



Records of Early English Drama

LANCASHIRE

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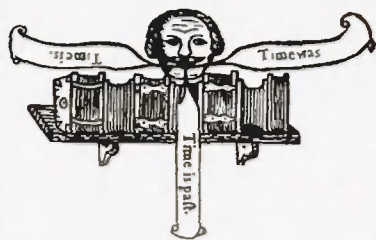




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150 Charles Street West
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LANCASHIRE

EDITED BY DAVID GEORGE

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS
TORONTO BUFFALO LONDON

© University of Toronto Press 1991
Toronto Buffalo London
Printed in Canada
ISBN 0-8020-2862-4

Canadian Cataloguing in Publication Data

Main entry under title:

Lancashire

(Records of early English drama)
Includes bibliographical references.
ISBN 0-8020-2862-4

1. Performing arts – England – Lancashire – History –
Sources. 2. Theatre – England – Lancashire –
History – Sources. I. George, David II. Series.

PN2595.5.L3L3 1991 790.2'09427'6 C91-093351-3

The research and typesetting costs of
Records of Early English Drama
have been underwritten by the
National Endowment for the Humanities and the
Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada

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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 executive 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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Acknowledgments

A volume of early records drawn from widely scattered locations such as this one must necessarily involve a lot of time, money, and people. These Lancashire and Manx records have been collected from thirty repositories, particularly the British Library, the Cheshire Record Office, the Lancashire Record Office, the Liverpool Record Office, Manchester Central Library Archives, and the Public Record Office. Such a scattering of records over so many locations has inevitably meant that the present editor could not visit them all in person. In fact, records from the Borthwick Institute, Chester City Record Office, Childwall All Saints', Cumbria County Record Office, the Dean and Chapter Library at Durham, Hatfield House Library, the Huntington Library, John Rylands University Library, King's College, Cambridge, Manchester Cathedral, the Manx Museum Library, Melling St Thomas', the National Library of Wales, Warrington St Elphin's, and Wigan Archive Service had to be obtained by correspondence or another researcher.

The period required for the collecting and editing of the present documents spans the years 1978 to 1991. During these thirteen years, I made trips to England in 1978, 1980, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1987–8, and 1989; the 1987–8 trip was a six-month sabbatical in London with my family, but otherwise my wife and children sacrificed six summers to the project. I am unable to express adequately my gratitude for this selflessness. My wife Rita also did most of the Index.

The moving spirit behind the 1982 and 1983 trips was Stanley Kahrl of the Ohio State University. Prof. Kahrl's kindness to me and his encouragement were crucial in helping me to go on when I was not sure I had the energy to do so. His death was a personal loss.

Apart from institutional help, however, a close-knit family connection in Lancashire made possible the stretching of grants in aid. My two sisters and their husbands, Mr and Mrs David Hirst and Mr and Mrs Allan Aspinall, made me welcome at no cost more times than I can without embarrassment remember. Without their kind hospitality and encouragement the many weeks I spent at Preston would have been many fewer. I must also thank my cousin, Mrs Lois Howell, and her husband Ronald for similar hospitality and for identifying obscure Lancashire place-names in their area.

The number of persons who helped in obtaining information, supplying photocopies, and typing drafts is so large that this collection may properly be called a collaborative venture. In the United States, N. Frederick Nash, curator of rare books at the University of Illinois, Urbana, kindly answered my query about William Harrison's *The Difference of Hearers*. Dr Mary L.

Robertson, curator of manuscripts at the Huntington Library, sent me a copy of MS EL 6299 from the Ellesmere Collection. John Wasson, of Washington State University, answered queries concerning companies in east Lancashire who may have travelled into the West Riding of Yorkshire. Kenneth Parker, now Brother Michael Parker, OSB, corresponded with me in detail about Fleetwood's sabbatarian campaign of 1587–8 and about the Chester Visitation Books. Of particular value was an advance copy of his book, *The English Sabbath*, now published by Cambridge University Press. Laetitia Yeandle, curator of manuscripts at the Folger Library, patiently answered many queries concerning rare books, sending photocopies whenever needed. Alan Nelson of the University of California, Berkeley, has answered the call many times to check a detail or find a manuscript while he was in London. Mrs Joyce Zirkle of Urbana offered to do much typing and indexing without charge, and without her services I could not have proceeded in term time. Her knowledge of Lancashire and Cheshire made her the ideal assistant. The readiness of Thomas Clayton, of the University of Minnesota, to keep our Shakespearean work on hold and to transcribe manuscripts at the British Library is a tribute to his friendship.

At Urbana University library, the staff has been tireless and uncomplaining in obtaining many antiquarian books for me. I wish to thank Hugh Durbin, Jennifer Midgley, and especially Mrs Jeanne Gamble for their services. The Urbana University president and dean were most generous in granting leaves (a quarter, a year, and a semester off in ten years).

In England, I received valuable advice from Monica Ory of Warwick County Record Office; Stanley Miller, local historian at Blackburn; Mrs H.M. Whitlock Blundell at Little Crosby; V.A. McClelland of the University of Hull; the Right Reverend B.C. Foley, former bishop of Lancaster; R. Sharpe France, former county archivist at Lancashire Record Office; K. Hall, current county archivist at the LRO, and the splendid staff there: R.J. Bond, archivist, Judith Baldry, Sylvia Birtles, Colin Duffield, Sue Goodwin, Anna Hardman, Ann Hickey, Simon Jelf, Ann Jepson, T.W. Scragg, Roger Tedesco, Andrew Thynne, and Carol Walsh. The permission to photograph certain very fragile documents under staff supervision was invaluable. Mr Hall's frequent correspondence and seeking of permissions to publish from owners of manuscripts held at the LRO went far beyond the ordinary calls made on an archivist's time and expertise. From Cumbria County Record Office came parish register photocopies and transcriptions, and for these services I wish to thank A.C.J. Jones, area archivist, Barrow in Furness; Jim Grisenthwaite, assistant county archivist, and Mrs Vivienne M. Gate, research assistant, both at the Cumbria County Record Office, Kendal; and Mrs Sheila J. MacPherson, county archivist at the Cumbria County Archives Service. At the Cheshire Record Office I received excellent service and advice from P. Miller and Mrs H.R. Haynes. Simon Harrison, archivist at the Chester City Record Office, answered queries concerning the City of Chester Great Letter Book, and Mrs M. Lewis, city archivist at the Chester City Record Office, also advised on this matter. Mr Ian Dunn, Cheshire information officer and archivist at the Cheshire Record Office and Chester Diocesan Record Office, verified information and gave permission for all the material collected at the Cheshire Record Office to be published. J. Gordon Read, keeper of archives at the Liverpool Museum, examined Molyneux family records for me. Over many years at the Liverpool Record Office, I was granted reading privileges of the Liverpool Town Books; Janet Smith, principal archives officer, Liverpool Libraries and Arts Department,

answered my many queries concerning the Town Books and other Liverpool matters with model patience. From the Stockport Central Library, Mrs M.J. Myerscough, archivist for the Director of Leisure Services, sent me a report of the Library's manuscripts of possible REED interest. T.W. Scragg, now principal librarian at the Metropolitan Borough of Knowsley Library Services, reported on Prescott documents at Knowsley. Olga Horner, of the University of Lancaster, corrected biographical details of the Middleton and Assheton families.

G.C.G. Thomas, senior assistant archivist at the National Library of Wales, supplied a photocopy of 'A Masque at Knowsley' and corresponded with me about the history of that manuscript. Daniel Huws, keeper of manuscripts and records at the National Library of Wales, also answered queries. Mrs Christine Fyfe, archivist at the University of Keele, described documents there in detail so that I was able to determine their relevance to the present collection. Sheila M. Doyle, assistant librarian at the University of Durham Library, wrote advising me about York archdiocesan visitation articles, and M. Shibley, honourable keeper of rare books at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, sent me photocopies of the York visitation articles of 1640. Mrs Lorise C. Topcliffe, of Exeter College, Oxford, sent me the Chester visitation articles of 1605 and Conel Condren transcribed the Chester visitation articles for 1634. Michael Heaney of the Bodleian Library corresponded with me at length concerning all the visitation articles printed in this collection, assisting me in obtaining photocopies of those visitation articles I could not get and investigating manuscript Lancashire histories on my behalf. Arthur Owen, honorary archivist at King's College, Cambridge, assisted with inquiries and Mrs Margaret Farrar checked manuscripts concerning Prescott held at King's College. W. Hilton Kelliher, curator of manuscripts at the British Library, assisted with REED inquiries and granted permission on behalf of the British Library Board to publish extracts from BL manuscripts.

In Manchester, I had invaluable help from Michael R. Powell, librarian at Chetham's Library, who described numerous documents held there and supplied photocopies of others. Peter McNiven, of the John Rylands University Library, supplied details of items held there. At the Greater Manchester Record Office, Miss Maureen Patch, county archivist, answered queries and C. McKernan, the succeeding county archivist, drew my attention to the Marian visitation articles of 1556–8. Miss Jean M. Ayton, archivist at the Manchester Central Library, guided me through the holdings of the Archives Department and directed me to the Town Hall to examine the civic records. She also granted permission, courtesy of the City of Manchester Leisure Services Committee, for publication of extracts from documents held at the Manchester Central Library Archives. Queries concerning the Manchester Central Library Archives used in this collection were answered by Dora Rayson, assistant archivist. John J. Anderson, of the University of Manchester, visited Chetham's Library and Manchester Central Library Archives on my behalf and it was he who did the basic search of the Manchester Manor Rental books. His willingness to help me over the years has left me deep in his debt. At the Salford Local History Library, Tim Ashworth, local history librarian, helped with inquiries. Dudley E.C. Green, of Clitheroe Royal Grammar School, corresponded concerning the Clitheroe school record of 1619/20. Entries from the registers of Manchester Cathedral are included by kind permission of the Dean and Chapter.

At the Borthwick Institute, York, C.C. Webb, archivist, answered queries and granted per-

mission to publish extracts from the archdiocesan records used in this collection. W.J. Connor, district archivist, West Yorkshire Archives Service, Leeds, also gave assistance with inquiries.

Several documents printed in this collection are in private hands and in almost every case I was shown great courtesy when I requested an opportunity to visit the owner and transcribe these documents. The Right Honourable Lord Derby graciously granted me permission to read in the library at Knowsley Hall and the librarian there, Mrs Iris Young, provided me with every facility for consultation of Knowsley manuscripts. Mrs Brenda Burgess, also librarian at Knowsley, assisted with REED inquiries. Fr F.J. Turner, librarian at Stonyhurst College, allowed me to read Sir Richard Shireburn's rental book in the college library, putting up cheerfully with the inconvenience of my lengthy visit. Major R.G. Adams, JP, by courtesy of Sir Bernard de Hoghton, Baronet, of Hoghton Tower, very kindly allowed me to track down the welcoming speech to James I written in 1617. Lord Clitheroe, descendant of the Assheton family at Downham, wrote advising me of the accidental burning of the diary of Nicholas Assheton of Downham. Lord Kenyon of Cumbers House, Wales, owner of the Kenyon manuscript book, granted me two day-long visits to his home to read and transcribe from the manuscript, and offered hospitality and encouragement at the same time. I am still overwhelmed by his generosity.

A special visit was the one I made to Gawthorpe Hall in order to measure and photograph the Great Hall, which seems to have been the room used by the Jacobean actors who came in Richard Shuttleworth's day. The reception given to me by Tony Mather of the office staff and the artistic director, Roger Dyson, was truly gracious. The Right Honourable Lord Shuttleworth kindly granted permission to publish extracts from the Shuttleworth account books, held at the LRO. Brian Hughes, director of Education and Arts, Bolton Metropolitan Borough, was instrumental in obtaining for me a good photograph of the Great Hall at Smithills for an exploratory article I wrote on the Shuttleworths.

In some cases a document had to be obtained without a visit and the following persons generously assisted in supplying photocopies: Gil Swift, Director of Leisure for Metropolitan Wigan, photocopies of Bishop Bridgeman's Ledger and Wigan parish register entries, courtesy of Wigan Archive Service; Mr E.E. Newton, MBE, honourable secretary of St Thomas', Melling, parish council, photocopies of the Melling simnel play entry; Mrs Rosemary McFie, Manchester Cathedral archivist, photocopies of entries in the Collegiate Church's registers; and Canon J.O. Colling, rector of Warrington, a photocopy from the earliest Warrington parish register. Without the assistance of C.D. Rogers, general editor of the Lancashire Parish Register Society, I would not have made contact with Mr Newton or Canon Colling.

Permission to publish privately held documents and documents at the LRO and elsewhere deposited by private individuals requiring permission before use has in all cases been generously granted. In addition to persons and institutions named above, thanks should also be made to the following for permissions: J.G. Parker, high master of Manchester Grammar School; the rectors of St Mary's, Eccleston, St Wilfrid's, Standish, St Peter's, Burnley, St Wilfrid's, Ribchester, and St John's, Preston; the incumbents of St Michael's, Kirkham, St Helen's, Churchtown, St Chad's, Poulton le Fylde, St Michael's, Cockerham, St Michael's, Whittington, and St Bartholomew's, Great Harwood; the provost of Blackburn Cathedral; the headmaster, Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School, Blackburn; the chief executive, the Ribble Valley Borough

Council; the town clerk and chief executive, Lancaster City Council; Messrs Tickle Hall Cross of Prescott, and Messrs Dickinson Parker Hill and Son of Ormskirk, solicitors; and the following individuals: Sir Henry Farrington, Bt; Captain R.C. Petre; Mrs N. Swann of Dorchester; and Colonel Sir Joseph Weld, OBE, TD, of Lulworth Manor. I would also like to thank the Right Honourable Lord Salisbury for permission to publish the Lancashire informer's letter about recusant priests. In this case the permission was obtained and a photocopy supplied by Robin Harcourt Williams, librarian and archivist to the Marquess of Salisbury.

Special thanks go to those researchers hired by REED to carry on with the research in England when I could not. The researches of Jodi Anne George, Clare Lees, Ann Rycraft, Eileen Simpson, and Eileen White have been outstanding. Each one made important contributions: Jodi Anne George combed the Star Chamber cases from Lancashire; Clare Lees found the Whalley Abbey bursars' accounts at Manchester; and Ann Rycraft checked transcriptions of archdiocesan court records in the Borthwick Institute. Eileen Simpson searched records in the Chester diocesan archives to find cases for Didsbury, Farnworth, Garstang, Goosnargh, Hawkshead, Kirkham, Manchester, Melling, Ormskirk, Penwortham, Poulton le Fylde, Ribchester, Rochdale, Samlesbury, Standish, and Walton le Dale. She also visited Cumbers House to do invaluable checking of material from the Kenyon Memorandum Book and transcribed the original of the Warrington Grammar School Foundation Deed. While providing essential research assistance in a variety of Lancashire record offices, Eileen White discovered new records from Childwall, Clitheroe, Downholland, Eccles, Great Harwood, Halsall, Lancaster, Manchester, Melling, Newchurch, Prescott, Walton on the Hill, and Woodplumpton. She was assisted at All Saints' Church, Childwall, by the vicar, the Rev. Colin Rookwood, and Harold Caldicott, the parish record keeper. Roger Dickinson of the University of Liverpool researched and composed Appendix 5, on musical and dramatic entertainment in the Isle of Man. He was introduced to REED and its work by the kindness of David Mills of the University of Liverpool. Mr Dickinson was assisted in his researches at the Manx Museum, Douglas, by Miss A.M. Harrison, librarian and archivist. John McKinnell of the University of Durham supplied the long run of Lytham Priory records from his research for the REED County Durham collection. A.J. Piper, of Durham University Library, completed the Lytham Priory checking that could not be done in Toronto. Tom Pettitt, of the Engelsk Institut, Odense Universitet, Denmark, offered insightful remarks on the Melling *simnel* play and other folk customs. Alan Coman of the Faculty of Education, University of Toronto, has been doing research into renaissance school records in England over the past several years. I am grateful for the information he gave me about dramatic records from Blackburn Grammar School.

In Canada, behind the scenes but coordinating everything, there was the REED staff, which cannot be praised enough. The early assessment by Alexandra F. Johnston, director of Records of Early English Drama, was that Lancashire would not yield a great number of early manuscripts containing references to drama and entertainment. I concurred with this preliminary verdict. As time went on, however, it became clear that Lancashire had enough early records to form a volume by itself and Prof. Johnston gave full support and encouragement to the effort required for this project. Her leadership of REED is the reason for the completion of this volume. She also checked the English Glossary. Over the years I have been helped and

guided by Theodore De Welles, Mary Blackstone, Heather Phillips, Sheena Levitt, Miriam Skey, Abigail Ann Young, William Cooke, and Sally-Beth MacLean, executive editor of the REED project. Among them they have found several documents that I could not, particularly those relating to the Prescott playhouse. Miriam Skey copy-edited and proofread the entire volume. Abigail A. Young prepared the section on the procedures of the consistory court in the Introduction and she is also largely responsible for the Latin translations, which John Parsons checked. Dr Young also proofread the English Glossary. She and William Cooke are responsible for the wording of a number of endnotes. Dr Cooke composed the headnote to Appendix 3 as well as all of Appendix 7, and revised Appendixes 4, 8, and 9. Both Dr Young and Dr Cooke worked on the order of the documents in the sabbatarian campaign of 1587–8. Dr Cooke also checked and amplified the Index and proofread the Records. During the last four years of this work, he has at every turn corrected, informed, and inspired me, and I have come to envy greatly his exact prose style. Robert Tittler, of Concordia University and historian on the REED Advisory Board, read the Introduction and made many useful suggestions concerning sources and recent historical scholarship. Michael Waldin, cartographer, is responsible for the map of Lancashire (see pp cxxii–cxxiii). William Rowcliffe typeset the volume. Alan Somerset, of the University of Western Ontario and a member of the REED Executive Board, obtained printed sources. The Inter-Library Loan Department of Robarts Library, University of Toronto, secured many books needed for research and checking of quotations.

Dr MacLean is the pattern of editors: she has trimmed back misplaced enthusiasms and lapses, prudently cut irrelevant records, added others of great interest such as the institution of horse-racing at Liverpool, been patient with my heavy teaching schedule, and encouraged me when I was flagging. She also compiled the Patrons' List with the help of Sally McKee, drawing on the biographies of major patrons from REED's growing master-list of medieval and renaissance patrons of travelling companies. Without her good humour and optimism, I might often have considered the volume unfinishable.

The research and preparation of this volume were made possible largely by grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities, an Independent Federal Agency, and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. Additional funding for research trips in 1984 and 1987–9, came from the faculty development funds of Urbana University, where I teach. A grant from the Jackman Foundation by courtesy of the Rev. Edward Jackman, O.P., historian for the Archdiocese of Toronto, has allowed Dr MacLean to work closely with the cartographer in the preparation of the complex county map.

There is no doubt that this Lancashire volume was built up cumulatively and collaboratively, and I was delighted to watch the number of people who were involved growing with the collection. In a sense this collection is their work as well as mine. To each and every one of them I owe a debt of heartfelt thanks.

Historical Background

Old Lancashire, as defined before the 1974 reorganization of British counties, was for centuries the last county on the northwestern side of England with any sizeable population before the Scottish border. Its geography is relatively simple: hills on the east, plains, estuaries, and sea on the west. At one point it was cut in two by Morecambe Bay and the traveller had to pass through old Westmorland to set foot in Lancashire's Furness District, with 'its coppices and rounded hills.'¹ However, in 1974 the Furness District or 'Lancashire over the Sands' was transferred to the new county of Cumbria.

The line of hills and moors to the east of the county is part of the Pennine Chain, a north-south range of low mountains extending from the Cheviot Hills on the Scottish border to the Peak District in Derbyshire. Not much of the Pennine Chain is actually in Lancashire—most of it is in Yorkshire—but the eastern part of the county in a line roughly from Manchester to Lancaster sweeps up to the range and is thus hilly moorland and mostly non-arable. The population was for a long time—until the Industrial Revolution—sparser in these moorland areas than it was farther west. The western part of the county, with the exception of the Manchester district in the southeast, always had the larger part of the population in the period of these records.

Journeys from England to Scotland have for centuries required a choice between the easterly and westerly routes. The route west of the Pennines was less popular, involving a sharp turn east at the Scottish border to reach Edinburgh; the Scottish capital is best reached by the easterly route. The westerly route still runs through Lancashire, cutting almost through the centre of the county by way of Warrington, Wigan, Preston, and Lancaster, and so avoiding the hilly terrain to the east and the river estuaries to the west. Another road ran from Warrington to Manchester, continuing through the Pennines into Yorkshire.²

Yet despite the roads that ran through Lancashire, this county was isolated from the rest of England and communities were often remote from each other. As Christopher Haigh notes, 'The Pennine spurs, the fells of Bowland and Rossendale and much of Lonsdale, with poor soil, difficult terrain and inadequate drainage, made intensive arable farming impossible, while on the Fylde coast and in the south-west the undrained mosses and wet land prompted pastoral agriculture.' Haigh also notes that stock-raising is not labour-intensive and implies a sparse population; 'small, isolated hamlets and scattered homesteads' characterized the region.³

Lancashire was divided into three distinct farming areas. The western half of the lowland

plain of south Lancashire and Amounderness was mainly pasture and meadow, marshy at the coast and mossy inland, and was good for little but turf for fuel and grazing for cattle. The eastern half of this plain supported mainly mixed farming and cattle raising. Further east was a hilly pastoral region, stretching from Lonsdale to Manchester, made up of grit and limestone moorlands and used only for cattle rearing.⁴ The county was far from homogenous in landscape and levels of agricultural productivity. However, farming was not the only means of livelihood. Industrial activity was also engaged in; coal mining near Wigan, St Helen's, and Prescott was developed and textiles were produced in Manchester and the Pennines immediately to the north.

William Smith described the county as follows in *The Particular Description of England*, 1588:

LANCASHIRE lyeth along the Irish Sea, Reaching ffrom Cheshyre to Cumberland.

On ye est, it hath Yorkshyre, on ye south Cheshyre, on the west, the said Irish Sea, on the north, it toucheth vppon Cumberland & Westmerland.

The length therof, is from ye north to ye south 55 myles, The breadth at the South end, is 36 myles. But the more northward it goeth, the narrower it is. So that toward the further, a litle beyond Lancaster (at Kent Sand, where the river of Ken falleth into the Sea). The Sea hath eaten throwgh Lancashyre, & at a full Sea toucheth vppon Westmerland.

In this Countrey, I ffynd to be 16 Market Townes, and 98 parish Churches, And 36.

Chapells, which may pass for Churches, Besydes Villages, Castells, And gentlemens howses, wherewithall it is very well furnished.⁵

The county was formed rather late, after most other counties, in 1182. 'In 1086,' writes Paul Booth, 'when the great Domesday survey was compiled, our county was divided into two distinct parts. In the south, the "land between the Ribble and Mersey" was part of Cheshire, while the northern section belonged to the West Riding of Yorkshire.'⁶ But much of the later Lancashire had already been given to Count Roger of Poitou at the Conquest and about 1088 he was given Lancashire north of the Sands (the Furness District). When he fell from royal favour in 1102, the area, then called an 'Honour,' was not broken up but used as a gift within the royal family. At last, however, 'when the account of 1181–1182 came to be audited [at Westminster] ... a separate membrane was allocated for "Lancaster," to the heading of which was added "quia non erat ei locus in Northumberland"—because there is no place for it in Northumberland.'⁷

The population of this county, which covered 1,880 square miles, could never have been large in the medieval period. Of the sixteen towns he mentioned, Smith noted that Manchester was 'the Cheiffest Towne in Lancashire, next to Lancaster, & in many Respects passeth ye same.'⁸ But even Manchester was not large, perhaps having a population of 2,000 in Elizabeth I's reign.⁹ Liverpool had only 700 in 1565 and 1,000 by 1590.¹⁰ The total population of Lancashire was similarly small: 'Lancashire at this time [in Tudor and early Stuart times] was a poor region, a fact borne out by tax returns from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries and emphasised by the small number of castles and monasteries.... The county's population,

however, more than doubled between the late fourteenth and the mid-sixteenth centuries. Dr. C. Haigh estimates it as about 95,000 in 1563.¹¹ John K. Walton agrees with Haigh's estimate of 95,000 in that year, if Walton's total of 19,000 Lancashire households had on average 4.75 persons each, as he assumes, or, more logically, 5 persons per household as Haigh assumes.¹² By contrast, London had 70,000 in 1550 and grew to 150,000 in 1600. York had 8,000 in 1548 and Newcastle upon Tyne had over 10,000 in the mid-sixteenth century.¹³ The population of Lancashire grew considerably as the seventeenth century wore on. By 1690, it has been estimated at 196,100, so that the population had doubled again in under 130 years.¹⁴

Peter Clark and Paul Slack have pointed out that 'small market-towns and boroughs with populations of less than 2,000 ... certainly formed the vast majority of English towns' in the early seventeenth century.¹⁵ When Christopher Saxton made his map in 1577, Lancashire had over 300 named towns and villages, which suggests that the population must have been spread very thinly. Many of these places cannot have contained more than 300 people and some of them fewer. In 1588, William Smith identified the principal towns of Lancashire as Blackburn, Bolton, Bury, Colne, Dalton, Garstang, Kirkham, Lancaster, Liverpool, Manchester, Ormskirk, Preston, Rochdale, Ulverston, Warrington, and Wigan. Of these, Lancaster, Liverpool, Preston, and Wigan returned two members of parliament, but so did two minor towns, Clitheroe and Newton in *Makerfield*. Lancaster and Preston were too poor to send MPs to parliament between 1331 and 1529 and none were returned by Liverpool and Wigan between 1307 and 1547.¹⁶ Clitheroe and Newton were not added to the list of parliamentary boroughs until 1559.¹⁷

By 1640 'there were ... not more than thirty market towns in the county.'¹⁸ Preston was exceptional; an important market town, it had close to 2,000 inhabitants before 1630–1, when plague killed more than half the people, leaving 887 survivors.¹⁹ Liverpool's population of 700 in 1565 had grown to 2,000–2,500 by 1642.²⁰ Wigan had about 2,000 inhabitants at the Restoration and the next closest seven or eight towns in population had 'over 1000 inhabitants at the Restoration.'²¹ Cartmel, Colne, Dalton, Garstang, Haslingden, Hawkshead, Hornby, Kirkham, Leigh, Padiham, Poulton, Ulverston, Walton le Dale, and Whalley were the smallest of Lancashire's market towns, probably not even qualifying with 600 people, the minimum number given by Clark and Slack for the population of a market town. The five largest towns in the county (Liverpool, Manchester, Preston, Warrington, and Wigan) 'can have accounted for little more than one in seventeen or eighteen of a Lancashire population ... [of] 95,000 in 1563.'²² If we allot 16,000 people to the thirty market towns mentioned by Everitt, around 80,000 of Lancashire's Tudor and Stuart population, or five persons out of six, lived in villages, hamlets, on landed gentry estates, or in isolated farmsteads. A market town like Prescott, with a little more than 400 people in c 1592, was really a village.²³ Such tiny places would not have attracted the attention of most itinerant troupes of entertainers. Yet it was the remoteness of Lancashire settlements—some reached only by crossing wet mosses, others only by crossing moorland—rather than their size that is more significant in explaining the paucity of recorded players in the county. Finally, Lancashire's status as 'among the very poorest' of English counties throughout the period of the records in this volume was perhaps the most significant factor of all in its lack of metropolitan entertainment.²⁴

Civil Governance

The governance of Lancashire over the three and a half centuries between 1300 and 1642 need concern the theatre historian very little except for the matter of control and regulation. A few paragraphs are needed to clarify the two kinds of government at work in Lancashire, ducal government and ordinary county machinery.

Lancashire's governance became involved with the royal house in 1266 when Edmund, younger son of Henry III, became lord of the honour of Lancaster. Edmund, who was styled earl of Lancaster, passed the county on to his son, Thomas. Thomas was executed by Edward II and the earldom was reclaimed by the Crown; however, Thomas' brother, Henry, was reinstated under Edward III. The king was even more generous to Henry's son, a second Henry (called Henry of Grosmont). He made him duke of Lancaster and in 1351 Lancashire was erected into a county palatine, within which its lord could exercise royal privileges, the word 'palatine' being derived from the Latin 'palatium,' the royal palace. Despite this new status, however, Lancashire remained entitled to send to parliament two knights of the shire and two burgesses from each borough.

The dukes of Lancaster exercised wide authority within the duchy (whose holdings went beyond the county itself). The first earl Henry (1326–45) had had 'the return of all royal writs, all pleas of withernam ("de vetito namio") [taking of other goods in lieu of those distrained from someone and recovered by him], and all the fines and amercements imposed upon his men and tenants in the king's courts.'²⁵ Also, he had the right to carry out summonses of the exchequer and to make all arrests following on pleas of the Crown, to confiscate goods forfeited by his men and tenants, and to be exempt from a number of tolls. The foundation of the duchy and county palatine increased these privileges. Especially important for the future of the county was the creation of a duchy chancery, with a chancellor and other officers, which (like the royal chancery) sat as a court of equity for the duchy and had the right to appoint justices.

When the third duke, Henry of Bolingbroke, became King Henry IV in 1399, he not only remained duke but kept the administration and bureaucracy of the duchy separate from that of the rest of England. Hence it is known as the 'royal duchy' of Lancaster.²⁶ From then on the ducal lands (including Lancashire) were administered from London by the duchy council, which retained its own 'seal, chancellor, judges and officers.'²⁷ In 1485, when Henry VII ascended the throne, parliament 'vested the whole Duchy ... in Henry and his heirs.... [I]n subsequent generations the Duchy has followed the crown.'²⁸ Thus in 1556/7 Roger Charnock's case concerning his house on Widnes Moor (see pp 99–103) went to the duchy court at Westminster because he was a tenant of Philip and Mary as duke and duchess of Lancaster.

Despite the operation of the duchy's own judicial and administrative system in Lancashire, the normal mechanism of county and local government was active there as well. The county was part of the northern assize circuit. Royal taxes were collected there. The quarter sessions, a joint responsibility of sheriff and JPs, continued to dispense royal justice according to the laws of England even after the JPs began to be appointed by the duchy.

Although there was a shift of power and position among officials in all counties during the period of our records, with lords lieutenant and JPs gaining ground at the expense of sheriffs, it is possible to over-emphasize the reduction of shrieval authority.²⁹ In sixteenth-century Lancashire, the sheriff 'still presided over the monthly meetings of the county court ... and he had duties in connection with the meetings of the courts of assize and quarter sessions: the empanelling of juries, the production of prisoners, the execution of sentences,' along with other tasks. The York High Commission for ecclesiastical affairs relied on the sheriff to arrest religious offenders and make them appear in court, and to collect fines imposed on the convicted.³⁰ The position was also expensive. Any hospitality entailed in the appointment fell on the sheriff; for example, the bill for the opening of Lancaster assizes in 1636 was the responsibility of William Farington, sheriff for the year (see p 30).³¹

To facilitate enforcement and administration, most English counties were divided into hundreds. Lancashire had six, namely Amounderness (north-central Lancashire), Blackburn (north-east), Leyland (south-central), Lonsdale (north), Salford (south-east), and West Derby (south-west). After the reforms of 1546–7, these hundreds were organized 'into four sessional divisions each with its own bench' and within these divisions the quarter sessions were 'held by adjournment over a week or eight days at each of the chosen towns: Lancaster for Lonsdale hundred, Preston for Amounderness and Blackburn hundreds, Wigan and Ormskirk by turn for West Derby and Leyland hundreds, and Manchester for Salford hundred.'³² Justice was administered chiefly at these quarter sessions, held (usually for one day in each town) close to Epiphany, Easter, Midsummer, and Michaelmas. At them, jurors, representing the whole county, were required to present information about guilty persons.³³ The quarter sessions were in theory the responsibility of the sheriff, but in practice their administration was managed by the clerk of the peace, the JPs, and the 'gentlemen of the country.'

During the sixteenth century, the JPs, almost always members of the landed gentry, became the most powerful group of officials in England.³⁴ 'Conscientious justices were probably involved almost daily in the procedures for detecting and bringing to trial those suspected of committing crimes and misdemeanours.... Then, at quarter sessions, they changed their role and assumed responsibility for the trial and punishment of offenders.' At the same time they 'were the principal administrative officers in the counties,' as they were also responsible for the enforcement of the large number of new laws.³⁵ In 1590, the commission of the peace was thoroughly revised and remained in force for over 300 years; the new commission 'authorized the justices to enforce all statutes concerning the peace; gave them powers to enquire into a variety of felonies and offences at common and statute law; and instructed them to hold regular sessions.'³⁶

The JPs were appointed by the Crown in most counties, but by the chancellor of the duchy in Lancashire and they were differentiated into two groups, 'of the peace' and 'of the quorum.' The ordinary JP had 'authority only to hear,' whereas the justice of the peace and quorum had legal training and so had authority 'to hear and determine' (ie, hand down a judgment).

Twice a year the assizes were held in each county and jail delivery took place. (At jail delivery, all prisoners currently in custody were to be dealt with and either punished or released, as a way of ensuring that all cases were heard within a reasonable period after arrest.) A sixteenth-

century observer, Sir Thomas Smith, described them thus: 'the Prince doth sende downe into euerie shire of Englande certaine of his Iudges of Westminster hall, and some Sergeantes at the lawe with commission to heare and determine ioyntly with the Iustices of the peace all matters criminall and all prisoners which be in the gaoles.'³⁷ These Crown assizes were attended and assisted by twelve men from the county. Lancashire assizes were generally held at Lancaster and there was a Crown appointee called 'the clerk of the pleas of the Crown,' or clerk of the assize court.

