This 24 <sup>th</sup> of march paid to mr Becke for sargentess Cotes and waites Clokes as apeareth by his note of prjzes	4 17 0	20
---	--------	----

...		
This :8: <sup>th</sup> of aprell paid william Chambr wife for :9 mese at leete Corte diner 3 mese at :8: pece the rest at vj d a pece	1 0 0	25
paid for drinke & bread to Iurie	0 1 6	
paid for drinke before diner and after extrordinarie	0 2 0	
paid for A ounce of tobacco & pipes at that time	0 1 6	
paid waites for thaire alow allowance for musike then	0 2 (6) 6	30
...		

f [22v]

...		
paid william Chamber wife for :16: mese and a halfe at the elecktion diner whereof :4: mese at viij d a pece and the rest at vj d a pece	1 15 8	35
paid hir for drinke had extrordanrie	0 4 4	
...		

3/ wt for whit

21/ mr Becke: *Walter Becke*30/ alow allowance: *dittography*

paid the waites theire allowence for [playinge] <sup>r</sup>atendance<sup>r</sup>  
at the elecktion diner 0 2 6

...

paid Edward Turner for two ounces of tobaco had at the  
elecktion diner & halfe pond of sugor had by allan  
nickalson to mr sledals & a dusion of pipes with tobaco 0 3 6

### 1630-1

*Chamberlains' Accounts* 43 KCRO: WMB/K

f [19v] (*Extraordinary Payments*)

10

Payd William Chambrs wife the ( <i>blank</i> ) of October for 3 mease at mr Aldermans Table	00: 08: 00.	
pd more for 9 mease & 3 persons	00: 19: 06.	
pd more for drinke	00: 03: 06.	15
pd more for bread & drinke for the Leete Iurie	00: 01: 06.	
pd mr Becke for 8 <i>quartes</i> Clarett	00: 04: 00.	
pd him more for j <i>quart</i> Sacke	00: 01: 04.	

...

(*October-5 November*) 20  
pd waytes their wages, for the Leete Court dinner 00: 02: 06.

...

f [20] (*30 March-6 May*)

...

25

pd at Leete Court dinner for 3 mease at mr Aldermans Table	00: 08: 00.	
pd for 7 mease, & 2 persons more at 6 d a peece	00: 15: 00.	
pd more for drinke	00: 02: 08.	
pd for Tobacco, & pypes	00: 01: 00.	30
pd for bread & drinke for Leete Iury	00: 01: 06.	
pd for wage for mouthall Table	00: 00: 00. <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> .	
pd the waytes their wages	00: 02: 06.	

...

(*10 August-23 September*) 35  
pd for 3 measse at mr Aldermans Table at venison feast 00: 08: 00.  
pd for 13 measse, & di. more same night 01: 07: 00.  
pd for 3 measse next daie 00: 06: 00.  
pd for drinke for all 00: 06: 00.

6/ mr sledals: *Thomas Sledall*

17/ mr Becke: *Walter Becke*

13,26,36/ mr Aldermans: *Edward Fisher*

pd for Tobacco, & pypes in all	00: 02: 04.	
pd the Waytes	00: 02: 06.	

f [20v]

...

pd since the 13th of August, per mr mr Aldermans note ...	00: 09: 00.	5
--	-------------	---

pd him more, <i>which</i> he spent of the Gentlemen, at Tauerne, when feast was	00: 03: 00.	
--	-------------	--

pd to Lord Morley his Keeper	00: 10: 00.	10
------------------------------	-------------	----

pd to Sir ffrancis duckett keeper	00: 06: 00.	
-----------------------------------	-------------	--

...

pd William Chambrs wife, at the Eleccion dinner for 3 measse at mr Aldermans Table	00: 08: 00.	
---	-------------	--

pd more for 15 measse, & 3 persons	01: 11: 06.	15
------------------------------------	-------------	----

pd more for drinke	00: 07: 00.	
--------------------	-------------	--

pd for Tobacco, & pypes	00: 01: 10.	
-------------------------	-------------	--

pd Waytes the same tyme	00: 02: 06.	
-------------------------	-------------	--

...

(29 September 1631 <sup>+</sup> )		20
-----------------------------------	--	----

pd mr Becke ... since Michelmas ...	02: 17: 00.	
-------------------------------------	-------------	--

pd him more, accordinge to his note, for sacke, & other wyne, when the venison ffeast was at mr Adermans	01: 14: 11.	
---	-------------	--

**1631-2**

25

*Chamberlains' Accounts 44* KCRO: WMB/K

f [23]\*

Paid William Chamber Wife the 5th of October 1631 ffor 13 measse and a bodie at Leete Courte dinner		30
--	--	----

whearof 3 measse at 2 s 8 d measse and the Rest at 2 s per measse	01: 08: 06	
--	------------	--

paid her ffor Beare <i>which</i> was drunck befor and after dynner	00: 04: 00	
---	------------	--

paid ffor bread and beare to Iurie	00: 01: 06	35
------------------------------------	------------	----

paid the waites ffor ther attendance ther ffee	00: 02: 06	
--	------------	--

...

6/ mr mr: *dittography*6/ mr Aldermans: *Edward Fisher*14/ mr Aldermans: *James Bateman*21/ mr Becke: *Walter Becke*23/ mr Adermans: *Edward Fisher*

(November)

paid mr Aldrman the 26th which he bestowd on the lord Wharton men beinge players	00: 05: 00	
...		
paid ffor 1 oz Christopher tobaco & half oz varino and half dozen pipes to leete Courte dinner	00: 01: 05	5
...		
paid Allan Nicholson Wif the 11th of Aprill 1632 ffor 14 Measse at Leete Courte dinner wherof 3 measse 2 s 8 d measse & the Rest 2 s measse	01: 10: 00	10
paid her ffor Beare which was drunk befor and after dinner	00: 06: 06	
paid ffor beare and Bread to Iurie	00: 01: 06	
paid ffor 1 oz Christopher Tobaco and almost an oz of varino and a dozen of pipes	00: 02: 00	15
paid the Waites ffor ther attendance ther ffee	00: 02: 06	
...		
f [23v]		
...		20
paid William Chamber Wiffe the 31th of Iuly 1632 ffor 18 Measse at the venison ffeast wherof 4 Measse 2 s 8 d and the Rest 2 s	01: 18: 08	
paid ffor Beare which was drunke befor & after dyner	00: 03: 00	
paid ffor Cherisse which mr Aldrman bestowd on the wines	00: 00: 06	25
paid Henery Beck ffidler ffor his paines	00: 01: 00	
paid ffor Tobaccho and pipes	00: 01: 09	
...		
In Varino Tobaco and pipes to mr Aldrmans at the venison ffeast Septembr 1th	00: 01: 07	30
paid the master of ffence the 26th per mr Aldrman his derections	00: 05: 00	
...		
paid ffor Tobacco and pipes	00: 02: 00	35
paid the waites ffor thear attendance thear ffee	00: 02: 06	
...		
paid Edward Turner the 4th Octobr 1632 ffor Sargantes Coates the waites Cloakes and other Wares ffor Chambr vse as per his note of parcelles appeareth	05: 11: 04	40
...		

paid mr aldrman *which* he [had] bestowed on the Lord  
Morlay keeper *which* he brought [Venison] venison 00: 10: 00

...

### 1632-3

*Chamberlains' Accounts* 45 KCRO: WMB/K

f [25]\*

Imprms to william Chamber wife at the leet courte  
dinner for 13 mease and 3 folkes 4 Mease where of at 8 d  
peece 10

paid for beare and tobacco for all compaines before and  
after dinner 1. 10. 2

1 douzen of best tobacco pipes 0. 5. 10

for bread and drinke to the iurie 0. 0. 6

0. 1. 6 15

...

pd the waites the 21th of october 1632 for their  
attendance at Leet court dinner 0. 2. 6

...

pd to Brian Warrinner which was pd to mr waite to  
make vp his stipend 20

1. 14. 3

pd to mr Alderman which he had disbursed to lorde  
dudleyes players 0. 5. 0

25

f [25v]

pd at leete courte dinner for 3 Mease at 8 d peece 0. 8. 0

for 9 Mease and 3 folkes at 6 d peece 0. 19. 6

pd for beare and tobacco and pipes before and after  
dinner 0. 5. 6

pd for bread and drinke to 'th Iury 0. 1. 6

pd the waites for their attendance 0. 2. 6

...

35

f [26]

...

pd william Chamber wife the 22th of September at the  
Election dinner for 3 Mease and 3 folkes at 8 d peece 0. 10. 0

11 Mease and 3 folkes at 2 s mease 1. 3. 6

40

for drinke tobacco and pipes before and after dinner in all	0. 5. 8	
...		
pd to'th waites for theire Attendance at the Election dinner	0. 2. 6	5
...		
pd to Richard Prisor for ... half a doozen of pipes at the Election dinner	0. 0. 3	
...		
pd more to Peeter Huggon for 1 quart of wine sent for to'th election dinner	0. 0. 6	10

**1633-4****Chamberlains' Accounts 46** KCRO: WMB/K

f [31v]* ( <i>Payments</i> )		15
...		
pd to <i>william</i> Chamber wife for 13 maase [of] and one body at the Leete dinner the 7th of October 1633	01-10-00-00	
More for drinke after dinner 4 s and for drinke & bread to the Iurie 18 d for tobacco and pipes 18 d to the waites 2 s 6 d for wyne vj s in all	00-15-06-00	20
...		
f [30v] ( <i>17-20 February</i> )		25
...		
for the Waites Cloakes to Richard Priesoe	03-08-08-00	
...		
f [26v]		30
...		
*Paid to <i>William</i> Chamber wife for dinners and drinke att the Chuseing of the Alderman	01 16 00	
Paid 'more' the same tyme for tabacco and pipes	00 01 06	
Paid more to the waytes the same daie	00 02 06°	35
...		

17-19/ *either* 13 maase ... and one body *or* 01-10-00-00 *in error*  
33/ the Alderman: *Thomas Sledall*

## 1634-5

*Chamberlains' Accounts* 47 KCRO: WMB/Kf [21v] \* (*Extraordinary Payments*)

Imprimis

Paid William Chamber wife the 8th daie of October 1634: ffor 14 mease and halfe att Leet Court dinner wherof 3 mease & halfe att 2 s. 8 d. the mease and the rest att 2 s. <i>per</i> mease	01 11 04	5
Paid her for beare before and after dinner	00 05 02	
Paid for bread & beare to the Iurie	00 01 06	10
Paid mr Becke for 4 quartes of sack & 9 quart in white & Clarett to the Court Leet dinner	00 09 09	
Paied the waytes	00 02 06	
Paied Thomas Towson for Tabacco and pipes as appeares by his note	00 ( <i>blank</i> )	15
...		

f [21]

...		
Paid William Chamber wife the 8th of April 1635 / for 14. mease and one person att the Court Leet dinner wherof 3. mease att 2 s. 8 d. and the rest att 2 s. a mease	01 10 06	20
Paid <sup>a</sup> her <sup>r</sup> for drinke before and after dinner	00 05 00	
Paid her more for bread [to the] <sup>r</sup> and <sup>r</sup> beare to the Iurie	00 01 06	
Paid for Tabacco and pipes as appeares by [their]		25
<sup>a</sup> Thomas Towson <sup>r</sup> note	00 ( <i>blank</i> )	
Paid Waytes same daie	00 02 06	
Paid mr Becke for 12 quartes and a pinte of wine att 7 d a quart	00 07 03	
...		30

f [20v] (28 September)

...		
Paid William Chamber wife for 16 mease & three persons whereof 3 Mease & 3 persons after 2 s. 8 d. the Mease and the rest after 2 s. a mease att the Election dinner	01 16 00	35
Paid drinke before & after dinner	00 05 <sup>r</sup> 10 <sup>r</sup> [04]	
...		

Paid Waytes 00 02 06  
...

## 1635-6

*Chamberlains' Accounts* 48 KCRO: WMB/K

f [19] (28 October)

pd will Chamber wife for the leet Court dinner 3 measse  
(.)s 8 d & 12 measse, ' & 1 person' att 6 d a peece more to 3  
poore people 4 d a peece 33 s 6 d 01 13 06. 10  
pd for drinke before & after dinner 00 07 5.  
pd for Ale & bread to [Iury] Iurye 00 01 6.  
pd the waites their fee for attendance 02 6.  
pd for 4 oz varona tobacco 00 04 00.  
pd for 3 oz virginia 4 d per oz 00 01 00. 15  
pd for 1 oz Christopher 3 d & 26 pipes 13 d 00 01 4.  
pd for ij oz varina & 3 d pipes at the dinnr when mr  
Aldrman was sworn 0 02 3.

...

f [19v] (23 November)

bestowed on th earle of derbyes plays 0 10 0.

...

f [20] (27 April)

pd will Chambr wife at leet Court dinner for 3 mease att  
8 d per peece & 11 mease & 2 men att 6 d & 3 poore 4 d a  
peece in all 01 12 00.  
pd for beare before & after dinner 00 08 00 30  
pd for bred & beare to Iurye 00 01 6  
pd for tobacco 3 oz varina 00 03 00  
for 3 oz & di. virginia 4 d & 20 pipes, ' 10 d' 00 02 0.  
pd the waytes their fee 00 02 6.

...

(27 April-2 June)

pd Iohn Archer for 3 Clokes for the waytes 03 07 00.

...

9/ (.)s cancelled or blotted; correctly 3 mease at 8 d apiece to make up payment of £1 13 s 6 d  
17-18/ mr Aldrman: Rowland Dawson

f [20v]\* (11 October 1636)

...  
pd the waytes thr fee at dinner when mr Alderman vse to  
be sworne 2 s 6 d 00 02 6.

(25 October 1636<sup>+</sup>)

pd mr Maior per Bryam warriner he bestowed on my lord  
strange his players 00 10 00.

### 1636-7

*Chamberlains' Accounts* 49 KCRO: WMB/K

f [20v] (4 September) (*Disbursements*)

Paid William Chamber bye thapointment of mr Maior for  
the<sup>1</sup> kinges plaiors 01 00 00 15

### 1637-8

*Chamberlains' Accounts* 50 KCRO: WMB/K

f [23] (7-21 November) (*Disbursements*) 20

...  
Paid to the<sup>1</sup> waytes for playing att the light Court dinner  
in mony 00-02-6

f [24v] (30 June-7 July)

...  
Paid to Iohn Becke for Clothe and baize for the waytes  
Cloakes 03-15-0

### 1638-9

*Thomas Crosfield's Diary* Queen's College, Oxford: MS 390

f 84\* (2 December)

- ... 35  
2. whether Corpus Christi play long since acted in Kendall, was tolerable  
by Gods law because it seemes to be a kind of preaching or setting out  
of ye scripture to edification worse was that about Clifton, one priest  
Sir Humfrey Close suffering a play to be acted in ye Church. as mr Airay  
hath the story./ 40

1639-40

*Chamberlains' Accounts* 52 KCRO: WMB/Kf [24v] (30 March) (*Disbursements*)

...

Payd for 9 yrdes di quarter of broode for Waytes Clookes 03 06 04

...

## WINDERMERE

1537-8

*State Papers Domestic* PRO: SP1/134, No 1370single sheet\* (*James Leyburn to Thomas Cromwell*)

10

James labrones lettere to know yor pley<sup>sur</sup> toching Isaac dykson  
being in prison for desyreinge a mynstrall to sing a song a genst yor  
lordshyp

15

Ryght Honorable my Dewtie vnto youre Lordshippe remembride /  
Pleassith yow to be aduerteshede I haue Sente yow herin clossede  
certayn artikilles which is of truthe both worde & dede to knowe  
your lordshipe pleassure ther in And I haue the vngracious &  
myscheuus fellow ysaac dikson in the tooll buthe in kendall and hath  
chargid the bailly deutes of the same with the sewre custody &  
kepyng of hym afor Richard Ducket Iustice of peace within the countie  
of westmorlande / vnto Such tyme I knowe ffurthere of yor lordshipe  
pleassure .... and some of thes persones which gaue me informacion  
of the premyss dide stayger & deny theyr wordes which maid me tary  
the longer .... And as concernyng the mynstrall which is a rynner  
abrod from place to place I haue hym at my howsse & shall be  
aboutward to keipe hym to I know mor of yor lordshipe pleassure And  
also I haue sent a copy of the artikilles herin closed to the kynges  
honorable consaill establishede in the north parties accordyng to my  
dewtye .... ffrom conyswik the xiiij<sup>th</sup> day of Iulye

20

25

30

...

*State Papers Domestic* PRO: SP1/134, No 1346

single sheet

35

Memorandum ix<sup>th</sup> Day of Iulye in The xxx<sup>th</sup> yere of The Reigne of  
our Soueraigne lorde kyng henry the viij<sup>th</sup> / Alexandre stotson lat of  
cartmell in the countye of Lancastre mynstrall Saieth the last day of

40

Iune Last past on ysaac dikson of wyndandermer in the countie of westmorland A bout Sexe of the clock at afternone of the same day come in to the howsse of on william willan in wynster in wyndandermer aforsaid where the said Alexandre was playing on a fedill & makyng mery *with* certayn honest persones

¶ Item the said ysaac commandit the said minstrell to Syng on Song he had song At on ffayrbank howsse in crostwat in the said countye of westmorland in the tyme of the Rebellion which songe was called crummok / which was not conuenient which the said mynstrall vtterly Denyede /

¶ Item the said ysaac commandit the said mynstrall agayn in violente maner to syng on song called crumwell & the said mynstrall said he wold syng none such & then the said ysaac pulled the mynstrall by the armes & smot hym about the hed with a pomell of a dager & hurt the mynstrall in the hande & the said songe the mynstrall wold not syng to Dye fore

¶ Item the Thrid tyme the said ysaac commaundit the said mynstrall to syng the same songe / which then the mynstrall saide it wold turn tham both to Angre / & wold syng no such / And then the said ysaac callid for A cuppe of aill & bad the mynstrall syng agayn which he alwayes denyed / & then the said ysaac tuk the said mynstrall by the Birde & dasshet the cupe of aill in his fface

Item the said ysaac further more drewe his dager and hurt the said william willan beyng the host of the said howsse sore & grevuslye in the thight in rescuyng of the said mynstrall only for that matter

Item the said ysaac after the day goying in violent maner followede & sought further for the said mynstrall to on Nicollus brokbank howsse in the said wyndandermer which was iij quartteres of a myll fro the said william willan howsse

¶ Thes witnesse of the premys Robert phelipson of wyndandermer aforsaid william belman of the same & wylliam dremylmyer of wynster

...

# Households

## CLIFFORD

1616-17

*Household Accounts Clifford* CH: Bolton Abbey MS 97

f 106v\* (13 July) (Rewards)

...

Item given this day in Reward to Sir william Constable  
his Coachman whoe Came to knowe what daye he should  
be readee with his Coach to Carree Doctor Campion  
from Lonsbrough to Browham. ij s—and to mr  
Stewardes boy whoe brought a letter to Doctor Campion  
from mr Iohn Tailor—vj d.

ij s. vj d 10

...

f 200v\* (18 July) (Extraordinary)

...

Item pai'd this day to a man of Hull, which was sent for  
to Lonsbrough to play on the lute at Browham, by Mr  
George Mason, but was sent backe, there being noe  
occasion to vse him

vj s

15

...

*Francis Clifford's Letter to his son Henry*

Whitaker: *History and Antiquities of Craven*, vol 2

p 369

...

Sonn,

I have till now expected *your letteres*, according to your promis  
at *your* departure; so did George Minson *your* directions touching  
*the musick*, whereupon he mought the better have writt to doctor  
Campion. He is now gone to my Lord President's, and will be ready  
to do as he heares from *you*.

30

For my own opinion, albeit I will not dislyke *your* device, I fynde  
plainly, upon better consideration, the charge for that entertaynment

25

5

20

will grow very great, besyde the musick; and that, instead of lessening, my charge in generall encreaseth, and newe paiments come on, *which*, without better providence hereafter, cannot be performed.

...

### 1616-17

*Diary of the Lady Anne Clifford* KAO: U269 F48/2  
nf\* (23 November)

...

Upon the 23.<sup>d</sup> Baker Hookfeild Harry the Caterer & Tom Fool went from hence towards London.†

...

Upon the 23.<sup>d</sup>, I went to Mr Blentre's House in Cumberland 'where I' [I] staid an Hour or two & heard Musick & saw all the House & Gardens.

...

## LOWTHER OF LOWTHER

### 1640-1

*Estate Accounts* CCRO: D/Lons/L3/1/5  
f [28v] (2-15 February)

...

pd to a piper

000 00 03

...

f [29] (24 February-5 March)

...

pd to Penrith waites

00 01 00

...

f [30] (10-17 April)

...

pd to the waites of Midlam...

00 01 00

...

### 1641-2

*Estate Accounts* CCRO: D/Lons/L3/1/5  
f [41] (24 December-4 January) (Disbursements)

...

Pd to Players

000 10 00

...

## APPENDIX 1

# Undated Documents

*Bampton, State Papers Domestic* PRO: SP14/86, No 34  
single sheet\*

...  
men now become bould to abvse ye churche in tyme of diuine service,  
as at christemas last, at bampton in westmorland, where ye tenantes, 5  
and servantes of ye lord *William* assisted with others of ye *parishe*,  
did erect a christemas lord, and resorting to ye church, did most  
grossely disturb ye minister in tyme of prayer, ye minister him selfe  
grantinge a kind of toleration for that, he for ye most part livethe with  
ye lord *william* at his table, but never praye together. these christemas 10  
misrule men, drunke to ye minister readinge an homilie in ye pulpitt,  
others stept into ye pulpitt, and exhorted ye *parishioners* to an  
offeringe for mayntenance of there sport, ye minister contynuinge still  
his service, others of ye lord *william* owne servantes came in savage 15  
manner disguised into ye churche, in ye tyme of prayer, others with  
shootinge of gunnes, others with flagges, and banners borne entered  
ye churche, others sported them selves in ye churche with pies, and  
puddinges, vsinge them as bowles in ye churche allies, others tooke  
dogges counterfeitinge ye shepherdes part when he fees his shepe, and  
all there in ye tyme of diuine service. 20

...

*Kendal Play* Weever: *Ancient Funerall Monuments*  
p 405\*

...  
*Orate pro animabus Richardi Marloi quondam venerabilis Maioris*  
*Ciuitatis London, & Agnetis consortis sue. Qui(.. ... ..) ob (.... ..)* 25

This *Marlow* was Lord Maior in the yeare 1409. in whose Maioraltie  
there was a Play at Skinners Hall, which lasted eight dayes (saith *Stow*)  
to heare which, most of the greatest Estates of England were present. 30  
The Subiect of the play was the sacred Scriptures, from the creation of

® *R. Marlow*  
Lord Maior.

® *Corpus Christi*  
play.

the world: They call this, *Corpus Christi* Play in my countrey, which I haue seene acted at Preston, and Lancaster, and last of all at Kendall, in the beginning of the raigne of King *Iames*; for which the Townesmen were sore troubled; and vpon good reasons the play finally supprest, not onely there, but in all other Townes of the kingdome.

...

*Kendal Play* BL: Add. MS 4460

ff 7-7v\*

...I went to *Cartmell*, about the later end of April 1644, and about the begining of May following, my wife came to me to *Cartmell*: where I found a very large spacious Church, scarce any seats in it, a people very ignorant, yet willing to learne; so as I had frequently some thousands of hearers: I seeing my work great: a large feild & looking something white towards harvest, & knowing my stay must be but short, & finding also 4 chapels in the parish, I preached & catechised often, seven or 8 times in one week; I preached and catechised in season & out of season at every one of the chappells, and usually ye Churches were so throng by 9 a clock in ye morning, yat I had muchadoe to get to the pulpit, I also preached at other Churches round about in ye weekday. One day an old man (about 60) sensible enough in other things, & living in the parish of *Cartmel*, but in the chapelry of *Cartmel-fell*, coming to me about some business, I told him, yat he belonged to my care & charge, & I desired to be informed in his knowledge of Religion; I asked him, How many Gods there were? he said, he knew not: I informing him, asked him again: how he tho't to be saved? he answered, he coud not tell, yet tho't that was a hard question than the other, I told him, yat the way to Salvation was by Iesus Christ God-man, who as he was man shed his blood for us on the crosse etc Oh, Sir (said he) I think I heard of that man you speake of, once in a play at *Kendall*, called *Corpus-Christi play*, where there was a man on a tree, & blood ran downe etc And after, he professed, that tho he was a good Churchman, yat is, he constantly went to Common-prayer, at their chappel, yet he could not remember thatever he heard of Salvation by Iesus + but in that play, This very discourse made me ye more vigorously go thro the chappelrye, & both publikly & from house to house, catechise both old & young....

...

---

## APPENDIX 2

# Kendal Tradesmen

Where a reasonable certainty exists, persons named in KCRO: WMB/K Chamberlains' Accounts are identified by occupation or office by reference to the manuscript and to Richard S. Ferguson (ed), *A Boke off Recorde* (BR), which lists corporation members, civic officers, and members of the trades 1575-[1642]. Each member of the corporation started as one of the 24 assistants (from whose ranks the chamberlains were normally drawn) before elevation to burgess and possibly alderman/mayor. In the list that follows, primary identification is by surname as it appears in the transcription (in its most common form if cited several times), but with modern capitalization and Christian names. Possessive forms that occur in the text (eg, Aldermans, Chambers) have been given in the singular (Alderman, Chamber) in this appendix.

**Alanson, Peter** p 173; sworn clerk of courts 1575, listed under Scriveners (BR, pp 30, 80).

**Archer, Edward** p 181, Edward Artcher p 179; sworn to Wrights 1607 (BR, p 76).

**Archer, John** p 212; sworn to Mercers 1635 (BR, p 60), chamberlain 1640-1 (WMB/K Chamberlains' Accounts, Book 53 f[1]), mayor 1648-9 (BR, p 24).

**Armer, John** the ... Alderman p 170; sworn to Shearmen 1581,

alderman 1585-6 and 1587-8, dying of plague before second term completed (BR, pp 50, 23).

**Ayrey, James** James Aryey p 175, James Ayray p 180, James Ayraye pp 175, 180, James Ayrey p 177; listed as searcher under Tailors, sworn sergeant-at-arms 1589 (BR, pp 62, 30).

**Bank, William** Mr Alderman Bank p 198, mr bankes p 202; sworn to Mercers 1605, chamberlain 1613-14, burgess 1620, alderman 1623-4, mayor 1639-40 (BR, pp 36, 23-4).

**Bateman, James** Mr Alderman pp 207-9; chamberlain 1625-6 (WMB/K Chamberlains' Accounts, Book 38 f [1]), burgess 1629, alderman 1631-2 (*BR*, pp 37, 24).

**Becke, John** p 213; sworn to Mercers 1629, chamberlain 1634-5, one of the 20 burgesses (displaced 1650), mayor 1665-6 (*BR*, pp 60, 38, 19, 25).

**Becke, Walter** Walter Beck p 186, Mr Alderman p 188, Mr Becke pp 200, 204-7, 211; sworn to Mercers 1611 (*BR*, p 59), chamberlain 1618-19 (WMB/K Chamberlains' Accounts, Book 31 f [1]), burgess 1618, alderman 1621-2, mayor 1637-8 (*BR*, pp 36, 23-4).

**Caslaye, Gowan** p 178; listed under Wrights, sworn sergeant-at-mace 1601 (*BR*, pp 30, 76).

**Chamber, William** pp 185, 194-5, 198-9, 202-5, 207-13, William Chambr pp 204-8, 212; sworn to Shearmen 1616, sergeant-at-mace n.d. (*BR*, pp 55, 30).

**Cock, James** Mr Alderman p 199; mercer, chamberlain 1622-3, alderman 1624-5 (*BR*, pp 37, 23).

**Dawson, Roger** Mr Dawson p 174; draper, chamberlain 1582-3, alderman 1590-1,

1599-1600 (*BR*, pp 28, 23).

**Dawson, Rowland** Mr Alderman Dawson p 187, Mr Alderman pp 187, 212; clothier, chamberlain 1614-15, burgess 1619, mercer, alderman 1620-1, 1635-6, mayor 1640-1 (*BR*, pp 36, 23-4).

**Denison, William** p 177; listed under Innkeepers (*BR*, p 75).

**Dickson, Henry** Mr Dickson p 172; mercer, alderman 1582-3 and 1596-7 (*BR*, pp 22-3 and 27).

**Dickson, Jarvis** Jarvis dickson p 174; sworn to Mercers 1593 (*BR*, p 58).

**Dixon, James** (1) the Alderman p 183, Mr Alderman p 183, chapman, alderman 1606-7 and 1615-16 'bis' (*BR*, p 23); but WMB/K Chamberlains' Accounts, Book 28 f [1], 1615-16, gives James Wilson as alderman.

**Dixon, James** (2) Mr Alderman p 200; shearmen dyer, alderman 1625-6 (*BR*, p 24).

**Eskrige, Christopher** Christoffor Eskrige, p 178; sworn to Shearmen 1582, chamberlain 1597-8 (*BR*, pp 50, 34).

**Fisher, Edward** Mr ffisher p 182, Mr Fisher p 204; Mr Alderman pp 206-7; chapman,

chamberlain 1610-11 (WMB/K, Book 23 f [1]), alderman 1611-12 and 1630-1, mayor 1638-9 (*BR*, pp 23-4).

**Fleminge, Henry** Mr Alderman p 173, Mr Fleminge p 175; Henry Fleminge senior, mercer, chamberlain 1580, burgess 1581, alderman 1588-9 (*BR*, pp 31, 22).

**Forth, Richard** Mr Alderman p 209; pewterer, sworn to Wrights 1619, alderman 1632-3 (*BR*, pp 77, 24).

**Fox, Christopher** Christofer Fox p 173; son and heir of Miles Fox who was seised at his death in 1581 of property in Kendal including 'duas tavernas sive salacia' (Court of Wards Inq. p.m., 4 November, 30 Elizabeth 1, cited in James F. Curwen (ed), *Records relating to the Barony of Kendale*, vol 1, pp 97-8).

**Fox, William** p 172; listed under Innkeepers, named an assistant in charter of 1575, chamberlain 1585-6, died 1592 (*BR*, pp 75, 31). His inn, 'the head hostellerie of the town,' was in the old Soutergate, on the east side of the present Highgate (John Whitwell, *The Old Houses of Kendal*, p 15).

**Garnett, Edward** (1) p 170; mercer, chamberlain 1587-8, burgess 1592, died 1597 (*BR*, pp 33, 28).

**Garnett, Edward** (2) garnet pp 172-3, garnat p 174; same as Edward Garnett 'cobler' (WMB/K Chamberlains' Accounts, Book 8 f [17]).

**Gibson, Michael** Mr Alderman p 194; sworn to Mercers 1607, chamberlain 1619-20, burgess 1620, alderman 1622-3 (*BR*, pp 59, 36, 23).

**Green, Thomas** Mr Alderman p 181; shearmen, chamberlain 1600-1, burgess 1607, alderman 1610-11 (*BR*, pp 34, 29, 23).

**Holme, Robert** Robert holme p 180; sworn to Shearmen (before 1587), sworn sergeant-at-mace 1596 and 1601 (*BR*, pp 52, 30), 'Robartt holme tabovurne,' (WMB/K Chamberlains' Accounts, Book 13 f [18v], 1598-9).

**Huggon, Peter** pp 195, 200, 204, 210, Petter Hugon p 200-1; sworn to Innkeepers 1646 (*BR*, p 75).

**Jenniges, James** p 182; sworn to Armourers 1594 (*BR*, p 72).

**Judson, William** p 175; listed under Innkeepers (*BR*, p 75).

**Michell, Rowland** p 176; casual employee of corporation - hauling stones (WMB/K Chamberlains' Accounts, Book 4 f [11]) and timber (Book 7

f [22]), working on dam and 'watching one week' (Book 10 f [19]).

**Nickalson, Allan** p 206, Allan Nicholson p 208; sworn to Shearmen 1617 (*BR*, p 55).

**Nuby, Steven** p 187, Mr Alderman p 187; sworn to Cardmakers 1607, chamberlain 1609-10, burgess 1617, alderman 1619-20 (*BR*, pp 35, 23).

**Parke, Henry** Mr Alderman p 202; sworn to Mercers 1613 (*BR*, p 59), chamberlain 1621-2 (WMB/K Chamberlains' Accounts, Book 34 f [1]), burgess 1623, alderman 1626-7 (*BR*, pp 36, 24).

**Parke, Laurence** Mr Alderman pp 203-4; sworn to Mercers 1613, chamberlain 1622-3, alderman 1628-9, mayor 1641-2 (*BR*, pp 37, 24).

**Pearson, Richard** Mr Alderman p 186; chapman, chamberlain 1610-11 (WMB/K Chamberlains' Accounts, Book 23 f [1]), alderman 1617-18 (*BR*, p 23).

**Pearson, Cuthbert** Cudbert Pearson p 174, Cudbert pp 174-5; Cuthbert p 175; sworn sergeant-at-mace 1582 (*BR*, p 30).

**Potter, Edward** p 170, Mr

Potter (?) p 172; mercer, alderman 1581-2 (after death of Edward Swainson), and 1595-6 (*BR*, p 22).

**Preston, Brian** Bryan Preston p 182; sworn to Mercers 1612, chamberlain 1619-20 (*BR*, pp 59, 36).

**Prisor, Richard** p 210, Richard Priesoe p 210; sworn to Mercers 1624, chamberlain 1630, one of the 12 aldermen 1641, mayor 1645-6 (*BR*, pp 60, 38, 18, 24).

**Robinson, John** pp 178-9, Mr Alderman pp 183, 185; shearman, chamberlain 1601, burgess 1614, dyer, alderman 1616-17 (*BR*, pp 34, 29, 23).

**Rowlandson, James** Mr Alderman p 203; sworn to Shearmen 1608-10, shearman dyer, chamberlain 1620-1, alderman 1627-8 (*BR*, pp 55, 36, 24).

**Rowlandson, Michael** his master p 181; sworn to Tanners 1594, chamberlain 1604-5, elected alderman 1608 and died August 1609 - remainder of term served by Edward Wilkinson (*BR*, pp 68, 35, 23).

**Scales, Richard** p 178; sworn to Shearmen 1590 (*BR*, p 54).

**Selle, Richard** p 176; sworn to Saddlers, chamberlain 1594-5,

burgess 1600, alderman 1604-5 (*BR*, pp 69, 33, 23).

**Shipperd, Bartholomew** p 186, Shiphard p 186; sworn to Tanners 1616 (*BR*, p 68); supplied wine for receivers in November 1620 (WMB/K Chamberlains' Accounts, Book 33 f [18v]).

**Sledall, Thomas** Mr Sledall p 184, Mr Alderman p 186, Mr sledal p 206, the Alderman p 210, Mr Maior p 213; gentleman, chamberlain (WMB/K Chamberlains' Accounts, Book 28 f [1]), alderman 1618-19 (Book 31 f [1] collated with *BR*, p 23, where the names of Sledall and Richard Pearson, originally in the wrong order, are corrected to their proper aldermanic years) and 1634-5, attorney-at-law, first mayor 1636-7 (*BR*, p 24).

**Smythe, John** Mr Alderman p 178; chapman, chamberlain 1589-90, burgess 1591, alderman 1594-5, 1601-2, 1612-13 (*BR*, pp 33, 23).

**Swaynson, William** Mr Swaynson p 175; cordwainer, chamberlain 1583-4, burgess 1586 (*BR*, p 32); same as vintner, burgess 1586 (*BR*, p 28) and vintner, alderman 1591-2 (*BR*, p 23).

**Thwaite, John** Mr Twhaite Alderman p 177, Mr Alderman

p 178; sworn to Shearmen 1581, chamberlain 1582-3, displaced (as burgess) but reappointed 1588, alderman 1592-3 and 1600-1 (*BR*, 50, 32, 23).

**Towson, Thomas** p 211 chamberlain 1635-6; perhaps same as Thomas Tolson, a tobacco dealer, who in 1638 built Tolson Hall in Burneside, just outside Kendal (Whitwell, *The Old Houses of Kendal* p 14).

**Turner, Edward** pp 206, 208; sworn to Mercers 1624 (*BR*, p 24), chamberlain 1631-2 (WMB/K Chamberlains' Accounts, Book 44 f [1]), sworn one of the 12 aldermen 1637, mayor 1652-3 (*BR*, pp 18, 25).

**Warriner, William** pp 181, 183 William Warrinner p 182, William Waryner p 183, William Warriner Jr, shearman, chamberlain 1585-6, burgess 1591, sworn sergeant-at-mace 1606 (*BR*, pp 32, 30).

**Warrinner, Brian** p 209, Bryam Warriner p 213; salter, sworn to Chapmen 1612, chamberlain 1628-9, sergeant-at-mace n.d. (*BR*, pp 49, 37, 30).

**Wilkinson, Edward** Mr Alderman p 177, Mr Wilkinson, p 183(?); mercer, chamberlain 1581-2, burgess 1581, alderman 1589-90, 1598-9 and 1609 (after

death of Michael Rowlandson)  
(*BR*, pp 28, 32).

**Wilkinson, Robert** Mr Robert  
Wilkinsonne p 179, Mr  
Wilkinson, p 183(?), Robert  
wylkinson p 201; sworn to  
Mercers 1593, chamberlain  
1594-5, burgess 1597, alderman  
1602-3 (*BR*, pp 58, 33, 23).

**Wilson, Henry** the Alderman  
p 168; chapman, Alderman  
1575-6, displaced (as burgess)  
1579 (*BR*, pp 22, 26).

**Wilson, James** Mr Iames

Willson p 177; butcher,  
chamberlain 1583-4, alderman  
1587-8 and after the death of  
John Armer in the 1597-8 term  
(*BR*, pp 32, 27, 23).

**Wilson, Thomas** Mr Willson  
Alderman p 182, Mr Alderman  
p 183, Mr Wilson p 184; mercer,  
chamberlain 1604, burgess 1612,  
alderman 1614-15 (*BR*, pp 23, 29,  
35).

**Wilson, William** Mr Alderman  
p 174; chapman, alderman  
1583-4, 1593-4, J.P. 1591 (*BR*,  
p 27).

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# Translations

## KENDAL

**1625-6**

*Diocese of Chester: Consistory Court Paper* CRO: EDC5/1625/13  
single sheet (22 October)

Personal responses, taken under oath on the twenty-second of October 1625, of William Miller of the parish of Kendal to the presentment given against him and exemplified by the churchwardens of Kendal, as follows:  
(*English*)

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# Endnotes

## 168 Boke off Recorde f 219

This ordinance is one of a series laid down on 2 February 1575/6 for the purpose of regulating the number of persons attending wedding dinners and drinkings, churchings, and other events. The bidden dinner or drinking was a local Westmorland custom whereby people were invited, often by a messenger on horseback ranging over a wide area, to celebrate at a particular home. The sum intent of the regulations, however, seems to be aimed less at genuine private functions of this kind than at commercialized events, specifically laid on 'for money offor'; the preamble to the series recites the wastefulness of victuals and money involved. Excepted from the ordinance transcribed are those functions relative to the public or formal life of the borough; numbers attending corporation dinners, for instance, far exceed the limit of twelve persons set down here for private events. 'Shotinges in long bowes' is probably a reference to the annual shooting at the butts, for whose construction there are regular entries in the chamberlains' accounts each spring. 'Merye nyghtes' drew informal groups of people together for drinking, music, and dancing. 'Nutcastes' and 'aplecastes' were means of fortune-telling, the former described in Robert Burns' poem, 'Halloween,' as one of the many ways in which the young sought to divine their marital fate:

The auld Guidwife's weel-hoordet nits  
Are round an' round divided,  
An' monie lads' an' lasses fates  
Are there that night decided:  
Some kindle, couthie, side by side,  
An' burn thegither trimly;  
Some start awa, wi' saucy pride,  
An' jump out-owre the chimlie ...

## 168 Boke off Recorde f 224v

Folio 224v originally ended (1576) with the words, 'dwellinge howse, And also,' continuing f 225 'in like maner,' etc. 'And also' was subsequently deleted here together with those lines that followed, indicated as 'vacat' (and enclosed in a marginal brace) p 169, ll. 34-6. The penalty that originally concluded the vacated passage was then inserted as the last complete line of f 224v.

## 169-70 Boke off Recorde f 225

The sense and timing of deletions in ordinances transcribed here may be briefly summarized. In 1578 sections of the ordinance dated 14 June 1576 were repealed (p 169, ll. 8, 14), with the result that for corporation members the wearing of caps was abolished whatever the occasion, and the wearing of special gowns was restricted to Christmas, Easter, and Whitsun, and to fair- and play-days. The ordinance of 25 April 1586, passed with the intent of clarifying the meaning of the 1578 deletions, was entered immediately below at the bottom of f 225 (p 170, ll. 33-8). Thus in 1586 the existence of the play itself was not in question, as is also evident from the ordinance of 22 September 1586 that dealt with its proper licensing. Deletion of references to the wearing of gowns on fair- and play-days, taken out subsequent to 1586 (from the ordinances of 14 June 1576 (p 169, ll. 34-6), and 25 April 1586, f 225 (p 170, ll. 36-7)), cannot be dated with certainty. It may well have occurred in or after 1605, with the suppression of the play, though other references – to the Corpus Christi pageants, 2 February 1575/6, to 'custom' for the play, 18 May 1581, and to its licensing, 22 September 1586 – were never removed.

## 172 WMB/K [Book 1] f [16]

The annual Martinmas audit was on this occasion marked by more than the customary drinking. The auditor was 'for my lord of Warwick then' – a cryptic allusion, but suggesting that the earl had an interest in the accounting procedures. Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick, had been granted (23 Elizabeth I) part of the demesne lands of Kendal Castle, comprising the park of Kendal with appurtenant buildings and tenements (Nicolson and Burn, vol 1, p 50). This grant may have brought conflict with the corporation, since that body had taken over the revenues of the old Marquis fee of the barony of Kendal (from which the earl's grant was allotted) in virtue of its charter of incorporation, 1575. The chamberlains' account for 1582-3 makes reimbursement for money 'layd out at easter terme for our sute with my lord of Warwick for milne...' (Book 1, f 5v, 15 September) and similar payments are made in the two succeeding fiscal years. A dispute over the operation and profits of the castle mill may have been the cause of the auditor's acting for the earl at the Martinmas audit of 1585.

The entertainment was also laid on in tribute to special help given by the receivers. Henry, Lord Scrope, warden of the West March and captain of Carlisle (1563-92) intermittently borrowed sums of money from the corporation, varying from £10 to £20, and was not entirely scrupulous about their repayment (Book 1 ff 5v, 12v, 13v – record of debts) in spite of assurances: 'Lent to my lord warden dewe & promised to be paid to ye receiueres or to his at martinmas next' (f 24v). The audit festivities of 1585 celebrated the receivers' success in extracting repayment of debt: receipts for this year acknowledge payment of £40 by 'ye receiueres at martinmas 85 for yat was lent to my lord warden before' (Book 2, f [20]).

## 172 WMB/K [Book 1] f 21v

'Pd other paymentes sence more as followes,' f 21v, is the title of this section. The two previous accounts, for wine, etc, and for the mill, end respectively in September and August; 'paymentes sence' constitute the final entries prior to the chamberlains' retirement in early October; their successors (1587-8) head their payments account from 4 October (Book 3, f [16], account title.)

172 WMB/K [Book 3] f [16]

An immediately preceding payment for ringing suggests that the waits and drummer are here rewarded for celebrating Queen's Day on 17 November.

173 WMB/K [Book 3] f [16v]

Excluding gentry and persons of professional status, 'Mr' is a term the accounts reserve for those who have served as aldermen. Three men qualified for the title 'mr wilson' (l. 3) on these grounds in 1587-8: James Wilson, butcher, the incumbent alderman, who would, however, have therefore been referred to as 'Mr Alderman' in the account; William Wilson, chapman, alderman 1583-4 (and subsequently in 1593-4); Henry Wilson, chapman, Kendal's first alderman 1575-6, (*BR*, pp 22-3, 26). The latter had a house on the east side of Stricklandgate, which is still standing, known as Black Hall (J. Whitwell, *The Old Houses of Kendal* (Kendal, 1866), p 20). The alderman (l. 12) was elected on the Monday before Michaelmas Day (1595, *BR*, p 154) and sworn in on the following Monday (charter of Elizabeth I, 1575, *BR*, p 293); the alderman's dinner - the only dinner made the subject of an ordinance - was named in 1583 'at his furste and principall ffeaste' (*BR*, p 123) and held on the first Sunday after his oath-taking, or almost two weeks after the actual election. With very few exceptions, however, the only dinner mentioned in the chamberlains' accounts during this season appears to have taken place on election day itself; at least it is normally referred to as 'the election dinner,' and in some cases explicitly occurs at the time of the election (Book 6, f [12v], 1593; Book 14, f [20], 1600; Book 27, f [14], 1615; Book 36, f [24], 1624; Book 46, f [26v], 1634).

References to the alderman's dinner, on the other hand, are few. In 1588 (Book 3, f [16v]) it is mentioned as an event separate from the election dinner, as also in 1601 when the date is given as 11 October, evidence that enables us to reconstruct for this year an electoral pattern that abides by the rules: Monday, 28 September would have been election day (for which a dinner is noted), the oath-taking would have occurred on the following Monday, 5 October; hence the alderman's dinner is properly placed (according to the 1583 ordinance) on Sunday, 11 October. Two subsequent entries are less straightforward: for 1603 there is 'the Alderman's dinner at the Election' (Book 17, f [16v], not transcribed), and for 1628 a payment for waits 'at the mr Aldermans at the swearing dinner' (in addition to payments for the election dinner, Book 40, f [19v]). Similarly in 1636 (when the office of mayor replaced that of alderman) an entry for 11 October refers to the dinner 'when mr Alderman vse to be sworne' (Book 48, f [20v]); the date does not correspond with either the proper date for the oath-taking or for the alderman's dinner.

The expense of provisioning, and in most cases of the entertainment, was presumably borne at his dinner by the alderman himself, a fact that may explain the dearth of explicit references to the event in the chamberlains' accounts. It is possible that the dinner was abandoned after 1601, either because of the personal expense involved, a telling factor in Kendal life, or because of the congestion (?indigestion) around Michaelmas, as election, aldermanic, and court leet dinners followed hard upon each other. This lapse may well have gone hand in hand with a development in which the aldermanic/mayoral election assimilated the elements of oath-taking

and alderman's dinner, so that normally one date (the Monday before Michaelmas Day) provided the occasion for all three. Certainly the few details of attendance to be gleaned from the accounts show that the vicar and schoolmaster, for example, named in the 1583 ordinance as guests invited to the alderman's dinner, were also invited to the election dinner.

Items transcribed in the text are from an account headed 'Paymentes made by the ... Chamberlayns,' for the year beginning 4 October 1597 (f [16]). A separate untitled list of payments occurs on f [17] where several items are repeated, each preceded by a small circle in the left margin; f [17] makes the payment for candles (l. 14) to 'mr potter' (Edward Potter or Thomas Potter; see p 172 footnote to l. 27).

173 WMB/K [Book 4] f [11]

The identification of 'John collen' is uncertain: John Collynges is listed as paying 40 s under Inhabitants Free, Soutergate, East side (1575); and John Collings, to whom an apprentice was bound in 1587, appears under Tanners (c. 1575-92) (*BR*, pp 2, 68, 260). Completely insoluble is the question as to whether the loft was used for a performance or for storage of properties.

173 WMB/K [Book 4] f [10v]

The lower half of f [10v] is a continuation of f [11] as indicated by a sign at the foot of the left margin, f [11], and repeated to the left of the 'menstrells' entry. Mention of 'the clarkes & outhers' suggests that the occasion was an election dinner, either that of Edward Wilkinson (alderman 1589-90) or of William Swainson (1590-1).

173 WMB/K [Book 5] f [15v]

In 1581 Henry Robinson was elected provost of Queen's College, Oxford, which had traditional links with Cumberland and Westmorland; he was consecrated bishop of Carlisle 23 July 1598, and died of the plague on 19 June 1616 (John Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, vol 3 (Oxford, 1854), pp 552, 242; Henry Barnes, 'Visitation of the Plague in Cumberland and Westmorland,' *CWAAS O.S.* 11 (1889), 184). Robinson's successor as provost, Henry Airey, 1598-1616, (Le Neve, vol 3, p 553) was also entertained by the corporation, Book 14, f [20], 1599-1600. Several local bequests were later made in aid of Kendal scholars attending the college, 1627-31 (*BR*, pp 234-53).

174 WMB/K [Book 6] ff [12-12v]

The occasion of the banquet and masque must remain conjectural. But a contemporaneous event significant in the life of the town was the building of the New Hall, or Moot Hall, on a site at the southwest corner of the present Market Place. WMB/K [Book 5], f [1], 1591-2 notes that the hall was 'in most part builded ... this yeare' and a separate account for work done on it is found here, f [16v], and in WMB/K [Book 6], f [13v], 1592-3. The completion of the building may have been celebrated with an opening banquet and masque; possibly the 'plaiers in ye newe hall,' l. 15, had a part in the same festivities. For the visit of players this year see also ll. 29-30.

174 WMB/K [Book 7] f [22]

Collation notes, providing additional information, are from the Extraordinary Payments

section of a duplicate Chamberlains' Account Book 1593-4 (WD/AG/Box 5, ff [18-20v]).

The play at the 'dragon' (l. 30) was evidently performed in the summer of 1593. The site of the inn is uncertain. It was still in business 1616-18 when 'Elsabeth Senistere' was 'wif of dragon' (Book 29, f [15v], and Book 30, f [23]). John Whitwell (*The Old Houses of Kendal*, p 18), writing in 1866, says that an old inn, 'The Green Dragon,' once stood on the northerly site adjoining what was in his time 'The Elephant Inn'; 'The Green Dragon' was demolished to make way for a house built 1798-9 that Whitwell knew as the location of the Lancaster Bank. The site of 'The Green Dragon' lies on the west side of Stricklandgate, just north of the present 'Woolpack Inn' and a stone's throw from the old Moot Hall.

175 WMB/K [Book 8] f [17]

The 'mease' or 'messe,' (l. 21) a local term, denotes a portion serving four persons. It is used in the accounts as the basic unit in totalling expenses at municipal dinners. Detailed calculations are not given here, but see example on p 176, l. 19, where 14 s 6 d is the payment for (7 x 4 + 1) 29 persons, at 6 d per head.

175 WMB/K [Book 9] f [18]

These entries exemplify a turn-out of border service, normally summoned in time of Scottish incursion. Its performance was later to complicate the issue of tenant right, the subject of the Kendal Stage Play of 1621 (see p 235 endnote to STAC 8/34/4, f 55) A survey of 16 Elizabeth I, which included lands and tenements in Kendal, found that those tenants who were liable,

from the age of 16 years till 60, hath been always accustomed, and so still owe to be, at all times, in their most defensible array for the wars, ready to serve their prince, on horseback and on foot, at the west borders of England for anent Scotland, on their own proper costs and charges, and so to be ready night and day, at the commandment of the lord warden of the said west marches, being warned thereunto by beacon, fire, post, or proclamation (Nicolson and Burn, vol 1, p 49).

Carlisle, the seat of the warden, fired its beacon on the High Tower of the castle, and thence communicated with Kendal by way of beacons at Penrith and Orton, and Whinfell, a few miles to the northeast of the town (J.F. Curwen, *The Castles and Fortified Towers of Cumberland, Westmorland* (Kendal, 1913), pp 332-7). The celebrated border brigand, Willie Armstrong (Kinmont Willie), was captured in the spring of 1596 and imprisoned in Carlisle Castle. His subsequent rescue on the night of 12 April may have been the occasion for Kendal's response to the beacon-alert. There is no indication of the number who set out from the town; the 8s 3d spent on bread and cheese was probably supplemented by individual provisions.

176 WMB/K [Book 10] f [18v]

A number of payments in Book 10 are duplicated in Book 11, which comprises receipts for the same year. In each book individual payments are preceded by a small circle in the left margin. Since entries in Book 11 are fuller than in 10, we may presume that Book 11 represents the first record, from which entries were for the most part transferred to 10, the final form

of the year's accounts. In Book 11, f [18v], a payment is recorded for 17 November 1596 'to one that playd the drume throught the towne being the quenes day.' Normally the bells were rung on this occasion, but for 1596-7 the record is confused. Book 11, f [23] notes for 7 September 1597 a payment to the alderman 'which was bestowed of the Ringars at the Church of quenes day'; that is, he apparently waited almost a year before collecting a sum he had dispensed on 17 November 1596. In Book 10, f [19], however, the payment is recorded as made 'to the ryngers at the church /7/ september 97,' apparently a distortion of material entered in Book 11.

176-7 WMB/K [Book 10] f [8]; WMB/K [Book 12] f [29]

Although from two separate accounts, these items (for waits and dinner) are both for the election dinner held at Edmund Hunt's. The main body of payments in Book 10 ends, f [19], with one of the last items dated 7 September. Those transcribed from f [8], in a different hand, are among twenty-seven crammed in one and a half columns on a sheet about 105mm x 150mm pinned to the lower part of the folio, written recto only, and headed 'payed by me as ffoleth.' Sporadic internal dating 15 October-6 November, with the reference to 'hwnts,' where the election dinner was held, suggests that this list was made up after the main body was entered. The period covered by f [8] thus overlaps the next chamberlains' year, since Book 12, f [29] starts with payments for the election and leet dinners (ie, October 1597).

The title of the Chamberlains' Book 1597-8, Book 12, f [1], names John Armer as alderman. According to the *Boke off Recorde* (p 23), Armer died of plague while in office and the remainder of his term was served by James Wilson. Andrew B. Appleby, 'Disease or Famine?', pp 414-24, interprets high mortality figures for Kendal and the northwest in the period 1596-8 as indicative of plague only in the summer and autumn of 1598, towards the end of Armer's term. In the account itself (p 177, ll. 8-9) the chamberlains erroneously ascribe the Michaelmas 1597 election to Wilson, rather than (correctly) to Armer.

'At my masters' (ie, at the alderman's house, p 176, l. 35) may refer to the occasion of the newly elected alderman's dinner (see endnote to p 173, WMB/K [Book 3], f [16v]).

177 WMB/K [Book 13] f [18v]

In general this account shows a chronological sequence of intermittently dated items. Those dated variously June-August, f [18v], show some slight irregularity, but the entry for musicians occurs roughly at the end of July: 'vij s' is written above the end of the original entry; 'payed them vj s viij d' is added on the next line, with the 'viij d' subsequently lost in the stitching of the book; '6s 8d' is added after 'them.'

178 WMB/K [Book 15] f [21]

The occasion of this beacon-alert was probably Scottish raids carried out on the night of 20 March 1600. Among those places that suffered were Scotby township in the area of Penrith where buildings were burned and men and livestock carried off, and Ricardgate, a suburb of Carlisle, where the raiders forced the citizens 'in their defencyve arrayes, for to repayre to the walls, and the beacon to be sett in fyre, for the warning of the wardenry' (J. Bain (ed), *Calendar of Letters and Papers relating to ... the Borders of England and Scotland*, vol 2 (London, 1894), pp 736-7, no 1342).

## 179 WMB/K [Book 17] f [17]

A sign after 'as his note dothe Appaere' denotes that lines 2–3 are intended as a title for the remaining items in the account, evidently copied straight from Robert Wilkinson's bill; the first of these is dated in April. It is almost certain that not only the facing, buttons, and baize but also the eight yards of black frieze were brought for the waits' coats (cf the purchase in 1600 of nine yards of grey frieze for their use, p 178, ll. 5–6).

## 179 WMB/K [Book 18] f [19]

The name, Robert Hodgshone (l. 41), or variations, appeared under Armourers, Innkeepers, Pewterers, and Wrights, Wheelers (*BR*, pp 72, 75, 80, 76). Edward Archer, the town drummer, was sworn to the last-named association in January 1607, while Robert Hodgson entered in the following September; one Milo Atkinson, 'musitian,' was also sworn in 1619 (*BR*, pp 76, 77).

The sum of 10s 6d (p 180, l. 2) represents payment for six quarter-yards ( $1\frac{1}{2}$  yards) at 7s per yard. Even for one wait, however, the yardage was skimpy; the account does not name the garment that was produced from it.

## 180 WMB/K [Book 19] f [15]

All the material excerpted from the 1604–5 account was probably connected with the suppression of the Kendal play in 1605. Timing of payments for the commissioners' inquiry into the play suggests that it coincided with the Easter session of the Kendal leet court, perhaps in order to make use of the jurors assembled on that occasion. Journeys to York indicate that the inquiry was of an ecclesiastical kind, possibly carried out by the high commission that sat at York. William Ingall was a parish curate and master of the Kendal Free Grammar School – 'mr Ingall play' was performed 1587–8 (p 173, l. 14). Ralph Tyrer ('mr Tyrar'), who went twice to York, was vicar of Kendal 1592–1627; at his death his possessions included a pair of virginals (Edward M. Wilson, 'Ralph Tyrer, B.D., Vicar of Kendal 1592–1627,' *CWAAS Trans.*, N.S., 78 (1978), p 72). William Addison's journey to Chester, the seat of the diocese, is also recorded for this year (ff [15v], [16]), though at least part of his business concerned the removal of seats in the parish church. See p 195, l. 42–p 196, l. 2, for another contemporary reference to this 1605 episode.

## 181 WMB/K [Book 22] f [13]

The occasion of this payment is baffling. There is no evidence that Anne of Denmark, consort of James I, was in the region of Kendal at this time.

## 181 WMB/K [Book 22] f [13v]

Entries are frequently dated internally in this account; five items surrounding the payment to the earl of Lincoln's men are not sequential – the end-dates of this group are given as the payment-period.

## 182 WMB/K [Book 25] f [17]

The first four payments (ll. 21–4) are connected with the Michaelmas leet court and subsequent dinner. Since all five are associated with one date (3 October) it is probable that the item 'for

building the stage' concerns the same occasion: perhaps a dais (for the justices' bench, for example), or a stage for entertainment for which details are not entered.

183 WMB/K [Book 29] f [14v]

The record of the king's ushers' visit is entered in a different hand from that in the rest of the account. The search for royal lodgings ended, according to tradition, in the choice of what was later known as Brownsword House on the west side of Stricklandgate, now the site of the Carnegie Library (A. Wainwright, *Kendal in the Nineteenth Century* (Kendal, n.d.), no 105). The coincidence of payments for 30 April suggests that the forthcoming royal visit was formally proclaimed at the Easter leet court.

184 WMB/K [Book 29A] f [2v]

A single sheet, folded once, ff [1-2v], records a special 'Sessment,' levied in the summer on each of Kendal's thirteen wards and on particular individuals. The assessment was evidently levied to meet the expenses of the royal visit, but various routine corporation expenditures are also debited to it. Monies received are listed ff [2-1v], 26 June-6 August, in all £96 8s 8d; on the reverse side of the sheet is a list of expenditures, ff [2v-1], 6 August-16 October, for a total of £91 6s 9d; Reginald Lickbarrow, one of the chamberlains 1616-17, accounts for the surplus of £4 9s 11d on 17 November, ie, at the Martinmas audit. According to John Nichols in *The Progresses...of King James the First*, vol 3, (London, 1828), p 389, the king came to Kendal on 9 August, a feasible date on the basis of evidence discussed below (see endnote to p 216, Bolton Abbey ms 97). The date, 6 August, heading Assessment expenditures probably pin-points the first entries, eg, for the king's purse - grooms, trumpeters, and others being paid later when the king was in the town.

185 WMB/K [Book 29B] f [1]

This is one of five items listed on a loose sheet of paper in Book 27 between ff [9-10]. It is evidently a receipt for reimbursement of monies laid out by 'Ro: Dawson' (Rowland Dawson, alderman 1620-1); a note acknowledging discharge, with signature, appears at the bottom, probably given at the Martinmas audit.

187 WMB/K [Book 33] f [17v]

Entitled 'Monies payd for the milnes and kilnes,' this account is effectually a group of Extraordinary Payments; it is written ff [18v-17v], ie, from the back of the book, upside down. Month and date are given marginally for many items November-August; ff [18-17v], however, bear dates in non-chronological sequence, November, March, February, April, randomly placed in the margin. Where editorially noted, dates should be treated with caution.

188 WMB/K [Book 34] f [20v]

The date of the dinner at which the waits entertained is difficult to pin down, especially since payments made at or near Michaelmas, when the new chamberlains entered office, may be divided between old and new accounts. One of the following leet court dinners may have provided the occasion: Michaelmas 1621, for which there are catering payments to Thomas Readman's wife, ff [20] and [20v]; Easter 1622 (similar payments to William Chamber's wife, f [20]; Michaelmas 1622 (payments to Thomas Readman's wife, Book 35, f [24]).

188 STAC/8/34/4 f 55

Folio 48 is a draft of the same document (cursive hand, final formulaic clauses abbreviated).

The Kendal Stage Play of July 1621 was one of a series of incidents that marked tenant unrest in the barony of Kendal and adjacent border areas at this time. It was becoming increasingly difficult for customary tenants to defend their rights, since both king and landlords claimed a link between such 'tenant right' and the performance of border service (see p 176, ll. 1-14, and p 178, ll. 10-18). The latter had been in a long process of decay, hastened by the union of the Scottish and English thrones in 1603 and the theoretical extinction of possibilities of conflict between the two nations. In November 1616, upon composition, Charles, prince of Wales had confirmed to his tenants in the Marquis and Richmond fees of the barony their customary heritable estate and right to fine certain; tenants of other landlords were eager to gain similar confirmation. A meeting at Staveley Chapel in January 1619/20 led to the presentation of a bill in the House of Commons on the tenants' behalf, which was soon thrown out, and a petition to the king. The reaction of James I — a proclamation in July 1620 urging landlords to convert customary tenancies to leasehold — provoked further protest: first, a tenants' remonstrance, characterized by the landlords as a libel; and second, the performance of the Kendal Stage Play in July 1621, a pointed comment on those who sought to extinguish tenant right. The landlords thereupon initiated an action in Star Chamber, prosecuted by Sir Thomas Coventry, appointed attorney-general in January 1620-1. By statute (3 Henry VII c. 1) the competence of Star Chamber extended to riot and unlawful assembly. Summons to the court involved the preparation of lists of interrogatories from information initially laid before the authorities; these lists in turn served as a basis for the sworn examination of those persons named as defendants and the gathering of information from others (deponents), a process carried out locally.

STAC/8/34/4 is primarily the record of examination and depositions taken at Kendal in 1622. The authorities seem to have suspected that the incidents dealt with in the interrogatories were part of a conspiracy in which all the defendants were ultimately linked. Nevertheless, of the defendants named in the file, Samuel Knipe, James Smith, Thomas Prickett, and John Cartmell were principally charged in connection with 'riotous assembly' at Staveley Chapel; Anthony Wetherall, vicar of Kirkby Stephen, Westmorland, with the making of the libel; and Richard Helme with taking part in the Kendal Play.

Other persons are named in interrogatories or depositions in connection with the play. Among these Sir Francis Duckett of Grayrigg and Sir James Bellingham of Levens seem to have played a focal role. Thomas Duckett (not identified in the documents), an actor in the play, was probably a tenant of Sir Francis, possibly a relation. Certainly Helme, the defendant in this incident, and Henry Ward, bailiff of Sir Francis, were expressly named among the tenants alleged to have taken part, together with James, the young grandson of Sir Francis. Among those attending the play was Lady Duckett (Marian, second wife of Sir Francis and sister of Sir James Bellingham), the recusant wife of a conformist husband (J. A. Hilton, 'The Cumbrian Catholics,' *Northern History*, 16 (1980), 46, 49). Sir Francis himself, with his son Anthony, pressured the Kendal authorities to allow the play to be staged. Both the Duckett and Bellingham households provided clothing for the actors; Allan Bellingham, son of Sir James, attended the performance; and Jerome Garnett, brother of Jasper Garnett, the author of the play, was servant or agent of Sir James and of Sir Henry Bellingham, Sir James' son and heir.

The play itself, a comment on the rapacity of landlords, depicted the exploitation of tenants in exceedingly graphic terms. It is not easy to see why local gentry should have lent their support to this vehicle of tenant protest. It must be assumed that the Duckets and Bellinghams were representative of a party of local landlords whose close ties to the area alerted them to the dangers inherent in a protracted and bitter dispute. Their hope must have been that the airing of grievances would hasten the process of settlement. In fact the whole tenor of those interrogatories concerned with incidents other than the play suggests that the royal government was sceptical about the circumstances of the Star Chamber suit itself, evidently suspecting an agreement between the parties designed to thwart the intent of the royal proclamation and to force a speedy but equitable decision from the court on the whole issue of tenant right.

In 1625 Star Chamber postponed indefinitely consideration of all criminal offences, at the same time removing from the dispute all question of border service. The court confirmed to the tenants their heritable estate, with the hope that the parties would come to some agreement about fine certain. Sir James Bellingham and Sir Henry, his son, were two of the three landlords then present before the court, Samuel Knipe and John Cartmell attending on behalf of all the tenants (Nicolson and Burn, vol 1, p 57).

Kendal Castle (l. 26) dates from the thirteenth century. Situated on a high natural mound, the castle and its demesne lands were separated from the township of Kendal to the west by the river Kent. The castle was the childhood home of Katherine Parr, Henry VIII's last wife. Her brother William, marquess of Northampton, disgraced by implication in the plot to secure the throne for Lady Jane Grey, lost his estates in the barony of Kendal (the so-called Marquis fee) by escheat to the crown. These were restored to him in Mary's reign, but by his widow's exchange of properties with Elizabeth I the castle and its lands once more came to the crown. Part of the demesne, the park of Kendal, was granted to the earl of Warwick (see endnote to p 172, WMB/K [Book 1], f 16); thereafter, according to Nicolson and Burn, nothing is known of the ownership of the castle until the reign of Charles II. It is evident, however, that by 1572, just before passing into royal hands, the castle itself was already approaching ruin; a survey describes what remained: 'The out walls embatteled 40 foot square. And within the same no building left; saving only on the north side is situate the front of the gate-house, the hall, with an ascent of stairs to the same, with a buttery and pantry at the end thereof; one great chamber, and two or three lesser chambers and rooms of ease adjoining to the same: being all in decay, both in glass and slate, and in all other reparations needful. Under the hall are two or three small rooms of cellars' (Nicolson and Burn, vol 1, p 46). The domestic buildings were apparently never subsequently inhabited or restored, and the play acted 'at' Kendal Castle was therefore almost certainly staged outdoors in the castle precincts, possibly on land in which the corporation had acquired an interest at the time the charter was granted (1575).

#### 189 STAC/8/34/4 f 49

The sequence of folios 49-54 is confused. The 'Ioynt' answer, f 49, incorporates various material from defendants Smith, Prickett, Cartmell, Thomas Lucas, and Helme. The 'severall Answares' of the title apparently continue as individual examinations of these defendants, based on twenty-one interrogatories, on ff 50-50v (Cartmell), f 52 (Smith), f 54 (Smith and Prickett), and f 54v (Lucas and Helme) - not necessarily originally in that order: f 52 is headed as the examinations of the five defendants (named) to the information of the attorney-general, with the date 29 April 20 James I (1622); f 50v, among other endorsements, has 'The

answers and Depositions of ... Thomas Prickett ... & others *defendants* to the Information of Sir Thomas Coventry ....' Thus ff 49–50, 52, and 54 probably constituted an original dossier, into which ff 51 and 53, together listing (recto only) the twenty-one interrogatories for these five defendants, were mistakenly interpolated. The left side of the folio is intermittently torn with portions of margin and script missing. A small triangular tear at l. 10 here is part of a larger damaged area measuring from the foot of the folio 180mm vertically and penetrating to a maximum of 9 letters horizontally.

189 STAC/8/34/4 f 14

A separate list of interrogatories was prepared for Samuel Knipe, f 17; the eleventh of these, however, is identical with the eleventh interrogatory (f 51), transcribed on p 189, with the exception of some slight spelling variants and the interlineation of the clause, 'wherefore weare they the said landlordes represented soe to bee in hell,' incorporated in the text on f 51. Samuel Knipe of Fairbank-in-Staveley was chosen 'agent' by those who assembled at Staveley Chapel in 1619/20; he died and was buried in Crosthwaite Church 6 November 1645 (Nicolson and Burn, vol 1, p 53; *Local Chronology*, p 111).

190 STAC/8/34/4 f 54v

Anthony Duckett deposed that Richard Helme (l. 31) was tenant of his father, Sir Francis Duckett (p 194, ll. 14–15). At his death in 1635 Sir Francis was seised of a messuage or tenement in Whinfell, in the tenure of the relict of Henry Holme (Inq. p.m. 24 May 12 Charles 1, 1636, cited in J. F. Curwen (ed), *Records relating to the Barony of Kendale*, vol 4, p 219). 'Helme' is occasionally spelt 'Holme' in the Star Chamber record.

191 STAC/8/34/4 ff 40–40v

Illegible words, f 40, are supplied from f 29, a second, on the whole less legible version, apparently identical in substance. The sole deposition recorded in STAC/8/34/4 keyed to this list of interrogatories (thirty-three in all) is that of James Anderson the younger of Clayton, Westmorland, taken on 23 April 1623 (f 30); he answers only the first and seventh interrogatories, evidently knowing nothing of the play.

191 STAC/8/34/4 f 26v

A draft version (with abbreviated formulaic clauses and minor variations in spelling but none in substance) of these interrogatories, numbering thirty-five in all, is on f 24.

192 STAC/8/34/4 f 33

Jerome Garnett was named by Jasper Garnett as his brother (f 19, answer to seventh interrogatory). Jerome described himself as a servant of the Bellinghams, 'employed sometimes (amongst other services) to looke to such Causes as the said Sir Iames Bellingham ... or Sir Henrie Bellingham have in Suite at London' (f 33, reply to sixteenth interrogatory). In answer to the first interrogatory he admitted that he knew all the defendants named in the suit (f 33).

195 STAC/8/34/4 f 18

The eight interrogatories to which this deposition replies are not preserved in STAC/8/34/4. They were probably prepared specifically for Jasper Garnett as author of the suspect play.

The record, in an untidy hand with frequent emendations, is sometimes confused as to whether Garnett is properly defendant or deponent. Normally however, 'defendant' is corrected to 'deponent', and certainly Garnett is not named elsewhere in the file as one of the defendants in the case. Richard Helme (answer to the eleventh interrogatory, p 190) stated that Jasper Garnett, resident in the barony of Kendal where he had been born, was a schoolmaster in Lancashire at the time of writing the four books that comprised the play. Elsewhere (p 189), Helme asserts that the play was written 'aboue fower yeares agoe,' that is, about or before 1617. In 1616, however, Garnett was master of the Free Grammar School in Kendal: a memorandum entered in his own hand in Book 29, WMB/K, f [13v], dated 5 March, acknowledges receipt of one half-years wages; this is followed by other entries dated 30 October for 'mr garnett the scoollmaster.' It is therefore feasible that the play was conceived while Garnett was resident in Kendal. Helme's omission of the fact that Garnett had been the local schoolmaster may have been a deliberate attempt to play down his Kendal connection and to forestall any further inquiry into this period of Garnett's career and his association with local residents.

196 STAC/8/34/4 f 18v

A somewhat garbled response to the seventh interrogatory starts on p 197, l. 17. In essence it appears that Samuel Knipe, in his own defence, sought to subpoena Jasper Garnett in order to obtain his evidence about the play and thus prove that Knipe himself was not involved in that particular incident. Jerome Garnett, informing his brother of the writ but not its intent, hoped to counsel him first on how to respond. However, Jasper, communicating the contents of Jerome's letter to Knipe and learning that his evidence was necessary to the latter's defence, determined to tell the truth. Jerome understandably was angered and dismayed, both at the possible consequences for Jasper and his own employers, Sir James and Sir Henry Bellingham, and at the disclosure of his own attempt to interfere with the due process of law.

198-9 WMB/K [Book 36] ff [23v-4]

Entries for the Easter leet court dinner, the venison feast, and the election dinner at Michaelmas 1624 (all occasions when the waits performed) are haphazardly entered. They may be grouped as follows: Easter leet court dinner, p 198, ll. 36-9; p 199, l. 8; venison feast, p 198, ll. 33-4; p 199, ll. 1-2, 5, 13-15; election dinner, p 199, ll. 3-4, 16-18.

199 WMB/K [Book 37] f [24]

'Ned Iennings' (l. 28) may conceivably be Edward Jennings, listed under Tanners, sworn 1594, but is more probably Edward Jennynge, sworn 1622 to the same trade (*BR*, p 68). According to his will dated 1 March 1642/3, Edward Jennings, tanner, held houses in the Market Place and Finkle Street, Kendal, and in Kirkland (Curwen, *Records relating to the Barony of Kendale*, vol 4, p 111).

201 WMB/K [Book 39] f [21v]

The name, John Troughton (l. 32), occurs under Cordiners, sworn 1594, and Mercers, sworn 1599; and also under Glovers, sworn 1620 (*BR*, pp 64, 59, 70). The latter was probably the same John Troughton who served as chamberlain in 1624 (*BR*, p 37), and who, we may suspect, being close to the corporation, secured the provisioning of the Michaelmas leet dinner in that year.

## 202 WMB/K [Book 39] f [22]

The last eight words ('and for drinke and breade to the lury,' l. 12) were added to the item as a fifth line after four lines detailing the '13 mease' were bracketed; the bracket was extended to encompass this addition, and payment then entered for the whole sum.

## 203 WMB/K [Book 40] ff [19-19v]

The order of items is confusing, as are varying references to venison feast(s). Two gifts of venison were certainly received, from Sir Francis Duckett (p 203, l. 34) and from Henry, Lord Morley and Monteagle, (p 203, ll. 9-10), perhaps from Hornby Castle, Lanc, or from either of his two manors of Farleton, Lanc and Farleton, Westmld. Fiddlers are paid for attendance at two feasts, (p 203, l. 29) and Peter Huggon supplies wine on these occasions, (p 204, l. 1). William Chamber's wife prepares and the waits attend only one venison feast (p 203, ll. 18-19); the latter also attend the election (swearing) dinner, (p 203, ll. 31-2), as well as the Michaelmas 1627 and Easter 1628 leet dinners, (p 202, l. 29, p 203, l. 7). This account contains the first record of smoking at a corporation dinner. Detailed accounts (until 1636) reveal that the habit rapidly became popular at all principal dinners.

## 207 WMB/K [Book 44] f [23]

The first 'Christopher' tobacco, from what is now St Kitts in the Caribbean, reached England in 1626 (W.N. Sainsbury (ed), *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, vol 1 (London, 1860), pp 83, 94, 124). At 3 d per oz, it was the cheapest of the tobaccos purchased by the corporation; 'Varinas,' from Venezuela, was a Spanish import, highly priced at 1 s per oz (see p 212, l. 17).

## 209 WMB/K [Book 45] f [25]

I have been unable to trace any Waite (p 209, l. 20), Thwaite or similarly named person of this date who might have received a stipend from the corporation. '(The) master waite' may be the sense of this entry, though there is no record of a Kendal wait receiving money other than in the form of a gratuity at the time of playing. It is also possible that a 'Mr Waite' was master of the Free Grammar School in Kendal at this period; the term 'stipend' was used earlier in the chamberlains' accounts in connection with this post (Mr Ingall's 'stipend,' Book 3, f [17], and Book 10, f [18v]).

## 210 WMB/K [Book 46] f [31v]

The title, 'An account what is paid by vs this year 1633,' heads payments written upside down from the back of the book ff [31v-26].

## 211 WMB/K [Book 47] f [21v]

The Payments account is written ff [21v-20v], upside down (ff [7-8] from the back of the book).

## 213 WMB/K [Book 48] f [20v]

Kendal received a new charter of incorporation from Charles 1. The chamberlains' account shows that the first mayor, as appointed under the charter, replaced the alderman at Michaelmas 1636 (ll. 3-4).

## 213 MS 390 f 84

This is the second of four 'questions moued,' all enclosed in a marginal brace. Dealing with points of canonical significance, the questions presumably formed the basis of a discussion or more formal college debate in which Crosfield took part. Evidently the format of the Kendal Corpus Christi play, still remembered by local men, remained a matter of some academic interest even thirty years after its suppression.

## 214 SP1/134, No 1370

The material transcribed here illustrates the continued resentment and unrest that characterized northern areas in the aftermath of the Pilgrimage of Grace. From the letter's inscription it is evident that the rebel song, named variously 'crummok' or 'crumwell' in the articles that follow, libelled Thomas Cromwell, the chief and much hated architect of Henry VIII's Reformation; the letter is addressed to him as Lord Privy Seal, the office he had assumed in 1536. Sir James Leyburn, the writer of the letter, held the manor of Cunswick in the environs of Kendal and was a justice of the peace. In April 1537 the bailiff of Kendal, William Colyns, examined in the Tower of London, gave information concerning the rebellion and its aftermath in the Kendal area; his evidence reveals the existence of both religious and economic grievances among the population. The Kendal townsmen with the surrounding countryside had joined the rebels in the autumn of 1536; their number included some of the local gentry, even ultimately Sir James Leyburn himself and Richard Duckett, the other justice of the peace named in the letter. The royal pardon, proclaimed in Kendal in late December by Clarendieux Herald, was unwillingly accepted. Two subsequent incidents in the parish church, in which first the vicar and then a curate 'bid the beads' for the pope, indicate continued open hostility towards the liturgical changes called for by the Reformation. Early in 1537, at Cartmel in Lancashire, claimed by Leyburn as the former abode of the minstrel Alexander Stotson, complaints about the king's farmers had quickly culminated in the execution of four of the priory's brethren and eight yeomen (J. Gairdner (ed), *Calendar of Letters and Papers ... Henry VIII*, vol 12, pt 1 (London, 1890), no 914, pp 414-17). Leyburn's zeal in reporting the relatively minor incident described in the articles perhaps stems from his own dubious past performance.

## 216 Bolton Abbey ms 97, ff 106v, 200v

The relevance of these items to the entertainment given by Francis Clifford, fourth earl of Cumberland, for James I at Brougham Castle in 1617 is fully discussed by Ian Spink, 'Campion's Entertainment at Brougham Castle 1617,' (John H. Long (comp), *Music in English Renaissance Drama* (Lexington, 1968), pp 57-74). Spink suggests that the earl's son conceived the entertainment, but that Campion prepared the text and supervised the performance at the castle. The text of the songs (published in London in 1618), which George Mason, a musician in the earl's household, set to music, indicates that the event took place during the nights of 6-7 August, the king departing on 8 August. The first night probably saw complimentary table music with speeches, the second an anti-masque followed by a main masque celebrating the king's virtues. Spink discusses the possible influence of this work on Jonson's 'Gipsies Metamorphosed' of 1622. As he notes (p 60), the suggested length of the king's stay at Brougham contradicts John Nichols, *The Progresses ... of King James the First*, vol 3 (London, 1828), p 393, who states that the king left the castle on 7 August.

Nichols' statement that the king went on to stay at Appleby, another Clifford castle, is also in doubt. The Clifford household accounts show that well before the arrival of the king the earl left Skipton for Brougham by way of Wharton, and then continued to Carlisle where, as lord lieutenant of the county, he was to greet the king (Bolton Abbey MS 97, f 172, 30 July), later returning from Brougham to Londesborough (ibid, f 172v, 13–16 August). An account for 7 July 1617–27 September 1618 shows that £99 6s 8d was spent on provisioning the king's visit to Brougham (Bolton Abbey MS 166, f [4]); for Appleby, expenses totalling £10 14s 11d are given only for 18 January–21 March 1617/18, thus affording no evidence that the king was there in August 1617. Discounting a visit to Appleby, we may still accept the fact that the king stayed at nearby Wharton Hall on the night of 8 August (Nichols, vol 3, p 393) before proceeding to Kendal.

217 U269 F48/2 nf

Lady Anne came to Brougham Castle shortly after her mother died there, in July 1616, and attended the burial at Appleby. She set out for London on 9 December and did not return north again until 1643.

218 SP14/86 No 34 single sheet

Bampton provided the parish church for tenants on the Howard estate of Thornthwaite in Westmorland (see endnote to p 138, Howard C706 [Book 3] f 38v). Lord William Howard's Catholicism – he entered the church in 1584 – combined with his powerful border interests, made him a prime target of broad government suspicion, for which in fact he seems to have given no reasonable grounds. The material transcribed here, part of a document alleging his recusancy, comprises about a dozen articles naming other recusants with whom he is supposed to have had contact and detailing activities of a dubious nature. The whole, endorsed '1616 Mr Saundersones Note,' supplies insufficient detail for the precise dating of the alleged event; since the calendar year ended in March, either Christmas 1615 or Christmas 1616 may have provided the occasion for the misrule episode, depending on whether the document was drawn up before or after 25 December 1616. There is also a second version of the whole document (SP14/40, No 11) in which this and the other accusations are repeated – the enlivening of the Bampton Christmas service in substantially the same detail (and thus not collated here), but with other charges somewhat differently worded or condensed. Calendared (with query) under February 1608 (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series...James I*, vol 8, 1603–10, p 479) the document itself is undated, and Ornsby (*Household Books*, pp 423–5) transcribes it as such. Indeed SP14/40, No 11 has the mark of a final version of the charges (both as to wording and to script), suggesting that it was based on SP14/86, No 34, whose rushed and almost illegible hand probably represents a preliminary draft. The latter is transcribed here, both as representing the earlier version, and also as providing an alternative reading to that given by Ornsby. In any case the bulk of both versions seems to be a taradiddle of hearsay and innuendo, probably intended to be kept in reserve as ammunition against a powerful border magnate should the need arise.