A feature probably unique to Lancashire was a series of regular meetings of JPs at the sheriff's table during assizes week, apparently beginning in March 1598. These meetings served an important function in that uncentralized county. Each JP tended to sit only at the quarter session meetings in his own division so that the bench for the entire county rarely gathered except during assizes week. The meetings seem to have been formal affairs with the high sheriff present and possibly the assize court judges too.³⁸

Thus far, Lancashire was run for the most part as an ordinary county but, as was mentioned above, it also answered to a duchy council in Westminster. In 1568, when Sir Ralph Sadler was about to be appointed chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, Queen Elizabeth's government laid down certain precepts concerning the appointment. The powers vested in the chancellor, who was head of the court of the duchy, illustrate some of the means of governance at his disposal:

The chancellor nominateth the Sheriffs and iustices of peace in that Countye Palatine.... He giveth also all other mean offices within the same county.... He giveth also many benefices, *which* being ill bestowed maye brede greate trouble and hurt to the Church.... He giveth the keeping of Castles *which* though they be not of greate force, yet being graunted to bad men may be vsed to doo mischeife.... He manageth at the least 40000 of her *Maiesties* subiects, emongst *which* many be of greate living and reputation.³⁹

Despite this power of appointment, the chancellor was rarely able to function as an effective agent for central control. Possibly because he was seldom a local man 'the chancellor had little more grasp of conditions in the principal part of his jurisdiction than had the Privy Council as a whole.'⁴⁰ For example, in the middle of Elizabeth's reign, the central government had a policy of uniformity in religion and prevention of over-enthusiastic bishops and gentlemen from giving offence locally; 'at the level of outward conformity it was broadly successful in most counties, with the conspicuous exceptions of Lancashire' and the Welsh border shires.⁴¹ Such a disjunction between the policy of the central government and the actual situation of enforcement on a local level plagued the assize judges as well. The whole problem is well illustrated by the sabbatarian campaign of the late 1580s, which was almost entirely the result of one individual's efforts to formulate and enforce a strict sabbatarian policy (see pp 219–27). It worked only for a time and then apparently died out. Drawing on southern Lancashire for many of his examples, Keith Wrightson has shown the same disjunction at work in the activities of petty sessions and the local constables.⁴²

If the privy council, the chancellor of the duchy, and even the bench were not close to the

realities of everyday life in Lancashire, the house of Stanley, the earls of Derby, was. The Stanleys were well placed both to understand and to a large extent control county events. The rise of the Stanleys took place in the fifteenth century, Sir Thomas Stanley being invested with the earldom after he had supported Henry Tudor against Richard III at Bosworth Field. Once king, Henry VII set the seal of royal approval on the Stanleys with a visit to Sir Thomas' Lancashire houses at Knowsley and Lathom in 1495. By 1536, a Stanley had first become 'the official head of the county government of Lancashire and Cheshire'; and earls of Derby were often lords lieutenant of Lancashire and Cheshire up to 1607, 'after which the sixth [ie, the fifteenth] earl and his son retained the office with something like hereditary rights.'⁴³ After the threat of Spanish invasion in the 1580s, the office of lord lieutenant attained greater importance than it had originally had. Lords lieutenant were appointed virtually for life in most counties, were responsible for defence, and acted almost as local governors.⁴⁴

The Stanleys dominated the county to a remarkable extent in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The twelfth earl's support became indispensable to Thomas Cromwell, Henry VIII's chief minister, during the suppression of rebels in the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536. As a result, 'the earl of Derby and his council ... formed the link between central and local government. The earl was too important to be bypassed, and the Crown ruled Lancashire through him; orders for the county went first to him, and he decided how instructions were to be implemented and made the necessary arrangements with justices of the peace.'⁴⁵

An example of the thirteenth earl of Derby's position in 1587 is given in the letter of Edward Fleetwood, probably to Lord Burghley, dated late in that year (see p 226). In it Fleetwood, attempting to use ecclesiastical and county influence to secure sabbath observance, suggests that letters to the justices and sheriff are needed from the archbishop of York, the earl of Derby, a bishop, Lord Strange (Derby's heir), and possibly the chancellor of the duchy and his vice-chancellor. The order is significant indeed of Fleetwood's assessment of the hierarchy of power in the county. The lord lieutenant had responsibility for the supervision of recusants, for example.⁴⁶

The Council of the North had less influence in Lancashire than in the other northern counties. The king's lieutenant in the north stemmed from 1480, when Richard of Gloucester was made king's lieutenant of the throne in the north. It is perhaps worth noting that earls of Huntingdon were lieutenants of the north in the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods; Earl Henry sat on the ecclesiastical commission in 1579 and Huntingdon's piper visited Dunkenhall manor house in 1629/30.⁴⁷ 'The influence of the Council in the North was largely restricted to Yorkshire, Durham and Northumberland,' and Lancashire escaped its jurisdiction partly because of its palatinate status.⁴⁸

Ecclesiastical Governance

With the Reformation and the dissolution of the monasteries (1536), ecclesiastical jurisdictions were redrawn. Up to 1541, Lancashire south of the River Ribble was within the administration of the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry and directly controlled by the archdeaconry of Chester. Lancashire north of the Ribble was within the administration of the diocese of York

and directly controlled by the archdeaconry of Richmond.⁴⁹ In 1541 the see of Chester was formed by combining these two archdeaconries under a single authority, the new bishop.

The new diocese of Chester was intended to solve the problems created by the sprawl of the old dioceses of Lichfield and York, but 'the new diocese was 120 miles long at its longest point and 90 miles wide at its widest; it covered over 5,200 square miles, and was the third diocese of England in area.' Despite its size, it was sadly underfinanced; 'the bishop of Chester received less than any of his episcopal colleagues, except for the bishop of Rochester, whose diocese was less than one-tenth of the size of Chester.'⁵⁰ Thus the diocese of Chester was large, unwieldy, and ill-adapted to face problems of church discipline in the more distant parts of Lancashire, Westmorland, and Cumberland.

The diocese was divided into deaneries, of which there were eight in Lancashire, under the authority of rural deans. The first bishop of Chester, John Bird, developed the role of these deans as local administrators, giving them 'authority to proceed in all disciplinary cases except simony and heresy, to prove wills ... and to collect synodals and procurations' (two payments by clergy to the bishop). This proved to be a mistake, for by 1571 the Lancashire rural deans were a 'sorry crew.'⁵¹ The visitation courts, which account for most of the office (or criminal) prosecutions, seem to have used the deaneries as court divisions, hearing presentments for each parish at a convenient church within each deanery.

The distances made the two consistory courts—one at Chester and another, apparently subordinate one at Richmond—workable venues only for the most important cases. The visitation court offered a better chance of success, if only because of its frequency. 'Between 1563 and 1605 Lancashire was visited with impressive frequency, and there were four metropolitan and sixteen diocesan visitations.' However, if the churchwardens were lax about making presentments, and they frequently were, the visitation court was impaired. A further impediment was posed by non-attendance even after a presentment had been made. 'In many dioceses less than half of those cited appeared before the court, and at metropolitan visitations of the diocese of Chester the attendance-rate was only one-third. Diocesan visitations were even less effective, and at the visitation of Lancashire in 1592 only 27% of the charges were answered by defendants.'⁵²

Both the bishop of Chester and his deputies and the archbishop of York and his deputies had the right under canon law to carry out periodic visitations. In order to ensure a full presentment for each parish, churchwardens were sent sets of injunctions and articles (ie, questionnaires) in advance of visitations. The value of such documents lies in the witness they bear to the existence of the practices which they seek to stamp out or control, such as ales, disguisings, summer games, dancing, piping, or rushbearings. Excerpts from visitation questionnaires and the records of visitation court proceedings arising from both the diocesan and archiepiscopal administrations appear in the Records.

The greatest difficulty for both levels of judicial administration was enforcement. The church-court machinery could offer no more serious punishment than suspension or excommunication, which some seem to have accepted, though 'in a sparsely populated area with poor communications, excommunication could easily be evaded.'⁵³ Lancashire parishes, containing on average thirty-three square miles and 1,700 people in 1563, were larger than other English

parishes except those in Northumberland. In a large Lancashire parish where attendance at church could be hindered by poor roads and where there were an average 696 communicants in 1603, an excommunicate who waited a while would not be easy to single out from those who had good reason to come irregularly.⁵⁴

Religious Division

In order to account for a marked tension in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Lancashire between moderate Anglicans and puritans, between those same moderates and recusant Catholics, and between puritans and recusant Catholics, a brief section is needed to outline the religious division of the county as it developed after the settlement of 1559. Bishop Cuthbert Scott of Chester, appointed by Mary, was deprived of his see in 1559 for refusing to enforce the Elizabethan settlement. His successor, William Downham, enforced the new order leniently, partly in hopes of conciliating the conservative-minded laity and partly because he feared that the required oath would not be taken by many of his clergy. 'As the early history of the Elizabethan Church in Lancashire was to demonstrate, such a course [a systematic enforcement of the oath of supremacy] would have led to wholesale deprivations, would have left many benefices and especially chapels unserved, and would have revealed the narrow basis of support on which the new Church rested.'⁵⁵ Downham's laxity gave priests with Catholic sympathies at least a decade in which to evade the settlement.

The machinery adopted to enforce the 1559 settlement was an attempt to supplement the inadequate administration of the diocese of Chester. An ecclesiastical commission was introduced in 1562 to bring the Chester diocese into conformity with the law, but even though it was purged of seven members in 1567–8, it was headed thereafter by the earl of Derby, whose household was conservative. A superior commission was that of York, which intervened only occasionally in the diocese of Chester.⁵⁶ The Lancashire commission of the peace had only six out of twenty-five justices favourable to the new protestant faith in 1564. Eight out of the first nine Elizabethan sheriffs of Lancashire were conservative in sympathy.⁵⁷

In 1574 the privy council sent a letter to the earl of Derby describing Lancashire as 'the very sincke of Poperie.'⁵⁸ Roman Catholic practices and Roman Catholicism could be found in all parts of Lancashire, but they remained most steadfast in west Lancashire, both north and south of the Ribble. West Lancashire was a conservative area cut off by wet moors for much of its length, but geography can hardly be used as a dividing-line between Catholic and protestant areas. Clerical offenders against the settlement of 1559 were concentrated to a degree in the area surrounding Liverpool, but they spilled over from the coastal wetland into the central pastoral plain. Haigh cites cases of Romish practices from Farnworth (near Widnes), Halsall, Huyton, Liverpool, Wigan, and the earl of Derby's estate at Knowsley, as well as two from Manchester, all in the late 1560s and early 1570s.⁵⁹ All these places, except Manchester, are within twenty miles of Liverpool. Walton explains the west Lancashire survival of Catholicism as stemming from isolation, a conservative gentry, 'the failure of Bishop Downham of Chester and the earl of Derby to act decisively against incipient recusancy in the early 1560s,' and the large number of secular Catholic or Catholic-sympathizing office-holders.⁶⁰ However, 'in the

autumn of 1568 the York High Commission began a massive interference in the affairs of the diocese of Chester which was to continue until the more energetic William Chadderton became bishop in 1579.⁶¹ In 1578 the York High Commission discovered 304 Lancashire recusants, 42% in Warrington deanery (south-west Lancashire), 24% in Amounderness (north-central), and 16% in Blackburn (north-east), but only 8% in Manchester deanery.⁶²

In particular, recusancy was strong in Garstang, Kirkham, Poulton le Fylde, and Prescott. In 1600 Reverend William Forster, queen's preacher at Garstang, and the pursuivant of the ecclesiastical commission were assaulted, presumably by recusants. At Poulton Peter White, a non-conformist and vicar there, found that many of his parishioners had their children baptized outside the parish because he would not use the sign of the cross in baptism. At Kirkham Arthur Greenacre had the same experience and he caused sixty-one people to be presented to the visitation court in 1605 for failing to have their children christened at the parish church. Thomas Meade, vicar of Prescott, proposed to use Prescott grammar school for puritan catechising in 1592, but the recusant gentry of the area attempted to move the school out of his reach to Eccleston. They failed, however, in this attempt. Garstang, Kirkham, and Poulton were in Amounderness deanery and Prescott in Warrington deanery, where the proportion of Catholic recusants was always high.⁶³

Certain old customs such as the lord of misrule, maypoles, morris dancing, rushbearings, and a 'simnel' play seem particularly to have been associated with west and central Lancashire, the keeping of old customs perhaps accompanying the survival of Catholic faith. Ribchester had a lord of misrule in 1605. There were maypoles at Melling in 1611, Prescott in 1624, and Little Crosby near Liverpool in 1641 (fondly remembered many years later), and morris dancing at Liverpool in 1576-7. Rushbearings, considered 'popish' by some, were extremely common in west and central Lancashire: at Childwall in 1621-2, 1622-3 and 1625-6, at Garstang in 1608, 1622/3 and 1623, at Goosnargh in 1590 and 1611, at Walton le Dale in 1626, at Whalley in 1604, and at Woodplumpton in 1578. Only rushbearings at Eccles in 1578 and Ringley in 1626, both in east Lancashire, break the pattern of old customs associated with Roman Catholicism as found in the west and central regions. Most interestingly, a 'simnel' play occurred at Melling in 1616/17, possibly the sole surviving record from Britain of a winter-summer combat.

Naturally, Anglicans of a puritan cast complained bitterly about the Roman Catholic indifference to sabbath observance. In 1608, papists were blamed by John White, vicar of Eccles near Manchester, for sabbath breaking (see p 19). In 1614, the king's preacher at Huyton near Liverpool, William Harrison, attacked popish priests and profane pipers, the former for an alleged policy of continuing the people 'in their popery and ignorance' (see pp 27-8). Harrison's addition of Roman Catholic priests to the indictment is probably significant.

The south-east corner of the county, centered on Manchester, emerged as the area of puritan strength.⁶⁴ As early as 1552, John Bradford devoted part of a year to reformist preaching in Manchester. Tradition has him warning that if Manchester did not 'readily embrace the word of God, mass would be said again in that church [Manchester Collegiate Church] and the play of Robin Hood acted there, which accordingly came to pass in Queen Mary's reign.'⁶⁵ He need not have been concerned about the reinstatement of Catholicism in the region. In

addition to ministers, the Manchester area and Salford hundred had reinforcement of their anti-Catholicism from the bishop of Chester (who had a house in Manchester), the Collegiate Church, the gentry, and jps. Edmund Assheton, writing to William Farington in 1580, comments on 'a Numbre of the Iustices of peace herein in Sallforde hundrethe' who had consulted with the ecclesiastical commissioners about suppressing Robin Hood and the may games (see p 6). Suppression of sports and pastimes, especially on the sabbath, was a characteristic of the puritan movement. 'Puritan ministers were already concentrated disproportionately into the south-eastern textile district by 1590, and in 1595 ten of the thirteen benefices in Manchester and Blackburn deaneries were held by recognisable Puritans.'⁶⁶ By 1609, Edmund Hopwood could remark bitterly: 'All fanatical and schismatical preachers that are cashiered in other countries resort into this corner of Lancashire.'⁶⁷

Along with West Derby, the hundreds of Amounderness, Lonsdale, and parts of Leyland and Blackburn were also Catholic. Indeed, Haigh notes that 'the deaneries of Warrington, Leyland and Amounderness [were] the most Catholic part of all England.'⁶⁸ 'Abrogated saints' days were still observed at Whalley in 1571, and at Goosnargh seven years later the bells were still rung on All Saints' Day. At least until 1573 it was usual for the congregation to make offerings at a minister's first communion, which was clearly as significant as a priest's first mass.... Rushbearings were common, and even in 1604 there was music and dancing at a rushbearing in Whalley church.... Eight people were using rosaries at Eccleston as late as 1604.... In 1604 the curate of Wigan "said he would rather go to see mass than to the communion, and said the mass was more sufficient." The earl of Derby would not allow the Prayer Book services to be said in his house, at Preston the people refused to sing Genevan psalms, and at Winwick one member of the congregation signified his disapproval by singing Latin psalms at the top of his voice.'⁶⁹ When the Jesuit priest John Wilson required safe houses in 1596, he moved around Farington, Ulnes Walton, Brindle, Houghton, and Rishton, all in the Preston area (see p 86). Preston and Lancaster had a Corpus Christi play as late as 1603 (see p 29). Lonsdale, however, had only a small recusant problem and was neither obviously Catholic nor protestant. Amounderness and Lonsdale were predominantly royalist in the Civil War, which points to a degree of conservatism.⁷⁰

Action against Catholic recusancy was reasonably energetic under Bishop William Chader-ton, who took over the see of Chester in 1579. A bishop of Chester, as noted above, had four instruments for the rule of his diocese: the consistory, the visitation court, the rural deans, and the ecclesiastical commission. Diocesan visitations were probably the most effective of these means; they revealed 428 Lancashire recusants in 1582, 700 in 1590, eighty-four in 1592, 724 in 1596, 498 in 1598, 754 in 1601, and 3,516 in 1604. Clearly Bishop Vaughan's visitation of 1604 was much more effective in seeking out Catholic recusants than any of Bishop Chader-ton's had been. Metropolitan visitations showed 304 recusants in 1578, 534 in 1590, and 481 in 1595, while the one in 1630 revealed 3,433.⁷¹ By comparison, the jps at the Lancaster assizes in 1587 presented 600 recusants and indicted eighty-seven (see p 224).

Despite all this persecution, Catholics continued to do well in Lancashire even in the late 1590s. 'John Gerard saw masses in the county attended by 200 people, Richard Cowling implied similar numbers, and in 1598 a group of priests held a series of revivalist meetings ...

and attracted large crowds. In the deaneries of Warrington, Amounderness and Leyland, where over half the gentry and several J.P.s were at least sympathetic towards Catholics, it was possible to pursue a separate religious life with only occasional harassment.⁷⁷²

Catholic recusants began to do well again after the death of Elizabeth I. The number of recusants increased and the number presented in 1604 at the bishop's visitation (3,516) 'were almost exactly matched by the 3,433 presented in 1630.'⁷⁷³ Even as the Civil War approached, 'the Gerards of Bryn, the Blundels of Crosby, the Blundels of Ince, the Norrises of Speke, the Scarisbricks of Scarisbrick, the Molineux of Sefton, the Harringtons, the Fazakerleys, almost all the proprietors of the estates along the coast between the Mersey and the Ribble, were more or less devotedly attached to the Catholic faith.'⁷⁷⁴ As Adam Martindale remarked, the gentry of the sea-coast were almost wholly papists.⁷⁷⁵ 'Many of the principal families of the hundred of Leyland were also Catholic, as the Bannisters of Bank, the Heskeths of Rufford, the Andertons of Euxton, the Andertons of Lostock, and the Charnocks of Heath Charnock.'⁷⁷⁶ Lancashire was to remain for centuries the most Catholic county in England.

Sabbatarian Campaign of 1587–8 and Its Aftermath

Puritan ministers could not have been wholly dissatisfied with Bishop Chaderton. He set up preaching 'exercises' under the control of the puritan preachers in 1579. 'The official attitude towards clerical Puritans did not stop at mere tolerance of their offences, but extended to positive favour towards them and their methods.'⁷⁷⁷ The aspect of Catholicism most detested by puritan divines was its alleged encouragement of sabbath breaking and in 1587 Edward Fleetwood, rector of Wigan from 1570 to 1604 and a JP, set himself to the task of purging Sundays of all sports and pastimes. Fleetwood was a busy correspondent with the central government; in Patrick Collinson's phrase, he was 'the government's Protestant conscience in Lancashire.'⁷⁷⁸ The climate for a sabbatarian campaign was favourable: Chaderton countenanced puritanical ministers; Burghley, lord treasurer, was a sympathetic member of the privy council; and war with Spain fostered a sense of the necessity for national discipline. 'The Privy Council thought that Sunday "side-shows" were especially organized "by such as are evil affected in religion" to draw people from "the service of God", and it was this feeling that the sabbath was being deliberately sabotaged, as much as Puritan sympathy, which led to the long series of restrictions on Sunday games.'⁷⁷⁹ In seeking to make popular pastimes such as piping unlawful at any time on Sunday, the campaigners were trying to apply a stricter rule to Lancashire than generally prevailed. Canon law prohibited piping (and other activities) on Sunday while services were being held or in sacred space, such as the church itself or the churchyard, but not during the whole day. Perhaps this greater strictness was a factor in the eventual breakdown of the campaign.

The sabbatarian campaign documents printed in this collection are far from being precisely dated, but they have been placed in the order which gives the best sense of unfolding events. A report headed 'Lankisshire & Chesshire' (see p 219) is probably an attack on the 'old' ecclesiastical commission of 1587 and seems to be Fleetwood's work. It was probably aimed at changing the composition of the 'new' ecclesiastical commission, due to be named in 1587. Next a group of seventeen Lancashire preachers made a report on sabbath breaking and popish

survivals (see pp 219–20). Following upon this came a proposal by sixteen Lancashire JPs (see pp 220–1). Fleetwood signed the former document and his relative ‘Edmund’ the latter. The JPs suggested that the quarter sessions be used as the principal means of dealing with sabbath breakers, but that the chief authors of Sunday sports be arrested immediately and taken before a JP for punishment. On 7 September 1587, Fleetwood wrote a long letter to Lord Burghley concerning the new commission of the peace for Lancashire (see pp 221–6). Evidently some men had been displaced from the commission and others put on it and the displaced men felt bitter. Next, probably, comes Fleetwood’s letter headed ‘The enormities of the Sabothe in *lancashire* are these’ (see p 226). This letter echoes the language of the proposal of the sixteen JPs. Fleetwood proposes that letters be sent by the archbishop of York, the earl of Derby, a bishop, Lord Strange, and perhaps the chancellor and vice-chancellor of the duchy to the Lancashire justices of assize, the sheriff, and the JPs, calling on them to use the quarter sessions for prosecutions and to arrest the chief authors of Sabbath disturbances for immediate presentation before a JP. Following up on this letter, on 10 December 1587, the earl of Derby, Sir Francis Walsingham, and Sir Gilbert Gerard wrote to Lord Strange, the bishop of Chester, the sheriff, and the Lancashire JPs (see pp 226–7). They proposed that the recipients read over certain articles enclosed in their letter and put them into effective execution. (The articles referred to by Derby, Walsingham, and Gerard are probably preserved in the Kenyon Memorandum Book, which also contains a copy of the proposals on f 62v). The proposals were put into effect early in 1587/8, as surviving presentments from Ashton under Lyne, Edenfield, Manchester, and Rochdale show (see pp 4, 20, 58, and 89–90).

By 1590 the campaign was going badly. The bishop of Chester wrote to the privy council that sabbath breaking was common and that the violations were upheld by the gentry and the better sort. On 12 October 1590, Fleetwood wrote to Burghley that assize judge Thomas Walmesley was the major problem: ‘for our Churches *even* in this shorte time of his goverment are exceedingly emptied of our people, and the streetes and Alehouses filled with all desolute and Riotous Concourse, the Saboth, and the holie excersises profayned with lewd games & pastimes, wherevnto his speaches of allowaunce have given to the headie multitude no smalle Incouragemente.’⁸⁰ He also commented that JPs omitted their friends among the recusants from returns.⁸¹

The sabbatarian campaign did not fade away immediately, however. There was a presentment at Ormskirk on 9 July 1590 for Sunday piping and three more at Preston on 12 July 1590 for Sunday rushbearing, piping, and bear-baiting (see pp 19, 14, 23–4, 70). On 29 April 1601 Ralph Shelmerden was presented for Sunday ape-baiting and at Manchester on 15 July that year John Thompson was presented for Sunday piping (see pp 89, 113).

Sabbatarianism became an issue again in 1616 when Justice Edward Bromley signed orders at Lancaster assizes on 8 August suppressing Sunday sports and pastimes in any part of the day and on church festivals when service was in progress.

The challenge to these orders came swiftly. In August 1617 certain persons got the ear of James I when he visited Houghton Tower and he granted permission for Sunday sports and pastimes after the afternoon sermon or service was over. Finding himself under attack from papists and puritans for this concession, James became draconian. Puritans and precisians could either conform to James’ edict or leave the country (see p 230). He permitted piping, dancing,

archery for men, leaping, vaulting, and rushbearing, but proscribed bear- and bull-baiting, interludes, and bowling. Catholic recusants and non-attenders at church were, of course, permitted no concessions. This declaration was written at Gerard's Bromley in Staffordshire shortly after the king had left Lancashire. The version of 1618, from Greenwich, was more liberal. It added may games, Whitsun ales, morris dances, and the setting-up of maypoles and other sports connected with the maypole. On the other hand, piping disappeared from the list of concessions though the force of this omission is unclear.

The presentment of John Johnson at Ormskirk on 5 May 1617 shows that the quarter sessions continued to be used to prosecute sabbath breakers; Johnson had permitted bear-baiting at his house in Litherland on a Sunday (see p 32).

The Declaration of Sports, as James I's pamphlet came to be called, was reissued in 1633 by his son. When a Penwortham piper, John Court, repeatedly engaged in piping on Sundays at Croston in 1634, the vicar accused him of violating the declaration in at least three particulars thereby. Court was apparently arrested under the name John Coward, brought speedily before a JP, and bound over in the sum of £20, and another £10 was taken from his two sureties (see pp 15–17). These were enormous sums of money in an age when a farm labourer (the occupation of the two sureties) might earn only £1 5s a year.⁸² Such summary proceedings were in accord with the recommendation of Derby, Walsingham, and Gerard on 10 December 1587.

Boroughs

LIVERPOOL

Liverpool's history begins in 1207 when King John granted a charter to the tiny hamlet. In 1229 the burgesses—as they were then styled—bought a new charter from Henry III, by which they obtained an independent court with jurisdiction over all property and civil cases within its area, expanded trading privileges (possibly including a market), and the right to organize themselves into a guild merchant, able to levy dues and deny trading privileges to non-members.⁸³ In the same year, however, the king granted the town to Ranulph, earl of Chester, and Liverpool remained under close baronial control until 1333, when Edward III granted a renewal of old charters that came near to recognizing the borough as a corporation. Nevertheless, civic institutions clearly made some progress during this period. The town had a bailiff in 1292 and two by 1309, and by 1324 it had both an ordinary court and a 'great court,' which was probably the ancestor of the later Portmoot. By 1411 Liverpool had had a mayor for at least half a century. The day-to-day administration was conducted by the mayor's court, where aldermen, mainly powerful ex-mayors, advised the mayor on all important business.

In 1411 a new lease of the town's fees or taxes permitted duchy of Lancaster officers to reappear in Liverpool after an absence of fifty-four years, chiefly to hold the duchy court sessions for local tenants who held leases from the duke of Lancaster. Henry VI came to the throne in 1422 but during his weak rule the nobles re-asserted themselves; in Liverpool this assertion took the form of rivalry between the Molyneuxs of West Derby and the Stanleys of Knowsley.

The burgesses trusted the Stanleys more than the Molyneuxs. However, neither had much interest in preventing the town from going into inevitable decline during the chaotic years of Henry VI's rule. Yet while the size and trade of Liverpool declined, the king's weakness allowed the mayor to become master of all Liverpool's courts and the borough officers to emerge before Edward IV's restoration (1471) as 'unquestioned authority over the whole population of the town.'⁸⁴ In 1471 the burgesses lost the lease from the Crown which permitted them to gather all the town's fees in return for a round payment ('fee-farm'); in 1485 they lost it again for nearly two hundred years.

Until 1450 the main regional port was Chester on the river Dee, but then silting began that city's slow decline and the accompanying rise of Liverpool. Clark and Slack call Liverpool after 1500 variously a port, a county town, and a provincial capital.⁸⁵ Yet Liverpool's rise to prosperity was slow; in 1544 it was still a 'decayed borough.' By the late sixteenth century, with the flax trade from Ireland and the export of fabrics to that country, Liverpool had become more prosperous than Chester.⁸⁶ Liverpool had perhaps a thousand people at the end of Elizabeth's reign.

By the time Liverpool's extant town books commence in 1550 Liverpool was returning two members of parliament, but the Molyneuxs had become owners of the fee-farm (1538), which they held until 1777.⁸⁷ In response to Sir Richard Molyneux's power over them, the mayor and burgesses formed a united oligarchy in Liverpool; the mayors continued to be 'little kings,' with full executive authority during their year of office.⁸⁸ By this time, the Assembly of burgesses and the Portmoot were clearly separate courts, though probably both arising from an original borough court.⁸⁹ The Assembly of burgesses met each year on St Luke's Day, 18 October, and appointed a new mayor and one of the two new bailiffs (the mayor chose the other).⁹⁰ The Assembly also voted on rates and trade regulations.⁹¹ The Great Portmoot, with twenty-four 'jurati,' met a few days later and 'voted into office for the coming year a score or more lesser officials, churchwardens, moss reeves, market overseers, rate assessors, etc.' to which list may be added the town wait.⁹² The Second or Little Portmoot followed shortly after (also in October) under the mayor and twelve 'jurati.' In the year 1560-1, for example, the Assembly elected the mayor on 18 October, the Great Portmoot met on 21 October, and the Second Portmoot on 24 October.⁹³ The name 'Portmoot' (port's meeting) may have been in use as early as the thirteenth century; however, its first recorded use in Liverpool occurs in the earliest town book. Evidently the existence of such Portmoot officers in 1552 as two 'levelookers' (who oversaw the payment of trading dues), two 'customers' (collectors of customs duties), and a keeper of the common warehouse implies that the Portmoot had at some point been a borough court with a 'Merchant Gild' integrated into it.⁹⁴ The Portmoots dealt with the appointment and disciplining of borough officers, the failure of burgesses in an assigned service or in respecting the local laws, trading with outsiders, pleading at courts outside Liverpool, and so on. However, the sixteenth-century Portmoots were mere relics of an earlier age, the real business of the town being transacted at the mayor's court, which dealt with all ordinary law cases. Finally, an annual audit court, at which the mayor presided, followed the Portmoots; the first detailed example is from the year 1558.⁹⁵

The mayor's great power in Liverpool during most of the sixteenth century clearly created difficulties. The choleric mayor Alexander Garnet railed at twenty youngsters and imprisoned

them all night in early January 1564/5, merely for playing a game called 'a christmas towes' on a Sunday (see pp 37–8). He could not be gainsaid but had to be pacified. In 1579, Edward Halsall, the Liverpool recorder, became mayor and proposed that the Assembly of burgesses be replaced by a Common Council—that is, a council of the mayor, twelve aldermen, and twenty-four councillors who were elected by the Assembly, which thereupon would lose all its functions except the election of the mayor and other officers. The Common Council would fill its own vacancies. It came into being on 14 January 1579/80.⁹⁶ Thus the mayor's power was diluted by the Common Council. It is to be noted that Assemblies of burgesses were occasionally held after 1580 but as Common Council meetings were also called 'Assembly,' there is no way to know which is meant.

About 1600 Liverpool entered into a period of prosperity and the Common Council began two important campaigns, one an effort to free itself from the power of the duchy of Lancaster court at Westminster and the other a struggle to win back some of the manorial rights granted to Sir William Molyneux in 1538. In 1626 the former struggle came to an end when Charles I granted the town a charter that turned it into an incorporated borough. Liverpool was now an independent entity, capable of acting 'like a private individual.'⁹⁷ In the other campaign, however, the Common Council was at a great disadvantage since in 1628 Charles (duke of Lancaster, as were all sovereigns after Henry IV) sold the manor of Walton, in which Liverpool lay, to certain citizens of London.⁹⁸ They in turn sold it to Viscount Molyneux in 1635, with the result that the borough did not wrest control of its own land from the Molyneux family until 1777.⁹⁹

Despite Liverpool's commercial importance by 1600, we have very few records of drama or entertainment from the town books. There were the municipal waits, of course, but the number of acting companies known to have come to the town is surprisingly few. The explanation for this paucity of players lies partly in the disappearance of most of the annual audits but also in Liverpool's attitude to itinerants. Mostly, however, it was caused by the town's isolated location in the extreme south-west corner of Lancashire. As was indicated earlier, the main road through the north-west crossed the Mersey at Warrington, some twenty miles east of Liverpool, and given Liverpool's very small size in the sixteenth century, few travelling companies seem to have been tempted to make the trip out to Liverpool and back.

Alone among Lancashire records, Liverpool's yield an early example of civic ceremony. No doubt a good deal of such ceremony went unrecorded, but the occasion of the sojourn of Henry, thirteenth earl of Derby, in Liverpool in 1577 is one of the most memorable passages in the town books. The ceremony was very elaborate and the whole was shot through with religious content. A significant day was 22 April, the eve of St George's Day, when the earl went to a 5 pm service at St Nicholas' Church. A procession 'in due order' made its way into the church, 'the Seriente bearinge the mase before *Mayster* Maior And then nexte after *Mayster* Maior my *Lord* his honors vssher And then the said right honourable erle in his robes of redde purple his trayne beinge borne vpp' (see p 42). After church a mock battle was staged, some of the cannon being set up in the churchyard. Even ships in the Mersey had been cast for roles in this realistic skirmish. The next day the whole scene was repeated: orderly and gorgeous procession to church, divine service, and mock battle, both morning and evening. St George's Day

itself ended with a fireworks display. Liverpool could, then, provide a lavish display for an earl of Derby and it says much about the town that it could entertain itself so well when the occasion seemed fitting.

MANCHESTER

How old Manchester is no one now knows. It may have begun as a Celtic settlement but the first known habitation was a Roman fort, built at Castlefield. Indeed Manchester, known to the Romans as Mancunium, was 'the greatest centre of Roman roads in the district.'¹⁰⁰ Its continuous history begins with its re-fortification by Edward, son of Alfred the Great, in 923 and the name appears as 'Mamecestre' in Domesday Book. Manchester then received a Norman overlord, Albert de Grellé or his son Robert, and it remained a manor until 1838. By the thirteenth century, the town had an annual fair in September at Acresfield.¹⁰¹ It also apparently possessed a borough court since there was a court called 'curia burgi' (as well as a 'curia baronis') in a manorial extent (valuation of land) of 1282.¹⁰² In the charter of 1301 these were called the 'Portmanmoot' (Portmoot) and 'Lawmoot.' The Portmoot met four times annually with all burgesses attending in person or represented by qualified representatives and the steward of the manor presiding; the Lawmoot met more frequently.¹⁰³

The Grellés held the manor until 1309; in 1301, just before their tenure ended, young Thomas Grellé granted the town a charter. By this grant "Thomas Grellé was enabled to withdraw his burgesses of Mamecestre from the jurisdiction not only of the Salford hundred court, but also from that of the sheriff's tourn, or county court, and to give them courts of their own within the town."¹⁰⁴ The Manchester burgesses were also empowered to elect a reeve but this privilege was probably subject to the steward of the manor; he chose the electing jurors of the borough court ('court leet') and could therefore select them with an eye to 'advising' them at the time they chose their reeve. The reeve represented the burgesses in their dealings with the lord of the manor.¹⁰⁵

In 1309 the manor of Manchester passed to Sir John de la Warr¹⁰⁶ but the erection of Lancashire into a county palatine interrupted the pattern of baronial control. Henry of Grosmont (d. 1361), a cadet of the royal family, was created duke of Lancaster in 1351. As duke he gained palatine rights over all Lancashire, which in turn gave him overlordship of Manchester.¹⁰⁷ An inquiry held at Preston in 1359 decided that Roger de la Warr held Manchester not as a borough but as a market town. The upshot of this was that the tenants found themselves back under the legal jurisdiction of Salford hundred court and the Lancashire sheriff.¹⁰⁸

Early in the sixteenth century, Manchester became an important centre of woollen and linen manufactures; it was described by John Leland in 1538 as 'the fairest, best buildid, quikkest, and most populus tounne of al Lancastreshire.'¹⁰⁹ William West, Lord de la Warr, mortgaged the manor to John Lacy, citizen and clothworker of London, and forfeited it to him in 1581. Lacy, evidently not finding it returning a sufficient profit, quickly disposed of it to Nicholas Mosley in 1596. As far as the present collection is concerned, the Mosleys dominate the Manchester picture up to the end of the period. Nicholas—later knighted—died in 1612 and was succeeded by Rowland (d. 1616) and Sir Edward (d. 1657).¹¹⁰

In the sixteenth century Manchester still had two courts, the court baron and the court leet. However, the court baron had lost its jurisdiction beyond Manchester and vicinity and had degenerated into an ordinary manorial court for trial of civil actions and probably small police cases. It was known as 'the court of Manchester' and met 'from three weeks to three weeks.' It transacted much of the old Portmoot's business.¹¹¹ The court leet met twice annually and dealt with more public matters than 'the court of Manchester.' The extant town books begin in 1552 and record the semi-annual meetings at Easter and Michaelmas of the court leet. 'All & every then inhabitants and howseholders of the towne of manchestre' were summoned to attend and fined if they did not.¹¹² It was presided over by the lord's steward or deputy steward and its recorder was the lord's clerk. Its complement of jurors varied from twelve to twenty-four, all leading burgesses, and its jurisdiction extended only over the township of Manchester and its hamlets. But the court leet clung also to ancient control over constables in outlying districts, even in the later seventeenth century.¹¹³ The name Manchester, it must be noted, had no precise signification until the nineteenth century; before that the name denoted simultaneously a town, a parish, and a manor. 'It appears that there were in the middle ages three separable and distinguishable, yet concentric, "Manchesters" ... the "Barony of Manchester" ... included lands in three of the [six] Lancashire hundreds—Salford, Leyland, and West Derby ... the "Manor of Manchester and its Members" ... were defined to be Ashton-under-Lyne, Withington, Heaton Norris, Barton, Haughton, Heaton-with-Halliwell, Pilkington and their members ... and the "Town of Manchester" alone without its members.'¹¹⁴ The manor was primary: it had 'its centre of gravity in the township of Manchester,' and the extent of both manor and township was very similar.¹¹⁵ Hence the Manchester court leet of 1552–1846 was manorial, not burghal. However, when the quarter sessions came to Manchester, it was coming to the town, not the manor. The parish was a vast area extending nine miles north and south and another nine miles east and west.