218 *Ancient Funerall Monuments* p 405

Weever's comment on the Corpus Christi play is interpolated in his discussion of monuments found in St Michael's Church, Queen-Hithe, in the diocese of London.

219 Add. ms 4460 ff 7-7v

Certain words are underlined throughout the manuscript: in this passage, 'Cartmell,' 'Cartmel-fell,' 'Kendall,' and 'Corpus-Christi play' (ll. 12, 25, 33).

The Civil War was well advanced when John Shaw, the manuscript's author, while living in Manchester, was approached by a deputation from the parish of Cartmel, asking him to spend seven or eight weeks preaching and instructing the people there. Shaw agreed to do so, provided that an 'able man' temporarily filled his own post. He does not elaborate on why Cartmel was without its own pastor, though presumably the circumstances of the war were a contributory factor. Shaw records an abrupt end to his mission after eight weeks (towards the end of June). His own flight into Yorkshire, and his wife's escape by sea, were occasioned by the passage through the vicinity of royalist troops commanded by Prince Rupert, on their way to raise the siege of York. The prince's forces were in fact defeated at the ensuing battle of Marston Moor on 2 July.

## GLOUCESTERSHIRE



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# Introduction

## The Boundaries

This edition delimits Gloucestershire according to pre-1642 boundaries, which followed largely the same lines as they did in this century, prior to the creation, in 1974, of the new county of Avon. The only major differences from modern Gloucestershire occurred in the north-east corner of the county, where the boundaries with Worcestershire and Warwickshire were complicated by the scattered holdings of the bishop of Worcester.<sup>1</sup> Bristol, although often associated geographically with Gloucestershire, became a county in its own right in 1373, and as such, its records will appear in a separate volume.

The dissolution of the monasteries in 1541 altered the boundaries of ecclesiastical administration for Gloucestershire and its environs. Bristol's northern suburbs became part of the new Bristol diocese. Administration of lands formerly controlled by the dioceses of Worcester and Hereford became the responsibility of the newly created diocese of Gloucester, with the exception of some areas along the Herefordshire border, which remained within the jurisdiction of the Hereford diocese. Reapportioning of ecclesiastical control notwithstanding, all these areas were administered civilly by Gloucestershire and are thus included in this collection.

## Historical and Geographical Perspectives

Gloucestershire is traditionally divided into three distinct topographical areas. The Severn Vale, a relatively flat agricultural region, stretches from Bristol in the south to Tewkesbury in the north and includes most of the places with extensive surviving records of dramatic activity. Gloucester itself lies on the east bank of the Severn, as do the castles at Berkeley and Thornbury further south. To the east of the river valley are the Cotswold Hills which rise sharply, to as much as a thousand feet, along the Cotswold Edge, before sloping gently off to the south-east, toward the Thames. Wool production dominated the economy in this region, which was dotted with villages but possessed only a single substantial town, Cirencester. The Forest of Dean occupies the south-western corner of the county between the Severn and the Wye, and is hilly

country, ill-suited to agriculture. Before the Industrial Revolution only a few villages existed in the area, surviving principally on forestry and coal-mining. The forest itself was a royal preserve, but nearly disappeared in the late sixteenth century, when it was heavily logged to build the ships that opposed the Spanish Armada.

Before the mid-sixteenth century, only Gloucester's position as the seat of the assizes and quarter sessions served to unify three areas of such disparate character, over which the Crown, the nobles, the bishops of Worcester and Hereford, the abbots of Gloucester, Tewkesbury, Cirencester, and Winchcombe all exercised varied and sometimes conflicting degrees of control. With the creation of a see at Gloucester and the city's growth as a commercial centre, the county became linked by both civil and ecclesiastical administration, and by patterns of trade into a somewhat less arbitrary unit.

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# Drama, Music, and Ceremony

## Gloucester

### DRAMA

Gloucester's heyday occurred under the early Norman kings, when it was the site of the Christmas court, the place where William I supposedly ordered the compiling of the Domesday Book, and where Matilda collected her forces to march against Stephen. By the time of Henry III, however, midwinter no longer found the court at Gloucester and the occasional parliaments still held there became briefer and less frequent; the last two recorded, in 1407 and 1420, lasted only two weeks before removing to Westminster.<sup>2</sup> Gloucester's political importance meant that it anticipated Bristol in such constitutional developments as obtaining a borough charter (in 1155) and a guild merchant (by 1200).<sup>3</sup> However, as Gloucester's political significance waned in the late Middle Ages, it was increasingly overshadowed by Bristol with its more advantageous position as a port. The variety of problems which caused a general decline in the population and prosperity of towns throughout England in the fifteenth century affected Gloucester as well: competition from rural industry (especially the Cotswold woollen mills), the rising cost of urban residence, and repeated epidemics.<sup>4</sup> Still, Gloucester remained an important cloth-making and metal-working town with a flourishing regional market. It also had a tourist trade with pilgrims coming to the shrine of Edward II in St Peter's Abbey. When the burgesses petitioned the king for remission of part of the fee-farm in 1487, they complained of 'the great ruine and decay ... of the said town, within fewe yeris decayed to the nombre of ccc. dwellyng place,' but exaggerated complaints were the standard rhetoric of such petitions.<sup>5</sup>

Unfortunately, few civic records of the types likely to contain references to entertainment survive from before 1500 and only a single reference exists to dramatic performance in the city earlier than that year. An alms roll of Edward I indicates that in December 1283 the king rewarded clerks at Gloucester for performing the miracles of St Nicholas and for their boy-bishop. While the roll does not identify these clerks, the reference is a valuable one, for it is not only the earliest record of drama anywhere in Gloucestershire, but also an important addition to the scanty evidence for a St Nicholas play tradition in England.

The extant records of Gloucester become much fuller after 1483, when the city received a new charter, granting it additional privileges; among them was the jurisdiction over two hundreds of the county, the so-called county 'inshire' of the city of Gloucester. The wealth of these lands and of monastic lands acquired at the Dissolution benefited the city, as did the influx of people on business with the newly created diocese and the general increase of inland trade under the Tudor peace. In 1580, Queen Elizabeth made Gloucester a customs port, giving the city control of trade on a major part of the Severn.<sup>6</sup> The population increased from just under 4000 in the 1530s to slightly more than 5000 in the early seventeenth century.<sup>7</sup> A growth in dramatic activity, and in music and public ceremonial as well, appears to have accompanied this population increase; even when we allow for the fact that there are many more extant documents from the second half of the sixteenth century, we can still find a pattern of growth over the years covered by those records.

The chamberlains' accounts, which provide the greatest number of references, survive from 1550, and reveal an impressive increase in the number of professional playing companies visiting the city from that year to the last two decades of the century. The average number of rewards given to players in a year during the 1550s was less than one; in the 1560s it rose to nearly two, and in the 1570s to almost three companies a year. The peak period for the touring professionals was the 1580s and '90s, when the average number of troupes visiting Gloucester increased to four a year, and as many as seven different companies appeared in a single year, in 1584-5.

The growth of dramatic activity was entirely in the form of these visits by professional players. No evidence of a Corpus Christi cycle can be found in the borough customnal or in early guild ordinances – the types of records which provide information about guild involvement in the drama at York and Chester.<sup>8</sup> Nor do the churchwardens' accounts of Gloucester parishes contain references to parish plays, like those at Tewkesbury.<sup>9</sup> The records do, however, yield considerable evidence concerning the professional players. By combining the chamberlains' accounts with civic ordinances regulating players and the well-known eyewitness description of a performance at Gloucester by R. Willis, we can reconstruct a detailed picture of the conditions faced by touring players when they came to the city.

Before they could perform, players had to obtain permission from the mayor, a condition which had become national law in 1559. Many troupes must have ignored the law when they came to Gloucester, however, since in 1580 the common council passed an ordinance which expressly required visiting companies to seek a license from the mayor. Then, as Willis tells us, 'if the Mayor like the Actors, or would shew respect to their Lord and Master, he appoints them to play their first play before himselfe and the Aldermen and common Counsell of the City; and that is called the Mayors play, where every one that will comes in without money, the Mayor giving the players a reward as hee thinks fit to shew respect unto them.'<sup>10</sup> It is these rewards that we find recorded in the chamberlains' accounts.

Players could give performances which were not 'Mayor's plays,' subject to the following limitations imposed by the 1580 ordinance. The total number of performances permitted to a company depended on the stature of its patron: the queen's players were allowed to perform three plays in three days or less; the players of a baron or a noble of greater rank could play twice in two days; while players whose patron was beneath the rank of baron could perform only once. An unwritten and somewhat less rigid scale appears to have applied to the amounts of the rewards given by the city. The queen's men consistently received larger rewards than other companies. Even when the lord admiral's men came to Gloucester in 1590-1, led by the great Edward Alleyn, they got only the same 30s given to the queen's players that year. The main exceptions to this practice were Lord Chandos' and Lord Berkeley's players, who sometimes received rewards larger than those given to companies of patrons of equal rank because both nobles had great local holdings which made their favour especially important to the city.

The chamberlains' accounts indicate that the mayor's plays were invariably given in the Bothall, and all licensed performances likely took place there, since the 1580 ordinance prohibited private performances in the homes and establishments, especially inns, of the burgesses. The Bothall stood in Westgate Street and served as the city's wool market, the site of the assizes, and for a variety of other civic functions.<sup>11</sup> According to Willis, the audience sat on benches and the players acted on some form of stage. Expenses for constructing these stages appear frequently in the chamberlains' accounts, although unfortunately without the sort of detail which would permit a complete reconstruction. The city usually employed a carpenter named John Batty to build these stages and the pageant scaffolds required for Queen Elizabeth's 1574 visit to the city.

The chamberlains' accounts from 1596-7 to 1634-5 have not survived, with the exception of a single year's accounts for 1628-9. By the time the accounts resume, the decline in provincial touring that occurred in the early seventeenth century is evident. Only two actual performances have been recorded between 1635-6 and 1642, although players were occasionally paid not to perform because of fear of spreading plague. The fact that the city rewarded players at all in those years is somewhat surprising. The city had suffered economically from the decay of its cloth industry in the late sixteenth century, from repeated outbreaks of plague, and from disputes with county gentry over the inshire. Tension between the wealthy few who ran the city and the growing number of urban poor led to the tightening of control by a magistracy already strongly puritan, and confirmed in its antagonism toward the king as a result of the Crown's heavy financial and military demands in the 1620s and 1630s.<sup>12</sup> Yet, unlike Worcester and Bristol, where paying players to go away without performing was the rule in the 1630s, Gloucester seems to have adopted this practice only when plague genuinely threatened.<sup>13</sup> As late as 1640-1, we have evidence of the mayor and justices attending a performance and giving the players a reward.

## MUSIC

The earliest surviving references to professional entertainers at Gloucester concern minstrels who came to entertain while the assizes were in session. Five minstrels or groups of minstrels visited the city in 1393–4 and six in 1409–10, including those of Richard II, Henry IV, the countess of Stafford, and Lord Berkeley.

The chamberlains' accounts record occasional rewards to itinerant minstrels during the latter half of the sixteenth century, but the important musical development of those years was Gloucester's establishment of an official, salaried position of civic musician. When Queen Elizabeth visited the city in 1574, Gloucester had to hire the waits of Shrewsbury to furnish music, but in 1578 Garret Barnes began to receive a yearly fee of 20s for being 'the musician.' In 1595–6, when no payment had been made to Barnes for two years, a civic ordinance adopted 'Iames (*blank*) musitians' as the city waits. The ordinance required them to play their recorders at four o'clock each morning in the chief streets of the city, and 'at the solempne vsuall assemblies.' For this service, each of the four received 20s for their fee and another 20s to buy the livery cloaks that marked them as retainers of the city. The near-monopoly their position gave them enabled them to augment their income by providing music at special Cathedral functions and at feasts given by the craft guilds. The Tanners, for example, employed the waits for this purpose as many as three times a year.

Gloucester's waits did not suffer as a result of the growth of puritanism. In 1632, when dramatic entertainment had declined greatly, the number of waits was increased from four to six, and their yearly fee doubled. Unlike Worcester, which suppressed its waits in 1642, Gloucester continued to employ its waits right through the Commonwealth period.<sup>14</sup>

## CEREMONY

When Henry VII made his coronation progress from York to London in 1486, Hereford and Bristol greeted the king with elaborate pageantry, but at Gloucester 'ther was no pageaunt nor speche ordeynede.' It was not until the sixteenth century that civic ceremony became more frequent and elaborate. Entries in the corporation customary describe how Princess Mary (in 1525) and Henry VIII (in 1535) were welcomed by the mayor and conducted through the town by the scarlet-clad civic officials. Not, however, until Elizabeth's visit in 1574, did Gloucester make use of quasi-dramatic pageantry as a means of demonstrating affection for, and allegiance to, the sovereign. While no narrative description of the queen's entry exists, the chamberlains' accounts record, in great detail, the preparations the city made. Scaffolds were built to serve as pageant stages at the Outer Northgate, the High Cross, and an open area just outside the Southgate known as the 'Meadow.' Several groups of musicians were paid for playing at the gates and in the streets. The major civic buildings were painted and decorated for the occasion, and 'beastes', including an antelope, unicorns, and a dragon, were constructed, probably for some sort of tableau.

The annual watches on Midsummer's eve and St Peter's eve (28 June) also came to include pageantry. The watches may have originated in genuine attempts to protect the city, but later developed into a ceremonial procession of the mayor through the city. The 1541 ordinances of the Tanners' company reveal the part the guildsmen played in the watches:

Item it ys ordayned that euery brother of the said crafte shall be in redynes withe the maister and wardens at there comen haule euery yere on the eve of Saynte Iohn Baptiste at eighte of the clocke at nyght and on Sayncte peturs eve at eighte of the clock at nyght in theire best apparell withe bendes and badges on theire shuldres towchyng theyre facultie to awayte on the mayer and Sheryffes on bothe nyghtes in the kynges watche withe the said towne And not to departe from the watche vntyll suche tyme it be done and haue broughte the maister and wardens to theire comen haule the which master and wardens shall make to the bretherne of the said crafte there assembled euery of these twoo nyghtes an honest drynchynge....<sup>15</sup>

The chamberlains' accounts are filled with payments for the firing of guns and the purchase of fireworks to be used on these occasions, but less explosive forms of entertainment appear infrequently. In 1570-1, the city rewarded 'the vssher of the fenche Schole for his paines in playenge before the watche.' Only a single entry has survived to suggest that civic pageantry accompanied the watches: the chamberlains paid 10s at Midsummer 1595 to Thomas Bubbe 'for a wagon in the pageant for the turke.'

## Tewkesbury

By the second half of the sixteenth century, which furnishes all the surviving evidence of dramatic activity, Tewkesbury had become a reasonably prosperous market and a minor port on the Severn. The town received a charter of incorporation in 1575, making official the status of corporate borough which it had already essentially achieved. Its population at that time has been estimated at 1600 communicants from 400 households, or roughly a third that of Gloucester.<sup>16</sup>

The earliest references in the churchwardens' accounts of St Mary the Virgin, Tewkesbury, to renting of the parish 'players gere' reveal an established dramatic tradition but give no indication of its antiquity. Fifteen rentals are recorded in the seventeen years separating the first rental, in 1567-8, from the last, in 1584-5; the amounts received range from 18d to 8s 2d, with 3s 4d (a half-noble) being the most common figure. Inventories of the 'players geare', taken in 1576-7 and 1584-5, and the expenses for repairing and enlarging it in 1577-8, yield some picture of the costumes and properties available to the parish for producing plays. A sheepskin garment for Christ, wigs and beards for the apostles, and a mask for the devil suggest drama on New Testament subjects, while the varied array of caps, gowns, and jerkins could serve in almost any kind of performance. At least once, in 1578-80, one of Tewkes-

bury's own parishioners paid to use the wardrobe, but it was frequently rented to nearby villages, particularly at Christmas and Midsummer.

The churchwardens' accounts record only two performances of plays at Tewkesbury itself. The earlier instance, in 1575-6, got into the accounts only because a pew was broken during the performance and the churchwardens paid to have it mended. The parish seems neither to have spent anything on mounting the play, nor to have made any money from it. In 1600-1, however, plays were put on with the express purpose of helping to finance a new battlement on the church tower. In anticipation of a large expenditure (the total cost of constructing the battlement came to more than £45), the churchwardens proposed to brew ale from grain donated to the parish, and sell the ale at dramatic performances given at Whitsuntide. The borough council, however, fearing the abuses commonly associated with church ales, refused to permit the churchwardens to sell their wheat and malt, except as grain. A play was performed on each of the first three days in Whitsun week, and musicians and trumpeters performed. The entertainment made an effective advertisement for the grain sale, since the project as a whole made enough to cover two-thirds of the cost of the new battlement, although the plays themselves made only a meagre profit.

Both the churchwardens' accounts and the minutes of the borough council for 1600 agree that the plays were performed 'within the abbey,' making them a very late instance of plays performed inside a church in England. Indeed, they are one of the latest occurrences of parish drama, a fact which probably explains why they were a one-time revival of the parish's dramatic tradition, despite their financial success. No specific attack on these plays occurs in the extant diocesan records, but fear of the abuses which attended such performances elsewhere and the tinge of papistry which clung to local religious drama prevented them from becoming a regular practice again. By 1607, diocese-wide articles of visitation prohibited plays and church ales in the church or churchyard.

### Other Parishes

Records of dramatic activity in other towns and villages in Gloucestershire are disappointingly scarce. Of the many towns which had some of the features of a borough, only Tewkesbury joined Gloucester in achieving full corporate borough status before 1642.<sup>17</sup> Even Cirencester, the trading centre of the Cotswolds, possesses few surviving records, perhaps because of the tyrannical control which the abbots of Cirencester Abbey exercised over the town until the sixteenth century, stunting its development as a borough.<sup>18</sup> Churchwardens' accounts are often the main source of evidence about local dramatic activity in smaller towns, but Tewkesbury's are among the few extant churchwardens' accounts that date from before 1630, and among the even fewer which are itemized. The records of the court of quarter sessions and those of the archidiaconal court, which have proved fruitful sources of evidence about dramatic activity outside the large towns elsewhere, have not survived for Gloucestershire.

Cheltenham, a relatively small manorial town at this time, provides a hint at how players may have operated in such places. In 1611, Richard Clerke, Guido Dobbins, and their fellows marched through the streets of the town, banging on a drum and proclaiming that they would perform a play at the sign of the Crown. The bailiff, citing fear of spreading plague as his reason, prohibited them from performing, and when they attempted to play anyway, they were arrested and fined by the manor court.

The traces of dramatic activity among the rural folk in Gloucestershire are faint indeed and consist mainly of general prohibitions. Extant printed articles from visitations of Gloucester diocese reveal the increasing strength of puritan animosity toward such activity. An article of 1607 prohibited the holding of plays, feasts, church ales, and drinkings in the church or churchyard. By 1622, the articles prohibited anywhere in the parish on the Sabbath 'Lords of misrule, dauncers, players, or any other disguised person...stage-playes, beare-baitings, bul-baitings, or other such vnlawfull and prophane exercises....sports, or any that doe sit in the Tauerne, or Alehouse, or streetes....' Only on the rare occasions when a cleric was accused of participating in a prohibited or questionable activity do we learn about it from the extant depositions sworn before the consistory court of Gloucester diocese. The most interesting of these cases concerns one Christopher Windle, vicar of the Cotswold village of Bisley. Several of his parishioners testified to the court of their distress at his encouragement of maypole dancing, which ran to the extent of making his own son lord of the maypole. In 1618 Windle sent James I a Latin commentary on the recently issued *Kings Maiesties Declaration to His Subiects Concerning lawfull Sports to be used*, in which the king defended against puritan opposition his subjects' right to participate in sports, games, and other pastimes – including maypole dancing – on Sundays. Windle endorses the king's pragmatic reasoning and adds an original rebuttal to the puritans' theological objections: he argues that God wants men to celebrate Him with their bodies as well as their minds, and that physical activities after Sunday service best accomplish this form of devotion. He also discusses the local impact of the controversy over Sunday sports and notes in the margin that maypoles have been pulled down at Gloucester and Berkeley.

At the same time that puritan pressure was increasing against sports, dancing, playing, church ales, and other such folk activities, a member of the Gloucestershire gentry was reviving and institutionalizing them in what became known as Robert Dover's Cotswold Games. The village of Weston Subedge, near Dover's estate in the north-east corner of the county, had long held an ale and revelry each year at Whitsuntide. As a protest against puritanism, Dover transformed this local festival, c 1604, by dressing it in the costume and spirit of Greece, in imitation of the Olympics, and making it into an entertainment for his gentle friends. Athletic contests dominated the celebration, but music and dancing were included. Dover himself played the king of the Games, wearing cast-off garments given to him by James I and directing proceedings from a wooden castle constructed as a centre-piece for the games. Unfortunately, no detailed records of the Cotswold Games exist; all we know of them comes from

*Annalia Dubrensia* (1636), a collection of poems dedicated to Dover.<sup>19</sup>

## Households

### BERKELEY

From the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, Gloucestershire ranked among the ten wealthiest counties in England and the lands not held by the monasteries were concentrated in the hands of a few families.<sup>20</sup> The Berkeleys, whose history in Gloucestershire goes back to Norman times, owned not only Berkeley Castle and environs, but also a great deal of agricultural land in the Severn Vale and wool-producing land in the southern Cotswolds, from Dursley and Wotton under Edge to Yate, near the southern boundary of the county. The earliest evidence of patronage of drama and music by the Gloucestershire nobility occurs in a household account book, for 1420-1, of Elizabeth Berkeley, countess of Warwick. The accounts for the Christmas holidays record expenditures on 'diuersis disgingez,' and rewards for playing given to groups from nearby Slimbridge and Wotton under Edge. Minstrels visited Berkeley Castle at Christmas and several other times during the year.

Elizabeth Berkeley was also involved in the beginning of a battle over title to the family estates which was not ultimately resolved until 1609. Because of this dispute, the Berkeleys did not live at Berkeley Castle for much of the intervening period. When Henry Berkeley succeeded to the title in the mid-sixteenth century he had to make Caludon Castle near Coventry his principal residence. Thus, the only instances of his extensive patronage of entertainers to appear in this study are the references to Lord Berkeley's players in the Gloucester chamberlains' accounts and the rewards given to musicians at Cirencester and Tortworth Park when he made a progress to view his Gloucestershire estates in 1603.

### STAFFORD

The Staffords owned a huge estate around Thornbury in the lower end of the Severn Vale, as well as manors scattered about the county. However, they did not reside in Gloucestershire until Edward Stafford, third duke of Buckingham, made Thornbury Castle his seat in 1498. In 1476 Henry VII had reversed the attainder against Buckingham's father, the second duke, restoring Buckingham to his estates and making him the wealthiest and most powerful of the nobles. Buckingham then centralized administration of his lands at Thornbury and began a construction program designed to make the castle a monument to his greatness.<sup>21</sup> His magnificent life-style, which aroused Henry VIII's envy and mistrust, often found expression in patronage of the arts. A household book for 1507-8 gives some indication of the magnitude of Buckingham's entertaining, especially during the Christmas season. On the feast of Epiphany, 519 people, of ranks ranging from knight to tenant farmer, gathered at

Thornbury Castle, consumed prodigious amounts of food and drink, and enjoyed performances by minstrels, trumpeters, the Bristol waits, and the players of Writtle, Essex.<sup>22</sup> As at Berkeley Castle, minstrels turned up at irregular intervals throughout the year. Even in 1520–1, Buckingham managed to ignore both the king's suspicions (he was to be arrested in April 1521) and his own debts, and gave Christmastide fitting celebration. The Bristol waits again provided music, a 'yong maide' performed tumbling feats, and a troupe of French players, including two women, acted what Buckingham's accountant enigmatically recorded as 'the passion of oure lorde by a vise.'

An account of 1503–4 shows that, in addition to receiving visits from itinerant performers, the duke employed minstrels as members of his household. (Of the company of players under his patronage that played at Greenwich in 1509, there is no trace in the extant Thornbury records.<sup>23</sup>) The household wardrobe also contributed to the entertainment: an inventory of 1515–16 lists six ells of canvas for constructing a pageant used in an interlude; one from 1516–17 reveals that morris dancing was popular at Thornbury, because buckram, canvas, and bells were purchased to make costumes for the morris dancers.

#### BRYDGES

Buckingham's lands passed to the Crown at the time of his execution for treason, and with the Berkeleys residing at Caludon, the way was open for the Lords Chandos to become Gloucestershire's most important patrons of the drama from the 1550s to the early seventeenth century. John Brydges had been a groom of the privy chamber under Henry VIII and later lieutenant of the Tower under Mary. In 1554, she created him the first Baron Chandos and granted him Sudeley Castle and its estates around Winchcombe, which had belonged to the executed Thomas Seymour. Lord Chandos' players first appeared at Gloucester in 1558, and his heirs continued as patrons of a provincial company until at least 1610.<sup>24</sup>

While no records of visits by professional performers to Sudeley have survived, the entertainments presented during Queen Elizabeth's stay there in 1592 are important to the history of drama in Gloucestershire, since they are the only dramatic performances given in the county for which we possess the texts. Though called 'speeches' by the man who first printed them, these entertainments contain stage directions and were clearly intended to be enacted, rather than merely spoken. Still, they remain more similar to civic pageants or masques than to contemporary plays. All three entertainments have a compliment to the sovereign as their central purpose; the second day's, for example, shows sympathy for Elizabeth's determination not to marry, by dramatizing Daphne's successful resistance to Apollo's advances. The pastoral convention so popular with the Elizabethan aristocracy made especially fitting material for entertainments at Sudeley, in its Cotswold setting. The performances occurred outdoors, where one's eyes would naturally be led from the play-acting shepherds to the real shepherds and their flocks on the surrounding hills. The text for the third

day of the queen's visit is particularly appropriate, based as it is on the king game of the folk: a cake was cut and distributed among the shepherds, with those whose pieces contained tokens becoming king and queen for the duration of the festival. At Sudeley in 1592, of course, the game-queen took precedence over the king.

Under James I, patronage of the drama by Gloucestershire nobles waned. The new king's visits to the county were less frequent than Elizabeth's, affording less opportunity for the nobles to display their loyalty and generosity through entertainment. In 1604, parliament's revision of the vagabondage laws withdrew the right of anyone but a member of the royal family to license a company to travel in his name.<sup>25</sup> Dissemination of this change in the law to the provinces was slow, and many companies relied on this fact to continue performing (both Lord Berkeley's and Lord Chandos' players are mentioned in civic accounts until 1610), but fewer and fewer were willing to risk arrest as vagabonds.

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# The Documents

## Boroughs and Parishes

### BISLEY

#### Gloucester Diocese Consistory Court Deposition Books

Gloucester, Gloucestershire Record Office, GDR 114; May 1611–April 1613; Latin and English; paper; 191 leaves; 289mm x 185mm (text area variable); unfoliated; original vellum cover, but most of front cover missing.

A book of depositions taken in consistory court cases dealing with offenses such as libel, fornication, and failure to observe the Sabbath. The depositions were recorded separately from the charges and dispositions of the cases, so that the charges often must be inferred from the answers given by the witnesses and the results of the cases are rarely known. The legal formulae and description of witnesses are in Latin, but the depositions themselves are taken down in English.

### CHELTENHAM

#### Manor and Hundred Court Book

Gloucester, Gloucestershire Record Office, D855/M8; 1607–15; Latin and English; paper; i + 186 + ii; 300mm x 200mm (290mm x 150mm), average 46 long lines; original ink foliation; original vellum cover.

This court book is the main record of official acts in the manor and hundred of Cheltenham. In addition to presentments, fines, and court orders, it contains grants, essoins, and lists of free-, burgage-, and copy-holders.

### CHURCHDOWN

#### A DIVINE TRAGEDIE | LATELY ACTED, | OR, |

A Collection of sundrie memorable ex- | amples of Gods judgements upon Sabbath-breakers, |

and other like Libertines, in their unlawfull Sports, hap- | ning within the Realme of *England*, in the compasse one- | ly of few yeers last past, since the Book was published, worthy | to be known and considered of all men, especially such, | who are guilty of the sin or Arch- | patrons thereof. | By that worthy Divine Mr. *Henry Burton*. | [within a rectangular block, an oval portrait of the author with 'Ætatis Suae 63' at left] | Printed in the year 1641. Colophon on f 4v, p 38: LONDON: | Printed for *John Wright junior*, and for *Tho. Bates*, and / are to be sold at their shops in the Old Baylie. | 1642. Quarto; A4 - F4; roman and italic; A1 (title page), A4, B4, C4, D4, E4, F4 unsigned; ornamental rectangular block begins 'To the Reader' and 'Examples of Gods Judgements'; ornamental capitals, A2 and B2. Wing: B6161.

## GLOUCESTER

*Civic Records*

The Gloucestershire Record Office is currently renumbering the borough records. The numbers which appear in parentheses in the document descriptions for the Corporation Custumnal, the Corporation Common Council Minute Books, the Borough Bailiffs' Accounts, and the Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts are the former numbers, based on W.H. Stevenson's *Calendar of the Records of the Corporation of Gloucester*.

## Corporation Custumnal

Gloucester, Gloucestershire Record Office, GBR B 2/1 (1375/1450); 1486-c 1600; English and Latin; paper; x + 236 + iv; 290mm × 215mm (text area variable), average 33 long lines; modern arabic foliation corrects original roman numeral foliation; little ornamentation; first 13 and last 11 leaves laminated in plastic; 19th c. red leather-covered cardboard binding.

This book, begun during the reign of Henry VII as a custumnal, was used to preserve copies of the new borough charter granted by Henry VIII, acts regulating the practices of various crafts (none of which contain references to dramatic activity), and descriptions of important events, such as the visits of Princess Mary in 1525 and of Henry VIII with Anne Boleyn in 1535 - presumably recorded in order to preserve the accepted ceremonial forms. It also includes lists of city aldermen, of rents due on city land, of assessments to furnish soldiers, and of soldiers sent to various campaigns; copies of letters to and from the sovereigns regarding musters; and copies of documents concerning a land dispute between the city and the abbot of St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester.

## Corporation Common Council Minute Books

Gloucester, Gloucestershire Record Office, GBR B 3/1 (1376/1451); 1565-1632; English with some Latin; paper; xii + 411 + vi; 360mm × 240mm (330mm × 170mm), average 38 long lines; original foliation (8 unfoliated leaves between 9 and 10, foliation jumps from 275 to 436,

240–75 also numbered 400–35 but crossed out, 220–39 also numbered 300–19 but crossed out); first 15 leaves laminated; 19th c. red leather-covered cardboard binding, title on spine.

Gloucester, Gloucestershire Record Office, GBR B 3/2 (1377/1452); 1632–56; English with some Latin headings; paper; x + 470 (last 22 index) + iv; 365mm × 210mm (330mm × 160mm), average 38 long lines; original pagination; first 20 pages laminated; 19th c. red leather-covered cardboard binding, title on spine.

These books contain the texts of acts and ordinances of the city council, arranged by mayoral year. Among the acts regulating various crafts are ordinances concerning the visits of professional players. Other acts of the council created new civic offices or redefined old ones, including the office of civic wait. After 1600, the books are increasingly devoted to copies of leases, orders to survey land, and repairs to civic buildings.

#### Corporation Clerks' Memoranda Books

Gloucester, Gloucestershire Record Office, GBR 1453/1542; 1609–35; English; paper; iii + 175 + iii; 395mm × 145mm (370mm × 130mm), average 43 long lines; modern foliation; 19th c. dark-brown leather-covered cardboard binding, title on spine.

Gloucester, Gloucestershire Record Office, GBR 1454/1543; 1636–70; English; paper; iii + 194 + iii; 395mm × 145mm (350mm × 130mm), average 35 long lines; modern foliation; 19th c. dark-brown leather-covered cardboard binding, title on spine.

The city clerks' memoranda books record arrests and punishments for vagabondage, bindings over to quarter sessions for more serious crimes, precautionary measures against plague, and loans to and by the city.

#### Borough Bailiffs' Accounts

Gloucester, Gloucestershire Record Office, GBR F 3/2 (1302/1357); 1393–4; Latin; parchment, single membrane; 300mm × 265mm (220mm × 210mm), 31 long lines (about 5 lines lost near top); stained and faded so that a good deal of the roll is illegible even under UV, a section of varying height running across entire membrane missing; parchment glued to heavy paper backing.

Gloucester, Gloucestershire Record Office, GBR F 3/4 (1304/1358b); 1409–10; Latin; parchment; single membrane; 290mm × 210mm (270mm × 200mm), 35 long lines (about 5 lines missing in middle of membrane); stained and faded, large section missing across entire roll; parchment glued to heavy paper backing.

These accounts, running from Michaelmas to Michaelmas, do not deal with the day-to-day operation of Gloucester, but with the bailiffs' expenses in entertaining the

nobles who visited the city while the assizes were in session. Only two of the account rolls have survived, but both contain several payments to companies of minstrels. In addition, entries record expenses to the duke of York, the purchase of wine for the king's justices of the assize, and a gift to the king's harbinger. No details are given, and many of the patrons' names and the amounts paid are missing or illegible.

#### Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts

Gloucester, Gloucestershire Record Office, GBR F 4/3 (1394/1500); 1550-96; English; paper; x + 324 + iv; 385mm × 270mm (350mm × 210mm), average 45 long lines; original foliation; ff 2-96 laminated, ff 320-4 loose; 19th c. red leather-covered cardboard binding, title on spine.

Gloucester, Gloucestershire Record Office, GBR F 4/4 (1395/1500b); 1628-9; English; paper; vi + 43 + vi; 310mm × 190mm (270mm × 150mm), average 36 long lines; modern foliation (both sides of pages 1-46, then each leaf 47-51, remaining leaves unfoliated); 19th c. red leather-covered cardboard binding, title on spine.

Gloucester, Gloucestershire Record Office, GBR F 4/5 (1396/1501); 1635-53; English; paper; x + 503 + iv; 350mm × 225mm (300mm × 190mm), average 39 long lines; modern foliation; leaves 3-6, 35 laminated; 19th c. red leather-covered cardboard binding.

The Chamberlains' Accounts run from Michaelmas to Michaelmas and record all the city's financial dealings. City treasury receipts include rents, fines levied on new burgesses, and sales of city property. Disbursements are divided into several categories: rents, fees and wages of city officials (including the civic waits), costs of repairs to buildings and roads, gifts and rewards, and general payments. Payments to players occur in the last three of these categories, most commonly under 'Gifts and Rewards,' along with rewards to servants of the king and nobles, and holiday gifts of sugar and wine to the local nobility. Expenses for constructing stages and other preparations for performances are usually found under 'General Payments.'

The earliest extant volume, begun in 1550, may be the first account book in this form kept by the city, as it begins with a lengthy inventory of city land and other property not found in later volumes. The marginal headings and the first word of each entry - usually 'also' or 'geuen' - are large and heavily inked. One or more volumes containing the accounts for 1596-7 to 1634-5 have been lost, with only the accounts for the single year 1628-9 having survived.

#### *Guild Records*

##### Bakers' Company Minutes and Accounts

Gloucester, Gloucestershire County Library, 29334; 1558-1654; English; paper; i + 125; 320mm × 205mm (300mm × 170mm), average 34 long lines; unfoliated; original cover lost; first and last few leaves badly torn and frayed, some leaves at ends may have been lost.

**Tanners' Company Orders and Accounts**

Gloucester, Gloucestershire County Library, 28652/18; 1598-1724; English; paper; 261 leaves; 290mm × 195mm (260mm × 140mm), average 38 long lines; unfoliated; original vellum cover, titles on front and back of cover.

These guild books are quite similar in form and content. They begin with ordinances of the company and the oaths to be taken by company officers, followed by the accounts, within which occasional memoranda and lists of enrolled apprentices are interspersed. The receipts are primarily from initiation fees paid to join the company or from fines levied for offenses against the ordinances. The payments include no references to plays or processions, but are made up mostly of expenses incurred at celebratory meals, gifts to impoverished members, and rents for the meeting-halls. The meal expenses often include payments to the waits for entertaining. Before the seventeenth century, the Bakers' accounts are not as detailed as the Tanners' and even then some expenses for entertainment may be hidden in summarized expenses for meals. The Tanners' accounting year runs from one St Clement's Day to the next (St Clement being their patron saint), while the Bakers' accounts run from Michaelmas to Michaelmas.

*Monastic and Ecclesiastical Records***Statutes of St Peter's Abbey**

Hereford, Hereford Cathedral Library, No. 1826; 10 October 1301; Latin; parchment; single membrane; 550mm × 394mm (427mm × 374mm), 68 long lines; no heading.

These sixteen statutes were drawn up by John de Gamages, abbot of St Peter's, and twelve other monks, in response to the archbishop of Canterbury's demand that the abbey reform a number of abuses.

**Cathedral Treasurers' Accounts**

Gloucester, Gloucestershire Record Office, D 936 A 1/1; 1609-34; English and Latin; paper; i + 147 + i; 295mm × 200mm (280mm × 175mm), average 21 long lines; modern pencil pagination; title page illuminated with armorial bearings of the dean and chapter in silver and chartreuse, endpapers are leaves from a printed Latin Bible; 17th c. brown leather-covered cardboard binding, no title.

Gloucester, Gloucestershire Record Office, D 936 A 1/2; 1635-64 (no accounts for 1642-61); English with some Latin; paper; iii + 193 + i; 320mm × 210mm (255mm × 175mm), average 34 long lines; modern pencil pagination; p iii illuminated with armorial bearings of the dean and chapter; brown leather-covered cardboard contemporary binding, title on front cover.

The Cathedral Treasurers' Accounts record receipts from rents of lands owned by the dean and chapter. Disbursements include payments for salaries, repairs of the fabric,

and gifts to the needy; and extraordinary payments for bell-ringing, supplies, and entertainment. While entries for liturgical music have not been transcribed here, the extraordinary payments occasionally contain payments to the civic waits for supplementing the cathedral's musical forces, and to a few poor musicians who received gifts.

Gloucester Diocese Consistory Court Deposition Books

Gloucester, Gloucestershire Record Office, GDR 89; June 1601–March 1604; Latin and English; paper; 248 leaves; 290mm × 185mm (text area variable); unfoliated; original vellum cover, no title.

Similar to GDR 114 (see under Bisley, p 261).

*Miscellaneous Records*

Account of Alms, Edward I

London, Public Record Office, E 101/351/15; 20 November 1283–19 November 1284; Latin; parchment; 1 mb (in roll of 4 mbs); 720mm × 378mm (520mm × 357mm); good condition.

The roll records alms and oblations given by Edward I while on progress during the last weeks of 1283 and the early part of 1284. The daily and weekly payments are set down in approximate chronological order and grouped in paragraphs covering two-week periods, with the name of the place where the court found itself at the beginning of each fortnight indicated in the left-hand margin.

*A Divine Tragedie Lately Acted*

See Churchdown, pp 261–2.

First Provincial Progress of Henry VII

London, British Library, Cotton Julius B XII; 15th–17th c.; English, Latin, Anglo-Norman; paper, ff 67–82 parchment; iii + 316 + iii; 279mm × 207mm (180mm × 122mm), collation impossible, now single leaves separately mounted; modern pencil foliation; some flourished initials, painted coats of arms (ff 3–4), some marginalia in red ink (ff 58–63); brown half morocco binding, gold lettering.

This account of the progress of Henry VII in 1486, apparently written by a herald in the king's train, describes the elaborate pageants given before the king in York, Bristol, and elsewhere.

Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes

London, British Library, MS Harley 162; 7 November 1640–24 February 1641; English; paper; iii + 421 + iii; 310mm × 190mm; original foliation (modern foliation of first four folios, last folio, and several insertions); good condition; 19th c. binding of leather-covered board,

title on spine, Harley crest on front and back cover, gold tooling around edges of covers and spine.

D'Ewes' journal records the proceedings of parliament in late 1640 and early 1641. Among the subjects of controversy at that time were *The King's Book of Sports* and the support of royalist ecclesiastics for Sunday entertainments.

#### HARESCOMBE

Gloucester Diocese Consistory Court Deposition Books  
See Bisley, p 261.

#### HENBURY

Bristol Diocese Bishop's Cause Book  
Bristol, Bristol Record Office; EP/J/1/11; 1597-1601; Latin and English; paper; 540 + v; original foliation; 290mm × 202mm (text area variable); cover of brown leather over board with leather hinges, no title.

Similar to GDR 90 (below).

#### LITTLEDEAN

Gloucester Diocese Consistory Court Cause Book  
Gloucester, Gloucestershire Record Office, GDR 90; March 1601-June 1603; Latin and English; paper; 392 (1-3 lost) leaves; 300mm × 195mm (text area variable); original foliation; original vellum cover, modern pencil title on front.

GDR 90 is a book of office causes before the consistory court; most entries, arranged by parishes, give only the names of the accused and the charges on a particular date. Many cases deal with fornication, not receiving communion at Easter, libel, and refusal to pay parish rates. Detection for working or keeping shop on the sabbath is frequent, but the 1602 Littledean presentments for dancing and playing instruments at service time are the only such ones in the book.

#### MITCHELDEAN

Letter to the Queen from Anthony Bridgeman  
London, Public Record Office, SP 12/222/no. 70. 1.; January 1589; English; paper; single sheet; 299mm × 414mm (277mm × 191mm); 43 long lines; bound into *State Papers Domestic: Elizabeth*, vol 222.

Anthony Bridgeman of Mitcheldean, Gloucestershire, wrote to Queen Elizabeth with a list of puritan-inspired reforms, ranging from the restraint of minstrelsy and bear-baiting on the sabbath, to the restriction of clerics to a single benefice.

## TEWKESBURY

Letter from John Veysey, Bishop of Exeter, and Others to Wolsey

London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian F XIII, #187 (f 240, formerly f 134); 27 November 1525; English; parchment; single sheet bound into book; 270mm × 190mm (60mm × 17mm); direction on dorso: 'To the moost Reuerende fader in god | the lorde Cardynal his good grace.'

The letter is undated, but the 1525 date, given in *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII* (vol IV, p 792), is borne out by the fact that on her way north Mary passed through Gloucester on 12 September of that year (GBR B 2/1, ff 116–16v).

## Borough Minute Book

Gloucester, Gloucestershire Record Office, TBR A 1/1; 1575–1736; Latin and English; paper; ii + 223 + ii; 340mm × 230mm (300mm × 170mm), average 38 long lines; original ink foliation begins from both ends with some duplication of numbers, modern foliation in pencil; leaves at either end damaged and repaired, some fading but text generally legible; brown leather-covered cardboard binding (original) with leather straps and brass clasp, no title.

The Tewkesbury Borough Minute Book appears to have been used to record many different kinds of information important to the borough government. It contains ordinances, lists of freemen and apprentices, subsidies, oaths to be taken by town officials, copies of wills, and copies of letters concerning musters. The bailiffs' accounts are generally given in summary form, but in one of the rare years (1584) when the accounts were itemized to some extent, there is a reference to players.

## Church of St Mary the Virgin Churchwardens' Accounts

Gloucester, Gloucestershire Record Office, P 329 CW 2/1; 1563–1703; English; paper; vi + 296 + v; 410mm × 145mm (370mm × 120mm), average 51 long lines; original pagination to 530 then foliation to end (559); early leaves repaired with cheesecloth, occasional loss of text at edges; references to players often marked by antiquarians, either with pencilled arrows or ✕ marked in purple pencil; red-brown leather-covered cardboard binding, title on spine.

This book of churchwardens' accounts records amounts received by the churchwardens from seat money, burial charges, land rents, and occasionally from renting out the parish stock of costumes and properties (the 'players gere'). The expenditures include repairs to the church fabric and bells, repairs and improvements to the 'players gere,' and expenses at visitations. The receipts and expenses in connection with the plays and grain sale, held in 1600 to finance a battlement on the church tower, occur

in a separate section of accounts, following the ordinary accounts for 1600. The churchwardens' terms of office varied in duration, ranging from ten months to more than three years; each section of accounts reflects the period during which each particular pair of churchwardens served.

Gloucester Diocese Consistory Court Cause Book  
See Littledean, p 267.

#### TORTWORTH

Gloucester Diocese Consistory Court Deposition Books  
See Gloucester, p 266.

#### WESTON SUBEDGE

Gloucester Diocese Consistory Court Deposition Books  
Gloucester, Gloucestershire Record Office, GDR 32; November 1573–June 1575; Latin and English; paper; 170 leaves; 307mm × 215mm (text area variable); irregular 16th c. foliation, modern pagination; original vellum cover, title on front cover obliterated.

Similar to GDR 114 (see under Bisley, p 261).

### Diocese of Gloucester

#### VISITATION ARTICLES

ARTICLES, | TO BE ENQVIRED | of within the Dioces of Glocester, in the | first generall Visitation of the Reuerend | Father in God, Henry Lorde | Bishop of Glocester. || HOLDEN || In the yeare of our Lord God, 1607 | In the fift yeare of the Raigne of our most gra- | cious Soueraigne Lord Iames, by the grace of | God King of great Brittain, France, | and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. Imprinted at London by William [Iag]gard, for Clement Knight. 1607. | A<sup>4</sup>, B<sup>4</sup>, C<sup>2</sup>. Bound into GRO: GDR 102 at beginning. No colophon. Catchwords. *stc*: 10209.3

ARTICLES | To be inquired of, in the | first Metropolitall visitation, of the most | Reuerend Father, GEORGE, by Gods pro- | uidence, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and Primate of all Eng- | land; in, and for the Dioces of Glocester, in the yeare of | our Lord God, 1612. and in the second yeare of his | Graces Translation. || LONDON | Printed by William Iaggard. | A<sup>4</sup>, B<sup>4</sup>. Bound into GRO: GDR 115. *stc*: 10209.5

ARTICLES | ECCLESIASTICAL | TO BE ENQVIRED OF BY | THE CHVRCH-WAR- DENS | AND SWORNE-MEN WITH- | IN THE DIOCES OF GLOVCESTER. ||

In the Visitation of the Right Reuerend, | Father in GOD, MYLES, Lord Bishop of the | said Dioces, this present yeere. | 1622 || And in the twentieth yeere of the Raigne of our most | dread Soueraigne Lord King IAMES. || LONDON | Printed by IOHN LEGATT. | 1622. | A<sup>4</sup>, B<sup>2</sup>. Bound into GRO: GDR 146. Modern pencil pagination. Catchwords. *STC*: 10209.7

ARTICLES | TO BE ENQVIRED | OF, IN THE GENERAL | VISITATION OF THE ARCH- | DEACON of the Diocesse of Glocester: | Holden in the yeare of our Lord GOD, 1624. | In the 21. yeare of the Raigne of our most gracious | Soueraigne Lord IAMES, by the grace of God, King of Great Britaine, France and Ireland, | Defender of the Faith, &c. | [McKerrow 343 woodcut 67mm × 55mm] | LONDON: | ¶ Printed for *Nathaniel Butter*. | 1624. | [within foliated border-frame]; A<sup>4</sup>, B<sup>4</sup>. No colophon. *STC*: 10213.8.

The clergy, churchwardens, and selected parishioners from all the parishes in the diocese were examined over these articles of visitation to determine if they were in compliance with church policy regarding a wide variety of practices. The 1607, 1612, and 1624 articles mention dramatic activity only to ask if plays have been permitted in the church or churchyard. The effect of puritan sabbatarianism can be seen in the 1622 articles, which also ask whether any plays, dances, lords of misrule, bull- or bear-baitings have been allowed anywhere on the sabbath.

## Households

### BEAUCHAMP

Household Account Book of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick  
Longleat House, Warminster, Wilts., collection of the marquess of Bath, Ms. Misc. ix; 1420–1; Latin; paper; i + 141 + ii; 410mm × 285mm (342mm × 270mm), average 33 long lines; modern pencil foliation (two f 138s); 19th c. red leather-covered cardboard binding, title on spine.

Actually, the accounts are of the household of Elizabeth Berkeley, countess of Warwick, as her husband was at war in France during most of the relevant period. The only child of Lord Thomas Berkeley, she inherited the estate on her father's death in 1417 and had to remain in residence at the castle during Warwick's absence to protect her right to it against the claims of Lord Thomas' closest male relative, his nephew James Berkeley. The book begins with undated accounts: payments for large purchases, to creditors, for the upkeep of the stable and kennel, and to various persons, including minstrels, as rewards. The largest part of the book is given to day-by-day accounts of the expenditures of the household departments – the pantry, buttery, and wardrobe – from Michaelmas 1420 to Michaelmas 1421. A list of visitors present at the castle precedes each day's accounts. Expenses during the Christmas season for entertainment are not recorded daily, but are lumped together.

## BERKELEY

## Lord Henry Berkeley's House Steward's Book

Berkeley Castle, Glouc, Muniment Room, General Series Bound Book #109; October 1600–July 1605; English, paper; ii + 132 + ii; 310mm × 205mm (260mm × 140mm), average 31 long lines; unfoliated; modern cream-coloured paper over cardboard binding, titles on label on front cover and spine.

This household book is primarily concerned with the receipts and expenditures of Lord Henry Berkeley's household at Caludon Castle near Coventry. It also includes expenses incurred in visiting the lord's Gloucestershire estates, with occasional payments to musicians for entertaining him on progress.

## BRYDGES

SPEECHES | DELIVERED TO | HER MAIESTIE AT THE | LAST PROGRESSE, AT THE | Right Honorable the Lady Rvssels, at | Bissam, the Right Honorable the Lorde | CHANDOS at Sudley at the Right | Honorable the Lord NORRIS, at | Ricorte. | [McKerrow 336] | At Oxforde, Printed by Ioseph Barnes. | 1592. | A<sup>4</sup>, B<sup>4</sup>, C<sup>7</sup>. No colophon. *STC*: 7600.

## STAFFORD

## Household Accounts of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham

Stafford, Staffordshire Record Office, D 641/1/3/7a; 31 March 1503–31 March 1504; Latin; parchment; 5 membranes, written serially mbs 1–5, inventory written on dorse, mbs 1d–5d; 530mm × 287mm (425mm × 233mm), average 72 long lines.

Stafford, Staffordshire Record Office, D (W) 1721/1/5; 5 November 1507–22 March 1508; Latin; paper; xi + 128 (with 127 blank leaves interleaved) + ix; 400mm × 267mm (330mm × 189mm), average 43 long lines; modern pagination; original leaves have been glued to modern paper with every other modern leaf left blank; tan leather-covered cardboard binding, title on spine.

London, Public Record Office, E. 101. 631/20; 1514–15; Latin with some English; paper; 26 membranes, attached serially; 383mm × 290mm (383mm × 210mm), average 40 long lines; written mb 1d, mbs 1–26.

Stafford, Staffordshire Record Office, D 641/1/3/9; 31 March 1516–31 March 1517; Latin; paper; 38 membranes, attached serially, written mbs 1d–10d, 1–38; 419mm × 344mm (380mm × 240mm), average 47 long lines.

London, Public Record Office, E. 36/220; September 1520–April 1521; English; paper; iv + 17 + iv; 342mm × 264mm (170mm × 142mm), average 30 long lines; modern pencil

foliation and pagination, and modern ink-stamped pagination, which has been followed; modern patterned paper-covered cardboard binding, spine and corners reinforced with leather, title on paper glued to spine.

These accounts refer to the finances of the household of Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, while he was in residence at Thornbury Castle in southern Gloucestershire. The earliest set of accounts, for 1503-4, does not explicitly indicate the location concerned, but the extensive expenditures for building repairs suggest that the accounts refer to Thornbury. Buckingham had made the castle his principal residence in 1498 and embarked on major repair and refurbishing prior to the massive building campaign begun in 1507-8. (An unnamed scholar working for the Historical Manuscripts Commission made a transcription of these accounts in the mid-nineteenth century which is still tied up with the original roll. The transcriber also identified the accounts as being from Thornbury.)

The 1507-8 household book consists of accounts of each day's expenditure for provisions (foodstuffs, candles, stable supplies) with a list of guests present at dinner and supper in the left-hand margin, including players and musicians. The household's location is given at the top of each page; the winter months generally found it at Thornbury.

The accounts of 1515-16 and 1516-17 inventory materials used for new clothes and other special purposes by the duke's department of the wardrobe; they do not record daily expenses. The canvas used in making a pageant in 1515-16 is listed under the rubric, 'Dona.' The bells and buckram for morris dancers' costumes occur in a section of the 1516-17 account primarily devoted to hunting and hawking accessories.

The account book for 1520-1 also does not deal with everyday supplies and services, but only with rewards to entertainers, to servants of other nobles, and with the duke's oblations.

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# Editorial Procedures

## Principles of Selection

The intent of this edition has been to include every reference to dramatic and musical activity in Gloucestershire before 1642. In addition, material adjacent to these items has been transcribed when it provides the context for a play or musical performance, as in the Gloucester Tanners' accounts, where payments to the waits follow other expenses at guild dinners. Some caution has had to be exercised, however, against the temptation to include anything which even remotely suggests drama, music, or ceremonial in an effort to fill the many gaps in our knowledge about these activities left by the surviving records.

References to church drama appear here, such as the St Nicholas play performed before Edward I at Gloucester in 1283, but church music and ceremonial have been omitted. Thus, entirely liturgical practices like the sepulchre watchings recorded by Minchinhampton and Gloucester parishes have not been included. Payments found in the Cathedral Treasurers' Accounts for the purchase and repair of musical instruments, and to musicians for playing at services, have not been transcribed. Only those entries which seem to refer to non-liturgical performance are included – a payment for music at a feast at the bishop's residence, for instance. The reference to a boy-bishop at Gloucester in 1283 is given, but not the text of a sermon preached by a boy-bishop there on the feast of the Holy Innocents, 1558: the sermon itself is serious as well as appropriate to the day, the entertainment being provided solely by the youth of the preacher.<sup>26</sup> Sixteenth-century registers of the abbots of St Peter's, Gloucester, make several intriguing mentions of the 'communes ludos,' translated in the registers themselves as 'common plays.' Unfortunately, further examination has revealed that these plays are not dramatic performances, but rather periods of recreation when the monastic rule was relaxed and they are therefore omitted.

Church ales may well have provided the occasion for parish plays in Gloucestershire, as they did elsewhere, but the only surviving evidence comes from Tewkesbury, where the borough council refused to allow the parish to hold an ale in conjunction with plays in 1600. Occasional mentions of ales in churchwardens' accounts, court records, and the papers of John Smyth of Nibley have not been included, as they are

not accompanied by any indication of dramatic activity.

Ceremonial practices appear here only when they involve music or quasi-dramatic activity. Payments for entertainment at Gloucester's Midsummer watch have been transcribed, but the annual expenses for gunpowder and matches, and for beating the drum at Midsummer have not. Descriptions of royal entries have been included, although those of Henry VII in 1486 and Princess Mary in 1525 yield only negative evidence. The city's expenses in entertaining royalty during their visits to Gloucester are also given, but payments for bell-ringing, street-cleaning, and the like at these times are not. Similarly, references to civic and guild feasts have been excluded, unless accompanied by music or other entertainment.

Finally, one incident beyond the chronological limit set by REED must be mentioned, for it shows that the desire for drama persisted in Gloucester under the Commonwealth. In 1657, Thomas Wright appeared before the city council to ask permission for a troop of 'poppet players' to perform at his inn. The council forbade it, but Wright defied them, and was left to face the quarter sessions alone when the players slipped out of town.<sup>27</sup>

### Dating the Documents

The documents in the original are dated according to a year that began on 25 March rather than 1 January (following the Julian calendar in use in England until the eighteenth century). In addition, some dates are given by regnal year, and some by saints' days or movable feasts. I have converted all dates to conform to modern practice, except that I have adopted a chronology which starts a new year at Michaelmas (29 September) and employs double-year dates. Thus, for example, 15 September 1550 would convert to 15 September 1549–50, while 15 October 1550 would become 15 October 1550–1.

This system of dating is suggested by the documents themselves. Many of the documents – borough minute books, civil and ecclesiastical court books, even some of the household accounts – date each entry separately. Most of the accounts, however, simply list all the receipts and payments within a given accounting year without indicating specific dates for individual entries. Even in the rare cases when, for instance, the Gloucester city chamberlains record in their accounts for 1582–3 that 13s 4d was 'Geven to my lorde Barckleyes players the xxx<sup>th</sup> of November,' we cannot be absolutely certain that 30 November was the date of performance: the recorded date may refer to a payment made to the players a few days after the actual performance, or even – as appears to have happened occasionally – to the reimbursement of some civic official who had rewarded players out of his own pocket, perhaps as much as several months earlier. Since the most common evidence in this collection is from the accounts, and the only dates that can be fixed with any confidence for the payments in these accounts are the beginning and end of the accounting year, I have chosen to base the chronology on the accounting year most commonly employed, one which

ran from 29 September to the following 28 September. The Michaelmas to Michaelmas accounting year was used in the important Gloucester bailiffs' and chamberlains' accounts, in the accounts of the Gloucester Bakers' company, and in some of the household accounts of Elizabeth Berkeley and of Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham (though the household accounts also give specific dates).

A few sets of accounts present difficulties for this arrangement. The Tanners' company observed an accounting year that began on St Clement's Day (23 November). The only events mentioned in the Tanners' accounts which we can consistently date are the dinners given by each new master when he took office on the St Clement's Day which opened the accounting year. In order to place the only precisely datable entries in the correct year, I have located each set of accounts under the year which began on the previous Michaelmas (rather than in the year the account was rendered). This arrangement has the added advantage that only the section of each account covering the two months from Michaelmas to St Clement's Day appears under the wrong year.

The Tewkesbury churchwardens rendered their accounts at irregular intervals, generally about a year apart, but ranging from eight months (3 September 1577 to 3 May 1578) to nearly two years (4 May 1572 to 20 April 1574). In some cases, the manuscript tells only the date the account was rendered and we can only assume that it covers the entire period between that date and the rendering of the previous account. The treasurers of Gloucester Cathedral used an accounting year beginning on Lady Day (25 March), a half-year out of phase with the system employed in this collection, and none of the entries can be dated any more precisely. The same is true of two household accounts of the duke of Buckingham (Staffordshire Record Office: D 641/1/3/7a and 9), which began their accounting year on 31 March. All these accounts have been placed under the years in which they were rendered with the inclusive dates covered given in the entry headings in parentheses.

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# Notes

- 1 H.C. Darby, 'Gloucestershire,' *The Domesday Geography of Midland England*, 2nd ed, H.C. Darby and I.B. Terrett (eds) (Cambridge, 1971), pp 1-2.
- 2 Thomas Rudge, *The History and Antiquities of Gloucester, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (Gloucester, 1811), pp 15-21, 25.
- 3 William Page (ed), *The Victoria History of the County of Gloucester*, vol 2 (London, 1907), p 151.
- 4 Charles Phythian-Adams, 'Urban Decay in Late Medieval England,' *Towns in Societies: Essays in Economic History and Historical Sociology*, Philip Abrams and E.A. Wrigley (eds) (Cambridge, 1978), pp 163-4, 174, 179-80.
- 5 W.H. Stevenson (ed), 'The Records of the Corporation of Gloucester,' *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, 12th Report, Appendix, Part 9 (London, 1891), pp 406-7; M.D. Lobel and J. Tann, 'Gloucester,' *Historic Towns*, vol 1, M.D. Lobel (ed) (London, 1969), p 9; Peter Clark, "'The Ramoth-Gilead of the Good': Urban Change and Political Radicalism at Gloucester 1540-1640," *The English Commonwealth 1547-1640: Essays in Politics and Society Presented to Joel Hurstfield*, Peter Clark, Alan G.R. Smith, and Nicholas Tyacke (Leicester, 1979), pp 168-70.
- 6 Stevenson, pp 403-4; Lobel and Tann, p 12.
- 7 Clark, p 168.
- 8 The Borough Customnal (GRO: GBR B 2/1) includes some guild ordinances; the ordinances of the Tanners' company adopted in 1541 survive separately (Gloucestershire County Library #28652/4). The records of York and Chester guilds can be found in Alexandra F. Johnston and Margaret Rogerson (eds), *York, Records of Early English Drama* (Toronto, 1979) and Lawrence M. Clopper (ed), *Chester, Records of Early English Drama* (Toronto, 1979).
- 9 Itemized sixteenth-century churchwardens' accounts survive from St Michael's, St Aldgate's, and St Mary de Crypt.
- 10 R.W[illis], *Mount Tabor. or Private Exercises of a Penitent Sinner* (London, 1639), p 110. STC: 25752.
- 11 The uses of the Bothall are enumerated in an indenture between the city and Robert Ingram, 26 August 1569 (GBR B 2/3, ff 138-9v).

- 12 Clark, pp 168–86.
- 13 The plague reached Worcester in 1637 and Gloucester then enacted severe restrictions on entry by any strangers, not only players (GBR 1454/1543, ff 10v–12).
- 14 David Klausner transcribes the Worcester ordinance in 'Research in Progress [Hereford and Worcester],' *REEDN*, 1979:1, 22.
- 15 Gloucestershire County Library #28652/4.
- 16 C.R. Elrington (ed), *The Victoria History of the County of Gloucester*, vol 8 (London, 1968), pp 110–11, 120.
- 17 William Bradford Willcox, *Gloucestershire: A Study in Local Government, 1590–1640*, p 204, n 1.
- 18 Colin Platt, *The English Medieval Town* (London, 1976), p 140.
- 19 Christopher Whitfield, *Robert Dover and the Cotswold Games* (London, 1962), p 20; *VCH Glouc*, vol 2, p 306.
- 20 Roger S. Scofield, 'The Geographical Distribution of Wealth in England, 1334–1649,' *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser, 18 (1965), 483–510.
- 21 Carole Rawcliffe, *The Staffords, Earls of Stafford and Dukes of Buckingham, 1394–1521* (Cambridge, 1978), pp 86–7; A.D.K. Hawkyard, 'Thornbury Castle,' *TBGAS*, 95 (1977), 51–8.
- 22 See Appendix 1 for a complete day's entry from this household book.
- 23 John Payne Collier, *The History of English Dramatic Poetry to the Time of Shakespeare: and Annals of the Stage to the Restoration*, vol 1 (London, 1831), p 49.
- 24 John Tucker Murray, *English Dramatic Companies, 1558–1642*, vol 2, pp 29–30.
- 25 Glynne Wickham, *Early English Stages, 1300 to 1660*, vol 2, pt 1, p 91.
- 26 John Gough Nichols (ed), 'Two Sermons preached by the Boy Bishop at St. Paul's, temp. Henry VIII., and at Gloucester, temp. Mary,' with an introduction giving an account of the festival of the boy bishop in England by Edward F. Rimbault, *The Camden Miscellany*, vol 7 (1875), Camden Society, new ser, p 14.
- 27 GRO: 1454/1543, f 80v.

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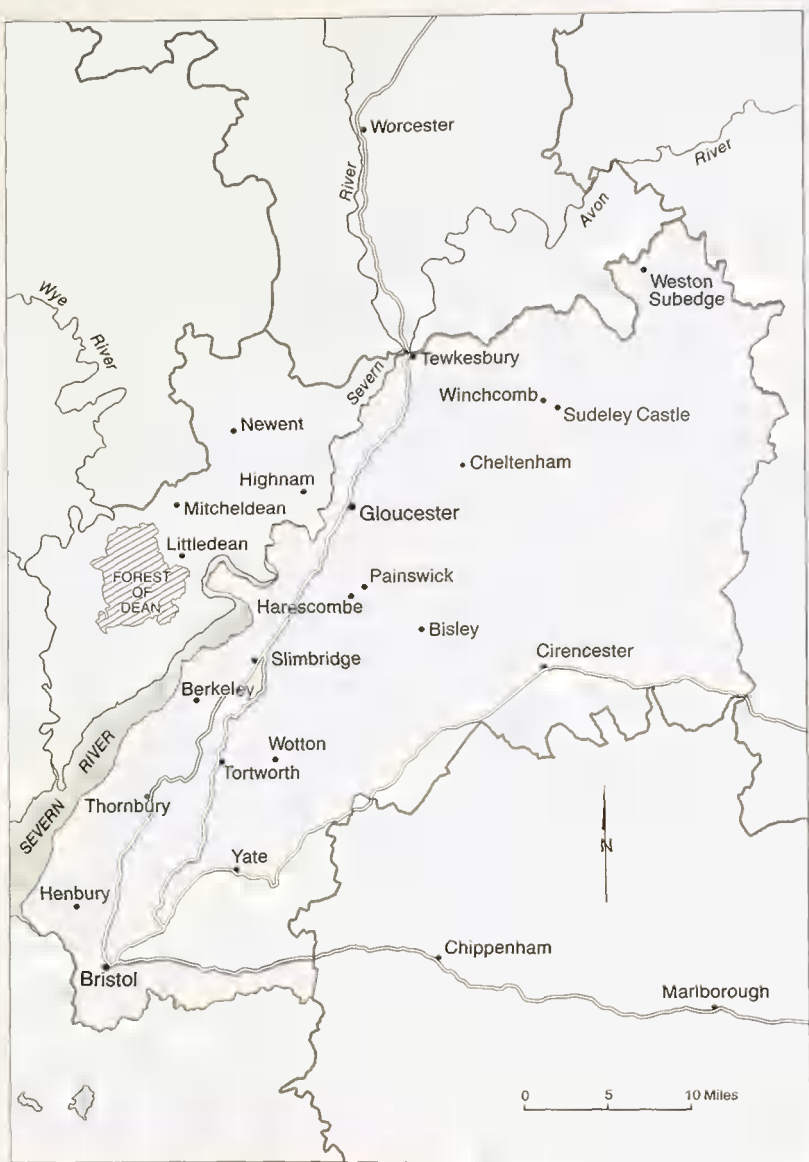
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This short list includes books and articles with first-hand transcriptions of primary documents, together with a few essential reference works. No attempt has been made to list all works cited in the Introduction, textual footnotes and Endnotes.

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Gloucestershire with principal renaissance routes



Map of Gloucestershire from John Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*, by courtesy of the Huntington Library





# Boroughs and Parishes

## BISLEY

1610-11

*Gloucester Diocese Consistory Court Deposition Books*

GRO: GDR 114

ff [4-4v]\* (21 May)

Die predicto super articulis predictis

Garrettus Band de Beisley in Comitatu Gloucestrie tucker vbi  
moram fecit per spatium quinque Ann[.] et vltra natus apud  
Estington in Comitatu predicto aetatis quadraginta quatuor  
Annorum aut eo circiter testis &c.

Ad dictos Articulos articulorum predictorum Deponit et Dicit that at  
Whitsontide in Anno Domini 1610 there was a maye pole sett vpp  
neare vnto the parish „church” of Bieslye & [pipe[.]g] pipeing &  
Daunceinge at the same pole by the youth of the parish there & all  
of the same was Done as this Deponent hath very credibly heard at  
the appointe[d]ment & abettinge of mr christophre windle ye viccar  
there: & he saith that he Doth verely believe in his conscience that  
the sayd reporte is true because that vppon the Munday in the same  
whitson weeke the sayd christophre windle Did in a sermon that he  
then preached before the congregacion most prohanely & erroneously  
Defend averre and affirme that pipeinge & Daunceinge at a Maye  
poule; & keepinge of Somerale was as lawfull to be vsed & ke[e]pte  
by the people as it was lawfull for them to here the word of god  
sincerely preached: which assertion of the sayd windle the sayd  
congregacion Did very much [at that tyme] mislike being—as most of  
them [aff] affirmed very contrary to the worde of Allmightye god And  
he this Deponent saith further that the sayd mr Windle is very much  
subiecte to the like phantasical & idle speeches in his sermons. for he

sayeth that the sayd windle did on[.] a Sabaoth Daye between  
 Allhollantye & Cristmas last paste preach on a parte of [scp] scripture  
 out of the [Gos] 18<sup>th</sup> chapter of St Mathew, & expoundinge the same  
 before the congregacion he sayed and [af] Did most idley & <sup>in</sup> most  
 vnfitte & prophane Manner averre & say that the sayed texte of  
 screpture was Arithmatike & not the logicall Divinitye. yet sayed he  
 number are necessary. for [2 hosen to] two feete two shooes 2. slops  
 2 sleeves 4. quarters of a ierken. yf the taylor cutteth five he stealeth  
 one. 24. buttons twenty fowre butten holes seven churches of Asia.  
 [p] tenn commandementes & keepe neuer and with many other idle 10  
 & prophane and senceles speeches as they seemed to the congregacion  
 Et aliter ad Dictos articulos nescit vt dicit Deponere/  
 Henricus Aisgill

Signum

Garetti Bandl

Die predicto super articulis predictis/

Willelmus Hopton de Barkley in Comitatu Gloucestrie yeoman  
 vbi moram fecit per sex hebdomodas et antea apud Bieslye in  
 Comitatu predicto ætatis .32. Annorum aut eo circiter ibidem  
 ortus [ætatis] testis &c.

Ad Dictos articulos Deponit et Dicit that at Whitsontyde last was  
 twelve <sup>moneth</sup> there was a May pole sett vppe & pipeinge &  
 Daunceinge kepte in the parish of Bieslye [and that] with the consent  
 of the churchwardens (as they themselues haue affermed but onely as  
 this Deponent hath credibly heard) at the appointment of mr  
 christophre Windle the viccar there who [es] as this Deponent hath  
 likewise heard [was] <sup>caused his sonne to be</sup> Lord of the same pole.  
 And saieth that the sayd mr windle Did on the sabaoth before  
 Whitsontide aforesayed preach before the congregacion in the parish  
 church of Bieslye aforesaid & in his sermon he the sayed christophre  
 Windle Did then & there afferme & Defend that pipeinge &  
 Daunceinge at a Maypole were by the word of god lawfull to be  
 kepte....

ff [8-8v]\* (31 May)

...

officium Domini promotum per Richardum Hall contra  
 christopherum Windle†

Super articulis ex parte promotoris in hoc negotio Datis./

Iohannes Clissold de Beisely in Comitatu Gloucestrie yeoman vbi 40

moram fecit plerumque a nativitate sua ibidem ortus aetatis  
quinquaginta Annorum aut eo circiter testis &c.

Ad Dictos articulos Deponit et dicit that in the yeare of our Lord god  
1610 last past he this Deponent [was] & one christophre Bidmead 5  
weare churchwardens of the parish of Beisley in the countye of  
Gloucester: & did exequute the same office of churchwardenship the  
same yeare. & saith that 'at Whitsontide' in the same yeare mr  
christophre Windle articulate without the consent & privity of him this  
deponent & his sayd fellow churchwarden & against the goodwill of 10  
the honest and relligiouse desposed people of the same parish erecte  
& sett vpp a May pole or somner pole and caused '8& mainteynde'  
pipeinge and Daunceinge to be kepte & vsed at the same tyme./ & for  
the better countenanceinge of that prophane buisines suffered his  
sonne arlate to be lord of the sayd May pole: And after he the sayd 15  
christophre Windle | was by [this] the well Desposed people of the same  
parish reprov(.) for that his prophane action and [(.)] toyes 'ar' not  
'taught' fitt for a (...) of his callinge & profession and intreated to  
Desiste from further vseinge the same. he the sayd christophre Did (as  
th(.) Deponent hath credibly heard) in a sermon Defend & mayntayne 20  
that the erectinge of Maypoles pipeing & Daunceinge about the same  
& keepinge of somer ale was by the Word of god lawfull: to be kepte  
to the greate interruption & Discontentment of the consciences of the  
whole parish as this Deponent hath heard most of the parishioners  
since saye.... 25

Die predicto super articulis predictis

Christoferus Bidmeade De Beisley in Comitatu Gloucestrie yeoman  
vbi moram fecit [plerumque] quatuor Annos elapsos natus apud  
Elle(...) in Comitatu predicto aetatis sexaginta Annorum aut eo 30  
circiter. testis &c.

Ad Dictos articulos deponit et dicit that [the arlate] 'in' the yeare of  
our lord god 1610 Iohn Clissold & [christophre Bi] this deponent wear  
churchwardens of Bieslye articulate & [(.)] at Whitsontide in the same  
yeare a maye pole was sett vppe, pipeing & Daunceinge kepte & 35  
somorale or churchale [l] made & sold in the parish of Biesley  
aforesaid. & [(.)] christophre Windle [(.)] sonne of the [sayd]  
'articulate' christophre Windle clarke was lord of the sayd Maypole  
But whether the sayd Maypole was erect(.) by the meanes &

5,33/ 1610 underlined MS

12/ somner for sommer

15,32/ arlate for articulate: brevigraph omitted

instigacion of the sayd viccar or whether h(.) was the aughter therof  
or defended the same to be lawfu(.) this Deponent knoweth not  
neyther hath credibly heard!

## CHELTENHAM

1611

*Manor and Hundred Court Book* GRO: D855/M8

f 90v\*

*Misericordia lusorum*

(.)xx s

x s

(.) s

(.) s

x s

(.) s

(.) s

...

Item presentant super sacramentis suis provt sequitur in his Anglicanis  
verbis viz. that vpon thursday the xvij<sup>th</sup> daie of Ianuary last past Guido 20  
dobbins sounded his drume vp & downe the towne of Cheltenham  
in the tyme of markett accompanied with Richard Clerke & divers  
other younge fellowes being artificers & laborers, and the said Richard  
Clerke following the said dobbins sounding his drume with a  
trunchion or short staffe in his hand in the maner of a lyvtenant or 25  
marshall man in very disorderly & rude maner caused proclamacion  
to be made in divers places of the said towne publicquely proclayming,  
that whosoever would heere a play should comme to the signe of the  
crowne such an howre, where they intended to play, whervpon the  
Bayliffe of the libertie & towne of Cheltenham, taking notice therof, 30  
much disliked therat, the rather for that the neighbor townes, namely  
Tredington & Presbury were then infected with the plague, & the  
towne of Cheltenham it self much suspected & greatly doubted that  
th'infection was there also And thervpon required the said dobbins  
Clerke & the rest that they should desist & forbear to sounde the 35  
drumme & to make any further proclamacion. And did also send vnto  
Thomas Milton keeping the signe of the Crowne to will him not to  
suffer the said persons to play there, whervpon the said Clerke dobbins  
& the rest in murmuring maner departed, but not satisfied did endeavor  
to play notwithstanding at the house of one david Powell a victualler 40

likewise in Cheltenham, and *somme* of them caused the *drumme* to be sounded againe about viij of the clocke in the night of the said daie which the Bayliffe hearing sent Iohn holdy vnder bayliffe there to will them to forbear from playing & drawing company together so contemptuously especially in so dangerous a tyme, otherwise he the said Bayliffe would come himselfe & suppress them, *which* message being deliuered to the said Clerke & to the rest his consortes, & companions he the said Clerke 'xx s' dobbins 'v s' Thomas Clerke 'v s' Richard ffortey 'v s' Edmund Trinder 'v s' Walter Milton 'v s' & Robert Cliveley 'v s' with many others then assembled of their company much insulted & revyled against the said holdy & also the said chiefe Bayliffe with many rayling & opprobrious termes saying that they respected neither of them both in contempt of all auctority & good government, whervpon the said cheife Bayliffe vnderstanding their insolent course went himselfe to suppress them & to punish them accordingly, *which* they vnderstanding departed & went away before the comming of the said Bayliffe Ideo ipse in *misericordia* &c.

## CHURCHDOWN

1633-5

*Judgment upon Sabbath-breakers* Burton: *Divine Tragedie*  
pp 10-11

...  
A Miller at Churchdown, neer Gloucester, would needs (contrary to the admonitions both of his Minister in private, and generally in publike, yea and that very day, and of other Christian friends) keep a solemn Whitson ale, for which he had made large preparation and provision, even of threescore dozen of cheesecakes, with other things proportionable, in the Church-house, half a mile from his Mil, his musicall instruments were set forth on the side of the Church-house, where the Minister and people were to passe to the Church to Evening Prayer. When Prayer and Sermon were ended, the Drumme is struck up, the peeces discharged, the Musicians play, and the rowt fall a dauncing, till the evening; where they all with the Miller resort to his Mill; where that evening before they had supt, about nine of the clock on Whitsunday, a fire took suddenly in his house over their heads, and was so brief and quick, that it burnt down his house and mill, and devoured with all the greatest of all his other provision and householdstuffe. This is confirmed by sundry good testimonies.

...

## GLOUCESTER

1283-4

*Account of Alms, Edward I* PRO: E 101/351/15

mb 1\*

...

...In oblationibus Regis, apud Winchecumbe in ecclesia maiori per manus dicti. H. vij. s. vij. d. Item in elemosina Regis data. xvij. infirmis de manu Regis benedictis in diuersis locis per illam ebdomadam. xvij. d. Item Priori & Conuentui de Newent ad vnam pietanciam per manus dicti H. de elemosina Regis. xx. s. Item clericis ludentibus miracula sancti Nicholai & eorum Episcopo de elemosina Regis xxvj s. vij. d. Item fratribus sancti Iohannis de Crikelade de elemosina Regis per manus dicti .H. xl. s.

Summa xvi. li. xv. s. vi. d.

Gloucestris

Die dominica v<sup>to</sup> die Decembris in uigilia sancti Nicholai in pascendo .xl. pauperes in honore sancte Trinitatis de statuta elemosina Regis per manus dicti H. v. s. Die Lune sequenti in festo sancti Nicholai in pascendo .L. pauperes de communi elemosina Regis per manus dicti .H. vj. s. iij. d. Eodem die in pascendo .C. pauperes in honore sancti Nicholai de elemosina Regis .xij. s. vj. d. Die martis sequenti in pascendo L pauperes in honore sancti Thome martyris de consueta elemosina Regis .vj. s. iij. d. in oblationibus Regis apud Gloucestriam die sancti Nicholai predicto per manus dicti .H. vij. s....

1301-2

*Statutes of St Peter's Abbey* Hereford Cathedral Library: No 1826  
single mb\* (10 October)

...

Nono Ne camera iuxta ordinaciones domini Cantuarie. pro ffratrum necessariis deputata / aliis exaccionibus indebite oneretur / ordinatum est / quod dominus Abbas / decem marcas quas de Camera percepit porcionem etiam / quam soluunt Priores forinseci pro fratrū suorum indumentis pro suo tempore tantum percipiat Ita quod alteri succedenti eidem nichil contribuatur predictorū / sed dicta pecunia Camerario totaliter assignetur vt fratribus valeat in vestibus vberius providere / nec liceat Abbati cuicumque succedenti / Citharedas / aut ministrallōs alios tamquam de familia continue sustentare habeat autem Abbas vnum esquierium in consilio discretum / & circumspectum qui in monasterii necessitatibus valeat deseruire / et cum ad excercendum visitacionis officium circuit Prioratus occasione statuti dicti Cantuarie

de non dandis pecunia & iocalibus in obediencia aliqua puta Camera vel sacristaria. siue Prioratu moram non trahat nisi sicut trahere consueuerat ab antiquo

...

5

### 1393-4

*Borough Bailiffs' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 3/2

single mb\*

...

Item soluti pro diuersis ministrallis & Nuncijs domini regis (...) 10

Item soluti ministrall' domini Ducis Gloucestrie (...)

Item soluti ministrall' comitis marchie per iij(...) (...)

Item soluti ministrall' & cuidam Nuncio comitis W(...) (...)

Item soluti ministrall' domini Dess(...)ij (...)

15

### 1409-10

*Borough Bailiffs' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 3/4

single mb\*

...

I(...) soluti Ministrallis domini Regis hoc Anno xij(...) 20

Item in costagijs factis super ministrall' domini Principis & donis ipsis xxxix vij(.)

...

Item in donis & expensis factis super ministrall' domini de codemore & Iohannis greynder vij s v d 25

...

Item soluti ministrall' domine comitis stafford (...) 30

...

Item soluti ministrall' domini de Berkeley dimidia mar(..)

...

30

### 1485-6

*First Provincial Progress of Henry VII* BL: Cotton Julius B XII

ff 18-18v\*

...

35

...Than the ffriday next folowing the king Roode & Remeved to gloucester wher iij myles withoute the towne the mair with his brether And Shriffes In Scarlet gownes And other people in great nomber in Rede gownes al on horse bakkes Welcommed the king And

without the gate betwixte both brigges The procession of the freres  
 And also the procession of the town of Al the pariche chirches  
 Receyuede the king And in that towne ther was no pageaunt nor speche  
 ordeynede Thabbot And his Monkes Receyued the king with  
 procession I At thabbey Chirche doore wher the king Abode Saturday  
 And Sunday al day whiche was the trinitye Sunday And thabbot  
 mitred sange the high masse And in procession The Bissshop of  
 Worcester prechide shewing the popes Bulles touching as afor And on  
 the Monday the king Remeved to Bristow warde & lay at thabbey of  
 kinges Woode And on tewsdays dynyd at Acton with Sir Robert  
 poynnez Shryef of gloucestershire.... 10

...

## 1524-5

*Corporation Custummal* GRO: GBR B 2/1

15

ff 116-16v\* (12 September)

...

How the princes of Englonde <sup>o</sup> Lady Mary<sup>10</sup> was Receyved by the  
 Meire & Burgessez of the Towne of Gloucestre the xij<sup>th</sup> day of  
 Septembre yn the xvij<sup>th</sup> yere of the Reigne of our Soueraigne lord kyng  
 henry the viij<sup>th</sup> yn the tyme of Iohn Rawlens Meyre <sup>o</sup> the same  
 Towne William Mathew and henre ffrensche Shreffes there/ ffirst the  
 Meire Aldermen & Shreffes yn Scarlett & C. Burgesses [yn] Rode to  
 Quoddisleys Grene withyn the libertye of the seid Towne there  
 keypyng array tyll the seid princes came & then there obeysaunce on  
 horsebak showyng oon of the mases of the Towne/ 25  
 Then by thadvyse of ther Counsell Mr Meire & all his brederne yn  
 Scarlett setting forward on horsebak ij & ij the seriauntes ledyng the  
 wey formust & knyghtes squyars & gentylytymen yn the myddes and  
 the Meire next byfore her grace rydyng with the seriaunt at Armys 30  
 barehede & oon of the sergeauntes mases yn his hand  
 Then all the ladyes & gentilwomen folowyng her grace on horsebak  
 After them all her seruauntes yn a lyuerey & her officers  
 And after them other of the Stywardes & Burgesses of the Town ij &  
 ij so rydyng to the Town ende Where all the Clerge Were yn Copys 35  
 Crosses Carpettes & Cusshyns and her grace lovyngly there kyssyng  
 the Crosse on horsebak/I  
 And then Rode forthe euery man After the seid maner throwze the

24/ Quoddisleys Grene: *Quedgeley Green, two miles south of Gloucester*

29/ gentylytymen: *ditto*

37/ *verte folium* (turn the page) written slightly below end of line

Towne bryngyng her grace into the Abbey throw3e Seynt Edwardes  
 gate The Abbott & his brederne then beyng yn the Abbey porche *with*  
 Copys Crosse Carpettes & Cusshyns receyvyn her grace And so she  
 dyd a lyght of horse & kyssed the Crosse/ And then went vp to the  
 high Awter Mr Meyre & all his brederne yn Skarlett goyng byfore her 5  
*grace* & there she offered A pece of gold & then proceded to her  
 loggyn Mr Meire & his seid brederne byfore her/  
 The Gyfte and present gebyn by the Meire & his brepern to be princes  
 ffirst ij fatte oxen of the best that myght be gotton  
 Item x fatte Wethurs of the best *pat* myght be gotton/ 10

## 1534-5

*Corporation Custummal* GRO: GBR B 2/1

ff 117v-19\* (31 July-7 August)

Howe owre most drede Soueraign lorde Kyng henry the viij<sup>th</sup>  
 by the grace of god of England & of ffraunce Kyng defender of  
 the ffaith lorde of Ireland & in erthe Supreme hedde of the  
 Church of England & his most dere & entierly beloued lawfull  
 Wiff quene Anne at ther ffirst commyng to Glouceter after his 20  
 graces Coronacion was resceyued by the maire Aldermen Shrifffes  
 & Burgessez of the seid towne of Glouceter commyng from  
 Tewkysbury toward Glouceter the Saturday the last day of Iuly  
 in the xxvij<sup>th</sup> yere of [the reign] his most Riall reign in the tyme  
 of Iohn ffawconer then beyng Maire of the towne of Glouceter 25  
 Thomas Payne & Richard Edwardes Shrifffes there as hereafter  
 ensuyth//  
 ffirst the maire Aldermen Shrifffes & Shrifffes peres in ther Skarlett  
 gownes & velfett typpettes *with* an .C. of other Burgessez or ther  
 abowtes in Cootes of Musterdevilles all. And rode ffourth of the towne 30  
 toward Tewkysbury till they came to the grene at the hether ende of  
 the lane athisside Brickehamptons brigge *within* the libertie of the seid  
 towne: Then & there metyng the kynges grace & the quene and did  
 ther obeysaunce all on horsebacke gevyng his grace the right hande/  
 And then the maire rode vnto his grace (seyng these wordes) thanks 35  
 be to god of *your* graces helth & good prosperite. Whiche god long  
 Contynue. And ther *with* the maire beyng still on horsebacke *with* oon  
 of „the” towne masez in his hand kissed the same Mase & did his  
 Obeyaunce. & delyuered it vp vnto his grace (seyng these wordes)  
 [thanks to be to god of *your* graces] that all suche liberties *privelages* 40  
 Customes & grauntes as *your* grace & other *your* noble progenytours  
 „here” tofore haue gebyn vnto the Maire & Burgessez of this *your*

towne of Glouceter. We delyuer [haue] vp vnto *your grace*. trustyng  
 that *your grace* wilbe as good & graciouse lord vnto vs now as ye  
 haue byn here to ffore: And ferthermore I here presente my selff vnto  
*your grace* as maire of *your* seid towne of Glouceter certyfying you  
 that all *your* burgessez there be in a redynes & obedyent at *your graces* 5  
 Commaundement & hartely thanks *your grace* for suche liberties  
 priueleges & grauntes that *your grace* hathe geuyn vnto vs/ besechyng  
 you of *your* graciouuce aide & [assiss] assistaunce hereafter in the  
 execucon therof in doyng Iustice/. And so the kynges grace resceyved  
 the same mase. Wheruppon his grace immediately delyuered it ayen 10  
 vnto the maire with all such liberties priueleges Customes & grauntes  
 as were byfore tyme graunted. And then rode forward in maner &  
 forme folowyng/. That is to wit first & foremost rode all the burgeses  
 in a ray ij & ij next them the Skarlett gownes. then all Gentilmen  
 Esquyers knyghtes lordes & other greate men and then the maire opyn 15  
 hedde with the mase still in his hand & the kyng of arrodes with hym.  
 then rode next the kyng he that bare the Swirde & on euery side of  
 hym a sergeaunt at armys with ther masys. And then folowid the  
 kynges grace & the quene with all the lades & gentilwomen folowyng  
 them. & after them the Garde & other Sondry persons folowyng the 20  
 Courte/ till they came byfore the White ffrires without the vtter north  
 yate/. Wher all the Clergie were in Coopys & the lorde Suffryngam  
 mytourde with Crosse Carpettes & Cusshynges. And his grace & the  
 quene bothe beyng on horsebacke lovyngly there kissed the Crosse.  
 And then rode forthe euery man after the seid maner throwght the 25  
 towne bryngyng his grace into the Abbey throwght Seynt Edwardes  
 lane. The abbott & his bretherne then beyng in the abbey Church  
 porche with Coopys Crosse Carpettes & Cusshynges receyvyng his  
 grace. And so lighted of his horsebacke & the quene also & kneled  
 downe bothe & kissed the Crosse with greate Reueraunce. And then 30  
 went vp to the highe Alter. And so fromthens to there lodgynges. And  
 the maire Alwey byfore his grace with the mase in his hande till he  
 came to his lodgyng &c/  
 Item the monday the second day after his graces comyng to Glouceter  
 abowte x of the Clocke his grace & the quene both beyng rydyng 35  
 toward paynswicke to huntyng, the maire with certen of his bretherne  
 mett his grace in the abbey Church yarde. & presented hym there  
 with tenne ffatte Oxen price xx li. for the whiche his grace gave vnto  
 them lovyng thanks. And the same day in the darke evenyng they  
 came from paynswicke. And at Aillesgate mett them Certen persons 40

suffragan

Abbott

to the noumbre of xv *with* torches light & browght there graces in to the Abbey/ for the whiche they gave hartie thanks. & the quenes grace gave them in reward iiij angellett nobles at that tyme//l

Item the tewesday the thirde day after his graces comyng he & the quenes grace also beyng rydyng toward Coberley the seid Maire & his bretherne mett the quene in the abbey Church yard and ther presented hir *with* a purse of gold price xij s & xx<sup>ii</sup> rialles in golde theryn whiche Amounted to xj li. v s. for whiche hir grace gave like lovynge thanks as the kyng hadd don tofore/. And the same day the kyng hunted at myserden in so moche it was nyght er his grace came to Aillysyate. where mett hym xl burgessez in there best apparell *with* torches light as they did byfore & browght his grace into the abbey for the whiche he gave hartie thanks & ffyve markes in gold for there reward in soe doying &c/

Howe *our* seid Soueraign lorde the kyng & the quene also departed from Glouceter the vij<sup>th</sup> Day of august then next folowyng at after none. & that nyght laye at leonard Stanley & on the morowe from thens toward Barkeley. And the maner & forme howe is grace rode forth till he came to quoddesleys grene/

ffirst the maire & his brethern *with* suche burgessez as were byfore appoynted prepared them selffes in like apparell as they were yn at his graces resceyvynge on horsebacke at the Abbey Church dore & there gave attendaunce till his grace came ffourthe & was on horsebacke. And then rode fforthe euery man in there degree after the maner & forme as they did at his graces resceyvynge into the towne/. throwght the towne forthe at the Sowthe yate. And so rode accordyngly till they came into quoddesley grene/ where all the townes men sate on horsebacke in a raunge gevyng his grace the right hande And there did the kyng take the maire by the hande & so departed. And soe both the kynges grace & the quene passid by the seid townes men. And gave them all thanks. That don the maire *with* the aldermen Shrifffes & all other [of] burgessez returned all to gethers homeward & rode *with* the maire to his dore ij & ij to gethers in a ray in like maner & forme as they rode forthe. And then at the maires dore euery man departed and went home &c//.l

5/ Coberley: eight miles east of Gloucester in the Cotswold Hills

10/ myserden: Miserden, ten miles southeast of Gloucester in the Cotswolds

18/ leonard Stanley: eight miles south of Gloucester

20/ quoddesleys grene: Quedgeley Green, two miles south of Gloucester

The giftes gevyng by the Maire & Burgessez of the towne of Glouceter vnto the kynges grace the quene *with* there officers & seruauntes at there ffirst beyng at Glouceter after the Coronacon as before is mencioned as hereafter ensuyth

In <i>primis</i> to the kynges grace tenne ffatte oxen price	xx li	5
Item to the quenes grace A purce of golde price xij s. <i>with</i> xx <sup>ti</sup> rialles of gold theryn conteynyng xj li. v s		
<i>Summa</i>	xj li. xvij s	10
Item for gese capons & chekyn gevyng to Maister Secutorys	[xv] xj s v d	
Item in reward gevyng to oon of the kynges <i>seruauntes</i> whiche made proclamacon ayenst his graces ffirst comyng	xij s iiij d	15
Item to the kynges ffotemen at his graces departure	xij s vj d	
Item to quenes ffotemen	v s.	
Item to the kynges Trompettors	xij s vj d	
Item to the <i>seruauntes</i> of the kynges boterye	iiij s ix d	20
Item to the <i>seruauntes</i> of the kynges pantrye	iiij s ix d	
Item in reward gevyng to the blacke garde	vij s	
Item geven to the kynges Amners <i>seruaunt</i>	xij d	
Item to the arrode of arremes	xxvij s. vj d.	
<i>Summa totalis</i>	xxxiiij li. ix s j d	25

## 1550-1

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3

f 23v\* (*Gifts and necessary expenses*)

...Also in reward gevyng to maister kyngestons abbott of Mysrule Commyng to the Cite of Glouceter in the Cristemas tyme by the Commaundement of the maior x s. Also in reward gevyng to the pleyers of the seid maister kyngeston by the Commaundement of the maior by the tyme of this present accompte v s....

## 1551-2

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3

f 30\* (*Gifts and necessary expenses*)

...Also in money paid & gevyng to the pleyers of Sir Anthony kyngeston by the Commaundement of the maior & his brethern the tyme of this present accompte x s ...

## 1552-3

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3f 37v\* (*Gifts and necessary expenses*)

...Also in money gevyn in reward to Sir Anthony Kyngestons  
 playars the tyme of this present accompte by the Commaundement  
 of the maire vj s. viij d. And in money likewise gevyn in reward to  
 a geister of the kynges maiesties & an other Commyng with hym by  
 the Commaundement of maister maire v s.... Also in money gevyn  
 to the Gentilman that browght the proclamacon for the  
 Quenes grace that nowe is by the Commaundement of maister maire  
 & his brethern att the newe Inne lx s. And in money gevyn the same  
 tyme to Sir Iohn A Bridges Trompetor by like Commaundement x s....  
 Also in reward gevyn to maister Arnoldes *seruauntes* on may day at  
 the bryngyng in of may by the Commaundement of the maire  
 xx s. Also in reward gevyn the same tyme to William Tele & his  
 Company by like Commaundement vj s. viij d. And more to those  
 persons that daunsed the moorys daunse the same tyme by like  
 Commaundement v s.

...

## 1553-4

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3f 44\* (*Gifts and expenses*)

...Also in money gevyn in reward to the playars of the Citie by  
 mr maires Commaundement vj s viij d ...

...

## 1554-5

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3f 50 (*Gifts and necessary expenses*)

...Also in reward gevyn to the Quenes Geister by the  
 Commaundement of maister maire iii s iiij d ...

## 1555-6

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3f 56v (*Gifts and necessary expenses*)

...Also in money gevyn to the Quenes playars by the tyme of this  
 accompte by like commaundement of the seid maior vj s viij d...

...

## 1558-9

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3  
f 73 (*Gifts and necessary expenses*)

...Also in moneye payed & gevyn by the tyme of this accompte by  
Mr. mayores commaundement to my Lord Chaundos playeres vj s  
viij d...

...

## 1559-60

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3  
f 78\* (*Payments*)

...

...Also in money payed for an hundred of bordenayles to make a  
Scaffolde in the Bothall for Quenes maiestes players - j d Also payed  
to Iohn battye carpinter & his fellowe for the makinge of the seide  
Scaffolde - iiij d ...

f 79\* (*Gifts and necessary expenses*)

...Also paid at the commaundement of Mr Maier & other the aldermen  
of the Citie to the Quenes maiestes players playeng openly in the  
bothall in the tyme of this accompte x s Also paide in money for a  
banket the same day by the said maire & aldermen at the tavernne upon  
the saide plaiers v s vij d Also in money paide by the afor seide  
Accomptauntes to the Lord ambrose dudleies plaiers by the  
commaundement of mr mayre playeng openly in the bothall in the  
tyme of this accompte vj s viij d ...

## 1560-I

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3  
ff 83v-4\* (*Gifts and necessary expenses*)

...

...Also geven in Rewarde to the lorde Roberte dudleyes playores at  
mr mayores commaundemente in Redye moneye vj s. viij d. Also  
geven in rewarde to Sir Androwe ffortescues players at mr mayores  
commaundemente in redye moneye by Iohn Smythe iiij s. Also geven  
in presente to the lorde presidente of the merches at his late l beinge  
here in Glouceter one hoggeshedde of Clarrett wyne which coste xlix  
s. viij d....Also geven in rewarde to my lordes Trumpettor in redye  
moneye ij s. Also geven in rewarde to Iustyce Trogmerton his  
mynstrelles in redye moneye ij s....

...

## 1561-2

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3f 89\* (*Gifts and necessary expenses*)

...  
 Also the same Accomptauntes aske allowaunce in moneye payed & 5  
 geven in Rewarde to the Quenes maiesties players this yere x s. Also  
 bestowed & spent vpon the same players at the taverne iiij s. Also  
 payed to Mr Ingram for a pounce of candelles at the same playe  
 iij d.... Also in Rewardes geven to the Erle of warwickses players at Mr  
 mayores Commaundemente in redye monye x s. Also payed for a 10  
 bankett made to the seid players & for makynge of a [S(.) f] Scaffold  
 in the bothall iiij s. ij d. ob.... Also geven in Rewarde to the lorde  
 Roberte dudleye his *servauntes* & players by the (...)  
 commaundemente of Mr mayor in Redy moneye xiiij s. iiij d. Also  
 spent vpon the seid players at the taverne and for makynge of the 15  
 scaffold in the bothall iiij s. viij d.

## 1562-3

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3f 94v (*Gifts and necessary expenses*) 20

Also the same accomptauntes aske allowaunce of moneye payed &  
 geven in Rewarde to the duchesse of Suffolkes players by the  
 commaundemente of Mr mayor x s. Also bestowed & spent vpon  
 the same players at the taverne xx d. Also payed for the makynge of 25  
 the skaffold at the Bothall & for nayles there iiij d....

## 1563-4

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3f 100v\* (*Payments*) 30

...Also paid by the Commaundement of Mr mayor to one that brought  
 golden *sommes* [to] parchement from the lord of misrule of hineham  
 xij d....

f 102 (*Gifts and necessary expenses*) 35

...Also geven Stanweye the Quenes Iugler for shewing pastimes and  
 other f his Iuglinge feates to Mr mayor and other of his bretherne this  
 yeare by the commaundement of Mr mayor x s. Also geven to the Erle 40  
 of warwickses playores by the commaundement of Mr mayor this yeare  
 x s. Also vpon the same playores at the wine taverne iiij s. Also geven  
 in rewar<sup>d</sup> this yeare likiwise by the Commaundemente of Mr mayor

^to the lorde Cobhames playeres v s....

### 1564-5

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3

f 107 (*Payments*)

...Also paid for the makinge of the scaffold in the bothall at the tyme that the Quenes maiesties playeres did playe there befor mr mayor and thaldermen ij d. Also in money paid for takinge of the same scaffold awaye agayne ij d....

f 108 (*Gifts, rewards, and necessary expenses*)

Also the same accomptauntes aske allowaunce of money paid and geven in rewarde to the Quenes maiestes playores by the commaundement of mr mayor xvj s. viij d. Also in money paide & geven in reward to the lorde stranges playores by the like comaundement of mr mayor x s....

...

### 1565-6

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3

f 114 (*Gifts, rewards, and necessary expenses*)

Allso the same accomptauntes aske allowaunce of money paied & geven in rewardes to the lorde hundscons plaiars the makinge of the scaffold in the bothall & the drinckinge xij s. viij d.... Allso geven to the quenes plaiores playinge at the bothall by the commaundement of mr maior xij s. iiij d. Allso for wine & chirries spent vppon them at Mr Swerdbearers ij s. viij d....

### 1567-8

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3

f 123v (*Payments*)

...Alsoe pd to battie for C & iij quarteres of elme bourdes for a skaffold for playors to playe one viij s. Alsoe pd to hime for a peece of tymber to sett vnder the bourdes ij s....

f 124 (*Gifts, rewards, and necessary expenses*)

...

Also the same accomptaunce aske a lowaunce of money pd and geven in rewarde to the erle of worcester his players and their drinkynge at Mr swordberers by the commaundement of mr mayore xij s. vj d. alsoe

in money pd and geuen to the quenes maiestes players and their  
drinkinge xvj s. ij d....

...

### 1568-9

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3

f 128v\* (*Gifts and rewards*)

ffirste thesame accomptauntes aske allowaunce of money by them  
geuen to mr ffoskeues plaiers at the Commaundement of mr maior x  
s. And for theire drincking ij s. vj d. Allsoe geuen to the lorde monges  
plaiers at the Commaundement of Mr maior iij s. iiij d....

f 129 (*Gifts and rewards*)

...Allsoe geuen to the erle of worcesters plaiers xij s. iiij d....

### 1569-70

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3

f 133v (*Gifts and rewards*)

...Allsoe geuen in rewarde to the Quenes plaiers xij s. iiij d.... Allsoe  
geuen in rewarde to therle of lecesters players playing before Mr Maior  
xij s iiij d.... Allsoe geuen to theirle of suxsex plaiers plainge before  
Mr Maior x s. Allsoe spent on them ij s. vj d....

### 1570-I

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3

f 138\* (*Payments*)

...Alsoe paied to the vssher of the fenche Schole for his paines in  
playenge before the watche one midsomer yeve and Sainte Peters yeve  
xij d....

f 139 (*Gifts and rewards*)

...Alsoe geuen to the Earle of worcesters plaiers for playenge before  
Mr Maior and his bretherne the vj<sup>th</sup> of februarie x s. Alsoe spent  
vppon them at the taverne the same time ij s.... Alsoe geuen to thearle  
of Leysetors plaiers for playenge before Mr Maior and his bretherne  
the xxx<sup>th</sup> of Aprill by the Commandemente of Mr Maior xij s. iiij d.  
Alsoe spent vppon them at the Taverne by the like commandemente  
ij s. viij d. Alsoe geuen in rewarde to the Quenes Maiestes Berward  
for baytinge of his bears before Mr Maior and his bretherne the  
seconde of m(.)ie (vj s.) viij d....

f 139v

...Alsoe geven to the lifftenant of the tower his plaiers for playinge before Mr maior and his bretherne the xx<sup>th</sup> of September x s. Alsoe spente vpon them at the Swordberers by the commandemente of Mr Maior ij s. vj d.

**1571-2***Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3f 146 (*Gifts and rewards*)

10

...geven to the Queenes maiesties plaiers at the comaundment of Master Maior alsoe Spente vpon them at the swoordbearers by Like comaundmente iiij s. vj d. allsoe geven to Ladie Manches plaiers by comaundmente of Master Maior x s. Allsoe for <sup>a</sup>their<sup>1</sup> dringinge ij s. viij d....

15

**1572-3***Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3f 153\* (*Gifts and rewards*)

20

...Alsoe the same accomptantes aske allowance of money geuen in rewarde as folowethe ffirste gevene to the Earle of Wosters plaiers the firste daie of December Anno Domini 1573 by Commaundemente of Maister Maior x s. Allsoe spente vpon them by like Commaundemente ij s. iiij d....

25

f 153v

...Allsoe geven by like Commaundement to the Earle of Sussex plaiers the thirde of Aprell xij s. iiij d. Allsoe spent vpon them at that time v s. Allsoe geuen by like commaundement to the Earle of Essex plaiers the tenthe of Iulie xij s. iiij d. Allsoe spent vpon them iiij s. vj d. Allsoe geuen to the Lorde Moongeis plaiers the laste of September by like Commaundemente then not plaienge before the Maior v s....

35

**1573-4***Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3f 159v\* (*Payments*)

40

...Alsoe the same accomptauntes praie allowaunce of iiij s. by them paid

to Maister Semis for three staf torches Allsoe paied to Edward fflemynge for eighttenth the linkes to lighte in the Quenes Maiestie ix s. Allsoe paied to him for tene staffe torches xvj s. viij d.... Allsoe paied for benttes for Maister maior and Maister recorder to knele vpon at the receauinge of the Quenes Maiestie ij d....

f 160 (*Gifts and rewards*)

...Allsoe geuen to the Earle of wosters plaiers x s. Allsoe spent one them in charges iiij s....

f 160v\*

\*All Rewardes\*

Allsoe the same accomptantes praie allowaunce of money geuene in gifttes as followethe./ffirste geuen to the Quenes Maiestie one Cuppe double gilte weienge threscore seuentene ounces and three quarters at sixe shillings tenne pence the ounce xxvj li. xj s. iiij d. Allsoe geuen to her Maiestie in golde in the same Cuppe xl li. Allsoe geuene to the kinge of heraldes (*blank*) Allsoe geuen to the Sergeauntes at armes xl s. Allsoe geuen to her Maiesties footemen iij li. Allsoe geuen to her Maiesties Tromppettors 1 s. Allsoe geuen to the Clarke of the markett xl s. Allsoe geuen to the yeomene of the Bottelles xx s. Allsoe geuen to the ordenarie massingers of the Quenes Chamber xl s. Allsoe geuen to them that did kepe the Quenes Maiesties sworde and the mace xx s. geuen to the Quenes musitians xx s. Allsoe geuen to her maiesties porters x s. Allsoe geuen to her maiesties Couchemen xxvj s. viij d. Allsoe geuen vnto the blacke garde xx s. geuen to her maiesties Bakers vj s. Allsoe geuen to the waie maister x s. Allsoe geuen to the officers of the boylinge house v s. Paied to the Marshall for a proclamacion xiiij s. iiij d. paied for a Copie of the same proclamacion ij s. vj d. geuen to the marshalls man vj s. viij d. geuen to the Clarke of the marketts man vj s. viij d. Allsoe geuen to the waytts that came with the Quenes footemen to dinner to maister maiors v s. Allsoe geuen to my Lorde of Leycestors Trumppettors and musitians vj s. viij d. Allsoe geuen to the Lorde Treasurer one sugger loffe weyinge fiftie ponde at sixtene pence the ponde xx s. Allsoe geuen to him twoe gallons of secke and one gallande of clarrett wine vj s. viij d. Paied to him that broughte the redde dere *which* the Quenes maiesties sente x s. Paied to the waytes of Shresburie for plaienge aboute the Citie everie moreninge as longe as the Quenes grace was here xxvj s. viij d....

f 162\* (*Charges for repairs*)

Allsoe the same accomptauntes praie allowaunce of money by them

disbursed as folowethe ffirste for paintinge of the Tollsey xxx s. Allsoe  
 paid to Iohn Rise for trimenge of the kinges borde xxij s. Allsoe paid  
 to Gilden for makinge the beastes for the kinges boorde iij li. paid  
 to him for Coloringe of the Criste schole xij s paid to William Sannes  
 for hornes for the Antelap and vnicornes and the tonge for the Dragon 5  
 ij s. viij d. paid vnto Iohn windowe for the Cariedge of twoe loode  
 of birche to the medow viij d. and for one loode of sande to the kinges  
 borde viij d. and for the Carriage of twoe lode of grauell to the forren  
 bridge vj d. paid for pauinge aboute the crosse vj d. paid to fiftene  
 laborers for makinge of the highe waie with owte the Southgate 10  
 throught the pastures for the Quenes Maiestie vij s. vj d. paid to  
 William Dove for the hawlinge of fower draftes of planks to make  
 bridges to the meadowe ij s. paid to sparkes and hickes for twoe daies  
 worke ij s. viij d. Paid for twoe loode of sande for the Castell lane  
 ende xx d. Paid for twoe loode of sande more hade into the Colledge 15  
 lane xx d. paid to harrison for dressinge the Bothall and the Tollsey  
 xx s. paid for packethred for the Scaffolde in the meadow vij d. paid  
 to Battie for takinge downe the scaffolde in the meadowe and settinge  
 vpp a paire of tesselles at the Crosse xv d. paid for the makinge cleane  
 of the Trinitie Crosse iiij d. paid for makinge cleane of the Streate 20  
 at the colledge gate xij d. paid to Roger Layton Iohn Shewell Iohn  
 Viner and Richard hickes for woorkinge in the meadowe xij d. paid  
 to William Cugley for tenne daies worke vj s. viij d. paid to Thomas  
 wheler for the hawlinge of one lode of birche and one lode of bordes  
 into the meadowe viij d. paid for sixetene lode of grauell bestowed 25  
 betwene the twoe northe gates xij s. paid to Gildene for mendinge  
 the Quenes picture and the pinicle vj s. viij d. Allsoe they aske  
 allowaunce of money by them disbursed for dressinge and paintinge  
 the Crosse and the kinges borde viz. for stoness bordes Timber Canvas  
 verdigrese allablaster worke manes hier and manie other necessarie 30  
 thinges as by the perticulers thereof shewed and examined plainlie maie  
 appere xliij li. xiiij s. x d. Allsoe paid for paintinge of the fowere gates  
 x li. xiiij s. iiij d. Allsoe the aske allowaunce of money by them  
 disbursed for makinge of twoe Scaffoldes with the furniture of the  
 pagentes at the vtter northgate and at the highe Crosse viz. for timber 35  
 bordes Iwie mosse workemans hier and diuerse othere necessities as  
 by the perticulers thereof shewed and examined plainlie appeareth  
 lxiiij li. ij s. v d. Allsoe paid to the musitiars that plaied at the  
 Scaffoldes and the Gates x s. Allsoe paid to Maister henrie Shrieffe  
 for a greate powle for the skaffolde for the gate xij d. paid to Thomas 40

wheler for hawlinge certaine peces of timber from the meadowe into the Towne xij d. Allsoe paied to Iohn Battie and twoe laborers for mendinge of the cradell and measuringe of bordes and timber iij s. vj d. Allsoe paied to Iacson for twoe peces of timber xvijij d.

Summa Cxxviiij l. iij s. iij d.

5

#### 1574-5

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3

f 169v (*Gifts and rewards*)

10

...Allsoe geven to the Lorde of Sussex plaiers xiiij s. iijij d. and more to them in wine and makinge a skaffolde xvijij s. viij d. Allsoe geven to Maister Comptrollers players iij s. iijij d. Allsoe geven to the Quenes Berrardes iijij s....Allsoe geven to the Erle of Essex players by Mayster Maiors Commaundement xiiij s. And more in wine to them bestowed v s. Item geven to the Lorde of Leycesters bearrade vj s. viij d....

15

#### 1575-6

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3

f 184v (*Payments*)

20

...payed Batty for planks for the scaffould at the Boothall and workmanship iij s. viij d....

...

25

f 185 (*Gifts and rewards*)

...Allsoe geeven to the Lorde of Sussex players xx s. Allsoe geeven vnto the Lorde Comptons players xxiiij s. iijij d.

...

30

#### 1577-8

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3

f 195v\* (*Gifts and rewards*)

35

...Geven to my lorde Sheffields players x s. Geven to the lorde mountyoes xiiij s. iijij d. Item and for a drinke and for a drinke for them iij s. viij d. and so in the holl xvijij s. Geven to my lord wourcesters players xiiij s. iijij d.... Geven to my lorde Barkleyes players

37/ and for a drinke and for a drinke: *ditto*graphy

and spent on them xiiij s. vj d. ... Geven to the Earle of Bathes players  
vj s. viij d. ...

### 1578-9

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3  
f 198v\* (*Fees and wages*)

...

...Also paide to Garratt Barneys for his yeeres fee ended at  
Michaellmas xx s. ...

f 199v\* (*Gifts and rewards*)

...Geuen to the Barons of kyndertons Players <sup>1</sup>vj s. viij d. Also geuen  
to the Countes of Essex players<sup>1</sup> xx s. Also geuen to my Lord Ogles  
Players vj s. viij d. Also geuen to the Lorde Barckleys Players vj s.  
viij d. ...

### 1579-80

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3  
f 202 (*Fees and wages*)

...

...Also paide to Garrett Barnys, for his yeerely fee ended at  
Michaellmas xx s. ...

f 202v

Paymentes of  
money  
Gyftes and  
Rewards

...Paide vnto the Earle of Darbyes Players v s. ...  
The same accomptauntes praye allowaunce of money by them  
disbursed for giftes and rewardes bestowed as followeth/ ffirste geuen  
the xxviij<sup>th</sup> of (*blank*) 1579/ vnto my lorde Barkleys Players by Mr  
Thomas Machen Maior xij s. iiij d. ... Geuen the 20<sup>th</sup> of Iune/1580/  
by Mr Mayors appointmente vnto the Lorde Sheffildes Players vj s.  
viij d. ...

### 1580-1

*Corporation Common Council Minute Book* GRO: GBR B 3/1  
ff 71v-2\* (*3 November*)

...

At the Councell it was moued that some restreinte mighte be hadde  
against commen Players of Enterludes./ And for so much as daillie  
experience teacheth and delyuereth that the commen Players of

<sup>1</sup>players of  
enterludes<sup>2</sup>  
<sup>2</sup>pg. 130<sup>2</sup>

Enterludes and playes Drawe away greate Sommes of money. from  
 diuerse persons. and allure seruantes, apprentices and iorneyman &  
 other of the worst desposed persons to leudenes and lightnes of life.  
 besides the maintenaunce of idlenes and diuerse other inconveniences  
 which arise thereby. most necessarie to be redressed. It is therfore  
 at this Councell graunted, concluded and condiscended vnto/ by the  
 holle <sup>1</sup>company at this<sup>1</sup> Councell assembled/ That Players of  
 Enterludes. and common Players shall not be suffred within this Citie  
 at any tyme hereafter in any other sorte or manner, or otherwise than  
 followeth and herinconteyned./. ffirst the Queenes maiestes Players  
 to be allowed to playe three interludes or playes within three dayes  
 or vnder. at euery one tyme of theire comminge to or beinge within  
 this Citie/ and no more/ nor oftener// And the players of any subiecte  
 beinge a baron of the parliamente or of higher callinge or degree to  
 be allowed to playe ij playes or interludes in twoe dayes or vnder at  
 every <sup>1</sup>one<sup>1</sup> tyme of theire comminge to or within this Citie and noe  
 moore nor oftener./ And any other subiectes players vnder the degree  
 of a Baron of the parliament and beinge allowed by the statutes and  
 Lawes of the Realme to keape or have players to be allowed to playe  
 but one playe or interlude in one daye at every one tyme of there  
 comminge to or beinge within this Citie and noe more nor oftener./  
 And that none of the players above mencioned be they her maiestes  
 players or others be suffered or allowed to playe in the nighte season  
 nor at any vnfeet tyme neither at any tyme withoute Warrante or  
 Licence from Mr Maior of this Citie./ And it is lyke agreed and  
 ordeyned that noe Burges of this Citie shall at any tyme hereafter  
 permitt or suffer any players to be played in his howse withoute  
<sup>1</sup>expresse<sup>1</sup> Licence of mr Maior nor otherwise then in other sorte then  
 is above declared vnder paine of discomininge/  
 ...

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3  
 f 207 (*Fees and wages*)

...Allsoe paide vnto Garrett Barnes for his yerelie fee ended at  
 micklemas xx s...

f 208v (*Gifts and rewards*)

...  
 The same accomptauntes doe aske and prairie allowaunce of money by

1/ S of Sommes written over illegible letter  
 29/ discomininge: part of second n missing

27/ players for playes

them disbursed for giefte and rewardes by them bestowed as followeth/ ffirste paied vnto the lorde Strainges players by thappointment of mr maior xiiij s. iiij d....

f 209

5

...Allsoe geven vnto the lorde Berckleis players vj s. viij d....

### 1581-2

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3

10

f 212 (*Fees and wages*)

...Also payde to Garrett Barneyes for his yeeres fee xx s....

f 214\* (*Gifts and rewards*)

15

... Geven by mr maiors comaundement to my lorde Barkleyes players xiiij s. iiij d.... Geven to my lorde morleyes players the xviiij<sup>th</sup> of Iuly 1582 vj s. viij d. Geven to my lorde Staffordes players vj s. viij d.... Geven to my (L) (*blank*) players vj s. viij d. Geven to my lorde Huntessdounes players xiiij s. iiij d. Geven to her maiestes poppette players the vij<sup>th</sup> of december 1582 xx s....

20

...

### 1582-3

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3

25

f 218 (*Fees and wages*)

...

...Also paide to Garrette Barneyes the musicion for his holl yeeres fee xx s....

30

f 218v (*Gifts and rewards*)

... Geven by mr maiors appoinctement to my lorde Chaundos players the vij<sup>th</sup> of November 1582 xx s. Geven to my lorde Barckleyes players the xxx<sup>th</sup> of November xiiij s. iiij d.... Geven to [my] 'the' Lorde Staffordes players x s. Geven to the Earle of Oxonford players the xxvj<sup>th</sup> of may xvj s. viij d.... Given to her maiestes players xxx s....

35

...

**1583-4***Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3f 225 (*Fees and wages*)

...Also paide to Garrette Barneyes for his holl yeeres fee xx s....

5

...

f 226 (*Gifts and rewards*)

...

Also they aske allowaunce of diuerse sommes of money by them  
 disbursed for giftes and rewardes bestowed as followeth. viz. To the  
 players of the Master of the Revelles of the Queenes maiestes howse  
 xiiij s. iiij d. To the Earle of woorcesters players the the two and  
 twentieth of December vj s. viij d. Paid to the Lorde Chaundos players  
 the xj<sup>th</sup> of Ianuarye x s. To the Earle of Oxefordes players vj s. viij  
 d.... Given the seconde of Maye to the Lorde Staffordes players vj s.  
 viij d....

10

15

f 226v

... Given to the Earle of Essex players the fifth of October vj s. viij d.

20

**1584-5***Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3ff 231-IV (*Gifts and rewards*)

...

25

...given by the appointment of mr maior to the Lord Barckleyes  
 players x s.... given by the appointment of mr maior to the Lorde  
 (*blank*) players vj s. viij d.... given by the appointment of Mr Maior  
 to the Earle of Essex players xiiij s. iiij d.... given by the appointment  
 of mr maior to the Lorde Staffordes players vj s. viij d.... Given by  
 the appointement of mr Maior to the Earle of Oxfordes players x  
 s.... Given by the appointement of mr maior to the Earle of Sussex  
 players xiiij s. iiij d Given by the appointment of mr maior the Earle  
 of Leycesters players xx s....

30

...

35

## 1585-6

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3  
f 237 (*Gifts and rewards*)

...To the Lord of Essex plaiers v s....To the Earle of Sussex plaiers 5  
v s....

## 1586-7

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3  
f 242v (*Fees and wages*)

...Paid Garrett Barnes the musicion for his yeeres fee xx s.

f 243 (*Gifts and rewards*)

...Geauen to the Earle of Essex plaiers xv s....Geauen to the Queenes  
maiestes plaiers xxx s. Geauen to the Earle of Leycesters plaiers xx  
s....Geauen to the Earle of Essex plaiers xiiij s. iiii d....

...

## 1587-8

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3  
f 249 (*Gifts and rewards*)

...  
And the same Accomptantes aske allowance of diverse sommes of 25  
money by them layed out in Giftes and Rewardes as followeth: And  
firste to my Lord of Leycesters Players the xvij<sup>th</sup> of Iune by mr Mayors  
appointement xx s....Geauen the xij<sup>th</sup> of Iuly to the Queenes maiestes  
Players xxxiiij s. vj d....To the Earle of Sussex Players the xvij of  
September vj s. viiiij d.... 30

f 249v (*Fees and wages*)

...To Garret Barnes the musicion for his yeeres ffee xx s....

## 1588-9

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3  
f 255v (*Fees and wages*)

...To Garrett Barnes the musicon for his yeeres fee xx s....

f 256 (*Gifts and rewards*)

And the same Accomptantes aske allowance for moneys by them laied out in giftes and rewardes to diverse persons as followeth And first to the Queenes players the xvij<sup>th</sup> of Aprill xx s.... To the Earle of Sussex players the seconde of September xx s....

**1589-90**

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3

f 262v (*Fees and wages*)

10

...Paide to Garrett Barnes the musicion for his yeeres fee xx s....

f 263 (*Gifts and rewards*)

15

...geven to the Lord Chandos players the xxviii<sup>th</sup> of December xx s.... geven to the Lord Beachames players the vj<sup>th</sup> of Aprill xx s. geven to the Lord Chandos poppett players the xxx<sup>th</sup> of Iune x s.... geven to the Queenes players which played in the Colledge Church yeerde xxx s. geven to the lorde Admiralls players the xvi<sup>th</sup> of September xx s....

20

**1590-I**

*Corporation Common Council Minute Book* GRO: GBR B 3/1

f 130\* (20 August)

25

plaiers

(dat).71.

Item it is agreed that one former ordinance made at a common Councell houlden iij<sup>o</sup> die Nouembris anno xxij<sup>do</sup> Regine touchinge pleyers of enterludes shall stande in force and that noe plaies be suffered hereafter to be plaied vppon any sundaies nor any rewardes to be geven without good occasion by the Mayor and Aldermen

30

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3

f 271 (*Fees and wages*)

35

...paid to Garrett Barnes the musicion for his yeeres fee xx s....

ff 271v-2 (*Gifts and rewards*)

And the same accomptantes aske allowance for moneys by them layed out in giftes and rewards to diuerse persons as followeth geven to the Earle of worcesters players by mr Mayors appointment x s....geven

40

to the Lord Bechams players xiiij s. iiiij d.... I to the Queenes players  
xxx s. To the Queenes and the earle of Sussex players xxx s. to the  
Children of powls xx s. to the Lord admiralls players xxx s....  
...

**1591-2**

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3

f 278 (*Fees and wages*)

...Payed to Garret Barnes the musicion for his yeares fee xx s.... 10

f 278v (*Gifts and rewards*)

...  
And the same accomptauntes aske allowance of moneyes by them  
layed out in giftes and rewardes to diuerse persons as followeth. 15  
Imprimis geuen to the Earle of Worcester his players xiiij s. iiiij d.... To  
the Queenes players xxx s. Payed for a breakfast for them at Mrs  
Powelles ix s. v d....

f 279\* 20

...To the Queenes trumpettres by the appoyntmente of Mr Mayor xls  
....Gaued the Lord Straunge his players x s.... Gyuen to the Lorde  
Chandos in money for gratification against the receauing of the  
Queenes Maiesty at Sudely in progresse vj li. xiiij s. iiiij d.... 25  
...

**1592-3**

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3

f 284v 30

ffees and wages ...Paid to mr Garret the Musicion for his fee for three quarters of a  
yere xv s....

Guiftes and  
rewardes ...To my lord Morl(i)es players in money and j pottle of wine and  
sugar by mr Maiors and mr Seamys appointment the xxviii<sup>th</sup> of Iune 35  
xj s. viij d....

**1593-4**

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3

f 293 (*Gifts and rewards*) 40

...  
...Gaued the lord Ogles players viij s. iiiij d.... Item gaued to the Queenes  
maiestes Players xl s....

**1594-5***Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3f 305\* (*Gifts and rewards*)

...

...geven to the blind harper for the wine which he gave mr maior 5  
 xij d....geven to Anthonie Cooke and his companie at midsommer one  
 gallon of wine & suger iij s. paid Thomas Bubbe for a wagon in the  
 pageant for the turke x s....

f 305v

10

...To the Lord Chandois man that brought venison v s. and to my  
 Lordes players v s. Geven to the Queenes players xxx s. geven to the  
 Lord Ogles players v s....

*Corporation Common Council Minute Book* GRO: GBR B 3/1

15

f 157v (*19 December*)

...

Musicians/40 s

It is also agreed that °Iames° (*blank*) musitiens, [plaieng] having plaid  
 on the Rcorde as the Waites for this quarter of yere passed [shall  
 therefore] at iiij of the clock in the morninges in the Chief streetes of 20  
 this city shall therefore, and in recompence of their service at the  
 solempne vsuall assemblies, °this yere° have xx s for a Reward and  
 xx s for their liuereys to be paid by the stewardes of this City/  
 ...

25

**1595-6***Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/3f 311v (*Fees and wages*)

...

...Paid to Iames the musition and his men towards their liverie of 30  
 stamell cloakes and for their service xl s....

ff 312v-13 (*Gifts and rewards*)

...Geven to my L Staffordes plaiers vj s. viij d. geven to my L Chandois 35  
 plaiers by mr maiors appointment geven to the queenes plaiers for

18/ h of that written over t

18/(blank): remainder of the line left blank for the names of the musicians

19/ Rcorde for Recorder

22/ caret written over paid

their play xxx s. geven to the Earle of Darbies plaiers xxx s. geven to my L Oagles plaiers iii s. iiij d. geven to my L Admiralls plaiers xx s.... | Geven to the Queenes plaiers in wine and suger iij s. ij d. geven for wine and suger for my Lord Admiralls players xx d.

...

### I602-3

*Tanners' Company Orders and Accounts* GCL: 28652/18  
f [43v] (23 November-22 November)

...

And to the musicions

...

10

vj d

### *Gloucester Diocese Consistory Court Deposition Books*

GRO: GDR 89

f [116v]\* (22 October)

15

#### *Super articulis contra wylmott*

wayt et howell  
contra wylmott

Thomas Hyll Ciuitatis Gloucestrie yoman vbi moram fecit plerumque a natuitate sua ibidem ortus etatis xxxv. annorum aut circiter libere vt dicit condicionis testis &c.

20

*Ad primum articulum dicit eundem esse verum*

Ad iijj deponit that twelue monethes now past or there aboutes this deponent was at a stage play in the Botholl in the Cytty of Gloucester in the Company of tharticulate Iohn wylmott, at which tyme the said mr Iohn wylmott [did] 'offered to' present himself vppon the said stage, and sayd to this deponent that he could play better then any of those stage players, and offered to goe vppon the same stage and to take one of the same players instrumentes out of their handes to haue played vppon yt himself. And this deponent perceauinge the said mr wylmot to be very earnest to haue gon vppon the said stage and fearing that he would haue then [haue] discredyted himself did pull him and hold him back and did not suffer him to goe vpp to the same stage/ And this deponent dyd Iudge the said mr Iohn wylmot to be overtaken with drynck at that tyme, and so did others then there present/ et aliter nescit deponere

25

30

35

*Super reliquis articulis non est examinatus*

...

f [117]\*

Iohannes fflemyng de Ciuitate Gloucestrie Barbor vbi moram fecit  
plerunque a natiuitate sua *ibidem* ortus etatis xxxvj annorum et amplius  
libere vt dicit condicionis testis &c./

Ad *primum articulum* dicit eundem esse verum

Ad ij et iij nescit deponere

Ad iiij deponit that twelue monethes last past or there aboutes this  
deponent was at a stage play at the Botholl in the Cytty of Gloucester  
in the Company of the articulate mr Iohn wylmot at which tyme the  
sayd mr Iohn wylmot did offer to haue gon [vpp] vppon the said stage,  
And then this deponent [then] asked Thomas hill his precontest what  
the matter was, and the said Thomas hill tould this deponent that mr  
wylmot said he would haue gon vppon the stage to play vppon one  
of the players Instrumentes, And at the tyme this deponent did  
perceau the said mr wylmot to be very pleasa(nt) and merry but  
whey(t)her he was then druncken or not this deponent cannot depose,  
but doth Iudge that he had ben dryncking hard before that [tyme] day,  
and doth thinck that excepte he had ben moued by drynck that [(.)]  
he the said mr wylmot would not haue offered to doe soe/ et *aliter*  
nescit deponere

...

#### 1603-4

*Tanners' Company Orders and Accounts* GCL: 28652/18 25

f [44v] (23 November-22 November)

...

Alsoe for wyne and sugar at the masters howse at

St Clementes tyde

viiij s./

Alsoe for money geeven to the musicions.

vj d. 30

...

#### 1607-8

*Tanners' Company Orders and Accounts* GCL: 28652/18

f [48] (23 November-20 November)

35

...

The said Accomptant prayeth to bee allowed of diuerse  
sommes of money by him layed oute within the tyme of  
his accompte, viz: payed for musick at Iohn Morganes

v s. x d./

4/ *plerunque* for *plerumque*: *minim* missing

xij d./ geeven in money to Richard Lye ij s./ ffor wyne at  
his comnge in master ij s. x d. in all

...

### 1608-9

*Tanners' Company Orders and Accounts* GCL: 28652/18  
f [52v]\* (23 November-22 November)

...

Alsoe hee prayeth allowance for wyne and sugar and  
museck at his dynner

(blank) 10

...

### 1609-10

*Bakers' Company Minutes and Accounts* GCL: 29334  
f [84]

...

Item for the oddes of moneye at our Breakefast in  
the haule

js-viiij d  
js 0-0]

[Item paid to Iohn Atkinges for js loaiffe

Item paid for jvj d loaiffe to Abell Aungell & for j pottell  
of Secke

ij s-[vi] j d-0  
ij s-iiij d

Item paid for the wayghtes

...

### 1611-12

*Tanners' Company Orders and Accounts* GCL: 28652/18  
f [54] (23 November-22 November)

...

Allso he prayeth Allowance of xij s x d which he laide  
out for wine att mr Smithes dinner

xij s x d 30

Allso he prayeth Allowance of vs which he laid out for  
musicke att the same dinner

vs

f [54v]

...

Allso he prayeth Allowance for wine & sugar and  
musicke att his dinner

xiij s x d

...

**1612-13***Tanners' Company Orders and Accounts* GCL: 28652/18

f [55v]\* (23 November-22 November)

...  
 Alsoe payed for a supper at the Newyne and for wyne  
 and museck there

Liij s

5

...  
 Alsoe he prayeth allowance for wyne and sugar.  
 and museck. at his dynner

xix s viij d

10

**1613-14***Tanners' Company Orders and Accounts* GCL: 28652/18

f [58] (23 November-22 November)

...  
 It this Accomptant craueth allowance for money laid  
 out for one supper att new Ine the xxv<sup>th</sup> day of Iune  
 It giuen to the wait players the same day by the  
 appoyntment of the Companie

xlvi s. iij d

v s.

15

20

f [58v]

...  
 It Laid out for wine & sugar when I went forth maister  
 of the Companie

viij s.

It this same day to the waite plaiers

v s.

25

**1614-15***Tanners' Company Orders and Accounts* GCL: 28652/18

f [59v] (23 November-22 November)

...  
 It laid out for wine when I went forth maister of  
 the Companie

xj s.

It the same day to the waite plaiers

v s.

35

**1615-16***Tanners' Company Orders and Accounts* GCL: 28652/18

f [61] (23 November-22 November)

...  
 It laide out for wine when I went forth of the

40

Companie maister x s.  
 It the same day to the waite player v s  
 ...

**I616-17**

*Tanners' Company Orders and Accounts* GCL: 28652/18 5  
 f [62v] (23 November-22 November)

...  
 ...ffor wyne and sugar at Robert Reynoldes dynner v s. x d.  
 To the musitions at thattyme iiij s iiij d... 10  
 ...

Also he prayeth allowance of money by him layed out for  
 a supper at a meeting at the newynne xliij s  
 ffor wyne at the same tyme xxiiij s [x d] j d  
 ffor musick at the same tyme vj s 15  
 ...

ffor wyne and sugar; at the masters dynner xviiij s. x d./  
 To the musick at the same tyme v s.

**I617-18**

*Tanners' Company Orders and Accounts* GCL: 28652/18 20  
 f [64v] (23 November-22 November)

...  
 ffor wine and sugar att the maisters dinner xviiij s. x d.  
 ffor musicke att the same time v s. 25  
 ...

**I618-19**

*Tanners' Company Orders and Accounts* GCL: 28652/18 30  
 f [67] (23 November-22 November)

...  
 Payd for musicke att the maisters dinner v s.  
 ...

**I619-20**

*Tanners' Company Orders and Accounts* GCL: 28652/18 35  
 ff [68v-9] (23 November-22 November)

...  
 Item layd out for wine and sugar att william Ieynes

his dinner x s. viij d  
 Allso for musicke the same time v s.

...  
 Item layd out for wine and sugar att Richard Luggs dinner xiiij s iiij d  
 Allso for musicke the same time v s. 5

...  
 It iiij gallons of sacke. ij gallons of Claret & j pottle of  
 Claret & iiij li. of sugar att our maisters dinner xxiiij s. l  
 Item for musicke v s. 10  
 ...

**1621-2**

*Tanners' Company Orders and Accounts* GCL: 28652/18

f [71] (23 November-22 November)

...  
 Allso for wine and sugar att Richard Nashes dinner xx s. iiij d. 15  
 ffor musicke v s.

**1623-4**

*Tanners' Company Orders and Accounts* GCL: 28652/18

f [74v]\* (23 November-22 November)

...  
 It att Iohn Nichols dinner att newe Inne in wine  
 sugar & musicke j li. -xiiij s -iiij d 25  
 ...  
 It for vij pottles of sacke iiij pottles of Claret  
 j pottle of white wine ij pounce of sugar att our  
 master his dinner j li. -iiij s -iiij d  
 (It) for musicke 0-v s. -0 30  
 It for Linkes 0-[vii]-viiij d  
 ...

**1624-5**

*Corporation Clerks' Memoranda Book* GRO: GBR 1453/1542

f 110v

...  
 xxv<sup>th</sup> of October 1624  
 At which tyme one Henry Sandes with three others brought a  
 commicon vnder Sir Henry Harberts hand & seale master of the revells 40

& requested mr mayor to let them play according to their commicon, which commicon was dated the xviii<sup>th</sup> day of September Anno Regni Regis Iacobi xxij<sup>th</sup> directed to the sayd Henry Sandes [Allexdin] Allexander Baker & Robert Smedley, & the sayd Allexander Baker confessed his name <sup>a</sup>was<sup>r</sup> Barker & not Baker & they had with them one Iarvis Gennatt./a mynstrell./

...

*Tanners' Company Orders and Accounts* GCL: 28652/18

f [76v] (23 November-22 November)

10

...

Item spent in wine at the Maisters dinner and suger	j li. - (v) s - iiij d
Itm for wine	iiij s iiij d
Itm for Musick	vj s viij d

15

...

**1625-6**

*Tanners' Company Orders and Accounts* GCL: 28652/18

f [79v] (23 November-22 November)

20

...

Allso layd out for wine sugar & musicke when Iames Stevens keepte his dinner	j li. - iiij s - 00
--	---------------------

...

f 80

25

...

It spent in wine & sugar att the maisters dinner	j li. - iiij s - viij d
Item for musicke	00 - v s - 00

...

30

**1626-7**

*Bakers' Company Minutes and Accounts* GCL: 29334

f [102v]

...

mor the .6. of November for beare and ffyer	0 - 0 - 9	35
more that Daye at our Dinner j galland of Clarrett and one pottell of Secke	0 - 5 - 0	

more then for Beare to make the musicians Drincke 0 - 0 - 5  
 ...

*Tanners' Company Orders and Accounts* GCL: 28652/18

f [81v] (23 November-22 November)

Item spent in wine and sugar att the maisters dinner xxij s vj d  
 Item for musicke v s.

**1627-8**

*Tanners' Company Orders and Accounts* GCL: 28652/18

f [82v] (23 November-22 November)

It when Anthony ffeeld came into our Companie in 15  
 methegline beare & Cakes ij s - x d.  
 It att his dinner in wine & sugar vj s - vj d  
 It att the same time for musicke ij s - vj d

It when Robert Teyther keepe his dinner att his 20  
 Cominge into the Companie in wine & sugar xix s  
 It for musicke ij s - vj d

It in wine & sugar att the maisters dinner xvij s - iij d  
 It for musicke att our maisters dinner 00 - v s - 00 25

*Cathedral Treasurers' Accounts* GRO: D 936 A1/1

p III (25 March-24 March) (Rewards)

Item to Trowte a poore Musican vj d 30

**1628-9**

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/4

f 12 (Fees and wages)

Paid the Weight Players for their Wages from this  
 Cittie for their pay xls

f 35a (*General payments*)

...

Payd the Drummers and Trumpetts vppon the  
Proclayning of the prolimation for peace with ffrance ij s. vj d.

...

## f 37\*

Payd Mr Merowe at Cristie for their Mussicke  
in the Colledg v s. 10

...

*Tanners' Company Orders and Accounts* GCL: 28652/18  
f [83v] (23 November-22 November)

...

It payd vnto the waightplayers att Lawrence Luggs &  
Richard Williams dinner v s. 15

...

It for wine and sugar att our maisters dinner xxiiij s  
It for musicke v s. 20

## 1629-30

*Tanners' Company Orders and Accounts* GCL: 28652/18  
f [85v] (23 November-22 November)

...

It for wine and sugar att our maisters dinner j li. - j s - ij d  
It for musicke v s. 25

...

*Cathedral Treasurers' Accounts* GRO: D 936 A 1/1  
p 153 (25 March-24 March) (*Extraordinary payments*) 30

...

Repayd to Iohn Merro for a Rome which he rented of  
Iohn Beames to teache the Children to playe vppon the  
Vialls 10 s. 35

p 162 (*Rewards*)

...

To A poore Singingman at the intreaty of the  
Quiremen 2 s. 40

...

To A poore Musicion sent by Mr Subdeane 6 d.

...

**1630-1***Tanners' Company Orders and Accounts* GCL: 28652/18

f [86v] (23 November-22 November)

...

It to the prisners as we went to william Packers  
dinner

00 - 00 - vj d

5

It giuen to the musicke the same tyme

00 - ij s - vj d

...

f [87]

10

...

It ffor wine and sugar att our maisters dinner

j li. - v s - vj d

It the same tyme to the musicke

00 - v s - 00

...

15

**1631-2***Corporation Common Council Minute Book* GRO: GBR B 3/2

p 3\* (21 January) (Livery allowance)

...

It is also agreed at this house that the [bu] publike musicions of this  
Cittie in regard their number is increased from fflower to Six beeing  
avery able & sufficient consort shall haue yearly for their liveryes out  
of the Chamber of this Cittie the Sume of fflower poundes During the  
pleasure of this house to begin presently

20

...

25

*Tanners' Company Orders and Accounts* GCL: 28652/18

f [89v] (23 November-22 November)

...

It for musicke att Alexander Hores Dinner

00 - ij s - vj d

...

30

It he craueth allowance of forty shillings towards the  
keeping of his maisters Dinner accordinge to the order  
in that case made and provided

ij li. - 00 - 00

It for wine

j li. - 00 - 00

It the same tyme for musicke

00 - v s - 00

...

35

**1632-3***Tanners' Company Orders and Accounts* GCL: 28652/18

f [91] (23 November-22 November)

...

40

Item the 29<sup>th</sup> of Nouember att William Luggs dinner

spent in wine and sugar	00 - x s - 00	
Item the same tyme by the consent of the maister wardens and the rest of the companie spent more in wine & sugar	00 - viij s - 00	
Item for musicke the same tyme	00 - v s - 00	5
...		
Item he craueth allowance for fortye shillings towards the keepeinge of his maisters dinner accordinge to the order in that case made & provided	ij li - 00 - 00	10
Item the same tyme spent in wine	j li. - 00 - 00	
Item for sugar	00 - iij s - 00	
Item for musicke	00 - v s - 00	

**1633-4**

15

*Tanners' Company Orders and Accounts* GCL: 28652/18  
f [94] (23 November-22 November)

...		
It spent in wine and sugar when I keepe my maisters dinner	j li. - viij s - vj d	20
It payd for musicke	00 - v s - 00	
...		
It for musicke att Iohn Luggs dinner	00 - iij s - vj d	
...		

25

*Cathedral Treasurers' Accounts* GRO: D 936 A 1/1  
p 256 (25 March-24 March) (Rewards)

...		
To some of the Waytes for playinge in the Quire per Consensum Magistri Decani	o 5. o.	30
...		

**1634-5**

*Tanners' Company Orders and Accounts* GCL: 28652/18  
ff [95-5v] (23 November-22 November)

35

...		
It spent in wine & sugar when I kept my masters dinner	j li. - j s - viij d	
It payd for musicke	00 - v s - 00	40
...		

*Cathedral Treasurers' Accounts* GRO: D 936 A 1/1  
p 272\* (25 March-24 March) (Extraordinary payments)

...  
Given to the Waites at Ablods Court. 0. 2. 6.

...

5

*Judgment upon Sabbath-breakers* Burton: *Divine Tragedie*  
ff 24v-5

...  
Vpon May Eve Thomas Tree of Glocester, Carpenter in the Parish 10  
of S. Michael, some coming unto him, and asking him, whether he  
would go with them to fetch the May-pole, he swore by the Lords  
wounds, that he | would, though he never went more. Now whiles  
he was working on the May-pole on May day morning, before he had  
finished his work, the Lord smote him with such a lamenesse and 15  
swelling in all his limbs, that he could neither go, nor lift his hands  
to his mouth, to feed himself, but kept his bed for half a yeer together,  
and stil goes lame to this day; May 4, 1636.

...

20

**1635-6**  
*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/5  
f 8 (Fees and wages)

...  
Item payd the Wayte players for their wages for 25  
the whole yeare 4-0-0

...

*Tanners' Company Orders and Accounts* GCL: 28652/18  
f [96v] (23 November-22 November) 30

...  
It att my [mais] keeping of our maisters dinner spent in  
wine & sugar j li - vjs - 00  
It for musicke 00 - vs - 00

35

**1636-7**  
*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/5  
f 38 (Fees and wages)

...  
Item payd the wayte players for their wages for the 40

whole yeare 4-0-0  
...

f 40\* (*Gifts and rewards*)

...  
Item payd vnto Vincente that Caries Sightes  
and shewes with dauncing on the Ropp wch was by  
order of the Iustices 1-6-8

Item payd vnto William Daniell one of the Kings  
Reuells because he should not playe beeing in the  
contagious tyme by order of the Iustices 1-6-8 10

...  
Item payd more vnto Vincent at his Retorning to  
towne in that the tyme of contagious sicknes  
might prove dangerous by the order of  
the Iustices — 0-13-4 15

...

*Tanners' Company Orders and Accounts* GCL: 28652/18

f [98] (*23 November-22 November*) 20

...

It att my keepinge of our maisters dinner in wine  
and sugar j li. = 00 - 00

It for musicke 00 - vs - 00

... 25

1637-8

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/5

f 66v (*Fees and wages*) 30

...

Item payd the Waightplayers theyr wages for the  
whole yeare 4-0-0

...

f 67v (*Gifts and rewards*) 35

...

Item payd the Quiristers at Cristemas by Mr Mayor  
and Iustices order 0-2-0

...

*Tanners' Company Orders and Accounts* GCL: 28652/18  
f [99v] (23 November-22 November)

...  
Item at my keeping of our masters dinner in wine  
and suger j li. - ix s - viij d 5  
Item spent by consent of the company afterwards viij s vij d  
Item for musicke v s  
...

*Cathedral Treasurers' Accounts* GRO: D 936 A 1/2 10  
p 58 (25 March-24 March) (Extraordinary payments)

To Richard Brodgate Iunior for playinge on the  
Sagbott the whole yeare. 3: 0: 0.  
... 15

### 1638-9

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/5  
f 97v (Annuities, fees, and wages)

... 20  
Item Payd the Waytplayers theyr wages for the  
whole yeare iiij li.

*Cathedral Treasurers' Accounts* GRO: D 936 A 1/2  
p 81\* (25 March-24 March) (Extraordinary payments) 25

...  
To Richard Bradgate Iunior for playing on the  
Sagbutt the whole yeare 3 0 0

### 1639-40

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/5  
f 128 (Annuities, fees, and wages)

... 30  
Item payd the Wayte players theyr Wages for the  
whole yeare iiij li. 35  
...

f 129 (Gifts and rewards)

...  
Item given to Stage players by the appoyntement  
of Mr Mayor and the Iustices in regard they 40

should not acte any play at that tyme in this City  
... xx s.

*Cathedral Treasurers' Accounts* GRO: D 936 A 1/2

p 103 (25 March-24 March) (Extraordinary payments) 5

...  
To Henry Vizard for playing on the Sagbutt the  
whole yeare 3 . 0 . 0

p 104 10

...  
ffor amending the Sagbutt 0 . 0 . 6

...  
To the Oxford musicke for playing on their Cornettes  
at the Summer Assizes by the appointment of the  
Prebendaries 0 . 10 . 0 15

...

**1640-1**

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/5 20

f 152 (Annuities, fees, and wages)

...  
Item payd the Wayt players theyr Wages for  
whole yeare iiij li. 25

f 153v (Gifts and rewards)

...  
Item payd to the Stage players by the Mayor & Iustices  
order when they went to see the Accte xx s 30

*Cathedral Treasurers' Accounts* GRO: D 936 A 1/2

pp 125-6 (25 March-24 March) (Extraordinary payments) 35

...  
To Henry (.y)ssen for playing on the Sagbutt the  
whole yeare 03 :00 :00

To Mr Machins man for bringing the Sagbutt which  
was his Masteres his gift to ye church 00 :05 :00

12/ he of the written over another letter

36/ (.y)ssen: probably vyssen (Vizard)

To [the] Thomas Smyth for playing on the Cornett two  
yeares granted by petition

02 :00 :00

...

*Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes* BL: Harley 162  
f 219a (12 February)

5

...

The petition of the Mayor & citizens of Gloster was read that they  
have ther eleven churches & [in] but one preaching minister. That at  
ther owne coste they maintained on Mr Workman a godlie divine: 10  
but hee was called into the high commission and censured, & silenced.  
That after the citizens of Gloster allowing him some maintenance  
weere likewise troubled in the high Commission Court. That Dr.  
Goodman the Bishopp of Gloster was an enemie to all preaching &  
godlines: maintaining fiddlers in his howse on the sunday, & dancing 15  
in the cittie. It was after divers motions ordered to bee referred to the  
Committee touching Dr. Peirce Bishopp of Bath & Wells.

...

**1641-2**

20

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/5  
f 174 (Annuities, fees, and wages)

...

Item. payd the Wayte players theyr wages for the  
whole yeare

04 li.-00-00

25

...

*Cathedral Treasurers' Accounts* GRO: D 936 A 1/2  
p 148 (25 March-24 March) (Extraordinary payments)

30

To Henry Vizard for playing on the Saggbutt the  
whole yeare

3-0-0

...

**1642-3**

35

*Corporation Chamberlains' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 4/5  
f 207 (Annuities, fees, and wages)

...

Item: paid the Wayte players their wages for the  
whole yeare

04-00-00

40

...

## HARESCOMBE

## 1611-12

*Gloucester Diocese Consistory Court Deposition Books*

GRO: GDR 114

f [87] (16 March)

...

decimo sexto die Martij Anno domini 1611

Katherina Haselton vxor Willelmi Super libello ex parte dicte  
 Haselton versus Doratheam Katherinæ Haselton in hac causa 10  
 Dorney vxor Ricardi Dorney dato et exhibito  
 senioris in causa diffamacionis

Alicia Arthure de Harsfield in comitatu Gloucestrie Spinster vbi  
 moram fecit per spacium duorum annorum vltra elapsorum aut 15  
 eo circiter nata apud Painswick in comitatu predicto ætatis viginti et  
 vnius annorum aut eo circiter testis pro ducta Iurata et examinata/

...

Ad secundum articulum libelli predicti deponit et dicit That vpon a 20  
 Saboath day in Harvest last aboute a Moneth before Michaelmas last  
 or thereabouts the tyme more certaine this Deponent remembreth  
 ⁊ not<sup>1</sup> shée this Deponent did goe to the dwelling howse of Richard  
 Dorney thelder scituate in harsfield articulate husband of Dorathy  
 Dorney articulate to carry achilde of [the sai<.)] Richard Dorney the 25  
 younger, whoe then dwelled in howse with his father (he the said  
 Richard Dorney the yonger havng before that tyme marryed one Iane  
 Arthure this Deponentes sister And the same day assoone as this  
 Deponent came to the dwellg howse of the said Richard Dorney  
 thelder as aforesaid Dorathy Dorney articulate came to this Deponent 30  
 standing at the doore vnto whome this Deponent [diff] did offer the  
 child that it might be there kept because the said Richard Dorney the  
 younger would not come nere the childe nor give his wife any  
 maintenance at all for to keepe it and then the same tyme the said  
 Dorathy Dorney beganne to fall out with this Deponent and called 35  
 her many ill names as Iade [(<.)] ⁊ (Qune)<sup>1</sup> such other like termes And  
 also the said Dorathy saied to this Deponent the same tyme, thy  
 mother meaning katheryne Haselton articulate hath said that I am a

8/ 1611 underlined MS

15/ p of per written overs

29/ dwellg for dwelling

14/ c of Alicia written over another letter

17/ pro ducta for producta

31/ [diff] corrected to did

whoore)) but I am not such a whore as shee is for thy mother meaning katheryne Hasleton *articulate* was naught at Harsecombe vpon a Bedd and that one Bond a Musitian did play at the bedes feete in the meane tyme, [All *which*] meaning thereby as this Deponent conceived that some one man or another had had the carnall knowledge of (the body of the said katheryne Haselton *articulate*....

## HENBURY

**1599**

10

*Bristol Diocese Bishop's Cause Book* BRO: EP/J/1/11

f 269v

...  
*contra* Robertum Stoakes Siimiliter Comparuit Stoakes et <sup>a</sup> fassus  
*parochie de henburie* est *presentacioni* [negat *presentacio*(..) esse 15  
*articulatur* by report for verum vnde Dominus] vnde Dominus  
 kepeinge of musicke & iniunxit ei *penitentiam sequentem videlicet*  
 Dansinge in his howse that he hath [on the] <sup>a</sup> to<sup>1</sup> morrowe  
 at the time of eueniinge [followenge] in the *parishe* church of  
 praier henburie sig(.).nifye publiquelye vnto the 20  
 whole congregaon that he hath offended  
 the lawe in keepinge of musique & dancinge  
 in his howse in time of Devine service &c et  
 ad *certificandum*

...

25

## LITTLEDEAN

**1601-2**

*Gloucester Diocese Consistory Court Cause Book*

30

GRO: GDR 90

ff 178-8v\* (10 March)

...

Willelmus hopkins detected for playeing at tabber & pipe at  
 de eadem [servis] tymes. inconvenient./ 35  
 [excommunicatus]

*Citatus in ecclesia*

Comparuit et dominus iniunxit ei ad *fatendum* culpam vestibus  
 assuetis die *dominica proxima* et ad *certificandum* in *proxima*/  
 peregit

40

14/ Siimiliter: *extra minim*

19/ eueniinge: *extra minim*

excellencie of *your* highnes witt can consider and examine advisedlie,  
and iudge [and] easilie of the same.

the first.  
branche.

2. A restraint of the profaning of the Saboth day especiallie with  
minstrelcie, baiting of beares and other beastes, and such like. 5
3. That it be felonie in hym that will haue hencefoorth two wiues lyving  
and felony in her that will haue hencefoorth two husbandes lyving.
4. A restraint of publishing profane poetrie bookes of profane songes  
sonnettes pamphlettes and such like, otherwise then to be sold out  
of *your* highnes dominions. 10
5. That there be no booke pamphlett sonnet ballad or libell printed or  
written of purpose either to be sold or openlie [b] published without  
*your* maiestes licence.
6. The psalmes of the prophett David being now in english meeter to  
be printed in folio in such sort as prophane ballades now are. 15
7. To prohibite euery spirituall person to haue any more then one  
benifice, and that they be resident vppon the same except six weekes  
in the yeare.
8. That there be not any admitted into the ministry but at such time  
as there shalbe a place voide of a Curate, And that such as can preache 20  
the word be therunto preferred rather then others.
9. To nominate and sett downe euery suspicion of papistrie and to punish  
the offenders by fyne or otherwise for the first second and third  
offence.
10. That euery papist and recusant be exempted out of euery Iury and 25  
inquisicion and to be barred of his othe if challenge be made against  
hym.
11. That the inhabitantes of euery parish suffering any scholemaister to  
teache publkelly within their *parishe* without licence of the Lord  
Bishop of the same dioces do forfait vnto *your* maiestie for euery 30  
weeke so teaching x li. And euery person keping in his howse any  
scholemaister teaching privatlie vnlicenced as is aforsaide to forfait  
for euery day so kepte x.li. The righte honorable the Lordes of *your*  
*maiestes* privy Counsaill and such as shall please *your* highnes to be  
excepted. 35
12. That euery person arested within the County of Middlesex recouer  
his treble costes if after his apparance the plaintiff doth not declare  
within three daies next after and prosecute with effect,
13. That no spirituall person do make or write any manner of evidences  
but onlie testaments and last wills. 40
14. The thirteenth, and if it please *your* maiestie, is the bodie & service  
of my self *your* most humble poore subiect and dailie Orator to

commaunde at your highnes pleasure.

Anthonye Bridgeman  
of Mychell Deane  
in the County of Gl(...)

## TEWKESBURY

### 1525-6

*Letter from John Veysey, Bishop of Exeter, and Others to Wolsey*

BL: Cotton Vespasian F XIII #187

10

f 240\* (27 November)

Please it youre grace for the great repaire of strangiers supposed vnto  
the pryncesse honorable householde this solemne fest of Cristmas.  
we humbly besече the same/ to let vs knowe youre gracious pleasure/  
concernyng aswell a ship of siluer for the Almes Disshe requysite for  
her high estate/ and spice plates/ as also for trumpettes and a Rebek  
to be sent/ and whither we shall appoynte any lord of mysrule for the  
said honorable householde/provide for enterludes Disgysynges or  
pleyes in the said fest/ or for banket on twelf nyght/ And in likewise  
whither the pryncesse shall sende any newe yeres giftes to the kynge  
the quene youre grace and the frensshe quene/ and of the value &  
Devise of the same Besechyng your grace also to pardon oure busy  
and Importunate sute to the same in suche bihalf made/ Thus oure  
right syngler good lorde we pray the holy trynyte haue you in his  
holy preseruacion/ At Teoxbury the xxvij Day of nouember/  
your humble orators  
(signed)

To the most reuerent ffather in god  
the lord Cardinall his good grace./

John Exoniensis  
Ieiliz Grevile  
peter burnell  
Iohn Salter  
G. Bromley  
Thomas Audeley

30

### 1567-8

*St Mary the Virgin's Churchwardens' Accounts* GRO: P 329 CW 2/1

35

p 21 (4 May 1567-16 May 1568)

...

Item Recevid for the hier of the players gere

xviii d

...

40

4/ Gl(...): probably Gloucester; page torn

**1572-4**

*St Mary the Virgin's Churchwardens' Accounts* GRO: P 329 CW 2/1  
p 41 (4 May 1572-20 April 1574)

...  
Reseved ffore the Lone off the players aperell      iij s iiij d      5  
...

**1575-6**

*St Mary the Virgin's Churchwardens' Accounts* GRO: P 329 CW 2/1  
p 51 (July - July)

...  
paid for mendinge ye newe seate beinge brokene Downe  
at Aplaye      ij d  
paid for naylles to Doo ye same      j d  
...      15

**1576-7**

*St Mary the Virgin's Churchwardens' Accounts* GRO: P 329 CW 2/1  
p 55 (July - July)

...  
Item Receved for the hyer of players gere      iij s viij d      20  
...

p 57

...  
Item Receved of Thomas Wheler for hier of the players  
geare      iiij s      25  
...

p 60

...  
ffurther we haue loned out some players geare to Thoms  
& Iohn Wheler the note wherof we receued by theyr hand  
wrytyng & they [s] most paye for hyer of it on myd somer  
yeve & then delyuer it agayne      iiij s      30

Areregis there is due to be Receued & to be chargyd to the next  
Churchwardens as followeth      35

...  
[of Thomas & Iohn Wheler - iiij s]  
...

p 62 (*July-July*)

...

The charge of the nowe churchwardens Iohn  
 Bubbe & Richard ffield anno 1577.  
 ffirst delivered to them in lead - xxiiij<sup>c</sup> 5  
 twentie three hundred poundes  
 Item in brasse half hundred lacking ij. li  
 Item five Corslettes <sup>^</sup> 'furnished' tenn Calivers/  
 sixteene murrens/ fower pickes/  
 Item in yron one barr/ one highe Candlestick. 10  
 one Casement/ ij chaynes  
 Item one riche Coape/ five players gownes/ iiij Iacketts/ iiij beardes/  
 twoo heades/  
 Item tenn towel [(. .)]s/ vij albes or sirplisses/ xj other pieces of lynnenn. /  
 Item ij curtyyns up at the handes of Mr Gailietiewood by Richard ffield 15  
 & Iohn Bubbe then church wardens/

## 1577-8

*St Mary the Virgin's Churchwardens' Accounts* GRO: P 329 CW 2/1p 63 (*3 September 1577-3 May 1578*) 20

...

Item Receued of Richarde Donne for ye hyer of ye  
 players Apparell iiij s iiij d

...

p 65 25

...

More that is by vs/ paide vnto those whose names  
 are vnderwritt for ye players geare as followeth  
 Item to Roberte Collens for payntinge iiij s vj d  
 Item to Roger Mylwarde for makeinge of garmentes iiij s viij d 30  
 Item to Richard Westone for makeinge A Ierkine xij d  
 Item for vj sheepe skyns for Christes garmentes iij s  
 Item to William ffyelde for buckeram for capes viij d  
 Item for two kippe skines for ye thunder heades xvj d

...

35

## 1578-80

*St Mary the Virgin's Churchwardens' Accounts* GRO: P 329 CW 2/1p 66\* (*13 July - ?*)

...

Item Receued for the hyer of the players apparell vj s viij d 40

...

Item Receued of Roger wiette for the hire of the  
players apparell

iiij s

...

### 1582-3

*St Mary the Virgin's Churchwardens' Accounts* GRO: P 329 CW 2/1  
p 74\* (*Account rendered 7 August 1583*)

5

...

Item Receued of luke hurst for a<sup>a</sup> hyer of<sup>l</sup> ye players  
apparell

ij s vij d 10

...

Item Receued for ye hyer of the players beardes

vj d

...

p 75

...

Item Receued for the players capes

vj d

15

...

p 79 (*Arrears*)

...

Item of Richard mathewes & salsburie for the hyer of the  
players geere

iiij s iiij d

20

...

### 1583-4

*St Mary the Virgin's Churchwardens' Accounts* GRO: P 329 CW 2/1  
p 80 (*24 May 1584*)

25

...

Item Reseuyd off Wylyyam salsbery & Rychard mathews  
for the hyer off ye players Rament

iiij s iiij d 30

...

p 81

...

Item Reseuyd for the lonne off ye Reparell at  
Chrystymas

viiij s ij d

35

Item We haue Reseuyd off Rychard Wood / & /

Iohn farley off mathen for ye hyer off ye Reparell

v s

...

9-12/ entries marked with asterisk (*in later hand*)?

38/ mathen: Mathon, Worc, eleven miles from Tewkesbury

**1584****Borough Minute Book** GRO: TBR A 1/1

f 15\*

...

bailiffes accompt memorandum iij<sup>o</sup> novembris 1584 as in the last yeere aforesaid the 5  
 abouesaid bailiffes and Thomas Crump accomptinge before William  
 hill & William willis then bailiffes the abouenamed bailiffes having  
 receaved in to their handes vj li. xiiij s iiij d they accompted laid out  
 by them vnto players, in wyne to the Iustices, rent for their market  
 standing, to the clark of the market & tenshall money - iiij li. xv s. 10  
 viij d.

...

**1584-5****St Mary the Virgin's Churchwardens' Accounts** GRO: P 329 CW 2/1 15

p 86 (24 May 1584-3 May 1585)

...

Item receavid of certen men of Mathon for the vse of  
 the pleyers apparrell v s.

...

Item receavid of the person of hyllchurche for the 20  
 vse of the plaiers apparrell at Cristmas last iiij s vj d

...

p 88 (Church goods delivered to new churchwardens) 25

...

players Apparrell Item viij<sup>t</sup> gownes and clokes  
 Item vij Iirkyns  
 Item iiij capps of green sylke.  
 Item viij heades of heare for the apostles and 30  
 .x. beardes  
 Item a face or vysor for the devyll

...

**1600****Borough Minute Book** GRO: TBR A 1/1 35

f 24

...

(.)attellment on The Churchwardens this yeere after michaelmas intendinge of them

9/ Mathon: Mathon, Worc, eleven miles from Tewkesbury

12/ hyllchurche: unidentified (many villages in the Tewkesbury area have hill as an element in their names)

the steeple

selves to build a battlement vppon the toppe of the churche tower  
offred to do the same by contracting martes without any common  
charge: and to that purpose did sett furthe iij stage playes shewed in  
the abby at Whitsontide following, and making further mocion for a  
churchale, the same could not be granted but vnder some condicons  
(didd) that battlement which cost vppon the accompt - lxxvj li.

...

## 1600-1

*St Mary the Virgin's Churchwardens' Accounts* GRO: P 329 CW 2/1  
pp 130-1\* (July-July)

Also these Churchwardens vndertooke to sett a battlement of stone  
vppon the topp of the tower as now it standeth where before was none,  
but stooede as it was at the fall of the spier of leade, which happened  
on Easterdeye in the first yeere of the Quenes maiestis raigne on which  
was a beautifull wooden battlement.

This battlement of stone they adventured vppon themselves by  
makinge of martes with suche as would take of them, only was licensed  
them for that yeere to devise some meetinges to be had within the  
towne for their helpe therein which they after practised by settinge  
furthe iij severall stage playes within the abbey on the iij first dyes of  
whitsonweeke anno Domini . 1600. havinge begun that woork in lent  
before of which charge they acquainte the bailiffes & parishe as  
followeth;

Imprimis they accompt to have gotten by gifte within the towne &  
countray [a] neere aboute in wheate & malte / videlicet wheate xvj  
bushels at iij s iij d a bushel and of malte xxxj bushels at ij s vj d rated  
vj li. x s. x d. of which they gained by vtteraunce of the same at their  
playes so muche as made the the same amounte to xij li. ij s. x d.

Item receved for the gaine of the iij playes	xij li. vij s. ij d	
Item receved of free gifte aboue martes	xv s.	35
Item receved for lead that was spared from the topp of the tower	xviiij li. xv s.	
Item receved for spare tymber	xxij s.	
Summa -	xlvi li. ij s.	

6/ reformed for reformed: minim missing MS 25/ 1600 underlined MS

28/ Imprimis in extra large, heavily inked letters

Expended aboute the same battlementes and playes as followeth; Imprimis for making a whele to drawe vp stone to the tower	xlj s.	
Item for takinge vp the lead & wyniige the tymber woorck	xxij s iiij d.	5
Item for wynding vp stones to the masons	iiij li. xj s.	
Item for baskettes, cradles & necessaries	viiij s viiiij d.	
Item for xix lodes of stone from coscombe quarr	v li. iiij s.	
Item for hallinge over stones from Stanwey hill	iiij li.	
Item for sand, hallinge it & lyme and timber & morter	xliiiij s ij d.	10
Item paidd to the masons	xxxij li. xij d.	
Item paid Bradburye to attend them	xiiij s	
Item for yron woorck for bothe battlementes & pyinacles	xliij s iiij d	
Item for carpenters woorck & nayles to laye the lead on the tower	xij s	15
Item for castinge gutters laying & soldringe	xxxij s ij d	
Summa liiiij li. xiiij s. vij d.		
laid out aboute the playes.		20
Imprimis for the place to playe in	xiiij s iiij d.	
Item for attendantes & other thinges	xj s x d.	
Item to T. B. for his charges	xxx s.	
Item for hier of apparell	xx s.	
Item for iiij trumpetters	xv s.	25
Item for musicions all the tyme	xxxiiij s iiij d.	
Item for [i]j butte[s] ['& halfe'] of beare and brewing our malte	xl s.	
Item for fruites & spices	xvij s.	
Item for coockery	xij s viiiij d.	30
Item for meate for the players	xxx s vj d.	
Item for wayters in the seller & cuppes	ix s	
All the receiptes towards the makinge of the battlementes	xlvi li. ij s.	
The whole charges vppon the battlementes and playes	[lxx] lxvj li. vj s iiij d.	35
By which accompt appeareth that the Churchwardens have in this woorcke expended more then they gained by there playes the sum of	xxj li. iiij s.	