The court leet handled such township matters as food quality at the market, weights and measures, sharp trading, water courses, loose animals, sanitation, the constables, disputes between tenants, undesirable immigrants to Manchester, the night watch, and the waits, as well as enforcing certain acts of parliament. Still, it was not the highest Manchester court, for it was possible to bring an action in the duchy court against the lord of Manchester manor himself.¹¹⁶ Further, the Manchester court leet was at odds with the court leet of the hundred of Salford in the later sixteenth century and early seventeenth century over jurisdiction. The two towns had opposed politics in the Civil War, Manchester declaring for parliament and Salford for the king.¹¹⁷

While the reeve (or 'boroughreeve') was the chief officer in Manchester's borough government, 'by the sixteenth century his office had become honourable rather than active.'¹¹⁸ The steward was the chief personage in Manchester government. Pre-1581 stewards were often noblemen like Edward, earl of Derby, and they received an annual fee. A deputy usually attended the court in the steward's place. After the manor was sold to John Lacy in 1581, the stewards were much lesser men, typically local lawyers or lesser members of the Mosley family.¹¹⁹ The collective orders of the court leet under its steward or an order of the county justices were the law in Manchester.

The Manchester constables, sworn in at the court leet, were responsible for carrying out

these orders. They were two in number, appointed by the jurors of the court leet and on 1 October 1612 they were ordered to submit their accounts annually at Michaelmas, in a book initially to be kept by the constables. The extant accounts run from 1612 to 1776, with a gap between 1648 and 1742. From these accounts it is clear that the constables were charged to deal harshly with wandering, masterless individuals, among whom were evidently fiddlers and pipers, under 'the statute made Anno primo Regni Jacobi and intytuled an acte for the punishment of Rogues vagaboundes and sturdye beggers' (1 October 1606) (see p 63). If they were lucky they might be escorted out of Manchester or else arrested and whipped. In 1637 the constables paid three troupes of players to leave town but the reason on this occasion was evidently the plague.

With a population of perhaps between 1,500 and 2,000 in Leland's day (1538) and 2,000 in Elizabeth I's reign, and a parochial area of some eighty-one square miles, the town ought to have been an important centre of provincial culture.¹²⁰ However, the ability of the clothworker John Lacy, overlord from 1581 to 1596, to buy the manor is a clue to Manchester's lack of cultural importance. It was a cloth town which 'made or handled both woollen and linen cloth.'¹²¹ T.S. Willan gives it only the status of a regional capital, not a provincial centre, and Clark and Slack call it a 'new town' and an 'industrial centre' after 1500.¹²²

Manchester was some distance off the main north-south road through Lancashire, which crossed the Mersey at Warrington some fifteen miles to the west. But it was on the other main road which ran from Chester to York over the Pennines. It could therefore expect some visiting by itinerant troupes of players, but early records of drama in Manchester are almost non-existent. *Faire Em, the Millers Daughter of Manchester* (c 1589–91) shows signs of being calculated for performance in Manchester, being highly complimentary to Sir Edmund Trafford. Edward Alleyn may have led Strange's men through Manchester in 1593 on his way from Chester to York (see p cvii).

The present records include numerous entries for the Manchester cockpit, in the possession of William Ravalde. The payment to the manor was always 22d for certain burgages in the Millgate, two tenements adjoining the cockpit, and the cockpit itself; it is last recorded in the Manor Rental Books in 1623–4 (see p 67). The cockpit had become 'ould' in 1608–9 (see p 63). This small rent is accounted for by the nature of Manchester manor. Much of the Manchester manor property was 'in the form of burgages whose rent of 12 d p.a. was fixed by the charter of 1301.'¹²³

Manchester's civic occasions were few, to judge by the small number of references that have come down to us. There was an annual fair held on 20–2 September in Acresfield, east of Deansgate and south of Marketstead Lane, and since halberdmen were paid it was probably opened with ceremony. In the late Elizabethan and Jacobean period the expense fell on the Mosleys, but no doubt the profits went to them too. The waits were present at the fair, but were paid little (see pp 60–1, 64–6).

An instructive comparison is with the fair at Bolton, the tolls of which were farmed in 1575 by the earl of Derby, Ellis Ainsworth, and Sir Richard Shireburn; the syndicate paid for the steward's dinner for seventy-nine persons, for minstrels, for the bailiff, for tokens, for wine, and for fifteen toll-gatherers. Shireburn cleared 13s 8d (see p 164).

PRESCOT

Prescot's recorded history begins in 7 Edward III (ie, 1334), when William de Dacre obtained a charter for a market and fair in the town. When Henry VI founded King's College, Cambridge, c 1445, he granted the advowson of Prescot church to the provost and fellows of the college.¹²⁴ An act of parliament dated 16 March 1445/6 shows that Henry also gave King's College confirmation of many grants of land, a few fresh grants of land, and many grants of privileges in Prescot. Shortly afterwards (1 September 1447) Prescot procured a charter reflecting the act of parliament. By the act and charter 'men of Prescot became virtually tenants of the College.' They seem to have been satisfied with this arrangement, especially as a separate charter granted to King's College on 3 March 1445/6 gave further privileges to Prescot, among them the appointment of jps. 'Leet jurisdiction was probably introduced shortly after 1447.'¹²⁵ In 1533 Edward, earl of Derby, obtained the first lease of Prescot rectory.

In 1836, Edward Baines gave the only testimony to Prescot's pre-1642 government. He described the 'manor and liberty' of Prescot as being governed by 'a steward, four foremen, a coroner, and several constables, nominated by the jury of the court leet and baron, who are composed of twenty-four of the principal inhabitants of the township of Prescot, and who are nominated by the lords of the manor, the provost, fellows, and scholars of King's College, Cambridge. A court baron, or court of requests, is held for causes to any amount every fortnight in the town-hall, which was erected in 1765, and in which the records of the town are preserved. There is also a general court baron held on Corpus Christi, and special courts with which a court leet is held.'¹²⁶

In the earliest Prescot record in this volume, dated 4 April 1510 (see p 77), we find that the court ('with view of frankpledge') was presided over by two commissioners of Thomas Stanley, earl of Derby. The 'Four Men' of Prescot are mentioned as early as 1536, however. In 1608 the Four Men were presiding over the court leet (see p 78), as it was styled from 1559 onwards.¹²⁷ One may surmise that given the proximity of Prescot to Knowsley, the main seat of the Stanleys, earls of Derby, the Stanleys had been chief stewards for a long time and that they normally chose the Four Men. Moreover, the record of 1609 (see p 80) shows that the earl of Derby employed a minor relative, Henry Stanley, as deputy steward in the court. This was among the most active courts leet in Lancashire during the period of the Records, dealing with issues ranging from public sanitation to good order, as well as questions of tenure.¹²⁸

The presence of Knowsley next to this small town, which seems to have had little more than 400 inhabitants c 1592, meant that sports and pastimes would be fairly well protected.¹²⁹ A cockpit is mentioned in a survey of 1592 and later (see p 77), and a playhouse, not mentioned in 1592, had been built before 7 February 1602/3 but converted into tenements by 1609.¹³⁰

Monasteries

Lancashire, being an extremely poor and remote county, appears to have had no religious houses at all before the Norman Conquest. The Benedictines were the first to move in, found-

ing at Lancaster a daughter house to the abbey of St Martin of Séez in Normandy (1094). In the twelfth century the abbey of Evesham and the cathedral priory of Durham, both Benedictine, built tiny houses at Penwortham and Lytham. In 1319 the Benedictine priory of St John of Pontefract, Yorkshire, founded a daughter house at Up Holland, near Wigan. The Cistercians, who sought out isolation, built two major abbeys in Lancashire, Furness (1127) and Whalley (begun in 1296). Apart from monasteries, there were six houses for canons in the county also, four Augustinian priories at Burscough, Cartmel, Cockerham, and Conishead, and two Premonstratensian houses at Cockersand and Hornby. Cockersand was a large abbey, essentially a monastery. Franciscan friars built at Preston, Dominicans at Lancaster, and Augustinians at Warrington.¹³¹

LYTHAM PRIORY

Lytham Priory was located on the north bank of the mouth of the River Ribble. It was founded between 1191 and 1194 by Richard Fitz Roger, a local magnate.¹³² The house was little better than a grange serving as a headquarters from which the monks could manage the estates of the mother house at Durham; it accommodated only one or two monks besides the prior.

Lytham Priory was relatively prosperous but for much of the time from the early fifteenth century until the dissolution its priors were on bad terms with many of the local landowners. The exception was the priorate (1431–46) of William Partrike, a rather acquisitive monk who took the side of the local magnates against the mother house and tried unsuccessfully to detach Lytham from its dependence on Durham.¹³³ In view of the smallness of the house and the poor relationship with local gentry, it would seem that Lytham had little need for minstrels; the large number of payments to minstrels is therefore rather surprising, as is their absence from precisely the period of Partrike's priorate. Some of the early payments which include minstrels are undoubtedly due to the friendship between the Durham monks and the family of John of Gaunt but the later ones probably simply reflect the relative prosperity of the cell. The lump sums drop to a low level in 1464–5 before rising modestly and sinking again in 1490–1, becoming fixed at 10s from 1506–7 onwards. (Only in two years, 1454–5 and 1455–6, are payments made solely to minstrels.) Payments explicitly including minstrels stop before the dissolution of the cell in 1535. Except under Partrike, Lytham, like the other cells of Durham, made regular contributions to support the boy bishop of the mother house.

WHALLEY ABBEY

Whalley Abbey, parts of which are still standing today, was a large foundation originally established at Stanlaw in the Wirral of Cheshire but translated to Whalley in Lancashire in 1296 through the good offices of the powerful de Lacy family of Clitheroe.¹³⁴ The site was doubtless chosen for its proximity to the river Calder and for its rich pasture. Whalley Abbey did not do as well as Furness, as its late accounts reveal. In 1535 'Whalley Abbey had a gross income of £550, but it had to spend a full £200 a year on the stipends of the vicars of its four dependent churches and on fees for its temporal officers.'¹³⁵ In 1381 the abbey had twenty-four monks but

by the dissolution in 1538 it was down to thirteen.¹³⁶ For his part in the Pilgrimage of Grace of 1536, its last abbot, John Paslew, was hanged, along with two other monks.

Households

Lancashire was dotted with gentlemen's houses, as William Smith reported in 1588 (see p xiv). Lord Burghley's 1590 map (see p cxxi) marks with a cross those recusant houses requiring extra coercion; this excellent guide gives information on about 145 landed families. Only twenty-three families have left records relevant to this collection and only five of them—Hoghton of Hoghton Tower, Shireburn of Stonyhurst, Shuttleworth of Smithills and Gawthorpe, Stanley of Knowsley, Lathom House, and New Park, and Walmesley of Dunkenhalth—have left such plentiful records of drama and entertainment that extended background detail is called for.

HOGHTON OF HOGHTON TOWER

The records concerning this family are confined in this collection to c 1578 and 1617. The Thomas Hoghton who wrote the c 1578 letter to his half-brother Richard restored Hoghton Tower but fled to Antwerp in 1569. Since Thomas' son, being a Catholic priest, could not inherit, the next head of the family was his brother, Alexander Hoghton of the Lea. Alexander, another Catholic, survived his brother by only a year and died childless; his will appears in the Records.¹³⁷ The next heir was Alexander's half-brother Thomas, who was killed in 1589. His son Richard Hoghton was made a ward of Sir Gilbert Gerard and raised a protestant; he was high sheriff of Lancashire in 1598–9, knighted in June 1599, and raised to the baronetcy in 1611. This Sir Richard, a favourite of King James, was the king's host at Hoghton Tower in 1617, where he died in 1630. He never fully recovered financially from the royal visit and was 'for some years imprisoned for debt in the Fleet.'¹³⁸

SHIREBURN OF STONYHURST

The records for this family in this volume are mainly from 1569–76, when Sir Richard Shireburn was lord of the manor of Stonyhurst, near Clitheroe. 'He was a commissioner for the dissolution of the monasteries under Henry VIII and for the sale of the dissolved chantry estates under Edward VI'¹³⁹ and he spent a good deal of time at Knowsley and Lathom House in the earl of Derby's service; at various times, Shireburn, a man of local eminence in his own right, 'was the third earl of Derby's treasurer of the household, receiver of the southern estates and governor of the Isle of Man; and the fourth earl's household steward.'¹⁴⁰ He was a JP and an ecclesiastical commissioner but no doubt was one of those commissioners who slowed down its work; Edward Fleetwood complained of the Commission in 1587 that 'smale reformation hath bene had in those Counties [Lancashire and Cheshire] as maie appere by the emptynes of Churches on Sondaies and hollidayes in the tyme of devine Seruice, multytude of Bastardes, and abundance of dronckardes' (see p 219). Shireburn was mentioned by Edward Fleetwood in his 7 September 1587 letter to Lord Burghley as a member of Lord Derby's council and Fleet-

wood implied that Shireburn was a barely satisfactory commissioner (see p 223). On a public occasion he might sign orders for sabbath observance, as he did in late 1587 (see p 221). He was reported to the privy council in 1591 as a temporizer, one who attended Anglican services but was secretly a Catholic. 'His wief, children, and famylie, for the most parte, seldome come to church, and never communycate, and some of his daughters married and not knowne by whom, but suspected by masse priests; and intelligencer to the Papists of Lancashier, as appereth by a *lettre*. latelie deliverd over to ther *Llordships*.' He died in 1594 and was succeeded by his son, another Sir Richard, who died in 1628.¹⁴¹

The son (c 1591–1667) of this second Sir Richard Shireburn patronized players, who appeared at Dunkenhalth on 3 January 1628/9, and this third Sir Richard himself visited at Christmas 1634/5 (see pp 197, 207–8).¹⁴² In the eighteenth century Stonyhurst was presented to the Jesuits and it is now Stonyhurst College, a Catholic school for boys.

SHUTTLEWORTH OF SMITHILLS AND GAWTHORPE

This family's records cover two successive houses, Smithills and Gawthorpe (both of which still stand) in east Lancashire. When Richard Shuttleworth (c 1541–99) of Gawthorpe, senior justice for the county palatine of Chester and a knight by 1589, married Margery Barton of Smithills, he became master of the house. He entertained and rewarded mostly local players at Smithills. His legal rights at Smithills ended with his wife's death in 1592. The building of the present Gawthorpe Hall began in 1600 under the supervision of his brother and heir, Lawrence, and the new house was ready by 1606. Lawrence, who was rector of Whichford, Warwickshire, had no entertainers in the house, possibly on principle. He died in February 1607/8 and was succeeded by his nephew Richard, who was then about twenty-one. Richard had already married an heiress, Fleetwood Barton, and the couple lived at Gawthorpe all their lives.¹⁴³ This couple entertained and rewarded numerous playing troupes, all patronized by gentry or nobility. In 1641 he responded, as MP for Preston, to the House of Commons' call to 'see the ordinance of the militia put in force in Lancashire'.¹⁴⁴ He fought on the parliamentary side in the Civil War and in 1643 defeated the troops of James, Lord Derby, near Whalley. He died in 1669. Shuttleworth was considered crafty; it is noteworthy that James I in his August 1617 progress through Lancashire did not stay at Shuttleworth's house at Barton near Myerscough, though it lay on his route. Rumour said Shuttleworth had burned the hall down rather than incur the expense of entertaining James.¹⁴⁵ His sister Helen married Sir Ralph Assheton of Great Lever and Whalley, who was fond of horse-racing in his younger days.¹⁴⁶

STANLEY OF KNOWSLEY, LATHOM HOUSE, AND NEW PARK

The famous house of Stanley, earls of Derby, began its climb to power in the fourteenth century. 'The foundations of the family fortune were laid in 1385 when Sir John Stanley ... a distinguished soldier, married Isabel, five years later heiress of Sir Thomas Lathom, owner of considerable estates centred upon Lathom and Knowsley in Lancashire.'¹⁴⁷ Lathom House was near Ormskirk and next to its park lay New Park; Knowsley, near Prescot, still stands, largely

rebuilt in the eighteenth century. The family took its greatest leap upward when Sir John Stanley's great-grandson, Sir Thomas Stanley (c 1433–1504), married Lady Margaret Beaufort, the widowed mother of the future Henry VII in 1482. At the battle of Bosworth Field (1485), Sir Thomas intervened late but decisively for Henry Tudor; his reward was the earldom of Derby. Two years later, in 1487, when Sir Thomas Stanley joined Henry VII to defeat Lambert Simnel's rebellion, he earned four sets of Lancashire estates forfeited by Simnel's Lancashire supporters.¹⁴⁸

At the date when Stanley records are relevant to the present collection, the earl of Derby was Edward, the twelfth earl, or third of the new creation. Edward (1509–72) was a religious conservative, ie, a Catholic sympathizer; his behaviour during and after the Pilgrimage of Grace was dilatory.¹⁴⁹ 'During Edward VI's reign he opposed all the radical religious legislation and in the next reign he pursued a fairly active role in the persecution of Protestant heresy.'¹⁵⁰ He was pleased at Queen Mary's restoration of Catholic practices and naturally he played his part in the inactivity of Bishop Downham and Lancashire authorities against Catholic recusants in the 1560s and early 1570s.¹⁵¹

Earl Henry (1531–93), following the bountiful example of his father, kept perhaps the greatest state of any of the earls of Derby; he had spent his formative years at court and his households were run on a lavish scale. The main Derby house at Knowsley was set up in the sixteenth century like the royal establishment. By the late 1580s it had a steward, treasurer, controller of the household, grooms of the bedchamber, clerks of the kitchen—140 servants and dependents in all. Naturally Knowsley, Lathom House, and New Park were magnets for major acting troupes, perhaps invited by the earl when he was in London on privy council business in 1586–9. In those years the earl of Leicester's company came to play at Lathom House, the queen's players came to New Park, Lathom House, and Knowsley, and Essex's players came to Knowsley (see pp 180–2).

Henry 'did not regret England's breach with Rome ... and although he did not put a political foot wrong in Mary's reign, he felt more at home after Elizabeth had re-established the Church of England.'¹⁵² Yet he was not prepared to persecute recusants. He sat on the Chester ecclesiastical commission of 1579 but it made little headway against a variety of abuses (see pp 218–19). Indeed, 'Earl Henry could not appear, any more than his father before him, to be too committed to the anti-Catholic cause,' since many of his landed neighbours were Catholics.¹⁵³ Edward Fleetwood criticized him in 1587 in his letter to Burghley, remarking of his own sabbatarian campaign that 'I feare no thinge therein but my *Lord* of Derby his discontinuance' (see p 225). However, by 1589 he was earning praise from Queen Elizabeth as 'the principal cause of the staying of the country [Lancashire] from falling into Popery,' and he had leading puritan divines at Knowsley and Lathom to preach (William Leigh, John Caldwell, Richard Midgley, Robert Eaton, Oliver Carter, Peter Shaw, Thomas Hunt, and Edward Fleetwood, all but three of them involved in the sabbatarian campaign of 1587–8).¹⁵⁴ The author of 'A Vewe of ye State of ye Countie Palatine of Lancaster, bothe for Religion and Civill government,' written in 1590, remarks that Henry Stanley 'hath preachinge in his house Sabothly, by the best preachers in ye countie, and he giveth honorable countenance to all the professors of religion, and is very forward in the publique actions for religion.'¹⁵⁵

Henry patronized players who 'were regularly attracting audiences at such places as Coventry, Exeter, Dover, and Stratford-on-Avon during the first ten years of Henry's "regime." They received their first summons to play at court in February 1580. Companies of players frequently visited Lathom or Knowsley.' Bagley claims that 'in the summer of 1587 Earl Henry arranged a month-long festival of plays at Lathom.'¹⁵⁶ Though this account may be greatly exaggerated, Henry freely mingled his encouragement of puritan preachers with hospitality to players, even on a Sunday.

The fourteenth earl of Derby, Ferdinando (c 1559–94) (styled Lord Strange in his father's lifetime) lasted from 1593 to 1594 only; some at the time thought that he was poisoned for failing to join a Catholic plot against Queen Elizabeth. His brother William (c 1561–1642) became the fifteenth earl, a peer who loved the drama perhaps more than any other in England. He may be characterized as politically unambitious; he wrote comedies for common players in 1599 and after 1617 devoted himself to horse-racing and music.¹⁵⁷ He began to give up his office of lord lieutenant of Lancashire and Cheshire in 1626, sharing it with his son, 'who gradually in this and other respects took over the duties of the head of the family.'¹⁵⁸ His players are frequently found visiting Lancashire houses in this collection.

William's son, James, Lord Strange (1607–51), became the sixteenth earl in 1642; he had married in 1626 Charlotte de la Trémoille, 'the grand-daughter of William the Silent and well-connected with most of the Protestant nobility of France and the Low Countries.'¹⁵⁹ James early gave encouragement to puritans. He was 'to some extent a patron of the puritan divines in the diocese of Chester. Charles Herle, for example, was tutor or chaplain to his lordship in the 1620s, and it was to the Stanleys that Herle—like Caldwell before him—owed his advancement to the wealthy rectory of Winwick.'¹⁶⁰ Yet James also acted in courtly masques.¹⁶¹ Not surprisingly, he sat on the fence as long as he could in the emerging conflict between king and parliament.¹⁶² He finally declared for the king in the Civil War and was despatched to the Isle of Man in June 1643 to secure it for the king, leaving his wife to defend Lathom House against the parliamentary forces. In February 1643/4 Sir Thomas Fairfax laid siege to the house, but Prince Rupert raised the siege that spring. The earl had returned to Lancashire earlier but had been unable to help.¹⁶³

Charlotte and her children sailed for the safety of the Isle of Man in July 1644 and Earl James joined them. The presence of the Stanley household in the Isle of Man accounts for the masques held at Castle Rushen (see Appendix 5). Lathom House was besieged again in 1644/5 and surrendered in December. It was so damaged that it does not appear to have been used again after the Restoration.¹⁶⁴ Earl James did not leave the Isle of Man again until August 1651 but his efforts in defence of Charles II were no more successful than his efforts for Charles I. He was executed at Bolton in 1651. As his father had done, James Stanley patronized players.

WALMESLEY OF DUNKENHALGH

Like Sir Richard Shuttleworth, Thomas Walmesley (1537–1612) grew rich through the legal profession. Son of Thomas Walmesley of Showley, he was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1567 and in 1571 was able to buy Dunkenhalgh Manor from Ralph Rishton. Dunkenhalgh,

near Clayton le Moors and about five miles from Gawthorpe, was an estate of over 100 acres; as Walmesley became successively serjeant-at-law (1580), justice of the common pleas (1589), and a knight (1603), he added to his holdings by purchases throughout north-east Lancashire and in Yorkshire.¹⁶⁵

Walmesley was a temporizing conformist who died a Catholic. 'He evinced extraordinary independence for that arbitrary period. In 1583 he made before the court of common pleas a stout but ineffectual attempt to sustain the validity of papal dispensations and other faculties issued during the reign of Queen Mary. His vigour gained him respect, and he does not seem to have been seriously molested.... His wife was a staunch recusant.'¹⁶⁶ In a letter to Burghley dated 12 October 1590 (already quoted on p xxv above) Edward Fleetwood had complained bitterly of Walmesley's new judicial influence.¹⁶⁷ According to Fleetwood, Walmesley actively opposed the puritan Lancashire preachers:

ffor he not onelie enforced in his publike Charge the matters of inconformitie in a Crosse or a Surplice against ye preachers as highe pointes of martinisme, meet to be equallie wayed in the ballance with popishe Recusancie (as he affirmed) but indeed with a more vnequall ballance then he vsed to the Recusantes, he gave out speciall Articles extracted out of the Statutes to ye Queenes Attourney ... since which we heare of his bitter threatninges in many places breathed against vs.¹⁶⁸

Walmesley's son, another Thomas (1574–1642), was apparently a Catholic but probably a temporizer until 1632. James I knighted him during his visit to Lancashire in 1617.¹⁶⁹ Thomas' second wife Mary Hoghton seems to have been a recusant, despite being the daughter of Sir Richard Hoghton, a protestant.¹⁷⁰ The couple frequently had entertainers at Dunkenhagh and all the Walmesley records printed in this volume come from the period of their tenure of the manor.

Drama, Music, and Popular Customs

Travelling Entertainers

The earliest references to entertainment in Lancashire are those of the Lytham Priory accounts. 'Histriones' appeared at the priory in 1352–3 and the following two years but the notices are too scanty to permit any speculation as to the kind of entertainment they provided (see p 114). The Lytham Priory accounts have many summary payments to minstrels but they do not itemize minstrels' visits. However, at Whalley Abbey such payments are listed separately each year. For example, at the beginning of the surviving accounts (1485), twenty-six payments were made to minstrels. At the end of the abbey's full run of accounts (1536), thirty-two payments were made, showing that the frequency of their visits was roughly the same as it had been fifty-one years earlier (see p 143). All the entries at Lytham Priory and Whalley Abbey which employ the term 'ministrallis' may refer to musical performers or even to players.

At Lytham Priory, the minstrels are associated with members of the ducal household in lump-sum payments in the earlier entries (see pp 114–16), but later they are bracketed with beggars (see p 122). Perhaps this indicates a drop in their social status. The total reward seems to have gone up for a time after this but it may simply be that more charitable giving was needed. In 1514–15 the minstrels are no longer grouped with mendicants (see p 127).

Payments to minstrels and bearwards were made at Whalley Abbey from 1485 to 1537, a period of fifty-two years with a two-year gap in 1506–8. The first 189 years of accounts are missing. Over the fifty years for which we have accounts, minstrels were paid over 20s early on and towards the end over 40s for performing over the year (see pp 128, 143). In 1531 an exceptional payment of 10s was made to a minstrel or minstrels of the princess, presumably Mary, daughter of Henry VIII (see p 142). Bearwards got 8d early on and at the end of the period 4s 4d, with widely varying payments in the years between (see pp 128–44).

A 'mimus' and his wife (travelling performers?) stayed with one Bulcock at Wheatley Booth in 1559 (see p 99). Troupes of players are first found at Liverpool in 1571 when an order was made against 'players of interludes, as Comyn, Rude, & agrest players' (see p 39), and in 1574 Lord Monteagle's players, the first named company in this collection, were paid 10s 4d for playing at Liverpool, presumably before the mayor and burgesses (see p 41). Sir Richard Shireburn gave his ward Thomas Langton 20s to attend the play of Leyland in 1575 and he paid 3s

4d to the players of Walton on 26 December that year (see p 164). The players at Leyland and the players of Walton must have been amateurs.

The appearance of named troupes of players in Lancashire may perhaps be connected with a royal proclamation of 3 January 1571/2 which called for enforcement of centuries-old statutes that forbade noblemen and gentlemen to permit their liveries to be worn by persons not their actual servitors. The Act for the Punishment of Vagabonds dated 29 June 1572 followed this proclamation; it was designed to clear away all masterless men from the highways. It provided, among other things, that 'all Fencers Bearewardes Comon Players in Enterludes & Minstrels, not belonging to any Baron of this Realme or towards any other honorable Personage of greater Degree ... shalbee taken adjudged and deemed Roges Vacaboundes and Sturdy Beggars,' and as such 'shalbe adjudged to bee grevouslye whipped.'¹⁷¹ The Liverpool order of 25 October 1571 anticipated the proclamation by a few months but it too called for itinerant entertainers to be connected with a city or worshipful corporation or right honourable and right worshipful patrons (see p 39). Acting troupes scrambled for patronage after June 1572.

However, evidence of troupes of players with patrons in Lancashire is more likely to be connected with the survival of records than with the royal proclamation. Records begin only in the late sixteenth century in any abundance and named troupes of entertainers in Lancashire records become commonplace after the 1570s. The troupes which appeared at Smithills fall into two groups, town players and noblemen's troupes. There seems to be no distinction in payments between the two groups. Thus Lord Morley's players got 2s 6d in 1586 (see p 166) and Sir Peter Legh's players 5s in 1588 but at Christmas 1588 the players of Preston earned the same amount as Sir Peter Legh's (see p 167). The Christmas rewards are not predictable either; they vary from 2s (Nantwich players, 1588/9) and 2s 6d (Downham players, 1590/1) to as low as 1s (Cheshire players, 1591/2) and as high as 5s (Downham players, 1595/6) (see pp 167–70).

Almost contemporary with the Shuttleworth accounts for Smithills is the Derby household book. Since we have no earlier household book to compare it with, we cannot know to what extent the distinguished companies that came to the Derby houses did so because Derby was an active privy councillor in 1586–9. The visit by the earl of Leicester's company is quite exceptional, however; Sally-Beth MacLean has noted that the appearance of Leicester's company at Lathom House lies well outside their normal pattern of touring.¹⁷² In addition to Leicester's, the queen's and Essex's companies played at the Derby houses. More troublesome are references to Sir Thomas Hesketh's players and anonymous references to 'players.' On 30 December 1587 '*Sir Thomas hesketh plaiers wente awaie*' (see p 180). This has been taken to mean that Hesketh and some players left at the same time. However, since Farington, the writer of the entries, sometimes used a possessive noun without the possessive 's,' we are justified in considering that Hesketh kept players in accordance with the bequest of Sir Alexander Hoghton in 1581. Hesketh could not have patronized them immediately in 1581 because he 'was languishing in Lancaster gaol suspected of aiding the Jesuit campaign in Lancashire' but he had re-formed them before 1585.¹⁷³

The references to anonymous 'players' offer the possibility that Strange's own company is

sometimes meant. For example, on 31 December 1588 'at nyght a playe was had in the halle & the same nyght my Lord strandge came home' (see p 181). It would be useful to know whether this unnamed company was Strange's, since that company's rise to eminence was just then beginning. On 3 March 1591/2, Philip Henslowe, manager of the Rose playhouse in London, recorded in his diary a 'ne' (ie, new) play, presented by Lord Strange's men, called 'harey the vj.' This was doubtless one of the three parts of Shakespeare's *Henry vi*. Strange's men have the distinction of being the first company to be connected with a Shakespeare play.¹⁷⁴

The two visits of the queen's company in 1589 show how important the earl's household was at that time. The company came to play at Lathom House on 6 and 7 July and then left heading north (see p 181). They reached Carlisle, the limit of their tour, and turned back south, performing again at Knowsley on 6 and 7 September (see pp 181–2). Eventually the company did go to Edinburgh and were shown 'great kindness' by the earl of Bothwell, according to a letter of 22 October from William Asheby to Lord Burghley. They probably performed before the king but not before the queen. James sailed to fetch Anne of Denmark on 22 October, by which time the queen's men were in Coventry.¹⁷⁵ Probably this queen's company, formed at her request in 1583,¹⁷⁶ was the most important company to play in Lancashire in the entire period before 1642.

In the Shuttleworth accounts payments to players cease between 1595/6 and 1609 but frequent payments to players pick up again in 1609. The younger Richard Shuttleworth, master of Gawthorpe after 1608, soon improved on the best rewards (5s) given at Smithills. He failed, however, to have any town players at Gawthorpe. In 1609 Lord Derby's players got 6s 8d, and Distley's company got 20s in 1609/10 (see pp 170–1). In 1612 rewards were at their peak, Lord Monteagle's men earning a princely 50s (see p 173). Thereafter the rewards drop off to amounts that vary from 20s to 3s 4d (see pp 175, 177). What factors governed these rewards are difficult to discern now. In 1983 I speculated that the companies that came to Gawthorpe came on Lord Derby's account: 'in a nutshell, they were his [Derby's] own company and those of his aunts' husbands.'¹⁷⁷ Shuttleworth may, then, have been honouring the earl of Derby in welcoming players to Gawthorpe.

The queen's men played at Gawthorpe on 10 March 1617/18 and were again in Lancashire on 5 June that year, when one of the Four Men of Prescott attacked a queen's player and the players retaliated (see p 83).

Contemporary with the Shuttleworth Gawthorpe accounts and extending much later are the Walmesley accounts. Items relating to entertainers begin in late 1612 and end at Christmas 1638. Over these twenty-six years the Walmesleys had fifty-nine visits by troupes of players at the house. Since Thomas Walmesley also had an estate at Cowthorpe in Yorkshire where he lived a great deal, that might account for the few visits of players to Dunkenhalth.¹⁷⁸

Payments to players visiting Dunkenhalth start with 2s to a Lancashire company (Mr Warren's men, see p 184) but Lord Derby's and Lord Monteagle's players got 20s and 13s 4d in 1613–14 (see p 185), in line with what was paid at Gawthorpe for these companies. The queen's men commanded 30s in 1615 and 1616, and so did Lady Elizabeth's men in 1616 (see p 186). Thereafter rewards tended to drop off somewhat, Lord Derby's men getting 20s in 1617 and Lady Elizabeth's only 10s in January 1617/18 (see p 188). However, these pay-

ments were supplemented by overnight stays with meals in 1620 (see p 190) and later. An exceptional 40s was paid to Lady Elizabeth's men in January 1620/1 (see p 191). The royal companies, together with lords' and knights' troupes, form the bulk of the entries relating to players but these entries stop about 1630, apart from three visits by Lord Strange's men in 1634–5.