1/ Expended in large, heavily inked letters

10/ &amp; morter added after entry complete

4/ wyniige for wyninge: minim missing

This xxj li iiij s is to be compared with the martes which they adventured

*Gloucester Diocese Consistory Court Cause Book*

GRO: GDR 90

f 52 (12 June)

5

Tewksbury

...  
 Robertus Ieynes      *Ad respondendum articulis*  
 de eadem      *comparuit dictus Ieynes et vigore iuramenti*  
 affirmavit that aboutes christmas laste was 3 yeeres Thomas Deacons      10  
 called to this deponent Robert Ieynes then comminge from the play  
 and [told him that] requested him to goe alonge with him to Richard  
 Brushes howse and there he should fynde Iohn [Hodges] hazard &  
 Margery Hodges in an vpper chamber togeather which he did  
 accordingly and when they came thither they found there [the said Io.]      15  
 'the' Constable & divers others to the number of xx<sup>ty</sup> persons or  
 thereabouts and the matter beinge then called in question the said  
 Iohn hazard did as it did then appeare lament his falte and the said  
 Margery Hodges as one Iohn Cooke told this deponent offered to giue  
 him v li or three poundes & a gold ringe to saue her honestye &      20  
 to conceale this matter &c/  
 ...

TORTWORTH

25

1602-3

*Gloucester Diocese Consistory Court Deposition Books*

GRO: GDR 89

f [106]\* (13 October)

30

...  
 Willelmus Lawrence de Torthworth in Comitatu Gloucestrie  
 husbandman vbi moram fecit per dudicim aut circiter ortus in  
 Chavenidge infra parochiam de Horseley in Comitatu predicto etatis  
 xxxij. annorum aut circiter libere vt dicit condicionis testis &c.      35  
 Ad primum dicit that mr wylmot articulate ys a minister in holy orders  
 as he beleeveth and parson of Tortworth and so comonly accompted  
 and taken/

Ad iij. deponit that vppon the sunday before St. Thomas day last past at a wedding and in the Church howse of Tortworth after Candellighting this deponent did see mr wylmot *articulate* amongst diuers others of his parishioners dance and lay a Cushion on the ground and kneele downe vppon <sup>^</sup>it<sup>1</sup> and kysse[d] a woman that then daunced with him, as all the rest that then daunced with him (being [<sup>^</sup>.<sup>1</sup>] v. or vj. or more) also did/ and ymedyatly after, this deponent did heare the said mr wylmott say thus in effecte/ viz. Bycause my Lord Byshopp of Gloucester will not geue me leaue to preach, I will studdy noe more on my booke and nowe I will studdy knauery. And there were then present this deponent Gyles Daunt and diuers others et aliter nescit deponere./

...

[f 106v]\*

Egidius Dawnte *parochie* de Osellworth in *Comitatu* Gloucestrie generosus vbi moram fecit *per duodecem annos vltra* elapss etatis xlvj annorum aut eo circiter testis productus et iuratus Dicit et deponit vt sequitur.

Ad primum credit eundem esse verum.

Ad secundum nescit deponere./

Ad tertium dicit that the sundaye before Sainte Thomas daye last past <sup>^</sup>(as this deponent remembreth) he<sup>1</sup> this deponent accompanied with others came into the Churchhouse att Tortworth about vij or viij a clock in the Eveninge and there founde divers of that *parishe* and other straingers dawnceinge and amongst the rest tharticulate mr willm(ott) and beinge well acquainted with him mr willmott came vnto this deponent and asked him if he wolde dawnce to whome this deponent replyed yea if he (meaneinge the saide mr willmott) wolde beginn and leade a dawnce, and mr willmott saide faith that I will. for nowe the Bishopp hath suspended me <sup>^</sup>from preacheinge<sup>1</sup> I will practise and studdye all knaveries and therewithall he begann, and ledd the Cushin dawnce with a Cushin on his sholder and kneeled downe as the order of the dawnce is, and kissed one goodwife Hickes [there presente] there beinge presente Thomas Taute and others whome this deponent doth not nowe verie well remember. Et aliter nescit deponere.

...

17/ elapss for elapsos

25/ that converted from the

## WESTON SUBEDGE

1574

*Gloucester Diocese Consistory Court Deposition Books*

GRO: GDR 32

p 178\* (7 July)

*Responsiones personales Michaelis Hyndemer clerici facte contentis  
in quibusdam presentibuss articulis ad voluntariam promocionem  
Iohannis Castler parochiani sui versus eum Dat(.) sequuntur?*

10

7<sup>mo</sup> Die Iulij  
1574 repetit/

The the first article He aunsweareth yat in a Christmas Hollydayes  
he went a masking & yat ther was ann egge brok

...

# Diocese of Gloucester

1607

*Visitation Articles* GRO: GDR 102

sigs B3-B3v

Articles concerning the parishioners, and other of the Laity

...

17 Whether haue you or your predecessors, Churchwardens there  
suffered since the last pardon, any playes, feasts, banquettes,  
Churchales, Drinkinges or any other prophane vsages, to bee kept in  
your Church, chappels, or Churchyard, or bells to be rung  
superstitiously vpon holy daies or Eues abrogated by the booke of  
Common Prayer, contrary to the 68. Canon? 10

...

1612

*Visitation Articles* GRO: GDR 115

sig B3

...

1 Touching the Church-wardens and Side-men.  
Whether you and the Church-wardens, Quest-men, or Side-men,  
from time to time, doe and haue done their diligences, in not suffering  
any idle person to abide either in the Church-yard, or Church-porch,  
in Seruice or Sermon time, but causing them either to come into the  
Church to heare Diuine Seruice, or to depart, and not disturbe such  
as be hearers there? And whether haue they, and doe you diligently  
see the Parishioners duely resort to the Church euery Sunday and  
Holliday, and there to remaine during Diuine seruice and sermon?  
And whether you or your predecessors, Churchwardens there, suffer  
any Plaies, Feasts, Drinkings, or any other prophane vsages, to be kept  
in your Church, Chappell, or Church-yards, or haue suffered to your  
and their vttermost power and endeouour, any person person or 30

persons, to be tipling or drinking in any Inne or Victualing house in your Parish, during the time of Diuine Seruice or Sermon, on Sundaies and Holydaies.

...

## 1622

*Visitation Articles* GRO: GDR 146

P 7

...

28 Whether haue any Lords of misrule, dauncers, players, or any other disguised person, beene suffered to dance or play vpon the Sabbath day, or to enter into the church or chappell, with games or daunces, to the prophaning of Gods house, or into the church-yarde in time of Diuine seruice: and if they haue, what bee the names of such disordered persons. 10

29 Whether there be any stage-playes, beare-baitings, bul-baitings, or other such vnlawfull and prophane exercises vsed vpon the Sabbath day: and who gaue them Licence. Whether there be any common drinkings in the Church, and who were present at such drinkings: or sports, or any that doe sit in the Tauerne, or Alehouse, or streetes vpon Sundayes or Holidayes, in time of morning or euening prayer. 15 20

...

## 1624

*Visitation Articles* Folger Shakespeare Library: #10213.8

sig B2

...

17 Whether haue you or your predecessors, churchwardens, there suffered (since the last pardon) any playes, feasts, banquets, chuchales, drinkings, or any other prophane vsages, to be kept in your Church, chappell, or churchyard, or bells to be rung superstitiously vpon holidayes or Eues, abrogated by the Booke of Common Prayer, contrary to the 68. canon. 25 30

...

# Households

## BEAUCHAMP

1420-1

*Household Account Book of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick*

Longleat House: Ms Misc. ix

f 30v\* (*External expenses to date*)

...  
...Et in expensis .ij. ministrallis domini de Wallia venientibus usque  
Berkeley ad loquendum cum domina & existentibus in hostelaria  
eiusdem Iohannis. Shephurde. per .vj. noctes dicta mense. viij d

f 43 (*6 November*) (*Guests*)

Ad prandium ...Item I. mynstrallus domine. de Staffordia....

f 56 (*23 December*) (*Guests*)

Ad prandium ...Item .iiij. Trumpettes domini. Item .ij. harpers....

f 57\* (*24 December-6 January*) (*External expenses*)

...In. diuersis disgingez. factis hoc. festo .x. d. Et dato cuidam  
mynstrallo domini de Clarence. existenti in hospicio per I diem et I  
noctem [hos] hoc. festo. vj. s. viij. d. Et dato vj. ludentibus coram  
domina. hoc festo de Slymbrugge per preceptum domine .iiij. s. iiij.  
d. Et dato .iiij. ludentibus de Wotton. pro consilio. ex precepto domine  
.xx. d. Et dato .ij. ministrallis [de] domine de Bergeveny. existentibus  
in hospicio videlicet in festo Epiphanie. vj. s. viij. d...

24/ Slymbrugge: Slimbridge, Glouc

26/ Bergeveny: Abergavenny

25/ Wotton: Wotton under Edge, Glouc

f 58v (10 January) (Guests)

Ad prandium ...Item ij harpers de Wallia....

...

f 68 (12 February) (Guests)

Ad prandium ...Item .ij. mynstrallis domine de Bergeveny....

...

## BERKELEY

## 1602-3

*Lord Henry Berkeley's House Steward's Book*

Berkeley Castle Muniment Room: General Series Bound Book #109

f [67]\* (8 July) (Rewards)

Reward Item geuen the viij<sup>th</sup> of Iulie to the keeper of Tortworth parke for a buck. - x s

Reward Item geuen the same day to the Weightes - ij s

...

## 1603-4

*Lord Henry Berkeley's House Steward's Book*

Berkeley Castle Muniment Room: General Series Bound Book #109

f [72] (October)

my Lords diet  
at Cirencester...  
Item paid for your lordships diet at Cirencester...

xj li. v s. x d.

Reward Item geuen to the musicions there

ij s

...

Reward. Item to the musicions at Sir Iohn Hungerfordes

ij s. vj d

...

## BRYDGES

## 1592

*Speeches Delivered to Her Maiestie...at Sudley... STC: 7600*

sigs B.j.-C

At her Maiesties entrance into the Castle,  
an olde Shepheard spake this saying.

5

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15

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25

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35

40

Vouchsafe to heare, a simple Shephard, shephards and simplicity cannot part, your highnes is come into Cotshold, an vneuen country, but a people, that carry their thoughtes leuell with their fortunes, lowe spirites, but true harts, vsing plaine dealinge, once counted a Iewell nowe beggery, these hills afoorde nothing but cottages, and nothing can we present to your highnes, but shephards. The country healthy, and harmeles, a fresh aier, where there are noe dampes, and where a black sheepe is a perilous beast, no monsters, we carry our harts, at our tongues ends, being as farre from dissembling, as our sheepe from fiercenesse, and if in anything, we shall chance to discover our leudnes, it wilbe in ouer boldnesse, in gazinge at you, who fils our harts with ioye, and our eies with wonder, as for the honorable Lord and Lady of the Castle, what happines they conceiue, I would it were possible for them selues to expresse, then should your Maiestie see, that al outwarde enterテインment, were but a smoake rising from their inward affections, which as they cannot be seene, being in the hart, so can they not be smoothred, appearing in their countenance, this lock of wooll Cotsholdes best fruite, and my poore gift, I offer to your highnes, in which nothing is to be esteemed, but the whitenes, virginities colour, nor to be expected but duetye, shepards religion.

Sunday, Apollo running after Daphne, a  
Shepherd followed vttering this.

Nescis temeraria; nescis,  
Quem fugias; diequē fugis.

A short tale, but a sorrowfull, a iust complaint, but remedlesse, I loued, (for shephardes haue their Saints) I long I loued (for beauty bindeth prentices) a Nymph most faire & as chaste as faire, yet not more faire, then I vnhappy, Apollo who calleth him selfe a god (a title among men, when they will commit iniuries) tearme themselues gods, pursued my Daphne with bootelesse loue, and me, with endlesse hate, her he wooed; with fair wordes, the flatteries of men, with great gifts, the sorceries of gods, with cruell threatens, the terrefiing of weake damosels Nec prece nec pretio nec mouet ille minis. me; he terrified with a monstrous word metamorphosing, saying that he would turne me into a wolfe and of a shepherd make me a sheepe-biter, or into

25-6/ You do not know, rash girl, you do not know whom you flee: you flee from the day:  
Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I. 514

36/ Neither by entreaty, nor by reward, nor by threats does he move (her).

a Cockatrice and cause mine eies which gazed on her, to blind hers  
 which made mine dazell, or to a molde that I should heare his flattering  
 speech, but neuer behold her faire face, tantæné animis caelestibus iræ?  
 sometimes would he allure her with sweete musicke, but harmony is  
 harsh when it is lusts broaker, often with promise of immortality, but  
 chastetye is of it selfe immortall, euer pursuing her with swiftnes, but  
 vertue tying wings to the thoughts of Virgins, swiftnes becommeth  
 surbated; thus liued he twixt loue and ielousy; I twixt loue and danger;  
 she twixt feare and vertue. At last and alas, this day I feare of all my  
 ioyes the last, I cannot as a Poet (who describing the morning, and  
 before he tell what it is, make it night,) stand on the time, loue coyneth  
 no circumloquutions, but by the sunne, a Shepheardes Diall, which  
 goeth as true as our harts, it was four of the clock, when she flying  
 from his treason was turned into a tree; which made me stand, as  
 though I had bene turned into a stone, and Apollo so enchanted as  
 wounded with her losse, or his owne crueltye, the fingers which were  
 wonte to play on the Lute, found no other instrument then his owne  
 face, the goulden haire the pride of his heade pulde off in lockes and  
 stampt at his feete, his sweete voice, turned to howling; and there  
 sitteth he, (long maie he sorrowe,) wondring, and weeping, and kissing  
 the lawrell, his late loue, and mine euer. Pleaseth your Maiesty to  
 viewe the melancholy of Apollo, my distresse, and | Daphnes  
 mischance, it may be the sight of so rare perfection, will make him  
 die for grieve, which I wish, or Daphne returne to her olde shape,  
 which must be your wounder; if neither, it shal content me that I haue  
 reuealed my griefes, and that you may beholde his.

This speech ended, her Maiesty sawe Apollo  
 with the tree, hauing on the one side  
 one that sung, on the other one  
 that plaide.

Sing you, plaie you, but sing and play my truth,  
 This tree my Lute, these sighes my notes of ruth:  
 The Lawrell leafe for euer shall bee greene,  
 And chastety shalbe Apolloes Queene.  
 If gods maye dye, here shall my tombe be plaste,  
 And this engrauen, fonde Phoebus, Daphne chaste.

3/ (Can) such great wrath (lie hidden) in heavenly hearts?: Virgil, *Aeneid* 1. 11; caelestibus for caelestibus

After these verses, the song.

My hart and tongue were twinnes, at once conceaued,  
 The eldest was my hart, borne dumbe by destenie,  
 The last my tongue, of all sweete thoughts bereaued, 5  
 Yet strung and tunde, to play harts harmonie.  
 Both knit in one, and yet asunder placed,  
 What hart would speake, the tongue doeth still discouer,  
 What tongue doth speake, is of the hart embraced,  
 And both are one to make a new found louer: 10  
 New founde, and onely founde in Gods and Kings,  
 Whose words are deedes, but deedes nor words regarded:  
 Chaste thoughts doe mount and flie with swiftest wings,  
 My loue with paine, my paine with losse rewarded:  
 Engraued vpon this tree, Daphnes perfection, 15  
 That neither men nor gods, can force affection. |

The song ended, the tree riued, and Daphne  
 issued out, Apollo ranne after, with  
 these words. 20

Nimpha mane, per me concordant carmina neruis.  
 Faire Daphne staye, too chaste because too faire,  
 Yet fairer in mine eies, because so chaste,  
 And yet because so chaste, must I despaire? 25  
 And to despaire, I yeelded haue at last.  
 Shepheard possesse thy loue, for me too cruell,  
 Possesse thy loue, thou knowest not how to measure,  
 A dunghill cock doeth often finde a Iewell,  
 Enioying that, he knowes not to be treasure. 30  
 When broomy bearde, to sweepe thy lips presume,  
 When on thy necke, his rough hewen armes shall moue,  
 And gloate on thee with eies that drizell reume,  
 When that his toothlesse mouth shall call thee loue,  
 Noght will I saie of him, but pittie thee, 35  
 That beauty might, but would no wiser bee.

Daphne running to her Maiestie  
 vttered this.

22/ Nymph, remain: it is through me that songs blend with stringed instruments: Ovid,  
*Metamorphoses*, I. 518

I stay, for whether should chastety fly for succour, but to the Queene  
 of chastety, by thee was I entered in a tree, that by crafte, way might  
 be made to lust, by your highnes restored, that by vertue, there might  
 be assurance in honor: these tables, to set downe your prayes long  
 since Sibillas propheties I humbly present to your Maiesty, not  
 thinking that your vertues can be deciphered in so slight a volume, but  
 noted; the whole world is drawn in a small mappe, Homers Illiades  
 in a nutshel, and the riches of a Monarch, in a few cyphers, and so  
 much ods, betwext explaining of your perfections, and the touching,  
 as is betwixt painting and thinking, the one, running ouer a little table  
 I in a vvhole day, the other ouer the whole world in a minute, vvith  
 this vouchsafe a poore virgins wish, that often wish for good husbands,  
 mine, only for the endlesse prosperity of my soueraigne.

The verses, written in the tables which  
 were giuen to her Maiesty. 15

Let fame describe your rare perfection,  
 Let nature paint your beuties glory,  
 Let loue engraue your true affection, 20  
 Let wonder write your vertues story,  
 By them and Gods must you be blazed,  
 Sufficeth men they stand amazed.

The thirde day shoulde haue beene presen- 25  
 ted to her Maiestie, the high Constable of  
 Cotsholde but the weather so vnfit, that it  
 was not. But this it should haue beene,  
 one clothed all in sheepes-skins, face  
 & all spake this by his interpreter. 30

May it please your highnes, this is the great Constable and  
 commandadore of Cotsholde, he speaks no language, but the  
 Rammish tongue, such sheepishe gouernours there are, that can say  
 no more to a messenger then he, (Bea), this therfore, as signifying his 35  
 duety to your Maiestye, and al our desires, I am commanded to be  
 his interpreter, or shepheards starre, pointing directly to Cotshold,  
 and in Cotshold, to Sudley, made vs expect some wonder, and of the  
 eldest, aske some counsel, it was resolved by the ancientst, that such  
 a one should come, by whome all the shepheards should haue their 40

flocks in safety, & their owne liues, all the country quietnes, & the whole world astonish-ment: our Constable commaunds this day to be kept holliday, all our shepheards are assembled, and if shepheards pastimes may please, how ioyful would they be if it would please you to see them; which if you vouchsafe not, as pastimes too meane for your Maiestie, they meane to call this day the shepheards blacke day; in all humilitie we entreat, that you would cast an eie to their rude deuices, and an eare to their harshe wordes, and if nothing happen to be pleasing, the amends is, nothing shalbe tedious.

10

After this speech her Maiesty was to be  
brought amonge the shepheards amonge  
whome was a King and a Queene  
to be chosen and thus they  
beganne.

15

Melibaus. Nisa. Cutter of Cootsholde.

Mel. Cvt the Cake, who hath the beane; shalbe King, and where the peaze is, shee shalbe Queene.

20

Nis. I haue the peaze, and must be Queene.

Mel. I the beane and King, I must cammaunde.

Nis. Not so, the Queene, shall and must commaunde, for I haue often heard of a King that coulde not commaunde his subiects, and of a Queene that hath commaunded Kings.

25

Mel. I yeeld, yet it is within compasse of my authoritie to aske questions and first I will beginne with you in loue, I meane Shepheardes loue, for I will not meddle with Gentlefolkes loue, which is most constant, the man or the woman?

Nis. It is no question, no more then if you should aske whether on a steepe hill, a square stone, or a globe stooode most steddye.

30

Mel. Both louing, which is most louing?

Nis. The woman if she haue her right, the man, if he be his owne Indge.

Mel. Why doth the man euer vvoe the vvoman, the woman neuer the man?

35

Nis. Because men are most amorous and least chaste, women carelesse of fonde affections, and vvhen they embrace them, fearefull. But vnlesse your questions were vviser, I commaunde you to silence. You sirra, that sit as though your wits were a vvooole-gathering vvill

40

you haue a question, or a commaundement?

Cut. No question of a Queene, for they are harde to be answered, but anie commaundement, for that must be obeyed.

Nis. Then sing, and you sir, a question, or commaundment?

Do. A commaundment I, and glad that I am?

Nis. Then play: Do. I haue plaide so long with my fingers that I haue beaten out of play al my good fortunes

### The Song.

Hearbes, wordes, and stones, all maladies haue cured,

Hearbes, wordes, and stones, I vsed when I loued.

Hearbes, smels, words, winde, stones hardnes haue procured,

By stones, nor wordes, nor hearbes her minde was moued;

I askt the cause, this was a womans reason,

Mongst hearbes are weedes, and thereby are refused,

Deceite, as well as truth speakes wordes in season,

False stones by foiles haue many one abused,

I sight, and then shee saide my fancie smoaked,

I gaz'd, shee saide my lookes were follies glauncing,

I sounded deade, shee saide my loue was choaked,

I started vp, shee saide my thoughtes were dauncing,

O sacred loue if thou haue any Godhead,

Teach other rules to winne a maidenheade.

Mel. Well song, & wel plaide, seldome so well amonge shepheards, but call me the Cutter of Cotsholde, that I lookes as though he onlie knew his leripoope, amorous he is, and vwise, carying a sheepes eie in a calfs heade.

Nis. Will you 3 questions, or 3 commaundments?

Cut. Halfe a dozen of each. My wits worke like new beare, and they will breake my head, vnlesse it vent at the mouthe.

Nis. Sing.

Cut. I haue forsworne that since cuckow-time, for I heard, one sing all the sommer, and in the winter was all balde.

Nis. Play on the Lute.

Cut. Taylers crafte, a knocke on the knuckles, wil make one faste a fortnight, my belly and back shall not be retainers to my fingers.

Nis. What question shall I aske?

Cut. Any so it be of loue.

Nis. Are youe amorous?

Cut. No, but fantasticall.

Nis. But what is loue?

Cut. A single	Ioy		Sorrow	
Accidens. In	Hope	all tole-	Anger	all intole-
loue there are	Truth	rable.	Ielousie	rable.
eight partes.	Constancy		Dispaire	

These containe all, till you come to the rules, and then in loue, 5  
there are three concords.

1 The first, betwixt a Bachelor, and a maide,  
2 The seconde, betwixt a man and his wife,  
3 The thirde, betwixt any he and she, that loueth stragling.  
Nis. The foole bleeds, it is time to stopp his vaine, for hauing wet his 10  
foote, he careth not how deepe he wades. Let vs attend that, which  
we most expect, the starr, that directs vs hither, vvho hath in  
Almanacke?

Cut. What meane you, a starmonger, the quipper of the firmament,  
here is one. I euer carrie it, to knowe the hye vvaies, to euerie good 15  
tovvne, the faires, and the faire weather.!

Mel. Let me see it. The seuenth of September, happines was borne  
into the world, it may be the eleuenth is some wonder. The moone  
at the ful, tis true, for Cynthia neuer shined so bright, the twelfth the  
weather inclined to moisture & shepheards deuises to dryenes, the 20  
thirteenth, sommer, goeth from hence, the signe in virgo, viuat  
clarissima virgo. The diseases shalbe melancholies, some proceeding  
of necessitie, some of superfluity, many shalbe studying how to spend  
what they haue, more, beating their braines to get what they want.  
Malice shalbe more infectious then the pestilence, and Drones more 25  
fauoured then Ants, as for Bees, they shal haue but their laboure for  
their paines, and when their combes be full, they shalbe stilde; the  
warre shal be, twixt hemlocke and honie. At foure of the clocke this  
day, shal appeare the worldes wonder that leades England into euery  
land, and brings all lands into England. 30

Then espying her Maiesty, he & al the shep-  
heards kneeling, concluded thus.

This is the day, this the houre, this the starre, pardon dread 35  
Soueraigne, poore shepheards pastimes, and bolde shepheards  
presumptions. We call our selues Kings and Queenes to make mirth,  
but when we see a King or Queene, we stand amazed. The sunne  
warmes the earth, yet looseth no brightnes; but sheweth more force,  
& Kings names that fall vpon shepheards, loose no dignity, but breede 40

Bristoll <sup>iii</sup><sup>or</sup> lusores de Writhill...

...

p 60 (7 January)

...

Presentes prandio...ij le minstralles/ vj lez Trompettes <sup>iii</sup><sup>or</sup> lusores...

p 61 (8 January)

...

Presentes prandio...vj le Trompettes/ ij le minstralles/...

p 75 (22 January)

...

Presentes prandio...vj Trompettes...

# 1515-16

*Household Accounts of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham*

PRO: E. 101. 631/20

mb 20 (31 December)

dona

...

domino Regi & diueris generosis. seruientibus tam hospicii quam  
fforinceis domini ducis†

domino Regi &.

Diueris seruientibus. hospicij. dicti domini

ducis ad habendum ex. dono ipsius ducis.

videlicet vj vlne Canvas. pro ffactura vnus lez.

Canvas - vj vlne

pagent. & ostensione in I lez enterlude. coram

prefato domino duce in ffesto Natali domini....

...

# 1516-17

*Household Accounts of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham*

SRO: D 641/1/3/9

unnumbered mb (31 March - 30 March)

Ad vsum

...x. dd. moresbelles. vj. virge. moresbelles x. dd.

1/ Writhill: Writtle, Essex

28/ vj vlne underlined MS

Gardrobe  
lectorum  
ipsius ducis

iiij quarteria nigri bokeram &  
di. virge rubri bokeram pro ij  
Tunicis pro le moresdaunce. &  
iiij virge Canvas pro linura vnius  
dictarum Tunicarum....

Bokeram niger vj virge iiij quarteria  
Bokeram ruber di. virge  
Canvas iiij virge  
...

5

## 1520-I

*Household Accounts of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham*

PRO: E. 36/220

p 12\* (1 January)

10

...

Liberaciones et  
soluciones dicti  
mensis Ianuarij

Item in Rewarde geven by the said Dukes coimmaundement  
vnto certain frenshe men and ij frenshe women playing afore  
the said Duc the passion of oure lorde by a vise and also to a  
yong maide a Tumbeller by Reaport of Iohn kyrk being  
present maister poley

xl s.

15

p 13 (6 January)

...

Item the same day in Reward geven by the said Dukes  
coimmaundement vnto the waites of bristowe[th] by Reaport of Iohn  
kyrk

20

vj s viij d

...

## APPENDIX 1

Christmas at Thornbury  
Castle

1507-8

*Household Book of the Duke of Buckingham* SRO: D(W) 1721/1/5  
p 46 col 1

Thornbury

	Generosi	iiij <sup>xxx</sup> xv	
Prandium	valetti	Cvij	
	garciones	iiij <sup>xxx</sup> xvij	
		ij <sup>C</sup> iiij <sup>xxx</sup> xiiij <sup>e</sup>	10
	generosi	iiij <sup>xxx</sup> iiij	
Cena	valetti	Cxiiij	
	garciones	iiij <sup>xxx</sup> xij	

Presentes Prandio Dominam Annam se xiiij<sup>a</sup> Abbatem de kaynsham  
 se vij<sup>mo</sup> W Walwyn se iiij<sup>cio</sup> I Seyntgeorge se ij<sup>do</sup> Robertum P'ticile 15  
 se ij<sup>do</sup> Cancellarium se v<sup>to</sup> H Blunt se ij<sup>do</sup> Iohannem Burrell se ij<sup>do</sup> /  
 ballium de Hatfield se ij<sup>do</sup> / ballium de okeham se ij<sup>do</sup> / ballium  
 de Navisby se (illegible) / ballium de Rowell se ij<sup>do</sup> Q. Barth se ij<sup>do</sup> /  
 ij alios seruientes de Penshurst / Henricum Dunston / ij le mynstrelles /  
 vj Trunpettes / iiij<sup>or</sup> lusores domini de Writell / H Boughey se ij<sup>do</sup> / 20  
 Receptatorem de Nuport se ij<sup>do</sup> / T Morgan se iiij<sup>cio</sup> / ij alios seruientes  
 domini de Nuport cum I famuliare / viij seruientes domini Brechon  
 cum x famularibus domini Iohannis Burton / xvij Clericos Capelle  
 & ix pueros eiusdem Capelle / iij Cissores iij Penulatores I natium  
 ij de lez Hardwaremen xxij de villa xxxij de Patria / ij cocos de Bristol 25  
 &c

Cena vt in prandio preter vj

Extranei ad Prandium C iiii<sup>xx</sup> ij  
Cenam Clxxvj

col 2\*

©ffestum  
Natalis  
Domini

Die Sabbati xxv<sup>to</sup>. die Decembris Panetrie expense iiii<sup>c</sup> iiii<sup>xx</sup> xj panes iij  
quarterii [iij quarterii] ij Manchet frumenti precij xiiij s viij d ob. vnde  
Iantaculo xv panes dimidium & I manchet vt in diebus precedentibus  
ac Thesaurario I panis Abbati de Kaynsham I panis I manchet  
generosis Capelle viij panes generosis extraneis xij panes / in ffercul'  
ij<sup>c</sup> iiii<sup>xx</sup> xiiij panes Sissor' xxxiiij panes Regardator' lxx Salt' vj panes  
Coquine pro operibus x panes / Chaundelar' v panes le vrs' ij panes  
Elemosinar' ij panes Potacionibus xv panes dimidium / scilicet  
Extraneis / [prep...] / liberacioni xv panes iij quarterii Sellarie  
expense xj sextarii iij quarte vini gasconiensis precii xiiij s I picherius  
dimidium vini de Royn' precii xv d ac dimidium picherii de Maluesey  
precii vj d vnde Iantaculo dimidium picherii / in ffercul' I sextarius I  
picherius vini gasconiensis & I picherius vini de Royn' pro Waller  
nutrice dimidium picherii magna camera I sextarius aula iiii<sup>or</sup> sextarii  
ij picherii per arnoldum Dietis dimidium picherii vini gasconiensis I  
quarta vini de Royn' & I quarta de Maluesey Coquine pro operibus  
iij picherii ad hostium ij sextarii iij picherii Liberacioni ij picherii I  
quarta vini gasconiensis ac I quarta de Maluesey Buttrie expense in  
Ceruisia Clxxj lagene I quarta precii xiiij. s vij d q. vnde Iantaculo xvij  
lagene iij quarte / in ffercul' / lxxij lagene dimidium Regardator' xxxix  
lagene Coquine pro operibus v lagene / Potacionibus vj lagene iij quarte  
ad hostium xx lagene / Liberacioni ix lagene I quarta / Coquine  
expense de stauro domini I carcosium & vij Rondes Carnis bouis precij  
xx s ix casea multonis precii xvj s iij porci viij s ac I vitulus dimidium  
precii iij s / Achatoris expense videlicet in iij Signis precii xij s iij<sup>or</sup>  
aucis ij s v porcellis xx d xiiij Caponibus viij s xvij pullis gallinariis precii  
xviiij d xxi Cuniculis iij s vj d I Pavone ij s iij Malardes viij d v Wigions  
x d xij Teles xij d viij Castrimargis viij d xxij Snytes xij volucris  
grandibus iij d iiii<sup>c</sup> ouis gallinariis iij s iij d xx Discis butiri xx d x  
Lagenis Lactis x d I Lagenis dimidium quaiice vj d ij Lagenis frumenti  
cocti iij d ac herbis precii j d Chaundrie expense de Candellis  
pariciensibus xxxvj lb precii ij s x d Sises lxxij precii xvij d quariars ij  
precii ij d ac Prikettes iij precii iij d ob Aule & camere expense  
de focali vj Carecte vj s ac vj quarte Carbonis Siluestris precij ij s  
Totalis Dieta

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## APPENDIX 2

# Willis' Description of a Play at Gloucester

This description of a play at Gloucester's Bothall by R. Willis is well known and has been printed in numerous histories of the theatre as a generalized example of provincial performance during the latter half of the sixteenth century. The description appears here in its particular local context. The entire meditation has been transcribed, because the conclusion Willis draws gives us reason to trust his remarkably detailed account, despite the fact that it was written many years after the performance took place. Willis argues that great care must be taken in educating the young, 'for that their young memories are like faire writing tables' (p 113), and says of his own experience that the play 'tooke such impression in me, that when I came towards mans estate, it was as fresh in my memory, as if I had seen it newly acted' (p 113).

The performance described cannot be precisely dated, yet as Willis himself tells us that he stood between the legs of his sitting father to watch the play, he must have been fairly young, and yet old enough to remember what he saw. The title page of *Mount Tabor* proclaims the author to have been seventy-five in the year of publication, 1639, so it seems likely that the performance took place during the 1570s, when Willis was between six and fifteen years of age.

*Mount Tabor. or Private Exercises of a Penitent Sinner.* By R.W. Esquire. (London: Printed by R.B. for P. Stephens and C. Meredith, at the gilded Lion in S. Paul's Church-yard, 1639.) STC: 25752  
pp 110-14

Upon a Stage-play Which I saw  
when I was a child.

IN the City of Gloucester the manner is (as I think it is in other like corporations) that when Players of Enterludes come to towne, they first attend the Mayor to enforme him what noble-mans servants they are, and so to get licence for their publike playing; and if the Mayor like the Actors, or would shew respect to their Lord and Master, he appoints them to play their first play before himselfe and the Aldermen

and common Counsell of the City; and that is called the Mayors play, where every one that will comes in without money, the Mayor giving the players a reward as hee thinks fit to shew respect unto them. At such a play, my father tooke me with him and made mee stand betweene his leggs, as he sate upon one of the ben-lches where wee saw and heard very well. The play was called (the Cradle of security,) wherein was personated a King or some great Prince with his Courtiers of severall kinds, amongst which three Ladies were in speciall grace with him; and they keeping him in delights and pleasures, drew him from his graver Counsellors, hearing of Sermons, and listning to good counsell, and admonitions, that in the end they got him to lye downe in a cradle upon the stage, where these three Ladies joyning in a sweet song rocked him asleepe, that he snorted againe, and in the meane time closely conveyed under the cloaths where withall he was covered, a vizard like a swines snout upon his face, with three wire chaines fastned thereunto, the other end whereof being holden severally by those three Ladies, who fall to singing againe, and then discovered his face, that the spectators might see how they had transformed him, going on with their singing, whilst I all this was acting, there came forth of another doore at the farthest end of the stage, two old men, the one in blew with a Serjeant at Armes, his mace on his shoulder, the other in red with a drawn sword in his hand, and leaning with the other hand upon the others shoulder, and so they two went along in a soft pace round about by the skirt of the Stage, till at last they came to the Cradle, when all the Court was in greatest jollity, and then the foremost old man with his Mace stroke a fearfull blow upon the Cradle; whereat all the Courtiers with the three Ladies and the vizard all vanished; and the desolate Prince starting up bare faced, and finding himselfe thus sent for to judgement, made a lamentable complaint of his miserable case, and so was carried away by wicked spirits. This Prince did personate in the morall, the wicked of the world; the three Ladies, Pride, Covetousnesse, and Luxury, the two old men, the end of I the world, and the last judgement. This sight tooke such impression in me, that when I came towards mans estate, it was as fresh in my memory, as if I had seen it newly acted. From whence I observe out of mine owne experience, what great care should bee had in the education of children, to keepe them from seeing of spectacles of ill examples, and hearing of lascivious or scurrilous words: for that their young memories are like faire writing tables, wherein if the faire sentences or lessons of grace bee written, they may (by Gods blessing) keepe them from many vicious blots of life, wherewithall they may otherwise bee tainted; especially considering the generall corruption of our

nature, whose very memories are apter to receive evill then good, and that the well seasoning of the new Caske at the first, keepes it the better and sweeter ever after, and withall wee may observe, how farre unlike the Plaies | and harmlesse morals of former times, are to those which have succeeded, many of which, (by report of others,) may bee termed schoolmasters of vice, and provocations to corruptions: which our deprived nature is too prone unto: nature and grace being contraries.

...

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## APPENDIX 3

# A Commentary on The King's Book of Sports

In 1618 Christopher Windle, vicar of Bisley, addressed to James I a slim, handwritten volume entitled *A Book, for a Buck with a Parke or, for a good Bishopricke or, for a fatt Benefice at least.* (BL: Royal Ms. 12 A. LXX). Windle hoped to win a royal pardon from the debts for which he had been imprisoned in Gloucester jail and perhaps further royal preferment on his release. According to the letter of petition with which he opens the volume, Windle was then fifty-eight or fifty-nine years of age, and had held the Bisley living for thirty-one years (since 1587). He claims to have publicly supported James from the moment of his accession and to have consistently opposed the king's Puritan detractors. In fact, his antagonism toward Puritan attitudes had previously caused him trouble; in 1611, his own parishioners attacked him before the consistory court of Gloucester diocese for encouraging maypole-dancing and preaching against numerological interpretation of the Bible (see entries under Bisley, pp 285–8). Windle even blames his incarceration on the over-zealous enforcement of the debt laws by officials hostile to his royalist views rather than on the poverty of the living.

In addition to the petition asking for the king's intervention and a number of commendatory verses, Windle included in his book this commentary in Latin on *The Kings Maiesties Declaration to His Subiects, Concerning lawfull Sports to be vsed* (London: Bonham Norton and John Bill, 1618), pp 1–9. *The Book of Sports*, as it came to be known, responded to the growing power of Puritan Sabbatarianism, which attacked the practice of holding folk games, sports, and other pastimes on Sundays and holy days. Since most of the people in agricultural communities were not free to participate in or attend sports and games during the work-week, restraints against having them on Sundays threatened to stamp out these folk pastimes altogether. In 1617 petitioners from Lancashire complained to the king that they were barred from all recreations after divine service on Sunday (James Tait, 'The Declaration of Sports for Lancashire (1617)', *EHR* 32 (1917), 561–8). James first granted the desired licence to the inhabitants of Lancashire and then expanded its provisions to apply to the entire country by issuing *The Book of Sports* on 24 May 1618. The entire text of the declaration has been printed here, since in the second half of his commentary Windle discusses it point by point, providing key phrases as references in the left margin.

...

Whereas vpon Our returne the last yeere out of Scotland, Wee did publish Our pleasure touching the recreations of Our people in those parts vnder Our hand: For some causes Vs thereunto moouing, We haue thought good to command these Our directions then giuen in Lancashire with a few words thereunto added, and most appliable to these parts of Our Realmes, to be published to all Our Subiects. 5

Whereas We did iustly in Our Progresse through Lancashire, re-lbuke some Puritanes & precise people, and tooke order that the like vnlawfull cariage should not bee vsed by any of them hereafter, in the prohibiting and vnlawfull punishing of Our good people for vsing their lawfull Recreations, and honest exercises vpon Sundayes and other Holy dayes, after the afternoone Sermon or Seruice: Wee now find that two sorts of people wherewith that Countrey is much infested, (Wee meane Papists and Puritanes) haue maliciously traduced and calumniated those Our iust and honourable proceedings. And therefore lest Our reputation might vpon the one side (though innocently) haue some aspersion layd vpon it, and that vpon the other part Our good people in that Countrey bee misled by the mistaking and misinterpretation of Our meaning: Wee haue therefore thought good hereby to cleare and make Our pleasure to bee manifested to all Our good People in those parts. 10 15 20

It is true that at Our first entry to this Crowne, and Kingdome, Wee were informed, and that too truely, that Our Countie of Lancashire abounded more in Popish Recusants then any Countie of England, and thus hath still continued since to Our great regret, with litle amendment, saue that now of late, in Our last riding through Our said County, Wee find both by the report of the Iudges, and of the Bishop of that diocesse that there is some amendment now daily beginning, which is no small contentment to Vs. 25 30

The report of this growing amendment amongst them, made Vs the more sory, when with Our owne Eares Wee heard the generall complaint of Our people, that they were barred from all lawfull Recreation, and exercise vpon the Sundayes afternoone, after the ending of all Diuine Seruice, which cannot but produce two euils: The one, the hindering of the conuersion of many, whom their Priests will take occasion hereby to vexe, perswading them that no honest mirth or recreation is lawfull or tollerable in Our Religion, which cannot but breed a great discontentment in Our peoples hearts, especially of such as are peraduenture vpon the point of turning; The other inconuenience is, that this prohibition barreth the common and meaner sort of people from vsing such exercises as may make their 35 40

bodies more able for Warre, when Wee or Our Successors shall haue occasion to vse them. And in place | thereof sets vp filthy tiplings and drunkennesse, and breeds a number of idle and discontented speaches in their Alehouses. For when shal the common people haue leaue to exercise, if not vpon the Sundayes and Holydayes, seeing they must 5 apply their labour, and winne their liuing in all working dayes?

Our expresse pleasure therefore is, that the Lawes of Our Kingdome, and Canons of Our Church bee aswell obserued in that County, as in all other places of this Our Kingdome. And on the other part, that no lawfull Recreation shall bee barred to Our good People, 10 which shall not tend to the breach of Our aforesaid Lawes, and Canons of Our Church: which to expresse more particularly, Our pleasure is, That the Bishop, and all other inferiour Churchmen, and Churchwardens, shall for their parts bee carefull and diligent, both to instruct the ignorant, and conuince & reforme them that are misled in religion, 15 presenting them that will not conforme themselues, but obstinately stand out to Our Iudges and Iustices: Whom We likewise command to put the Law in due execution against them.

Our pleasure likewise is, That the Bishop of that Diocesse take the like straight order with all the Puritans and Precisians within the same, 20 either constraining them to conforme themselues, or to leaue the Countrey according to the Lawes of Our Kingdome, and Canons of Our Church, and so to strike equally on both hands, against the contemnners of Our Authoritie, and aduersaries of Our Church. And as for Our good peoples lawfull Recreation, | Our pleasure likewise 25 is, That after the end of Diuine Seruice, Our good people be not disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawfull Recreation; Such as dauncing, either men or women, Archerie for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmelesse Recreation, nor from hauing of May-Games, Whitson Ales, and Morris-dances, and the setting vp 30 of Maypoles and other sports therewith vsed, so as the same be had in due and conuenient time, without impediment or neglect of diuine Seruice: And that women shall haue leaue to carry rushes to the Church for the decoring of it, according to their old custome. But withall We doe here accompt still as prohibited all vnlawfull games to 35 bee vsed vpon Sundayes onely, as Beare and Bullbaitings, Interludes, and at all times in | the meaner sort of People by Law prohibited, Bowling.

And likewise Wee barre from this benefite and libertie, all such knowne Recusants, either men or Women, as will abstaine from 40 comming to Church or diuine Seruice, being therefore vnworthy of any lawfull recreation after the said Seruice, that will not first come

to the Church and serue God: Prohibiting in like sort the said Recreations to any that, though conforme in Religion, are not present in the Church at the Service of God, before their going to the said Recreations. Our pleasure likewise is, That they to whom it belongeth in Office, shall present and sharply punish all such as in abuse of this Our libertie, will vse these exercises before the ends of all diuine Seruices for that day. And We likewise straightly I command, that euery person shall resort to his owne Parish Church to heare diuine Seruice, and each Parish by it selfe to vse the said Recreation after diuine Service. Prohibiting likewise any Offensiue weapons to be caried or vsed in the said times of Recreations And Our pleasure is, That this Our Declaration shalbe published by order from the Bishop of the Diocesse, through all the Parish Churches, and that both Our Iudges of Our Circuit, and Our Iustices of Our Peace be informed thereof.

...

The Puritans remained unconvinced, and some vicars lost their livings because they refused to read *The Book of Sports* to their congregations as directed (L.A. Govett, *The King's Book of Sports* (London, 1890), p 37). On the other hand, compliance in this matter became grounds for removal under the Commonwealth (Christopher Whitfield, *Robert Dover and the Cotswold Games* (London, 1962), p 17). In his commentary, Windle praises the king's political and pragmatic reasoning, but makes his own contribution in the form of a theological answer to the Puritans.

*A Book, for a Buck with a Parke...* BL: Royal Ms. 12 A. LXX  
pp 5-21\*

In hanc Regiam eximiam et Dulcissimam Declarationem Christophori

Windlei variè mixtus commentarius, vel copiosa Oratio.  
Hanc Regiam tum eximiam tum dulcissimam Declarationem de Ludis et Lusibus, Iocis et recreationibus, honestis, ingenuis, licitis ac legitimis, populo suo quàm optimo, charissimis Subditis exhibitam, propositam, concessam, legenti mihi primùm (Lector Charissime; seu Rex Ipse, vt Serenissime, potentissime, edoctissime, Pientissime; sic Subditorum Amantissime, cupientissime, Studiosissime, Inclytissime quidem Ipse, dilectissime, et quid non? seu Minister, Populusve, cuiuscunque Ordinis, sortis, allectionis; vt qui vel Indolis bonæ conditionisque es, vel optimarum conditionum esse debes) et inter Legendum primo temporis articulo, dixit Minister quidam Gloucestriensis, et dixit quàm gravatus et ingemiscens, se sibi valde

timere, metuere, formidare, ne multum doloris, damni, præiudicij, detrimenti, multis Ecclesiæ Ministris, hæc licentia, libertas, lenis concessio faceretur, progigneret, vndeque pareret. Cui tum ego Respondi; Quid ita, quæso? Satisne sani sumus? vel nunquid insani atque inscij? vt quid nobis et nostræ plebi sit bonum et commodum, nesciamus. Estne periculum aliquod timendum, tentandumve; si consentimus Declarationi? Vel autem nunquid est præiudicij in Ipsa Declaratione? Tum Ille: Iubemur reminisci, vt sanctè Sabbatum agamus et colamus; et non partem tantum, sed totum Sabbatum sanctificare debemus. Ludere verò, iocari, ridere, saltare, recreare corporali actione animos, est Sabbatum violare, polluere, prophanare, contaminare; si vel tantillum è viginti quatuor horis Illius diei à sanctificatione sanctimoniæque discernatur. Siccine doctus es, inquam ego; vel Iudaicum colendi Sabbati ritum nobis imponere; vel in Ludicris et recreationibus corporeis contaminationem eius ponere? Certè si Iudæos imitari vel placeat, vel liceat; in lætis exultationibus, Iubilationibus, Choreis, tripudijs, saltationibus id fieri potest, et debet potius, quàm in præcisâ perstrictæque temporum, dierum, locorum, ceremoniarum, circumstantiarum observatione. Istud tamen, quoad dierum seu temporum rationem respectumque ausim affirmare; nullum vnquam vel diem, vel tempus, choreis, saltibus, corporeis gestibus, rebus iocularijs, ingenuis gaudendi modis, quàm Sabbata, Solis, ferias, festosque ac Dominicos dies magis convenisse, potius satius competisse. Sabbata verò solennésque ferias sic istis convenisse; vt neque his præteritis ritè coli transigique possint; neque vlli vnquam tales dies absque istis ritibus, 'absolutè' transigantur. Atque hoc quidem (perquam Charissimi fratres) in apicum proferre, planum, perspicuum, apertum facere statuo, et statim huc me converto et recipio, quò nihil talis sit timoris, nihil metus, nil formidinis; quin omne potius periculum, omne præiudicium eximatur; omni simul detrimento, displicentiâ doloréque quisque vestrum liberetur. Principiò peterem equidem, non Principium, mali causâ Syllogismi; sed principalem et præcipuam causam nostri tum creandi, tum instaurandi. Respondebitis procul-dubio, Gloriam Dei, seu creationis seu Redemptionis, sive rerum aliarum omnium, finem vltimam et finalem esse causam. Atqui verò Gloria Dei, quomodo, quibûsque in rebus explicatur, illustratur, apparere cogitur? Habesne fidem? inquit Apostolus. Apud teipsum habeto coram Deo. quasi diceret homines non possunt corporeis oculis fidem videre. Vt è platone de

Iaco. 2.  
 18. Sapiaientia Cicero: Hæc si oculis cerneretur, mirabiles amores excitaret  
 sui. Sic itidem D. Iacobus: ostende mihi fidem tuam ex operibus tuis;  
 et ego tibi fidem meam per opera mea demonstrabo. Deus ergo  
 manifestatur inter homines, Dei Gloria micat, nitet, elucescit; quum  
 phil. 4.  
 8. interioris hominis vultum pium, mentis ingenium perquam ingenuum, 5  
 secreti cordis veram fidem, synceram voluntatem, exterius actionibus  
 honestis, probis, sacrosanctis declarem. At num tripudia, choreæ,  
 saltationes, gestus corporei agiles et versatiles sunt ista opera, actiones  
 istæ externæ, videor mihi vos dicentes audire? Quid ni sint eorum bona  
 magnæque pars, inquam ego? Nam et corporibus semper gaudemus; 10  
 et aliquid semper agendum est; et plurima sæpè facimus, quæ sunt  
 istis minus vtilia, magis servilia; eaque sine correptione, sine  
 Ro. 14.  
 23. exceptione facimus. Nihil tamen absque fide faciendum, nihil invile,  
 nihil servile, ei sanè quod vtile, quodque liberum sit, est præferendum.  
 Corpora nobis esse, non opus est vlla probatione; vt neque semper 15  
 agendum esse aliquid; et agi quodammodo, tametsi dormiamus. Iam  
 vero quoad vtilitatem minorem, maiorem fortasse vilitatem; quid vili-  
 us, precor, quam vel cibos coquere, et alijs edendos parare, morbos  
 medicari, vrinam reddere, stercus eijcere, boves, oves, vel asinos è  
 puteis extrahere? Quid invilius, præter vilitatem, quam sacrificare, 20  
 circumcidere, pecora occidere, præputium incidere? quæ omnia  
 ferijs in vsu fuere. Sin autem priorum commoditatem, posteriorum  
 verò sanctitatem, instatis, vrgetis, contenditis non esse minimam:  
 tamen quanto sunt commodiora, præfatis exercitijs cibos concoquere,  
 salubriter eos digerere, morbis mederi, vel potiùs prævenire, 25  
 incolumem ab aegritudine sanitatem, tutam ab hostibus sospitatem  
 procurare; amicitias inire, promovere, confirmare? Sanctiora verò  
 seipsum sacrificare, corda sua circumcidere, Deo plaudere, in Deo  
 lætari, coram Deo præ nimio gaudio salire, saltare, exultare? Vos  
 Ro. 12.  
 1.2- autem: Quasi verò hæc ita sunt. Salaces scilicet adolescentes cum 30  
 lascivis puellis choreas ducentes, tanquam cum prurientibus capris  
 salientes hædos, ea de causâ circumcisos, sacrosanctos, et quasi  
 suis ipsorum sacrificos evadere. Quasi verò, et Ipse quoque dico, vel  
 vel Rex serenissimus, fidei Defensor constantissimus, Evangelij Iesu  
 Christi synceræque Religionis professor et propugnator veracissimus, 35  
 pientissimus potentissimus; vel quisquam alius alicuius notæ, quantum  
 ad Ecclesiæ rempublicam et animarum salutem attinet; choreas vllas  
 alias, gestus, saltus, aut gymnasia, vel postulat, vel permittit, nedum

3/ fidem: part off missing

6/ synceram for sinceram

9/ externæ: ex written over something else

9/ Quid ni for Quidni

33-4/ vel vel: dittography

35/ synceræque for sinceræque

Luc.  
15.23.  
25.31.

præscribit, aut plusquàm tolerans perfert; quàm quæ Christianam iuventutem deceant, illorum gaudia, læticiam, exultationem in Domino, summam et singularem gratitudinem adversus Deum, conditorem, Redemptorem, conservatorem suum repræsentent et demonstrent. Nam quod huiusmodi gymnasia, talia exercitia, vel eximiæ pietatis et *σημεῖον* et *πρόξιν* exhibere possint in populo Dei, docent et probant, infallibilitérque confirmant hæc exempla cum reliquis Scripturæ testimonijs, et Ecclesiæ consuetudine. Ac primùm quòd vel in Paradiso rerumque principio, cum illa quiete laborumque cessatione, conceditur, vel iniungitur magis, esus arboris vitæ; eiúsque vescendi copia, quasi sacramenti cuiusdam fœderis operum (et is status valdè perfectus erat) quid illud nobis potiùs intimare queat, quàm nunc dierum sub fœdere gratiæ, in mysterijs Christi consulendum esse vitæ, dum carnem Eius comedimus etiam, sanguinem verò bibimus et epotamus? At ista comestio, dicitis, et potatio spiritualis est; quid hoc ad tripudia, res iocularias, et tales gesticulationes? Sed estne Christi caro spirituale quiddam? Nunquid non fuit Christus verus homo? Noñne gavisus est carne et cruore? Annon est duplex genus comedendi, præter illa phantastica et imaginaria, capernaiticum scilicet, pontificium, seu papisticum, sive quod est aliud? Annon et nos cum animis corporibus quoque gaudemus: carnem cum spiritu, quoad humanam naturam et substantiam habemus. Annon corpus comedit sacramentaliter, vt manducat anima spiritualiter? Annon Cyprianus ait, et alij, corpora fidelium, vt è terris resurrectura, sic in cælum cum animis ascensura, quàm certissimum hoc argumentum esse, quòd sacramentum accipiunt corporis Christi corpora nostra, sicuti animæ nostræ gratiam illius; vtraque suo modo Christi *σάρα* sanguinemque? Vt mysticōs typicōs, Metaphysicōs ac πνευματικōs isthæc potissimum intelligantur; Annon ergò fuit christus inquam, verus homo? Annon Eundem Christum, qui conceptus è Spiritu sancto, natus est ex virgine Maria, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus, et ita deinceps, edimus, bibimus, in eoque recreati coalescimus? Certè non est alius verus Christus, verus Dei hominisque filius; Hunc vtcunque vsurpamus. Iam officium, quod nostra interest ampliùspræstare; an non agimus, peragimus, perficimusque psallendo, canendo, gaudendo, exultando? At vos: Non autem saliendo, saltando, gestiando, ludendo, ridendo, ducendo l choreas, et iocando. Et ego; Sic neque manducando nimis, aut multum epotando. Nam, annon habetis domos, ait Apostolus, in quibus edatis et bibatis, vt Ecclesiam contemptui sic habeatis? Reliqui proinde gestus et gesta locis alijs convenientibus usurpanda, peragenda, perficiendaque sunt. Sunt autem vt vtriqve vitæ quàm necessaria, tam corporis, quàm animæ,

I Cor  
11.22.

tum spirituali, tum naturali, non penitens omittenda, negligendave; sed locis idoneis, aptis temporibus adhibenda, præbenda quidem et præstanda. Neque sanè imponenda est poenitentia nobis à lapsu primorum parentum eā tantum Significatione, vt semper sit dolor, tristitia, contritio, asperitas, amaritudo, sub nomine scilicet pij gemitus, mæroris, plactus, eiulatus. Et gaudia simul requiruntur, alacritas, hilaritas, læticia, delectatio. Et dies gaudijs, læticiæ, lusibus, oblectamentisque sunt indicti atque assignati. Nunquam enim data fuit et tributa tanta talis causa lætandi, gaudendi, iocandi, ridendi, saltandi, exultandi, ne Adamo quidem in statu suo perfectissimo, nempe innocentie quidem et integritatis eximie, nedum Abrahamo, præ operibus suis in se lætanti; qualis quanta nobis in Adamo secundo, Christo nimirum, Abrahamo promisso semine benedicto; sicut in Izhac vocatum iri semen eius, præ ostensum, præsignificatum et præmonstratum fuit. Qui quidem Izhac, quod ad vocabuli significatum, et appellationis rationem spectat, tum quod parentes, quum promissus esset, vtrique risere, tum quod occasionem summam, causam ridendi maximam exhibuit, risum denotat; in risum reddendo convertitur, risum linguæ canaanæ præsignat, designat, consignatque. Ecquid aliud est, quod sic efferri gaudium; effundi læticiæ, risu diffluere, cor dilatare, mentem exhilarare valeat; atque Dei gratia, divini favoris fœderisque in Christo, ad salutem vsque et vitam æternam, hoc est, ad remissionem peccatorum et cælestem sempiternam hæreditatem, beneficium? Aut certè hoc ineffabile quidem, inestimabile, incompræhensibile beneficium minimè dignum est, quo lætemur et gaudeamus? Sed videamus ulterius, quid olim fecerint Israelitæ; quid primitus, et hucusque fideles continuo Christiani; quid semper à populo Dei vehementius fuerit exactum; quid nunc temporis à nobis constanter exigatur. Sit Iubal pater et Author eorum omnium, qui nablijs, citharis, tubis, tibijs, fidibus, tympanis psallendo sunt vsi, alijsque similibus organis et instrumentis: Sed Moses et Miriam ad vsum adhibent, vsum fructum capiunt; vsura, piâ, licitâ, sacrosancâ, quid valeant, experiuntur. Etenim his Deum collaudaverunt Optimum Maximum ob egregiam super hostes, populum scilicet Ægyptiacum cum crudelissimo suo Tyranno victoriam. Per alias novi ac memini multò secus evenisse. Quippe trigesimo-seculo capite, versibus 6-19. describit eorum Idololatriam, mentionem vnâ faciens edendi, bibendi, cantandi, saliendi. Neque sum oblitus, quid in novo testament(.) (.) abetur eadem de re, nimirum priore ad Corinthios

13/ grammatically necessary 'eo quod' omitted after in

14/ præ ostensum for præostensum

39/ testament(.) (.) abetur: ie, testamento habetur

Ro 4.  
1.2.

gen. 17.  
17. et  
18. 12-  
15. ps.  
65. 14.  
126. 2.

ps. 103.

Exodi  
15. 1-  
20-

epistola <sup>a</sup> '10 capite' versu septimo, quasi comestio, potatio, ductio chorearum, et saltatio, vel ipsa Idololatria; vel ipsius aliquæ pars esset; quum tamen hi gestus, lusus et gymnasia non simpliciter odio habentur, vitio vertuntur, sive culpæ criminique dantur: sed vsus mali, malæ applicationis ratione, Ipsius Idololatriæ respectu, sicuti videre 5 est præfati capitis Exodi versu decimo-nono, cuius hæc sunt aliquæ verba: Quum primum ad exercitum appropinquavit Moses, vitulum vidit et saltationem. Vitulus igitur et vituli adoratio in causâ sunt, quòd Moses ita rixatus est, et obiurgavit Aaronem. Et vitulum illum aureum postea reperit, in ignem posuit, prorsus combussit, in cineres redegit, 10 in pulvere quasi molitum convertit, super aquas stravit, aquas illas ebibere coegit Israelitas. De saltatione ne verbum vlteriùs vnum quidem. Porrò video non solùm in illo pentateucho constitutum Sabbatum observandum; verùm etiam multas alias ferias et festivos dies, paschæ scilicet et panis azimi, pentecostes vel hebdomadarum, 15 Tabernaculorum, item et aliorum nonnullorum. Sed quomodo feria, quæ festivi sunt? Aliâne ratione, more, modovè; quàm quiescendo servilibus ab operibus; pijs, sanctis, probis, honestis, festivis, ingenuis, et vel divinis actionibus atque exercitijs dies illos omnes, tum Sabbatorum, tum etiam festos et feriales insumere, impendere, 20 præterire? Sed neque ignem accendere Sabbato licuit. Quid ni liceret alijs modis licitis, seipso, vt decuit, et oportuit, calefacere? Iam quid hoc est, quòd in his festis lætari, gaudere sic, atque exultare iubet, deus. 16. non semel, at sæpiùs; et quâ viâ, quo modo gaudebunt, lætabuntur, exhilarabuntur? Nam vt symphoniam illam Ecclesiasticam, 25 psalmorum, hymnorum, laudum in Templo cautionem permittentes concedatis; quid illud ad plebem et populum gregarium seorsum agentem apud se, quod illis convenit et consentaneum est? Annon in ipsis psalmis Ipse psalmista, quid in hac causa deceat, edocuit? Annon id omnes et singulos quàm sæpissimè, iuxta canones à seipso iam antea 30 constitutos? Quo tempore quàm sanctissimus David etiam ipse psalmographus fecit, in vsu praxique posuit, quod vel alijs imposuit, vel pro alijs composuit, vel licitum esse demonstravit. 1. Chron. 15. et 25. et 29. ps. 28.8.33. 1.2.3.68.25.57.7.108.1.2.95-98-100-107.149. et 150. Obijciat fortasse quispiam ex prophetis, vt Isa. 24.8- 35 11. Am. 6.4.5.6. culpari multùm condemnarique eiusmodi omnia exercitia, gymnasia, iocularia. Sed enim annon apparet facilè, non vsum rectum, sed pravissimos abusus vitio verti, condemnari, abominari? Quod idem observandum Iudicum 21.21.22.23. Mat'. 14.6. et siqua sunt plura loca similia. Nam quòd Math. 9.23. Tibicines cum 40 citharædis, et cum cantante, clamante, vociferantèque multitudine Christus è mortui domo discedere cogens extrudit; tantùm abest, vt

contra nos sit, aut faciat in hoc negotio; vt nihil ferè magis aptum appositumque dici possit. Nuptijs non inter sunt modò gaudia, lusus et Musica: I sed exequijs etiam et funeribus. cuiusnam rei, quaeso, causa? quâ significatione? Nimirum cælestia gaudia, cælicam læticiam, sanctorum in cælis exultationem repræsentare, asserere, affirmare, confirmare, stabilire. Quò spectant, quæ in Apocalipsi Divi Iohannis de citharis Dei, præstantissimis, quàm eximijs, excellentissimis Organis cæli narrantur et declarantur. Capitibus videlicet 5. 14. et 15. & cætera. Itidem quæ apud Divum Paulum habentur 1. Cor. 13. 1. et 14. 7. 8. Eph. 5. 19. Col. 3. 16. et phil. 4. 4. præcipuè Domini Christi delineatio apud lucam Evangelistam capite 15. versibus 23. 25. 31 necnon septimo decimòque. Vt rectè lugere ieiuni dicantur præ Sponsi defectu et absentia, qui præsentia gaudere nolunt, lætòque præsentis sponsi vultu lætari recusant. Id quod à Nostratibus sic effertur: Panis et Butyrum est esca quàm optima; dolor autem sit Eius amantibus, cupientibus, expetentibus vt qui tam dolosi, quàm dolorosi, ipsi desipiunt, séque ipsos defraudant meritò atque decipiunt. At non Alcithoe Mineies orgia censet Attribuenda Deo. Scilicet vt à debacchantibus offerantur Ethnico Baccho, quæ Deo Optimo Maximo soli omninò debentur; illis interim per auras et æra sonantibus: Io comites, veneremur Iacchum. Non aliter quàm egisse, séque impiè gessisse, videre est apud Hoseam, Habacucum, Zephaniam et alios, Idololatrios Israelitas. Ea tamen in Iehovam piè contulisse, quæ nefariè sic Idolis suis et prophanis atque impijs exposuere procis, nunquam offenderet Dominum, [offenderet] vitio nunquam verteretur. Rex autem noster, et pastor Agamemnon, sive magis Davidicus Salomon, sentit et censet, per legitimos Mystas et Tyresias Christicolas, litandum esse divinæ Maiestati ac Numini, tum animabus, tum corporibus suis à iuventute Christianâ.<sup>a</sup> Videte proinde nunquid maiorem rationem quasi præsentis sponsi Rex habeat, Domini Iesu Christi scilicet, in verbo suo, in Evangelio, in Ministris, in populo suo, per spiritum sanctum semper instantis ad mundi finem vsque, Mat. 28. 20. quàm eorum quisquam, vel vniversi quidem isti; qui præ nimio zeli synceri, sanctimonie vel purissimæ prætextu; nullum in Sabbato corporale prorsus exercitium, præsertim quod recreationem, alacritatémque quandam resipiat et præ se ferat; ferre, sinere, sustinere; nedum perferre, permittere, patienter tolerare, vt

mat'.  
9. 15.

Hos. 2.  
Hab. 1.  
Zeph. 1.  
Ezek. 16.  
15-17-  
19-

<sup>a</sup>By the  
King

9/ cætera for cetera

18/ Mineies for Mineides; second e of Mineies written over another letter

24/ prophanis for profanis

34/ synceri for sinceri

maximum, probare possunt. Ego verò summum quoddam  
 Argumentum et certissimam demonstrationem hinc colligo Regiæ  
 noticiæ sanæ, certæque scientiæ Christi Ipsius et Evangelij sui veræ  
 naturæ, *propositi*, sensus intimi, proprietatis. Similem itidem  
 æquiparâmque colligo notam ac significationem Eius amoris  
 dulcissimi, Charissimi favoris, Regiæ, paternæ, pietissimæque curæ  
 in Subditos suos quàm dilectissimos, populum Ipsius amantissimum,  
 cupientissimum, studiosissimum, vt et fidelissimum, constantissimum  
 integerrimum. Quem | Quem quidem haud semel aut secundò, sed  
 quàm sæpissimè populum suum, populum quàm optimum, in paucis  
 his paginis nominat. Our People; Our good people plusquam decies  
 certe. vt vel decies repetita semper placeant. Vtrùm autem maiorem  
 benevolentiam benignitatémque testificetur; vel quòd eiusmodi  
 recreationes concedit Regia Maiestas; vel quòd easdem excudit suâ  
 quasi Ipsius propria manu; non est in promptu, non in proclivi  
 patefacere. Neque minùs est difficile, quantum amorem, quàm  
 æqualem, perinde et æquam benevolentiam, paternam curam,  
 episcopalem, seu potiùs Apostolicam vigilantiam, in vtramque huius  
 Insulæ Regionisque Inclytissimæ partem, cum Aquilonis, tum  
 Australem, inque omnes et singulos comitatus, collaudandas quasque  
 Civitates societatesque, gerat, ferat, amplectatur, ostendere,  
 Describere, manifestare. Proinde adiunxi huic tractatui meam Ipsius  
 Regiæ Maiestatis Reditùs è Boreæ finibus gratiosissimi  
 exoptatissimique gratulationem. Quam tametsi rudem valdè  
 imperitâmque; Amoris tamen incontinentis, animique non  
 mediocriter benevoli gratiâ, non potui non meorum Oxoniensium  
 egregijs gymnasijs, Aræque sacrasanctæ simul affigere. b Iam vos  
 interrogo (fratres, præsertim siqui sunt inter vos puritani) quid opus est  
 esse præcisos, puritatem, pietatem, sanctimoniam in rebus externis  
 prætexere? An non est Deus spiritus? An non spiritu et veritate,  
 venerandus, adorandus et colendus? Præcisi potestis esse conscientiâ,  
 vt verbis nihil sciatur, sed operibus. Externa et corporalia, ceu parùm  
 prosunt, parùm proferunt, nihil ferè conducunt ad pietatem: sic in  
 potestate non sunt sita, non collocata vestrà, proinde de lanâ caprina  
 a 'de Asini vmbra' de rebus nihili contenditis, et vos stultos esse  
 declaratis, de non pertinentibus, non proficuis. Subinde præsumentes,  
 arrogantes, insolentes habemini, otiosi, negotiosi, contentiosi,  
 Puritani. Odiosum sanè nomen, et iam olim plùs minùs

6/ Charissimi for carissimi

27/ sacrasanctæ for sacrosanctæ

9/ Quem | Quem: dittography

abominandum. Vobis enim ominatum est, vel omen vestrum. Sed  
 vestrâ culpâ, vestro crimine. Quî namque vocentur, quo nomine  
 gaudere vel debent, vel possunt, ex loco coniugatorum Aristotelico;  
 qui sibi puritatem arrogant, se puros videri haberi<sup>que</sup> volunt; nisi vel  
 purorum, vel puritanorum? At puri non estis. Ergo non purorum. Sed  
 factis impuri potius, maximè puritatem scilicet, pietatem, sanctitatem  
 ad nauseam vsque prætendentes et prætexentes, vt præfati sumus.  
 Ergo Puritani. Neque tamen vel gratum, vel non grave mihi potest esse  
 (fratres dulcissimi) Si qui sunt alioqui viri verè pij peritiquē, qui  
 nihilominùs sensu suo nimium abundantes, vt Hieronymi verbis vtar,  
 nimis arctè præconceptis opinio<sup>n</sup>ibus, in rebus vel indifferentibus, vel  
 nugatorijs ferè, vel etiam extra communem optionem positis,  
 præiudicatis et præfractis | affectibus, respectibus, et sententijs  
 adhærent. Id quod Rex Ipse serenissimus non omisit in eximio suo ac  
 verè aureo opusculo, quod βασιλικὸν Δῶρον dicitur, suam mentem  
 esse declarare. Ne vicio vertatis igitur, quòd ita nominamini, nisi  
 culpatis vosmet etiam ipsos, quod sic operamini. Num Philosophum  
 meministis, qui demonstrans Ostentum; En, inquit, magnos fures,  
 fures pusillos ad crucem ducentes, adigentesque suspendendos ad  
 patibulum? Vos itidem in magnis lædentes, vt vel læsae Maiestatis rei  
 ferè; parvulos tamen incusatis, maximoperè criminamini, pessimarum  
 noxarum reos agitis? c Id autem minimè mirum; quum Rex Ipse  
 quidem vestras acerbæ criminationes, vafras Aspersiones et  
 traductiones amaras, vt est innocentissimus, pientissimus,  
 benevolentissimus, evitare nequeat. Quos enim pertentare, irritare,  
 sollicitare, traducere, lædere, nocere, necare non audetis; qui Regem  
 Ipsum, tam Evangelicum, Orthodoxum, Angelicum, et Sanctissimum,  
 mordere, molestare, traducere, per auras, aures et ora mortalium  
 trahere, sugillare, blasphemare, quàm audacissimi cœpitis, arripitis,  
 irruitis? Interest Eius Serenæ Maiestatis, Nomen Numen<sup>que</sup> suum  
 Christianum, gloriosum et cælicum, à vestrarum macularum  
 aspersione vindicare; Ius suum Imperiale, supremam Autoritatem,  
 meritum honorem vindicare; quinimò cur non vobis fœdas culparum  
 criminumque notas, mendarum et noxarum, præsertim petulantium  
 et pestilentium vociferationum conflatas labe<sup>s</sup>, quas demeruistis, quas  
 aduocatis accercitisque, inferre, imponere, infligere? Medius-fidius  
 non agit vobiscum Regia clementia secundum merita vestra. Imò ver(.)  
 venientem in memoriam Æsopicam quandam vt moralem, ita  
 memorabilem fabulam, non possum ex animo eijcere, neque me  
 continere, quin enarrem; quomodo scilicet olim Ranæ rogatum  
 habuerunt Iovem, vt illis concederet et daret Regem. Cessit Iupiter,

Aspersions  
 c Misin-  
 terpretation  
 of our  
 meaning

et dedit ingentem trabem *pro* Rege. Cuius vt casu quatefacta fuit terra; sic conspectu terrefactæ Ranæ. Proinde certis diebus delituere. Temporis intervallo Latebris egressi, <sup>9</sup> ad Regem appropinquabant. Vident quietum, tranquillum, pacatum, sedatum, non moventem. Transcendunt, transiliunt, insiliunt, resiliunt; spernunt, *contemnunt*, 5 despiciunt, reijciunt. Iovem rursum accedunt; Hunc soporis, desidiæ, ignaviæ, pigritiæ damnant; alium postulant. Audit eos iterum Iupiter, et Ciconiam in Regem assignavit. Hæc Ranam vllam quoties intueretur, statim arripuit et devoravit. Hinc sunt Ranæ rursus vniversæ conquestæ, se crudelissimè à ciconia dilaniari, excruciaci, 10 absorberi. Sed incassum et frustrâ. Essent enim contenti et grati de superiore, tam omnis acerbitatis immuni ac libero. Videtis adumbratum in hâc hypotyposi, quid siet, Regem pacificum, beneficum, mitissimum, Christianum nolle, negare, recusare, reijcere. Audite nunc aliam veram et nuperam historiam; Quum hæc 15 scripserim, et eodem temporis momento, dum pinxerim, erectus est polus æstivalis in Ipsius custodia (Castelli nempe Gloucestriensis) horto seu fundo adiacente, quo solent alternis vicibus incarcerati deambulare, confabulari, seipsos paulisper recreare. Id multi vituperant factum, eiusmodi res ludicras eò loci exerceri, in vsu ibi 20 poni, vbi tot sunt potiùs lachrymarum et Lamentationis, quàm Lusuum et Musicæ ostenta et indicia. Verùm in hoc *quoque* quid ego dicam, perpendite. Si Regis edicto, si regimine discreto, si mente boni conscia plaudere, psallere, salire possunt in carceribus et custodijs, in ergastulis et angustijs, nimirum homunciones captivi; quid nequeant, 25 non audeant ij, qui in immunibus civitatibus libère agunt, et voluntariè? Insuper illud simul aspicio, vel in ijs tenebrosis latibulis plærosque secum Baccho ac Veneri facere et litare; quum his gymnasijs aliquo vel casu, vel causâ prohibentur, interdicuntur, deprivantur. Accipite simul et aliud simile. In Civitate præfatâ Glocestriæ, me 30 prædicto tempore in Castello diversante, sicut fit inter cætera similia, quidam Sicarius ad vxorem vicini accessit; idque multoties et sæpe-numero. Rem habere cum eâ petijt, expetijt, et impetrare visus est; intereà foeminam dum tactus quassit, venit subitò Maritus, qui tale quiddam videns, exclamavit, contine, contine, hold, hold. Quæ Verba 35 ab alijs audita, iam ab omnibus quotidie parabolæ proverbijve vice recitantur. At Polis quibusdam et pyramidibus ibidem elevatis oblatrant nonnulli obganniuntque, quum eorum ratione communiter

9/ d of devoravit written over v

28/ plærosque for plerosque

30/ Glocestriæ for Gloucestriae

31/ cætera for cetera

34/ foeminam for feminam

d  
countie  
of Lan-  
cashire-

e  
Barred  
from all  
recreationes

Iuventus à carnalibus incitamentis, incantamentis, lenocinijs, computationibus, ebrietate, scortationibus avocantur tamen. Vos igitur, vt immunes liberique Regis misericordiâ perquam ineffabili evaditis; at quaeso, permittite, si hoc a vobis petere; expetere, impetrare, potirique licitum, par, fas, et æquum sit; permittite, inquam, et perpetimini quieti sedati, modesti; vt falsæ pravæque expositionis evitandæ gratiâ, sensus suos eximios, Regale placitum et propositum explicet, enodet, explanet. Quòd Lancastriâ tantoperè recusantibus Papistis abundavit, id me malè habet, vt decet, et doleo multùm (etenim tum Rex Ipse mirificè dolet idem; tum ego puer [quatt(...)] decennius in eâ Diocœsi per tres vt minimum annos scholam petij Grammaticam et studij) Quòd verò reformari homines, mores emendari conformarique, Regiæ Maiestati significant Magnates, id benè quidem habet, vt præfatas ob causas oportet; mèque multâ perfundit læticiâ, magno gaudio afficit.<sup>d</sup> Verum enimverò quomodocunque abundavit cacolicis | Papistis Comitatus Ille Lancastrensis, pro certo, comperto, exploratôque habemus hoc, totum terrarum Orbem Regiæ Ditionis, et Regium vniversum superabundanter exundare Puritanis. Quibus (quanquam veræ puritatis avidi, synceræ pietatis cupidi cultores non sunt hoc nomine gravandi, vt qui soli sunt habendi appellandique christiani; tamen abiecta omni vafra, callida, perniciosa adulatione) non sunt Schismaticis istis homunciones vlli peiores, praviore, pestilenciores, periculosiores. Hi profectò sunt dolendi; imò sanè penitus delendi; proinde verò præcavendi. Vsurpant hi potestatem, Authoritatem, Dominationem, Imperium in ijs rebus, in quibus absolutè contracta est, et ab ijs quoad partem alteram abstracta libertas. Dominantur, et principatum tenent ac gerunt, vimque alienis conscientijs faciunt peremptori.) Religionem ac cultum Dei vel statuunt in ijs rebus, in quibus aut nulla est; aut si vlla, in earum vsu recto, non neglectu perspicitur: vel collocant in Iudaico quodam colendi Sabbati more, hoc est ipsorum suo; quasi nullo prorsus modo aliter quàm Isti præscribunt et profitentur, dies ille prætereundus, ritus cultusque eius

6/ perpetimini: pe somewhat smeared, apparently written over other letters

11/ [quatt(...): i.e., [quattuor]

11/ Diocœsi for Diocesi

14m/ e written over d

20/ synceræ for sinceræ

24/ delendi: endi written over erasure

29/ peremptori(.): final letter obscured by binding



Eph. 5  
3-12.  
1. Cor.  
5. 1-  
ps. 16.  
4.

<sup>1</sup> If not  
upon  
Sundays,  
& holy  
days.

Exod. 12.  
26 -  
Iosh. 4.  
6 -

perpetrare, designare, in propatulo committere; quæ ne nomin(. )ntur  
quidem apud obcœnas et Idololatricas gentes. Patet id vndique et in  
aprico iacet, cunctisque patefactum ex multitudine spuriorum in  
vniverso superexvndantium. Sed de his videntur habere Praecisi,  
reverâ nihil habent omninò pensi. Tantummodo iudicant eiusmodi  
notabiles peccatores reprobos esse, deinde relinquunt eos in errore, in  
periculo. Nunquid hoc notum est Regiæ Maiestati, notatûmq<sup>ue</sup> tam  
accuratè, nos autem tanquam ignotum inscij penitùs præterlabimur?  
certè sumus quàm fidi subiecti, seduli officarij, Reipublicæ, et  
Ecclesiæ charissimi commodissimique Amici; aut fallor miré.<sup>1</sup>  
Veruntamen audire me videor, nonnullos effantes, infantes tamen:  
Alijs diebus septimanæ possunt homines se recreare, istiusmodi ludos  
vsurpare, iocis vti, gesta, gestus, res ludicras exercere; vt diebus  
dominiciis non inferant, ingerant obtrudant, imponant. Quasi verò dies  
hebdomadis alij, iidem operibus ac laboribus addicti, talibus humanis  
mansuetisque ludis et recreationibus aptiores essent, appositi magis,  
accommodatique, quàm dies festi ab alijs negotijs tum servilibus tum  
necessarijs liberi, immunes et quieti. Annon egregiè ridiculum  
immensèque absurdum hoc est, vel ab agricultura Rusticos, vel a  
scrobibus fossores, vel à popinis coquos, vel calcearios à scamnulis,  
sive sutores à sedibus, vel vpiliones à caulis, vel a capris et hædis  
caprarios pastores, vel bubulcos à stabulis, vel laniones à macellis,<sup>1</sup>  
vel à molendinis molitores, vel a Textrinâ Textores, vel etiam à Lanâ  
ac tela pedissequas, à lacte mulgendo, premendo, tundendo, multrices  
ancillas mox in plateas exilire, ibidem in pannis laceratis, vestibus  
defœdatis, corporibus adipe deturpatis, saltare, exultare; insultare,  
insanire ferè tantum non furere ac furare? Quemadmodum enim  
deuteronom 5 versibus 14. 15. non conceditur modò, sed et requiritur,  
iniungitur, et demandatur, vt et servi quiescant à laboribus, sese  
oblectamentis recreantes, memòribus interim Israelitis, semetipsos  
servos et mancipia fuisse in Ægypto: sic impræsentiarum hac ætate  
docendi sunt Iuvenes in sermonibus Dominicalibus qua ratione,  
quibus moribus se gerant in exercitijs, quibus etiam finibus se recreent,  
iocentur et ludant. Non id agendum, quod à nostris vbique facitatum  
est, vt Doctrinæ loco de recto rerum externarum atque indifferentium  
vsu, res ipsas à Deo Ipso Optimo Maximo creatas, constitutas,  
ordinatas, subtrahant, abigant, prorsus tollant. Miror equidem quam  
respensionem facient, quam rationem reddent olim Domino, de

1/ nomin(. )ntur: ie, nominantur  
2/ obcœnas for obscenas  
6/ relinquunt for relinquunt

10/ charissimi for carissimi  
27/ ac written over something else; furare for furari  
31/ impræsentiarum for in præsentiarum

Ordinationis Ei(⟨.⟩)contemptu, de benignitatis Eius in his oblectamentis et recreationibus abiectio. Quid enim aliud agunt isti, quàm vt Deum Ipsum doceant, qui dies quieti atque lusibus, qui laboribus atque alijs vsibus maximè sunt apposit; quando simul operari, quando verò recreare seipsos debent? Ecquis prætereà nescit, 5  
ecquis ignorat, vel Musicam ex Artibus ingenuis, è scientijs liberalibus unam esse; vel sine vsu, lusu, choreis, applausu, gaudio, læticiâ, delectatione, nihili ac nullius esse?<sup>k</sup> Hæc cum, quasi nesciant ipsi, neminem instruunt, neminem scire volunt, digni sunt et demeriti, qui in his, cum reliquis suis enormibus, deformibus, absurdissimis erratis, 10  
à Dominis Episcopis, et quàm honoratis Magistratibus castigentur, corripiantur, reconfornentur. Verum enimverò non parum videtur mihi metuendum, à Iusticiarijs, Iudicibus, Episcopis etiam ipsis nonnullis, ac si non æque se gerent in his Conformitatibus, in his reformationibus. Etenim nisi sibi in animum inducerent, se certò 15  
persuados haberent, Istis, quos puritanes nominari solet et decet, summè pios in omnibus, puros, sanctos esse; quí fieri omninò posset, Vt regi facerent vndique tantum assidue negotium? quomodò esset tanta vbique Regionis Multitudò. Novimus istorum iactantiam, novimus ostentationem, se suis xenijs et muneribus cum potentibus 20  
ad placitum vsque promovere posse. Interim conformes vel præsentantes ipsi, vel effrœnes et refractarios præsentantes, negligunt, non animantur, nedum corroborantur; imò verò benè cum illis est, si non obiurgantur, exanimantur, repelluntur; idque cum contumeliosissimis vociferationibus, Thou, Thou, Sirra, Thou, I'll make ye bee quiet 25  
yfayth, Sir. & cætera. Sic boni isti ordinarij ad Ministros ordinatos et conformes, de vel pro præfatis illis præfractis et inordinatis. Sed spero iam hinc inde divinâ gratia, Regiæ Maiestatis eximiâ curâ, imposterum omnia emendatum iri, futura meliora. Mihi autem quod meâ refert, condonent ista, propter meum ipsius experimentum. I Vel si nolent 30  
ignoscere, neque placet hæc conditio, si lubet magis, vltieriùs faciant periculum, et quid in hac re sit verum experiantur. Me nanque illorum tractatus in hâc causâ et huiusmodi, prorsus pessundedit; nec peius agere, plusve nocere vel opus est, vel omnino possunt. At verò cur non potiùs sermonem meum converto ad Polos Æstivos et Maias 35  
Pyramides, in (e)a invectus et vociferans, quæ tanquam essent Idola

1/ Ei(⟨.⟩): ie, Eius; final letters lost in binding

22/ effrœnes for effrœnes

26/ cætera for cetera

29/ Mihi: first i written over another letter

31/ lubet written over erasure

32/ nanque for namque

33/ pessundedit: n written over d(?)

34/ omnino: om written over erasure

36/ (e)a: partly obscured by blot

k  
Our Iudges  
& Iustices  
– Bishop of  
ye diocese

polus in  
Sancti  
Nicolai  
Glouces-  
triensis  
parochia  
delectus,  
Iulij X<sup>o</sup>  
1618.  
Itidem 2<sup>o</sup>  
paulò ante  
barklaee.

surda, muta, mortua, nihil vacent respondere? Vt nihil respondeant, obijcitur tamen esse ea Diabolica Idola, cultusque Diabolicos esse simul omnes illos Ludos Maïos, Allas Whitsonias, Mauriti choreas, varia tripudia, ioca quam plurima, Ludorum genera penè infinita, cæterum ego respondeo, neque tale quippiam esse, necesse posse; si, quod piè requiritur, locis et temporibus æquis et aptis sine divini cultus vel impedimento, vel incuria fieri doceantur: At choreas ducunt circa polos; populus circumstans et vndique collecta multitudo in polum conijciunt oculos, in fidicines tibiae, citharædos, in Musica instrumenta, in saltatores, collusores, colluctatores, in Ludicra omnia ioculariaque. Sic et qui templum adeunt, Ecclesiam frequentant, et sacros coetus petunt crebrius, Lumina conijciunt, circumspiciunt, aspectant pulpita, biblia, concionatores; Conciones et cantiones suas, mores, conditiones atque gestiunculas planè stupent et admirantur. Quæ quidem ista vt doctrinâ recta fieri atque integra queunt ac debent; sic illa reformari. Imò sanè diligenter docendo quæ in recto vsu sunt necessaria, si perveniri ad rectum perfectumque non potest; certe recta paulatim et commendata cum imperfectis et nonnecessarijs intolerandisque siqua sunt istiusmodi absque repræhensione viribus suis et voluntate simul irrecuperabiliter corrumpunt. Memini, quod refert facundus Aschamus, Dominam Ianam a Matre tam rigide vrgeri, sic arceri ad a(r)ctè æquiparèque saltandum in tripudijs, ad singulas mensuras in quibusvis choreis, ad tam innumeras repeditationes et gestiunculas observandas adigi; vt prorsus habuit odio saltationem omnem, et ad linguas, cum latinam, tum græcam, ediscendas, ad Authores veteres edoctissimos versandos, legendos, perlegendos, relegendos, terendos, trahendos, discerpandos, se penitus convertere et recipere delegit. Rectus ergo Ludorum vsus intimandus et instillandus est potius, quam tum in abusus, tum in lusus ipsos invehendum; quòd ita vel se reformabunt et ad rectum recipient; vel vsum omnem pro abusu periculo ac scandalo protenus et penitus reijcient. Soporem aut somnum quis desiderat in ægritudine. non autem potest dormire præ multis phantasmatis recurrentibus, pragmatibusque tum peioribus, tum potioribus, cerebrum eius versantibus, circumvolitantibus sollicitantibus. Precetur seriò, fundat vota Deo; mox obrepet sopor, et suaviter dormiet, altum dormitabit. Dicetis fortassis: Istud agit Diabolus, qui nolet homines precari, pia vota fundere, sanctè quovismodo se gerere. Quasi verò multum

3/ Mauriti: tii written over erased as

4/ genera: ra written over erasure

5/ cæterum for ceterum

11/ templum: um partly obscured by blot

22/ a(r)ctè: r partly obscured by blot

33/ phantasmatis for phantasmaticus

nonnullis sit pensi curâve, quis eorum Author sit conceptuum, modò Deum prætexant, et suas vias, voluntates, consilia concessa sibi habeant, et ad placitum gaudeant. Experto crede Roberto, inquit. Hæc enim tum domi, tum foris verissima reperi. Descripsi namque diligenter vsus et abvsus rerum indifferentium, eorûmq̃ue rationem et differentiam. Rectum vsum in vsu tantummodò praxiq̃ue, esse debere graviter et gnaviter institi. Mox evanuerunt omnia simul. Proinde longè mecum aliter agitur, quàm cum morosis istis fratribus, in quorum Paroechijs excitantur poli, simûlq̃ue turbæ commoventur, magis opponendi vociferanti Ministro gratiâ, quàm sibi placendi in rebus Ludicris, vel Regi parendi in exercitijs et recreationibus. Et in custodia Gloucestriensi, vbi menses quosdam iam ferè consumpsi, Deus immortalis, quàm disertè, discretè, laudabiliter geruntur omnia? Est ibi quasi pyramis elevata, polus Æstivus collocatus, vt antea dictum est. Genera Ludorum præfata statuunt exercere. Rebus ego, id est, exercitijs et recreationibus haud contradico, nedum interdico. At rectum vsum ostendo; quomodo se gerere recrearèq̃ue debent, edoceo. Hâc etiam occasione, statuta quædam et Ordinationes Ædi Illi ac custodiæ maximè convenientes edidimus, Omnium et singulorum incarcerationum manibus et cordibus, scilicet consensu subscribi fecimus. Exinde, Deus bone, quàm modestè, quàm honestè, quàm piè, sanctè vivitur, quàm degitur christianè? Vt iam Exemplum possit esse pietatis et Modestiæ carcer Iste sua custodia plærisq̃ue alijs, sive custodijs, sive societatibus, vel carceribus vel civitatibus ferè. Vt est hoc pernotum tam vrbes quàm Rura sua omnia mancipia membræve depravata et vitiosa in eiusmodi carceres et custodias, quasi loca domosq̃ue correptionis conijcere atq̃ue obtrudere, quò Dominicis Castigationibus emendari reformariq̃ue possint. Sunt autem hæc statuta vel Ordinationes huiusmodi, ea de causâ hoc loco inserta, quò nostrum consilium factiq̃ue nostri rationem, faciliùs quisquam, cuius intererit, colligere queat.

¶ Certain Orders meet and necessarie to be observed and kept of all and every the Prisoners in the Castle of Gloucester, to ye Glorie of God, ye kinges, honour and their owne welfare, and subscribed vnto by their owne handes 1618. Regni Regis Iacobi Dei gratiâ nunc & cætera decimo-sexto, et quinquagesimo-secundo, Iulij |

¶ Imprimis whosoever come not vnto, and are not present at the service of God in the Chapel or Gallerie of the sayd Castle on the Sabbaoth daies and all and everie other festival daies, and Wensdaies and ffridaies

1/ modò: grammatically necessary ut omitted after this word

9/ Paroechijs for Paroeijs or Parochijs

on the forenoon, & that so, as they bee present thereat *within* one *quarter* of an houre after nine of the clock of the forenoone, and after 3. of the clock on the afternoon, not departing till within a quarter of an houre at the most of Eleven of the clock on the forenoon, and five a Clock on the after-noon, without a reasonable Cause declared vnto, and allowed of the Arbitrators to that purpose appoynted: Hee or Shee shall paie for euerie such default xij d or be left in the Stockes sixe houres. And whosoever shal walk, or talk, or stand aloof at prayer, or sermon time, or vse anye meanes of disturbaunce of the Minister and service of God, hee shal forfeyt vj d or be stocked 3. *houres* Item whosoever shal vse anie *vnlawfull* game at anie time, or the lawful games otherwise than the Kinges *Maiesty* hath declared and required, shal forfeyt lykwise for [feyte lykewyse] *ʿeʿverie* such default – xij d to the vse of the poor Prisoners of the common or maigh Gaole of or in the sayd castle, to be disposed by the Arbitrators, or some of them. or els shall sitt in the stockes sixe houres.

Item whosoever shal falselie or rashlie sweare, or tell a false lie, or bee druncken, or committ fornication, or Adulterie, or shall have anie Ribaldish talke, or shall abuse anie by nicknames, and by brabbling and brawling, they shalbee at the lyke forfeiture and penaltie.

Item whosoever shal purloin, steal, beguile of, or take awaie anothers money, vittayles or apparell, or anie thing els; They shalbee at the lyke; besyde Restiticion, and aunswere to the lawes of the Realme, for so doing, at the pursuit of the Robbed and beguyled.

¶ *Atque* hoc modo ac ratione certiores fieri facile queunt omnes de Regiæ 25  
*Maiestatis* mente ac consilio, quoad prædicta gymnasia Olympiaca  
 quasi, libera exercitia et recreationes. De fidelium omnium itidem  
*subiectorum* ingenuo consensu, obsequio submisso, rectâ  
 constructione, officijs atque obedientia quàm prompta, quàm  
 paratissimâ. Puritani valeant, qui corporalia Dominicalium dierum 30  
 exercitia prorsus abnegant. Valeant et Papistæ, qui à nostra Religione  
 deterrentur, quòd nullam putant approbare, nullam admittere  
 christianam recreationem. Vtrosque sanè prohibet nisi prius unâ  
 conveniunt in sacris coetibus ad divina concelebranda. Quod quidem  
 vtrique recusant agere; papistæ nempe schismaticum esse credentes, 35  
 Puritani Pontificium et impium. Ambo sub uno iugo contrahentes, sub  
 vno vexillo commilitantes cum meris prophanis histrionibus,  
 Nebulonibus, et vel negligentibus, vel prae fractis reprobis, qui  
 communibus precibus, votis fidelium vsitatis, pientissimis  
 Christianorum orationibus interesse, non possunt omninò sustinere. 40

Sed iam satis superque de his omnibus antea. Tantum ad hæc pauca proba ex meâ ipsius experientia. Fui quodam die cirencestriæ (iam Anni sunt plus minus duo) ad mensam cum Magistro Archi[.]. Diacono ac Eius decanatus Ministris et contionatoribus. Intraverunt ad nos in illud conclave cœnobiale Musici quidam | Lyrici, Myntyi dicti quidem illi, spondentes nobis Musicæ nonnihil illorum harmoniæ, symphoniz, melodiz. Mox quidam è Ministris (quem eò nominandum censeo, ne cæteris ingenuis, liberis et inculpatis aspersionem alicuius mendæ maculæve, notamque vllam inferam) Alderus nomine, abeant, inquit, abeant; quid hîc agerent? sunt enim per Statutum vagabundi; atque inter plebem et populum multorum malorum caput et causa. Hi statim abituri, ne mutire quidem audentes, quantum ego tum auscultavi, à nemine revocantur. Tandem ego: Maucte, maucte, vos, boni viri; commoramini parumper, fortasse libenter audiemus. Ad criminantem me converto, aio; Quid quæso, abirent? Annon sponte veniunt, si non ab aliquibus accersiti? Annon amantes nos et venerantes accedunt? Annon in hoc, vt in alijs elucet Divina providentia? Annon æquè Musica, atque mensæ et convivia, nobis conceditur? (nisi fortè sumus illis similes, qui Mulierum interesse gratiarum-actioni post puerperium præ papistica superstitione, quam fingunt, pernegantes, epulis tamen et bellarijs comessationibus et epotationibus inter illas adsunt quàm lubentissime) Annon est Musica è Liberalibus scientijs vna? Grammatica loquitur, Dialectica vera docet, Rhetorica verba colorat, Musica canit, Arithmetica numerat, Geometria ponderat, Astronomia colit Astra. Annon, vt nos, sic illi lubenter, <sup>1</sup> vsum<sup>1</sup> fructum caperent, læticiam cum vtilitate meterent è sua scientiâ, facultate, professione? Eheu, quàm multos dies, noctes, septimanas, menses, annos, vt ne miseram totam vitam dicam, impendunt, impertiunt, consumunt ieiuni miseruli, vt peritiam aliquam cantandi, psallendi, chordas vel plectro percutiendi, vel digitis graciliter tangendi nanciscantur; quò nobis magis placeant, mirè delectent, exhilarent, gratulentur? Nos verò tali more, præfatis modis, contumælijs scilicet et convitijs eos recipimus, tractamus, gratificamur? Taceamus nos, et eos potiùs humaniter tractemus. Nunquid Davidem illum sanctissimum meminimus in psalmis et alias, quid pro psalmodiâ, symphonîâ, musica harmonia fusissimè dicat, et quàm planè plenèque describat? Illo tamen hoc temporis omisso, vt in hac causa cunctis notissimo; locum illum sacrarum litterarum de propheta Elisha commemoremus, in 2<sup>o</sup> libro regum Iudaicorum, capite

servi Domini  
Graij  
Domini  
S Chandos

Verso .15.

8/ cæteris for ceteris  
12/ abituri: r corrected from t

13/ Maucte for Macte  
33/ contumælijs for contumelijs

3°. Adducite, inquit, citharædum seu Musicum aliquem. Lyricus autem, seu Tibicen, dum psallit et cecinit, manus Dei fuit super Eum et prophetavit. Nunquid hîc videtis (*confratres mei Dilectissimi*) quòd Propheta sit musica Melodia magis ad prophetandum excitatus? Itidem et nos fortasse post Istorum musicam harmoniam magis apposite gratias agemus Deo Optimo Maximo propter hæc et innumera alia Eius in nos collata beneficia. Magister Archidiaconus Magister Suttonus, reliqui omnes, quantum, scio, suavissima concordia concedunt; accedunt Musici propiùs, psallunt, ludunt, cum Instrumentis sonant, boant, tinnunt; Nobis placent, et delectant. Ego, non dico, subtilis emungo, sed facilè collatam et contributam accipio vniuscuiusque ministri drachmam vice cuiusdam symboli; musicis recipio quosdam hinc conflatos solidos; ij placantur et grati discedunt. Quare mihi est opus alicui, nulla causa data, cur Regiam dicat Maiestatem agere summo iure, proinde iniuria; Qui si vulpis Aures cornua vocitet, aures pro cornibus sunt habendæ. Tantummodo vocat Aures Aures, cornua cornua, viros viros, Asinos Asinos; et pro libito habet et placitis Leges ipsas christianas et constitutor pias. Deo gratiæ. Vivat Rex æternum.

f 10 col 2 (*insertion*)

20

Remember at ye pulling down of 2. poles in Barkley so 1. in St. Nicolas parish in Gloucester. some say at ye Iudges commandment. at ye Instigation of ye Maior & prior that puritan Minister. & thomas cherics a precisian.

25

12/ symboli for symbole

18/ constitutor for constitutiones

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# Translations

## BISLEY

1610-11

*Gloucester Diocese Consistory Court Deposition Books* GRO: GDR 114  
ff [4-4v] (21 May)

On the aforesaid day upon the aforesaid articles  
Garret Band, tucker, of Bisley in the county of Gloucester where he  
has dwelt for the space of five years and more, born at Eastington in  
the aforesaid county, forty-four years of age or thereabouts, a witness,  
etc. To the said articles of the aforesaid articles he deposes and says  
(*English*). And he does not know how to depose otherwise to the said  
articles, as he says.†

On the aforesaid day upon the aforesaid articles /  
William Hopton, yeoman, of Berkeley in the county of Gloucester  
where he has dwelt for six weeks, and formerly (he used to dwell) at  
Bisley in the aforesaid county, thirty-two years of age or thereabouts,  
born at the same place, a witness, etc.  
To the said articles he deposes and says (*English*).

ff [8-8v]\* (31 May)

...

The office of the lord (bishop) promoted by Richard Hall against  
Christopher Windle.†

Upon the articles given on behalf of the promoter in this business. John  
Clissold, yeoman, of Bisley in the county of Gloucester where he has  
dwelt for the most part from his birth, born at the same place, fifty  
years of age or thereabouts, a witness, etc.

To the said articles he deposes and says (*English*).†

On the aforesaid day upon the aforesaid articles  
Christopher Bidmeade, yeoman, of Bisley in the county of Gloucester

where he has dwelt for four years past, born at Ellec(...) in the aforesaid county, sixty years of age or thereabouts, a witness, etc.  
To the said articles he deposes and says (*English*).

## CHELTENHAM

1611

*Manor and Hundred Court Book* GRO: D855/M8  
f 90v\*

(These sums) are established as is set out upon  
the depositions of the articles.†

Amercement of  
the players

Also they present upon their oaths as follows in these English words  
(*English*). Therefore he himself (is) in amercement, etc.

## GLOUCESTER

1283

*Account of Alms, Edward I* PRO: E 101/351/15  
mb 1\*

...

...7s 7d (were given) in the king's offerings at Winchcombe in the larger church by the hand of the said H. Likewise, 18d in alms of the king (were) given to eighteen sick (persons) from the hand of the king (who was) conferring his blessing in various places throughout the week. Likewise, 20s (were given) to the prior and convent of Newent for one pittance by the hand of the said H. from the alms of the king. Likewise, 26s 8d (were given) to the clerics playing the miracles of St Nicholas and to their (?boy-) bishop from the alms of the king. Likewise, 40s (were given) to the brothers of St John of Cricklade from the alms of the king by the hand of the said H.

Total: £16 15s 6d

Gloucester

On Sunday the fifth day of December on St Nicholas' Eve, 5s (were given) to feed forty poor (persons) in honour of the Holy Trinity from the set alms of the king by the hand of the said H. On the following Monday, the feast of St Nicholas, 6s 3d (were given) to feed fifty poor (persons) from the common alms of the king by the hand of the said H. On the same day, 12s 6d (were given) to feed one hundred poor (persons) in honour of St Nicholas from the alms of the king. On the

following Tuesday, 6s 3d (were given) to feed fifty poor (persons) in honour of St Thomas the martyr (ie, Thomas of Canterbury) from the customary alms of the king. 7s (were given) in the king's offerings at Gloucester on St Nicholas' Day aforesaid by the hand of the said H....

**I301**

*Statutes of St Peter's Abbey* Hereford Cathedral Library: No 1826  
single mb\* (10 October)

...

Ninth: Lest the treasury designated by the orders of the lord (archbishop) of Canterbury for the brothers' necessities be burdened improperly with other demands, it is ordered that the lord abbot shall levy only the ten marks which he has indeed levied from the treasury as the portion which the external priors pay for their brothers' clothing during their term; (this is) so that nothing of the aforesaid (sums?) be contributed to another (abbot) succeeding the same, but the said money shall be completely assigned to the treasurer to provide the brothers with clothing more adequately. Nor shall any abbot be permitted to maintain continuously other persons as harpers or minstrels as if (they were) of the household; however, the abbot shall have a squire (who is) discreet in judgement and circumspect, who may be able to be of service in the necessities of the monastery. And when he (the abbot) goes about the priories to exercise the duty of visitation, he should not stay (at those priories) unless he had been accustomed to stay (in them) of old on account of the statute of the said (archbishop) of Canterbury against spending the money and valuables derived from monastic revenues(?), whether (they are held) in a treasury, or a sacristy, or a priory.

...

**I393-4**

*Borough Bailiffs' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 3/2  
single mb\*

...

Also paid for various minstrels and grooms of the lord king

<...>

Also paid to minstrel/s of the lord duke of Gloucester

<...>

Also paid to minstrel/s of the earl of March for 3 <...>

<...>

Also paid to minstrel/s and a groom of the earl of W<....>

<...>

Also paid to the minstrel/s of Lord Dess<....>

<...>

## 1409-10

*Borough Bailiffs' Accounts* GRO: GBR F 3/4  
single mb\*

...	
(Also) paid to minstrels of the lord king this year	13<....>
Also on costs incurred with respect to minstrels of the lord prince and upon gifts to them	39(s) 7<.)
...	
Also on gifts and expenses incurred with respect to minstrel/s of Lord Codnor and of John Greynder	7s 5d
...	
Also paid to the minstrel/s of the lady Countess Stafford	<...>
...	
Also paid to the minstrel/s of Lord Berkeley	one-half mark
...	

## 1602-3

*Gloucester Diocese Consistory Court Deposition Books* GRO: GDR 89  
f [116v]\* (22 October)

Wayt and  
Howell  
against  
Wylmott

On the articles against Wylmott  
Thomas Hyll, yeoman, of the city of Gloucester where he has dwelt for the most part from his birth, born in the same place, thirty-five years of age or thereabouts, of a free status as he says, a witness, etc. To the first article he says that the same is true.  
To the fourth he deposes (*English*)  
and otherwise he does not know how to depose.

On the rest of the articles he was not examined.

...

f [117]\*

John Flemyng, barber, of the city of Gloucester where he has dwelt for the most part from his birth, born in the same place, thirty-six years of age and more, of a free status as he says, a witness, etc. To the first article he says that the same is true.  
To the second and third he does not know how to depose.  
To the fourth he deposes (*English*)  
and otherwise he does not know how to depose.

...

## HARESCOMBE

1611-12

*Gloucester Diocese Consistory Court Deposition Books* GRO: GDR 114  
f [87] (16 March)

The sixteenth day of March in the year of the Lord 1611

Katherine Haselton, the wife of  
William Haselton, against  
Dorothy Dorney, the wife of  
Richard Dorney, senior, in a  
case of defamation.

Upon the bill of complaint  
issued and exhibited on behalf of  
the said Katherine Haselton in  
this case.

Alice Arthure, spinster, of Haresfield in the county of Gloucester where she has dwelt for the space of two years (and) more past or thereabouts, born at Painswick in the aforesaid county, twenty-one years of age or thereabouts, produced, sworn, and examined as a witness.

...

To the second article of the aforesaid bill of complaint, she deposes and says (*English*)...

## HENBURY

1599

*Bristol Diocese Bishop's Cause Book* BRO: EP/J/1/11  
f 269v

...

Against Robert Stoakes of the  
parish of Henbury. He is  
named in the articles (*English*)

Likewise Stoakes appeared and  
^ 'confessed to the  
presentment', [denied that the  
presentment was the truth,  
whereupon the lord (bishop)]  
whereupon the lord (bishop)  
enjoined upon him the  
following penance, namely  
(*English*) and (enjoined  
him) to certify (the  
performance of the same).

...

## LITTLEDEAN

1601-2

*Gloucester Diocese Consistory Court Cause Book* GRO: GDR 90  
ff 178-8v\* (10 March)

William Hopkins (English)  
of the same  
[excommunicated]

Cited in church

He appeared and the lord enjoined him to confess his guilt in the customary clothes on the next Sunday and to certify (his compliance) on the next (court day).  
He complied.

Welthiana, 'harte alias' higeve 'widow' (English)  
of the same  
excommunicated:

Cited in church

She appeared and the lord enjoined her by the aforesaid detection to confess her guilt the next Sunday on bended knees etc, and to certify (her compliance) on the next (court day).  
excommunicated on the 24th of March 1601.

Blanche Jones and for the same (charge)  
Mary Jones of the same  
excommunicated:

Cited in church

Catherine Jones (their) mother appeared. She speaks (for them) and undertook (that penance would be performed).<sup>1</sup>

Littledean

Joanna Eston (English)  
of the same

Cited in church

(The lord) shall send out the excommunication.

...  
Joanna Turnor  
of the same

(English)

Cited in church

for the same (charge). She appeared and the lord enjoined her to confess her guilt. Afterwards he dismissed her with a warning, etc.

Mary Buffrey  
of the same

Margery Flewellin  
and her sister of the  
same

for the same (charge)

Cited in church

She has left the diocese of Gloucester

...

Andrew Philpott  
of the same

(English)

Cited in church

It is referred to the minister and churchwardens.

...

Percival &  
John Tilar  
of the same

(English)

Cited in church

He appeared and the lord enjoined him to confess his guilt the next Sunday and to certify (his compliance) on the next (court day).

He appeared and certified that he has complied.

Richard Harte  
of the same

for the same (charge)

Cited in church

His mother appeared.

...

Anna Lewis  
of the same

(English)

She appeared and the lord enjoined her to confess her guilt in the customary clothes, etc, and to certify (her compliance) on the next (court day).

She carried out (her) penance.

## TEWKESBURY

1600-1

*Gloucester Diocese Consistory Court Cause Book* GRO: GDR 90  
f 52 (12 June)

Tewkesbury

Robert Jeynes  
of the same

To respond to the articles, the said Jeynes  
appeared and he affirmed under oath  
(English)...

...

## TORTWORTH

1602-3

*Gloucester Diocese Consistory Court Deposition Books* GRO: GDR 89  
f [106]\* (13 October)

...

William Lawrence, husbandman, of Tortworth in the county of Gloucester where he has dwelt for twelve (years) or thereabouts, born in Chavenage within the parish of Horseley in the aforesaid county, thirty-two years of age or thereabouts, of a free status as he says, a witness, etc.

To the first (article), he says (*English*)....

To the third (article), he deposes (*English*)...and otherwise he does not know how to depose....

...

f [106v]\*

Giles Dawnte, gentleman, of the parish of Ozleworth in the county of Gloucester where he has dwelt for beyond twelve years past, forty-six years of age or thereabouts, produced and sworn as a witness, says and deposes as follows.

To the first (article), he believes that the same is true.

To the second he does not know how to depose.

To the third he says (*English*)....And otherwise he does not know how to depose.

...

## WESTON SUBEDGE

1574

*Gloucester Diocese Consistory Court Deposition Books* GRO: GDR 32  
p 178\* (7 July)

7<sup>th</sup> day of July 1574. It (? court session) resumes†

Personal responses of Michael Hyndemer, cleric, made to the things contained in some present articles issued at the voluntary promotion of John Castler, his parishioner, against him. They follow. (*English*)

...

## BEAUCHAMP

## 1420—I

*Household Account Book of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick*

Longleat House: Ms Misc. ix

f 30v\* (*External expenses to date*)

...

...And in expenses incurred for two of the lord of Wales' minstrels coming to Berkeley to speak with the lady and staying in the guest-house (?inn) of the same John Shephurde for six nights in the said month, 8d.

f 43 (*6 November*) (*Guests*)

...

At dinner

...Also one minstrel of Lady Stafford....

f 56 (*23 December*) (*Guests*)

At dinner

...Also three trumpeters of the lord. Also two harpers....

f 57\* (*24 December–6 January*) (*External expenses*)

...On various disguisings done on this feast 10d. And as a gift to a minstrel of Lord Clarence staying in the guest-house (?inn) for one day and one night on this feast, 6s 8d. And as a gift to six (persons) from Slimbridge playing before the lady on this feast by the lady's orders, 3s 4d. And as a gift to four (persons) from Wotton playing for the council (?) by the lady's order, 20d. And as a gift to two minstrels of Lady Abergavenny, staying in the guest-house (?inn), namely on the feast of Epiphany 6s 8d...

f 58v (*10 January*) (*Guests*)

...

At dinner

...Also two harpers from Wales....

...

f 68 (*12 February*) (*Guests*)

At dinner

...Also two minstrels of Lady Abergavenny....

## STAFFORD

1503-4

*Household Accounts of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham*

SRO: D 641/1/3/7a

unnumbered mb (31 March-30 March)

Rewards of external servants of the lord, of minstrels, of servants beyond wages, etc†

...And in similar rewards paid by the same order to various external minstrels and trumpeters as well as to the lord's minstrels at various times within the aforesaid period as is made clear in detail in the above-mentioned book of particulars £6 17s 4d...

...

1507-8

*Household Accounts of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham*

SRO: D (W) 1721/1/5

p 7 (15 November)

...

Present at dinner...two trumpeters...

...

p 42 (21 December)

...

(Present at) supper...two minstrels...

...

p 43 (22 December)

...

Present at dinner...two minstrels...

...

p 44 (23 December)

...

Present at dinner...six trumpeters, two minstrels...

(Present at) supper...And fifteen singers of the chapel...

...

p 45 (*24 December*)

...

Present at dinner...eighteen singers of the chapel, nine boys, six household singers, six trumpeters, the two minstrels...

...

p 46 (*25 December*)

...

Present at dinner...the two minstrels, six trumpeters, four players of the lord of Writtle...

...

p 53 (*2 January*)

...

Present at dinner...the two minstrels, six trumpeters, four players...

p 54 (*3 January*)

...

Present at dinner...the two minstrels, six trumpeters, four players...

p 55 (*4 January*)

...

Present at dinner...the two minstrels, six trumpeters, four players...  
(Present at) supper...the four waits of Bristol.

p 56\* (*5 January*)

...

Present at dinner...the two minstrels, six trumpeters, the four waits of Bristol, four players of Writtle...

p 58 (*6 January*)

...

Present at dinner...the two minstrels, the six trumpeters, the four waits of Bristol, four players of Writtle...

...

p 60 (*7 January*)

...

Present at dinner...the two minstrels, the six trumpeters, four players...

p 61 (8 January)

...

Present at dinner...the six trumpeters, the two minstrels...

p 75 (22 January)

...

Present at dinner...six trumpeters...

**1515-16***Household Accounts of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham*

PRO: E.101. 631/20

mb 20 (31 December)

## Gifts

...

To the lord king and various gentlemen, to servants of the lord duke, both of the household and external†

To the lord king &amp;.

To various servants of the household of the said lord duke to have as a gift of the duke himself, namely six ells of canvas for the making of the one pageant and (its) showing in the one interlude before the aforesaid lord duke on Christmas....

Canvas –  
six ells  
...

...

**1516-17***Household Accounts of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham*

SRO: D 641/1/3/9

unnumbered mb (31 March–30 March)

To the use  
of the petty  
wardrobe of  
the duke himself...ten dozen morris bells. six  
(and) three-quarter yards of  
black buckram and half a yard  
of red buckram for two tunics  
for the morris dance. And three  
yards of canvas for the lining of  
one of the said tunics....

...

Morris bells – ten dozen  
Black buckram – six (and)  
three-quarter yards  
Red Buckram – half a yard  
Canvas – three yards  
...

**1520-I***Household Accounts of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham*

PRO: E.36/220

p 12\* (1 January)

Deliveries & payments for the said month of January†  
(English)

## APPENDIX 1

## Thornbury

Dinner	Gentlemen	95	294
	Yeomen	107	
	Grooms	97	
Supper	Gentlemen	84	
	Yeomen	114	
	Grooms	92	

Present at dinner: the Lady Anne, herself (being) fourteenth(?); the abbot of Keynsham, himself (being) seventh(?); W. Walwyn, himself (being) third(?); I. Seyntgeorge, himself (being) second(?); Robert P'ticle, himself (being) second(?); the chancellor, himself (being) fifth(?); H. Blunt, himself being second(?); John Burrell, himself (being) second(?); the bailiff of Hatfield, himself (being) second(?); the bailiff of Oakham, himself (being) second(?); the bailiff of Navesby, himself (being) (...); the bailiff of Rowell, himself (being) second; Q(?) Barth(?) himself (being) second(?); two others, servants from Penshurst; Henry Dunston; two minstrels; six trumpeters; four players of the lord of Writtle; H. Boughey, himself (being) second(?); the receiver of Newport, himself (being) second(?); T. Morgan, himself (being) third(?); two others, servants of the lord of Newport with one attendant; eight serving the lord of Brecon with ten attendants of the lord; John Burton; eighteen clerks of the chapel and nine boys of the same chapel; three tailors (? or carvers); three furriers; one villein; two 'hardwaremen'; twenty-two from the town; thirty-two from the country; two cooks from Bristol; &c.

Supper as at dinner, except six.

Strangers at	Dinner	182
	Supper	176

13/ it is not clear what the expressions translated 'herself (being) fourteenth,' 'himself (being) seventh,' or 'fifth,' or 'third,' or 'second' mean. The only way these expressions make grammatical sense, however, is as ablatives of attendant circumstance, and the translation given is a literal one of that idiom. Perhaps it means that the Lady Anne, for instance, was fourteenth of her party, so that she was accompanied by thirteen servants.

Saturday the 25th of December. Expenses of the pantry: 491<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> loaves, 2 manchets of grain, price 13s 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d. From this: for breakfast, 15<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> loaves and one manchet, as on preceding days; and to the treasurer one loaf; to the abbot of Keynsham one loaf, one manchet; to the gentlemen of the chapel 8 loaves; to gentlemen strangers 12 loaves; in dishes(?) 294 loaves; to the tailor/s (? or carver/s) 34 loaves; to the regarder/s 70 (loaves); to the salter/s (? or tumbler/s) 6 loaves; to the kitchen for works (?cooking) 10 loaves; the chandler/s 5 loaves; the bearward 2 loaves; the almoner/s 2 loaves; for drinkings 15<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> loaves, that is, to strangers, for livery 15<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> loaves. Expenses of the cellar: 11 sesters and 3 quarts of Gascon wine, price 13s; 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> pitchers of Rhenish wine, price 15d, and half a pitcher of Malvoisie, price 6d. From this: for breakfast half a pitcher; in dishes(?) one sester, one pitcher of Gascon wine and one pitcher of Rhenish wine; for Waller the nurse half a pitcher; for the great chamber one sester; for the hall 4 sesters, 2 pitchers (delivered) by Arnold; for daily allowances half a pitcher of Gascon wine, one quart of Rhenish wine, and one quart of Malvoisie; for the kitchen for works (? cooking) 3 pitchers; at the door (?) 2 sesters, 3 pitchers; for livery 2 pitchers, one quart of Gascon wine, and one quart of Malvoisie. Expenses of the buttery in beer: 171 gallons, one quart, price 13s 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d. From this: for breakfast 17 gallons, 3 quarts; in dishes(?) 73<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> gallons; to the regarder/s 39 gallons; to the kitchen for works (? cooking) 5 gallons; for drinkings 6 gallons, 3 quarts; at the door(?) 20 gallons; for livery 9 gallons, one quart. Expenses of the kitchen from the lord's store: one carcass and 7 strips of beef, price 20s; 9 sheep's-milk cheeses, price 16s; 4 pigs, 8s; and 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> calves, price 4s. Expenses of the caterer: namely on 4 swans, price 12s; 4 geese 2s; 5 small pigs, 20d; 14 capons, 8s; 18 chickens, price 18d; 21 rabbits, 3s 6d; one peacock 2s; 3 mallards, 8d; 5 widgeon, 10d; 12 teal, 12d; 8 woodcock, 8d; 22 snipe(?), 12d; 12 large birds, 3d; 400 hen's eggs, 3s 4d; 20 dishes of butter, 20d; 10 gallons of milk, 10d; 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> gallons of 'quaiçe,' 6d; 2 gallons of frumenty, 4d; and on herbs, price 1d. Expenses of the chandlery: for Paris candles, 36 lb (of wax), price 2s 10d; 64 small candles, price 17d; 2 large square candles, price 2d; and 4 tapers, price 3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d. Expenses of the hall and chamber: for fuel, 6 cart-loads, 6s, and 6 quarters of charcoal, price 2s. The whole provision for the day.

5-6/ in dishes(?): *perhaps this expression means 'at dinner' since it is associated with three of the other standard daily meals: breakfast, drinkings, and livery; or perhaps '294 loaves as trenchers' is meant.*

## APPENDIX 3

The variously mixed Commentary, or copious Oration, of Christopher Windle upon this royal, exceptional, and very pleasant declaration.

O very dear reader – whether you be the king himself, (who is) most serene, most powerful, most learned, most pious, as well as most loving of his subjects, most well-disposed, most eager, indeed most celebrated himself, most loved – and why not? –, or (whether you be) a minister or layman of whatever order, sort, (or) station or (whether you be) one who is of the best natural character and condition, or one who ought to be in the best circumstances – a minister from Gloucestershire spoke to me as I was reading this royal, exceptional, and very pleasant declaration for the first time, and just as I was reading the first article, concerning honourable, liberal, permissible, and lawful sports and public amusements, jests, and pastimes, (which declaration has been) shown forth, proposed, (and) granted to his very fine people (and) to his most dear subjects. And he – how troubled he was and sobbing! – said that he was extremely afraid, frightened, (and) terrified on his own behalf lest this permission, freedom, (and) lenient grant might make, produce, (and) bring forth on every side much pain, condemnation, prejudice, and loss for many ministers of the church. I then answered him: Why so, pray tell? Have we not good enough judgement? Or have we poor judgement and so little knowledge that we do not know what is good and useful for us and for our people? Is there any danger to be feared or experienced, if we agree to the declaration? Or is there anything prejudicial in the declaration itself? Thereupon he (said): We are ordered to be mindful that we keep and observe the Sabbath in a holy way; we ought to keep holy not simply part, but all, of the Sabbath. But to play, jest, laugh, dance, (and) refresh the spirit by physical activity is to violate, pollute, profane, (and) contaminate the Sabbath, if even an iota of the twenty-four hours of that day were taken away from holiness and sanctity. I said: Were you then taught in such a way to impose the Jewish practice of Sabbath observance on us, or to place its condemnation upon fun and physical activities? Even if it were pleasant and permissible to imitate the Jews, it can and must be done in happy rejoicings, jubilations, round dances, ritual dances, (and) set dances rather than in precise and restricted observance of times, days, places, ceremonies, (and) circumstances. I would go so far as to say that, with respect to days and times, no day or time whatever has been more befitting or appropriate for round dances, dances, physical actions, jests, (and) liberal ways of rejoicing

than Sabbaths, Sundays, holidays, feast days, and Lord's Days. Indeed, Sabbaths and solemn feasts have been so appropriate to such things that they could neither be observed and spent properly without these (activities), nor should any such days ever be spent wholly without these observances. Most dear brothers, I resolve to bring this (fact) to the light, to make it plain, clear, and obvious. And I am at once turning my attention to it, and undertaking that there might be no such fear, fright, (or) terror, but rather that all danger (and) all prejudice may be wiped out (and) each one of you may be freed altogether from harm, discomfort, and distress.<sup>1</sup>

To begin with, I should seek not the beginning, for the sake of a bad syllogism, but the principal and especial cause both of our being created and of our being restored. You will reply no doubt that the glory of God is the ultimate end and final cause of creation or redemption or of anything else. But how and in what matters is the glory of God unfolded, illustrated, forced to appear? Have you faith? says the Apostle. Have it within yourself before God, as if to say, men cannot see faith with the eyes of the body. As Cicero says about wisdom, (borrowing) from Plato: if this (wisdom) were discerned by the eyes, it would arouse a wonderful love of itself. So too St James: Show me your faith from your works and I shall show you my faith by my works. Therefore God is manifested among men (and) the glory of God gleams, shines, (and) stands out when we declare externally the pious aspect of the inner man, the innate genius of the mind, the true faith of the inmost heart, (and) the sincere will by honourable, honest, (and) holy actions. But surely ritual dances, round dances, set dances, (and) nimble and versatile physical actions are not such works, such external actions, I seem to hear you say! Why should they not be a great and good part of those (works), I ask? For we always rejoice in (our) bodies and there is always something to be done by them. And we often do many things which are less useful and more servile than those (actions), and we do such things without correction or reservation. Nevertheless, nothing should be done apart from faith; nothing useless (or) servile should be preferred to what is useful and free.

There is no need to prove that we have bodies, as (there is no need to prove) that there is always something for them to do and that they are always in action, even when we sleep. But as for (the idea that) the less the usefulness, the more perhaps the baseness: what, I ask, is more base than to cook meals, and prepare them to be eaten by others; to treat the sick; to urinate; to muck out (stalls); to pull oxen, sheep, or asses from wells? What more useless, leaving baseness aside, than to sacrifice (and) to circumcise, to kill cattle and to cut the foreskin? All these things were done on holidays. But even if you insist, urge,

Rom. 14.22

James 2.18

Phil. 4.8

Rom. 14.23

Jo. 5.6-10  
Luke 14.3,  
4,5

Jo. 7.22

Rom. 12. 1. 2

Luke 15. 23  
25. 31

(and) contend that the benefit of the former (and) the holiness of the latter are not slight, then how much more useful (it is) by means of the aforesaid exercises to cook meals together; to digest them healthily; to cure, or rather to prevent sickness; to acquire (both) health untroubled by disease (and) safety free from foes; to enter into, promote, (and) strengthen friendships? (How much) more holy to sacrifice oneself; to circumcise one's own heart; to praise God; to rejoice in God; to leap, dance, (and) exult before God from an excess of joy? But, you (reply), as if these (exercises) are of that kind! Lustful youths leading round dances with unrestrained girls, just like he-goats mounting wanton she-goats, thereby exceed those (ways of rejoicing which are) circumcised, holy, and as it were self-sacrificed. As if truly, and I also say it, either the most serene king, the most constant defender of the faith, the most powerful, pious, (and) truthful professor and champion of the gospel of Jesus Christ and of true religion, or anyone else of any importance as pertains to the commonwealth of the church and the salvation of souls, either demands or permits, let alone prescribes or does more than tolerate, any round dances, actions, dances, or gymnastics other than those which become Christian youth (and) represent and show their joy, happiness, (and) exultation in the Lord (and) their great and singular gratitude toward God, their creator, redeemer, and preserver!

For these examples, together with the remaining testimonies of Scripture and the custom of the church, teach and prove and infallibly confirm that gymnastics of this kind (and) such exercises can even show forth the sign and practice of exceptional piety amongst the people of God. And in the first instance, given that even in paradise and at the beginning of the universe – and that state was most perfect – together with that rest from and stopping of work, the eating of the tree of life and the opportunity of eating it as it were a sacrament of the covenant of works is given or rather enjoined, what else can this suggest to us other than that nowadays under the covenant of grace we must take care for life in the mysteries of Christ, while we indeed eat his flesh and drink and swallow his blood? But, you say, that eating and drinking is spiritual: what (has) this (to do) with ritual dances, jests, and such mimings? But is the flesh of Christ something spiritual? Was not Christ a true man? Did he not rejoice in flesh and blood? Is it not a twofold kind of eating, leaving those fantastic and imaginary (sorts) aside; (one which is) Capernaïtic, popish or papistic, or (one) which is different? Do we not rejoice in minds as well as bodies, (having) flesh together with spirit so long as we have human nature and substance? Does not the body eat sacramentally as the soul eats spiritually? Does not Cyprian say – and others – that the most certain

argument possible that the bodies of the faithful will ascend with (their) souls into heaven just as they will rise (with them) from the earth is that our bodies receive the sacrament of Christ's body, just as our souls receive its grace, each (receiving) the body and blood of Christ in its own way? (The result of all this is) that these things may be best understood mystically, typologically, metaphysically, and spiritually.

Was not Christ, I say, true man? Do we not eat, drink, and, having been re-created in him, become united to the same Christ who was conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, crucified, dead, and buried, and so on? Certainly there is no other true Christ, the true son of God and man, no matter how we perceive him. Do we not now do, perform, and complete the obligations which it rather behoves us to exceed by harping (*or* chanting), singing, rejoicing, exulting? But you (respond): Not, in any case, by leaping, dancing, gesturing/miming; playing, laughing, leading round dances, and jesting. And I (rejoin): Therefore by neither eating too much nor drinking a lot. For, as the Apostle says, have you not homes in which you may eat and drink that you thus hold the church in contempt? In the same way, the other actions and deeds must be performed, carried out, and completed in other suitable places. Moreover, these things are not to be omitted or neglected, as necessary to both lives, both spiritual and natural, of the body as well as of the soul, but must be introduced, offered, and presented in appropriate places at suitable times.

Nor ought penance to be imposed upon us because of the fall of (our) first parents only by means of this interpretation which requires that there always be sorrow, sadness, contrition, harshness, (and) bitterness under the name, that is, of pious groaning, mourning, lamentation, (and) wailing. At the same time, rejoicing, zeal, cheerfulness, happiness, (and) delight are required. Days also have been designated and assigned for rejoicing, amusement(s), and delights. For never has such a great cause for enjoying, rejoicing, jesting, laughing, dancing, (and) exulting been given and granted, not even to Adam in his most perfect state of innocence and exceptional integrity, nor yet to Abraham rejoicing in himself because of his works, such as (has been given) to us in the second Adam, Christ, the blessed seed promised in Abraham, just as it was foreshadowed, foreshown, and foretold that this son would be called Isaac. This (name) 'Isaac' means 'Laughter,' which applies (both) to the meaning of the word and the reason for the name, both because his parents both laughed when he was promised and because he provided the supreme occasion (and) greatest cause for laughter (*ie*, for joy). He is translated, by rendering (? his name), into laughter: in the Canaanite language, (Isaac) foretells, denotes, and attests laughter. Is there anything else which can be so

I Cor. 11.22

Rom. 4.12

Gen. 17.17  
and 18.12-13  
Ps. 65.14,  
126.2

expressed with joy, burst forth (so) with happiness, pour forth (so) in laughter, (so) swell the heart and cheer the mind, other than the grace of God, of divine favour, and of a covenant in Christ for salvation and life eternal, that is, for the remission of sins (and) the eternal heavenly inheritance and favour? Or is this ineffable, inestimable, (and) incomprehensible benefit not at all worthy of our happiness and rejoicing?

Ps 103

But let us examine further what the Israelites once did, what faithful Christians (did) in the beginning and still (do) to this day, what has always been strictly required of the people of God, (and) what is now consistently required of us. Jubal may be the father and author of all those who play harps, stringed instruments, trumpets, reed-pipes, lyres, drums, and other similar devices and instruments, but Moses and Miriam put (them) to use (and) profited (by them): they learned what they (ie, the instruments) can (do) by a pious, licit, (and) holy use. For with these (instruments) they together praised God the best and greatest for outstanding victory over (their) enemies, that is, the Egyptian people and their evil king. I know and remember that (matters) turned out very differently at other times. In the thirty-second chapter, verses 6 to 19, for example, he describes their (the Israelites') idolatry, mentioning at the same time eating, | drinking, singing, (and) dancing. Nor have I forgotten what is in the New Testament on the same point, in the first letter to the Corinthians, the tenth chapter, verse seven, as if eating, drinking, round dancing, and set dances were either idolatry itself or a part of it, when nonetheless these actions, public amusements, and gymnastics are not simply being hated, treated as faults, or imputed as blame or crimes but by reason of bad usage (and) wrong application, with respect to that idolatry, just as is seen in the previous chapter of Exodus, verse nineteen, whose words are: When Moses first approached the host, he saw the calf and the dancing. Therefore the calf and the adoration of the calf were the reason why Moses was so angry and rebuked Aaron. And afterwards he found that golden calf, put (it) in the fire, burned (it) up, reduced (it) to ashes, turned (it) into dust as if (it had been) milled, strewed (it) upon the waters, (and) forced the Israelites to drink that water. (There is) not even one further word about the dancing.

Exodus  
15.1-20

Moreover, I see in that Pentateuch not only the Sabbath established for observance but also many other feasts and festivals, for instance, (the feast) of the Passover and the unleavened bread, Pentecost or (the feast) of Weeks, (the feast) of Tabernacles, and many others. But how are they feasts, in what way festivals? (Is it) by any other reason, means, or way than by resting from servile works to spend, devote, (and) pass all those days, Sabbaths as well as feasts and festivals, in

Exod.  
35:3

pious, holy, honest, honourable, festive, worthy, and even divine activities and exercises? But it is not even permitted to light a fire on the Sabbath. Why would they not be allowed to warm themselves as was fitting and necessary by other licit means? Why is it that Deuteronomy 16 orders them to be happy on these feasts, to rejoice, and exult not once, but often? And in what way (and) how will they rejoice, be happy, (and) be cheered? For even if you should concede that ecclesiastic performance, allowing the exception of psalms, hymns, (and) praises in the temple, what (has) that which is fitting and appropriate to them (ie, to the psalms, etc?) (to do) with the mob and the common people acting apart among themselves? Did not the psalmist himself teach in the psalms what is suitable in this circumstance? (Did he) not (teach) it to each and every one as often as possible, according to canons (which had been) already laid down by him beforehand? At the time when the most holy David the psalmist himself composed (the psalms), he put into use or practice what he imposed upon some or composed for others or demonstrated to have been permitted in 1 Chron. 15 and 25 and 29; Pss. 28:8; 31:1,2,3; 68:25; 57:7; 108:1,2; 95; 98; 100, 107; 149; and 150. Perhaps someone will object from the prophets, as from Isa. 24:8-11 (or) Amos 6:4,5,6, that all exercises, gymnastics, (and) jests of this kind are blameworthy and greatly to be condemned. But is it not readily apparent that it is not a right use but a most depraved abuse (which is) treated as a fault, condemned, (and) abhorred? The same thing ought to be observed of Judges 21:21,22,23; (and) Matt. 14:6, and many other similar passages.

The text of Matt. 9:23, (in which) Christ threw out the pipers along with the players of stringed instruments and the singing, shouting, noisy crowd, forcing (them) to leave the house of the dead (child), is so far from being or acting against us in this matter, that almost nothing can be said more apt or fitting (ie, to our case). Rejoicing, amusements, and music belong not only to weddings, but also to burials and funerals. What (is) the cause of this fact, pray tell; what (is its) meaning? Undoubtedly to represent, assert, affirm, confirm, and establish celestial joys, heavenly happiness, (and) the exultation of the saints in heaven. The things which are described and declared in the Apocalypse of St John in chapters 5, 14, and 15, etc, about the harps of God (and) the most outstanding, very remarkable, (and) most excellent instruments of heaven; similarly, what is in 1 Cor. 13:1 and 14:7, 8; Eph. 5:19; Col. 3:16; and Phil 4:4 according to St Paul; (and) especially the description of the lord Christ according to Luke the evangelist in chapter 15, verses 23, 25, (and) 31, also (chapter) 17, (all) point to the conclusion that those are rightly said to mourn (and) fast for the lack and

Matt.  
9:15

absence of the Bridegroom who are not willing to rejoice in (his) presence and refuse to be happy in the joyful countenance of the present Bridegroom. Thus that which is said among our countrymen: Bread and butter is the finest food possible. Moreover, may there be (such) sorrow for (them as they) love, desire, (and) await him (the Bridegroom) as is natural for those who, deceitful as well as sorrowful, are themselves without reason and defraud and deceive themselves as they deserve!

But Alcithoe daughter of Minyas did not think the secret rites should be attributed to God, on the grounds that (the rites) which were owed only to God the best and greatest were being offered by the bacchantes to heathen Bacchus, while they (the bacchantes) cried out through the breezes and the air: Io! Comrades, let us worship Iacchus! According to Hosea, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, and others, one sees that the idolatrous Israelites (did) not (behave) any differently than to act and bear themselves impiously; nevertheless, (one sees) that to confer piously upon the Lord what they (formerly) offered wrongfully to their idols and to profane and impious elders/ancestors would never offend the Lord, never be regarded as a fault.

Hos. 2  
Hab. 1  
Zeph. 1  
Ezek. 16, 15,  
17, 19

a. By the king

Now our king and shepherd, (our) Agamemnon, or rather our Davidic Solomon, decides and recommends through lawful priests and Christian seers that Christian youth must make offerings to the divine majesty and godhead both in spirit and body<sup>a</sup>. Behold accordingly how great a reason the king has, as it were (that) of the present bridegroom, the Lord Jesus Christ, present always in his word, in the gospels, in (his) ministers, (and) in his people by the Holy Spirit until the end of the world, (as is written in) Matt. 28.20. How each one of them – or indeed all of them – who from too great a pretext of sincere zeal or most pure holiness cannot bear, allow, (or) endure any bodily exercise on the Sabbath, especially that which savours of and displays refreshment and liveliness, is far less able to brook, permit, patiently bear, (and) most especially approve (of this)! But I am gathering together from these points the most complete argument for and surest demonstration of the sensible royal knowledge and the certain understanding of the true nature, plan, inner sense, (and) meaning of Christ himself and his gospel.

I am also gathering the similar and like indication and meaning of his (the king's) most sweet love, dearest favour, (and) royal, fatherly, and most dutiful care toward his most beloved subjects, his most loving, desirous, (and) eager people, as (they are) also most faithful, most constant, (and) most upright. † Indeed, he names them, not once or twice but very often, his people, his best people, in these few pages,

(calling them) Our people, Our good people more than ten times, (in such a way) that even a tenfold repetition is always acceptable. It is not within (my) capacity, (it is) not easy (for me) to reveal whether the fact that the royal majesty allows recreations of this kind, or that (the royal majesty) fashions the same (recreations) with his own as it were proper hands, testifies to a greater goodwill and kindness. Nor is it less difficult to show, describe, (and) make known how great, how equal the love; and the goodwill equal to it; the fatherly care; the episcopal, or rather the apostolic watchfulness (with which) he bears, has, (and) embraces both parts of this island and most famous clime, both north and south, and each and every county and praiseworthy city and community. On account of this I have joined to this treatise my thanksgiving for his royal majesty's most gracious and hoped-for return from the northern regions. I could not fail to add this, although rude and unskilful, to the famous exercises and holy altar of my Oxford (confrères), out of (my) unrestrained affection and no less benevolent mind.

b. Rebuking  
some puritans  
and precisians

b. Now I ask you, brethren, especially if some among you are puritans, why the precisians need allege purity, piety, (and) holiness in external matters. Is not God a spirit? Is he not to be venerated, adored, (and) worshipped in spirit and in truth? You can be precisians in conscience, (claiming) that nothing is known by words, but by deeds. (But) external and physical (acts), in the same way as they profit little, advance little (and) conduce practically in no way to piety: thus they are not placed, not located in your power. Wherefore you are contending about trifles, the ghost of an ass, things of no value, and you declare yourselves to be stupid about things (which are) irrelevant and profitless. Therefore you are held (to be) presumptuous, arrogant, insolent, (and) useless busybodies; contentious puritans.

(That) name (is) odious, and (has been) more or less abominated for some time now. For it was a foretelling of you or an omen of you (or) rather of your blame, your crime. For how may they be called, in what name ought or can they rejoice, according to the Aristotelian passage on etymologically related names, who arrogate purity to themselves, (and) wish themselves to be seen and held (as) pure except (by the name) of pure ones or of puritans? But you are not pure. Therefore, not (the name) of pure ones. But rather (that of) impure ones by (your) deeds, pretending and dissimulating especially purity, piety, (and) holiness to the point of nausea, as we have said before. Therefore, (you are called) puritans. Nevertheless, dearest brethren, it is neither here nor there to me if there are men otherwise truly pious and practised who, nonetheless, too rich in their own judgement – to use the words

of Jerome – (and) (having) opinions too narrowly preconceived, adhere to prejudiced and harsh likes and dislikes, considerations, and opinions in matters (which are) either indifferent or trivial or at least placed outside ordinary choice. | Such the most serene king himself has not failed to declare his opinion to be in his own truly golden work called the *Basilikon Dōron*. Therefore, do not treat it as a fault that you are referred to in this way, unless you blame yourselves for behaving in that way.

You don't remember the philosopher (?Aristotle) who said as a demonstration (of his point): 'Behold strong thieves leading weak thieves to the gallows, driving those (who) should be hanged to the gibbet!' do you? Don't you accuse the little ones at the same time as you offend in great things, and are guilty even of *lèse-majesté*; do you not accuse (them) grievously (and) accuse them as of the worst offences? c. But this is less remarkable since even the king himself, although he (is) most innocent, pious, (and) benevolent, cannot escape your bitter charges, harsh aspersions, and sharp accusations. For whom do you not dare to try, annoy, bother, scorn, hurt, injure, (and) slay, you who have begun, started, (and) commenced to hurt; molest; scorn; drag through the air, the ears, and the mouths of men; whisper against (and) blaspheme most boldly the king himself, so evangelical, orthodox, angelic, and holy? It concerns his serene majesty to vindicate his name and Christian, glorious, and heavenly authority from the sprinkling of your filthy charges, to lay claim to his imperial right, supreme authority, (and) deserved honour: why then does he not put upon you, impose, and inflict the foul brands of (your) faults and crimes, of your defects and offences, especially the assembled stains of your very petulant and pestilent tirades, which you have deserved (and) which you summon up and bring upon yourselves? So help me God, the royal mercy does not deal with you according to your deserts!

I cannot get out of my mind or keep from telling a fable from Æsop (which is) both moral and memorable (and) (which) comes to mind, how once the frogs asked Jupiter to grant and give them a king. Jupiter agreed and gave them a huge log for a king. When it fell there was an earthquake. The frogs (were) so terrified by the sight that they hid for several days; after a space of time, leaving their hiding-places, they approached the king. They saw it quiet, peaceful, subdued, sedate, (and) not moving; they climbed across (it), leaped across (it), leaped on it, (and) leaped back; they spurned (it), held (it) in contempt, despised it, rejected it. They approached Jupiter again; they condemned it for torpor, sloth, laziness, (and) lassitude; they sought another. Jupiter

Aspersions  
c. Misinterpretation of our meaning

heard them again and gave them a stork as a king. This (stork) snatched up and devoured immediately any frog it saw. Thereupon all the frogs complained again that they were being most cruelly slaughtered, tormented, (and) eaten by the stork. But in vain and to no avail. Would that they had been content and pleased | with the former (king), so safe and free from all harshness. You see foreshadowed in this model what it would be to refuse, deny, object to, (and) reject a peaceful, kind, very gentle, (and) Christian king.

Hear now another true and recent story. When I had written these things, and at the same point of time as I had ornamented (them) (? rhetorically), a summer pole was put up in the adjacent garden or farm of this very prison, Gloucester Castle, where the inmates are accustomed to walk, talk, and refresh themselves somewhat in turn. Many carp at this happening, that fun is there, is happening in that place where there are so many examples and signs of tears and laments rather than of plays and music.

But pay attention also to what I am going to say. If by means of the king's edict, a strict rule, (and) a mind aware of (what is) good, mere prisoners are able to rejoice, make music, (and) dance in prisons and jails, in workhouses, and in confinement, what could they not (do), what should they not dare who live freely and voluntarily in unrestricted cities? Moreover I am also aware that even in their dark holes many drink and make love and fight when they are kept from, forbidden, or deprived of these exercises whether by accident or design. Take this other similar (example). In the aforesaid city of Gloucester, while I was spending (my) aforesaid time in the castle, just as happens in other similar (situations), a murderer approached the wife of (his) neighbour, many, many times. He asked, sought, and was seen to insist on having an affair with her; while he was threatening to touch her, (her) husband suddenly arrived who, seeing what sort of thing (was happening), yelled: Hold! hold! These words, having been heard by others, are now repeated daily by everyone as a parable or proverb. But when some (summer) poles and pyramids had been put up, a good many snarled and muttered, although (it is) by reason of these (poles) (that) young people are wooed away from carnal inducements, spells, brothels, drinking matches, drunkenness, (and) whoring.

Therefore I pray you, as those who escape safely and freely by the king's most ineffable mercy, permit, if it be allowed, fair, right, and just to ask, seek, obtain, and get this of you: permit, I say, and endure quietly, sedately, and modestly that the royal will and plan might explain, set out, and explicate his own exceptional intentions for the sake of avoiding (your own) false and depraved exposition. I take it ill, as

d. county of  
Lancashire

indeed I should, that Lancashire abounded in recusant papists, and I grieve greatly, both (because) the king himself is wonderfully grieved by the same fact, and (because) when I (was) a ten-year-old boy I went to school in that county for at least three years and studied grammar. (I) take it well, as indeed (I) should for the aforesaid reasons that (now) the magnates (?magistrates) may inform (his) royal majesty that the people are reformed, that (their) customs are amended and conform; it fills me with great pleasure, it affects me with great joy. d. But indeed however Lancashire abounded with Catholic | papists, we have it as certain, proved, and established that the entire world of the royal dominion and the royal universe overflows abundantly with puritans. There are no creatures worse, more depraved, pestilent, (and) dangerous than these schismatics: although worshippers desirous of a sincere piety (and) greedy for true purity ought not to be burdened with this name (of puritans), as ones who should be held and called only Christians, having nevertheless rejected all artful, shrewd, (and) destructive flattery.

e. Barred from  
all recreations

These men ought to be grieved over, nay, rather, to be destroyed; certainly one must beware of them. They usurp power, authority, dominion, (and) rule over those matters in which freedom has been completely restricted and from which it (has been) removed to another field. They have mastery and keep and exercise rule, and peremptorily attack the consciences of others. They either legislate religion and the worship of God in these activities in which either there is no religion or, if (there is) any, it concerns the right use of those things and not their neglect; or they devote (themselves) to a Jewish way of keeping the Sabbath, that is, their very own (way), as if the day could be spent or its ritual and worship observed in no other way than (that which) they prescribe and profess.

f. produce  
two evils.

f. They do not observe, with the very wise (and) holy king, how many inconveniences and ill effects follow and grow up from their law and practice. They do not see, they do not care, how great an obstacle they present to those converting from the popish sect and Catholic superstition, or even to weak Protestants with whom popish priests deal, when those histrionic rogues can offer as an objection there that our religion admits no happiness, no rejoicing, wherefore it is not tried, true, sure, pious, (or) partaking of patience. g. They do not think, do not consider, do not realize how great a prejudice and harm to military science the interdiction of these gymnastics is, while (thereby) youths introduced onto the stage, into the arena, or as it were the camp, very appropriately, in view of the very great neglect of battle-related affairs, climb up, descend, gaze at one another's faces

g. more able  
for war

and expressions in turn, (and) become agile, warlike, and very strong soldiers. The Israelites, you know – to say nothing of the Spartans and others of this sort – used to drill their youth in warlike business, in exercises belonging to war, strategy, and battles. Perhaps the Christian religion does not desire or demand warlike gear so relentlessly. It rather tolerates and demands softer and gentler exercises. But if there is need and necessity the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ does not forbid battles to be fought, either entirely or on the Sabbath, against his common enemies, savage, barbarous, terrible, (and) cruelly attacking foes. This can be proved by many passages of Holy Writ, which this is not the place to enumerate | nor (is there) any need to explain (them). Nor is this statement denied by any, except the anabaptists, the most foul beings of this age. Many have made a sufficient answer and more to them on this point: it needs no defense from me.

h. Moreover, when youths are forbidden these more humane exercises and liberal and ingenious amusements of which we have often made mention – Good God! What a great frequenting of taverns ensues! How much gulping at alehouses! How many and how disgusting the feasts, drinkings, and drunkenness (and) quaffings! How inept, absurd, (and) obscene the discussions, conversations, insults, imprecations, quarrels, disagreements, discords, brawls, fights, (and) contentions! And along with (all) this, how many foul fornications! How many base rapes, execrable adulteries, horrible incests, abominable whorings! (I am) ashamed to name what they do in darkness, but they are not ashamed to perpetrate in daylight, do, (or) commit openly things which are not even named by obscene and idolatrous heathens. This is completely clear, certain, and plain to all from the multitude of bastards springing forth everywhere. But the precisians seem to hold and actually do hold these people unimportant. They only judge notorious sinners of this kind to be reprobates, then abandon them in error (and) in danger! Is this not known to the royal majesty, and known very accurately? Shall we pass over this as unknown, as if (we were) ignorant? (No; for) surely we are very faithful subjects, sedulous servants, very dear and useful friends of the state and the church or I am much mistaken.

j. But I seem to hear some saying – although (they are) speaking foolishly – people can refresh themselves on the other days of the week, play, joke, (and) practise deeds, gestures, (and) playful activities of these kinds so that they do not interfere with, intrude, obtrude, (or) impose upon Lord's Days. As if the other days of the week, the same (days) set aside for work and labour, were more suitable, apposite, and apt for such humane and mild sports and recreations than holidays free

h. filthy  
tipplings

Eph. 5.3–12  
1 Cor. 5.1  
Ps. 16.4

j. If not upon  
Sunday, and  
holy days.

of, immune from, and quit of other business both servile and necessary. Is it not very laughable and immensely absurd for peasants to run from their farming, or diggers from their ditches, or cooks from their kitchens, or cobblers from their benches, or tailors from their seats, or herdsmen from their folds, or goatherds from their goats and kids, or cowherds from their stalls, [or butchers from their markets], or millers from their mills, or weavers from their shops, or even maid-servants from their wool and loom, (and) milkmaids from their milking, cheese-pressing, and churning, into the streets; (and) to dance and exult in torn cloth, dirty clothing, (and) disfigured bodies; to leap about, run wild almost, if not to go mad and pillage? Just as I in Deuteronomy 5, verses 14 and 15, servants are not only allowed, but even required, enjoined, and ordered to rest from their labours, refreshing themselves with amusements, when the Israelites are mindful that they themselves had been slaves and chattels in Egypt, so now in these days youths ought to be taught in Sunday sermons by what reason (and) in what ways to behave in exercises and within what limits to relax, jest, and play. What these people of whom we are speaking used to do everywhere, removing, driving away, and taking away external and (morally) indifferent activities created, established, and ordained by God himself the best and greatest, instead of (developing) a doctrine of the right practice of those very activities, ought not to be done. I wonder myself what answer they can give, what excuse they can make to the Lord in the future, for (their) contempt of his ordinance, (their) disparagement of his kindness in these pleasures and recreations.

For what else are they doing except teaching God himself what days are quit of games, what days are especially suited to labour and other employments, when they ought to work together, (and) when they ought to refresh themselves? Does anyone not know, is anyone ignorant either that music is one of the liberal arts, part of a liberal education, or that it is to no purpose and of no value without practice, playing, round dances, applause, rejoicing, happiness, (and) delight?

K. When they, as if they were ignorant of these things, instruct no one in them (and) wish no one to understand them, they are worthy of (being) and deserve to be chastised, corrected, (and) strengthened anew in these matters as in the rest of their enormous, odious, (and) most absurd errors by the lord bishops and very honourable magistrates. But indeed it seems to me that the justices, judges, and even some bishops have no small cause to fear that they might not act fairly in their corrections and reformations. For unless they were to keep in mind (what) we have said about the true nature of the puritans) for

Exodus 12.26  
Joshua 4.6

Our Judges &  
Justices –  
Bishop of  
the Diocese

A pole (was)  
cast down in  
St Nicholas'  
parish,  
Gloucester, on

July 10, 1618;  
similarly in  
a second case,  
a little before  
at Berkeley.

their own good, they would certainly be persuaded by those who are usually and properly called puritans that such folk are extremely pious, pure, (and) holy in all things. How (then) could they possibly carry out assiduously for the king business as great as the size of (their) district is vast? We know that their (ie, the puritans') bragging (and) showing off can through gifts and presents advance them with the powerful in their pleading. Then those (who are) obedient (magistrates), whether presiding themselves or presenting (the puritans) as disobedient or refractory, are neglected, not supported, not even corroborated: indeed it goes well with them if they are not charged, examined, (and) rejected; and that with most contemptuous expressions (*English*) etc. Thus these good officers towards ordained and obedient ministers concerning or on behalf of those inflexible and disorderly (puritans)!

But I hope on this point that by God's grace (and) the outstanding care of the royal majesty all this will be amended in future (and) be better. But let them (ie, the loyal and obedient bishops and judges) grant me these points because it is a matter of concern to me because of my own experience. | Or if they should not wish to make allowances and this proposal does not please (them), then let them hazard further danger if it pleases (them) and let them find out by experience what is true in this respect (ie, with respect to puritans' court appearances). For their (ie, the puritans' and their fellow-travellers') treatment thoroughly ruined me in this respect and in this way: it is neither necessary or possible for them to do worse or harm (me) more.

But why do I not rather turn my discourse to summer poles and May pyramids, inveighing and clamouring against things which would not be free to answer, as if they were dumb, mute, dead idols? Even if they answer nothing, they are still charged with being diabolic idols; all those May games, Whitsun ales, morris dances, various ritual dances, many jests, the all but infinite varieties of games are likewise charged with being forms of devil worship. But I answer that that is not, need not be, cannot be, the situation if, as is piously requested, (young people) are taught that (these games) should happen (only) in proper and suitable places, at proper and suitable times, (and) without either hindrance or neglect of divine worship.

In fact, they do dance round dances around the poles. The people standing about and the crowd (which has) collected from every side cast their eyes upon the pole; upon the lyrists, pipers, harpists; upon the musical instruments; upon the dancers, their fellow players, their fellow wrestlers; upon all the fun and jests. So also those who come to the sanctuary, frequent the church, and often attend sacred

assemblies cast their eyes upon, look about at, gaze at the pulpits, the Bibles, the preachers; they are awed and wonder at their sermons and their chanting, customs, positions, and gestures. These things can and should be wholesome and be made morally right in conformity with doctrine; in this way they can and should be reformed.

Nay, rather, if it is not possible to achieve what is morally right and perfect by diligently teaching what things are necessary for right use, then things (which are) right and suitable will surely be irrecoverably ruined gradually together with things (which are) imperfect, unnecessary, and intolerable – if there are any of that sort – without censure, (without) their opposition, and (without) a choice. I recall what the learned Ascham relates, that the lady Jane was so forcefully urged (and) controlled by her mother, (so) compelled to dance strictly and with equal steps in ritual dances, to observe each measure in every round dance, to observe such countless steps and gesticulations, that she regarded all dancing with loathing and preferred to turn her attention to and undertake to learn languages, both Greek and Latin, to ponder, read, read thoroughly, reread, waste time over, slog through, (and) pick apart the very learned ancient authors. Therefore the right use of games ought to be taught and instilled (in people) rather than inveighing against abuses and the games themselves, because they will either reform themselves in that way and be restored to a right use (of games) or else they will reject all use (of games) automatically and completely for fear of the danger and scandal of abuses.

Let anyone who wants relaxation or sleep during an illness but cannot sleep for the many recurring fantasies and the subjects, some worse, some better, (which) whirl round, fly about, (and) trouble his mind pray earnestly (and) pour forth prayers to God; soon drowsiness will creep in and he will sleep sweetly, drowse deeply. Perhaps you will say: The devil, who would not wish human beings to pray, to pour forth pious prayers, to behave in any way holy, does that. As if it were a great object of thought or concern to some who the originator of these notions may be, so long as they pretend (it is) God and have their own ways, wills, (and) plans allowed them and rejoice as they please.

'Trust in Bert, he's an expert,' as the saying goes. For I have found these (observations) to be very true both at home and abroad. I have seriously and diligently described the uses and abuses of (morally) indifferent activities, (and) the reason for and difference between these (ie, use and abuse). I set to work with great urgency, in order that right use only should be in use and practice. In time everything (abusive) lost force altogether. Accordingly my situation is very different from that of those peevish brethren in whose parishes crowds gather as soon

as the poles are raised, more to oppose the clamouring minister than to give themselves pleasure in playful activities or to obey the king in exercises and recreations.

And in Gloucester jail, where I have already spent some months, everlasting God! How clearly, properly, praiseworthily everything is going! There a pyramid has been erected, as it were; a summer pole has been put up, as was said before. They have decided to practise the aforesaid varieties of games. I do not gainsay nor yet forbid these activities, that is, exercises and recreations. But I demonstrate a proper use: I teach how they should behave and take recreation. On this occasion I have established some statutes and ordinances especially suitable for the chapel and jail and I have caused them to be signed with the hands and hearts – that is, the consent – of each and every inmate. Good God! How modestly, honestly, piously one lives thereby! In what a Christian way one spends the time! In order that this prison or jail might be an example of piety and modesty to many others, whether jails or societies, whether prisons or cities – as it is well known that both towns and rural districts cast out and push off all (their) depraved and vicious servants and members into prisons and jails of this kind, as if to places and houses of correction where they can be amended and reformed by the corrections of authority – these statutes and ordinances of this kind have been inserted for this reason here where anyone who is interested can gather my plan and the reason for my deeds more easily.

*(English)*

And in this way and with this explanation all can easily inform themselves of the mind and plan of the royal majesty in so far as (it pertains) to the aforesaid as it were Olympic games, liberal exercises, and recreations (and) at the same time of the frank consent, dutiful submission, right construction, services, and obedience, both prompt and very ready, of all faithful subjects. Off with the puritans, who deny bodily exercises on Lord's Day! Off with the papists, who are deterred from our religion because they think that no (religion) approves, no (religion) admits Christian recreation!

To both sides (the king) forbids (recreation) unless they first come together in sacred assemblies to celebrate divine service together. This both refuse to do: the papists think it schismatic (and) the puritans (think it) popish and impious, both pulling together under one yoke, fighting together under one banner with nothing short of profane men, actors, rogues, and reprobates, whether wild or hardened, who cannot in any way bear to be involved in common prayers, the customary petitions of the faithful, the most pious supplications of Christians – but

Servants of  
Lord Grey,  
Lord Chandos

(I have said) enough and more already before about these matters. (Now I shall add) to these matters a few facts from my own experience.

One day about two years ago, more or less, I was at Cirencester for dinner with Mr Archdeacon and the ministers and preachers of his deanery. While we were in that monastic conclave, some musicians I came to us, lyristes, those called *Myntyi*, promising us some of their music, harmony, and melody. Soon one of the ministers – I have decided he should be named lest I bring any aspersion of some fault or flaw and any notice upon the rest, (who were) generous, liberal, and innocent – Alder by name, said: Be off with them! Be off! What are they doing here? They are vagabonds under the Act and the head and cause of many evils among the people and populace. They, immediately intending to go, not even daring to murmur as far as I could hear, were called back by no one. Finally I (said): Well done, gentlemen, well done! Stay a bit, perhaps we will listen willingly. I turned to (Alder who was) denouncing me. I said: Why should they go, pray tell? Do they not come willingly, if in fact they (have) not been sent for? Do they not come with affection and respect for us? Is not divine providence revealed in this as in other events? Is not music allowed us just as much as tables and dinner parties (are)? Or are we like those (ministers) who completely refuse to take part in the churching of women after childbirth, alleging that is a papist superstition, but are very pleasurably present along with the women for the delicacies and dainties (ie, served afterwards?), the eating and drinking?

Is not music one of the liberal arts? 'Grammar speaks, dialectic teaches what is true, rhetoric adorns words, music sings, arithmetic counts, geometry weighs, astronomy studies the stars.' Might not those men gladly have the fruits (and) reap happiness as well as utility from their art, skill, (and) profession, as we do? Alas, how many days, nights, weeks, months, years, not to say (their) whole miserable life, have these wretches spent, passed, (and) used up, starving, in order to acquire some skill in singing, playing a stringed instrument, striking strings either by using the pick or touching them gracefully with the fingers so as to please, wonderfully delight, exhilarate, (and) gratify us the more? Do we receive them, treat them, act kindly toward them in such a way by the aforesaid means, that is, by contumely and insults?

Let us be silent and rather treat them with humanity. Do we not remember what that most holy David says most profusely in the psalms and elsewhere in favour of psalmody, music, (and) musical har-

Verse 15

mony, and how plainly and fully he describes them? Leaving this or that occasion aside as well known to all in this regard, let us be mindful of the passage in Holy Writ about the prophet Elisha, in the third chapter of the second book of Kings: Bring in, he says, the singer accompanying himself upon the lyre or some musician. For while a lyrist or a piper played and sang, the hand of God was upon him and he prophesied. Do you not see here, my beloved brethren, that the prophet was roused to prophesy to a greater degree by melodious music? Perhaps in the same way we, after the harmonious music of these men, will give thanks more appositely to God the best (and) greatest for these and his innumerable other benefits conferred upon us. Mr Archdeacon, Mr Sutton, (and) all the rest as far as I know agreed with the sweetest concord; the musicians came nearer, harped, played, sounded (their) instruments, made a loud noise, (and) jingled: they pleased and delighted us. I, being refined, do not say I actually extorted, but I did easily collect a penny given and contributed by each of the ministers in lieu of a dinner charge: I received several shillings thus collected for the musicians. They were appeased (for our bad behaviour) and went away thankful.

Therefore, for my part, there is no need that, no reason given why, anyone should say that the royal majesty is acting strictly, therefore injuriously, whereby, if he should call foxes' ears horns, ears must be held to be horns. He is only calling ears, ears; horns, horns; men, men; (and) asses, asses; and willingly and at (his) pleasure he observes the Christian laws and pious decrees.

Thanks be to God. May the king live forever.



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# Endnotes

285-8 GDR 114 ff [4], [4v], [8], [8v]

The defendant in this case is Christopher Windle, vicar of Bisley. In 1618, Windle wrote a commentary on King James' *Book of Sports*, in which he justified his encouragement of maypoles and other games on the sabbath. The text of this commentary is printed in Appendix 3.

Each of the depositions continues as does Band's, with a description of Windle's sermon on numeration. The diamond brackets in f [8v] indicate words written near the right-hand margin which were obliterated when the gatherings were sewn together.

288-9 D855/M8 f 90v

The left-hand edge of the page is frayed. Only two of the amounts of the defendants' fines given in the left-hand margin appear to be complete. These both read x s so the fines were probably raised from the amounts first given in the text, which were 5s for all but Richard Clerke. The marginal amounts would thus all be 10s except the first, which would be 40s if doubled like the marginal amounts we can read.

Hannam-Clark, p 67, offers what appears to be a verbatim quotation of the first part of the entry, but actually condenses it somewhat. He also incorrectly identifies the year as 1612.

290 E 101/351/15 mb 1

The reference to playing the miracles of St Nicholas is not specifically located, but they were almost certainly performed at Gloucester. The payments recorded in this alms roll are given in approximate chronological order and grouped into paragraphs covering two weeks each, with the name of the place where the court happened to be at the beginning of the period noted in the left-hand margin. The St Nicholas play entry occurs in the paragraph begun at Worcester and follows payments made at Winchcombe and Newent, but precedes one made at Cricklade (the last entry in the paragraph). The next paragraph is headed Gloucester, and the date of the first entry is Sunday, 5 December, the vigil of St Nicholas. A later entry records the king's oblations on St Nicholas' day as being given 'apud Gloucestriam.' While it is unclear why the accountant should have placed the St Nicholas play and Cricklade entries in the earlier paragraph, the progress of Edward I's entourage south from Worcester to Winchcombe and Newent in northern Gloucestershire would have naturally brought it next to Gloucester. (Cricklade, on the Gloucestershire-Wiltshire border, would not have been reached for several days, and it is this entry which is obviously out of place.) In addition, St Nicholas plays were

normally performed on the saint's day; most of the extant texts conclude with the *Te Deum*, the antiphon *O Christi pietas*, or some other link with the office of St Nicholas' day (Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (Oxford, 1933) 2, 308-9, 321-3, 333-4).

'*eorum Episcopo*' undoubtedly refers to a boy-bishop, as the festival of the boy-bishop was associated with St Nicholas' day in many places, rather than with the feast of the Holy Innocents. In fact, the boy-bishop is sometimes known as the '*episcopus sancti Nicolai*' or the '*episcopus Nicholatisensis*' (Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, vol 1, 369).

A question remains as to who actually performed the St Nicholas play and boy-bishop ceremonies. St Peter's Abbey seems the most likely place for a major celebration attending the visit of the king, but it would be most unusual for 'clericis' to mean the Benedictine monks. Gloucester offers no obvious solutions to this problem, such as the existence of a college of secular canons in the town. However, Llanthony Priory, just west of Gloucester, was a major house of Augustinian canons, who could be referred to as 'clerici.' Any such identification must of course remain conjectural.

290-1 No 1826 single mb

That there must have been abuses of the monastic rule at St Peter's Abbey in the years preceding the drafting of these statutes can only be inferred from the statutes themselves; no records of such abuses have survived. Abbot John de Gamages and the convent actually drew up these statutes in the form of a petition to Archbishop Winchelsey of Canterbury. After his metropolitanical visitation of 1301, Winchelsey returned to the abbey a set of injunctions (*Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae*, William Henry Hart (ed), vol 1, pp lxxxiv-xcii) which in large part confirmed the statutes, adding a few new regulations, but did not include the prohibition against the abbot's maintaining harpers or minstrels at community expense.

291 GBR F 3/2 single mb

The right edge of the roll has deteriorated badly and a section from the middle of the page is missing. The roll has also faded so that some letters are legible only under ultraviolet light and others not at all. The diamond brackets indicate both letters lost to deterioration and letters illegible due to fading.

'Ministrall' has been left unexpanded because there is no way to determine whether it is singular or plural, except in the first entry.

291 GBR F 3/4 single mb

The right-hand edge of the roll has deteriorated and some other letters have been lost due to tears and fading. 'Ministrall' has been left unexpanded because there is no way to determine whether it is singular or plural.

291-2 Cotton Julius B xii ff 18-18v

After his coronation, Henry VII made a tour of the provinces. At York he was received with elaborate pageants and speeches; he then turned south and west to Worcester and Hereford, where the pageantry was on a smaller scale. Next, he made his way to Gloucester and finally to Bristol, with overnight stops at Kingswood Abbey near Wotton under Edge and at the manor of Sir Robert Poyntz (or Poyntz) at Iron Acton, a few miles north of Bristol.

292-3 GBR B 2/1 ff 116-16v

Mary Tudor was made princess of Wales in 1525 and sent to reside in the Marches with her own council. She set out for her headquarters at Ludlow late in the summer, stopping first at Thornbury, then at Gloucester, Tewkesbury, and Coventry (Carolyn Erickson, *Bloody Mary* (Garden City, N.Y., 1978), p 60).