On 16 December 1624 the king's players came for the next to last time and apart from their visit of 11 December 1628, they proved to be the last of the royal companies to visit Dunkenhalth. No satisfactory explanation has been found for this change but the same thing seems to have happened at Londesborough in Yorkshire after 4 January 1624/5, when the king's men visited there for the last time.¹⁷⁹ It may be that the road through east Lancashire into Yorkshire proved too unrewarding for these major companies. Nicholas Assheton was with a party in 1618 that went into east Lancashire from Bradford, Yorkshire, and Assheton's editor remarks that the road from Bradford ran to Luddenden and over the Long Causeway into Lancashire, bleak country indeed.¹⁸⁰

The companies that replaced these royal ones were actors' companies, headed by Richard Bradshaw, Ellis Guest, and William Perry. They began to visit in February 1624/5 and continued to come until January 1630/1 apart from one visit by Bradshaw's in 1635 (see pp 193, 203, 209). The only troupe of these three that was not very welcome was Guest's, under suspicion but paid 20s on 19 July 1630 (see p 200 and p 360, endnote to LRO: DDPt1 f [27v]), accepted for an overnight stay in October that year (see p 201), and turned away with 10s on 16 February 1631/2 (see p 204). Guest appears to have represented his company as Lady Elizabeth's but the steward was not deceived. Twenty shillings seems to have been the standard payment for these actors' companies, with a peak of 40s for Perry's in 1625 (see p 194).

Walmesley also had local amateur companies at Dunkenhalth. The players of Downham, Ribchester, and Clitheroe came in February 1620/1, Christmas 1624/5, and Christmas 1628/9 respectively, usually being paid 10s (see pp 191–2, 197). The visits by the Whalley and Burnley players fall between late 1633 and Christmas 1638/9 (see pp 204, 211), a period when the patrons' and actors' companies had stopped visiting Dunkenhalth. One suspects that some factor such as recusancy fines, which Thomas Walmesley began to pay by 1632, played a part in the quality of companies visiting Dunkenhalth in the 1630s but no clear cause is now ascertainable.¹⁸¹ No players at all came after Christmas 1638/9 (see p 211).

Apart from these three sets of household accounts, references to players in Lancashire are scanty. One notable entry comes from the quarter sessions (see pp 94–7). On 6 May 1632 nine men were apprehended in a Warrington alehouse for acting a play called *Henry VIII*. There may have been enough actors for a performance, since there were allegedly 'others' besides the nine who were arrested (see p 96), but they may have been members of an audience. Presumably the nine men were the major offenders. Shakespeare's play of that name required about thirteen actors for an uncut performance.

The nine men were performing at the time of divine service and were arrested by churchwardens, which means that the sabbatarian orders of 1587 were still effective. At that time Derby, Walsingham, and Gerard suggested that churchwardens, along with other (civil) officers, could present sabbath breakers at the quarter sessions (see p 226–7). However, in the

orders for the case, the jps made it clear that any attempt by the Chester visitation court to try these men again would be met with a summons to the dean. The nine men had already received 'condigne punishment' from the civil court (see p 96).

Finally, Manchester records show a puritanical attitude to players in the 1630s. The constables paid 5s for Thomas Maskall's small troupe and 3s for another troupe to avoid the town in February 1636/7 and 6s 8d for John Costine's troupe to leave in plague time, 1637.

Preston and Lancaster Corpus Christi Plays

The first allusion to the Preston Corpus Christi play is found in the letter of a Lancashire informant dated 1596. In reporting the movements of Robert Hawxworth, he adds with apparent incriminating intent 'Mr Hawxworthe was att Preston att Corpus. christi play' (see p 87). More light is shed on this play by John Weever, who was a Lancashire man familiar with Preston. In his *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, he recalled a play, called Corpus Christi play in his 'countrey,' which he had seen acted at Preston, Lancaster, and Kendal early in James I's reign. He added that the latter was finally suppressed 'vpon good reasons' (see p 29). A further testimony was given in 1663–4, when John Shaw (born 1608) wrote in his memoirs that he had gone to Cartmel in 1644 and there heard about the Kendal Corpus Christi play. '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 ... 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 told him, *yat* the way to Salvation was by I 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.'¹⁸² The old man must have been born about 1584 and hence was old enough in 1603 to have seen the Kendal play as reported by John Weever.

The dry humour of the old man's replies apparently escaped Shaw or we might have learned more about the content of this Corpus Christi play. Weever compared it specifically to an eight-day cycle at Skinners' Well in London, which evidently covered the entire scriptures. Perhaps the Stonyhurst Pageants, the subject of Appendix 6, were an attempt to compensate for the loss of a local Preston cycle play since they cover a great deal of the Old Testament. Yet the matter remains doubtful; as John Wasson has noted, 'the standard Corpus Christi play was a single play requiring no very great expense or preparation and of no exceptional length.'¹⁸³

School Plays

Notices of school plays are sparse in Lancashire records. In its foundation deeds and statutes of 1524, Manchester Grammar School mentioned plays but proscribed their being acted in the school or its library unless the school and library were 'kept honeste and cleynly' (see p 55). Liverpool Grammar School had a school play in 1572 ('paiaunces') and 1574 (see pp 40–1)

and Blackburn Grammar School in 1591, the interesting condition at Blackburn being that the plays not be in English (see p 4). What the authorities of these schools had in mind was doubtless classical fare based on humanist models in London area schools such as Westminster. The idea was that Latin and oratorical ability would be greatly enhanced by these productions.

Playing Places

Itinerant players who visited Lancashire or moved about the county most commonly played in the great halls of the homes of gentry and nobility. Players in Lancashire are found visiting the Hoghtons of the Lea, the Sherringtons of Wardley, the Shireburns of Stonyhurst, the Shuttleworths of Smithills and Gawthorpe, the Stanleys of Knowsley, Lathom House, and New Park, and the Walmesleys of Dunkenhagh. Almost all of these halls are still standing, with the exceptions of Lathom House and New Park.

Stonihurst, Dunkenhagh, and Knowsley have been altered too greatly to provide useful evidence of renaissance playing spaces. Smithills and Gawthorpe, on the other hand, are well preserved buildings. Smithills has a large stone-flagged great hall with a steep gabled roof of dark beams filled in with white plaster. At the western end there are two big arched doorways that were probably screened off by a 'speer' or freestanding hall screen, as at Rufford Old Hall.¹⁸⁴ This arrangement would have made it possible for actors to enter and exit here, while the great hall would have seated a fairly large audience.

Gawthorpe's great hall, built in 1600–5, has a hall screen and a railed minstrels' gallery above. The room was altered in 1816–18 and again in 1850–2 but the hall screen and minstrels' gallery do not appear to have been much affected by these renovations although the ceiling of the gallery was lowered. The hall screen is 20' 4 1/2" wide by 13' 7 1/2" high and its doorways at the highest point are 7' 1 1/2" high, with a width of 3' 3". There is a passage between the front of the hall screen and the great hall's south wall. What made the screen and its gallery ideal for playing was a small panelled bedchamber immediately behind the south wall, with the date 1604 on the ceiling. Two panels set in the wall enabled anyone in the bedroom to look out at the great hall. A stone staircase connects the gallery with the great hall and presumably at one time a door opened out of the old bedroom into the passage running across the minstrels' gallery. Such an arrangement must have made the little bedroom a perfect green-room.

Gawthorpe's great hall may perhaps have seated as many as one hundred persons and could thus have been used as an intimate theatre similar to the halls of the Middle Temple and Hampton Court at this same period; though larger, they have similar arrangements of hall screens and minstrels' galleries.¹⁸⁵

Lancashire had one documented playhouse before 1642 at Prescott. William, the drama-loving sixteenth earl of Derby, may have encouraged its existence. It is not recorded in the 1592 Manor of Prescott survey book but it must have been built before 7 February 1602/3 when its builder, Richard Harrington, died. An allusion to the building as a messuage appears in a court roll of June 1603 and in 1609 the first reference to it as a playhouse occurs, when Thomas Malbon had converted it into a house for habitation (see p 80). Its life must therefore

have been short and the building may perhaps be dated about 1595, when Richard Harrington acquired a cottage 150 yards from the site.

The playhouse site is described as follows in the 1615 court roll: 'One *parcell* of Land in Prescott afforesayd lying in the vpper end of the heigh streete leadinge towardes Eccleston neare vnto Churchley ffeeld gate: conteynige in breadth att the east end thereof neene *yards* & tow footes and att the west end thereof fyve *yards*. and conteynige in length neeneteene *yards*. vppon *which parcell* of Land is [a] erected a buyldinge heretofore vsed as a play howse. & for *which* there hath beene yelded to the schoole of *prescott* the yerely rent of ij s vj d.'¹⁸⁶

The Prescott playhouse was on a site 29 feet at the east, 57 feet along the north and south, and 15 feet at the west end. This gives a square footage of 1,250 square feet, or about 140 square yards, 'almost exactly half the area of the Fortune Theatre in London.'¹⁸⁷ However, the Prescott playhouse was probably smaller than its site. Whether it was an open-air or enclosed building is unrecorded.

Another playhouse at Liverpool alluded to by antiquarians is unlikely to have existed prior to 1642. Thomas Troughton wrote in 1810: 'During the reign of Charles I a small building for the exhibition of dramatic entertainments stood in a court at the bottom of St James' street; but at the time of the civil war it was shut up, and continued unoccupied till the restoration.'¹⁸⁸ James Stonehouse in 1853 was able to add that it was erected about 1641, stood between James St and Redcross St, and was used occasionally by strolling players.'¹⁸⁹ Neither of these writers gives his sources and no contemporary records have survived to support their statements. Given that Troughton wrote 170 years after the alleged playhouse was in use, its existence before the Restoration period must remain extremely doubtful.

Music

Lancashire yields copious references to music, many occurring in court records when it had become a nuisance to somebody. The overall result is that piping and fiddling appear in a negative context here but that is an accident of surviving records. Official music, on the other hand, generally appears in records of appointment or reward and therefore in a fairly positive context.

The best-organized music was that of the city and town waits. 'Waits,' Walter L. Woodfill writes, 'originally seem to have been watchmen or sentinels in camps, castles, and other fortified places, including towns, and to have played some kind of horn as an alarm or signal. By the fifteenth century towns were becoming the characteristic employers of waits, and in some towns waits were coming to be regarded as musicians primarily and watchmen secondarily. By the end of the sixteenth century the transition was general if not complete: waits were then municipal musicians, who had traditional but relatively unimportant guardian functions.'¹⁹⁰ Lancashire had waits at Lancaster, Liverpool, Manchester, Preston, Salford, and Wigan. Liverpool, Manchester, and Salford have entries concerning waits in the town books (see pp 35–55 *passim*; pp 56–67 *passim*; p 90); references to Lancaster's waits are found in the Shireburn Rental Books (see pp 163–4), in William Farington's Expense Book (see p 30), and in Cumberland records;¹⁹¹ Preston's waits appear in the Walmesley accounts (see pp 188, 192 and possibly 196); and Wigan's in the Nottingham chamberlains' accounts of 1588.¹⁹²

Waits also came into Lancashire from Durham and from the Yorkshire towns of Halifax, Leeds, Pontefract, Ripon, York, and Wakefield; from Chester, if 'the musisioners of Chester' who visited Smithills on 5 January 1595/6 were waits; from Carlisle in Cumberland; from Nottingham; and from 'elande' (see p 168), probably Elland near Halifax. The greatest distance travelled by any waits to east Lancashire was about 100 miles in the cases of Carlisle, Durham, and Nottingham. Waits from southern towns do not appear in any Lancashire records.

The Liverpool record of 1557/8 concerning Thomas Wawen, town wait, has 'Instrumento suo' glossed in the margin as 'cum fistula sua'; 'fistula' is the generic Latin term for a woodwind instrument. J.A. Picton claimed that waits played bagpipes and quoted (with considerable inaccuracy) a 1571/2 Liverpool Town Book entry which really runs 'This daye henrie halewod bagpiper was admittid wayte of this Towne' (see p 39).¹⁹³ The bagpipe was indeed a favourite Lancashire instrument, as Michael Drayton tells us in his *Poly-Olbion*: 'So blyth and bonny now the [Lancashire] Lads and Lasses are, / That euer as anon the Bag-pipe vp doth blow, / Cast in a gallant Round about the Harth they goe.'¹⁹⁴ In 1634 Lieutenant Hammond and his companions fled Lancaster and 'made as much haste as wee could away for all their mighty Bagpipes' (see p 104). William Blundell wrote a country song about the Little Crosby area in 1641 in which the lads and lasses 'Tyr'd out the bagpype and ffiddle / with dauncing the Hornepipe and didle' (see p 32).

Yet these bagpipe references do not settle the matter of the instrument played by the waits. Woodfill in his discussion of waits claimed that the ordinary wait played the shawm (a double-reed woodwind instrument). 'Shawms seem to have been so long and widely established as the proper instrument of the watch that they and waits had become almost inseparable.'¹⁹⁵ However, he added, 'Another good marching instrument, the bagpipe, perhaps capable of the volume of sound of a whole noise of shawms, was the instrument of the lone wait of Liverpool and probably of some other towns that employed only one or two waits. The sackbut, also good on the march, was apparently the first instrument, after the shawm, that several towns bought for their waits.' His final judgment was that 'It is likely that most of the larger groups of waits played several kinds of instruments.'¹⁹⁶ Liverpool is an interesting example of a town with a single wait. The wait here did not play the shawm as this would normally be played along with other instruments. He most probably played the bagpipe, as Picton claimed.

The waits of Liverpool, Manchester, and Salford, about whom we have the only detailed information for Lancashire, had three recurrent problems: appointment, duties, and protection from rival musicians. Liverpool seems normally to have hired one wait at a time. The first waits known are Thomas Wawen hired in January 1557/8 and William Poughtyn in February 1558/9. James Atherton, who served from October 1562 to January 1564/5, is styled 'wayte Capitaigne' (see p 37), which suggests he had others, unrecorded, serving under him. He was dismissed when he offended by playing a game on a Sunday called 'a christmas towes.' Nicholas Forber followed in 1567; then Henry Halewood in January 1571/2, who offended by his 'lewdnes' (see p 39), and was not wait again until 1579. Atherton was hired again in 1574; Forber again in 1577; Henry Clennes served from 1581 to 1584 when he offended by failing 'to playe at euerie mans dore that hath borne office' (p 46). There was then a vacancy

until 1587 when Halewood was appointed again but he lost the post a second time in 1589. Liverpool had gone through six waits in thirty years, reappointing three of them but in several years failing to appoint anyone.

Clennes was reappointed in 1590; Edward Dawson replaced him in March 1590/1 but was not named in October 1591. There was a vacancy again until 1594 when Thomas Brookfelde was hired but he was dropped the next year. In 1599 John Blakeden was appointed but lost the position to Hugh Harper in late 1600. Harper may have given satisfaction but as no wait is mentioned in the Town Books until 1610, he was more likely dropped. Liverpool had now had ten waits in forty-two years with none serving longer than three years.

In 1610 we learn that Michael Harper had been wait but had offended by 'not playinge in Convenient tyme and at such tymes as he ought to haue done' (see p 51). A system of fines for failing in his duties was now imposed on the wait but Harper offended again in 1611 as he had done in 1610. Nevertheless, he was reappointed annually until 1627. He must have been an exemplary character and he probably retired from the job. There was a motion to replace him with a bellman in 1629 but John Hollinworth was appointed wait in 1630. How long he lasted is not recorded.

Matters were more complicated at Manchester, which had two waits, Randal Lighe and Richard Kyrshae, in 1563, the first year when waits are mentioned. In 1567 Randal Lighe was reappointed, with Richard Wirrall as second wait (see p 56) and in 1569, Lighe again appears 'with one other to *serue* with him of his awne *seruantes*' (see p 57). We hear no more about the waits of Manchester until 1588 when James Burton was serving with three other waits. A payment to the Manchester waits appears in the Manor Rental Book under 1598–9 when 12d to the waits was recorded for the fair day, 20 September 1598. They also got paid at Michaelmas and Easter court leets in 1598 and 1599, probably in connection with the opening (see p 60). Similar work at the annual fair and the court leets followed in 1599–1600, 1608–9, 1610–11, 1611–12, and 1613–14. James Burton departed or died *c* 1604 and the three remaining were Robert Fletcher, Ewan Holker, and John Smedley. Ewan Holker or Howker was buried on 9 June 1605 and John Smedley on 20 January 1608/9 (see Appendix 2, p 245). The Manchester waits visited Gawthorpe in November 1612 (see p 174).

The court leet order of 5 October 1620 seems to be the end of the Manchester waits, since they were ordered not to be 'reputed as waites of this towne,' nor could they 'expecte any paye or wages of any the Burgesses or Inhabitant^s' of Manchester (see pp 66–7) for failure to perform nightwatch duties. Yet Robert Fletcher signed his name to the waits' quarterly payment from Manchester Collegiate Church on 1 April 1622 (see p 67) and as late as 14 January 1635/6 we learn of the burial of 'Thomas Hall one of the waytes of Manchester' (see Appendix 2, p 246).

The duties of waits were not as simple as one might expect. As noted, the waits seem to have originated as watchmen or sentinels; there was pressure in Manchester in 1567 and Liverpool in 1610 for them to be out on watch duty evening and morning, which probably meant 8 pm and 4 am, marching through the town (see pp 51, 56–7). We can judge that the waits resisted; at Manchester in 1600 they were ordered to excuse themselves if they intended to absent themselves from the duty (see p 61). At Liverpool in 1610 Michael Harper was fined 3s 4d for not fulfilling his duty and a new order was laid down that a 4d fine would be levied every time the

wait failed to go about the town as agreed (see p 51). The Manchester waits must have disregarded their police assignment as they were cut off from civic favour in 1620 but the displeasure evidently passed.

Other duties included attending the mayor on festival and market days (see pp 37 and 60), playing at the doors of office-holders past and present (see p 46), giving an hour's warning (by going through the streets) to burgesses attending the mayor to fairs and at midsummer (see p 51), and playing when the sexton rang curfew at 8 pm and 4 am (see p 52).

Finally, waits needed protection from rival interlopers. At Manchester repeated attempts were made to give the waits a monopoly of private music in the city. In 1576 the citizens of Manchester who had withdrawn their goodwill or stipend from the waits were admonished to continue these benefits (see p 57). In 1588 the jury asked the citizens to cease hiring other musicians to play at weddings, before weddings, and at wedding dinners, and to employ instead Manchester's own waits (see p 59). In 1600 a fine was added to this order, 2s for each offence, and before the leet had finished sitting the fine was increased to 3s 4d for Mancunians who hired any but the Manchester waits to play at a private wedding dinner (see pp 61–2). At Salford in the same month the Portmote similarly forbade Salford citizens to hire outside musicians to play at private wedding dinners and to restrict themselves to Manchester and Salford waits under a fine of 3s 4d (see p 90).

The problem, however, did not disappear. In 1603 the Manchester court leet reported that the waits had been excluded by outside waits and other musicians at wedding dinners in Manchester and proposed a fine of 3s 4d on innkeepers and householders who admitted outside musicians to play at wedding dinners (see p 62). In 1606, this measure having had small effect, the court leet ordered that the waits themselves should make presentments of the offenders and desired the constables to enforce a statute of 1603–4 against rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars (see p 63). After this draconian ruling the court leet dropped the subject but wandering fiddlers and pipers were treated harshly in 1624, 1626, 1627, and 1630 (see p 68).

Apart from the professional music of waits, there was a good deal of other music available in Lancashire. Pipers existed from an early date: we find Thomas the piper of Wickleswick mentioned in 1427 as a witness to Henry Trafford's acquisition of the manor of Wickleswick.¹⁹⁷ We know from the Shuttleworth accounts of 'the piper of Padiham' in 1609 and 'the piper of Clitherowe' in 1612 (see pp 171, 174). The Ashton under Lyne piper, John Ashton, found life precarious; his inventory, probated in February 1584/5, totals the worth of his goods at only £4 1s 8d in money owed to him and with apparel and pipes worth 9s (see pp 3–4).

Pipers were often in trouble both with the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. Of the many cases concerning Sunday entertainments presented to the Chester diocesan visitation court printed in this collection, some twenty-six, between 1592 and 1633, concern Sunday piping. Another five cases of Sunday piping went to the quarter sessions between 1590 and 1634. Most of the ecclesiastical court cases specify that the piping took place in service time or in a sacred place but some of them, like the five quarter sessions cases, simply charge Sunday piping—a sign of the lasting influence of the campaign of 1588 on both court systems. At Liverpool in 1636 Richard Holland was fined for simply having a piper in his house on a Sunday

(see p 55). The pipers did not always suffer these restraints in silence. At Flixton in 1592 the piper William Heywood gave the sworn man (the sidesman) 'bad[d] wordes' when caught (see p 21) and in 1601 at Aughton Richard Arnold and Godfrey Cropper would not stop piping when told to (see p 4). That same year, in a list of disreputable persons sheltered by Roger Coettes at Garstang, pipers are included (see p 21). Indeed, William Harrison called pipers profane in 1614 (see p 27). A Widnes piper was presented for fighting in 1625 (see p 103) and in 1634 John Court presumptuously persisted in piping outside Croston parish church when told to desist (see p 15).

Pipers were not always in trouble, however, and they are frequently found being paid in household accounts. In the Shuttleworth accounts they appear on twenty-five occasions, usually paid 4d or 6d. In March 1612/13 Grunney was paid 18d 'in steede of oates' (see p 175), indicating that he had not been paid cash in the past. Very rarely are they named, except for Bell, Dynley piper, Alexander Grunney, Arthur Gurney, and Wade. At Dunkenhalth there seems to have been a resident piper; there are payments to a piper at the Christmas season regularly throughout the period 1613/14 to 1641/2, 13s 4d being the most common rate of payment (see pp 185–212 *passim*). Key is named as piper from 1614–19 (see pp 185–8), with Browne succeeding in 1619 (see pp 189–91). By 1626/7 Thomas Lathom had become household piper (see p 197). The last piper whose name is recorded was Talier in 1628/9 (see p 197). A single piper did not suffice for the Walmesleys every Christmas. At Christmas time 1612/13 and 1628/9 there were seven pipers paid 2s 4d as a group and we find similar sets of extra pipers almost every year (see pp 184–211 *passim*). The rate was 4d each in 1637/8 and 1638/9 (see pp 210–11).

In addition to pipers, there were fiddlers, trumpeters, and groups called musicians and minstrels working in Lancashire. In the Shuttleworth accounts we hear of the Halifax and Heptonstall fiddlers as well as Mr Ratcliffe's. To Dunkenhalth came the Knaresborough, Pateley Bridge, and Wigglesworth fiddlers. Some 'tomlinge fidlers' (?tumbling fiddlers) paid 5s were perhaps specially hired to entertain Sir Gilbert Hoghton on 10 March 1631/2 (see p 204). Dick the fiddler was paid the relatively large amount of 2s 6d in January 1640/1 and he may therefore have been a resident fiddler (see p 212). If so, he could well have had other duties 'such as those of a groom or footman.'¹⁹⁸

There are also 'minstrels' in the present collection but this vague term is hard to define and may not always indicate a musician. Some seem to have piped; for example, in records otherwise unrelated to entertainment, George Vawse of Blackrod is called 'pyper' at a court appearance in 1590 and 'mynstrell' at another in 1591.¹⁹⁹ Others played stringed instruments. A minstrel who served the earl of Derby *c* 1574, Richard Sheale, tells us that he was robbed of all his money, though he had thought that his minstrel's harp would protect him: 'I thought be th Reason off my harpe no man wold me [suspect] / for minstres offt *wit*h mony the be not moche Infecte.'²⁰⁰ At Rochdale in late 1587 or early 1588 Adam Holte and the wife of Lawrence Collendge had minstrels playing upon 'gythornes' in the Christmas season (see p 89). A 'gythorne' was a gittern, a word applied frequently in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to instruments of the guitar family. The gittern had an appeal 'to the more unruly elements of society.'²⁰¹

The word 'minstrel' seems to have sunk in respectability in the sixteenth century, becoming confined 'to wandering ballad singers who often played some instrument and perhaps mimed or acted, and danced.'²⁰² Minstrels were included among those punishable as vagabonds by the Act for Punishing Vagabonds of 1572 but the word 'musician' or 'musicianer' was not tainted by use in this connection. It might not save a wandering musical performer from a whipping but it was helpful. Best of all, of course, was a patron's livery or a licence from two jps.

Music was also played by private individuals and Lancashire household inventories are rich in musical instruments. We find that virginals were very common but that households also purchased portative organs, lutes, fiddles, viols, a bandora, a base violin, citherns, recorders, a drum, and a trumpet. The most extensive set of instruments appeared at Robert Hesketh's house at Rufford (see p 153).

Popular Customs

Many pastimes filled up the spare time of Lancashire's common people: cock-fighting, bear-baiting, and rushbearing bulk largest in this collection. Winwick had a cockpit as early as 1515 (see pp 106–12). Liverpool ordered a handsome cockpit to be made in 1567, Ribchester had a cockfight in 1576, and Manchester had a cockpit from at least 1581 (see pp 38, 164, 57). Manchester's cockpit is mentioned as late as 1623–4 in the Manor Rental Book (see p 67).²⁰³ Prescott had one in 1592, visited by Nicholas Assheton in 1618 (see pp 77, 147). Sods were used to make a cockpit at Clitheroe c 1620 (see p 14).

Bear-baiting was popular too and is found at Litherland, Manchester, Myerscough, Ormskirk, Standish, and Wigan. These reports almost all concern Sunday bear-baiting and hence more bear-baiting probably took place than is here indicated. On Sunday 17 March 1587/8 a group of men used the Manchester bullring for a bear-bait, possibly to test the new sabbath regulations that were being enforced in Lancashire (see p 58) and it was presumably at Manchester's bullring that Robert Asmall of Gorton was killed by a bull in 1589 (see p 59). On a Sunday in 1590 Christopher Poulton held a bear-bait next to his alehouse at Myerscough, probably as a magnet for increasing custom (see p 70). In 1601 Ralph Shelmerden broke the sabbath by baiting an ape, a variant of bear-baiting, at Rusholme (see p 90). In 1624 Bishop Bridgeman tells us usefully that bear-baiting at Wigan was customarily permitted at the wakes or the day after but that he considered it barbarous and beastly (see p 104). Bears moving with their bearwards between Wigan and Manchester broke into a house along the road, upsetting the resident, Richard Laythwait and his family, in the 1630s (see p 97). Finally, the wild family of bearwards, the Whytstones of Ormskirk, form a saga of their own in these records, behaving lawlessly at times and suffering at others (see pp 31–2, 73–4). Indeed, the Whytstones could have been involved in all the illicit bearbaiting mentioned in the present Records from 1611 onwards; the places mentioned are all within range of Ormskirk and the Whytstones were certainly at Litherland in 1617.

Rushbearing seems also to have been a common custom in Lancashire. Ceremonial rushbearing came once a year but rushes were brought in to cover the floors more often. Indeed, at Childwall in 1622–3 rushes were brought three times (see p 10). In most cases in the present

records some sort of ceremony or activity accompanied the rushbearing; at Whalley in 1604 a piper played and a man danced at the rushbearing (see p 98) and at Goosnargh in 1611 there was piping in the church and churchyard (see p 24). Such activities disturbed the services at Eccles and Woodplumpton in 1578 (see pp 18–19, 113) while at Garstang in 1608 three men were cited for coming violently into the church at a rushbearing (see p 22). Because of such disturbances, there were consistent attempts to suppress Sunday rushbearing in almost all the visitation articles before and including 1617 but King James allowed it in his Declaration of Sports in 1617, giving leave to women to carry rushes to the church for its decoration (see p 230). However, Nicholas Assheton tells us that the ceremony's solemnity had declined at Whalley in 1617 (see p 145). The day appointed for it by Bishop Morton was, by 1617, St James' Day, July 25, and in 1623 the churchwardens of Garstang parish church were called before the bishop of Chester to answer for requiring rushes to be brought to the church on a Sunday when the bishop had reserved St James' Day for that purpose (see p 23).

There are several other customs that demand some discussion. Ales were ale-drinkings, festivals, or merry-makings at which much ale was drunk. In some parts of England these were commonly church-ales, public and more or less official gatherings connected with special festivals such as the anniversary of a local church dedication. In Lancashire, however, the ales to which surviving evidence attests were mostly private undertakings, put on by the host for his own profit and at his own house rather than on church property. At least one such ale-maker, William Ridyat at Newton in Makerfield in 1598, claimed that the jps had licensed him to hold an ale to relieve his poverty (see p 72); his offence seems to have consisted only in choosing to hold his ale on the sabbath. Most of the other people who appeared in court because of ales seem to have been prosecuted for holding them on the sabbath or for disorders that broke out at their ales, rather than for holding an ale as such. At Withington in 1601, however, Ralph Marler was explicitly charged with selling ale without a licence (see p 113). Entertainment usually accompanied ales, most commonly piping but also bear-baiting as at Newton in Makerfield in 1598 (see p 72) and a drum and tabor as at Stretford in 1611 (see p 92). Indeed the ale-maker might himself be a professional entertainer; John Grene, summoned to the church court at Manchester in 1595 for making an ale on a Sunday, was charged at the same time with piping on the sabbath day one week later (see p 60). Probably the music at ales was always intended as an accompaniment to dancing; a Sunday ale at Speke in 1635 is explicitly said to have included tippling, revelling, and dancing, all at the ale-maker's own house (see p 91).

'Greens' is an obscure word, but it may refer to public merry-making with music and dancing on open stretches of grassy common. John White of Eccles complained in 1608 that papists were given to profaning the sabbath 'in stage-playes, greenes, ales, and all heathenish customes' (see p 19) and likewise William Harrison, a king's preacher at Huyton, echoed this complaint in 1614 when he remarked that the sabbath was profaned by public piping and 'open and lasciuious dancing,' with each piper drawing many hundreds to the dancing on the greens (see pp 27–8). In 1632, Adam Martindale's eldest brother suddenly gave up a well-to-do girl for 'a young wild airy girle between 15 and 16 yeares of age, an huge lover and frequenter of wakes, greenes and merrie nights where musick and dancing abounded' (see p 85). The arch-diocesan and diocesan visitation articles, however, are silent on this sabbath abuse.

Maypoles are confined to west Lancashire in these records. A notable maypole was allegedly set up on Widnes Moor about the first of March 1556/7, made from the 'Roffe tree' of a house wrecked by a mob; it was decorated with 'hollyns and flowres' and every Sunday a large crowd assembled, a hired piper played loudly, and another large crowd foregathered (see p 101). There was a maypole at Melling in 1611 and at Prescott in 1624 George Wright and John Orrell were presented at the court leet for cutting down the maypoles (see pp 69, 85). William Blundell, writing *c* 1659–79, remembered a maypole at Little Crosby in 1641. That day's activities included music, dancing for a prize, dancing about a maypole, and a display of dancing by the Formby 'trotter,' but an intended bear-bait did not take place (see pp 32–5).

There were other entertainments for the people of Lancashire as well. In 1638 the will of William Sandes of Preston reveals that he had a marionette show called 'the Chaos' that went about on a wagon (see p 87). There was a lord of misrule at Ribchester in 1605 and a 'summering' at Hawkshead in March 1622/3 (see pp 88, 26). The Ribchester case of 1605 involved sabbath breaking and a piper as well. The 'summering' at Hawkshead in 1622/3 involved five men dressed up in women's clothes (see p 26). A similar incident occurred at Kendal (also in the Lake District) in 1625, which gives greater detail. At Kendal there was a 'summer rod' or maypole, with four men and boys dressed as women and three men dressed in men's apparel. One of the men or boys dressed as a woman was accused of wearing a devil's costume and scoffing at religion although he denied it.²⁰⁴ This case, if parallel with the Hawkshead one, shows that a 'summering' could involve some kind of role-playing and therefore some drama. Archdiocesan and diocesan visitation articles over the period 1571–1637 regularly forbade lords of misrule as well as summer lords and ladies to come unreverently into the churches or churchyards in service time (see pp 213–14, 216–17).

Finally, Lancastrians enjoyed some horse-racing. The earliest horse-race recorded Lancashire took place near Liverpool on 16 May 1577 under the supervision of the mayor of Liverpool. The prize, a silver bell worth £6 13s 4d, was provided by the ship-owner Edward Tarbock, who also had a horse in the race. Four horses competed over a four-and-a-half-mile course and the bell was to be 'rvnne for with horses everie yeare at Lyuerpole' on the same day (the feast of the Ascension) (see p 44). On 19 July 1618, Nicholas Assheton went to Clitheroe to watch a summer game. His companion Shireburn had a mare competing in a race, probably at Clitheroe, but she lost the bell (see p 147).

Lancashire horse-racing may have been copied from the custom at Chester, where public races at Shrovetide were established by the early sixteenth century. The reward of a silver bell (valued at 3s 4d) was introduced at Chester in 1539/40.²⁰⁵ Lancashire's two recorded horse-races in the pre-1642 period were run in May and July rather than March and may have been hard to follow. The Liverpool race was run between Crosby and Bank Hall over what appears to have been a straight course, a kind of steeplechase, in fact. If the horse that won competed again the next year, there was to be no course fee that year, as long as the owner had given back the bell to the mayor in time for the race. Evidently the other owners did pay a course fee and so we have at Liverpool an early form of commercial horse-racing.

The Documents

Most of Lancashire's drama and entertainment records can be found today in original manuscripts. In a few cases, such as the diary of Nicholas Assheton of Downham, the earliest printed source has been used. Both kinds of source—manuscript and printed—are described in this section. The documents are widely scattered, being found in no fewer than thirty locations. While efforts have been made to locate all pertinent material, it is, of course, possible that future donations to the chief repositories, or their ever-continuing improvements in cataloguing and describing material, will bring new sources or lost originals to light. Very few of these records antedate the mid-sixteenth century. The earliest dates from 1346–7, the beginning of the run of Lytham Priory accounts.

The descriptions of the documents from which records are drawn follow the order of the Records text and like it they are sorted principally under five headings: Boroughs, Parishes, and Other Localities; Monasteries; Households; Province of York and Diocese of Chester; and County of Lancaster. Within the first three divisions, sources are listed alphabetically by location or family concerned, and then chronologically; in the Boroughs, Parishes, and Other Localities section, civic documents are listed first, followed by quarter sessions, ecclesiastical, and then miscellaneous documents. In the last two sections the arrangement is purely chronological. Extracts from quarter session rolls and from ecclesiastical court books are placed under the borough or parish where the offence took place and those documents are described under the first place (alphabetically) for which an extract has been made.