Marginalia in a seventeenth-century hand have been added throughout this Corporation Customnal.

293-6 GBR B 2/1 ff 117v-19

The progress which brought Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn to Gloucester and the west occurred shortly after the executions of Fisher (12 June) and More (6 July). However, the king's activities during his visit to Gloucester appear to have been purely recreational rather than political.

296 GBR F 4/3 f 23v

Sir Anthony Kingston, son of the Sir William Kingston who was comptroller of the royal household under Henry VIII (*DNB*, I, p 185), lived at Painswick, six miles south of Gloucester.

296 GBR F 4/3 f 30

This entry is incorrectly assigned to 1550-1 by Murray (vol 2, p 276) and Hannam-Clark (p 40).

297 GBR F 4/3 f 37v

'maister Arnold' is Sir Nicholas Arnold, who resided at Highnam Court, two miles west of Gloucester. His lord of misrule is mentioned in the accounts for 1563-4 (GBR F 4/3, f 100v).

Sir John Brydges had been a groom of the privy chamber under Henry VIII, then lieutenant of the Tower under Mary, for which she created him the first Baron Chandos in 1554 and granted him Sudeley Castle and the lands around it, which had belonged to the executed Thomas Seymour (*DNB*, 3, p 163). Although not yet Lord Chandos in 1553, Brydges was a Gloucestershire man by birth, making it appropriate for his trumpeter to be sent to accompany the announcement of Mary's accession.

For the New Inn see p 423, endnote to GBR F 4/3, ff 78, 79.

297 GBR F 4/3 f 44

This payment is the sole record of players of the city of Gloucester.

298 GBR F 4/3 ff 78, 79

The Bothall (from 'booth hall') appears to have been the usual place for players to perform when they were rewarded by the city; the chamberlains' accounts mention the Bothall frequently, but record a different performance site only once, when the queen's men played in the cathedral churchyard in 1589-90 (GBR F 4/3, f 263). An indenture of 26 August 1569 between the city and Robert Ingram (GBR B 2/3, ff 138-9v) gives some indication of the shape and uses of the Bothall, which stood in Westgate Street on the site of the modern Shire Hall. It contained one large hall, a smaller one sometimes called the 'shreeve hall,' and at the top of the stairs the election chamber, reserved by the mayor and aldermen for their meetings. Performances could conceivably have been given in any of these rooms, even in the election

chamber, for at Worcester an ordinance was made prohibiting plays in the council chamber and restricting them to the lower end of the hall (Murray, vol 2, p 409). However, the kind of public performance attended by R. Willis and described in his *Mount Tabor* (see pp 362-4), 'where every one that will comes in without money,' would have required the large hall. The usual daily function of this hall was as the town market, especially for the weighing and selling of wool. It also served as the customary seat of the assizes when they were in session, and could be used for other large meetings. Although the Bothall was being used several times a year for dramatic performances when the Ingram indenture was made, this use is not among the many mentioned in the indenture.

Photographs of the New Inn in Northgate Street, Gloucester have often been included in histories of the theatre because it possesses the best-preserved example of the inn-yard which some believe to have influenced the shape and décor of the London public theatres. The extant records, however, contain no evidence that players ever performed in the yard of the New Inn. While it may have been the scene of performances not sponsored by the city, which would not show up in the chamberlains' accounts, the only entertainments known to have taken place at the New Inn occurred when the civic waits furnished music for the feasts occasionally held there by the Tanners' guild, and these certainly happened indoors, not in the yard (GCL 28652 [18], f 55v, *passim*).

298 GBR F 4/3 ff 83v-4

The trumpeter mentioned here is the lord president of the marches' trumpeter. The ellipses represent several gifts given to the lord president which have not been transcribed.

299 GBR F 4/3 f 89

'Mr Ingram' is Robert Ingram, lessee of the Bothall, where the players performed. The tavern where the players were sometimes fêted after a performance was probably the one in the Bothall itself. (The existence of this tavern is attested to by a rental of 1445, *Rental of all the houses in Gloucester, from a roll in the possession of the corporation of Gloucester, compiled by Robert Cole*, W.H. Stevenson (ed) (Gloucester, 1890)).

299 GBR F 4/3 f 100v

Highnam Court was the residence of Sir Nicholas Arnold.

301 GBR F 4/3 f 128v

The transcribed entries appear on the second of two folios designated f 128v.

301 GBR F 4/3 f 138

I am unable to identify the 'fence Schole' with either of the two schools in Gloucester at this time: the Crypt or Christ's School in the parish of St Mary de Crypt, or the King's School connected to the cathedral.

302 GBR F 4/3 f 153

The 1 December 1573 date of the first entry is probably an error. While the accounts were written down at the end of the accounting year from temporary bills, and may not always have been set down in chronological order, the payments to players in the 1572-3 account

would be in chronological order if the 1 December payment to the earl of Worcester's players was made in December of 1572.

302-5 GBR F 4/3 ff 159v, 160v, 162

In the accounts for this year, each of the usual sections ('Gifts and Rewards,' 'Payments of Money') is followed by another group of accounts which are given the same marginal heading, but include only expenses related to Queen Elizabeth's visit to the city. (For instance, the second section headed 'Divers Reparacons' does not deal with normal repair and maintenance of roads and civic structures, but only with repairs and new construction done in preparation to receive the queen.)

Queen Elizabeth came to Gloucester in early August of 1574. According to Walsingham's journal, the queen was at Sudeley Castle on 4 August ('The Journal of Sir Francis Walsingham, from Dec. 1570 to April 1583,' Charles Trice Martin (ed), *The Camden Miscellany*, vol 6, Camden Society, 104 (London, 1871), p 20. On the seventh, Walsingham arrived in Gloucester, but it is not certain that Elizabeth also arrived on that day, as Walsingham's itinerary differed from hers somewhat. She spent the night of 10 August at George Huntley's house at Frocester, an easy day's ride from Gloucester (GRO: P 153 IN 1/1). It seems likely that the queen arrived in Gloucester on or about the seventh of August and left on the tenth. The fourteenth brought her to Bristol, where she was greeted with the extensive speeches and pageants devised by Thomas Churchyard.

Unfortunately, no narrative description of Elizabeth's visits to Gloucester exists to compare with those of Mary Tudor's visit in 1525 and Henry VIII's in 1535. Still, a general picture of the reception Gloucester gave her can be pieced together from the chamberlains' accounts. As she had come from Sudeley, she would have entered Gloucester by the Outer Northgate, where musicians played and a scaffold had been erected for the presentation of some sort of pageant (GBR F 4/3, f 162). Another pageant scaffold awaited her at the High Cross in the centre of the city. Both of the buildings where the mayor and council conducted business had been 'dressed' for the occasion: the Tollsey, near the Cross, and the Bothall in Westgate Street. It must have been at one of these that the mayor and recorder received the queen, by kneeling on the benches mentioned in the accounts (f 159v).

At some point during her stay, Elizabeth must have paused at the King's Board in Westgate Street. While many of the civic structures had been mended and painted for the occasion, the King's Board was decorated with 'beastes' made by a man named Gilden, and presumably included the antelope and unicorns for which William Sannes was paid for providing horns, and the dragon for which he made a tongue (f 162). The King's Board was a decagonal structure about fifteen feet across with open arches on five sides which may originally have been used for public masses but had been turned to the sale of butter and cheese (M.H. Medland, 'The So-Called King's Board at Tibberton Court, near Gloucester', *TBGAS* 26 (1903), 339-41). The beasts may simply have formed a decorative tableau, although the low roof of the King's Board could also have been used as a pageant stage in the same way as were the water conduits in London (Wickham, *EES*, vol 1, pp 54-5).

A third scaffold was set up in the 'meadowe,' an open area just outside Gloucester's Southgate. Since the queen proceeded south towards Frocester on leaving the city, this scaffold may have provided the setting for a farewell pageant. The Southgate itself, however, would have been the more common location for such a pageant and Churchyard's description of his Bristol

entertainments suggests another possibility (*The First Parte of Churchyardes Chippes* (London, Thomas Marsh, 1575; STC: 5232), ff 101v-2). Bristol greeted Queen Elizabeth with speeches by personified figures (Fame, Salutation, Gratulation, Obedient Good Will) at the city gate and High Cross. On the following three days, the entertainment moved outside the city walls to a place known as 'The Marsh,' a site similar to the 'meadowe' mentioned in the Gloucester accounts. This more open location allowed for pageantry on a scale impossible in the cramped city streets, involving mock battles around a fort and even including the arrival of three ships sailing up the Avon to bring aid to the besieged fort. The scaffold in Gloucester's 'meadowe,' then, may have been the site of a more extensive pageant on one of the days Elizabeth remained in Gloucester, though certainly less lavish than the Bristol pageantry, which cost that city nearly £1000 (David M. Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry*, 1558-1642 (Columbia, S.C., 1971), p 26), in contrast to Gloucester's expenditure of about £130 (GBR F 4/3, f 162).

305-6 GBR F 4/3 f 195v

Murray (vol 2, p 281) gives the amount paid to Lord Berkeley's players as 13s 6d, perhaps thinking of the common figure of 13s 4d.

306 GBR F 4/3 f 198v

Although Garret Barnes is not identified as 'the musicion' until the accounts for 1582-3 (f 218), his annual fee of 20s is first recorded in this entry.

306 GBR F 4/3 f 199v

Murray (vol 2, p 281) does not transcribe the interlineation, which not only records the payment to the Countess of Essex's players but also changes the amount given to Baron Kinderton's players.

306-7 GBR B 3/1 ff 71v-2

The marginal note 'pg. 130.' refers to the page containing an ordinance of 1591 which reaffirms and amends the 1580 ordinance regulating players.

308 GBR F 4/3 f 214

The payment to the queen's puppet players on the seventh of December may have been incorrectly ascribed to 1582. Since, however, the entry is the last one listed regarding players, it is more likely that the chamberlains were quite late rendering their accounts in 1582 and included under 1581-2 a reward which was given well after Michaelmas and thus properly belonged to the 1582-3 accounting year.

311 GBR B 3/1 f 130

The marginal notation '(dat). 71.' refers to the page on which the 'one former ordinance' regulating players appears (GBR B 3/1, ff 71v-2).

312 GBR F 4/3 f 279

The queen's 1592 progress through Gloucestershire took her to a number of the county's great

houses, including Sherborne House, home of the Duttons, Sir Richard Berkeley's manor at Rendcombe, and Sudeley Castle, where Lord Chandos received her with the pageant entertainments printed under Brydges 1591–2. Unlike her 1574 progress, this one did not stop at Gloucester, so the city fathers made a gift of £6 13s 4d to Lord Chandos 'for gratificacion against the receauing of the Queenes Maiesty at Sudely.' (They may well have been grateful to escape the expense and disruption of normal city operations caused by the queen's visit in 1574.)

313 GBR F 4/3 f 305

It is not clear what 'Anthonie Cooke and his companie' did at Midsummer to earn their reward. This entry has been included in order to link the following one with the Midsummer date. The choice of prepositions in the entry concerning Thomas Bubbe and his wagon is interesting: the wagon is not to be used 'for' the pageant, which would indicate that 'pageant' here meant the stage for a performance, but rather 'in' the pageant, suggesting that 'pageant' means the performance itself. Such a pageant might have included other wagons, and performers mounted and on foot. The phrase, 'for the turke' could thus apply only to Bubbe's wagon, or to the pageant as a whole.

314–15 GDR 89 ff [116v], [117]

John Wylmott, rector of Tortworth parish in southern Gloucestershire, was presented before the consistory court of Gloucester diocese on a variety of charges ranging from drunkenness and gambling to using witchcraft to poach the lord's deer and conies. (Cf Tortworth 1602 for depositions which give a fascinating description of the 'Cushin dawnce' performed by Wylmott and some of his parishioners.) Some of the accusations are quite incredible and may indeed have been trumped up. Several of the witnesses testified that Wylmott and the man who had appointed him to the Tortworth living, Sir Thomas Throckmorton, had been 'at varryaunce' for some time. As the witnesses against Wylmott were all servants, tenants, or relatives of Throckmorton's, it could be that the local lord exerted a good deal of pressure on them to help rid him of a troublesome minister. Still, the description of a play given in these depositions must have had enough truth in it to make the witnesses' stories plausible.

316 28652/18 f [52v]

The accounts of the Tanners' company were rendered by each master within a few days of leaving office. The master's own dinner, at which music was often provided, took place when he assumed office on St Clement's day (Tanners' company ordinances, 1541, GCL:28652/4). The master's dinner mentioned in this year's accounts, which were rendered on or about the 23rd of November 1609, therefore happened on 23 November 1608. (The expenses for the master's dinner were frequently entered near the end of the year's accounts, but this was the result of convention, rather than an attempt to put the accounts in chronological order.)

317 28652/18 f [55v]

The Tanners had a hall of their own, but occasionally held their dinners at the New Inn, which still stands in Northgate Street.

## 322 GBR F 4/4 f 37

John Merowe (or Merro) appears to have been responsible for teaching music to the students at Christ's School ('Cristie,' also known as the Crypt School).

## 323 GBR B 3/2 p 3

The new annual wage of £4 doubled the waits' previous wage of 40s, although their number had only been increased from four to six. From later accounts it appears that each man received 10s as his wage, with the remaining £1 going for their liveries. In 1643-4, the fee dropped to £3, but it was restored in 1647-8, the entry explaining:

Paid to mr Alderman William Singleton towards the charge of the Waytes Liveryes their wages yearly being formerly iij li per annum but by custome that yeare they haue their Liveryes to pay them 04-00-00 (GBR F 4/5, f 364v)

Thereafter the fee alternated between £3 and £4 until after the Restoration, indicating that the waits received an allowance for their livery every second year.

## 325 D 936 A 1/1 p 272

Abroads Court was a residence of the bishop of Gloucester, situated about a mile north of the city. The waits likely played as the entertainment at a dinner or other festive occasion.

## 326 GBR F 4/5 f 40

While plague had become a convenient excuse for getting rid of unwanted entertainers during the 1620s and 30s, Gloucester's fear of plague in 1636-7 was surely genuine. The epidemic raged in London that year, and when it spread to Worcester in the spring of 1637, the mayor and aldermen ordered a watch set at Gloucester's gates. At first the watch simply questioned any suspicious persons, but when Worcester's troubles increased, it began to turn away all strangers (GBR 1454/1543, ff 10v-12). The city's vigilance had some success in preventing the spread of the disease, but by 1638, the council had to excuse the mayor and sheriffs from providing their traditional installation banquet because of plague (GBR B 3/2, pp 95-6).

## 335 Cotton Vespasian F XIII #187 f 240

Mary Tudor was made princess of Wales in 1525 and sent to reside in the Marches, headquartered at Ludlow Castle. She set out for Ludlow in the late summer, travelling through Thornbury, Gloucester, and Tewkesbury. The signatories to the letter were all members of the princess' entourage. John Veysey, bishop of Exeter, was president of her council; Giles Grevile, her comptroller; Peter Burnell, her almoner (Carolyn Erickson, *Bloody Mary* (Garden City, N.Y., 1978), pp 61-2). John Salter, George Bromley, and Thomas Audeley were all lawyers attached to her council (Frederick Madden (ed), *Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary* (London, 1831), p xxxix).

## 337-8 P 329 CW 2/1 p 66

An entry regarding seat money later in the same year's accounts reveals that Roger Wiette was a resident of Tewkesbury parish, the only one of those who rented the 'players apparell' who can definitely be identified as a parishioner.

## 338 P 329 CW 2/1 p 74

These accounts were rendered 7 August 1583 and, as the previous accounts were rendered in 1580, this set may cover a three-year period. The Tewkesbury churchwardens made up their accounts when they left office, which occurred at irregular intervals. A three-year tenure would have been unusual, but not so much so as to indicate that some accounts have been lost or unrecorded, especially as these accounts are relatively lengthy.

## 339 TBR A 1/1 f 15

The 'tenshall money' paid out by the bailiffs probably refers to the fee charged a *tenser*: 'an inhabitant of a city or borough who was not a citizen or freeman, but paid a rate for permission to reside or trade' (*OED*). The word occurs several times in records connected with Tewkesbury, variously spelled *tenshall*, *tensell*, and *tensiall* (C.R. Elrington (ed), *vch Glouc*, vol 8 (London, 1968), p 147.)

## 340-2 P 329 CW 2/1 pp 130-1

These receipts and expenditures connected with the construction of a battlement on the church tower appear in a special section of accounts following the regular accounts rendered in 1600.

Parishes in southern England frequently put on plays with ales to raise money, so the churchwardens may have been reviving a parish tradition. The accounts, however, make no explicit connection between plays and ales before the entry in 1600. Ales during Whitsun had been a much more lucrative source of income than renting out the parish wardrobe: in 1566-7, an ale brought in £11 10s (P 329 CW 2/1, p 14). The latest receipts from a church ale at Tewkesbury were recorded in the accounts for 1571-2, although the churchwardens may have disguised receipts from later ales due to growing opposition to ales from the church hierarchy.

The expenditures on the plays alone totalled £11 12s 9d, while the receipts amounted to only £12 7s 2d, for a meagre profit of 14s 5d. Yet the plays appear to have had an important part in the relative success of the whole venture, since the summary statement at the end of the accounts labels the total receipts from all sources as the amount 'they gained by there plays.' The contribution of the plays was undoubtedly to create a festive atmosphere in which grain valued at a little over six pounds could be sold for better than twelve. With the addition of £19 12s from the sale of lead and timber from the old spire, the total receipts of £45 2s left a deficit of only £21 4s to be made up in the following years from the total expenses for both the battlements and the plays of £66 6s 3d.

The plays may well have been performed in the nave of Tewkesbury Abbey, which had served as the parish church of the town's single large parish until the Dissolution. When the Royal Ministers declared the choir superfluous, along with the chapter house, cloisters, and other monastic buildings, the town managed to purchase the condemned section of the abbey from the Crown, for the estimated value of the bells and lead from the roof - £483. The parish then appears to have moved into the choir and the nave appears to have been neglected (James Bennett, *The History of Tewkesbury* (Tewkesbury, 1830; rpt Dursley, Glouc., 1976), pp 125-7; H. J. L. J. Massé, *The Abbey Church of Tewkesbury, with Some Account of the Priory Church of Deerhurst, Gloucestershire* (London, 1900), pp 14-16). Wherever the plays were located inside the abbey, the payment of 13s 4d 'for the place to playe in' is a curious one. Was the parish paying itself rent for the use of the church? Both the churchwardens' accounts and the borough minutes call the plays 'stage plays,' so perhaps 'place' is being used in the sense of a delineated space in which to perform, a stage constructed inside the abbey.

The 30s paid to 'T.B. for his charges' is an unusually large sum for a single individual. A possible explanation may be found in the records of Chelmsford and several other south-eastern towns, which contain references to 'property players.' The property player was a professional man of the theatre, brought in (probably from London) to organize and direct local productions. His services included supervising the construction of stages, marshalling of costumes and props, direction of the players, and perhaps himself acting important roles (John C. Coldewey, 'That Enterprising Property Player: Semi-Professional Drama in Sixteenth-Century England,' *Theatre Notebook*, 31 (1977), p 6). Such a man would have been invaluable to Tewkesbury, which remembered its dramatic tradition, but was no longer familiar enough with the practicalities of performance to mount the sort of spectacle which would bring in a profit.

342-3 GDR 89 ff [106], [106v]

Cf endnote p 427 to pp 314-15, GDR 89, ff [116v], [117].

344 GDR 32 p 178

Michael Hyndemer was instituted rector of Weston Subedge in 1567 (GDR 16, p 22). Hyndemer had been accused before the consistory court by one Agnes Tise of calling her whore, but the other witnesses answered only that they believe the first article (regarding masking) to be true, which Hyndemer himself here admits.

The phrase 'ann egge brok' might be a name, Anne Edgebrook, but it can also bear the meanings 'an egg broken,' 'a sword broken.' It is impossible to be more precise; Hyndemer's answer to the first article is printed here in its entirety, and neither it nor the document as a whole provides any clues to the meaning of the phrase.

347 Ms. Misc. ix f 30v

The entry occurs in a group of undated foreign payments listed at the beginning of the household book.

The 'lady' mentioned here is Elizabeth Berkeley, countess of Warwick. Richard Beauchamp, the earl of Warwick, was fighting in France with Henry v during most of the period covered by the household book.

347 Ms. Misc. ix f 57

The accounts for the Christmas holidays, 24 December to 6 January, have been lumped together and no guest list is provided for this period.

The six from Slimbridge and four from Wotton who were rewarded for playing ('*ludentibus*') were probably tenants hoping to gain favour with the landlord by entertaining Lady Berkeley at Christmas. Slimbridge, a village four miles north of Berkeley Castle, was on the Berkeley estate, and the Berkeleys maintained a favourite residence at Wotton under Edge, five miles south-east of the castle.

The '*hostalaria*' and '*hospicio*' mentioned in these accounts probably refer to an inn in the town of Berkeley, which adjoins the castle. They may, however, indicate the existence of a guesthouse within the castle itself.

348 General Series Bound Book # 109 f 67

Tortworth park was on the estate of Sir Thomas Throckmorton.

357 D(W) 1721/1/5 p 44

The 'Cantatores Capelle' are the singers of the duke's own chapel at Thornbury.

357 D(W) 1721/1/5 p 56

The manuscript incorrectly gives the date for this day's accounts as 5 December rather than 5 January.

359 E 36/220 p 12

John Kyrk was a gentleman of Buckingham's household (Carole Rawcliffe, *The Staffords, Earls of Stafford, and Dukes of Buckingham, 1394-1521* (Cambridge, 1978), p 241). George Poley was Buckingham's treasurer from 1515 to 1520 (Rawcliffe, p 230).

361 D(W) 1721/1/5 p 46 col 2

The word 'vrs' (l. 13) probably represents a form of Latin 'ursarius', bearward. The 'le' which here precedes it is usually used, within a Latin text, to signal the presence of a vernacular word, but there is no English word beginning 'urs-' or 'vrs-' that makes sense in context and 'vrs' occurs later in the accounts without the preceding 'le.'

368-86 A Book, for a Buck with a Parke ... pp 5-21

Windle's abbreviated forms of biblical book titles have not been fully expanded, as they would normally be, because there is no consistent way of doing so. Windle uses some forms which are clearly abbreviations of the Latin names of books of the Bible, some which are abbreviations of the English names, and some which could be either. The titles have been left unexpanded, to avoid imposing a false consistency.



PATRONS AND TRAVELLING COMPANIES, GLOSSARIES,  
AND INDEX



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# Patrons and Travelling Companies

The following list has two sections. The first gives companies alphabetically by patron, according to the principal title under which their playing companies and entertainers appear, with cross-references from other titles if they are also so named in the records. The second section lists companies identified by place of origin, including counties for locations wherever identification is certain.

The biographical information supplied here has come entirely from printed sources, the chief of which are the following: S. T. Bindoff (ed), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1509–1558*, 3 vols (London, 1982); *Calendar of Patent Rolls* (edited through 1576); *Calendar of State Papers*; G[eorge] E[dward] C[okayne], *The Complete Peerage...*; *The Dictionary of National Biography*; James E. Doyle, *The Official Baronage of England Showing the Succession, Dignities, and Offices of Every Peer from 1066 to 1885*, 3 vols (London, 1886); P. W. Hasler (ed), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1558–1603*, 3 vols (London, 1981); and F. Maurice Powicke and E. B. Fryde (eds), *Handbook of British Chronology*. All dates are given in accordance with the style in the sources used. The authorities sometimes disagree over the dates of birth, death, creation, succession, and office tenure. Where this evidence conflicts, the *Calendar of State Papers*, *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, and similar collections are preferred: for example, *List of Sheriffs for England and Wales from the Earliest Times to A.D. 1831*, Public Record Office, Lists and Indexes, no 9 (London, 1898); J. H. Gleason, *The Justices of the Peace in England: 1558 to 1640* (Oxford, 1969); and J. C. Sainty, 'Lieutenants of Counties, 1585–1642,' *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, Special Supplement no 8 (May, 1970).

Normally each patron entry is divided into four sections. The first lists relevant personal data and titles of nobility with dates. Succession numbers are given only for the most important titles held by a person, as well as for those titles by which he or she is named in the records. These numbers follow the absolute sequence given in *The Complete Peerage* rather than the relative ones that begin afresh with each new creation. Knighthood dates are included only for minor gentry not possessing higher titles. The second section lists titles of jobs showing local connections and includes those known to have been used as titles of playing companies. Purely expeditionary military titles have been largely omitted, along with most minor Scottish and Irish

landed titles. Where possible, the date of an appointment is taken from the date of a document assigning that position. If the appointment is stated in the document to be 'for life,' then these words follow the job title. If the original document has not been edited and a secondary source is used that states 'until death,' then this form appears. Otherwise dates of appointment and termination are given, if available. If the length of time an office is held is not known, then only the date of appointment is given. Alternatively, if the only evidence comes from a source dated some time during the period of tenure, then the word 'by' plus date appears. If only the date of termination is known, 'until' is used. Finally, if no dates at all are available, 'nd' follows the title of the job. The third section, for which information is often incomplete or unavailable, contains the names and locations of the patron's principal seats, and locations of other properties he or she is known to have held. Extensive property lists have been condensed. The fourth section is an annotated index by date of the appearances of each patron's company or companies in the records. Following the date are the page numbers in parentheses where the citations occur. If a patron's company appears under a title other than the usual or principal one, this other title is in parentheses next to the designation of the company.

The reader may also wish to refer to the Index for additional references to some of the patrons and to various unnamed companies and their players. When it has been possible to identify a patron of an unnamed company, the reference has been included here; otherwise the only references to such are in the Index.

### Abbreviations

acc	acceded	JP	Justice of the Peace
adm	admiral	jt	joint
bapt	baptized	KG	Knight of the Garter
bet	between	kt	knight
br	brother	lieut	lieutenant
capt	captain	MP	Member of Parliament
co	county	nd	no date
comm	commissioner	Parl	Parliament
cr	created	PC	Privy Councillor
custos rot	custos rotulorum	pres	president
d	died	succ	succeeded
gen	general	summ	summoned
gov	governor	Univ	University

## Companies Named by Patron

### Abergavenny (Lady)

Joan Fitz Alan (1375–14 Nov 1435), married William Beauchamp, Lord Abergavenny (d 8 May 1411); held castle and honour of Abergavenny, Monmouthshire, Wales, in dower until death.

or

Isabel Le Despenser (26 Jul 1400–27 Dec 1439), married Richard Beauchamp, 2nd Lord Abergavenny (d 18 Mar 1421/2), 27 Jul 1411, and Richard de Beauchamp, 13th earl of Warwick, 26 Nov 1423.

minstrels

Glouc

Berkeley

1420–1 (347, 348)

### Admiral

Charles Howard (c 1536–14 Dec 1624), succ as Baron Howard, 11 or 12 Jan 1572/3; cr 10th earl of Nottingham, 22 Oct 1597. Keeper of Oatlands Park, Surr, 1562; MP, Surr, 1563 and 1572; JP, Surr, by 1573, and Kent and Somers, 1608; lord lieut, Surr, sole, 1573 and 3 Jul 1585, and jt, 27 Jul 1621 until death and Suss, sole, 3 Jul 1585 and jt, 2 Sept 1586; lieut of musters, Surr, 1579; chamberlain of the Household, 1 Jan 1583/4–Jul 1585; PC, by 5 Mar 1583/4 until death; lord high adm, 8 Jul 1585–27 Jan 1618/19; high steward, Guildford, Surr, from 1585; constable of Windsor Castle, 5 Dec 1588 and high steward of Windsor, 15 Jan 1592/3, both until death; keeper of Hampton Court, Midd, and bailiff and steward of several manors in Surr, 24 Mar 1593; chief justice in eyre south of Trent, 15 Jun 1597 until death; lord steward of the Household, 24 Oct 1597–Nov 1615; queen's lieut and capt gen in the south of England, 10 Aug 1599 and 14 Feb 1600/1. Seat at Effingham, Surr; manor of Haling, near Croydon, Surr, granted 3 Mar 1611/12; held many manors in Surr.

players

Glouc

Gloucester

1589–90 (311)

1590–1 (312)

1595–6 (314)

**Albany** *see* Charles Stuart *under* King

### Bath

William Bouchier (1557–12 Jul 1623), succ as 4th earl of Bath, 10 Feb 1560/1. JP, Devon, 1584 or 1585 and Somers, 1584 and 1608; vice-adm, 1586, lord lieut, 12 Sept 1586 until death, recorder of Barnstaple by 1589, and eccles comm, Exeter, 11 Sept 1604, all in Devon. Seat at Tawstock; family residence at Bampton; owned manor of Ilfracombe; house near Barnstaple, all in Devon.

players

Glouc

Gloucester

1577–8 (306)

**Beauchamp**

Sir Edward Seymour (12 Oct 1537–6 Apr 1621), styled earl of Hertford, 1547 until his father's attainder, 12 Apr 1552; restored 1553 or 1554; cr Baron Beauchamp and earl of Hertford, 13 Jan 1558/9; imprisoned 1561; released after 27 Jan 1567/8. Jt comm of musters, Wilts, 1579; lord lieut, Somers and Wilts, 24 Apr 1601 until death; custos rot, Wilts, Jun 1603; JP, Hants, Linc, Midd, Somers, and Wilts, 10 Jan 1611. Seat at Elvetham, Hants.

or

Edward Seymour (21 or 24 Sept 1561–c 13 Jul 1612), son of Sir Edward, above, styled Lord Beauchamp.

players	Glouc	Gloucester	1589–90 (311) 1590–1 (312)
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**Berkeley**

Thomas de Berkeley (5 Jan 1352/3–13 Jul 1417), succ as 5th Lord Berkeley, 8 Jun 1368; styled Lord Lisle from 28 Jun 1382. Comm of array, Glouc, 1367, 1377, 1380–1, 1392, 1399, and 1403 and Bristol and Glouc, 1415; JP, Glouc, 1374–5, 1380, 1397–1401, 1404, 1406–8, and 1413–16; comm of oyer and terminer, Glouc, 1382, 1402, and 1413, Bristol, 1400, and Dors, Somers, Southants, and Wilts, 1401; PC, Feb 1395; adm of the South and West and capt, Brecknock Castle, Brecknockshire, Wales, 1403; jt warden of the Welsh Marches, 23 Jul 1403; regent of the Kingdom, Apr 1416. Lands in Essex, Glouc, Somers, Wilts, and the city of Bristol; inherited estates of the baronies of Lisle and Tyes through marriage and manors in Berks, Bucks, Cornw, Devon, Northants, Oxf, and Wilts, 1382; principal seat at Berkeley Castle, Glouc.

minstrels	Glouc	Gloucester	1409–10 (291)
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Henry Berkeley (26 Nov 1534–26 Nov 1613), succ as 7th Lord Berkeley at birth. Keeper of Kingswood Forest, Glouc and Filwood, Somers, for life, 26 Jun 1559; JP, Glouc, 1562 and 1564; comm of oyer and terminer, Berks, Glouc, Heref, Oxf, Shrops, Staff, Worc, and Monmouthshire, Wales, 1564; jt comm of musters, Glouc, 1569; lord lieut, 14 Aug 1603 and vice adm, Glouc, 14 Nov 1603 until death. Principal residences at Yate Court, Glouc and Caludon Castle near Coventry, Warw; lands included manors in Glouc, Leic, Somers, Suss, and Warw.

players	Glouc	Gloucester	1577–8 (305) 1578–9 (306) 1579–80 (306) 1580–1 (308) 1581–2 (308) 1582–3 (308) 1584–5 (309)
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**Buckingham**

Edward Stafford (3 Feb 1477/8–17 May 1521), restored as 3rd duke of Buckingham, earl of Stafford, 7th earl of Buckingham, and Lord Stafford, Nov 1485. PC, 1509; JP, Bucks, 1503–4, 1507, 1509–10, 1512, and 1514, Glouc, 1500–6, 1508, 1510–11, 1513–15, and 1520, Heref, 1503, 1505, 1507, 1509–10, 1513–15, and 1521, Kent, 1498–1506, 1509–10, 1512, 1514–15, and 1517, Shrops, 1503–4, 1510–11 and 1513–14, Somers, 1503, 1505, 1506–8, 1509, 1512–15, and 1521, Staff, 1503–4, 1508, 1509–11, 1514, and 1520, Surr, 1499–1506, 1511–12, 1514–15, 1518, and 1520, Warw, 1503, 1506–7, 1509–11, and 1514–15, and Yorks, ER, 1503, 1506–7, 1509–11 and 1514; beheaded 17 May 1521. Seats at Thornbury, Glouc and Brecknock Castle, Brecknockshire, Wales; manor at Penshurst, Kent.

minstrels	Glouc	Thornbury	1503–4 (356) 1507–8 (356, 357, 358, 360)
players	Glouc	Thornbury	1507–8 (357, 358)
players (lord of Writtle)	Glouc	Thornbury	1507–8 (357, 360)
trumpeters	Glouc	Thornbury	1507–8 (356, 357, 358, 360)

**Chandos**

John Brydges (9 Mar 1491/2–12 Apr 1557), cr 1st Baron Chandos, 8 Apr 1554. Comm of musters, Glouc, 1522 and Wilts, 1 Mar 1539 and 1 Oct 1542; comm for subsidy, Glouc, 30 Aug 1523–4; JP, Glouc, 1528, 1531–2, 1537, 1539–40, 1542, 1544–5, 1547, and 1554, Heref, 1540, and 1543–4, Wilts, 1531–2, 1537, 1543–4, 1547, and 1554, and Berks, Oxf, Shrops, Staff, and Worc, 1540; MP, Glouc, 1529–36; jt keeper of the manor and park of Langley and of Cornbury Park, Oxf, 10 Jun 1536; comm of jail delivery, Gloucester Castle, 16 Oct 1537; sheriff, Wilts, 14 Nov 1537–8 and Glouc, 12 Nov 1549–50; constable of Sudeley Castle, sole, 21 Mar 1538–42 and jt, 15 Oct 1542 until death; comm of oyer and terminer, Berks, Heref, Oxf, Shrops, and Staff, 1539, 1541, and 1543–5, Glouc, 1540 and 1543–5, and Monmouthshire, Wales, 1543–5; jt steward, Winchcomb and hundreds of Greston, Holford, and Kiftsgate, all in Glouc, 15 Oct 1542 until death; comm of relief, Glouc and Wilts, 1550; comm of goods of churches and fraternities, Glouc, 1553; lieut of the Tower, Aug 1553–Jun 1554. Principal seat at Sudeley Castle, Glouc; held manor at Coberley, Glouc and many manors in Wilts.

trumpeter	Glouc	Gloucester	1552–3 (297)
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Edmund Brydges (by 1520–11 Mar 1572/3), son of John, 1st Baron Chandos, *qv*, succ as 2nd Baron Chandos, 12 Apr 1557. Jt constable, Sudeley Castle and jt steward, Winchcomb and hundreds of Greston, Holford, and Kiftsgate, all in Glouc, 15 Oct 1542–57, and sole, 1557 until death; MP, Wootton Bassett, Wilts, 1545 and Glouc,

Oct 1553; JP, Glouc, 1547, and Glouc and Wilts, 1554, 1562, and 1564 until death; comm of relief, Glouc, 16 Dec 1550; comm of musters, Glouc, 1557-8, 22 Jul 1569-80; steward and keeper of various manors in Wilts, 22 May 1557 until death and of the hundred of Slaughter, Glouc, 25 Oct 1567 until death; lord lieut, Glouc, 10 May 1559 and 20 Nov 1569; vice-adm, Glouc, 22 Jul 1561; steward, manor of Hailes, Glouc, 4 Jun 1563; comm of jail delivery, Berks, Glouc, Heref, Oxf, Shrops, Staff, Worc, and Monmouthshire, Wales, 1 Feb 1564. Principal seat at Sudeley Castle, Glouc; owned manors in Glouc, Wilts, and Worc.

players	Glouc	Gloucester	1558-9 (298)
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Giles Brydges (c 1548-21 Feb 1593/4), son of Edmund, 2nd Baron Chandos, *qv*, succ as 3rd Baron Chandos, 11 Mar 1572/3. JP, Glouc, 1570-1; MP, Cricklade, Wilts, 1571 and Glouc, 1572; chief steward of the manor of Hailes and of the hundreds of Greston, Holford, and Kiftsgate, all in Glouc, and steward of the hundred of Slaughter, Glouc and various manors in Wilts, all for life, 19 Jun 1573; lord lieut, Glouc, 17 Nov 1586 until death; member, Council in the Marches of Wales, 16 Dec 1590. Seat at Sudeley Castle, Glouc.

players	Glouc	Gloucester	1582-3 (308)
			1583-4 (309)
			1589-90 (311)
puppet players	Glouc	Gloucester	1589-90 (311)

William Brydges (after 1548-18 Nov 1602), br of Giles, 3rd Baron Chandos, *qv*, succ as 4th Baron Chandos, 21 Feb 1593/4. MP, Cricklade, Wilts, 1572 and Glouc, 1584 and 1586; steward of Cricklade, 1594; member, Council in the Marches of Wales, May 1594; lord lieut, Glouc, 9 Sept 1595 until death. Seat at Sudeley Castle, Glouc.

players	Glouc	Gloucester	1594-5 (313)
			1595-6 (313)

Grey Brydges (c 1579-10 Aug 1621), son of William, *qv*, succ as 5th Baron Chandos, 18 Nov 1602. MP, Cricklade, Wilts, 1597; imprisoned in the Fleet 14 Feb-31 Mar 1601; JP, Glouc and Wilts, 1603; keeper of Ditton Park, Bucks, for life, 2 Jul 1609; lord lieut, Glouc, jt, Aug 1603 and sole, 23 Dec 1613 until death; custos rot, Glouc, Mar 1614; member, Council in the Marches of Wales, 1617. Seat at Sudeley Castle, Glouc.

musicians	Glouc	Cirencester	c 1616 (385)
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### Clarence

Thomas, styled 'of Lancaster' (29 Sept 1389-22 Mar 1420/1), second son of Henry IV, *qv*, cr 2nd duke of Clarence and earl of Aumale, 9 Jul 1412. Seneschal of England, 4 Oct 1399; JP, Yorks, ER, 1400-1, 1405, 1407, 1409, 1411-12, 1416, and WR, 1414; chief gov of Ireland, 27 Jun 1401-13; lord high adm, 20 Feb 1405-28 Apr 1406; lieut of Ireland, 1 Mar 1406; pres of the Council, 1411; jt keeper of the castles, manors, and lands of the earldom of Somerset, 16 Jul 1412; high steward, Chester,

Ches and constable, Hawarden and Mohaut Castles, both in Flintshire, Wales,  
27 Apr 1415.

minstrel	Glouc	Berkeley	1420-1 (347)
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### Cobham

William Brooke (1 Nov 1527-6 Mar 1596/7), succ as 10th Lord Cobham, 29 Sept 1558. MP, Hythe, 1547 and Rochester, 1555, both in Kent; JP, Kent, 1558-9, 1562, and 1564 until death; lord warden of the Cinque Ports and constable of Dover Castle, both in Kent, for life, 28 Apr 1559; lord lieut, Kent, 26 May 1559 until death; comm, Rochester Bridge, 1571; PC, 19 Feb 1585/6 and keeper of Eltham Palace and Park, Kent, 1592, both until death; lord chamberlain of the Household, 8 Aug 1596 until death. Seat at Cobham Hall, Kent.

players	Glouc	Gloucester	1563-4 (300)
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### Codnor

Sir Richard Grey (c 1371-1 Aug 1418), succ as 4th Lord Grey, 14 Dec 1392. JP, Derby, 1399, 1401, 1404, 1406-8, 1410, 1413, and 1415, Essex, 1402, 1404, 1405-7, 1410-14, and 1416, Kent, 1404, 1406-7, 1411, 1413-14, and 1416, and Leic, 1404, 1406-8, and 1412-14; gov, Roxburgh Castle, Roxburgh, Scotland, 1400; adm of the fleet from the mouth of the Thames to the North, 20 Apr 1401; keeper, Brecknock Castle, Brecknockshire, Wales and Horston Castle, Derby, 1405; lieut at Brecknock and in Heref and adjacent Marches, Oct 1405; constable of Nottingham Castle, Nott, 1 Nov 1406; lieut of South Wales, 2 Dec 1405-1 Feb 1406; justice of South Wales during pleasure, 28 Nov 1403 and 6 Sept 1407; jt warden of the East and West Marches, 1415. Seat at Codnor, Derby; granted lordships of Knighton, Cnwclas, and Cefn Llys, all in Radnorshire, Wales, 27 Jan 1405/6; held manors in Derby, Essex, Hants, Kent, Northants, and Nott, and through marriage, portions of manors in Leic, Linc, Rut, and Staff.

minstrels	Glouc	Gloucester	1409-10 (291)
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### Compton

Henry Compton (14 Jul 1544-bef 22 Nov 1589), summ to Parl as 1st Lord Compton, 8 May 1572. MP, Old Sarum, Wilts, 1563; sheriff, Warw, 14 Nov 1571; JP, Northants, 1584. Seats at Compton Wynyates, Warw and Tottenham, Midd.

players	Glouc	Gloucester	1575-6 (305)
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### Comptroller

James Croft (1517/18-4 Sept 1590), kt 24 Nov 1547. MP, Heref, 1542, 1563, 1571-2, 1584, 1586, and 1589; capt, Haddington, Linc, by Jun-Sept 1549; member, 1550 and vice-pres, 1550-1, Council in the Marches of Wales; lord deputy of Ireland, 29 Apr 1551-Apr 1553; deputy constable of the Tower of London, 1 May?-8 Jul 1553; imprisoned in the Tower, 21 Feb 1554-18 Jan 1555; member, Council of the North,

1557; restored in blood, 3 Mar 1559; JP, Heref, 1559, 1562, and 1564, and in most Marcher and Welsh cos, 1573, all until death; seneschal of Hereford, Heref, 1559; gov, Berwick upon Tweed, Northumb, 14 Apr 1559–21 Aug 1560; comm of musters, Heref, 1569; steward, Heref, by 1570; comptroller of the Household, steward, Kedewen, Kerry, and Montgomery, all in Montgomeryshire, and constable, Aberystwyth Castle, Cardiganshire, and Montgomery Castle, all in Wales, 1570; PC, 24 May 1570; steward, Leominster, Heref, by 1571; custos rot, Heref, c 1573; imprisoned Aug 1588–18 Dec 1589. Seats at Croft Castle and Shobdon, both in Heref; granted lands in Heref and Kent, 3 Mar 1559.

players	Glouc	Gloucester	1574–5 (305)
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### Cumberland

Francis Clifford (1559–21 Jan 1641), succ as 4th earl of Cumberland and hereditary sheriff of Westmld, 19 Oct 1605. MP, Westmld, 1584, 1586, and Yorks, 1604; JP, Yorks, ER and WR, 1592; sheriff, Yorks, 24 Nov 1600–1; jt constable and steward, Knaresborough, Yorks, WR, 1604; keeper, Carlisle Castle, Cumb, 1605 and Carlisle Gaol, 1606; custos rot, Cumb, 1606–39; lord lieut, Cumb, Newcastle upon Tyne, Northumb, and Westmld, jt, 27 Oct 1607–11, 11 Feb 1614–39, and sole, 1 Jul 1611–14, and Westmld, jt, 31 Aug 1639 until death; member, Council of the North, 1619. Estates in Cumb, Westmld, and Yorks, including Londesborough, Yorks, ER, castles of Appleby, Brougham, and Brough, all in Westmld, and of Skipton, Yorks, NR.

waits	Cumb	Carlisle	1613–14 (76)
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### Curwen

Henry Curwen (d bet Mar 1623–Mar 1624), kt 28 Aug 1570. Sheriff, Cumb, 9 Nov 1619; MP, Cumb, 1620–1. Seat at Workington Hall, Workington, Cumb.

waits	Cumb	Naworth	1612–13 (135)
musicians	Cumb	Carlisle	1613–14 (75, 76)
			1620–1 (99)

### Dalston

John Dalston (1556–after 1621), kt 1603. JP, Cumb 1573 and Westmld, from 1601; sheriff, Cumb, 25 Nov 1583, 14 Nov 1586, 21 Nov 1594, and 5 Nov 1604; steward, barony of Burgh, by 1582; MP, Carlisle, 1589; capt, Carlisle Castle for life, 13 Nov 1589; eccles comm, Yorks, 1599; deputy warden of the West March, Jan 1603. Seat at Dalston Hall, Little Dalston, Cumb; inherited manors in Cumb, Westmld, and Yorks.

musicians	Cumb	Carlisle	1617–18 (87)
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### Derby

Henry Stanley (Sept 1531–25 Sept 1593), styled Lord Strange until summ to Parl as

Lord Strange of Knockin, Shrops, 23 Jan 1558/9; succ as 13th earl of Derby and lord of the Isle of Man, 24 Oct 1572. High steward, Ormskirk, Lanc, 6 Dec 1550; jt comm of musters, Lancaster, 1569; lord lieut, 24 Oct 1572 until death and vice-adm, Lanc and Ches, May 1574–87; eccles comm, York, 17 Jun 1577; PC, by 20 May 1585; lord steward of the Household, after 4 Sept 1588–93; chamberlain of Chester, 5 Nov 1588–93; member, Council of the North. Estates at Lathom and Knowsley, both in Lanc.

players (Lord Strange)	Glouc	Gloucester	1564–5 (300)
players	Glouc	Gloucester	1579–80 (306)

Ferdinando Stanley (c 1559–16 Apr 1594), son of Henry, 13th earl of Derby, *qv*, styled Lord Strange from 1572; summ to Parl as Lord Strange, 28 Jan 1588/9; succ as 14th earl of Derby and lord of the Isle of Man, 25 Sept 1593. Deputy lieut, 1585 and lord lieut, 25 Sept 1593 until death, Lanc and Ches; mayor of Liverpool, Lanc, 1588; vice-adm, Lanc and Ches, 1594.

players (Lord Strange)	Glouc	Gloucester	1580–1 (308)
			1591–2 (312)

William Stanley (c 1561–29 Sept 1642), succ as 15th earl of Derby, 16 Apr 1594; confirmed in the lordship of the Isle of Man, 7 Jul 1609. PC, Mar–May 1603; chamberlain, co palatine of Chester, 30 Oct 1603 and jt, with James Stanley, *qv*, for life, 23 Oct 1626; lord lieut, Lanc and Ches, 22 Dec 1607, and jt with James for life, 12 Dec 1626; member, Council in the Marches of Wales, by 1617; vice-adm, Lanc and Ches, 1619–38; jt steward of Furness, Lanc, 30 Nov 1627. Seats at Lathom and Knowsley, Lanc; granted manor of Ormskirk and others in Lanc, 21 Jul 1603.

players	Glouc	Gloucester	1595–6 (314)
	Westmld	Kendal	1597–8 (177)
			1608–9 (181)
	Cumb	Workington	1628–9 (129)
	Westmld	Kendal	1628–9 (204)
			1635–6 (212)

James Stanley (31 Jan 1607–15 Oct 1651), son of William, 15th earl of Derby, *qv*, summ to Parl as Lord Strange, 7 Mar 1627/8–3 Nov 1639; succ as 16th earl of Derby and lord of the Isle of Man, 29 Sept 1642. MP, Liverpool, Lanc, 1625; lord lieut, Lanc and Ches for life, jt, 12 Dec 1626 and sole, Chester, from 28 Feb 1642 and Lanc, from 29 Sept 1642; chamberlain of Chester for life, jt, 23 Oct 1626 and sole from 29 Sept 1642; jt steward of Furness, Lanc, 30 Nov 1627; lord lieut, North Wales, by 1642; eccles comm in the North, 1629; jt high steward of Blackburn, Hidenowe, Rochdale, and Tottington, all in Lanc, 8 Jun 1636; chief comm of array, Lanc, 11 Jun 1642; alderman of Chester until 27 Oct 1646; capt gen, Ches, Lanc, Staff, Worc, and North

Wales, Aug 1651; custos rot, Lanc, nd; beheaded 15 Oct 1651.

players (Lord Strange)	Westmld Cumb	Kendal Workington	1635-6 (213) 1636-7 (133)
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### Dudley

Edward Sutton or Dudley (bapt 17 Sept 1567-23 Jun 1643), succ as 5th Lord Dudley by 12 Aug 1586. MP, Staff, 1584; JP, Staff, by 1585 and Worc, 1608, 1626, and 1636; high steward, Norwich Cathedral, 1631-5. Seat at Dudley Castle, Staff.

players	Cumb	Carlisle	1619-20 (93)
			1626-7 (107)
	Westmld	Kendal	1632-3 (209)

Dudley (Lord Ambrose) *see* Warwick

### Dudley (Mr)

Possibly

Edmund Dudley (nd), sheriff, Cumb, 7 Dec 1602 and 11 May 1623. Seat at Yanwath Hall, Yanwath, Westmld.

or

Thomas Dudley, son of Edmund, *qv*, sheriff, Cumb, 7 Nov 1622. Seat at Yanwath Hall, Yanwath, Westmld.

musician	Cumb	Carlisle	1608-9 (69)
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### Essex

Walter Devereux (16 Sept 1539-22 Sept 1576), succ as Viscount Hereford and Lord Ferrers, 27 Sept 1558 and as Lord Bouchier, 28 Jan 1570/1; cr 18th earl of Essex, 4 May 1572. Steward of Tamworth, Staff and of Welsh courts in Cardiganshire and in Wdigada and Elfed, both in Carmarthenshire, steward and receiver of the lordship of Builth, Brecknockshire, Wales, and steward, surveyor, and receiver of Talley, Carmarthenshire, 8 Nov 1558; JP, Staff and Cardiganshire and Pembrokeshire, Wales, 1564; chief comm of musters, Staff, Jun 1569; lord lieut, Staff and city of Lichfield, Staff, 18 Nov 1569; constable, Carmarthen Castle, Carmarthenshire and chief steward and bailiff of the lordships of Arustley and Caylocke, both in Montgomeryshire, Wales, for life, 17 May 1570; gov and capt gen of Ireland, 24 Jul 1573; earl marshal of Ireland, Mar 1574/5; member, Council in the Marches of Wales, Jun 1574; chief justice and chamberlain in South Wales, by 16 Jul 1574. Houses at Chartley, Staff and Llamphay, Pembrokeshire; granted manor of Marks Hall, Essex, 1571; sold lands in Cornw, Essex, Staff, Wilts, and Yorks, 1576; granted land in co Monaghan, Ireland, 9 May 1576.

players	Glouc	Gloucester	1572-3 (302) 1574-5 (305)
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Robert Devereux (19 Nov 1566-25 Feb 1600/1), styled Viscount Hereford until he succ as 19th earl of Essex, Lord Ferrers, and Lord Bouchier, 22 Sept 1576. PC, 25 Feb 1592/3; lord lieut, Staff, 1594, chancellor of Cambridge Univ and Univ of Dublin, 1598, and high steward of Yarmouth, Isle of Wight, 1598, all until death; lord lieut, Ireland, Mar-Nov 1599; beheaded 25 Feb 1600/1. Houses at Chartley, Staff and Lamphay, Pembrokeshire, Wales; manor of Keyston, Hunts, sold May 1590.

players	Glouc	Gloucester	1583-4 (309) 1584-5 (309) 1585-6 (310) 1586-7 (310) 1586-7 (172)
	Westmld	Kendal	

### Essex (countess of)

Lettice Knollys (1539 or 1540-25 Dec 1634), married Walter Devereux, 18th earl of Essex, *qv*, bet 1560 and 1565, and Robert Dudley, 14th earl of Leicester, *qv*, 21 Sept 1578, and Sir Christopher Blount (d 18 Mar 1600/1), before Aug 1589.

players	Glouc	Gloucester	1578-9 (306)
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### Eure

Ralph Eure (24 Sept 1558-1 Apr 1617), succ as 3rd Baron Eure, 12 Feb 1593/4. JP, Yorks, NR, from c 1583 and Durham, c 1593; warden of the Middle Marches, 1595-8; sheriff, Yorks, 26 Nov 1593; member, 14 Aug 1594 until death and vice-pres, 1600, Council of the North; custos rot, Northumb, 1596; lord pres, Council in the Marches of Wales and lord lieut, Heref, Shrops, Worc, and Wales, 12 Sept 1607-17. Seats at Ingleby, Greenhow, Malton, and Stokesley, all in Yorks, NR.

players	Cumb	Carlisle	1602-3 (66)
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### Fortescue

Sir Andrew Fortescue. Not identified.

players	Glouc	Gloucester	1560-1 (298)
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Mr Fortescue. Not identified.

players	Glouc	Gloucester	1568-9 (301)
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### Gloucester

Thomas of Woodstock (7 Jan 1354/5-8 or 9 Sept 1397), son of Edward III, cr earl of Buckingham, 16 Jul 1377, earl of Essex, 26 Oct 1380, and 1st duke of Gloucester, 6 Aug 1385. Guardian of the Kingdom during the king's absence, Jul 1355-May

1360; JP, Essex, 1376, 1386-7, 1390, and 1394, Glouc, 1376, and 1394, and Heref, 1376, 1385, and 1394; comm of array, Essex, 29 Apr 1377; keeper of the castles of Brecknock and Hay, Brecknockshire, Caldicot, Monmouthshire, and Newton, Pembrokeshire, all in Wales, and Huntingdon, Hunts, 24 May 1377; on various commissions in Essex, Glouc, and Heref, May 1381; chief comm of oyer and terminer, Camb, 1381; justice of Chester and North Wales, 8 Jun 1388-30 Mar 1394; constable of Gloucester Castle for life, 14 Feb 1389; sheriff, Rut, 6 May 1390; lieut of Ireland, 29 Apr-Jul 1392; imprisoned 10 Jul 1397. Seat at Pleshey, Essex; held custody of several manors in Essex, Glouc, Linc, Oxf, and Wilts; granted St Briavel's Castle, Glouc, 17 May 1384 and Castle Rising, Norf, 17 May 1386; secured reversions of Brustwick, Holderness, Yorks, ER and castle of Oakham, Rut, 6 May 1390.

minstrels	Glouc	Gloucester	1393-4 (291)
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### Grey

Charles Grey (c 1545-28 Sept 1623), succ as 17th earl of Kent and 10th Lord Grey, 31 Jan 1614/15. Lord lieut, Beds, sole, 25 Feb 1614/15 and jt, 27 Jul 1621. House in the Barbican, London and manor house at Blunham, Beds.

musicians	Glouc	Cirencester	c 1616 (385)
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### Greyndour

John Greyndour (c 1356-by 30 Oct 1416), kt by 1398. Constable of St Briavel's Castle and the forest of Dean, both in Glouc, 8 Nov 1385; granted custody of the lands of the late William Blount, during minority of his heir, 12 Oct 1399; comm in Wales, 16 May 1401, 23 Aug 1405, 28 Oct and 28 Nov 1412, 12 Jun 1413, and 16 Jun 1415; keeper of castle and lordship of Radnor and villages of Presteigne and Norton, all in Radnorshire, Wales, and villages of Kingsland and Pembridge, both in Heref, during pleasure, 24 Sept 1402; JP, Glouc, 1406-8, Heref, 1404-8 and 1413; comm to keep and govern castle, town, and lordship of Chepstow, Monmouthshire, Wales, 11 Jun 1405; comm of oyer and terminer, Glouc and Heref, 1405; sheriff, Glouc, 22 Nov 1405 and 10 Dec 1411; on various commissions in Glouc and Heref, Jan 1406; steward of the lordships of Usk and Caerleon, both in Monmouthshire, 29 Mar 1406. Enfeoffed of part of the manor of Little Dean, Glouc, 10 Mar 1383; granted lands in the lordship of Newport, Monmouthshire, 22 May 1408; held other lands in Glouc.

minstrels	Glouc	Gloucester	1409-10 (291)
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### Home

Alexander Home (c 1566-5 Apr 1619), restored as 6th Lord Home, 25 Jul 1578; cr earl of Home and Lord Dunglas, 4 Mar 1604/5. Warden of the East Marches, 1582-99; imprisoned, 1583-20 Jan 1584/5; sheriff, Berwickshire, Scotland, 1592; justiciary over the West, Middle, and East Marches, 7 Jul 1603; PC, 1603. Seat at Home Castle,

Berwickshire; granted priory of Coldingham, Berwickshire, 1592.

or

James Home (c 1607–13 Feb 1633), son of Alexander, 1st earl of Home, *qv*, styled Lord Dunglas until he succ as 2nd earl of Home and Dunglas, and 7th Lord Home, 5 Apr 1619.

fool	Cumb	Carlisle	1619–20 (95)
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### Hunsdon

Henry Carey (4 Mar 1525/6–23 Jul 1596), cr 1st Baron Hunsdon, 13 Jan 1558/9. MP, Buckingham, Bucks, 1547, Apr and Nov 1554, and 1555; JP, Essex, Herts, and Kent, 1562, 1564, and 1584, Beds, 1564, and Yorks, NR, 1584; gov of Berwick upon Tweed, Northumb, 25 Aug 1568–87; warden of the East Marches towards Scotland, 23 Oct 1571; PC, 16 Nov 1577; lord chamberlain of the Household, Jul 1585, lord lieut, Norf and Suff, 3 Jul 1585, and chief justice in eyre south of Trent, 1589, all until death; recorder of Cambridge and high steward of Ipswich, Suff and of Doncaster, Yorks, WR, 1590; chief justice itinerant of the royal forests south of Trent, 20 Dec 1591 until death; high steward of Oxford for life, 2 Mar 1591/2. Seats at Buckingham and Hunsdon, Herts; lands in Bucks, Derb, Essex, Hants, Herts, Kent, Wilts, and Yorks.

players	Glouc	Gloucester	1565–6 (300)
			1581–2 (308)

### Kinderton

Thomas Venables (by 1513–19 Jul 1580), styled Baron Kinderton; kt 11 May 1544. Chamberlain, Middlewich, Ches, 1540–72; JP, Ches, 1543–6, 1547, 1562, and 1564 until death; sheriff, Ches, 1544–5 and 13 Nov 1556; comm of musters, Ches, by 1545; MP, Ches, Mar 1553 and 1563. Seat at Kinderton and lands in Bradwell, Eccleston, and Middlewich, all in Ches.

players	Glouc	Gloucester	1578–9 (306)
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### King

Richard Plantagenet (6 Jan 1367–14 Feb 1400), son of Edward, prince of Wales, and Joan, daughter of Edmund, earl of Kent; cr prince of Wales, 20 Nov 1376; acc as Richard II, 21 Jun 1377, crowned 16 Jul 1377. Abdicated 29 Sept 1399.

minstrels	Glouc	Gloucester	1393–4 (291)
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Henry of Bolingbroke (Apr 1366–20 Mar 1413), son of John of Gaunt and Blanche of Lancaster; declared Henry IV by Parl, 30 Sept 1399; crowned 13 Oct 1399.

minstrels	Glouc	Gloucester	1409–10 (291)
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Henry of Monmouth (9 Aug 1387–31 Aug 1422), son of Henry IV, *qv*, and Mary de Bohun; cr prince of Wales, 15 Oct 1399; acc as Henry V, 20 Mar 1413; crowned 9 Apr 1413.

minstrels (prince)	Glouc	Gloucester	1409–10 (291)
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Henry Tudor (28 Jun 1491–28 Jan 1547), son of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York; cr prince of Wales, 18 Feb 1503; acc as Henry VIII, 22 Apr 1509; crowned 24 Jun 1509.

trumpeters	Glouc	Gloucester	1534–5 (296)
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Edward Tudor (12 Oct 1537–6 Jul 1553), son of Henry VIII, *qv*, and Jane Seymour; acc as Edward VI, 21 Jan 1547, crowned 20 Feb 1547. Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset, designated his Protector.

jester	Glouc	Gloucester	1552–3 (297)
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James Stuart (19 Jun 1566–27 Mar 1625), son of Henry, Lord Darnley and Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, acc as James VI of Scotland, 24 Jul 1567 and as James I of England, 24 Mar 1603; crowned 25 Jul 1603.

players	Cumb	Carlisle	1618–19 (91)
	Westmld	Kendal	1619–20 (187)
	Cumb	Carlisle	1620–1 (97,99)
			1621–2 (101)
	Westmld	Kendal	1621–2 (188)
juggler	Cumb	Carlisle	1622–3 (102)
	Westmld	Kendal	1622–3 (194)
	Cumb	Carlisle	1621–2 (100)

Charles Stuart (19 Nov 1600–30 Jan 1649), son of James I, *qv*, and Anne of Denmark, *qv*; cr duke of Albany, 23 Dec 1600; duke of York, 6 Jan 1605; succ as duke of Cornwall, 6 Nov 1612; cr earl of Chester and prince of Wales, 4 Nov 1616; acc as Charles I, 27 Mar 1625; crowned, 2 Feb 1625; executed, 30 Jan 1649.

players (duke of Albany)	Cumb	Carlisle	1610–11 (72)
players (prince)	Cumb	Naworth	1617–18 (136)
	Westmld	Kendal	1617–18 (186)
			1619–20 (187)
	Cumb	Carlisle	1620–1 (97)
		Naworth	1620–1 (138)
players	Westmld	Kendal	1620–1 (187)
	Cumb	Carlisle	1622–3 (102)
	Westmld	Kendal	1622–3 (194)
	Cumb	Carlisle	1624–5 (104)

	Westmld	Kendal	1625-6 (200)
			1626-7 (202)
	Cumb	Carlisle	1626-7 (107)
	Westmld	Kendal	1636-7 (213)
King's Revels Company	Cumb	Carlisle	1627-8 (109)

### Kingston

Anthony Kingston (by 1512-14 Apr 1556), kt 2 May 1540. Keeper, town and castle of St Briavel's, Glouc, 1547; steward, castle and lordship of Berkeley, Glouc, 1531 and duchy of Lancaster, Glouc, and Heref, 5 Feb 1541, all until death, and various manors in Glouc and Worc, 28 Jun 1541; sheriff, Glouc, 17 Nov 1533 and 11 Nov 1550; JP, Glouc, 1537, 1539-40, 1542-5, 1547, and 1554 until death; MP, Glouc, 1539, 1542?, 1545, 1547, Mar 1553, and 1555; comm of musters, Glouc, 31 Mar 1539, 1 Oct 1542, and 20 Jan 1546; comm of oyer and terminer, Glouc, 1540; chief steward, town and hundred of Tewkesbury, 28 Jun 1541 and former lands of Cirencester Abbey, by 1547-9, both in Glouc; custos rot, Glouc, by 1546; comm for the survey of chantries, Glouc, including cities of Gloucester and Bristol, 14 Feb 1546; member, Council in the Marches of Wales, 1551. Seats at Chudleigh, Devon and Painswick, Glouc; held manors of Chudleigh and Honiton, Devon, through marriage; granted Flaxley Abbey and lands, 21 Mar 1537, priory of Stanley and lands, 22 Oct 1544, manor of Quenington, 25 Sept 1545, and Miserden, 4 Nov 1546, all in Glouc.

abbot of misrule	Glouc	Gloucester	1550-1 (296)
players	Glouc	Gloucester	1550-1 (296)
			1551-2 (296)
			1552-3 (297)

### Lady Elizabeth *see* Princess

### Lawson

Wilfred Lawson (1545-16 Apr 1632), kt 1604. Sheriff, Cumb, 5 Dec 1582, 25 Nov 1597, 17 Nov 1606, and 6 Nov 1612; JP, Cumb, by 1587; lieut, honour of Cockermouth and capt, Cockermouth Castle, Cumb, c 1591; MP, Cumb, 1593, 1604, and 1614; border comm, 1605. Seat at Isell Hall, Isell, Cumb.

musicians	Cumb	Carlisle	1618-19 (90)
fool	Cumb	Carlisle	1619-20 (93)

### Leicester

Robert Dudley (24 Jun 1532 or 1533-4 Sept 1588), cr baron of Denbigh, Denbighshire, Wales, 28 Sept, and 14th earl of Leicester, 29 Sept 1564; imprisoned Jul 1553, attainted 22 Jan 1553/4, pardoned 18 Oct 1554, and restored in blood,

7 Mar 1557/8. MP, Norf, 1547, Mar 1553, and 1559; jt steward and constable, Castle Rising, Norf, 13 Dec 1550; comm of relief, Norf, 16 Dec 1551; jt comm of lieutenancy, Norf, 16 May 1552-3; comm of church goods, Norf, 3 Mar 1553; PC, 23 Apr 1559; lord lieut, Warw, 10 May 1559, Berks, 1560?, Worc, 20 Nov 1569-15 Nov 1570, and Essex and Herts, 3 Jul 1585 until death; lieut of forest and castle of Windsor, Berks, 24 Nov 1559; JP, Heref, Warw, and Worc, 1562, 1564, and 1584, Northants, 1584; constable of Windsor Castle, 23 Feb 1562 and high steward of Cambridge Univ, 15 Jul 1563, both until death; high steward, Windsor, 9 Sept 1563, bishopric of Ely, Camb, 1565, Reading, by 1566, Abingdon, 1566, and Wallingford, 1569, all in Berks, Bristol, Glouc, 20 Apr 1570 until death, Grafton, Northants, 14 Dec 1571, King's Lynn and Great Yarmouth, both in Norf, 1572 until death, Andover, Hants, 1574, and St Albans, Herts, by 1584; high steward and receiver of the honour of Pickering Lythe and constable of Pickering Castle, Yorks, NR, 4 Nov 1564; chancellor of Oxford Univ, 31 Dec 1564 and chamberlain of Chester, 2 Jul 1565, both until death; custos rot, Warw, 1568; high steward, Norwich Cathedral, 1574 until death; chancellor and chamberlain of Anglesey, Caernarvonshire, and Merioneth, all in Wales, 26 Sept 1578; lord steward of the Household, 1 Nov 1584-8; warden and chief justice in eyre south of Trent, 25 Nov 1585 until death; lieut and capt gen at Tilbury, Essex, 1 Jul 1588. Seat at Kenilworth, Warw, from 29 Sept 1564; estate at Drayton Bassett, Staff; house at Cornbury, Oxf; granted Hemsby Manor near Great Yarmouth, Norf, 4 Feb 1553, lands in Leic and Northants, 1553, lordship of Beverley, Yorks, ER, 1561, lordship of Denbighshire, including Denbigh Castle and borough of Chirk, 1563, and other lands in various parts of England and Wales, from 1563.

players	Glouc	Gloucester	1560-1 (298)
			1561-2 (299)
			1569-70 (301)
			1570-1 (301)
			1584-5 (309)
			1586-7 (310)
			1587-8 (310)
musicians	Glouc	Gloucester	1573-4 (303)
trumpeters	Glouc	Gloucester	1573-4 (303)
bearward	Glouc	Gloucester	1574-5 (305)

### Lieutenant of the Tower

Owen Hopton (c 1519-bet 22 Jul and 20 Dec 1595), kt 1561. JP, Suff, 1544-5, 1554, 1562, and 1564, Midd, 1569, 1570-1, and 1591-2; MP, Suff, 1559, 1571, Midd, 1572, 1584, and Arundel, Suss, 1589; comm of oyer and terminer, Beds, Bucks, Camb, Hunts, Norf, Suff, and city of Norwich, 1564; sheriff of Norf and Suff, 9 Nov 1564; comm for ports, 10 Nov 1565, comm of sewers, 8 May 1566, and comm of musters, by 29 Jun 1569, all in Suff; lieut of Tower of London, by Nov 1569-90; comm *post*

*mortem*, Midd, 10 Jul 1576. Seats at Cockfield Hall, Yoxford and Blythburgh, Suff; lands in Somers and Suff.

players	Glouc	Gloucester	1570-1 (302)
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### Lincoln

Henry Clinton or Fiennes (after 1539-29 Sept 1616), styled Lord Clinton, 1572 until he succ as 17th earl of Lincoln and Lord Clinton, 16 Jan 1584/5. MP, Launceston, Cornw, 1559 and Linc, 1571; comm of sewers, Linc, 14 Jun 1564, 14 Jun 1570, and 9 Nov 1570; jt comm of musters, Linc, 1569; JP, Linc, 1570-1; vice-adm, York, by 1572 and Linc, by 1574; comm *post mortem*, Linc, 12 Feb 1573 and 12 Oct 1576; high steward of Boston, Linc, 1574; PC, Mar-May 1603; steward and keeper, manor of Kirton, Linc 10 Jul 1608. Seat at Tattershall, Linc; lands in Derby, Essex, Leic, Linc, Nott, Suff, Suss, Yorks, and Montgomeryshire, Wales.

players	Cumb	Carlisle	1608-9 (70)
	Westmld	Kendal	1608-9 (181)

### Lord President of the Marches of Wales

Henry Sidney (20 Jul 1529-5 May 1586), kt 1551 and KG 14 May 1564. MP, Brackley, Northants, 1547 and Kent, Mar 1553, 1563, 1571, and 1572; high steward, honour of Oxford and Knole Park, Kent, 1553; vice-treasurer and receiver-gen of Ireland, 27 Apr 1556-9; lord justice of Ireland, jt, 5 Dec 1557 and sole, 18 Jan 1558; lord pres, Council in the Marches of Wales, 1559 until death; JP, Chester, 1562 and 1564, Heref, 1562 and 1564, Kent and Shrops, 1561/2, Worc, 1562 and 1564, Brecknockshire and Monmouthshire, both in Wales, 1562 and 1564, and various Welsh cos, from 13 Jun 1562, and English cos, from c 1573; lord deputy of Ireland, by 22 Jun 1565-71 and 31 Jul 1575-Jul 1580; PC, 31 Jul 1575. Seat at Penshurst, Kent; inherited lordship of Kingston on Hull and manor of Myton, both in Yorks, ER, and manors of Southwell, Nott and Tyburn, Midd; granted manor and borough of Wootton Bassett, Wilts, 2 Jul 1553; residence at Ludlow Castle, Shrops; lands in Glouc, Kent, Linc, Nott, Surr, Suss, and Yorks.

trumpeter	Glouc	Gloucester	1560-1 (298)
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### Manche (Lady)

Probably Lady Mountjoy.

Katherine Leigh (nd-25 Jun 1576), married James Blount, 6th Lord Mountjoy, *qv*, 1558.

players	Glouc	Gloucester	1571-2 (302)
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### March

Roger de Mortimer (11 Apr 1374-20 Jul 1398), succ as 4th earl of March, earl of Ulster, and Lord Mortimer, 27 Dec 1381; hereditary constable of Brimpsfield Castle,

Glouc and of Trim Castle, co Meath, Ireland; lieut of Ireland, 24 Jan 1381/2-3, 23 Jul 1392, and 24 Apr 1397-1400; ambassador to Scotland, 16 Feb-30 Mar 1394; lieut in cos Connaught, Meath, and Ulster, Ireland, 25 Apr 1396-29 Sept 1397. Lands in many counties, including Dors, Somers, and Worc.

minstrels	Glouc	Gloucester	1393-4 (291)
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### Master of the Revels

Edmund Tilney (nd-20 Aug 1610), MP, Gatton, Surr, 1572; master of the revels to the Household, 24 Jul 1579 until death; subsidy comm, Surr, 1593-4. Seat at Leatherhead, Surr; held property in Midd and Surr; residence at Clerkenwell, Midd, from 1586.

players	Glouc	Gloucester	1583-4 (309)
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### Metcalfe

Thomas Metcalfe (c 1579-Jul 1650 or 1655), kt May 1603. Seat at Nappa Hall, Wensleydale, Yorks, NR.

musicians	Cumb	Carlisle	1614-15 (81)
players	Cumb	Carlisle	1626-7 (107)

### Monteagle

William Parker (c 1575-1 Jul 1622), son of Edward, 12th Lord Morley, *qv*, succ as 5th Lord Monteagle, 12 Jun 1585 and as 13th Lord Morley, 1 Apr 1618. Seat at Hornby Castle, Lanc; houses at Shinglehall, Epping and Great Hallingbury, both in Essex; granted manor of Martok, Somers, 1605.

players	Westmld	Kendal	1597-8 (177)
			1610-11 (181)
			1614-15 (182)

### Morley

Edward Parker (c 1551-1 Apr 1618), succ as 12th Lord Morley, 22 Oct 1577. Imprisoned, Apr 1573; (?) deputy comm, Essex, 6 Nov 1580; JP, Norf, 1584, Somers, 1584 and 1608, and Yorks, NR, 1584. Obtained manor of Belhouse, North Tuddenham, Norf, 1 Mar 1578.

players	Glouc	Gloucester	1581-2 (308)
	Westmld	Kendal	1585-6 (172)
	Glouc	Gloucester	1592-3 (312)
	Cumb	Carlisle	1602-3 (66)

### Mountjoy

James Blount (c 1533-20 Oct 1581), succ as 6th Lord Mountjoy, 10 Oct 1544. Lord lieut, Dors, 26 May 1559; JP, Dors and Wilts, 1562 and 1564; comm of oyer and

terminer, Cornw, Devon, Dors, Somers, Southants, and Wilts, 1564; shareholder in the company of Mines Royal, Cornw, Cumb, Devon, Glouc, Lanc, Westmld, Worc, and Wales, 28 May 1568. Country seat at Apethorpe, Northants.

players	Cumb	Keswick	1568-9 (126)
	Glouc	Gloucester	1568-9 (301)
			1572-3 (302)
			1577-8 (305)

## Neville

Possibly

Edmund Neville (bef 1555-c 1618), styled himself 5th Lord Latimer after 27 May 1590 and claimed title of 7th earl of Westmorland, 1601; claim rejected, 29 Sept 1604. Imprisoned in the Tower, 1584-8 Feb 1598 and in the Fleet until 31 Dec 1598.

musicians	Cumb	Carlisle	1619-20 (92)
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## Ogle

Cuthbert Ogle (c 1540-20 Nov 1597), succ as 7th Lord Ogle, 1 Aug 1562. Member, Council of the North, Oct 1572-97; comm to survey forts and castles, East and Middle Marches, 1580-8; JP, Yorks, NR, 1584.

players	Glouc	Gloucester	1578-9 (306)
			1593-4 (312)
			1594-5 (313)
			1595-6 (314)

## Oxford

Edward de Vere (12 Apr 1550-24 Jun 1604), styled Lord Bolbec until he succ as 17th earl of Oxford and lord great chamberlain of England, 3 Aug 1562. Chief comm of musters, Essex, 1579. Seat at Hedingham Castle, Essex; sold estate of Earls Colne, Essex, Sept 1583; granted Earls Colne Priory, Essex, 8 Jun 1588; sold it in 1592; lived at Hackney, Midd, 1596 until death.

players	Glouc	Gloucester	1582-3 (308)
			1583-4 (309)
			1584-5 (309)

**Prince** *see* Henry of Monmouth *and* Charles Stuart *under* King

## Princess

Elizabeth Stuart (mid Aug 1596-13 Feb 1662), daughter of James VI of Scotland and I of England, *qv*, and Anne of Denmark, *qv*; married, 14 Feb 1613, Frederick V, then elector palatine; became queen of Bohemia, 7 Nov 1619.

players (Lady Elizabeth)	Cumb	Carlisle	1617-18 (89)
			1619-20 (95)

players (queen of Bohemia)	Westmld	Kendal	1619-20 (187)
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### Queen

Mary Tudor (18 Feb 1516-17 Nov 1558), daughter of Henry VIII, *qv*, and Catherine of Aragon, acc as Mary I of England, 19 Jul 1553; crowned, 1 Oct 1553; married, 25 Jul 1554, Philip, king of Naples and Jerusalem, and king of Spain from 16 Jul 1556.

jester	Glouc	Gloucester	1554-5 (297)
players	Glouc	Gloucester	1555-6 (297)

Elizabeth Tudor (7 Sept 1533-24 Mar 1603), daughter of Henry VIII, *qv*, and Anne Boleyn; acc as Elizabeth I, 17 Nov 1558; crowned, 15 Jan 1559.

players	Glouc	Gloucester	1559-60 (298)
			1561-2 (299)
			1564-5 (300)
			1565-6 (300)
			1567-8 (301)
			1569-70 (301)
			1571-2 (302)
			1580-1 (307)
			1582-3 (308)
			1586-7 (310)
			1587-8 (310)
			1588-9 (311)
	Cumb	Carlisle	1588-9 (65)
	Glouc	Gloucester	1589-90 (311)
			1590-1 (312)
			1591-2 (312)
	Westmld	Kendal	1592-3 (174)
	Glouc	Gloucester	1593-4 (312)
			1594-5 (313)
			1595-6 (313)
juggler	Glouc	Gloucester	1563-4 (299)
bearwards	Glouc	Gloucester	1570-1 (301)
	Glouc	Gloucester	1574-5 (305)
musicians	Glouc	Gloucester	1573-4 (303)
trumpeters	Glouc	Gloucester	1573-4 (303)
			1591-2 (312)
puppet players	Glouc	Gloucester	1581-2 (308)

Anne of Denmark (12 Dec 1574-2 Mar 1619), married James VI of Scotland (later James I of England), *qv*, 20 Aug 1589; crowned queen of England, 25 Jul 1603. Her acting company continued in her name for several years after her death.

players	Westmld	Kendal	1615-16 (183)
			1616-17 (184)
	Cumb	Carlisle	1617-18 (87)
	Westmld	Kendal	1617-18 (185)
	Cumb	Carlisle	1619-20 (94)

### Queen of Bohemia *see* Princess

### Savile

John Savile (1556-31 Aug 1630), cr Baron Savile (of Pontefract, Yorks, WR), 21 Jul 1628. MP, Lincoln City, 1586 and Yorks, 1597, 1604, 1614, 1624, and 1626; steward, honour of Wakefield, Yorks, WR, 1588; JP, Lindsey, Linc and Yorks, WR, from c 1591; custos rot, Yorks, WR, from c 1594-9 Dec 1615 and Jul 1626-8; member, northern high commission, 1599; member, Jul 1603 until death, and vice-pres, 1626-8, Council of the North; PC, 8 Nov 1626; mayor, Leeds, Yorks, WR, Jul 1626; comptroller of the Household, by 1627 until death; high steward of the honour of Pontefract, nd. Seats at Doddington, Linc and Howley Hall, Batley, Yorks, WR; estates at Barkston, Linc and in Yorks, WR.

musicians	Cumb	Carlisle	1617-18 (89)
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### Scrope

Henry Scrope (c 1534-13 Jun 1592), succ as 9th Lord Scrope, 22 Jun 1549. Member, Council of the North, before 20 Jan 1561 until death; warden of the West Marches and capt of Carlisle, Cumb, 6 Apr 1563 until death; JP, Yorks, ER and NR, 1562 and 1564 and Cumb, Durham, Northumb, Westmld, Yorks, Berwick upon Tweed and Newcastle upon Tyne, both in Northumb, and Kingston on Hull, Yorks, ER, 1564; comm *post mortem*, Cumb, 7 Jul 1568 and 21 Jun 1571; comm to assess fines in northern cos, Mar 1570; bailiff and steward, Richmond and constable and keeper of Richmond and Middleham Castles, all in Yorks, 23 Nov 1570. Seat at Bolton Castle, Wensleydale, Yorks, NR; lands in Derby, Devon, Essex, Linc, Notts, Southants, Wilts, and Yorks, and in Cardiganshire and Merioneth, Wales.

players	Cumb	Keswick	1573-4 (127)
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### Sheffield

Edmund Sheffield (7 Dec 1565-Oct 1646), succ as 3rd Baron Sheffield (of Butterwick, in the Isle of Axholme, Linc), 10 Dec 1568; cr earl of Mulgrave, 5 Feb 1625/6. Lord lieut, Yorks, 1 Aug 1603-19; lord pres, by 22 Jul 1603-by 11 Feb 1618/19 and member, 21 May 1625, Council of the North; JP, Yorks, NR, 1608, 1626, and 1636;

vice adm, Yorks, 1616 until death. Granted manor of Mulgrave, Yorks, NR, Apr 1591; seat at King's Manor, Yorks.

players	Glouc	Gloucester	1577-8 (305)
			1579-80 (306)

### Stafford

Edward Stafford (17 Jan 1535/6-18 Oct 1603), succ as 12th Baron Stafford, 1 Jan 1565/6. MP, Banbury, Oxf, Nov 1554 and Staff, 1558 and 1559; lord lieut, Staff, 1559?; lieut and justice in eyre, Needwood Forest and parks in the duchy of Lancaster, 13 May 1559; justice and ranger, forest of Cannock, Staff, 24 Sept 1560; jt comm of musters, Staff, by 8 Aug 1569; JP, Glouc, Shrops, and Staff, by 1573/4, and Montgomeryshire, Wales, by 1591; vice-adm, Glouc, 1587; member, Council in the Marches of Wales, Aug 1601. Seat at Stafford Castle, Staff.

players	Glouc	Gloucester	1581-2 (308)
			1582-3 (308)
			1583-4 (309)
			1584-5 (309)
			1595-6 (313)

Edward Stafford (bapt 20 Sept 1572-25 Sept 1625), son of Edward, 12th Baron Stafford, *qv*, succ as 13th Baron Stafford, 18 Oct 1603. Imprisoned in the Fleet, Mar 1605. Seat at Stafford Castle, Staff; granted manor of Islingham, Kent, 1604; obtained manor of Thornbury and other lands in Glouc, 20 Jun 1615.

players	Cumb	Carlisle	1608-9 (69)
			1613-14 (76)
			1614-15 (80)

### Stafford (countess of)

Anne (c 1380-c 16 Oct 1438), daughter and sole heir of Thomas of Woodstock, 1st duke of Gloucester, *qv*, married Thomas de Stafford, 3rd earl of Stafford (d 4 Jul 1392), 1392, his brother Edmund, 5th earl of Stafford (d 21 Jul 1403), 1398, and William Bourghier, count of Eu, Normandy, 1404.

minstrels	Glouc	Gloucester	1409-10 (291)
		Berkeley	1420-1 (347)

### Strange *see under* Derby

### Suffolk (duchess of)

Katherine Willoughby (22 Mar 1518/19-19 Sept 1580), *de jure suo jure* Baroness Willoughby de Eresby (of Eresby, Linc); married c 7 Sept 1533 Charles Brandon, 4th duke of Suffolk (d 22 Aug 1545), and Richard Bertie, probably early 1553; fled England, 5 Feb 1554/5; returned, summer 1559. Residence at Westhorpe, Suff, from

c 1528; principal seats at Grimsthorpe and Tattershall Castle, Linc, with associated lands, from c 1536; all lands seized by the Crown, 1557; returned, Aug 1559.

players	Glouc	Gloucester	1562-3 (299)
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### Sussex

Thomas Radcliffe (1525 or 1526-9 Jun 1583), styled Lord FitzWalter, 27 Nov 1542-53; succ as 8th earl of Sussex and Viscount and Baron FitzWalter, 17 Feb 1556/7. Warden and capt of Portsmouth, Hants, 24 Nov 1549-Apr 1551; MP, Norf, Mar 1553; JP, Essex and Norf, 1554, 1562, and 1564 and Suff, 1562 and 1564; lord deputy of Ireland, 27 Apr 1556-60; chief justice in eyre south of Trent, 3 Jul 1557 until death; lord lieut of Ireland, 6 May 1560-13 Oct 1565; lord pres, Council of the North, Jul 1568-Oct 1572; lord lieut of the North, 15 Nov 1569; PC, 30 Dec 1570; steward, New Hall, Beaulieu, Jul 1572 and Maldon, at death, both in Essex; lord chamberlain of the Household, 13 Jul 1572 until death; chief comm of array, sole, Beds, Cambs, Hunts, Kent, Midd, Norf, and Suff and jt, Essex and Herts, 1579. Seat at New Hall, granted 23 May 1574 and at Woodham Walther, Essex; house at Bermondsey, Surr and manors in Essex; granted forts of cos Leix and Offaly, Ireland and castles in several Irish cos, 1558.

players	Glouc	Gloucester	1569-70 (301)
			1572-3 (302)
			1574-5 (305)
			1575-6 (305)

Henry Radcliffe (by 1533-14 Dec 1593), <sup>br</sup>son of Thomas, 8th earl of Sussex, *qv*; succ as 9th earl of Sussex and Viscount and Baron FitzWalter, 9 Jun 1583. MP, Maldon, Essex, 1555, Chichester, Suss, 1559, Carlingford, co Louth, Ireland, 1560, Hants, 1571, and Portsmouth, Hants, 1572; PC, Ireland, by 25 Feb 1556/7; lieut, cos Leix and Offaly, Ireland, 1557-29 Oct 1564; comm, cos Dublin, Kildare, and others in Ireland during the absence of the lord deputy, 8 Aug 1557; lieut, Maryborough Castle and Fort, Ross and Cromarty, Scotland, 1558-9; constable, Porchester Castle and lieut, Southbere Forest, Southampton, both in Hants, for life, 14 Jun 1560; jt steward, crown possessions in Essex, 1561; warden and capt, 4 May 1571 and high steward, 9 Sept 1590, Portsmouth, both until death; JP, Hants, 1573/4 and Norf, 1584; comm of musters, Hants sole, by 1576 and jt, 16 Mar 1579/80; jt lord lieut, Hants and Winchester and Southampton, both in Hants, 3 Jul 1585 until death. Seat at New Hall, Boreham, Essex.

players	Glouc	Gloucester	1584-5 (309)
			1585-6 (310)
	Westmld	Kendal	1586-7 (172)
	Glouc	Gloucester	1587-8 (310)
			1588-9 (311)
			1590-1 (312)

Robert Radcliffe (12 Jun 1573–22 Sept 1629), son of Henry, 9th earl of Sussex, *qv*, styled Lord FitzWalter until he succ as 10th earl of Sussex and Viscount and Lord FitzWalter, 14 Dec 1593. Lord lieut, Essex, 26 Aug 1603–25, jt, 8 Sept 1625–6, and sole, 11 Sept 1626–9; gov, Harwich, Essex and Landguard Fort, Suff, Sept 1626–Mar 1628. Sold ancestral estate of New Hall, Boreham, Essex, Jul 1622; family estate at Attleborough, Norf.

players	Cumb	Carlisle	1617–18 (86)
	Westmld	Kendal	1617–18 (185)

### Throckmorton

John Throckmorton (by 1524–22 May 1580), kt 1565. MP, Leicester, Leic, 1545, Camelford, Cornw, 1547, Warw, Mar 1553, Old Sarum, Wilts, Oct 1553, and Coventry, Warw, Nov 1554, 1555, 1558, and 1559; attorney, 1550–4, member, 1558 until death, and vice-pres, 1565–9, Council in the Marches of Wales; steward, manor of Feckenham, Worc, 1552 until death; recorder, Coventry, 1553 and Worc, from 1559, both until death and Ludlow and Shrewsbury, both in Shrops, by 1560; JP, Warw, from 1554 and Welsh and Marcher cos, from 1558/9; under-steward of Westminster, 1557; justice of Chester and of Denbighshire and Montgomeryshire, both in Wales, 1558–79; eccles comm, diocese of Chester, 1562; comm for piracy, Ches, 1565. Seat at Feckenham; residence at Congleton, Ches.

minstrels	Glouc	Gloucester	1560–1 (298)
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### Vavasour

Major Vavasour (b before 1563), of Weston, Yorks, WR.

musicians	Cumb	Carlisle	1608–9 (69)
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### Wales (lord of)

Not identified.

minstrels	Glouc	Berkeley	1420–1 (347)
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### Warwick

Ambrose Dudley (c 1528–21 Feb 1589/90), styled Lord Ambrose Dudley from Oct 1551; cr Baron Lisle, 25 Dec, and 21st earl of Warwick, 26 Dec 1561; imprisoned and attainted 1553, pardoned 22 Jan 1554/5, and restored in blood, 7 Mar 1557/8. Constable of Kenilworth Castle, Warw, 20 Dec 1549; JP, Linc and Warw, 1562 and 1564; lord pres of the North, by 22 Feb 1564; comm of musters, jt, London, 1569 and chief, Warw, 1569, 1579, and 16 Mar 1580 and Berks, Bucks, Northants, Oxf, and Staff, 1579 and 16 Mar 1580; lord lieut, Warw and city of Coventry, Warw, Nov 1569–Nov 1570 and by 9 Oct 1587 until death; PC, 5 Sept 1573; high steward of St Albans, Herts, 1589 and of the honour of Grafton, 10 May 1589; chancellor and chamberlain, Anglesey, Caernarvonshire, and Merioneth, all in Wales, 20 May 1589.