Boroughs, Parishes, and Other Localities

ASHTON UNDER LYNE

Will and Inventory of John Ashton, Piper

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, WCW 1584; 1584/5; English; paper; 2 sheets; unnumbered; will: 205mm x 165mm and inventory: 150mm x 99mm; repaired and mounted on modern paper, title on dorse of will 'Testamenti et Inventorij Iohannis Ash(to)n parochie Ashton probatum coram soli executore in huiusmodi testamenti nominato 13^o die februarij Anno 1584.'

Churchwarden's Presentments to the Quarter Sessions

The Memorandum Book, owned by Roger Rigby, clerk of the peace, and Alexander Rigby, JP, in the sixteenth century, contains a miscellany of copies of presentments at quarter sessions, justices' orders, lists of free tenants, subsidy lists, correspondence, and other material, written in various hands. Documents from this book appear under Ashton under Lyne, Bury, Edenfield, Manchester, and Rochdale, and in the County of Lancaster Section.

Cumbers House, Wales, Kenyon MSS, Memorandum Book; c 1574–91; English; paper; 209 leaves; modern foliation; 340mm x 229mm; brown calf cover with broken strap and buckle.

AUGHTON

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings

Chester, Cheshire Record Office, EDV 1/12b; 1600–2; Latin and English; paper; 202 leaves; modern foliation; 305mm x 229mm; modern list of contents inserted loose, parchment cover, back half extremely decayed.

This book also contains cases for Didsbury and Manchester.

BLACKBURN

Blackburn Grammar School

Blackburn Grammar School had one minute book, containing memoranda, which now survives only as a fragment, and the book called today the 'First Minute Book' is probably in fact the second. This contains governors' minutes.

Blackburn Grammar School Memoranda

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, DDBk 3/9; 30 September 1591; English; single sheet; 317mm x 214mm inlaid into modern paper 363mm x 248mm. Includes the statutes of Blackburn Grammar School, incorporated into the minutes of a governors' meeting.

Blackburn Grammar School Governors' Minutes

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, DDBk 2/1; 1590–1704; English; paper; i + 130 + i; modern pagination; 343mm x 248mm; vellum binding with buckle and broken strap, title on front cover: 'The Free Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth in Blackburn. Founded 1567. Names of Governors, Minutes, and Accounts, from 1590 to 1704.'

Inventory of Thurstan Collinson, Schoolmaster

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, WCW 1630; 1623; English; paper; single sheet; 406mm x 311mm; title at top: 'A true Inuentorie of all the goodes and Chatteles whiche did laityly appertaine vnto mr Thurstan Collinson Shoolemaister of Blackburne.'

BOOTLE

Bond for John Plombe, Fiddler

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, QSB 1/78/18; 1630; Latin and English; paper; single sheet; 203mm x 202mm.

BURNLEY

Letter of Edmund Assheton to William Farington

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, DDF 2438/12; 1580; English; parchment; single sheet; 305mm x 203mm.

BURY

Report on Sabbath Breaking

See Ashton under Lyne (p liv) for Cumbers House: Kenyon MSS, Memorandum Book.

CHILDWALL

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings

Chester, Cheshire Record Office, EDV 1/10; 1592–4; Latin and English; paper; 179 leaves; modern foliation; 318mm x 229mm; late 19th c. cardboard cover and list of contents by W.F. Irvine, title on front: 'Bishop of Chester's Visitation for 1592. With a few cases of public morals for 1593 & 1594. W.F. Irvine.'

This book also contains cases from Flixton and Wavertree.

All Saints' Churchwardens' Accounts

Childwall, All Saints' Church; 1571–1674; English; paper; ii + 211 + i; modern foliation; 405mm x 150mm (ff 1–124), 365mm x 150mm (ff 125–211); original independent paper booklets, bound up together, beginning and end leaves frayed and repaired, bound in white vellum over boards by J. Fazakerley of Liverpool, 1912, title on front in calligraphic lettering, with rubrication: 'Childwall Parish Church Churchwardens Accounts and Parish Minute Book 1571–1674.'

CHORLEY

Examination of Participants in the Pilgrimage of Grace

When Henry VIII ordered the dissolution of the great monasteries in 1536, resistance followed in the north. This is an examination of the men who took part in Lord Darcy's rebellion.

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, DDF/1; 1532–42; English; paper; 44 + i (front flyleaf cut out); unfoliated; 374mm x 283mm; parchment cover, title on front in a 19th c. hand; 'Patents Warrants and Letters of Edward Earl of Derby temp Henry 8th Apparently copied by a Secretary Pilgrimage of Grace Abbots of Whalley . Furness &c and other papers that want to be properly overlooked Letters to My Lo Admiral Lo Privy Seale Religious Houses &c.' Ff [39–9v] contain the examination of Chorley rebels from the Pilgrimage of Grace.

CLITHEROE

Presentment of William Craven, Piper

This roll records proceedings at Lancaster, Manchester, Ormskirk, and Preston and also contains relevant cases from Eccleston, Goosnargh, Manchester, and Myerscough. James Tait observed that 'The first quarter session roll which is now preserved contains only the proceedings at the July sessions of 1590. The record of the Manchester October session survives, but is strangely entered on the roll of 33 Elizabeth, though her regnal year began in November. On the last membranes of the roll, however, there are entered short minutes of certain cases which came before the Manchester and Ormskirk sessions of July 1588, and the April sessions at Manchester in 1589 and 1590' (James Tait (ed), *Lancashire Quarter Sessions Records*, p v). Tait evidently wrote '1589 and 1590' when he meant '1590 and 1588,' as his records show.

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, QSR 1; 1588–90; Latin and English; parchment; 12 membranes gathered at head, tied with thong at top left corner; 662mm x 265mm.

Verdict of Inquiry into Affairs of Clitheroe Grammar School

London, Public Record Office, C 93/8/2, item b; 1619; English; parchment; single membrane; 500mm x 700mm; top edge wavy like that of an indenture, bottom edge has five rows of five slits for seals, all missing; sewn at upper left corner as the second of five sheets of records of the commission, of varying sizes.

Inquiry into Clitheroe Leet Verdict

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, DDX 28/103; c 1620; English; paper; single sheet; 390mm x 300mm; torn right edge with 35mm the deepest tear.

Bailiffs' Account

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, MBC 680; 1637–8, with added note dated 11 February 1641/2; English; paper; bifolium; unnumbered; 300mm x 199mm; greyish ink on recto and verso of first leaf except for sum total on f [1v] and marginal sum, the latter exceptions in same brown ink as top entry on f [2], bottom entry on f [2] in a blacker ink, f [2v] blank.

CROSTON

Information of James Hyet against John Court

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, QSB 1/138/51; 1634; English; paper; single sheet; 198mm x 152mm; title at top: 'Att Croston; | In contempt of the kings edicte.'

Warrant for Arrest of John Court, Piper

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, QSB 1/138/56; 1634; Latin and English; paper; bifolium; unnumbered; 267mm x 171mm; under each signature a square tab has been embossed with a seal, folded back and stuck down with sealing-wax.

Bond for John Coward, Piper

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, QSB 1/138/24; 1634; Latin and English; paper; single sheet; 305mm x 191mm; stained and torn at bottom.

DIDSBURY

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings

See Aughton (p liv) for CRO: EDV 1/12b.

Chester, Cheshire Record Office, EDV 1/15; 1608; Latin and English; paper; i + 172 + i; modern foliation; 297mm x 195mm; bottom outer corners of first 50 leaves damaged, several leaves and last gathering (ff 159–72) loose, much of front endpaper and part of back torn away, contains two loose documents; boards missing.

This book also contains relevant cases from Garstang and Penwortham.

DOWNHOLLAND

Archbishop Harsnett's Visitation Book

York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, V.1629–30/CB; 1629–30; English and Latin; paper; i + 211 + i (endleaves modern); modern pencil foliation 1–24 continued by stamp 25–211, loose leaf (80mm x 195mm) between folios 3 and 4, once attached to f 3v, to which it relates; 305mm x 195mm; repaired and re-bound in 1988 in quarter leather, without decoration, title on label on spine: 'Visitation Court Book 1629–30.'

This book also contains relevant cases from Halsall and Kirkham.

ECCLES

Archbishop Sandys' Visitation Book

York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, V.1578-9/CB.2; 1578-9; English and Latin; paper; ii + 117 + ii; modern foliation; 271mm x 181mm; paper booklets bound together, repaired and recently re-bound in white mock vellum; title on spine, on brown oblong cut from previous binding: 'Visitation Court Book 1578-9.'

John White, The Way to the True Church

THE WAY | TO THE TRVE | CHVRCH: | *wherein* | The principall Motiues perswa- | ding to Romanisme, | *and* | Questions touching the nature and authoritie | of the Church and Scriptures, are familiarly dispu- | ted, and driuen to their issues, where, this day they | sticke betweene the Papists and vs: | *Contriuied into an Answer to a Popish Discourse, concerning the | Rule of Faith and the marks of the Church. And published to | admonish such as decline to Papistrie of the weake and vncer- | taine grounds, whereupon they haue ventured their soules.* | Directed to all that seeke for resolution: and especially | to his louing councitmen of Lancashire. | By IOHN WHITE Minister of Gods word at Eccles. | For the finding out of the matter and questions handled, there are three Ta- | bles: two in the beginning, and one in the end of the Booke. | & *De hoc inter nos Quaestio versatur, utrum apud Nos, an apud Illos | vera Ecclesia sit.* August. de vnit. Eccles. cap. 2. | [ornament] | LONDON, | Printed for IOHN BILL and WIL- | LIAM BARRET. | 1608. No colophon; italic and roman in two sizes; SR 1608 '27. Iunij William Barret Entred for his copie vnder th[e h]andes of master Doctor OVERALL. Deane of Paules and. master Seton Warden / a booke called *The Waye to the true Church.* The Aucthor. thereof Master JOHN WHITE | Minister at Eccles vj d'; STC: 25394.

ECCLESTON

Bond for Ralph Pyke, Piper

See Clitheroe (p lvi) for LRO: QSR 1.

EDENFIELD

Churchwardens' Presentments to the Quarter Sessions

See Ashton under Lyne (p liv) for Cumbers House: Kenyon MSS, Memorandum Book.

FARNWORTH

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings

Chester, Cheshire Record Office, EDV 1/17; 1611; Latin and English; paper; 205 leaves; modern foliation; 287mm x 192mm; covers missing, first two leaves badly damaged.

This book also contains relevant cases from Goosnargh, Halsall, Manchester, Melling, North Meols, Ormskirk, Poulton le Fylde, Prestwich, and Stretford.

FLIXTON

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings

See Childwall (p lv) for CRO: EDV 1/10.

GARSTANG

Presentment of Roger Coettes, Pedlar

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, QSR 4; 1601; Latin and English; parchment; 66 membranes gathered at head, tied across centre top; 711mm x 292mm.

This roll records sessions at Lancaster, Manchester, Ormskirk, Preston, and Wigan, and also contains relevant cases from Rusholme and Withington.

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings

See Didsbury (p lvii) for CRO: EDV 1/15.

Chester, Cheshire Record Office, EDV 1/25; 1623; Latin and English; paper; 121 leaves; modern foliation; 288mm x 185mm; cover missing.

This book also contains relevant cases from Hawkshead and Poulton le Fylde.

Chester, Cheshire Record Office, EDV 1/23; 1620–5; Latin and English; paper; i + 190; modern foliation; 293mm x 193mm; corners of leaves damaged; parchment cover, now dirty and discoloured and eaten away along the bottom edge at the front, title on modern label on front: 'Citation Book 1620–1623.'

GOOSNARGH

Presentment of Margaret Yat and Constance Eccles

See Clitheroe (p lvi) for LRO: QSR 1.

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings

See Farnworth (p lviii) for CRO: EDV 1/17.

GREAT HARWOOD

St Bartholomew's Church Register and Account Book

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, PR 481; 1547–1619; English with some Latin; paper; v + 62 + v; modern pagination now out of sequence in places; 302mm x 104mm; repaired; modern rebinding in vellum with leather ties.

HALSALL

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings

See Farnworth (p lviii) for CRO: EDV 1/17.

Archbishop Harsnett's Visitation Book

See Downholland (p lvii) for BI: V.1629–30/CB.

Archbishop Neile's Visitation Book

York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, V.1633/CB.2B; 1633; English and Latin; paper; i + 297 + i; modern foliation 316–612, following on from BI: V.1633 CB.2A; 322mm x 200mm; paper booklets bound together; modern repairs; original marker tabs in place for each section, bound in quarter leather over purple boards, title on spine: 'Court Book Pt.2 316–612.'

HAWKSHEAD

Chester Diocean Visitation Proceedings

See Garstang (p lix) for CRO: EDV 1/25.

HOLCOMBE

Articles Charged against Richard Romsbotham 'ex parte' Giles Rothwell

Chester, Cheshire Record Office, EDC 5/1626/56; 1626; Latin and English; paper; bifolium; unnumbered; 305mm x 203mm; bottom 38mm much decayed.

HUYTON

William Harrison, The Difference of Hearers

THE | DIFFERENCE | OF HEARERS. | [rule] | OR | [rule] | An Exposition of the Parable of | the

Sower. Deliuered in Certaine | Sermons at *Hyton in Lancashire*. | [rule] | By WILLIAM HARRISON, His | Maiesties Preacher there. | [rule] | *Together with a post-script to the Papists in Lancashire, containing an Apologie for the points | of controuersie touched in the Sermons.* | [rule] | Luk. 8. 18. | *Take heede how yee heare.* | [rule] | LONDON, | Printed by T.C. for Arthur Johnson Dwel- | ling at the Signe of the white Horse, neere | the great North Doore of Paules. | 1614. Colophon on page [402] (sig Dd1v): [ornament] | LONDON, | Printed by Tho: Creede, | for *Arthur Johnson*, dwelling at | the signe of the white horse, | neere the great North | *dore of Saint Paules Church.* | 1614. | [ornament] italic and roman; sr '14^o Decembris 1613. Arthur Johnson Entred for his Coppie vnder the handes of [GEORGE LLOYD] the Lord Bishop of CHESTER and master warden ffeild a booke called *the Difference of hearers in 6 sermons* by master HARRISON preacher at Hiton in Lancashire vj d'; src: 12870.

KIRKHAM

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings

Chester, Cheshire Record Office, EDV 1/22; 1619–29; Latin and English; paper; 307 leaves; modern foliation; 300mm x 195mm; top outer corners of first 25 leaves damaged; covered in parchment, now dirty, discoloured, and damaged at the front edge, over boards; remnants of original cloth ties, modern labels on spine and front cover give dates.

This book also contains relevant cases for Rochdale and Samlesbury.

Archbishop Harsnett's Visitation Book

See Downholland (p lvii) for BI: V.1629/30 CB.

LANCASTER

Town Constitutions and Orders

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, MBLa Acc 4797, Box 82; 10 April 1572; English; parchment; roll of 7 membranes laced together head to tail; unnumbered; 450mm–590mm x 315mm; written on one side only in a single column, with a wide left margin (75mm) containing subject headings; first 2 mbs badly faded; in modern brown paper wrapper, marked with the record office's shelfmark in pencil and in ink: 'Ancient Constitution of the Borough.' Inside this is a smaller piece of paper bearing an ink transcription of the opening paragraph.

John Weever, Ancient Funerall Monuments

ANCIENT | FVNERALL MONV- | MENTS WITHIN THE VNI- | TED MONARCHIE OF GREAT | Britaine, Ireland, and the Islands adiacent, with | the dissolved Monasteries therein contained: their | *Founders, and what eminent Persons haue beene* | in the same interred. | *AS ALSO THE DEATH AND* | BVRIALL OF CERTAINE OF THE | Bloud Royall; the Nobilitie and Gentry of these | Kingdomes entombed in forraine Nations. | A worke reuiuing the dead memory of the Royall Progenie, |

the Nobilitie, Gentry, and Communalitie, of these his | *Maiesties Dominions*. | Intermixed and illustrated with variety of Historicall obseruations, anno- | *tations, and brieve notes, extracted out of approued Authors, infallible* | Records, Lieger Bookes, Charters, Rolls, old Manuscripts, | and the Collections of iudicious Antiquaries. | *Whereunto is prefixed a Discourse of Funerall Monuments. Of the* | Foundation and fall of Religious Houses. Of Religious Orders. Of | the Ecclesiastical estate of England. And of other occurrences | *touched upon by the way, in the whole passage of | these intended labours.* | Composed by the Studie and Trauels of | *IOHN WEEVER.* | *Spe labor leuis.* | [rule] | *LONDON,* | Printed by THOMAS HARPER. | 1631. | [rule] | And are to be sold by *Laurence Sadler* at the signe of the | Golden Lion in little Britaine. No colophon; roman, italic, and black-letter; sr '21 September 1630 Master Harper. Entred for his Copie vnder th'[h]andes of master MARTIN and master Kingston A booke Called, *A Discourse of Funerall Monuments &c.* by master JOHN WEAVER. vj d.'; stc: 25223.

William Farington's Expense Book

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, DDF 2437; 1623–4 and 1636; English; paper; 209 items inserted into a binder; modern numbering; 303mm x 200mm; documents pasted to binder-stubs at left; white mock-calf binding with four clasps and a ribbon, red label on spine: 'Farington's Sheriffalty. 1636.'

Bond for William Fox, Bearward

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, DDKs 30/30; 1638; Latin; paper; single sheet; 305mm x 203mm; piece missing at right (varies from 65mm to 30mm high, 70mm to 10mm wide); two pieces (25mm square) folded back from right margin for seals, remains of seal on upper one only, endorsed 'Willimus ffox, Beare-Ward, recognizance, non-certified.'

LEYLAND

Presentment of Richard Whytstones and James Harrison, Bearwards

The men were presented at the court leet meeting in Penwortham, which had jurisdiction over Leyland.

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, DDF 192; 1599; Latin; parchment; single membrane; 686mm x 279mm.

LITHERLAND

Presentment of John Johnson, Husbandman

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, QSR 14; 1617; English and Latin; parchment; 63 membranes gathered at head, tied with thong; mb 10: 610mm x 257mm; membranes written front and then back; wrapped in modern brown paper.

LITTLE CROSBY

Blundell Family Hodgepodge Book

Its nineteenth-century editor, T. Ellison Gibson, described the Hodgepodge Book as 'a large quarto' which, 'in addition to Mr. Blundell's notes, contains literary productions in poetry and prose of his grandfather, besides matters of later date. Most of the extracts and notes have a Latin heading in the margin, and the same heading recurs in several places, if the number of selections requires it' (*A Cavalier's Note Book*, p 71). It includes extracts from Bacon, Sidney, Ben Jonson, and Howell and other writers on foreign travel but shows no acquaintance with Shakespeare (*A Cavalier's Note Book*, pp 72–3).

This personal miscellany contains 'A Prologue to a Swoord dance spoaken at Latham' (see p 184), 'A Contry song remembring the harmetless mirth of Lancashyre in peaseable tymes,' and also a 'Colliers dance.'

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, DDBI Acc 6121; c 1590–1857; Latin and English; paper; ii + 283, with leaves 271 and 272 missing; original foliation; 303mm x 197mm; some leaves repaired, pages pasted to leaves towards end, modern brown leather-covered binding, title in gilt on dark red label on spine: 'HODGEPODGE.'

LIVERPOOL

Town Books

Liverpool's Town Books, which are extant from 1550 to 1862, record principally the actions of the mayor and the assembly of burgesses. There seems to have been an annual audit, usually in early December, and other assemblies of the burgesses at various times in the year. The Town Books were begun by Adam Pendleton as town recorder in 1550 and although that post went to Edward Halsall in 1573, Pendleton was retained until 1576 as town clerk and continued to keep the book in that capacity. He recorded anecdotes along with town business and his records form a valuable source for civic life. The books kept by the next two town clerks, John Hewet (1576–1610) and Peter Tarbock (from 1610), are better ordered but rather drier, and hence less valuable for this collection.

Town Book 1

Liverpool, Liverpool Record Office, 352 MIN/COU I 1/1; 1550–71, with additions down to 1575; Latin and English; paper; 148 leaves; original foliation (not followed here), continuous foliation assigned; 400mm x 310mm; some leaves pasted to modern paper; modern rebinding in half leather, title on spine: 'Book of records 1 1550–71.'

Town Book 2

Liverpool, Liverpool Record Office, 352 MIN/COU I 1/2; 1571–1624; Latin and English; parchment; 478 leaves; original foliation and modern pagination; 435mm x 285mm; display script for headings and

paragraph openings, Latin headings and quotations (ff 69–9v) in italic; modern rebinding in half leather, title on spine: 'Book of records 2 1571–1624.'

Town Book 3

Liverpool, Liverpool Record Office, 352 MIN/COU I 1/3; 1624–71; Latin and English; paper; 958 leaves; original pagination; 355mm x 254mm; modern rebinding in half leather, title on spine: 'Liverpool Town Book Oct. 1624–Sep. 1674.'

MANCHESTER

Because of their diversity, the Manchester records are here treated in four sub-categories: civic, quarter sessions, ecclesiastical, and miscellaneous.

Civic Records

Court Leet Books

Manchester's Town Books, which are extant from 1552 onwards, record the meetings of the court leet, which met in mid April and late September or early October.

Court Leet Book 1

Manchester, Manchester Town Hall Muniments Room, M1/57; 1552–86; Latin and English; paper; 127 leaves; original foliation (followed in extracts) and a second from the 19th century; 330mm x 216mm; leaves inlaid into modern edges which are referenced in pencil to Earwaker's printed edition of 1884–90; morocco binding and red-brown paper wrapper, title on spine: 'Manuscript History of Manchester 1552–1586.'

Court Leet Book 2

Manchester, Manchester Town Hall Muniments Room, M1/57; 1586–1648; Latin and English; paper; ii + 213 + ii; original foliation; 457mm x 292mm; leaves inlaid into modern edges, referenced as for Book 1; modern morocco binding, title on spine: 'Manuscript *History* of Manchester. 1586–1648.'

Manor Rental Books

Many manorial rental books survive in Lancashire but the only set that has so far yielded information about entertainment is the series from Manchester.

Manchester, Manchester Central Library Archives Department, f 333 M45; English and Latin; paper; 11 books of Manchester manor rentals, of which 10 yielded material for this collection, as follows:

2. 1581–2; 21 leaves; early and matching modern foliation; 300mm x 200mm; damp staining and slight wear at edges, some leaves detached and repaired, no cover.
3. 1589–90; 20 leaves; unnumbered; 180mm x 145mm; no cover.

4. 1592–3; 20 leaves; unnumbered; 205mm x 150mm; original parchment cover, made from a re-used indenture turned inside out.
5. 1598–9; 24 leaves; unnumbered; 210mm x 150mm; original parchment cover, made from a re-used indenture turned inside out.
6. 1599–1600; 26 leaves; unnumbered; 195mm x 150mm; original parchment cover, made from a re-used indenture turned inside out.
7. 1608–9; 18 leaves of an original 20 (ff [16] and [20] missing); unnumbered; 205mm x 155mm; original parchment cover.
8. 1610–11; 20 leaves; unnumbered; 205mm x 155mm; original parchment cover.
9. 1611–12; 18 leaves of an original 28 (ff [19]–[28] missing); unnumbered; 200mm x 150mm; original parchment cover, made from a re-used indenture turned inside out.
10. 1613–14; 20 leaves of an original 28 (ff [20]–[27] missing); continuous foliation assigned, contemporary pagination (not followed here) skips ff [15v] and [16], which are blank; 200mm x 150mm; original parchment cover.
11. 1623–4; 29 leaves of an original 36 (ff [30]–[35] missing, f [36] mutilated); unnumbered; 200mm x 150mm; original parchment cover, made from a re-used indenture turned inside out.

Constables' Accounts

Manchester, Manchester Central Library Archives Department, M91/M1/31; 1613–48; English; paper; 290 leaves; modern pagination; 400mm x 165mm; white vellum cover, title on front: 'The Townes: Booke.'

Quarter Sessions Records

Manchester, because it was an important market centre, was one of the five Lancashire towns in Tudor and Stuart times where the quarter sessions were held; official records of this important court have survived from 1588 onwards. There is also an unofficial report of presentments to the Manchester quarter sessions in the Kenyon Memorandum Book.

Churchwardens' Presentments to the Quarter Sessions

See Ashton under Lyne (p liv) for Cumbers House: Kenyon mss, Memorandum Book.

Presentment of Sunday Bear-baiters

See Clitheroe (p lvi) for LRO: QSR 1.

Ecclesiastical Records

Archbishop Hutton's Visitation Books

York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, V.1595-6/CB.2; 1595-6; English and Latin; paper; iv + 166 + ii; contemporary foliation 8-139, continued by modern stamp 140-174; flyleaves modern (iii and iv original); 305mm x 200mm; paper booklets bound together; names of deaneries and some opening formulas of sections in display script; repaired and re-bound in 1987 in full leather, title on label on front cover: 'Visitation Court Book 1595-6.'

York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, V.1595-6/CB.3; 1595-6; English and Latin; paper; i + 184 + i; 1st folio unnumbered, modern pencil foliation (followed here), superseding older sporadic ink foliation; 278mm x 182mm (ff 2-25: 262mm x 172mm); paper booklets bound together, recently re-bound in white mock vellum over boards, title on purple label, cut from previous binding, on front cover: 'Visitation Court Book 1595-6.'

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings

See Aughton (p liv) for CRO: EDV 1/12b.

See Farnworth (p lviii) for CRO: EDV 1/17.

Manchester Collegiate Church Accounts

The surviving accounts of Manchester Collegiate Church are individual sheets sorted in with other papers making up the collection known as the Clowes Deeds.

Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Clowes Deeds CL.471; 1622; English; paper; bifolium; unnumbered; 225mm x 197mm; modern pencil docketing on f [2v] 'March 25 1622 CL.471.'

Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Clowes Deeds CL.1560(1); 1622; English; paper; bifolium; unnumbered; 302mm x 198mm; modern pencil docketing on f [2v]: 'CL 1560(1) (Cat = No 564).'

Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Clowes Deeds CL.504(a); 1622; English; paper; single sheet; 304mm x 198mm; modern pencil docketing on verso: '504 (a).'

Manchester Collegiate Church Register

Manchester, Manchester Cathedral, Parish Register 1; 1573-1616; English; vellum; 257 leaves; modern pagination; modern leather and cloth binding.

Miscellaneous Records

Grammar School Deed and Statutes

Manchester, Manchester Central Library Archives Department, L1/44; 1524; Latin and English; vellum mounted on modern cloth backing; two membranes attached at bottom by strips of vellum that had seals, now gone; 835mm x 670mm and 557mm x 478mm. The first membrane contains the foundation deed and the second the statutes.

George Chetham's Cashbook

George Chetham, who dwelt in or near Manchester, possibly at Clayton Hall, in the decade preceding the Civil War, kept a note of various sums that he laid out for himself or others of his family, including his uncle, the refounder of the Collegiate Church.

Manchester, Chetham's Library, Mun.E.2.6 Allen Deeds, Parcel P; 1633–40, 1661–70; English; paper; 72 leaves; unnumbered; 395mm x 155mm; almost half the leaves torn out; original vellum binding, with back cover extended to a V-shape to fit over front cover, original cord attached to V-point, on front cover: 'Thomas Barritt Manchester January 4 1800 from 1633 to 1637' and, in darker ink: 'Purchased from Thomas Barritt the Antiquary by the late Reverend John Taylor Allen, and presented by his widow to me James Crossley.'

MELLING

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings

See Farnworth (p lviii) for CRO: EDV 1/17.

Chester, Cheshire Record Office, EDV 1/19; 1614–19; Latin and English; paper; 229 leaves; modern foliation; 293mm x 193mm; parchment cover, front half decayed with holes.

This book also contains a relevant case from Newchurch in Pendle.

Melling Chapel Register and Memorandum Book

The Melling Chapel register contains various memoranda besides the obligatory christenings, marriages, and burials.

Melling, St Thomas' Church Safe, Register No 1; 1603–70; English and Latin; parchment; 28 leaves (leaves missing between pp [28] and [29], and pp [40] and [41]; unnumbered; average leaf size 340mm x 150mm; original binding replaced with later binding, now loose, to which leaves are stitched, on cover '1606 to 1680' crossed through and '1613–70' written above.

MYERSCOUGH

Presentment of Christopher Poulton, Alehousekeeper

See Clitheroe (p lvi) for LRO: QSR 1.

NEWCHURCH IN PENDLE

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings

Chester, Cheshire Record Office, EDV 1/9; 1590–9; Latin and English; paper; 129 leaves; modern foliation; 305mm x 210mm; parchment cover, with late 19th c. label pasted on, reading 'Citation Book 1590–15(99).'

See Melling (p lxvii) for CRO: EDV 1/19.

Archbishop Neile's Visitation Book

York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, V.1633/CB.2A; 1633–4; English and Latin; paper; i + 315 + i; modern foliation; 358mm x 195mm (except ff 1–77, 304mm x 195mm); paper booklets bound together, recent repairs, mostly to ff 1–77, some original section markers remaining; lately rebound in quarter leather over purple boards, title on spine: 'Metropolitan Visitation 1633 Diocese of Chester Court Book Pt. 1 1–315.'

NEWTON IN MAKERFIELD

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings

Chester, Cheshire Record Office, EDV 1/12a; 1598; Latin and English; paper; 148 leaves; modern foliation; 292mm x 210mm; modern list of contents inserted loose, parchment cover.

NORTH MEOLS

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings

See Farnworth (p lviii) for CRO: EDV 1/17.

ORMSKIRK

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings

Chester, Cheshire Record Office, EDV 1/14; 1605–6; Latin and English; paper; i + 190; modern foliation; 300mm x 190mm; contains 7 documents not bound in; parchment cover, now dirty and discoloured, title on front: 'Visitation Anno 1605.'

This book also contains a case for Ribchester.

See Farnworth (p lviii) for CRO: EDV 1/17.

Inventory of Ralph Whytstones, Bearward

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, WCW 1622; 1622; English; paper; 2 sheets; 810mm x 165mm; title at top: 'An Inuentorie of the goodes cattells & Chattells of Raphe Whitestones late of Ormeskirke in the county of Lancaster Yeoman.'

Deposition of Hugh Page Concerning Thomas Whytstones

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, QSB 1/90/40; 1631; Latin and English; paper; 2 sheets; 305mm x 203mm; signed by a different hand.

Petition of Griffith Whytstones, Bearward

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, QSB 1/194/62; 1637–8; English; paper; single sheet; 202mm x 162mm; signed by four hands.

PENWORTHAM

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings

See Didsbury (p lvii) for CRO: EDV 1/15.

POULTON LE FYLDE

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings

See Farnworth (p lviii) for CRO: EDV 1/17.

Chester, Cheshire Record Office, EDV 1/21; 1619–22; Latin and English; paper; 141 leaves; modern foliation; 302mm x 198mm; parchment cover, now dirty, discoloured and partly torn away at the back, original title on front, now illegible, modern labels on front and spine bear the date '1619.'

This book also contains a relevant case from Standish.

See Garstang (p lix) for CRO: EDV 1/25.

PRESCOT

Court Leet Records

The Prescott court leet rolls survive in two series: the paper rolls were written from the mid-

sixteenth century on mainly in English, sometimes with cancellations or insertions, and were therefore probably a less formal and more immediate account of the events they record; the parchment rolls were written mainly in Latin and generally more neatly and professionally executed, and were evidently intended as the official record of proceedings. In the paper series particular items of business tend to be written up separately, each on its own sheet and these sheets are now gathered into bundles, each representing a year's proceedings. Interspersed with the records proper of the court leet in this series are drafts of deeds, constables' reports, and various memoranda, which most often appear to be matters to be brought up at the court for the year in question rather than business arising out of it. The miscellaneous character of these bundles leads to some doubt, however, about whether the documents have always been assigned to the correct year and in dating the pieces excerpted for these Records, internal evidence has therefore been preferred. To aid researchers in finding the originals, the year assigned to the whole bundle is always cited as part of the shelfmark. Excerpts have normally been taken from the English rolls, but where the Latin roll provides the more detailed or more lucid account, that has been used.

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, DDCs Court Rolls (paper) pre-1558; 1510; Latin; paper; 4 sheets; unnumbered; 435mm x 310mm.

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, DDCs Court Rolls (paper) 1608; 1608; Latin and English; paper; 27 sheets; unnumbered; vary from 395mm x 295mm to 105mm x 195mm; sheet 7 measures 395mm x 295mm; written on both sides.

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, DDCs Court Rolls (paper) 1609; 1609; Latin and English; paper; 16 sheets and one quarter-page insert between sheets 5 and 6; sheets 1–4: 394mm x 311mm, sheets 5–15: 305mm x 203mm, sheet 16: 394mm x 311mm.

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, DDCs Court Rolls (parchment) 1610; 1610; Latin and English; 2 membranes and 5 paper sheets; 705mm x 315mm (parchment), 324mm x 318mm (paper); written on both sides, tail to head on dorso, joined at head with original parchment thong.

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, DDCs Court Rolls (parchment) 1615; 1615; Latin; parchment; single membrane; 594mm x 334mm; headings and opening words of items of business in display script.

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, DDCs Court Rolls (paper) 1617; 1617; Latin and English; paper; 32 sheets; unnumbered; vary from 390mm x 310mm to 85mm x 45mm (sheet [20] measures 308mm x 190mm); attached at head of larger sheets, smaller ones being turned sideways and attached at left edge.

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, DDCs Court Rolls (paper) 1618; 1618; Latin and English; paper; 43 sheets (sheet 8 torn out); unnumbered; vary from 395mm x 305mm to 100mm x 80mm (the largest group, including sheet [25], measures 300mm x 200mm); outer sheets much decayed.

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, DDCs Court Rolls (paper) 1623; 1622–3; Latin and English; paper; 51 sheets; unnumbered; vary from 395mm x 305mm to 150mm x 30mm (sheet [18] measures 300mm x 202mm); outer sheets tattered and largely lost.

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, DDCs Court Rolls (paper) 1624; 1624; Latin and English; paper; 38 sheets; unnumbered; vary from 360mm x 300mm to 90mm x 142mm, sheets [7], [35], and [36] being largely torn away (sheet [24] measures 305mm x 105mm); outer sheets tattered and largely lost.

Manor Survey Book

The manor of Prescott formed part of the endowments of King's College, Cambridge. Roger Goad (1538–1610), provost of the college, made a survey of the manor in May 1592.

Cambridge, King's College Archives, PRE 24/1/10/14; 1592; Latin, with occasional English; paper, with one parchment bifolium; i + 30 + i (flyleaves modern); 200mm x 150mm; modern foliation; opening words or phrases of paragraphs and marginal headings in display script; modern leather binding; title on f 1 (the original cover): 'Prescott supervisio manerii anno 1592.'

Memorandum of Thomas Meade, Vicar, to Edward Orme (A)

Thomas Meade, vicar of Prescott (1583–1616), sent particulars of the rents owing to Prescott Grammar School to Edward Orme, a commissioner of the earl of Derby, who then held the farm of Prescott rectory. The text is taken from a typed transcript formerly in the Lancashire Record Office but now at the Knowsley Central Library. A handwritten note at the foot of this states that it was 'Transcribed from the original letter (or a contemporary copy) found in 1938 and given to Mr W.A. Cross.' That original has not been traced. For the probable date, see the endnote (pp 331–2).

Knowsley, Knowsley Central Library, DDPs 2/6; 1938(?); English; paper; single sheet; 259mm x 203mm.

Abstract of Prescott Grammar School Accounts (A)

As overseer of Prescott Grammar School, Meade made an account of the school rents and stocks from 1610 to Christmas 1614. This survives only in an abstract and in a copy made from the abstract in turn, probably in the nineteenth century. Both were deposited in the Lancashire Record Office but later transferred to Knowsley Central Library; there, however, they are still identified by the old Record Office shelfmarks DDPs 1/37 and DDPs 1/38 respectively. The text printed here is taken from the original abstract.

Knowsley, Knowsley Central Library, DDPs 1/37; 1755; English; paper; 8 leaves; modern pagination beginning on verso of first leaf; 316mm x 194mm; paper booklet loosely sewn, the last three leaves being blank; title on recto of first leaf: 'An abstract of Prescott School accounts Comencing Anno 1610.'

Will and Inventory of Edward Stockley

Edward Stockley died in 1614 and was buried 12 December.²⁰⁶

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, WCW 1614; 1614; English; parchment; single membrane; 451mm x 349mm.

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, WCW 1614; 1615; English; parchment; single membrane; 475mm x 197mm; title at top: 'A perfect Inuentorie of all the goodes Chattels &c cattle of Edward Stockley late of Prescott.'

Autobiography of Adam Martindale

London, British Library, Additional ms 4239; 1685; English; paper; iii (modern) + 120 + iii (modern); contemporary foliation; leaves now pasted to stubs attached to spine (4 of last 5 leaves blank); average leaf 188mm x 140mm; modern binding with dark-green half-grain morocco spine and corners, front and back boards covered in reddish-brown cloth and stamped in gilt (within ornament) 'E BIBLIOTHECA BIRCHIANA,' title on spine: 'MARTINDALE AUTOBIOGRAPHY BIRCH COLLECTION BRITISH LIBRARY ADDITIONAL MS. 4239.' This has been edited by Richard Parkinson for the Chetham Society (1845).

PRESTON

Preston's records relating to drama and entertainment are few, leading to the surmise that many of the town's civic archives have been destroyed, possibly by the 1947 fire at the town hall.

Information from a Lancashire Official concerning John Wilson, Priest

Hatfield House, Hertfordshire, Cecil Papers 205/83; 1596; English; paper; single sheet; 312mm x 204mm. The sheet is now item no 83, pasted to a stub attached to the spine of a volume with 132 leaves, half-bound in vellum and buckram.

John Weever, Ancient Funerall Monuments

See Lancaster (pp lxi–lxii) for *STC*: 25223.

Will of William Sandes

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, WCW 1638; 1638; English; paper; single sheet; 300mm x 198; opening words in italic display script.

PRESTWICH

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings

See Farnworth (p lviii) for *CRO*: EDV 1/17.

RIBCHESTER

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings

See Ormskirk (p lxviii) for CRO: EDV 1/14.

RINGLEY

Letter of Natham Walworth to Peter Seddon (AC)

Nathan Walworth (1572–1640/1) came of a family that had long been settled at Ringley. He entered the service of the Herbert family and became steward successively to William, twenty-second earl of Pembroke (d. 1630) and Philip, his brother and successor. Walworth's surviving letters are written to his friend Peter Seddon of Prestolee; the one printed here was addressed 'To my lovinge frend and neighbour Peter Seddon in the Owtwood.' It is one of several relating to Ringley Chapel, built and endowed by him in 1625. John Samuel Fletcher wrote that they were then 'preserved among the deeds relating to Ringley Chapel.' The deeds are now in the Lancashire Record Office under the shelfmark DDKe but the deposit is not fully catalogued and diligent efforts by the staff did not bring the letters to light. The extract is therefore reprinted here from Fletcher's edition.

Fletcher, John Samuel (ed). *The Correspondence of Nathan Walworth and Peter Seddon of Outwood, and Other Documents Chiefly Relating to the Building of Ringley Chapel*. CS, vol 109 (Manchester, 1880), 11–12.

ROCHDALE

Churchwardens' Presentments to the Quarter Sessions

See Ashton under Lyne (p liv) for Cumbers House: Kenyon MSS, Memorandum Book.

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings

See Kirkham (p lxi) for CRO: EDV 1/22.

RUSHOLME

Presentment of Ralph Shelmerden, Ape-baiter

See Garstang (p lix) for LRO: QSR 4.

SALFORD

Portmote Records

Salford's town books are missing before 1597. The remaining volume records the meetings of the portmote, which convened in October.

Salford, Salford Archives Centre, no shelfmark; 1597–1669; Latin and English; paper; 273 leaves; original foliation; 295mm x 200mm; modern white calf binding, title on cover: 'SALFORD PORTMOTE RECORDS 1597–1669.'

SAMLESBURY

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings

See Kirkham (p lxi) for CRO: EDV 1/22.

SPEKE

Sequestration Accounts for Royalists

This volume, which deals mostly with estates sequestered by the Commonwealth government from the supporters of Charles I in Cheshire during the Civil War, also contains some presentments by the churchwardens of Childwall in 1635 that do not appear to have survived in the visitation books of the diocese of Chester.

London, British Library, Harley MS 2130; c 1650; English; paper; v + 295 + iv; modern foliation; 310mm x 190mm; bound in brown leather, title on spine: 'Sequestration Accompts Brit. Mus. Harley MS. 2130 E.13.'

STANDISH

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings

See Poulton le Fylde (p lxix) for CRO: EDV 1/21.

STRETFORD

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings

See Farnworth (p lviii) for CRO: EDV 1/17.

WALTON LE DALE

Bishop Bridgeman's Act Book

Chester, Cheshire Record Office, EDA 3/2; 1626–83; Latin and English; paper; 128 leaves; modern foliation; 296mm x 195mm; part of first leaf torn away and corners of first 20 leaves damaged; parchment cover, front now missing, back dirty and discoloured.

WALTON ON THE HILL

'Detecta' for Archbishop Piers' Visitation

York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, V.1590–1/CB.2; 1590–1; English, some Latin; paper; ii + 119 (i and ii modern, 1 and 119 original endpapers, and 2 and 118 original flyleaves); 205mm x 150mm; headings for some deaneries in display script; repaired and re-bound in 1987 in full leather, title on label on front cover: 'Visitation Court Book 1590–1.'

WARRINGTON

Warrington Grammar School Foundation Deed

Warrington Grammar School was founded in 1526 with a bequest from Sir Thomas Butler of Bewsey.

Chester, Cheshire Record Office, Birch Cullimore Collection DBC/2391/2; 16 April 1526; English; parchment; single membrane from four-part indenture with two deeds of feoffment attached along bottom edge; 560mm x 808mm, top and upper right edges indented; opening words and beginnings of sections and main clauses in display script; 14 seal tags along bottom and one missing, the eighth tag and all following having two seals each.

Bond for Randal Rylance, Joiner

At the Ormskirk quarter sessions in 1632, nine working men were presented for putting on a play called *Henry viii* in an alehouse at Warrington on a Sunday, together with the alehouse-keeper. Each was bound over. Seven of the bonds (LRO: QSB 1/106/20–3, /25, /27, and /28) closely resemble that for Randal Rylance, which has been chosen for printing because it has the cleanest text. For further particulars see the endnote (pp 336–7).

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, QSB 1/106/26; 1632; Latin and English; paper; single sheet; 302mm x 200mm; signed and endorsed by a different hand.

Bond for Robert Wicke, Smith

Wicke's bond is the ninth from the case outlined above. It is printed in full because it is of a different type from the others.

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, QSB 1/106/24; 1632; Latin and English; paper; single sheet; 305mm x 198mm.

Examinations of Gregory Harison, Alehousekeeper, and Others

Harison was the host in whose house the men held their performance.

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, QSB 1/106/72; 1632; Latin and English; paper; single sheet; 305mm x 203mm; signed with a mark and also a signature.

Quarter Session Orders

These record that the performers were punished for their action and attempt to stay any further prosecution in the church courts.

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, QSR 29 1632; 1632; Latin and English; parchment; 52 membranes, attached at top with original parchment thong; 709mm x 267mm; written consecutively on both sides, top to tail; in modern brown paper wrapper with identifying label.

WAVERTREE

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings

See Childwall (p lv) for CRO: EDV 1/10.

WESTHOUGHTON

Petition of Richard Laythwait

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, QSB 1/130/54; 1634; English; paper; single sheet; 273mm x 171mm.

WHALLEY

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings

Chester, Cheshire Record Office, EDV 1/13; 1604; Latin and English; paper; 237 leaves; modern foliation; 295mm x 197mm; modern list of contents inserted loose; parchment cover, with damage to bottom of back cover.

WHEATLEY BOOTH

Hallmote of Ightenhill Manor

The records of many small Lancashire manors have never been indexed and only a printed reference made it possible to identify the following record from the manor of Ightenhill near Burnley. The misdemeanour is typically slight (harbouring a player) and therefore would not be referred to a higher court.

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, DDHC 1/3/41; 1559; Latin; parchment; 10 membranes gathered at head; 838mm x 355mm; very fragile.

WIDNES

The case of Roger Charnock, comprising seven documents including a bill of complaint and six answers by defendants, fills ff 65–9 of PRO: DL 1/37.

Bill of Complaint of Roger Charnock to Chancellor of Duchy of Lancaster

London, Public Record Office, DL 1/37; c 1557; English; parchment; single membrane; 385mm x 440mm. Now designated C.11 and mounted as f 65, item 2, in a guardbook.

Answer of Baldwin Mason, Thomas Apleton, and Robert Rathbone to Roger Charnock's Complaint

London, Public Record Office, DL 1/37; c 1557; English; parchment; single membrane; 495mm x 570mm. Now designated C.11.a and mounted as f 66 in the same guardbook.

Answer of John Woodfall to Roger Charnock's Complaint

London, Public Record Office, DL 1/37; c 1557; English; parchment; single membrane; 320mm x 460mm. Now designated C.11.b and mounted as f 67 in the same guardbook.

Court Leet Presentment of John Wilkinson, Piper

London, Public Record Office, DL 30/148; 1625; English; paper; single sheet; 145mm x 190mm; third sheet of a bundle, endorsed on verso of last sheet 'Wednes Leta 2 May 1625,' kept in a box.

WIGAN

Bishop Bridgeman's Wigan Ledger (A)

Leigh, Wigan Archive Service, D/DZ A 13/1; 1708; English and Latin; paper; i + 156 + i; modern

pagination 1–277 + blank folios; 414mm x 270mm; worn brown leather binding over boards, with some tooled decoration on both covers.

A Relation of a Short Survey of 26 Counties

This is an account of three army officers' holiday journey in 1634, written by one of the party. In his edition, L.G. Wickham Legg identified the author as the lieutenant (*A Relation of a Short Survey*, p xviii); his surname was Hammond but his given name remains unknown. The 'Relation' is followed in Lansdowne ms 213 by commendatory verses by an anonymous friend of the author and then by a companion piece by Hammond describing a tour of the south-western counties.

London, British Library, Lansdowne ms 213; 1634; English; paper; iii + 446 + ii; modern foliation; 275mm x 172mm; maroon leather binding, stippled front and back, gold-stamped coat of arms front and back. Contains (ff 315–46v) 'A Relation of a short Suruey of 26. Counties, breifly describing the Citties and their Scytuations, and the Corporate Townes, and Castles therein. Obseru'd in a Seuen Weekes Iourney begun at the City of Norwich and from thence into the North. On Monday August 11.th 1634. and ending att the same Place. By a Captaine, a Lieutennt, and an Ancient. All three of the Military Company in Norwich.'

WINWICK

The Butler vs Gerard case consisting of a suit by Butler and a countersuit by Gerard (eight documents: a bill of complaint, answer, and replication from each principal, a commission to examine witnesses, and a set of depositions) fills ff 50–5 in PRO: DL 3/7.

Bill of Complaint of Thomas Butler to Chancellor of Duchy of Lancaster

London, Public Record Office, DL 3/7; 1515; English; parchment; single membrane; 320mm x 400mm; torn right margin reinforced, endorsed: 'Sir Thomas Gerrard' and in left margin: 'A certification inter Thoma Gerrard milite & Thoma Butler armigeri.' Now designated B.4 and mounted as f 50 in guardbook, bound in pressed card boards covered with pink and green marbled paper (front board detached), and stamped on spine: 'DEPCONS & EXACONS HEN. VIII. VOL I. DUCHY OF LANCASTER.'

Answer of Thomas Butler to Sir Thomas Gerard's Bill of Complaint

London, Public Record Office, DL 3/7; 1515; English; parchment; single membrane; 320mm x 425mm; torn right margin reinforced. Now designated B.4.c and mounted as f 52 in same guardbook.

Deposition of Witnesses Examined on behalf of Thomas Butler

London, Public Record Office, DL 3/7; 1515; English; paper; two sheets written on rectos only; 440mm

x 310mm and 380mm x 310mm; right edge reinforced. Now designated B.4.g and mounted as ff 54–5 in same guardbook.

Articles 'Ex Officio' Charged against William Tailor

Chester, Cheshire Record Office, EDC 5/1596/64; 1597; Latin and English; paper; unnumbered; 305mm x 203mm; bifolium; bottom 51mm much decayed.

WITHINGTON

Presentiments of Ralph Marler, Alehousekeeper, and John Tompson, Piper

See Garstang (p lix) for LRO: QSR 4.

WOODPLUMPTON

Archbishop Sandys' Visitation Book

York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, V.1578–9/CB.3; 1578–9; English and Latin; paper; 117 leaves; modern foliation; 272mm x 178mm; paper booklets bound together; original vellum binding, title on front cover: '1578 diocesis Cestren(sis) 1578.'

Monasteries

Much to be regretted are the losses of the records of religious houses other than Lytham Priory and Whalley Abbey. Lancashire seems to have had a total of thirteen religious houses before the suppression of 1536 and it is likely that the major Cistercian abbey at Furness, dating from the 1120s, would have paid minstrels and other entertainers.

LYTHAM PRIORY

Priors' Accounts

Lytham, in north-west Lancashire, south of Blackpool, was the site of a cell of the Benedictine priory of Durham Cathedral. Its accounts are typical of those produced by medieval English monasteries. They normally cover a full year; shorter accounts were the result of an accounting officer being replaced before the year was ended but there are a few instances of two successive holders of an office rendering a single account for a full year. The regular terminal dates varied from one series of accounts to another and from one period to another. During the later fourteenth century the cell adopted the practice, already established by the other obedientiaries and heads of cells, of running their accounts from Monday after Ascension or Pentecost (late May or early June). This dating coincided with the annual chapter of the Durham community when the heads of cells were expected to be in Durham and to present accounts for the past year, in

accordance with the constitutions for the Benedictine order issued by Pope Benedict XII in 1336.

Accounts were normally rendered in three fair copies, one each for the prior, the sub-prior, and the office of the accountant himself, and some later rolls are labelled as 'pars Prioris,' 'pars Supprioris,' or 'pars Officij.' For some rolls these copies were indented; that is, they were made on a single sheet of parchment which was then cut up to leave zig-zag edges along the side or top, edges that could be fitted together subsequently to demonstrate the authenticity of the documents. Some draft copies also survive. Thus accounts often survive in more than one copy and it is frequently not possible to say which copy is which. The modern labelling by letters (A–D), which distinguishes the various copies of a given year's accounts, is therefore necessarily arbitrary. In selecting which copy to print from, that designated A has normally been chosen. Where the office copy can be identified, it has been preferred; when one copy was clear and complete and other(s) faded or damaged, it has been chosen; if one copy gives unambiguous evidence for singular or plural in a minstrel payment, it has been preferred over a version more radically abbreviated in that entry.

The following annual accounts from which entries are excerpted in the records survive in multiple copies.

Two copies: 1393–4, 1394–5, 1396–7, 1397–8, 1416–17, 1419–20 to 1421–2, 1424–5, 1429–30, 1430–1, 1447–8 to 1452–3, 1455–6, 1459–60 to 1462–3, 1464–5, 1477–8, 1498–9.

Three copies: 1422–3

Four copies: 1454–5

Durham, Dean and Chapter Muniments (in the care of the Archives and Special Collections section of Durham University Library), Lytham prior's accounts; 1342–1534; Latin; parchment (some drafts on paper); single membranes; size varies from 310mm–802mm x 203mm–335mm; single column, writing on dorse normally begins at reverse of foot; some ornamental penwork; some accounts fragmentary, faded, or damaged by damp or mice.

WHALLEY ABBEY

Bursars' Accounts

The Cistercian abbey at Whalley provides a long series of accounts running from 1485 to 1537 (with a gap 1506–8). Two years' accounts (1520 and 1521) are preserved in a second copy, probably as the result of the Cistercian practice of continued supervision by the original mother house, in this case Combermere Abbey in Cheshire: presumably Whalley was required to report annually to the abbot at Combermere. The accounting year at Whalley was virtually identical with the modern calendar year, running from the feast of the Circumcision (1 January) in one year to the same feast in the next year. Within the collection, it has been treated as identical to the calendar year.

The copy for 1520 is contemporary; that for 1521 is an antiquarian transcription of a lost original.

Manchester, Manchester Central Library Archives Department, L1/47/5; 1485–1537; Latin; parchment inlaid in paper; ii + 305 + iii; modern foliation; 304mm x 215mm; red morocco leather binding, title on spine: 'M.S. Compoti Abbatiae De Whalley Sec. XV.'

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, DDT0/B 21/1–6; 1520; Latin; parchment; single membrane; 940mm x 680mm.

London, British Library, Harley MS 2064; 1521; Latin; paper; ii + 116 + ii; original and modern foliation; 378mm x 241mm; brown morocco binding with arms stamped in gold on front, title on spine: 'R. HOLME (III). LEDGER BOOKS OF VALE ROYAL AND STANLOW BRIT. MUS. HARLEY MS. 2064.'

Inventory of Abbey Goods

The inventory of Whalley Abbey goods (see p 144) was made by Henry VIII's commissioners at the closure of the house following the execution of its last abbot.

London, Public Record Office, E 36/154; 1537; English; paper; iv + 123 + iv; contemporary ink numbers and modern pencil pagination (on rectos only); 320mm x 260mm; modern binding of green cloth boards with brown leather covers and spine; leaves (average size 310mm x 245mm) glued to stubs at left margins, title on spine: 'E.36 154.'

Households

The large households surveyed for this collection have almost all lost their account books. Important survivors of this class of document are the Nowell disbursement book and the Sherrington, Shireburn, Shuttleworth, Stanley, and Walmesley account books. These books often give day-to-day receipts and expenses and if kept by a steward, progress from month to month in an orderly fashion for the master to oversee. The Sherrington books seem, however, to have been kept by Gilbert and Francis Sherrington themselves and those for Shireburn by Sir Richard Shireburn; both those sets of accounts are therefore comparatively jumbled. Large households also generated letters, literary compositions, and detailed wills and inventories. It is in wills and inventories that references to musical instruments most often appear.

ASSHETON OF DOWNHAM

Journal of Nicholas Assheton of Downham (AC)

Nicholas Assheton (c 1590–1625) was the son and heir of Richard, second son of Ralph Assheton of Lever; Richard inherited the manor of Downham in 1578 from a great uncle of the

same name. The journal or diary was first printed by Thomas Whitaker in *An History of the Original Parish of Whalley, and Honor of Clitheroe*, 3rd edition. Some time afterwards the MS disappeared (the present representative of the family, Lord Clitheroe, believes it was lost in a fire), and the texts published by F.R. Raines in his Chetham Society edition (1848) and in the 4th edition of Whitaker (1872–6) are taken from Whitaker's 3rd edition, as is the one printed here.

Whitaker, T.D. (ed). *An History of the Original Parish of Whalley, and Honor of Clitheroe*. 3rd ed (London, 1818).

ASSHETON OF GREAT LEVER AND WHALLEY

Inventory of Goods of Ralph Assheton the Elder

This inventory was made at the elder Ralph Assheton's death. He was born c 1500 and fathered three children.²⁰⁷ He was receiver for the duchy of Lancaster.

Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Suffield deposit, no 19; 1588; English; paper; 5 sheets folded to make a 20-page booklet, sewn together with thread; unnumbered; 405mm x 150mm; endorsed on p 1: '1588 The Inventorie ° and Will ° of Raulf Assheton Esquier decessed ° & Other writings twixt my Master and his Mother in Lawe °.'

Inventory of Goods of Ralph Assheton the Younger

This inventory was made at the death of Ralph Assheton the younger and mostly refers to the contents of the Lever house. Lever is now Great Lever, near Bolton.

Manchester, Greater Manchester Record Office, E7/27/2/5; 1616; English; paper; 6 sheets folded to make a 24-page booklet, sewn together with thread; unnumbered; 406mm x 155mm; endorsed on back page: 'An Inventory of ye goodes at Leaver.'

Bond for Robert Deane, Servant

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, QSB 1/49/10; 1628; Latin and English; paper; single sheet; 195mm x 146mm.

Examination of Robert Deane, Servant

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, QSB 1/49/38; 1628; English; paper; single sheet; 196mm x 147mm.

Presentment of Robert Deane, Servant

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, QSR 25 1628; 1628/9; Latin and English; parchment; 55 membranes

plus 8 smaller membranes and 3 paper leaves attached to various main membranes; mostly 670mm x 280mm (mb 46: 620mm x 280mm); attached at head with original cords; rolled up in re-used membrane attached to last membrane, endorsed 'Rotuli de Sessionibus Prestone in Anno Regni Regis domini Caroli Anglie &c quarto Annoque domini 1628 °4th Caroli °.'

ASSHETON OF MIDDLETON

Inventory of Goods of Richard Assheton

Richard Assheton of Middleton died on 7 November 1618. This inventory probably relates to his seat, Blackley Hall, now demolished.

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, WCW 1618; 1618; English; parchment; 5 membranes, attached tail to head; unnumbered; mb 2: 745mm x 152mm; written one side only; on dorse of mb 1, 'Turium bon<..> Ashton nuper Midleton exhibit 1618' and on dorse of mb 5, 'Inv<entarium> Richi Ashton armigeri de Middleton lese Exhibitum 24 martij 1618 <...> Anglie cum protestacione &c./ 1618.'

BANKES OF WINSTANLEY

Inventory of James Bankes

James Bankes (1542–1617) was of Winstanley near Wigan.

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, WCW 1617; 1617; English; parchment; 2 membranes joined tail to head; 687mm x 139mm and 272mm x 139mm.

BRUCHE OF BRUCHE HALL

Indenture between Roger Bruche and Sir Peter Legh

Roger Bruche of Bruche Hall entered into a bond in 1589/90 for £100, payable to Sir Peter Legh of Lyme in Cheshire if Bruche were to gamble in any way except in Legh's presence or stand surety for anyone. Presumably Legh, who eventually bought Bruche's estate from him in 1600, already at the time of the bond had some kind of lien on the property and wished to safeguard his investment.

Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Legh of Lyme Deeds Box R, B No 20; 17 February 1589/90; English; parchment; single membrane, indented at head; 230mm long (28mm being folded back at the bottom) x 335mm wide; endorsed in a later hand, writing at right angles to signatures, '1590' in pencil and in ink '17 Feb. 32. Elizabeth/ Roger Bruches / Engagement not/to play at Cards, dice &c./Box R/B No. 20'; original red wax seal impression and parchment tag attached.

BUTLER OF BEWSEY

Household Accounts and Inventory of Sir Thomas Butler

Sir Thomas Butler (c 1513–79) of Bewsey and Warrington died 22 September 1579.

London, British Library, Add. ms 36926; 1579–81; English; paper; ii + 140 + iii; modern foliation; average 430mm x 145mm; half-bound in green morocco, title on spine: 'Norris Papers. Vol.III. Welsh Property and Family History, xvi–xvii Centt. Brit. Mus. Additional 36,926.' Butler's inventory and accounts occupy ff 102–16 and are headed, 'The Inventory of the goods of Sir Thomas Butler Knyght deceased.'

CLIFTON OF LYTHAM

Inventory of Sir Cuthbert Clifton

The goods of Sir Cuthbert Clifton (1582–1634) were inventoried at his death.

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, WCW 1634; 1634; English; parchment; 7 membranes joined at head; 883mm x 191mm.

FARINGTON OF WORDEN

Letter of William Farington the Younger to his Father

Young William Farington was the grandson of William Farington, steward of the household of the earl of Derby 1572–94. He wrote from London to his father, Thomas, at Worden, Lancashire, an estate not far from Leyland.

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, DDF 2438/103; 1608/9; English; paper; single sheet; 305mm x 205mm; endorsed 'To the Right Worshipfull and his welbeloved ffather. William ffarington Esquire, at his howsse at Worden. Yeve theesse / London.'

FLEETWOOD OF PENWORTHAM

Will of Richard Fleetwood

Richard Fleetwood (c 1550–1625) died at Penwortham 4 April 1625. He was the second son of John Fleetwood, who purchased the reversion of Penwortham Priory and settled his Lancashire estates on Richard. His will was proved at Canterbury 8 July 1626.

London, Public Record Office, PROB 10 Box 439; 1625; English; paper; 7 sheets; original(?) foliation; 395mm x 300mm; stored in box with other wills proved in June and July 1626.

HESKETH OF RUFFORD

Inventory of Robert Hesketh

Robert Hesketh (1560–1620) was the eldest son of Sir Thomas Hesketh of Rufford, west Lancashire.

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, WCW 1620; 1620; English; 17 membranes joined at head; pencil numbering; 584mm x 133mm.

HOGHTON OF HOGHTON TOWER

Letter of Thomas Hoghton to his Brother Richard

Manchester, John Rylands University Library, English ms 213, letter 8; c 1578; English; paper; single sheet; 312mm x 174mm. Now bound with other letters (1576–1769) in volume with brown board covers, 'JR' in roundel on front, and 'LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE LETTERS ENGLISH MS.213 1578–1769' in gold on spine.

Welcoming Speech to James I

King James I visited Hoghton 15–18 August. Some account of the visit can be found in the extracts from the journal of Nicholas Assheton of Downham, described above (pp lxxxi–lxxxii). The actual welcoming speech is still in the possession of Sir Bernard de Hoghton, who has deposited it in the Lancashire Record Office.

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, DDHo 474; 1617; English; paper; bifolium; unnumbered; 350mm x 227mm; the speech occupies f [1] and the top part of f [1v], the rest being blank.

HOGHTON OF THE LEA

Will of Alexander Hoghton

Alexander Hoghton (c 1520–81) was of the Lea, near Preston.

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, WCW 1581; 1581; English; parchment; single membrane with 2 attached codicils; 520mm x 510mm.

IRELAND OF LYDIATE

Inventory of Edward Ireland

Edward Ireland (1593–1637) was of Lydiat Hall, ten miles north of Liverpool. He died on

1 April 1637; the inventory is dated within a week of his death. It was printed in full by Thomas Ellison Gibson, *Lydiat Hall*, pp 39–43.

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, DDIn 60/26; 1637; English; parchment; single membrane; 765mm x 345mm, with 8mm indentations along top edge; endorsed 'The Inventory of Mr Ireland *personalle* estate with other note and writings concerninge the Executors accompte.'

KENYON OF PARKHEAD

Household Accounts of Roger Kenyon

Roger Kenyon of Parkhead died in August 1636. Parkhead is in north Lancashire, just east of Garstang.

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, DDKe; 1620; English; paper; bifolium; 280mm x 172mm; no 6 in a set of accounts fastened together.

MOLYNEUX OF SEFTON

Inventory of Sir Richard Molyneux

Sir Richard Molyneux (1560–1623) was of Sefton, near Liverpool, and was created baronet in 1611.

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, WCW 1623; 1623; English; parchment; single membrane; 597mm x 184mm; written on one side only.

MOORE OF BANK HALL

Inventory of Edward Moore

Edward Moore (c 1575–1632) was of Bank Hall, just north of Liverpool.

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, WCW 1632 INV; 1632; English; paper; 12 leaves; unnumbered; 311mm x 203mm.

NORRIS OF SPEKE

Expense Receipt for Knighting of Sir William Norris

Sir William Norris (d. 1630) was of Speke near Liverpool.

Liverpool, Liverpool Record Office, 920 Nor 2/620; 1603; English; paper; single sheet; 95mm x 86mm; written both sides.

Inventory of Sir William Norris

Liverpool, Liverpool Record Office, 920 Nor 1/395; 30 September 1624; English; paper; 12 leaves; unnumbered; 415mm x 155mm; parchment covers with title on front: 'This booke to be produc(ed) vpon the 2 Inter.'

NOWELL OF READ

Accounts of Executors of Robert Nowell

Nowell (c 1518–69) was a member of a branch of the Nowell family of Read Hall, near Padiham.

Manchester, Chetham's Library, Mun. A.6.50; 1568–80; English; paper; i + 118 + i; pre-1850 ink foliation and a second (followed in the text) provided by A.B. Grosart; varies from 290mm x 202mm to 287mm x 185mm; 19th c. brown cloth binding, tooled, title on spine in gold: 'NOWELL MSS.'

SHERRINGTON OF WARDLEY

Household Accounts of Gilbert and Francis Sherrington

The Sherringtons, known also as the Shevingtons, were from Wigan but had bought Wardley Hall near Worsley. The accounts are the work of the brothers Gilbert and Francis Sherrington; Gilbert kept them until his death in 1597 and Francis continued them until he died in 1600.

Leigh, Wigan Archive Service, D/D2.A 13/17; 1581–1603; Latin and English; paper; 68 leaves; modern pagination in red ink; 295mm x 205mm; parchment binding.

SHIREBURN OF STONYHURST

Sir Richard Shireburn (1523–94) was of Stonyhurst, near Clitheroe. While he described his account books as rental books, they actually record many kinds of disbursements, including payments to waits, players, and minstrels. They were evidently intended for private use only for they are quite unsystematic and do not follow any real chronological progression. Sir Richard's goods were inventoried in 1594 at his death.

Rental Book of Sir Richard Shireburn

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, DDSt; 1567–71; English; paper; 470 leaves; modern pagination; 300mm x 200mm; parchment binding.

Rental and Account Book of Sir Richard Shireburn

Stonyhurst, Stonyhurst College, D.3.5.1; 1571–6; English; paper; 486 leaves; modern foliation 1–155 only; 330mm x 210mm; leather cover with flap which could be laced closed with thongs, now missing.

Inventory of Sir Richard Shireburn

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, DDSt; 26 August 1594; English; paper; 6 leaves; unnumbered; 300mm x 200mm.

SHUTTLEWORTH OF SMITHILLS AND GAWTHORPE

Household Accounts of Sir Richard Shuttleworth

This is an extensive set of household accounts kept by stewards and running from 7 September 1582 to 30 October 1621 (originally 12 books, with three missing for 21 August 1603 to 6 July 1604, 1 July 1606 to 30 June 1608, and 7 November 1613 to 4 November 1616). The first four volumes and part of the fifth are for Smithills, near Bolton and the rest for Gawthorpe Hall, near Padiham, which Sir Richard Shuttleworth the younger inherited in February 1607/8.

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, DDKs 18/1–18/9; 1582–1621; English; paper. Extracts have been taken from the following:

1. DDKs 18/1; 1582–5; 67 leaves; modern pagination; 330mm x 102mm; parchment cover, title on cover in modern pencil: 'Accts No 1 7 Sep 1582 to March 1583 1584 (...) of 1585.'
2. DDKs 18/2; 1585/6–94; 240 leaves; modern pagination; 292mm x 191mm; vellum cover, title on cover in modern pencil: 'Vol II Accounts No 2 Mar 2 1585 to Aug 31st 1594.'
3. DDKs 18/3; 1594–1600; 98 leaves; modern pagination; 305mm x 216mm; vellum cover, title on cover in modern pencil: 'Vol III Accounts Payments 1st Sep 1594 to July 15 1599 Rects 1st Sep 1594 to Feb 12–1600.'
5. DDKs 18/5; 1601–3; 92 leaves; modern pagination; 416mm x 178mm; parchment cover, title on cover in modern pencil: 'Accounts July 1, 1601 to Aug 20, 1603 Vol v.'
10. DDKs 18/8; 1608–13; 101 leaves; modern pagination; 394mm x 152mm; 6 leaves cut out between pp 2–5; parchment cover, title on cover in modern pencil: 'Accounts July 1608 to Nov 1613 Vol x.'
12. DDKs 18/9; 1616–21; 82 leaves; modern pagination; 406mm x 152mm; cover missing, title in margin of f 1: 'Accts Nov 1616 to Oct 1621 Vol XII.'

STANLEY OF KNOWSLEY, LATHOM HOUSE, AND NEW PARK

Household Account Roll of Thomas, Lord Stanley

The Stanleys were already of considerable consequence in Lancashire by 1459–60, which is the date of their earliest record here. Thomas, Lord Stanley, astutely betrayed Richard III at the Battle of Bosworth in 1485 and was rewarded by the victor, Henry VII, with the title of earl of Derby.

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, DDHi, Box 23; 1459–60; paper; 6 sheets sewn together head to tail; 420mm x 343mm; first and last sheets badly damaged by damp, written on both sides.

Inventory of Edward Stanley, Lord Monteagle

This inventory is now one item in a volume of state papers of the reign of Henry VIII.

London, Public Record Office, SP 1/27; 1523; English with Latin tags; paper; single sheet; 300mm x 169mm; damaged and laid into modern paper; 363mm x 270mm. Now bound as ff 237–7v into guard-book with red morocco binding, gilt title on spine: 'Letters and Papers Henry VIII 27 III 2774–3111.'