Seat at Warwick Castle; owned park of Wedgnock, Warw; inherited lordship of Halesowen, Worc, 1555; granted manor of Kibworth Beauchamp, Leic, 28 Mar 1559.

players (Lord Ambrose Dudley)	Glouc	Gloucester	1559-60 (298)
players	Glouc	Gloucester	1561-2 (299)
			1563-4 (299)

### Wharton

Philip Wharton (23 Jun 1555-26 Mar 1625), succ as 3rd Baron Wharton, 14 Jun or Jul 1572. JP, Cumb, Northumb, Westmld, and Yorks, by 1578; jt high comm, province of York, 24 Nov 1599; jt border comm, 23 Jan 1617/18 and 1619. Seat at Wharton Hall, Westmld.

players	Westmld	Kendal	1599-1600 (177)
	Cumb	Carlisle	1610-11 (71)
			1613-14 (75)
			1614-15 (80)
			1617-18 (86)
			1618-19 (90)
			1621-2 (100)
			1622-3 (102)

Philip Wharton (8 Apr 1613-4 or 5 Feb 1695/6), grandson of Philip, 3rd Baron Wharton, *qv*, succ as 4th Baron Wharton, 26 Mar 1625. Lord lieut, Lanc, 5 Mar 1642, Bucks, 24 Jun 1642, and Westmld, 11 Sept 1644; custos rot, Cumb and Westmld and JP, Cumb, Westmld, and Yorks, WR and NR, all by 1650; PC, 14 Feb 1688/9. Held lands in Beds, Bucks, Cumb, Westmld, Yorks, and Ireland, including a house at Woburn, Beds and lands in Healaugh, Yorks.

players	Westmld	Kendal	1626-7 (202)
	Cumb	Workington	1628-9 (129)
	Westmld	Kendal	1628-9 (204)
	Cumb	Workington	1629-30 (129)
	Westmld	Kendal	1631-2 (208)
	Cumb	Workington	1632-3 (131)
			1633-4 (132)
	Cumb	Carlisle	1638-9 (122)

### Worcester

William Somerset (c 1527-21 Feb 1588/9), styled Lord Herbert until he succ as 8th earl of Worcester, 26 Nov 1549. Capt and keeper of castles of Aberystwyth, Cardiganshire and Carmarthen, Carmarthenshire, both in Wales, 17 May 1543; member, Council in the Marches of Wales, Nov 1553 and from 1576; JP, Glouc, Heref, Shrops, and Worc, 1554, Monmouthshire, Wales, 1562 and 1564, and Shrops, 1582;

comm of musters, Monmouthshire, 1579 and 16 Mar 1580 and Denbighshire, Wales, 12 Dec 1580. Seat at Raglan, Monmouthshire; residence at Hackney, Midd.

players	Glouc	Gloucester	1567-8 (300)
			1568-9 (301)
			1570-1 (301)
			1572-3 (302)
			1573-4 (303)
			1577-8 (305)
			1583-4 (309)

Edward Somerset (c 1550-3 Mar 1627/8), son of William, 8th earl of Worcester, *qv*, styled Lord Herbert until he succ as 9th earl of Worcester and Baron Herbert, 21 Feb 1588/9. Member, Council in the Marches of Wales, 16 Dec 1590; PC, 29 Jun 1601; lord lieut, Glamorgan and Monmouthshire, both in Wales, sole, 17 Jul 1602 and jt, 3 Dec 1626 until death; custos rot, Monmouthshire, Jun 1603; keeper of Nonsuch Great Park, Surr, 1 Dec 1606; steward, lordship and manor of Lewisham, Kent, 6 Feb 1613/14; keeper, manor of Plesaunce, East Greenwich, Kent and high steward, Greenwich, 19 May 1615; lord keeper of the Privy Seal, 2 Jan 1615/16 until death; JP, Kent, Norf, Northants, Somers, and Yorks, NR, 1626, and Worc, 1608 and 1626. Seat at Raglan, Monmouthshire; residence at Hackney, Midd.

players	Glouc	Gloucester	1590-1 (311)
			1591-2 (312)

Writtle *see* Buckingham

## Companies Named by Location

### Appleby, Westmld

waits	Cumb	Carlisle	1610-11 (71)
			1613-14 (76)
			1618-19 (90)

### Aske

Possibly Aske Hall, Yorks, NR.

waits	Cumb	Carlisle	1619-20 (95)
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### Askrigg, Yorks, NR

waits	Cumb	Carlisle	1634-5 (116)
			1639-40 (124)

### Atherton, Lanc

waits	Cumb	Carlisle	1613-14 (77)
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**Barnard Castle, Dur**

players	Cumb	Carlisle	1613-14 (76)
waits	Cumb	Carlisle	1618-19 (90)

**Barwick**

Barwick in Elmet, Yorks, WR or Berwick upon Tweed, Northumb.

musicians	Cumb	Carlisle	1613-14 (77)
waits	Cumb	Carlisle	1616-17 (83)
			1621-2 (101)
			1634-5 (116)
			1636-7 (122)

**Bedale, Yorks, NR**

waits	Cumb	Carlisle	1617-18 (89)
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**Berwick**

Berwick upon Tweed, Northumb or Barwick in Elmet, Yorks, WR.

waits	Cumb	Naworth	1621-2 (140)
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**Boston, Linc**

waits	Cumb	Carlisle	1621-2 (100)
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**Bradford**

waits	Cumb	Carlisle	1634-5 (116)
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**Brampton, Cumb**

piper	Cumb	Brampton or Naworth	1626-7 (142)
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**Bristol, Glouc**

waits	Glouc	Thornbury	1507-8 (357-8)
			1520-1 (359)
	Cumb	Carlisle	1613-14 (78)
			1614-15 (81)

**Canterbury, Kent**

waits	Cumb	Carlisle	1613-14 (76)
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**Carlisle, Cumb**

waits	Cumb	Naworth	1612-13 (135)
			1618-19 (138)
			1624-5 (141)
			1627-8 (142)

**Cockermouth, Cumb**

waits	Cumb	Carlisle	1602-3 (66)
			1634-5 (116)
players	Cumb	Workington	1628-9 (129)
			1633-4 (132)

**Darlington, Dur**

waits	Cumb	Naworth	1633-4 (143)
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**Darrington, Yorks, WR**

waits	Cumb	Carlisle	1624-5 (104)
			1626-7 (107)
			1636-7 (122)

**Doncaster, Yorks, WR**

waits	Cumb	Naworth	1612-13 (135)
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**Durham, Dur**

waits	Cumb	Carlisle	1608-9 (69)
			1617-18 (87)
			1620-1 (98)
pipers (waits)	Cumb	Naworth	1633-4 (144)
waits	Cumb	Naworth	1633-4 (144)

**Edinburgh, Scotland**

musicians	Cumb	Carlisle	1620-1 (97)
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**Halifax, Yorks, WR**

waits	Cumb	Carlisle	1608-9 (69)
			1613-14 (77)
			1617-18 (88)
			1627-8 (109)
musicians	Cumb	Carlisle	1617-18 (89)

**Kendal, Westmld**

waits	Cumb	Carlisle	1604-5 (67)
			1608-9 (68)
			1614-15 (81)
			1617-18 (86)
			1618-19 (90)
			1619-20 (93, 94)
			1620-1 (99)
	Cumb	Naworth	1620-1 (139)
	Cumb	Carlisle	1621-2 (101)

			1624-5 (104)
			1626-7 (106)
			1627-8 (108)
			1635-6 (119)
			1636-7 (122)
			1638-9 (123)
			1639-40 (124)
players	Cumb	Carlisle	1613-14 (76)
<b>Keswick, Cumb</b>			
waits	Cumb	Carlisle	1638-9 (123)
<b>Kirkby Lonsdale, Westmld</b>			
waits	Cumb	Carlisle	1621-2 (100, 101)
<b>Kirkby Stephen, Westmld</b>			
waits	Cumb	Carlisle	1614-15 (80)
<b>Kirkby Thore, Westmld</b>			
waits	Cumb	Carlisle	1614-15 (80)
<b>Knaresborough, Yorks, WR</b>			
waits	Cumb	Carlisle	1613-14 (78)
			1614-15 (81)
<b>Lancaster, Lanc</b>			
waits	Cumb	Carlisle	1602-3 (66)
			1610-11 (71)
			1613-14 (76, 77)
			1614-15 (80, 81)
			1616-17 (84)
			1621-2 (101)
	Cumb	Naworth	1621-2 (140)
	Cumb	Carlisle	1622-3 (141)
minstrel	Westmld	Windermere	1626-7 (107)
			1537-8 (214-15)
<b>Leeds, Yorks, WR or NR</b>			
waits	Cumb	Carlisle	1604-5 (67)
			1610-11 (72)
<b>Leeming, Yorks, NR</b>			
waits	Cumb	Carlisle	1608-9 (69)

**Lincoln, Linc**

waits	Cumb	Carlisle	1610-11 (72) 1614-15 (81) 1616-17 (83) 1617-18 (89) 1619-20 (95) 1621-2 (101) 1624-5 (103, 104)
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**Middleham, Yorks, NR**

waits	Cumb	Carlisle	1608-9 (69) 1610-11 (71) 1613-14 (77) 1619-20 (95) 1620-1 (98)
	Cumb Westmld	Naworth Lowther	1620-1 (139) 1640-1 (217)

**Millom, Cumb**

waits	Cumb	Carlisle	1618-19 (90) 1620-1 (99)
drummer/piper	Cumb	Carlisle	1619-20 (94)

**Newcastle upon Tyne, Northumb**

waits	Cumb	Carlisle	1608-9 (68)
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**Orton, Westmld**

waits	Cumb	Carlisle	1634-5 (116)
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**Oxford, Oxf**

musicians	Glouc	Gloucester	1639 (328)
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**Penrith, Cumb**

players	Cumb	Carlisle	1602-3 (66)
	Cumb	Naworth	1622-3 (140)
waits	Cumb	Carlisle	1602-3 (66) 1604-5 (67) 1608-9 (68) 1610-11 (70, 71, 72) 1612-13 (135)
	Cumb	Naworth	1613-14 (76)
	Cumb	Carlisle	1614-15 (80) 1617-18 (87) 1618-19 (90)

			1619-20 (95)
			1620-1 (97)
	Cumb	Naworth	1620-1 (139)
	Cumb	Carlisle	1621-2 (101)
	Cumb	Carlisle	1624-5 (104)
	Cumb	Naworth	1624-5 (141)
			1625-6 (141)
	Cumb	Carlisle	1626-7 (107)
	Cumb	Naworth	1626-7 (142)
	Cumb	Carlisle	1627-8 (108)
	Cumb	Naworth	1633-4 (144)
	Cumb	Carlisle	1634-5 (116)
	Westmld	Lowther	1640-1 (217)
musicians	Cumb	Naworth	1618-19 (138)
<b>Richmond, Yorks, WR</b>			
waits	Cumb	Carlisle	1604-5 (67)
			1608-9 (70)
	Cumb	Naworth	1620-1 (139)
pipers	Cumb	Naworth	1629-30 (142)
<b>Ripon, Yorks, WR</b>			
waits	Cumb	Naworth	1612-13 (135)
	Cumb	Carlisle	1618-19 (90)
			1619-20 (95)
			1620-1 (98)
			1621-2 (101)
	Cumb	Naworth	1621-2 (139)
	Cumb	Carlisle	1624-5 (104)
			1626-7 (107)
			1627-8 (109)
			1636-7 (121)
			1638-9 (123)
			1639-40 (124)
<b>Shrewsbury, Shrops</b>			
waits	Glouc	Gloucester	1573-4 (303)
<b>Slimbridge, Glouc</b>			
players?	Glouc	Berkeley	1420-1 (347)
<b>Thirsk, Yorks, NR</b>			
waits	Cumb	Carlisle	1616-17 (82)

**Wakefield, Yorks, WR**

waits	Cumb	Carlisle	1604-5 (68) 1608-9 (69) 1610-11 (71)
	Cumb	Naworth	1612-13 (136)
	Cumb	Carlisle	1617-18 (88) 1618-19 (90) 1624-5 (104)

**Warwick, Warw**

players	Cumb	Naworth	1624-5 (141)
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**Wotton under Edge, Glouc**

players?	Glouc	Berkeley	1420-1 (347)
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**Writtle, Essex**

players	Glouc	Thornbury	1507-8 (357, 358)
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**York, Yorks**

waits	Cumb	Carlisle	1608-9 (70)
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# Glossaries: Introduction

The purpose of the glossaries is to assist the reader in going through the records text; definitions are given only for those senses of a particular word which are used in the records printed in this volume. The criteria for the selection of glossary entries are discussed below, under the headings Latin Glossary and English Glossary. The glossaries include both words found in records printed in the main text and words found in records printed or quoted in the appendixes and endnotes.

Only the three earliest occurrences of each word (and each form of each word) are listed; 'etc' following three page references means that there are more occurrences of that form. References are listed in page order, rather than chronological order. Glossed words from entries which appear twice, once within the records text and again in Appendix 1 of the Gloucestershire records, are given page and line references to records text occurrences only. Within the references, page and line numbers are separated by an oblique stroke. If words occur within marginalia, this is indicated by a lower-case 'm' following the page and line reference. Manuscript capitalization has been ignored, except where proper names are glossed.

## Latin Glossary

Words are included in the Latin glossary if they are not to be found in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (*OLD*), now the standard reference work for classical Latin. Words listed in the *OLD* whose meaning has changed or become restricted in medieval or Renaissance usage are also glossed. If a word may be found in the *OLD*, but appears in the records text in an obscure spelling, or an unusual or anomalous inflectional form for which the dictionary provides no cross-reference, that word has been included and its standard lexical entry form indicated, without giving a definition. There are exceptions to this rule, where the spelling variations or anomalous inflectional forms have been treated as scribal errors and more correct forms given in textual notes. Forms thus noted are not repeated in the glossary.

Most of the Latin words used in the records are common classical words whose spelling has changed according to common medieval variations. The results of these common variations are not treated here either as new words or as forms which require cross-referencing. These variations are:

- ML *c* for CL *t* before *i*
- ML *cc* for CL *ct* before *i*
- ML *d* for CL *t* in a final position
- ML *e* for CL *ae* or *oe*
- Neo-Latin over-correction of CL *e* to *ae* or *oe*
- Neo-Latin over-correction of *ae* to *oe*
- Neo-Latin over-correction of *oe* to *ae*
- ML *ff* for CL *f*, common in an initial position
- ML addition of *b*
- ML omission of CL *h*
- ML variation between *i* and *e* before another vowel
- ML *n* for CL *m* before another nasal
- Intrusion of ML *p* in the CL consonant cluster *mn* or *ms*
- ML doubling of CL single consonants
- ML singling of CL double consonants

No attempt has been made to 'correct' these spellings to classical norms; rather, scribal practice has been followed in such cases, as well as in the case of 'i/j' and 'u/v' variation. Where the same word occurs in spellings which differ according to the list above, the most common spelling is treated as standard and used for the headword.

The unusual inflectional forms which are listed are dealt with in one of two ways: they are listed separately and cross-referenced to the main entry or, if they follow the headword alphabetically, they are listed under that headword and set apart by boldface type.

Two anomalies are created by the inclusion of Latin texts written after the revival of Classical Latin in schools and universities. One is orthographic, the second is semantic. This semantic anomaly is caused by the difficulty of determining in such texts whether words are being used in the classical sense or in the modified senses which had been acquired in Anglo-Latin usage during the later Middle Ages. Therefore, in these cases we have fully indicated the range of possibilities under the appropriate lexical entry. This is in keeping with the new look of the glossary, in which unclear, technical, or archaic terms which have been given stock translation equivalents then receive in the glossary a fuller treatment than can be provided in the context of the translations. This can be seen especially in legal terms and those relating to performers, entertainers, and their activities.

The orthographic anomaly arises from the adoption of classical spelling with, however, some neo-Latin over- and mis-corrections in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Glossed words only appearing in the records in sixteenth and seventeenth century texts and orthography will appear in classical Latin orthography in the glossary so that, for instance, we will spell the genitive singular of such words using the *ae* diphthong.

There are some Greek words in the text of Appendix 3 of the Gloucestershire records which are variously written in Greek letters, Roman letters, or a mixture of Greek and Roman letters. Where appropriate, ie, when their meaning is not that of Liddell, Scott, Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (LSJ), they have been defined as part of the Latin glossary. The alphabetic characters

used in the text have been preserved, even where this creates a mixture of alphabets in a single word.

In all cases, headwords are given in standard form: ie, nouns are listed by nominative, genitive, and gender; adjectives by the terminations of the nominative singular, or in the case of adjectives of one termination, by the nominative and genitive; verbs by their principal parts. The abbreviation *qv* is used to refer the reader to the definitions of words in the standard dictionaries, *OLD* for Latin and *LSJ* for Greek. It has not been used for internal cross-references, for which the expression *See* has been used.

## English Glossary

The English glossary lists, for the most part, words which have not survived in modern English and words which, in the records, bear meanings which do not survive in modern use. All variant spellings of such words are listed. Forms of words interesting from a purely morphological or phonological point of view have generally not been included in the glossary, but unusual spellings of words which might not be easily identified (eg, 'iuerie' for 'jury') are listed. Words that look unusual because of the absence of an abbreviation mark (eg, 'pd' for 'paid') have not been glossed. It is assumed that the reader is familiar with such common spelling alternations as 'au/a,' 'c/s,' 'd/th,' 'e/a,' 'ey/i,' 'i/e,' 'i/y,' 'o/oo,' 's/z,' 'u/v,' 'y/p' (eg, 'ye' for 'pe'), and 'e' or 'ea' for 'ai' and 'ay.' Combinations such as 'tharticulate' (for 'the articulate') and 'theile' (for 'they'll') have not been listed unless one of their elements is a word that requires glossing. When variant spellings of the same glossed word occur, the first spelling in alphabetical order has normally been chosen as headword. Spellings separated from their main entries by more than two intervening entries have been cross-referenced.

## German Glossary

There is no German glossary, because the German text is so short and because comparatively few words in it require glossing. Those that do are glossed at the foot of the page on the German text pages.

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## Abbreviations

adj	adjective	ML	Medieval Latin
adv	adverb	n	noun
art	article	nt	neuter
CL	Classical Latin	NT	New Testament
comm	common noun	OT	Old Testament
compar	comparative	pa	past tense
conj	conjunction	phr	phrase
EG	English Glossary	pl	plural
f	feminine	poss	possessive
Gk	Greek	pp	past participle
Gn	Genesis	pr	present tense
imper	imperative	prep	preposition
in	inches	pron	pronoun
inf	infinitive	prp	present participle
interj	interjection	sg	singular
intr	intransitive	sbst	substantive
Jn	John	subj	subjunctive
m	masculine	tr	transitive
mf	masculine/feminine	v	verb
Mk	Mark	vb	verbal

# Latin Glossary

**abbas, -atis** *n m* abbot (the head of a monastery) 290/32, 290/37, 290/38, etc  
**abiectio, -onis** *n f* belittlement, scorn, disparagement 381/2  
**achator, -oris** *n m* caterer (officer responsible for providing a household's food) 361/31  
**actio, -onis** *n f* faction, physical activity, here used often to refer to activity suitable to leisure or recreation or to a display of physical skill or prowess 369/11, 370/6, 370/8, etc  
**aduincula** *prep phr* see **uigilia**  
**adumbratus, -a, -um** *adj* foreshadowed, prefigured 377/13  
**aequiparus, -a, -um** *adj* equal 375/5  
**aequipare** *adv* equally 382/22  
**Aesopicus, -a, -um** *adj* pertaining to the Greek fabulist Aesop or to his works 376/38  
**aestiuialis, -e** *adj* see **polus**  
**aestiuus, -a, -um** *adj* see **polus**  
**aetas, -atis** *n f* age (ie, the length of one's life): in idiom, eg, **aliquis aetatis 32 annorum** someone 32 years old 285/9, 286/19, 287/1, etc; era 379/26; **impraesentiarum aetate** at the present time, nowadays 380/31  
**Agamemnon, -onis** *n m* Agamemnon, king of Mycenae and leader of the expedition against Troy, here used as a complimentary address for King James I, perhaps in reference to Agamemnon's traditional wisdom in judgement 374/26  
**alla, -ae** *n f* ale-drinking, church-ale (a parish festivity), see **EG**; **alla Whitsonia** a church-ale held at Whitsuntide 382/3

**allectio, -onis** *n f* station in life, position 368/39

**altum** *adv* deeply 382/36

**Anabaptista, -ae** *n m* anabaptist, a member of any one of a number of pietistic sects in Europe, originating in the sixteenth century, which held the doctrines of adult baptism and re-baptism after conversion, and often those of common ownership of property, the illegality of oaths of any kind, and devotion to a higher authority than the civil; hence held to be revolutionary 379/27

**angelicus, -a, -um** *adj* pertaining to angels, angelic, spiritual 376/27

**Anglicanus, -a, -um** *adj* pertaining to England, English, here used of language 288/19

**antiquus, -a, um** *adj* ancient: **ab antiquo** of old, from antiquity 291/3

**Apocalypsis, -is** *n f* literally revelation, manifestation, here the Greek and Latin title of the NT book Revelations, Apocalypse 374/6

**apostolicus, -a, -um** *adj* pertaining to or worthy of the apostles or the apostolic age 375/18

**apostolus, -i** *n m* one of the first followers of Jesus, an apostle: used absolutely, St Paul 369/38, 371/39

**arbor, -oris** *n f* tree: **arboris uitae** the Tree of Life (Gn 2:9, 3:22) 371/10

**archangelus, -i** *n m* see **festum**

**archidiaconus, -i** *n m* archdeacon: in the English church, a clergyman appointed by the

- bishop to assist him principally in administering justice and in supervising the rural clergy 385/3, 386/7
- arcte** *adv* strictly, stringently 376/11, 382/22
- Aristotelicus**, -a, -um *adj* pertaining to the Greek philosopher Aristotle or his works 376/3
- armiger**, -gri *n m* (here in form <...>iger) squire 64/22
- articulo**, -are, -aui, -atum *v tr* to name someone or something in an article, ie, a charge, before a court (here ecclesiastical) 331/16
- articulum**, -i *n nt* article, a charge laid against the accused party in court 64/15, 342/8, 344/9, etc; *see also* **libellus**; a section of a book or document 368/41
- aspersio**, -onis *n f* stain, blot 376/23, 376/32, 385/8
- auca**, -e *n f* goose 361/32
- aula**, -e *n f* hall: the centre of community life and the dining area in a noble household 361/20, 361/39; **aula communis** town hall 64/29
- aurisfaber**, -bri *n m* goldsmith 64/19
- author**, -oris *n m* founder, originator, creator 372/2, 383/1; author (of a book, etc) 382/26
- authoritas**, -atis *n f* (royal) authority 376/32, 378/25
- azimus**, -a, -um *adj* *see* **dies**
- balliuus**, -i *n m* bailiff: a civic official subordinate to the mayor 64/28, or the manager of an estate or manor 360/17(3)
- Barklaea**, -ae *n f* Berkeley 381/21m
- benedico**, -cere, -xi, -ctum *v tr* to bless 372/13; to distribute something in blessing or as a blessing 290/9
- bibulum**, -ii *n nt* a Bible 382/13
- blasphemo**, -are, -aui, -atum *v tr* to blaspheme 376/29
- butirum**, -i *n nt* for **butyrum**, *qv* 361/35
- buttria**, -e *n f* buttery, a storeroom for beer and spirits, and by extension for other provisions as well 361/24
- cacolicus**, -a, -um *adj* for **catholicus** (possibly a play on the Gk *adj* κακός, -ή, -όν, 'wicked,' or noun κάκχη, -ης, ή, 'excrement') 378/16; *see also* **catholicus**
- caelicus**, -a, -um *adj* pertaining to heaven, here used in a spiritual rather than a physical sense 374/4, 376/31
- caeteroquin** *adv* moreover 379/28
- camera**, -e *n f* treasury 290/30, 290/32, 291/1; room, chamber, suite; **magna camera** the lord's chamber in a noble household (?) 361/20
- camerarius**, -ii *n m* chamberlain, treasurer: here, of a monastery 290/35
- Canaanaeus**, -a, -um *adj* pertaining to Canaan or the Canaanites: by transference, pertaining to Israel or Israelites, here used of language 372/19
- cancellarius**, -ii *n m* chancellor, here, of a noble household 360/16
- canon**, -onis *n m* standard of reference, rule 373/30
- Cantuaria**, -e *n f* Canterbury 290/30, 290/41
- capella**, -e *n f* chapel 357/4, 357/9, 360/23, etc
- Capernaeticus**, -a, -um *adj* pertaining to Capernaum, a town in Galilee: by extension, with reference to Jn 6:24-59, of or pertaining to an adherent of transubstantiation, the Roman Catholic doctrine that the bread and wine of the eucharist are transformed in substance to the body and blood of Christ during their consecration, used disparagingly 371/19
- caprarius**, -a, -um *adj* pertaining to a goat: hence **caprarius pastor** a goatherd 380/22
- capucium**, -ii *n nt* hood 63/22(2), 64/25
- caput**, -itis *n nt* head: literally 63/21, 64/23, or metaphorically 385/11; chapter (of a book or other document) 372/36, 373/1, 373/6, etc
- carcosium**, -ii *n nt* carcass, here used of beef 361/29
- carecta**, -e *n f* cart-load 361/40

- carnalis**, -e *adj* pertaining to flesh, fleshly: by transference, bodily, carnal (as opposed to spiritual) 378/1
- caro**, -nis *n f* flesh: of animals, **caro bouis** beef 361/29; of men 371/21; also used with particular reference to that of Christ, referring to his human nature 371/17, 371/18, or his eucharistic presence 371/14
- castellum**, -i *n nt* castle (here as the location of a jail) 377/17, 377/31
- castrimargus**, -i *n m* woodcock 361/34
- castrum**, -i *n nt* (royal) castle (here as a fortification) 63/9, 64/5
- catholicus**, -a, -um *adj and sbst* Roman Catholic 379/4
- cena**, -e *n f* supper (the less important and later of the two main meals of the day) 356/36, 357/4, 360/12, etc
- ceremonia**, -e *n f* liturgical or religious rite, ritual 369/19
- certifico**, -are, -aui, -atum *v intr* to certify the performance of a penance imposed as a sentence by an ecclesiastical court 331/24, 331/39, 332/8, etc
- cercuisia**, -e *n f* beer 361/25
- cercuisarius**, -a, -um *adj* pertaining to beer: hence **domus cercuisaria** an alehouse, inn 379/32
- chaundelarius**, -ii *n m* chandler, candle-maker 361/13
- chaundria**, -e *n f* chandlery, originally a storeroom for candles, but later a household department, as it is here 361/37
- chorea**, -ae *n f* round dance, here apparently used to indicate folk or country dancing, including Maypole dancing 369/17, 369/21, 370/31, etc; **Mauritii chorea** a morris dance 382/3
- Christianus**, -a, -um *adj and sbst* Christian 371/1, 372/27, 374/29, etc
- Christicola**, -ae *n m* Christian 374/28
- circiter** *adv* found alone 314/20, 342/33, 342/35; or in idiom **eo circiter** 285/10, 286/19, 343/18, etc: thereabouts (of time)
- circumcido**, -dere, -di, -sum *v tr* to circumcise 370/21; by transference, to make pure or righteous 370/28
- circumciscus**, -a, -um *adj* circumcised, purified 370/32
- Cirencestria**, -ae *n f* Cirencester 385/2
- cissor**, -oris *n m* clothcutter, tailor, or possibly carver 360/24; **sissor** 361/12
- cithara**, -ae *n f* literally, lyre, but here probably harp 372/30, 374/7
- cithareda**, -e *n comm* literally, in CL, a female lyrist, but here probably harper (although there is evidence that the word could refer to one who played any plucked string instrument) 290/37, possibly 373/41; context suggests that in ML the word is to be treated as masculine and refers to a man
- citharaedus**, -i *n m* literally, lyrist, here probably harper 382/9, 386/1, possibly 373/41 *see also* **cithareda**
- clericus**, -i *n m* cleric, one in holy orders 63/17, 64/21, 290/11
- colluctor**, -oris *n m* fellow-wrestler 382/10
- collusor**, -oris *n m* fellow-player of a sport or game, or in some form of entertainment 382/10
- comessatio**, -onis *n f* feast, banquet 379/33, 385/21
- comestio**, -onis *n f* eating 371/15, 373/1
- comitatus**, -us *n m* county 342/32, 342/34, 343/16, etc
- comes**, -itis *n m* companion, comrade 374/21; earl 291/12, 291/13
- comitissa**, -e *n f* countess 291/27
- comitiua**, -e *n f* retinue, train of followers 64/5
- commissio**, -onis *n f* (royal) commission, usually of judicial inquiry or of the peace 63/8, 64/14, 64/15
- communis**, -e *adj* common, communal 379/22, 384/39; common, ordinary, usual 290/19, 376/12; pertaining to the community or town (*see* **aula**)
- communitas**, -atis *n f* community, commonalty, commons 63/10, 64/29
- compareo**, -ere, -ui, -- *v intr* to appear in

- court or before judges 331/14, 331/38, 332/6, etc
- concionator**, -oris *n m* preacher 382/13, 385/4
- concio**, -onis *n f* sermon, homily 382/13
- conclauē**, -is *n nt* meeting, assembly 385/5
- confabulatio**, -onis *n f* conversation 379/34
- conformis**, -e *adj* obedient 381/21, 381/27
- conformitas**, -atis *n f* correction 381/14
- confrater**, -tris *n m* brother: *intensive form* of **frater**, here in extended sense, member of the same community or group 386/3
- connoto**, -are, -ui, -atum *v tr* to call together, to summon 64/28
- conquestus**, -us *n m* (Norman) conquest 63/6, 64/13
- constructio**, -onis *n f* interpretation 384/29
- contritio**, -onis *n f* sorrow for wrong-doing, contrition 372/5
- conuentus**, -us *n m* convent, a community of monks or nuns 290/10
- coquina**, -e *n f* kitchen 361/13, 361/22, 361/27, etc
- Corinthius**, -a, -um *adj and subst* Corinthian: **prior ad Corinthios epistola** Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians 372/39–373/1
- coronator**, -oris *n m* coroner, a royal officer charged, among other responsibilities, with holding inquests into cases of accidental or violent death 64/2
- costagium**, -ii *n nt* cost, expense 291/21
- curia**, -e *n f* court of law 170/7m, 171/3m
- custodia**, -ae *n f* jail 377/17, 377/24, 383/12, etc
- Dauidicus**, -a, -um *adj* pertaining to David, king of Israel, Davidic 374/27
- debacchans**, -ntis *n comm* bacchantē, one of the orgiastic votaries, usually but not exclusively female, of the god Bacchus 374/19
- decanatus**, -us *n m* deanery, the area over which a dean or rural dean has ecclesiastical jurisdiction, here used, by extension, of the area of authority of an archdeacon as immediate supervisor of the rural deans 385/4
- decanus**, -i *n m* dean, here the head of a cathedral or collegiate chapter of clergy 324/30
- declaratio**, -onis *n f* (royal) proclamation 368/30, 368/32, 369/7
- delineatio**, -onis *n f* description, delineation 374/11
- depono**, -onere, -osui, -ositum *v tr* to depose, to make a statement of evidence 343/1, 343/11, 343/18
- detectio**, -onis *n f* detection, a formal report or allegation of wrong-doing made before an ecclesiastical court 332/6
- diabolicus**, -a, -um *adj* pertaining to or worthy of the devil, diabolic 382/2(2)
- diabolus**, -i *n m* the devil 382/37
- dies**, -ei *n m and f* day 285/6, 286/16, 361/7, etc; day of the week 380/12, 380/14: **dies dominica** or **dominicalis** Sunday 63/16, 64/20, 290/16, etc; **dies lune** Monday 63/5, 64/12, 290/18; **dies Martis** Tuesday 290/21; **dies Sabbati** Saturday 361/7; day (as opposed to night) 347/22, 385/27; day (as a unit of time) 369/12, 369/20, 369/21, etc; day set aside for a special purpose: a saint's day, eg, **dies sancti Nicholai** 290/24; **dies paschae** or **dies panis azimi** Passover, the feast of unleavened bread 373/15; **dies pentecostes** or **dies hebdomadarum** Pentecost, the feast of weeks 373/15; **dies tabernaculorum** Succoth, the feast of tabernacles 373/16: these three, named together in Appendix 3 of *Gloucestershire*, constitute the three great pilgrim festivals of Judaism, at which times personal attendance at the Temple was mandatory, but it is unclear why the author has singled them out.
- dieta**, -e *n f* daily allowance of provisions 361/21, 361/41
- diffamatio**, -onis *n f* defamation of character (a crime under the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts) 330/12

**diocesis**, -is *n f* diocese (the area under the jurisdiction of a bishop) 332/35, 378/11  
**dissidium**, -ii *n nt* disagreement 379/35  
**diuus**, -a, -um *adj* holy: hence, as a title, saint 374/6, 374/9  
**doctrina**, -ae *n f* church teaching, doctrine 380/35, 382/15  
**domina**, -e *n f* lady (especially as title of a peeress or a peer's wife) 291/27, 347/7, 347/12, etc  
**dominicus**, -a, -um *adj* pertaining to a lord or lordship, of or pertaining to authority 383/27; in a restricted sense, of or pertaining to the Lord (as a divine title); see **dies**  
**dominicalis**, -e *adj* see **dies**, **sermo**  
**dominus**, -i *n m* Lord (title of God) 285/12, 302/24, 340/25; lord, sir (title of royalty, peer, knight, bishop, priest, Benedictine choir monk) 63/7, 63/8, 63/19, etc  
**δῶρον**, -ου, τὸ *n nt* Gk *n* here in phr Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον, Basilikon Doron, the title of a work of James I, a political treatise composed for his eldest son, Prince Henry, and strongly Protestant in tone 376/15  
**drachma**, -ae *n f* penny 386/12  
**ductio**, -onis *n f* leading, directing 373/1  
**dux**, -cis *n m* duke 291/11, 358/24, 358/27, etc  
**ebibitio**, -onis *n f* the act of drinking, quaffing 379/33  
**ecclesia**, -e *n f* the church: as a community of believers 371/40; an institution 369/2, 370/37, 371/8; or a physical structure 290/7, 332/4, 332/14  
**ecclesiasticus**, -a, -um *adj* of or pertaining to the church 373/25  
**elemosina**, -e *n f* alms 290/8, 290/11, 290/12, etc  
**elemosinarius**, -ii *n m* almoner (a household officer charged with the distribution of alms on behalf of his lord) 361/14  
**Epiphania**, -e *n f* see **festum**  
**episcopal**, -is *adj* of or pertaining to a bishop

375/18  
**episcopus**, -i *n m* bishop 63/19, 63/23, 64/3; boy-bishop (?) 290/12  
**epistola**, -ae *n f* letter, here an epistle of St Paul 373/1  
**epotatio**, -onis *n f* drinking, a party or gathering for the primary purpose of drinking (as opposed to **comessatio**, a gathering for the primary purpose of eating (?); see also **comessatio**) 379/33, 385/22  
**ergastulum**, -i *n nt* workhouse 377/25  
**esquierius**, -ii *n m* esquire, household attendant 290/39  
**ethnicus**, -a, -um *adj* heathen, barbarian (the Latinized spelling of a Gk *adj* ἔθνικός, -ή, -όν, used in the Septuagint to refer to non-Jews) 374/19  
**euangelicus**, -a, -um *adj* of, pertaining to, or worthy of the gospels or their teaching 376/27  
**euangelista**, -ae *n m* evangelist, one of the authors or redactors of the gospels 374/11  
**euangelium**, -ii *n nt* literally, good news, here used to refer to one of the four gospels 370/32, 374/31, 375/3, etc  
**excommunicatio**, -onis *n f* excommunication, an ecclesiastical penalty under which the guilty party was punished by exclusion from the sacraments and especially the reception of communion; at various times, further disabilities were imposed as well, such as exclusion from all social intercourse with other members of the church 332/21  
**excommunicatus**, -a, -um *adj* excommunicated, suffering from the penalty of excommunication 331/36, 332/3, 332/9, etc  
**exemplificatus**, -a, -um *pp* having been exemplified, that is, having had a formal attested copy made 201/12  
**Exodus**, -i *n f* literally, a leaving, going away; Exodus, the Greek and Latin name of the second book of the Pentateuch 373/6

**Exoniensis**, -e *adj* of or pertaining to Exeter, here designating the bishop of Exeter 335/28

**factura**, -e *n f* making, fashioning 358/28

**familia**, -e *n f* household 290/38

**familiaris**, -e *adj and sbst* of or pertaining to the household, hence *mf as sbst* member of a household 357/9; **famularis**, -e 360/22, 360/23

**feria**, -ae *n f* holiday, festival, holy day 369/23, 369/24, 370/22, etc

**ferialis**, -e *adj* of or pertaining to a holiday 373/20

**festum**, -i *n nt* religious festival 369/23, 373/20, 373/23; feast of the Christian church 347/21, 347/23, 347/24: **festum Epiphaniae** Epiphany, 6 January 347/27; **festum Natale** or **Natalis domini** see **natalis**; **festum Sancti Michaelis** or **Sancti Michaelis Archangeli** Michaelmas, 29 September 63/5-6, 64/12-13; **festum Sancti Nicolai** St Nicholas' Day, 6 December 290/18

**fides**, -ei *n f* faith, belief, in a restricted sense Christian belief, either in an abstract sense or as a concrete body of dogmas 369/37, 369/39, 370/2, etc

**fidelis**, -e *adj and sbst* worthy of trust, faithful 375/8, 384/27; *m as sbst* a faithful Christian; *in pl* the faithful 371/24, 372/27, 384/39

**focale**, -is *n nt* fuel for fires or stoves 361/40

**for**, **fari**, **fassus sum** *v tr* to speak, to say, here used in restricted sense, to acknowledge, to confess the validity of a charge 331/14, 331/38, 332/6, etc

**forinsecus**, -a, -um *adj* external, alien, foreign 290/33, 358/24

**forisfactura**, -e *n f* forfeiture (eg, of a monetary fine) 169/28, 169/36

**frater**, -tris *n m* brother: literally, 64/25, or in an extended sense of fellow members of the same community or group 369/27, 375/28, 376/9, etc; a member of a religious

order 290/13, 290/30, 290/33, etc

**garcio**, -onis *n m* groom, servant 360/9, 360/13

**gardianus**, -i *n m* churchwarden 201/12, 333/2

**gardroba**, -e *n f* wardrobe (department of a royal or noble household): hence **gardroba lectorum** petty wardrobe, the lord's personal clothing and effects 359/1-2m

**gasconiensis**, -e *adj* see **uinum**

**generosus**, -i *n m* gentleman 360/7, 360/11, 361/11, etc

**gestio**, -ire, -ii, -- *v intr* to exult; to gesture; to express oneself by gesture; hence possibly to represent mimetically: it is impossible to be sure exactly in what sense this word is being used here 371/37

**gestiuncula**, -ae *n f* diminutive of **gestus** 362/14, 382/24

**gestus**, -us *n m* physical movement; (dance) movement; gesture, sign (either accompanying or independent of speech); hence possibly mimetic action: it is impossible to be sure to which of these senses these occurrences, all in Appendix 3 of the Gloucestershire records, should be assigned 369/22, 370/8, 370/38

**Gloucestris**, -e *n f* Gloucester 290/16m, 290/23, 291/11, etc

**Gloucestriensis**, -e *adj* of or pertaining to Gloucester 368/42, 377/17, 381/15-16m, etc

**gratia**, -ae *n f* favour, good-will, used in a restricted sense: grace, a divine gift operating in man to sanctify, regenerate, and strengthen 371/13, 371/27, 372/21, etc; thanks 375/26, 386/18; *in accusative*, with 'agere,' to thank, to give thanks to 386/6; *in ablative*, followed by *genitive*, for the sake of 378/7, 383/10; **gratiarum actio post puerperium** service for the thanksgiving of women after childbirth (commonly known as the churching of women) 385/20

**gratitudo**, -inis *n f* thankfulness, gratitude 371/3

**gymnasium**, -ii *n nt* *Gk* *n* γυμνάσιον, -ον, τὸ *qv* 370/38, 371/5, 373/3

**Habacucus**, -i *n m* Habakkuk, one of the OT prophets, or the OT book called by his name 374/22

**hebdoma**, -ade *n f* week 290/9, 380/15; *see also dies*

**histrio**, -onis *n m* an entertainer: in CL, an actor of the better sort, in later Latin, one who performed in pornographic plays, in ML usage in England, apparently a generic term, often synonymous with **ministrallus** and 'mimus,' which often refers to a musician (here as in other instances it is impossible to be sure which sense is intended) 384/37

**histrionicus**, -a, -um *adj* of or pertaining to a **histrio** 379/7

**homo**, -inis *n m* person, human being 63/9, 64/5, 369/39, etc; Christ's human nature 371/17, 371/30; liege man, servant 63/19, 64/1, 64/8, etc; **interior homo** the inner man, the true self 370/5

**Hosea**, -ae *n m* Hosea, one of the OT prophets, or the OT book called by his name 374/22

**hospicium**, -ii *n nt* inn, guest-house 347/22, 347/27, 358/23, etc

**hostelaria**, -e *n f* hostelry, inn 347/7

**hymnus**, -i *n m* hymn 373/26

**hypotyposis**, -is *n f* *Gk* *n* ὑποτύποισις, -εις, ἡ *qv* 377/13

**iantaculum**, -i *n nt* breakfast, earliest of the daily meals 361/9, 361/18

**idola**, -ae *n f* image of a (pagan) deity 374/24, 381/36, 382/2

**idololatria**, -ae *n f* worship offered to the images of (pagan) deities 372/37, 373/2, 373/5

**idololatricus**, -a, -um *adj* of or pertaining to the worship of images of (pagan) deities

374/23, 380/2

**imperialis**, -e *adj* of or pertaining to the exercise of royal authority 376/32

**imposterum** *adv* for the future, hereafter 381/28

**imprimis** *adv* in the first place, first 312/16, 340/28, 341/2, etc; **inprimis** 73/29, 82/9, 105/23

**incarceratus**, -i *n m* prisoner, one who has been put in jail 377/18, 383/20

**indebite** *adv* undeservedly, not in a proper or due manner 290/31

**inprimis** *adv* *see* **imprimis**

**instrumentum**, -i *n nt* (musical) instrument 372/31, 382/10, 386/9

**iocor**, -ari, -atus *sum v intr* to jest, joke; to play, engage in pleasant pastimes; *hence possibly* to take part in an entertaining performance: it is impossible to determine in which of these senses any one occurrence of the word is being used here 369/10, 371/37, 372/9, etc

**iocularius**, -a, -um *adj* of, pertaining to, or suitable for a **iocus**; playful, pleasant, entertaining 369/22, 371/16; *nt as sbst*, synonym for **iocus** 373/37, 382/11

**iocus**, -i *n m*, *nt in pl* in CL joke, jest; (verbal) witticism; in Anglo-Latin medieval usage, recreation (eg, sports, dancing); a play, an entertaining performance, a trick (eg, of a performing animal): it is impossible to know in what sense any one occurrence of this word is used here 368/33, 380/13, 382/4

**irrecuperabiliter** *adv* irrecoverably, irreversibly 382/20

**Israelita**, -ae *n m* Israelite, here used generally for Hebrew OT characters 372/26, 373/12, 374/23, etc

**iubilatio**, -onis *n f* rejoicing, celebration 369/17, 379/8

**iurator**, -oris *n m* juror 63/15, 64/20

**iusticiarius**, -i *n m* justice of the peace, judge 381/13

- Kariolium**, -i *n nt* Carlisle 63/5, 63/10(2), etc
- lagena**, -ae *n f* gallon (liquid measure) 361/25, 361/26(2), etc
- Lancastrensis**, -e *adj* of or pertaining to Lancaster, Lancastrian, hence *mf as sbst* Lancaster 378/17
- Lancastria**, -ae *n f* Lancaster 378/8
- le**, **lez** *vernacular art* see EG
- libellus**, -i *n m* formal accusation or set of charges laid against the accused party in a court (composed of individual charges or *articula*) 330/9, 330/20
- liberacio**, -onis *n f* delivery (of money or goods), hence, payment 359/12m; 'livery,' one of the five daily meals in a noble household 361/15, 361/23, 361/28
- linura**, -e *n f* lining (of clothing) 359/4
- littera**, -ae *n f* letter of the alphabet, in *pl* letters, literature: hence *sacrae litterae* sacred letters, ie, the Bible 379/24, 385/38
- ludicrum**, -cri *n nt* a synonym for **ludus** 369/15, 382/10; *probably derived from this noun is the adj ludicer*, -cra, -crum of, pertaining to, or suitable for a **ludus** 377/20, 380/13
- ludo**, -dere, -si, -sum *v tr* to perform (a play or some other form of entertainment) 64/21, 290/11, 347/23, etc: in Appendix 3 of the Gloucestershire records it is difficult to tell whether this meaning or one of the logically prior meanings, to take part in recreation or to play (a game, a sport, a game of chance), is intended 369/10, 371/37, 380/34; to play (music or a musical instrument) 386/9
- ludus**, -i *n m* play (as a form of performance), a synonym of **miraculum** 63/17, 63/25; in Appendix 3 of the Gloucestershire records it is sometimes hard to tell whether this meaning or one of the logically prior meanings, play, recreation, game, sport, is intended 368/32, 380/12, 380/16, etc; **ludi Maii** May games 382/3
- lusor**, -oris *n m* player in (unspecified) entertainment or sport 357/15, 357/21, 357/25, etc
- lusus**, -us *n m* play (as a form of recreation), game, sport, game of chance; play (as a form of entertainment); it is difficult to distinguish which meaning is intended in a given context here 368/33, 372/7, 373/3, etc
- lyricus**, -i *n m* musician, *literally*, one who plays the lyre, here probably a harper 385/5, 386/1
- magister**, -tri *n m* master, Mr (as a title of respect) 385/3, 386/7(2), etc
- magnas**, -atis *n m* magnate, person of wealth or high political or ecclesiastical standing 378/13
- maiestas**, -atis *n f* majesty (as a royal or divine title) 374/28, 375/14, 375/23, etc; **laesa maiestas** lèse-majesté, treason 376/20
- maior**, -oris *n m* mayor 64/28, 64/30, 218/25
- maior**, -us *compar adj* greater (in size, dignity, or worth) 290/7, 370/17, 374/30, etc
- Maius**, -a, -um *adj* see **ludus**, **pyramis**
- marca**, -e *n m* mark (currency denomination equal in value to 13 s 4 d) 290/32, 291/29
- Marchia**, -e *n f* march, border district, hence comes **Marchie** earl of March 291/12
- martyr**, -is *n m* martyr, one who dies in defence of Christianity or moral principles 290/22
- Mauritii** see **chorea**
- melodia**, -ae *n f* music, melody: a Gk *n* taken over into Latin; both Gk usage and cl usage of related words have the connotation of song, but Anglo-Latin medieval usage is more ambiguous, and so seems to imply either instrumental music or song; hence it is difficult to know in what sense the word is used here 385/7, 386/4
- metaphysicōs** *adv a Gk adv μεταφυσικῶς* metaphysically (a post-classical formation) 371/28
- minister**, -tri *n m* *literally*, servant, hence,

- with reference to Mk 10:43–5*, a minister, a clergyman 333/2, 368/41, 369/2, etc
- ministrallus**, -i *n m* minstrel, entertainer (one of the three most common terms, together with **histrio** and 'mimus,' for a performer; it seems to have been generic, although one called a **ministrallus** was sometimes a wait or musician 290/37, 291/10, 291/11, etc; **minstrallus** 347/6, 347/26; **mynstrallus** 347/12, 347/22, 348/8
- miraculum**, -i *n nt* an object of wonder, a miracle, *hence* a play, probably one about the miracles of the Bible or a saint 64/22, 290/12
- miser cordia**, -e *n f* mercy, kindness 378/3; alms 288/10; amercement, fine 289/17
- molendinum**, -i *n nt* mill 380/23
- monasterium**, -ii *n nt* monastery 290/40
- mora**, -e *n f* interval or space of time 291/2; also in idiom **moram facere** to pass one's time, to stay or reside (in a place) 314/19, 315/3, 330/15, etc
- multo**, -onis *n m* mutton 361/30
- multrix**, -icis *n f* milkmaid 380/24
- municio**, -onis *n f* fortress, garrison, here in idiom in **municione** in munition, that is, among the standing garrison of a fortified town or castle 63/9
- mynstrallus**, -i *n m* *see* **ministrallus**
- Myntyus**, -i *n m* name of a kind of musician (?); this word may be a scribal error for some other but unknown term; it is unknown elsewhere 385/5
- mysterium**, -ii *n nt* religious mystery, doctrine, dogma 371/13
- mystikῶς** *Gk adv* **μυστικῶς** mystically 371/28
- natalis**, -e *adj* *literally*, of or pertaining to birth, here in idiom **festum Natale domini** 358/30 or *nt as sbst* **Natale domini** 361/8–9m: Christmas
- natiuus**, -i *n m* serf, villein 360/24
- nimpha**, -ae *n f* for **nympha** *qv* 351/22
- nonnecessarium**, -ii *n nt* that which is unnecessary, a non-essential 382/18
- nuncius**, -ii *n m* groom, servant, or possibly messenger 291/10, 291/13
- oblatio**, -onis *n f* offering, alms 290/7, 290/23
- officiarius**, -ii *n m* officer, official (of the crown, a city, a household, etc) 380/9
- officium**, -ii *n nt* office, position: the legal idiom **officium Domini contra aliquem** describes proceedings in an ecclesiastical court undertaken by the office of the court, in the person of the presiding judge or his representative, against a person, which are not the result of a suit by an injured party, although the office may be acting upon information received from a presentment or a promotion 286/37 (*see* **presentacio** and **promotio**); duty, obligation, responsibility 290/41, 371/34, 384/29
- oratio**, -onis *n f* discourse, treatise 368/31; prayer 384/40
- ordinarius**, -ii *n m* officer, official 381/26
- ordinatio**, -onis *n f* ordinance, regulation (issued by either civil or ecclesiastical authorities) 290/30, 381/1, 383/18
- organum**, -i *n nt* musical instrument, organ 372/31, 374/8
- orthodoxus**, -a, -um *adj* orthodox, doctrinally correct 376/27
- Oxoniensis**, -e *adj* of or pertaining to Oxford and its university 375/26
- panetria**, -e *n f* pantry, a storeroom for bread and other staples, *here possibly* a household department 361/7
- papista**, -ae *n m* papist, derogatory nickname for a Roman Catholic 378/9, 378/16, 384/31, etc
- papisticus**, -a, -um *adj* papistical, derogatory term for Roman Catholicism 371/20, 385/20
- Paradisum**, -i *n nt* paradise, the garden of Eden (Gn 2:8–3:24) 371/9
- parisiensis**, -e *adj* of or pertaining to Paris:

- parisiensis candela** Paris candle, a kind of large wax candle 361/37-8
- parochia**, -e *n f* parish, the smallest distinct unit of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and Christian ministry, each parish having its own church, priest, wardens, and tithes 331/15, 342/34, 343/16, etc
- parochianus**, -i *n m* parishioner, inhabitant of a parish 344/10
- particulare**, -is *n nt* detail, item, particular 356/23
- particulariter** *adv* in detail, item by item 356/22
- pascha**, -ae *n f* see **dies**
- patria**, -e *n f* local district, country 360/25
- peccator**, -oris *n m* sinner (one who commits offenses against God or divine law as embodied either in the Bible or ecclesiastical law) 380/6
- peccatum**, -i *n nt* sin, an offense against God or divine law as embodied in either the Bible or ecclesiastical law 372/23
- penitencia**, -e *n f* penance (the act of contrition or restitution imposed upon the penitent sinner by ecclesiastical or divine authority) 331/17, 333/23, 372/3
- pentateuchum**, -i *n nt* Pentateuch, the Greek and Latin name of the Torah, the five (Gk adj πέντε) books of Moses 373/13
- pentecostes**, -es *n f* see **dies**
- penulator**, -oris *n m* furrier 360/24
- personalis**, -e *adj* here found in idiom **responsio personalis** 344/8 or **responsum personale** 201/11: a reply or response to a charge delivered by the respondent in person
- phantasma**, -atis *n nt* fantasy, fancy; dream 382/33
- phantasticus**, -a, -um *adj* fantastic, fanciful 371/19
- picherius**, -ii *n m* pitcher (liquid measure) 361/16, 361/17, 361/18, etc
- pietancia**, -e *n f* pittance: allowance of alms 290/10
- polus**, -i *n m* pole: here apparently either a Maypole or a summer pole 381/13m, 382/8(2); **polus aestivalis** 377/17 or **aestiuus** 381/35, 383/14 summer pole; see **somner pole** in EG
- pontificius**, -a, -um *adj* literally, of or pertaining to a bishop, hence applied as a derogatory term to Roman Catholicism: of or pertaining to the pope, popish, Roman Catholic 371/20, 379/4, 379/6, etc
- potacio**, -onis *n f* drinking: used literally 371/15, 373/1; or as the name of one of the five daily meals in a noble household 361/14, 361/27
- praconceptus**, -a, -um *adj* preconceived, thought out in advance 376/11
- praeputium**, -ii *n nt* literally, the foreskin: here in idiom **praeputium concidere** to circumcise 370/21
- prandium**, -ii *n nt* dinner, the earlier and more important of the two main daily meals 347/12m, 347/17m, 348/3m, etc
- praxis**, -is *n f* Gk *n* πράξις, -εως, ἡ, *qv*: it occurs in Roman letters 373/32, 379/3, 383/6 and also entirely in Gk letters 371/6
- presentacio**, -onis *n f* presentment, a specific allegation or series of allegations of misconduct made against (a) named person(s) to an ecclesiastical official or court 201/11, 331/15(2); see also **officium**, **promocio**
- presento**, -are, -aui, -atum *v tr* to make presentment (see **presentacio**) 288/19
- princeps**, -ipis *n m* prince 291/21
- prioratus**, -us *n m* priory, a religious house under the jurisdiction of a prior 290/41, 291/2
- prior**, -is *n m* prior, an officer of a religious house subordinate to the abbot or the head of a religious house, itself occasionally dependent upon another house 290/10, 290/33
- prior**, **prius** *compar adj* earlier (in time) 370/22; first (of two) 372/39

- professor, -oris** *n m* one who avows or supports a position or belief 370/35
- promocio, -onis** *n f* promotion, the bringing of an allegation in an ecclesiastical court by one not authorized to make presentment; the promotor may be a lay person or an officer of the court 344/9; *see also* **officium, presentacio**
- promotor, -oris** *n m* promoter, one who brings an allegation before an ecclesiastical court 286/39; *see also* **promocio**
- promotus, -a, -um** *adj* having been promoted (of an allegation) 286/37; *see also* **promocio**
- propheta, -ae** *n m* prophet, one who speaks on behalf of God and with divine authority 373/35, 385/39, 386/4
- propheto, -are, -aui, --** *v intr* to prophesy, to speak on behalf of God and with divine authority 386/3, 386/4
- protestans, -ntis** *n m* Protestant 379/5
- psallo, -ere, -i, --** *v intr* to play on a stringed instrument, *hence*, to play music of any kind 371/35, 372/30, 377/24, etc
- psalma, -ae** *n m* psalm, a religious song: specifically one of the OT psalms 373/26, 373/29, 385/35
- psalmista, -ae** *n m* composer of psalms, ie, David 373/29
- psalmodia, -ae** *n f* psalmody, the musical arrangement or performance of psalms and other hymns 385/36
- psalmographus, -i** *n m* author of psalms, ie, David 373/32
- puritanus, -i** *n m* Puritan 375/28, 375/38, 376/5, etc
- pyramis, -idis** *n f* literally, a pyramid, here apparently used as a synonym for **polus**: pole, as in Maypole, summer pole 377/37, 381/36, 383/14
- quarta, -e** *n f* quart (liquid or solid measure) 361/16, 361/22(2), etc
- quarterium, -ii** *n nt* quarter, one-fourth 361/8(2), 361/15, etc
- quum** *conj* for **cum** *qv* 370/4, 372/17, 373/7, etc
- recreatio, -onis** *n f* recreation: fun, refreshment, relaxation, exercise 368/33, 369/15, 374/35, etc
- recuso, -are, aui, -atum** *v tr* to refuse, not consent to 374/14, 384/35; to oppose 377/14; *hence*, to refuse to attend services of the Church of England 378/9
- redemptio, -onis** *n f* redemption, the saving act of God in Christ to save man from the effects of sin 369/35
- redemptor, -oris** *n m* redeemer, a divine title or appellation 371/4
- regardator, -oris** *n m* regarider, an officer charged with the supervision of forests 361/12
- regardum, -i** *n nt* reward, gratuity, customary payment 356/18, 356/20
- remissio, -onis** *n f* here in idiom **remissio peccatorum** the remission or forgiveness of sins 372/23
- repeditatio, -onis** *n f* stepping or moving back and forth, steps (in a dance or other pattern) 382/23
- responsio, -onis** *n f* formal reply to charges or questioning 344/8, 380/38; *see* **personalis**
- resurgo, -rgere, -rrex, -rrectum** *v intr* to rise up to life (from death) 371/24
- sabbatum, -i** *n nt* the Jewish sabbath 369/14, 373/14, 373/21, etc; Sunday 369/8, 369/9, 369/11, etc; *see also* **dies**
- sacramentaliter** *adv* as a sacrament 371/23
- sacramentum, -i** *n nt* an oath: **super sacramentum suum** on oath 63/15 (*here in form sacra*(.....)), 64/20, 288/19; a sacrament of the Christian church, here used with special reference to the eucharist 371/11, 371/26
- sacristaria, -e** *n f* sacristy, the repository for the vestments, vessels, and other valuables

- of a church or religious house 291/2
- salio, -ere, -ui, -um** *v tr* to leap, jump; to mount (used of mating animals) 370/29, 370/32, 371/36, etc
- saltatio, -onis** *n f* dancing, a dance 369/17, 370/8, 373/2, etc
- saltator, -oris** *n m* in CL, dancer; here it is impossible to know whether this sense, or the more usual Anglo-Latin meaning, tumbler, is meant 382/10
- salto, -are, -aui, -atum** *v intr* to dance: in CL, this verb can imply dancing which was representational or mimetic in character, but it is impossible to say whether this connotation is intended in Appendix 3 of the Gloucestershire records, though it must have been known to the author 369/10, 370/29, 371/37, etc
- saltus, -us** *n m* leap, spring: by extension, step, dance-step 369/21, 370/38
- sanctifico, -are, -aui, -atum** *v tr* to make holy or sacred 369/10
- sanctificatio, -onis** *n f* the act of making holy or sacred 369/13
- scandalum, -i** *n nt* stumbling-block, an occasion or potential cause of sin or divisiveness 382/31
- schismaticus, -a, -um** *adj and sbst* of or pertaining to a schism, schismatic 384/35; *m as sbst* a member of a schism 378/23
- Scriptura, -ae** *n f* the Bible 371/8
- secta, -ae** *n f* sect, usually a religious subgroup having beliefs and practices different from those of the group as a whole 379/4
- sellaria, -ie** *n f* storeroom, cellar 361/15
- septimana, -ae** *n f* week 380/12, 385/28
- sermo, -onis** *n m* conversation, discourse 381/35; sermon: **sermo dominicalis** Sunday sermon 380/32
- seruiens, -ntis** *n m* servant, liege man 63/18, 63/23, 356/18, etc
- seruus, -i** *n m* servant 385/5m; *historically*, a slave 380/29, 380/31
- sextarius, -ii** *n m* sester, a dry and liquid measure whose equivalent is unknown 361/16, 361/18, 361/20, etc
- siccine** *adv* for **sicine** *qv* 369/13
- siet** *archaic pr subj* of **sum** *qv* 377/13
- signus, -i** *n m* for **cynus** *qv* 361/31
- siluestris, -e** *adj* literally of or from the woods: here in idiom, **carbo siluestris** charcoal 361/40
- sisso** *n m* see **cissor**
- spiritualis, -e** *adj* spiritual, of or pertaining to the human or divine spirit 371/15, 371/17, 372/1
- spiritualiter** *adv* in a way pertaining or appropriate to the spirit or soul 371/23
- spiritus, -us** *n m* spirit, soul, mind 371/21, 375/30(2); **spiritus sanctus** Holy Spirit 371/30-1, 374/32
- sponsus, -i** *n m* bridegroom, here used to refer to Jesus on the basis of his parables of the bridegroom 374/12, 374/14, 374/30
- Staffordia, -e** *n f* Stafford 347/12
- statutum, -i** *n nt* statute, law 290/41, 383/18, 383/29, etc
- statutus, -a, -um** *adj* established, set 290/17
- staurum, -i** *n nt* store, storeroom 361/29
- subditus, -i** *n m* subject (of a king or other ruler) 368/34, 368/37, 375/7
- subiectus, -i** *n m* subject (of a king or other ruler) 380/9, 384/28
- superabundanter** *adv* in great abundance 378/19
- superexundans, -ntis** *adj* springing up to a great extent, greatly abounding 380/4
- tabernaculum, -i** *n nt* see **dies**
- taberna, -ae** *n f* tavern, drinking establishment 379/31
- testamentum, -i** *n nt* will, testament; here in idiom **testamentum nouum** New Testament 372/38-9
- thesaurarius, -ii** *n m* treasurer 361/10
- tibia, -ae** *n f* pipe, flute, reed pipe 372/30
- tibicen, -inis** *n m* piper, perhaps used generically for musician 373/40, 382/9, 386/2
- totalis, -e** *adj* entire, whole, total 296/25,

361/41

**totaliter** *adv* entirely 290/36**Trinitas**, -atis *n f* the Trinity 290/17**tripudium**, -ii *n nt* ritual dance, dance: it is unclear whether the connotation of ritual is intended by the author of Appendix 3 of the Gloucestershire records, but it must have been known to him 369/17, 370/7, 371/16, etc**trumpetta**, -e *n f* trumpeter 356/21**τύπος** *adv Gk adv τυπικῶς* typologically, according to types (post-classical formation) 371/28**uaco**, -are, -ui, -atum *v intr* to have time or leisure for, hence, to be able to (with infinitive) 382/1; to be null and void (of orders or ordinances) 169/35m**uagabundus**, -i *n m* vagabond, itinerant laborer with no visible means of support, hence, **statutum vagabundi** a statute governing the movements of itinerant labourers 385/10**ualettus**, -i *n m* esquire 360/8, 360/12**uersus**, -us *n m* verse (as a division or subdivision of a text) 372/36, 373/1, 373/6, etc**uersus** *prep* against 330/10, 344/10**uigilia**, -e *n f* eve (of a saint's day or other church festival); **uigilia Sancti Nicolai**5 December 290/16; **uigilia Sancti Petri ad uinculum** 31 July 63/16, 64/21**uilla**, -e *n f* town, vill, township 360/25**uindico**, -are, -ui, -atum *v tr* to lay claim to, arrogate (to oneself) 376/33; to defend, vindicate 376/32**uinum**, -i *n nt* wine; **uinum gasconiense** Gascon wine 361/16, 361/19, 361/21, etc; **uinum de Royn'** Rhine wine 361/17, 361/19, 361/22**uirga**, -e *n f* stick, staff, rod 63/21, 64/24; yard (as a unit of distance or length) 358/38, 359/1, 359/2, etc**uisitacio**, -onis *n f* visitation, a formal inquiry, based upon specific articles, into the life of a religious house or a parish, carried out by the relevant ecclesiastical jurisdictional superior 290/41**ulna**, -e *n f* ell, a unit of distance or length equivalent in English usage to 45 in 358/28(2)**undequaque** *adv* on every side, all about 369/3**urs'** *see endnote***Whitsonius**, -a, -um *adj see alla***Zephania**, -ae *n m* Zephaniah, one of the OT prophets, or the OT book called by his name 374/22

# English Glossary

- abbott** *n* abbot or lord of misrule, one chosen to preside over Christmas games and revels 71/13; **abbott of misrule** 296/31; *see also* **lord of misrule**, **Christemas lord**
- abettinge** *vb n* urging, encouraging 285/16
- abettment** *n* encouragement, aid 189/32, 190/14
- abode** *v pa 3 sg* lodged, stayed 292/5
- about** *prep* (usually with reference to expenses) in connection with 115/29; 180/18; 180/35; **about** 341/1; 341/20; **abovt** 179/13
- abouts** *prep* about the time of 340/6
- accidens** *n* the rudiments or first principles of any subject (*hence*, a **single accidens**, 'a primer in itself' (?) 355/1-2
- account** *n* account 339/5m, 340/7, 341/37; **accompte** 296/35, 296/43; 297/6, etc
- account** *v pr 1 pl* account, hold (to be) 367/35; **accompted** *pp* 342/37; **account** *pr 3 pl* count, reckon 340/28; **accompted** *pa 3 pl* 339/8; **accomptinge** *prp* accounting, rendering a reckoning 339/6
- accountant** *n* one who renders an account 315/37, 317/16; **accomptantes** *pl* 302/22, 303/13; 310/25, etc; **accountpaunce** 300/41; **accomptauntes** 298/26; 299/5, 299/22, etc
- accte** *n* part of a play; performance, in a general sense (?) or *v inf* act, perform (with 'the' in error for 'them') (?) 328/30
- aduerteshede** *pp* notified, informed 214/18
- adventured** *v pa 3 pl* risked, dared to undertake 340/20, 342/2
- afor** *adv* before 292/8; **afor** *prep* before 214/23; **afore** 359/13; **afore hand** *prep phr* used as *adv* beforehand 189/24
- after** *prep* according to 292/38, 294/25, 295/26
- against** *prep* in preparation for 98/5, 115/28, 121/12, etc; **againste** 83/13, 84/28; **ayenst** 296/14
- albes** *n pl* albs, vestments of white cloth reaching to the feet 337/14
- alderman** *n* in Kendal, the elected head of the municipal corporation 168/7, 169/1; 169/15, etc; **aldrman** 208/2; 208/25, 208/32, etc; **adermans** *poss* 207/23; **aldermans** 168/23; 178/32; 183/36; etc; **aldrman** 204/29, 204/31; **aldrmanes** 177/20; **aldrmans** 185/5, 208/30; **aldermen** *n pl* in most English boroughs and cities, members of the governing corporation 292/23, 293/21, 293/28, etc
- alehouse** *n* a house where ale is retailed 346/20; **alehouses** *pl* 367/4
- a leuen** *adj* eleven 200/4
- alhallow thursday** *n phr* 'Allhallow Thursday,' the Thursday after Rogation Sunday, *ie*, Ascension Day (a moveable feast) 94/12 **alhallowe thursday** 72/8, 83/32, 95/19, etc; **alhallowes thursdaye** 81/9-10; **Allathursdaye** 88/23; **alhallow thursday** 98/10; **alhallowe thursday** 82/6; **alhallowthursday** 98/12; *see also* **hallow thursdaie**
- allhollantyde** *n* 'All Hallows Tide,' the Feast of All Saints (1 November) 286/2
- allowance** *n* acceptance (by auditors) as

- legitimate expenses 302/22, 311/2, 311/40, etc; **allowaunce** 299/5, 299/22, 300/14, etc; **alowance** 316/29; **a lowaunce** 300/41; **allowances** *pl* 84/27
- allowe** *v inf* approve of, sanction 194/2, 194/3; **allowede** *pa 3 sg* 192/15; **allowede** 85/4; **allowed** *pp* 114/32; **alowte** 118/38; **allowinge** *vb n* 171/12; **allowed of** *pp phr* permitted (by someone), *especially*, permitted to claim as expenses 315/37; **alowed of** 384/6
- almanacke** *n* book containing astronomical and astrological tables together with an ecclesiastical calendar and (sometimes) weather and astrological predictions 355/13
- almes disse** *n phr* a vessel for the reception of alms, used in churches, in the houses of the rich, or carried by beggars 335/16
- aloof** *see* **stand aloof**
- allowance, allowances** *see* **allowance**
- alowed, alowed of** *see* **allowe**
- amending** *vb n* mending, repairing 93/1, 328/12
- amners** *n poss* of the almoner, a functionary who distributes alms for someone else 296/23
- anempste** *see* **to anempste**
- angellett nobles** *n phr pl* gold coins, each having half the value of the angel 295/3
- ann egge brok** *probably the name* Ann Edgebrook, *but perhaps a phrase*, an egg broken, *or*, a sword broken (*see endnote*) 344/12
- antelap** *n* antelope 304/5
- apec** *adv* apiece 200/21; *see also* **pece**
- aplecastes** *n pl* a method of telling fortunes (*see endnote*) 168/27
- apointment** *n* direction, order 174/37, **aponyment** 181/29; **apoyntment** 200/13, 202/5; 202/15; etc; **apointement** 308/34, 309/26, 309/27, etc; **appointement** 309/31, 309/32; **appointment** 313/36; **appointmente** 306/34; **appointment** 285/16, 286/25, 310/28; **appointment** 78/33, 186/30, 194/30, etc; **apoyntement** 327/40; **apoyntment** 177/20, 179/14, 187/18, etc; **apoyntmente** 312/22
- appliable** *adj* applicable, suitable, pertinent 366/6
- appynte** *v inf* decree, direct 171/19, 171/20, 171/28; **appoints** *pr 3 sg* 362/14; **appointed** *pp* 146/4
- aquarther** *see* **quarter**
- a ray** *n* array, order 294/14, 295/35; **array** 292/25
- areregis** *n pl* arrears 336/35; **arrerages** 117/28
- armes** *n pl* hereditary heraldic insignia 83/18
- arrode of arremes** *n phr* herald of arms, an officer who makes royal proclamations, arranges state ceremonies, regulates the use of armorial bearings, etc 296/24; **kinge of heraldes** *n phr* King of Arms, the title of the three chief heralds of the College of Arms 303/18; **kyng of arrodes** 294/16
- article** *v inf* specify, state 92/2
- article** *n* article, a distinct charge or count in an accusation or indictment 344/11; **artilles** *pl* 214/19; 214/30; **articles** separate clauses or provisions, of, *eg*, a statute or enactment 345/4
- articulate** *adj* charged or specified in the articles of an accusation or indictment 287/9, 287/34, 287/38, etc; **tharticulate art and** *n* 314/25, 343/26
- assistauntes** *n pl* in Kendal, the 24 persons who formed the lower rank of the governing corporation of the borough 169/2; 169/3
- assise** *n* periodic session, or sitting, of king's justices in each county for administration of civil and criminal justice 99/6; **assizes** *pl* 328/15; **assyses** 162/16
- atendance** *n* escorting or accompanying (someone) in order to perform some service 200/10, 201/38, 202/20, etc; **attendance** 116/23, 202/13, 207/36, etc; **attendaunce** 295/25

**athisside** *adv* on this side (of) 293/32

(.)**attelment** *see* **battlement**

**attend** *v* *inf* escort or accompany (someone)  
in order to perform some service 341/12;  
**attend** *pr* 3 *pl* 'wait upon,' visit on a matter  
of business 362/11

**attendance**, **attendaunce** *see* **atendance**

**attendantes** *n pl* servants, helpers 341/22

**aughter** *n* author, originator 288/1

**awake** *see* **waike**

**awter** *n* altar 293/5

**ayen** *adv* again 294/10

**ayenst** *see* **against**

**bailiffe** *n* the agent of a lord of the manor, who  
collects his rents, etc 194/14; **balive**  
196/29; **bayliffe** 192/18; **balife** chief public  
administrative officer of a particular  
district, 103/31; **bayliffe** 288/30, 289/3,  
289/6, etc; **bailly** *poss* 214/22; **bailiffes** *n pl*  
339/6, 339/7(2), etc; **bailiffes** *poss pl*  
339/5m

**baiting** *vb n* setting dogs to bite and worry  
(an animal, usually one confined for this  
purpose) for sport 334/5; **baytinge** 301/42;  
*see also* **beare-baitings**; **bul-baitings**

**baize** *n* a kind of woollen cloth, finer and  
lighter than that now called baize 213/28;  
**bayse** 179/33

**ballad** *n* popular song which sometimes  
attacks persons or institutions 334/11;  
**ballades** *pl* 334/15

**band** *n* neck-band, collar (of a shirt) 94/32

**banket** *n* banquet 172/4, 174/10, 298/24, etc;  
**bankett** 299/11; **banquenttes** *pl* 345/7;  
**banquets** 346/29

**bar** *n* a bar used in some trial of strength or  
skill (?) 93/38, 115/33

**barbor** *n* barber-surgeon, one who does hair-  
dressing, blood letting, and minor surgery  
315/3

**bare faced** *adj phr* without a mask 363/28

**barehede** *adj* bareheaded 292/31

**baron** *n* nobleman, peer, lord of Parliament  
307/15m; **barons** *poss* 306/14; **baron of the**

**parliament** *n phr* 307/18; **baron of the**  
**parliament** 307/14

**barred of his othe** *pp phr* prevented from  
taking his oath (?) 334/26

**barr monnye** *n phr* in Carlisle, customary  
payments claimed by the city's sergeants  
118/37

**barronie** *n* estate, honour of a baron

190/41, 191/9, 191/11; **barrony** 189/16

**battlement** *n* an indented parapet at the top  
of a wall 340/1, 340/7, 340/14; etc;  
(.)**attelment** 339/39m; **battlementes** *pl*  
341/1, 341/13, 341/35, etc

**bayliffe** *see* **bailiffe**

**bayse** *see* **baize**

**baytinge** *see* **baiting**

**bea interj** baa, the noise a sheep makes 352/35

**beadell** *n* beadle; a minor town official 65/22;

**beadle** *poss* 202/32; **beadles** *pl* 123/2;

**beadles** *poss* 100/38, 103/33; **beedles** 91/18

**beakenes** *see* **beking**

**beare-baitings** *n pl* form of entertainment in  
which dogs are set on a chained bear  
346/16; **beare and bullbaitings** 367/36; *see*  
*also* **baiting**

**bearrade** *n* bearward; keeper of a bear, who  
leads it about 305/16; **bearwarde** 91/4;

**berward** 301/41; **berrardes** *pl* 305/14

**beedles** *see* **beadell**

**beggery** *n* rubbish, beggarly stuff 349/5

**beguile** *v inf* deprive (of) by fraud, cheat out  
(of) 384/21; **beguyled** *pp* 384/24

**beking** *n* beacon, signal-fire on a hill 176/8;

**beakenes** *pl* 178/10, 178/15, 178/17;

**bekens** 176/1, 176/6; **bekinngs** 176/14

**belman** *n* town-crier, one who goes around  
a town and makes public announcements,  
to which he attracts attention by ringing a  
bell (*see endnote to p* 65 *CA*/4/1 *f* [1v])  
65/22; **belman** *poss* 103/33; **bellmans**  
91/22