Derby Household Book

This ms, kept by William Farington (1537–1610), steward of Henry, thirteenth earl of Derby, is a record of provisions and household items used during each calendar week. The lists are dated by the Saturday ending the week in question and Farington has then appended to each week's list notes of persons entertained and entertainers performing during that week. When Raines edited these accounts for the Chetham Society in 1853, he failed to grasp this point and concluded instead that the headings represented days when Farington sat down to plan his purchases for the week about to begin and that the notices to visitors and events were appended to his 'shopping list' one week later. Hence Raines dated the whole series of household entries one week late and Murray accepted those datings in *English Dramatic Companies*. Alvin Thaler first pointed out the error and interpreted the household entries correctly in 'Faire Em (and Shakespeare's Company?) in Lancashire,' *PMLA* 46 (1931), 656. Normally the Derby household accounting year ended on 18 or 19 July; in 1587, for instance, Farington made a list of items consumed covering only Sunday the 16th through Tuesday the 18th and then wrote, 'The xixth daie of Iulij ended one howle yers accompte aswell of his howsholde as of all other his receipts & paiementes whatsoever.' (p 13).

The family was, however, accustomed at this time to spend part of every summer at court and for that period the Lancashire household was broken up and such retainers as did not accompany the family to London were put out to board. In 1588 the family appears to have left for London on 12 February and not returned until 26 September and that whole interval is unrepresented in the household book.

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, DDF 2429; 1586–90; English; paper; 24 leaves; modern pagination; 314mm x 210mm; parchment cover.

Letter of Henry, Lord Scrope, to William Asheby

A letter of Henry, Lord Scrope, governor of Carlisle, to Queen Elizabeth's ambassador in Edinburgh is now one item in a volume of state papers.

London, British Library, Egerton ms 2598; 1590; English; paper; single sheet; 305mm x 195mm; now bound as f 82 into volume with red morocco binding stamped with Egerton arms in gold on front and back, with title on spine: 'CORRESPONDENCE OF W. ASHEBY. AMBASSADOR TO SCOTLAND. 1589–1593. BRIT. MUS. EGERTON 2598. b 16.'

Funeral Book of Henry, Earl of Derby

Henry Stanley, thirteenth earl of Derby, died 25 September 1593. His funeral book includes an inventory of his goods taken 12 July following.

Knowsley, Knowsley House Library, NH 6 Cpd B H 84; 1594; English; paper; 161 leaves (of which the inventory occupies 25); unnumbered; 305mm x 195mm; brown leather binding with 'ED' on front and back in gilt.

Letter of William, Earl of Derby, to the Mayor of Chester

Chester, Chester City Record Office, Great Letter Book ML/2/184; 2 December 1606; English; paper; single sheet; 305mm x 200mm; addressed on dorse 'To his Loveinge ffrende the maior of the Cittie of Chester theese deliuer.' Now bound as letter no 184 (pp 115–16) in a white leather guardbook, title on spine: 'City of Chester Great Letter Book 1599–1650.'

Book of Presents to William, Earl of Derby

Knowsley, Knowsley House Library, NH 6B H 83; 1617; English; paper; ii + 148 + ii; unnumbered; 308mm x 200mm; brown calf binding stamped with crest of eagle and child on front and boar and anvil(?) on back, in gilt title f [1]: 'A Booke of all such *Presentes* as were sente vnto the Mannor of Lathome for the vse of the righte honorable William Erle of Derby by his Lordshipps lovinge ffrendes, Neighbors, *servauntes*, and tenants to warde the entereynement of oure soueraigne Lorde Kinge Iames at Lathome halle the xvijth day of August ... Anno domini 1617.'

Blundell Family Hodgepodge Book

See Little Crosby (p lxiii) for LRO: DDBI Acc 6121.

WALMESLEY OF DUNKENHALGH

Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley

The accounts were kept by various stewards for Thomas Walmesley (1574–1642) and cover the years 1612–54. Account books 4, 8, and 19 for 1623–4, 1627–8, and 1639–40 are missing. The Walmesley books are similar in appearance to those kept at neighbouring Gawthorpe but show that Thomas Walmesley was ready to receive and pay more players and entertainers than Richard Shuttleworth was. Christmas particularly seems to have been kept in grand style at Dunkenhalgh.

In Books 1–3 the accounting years are quite arbitrary: Walmesley's inheritance of the estate led to a number of years in which the accounts were kept from January to January or February to February (the exact dates are given in the subheadings to the accounts printed from Books 1–3 in the Records). Presumably the switch to a Michaelmas to Michaelmas year was made during the period covered by the missing Book 4. The accounts in Books 5–7 and 9–17 run from Michaelmas to Michaelmas; those in books 18, from 1 October to 1 October, but these have been treated here as conforming to the dominant pattern. Book 23 differs from the others in dealing chiefly with the expenses of Juliana Walmesley and in giving more details of individual and personal expenditures. It may be what is referred to in the other books of the same period as the Book of Particulars.

The annual accounts are broken up into general disbursement sections and kitchen provision sections. The former are in roughly chronological order within the accounting period; the latter are arranged in weekly lists. In the earlier books, there are groups of disbursements, especially for kitchen labour and entertainers, associated with the kitchen provision lists, especially during and around the Christmas season, when kitchen provisions were bought more frequently than once a week due to the large numbers of guests. In dating disbursements, an attempt has been made to specify as closely as possible the period during which an undated payment was made. If the page of payments is in strictly chronological order, the range of dates between which it falls is given. If payments within a month do not always appear in strict date order, a more general date, such as the month within which the payment falls, is given.

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, DDpt 1; 1612–54; English; paper. Extracts have been taken from the following:

1. 1612–17; 71 leaves; unnumbered; 310mm x 210mm; paper cover, title on cover: '1612 Booke of accomptes. 1612'; text written in secretary, with occasional dates and marginalia in italic, probably by the same hand; signed at intervals by Walmesley.
2. 1617–22; 81 leaves; unnumbered; 310mm x 210mm; parchment cover, title on cover: 'Lancashire 1616 . Accomptes'; text written in secretary, with occasional marginalia in italic, probably by the same hand as Book 1, signed at intervals by Walmesley and countersigned by Thomas Winckley.

3. 1622–3; 29 leaves; unnumbered; 305mm x 215mm; paper cover, title on cover: 'Lancashire Accomptes 1621'; same hand and scripts as Books 1 and 2, similarly distributed.
5. 1624–5; 26 leaves; unnumbered; 305mm x 215mm; parchment cover, title on cover: 'Booke 1624 of Accomptes for the howse of Dunkenhalgh'; written throughout in secretary in a different hand from Books 1–3.
6. 1625–6; 33 leaves; unnumbered; 310mm x 205mm; parchment cover, title on cover: 'An account for this yeare begininge att Mychaelmes 1625/and endinge att Mychaelmes 1626./ H'; written in secretary in a new hand, with dates beginning blocks of entries occasionally written in italic, probably by the main hand.
7. 1626–7; 29 leaves; unnumbered; 325mm x 210mm; parchment cover (back loose), title on cover: 'John Hayhurst ac(coun)ts 1627 An account <.....>'; written in secretary by the same hand as Book 6, with dates beginning blocks of entries usually written in italic, probably by the main hand.
9. 1628–9; 41 leaves; unnumbered; 310mm x 205mm; parchment cover, title on cover: 'Lancashire Accomptes Betwene Mychaelmes 1628/ and Mychaelmes 1629/ Accomptes 1628'; in secretary throughout, probably in same hand as Books 6 and 7.
10. 1629–30; 34 leaves; unnumbered; 310mm x 205mm; cover missing, heading on first folio: 'The seuerall sommes of mony Received since the xxvijth day of September 1629. vntill the last of September 1630. By mee John Hayhurst'; in secretary throughout, in 2 new main hands, with occasional marginalia in 1 or more different hands.
11. 1630–1; 33 leaves; unnumbered; 310mm x 200mm; parchment cover much decayed, title on cover: '1630/'; in secretary in the same 2 hands as Book 10, with occasional annotations in another.
12. 1631–2; 36 leaves; unnumbered; 310mm x 205mm; parchment cover, title on cover: '<Ada>m Boulton an(nis 1631 and 1632 booke) of Accomptes'; in secretary in the first hand of Books 10 and 11.
13. 1632–4; 39 leaves; unnumbered; 315mm x 210mm; parchment cover, title on cover: 'Booke of Accompts Adam Boulton 1633'; in secretary in the same 2 hands as Books 10 and 11.
14. 1634–5; 36 leaves and 1 loose leaf; unnumbered; 310mm x 205mm; parchment cover, title on cover: 'Adam Boltone <..... an(nis 1634. and 163<5>)/'; in secretary in the same 2 hands as Books 10, 11, and 13.
15. 1635–6; 22 leaves; unnumbered; 310mm x 205mm; parchment cover (back cover half missing), title on cover: '1635 an<..> 1636 Adam Boltens Accomptes'; in secretary in the same hand as Book 12.
16. 1636–7; 22 leaves; unnumbered; 310mm x 205mm; parchment cover, title on cover: 'My booke of

Accounts Betweene mychalmas 1636 and Mychalmas 1637. Adam Boulten'; in secretary in the same hand as Books 12 and 15.

17. 1637–8; 26 leaves; unnumbered; 310mm x 205mm; parchment cover, title on cover: 'Adam Bolttons accompts 1637 An accompt Betweene Mychalmas 1637. and Mychalmas 1638./'; in secretary in the same hand as Books 12, 15, and 16.

18. 1638–9; 26 leaves; unnumbered; 310mm x 205mm; parchment cover (front damaged), title on cover: 'Adam Bolttons booke of Accompts 1638 1639 1638. and 1639.'; in secretary in the same hand as the foregoing.

23. 1632–54; 37 leaves; unnumbered; 310mm x 210mm; parchment cover, title on cover: 'Adam Boultons Accomptes'; in secretary in the same hand as Books 12 and 15–18.

Province of York and Diocese of Chester

Bishop Scott's Visitation Articles

Cuthbert Scott (c 1516–64) was bishop of Chester from 1556 to 1559.

Manchester, Greater Manchester Record Office, E7/12/1/2; 1556–8; English; paper; bifolium; unnumbered; 307mm x 209mm; lower edge of f [1] ragged with 30mm high tear at bottom, lower third of f [2] missing, repaired and mounted on modern paper.

Archbishop Grindal's Injunctions and Visitation Articles

Edmund Grindal (c 1519–83) was archbishop of York from 1570 to 1576.

Injunctions | Giuen by the most reuerende father in | **Christ, Edmonde by the prouidence of** | *God,*
Archbishop of Yorke, primate of Eng- | **land, and Metropolitane, in his Metropoli-** | ticall visitation of
the Prouince of Yorke, | **aswell to the Clergie, as to the Laytie** | **of the same Prouince.** | Anno do.
1571. | [ornament] | Imprinted at London, by | *William Seres.* | *Cum priuilegio.*

Articles | to be enquired of, within the Prouince | **of Yorke, in the Metropolitall visi-** | *tation of*
the most reuerent father | **in God, Edmonde Archbishop of** | Yorke, Primate and Metropoli- | **tane**
of Englande. | In the .xiiij. yeare of the raigne of our most gracious | **soueraigne Ladie Elizabeth,** by
the grace of God, | **Queene of England, France and Ire-** | **lande, defender of the** | **fayth, &c.** |
[ornament] | ¶ Imprinted at London, by | *William Seres.* | *Anno. 1571.*

The Injunctions and the Articles were issued together as one book (no colophon; italic, roman, and black-letter; *STC*: 10375).

Archbishop Sandys' Visitation Articles

Edwin Sandys (1516?–88) was archbishop of York from 1577 to 1588.

[Device] | ¶ ARTICLES TO BE | **enquired off, within the prouince of Yorke, | in the Metropolitall visitation of the | most Reuerend Father in Go(d) |** Edwin Archbishoppe of | Yorke, primate of | England and | *Metropoli-* | *tane.* | **In the .xix. and .xx. yeare, of the raigne of our most | gracious souereigne Lady Elizabeth by the | grace of God of England, Fraunce and | Ireland Queene,** defendor | of the Fayth, &c. | 1577, & .1578. | [rule] | [device] | [rule] | ¶ *Imprinted at London by | William Seres.* | [rule] No colophon (?); roman, italic, and black-letter; no printer's devices; no SR entry. In the surviving copy (Oxford, Bodleian Library Arch. Bodl.: B.ii.21), four-fifths of the last leaf has been cut away. *STC*: 10376.

Bishop Chaderton's Visitation Articles

William Chaderton (c 1540–1608) was bishop of Chester from 1579 to 1595.

Articles to | *be enquired of with-* | in the Diocesse of | Chester, in the visitation of the | **reuerende father in GOD,** | William Bishop of | *Chester.* | **In the xxij yeere of the reigne of our most | gracious soueraigne Lady Elizabeth, &c.** | Imprinted at London by | Christopher Barker, Printer to | the Queenes Maiestie. No colophon; roman, italic, and black-letter; title-page border [McKerrow 221 α] 'Compartment with the Queen's arms at top, Fides and Humilitas at sides; the ensigns of the four evangelists at the corners, and a tiger's head, the crest of Sir F. Walsingham, below'; no SR entry; *STC*: 10174.5

Bishop Vaughan's Visitation Articles

Richard Vaughan (1550?–1607) was bishop of Chester from 1597 to 1604.

ARTICLES | to be enquired of | Within the Diocesse of Chester, | in the Visitation of the Reuerend Father in | *God, Richard, Bishop of Chester, in* | the second yeere of the raigne of our | *gracious Soueraigne Lord* | King Iames, &c. | [ornament] | LONDON | Printed by Simon Stafford. 1604. No colophon; roman and black-letter; printer's ornament of floral pattern, lozenge-shaped; no SR entry; *STC*: 10175.

Bishop Lloyd's Visitation Articles

George Lloyd (1560–1615) was bishop of Chester from 1604 to 1615.

ARTICLES | to be inquired of | Within the Diocesse of Chester, in | the ordinary Visitation of the reuerend Father | *in God, George, Lord Bishop of Chester,* | anno Domini 1605. and in the yeere of the | *raigne of our soueraigne Lord, Iames, by the* | grace of God, of great Brittainye, France | *and Ireland, King, Defender of* | the fayth, &c. | *Viz.* | Of great Brittainye, Fraunce and Ireland, the | *third, and of Scotland the eight and thirtieth.* | [ornament] | Imprinted at London by Simon Stafford, | dwelling in Hosier lane, neere Smithfield. | 1605. No colophon; italic, roman, and black-letter; printer's device showing a design of stalks, leaves, flowers, and a pod; no SR entry; *STC*: 10176.

Archbishop Mathew's Visitation Articles

Tobie or Tobias Mathew (1546–1628) was archbishop of York from 1606 to 1628.

ARTICLES | To be inquired of, | *In the Metropolitall Visitation*, | of the most Reuerend Father in GOD,
TOBIE | *by the prouidence of God, L. Arch-bishop | of Yorke, and Primate | of England.* | [rule] | In the
yeare of our LORD | GOD 1607. And in the first yeare | of his Graces Translation. | [rule] | [rule] |
Imprinted at London | 1607. No colophon; roman and italic; no printer's devices; no SR entry; STC:
10377.5.

Bishop Morton's Visitation Articles

Thomas Morton (1564–1659) was bishop of Chester from 1616 to 1619.

ARTICLES | TO BE ENQVI- | RED OF, IN THE | ORDINARY TRIENNI- | ALL VISITATION
OF | *THE REVEREND FA- | ther in GOD, Thomas, by the |* prouidence of GOD, Lord | *Bishop of*
CHES- | TER. | [rule] | *In the Yeere of our Lord | God,* 1617. | [rule] | [ornament] | [rule] | ANNO
DOM. 1617. No colophon; roman, italic, and black-letter; printer's ornament showing a design of
roses and thistles, with a central fleur-de-lys; no SR entry; STC: 10176.5.

Archbishop Harsnett's Visitation Articles

Samuel Harsnett (1561–1631) was archbishop of York from 1629 to 1631.

ARTICLES | to be enquired of, | *In the Metropolitall Visitation of the |* most Reuerend Father in God,
SAMVEL, | *by the prouidence of God, Lord Arch- |* bishop of *Yorke*, Primate of *Eng- | land*, and
Metropolitane. | Begun and continued in the yeeres of our | LORD GOD 1628, and 1629. And in | the
first yeere of his Graces | Translation. | [rule] | [device] | [rule] | Imprinted at London by IOHN BILL, |
Printer to the Kings most Excellent | Maiestie, 1629. No colophon; roman and black-letter; printer's
device on title-page [McKerrow 248] 'Ornament of a two-tailed mermaid blowing two horns. A fringe of
tassels below'; no SR entry; STC: 10379.7.

Archbishop Neile's Visitation Articles

Richard Neile (1562–1640) was archbishop of York from 1632 to 1640.

ARTICLES | TO BE INQVI- | RED OF, | In the Metropolitcall Visitation of the | most Reuerend
Father in God, RICH- | ARD, *by the prouidence of God, |* Lord Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, Pri- | *mate of*
England and Me- | tropolitane. | [rule] | *In the yeere of our Lord God, |* 1633. | [rule] | *LONDON, |*
Printed by John Norton. | 1633. No colophon; roman, italic, and black-letter; no printer's device; no
SR entry; STC: 10380.

ARTICLES | TO BE INQVI- | RED OF, | IN THE VISITATION OF | the most Reverend Father in
God, | RICHARD, *by the Providence of GOD, |* Lord Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, Pri- | *mate of England, and*

Me- | tropolitane. | [device] | *Had in the Yeere of our Lord* | God, 1636. | [rule] | LONDON Printed by JOHN NOR- | TON. 1636. No colophon; roman, italic, and black-letter; no printer's device; no SR entry; *STC*: 10380.5.

Bishop Bridgeman's Visitation Articles

John Bridgeman (1577–1652) was bishop of Chester from 1619 to 1643, when parliament abolished episcopacy and he slipped quietly into retirement.

THE | ARTICLES | OF WHICH THE | Church-wardens and Swornemen, | throughout the Diocesse of *Chester*, | *are to take notice and make their* | Presentments thereupon, in this | *Trienniall Visitation of the* | Right Reuerend Father in God, *Iohn* | *by the prouidence of God Lord Bishop* | of that Diocesse. | [device] | LONDON, | Printed by *William Stansby*, 1634. No colophon; roman and black-letter; printer's device [McKerrow 282] 'of an old man receiving gifts from the hands; doves at his feet, bearing scrolls with the words, "Peace" and "Plentie." Motto: *Thou shalt labor for or For thou shalt labor.*'; no SR entry; *STC*: 10177.

ARTICLES | TO BE | CONSIDERED ON, | And Presentment to be made there- | unto upon the Oath of the Church- | wardens and Sworne-men through out | the Diocesse of *Chester*, in the | Trienniall Visitation | OF | The right Reverend Father in God, | IOHN, by the Providence of GOD, Lord | Bishop of that Diocesse, for this present | yeere of our LORD, 1637. | [device McKerrow 311] | LONDON, | Printed for HENRY SEILE, 1637. No colophon; black-letter; printer's device [McKerrow 311] 'an old man standing by an olive tree; above him, on a scroll, the motto, *Noli altum sapere*'; no SR entry; *STC*: 10178.

County of Lancaster

The county documents included in this collection are mostly concerned with sabbath observance. Few of them bear exact dates and some have been incorporated into later material in a way that disguises their true dating. The chronology adopted here, which differs in some particulars from the one assumed by Kenneth Parker in *The English Sabbath* and by other recent historians, is explained in the Introduction (see pp xxiv–xxv) and fully discussed in the end-notes to the individual documents.

JPs' Orders for Salford Hundred

See Ashton under Lyne (p liv) for Cumbers House: Kenyon MSS, Memorandum Book.

Richard Hollingworth, Mancuniensis (AC)

Richard Hollingworth (1607–56) was minister of Sacred Trinity Chapel in Salford and a fellow of Manchester Collegiate Church. His 'Mancuniensis,' a manuscript history of Manchester and its immediate neighbourhood, contains a passage about the ecclesiastical commissioners' orders and injunctions (dated 1579) for the sabbath and other occasions.

Manchester, Chetham's Library, Mun. A.6.51; c 1656; English; paper; iii + 59 + i; pre-1850 ink foliation; 290mm x 180mm; white vellum binding, blind-tooled with the Chetham arms blind-stamped on the front and back boards, title on spine in gold on purple leather label: 'Hollingwort' Mancuniensis.'

Report of Edward Fleetwood

This report on the religious condition of Lancashire and Cheshire was probably written by Edward Fleetwood, rector of Wigan, for Queen Elizabeth's chief minister, Lord Burghley, in the summer of 1587.

London, Public Record Office, SP 12/240; 1587; English; paper; bifolium; 304mm x 200mm. Now mounted as ff 292–3 in a guardbook with red morocco binding, title on spine: 'SP 12 State Papers Domestic Elizabeth. 240.'

Report of Seventeen Lancashire Preachers

This appears to be the 'full advertisement of our manifold Enormities' that Fleetwood mentioned in his letter to Burghley of 7 September 1587.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner ms 144; 1587; English; paper; bifolium; 315mm x 209mm. Bound as item 18, ff 28–9v, in a volume of original letters and papers relating to church affairs in northern England for the years 1576–1727/8.

Proposals of Sixteen Lancashire Justices Concerning Sabbath Observance

These proposals for improved legal machinery to deal with sabbath observance have a draft recognisance of alehouse-keepers appended to them.

London, British Library, Harley ms 1926; c 1556–97; English; paper; ii + 136 + ii; modern foliation; 213mm x 152mm; modern binding of red boards, stamped with gilt crest front and back.

Letter from Edward Fleetwood to Lord Burghley

London, British Library, Cotton Titus B.ii; 7 September 1587; English; paper; bifolium; 315mm x 210mm; text on rectos only; f [239v] endorsed: '7 Sept 1587 From Mr Edward Fleetwood touching ye state of Lancashire.' Now mounted as ff 239–40 in a guardbook with a standard British Library binding.

Letter of Edward Fleetwood

This appears to be a fragment or excerpt from a second letter of Fleetwood to Burghley written in the autumn of 1587.

See Ashton under Lyne (p liv) for Cumbers House: Kenyon mss, Memorandum Book.

Letter from Derby, Walsingham, and Gerard on Sabbatarian Campaign

This letter survives in a copy in LRO: DDKs 30/2, a miscellany of pieces dealing with legal administration and public affairs in Elizabethan Lancashire similar to BL: Harley 1926. For a fuller account of the manuscript see John Harland, *The Lancashire Lieutenancy*, pp iii–v.

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, DDKs 30/2; 1576–88; English and Latin; paper; 20 leaves; modern pagination; 307mm x 205mm; gathered bifolia sewn as a pamphlet.

Memorandum from Bishop of Chester to Privy Council

This appears to be a summary of the report of the seventeen preachers, prepared in 1590 as part of a renewed attempt to enforce sabbath observance.

London, Public Record Office, SP 12/235; 1590; English; paper; bifolium; 262mm x 165mm. Now mounted on guardstrips as ff 146–7 in a book with red morocco binding, title on spine: 'SP 12 State Papers Domestic Elizabeth 235.'

Letter of the Privy Council to Henry, earl of Derby

This is an official letter from the privy council in London to the earl of Derby as lord lieutenant of Lancashire and Cheshire, surviving in a contemporary register.

London, Public Record Office, PC 2/19; 1591–2; English; paper; iii + 280 + ii; modern pagination; 345mm x 245mm; bound in brown tooled leather, title on spine: 'Elizabeth vol. x. Council Register. Oct. 1591 to Aug. 1592.'

Orders for Sabbath Observance

A copy of these new orders appears in the Manchester Sessions Book, Manchester Central Library Archives Department ms. F. 347.96 M2, p 25, but the Kenyon ms, being signed by Edward Bromley, JP, is clearly the original and has therefore been chosen as the copy text. The variant readings of the Manchester text are discussed in the endnote.

Cumbers House, Shropshire, Kenyon ms, No 28; 1616; English; paper; single sheet; 400mm x 310mm; tears at bottom, repaired; endorsed: 'Order set downe by Iudge Bromley for good observacon of sunday' and 'Observations for <the> sabaothe.'

The King's Declaration Concerning Lawful Sports

This was issued by James I on 27 August 1617 at Gerard's Bromley in Staffordshire, a week after he completed his progress through Lancashire.

Manchester, Manchester Central Library Archives Department, ms f 347.96 M2; 1616–30; Latin and English; paper; i + 320 + i; modern pagination; 295mm x 190mm; leaves repaired; leather binding.

John Barwick, 'Ιερωνίκης

This work is, in fact, a life of Thomas Morton, bishop of Chester and afterwards of Durham, by John Barwick, dean of St Paul's, who had been Morton's domestic chaplain.

'ΙΕΡΟΝΙΚΗΣ, | OR | The Fight, Victory, and Triumph of S. PAVL. | Accommodated | To the Right Reverend Father in God | THOMAS | LATE | L. BISHOP of DURESME, | In a *SERMON* Preached at his Funeral, | In the Parish Church of St. PETER at | *Easton-Manduit* in *Northampton-shire* | on *Michaelmas-day*, 1659. | Together, | With the LIFE of the said Bishop. | [rule] | By *JOHN BARWICK* (now) D.D. | And one of his Majesties Chaplains in | Ordinary. | [rule] | Rom. 8. 37. | [Greek] | Phil. 3. 17. | *Brethren, be ye followers together of me, | and mark them that walk | so, as ye have us for an Example.* | [rule] | LONDON, | Printed for *R. Royston* at the *Angel* in *Ivy-lane*, 1660. No colophon; italic and roman in two sizes; Eyre and Rivington '3d October 1659 Richard Royston. Entred ... under the hand of Master Thrale warden a booke called *The life of the Right Reverend Father in God, Thomas late Lord Bishop of Duresme with a sermon preached at his funerall by John Barwicke* B.D. chaplaine to the said Bishop vj d'; Wing: B1008.

Suppression of Recusant Alehousekeepers and Musicians

In 1626 Lord Harvey, judge of the common pleas, issued this order for all the hundreds and justices of the peace of Lancashire.

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, QSB 1/4 (13); 1626; Latin and English; paper; bifolium; 273mm x 165mm.

Quarter Session Orders in Time of Plague

The Lancashire bench issued similar orders at Ormskirk for the hundreds of West Derby and Leyland, and at Manchester for the hundred of Salford, prohibiting unnecessary public assemblies during an outbreak of plague in 1631. These survive in both the quarter session roll, LRO: QSR 28, and the quarter session order book, LRO: QSO 2/6.

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, QSR 28; 1631; Latin and English; parchment; 47 membranes gathered at head; mb 13: 520mm x 265mm, others: 160mm or 170mm longer; written from front to dorse of each membrane in turn.

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, QSO 2/6; 1631–2; Latin and English; paper; 179 leaves; unnumbered; 270mm x 168mm; made up as four pamphlets, one for each quarterly session, in modern covers.

Editorial Procedures

Principles of Selection

This, like other REED collections, deals with drama and entertainment to 1642 but two especially pertinent later documents have been placed in Appendix 1. In choosing what to include the emphasis has been chiefly on dramatic and musical performance. Hence records which mention performers but do not attest to actual secular performance have usually been excluded. This includes references to players or minstrels who appear as witnesses in court cases unrelated to performance or as tax-payers or landowners. One large class of such notices, however, has been assembled as Appendix 2, namely entries in church registers. Also, the payments to the 'waits' of Manchester by the collegiate church have been included in the text because they may relate to non-liturgical performance.

Bear-baitings, bull-baitings, cock-fights, and horse-races have been included as falling well within the contemporary definition of entertainment, as have the folk-rites of mumming, may-pole ceremonies, Robin Hood plays, and summer games. By extension, the disguising at Chorley in 1536 has been included as probably inspired by folk custom. Previous REED editors may not have collected information about rushbearings but the ceremonial ones found in Lancashire, often accompanied by piping, seem to meet REED's criteria for inclusion very well.

'Gaming' and 'playing' are ambiguous terms in Tudor and Stuart records; they may mean staging games or performances but more likely refer merely to gambling. The general rule for this collection has been to exclude passages where these words appear unless context or other evidence suggested that a performance of some kind had in fact occurred.

Court records are sometimes set up in such a way that it is hard to decide how many accused persons are covered by a charge involving entertainment. In providing context for relevant material, the rule has been to give passages in full rather than risk omitting references to possible performers. All letters have been printed in full and generous use has been made of such sources as Adam Martindale's autobiography and Lieutenant Hammond's travel narrative. In the Walmesley household accounts, many notices of entertainers and guests at entertainments are actually marginalia to lists of food and other household items bought for the week when the entertainment took place. Then the whole block of household entries has been reproduced as affording worthwhile context. In general, marginalia written before 1700 have been transcribed but later ones (which are especially frequent in the Liverpool Town Books) have been ignored.

The main collection keeps to activities within historic Lancashire, except for a few entries in

the household section illustrating Lancashire families' support for entertainers while travelling outside the county. One incident involving a Lancashire minstrel performing just over the county boundary is placed in Appendix 3 and should be read in conjunction with the contemporary entry in the main text under Chorley (see pp 11–13) which it helps to elucidate.

Since the Stanleys were the leading Lancashire family throughout a great part of the period spanned by the Records, it seemed appropriate to round out the account of their household entertainments by printing the full text of the Knowsley Masque as Appendix 4 and by including in this volume Dr Roger Dickinson's account of their entertainments on the Isle of Man, which forms Appendix 5. As the probable work of a Lancashire author, the Stonyhurst cycle of religious pageants is noticed in Appendix 6.

Only incidents vouched for by a contemporary authority have been admitted to the text. Hence Hollingworth's tradition about a Robin Hood play in Manchester a century before his time has been reserved for Appendix 7 and the custom of the Black Knight's riding at Ashton under Lyne, which may have a long history but is first attested in the eighteenth century, is dealt with in Appendix 8.

The household accounts of the Plantagenet earls and dukes of Lancaster have not been included here because they did not have their seat within the county, spent little or no time there, and so far as the extant records enable one to judge, never patronized entertainers within the county boundaries. Their records may at a later date form a distinct REED collection or an adjunct to one or more volumes dealing with the royal household. References to boy bishops would normally have been included but the Lytham Priory payments appear to have gone to support the boy bishop of the mother house at Durham rather than a local one and so Lytham Priory's boy bishop payments, along with boy bishop payments from other daughter-houses, have been reserved for publication in the forthcoming REED Durham collection. Two cases listed in Raines' transcripts of Chester diocesan visitation proceedings, apparently involving Lancashire parishes, have been excluded.²⁰⁸ John Baxter, a piper active in 1596, could not be located in the visitation records for any Lancashire deanery in or around that year, despite his apparent connection with Garstang. George Nicholson, a clergyman who neglected his duties to attend a may game on Whit Monday 1621, was serving in the parish of Wybunbury in Cheshire and not in Leigh in Lancashire as Raines seems to have thought.

Wills and manorial court records have not been searched exhaustively but relevant items noted by earlier researchers or discovered in the course of other investigation have been traced and printed from the original sources.²⁰⁹ These small courts tended to deal with pastoral concerns and those which have been read (eg, Ightenhill halmote court) have yielded little relevant information. At the Public Record Office in London a long list of court rolls relating to Lancashire was also examined with small result. Cox mentions churchwardens' accounts for Wigan from REED's period and Lawrence Blair's *List of Churchwardens' Accounts* adds ones for Lancaster, Littleborough, and Rochdale but diligent search has not revealed any of these.²¹¹ Weeks and other older antiquaries used material for Clitheroe that cannot now be identified in the catalogued collections at the Lancashire Record Office but much or all of that may come to light again as the Record Office completes its cataloguing; all known relevant Clitheroe material has here been printed from original sources.

The same is to be hoped for a manuscript play entitled 'The Christmas Ordinary: wherein is Expressed the Ioviall Freedome of this Festivall Presented in a p. Show by H.B.' This was formerly at Birkdale, Southport, in the collection of Raymond Richards, which consisted largely of Lancashire material; the spelling of the title suggests a date before 1642 and 'p. Show' may well stand for 'puppet show.' Keele University at Newcastle under Lyme in Staffordshire bought the manuscript in 1948 but inquiries have revealed that it is not there now and the university seems never to have received it. If this piece had come to light, it would have appeared here alongside the Knowsley Masque.²¹¹

Certain 'ghost' entries deserve to be noted here. From an examination of the Lancashire pipe rolls for the reign of King John, Thomas Baines concluded that the royal establishment in Lancashire then included 'two hundred and sixty cocks—I suppose for cock-fighting' but these proved to be capons intended as provisions for the army going to Ireland.²¹² In the will of Thomas del Booth of Barton, made 25 September 1368, 'Le Poll' near which a causeway was to be made was most likely a pool rather than a maypole; a similar misunderstanding by older antiquaries, which led them to posit a maypole near Cockersand Abbey, is discussed at length in Appendix 9.²¹³ A reference to William, son of Robert Geffeson 'le belleward,' in a grant and confirmation of lands in Warrington and elsewhere in 1375–6 finds no place in this volume because 'belleward' there most likely means 'bell-keeper,' in which sense it is clearly attested in Middle English (*MED* belle n. (1) 8).²¹⁴ It is, however, found in Westhoughton in 1634 as a dialectal variant of 'bear-ward' (see p 97) but the date of the Westhoughton record is too late for a reliable parallel with 1375–6. Winifred Bowman has shown that the 'gist ale' of Ashton under Lyne in 1422 was not a parish ale in the usual sense and affords no evidence for a parish king.²¹⁵ In the paper parish register of Great Harwood in the accounts for 1557, an entry transcribed by the Lancashire Parish Register Society editor as 'Item 6 d to Jenet Merser for ale to Weyghts' turned out to read 'Wryghts.'²¹⁶ A reference to 'Mr Peter Lees foole' that J. Paul Rylands claimed to find in the Warrington paper register under 30 September 1639 could not be found there.²¹⁷ 'Henry ye Foole' in the Derby Household Books turned out to be 'Henry ffoole,' 'ffoole' or Foule being a common Lancashire surname.²¹⁸

Ecclesiastical Court Records

Because the records of church courts are highly formulaic and often very abbreviated, it is frequently difficult to understand what actually happened. An outline of the proceedings will help clarify some of these difficulties.

The size of the diocese of Chester meant that the visitation courts were more used for 'ex officio' or office cases (the ecclesiastical equivalent of criminal proceedings) than were the two fixed consistory courts at Chester and Richmond. There are only two cases recorded in this collection involving the consistory court, Holcombe 1626 and Winwick 1596/7 (see pp 26–7 and 112). (A case against the Garstang churchwardens in 1623 (see p 23) was heard in the consistory of Chester Cathedral but reported in the visitation books, so it is difficult to know how to classify it: a warning perhaps against our desire for clearcut categories.) In these two cases, the relevant section of the list of articles is printed, that is, the detailed charge as it was

presented to the accused, rather than the less informative report in the consistory court act books.