**belongeth in office** *v phr* belongs as a duty  
368/4-5

**benevolence** *n* gift or grant of money 99/30,  
109/37, 112/37, etc

**benefice** *n* benefice, ecclesiastical living 334/17  
**benttes** *n pl* benches 303/4  
**berrardes, berward** *see* **bearrade**  
**bestowe** *v inf* expend, lay out 76/30; **bestowd**  
*pa 3 sg* 208/2, 208/25 (*but meaning not certain here*); **bestowed** 178/14, 209/1,  
 213/7; **bestowed** *pp* 74/36, 79/30, 82/9,  
 etc; **bistowid** 172/8; **bestowed** *pp* placed  
 304/25; **bestowe ... in v inf** *phr* apply  
 toward (?) 91/39-40  
**bidd** *pp* bidden, invited 113/6  
**birde** *n* beard 215/21  
**blacke garde** *n phr* the lowest menials of the  
 royal household 296/22, 303/26  
**blazed** *pp* depicted, portrayed 352/22  
**blv** *adj used as n* blue cloth 175/31  
**bodie** *n* portion of food serving one person,  
 (in contrast to a 'mess'; *see* **mease**) 203/25,  
 207/30; **body** 210/18  
**bokeram** *n* buckram, a kind of coarse linen  
 or woollen cloth stiffened with gum or  
 paste 359/1(2); 359/2, etc; **buckeram**  
 337/33  
**boorde, borde** *see* **kinges boorde**  
**boothall** *n* town hall (*for further information*  
*see endnote to p 298 GBR F 4/3 ff 78, 79*)  
 305/22; **bothall** 298/15, 298/23, 298/27,  
 etc; **botholl** 314/24, 315/9  
**bordenayles** *n pl* some kind of nails, perhaps  
 spikes or large brads 298/14  
**boroughe** *n* a town or city holding privileges  
 conveyed by charter 168/11, 168/16,  
 168/30, etc; **bourghe** 171/17, 171/21,  
 171/25, etc  
**boterye** *n* buttery; place where provisions are  
 stored and dispensed 296/20  
**bothall, botholl** *see* **boothall**  
**bounder** *n* boundary 73/30, 82/9, 85/16, etc  
**bowle** *see* **runninge bowle**  
**bowling** *vb n* an outdoor bowling game of  
 some kind, probably skittles or what is  
 now called lawn-bowling 367/38  
**boylinge house** *see* **officers of the boylinge**  
**house**  
**brabbling** *vb n* quarrelling noisily, squabbling,

**brawling** 384/19  
**breat** *n* bread 204/14  
**breatch** *n* breach, break (?) 90/9  
**breathren** *n pl* 'brethren,' in Carlisle,  
 members of the governing corporation  
 91/37; **brederne** 292/27, 293/2; 293/5;  
**brether** 291/37; **bretheren** 67/1, 100/8,  
 100/24, etc; **brethern** 295/22, 296/42,  
 297/12; **bretherne** 294/37, 295/6, 299/39,  
 etc; **brethren** 74/36, 82/5, 83/36, etc  
**broad arrowes** *n phr pl* arrows having two-  
 pointed arrowheads 91/38  
**broad cloth** *n phr* a fine woollen cloth of plain  
 weave, two yards wide 198/3; **broadcloth**  
*n* 186/9; **brodclothe** 67/8; **brood cloth** *n*  
*phr* 187/13; *see also* **broode**  
**broaker** *n* go-between, pimp, pander 350/5  
**brod** *adj* broad, applied technically to certain  
 fabrics distinguished by their width 103/  
 32, 180/2; **brode** 100/37, 186/29  
**brok** *see* **ann egge brok**  
**broode** *adj used as n* broadcloth; a fine  
 woollen cloth of plain weave, two yards  
 wide 214/5; *see also* **broad cloth**  
**brother** *n* member of a guild 117/19; **brothers**  
*poss* 99/22, 101/29  
**brotherhoode** *n* members of the guild 113/33  
**brought in** *v phr (v pa 2 sg)* caused to begin  
 (eg, an event or a season) 77/30; **bryngyng**  
*in vb n phr* 297/15  
**brunt** *v pa 3 pl* burned, blazed 178/10; **brunte**  
 178/15, 178/17  
**buckeram** *see* **bokeram**  
**bul-baitings** *n pl* form of entertainment in  
 which dogs are set on a chained or tied bull  
 346/16; **bullbaitings** 367/36; *see also*  
**baiting**  
**bulles** *n pl* papal edicts or mandates 292/8  
**burges** *n* in Kendal, one of the twelve persons  
 who, with the alderman and the 24  
 assistants, formed the governing  
 corporation of the borough 307/26;  
**burgesses** *pl* 168/8, 168/35, 169/1, etc;  
**burgessez** 292/19, 293/29, 293/42, etc  
**busy** *adj* earnest, eager, importunate 335/23

**buthe** *see* **tooll buthe**

**butte** *n* butt; cask for holding wine or ale, of a capacity not now known 341/27

**byd** *v inf* in Kendal, to invite (someone) to (a party or celebration at a particular house) 168/13, 168/25; **bydden** *pp* 168/7m, 168/14, 168/26

**byth** *see* **farr byth square**

**calivers** *n pl* a light kind of musket 337/6

**Candlemas** *n* the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary, or the Presentation of Christ in the Temple (2 February) 111/28, 114/33

**canon** *n* a rule, law, or decree of the Church, especially a rule laid down by an ecclesiastical council 345/11, 346/33; **canons** *pl* 367/8, 367/11, 367/22

**capen** *n pl* caps 337/33, 338/16

**capon** *n* gelded rooster 109/35; **capons** *pl* 73/14, 74/1, 74/14, etc

**careing** *vb n* carrying 121/36

**carfull** *n pl* carts-full, cartloads 83/12

**cariage** *n* treatment of others 366/10

**carsaie** *n* kersey; a kind of coarse, narrow cloth, woven from long wool and usually ribbed 78/4; **carsay** 78/1; **carsey** 84/6; **kersay** 109/26; **kersaye** 88/1, 88/2, 88/5, etc

**catechise** *v inf* instruct in the elements of religion; question as to belief 219/39; **catechised** *pa 1 sg* 219/18, 219/19

**certyfying** *pp* assuring, making (someone) certain 294/4

**chamber** *n* room or chamber belonging to one of the city's trade guilds; also, the guild itself 73/29, 74/37, 77/26, etc; **chaber** (error for 'chamber') 85/17, 89/35, 96/18; **chambers** *pl* 72/9, 81/4, 83/33

**chamberlaine** *n* officer who accounts for civic receipts and expenditures 154/17; **chamberlane** 160/44; **chamberlayns** *pl* 87/38, 230/5-6; **chamberlens** 74/24, 154/39, 154/42; **chaberlens** (error for 'chamberlens') 113/29; **chamberlines**

111/7, 114/14, 118/13, etc

**chapelry** *n* the district attached to a chapel 219/24; **chappelrye** 219/38

**charge** *n* expense 84/38, 216/32, 217/2, etc;

**chardges** *pl* 180/17, 180/24, 180/33, etc;

**charges** 73/29, 174/10, 174/21, etc;

**chargis** 85/5, 91/23, 112/23; **common**

**charge** *n phr* generally shared expense 340/2-3

**chekyn** *n* chicken 296/11

**cherisse** *n* cherries 208/25

**chesse** *n* cheese 176/7

**chests** *n* chess 356/2

**Christemas lord** *n phr* lord of misrule, one chosen to preside over games and revels at Christmas 218/7; *see also* **abbott, lord of misrule**

**christopher** *n* a kind of tobacco imported from the island of St. Kitts, in the Caribbean (*see endnote to p 207, WMB/K 44, f [23]*) 212/16; *adj* 208/5, 208/14

**churchale** *n* periodical festive gathering held in connection with a church 287/36, 340/5; **churchales** *pl* 345/8; **chuchales** (error for 'churchales') 346/29; *see also* **somer ale, Whitson ale**

**churchhouse** *n* house belonging to a church, used for church purposes 343/24; **church-house** 289/30, 289/31; **church howse** *n phr* 343/2

**clark of the market** *n phr* royal officer who attends fairs and markets to keep the standard of weights and measures 339/10; **clarke of the market** 303/20; *poss* **clarke of the marketts** 303/30

**clared** *n and adj* claret, claret wine (in the 17th century, the period of most of these occurrences, the term 'claret' was applied to red wines in general) 68/9, 76/22, 103/13; **claret** 108/6; **clarett** 199/3, 199/25, 206/17, etc; **claried** 102/39, 175/12; **clarred** 106/10; **clarrede** 105/11; **clarrett** 205/2, 298/39, 303/36, etc; **clarrit** 77/36; **claritt** 204/16

**clerke of the peace** *n phr* an officer who

- prepares indictments and keeps a record of proceedings at sessions of the peace 196/4
- cloakkes** *n pl* cloaks (of varying lengths, hooded or hoodless, sometimes having sleeves) 186/31; **cloakes** 133/39, 186/9, 187/37, etc; **clockes** 200/31; **clocks** 103/32; **clokes** 88/6; 182/11, 183/8, etc; **clookes** 187/14, 214/5
- cloath** *n* woollen cloth 125/38; **cloth** 123/2, 183/8; **clothe** 65/22, 87/38, 169/7, etc
- closedd**, **closede** *see* **herin closedd**
- coape** *n* ecclesiastical vestment resembling a long cloak 337/12; **coopys** *pl* 294/22, 294/28; **copys** 292/35, 293/3
- coarte** *see* **leet cort**
- coat** *n* coat, sometimes a sleeveless close-fitting garment coming no lower than the waist, sometimes loose, with skirts and sleeves 71/13, 71/16, 72/3, etc; **coatt** 66/12; **coote** 81/16; **cote** 91/23, 167/5; **cott** 88/7, 88/34; **cotte** 78/2, 78/11, 87/36, etc; **cootes** *pl* 170/18, 293/30; **cotes** 100/37, 170/27, 172/17, etc; **cots** 175/32; **cottes** 178/6, 179/34, 182/5, etc; **cotts** 103/33
- cockatrice** *n* a fabulous serpent, said to kill by its mere glance, and to be hatched from a cock's egg 350/1
- coloringe** *n* painting (?) 304/4
- combes** *n pl* honeycombs 355/27
- comffites** *n pl* sweetmeats made of some fruit, root, etc, preserved with sugar 172/6; **comfittes** 68/11
- commandadore** *n* commendador, commander (used chiefly as a Spanish or Venetian title) 352/33
- commicon** *n* commission; warrant authorizing someone to do something 319/40, 320/1, 320/2
- commissinares** *n pl* commissioners, members of a commission established to investigate (something) 180/20; **commissinores** 180/25; **commissonerres** 180/18
- common charge** *see* **charge**
- common counsell** *n phr* in Gloucester, a body composed of thirty or more of the principal burgesses, from among whom the mayor and aldermen were elected 311/27-8; **common counsell** 363/1
- common welthe** *n phr* public welfare, common good 171/9
- companie** *n* trade guild 105/19, 317/19, 317/24, etc; **company** 99/31, 170/8, 327/6; **companye** 105/23, 170/9; **comp** (*error for* 'company') 111/17; **companies** 116/13; **companyes** 113/38; **companie** a party of players or a band of musicians 130/19, 143/3, 143/5, etc; **company** 83/3, 114/36, 130/41, etc; **companye** 75/19; **companies** *pl* 144/5
- concept** *n* notion, idea 190/11; **conseite** 189/30
- conceived** *v pa 3 sg* understood, apprehended 331/4
- condiscended** *pp* agreed, consented 307/6
- conforme** *v refl inf* to comply with the usages of the Church of England 367/16, 367/21
- conforme** *adj* who has complied with the usages of the Church of England 368/2
- connyes** *n pl* conies, rabbits 74/1; **cunnyes** 92/11, 96/3, 108/7, etc; **cunyes** 73/14, 102/26, 103/1, etc
- consort** *n* company of musicians 323/22; **consorts** *pl* 136/34
- constable** *n* an officer of a parish or township appointed to act as conservator of the peace 342/16; **high constable** *n phr* an officer of a hundred or other large administrative district, appointed to act as conservator of the peace 352/26; **constable** (*with* 'high' understood) 352/32, 353/2
- contemners** *n pl* despisers, scornors 367/24
- contemptuously** *adv* in the manner of those setting legal authority at defiance 289/5
- contracting martres** *see* **martres**
- conuenient** *adj* decent, appropriate, suitable 367/32; **conuenyent** 215/9; **convanient** 92/2; **convenient** 333/38; **convenyente** 169/5
- coocken** *n* cook (?) *or*, proper name Cook (?) 145/12

- coopys *see* coape  
 coote, cootes *see* coat  
 copys *see* coape  
 cornetor *n* one who plays a cornett (*see* cornett) 140/29; **cornetter** 137/21  
 cornett *n* cornett, a wooden wind instrument (not to be confused with the modern cornet) 329/1; **cornettes** *pl* 328/14  
 corporacion *n* a town possessing self-governing privileges; the name given to its governing body, empowered to act as a legal entity 170/11, 196/1; **corporations** *pl* 362/10  
 corslettes *n pl* pieces of defensive armour covering the body (as opposed to the limbs) 337/8  
 cote, cotes, cots, cott, cotte, cottes, cotts, *see* coat  
 counterfeete *n* imitator, actor (?) 100/27  
 counterfeiting *prp* acting, imitating 218/19  
 course *n* reprehensible behaviour, 'goings on' 289/15; **course** race, horse-race 120/10; **courses** *pl* 116/17; **course of horse race** *n* *phr* a single race within a set of horse-races 114/1  
 cradell *n* *probably*, a suspended scaffolding or stage used by workmen on buildings 305/3; **cradles** *pl* 341/7  
 craueth *v pr 3 sg* asks, requests 317/16, 323/31, 324/7; **craved** *pp* 84/27  
 Cristie *n* Christ's School 322/9  
 crownatyon daye *n phr* Coronation Day, the anniversary of the accession of Queen Elizabeth I (17 Nov 1558) 174/32  
 cuckow-time *n phr* April, the time of the cuckoo's arrival in the British Isles 354/33  
 cunnys, cunyes *see* connyes  
 cusshynges *n pl* cushions, 294/23, 294/28; **cusshyns** 292/36, 293/3  
 cutter *n* tailor (?) 353/17, 354/26  
 cyphers *n pl* numbers, numerals 352/8  
 damosels *n pl* damsels; young unmarried women 349/36  
 dampes *n pl* gases or vapours of a noxious kind 349/7  
 dasshet *v pa 3 sg* dashed, threw 215/22  
 dauncing pumpes, daunsing pumpes *see* pumpes  
 decoring *vb n* decorating, adorning 367/34  
 deceptions *see* drection  
 defend *v inf* uphold, maintain by speech or argument 285/21, 286/31, 287/20; **defended** *pa 3 sg* 288/2  
 deponent *n* one who makes a deposition under oath, one who gives written testimony to be used as evidence in a court of justice 193/29, 194/5, 194/7, etc; **deponentes** *poss* 194/1, 194/8, 194/14, etc  
 depose *v inf* testify, bear witness 190/8, 190/24, 193/6, etc; **deposeth** *pr 3 sg* 192/38, 193/8, 193/25, etc; **deposed** *pp* 193/7, 193/13  
 deprave *v inf* decry, disparage 201/24  
 drection *n* instruction, authoritative guidance 89/12; **derecktions** *pl* 208/33; **derections** 204/31; **deceptions** (*error for* 'derections' (?) 204/29; **directions** 216/27, 366/5  
 detected *pp* informed against, accused 331/34, 332/1, 332/18, etc  
 device *n* something devised or fancifully invented for dramatic representation 216/31; **deuices** *pl* 353/8; **deuises** 355/20; *see also* vise; **devise** design 335/23  
 di *n* one-half (*for Latin* 'dimidium') 206/37, 212/33, 214/5, etc  
 diall *n* clock 350/12  
 disclosed *pp* decloshed; disclosed, revealed 198/1  
 diet *n* food, board 348/27m, 348/28  
 diligences *n pl in v phr* done their diligences done their utmost endeavour, exerted themselves 345/20  
 directions *see* drection  
 discomining *vb n* discommoning, depriving of citizenship 307/29  
 discover *v inf* reveal, disclose 349/10, 351/8; **discouered** *pp* 188/21; **discovered** *v pa 3 sg* uncovered, bared 363/17

**discredyted** *pp* brought into discredit or disrepute 314/32  
**disgisingez** *n pl* masques, masquerades 347/21; **disgysynges** 335/19  
**disguised** *pp* dressed up as for a pageant or entertainment 218/15, 346/11; **disguysed** 201/17  
**diuers** *adj* various, sundry 188/19, 201/17, 343/3, etc; **diuerse** 304/36, 307/2, 307/4, etc; **divers** 94/10, 189/16, 197/13, etc; **diverse** 310/25, 311/3; **dyveres** 117/9; **dyvers** 171/5  
**dli** *error for* 'di. li.,' *ie, Latin* 'dimidium librae,' half a pound 76/22  
**doble gilte** *adj phr* having two layers of gilding 303/15; **duble giltt** 84/32  
**dosan** *n* dozen 113/36; **duson** 206/6  
**doubted** *v pa 3 sg or pp* feared 288/33  
**draftes** *n pl* loads 304/12  
**drawn** *pp* written out 189/15  
**dresinge** *vb n* cleaning, furbishing (?) 182/24; **dressinge** preparing, *perhaps also* decorating, adorning 105/27, 117/22, 304/16, etc  
**drinkinge** *n* a convivial revel 305/37(2); **drinkyng** 300/42; **drinkinges** *pl* 345/8; **drinkings** 345/28, 346/19(2), etc; **drynkynges** 168/9m, 168/27; **drynkyns** 168/20  
**drumme** *n poss* drummer's 100/38  
**drummercotte** *n poss and n* drummer's coat 103/33  
**drynkynges, drynkyns** *see* **drinkinge**  
**duble giltt** *see* **doble gilte**  
**duble** *adj* of twice the value 84/36  
**dulle sole** *adj phr* double-soled; having soles made from material of double thickness, or in two layers 86/18  
**duson** *see* **dosan**  
**dyes** *n pl* days 340/24  
**dyveres, dyvers** *see* **diuers**  
**earnest** *adj* intent, zealous 314/31  
**egge** *see* **ann egge brok**  
**eighttenthe** *adj* eighteen 303/2

**eleccion dinner** *n phr* a dinner given on the day of the election of the alderman 207/13;  
**eleckcion dener** 176/18; **elecktion diner** 205/36, 206/2, 206/5; **election diner** 172/22, 200/29; **election dinner** 175/22, 175/25, 199/25, etc; **election dyner** 204/35; **elekxtion diner** 182/17; **elleccion diner** 203/25; **elleccion dynner** 199/16, 202/18–19; **elections diner** *n poss phr* 173/8  
**enterlude** *n* play, especially of a light or humorous kind 358/29; **interlude** 307/20; **enterludes** *pl* 306/42m, 306/42, 307/1, etc; **interludes** 307/11, 307/15, 367/35  
**entertayninge** *see* **intertayne**  
**entertainment** *n* public performance or exhibition designed to interest or amuse 216/32; **enterteinment** hospitable provision for the wants of a guest 349/15  
**er** *conj* ere, before 295/10  
**erect** *v inf* elevate to office 218/7  
**esquyers** *n pl* men belonging to the order of gentry, and ranking immediately below knights 294/15  
**estat** *see* **groumes of the stable of estat**  
**estates** *n pl* orders or classes of society 218/30  
**euenday** *see* **fasten euenday**  
**evidences** *n pl* documents by means of which facts are established, especially title-deeds 334/39  
**examinat** *n* person under examination, either as witness or as accused person 190/36; **examinate** *poss* 193/39  
**excepte** *conj* unless 315/19  
**exercyse** *n* formal recitation 100/10; **exercises** *pl* activities (especially sports and entertainments) 346/17  
**expect** *v inf* await, wait for 355/12; **expected** *pp* 216/26  
**extraordinarij** *adj* extra, additional, not routine 85/5; **extrordanrie** *adv* 205/38; **extrordinarie** 205/28  
**face** *n* mask 339/32  
**fantasticall** *adj* inclined to love (?) 354/41  
**farr byth square** *adv phr* 'far by the square,'

- 'way out,' out of line (in an assumption, judgment) (?) 191/2
- fasten euenday** *n phr* Shrove Tuesday 123/9;
- fasteneunday** 123/12; **fasteneuen day** 123/18; **fastineven day** 102/20;
- ffastineven day** 102/13
- fedill** *n* fiddle, violin 215/5
- fees** *v pr 3 sg* feeds, grazes 218/19; **feeing of** *prp phr* feeding off 197/3
- fellow** *n* 'mate,' co-worker 298/16
- fetch** *pp* fetched 199/1
- ffasinge** *n* fabric used for facing garments 179/33
- ffastineven day** *see* **fasten euenday**
- ffayne** *n* 'fane,' flag, banner 83/19
- ffence** *see* **master of ffence**
- ffo** *prep* for 178/16; **fo** 203/7
- ffoale** *n* performing fool, jester, clown 93/1;
- ffoall** 82/34; **ffoole** 78/35, 86/16m, 87/1m, etc; **ffowle** 82/30; **foal** 94/21; **foale** 93/3, 93/15, 93/18, etc; **foole** 67/37, 78/5, 78/7, etc; **foule** 86/16, 87/1; **fowle** 71/7; **ffooles** *poss* 91/23; **foall** 84/9; **foalls** *pl* 84/6; **fooles** 78/2, 78/11, 193/31; **foule** 87/10, 87/35, 88/34; **fowles** 72/40
- ffoleth** *v pr 3 sg* followeth, follows 232/15
- ffolkes** *n pl* people 168/19; **folkes** 204/36, 209/10, 209/39, etc; **forkes** 203/3
- ffooll** *n* fowl 103/1; **ffowle** 108/7, 109/35, 113/7; **foole** 73/14, 74/1, 92/11, etc; **fowle** 96/3
- fforton** *v inf* fortune, chance 168/11
- ffowers** *n pl* 'fours,' the group, consisting of four members of each trade guild, which assisted the mayor and 'brethren' of Carlisle with the annual audit and other matters 118/37
- ffree** *adv* freely, copiously (?) 112/21
- ffreeman** *n* guild or company member, one who possesses the freedom of a guild or company 170/8
- ffreese** *n* frieze, coarse woollen cloth with a heavy nap on one side 100/37; **ffrese** 178/6; **ffreyse** 179/32
- ffrires** *see* **White ffrires**
- fo** *see* **ffo**
- foal, foale, foall, foalls** *see* **ffoale**
- foiles** *n pl* thin leaves of metal placed under a transparent substance to give it the appearance of a precious stone 354/17
- folkes** *see* **ffolkes**
- foole, fooler** *see* **ffoale, ffoole**
- forkes** *see* **ffolkes**
- foule, fowle, fowles** *see* **ffoale**
- fowle** *see* **ffooll**
- freres** *n pl* friars, members of one of the four mendicant orders 292/1
- fro** *prep* from 215/29
- furnished** *pp* fitted up, prepared for use 337/8
- furniture** *n* accessories, *here probably* props and scenery 304/34
- furtherance** *n* aid, assistance 196/21
- furtherers** *n pl* supporters, promoters 197/12
- galland** *n* gallon 320/36; **gallande** 303/36
- game** *n* traditional sport or amusement 384/11; **gaines** *pl* 108/27; **games** 69/3, 71/21, 77/23, etc; **gams** 93/34, 97/19
- gard** *see* **vshurs of the gard**
- garde** *see* **blacke garde**
- geare** *n* apparel, clothes 336/26, 336/31, 337/28, **geere** 338/22; **gere** 335/39, 336/20
- geister** *n* jester, professed maker of amusement, especially one maintained in a prince's court or a nobleman's household 297/8, 297/34; **ieaster** 100/27
- gene** *pp* given 113/36
- gentilman vshe** *n phr* official of the royal household 84/41
- gentlefolkes** *n poss* of persons of good position and family 353/28
- gere** *see* **geare**
- gilinge** *n* gelding (*hence*, **gilinge boule, gilinge bo(.)le** a prize for a race run by geldings (?)), *or pp* gilt, gilded (?) 98/20, 98/29
- golden sommes** *n poss* Goldenson's (?), *or n proper and pron* Golden some (?) (*see* **sommes**) 299/33
- goodwife** *n* a title, prefixed to surnames,

- equivalent to Mrs. 343/34
- gowen** *n* a long, loose robe, usually open at the front, having hanging or puffed shoulder sleeves 169/7, 169/8; **gownes** *pl* 170/37, 291/38, 291/39, etc
- gowres day** *n phr* 'Gowrie Day,' 5 August, day of Thanksgiving for the deliverance of King James I from an alleged assassination attempt (see *endnote to p 84 CA/4/139f53*) 86/11; **gowryedaye** 85/32; **Gowryes daye** 84/22
- gratificacion** *n* recompense 312/24
- groumes of the stable of estat** *n phr* grooms of the royal household 184/21
- gunpowder daye** *n phr* 5 November, Guy Fawkes Day, the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot 100/8-9; **gunpowther day** 108/18
- had** *pp* delivered 172/11; **hade** 304/15; **had** consumed 200/5, 200/31, 205/38, etc
- halbert** *n* halberd, a weapon consisting of a sharp-edged blade ending in a point, and a spear-head, mounted on a handle 5 to 7 feet long 112/25; **holbert** 182/24; **halbertes** *pl* 122/2
- halbyteers** *n pl* halberdiers, soldiers armed with halberds 116/18
- hallow thursdaie** *n phr* 'All Hallow Thursday,' the Thursday following Rogation Sunday, ie, Ascension Day (a moveable feast) 67/37; **hallow thursday** 99/34-5; **hallow thursdaie** 92/23; 96/18, 117/18; **hallowe thursdaie** 67/1; **hallowe thursday** 92/26; **hallowe thursdaie** 74/37; 113/32, 120/20; **hallowthursdaie** 96/13; **halow thursdaie** 67/18; **halowe thursdaie** 68/11; **hall thursdaie** (error for 'hallow') 91/1; see also **alhallow thursday**
- hand** *n in prep phr* **vnder...hand** with the signature of 319/40; **vnder...hande** 84/40, 85/1-2
- harbinger** see **kinges harbinger**
- hardwaremen** *n pl* dealers in hardware 360/25
- harne** *n* harden, a coarse fabric made from the hards of flax or hemp 78/3, 84/7
- harvest** *n* harvest-time, harvest-season 129/10, 129/35, 130/31, etc
- hase** see **plaie hase**
- heades** *n pl* wigs 337/13; **heades of heare** *n phr pl* 339/30
- heather** *adv* hither 65/10; **hether** 293/31
- hedde** see **opyn hedde**
- heraldes** see **kinge of heraldes**
- herin closed** *pp phr* closed herein, here enclosed 214/30; **herin clossede** 214/18
- herper** *n* harper 144/18, 144/22
- hether** see **heather**
- hex** *n* abbreviated form of 'hexpenses', ie, expenses (?) 70/19
- high constable** see **constable**
- highe** *adj* tall 337/10
- hird** *n poss* herdsman's (in Carlisle, this civic official looked after the cattle on Kingmoor) 103/34; **hirdes** 91/19, 100/38
- hoas** *n pl* breeches and long tailored stockings sewn together to form a single garment; sometimes, after about 1550, used for breeches portion only 82/34; **hoisen** 75/30; **hose** 78/23, 86/17; **hosen** 286/7; **hosse** 81/17
- hobbie horsse** *n phr* a figure of a horse, made of wickerwork, etc, and worn by a performer 143/19
- holbert** see **halbert**
- holden** *pp* held 363/16; **houlden** 311/28
- honest** *adj* seemly, decent 366/12
- horse nages** see **naggs**
- hose, hosen, hosse** see **hoas**
- house** *n* a legislative or deliberative assembly 323/20, 323/24; **howse** inn, tavern 215/3, 215/7(?), 215/24, etc
- housholdstufte** *n* the goods belonging to a household 289/40
- howse kepinge** *vb n phr* housekeeping expenses 85/6
- hus** *pron* us 172/10
- iacketts** *n pl* jerkins, close-fitting, full-skirted men's garments worn over doublets 183/9,

- 337/12  
**iacobusies** *n pl* 'Jacobuses,' the popular name of the twenty-shilling sovereigns struck in the reign of James I 85/27  
**iade** *n* jade (as term of reprobation applied to a woman) 330/36  
**ialor** *n* jailer 161/39; **ialor** *poss* 133/39  
**ieast** *n* jest 190/41  
**ieaster** *see* **geister**  
**ierken** *n* jerkin, a close-fitting, full-skirted men's garment worn over a doublet 286/8; **ierkine** 337/31; **iirkyns** *pl* 339/28  
**ieurie** *n* jury 185/33; **ieurie** 186/38; **iuri** 200/22; **iurie** 182/22, 186/25, 205/15, etc; **iurry** 204/21; **iury** 194/36, 198/26, 198/39, etc; **iurye** 212/12, 212/31  
**incerte** *v inf* insert, add 188/21  
**inconveniences** *n pl* improprieties, unseemly behaviour 307/4  
**inconvenient** *adj* unsuitable 331/35, 333/6  
**incorporacion** *n* corporation (*see* **corporacion**) 171/6  
**inhabite** *pp* dwelling, settled 201/17m  
**inquisicion** official investigation, inquest, or the record of an investigation or inquest 334/26  
**interlude**, **interludes** *see* **enterlude**  
**interrogatory** *n* a question formally put, or drawn up in writing to be put, to an accused person or witness 192/38, 192/39, 193/6, etc; **inter** *abbreviated form* 195/35, 196/19, 196/39, etc; **interr** 190/25; 190/35(2), etc  
**intertayne** *v inf* receive as a guest, show hospitality to 184/4; **entertayninge** *vb n* 85/5  
**intruder** *n* error for 'interluder,' player, especially, a player in an interlude (?) 81/9  
**inuented** *pp* composed as a work of literary art 189/33; **invented** 190/15; **inuenteing** *vb n* 189/30; **inventing** 190/12  
**inuentor** *n* composer, author 189/31; **inventor** 190/13  
**it** *adv* error for 'item,' also 317/16, 317/18, 317/23, etc; **ite** 73/13, 73/14, 73/15, etc  
**ites** *pron and v pr 3 sg* it is, it's 191/2  
**iudgler** *n* juggler, one who entertains people by stories, songs, buffoonery, tricks, etc 82/27, 94/9, 95/19; **iugler** 88/18, 100/30, 137/16, etc  
**ieurie** *see* **ieurie**  
**iuglinge** *feates n phr* feats of legerdemain, sleight of hand or conjuring tricks 299/39  
**iuri**, **iurie**, **iurry**, **iury**, **iurye** *see* **ieurie**  
**iustyce** *n* a justice of the peace, or other inferior magistrate 298/41; **iustices** *pl* 326/8, 326/11, 326/16, etc; **iustices** *poss pl* 326/38, 328/29  
**kersay**, **kersaye** *see* **carsaie**  
**keep** *v inf* celebrate, observe as a special occasion 289/27; **keepe** 85/31; **keepe** *v pa* 1 sg 324/19; **kept** 324/37; **keepe** *v pa 3 sg* 321/20; **keepte** 320/22; **keepeinge** *vb n* 324/8; **keeping** 323/32, 325/32, 327/4; **keepinge** 285/22, 287/22, 326/22; **kept** *pp* 345/8, 345/28, 346/30, etc; **kept** 285/22, 286/23, 286/33, etc; **keepe** *v inf* maintain, support, provide for the sustenance of 330/34; **kept** *pp* 330/32; **keeping** *prp* managing, carrying on (as a business) 288/37; **keepinge** *vb n* holding, having 331/22; **kepeinge** 331/17  
**keeper** *n* gamekeeper, an officer who has the charge of forest, woods, or grounds 198/33, 207/10, 207/11, etc; **keeper** 203/34  
**kepinge** *see* **howse kepinge**  
**kinge of heraldes** *see* **arode of arremes**  
**kinges boorde** *n phr* a stone structure used for displays of various kinds (*see endnote to pp* 302-5 GBR F 4/3, ff 159v, 160v, 162) 304/3; **kinges borde** 304/2, 304/7-8, 304/29  
**kinges harbinger** *n phr* one sent ahead to make provision for a royal retinue 184/11  
**kippe** *n used as adj* the hide of a young or small beast 337/34  
**kyng of arrodes** *see* **arode of arremes**  
**lace** *n* ornamental braid used for trimming, a

- trimming made of this 88/6  
**laye** *v pa 3 pl* lodged, spent the night 295/18;  
**laid out** *v phr* spent 316/31; **laide out**  
 316/29–30; **layd out** 179/13; *pp phr*  
 317/16–17, 317/23, 317/32, etc; **laide out**  
 317/41; **laied out** 311/2–3; **layd out** 176/7,  
 318/38, 319/4, etc; **layed out** 310/26,  
 311/40–1, 312/15, etc; **layd forth** spent  
 174/29, 175/24  
**le** (from French 'le') in Latin texts, this marker  
 signals the appearance of a vernacular (here  
 English) word 357/15, 357/21, 357/25, etc;  
**lez** 357/10, 357/29, 357/39, etc  
**ladder** *n* leather 87/10  
**leadinge** *vb n* driving 83/12  
**leet** *n and adj* a court of record having  
 manorial origin 182/21, 184/10, 186/21,  
 etc; **leete** 177/5, 180/15, 188/10, etc; **leett**  
 204/17; **leit** 185/31, 186/37, 186/38, etc;  
**lete** 200/19; **lett** 204/12; **light** 213/22;  
**leettes** *poss* 204/9  
**leripoope** *n* 'liripipe,' rôle, part 354/27  
**lett** *v inf* prevent, hinder 196/11; **letted** *pp*  
 367/27  
**leudnes** *n* ignorance, want of good breeding  
 349/10  
**leuen** *see* a leuen  
**leuerye** *n* livery, distinctive suit of clothing  
 worn by an official or a servant 91/19;  
**leverey** 91/20, 91/21, 91/22, etc; **liverie**  
 313/30; **lyuerey** 292/33; **leueries** *pl* 91/17,  
 91/18; **leveres** 91/30, 100/38; **leveryes**  
 65/23; **liuerieys** 313/23; **liveryes** 323/22,  
 428/12, 428/13  
**lez** *see* le  
**libell** *n* little book, short treatise 334/11  
**libertie** *n* district subject to the control of the  
 municipal authority 288/30, 293/32;  
**libertye** 292/24; **liberties** *pl* 168/11,  
 168/17; **libertie** permission, leave (to do  
 something) 368/6  
**lifftenant** *see* lyvetenant  
**light** *see* leet  
**light** *pp* lit 295/1, 295/12  
**lighted** *v pa 3 sg* alighted, dismounted 294/29  
**like** *adj* similar 169/34, 193/38, 285/28, etc;  
**lyke** 168/20, 169/26; **lyke** *adv* 307/25; **lyke**  
*adj used as n* 384/20  
**linkes** *n pl* links, torches made of tow and  
 pitch, used for lighting people along the  
 streets 303/2, 319/31  
**litter men** *n pl* men who carry a litter or  
 moveable bed 184/22  
**liuereys, liueries, liverie, liveryes** *see* leuerye  
**loffe** *see* sugger loffe  
**long bowes** *n phr pl* long-bows (as opposed  
 to cross-bows), bows drawn by hand and  
 discharging long feathered arrows 168/21  
**lorde presidente of the merchis** *n phr* Lord  
 President of the Marches of Wales 298/38  
**lordes of mannors** *n phr pl* persons holding  
 rights, feudal in origin, to rents, services,  
 and jurisdiction in respect of specific lands  
 and tenants that constitute their manors  
 188/23, 191/18, 191/26, etc; **lordes of the**  
**manner** 193/10–11; **lordes of the**  
**mannors** 188/28, 191/35, 192/2, etc  
**lord of misrule** *n phr* one chosen to preside  
 over Christmas games and revels 299/33;  
**lord of mysrule** 335/18; **lords of misrule**  
 346/10; *see also* abbott; Christmas lord  
**lord of the ... maypole** *n phr* one chosen to  
 preside over the sports and games  
 associated with the maypole 287/15; **lord**  
**of the ... may pole** 287/38; **lord of the ...**  
**pole** 286/27  
**Lord President's** *n phr* *poss probably*, the  
 house of the President of the Council of the  
 North 216/29  
**lord wardens** *n phr* *poss* of the Warden of the  
 West March (*see endnote*) 172/11  
**lowaunce** *see* allowance  
**lute** *n* stringed musical instrument 216/16,  
 350/17, 350/34, etc  
**lyke** *see* like  
**lyuerye** *see* leuerye  
**lyvetenant** *n* lieutenant 288/25; **lifftenant** *of*  
**the tower** Lieutenant of the Tower of  
 London (the acting commandant delegated  
 by the Constable of the Tower) 302/3

- maase** *n* (sg, *but usually pl in sense*) 'mess,' a portion of food intended to serve four people 210/17; **meas** 176/18; **mease** 179/16, 183/13, 185/14, etc; **meass** 186/23, 198/36; **measse** 194/35, 198/24(2), etc; **mese** 205/13(2), 205/24; **messe** 175/21; **measses** *pl* 168/19, 195/4
- mace** *n* a heavy staff or club, of metal, or having a metal head, and often spiked 363/21, 363/26 (*but these instances may refer to the ceremonial mace; see next definition*); **mases** *pl* 292/31; **masys** 294/18; **mace** ceremonial sceptre 303/23; **mase** 294/10, 294/16, 294/32, etc; **mases** *pl* 292/31; **masez** 293/38
- maide** *n* maiden, young unmarried woman 355/7, 359/15
- maintained** *v pa 3 pl* provided with livelihood, bore the living expenses of (someone) 329/10; **mainteynde** *pa 3 sg* supported, gave countenance to 287/12; **maintaining** *prp* 329/15; **manteyning** *vb n* establishing (?) 92/1
- maintenance** *n* means of subsistence 329/12; **maintenaunce** maintaining, support 307/4; **mayntenance** 218/13
- maioras** *n* mayoress, wife of a mayor 96/33
- maister** *n* head, chief officer (of a trade guild) 317/23, 317/32, 318/1; **master** 316/2, 319/29; **maisters** *poss* 318/24, 318/32, 319/8, etc; **masteres** 328/39; **masters** 315/28, 318/17, 324/37, etc
- makeinge** *vb n* writing, composing (?) 103/39, 191/10; **making** 190/13; **makeing** 189/31, 198/11; **maid** *pp* 189/33; **makeinge** *vb n* organizing, making ready 106/30, 108/29, 121/11
- maker** *n* composer, author 189/32, 190/14
- maluesey** *n* malvoisie, malmsey, a kind of strong sweet wine 361/17, 361/22, 361/24
- man** *n* servant, employee, assistant 76/23, 185/34, 303/30, etc
- manchet** *n* a small loaf of the finest wheat bread 361/9, 361/10; **manchet** *pl* 361/8
- manner**, **mannors** *see* **lordes of mannors**
- manteyning** *see* **maintained**
- markes** *n pl* monetary units, each equal to two thirds of a pound sterling 295/13
- market standing** *n phr* a place in the market for a booth, stall, etc 339/9-10
- marshall** *n* officer charged with the arrangement of ceremonies 303/27; **marshalls man** *n phr* marshal's man, one of a number of men belonging to the royal household, and going before the king in processions to clear the way 303/30; **marshall man** 288/26
- martes** *n pl* sales (*here*, of articles donated to make money for a good cause) 340/21, 340/35, 342/1; **contracting martes** *vb n phr* *here*, selling donated articles to make money for a good cause 340/2
- Martinmas** *n* the feast of St Martin, 11 November 172/5, 228/35, 228/37
- mase**, **mases**, **masez** *see* **mace**
- maske** *n* masque, court entertainment variously including dancing, dumb show, dialogue, and song 174/6, 174/8, 174/10
- masking** *prp* taking part in a masque or masquerade 344/12
- massingers** *n pl* messengers 303/22
- master** *see* **maister**
- master of ffence** *n phr* master of the art of fencing 208/32
- Master of the Revelles** *see* **Ravelles**
- masys** *see* **mace**
- May-Games** *n phr pl* merrymaking and sports associated with the first of May 367/30
- mayntenance** *see* **maintenance**
- may pole** *n phr* a high, decorated pole, set up in an open space, for merrymakers to dance around on May-day 286/22, 287/12, 287/15; **maye pole** 285/12, 287/35; **maye poule** 285/21-2; **maypole** *n* 201/16, 286/32, 287/38, etc; **may-pole** 325/12, 325/14; **maypoles** *pl* 287/21, 367/31; *see also* **pole**, **somner pole**
- meane** *adj* low, humble 353/5
- meas**, **mease**, **meass**, **measse**, **measses** *see* **maase**

- meat** *n* food (as opposed to drink) 184/5, 185/33; **meate** 341/31
- meet** *adj* suitable, fit, proper 383/32
- meeting** *n* gathering of people for entertainment 318/13; **meetinges** *pl* 340/22
- men** *v inf* mend 87/10
- men** *n pl* 'men,' sometimes used to describe a company of entertainers having a noble patron 92/35, 132/19, 132/29, etc
- menstrells, menstrills** *see* **minstrall**
- merches** *see* **lorde presidente of the merches**
- merye nyghtes** *n phr pl* parties at which the entertainments offered were drinking, music, and dancing 168/27
- mese, messe** *see* **maase**
- methegline** *n* a spiced or medicated variety of mead, originally peculiar to Wales 321/16
- Michaelmas** *n* Michaelmas, the feast of St Michael, 29 September 306/10, 306/25; **Michaelmas** 103/23, 109/8, 201/33, etc; **Micheallmas** 198/24; **Michelmas** 207/21; **Micklemas** 307/36; **Mighallmas** 199/38; **Mighalmas** 200/5; **mychaelmes** 84/20, 84/21; **mychalmas** 195/7; **mychelmas** 177/6
- midsomer** *n and adj* Midsummer Day, 24 June 301/30; **midsommer** 313/6; **Midsom** (. .) 340/6; **myd somer** 336/33
- milne** *n* mill 228/27; **milnes** *pl* 234/33
- minstrall** *n* a professional entertainer using music, singing, story-telling, juggling, etc 215/6; **minstrell** 139/3; **mynstrall** 214/15, 214/27, 214/40, etc; **mynstrell** 320/6; **menstrells** *pl* 173/26; **menstrills** 176/21; **minsterels** 185/12; **minstralls** 74/5; **minstrells** 73/15, 74/19, 137/24; **minstrels** 66/25, 173/10; **mynstrelles** 298/42, 356/41, 357/3, etc; **mynstrells** 177/7, 180/7
- minstrelcie** *n* the activities of a minstrel especially playing and singing 334/5
- misrule men** *n phr pl* participants in Christmas revels and games 218/11; *see also* **abbott**; **lord of misrule**
- mitred** *pp* wearing a mitre, the head-dress worn by bishops (and some abbots) 292/7; **mytourde** 294/23
- molde** *n* mole (the animal) 350/2
- moorys daunce** *n phr* Morris-dance, a grotesque dance performed by persons in fancy costume 297/18; **moresdaunce** 359/3; **Morris-dances** *pl* 367/30
- moralitie** *n* moral interpretation 190/11; **morallitie** 189/30
- morall** *n in prep phr* in the morall according to the moral interpretation 363/31
- morals** *n pl* morality plays, plays in which some lesson is inculcated, and in which the chief characters are personifications of abstract qualities 364/4
- moresbells** *n pl* Morris bells, the many small bells attached to the clothing of Morris dancers 358/39(2)
- moresdaunce, Morris-daunces** *see* **moorys daunce**
- mought** *v pa 3 sg* might 216/28
- mouthall** *n* moot-hall, town-hall 206/32
- munisseners** *n pl* musicians (?) 77/17
- murmuring** *prp adj* complaining in low muttered tones 288/39
- murrens** *n pl* morions, soldiers' helmets of a kind worn in the 16th and 17th centuries 337/9
- musick** *n* a company of musicians 318/18; **musicke** 111/19, 112/12, 113/17, etc; **musike** 110/9, 111/12, 114/21
- musicioner** *n* musician 98/25; **musicioners** *pl* 97/30; **mussishiners** 78/26; **mvisioneres** 177/19
- musterdevilles** *n* a kind of grey woollen cloth, originally from the town now called Montivilliers, in France 293/30
- muuiisians** *n pl* musicians 75/22; **muzistians** 75/7
- mychaelmas, mychalmas, mychelmas** *see* **Michaelmas**
- myd somer** *see* **midsomer**
- myll** *n* mile 215/28
- mynstrall, mynstrell, mynstrelles, mynstrells** *see* **minstrall**

**mysrule** *see* **abbott**, **lord of misrule**; **misrule men**

**mytourde** *see* **mitred**

**naggs** *n pl* small riding-horses or ponies 158/19; **horse nages** *n phr poss* of a small riding-horse 91/38

**naturall ffoole** *n phr* natural fool, one who is born simple-minded, though he may also be a performing fool 81/16

**naught** *adj* sexually immoral 331/2

**neckes** *n pl* neck, that part of a garment that covers the neck 88/6

**newers** *n poss* New Year's 80/32

**nobles** *see* **angellett nobles**

**nutcastes** *n pl* nut-casts, a method of telling fortunes (*see endnote*) 168/27

**obeysaunce** *n* act or gesture expressive of submission or respect, usually a bow 292/25, 293/34, 293/39

**objected** *pp* charged, laid as an accusation 201/23

**occupacion** *n* trade-guild 146/4, 146/6; **occupation** 103/11, 110/5, 114/24; **occupacion** *poss* 73/13, 73/39, 112/32; **occupacions** 105/9, 109/32, 110/24, etc; **occupacons** 106/8, 108/4; **occupacions** *pl* 81/4, 90/10, 118/37, etc; **occupations** 67/18, 77/22, 83/32, etc; **occupations** 98/13

**od mony** *n phr* surplus sum of low denomination 173/9; **oddes of moneye** 316/17

**officers of the boylinge house** *n phr pl* boilers of food (distinguished from cooks in some way not now clear), part of the kitchen staff of the royal household 303/27-8

**offor** *pp* offered 168/17, 168/28

**oppressors** *n pl* those who suppress or put down (a custom, etc) 191/18

**opyn hedde** *adj phr* bareheaded 294/15-16

**orator** *n* suppliant, petitioner 334/42; **orators** *pl* 335/27

**ordenarie** *adj* belonging to the regular staff 303/21; **ordnere** ordinary, usual (of

expenses) 100/8m, 100/36m

**order** *n* authoritative direction 168/35, 323/32, 324/9; **orders** *pl* 168/22, 171/19

**packethred** *n* stout thread or twine, often used for bundling 304/17; **packthred** 121/38

**pageant** *n* a wagon used as a stage; a play performed on such a wagon 313/8; **pageaunt** 292/3; **pagent** 358/29; **pagentes** *pl* 304/35; **pagiandes** 168/22

**paisboard** *n* pasteboard 119/13; **pastboard** 115/30; **paysbourd** 121/16

**pamphlett** *n* small, paper-bound treatise, on a topic of current interest 334/11; **pamphlettes** *pl* 334/9

**pantrye** *n* a room or apartment in which bread and other provisions are stored 296/21

**papist** *n* Roman Catholic (*used with derogatory sense*) 334/25

**papistrie** *n* Roman Catholicism (*used with derogatory sense*) 334/22

**par** *n* pair 176/13

**parcelles** *n pl* small sums of money 202/33, 208/40

**parchment** *n* roll of parchment, parchment document 299/33

**parsons** *n pl* persons, people (*the number which would be expected to follow this word has been omitted*) 101/30

**particular** *n* statement giving details (of some matter) 84/40; 85/1

**parties** *n pl* parts, regions 214/31

**passengers** *n pl* wayfarers, travellers 76/31

**pastboard** *see* **paisboard**

**paven** *vb* *n* paving 178/38

**payn** *n in phr* **vpon payn** to on pain of 168/29; **vpon payne** to 171/33

**paysbourd** *see* **paisboard**

**peaces** *n pl* 'pieces,' *ie*, pieces of gold (the exact value of these coins is not known; here they are equated with the twenty-shilling sovereigns struck in the reign of James I) 85/27; **peaces of goulde** *n phr pl*

- 84/36; **peece** *n pl* pieces of artillery 289/34  
**peaze** *n* pea 353/20, 353/21  
**peece** *adv* a piece 183/13, 204/11, 204/20, etc;  
**peece** 203/4, 203/13, 203/22, etc; **pes**  
 176/19; **the peece** *art and n* 202/27; *see also*  
**apec**  
**peniston** *n* a kind of coarse woollen cloth used  
 for garments, linings, etc 88/3, 88/4  
**per** *prep* (*Latin word used as English*)  
 according to 181/29, 183/36, 187/11, etc  
**peraduenture** *adv* perhaps, maybe 366/40  
**peres** *see* **shriffes peres**  
**personate** *v inf* impersonate 188/22, 188/28,  
 191/17, etc; **personated** *v pa 3 pl* 196/41;  
**personateinge** *vb n* 193/10; **personated pp**  
 192/7, 197/1, 363/7  
**pes** *see* **peece**  
**pinicle** *n* pinnacle, small ornamental turret  
 304/27; **pyinacles** *pl* 341/14  
**pips** *n pl* tobacco pipes 203/24, 203/28, 204/23  
**pitts** *n pl* (*but sg in sense?*) cockpit, pit or  
 enclosed area in which gamecocks are set  
 to fight for sport 108/29  
**plaiars** *n pl* players, stage-players, actors  
 300/26; **plaiars** 72/37, 172/27, 174/15, etc;  
**plaies** 200/13; **plaiors** 300/28; **plaiors**  
 213/15; **plaires** 75/27; **playeres** 80/29,  
 90/34, 91/9, etc; **players** 65/7, 66/11,  
 66/13, etc; **playores** 298/34, 299/41,  
 299/42, etc; **playors** 300/36; **playres**  
 181/30; **playrs** 204/31, 212/23; **playars**  
 297/6, 297/41; **players** 296/33, 296/41,  
 297/26, etc; *see also* **stage players**  
**plaie** *hase error for* 'plaie hade,' *ie*,  
 entertainment presented 72/13  
**plat** *n* plate, a prize consisting of a silver or  
 gold cup (or something similar) given to  
 the winner of a race 117/28; **plate** 114/25,  
 115/4, 115/6, etc  
**play bookes** *n phr pl* books containing a play  
 or plays 196/5, 196/6, 196/9, etc;  
**playebookes** 196/34  
**play daie** *n phr* the day on which a play was  
 performed 178/23; **play dayes** *pl* 169/35;  
**playdayes** 170/37  
**playeres, players** *see* **plaiars**  
**playes** *n pl* public sports and entertainments  
 123/12  
**playgames** *n pl* games, sports (*perhaps the*  
*same as* **silver playgames**; *see* **siluer**  
**games**) 65/26  
**playores, playors, playres, plays** *see* **plaiars**  
**plea** *n* play, dramatic representation 196/26,  
 196/28; **pleas** *pl* 197/8, 197/12, 197/13  
**pleasure** *n* will, desire 366/3, 366/21, 367/7,  
 etc  
**pleyars, pleyers** *see* **plaiars**  
**pole** *n* May-pole, a high, decorated pole, set  
 up in an open space, for merrymakers to  
 dance around on May-day 285/14, 286/27  
**poles** *pl* 386/22; *see also* **May pole, somner**  
**pole**  
**pomell** *n* the knob terminating the hilt of a  
 sword or dagger 215/14  
**poole** *v inf* pull 191/6  
**Popish** *adj* 'Papist,' Roman Catholic (*used*  
*with derogatory sense*) 366/25  
**poppett players, poppette players** *see* **puppie**  
**player**  
**potle** *n* liquid measure equalling two quarts  
 68/9; **pottell** 316/20, 320/37; **pottle** 76/21,  
 76/22, 312/34, etc; **pottles** *pl* 319/26(2)  
**powder** *n* gunpowder 72/14, 72/16, 72/18,  
 etc; **powther** 119/33; **puder** 88/11  
**praye** *v inf* ask, request 65/13; **pray** *pr 1 pl*  
 335/25; **prayeth** *pr 3 sg* 315/37, 316/9,  
 316/36 etc; **praie** *pr 3 pl* 302/42, 303/13,  
 303/42, etc; **praye** 306/30  
**prebendaryes** *n pl* holders of prebends,  
 benefices funded from the cathedral's  
 revenues 328/16  
**precise** *adj* precise or punctilious in religious  
 observance 366/9  
**precisian** *n* one who is precise in religious  
 observance (in the 16th and 17th centuries  
 synonymous with 'Puritan') 386/25;  
**precisians** *pl* 367/20, 375/29m  
**precontest** *n* a former or previous fellow-  
 witness 315/12  
**premyss** *n and adj* aforesaid, aforementioned

- 214/26, 215/30  
**prentices** *n pl* apprentices 349/30  
**present** *v inf* to bring before a court, magistrate, or person in authority, for consideration or trial 368/2  
**presently** *adv* immediately 114/32, 323/24; **presentlye** 85/29  
**prikettes** *n pl* candles or tapers (originally, those stuck on pricket or spiked candlesticks) 361/39  
**priuie** *adj* privately cognisant or aware (of, that) 189/24; **privie** 190/6; **priuie to** *adj phr* 189/30; **privie to** 190/12; **privy to** 195/31-2  
**priuie** *n* private knowledge (here probably implies consent also) 194/7; **privitie** 192/20; **privity** 196/30, 287/9  
**pro** *prep* (*Latin word used as English*) for 103/31, 103/32, 103/39, etc  
**proces** *n* process, the mandate, summons, or writ by which a person or thing is brought into court for litigation 197/21  
**procure** *v inf* induce, persuade 191/16  
**procurement** *n* causing, instigation, contrivance 190/14; **procurment** 189/32  
**prohanely** *adv* error for 'prophanely,' *ie*, profanely 285/20  
**published** *pp* made known, declared 368/12  
**puder** *see* **powder**  
**puke** *v inf* poke 191/5  
**pumpes** *n pl* light, low-heeled, close-fitting shoes without any fastening, used especially for dancing 135/7, 138/22  
**puppie player** *n phr* puppet-player, one who manages or exhibits puppet-plays 125/27; **poppett players** *pl* 311/18; **poppette players** 308/21-2; **puppie players** 94/3  
**pyinacles** *see* **pinicle**  
**quaice** *n pl* wheys (?) or (*in sg*) some other liquid used in cooking (perhaps the same as *OED* 'quacham,' the meaning of which is unknown) 361/36  
**quariars** *n pl* quarriers, large square candles 361/38  
**quarter** *n* one-quarter of a yard 78/35, 214/5; **aquarter** *art and n* 103/32; **quarters** *n pl* 180/2, 84/32 (?); **quartes** 67/8; **qurtrs** 88/4; **quarter** *n sg* one-quarter of a cask or barrel 105/26  
**queens daie** *n phr* anniversary of the accession to the throne of Elizabeth I (17 November) 179/25; **quenes day** 232/5; **quens day** 179/8  
**querye** *n* querry, the stables belonging to a royal or princely household 84/42  
**quest-men** *n pl* annually elected ward officials who enquire into abuses of various kinds 345/19  
**quipper** *n* one who quips, makes witty or sarcastic remarks 355/14  
**quire** *n* choir 324/29  
**quiremen** *n pl* choir-men 322/40  
**quiristers** *n pl* choristers 326/37  
**qune** *n* quean, hussy 330/36  
**quotha** *interj* indeed! 191/2  
**qurtrs** *see* **quarter**  
**rather** *adv* the more quickly, the sooner 288/31  
**raunge** *n* row, line 295/30  
**Ravelles** *n pl* (*but sg in sense*) the Revels, the office of the royal household responsible for organizing games and merry-making 109/22; **reuells** 326/10; **Master of the Revelles** *n phr* the person appointed to organize revels in the royal household 309/11; **Master of the Revells** 319/40  
**ray** *see* **a ray**  
**read** *adj used as n* red cloth 88/33, 103/32, 109/24, etc; **reed** 100/37  
**rebek** *n* rebec, a pear-shaped stringed instrument, played with a bow, and having from one to five strings; *here perhaps* the player of a rebec 335/17  
**recorder** *n* borough magistrate having jurisdiction defined under the charter of incorporation 85/24, 303/4, 313/19  
**recusant** *n* one who refuses to submit to authority, especially a Roman Catholic

- who refuses to attend the services of the Church of England 334/25; **recusants** *pl* 366/25, 367/40
- redde dere** *n phr* *cervus elaphus* or red deer, a species so called from its red-brown colour 303/37
- reed** *see* **read**
- remeved** *v pa* 3 *sg* went away (from one place to another) 291/36, 292/9
- repaire** *n* resort or going to a place 335/13
- reparell** *n* apparel 338/35, 338/38
- repayer** *v inf* go, make one's way 65/7
- respondent** *n* a defendant in a lawsuit 201/15
- resting** *prp* remaining 115/4
- restraint** *n* prohibition 334/4, 334/8;  
**restreinte** means of checking or restraining (someone's activities) 306/41
- Reuells** *see* **Ravelles**
- reume** *n* rheum, watery matter that drops from the eyes, nose, etc 351/33
- Revelles, revells** *see* **Ravelles**
- reward** *n* remuneration 100/5m, 100/10m, 100/16m, etc; **rewarde** 83/16, 86/5m, 86/20m, etc; **rew** (*error for* 'reward,' *abbreviation sign missing*) 86/10m, 87/18m, 87/34m, etc; **rewardes** *pl* 299/9, 300/26, 303/13m, etc
- riall** *adj* royal 293/24
- rialles** *n pl* gold coins originally of the value of ten shillings, first issued by Edward iv in 1465 295/7, 296/9
- ribaldish** *adj* abusive, scurrilous 384/19
- rishes** *n pl* rushes, plants used for strewing on floors and making rush-lights 120/22
- riued** *pp* riven, split, broken in two 351/18
- rondes** *n pl* rands, strips or long slices of meat (*not to be confused with* 'rounds') 361/29
- rowem** *n* 'room,' a place to which a person is assigned 169/24
- rowt** *n* company or band of persons 289/34
- runninge bowle** *n phr* a bowl awarded as a prize at the Carlisle horse race 114/8
- ryding** *vb n* riding along (a boundary, etc) for the purpose of maintaining or reviving a clear knowledge of it 74/30; **rydinge** 73/30, 79/26, 79/30, etc
- sa error for v pr** 3 *sg* 'saith,' says 195/18, 195/21, 195/35, etc
- sack** *n* a general name for a class of white wines formerly imported from Spain and the Canaries 76/21, 184/7, 199/2, etc; **sacke** 81/6, 102/39, 105/11, etc; **sake** 182/23; **seck** 175/13; **secke** 68/9, 103/14, 303/36
- sad** *adj* dark, deep (in colour) 169/7
- sagbott** *n* sackbut, the ancestor of the modern trombone 327/14; **sagbutt** 327/28, 328/7; **saggbutt** 328/12, 328/36, 328/38, etc
- Sainte Peters yeve** *n phr* 28 June, the eve of the Feast of St Peter and St Paul (*for further information see endnote to p* 79, *CA*/4/2ff [13-14v]) 301/30; **St Peters euen** 79/14-15
- sake** *see* **sack**
- saregantes, sargantes, sargentess, sargentes, sarientes** *see* **sergiants**
- saye** *n* a woollen cloth of fine texture resembling serge 78/35
- scaffold** *n* temporary raised platform or stage for dramatic performances or exhibitions 299/11, 299/16, 300/7, etc; **scaffolde** 298/15, 298/17, 300/26, etc; **scaffould** 305/22; **skaffold** 299/26, 300/35; **skaffolde** 304/40, 305/12; **scaffoldes** *pl* 304/34, 304/39
- scholler** *n* one who is taught in a school 158/17, 194/9; **schollers** *pl* 93/25, 108/23; **scolleres** 117/4; **scollers** 100/10; **skhollers** 121/21
- scituate** *pp* situated, located 330/24
- scotes** *adj* Scots, Scottish 66/25, 66/29, 75/10; **scotts** 93/27
- seck, secke** *see* **sack**
- secutories** *n pl* 'secretaries,' important officials of the royal household, possibly members of the Privy Council 296/12
- seller** *n* a store-room for provisions 341/32
- send** *v inf* send word 288/36
- sergiants** *n pl* serjeants-at-mace, low-ranking municipal officers 123/2, 125/38; **seriantes**

- 118/38; 173/10; *seriauntes* 292/28;  
*saregantes* *poss* 88/6; *sargantes* 208/39;  
*sargentis* 205/21; *sargents* 175/10;  
*sarientes* 202/31; *seargantes* 79/11;  
*sergeauntes* 292/31; *seriantes* 91/17,  
 100/36; *sergeaunt at armys* *n phr* one of  
 a body of men of knightly rank, who were  
 required to be in immediate attendance on  
 the king's person 294/18; *seriaunt at*  
*armys* 292/30; *serjeant at armes* 363/21;  
*sergeauntes at armes* *pl* 303/18  
*servants* *n pl* 'servants,' sometimes used to  
 describe the members of a company of  
 players or entertainers having a noble  
 patron 362/11  
*sessment* *n* assessment 234/13  
*sett furthe* *v inf phr* furnish, provide (as  
 entertainment) 340/3; *setting forth* *vb n*  
*phr* 189/31; *setting furthe* 340/23-24;  
*setting fourth* 190/12-13  
*setting* *vb* *n* making (a table) ready (for a  
 meal), especially, by providing beer  
 101/31, 102/29, 105/9, etc; *setting* 73/13,  
 73/39, 74/13, etc  
*seuerall* *adj* separate, different 116/13,  
 168/15; *severall* 144/5, 168/22, 340/24, etc  
*sewger* *n* sugar 74/3, 92/10, 96/1  
*sex* *adj* six 102/25; *sexe* 215/2  
*shearman* *n* shearer of woollen cloth 170/7;  
*shearmen* *pl* 170/5, 170/9  
*shewes* *see* *sightes* and *shewes*  
*shotinges in long bowes* *n phr pl* archery  
 practice (*see endnote*) 168/21  
*Shraffe Tewsdaye* *n phr* Shrove Tuesday, the  
 day before Ash Wednesday, on which Lent  
 begins 81/1-2; *Shroftuesday* 115/28,  
 116/24; *Shroufe Theusday* 97/18;  
*Shrough Tuesday* 106/33;  
*Shrougtuesday* 119/12, 121/12, 121/19;  
*Shrougtuesday* 108/26; *Shrove Tewesday*  
 71/21, 93/34, 95/6; *Shrovetewesdaie*  
 65/26, 67/13; *Shrovetewesday* 69/4, 83/6,  
 93/40  
*shryef* *n* sheriff, high-ranking county official  
 who represents royal authority in the  
 county 292/11; *shreffes* *n pl* town officials  
 of high rank, usually royally appointed  
 (but some towns had the privilege of  
 choosing their own) 292/22, 292/23;  
*shriffes* 291/38, 293/21, 293/26, etc;  
*shriffes peres* *n phr pl* literally, sheriffs'  
 peers, those equal in rank to sheriffs; *here*  
*perhaps* the name of a group of high-  
 ranking corporation officials, including all  
 ex-sheriffs 293/28  
*side-men* *n pl* sidesmen, churchwardens'  
 assistants 345/18, 345/19  
*sight* *v pa 1 sg* sighed 354/18  
*sightes and shewes* *n phr pl* displays and  
 exhibits 326/6-7  
*siluer games* *n phr pl* games of some kind  
 (*exact meaning unknown*); in Carlisle,  
 they were held on Shrove Tuesday 115/28;  
*silver playgames* 65/26; *see also*  
*playgames*  
*singingman* *n* singer; especially, one who  
 sings in an ecclesiastical choir 100/5,  
 322/39  
*sirplisses* *n pl* surplises, loose white vestments  
 having wide sleeves 337/14  
*sirra* *n* sirrah, a term of address used to men  
 or boys, expressing contempt, reprimand,  
 or assumption of authority on the part of  
 the speaker 353/40, 381/25  
*sises* *n pl* sizes, small candles, used especially  
 in churches 361/38  
*skaffold, skaffolde* *see* *scaffold*  
*skhollers* *see* *scholler*  
*skirt* *n* edge 363/24  
*slops* *n* trouser-legs 286/7  
*smoothred* *pp* smothered 349/17  
*snytes* *n pl* snites, snipe (in some early  
 examples, however, the two words seem to  
 refer to different birds) 361/34  
*some* *n* sum 117/20  
*somer ale* *n phr* summer festival at which ale  
 was drunk 287/22; *somerale* *n* 285/22;  
*somorable* 287/36; *see also* *churchale*,  
*Whitson ale*  
*sommerngames* *n pl* traditional Carlisle games

- (for further information see endnote to p 77 CA/4/2f[6]) 90/8; **summergames** 80/34, 101/10
- sommes** error for 'somme,' some (?) 299/33; see **golden sommes**
- sommer pole** (error for 'sommer pole') *n phr* a pole decked with flowers, erected during a spring/summer festival 287/12; **sommer rodd** 201/16; see also **May-pole, pole**
- sonnet** *n* short poem or piece of verse 334/11; **sonnettes** *pl* 334/9
- sort** *n* way, manner 193/12, 334/15; **sorte** 189/11, 307/9, 307/28
- spared** *pp* left over 340/36
- speech play** *n phr* recitation 93/25
- spice plates** *n pl* small plates or dishes used for holding spices 335/17
- spirituall person** *n phr* cleric, clergyman 334/16, 334/39
- sportes** *n pl* amusements, entertainments 87/39; **sports** 346/20
- stable of estat** see **groumes of the stable of estat**
- staf torches** *n phr pl* tall thick candles used for ceremonial purposes 303/1; **staffe torches** 303/3
- stage plaie** *n phr* dramatic performance 188/26, 192/39, 193/10; **stage-play** 362/6; **stage play** 190/5, 190/36, 191/34, etc; **stage playe** 188/22, 191/17, 191/23; **staige plaie** 189/23; **stage-playes** *pl* 346/16; **stage playes** 171/29, 196/40, 340/3, etc
- stage players** *n pl* players, actors 327/40; **stage players** 314/28, 328/29; see also **plaiars**
- stamell** *adj* a fine woollen cloth, possibly a variety of kersey 67/8, 313/31
- stand aloof** *v inf phr* take no part in, hold back from 384/8
- standing** see **market standing**
- stand on** *v inf phr* dwell on, consider at length 350/11
- starr** *n* planet, or star in one of the constellations of the Zodiac 355/12; **starre** 352/37, 355/35
- stayger** *v inf* hesitate, waver (in speech) 214/26
- St Clementes tyde** *n phr* 23 November, the Feast of St Clement 315/29
- stewardes** *n poss* probably the possessive form of the proper name Stewart, but possibly of a steward, one who manages the affairs of an estate on behalf of his employer 216/9
- stewardes** *n pl* corporation officials of some kind 313/23; **stywardes** 292/34
- St Iohn Euen** *n phr* 23 June, the eve of the Feast of the Nativity of St John (for further information see endnote) 79/14
- stock** *n* a sum of money set aside to provide for certain expenses, a fund 91/38; **stocke** 114/23, 117/21
- stocked** *pp* placed in the stocks (see **stockes**) as a punishment 384/10
- stockes** *n pl* instrument of punishment consisting of two planks, set edgewise one over the other and furnished at the edges with holes to receive the ankles of the person to be punished 384/7, 384/16
- St Peters euen** see **Sainte Peters yeve**
- stragling** *vb n* interloping, intruding (where one has no right) 355/9
- straightly** *adv* strictly 368/7
- straingers** *n pl* guests, visitors (technically, non-members of the guild) 103/10, 115/12; **strangers** 73/16, 74/2, 74/15, etc; **strangiers** 335/13
- strangeres** *adj n pl* (someone) from out-of-town, not local 117/9
- styrrvp** *v phr* stir up 191/16
- stywardes** see **stewardes**
- subdeane** *n* an official immediately below a dean in rank, and acting as his deputy 322/42
- subpena** see **writt of suppena**
- subscribed vnto** *pp phr* attested to by signing 383/34
- suffer** *v inf* permit, allow 168/14, 168/26, 307/27, etc; **suffering** *prp* 334/28; **sufferinge** 78/14; **suffring** 213/39; **suffered** *pp* 194/12, 287/14, 307/23, etc;

- suffed 307/8; suffering *vb* *n* 196/1, 345/20
- suffragan *n* an assistant or subsidiary bishop 294/22m; suffryngam 294/22
- sugar loffe *n phr* sugar-loaf, a moulded conical mass of hard refined sugar 303/34
- summergames *see* sommergames
- suppresse *v inf* put down by force 289/6, 289/15
- surbated *pp* weary, foot-sore 350/8
- swearinge dinner *n phr* a dinner given on the day of the election of the alderman, the 'election dinner' (*see* eleccion dinner) 203/32
- swordbearers *n poss* of a municipal official who carries a sword of state before a magistrate on ceremonial occasions 300/30; swoordbearars 302/13; swordberers 300/43, 302/5
- syngler *adj* 'singular,' superior, pre-eminent 335/25
- tabber *n* tabor, a small kind of drum, used chiefly as an accompaniment to the pipe or trumpet 331/34, 332/38
- table *n* a board or other flat surface on which a picture is painted 352/10
- tables *n pl* writing-tablets 352/4, 352/15; *see also* writing tables
- take ... order *v phr* (*v pr* 3 *subj sg*) make arrangements, take measures 367/19-20; tooke order (*v pa* 3 *sg*) 366/9
- tarbareles *n pl* tar-barrels, which were used to make bonfires 178/16
- teles *n pl* teal, a kind of duck 361/34
- tenant right *n phr* a customary form of landholding, with fixed obligations, affording security of tenure 191/19
- tennantes at will *n phr pl* tenants holding land 'at the will' of the lord, unprotected by custom 191/5, 193/38
- tenshall money *n phr* the fee charged a 'tenser' (*see endnote*) 339/10
- testamentes *n pl* wills; originally, documents in which personal (as opposed to real) property was disposed of 334/40
- tharticulate *see* articulate
- the *pron* they 195/27
- therewithall *adv* with that 343/32
- thight *n* thigh 215/25
- threere *adj* three 77/17
- throng *adj* crowded 219/21
- thought *prep* through 304/11; throwght 294/25; 294/26, 295/27
- thunder heades *n pl* the clouds portending a thunderstorm 337/34
- tipling *prp* drinking intoxicating liquor to excess, or selling strong drink by retail 346/1
- tiplings *n pl* habitual indulgence in liquor 367/2, 379/30m
- to *conj* till 214/29
- to anempste *prep* towards (?) 169/27
- tofore *adv* before 295/9
- tolerable *adj* permitted, allowed of 213/36; tollerable 169/13, 366/38
- tollsey *n* tolsel, a guildhall or court-house 304/1, 304/16
- tooke order *see* take ... order
- tooll buthe *n phr* a municipal building, part of which was used as a prison or jail 214/21
- touching *prep* concerning, about 216/27, 292/8 (?) (*or here perhaps prp* speaking of, discoursing on), 345/18; touchinge 311/28; touching *vb* *n* touching on, mentioning briefly 352/9
- to ... warde *prep* towards 292/9
- toyes *n pl* antics, tricks, or perhaps amusements, entertainments 287/17
- trimenge *vb* *n* making ready, preparing 304/2; trinning (*error for* 'trimming') 105/27
- trompettes *n pl* trumpeters 357/21, 357/25, 357/29, etc; tompettes (*error for* 'trompettes') 358/10; trumpettes 347/17, 356/31, 357/3, etc; trunpettes 357/15, 360/20
- tumbeller *n* tumbler, acrobat 359/15
- Twelfth Day *n phr* the twelfth day after Christmas (6 January), on which the Feast of the Epiphany is celebrated 169/17

**typpettes** *n pl* short shoulder capes 293/29

**varina** *n and adj* an expensive kind of tobacco, imported from Venezuela (*see endnote to p 207 WMB/K 44, f[23], 13-14*) 212/17, 212/32; **varino** 208/5, 208/15, 208/30; **varona** 212/14

**venison feast** *n phr* customary autumn feast 194/41, 195/5, 203/18-19, etc; **venison ffeast** 207/23, 208/22, 208/31; **venyson feast** 199/2, 199/5, 199/6; **venyson ffeast** 185/12, 199/13, 200/28, etc; **venyson diner** 185/13-14; **venison feastes** *pl* 204/1

**verdigre** *n* verdigris (acetate of copper), used as a pigment 304/30

**vialls** *n pl* viols, bowed instruments having five, six, or seven strings, and played in a sitting position 322/35

**vicitacion** *n* a visitation of sickness or plague (*see endnote*) 100/21

**victualing house** *n phr* an eating-house, inn, or tavern 346/1

**victualler** *n* one who makes a business of providing food and drink for payment; a keeper of an eating-house, inn, or tavern 288/40

**virginia** *n* a variety of tobacco grown in Virginia 212/15, 212/33

**vise** *n* device, something devised or fancifully invented for dramatic representation 359/14; *see also* **device**

**vittayles** *n pl* victuals, food or provisions 384/22

**vizard** *n* mask 363/15, 363/27; **vyzor** 339/32

**vizd** *adv* Anglicised, abbreviated form of Latin '*videlicet*,' that is, namely 183/13; **vizett** 204/9, 204/36; **vizt** 191/2

**vnder ... hand**, **vnder ... hande** *see* **hand vnfeet** *adj* unfit, unsuitable 307/24

**vngracious** *adj* reprobate, wicked 214/20

**voide** *adj* (of a benefice or living) vacant, unoccupied 334/20

**vouchsafe** *v pr* 2 *sg imper* grant (something), be willing (to do something) 349/1, 352/12; **vouchsafe** *pr* 2 *sg subj* 353/5, 356/7;

**vouchsafed** *pa* 3 *sg* received graciously, deigned to accept 85/27

**vr's** *meaning not certain; see endnote* 361/13

**vsages** *n pl* customs 171/7, 345/8, 345/28, etc

**vse** *v inf* engage in, practise 368/6, 368/9, 384/9, etc; **vsed** *pp* 366/10; **vsing** *prp*

349/4; **vsing** *vb n* 366/12, 366/42; **vsed** *pp* (of a rite or custom) observed, celebrated 168/21, 171/12, 171/29, etc

**vse** *n* usage, custom 146/5

**vsher** *see* **gentilman vsher**

**vshurs of the gard** *n phr pl* officers of the royal household 184/2

**vssher** *n* assistant to a head-teacher 301/29

**vtter** *adj* outer 294/21, 304/35

**vtteraunce** *n* sale 340/31

**vyzor** *see* **vizard**

**wage** *n* rent 206/32

**waie maister** *n phr* 'weigh master,' official who monitored the weighing of commodities in the Bothall market 303/27

**waiken** *wake*; festivities often associated with saints' days 79/11(2), 155/26; **awake** *art and n* 96/31

**wait** *n* musician employed by the city government 82/28, 179/41; **waitt** 66/23; **waitte** 66/12; **wate** 80/23, 82/22; **wayte** 180/2; **waites** *pl* 76/18, 76/23, 76/30, etc; **waits** 68/28, 68/33, 68/36, etc; **waittes** 66/18, 66/32, 67/30, etc; **waitts** 103/29, 104/6, 104/14, etc; **waiytes** 76/13; **wates** 74/38, 79/20, 79/32, etc; **wats** 89/18; **wayghtes** 316/22; **waytes** 76/2, 77/12, 78/13, etc; **wayts** 199/31; **waytts** 122/16, 303/31; **weats** 176/10; **weightes** 348/20; **wettes** 177/37; **whaites** 76/34; **whaitts** 119/16, 121/19; **whayets** 176/35; **whaytts** 176/33; **waites** *poss pl* 170/18, 170/27, 172/17, etc; **waittes** 182/5; **waitts** 103/29; **wates** 81/13, 91/7; **wattes** 187/37; **waytes** 179/33, 182/11, 213/3, etc; **wayts** 183/8, 187/13; **wets** 175/32

**waite player** *n phr* musician employed by the city government 318/2; **waightplayers** *n pl*

- 322/16, 326/31; **wait players** *n phr pl* 317/18; **waite plaiers** 317/25, 317/34; **wayt players** 328/23; **wayte players** 325/25, 325/40, 327/34, etc; **waytplayers** *n pl* 327/21; **weight players** *n phr pl* 321/38
- want** *adv* less, minus 203/25
- warde** *see* to ... warde
- wardens** *n pl* members of the governing body of a guild 324/3
- wardens** *see* lord wardens
- warne** *v inf* call, give notice of (a meeting of some kind) 168/13, 168/25; **warnyd** *pp* 168/15, 168/26
- wasted** *pp* used up, consumed 81/11
- watche** *n* in Gloucester, a civic celebration held on St John's Eve and St Peter's Eve 301/30
- watchers** *n pl* those celebrating or observing the eve of a festival 79/12
- water, wates** *see* wait
- wating** of *vb n phr* attending, escorting 83/26
- wats, wattes, wayghtes, wayte, waytes** *see* wait
- wayt players, wayte players, waytplayers** *see* waite player
- ways, waytts** *see* wait
- weadoes** *n pl* widows 103/11
- weedes** *n pl* 'weeds,' garments 356/7
- weight players** *see* waite player
- weightes** *see* wait
- wets, wettes, whaites, whaitts, whayets, whaytts** *see* wait
- where withall** *adv* with which 363/14; **wherewithall** 363/41
- white ffrires** *n phr pl* White Friars, friars of the mendicant order of the Carmelites 294/21
- Whitson ale** *n phr* parish festival held at Whitsuntide, marked by feasting, sports, and merry-making 289/28; **Whitson Ales** *pl* 367/30; *see also* churchale, somer ale
- wif** *n* wife 172/4, 174/5, 179/16, etc; **wife** 177/34, 197/15, 198/23, etc; **wiff** 185/13, 293/20; **wiffe** 178/27, 194/33, 195/4, etc; **wyf** 180/24, 199/37, 200/19, etc; **wyfe** 175/21; 180/19, 201/32, etc; **wyff** 175/8; **wyffe** 177/5, 177/8, 204/9, etc
- wigions** *n pl* widgeon, a kind of duck 361/33
- will** *v inf* enjoin, give order 288/37, 289/3
- wit** *n in phr* that is to wit that is to say, namely 294/13
- withall** *adv* at the same time 65/13, 364/3
- withall** *see* where withall
- without** *prep* outside 292/1, 294/21; **withoute** 291/37
- woed** *v pa 3 sg* wooed 349/34
- wonte** *pp* wont, accustomed 350/17
- woorck** *n* a particular piece of labour 341/5; **woorcke** 341/38
- worshipp** *n* honour, credit 85/6
- wounder** *n* wonder 350/25
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- yat** *relative pron* that 90/28, 117/20, 119/13, etc; **yt** 146/8; **yat** *conj* that 219/25, 219/30, 219/35
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- yem** *pron* them 76/4
- yeoman** *n* commoner or countryman of respectable standing, especially one who cultivates his own land 286/17, 286/40, 287/28; **yoman** 314/19; **yeomene of the bottelles** *n phr pl* minor officials of the royal household 303/21
- yeye** *n* eve 301/30(2), 336/34
- yfayth** *interj* literally, in faith! 381/26
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- yrdes** *n pl* yards 214/5
- yt** *see* yat

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# Index

The index combines subject headings with places and names for ease of reference. Where the same word occurs in more than one category, the order of headings is people, places, subjects, and book or play titles (eg, Berkeley, Thomas precedes Berkeley, Glouc).

Place names, titles, and given names appear in their modern form where this is ascertainable; surnames are normally cited in the most common form used in the text and are capitalized (I, J, U, and V therefore appear in accordance with modern usage). Both places and surnames are followed by their variant spellings in parentheses. Names of saints are indexed under St; their identification and precise dates of feast days conform to David Hugh Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford, 1979). The major sources used for identification of civil and ecclesiastical officials are *The Dictionary of National Biography* and F. Maurice Powicke and E. B. Fryde (eds), *The Handbook of British Chronology*. Sources for identification of patrons, monarchs, and other peers are specified in the headnote to Patrons and Travelling Companies, to which the index refers throughout.

The format for names and titles has been largely taken from R. F. Hunnisett, *Indexing for Editors* (Leicester, 1972). Thus family relationships, where known, have been used rather than succession numbers to distinguish members of noble families. Occupations known and considered relevant are supplied (eg, Bodell, Will, fiddler). Mayors are identified as such and their dates of office supplied in parentheses from the year of election or appointment where known.

Modern subject headings are provided with some complex groupings, such as costumes (individual) and musical instruments (kinds of), to aid research.

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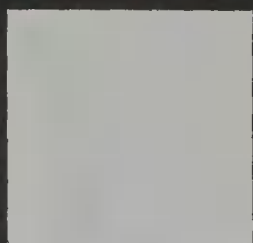
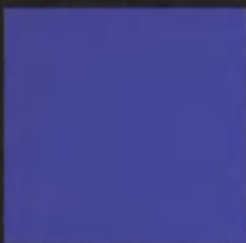
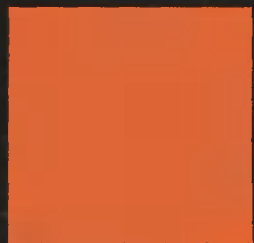
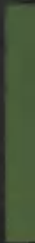
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