A visitation, which took place within the deanery, involved presentment, a process in which either the churchwardens or, in some cases, the incumbent of a parish brought forth a list of any offences known or believed by them to have been committed by their parishioners since the last visitation. Sometimes a list of questions was prepared for the visitation to ensure a full presentment. Since the officials making the visitation were the same as those empowered to hold a court, ie, the metropolitan (in this case the archbishop of York), the diocesan (in this case the bishop of Chester), or their vicars general, commissaries, or other deputies, holding hearings at the same time presented no administrative difficulties.

However, the accused was frequently not present at the visitation, so that the record of the case may consist only of the alleged charge without any statement from the accused or other details. If the accused did appear at that or a subsequent visitation, we usually have a fuller account of the matter or at least a marginal note of the outcome. There is little here which reflects the full machinery of three-fold citation and summoning described in David Klausner's *Herefordshire/Worcestershire* volume and it is not clear how offenders were cited to make their appearances before the court.²¹⁹

However they were cited, a failure to appear would surely have constituted contumacy in Chester diocese just as much as in Hereford diocese, resulting ultimately in excommunication. The effects of excommunication could be more easily avoided in Lancashire than in many other districts and therefore it does not seem to have been a strong deterrent (see pp xx–xxi above). In one case in Halsall, the accused was presented at a visitation in October 1611 but did not appear to answer the charge or receive absolution from excommunication until October 1613 (see pp 24–5). This is the most extreme case included in this collection but it serves to underscore a difficulty which the courts must have frequently faced, albeit usually on a lesser scale.

If the accused appeared in person or sent a proctor (who at this time might have been a master, patron, parent, or spouse rather than an officer of the court) in response to the presentment, the article containing the charge was formally laid against him or her by the judge and then formally either denied or acknowledged. If the charge was acknowledged, the court could proceed in one of two ways. Either the judge warned the offender not to commit a similar offence thereafter and dismissed the case, or he ordered a public penance, normally a confession of the article in the offender's parish church at one or more major services in a set form of words and in customary penitential garb. Sometimes, however, the penance was to be performed only in the presence of the minister and churchwardens and possibly a set number of parishioners.

The offender had to return to the court and certify the performance of his or her penance either by presenting a copy of the schedule of penance, ie, the set form of words used in the confession, which was taken from the court to the church and signed by the minister and wardens after they had witnessed the penance, or by oath. If an offender ordered to do penance did not return to court within the designated period to certify his or her compliance, then excommunication for contumacy was incurred.

If the accused denied all or part of the charge, there were again several courses open to the judge. He might refuse to accept the denial (a rare occurrence), or he might accept the denial on the strength of the accused's oath, or he might require formal compurgation, a variety of proof peculiar to the ecclesiastical courts.

Presumably, the judge chose whether to issue a warning or order public penance (in the case of a confession of fault), or accept a simple oath, or order compurgation (in the case of a denial of the charge) on an *ad hoc* basis. A simple warning to behave better in future might be deemed appropriate on the basis of apparent sincerity of repentance, the likelihood of a recurrence, the perceived gravity of the offence, or the minor role of the particular accused in that offence. A person of known good character might have his oath accepted whereas a person of known bad morals might have compurgators required.

After the accused had successfully completed penance or compurgation and delivered any necessary certificates to the judge, the case was normally dismissed. This precluded further proceedings against the accused for the same charge. There were usually court fees to be paid, although this is not always specified in the court books. The fees could be waived for a person who could certify poverty.

The court books which record such proceedings tend to be very sparse and laconic, and the records of ecclesiastical courts are similarly abbreviated and often very formulaic. So much of the course of a case was predetermined that repeated formulas were often reduced to a word or two followed by 'etc.' A reader very familiar with court procedure would have been able to supply the missing information and it is supplied in round brackets as appropriate in the translations.

A registrar of the visitation court would first enter into the court book the names of, and charges against, those presented, usually putting no more than four or five names on a page. This provided space in which he or another registrar could record the progress of the case. If the accused appeared, the registrar would record that fact, the plea, and the judge's disposition in as few words as possible. If the accused did not appear at that time, details of the ultimate appearance or excommunication for non-appearance might be entered briefly; often the remaining space is simply blank. Re-appearances, eg, to certify penance, were recorded in as few words as possible. A later session at which an accused person was required to appear may be recorded by a new registrar, in which case raised circles (°...°) are here used to signal the change of scribes. An explicit date, or the phrase 'Quo die' if the new appearance date was specified elsewhere, normally signals the start of the record of a new appearance.

Editorial Conventions

The Records entries are arranged in the same order as in the document descriptions: that is, Boroughs, Parishes, and Other Localities as a group; then Monasteries; then Households; then Province of York and Diocese of Chester; and lastly the County as a whole. Within the first three classes, particular localities, monastic houses, or private households come in alphabetical order and under each of those headings entries are arranged chronologically. Records of secular and church courts are, whenever possible, assigned to the place where the offence was alleged

to have occurred. Under Manchester and Prescot, where entries from various sources may come together under a single year, proceedings or orders of the court leet come first, then municipal accounts, church accounts, proceedings of the quarter sessions, proceedings of church courts, and lastly miscellaneous documents such as wills.

Original layout has been preserved as far as is practicable. The notable departures are that right marginalia are moved to the left margin and marked with the symbol ®, sums of money placed over against a long account entry and linked to it with a brace are set flush right in the printed text at the end of the last entry line, and no attempt has been made to preserve lineation in continuous prose. Ecclesiastical court books and visitation books are often set up with the names and parishes of the accused in a separate left column; in the printed text that is regularly transposed into an opening paragraph preceding the charge. Continuations of such cases are commonly written in the margin because the scribe failed originally to allot enough space; here such additions are run on after the main entries they continue.

The style of transcription may be termed semi-diplomatic. Original spelling, capitalization, and punctuation have been retained. Capital 'I' and 'J' are distinguished only when reproducing printed sources or antiquarian manuscripts in which they are clearly differentiated; in transcribing original manuscript sources only 'I' is used. 'ff' used for modern 'F' has been retained and so has 'i' for the numeral '1' in dates, as in 'i6i6.' The character 'y' used as an alternative spelling for 'th,' descended from the Old English þ, is so rendered only when it is clearly distinct from the same writer's 'y'; otherwise it is rendered 'y.' Ambiguous initial letters are generally transcribed as lower-case rather than capitals. Virgules are printed as / and //. Raised letters are retained only in abbreviations for ordinal numerals such as 'xxth' for 'twentieth'; otherwise they are lowered.

Expansions are given in italics but abbreviations for sums of money (such as 'li.', 's.', 'd.', and also 'ob.' and 'q.') have not normally been expanded, nor have common abbreviations still current, nor 'di.' meaning 'a half.' Where the context leaves the number or case of an abbreviated word doubtful, the ending has not been expanded; instead the abbreviated form is retained with an apostrophe to indicate the suspension, eg, 'Item Ministrall.' In ecclesiastical court cases and long runs of formulaic accounts, abbreviation marks, especially for very common words, become increasingly formalized and hurried and are sometimes difficult to detect. Rather than burden the apparatus with discussion of such cases, the policy has been to expand the forms as if the abbreviations were plainly indicated, wherever the writer's intention is clear.

To prevent ambiguity in the text, italics are used only for expansions; hence the use of italic type in early printed sources is not carried over, nor is italic type used for words or phrases in italic script appearing in documents otherwise written in secretary. Similarly, bold type is not used to represent manuscript display script or the use of black-letter in early printed sources.

A wrong number of minims is the only kind of scribal error corrected in the text and then the exact manuscript reading is reported in a footnote. Otherwise the error is allowed to stand and the footnote is used to point it out and propose a correction. Matter enclosed in square brackets ([]) is cancelled in the source. Diamond brackets (< >) are used to enclose damaged text and when that is illegible, either dots are used to represent the probable number of missing letters or, where the damage is more extensive, the measurement of the loss is specified in a

footnote or endnote. A change of scribe is always marked with raised circles (°...°) and when more than two writers are involved the details are given in an endnote. The insertion '(blank)' indicates that the scribe has left space for matter to be added later but never put it in. All footnotes have been kept as brief as possible and any discussion of textual questions at length will be found in the endnotes.

Flourishes, line fillers, and decorations are ignored. Manuscript braces are reproduced only when that is necessary for a clear understanding of the text, but accounting crosses and dots are reproduced. Personal marks used to attest documents are uniformly represented by a conventional '+' but those few whose actual shape is of interest are dealt with in the notes.

Biblical quotations given in the apparatus follow the Douay-Rheims version of 1609–10 when the Latin Vulgate is translated; all others are from the Authorized (King James) version of 1611. Quotations and references to Shakespeare follow *The Riverside Shakespeare* (Boston, 1974).

Dating

The documents have been dated as exactly as possible. Original datings by regnal years and holy days have usually been transposed into calendar dates, which are then either incorporated into headings or recorded in footnotes. The few cases requiring unusual consideration are treated in the endnotes. Court records are nearly always put under the date of the session; when the date of the alleged offence is known, the evidence is either found in the text or discussed in the endnotes. Extracts from the Prescott court rolls have been dated on internal evidence for reasons given in the Prescott document descriptions (see p lxx). Wills are dated to the day when they were drawn up unless 'probated' appears in the heading; it has not been possible to determine when certain wills printed here were probated. Extracts from chronicles, travel narratives, and memoirs have been placed under the date which the author assigned to the incident excerpted.

For towns, parishes, religious houses, and households that observed a fiscal year and set up their accounts accordingly, that fiscal year is used as a dating framework. A double-year date, such as 1531–2, denotes an account year running from one Michaelmas to the next unless another fiscal year is specified in the subheading, as it is, for instance, in Liverpool. When appropriate a more exact date within that year is given in a second subheading, chiefly in the excerpts from the Liverpool town books and the Walmesley household accounts. Where a single-year date is used, the period between 1 January and 25 March is signalled by using a 'split' year date such as 1531/2. In the Whalley Abbey accounts a single year coincides with the account year (see above p lxxx).

The Sherrington, Shireburn, and Shuttleworth household accounts are continuous records of expenses rather than formal accounts invariably cast up and balanced annually. In presenting them, the individual extracts have simply been dated as exactly as the evidence of the manuscripts permits.

Notes

If a work appears in the Select Bibliography, full publication details are not given in these Notes.

- 1 John K. Walton, *Lancashire: A Social History, 1558–1939* (Manchester, 1987), 1.
- 2 The east-west road running from Chester to York via Manchester was evidently used by Edward Alleyn, who led a section of Strange's men between those towns in 1593 (see the reference to his letter to his wife in Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, vol 2, p 124). For Lancashire's Roman roads see Bagley, *A History of Lancashire*, p 14. Lancashire's medieval and renaissance roads are shown in C.W. Scott-Giles, *The Road Goes On* (London, 1946), pages facing 49 and 66 and in H.C. Darby (ed), *A New Historical Geography of England* (Cambridge, 1973), 173 and 289.
- 3 Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p 91.
- 4 Joan Thirsk, 'Cheshire and Lancashire,' *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, vol 4 (1500–1640), Joan Thirsk (ed) (Cambridge, 1967), 81, 85.
- 5 BL: MS Sloane 2596, f 105v. This has been edited by Henry B. Wheatley and Edmund W. Ashbee (London, 1879). The distances given here are in 'long miles'; the actual length of old Lancashire was 70 miles, its breadth in the south 45 miles.
- 6 Paul Booth, 'Eight Hundred Years of Lancashire,' *Lancashire Local Historian* 1 (1983), 13.
- 7 Booth, 'Eight Hundred Years of Lancashire,' p 19.
- 8 BL: MS Sloane 2596, f 107.
- 9 T.S. Willan, *Elizabethan Manchester*, cs, 3rd ser, vol 27 (Manchester, 1980), 39. Willan (pp 38–9) speculates on Manchester's population in 1543, 1563, 1607–11, and 1642 and estimates it to have grown upward from 2,300 to over 3,000, with severe mortality in the plague of 1605. See also Peter Clark, Kathy Gaskin, and Adrian Wilson, *Population Estimates of English Small Towns 1550–1851*, Centre for Urban History, University of Leicester, Working Paper 3 (1989), 97.
- 10 Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p 92.
- 11 P.J. Gooderson, *A History of Lancashire* (London, 1980), 55–6 (1563 was the year of the bishop of Chester's survey of his diocese).
- 12 Walton, *Lancashire*, p 25; Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p 22.
- 13 Roger Finlay, *Population and the Metropolis: The Demography of London 1580–1650* (Cambridge, 1981), 6; see also Steve Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds: Structures of Life*

- in *Sixteenth-Century London* (Cambridge, 1989), 64 and R. Finlay and B. Shearer, 'Population Growth and Suburban Expansion,' *London 1500–1700: The Making of the Metropolis*, A.L. Beier and Roger Finlay (eds) (London, 1986), 49, table 5. For York, see John Patten, *English Towns 1500–1700* (Folkestone, 1978), 100 and D.M. Palliser, 'Epidemics in Tudor York,' *Northern History* 8 (1973), 46. See also Roger Howell, Jr., *Newcastle upon Tyne and the Puritan Revolution* (Oxford, 1967), 2.
- 14 J.D. Marshall, *Lancashire* (Newton Abbott, 1974), 47.
 - 15 Peter Clark and Paul Slack, *English Towns in Transition, 1500–1700* (Oxford, 1976; rpt 1979), 10.
 - 16 S.T. Bindoff, *The House of Commons 1509–1558*, vol 1 (London, 1982), 118–28 and P.W. Hasler, *The House of Commons 1558–1603*, vol 1 (London, 1981), 186–92. See also Henry Hornyard-Strickland, *Biographical Sketches of the Members of Parliament of Lancashire (1290–1550)*, cs, ns, vol 93 (Manchester, 1935), 110–18.
 - 17 Hasler, *The House of Commons 1558–1603*, pp 187–90.
 - 18 Alan Everitt, 'The Market Town,' *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, vol 4 (1500–1640), Joan Thirsk (ed) (Cambridge, 1967), 469. Even this figure may be high as Everitt is interested in markets rather than towns *per se*.
 - 19 Walton, *Lancashire: A Social History*, p 26.
 - 20 Patten, *English Towns*, pp 103, 106.
 - 21 Walton, *Lancashire: A Social History*, p 25.
 - 22 Walton, *Lancashire: A Social History*, p 12.
 - 23 Bailey, 'Elizabethan Playhouse,' p 70.
 - 24 Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p 20.
 - 25 *vch: Lanc*, vol 2 p 205.
 - 26 Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p 147.
 - 27 Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p 231.
 - 28 Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster*, p 261.
 - 29 A. Hassell Smith, *County and Court* (Oxford, 1974), 48–50; see also J.H. Gleason, *The Justices of the Peace in England 1558–1640* (Oxford, 1969).
 - 30 Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, pp 234–5.
 - 31 Alan G.R. Smith, *The Government of Elizabethan England* (New York, 1967), 85–6; see also Felicity Heal, *Hospitality in Early Urban England* (London, 1967), 308, 386.
 - 32 Quintrell, *Lancashire Justices of the Peace*, p 7.
 - 33 Alan G.R. Smith, *Government of Elizabethan England*, p 94.
 - 34 Gleason, *Justices of the Peace*, pp 1, 121.
 - 35 Smith, *County and Court*, pp 48–9.
 - 36 Alan G.R. Smith, *Government of Elizabethan England*, p 92.
 - 37 Thomas Smith, *De Republica Anglorum 1583*: facsimile (Amsterdam, 1970; *src*: 22857), 76.
 - 38 Quintrell, *Lancashire Justices of the Peace*, p 8.
 - 39 PRO: SP 12/46, no 63, f 143.
 - 40 Quintrell, *Lancashire Justices of the Peace*, p 46.

- 41 Penry Williams, 'The Crown and the Counties,' *The Reign of Elizabeth I*, Christopher Haigh (ed) (Athens, Georgia, 1985), 140.
- 42 See Keith Wrightson, 'Two Concepts of Order: Justices, Constables and Jurymen in Seventeenth-Century England,' *An Ungovernable People*, John Brewer and John Styles (eds) (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1980), 21–46.
- 43 Coward, *The Stanleys*, pp 152, 153.
- 44 Penry Williams, *The Tudor Regime* (Oxford, 1979), 87, 122–3; see also Lindsay Boynton, *The Elizabethan Militia 1558–1638* (London, 1967), 71, 140.
- 45 Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p 105.
- 46 Alan G.R. Smith, *Government of Elizabethan England*, p 89.
- 47 On Huntingdon, see Claire Cross, *The Puritan Earl* (London, 1966), especially pp 159–95.
- 48 Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p 103.
- 49 Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, pp 1, 4.
- 50 Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p 7; see also Philip Hughes, *The Reformation in England*, vol 1 (London, 1950; rev ed 1963), 32–4.
- 51 Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, pp 13–14, citing CRO: EDR 6, pp 53–5.
- 52 Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, pp 230, 232.
- 53 Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p 17.
- 54 Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, pp 22, 231.
- 55 Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p 211. In actuality, only ten out of 200 Lancashire clergy were deprived in the early years of Elizabeth I's reign (see Penry Williams, *The Tudor Regime* (Oxford, 1979), 266).
- 56 Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p 234.
- 57 Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p 213. See Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster*, pp 461–4 for a list of sheriffs, 1351–1603.
- 58 *Acts of the Privy Council*, John Roche Dasent (ed), ns, vol 8 (London 1894, rpt 1974), 276–7.
- 59 Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p 217.
- 60 Walton, *Lancashire*, p 47.
- 61 Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p 223.
- 62 Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, pp 263–4. During the period after 1575, the privy council 'turned its weapons of coercion against the recusants.... The gentlemen of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk were scrutinized with particular care.' The privy council began to follow on a national scale a policy already adopted for Lancashire (see Williams, *The Tudor Regime*, p 276).
- 63 Richardson, *Puritanism in North-West England*, pp 161–9.
- 64 Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London, 1967), 406.
- 65 Hollingworth, *Mancuniensis*, pp 75–6. See Appendix 7 for discussion of this misleading Robin Hood reference by Hollingworth.
- 66 Walton, *Lancashire*, pp 48–9.
- 67 Kenyon mss 15, quoted in Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p 299.

- 68 Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p 307.
- 69 Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p 219.
- 70 Walton, *Lancashire*, p 52.
- 71 Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, pp 269–70.
- 72 Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p 291.
- 73 Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, pp 331–2.
- 74 Halley, *Lancashire*, vol 1, p 282.
- 75 *The Life of Adam Martindale*, Richard Parkinson (ed), cs, vol 4 (Manchester, 1845), 40.
- 76 Halley, *Lancashire*, vol 1, pp 282–3.
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- 78 Patrick Collinson, *The Puritan Classical Movement in the Reign of Elizabeth I*, PhD thesis (University of London, 1957), 1081, cited in Richardson, *Puritanism in North-West England*, p 34.
- 79 Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance*, p 245.
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- 84 Muir, *History of Municipal Government*, p 63.
- 85 Clark and Slack, *English Towns in Transition*, pp 12, 27, 47, 51.
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- 88 George Chandler, *Liverpool* (London, 1957), 174.
- 89 Muir, *History of Municipal Government*, p 27.
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- 91 Muir, *History of Municipal Government*, p 81.
- 92 Bagley, *History of Lancashire*, p 63.
- 93 Twemlow (ed), *Liverpool Town Books*, vol 1, pp 142–7.
- 94 Muir, *History of Municipal Government*, p 36.
- 95 Twemlow (ed), *Liverpool Town Books*, vol 1, pp 85–8.
- 96 Twemlow (ed), *Liverpool Town Books*, vol 2, pp xvi–xix.
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- 98 *vch: Lanc*, vol 3, p 14.
- 99 Bagley, *History of Lancashire*, p 64.
- 100 W.H. Thomson, *History of Manchester to 1852* (Altrincham, Cheshire, 1967), 9.
- 101 Tupling, 'Markets and Fairs of Lancashire,' p 101.
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- 103 Arthur Redford, *The History of Local Government in Manchester*, vol 1 (London, 1939), 17–18.
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- 108 Thomson, *History of Manchester*, p 51.
- 109 John Leland, *The Itinerary*, Lucy Toulmin Smith (ed), vol 4 (London, 1964), 5. See also Alfred Wadsworth and Julia de Lacy Mann, *The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire 1600–1780* (New York, 1968) for Manchester's importance as a textile centre.
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- 111 Redford, *Local Government in Manchester*, pp 23, 27, 28.
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- 116 Willan, *Elizabethan Manchester*, p 12.
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- 118 Redford, *Local Government in Manchester*, p 51.
- 119 Redford, *Local Government in Manchester*, p 34.
- 120 Walton, *Lancashire*, p 12.
- 121 Willan, *Elizabethan Manchester*, p 128.
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- 123 Willan, *Elizabethan Manchester*, pp 21–2.
- 124 Baines, *History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster*, vol 3, p 697. All references are to the 1836 edition.
- 125 Bailey, *Prescot Court Leet*, pp 60–3, 73.
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- 128 There is an extended discussion of Prescot's leet in Walter J. King's article 'Early Stuart Courts Leet: Still Needful and Useful,' *Histoire Sociale—Social History* 23, no 46 (1990), 271–99.
- 129 Bailey, 'Elizabethan Playhouse,' p 70.
- 130 Bailey, 'Elizabethan Playhouse,' p 71.
- 131 David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales* (London, 1971), 55–7, 84, 113, 115, 139, 223, 229, 240, 318, 323; see also *vch: Lanc*, vol 2, pp 102–73.
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- 135 Bagley, *History of Lancashire*, pp 29–30; *vch: Lanc*, vol 2, pp 138–9.

- 136 Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, p 118.
- 137 'Lord Burghley's Map of Lancashire, 1590,' *Miscellanea iv*, Catholic Record Society (London, 1907), 175; E.A.J. Honigmann, *Shakespeare: the 'Lost Years'* (Totowa, New Jersey, 1985), 8–9.
- 138 Honigmann, *Shakespeare: the 'Lost Years'*, p 15.
- 139 Coward, *The Stanleys*, p 85.
- 140 Coward, *The Stanleys*, p 85. The third earl was the twelfth in succession, Edward, and the fourth earl was the thirteenth, Henry.
- 141 'Lord Burghley's Map,' p 178.
- 142 Raines, *Journal of Nicholas Assheton*, pp 15–16.
- 143 There may have been a puritanical streak in the younger Richard Shuttleworth. In a 1637 portrait, he is depicted wearing 'a plain Puritan band,' according to Raines in *Journal of Nicholas Assheton*, p 85.
- 144 Raines, *Journal of Nicholas Assheton*, p 85.
- 145 'Lord Burghley's Map,' p 176.
- 146 Raines, *Journal of Nicholas Assheton*, p 85.
- 147 Bagley, *History of Lancashire*, p 47.
- 148 Coward, *The Stanleys*, pp 9–13.
- 149 Barry Coward, 'A "Crisis of the Aristocracy" in Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries? The Case of the Stanleys, Earls of Derby, 1504–1642,' *Northern History* 18 (1982), 67.
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- 156 Bagley, *Earls of Derby*, p 72.
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- 159 Coward, 'A "Crisis",' p 72.
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- 166 'Lord Burghley's Map,' p 187.
- 167 However, Walmsley was very popular and within recent memory his face and title ('Judge Walmsley') have appeared on an east Lancashire inn sign in Billington near Black-

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- 185 George, 'Jacobean Actors and the Great Hall at Gawthorpe,' pp 115-19.
- 186 LRO: DDCs Court Rolls (paper) 1615, sheet 5 (9 June 1615 Court Leet).
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- 191 See Douglas and Greenfield (eds), *Cumberland/Westmorland/Gloucestershire*, p 461.
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- 193 J.A. Picton, 'Waits as Bag-Pipers,' *The Palatine Notebook*, vol 2, no 1 (1882), 21.
- 194 Michael Drayton, *Poly-Olbion or A Chorographicall Description of All the Tracts, Rivers, Mountains, Forests, and Other Parts of This Renowned Isle of Great Britain*, pt 2 (London, 1622: strc: 7229), p 134, ll. 248–50.
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- 196 Woodfill, *Musicians*, p 85.
- 197 LRO: DDT_r, Bundle 4, No 288. William Self Weeks, *Clitheroe in the Seventeenth Century* (Clitheroe, [1927]), 110, also notes a John Couper, piper, in Colne in 1423 and 'le Piper de Worston' in 1509–10 but the original sources have not been discovered.
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- 200 Bodleian Library: Ashmole 48, f 96, printed in *The British Bibliographer* 4, no 13 (1814), 101.
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- 206 Bishop's transcripts for Prescot parish, LRO: DRL 2/347.
- 207 See Baines, *History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster*, vol 3, p 190 for Assheton genealogy.
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- 209 The bulk and condition of the Lancashire quarter sessions rolls also precluded an exhaustive reading. The rolls are extant for 1588–92, 1601–6, 1608–9, and 1615 onwards beyond REED's cutoff date. They were searched with the help of Tait's calendar in *Lancashire Quarter Sessions Records*, which covers 1590–1606, Axon's *Manchester Sessions* which covers 1616–30, and the typed index to the recognizances in the Lancashire Record Office, which covers 1605–6 and 1623–43. The order books were read systematically from 1626 when they begin. Rolls for the two periods not fully covered by these aids, 1588–90 and 1606–23, were sampled and yielded no additional material of interest.
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Map of Lancashire from John Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Brittain*, by courtesy of the Huntington Library

PART

уокк

SHRE

BLACKBURN

CHESHYRE

Parte of
Darbye
Shire

The Scale of Miles

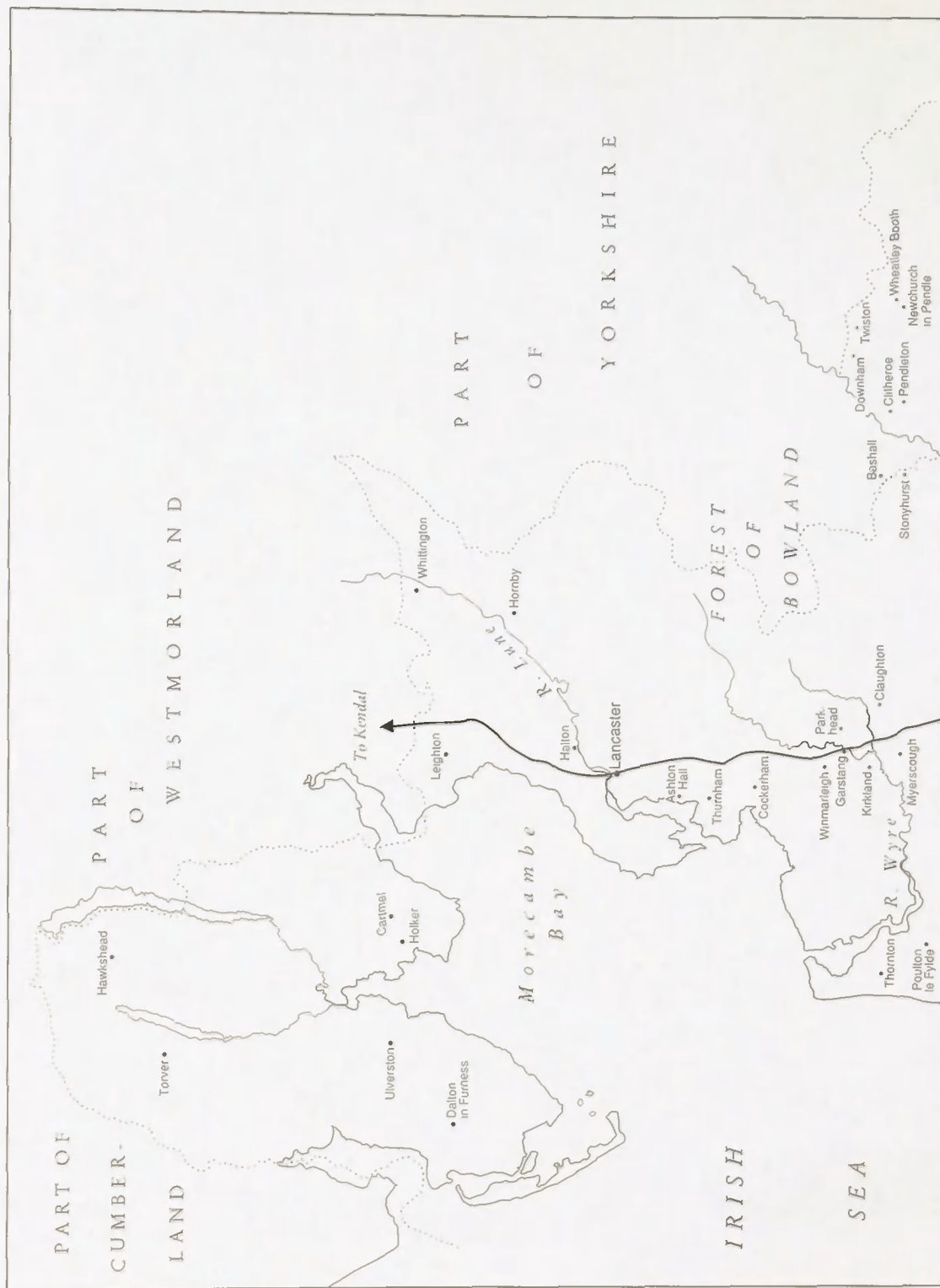
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LANCASTER

HENRY the fourth. and
first of Lancaster, by a for-
tunate resignation and affectu-
ous election, got the King-
dome, but first and second
year succeeded him ED 4
of York surpris'd and after
him, his son and Brother
reign'd, his eldest daughter
of York marrying with
Lancaster crown'd the Red
and White Rose on one.

EDWARD





RECORDS OF EARLY ENGLISH DRAMA

Symbols

BCRO	Barrow in Furness, Cumbria County Record Office	JRUL	John Rylands University Library
BI	Borthwick Institute of Historical Research	KCA	King's College Archives
BL	British Library	KCL	Knowsley Central Library
Bodl.	Bodleian Library	KCRO	Kendal, Cumbria County Record Office
CCRO	Chester City Record Office	LIRO	Liverpool Record Office
CL	Chetham's Library	LRO	Lancashire Record Office
CRO	Cheshire Record Office	MCA	Manchester Cathedral Archives
DDCM	Durham, Dean and Chapter Muniments	MCLA	Manchester Central Library Archives
GMRO	Greater Manchester Record Office	MTH	Manchester Town Hall
		PRO	Public Record Office
A	Antiquarian Compilation		
AC	Antiquarian Collection		
CS	Chetham Society		
STC	A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave (comp), <i>Short-Title Catalogue ... 1475-1640</i>		
THSLC	<i>Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire</i>		
VCH: Lanc	<i>The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Lancashire</i>		
Wing	D.G. Wing (comp), <i>Short Title Catalogue ... 1641-1700</i>		
*	(after folio, page, membrane, or sheet 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		
o o	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, membrane, sheet or page in passages of continuous prose		
®	right-hand margiale		

Boroughs, Parishes, and Other Localities

ASHTON UNDER LYNE

1584/5

Will and Inventory of John Ashton, Piper LRO: WCW 1584
sheet 1 (*Probated 13 February*)

5

In the name of god Amen the xiiijth day of Ianuarie Anno domini 1584 I
lhon Asshton of the parisshe of asshton vnder Lyne within the Countie of
Lancaster pyper sick in bodie but of perfect memorie praised be god do
ordeyne and make this my last will and testament in manner and forme
ffolowing ffirst I geue and bequeth my sowle to god and my bodie to be
buried in the Churchyard of asshton Also yt ys my will and mynd that
whereas I haue put my ffreind Iames wood to great costes and charges I do
geue and bequeth all my goodes and dettes owing to me to Iames wood
aforsaid whatsoever the be or in whose handes the are after my forth bringing
and ffunerall expences discharged. To performe and ffulfill this my last will I
make the sayd Iames wood my Executor these being wytnesses Robert
whiticar Thomas knott & Henry cooke.

10

15

dettes owing the sayd
Iohn.

20

Inprimis william growneshaw xxvij s. iiij d. whereof I
allow hym ye sayd william x s.
Item myles merland xxxiiij s. iiij d.
Item ffrancys kenion xx s.

25

sheet 2 (*9 February*)

Thys ys the trew Inventorie of all the goodes and dettes which belonged vnto
lhon Asshton late of the parisshe off Asshton decessed proved the ixth day of
ffebuarie Anno domini 1584 by henry hudson henry cooke and christopher
wodd as ffoloweth

30

Inprimis in dettes iiij li. xx d.
 Item his apparell & pypes ix s.
 [Item in debtes as may apeare
 by this will iiij li. xx d.]

5

1588

Churchwarden's Presentments to the Quarter Sessions

Cumbers House: Kenyon MSS, Memorandum Book

f 12v* (15 April)

To presente

10

...

4. All those yat haue kepte wakes fayres markettes bearbaites bullbaites, Greenes
 Ales may gammes, pipinge & dauncinge, huntinge & gaminge vpon the
 Saobothe

® I knowe none

...

15

AUGHTON

1601

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/12b

20

f 167 (9 October)

*Proceedings of the court held for Warrington deanery at Wigan parish church
 before David Yale, LL.D, official principal*

...

25

Richerdum Arnold parochie de Sephton
 a lewde pyper abvsed hym selfe the vth of Iulie by plaing art service tyme in
 Aughton church & aboute the church & would not bee staid by the
 Churchwardens

30

Gadfredum Cropper

Vsed the lyke misorder as arnold dyd the same daie

...

BLACKBURN

35

1591

Blackburn Grammar School Memoranda LRO: DDBk 3/9single sheet dorse* (30 September) (*Memoranda of money, deeds, and orders*)

...

40

Item that noe 'Englisshe' enterludes or playes shalbe from
 hencefourthe playde or vsed in the same Schoole.

Item that noe extraordenarie playe dayes to be graunted for [the] schollers of the same schoole

...

1600

5

Blackburn Grammar School Governors' Minutes LRO: DDBk 2/1

p 16* (17 September)

...

Licence to play shall not bee granted to Scollars at there departinge from the Schole, Nor to any other persons, than to persons of Honor, or worshipp, or to Masters of Arte, or other persons of Equivolente accounte, and by Concente of some of the gouernors, in after nones onely, And Once at the most in a (*blank*)

10

...

15

1623

Inventory of Thurstan Collinson, Schoolmaster LRO: WCW 1630

single sheet* (Appraised 25 September)

A true Inuentorie of all the goodes and Chatteles whiche did laitly apertaine vnto [...] Thurston Collinson Shoole maister of Blackburne late deceased...

20

...

Item one lute a base violin & Cithhorne a recorder 3 ould instrumentes xx s.

...

25

BOOTLE

1630

Bond for John Plombe, Fiddler LRO: QSB 1/78/18

single sheet* (7 September)

30

Lancaster

Memorandum quod Anthonius Martin de Mellinge husbandman et Thomas Robinson de Litherland husbandman venerunt coram me Edwardo Moore armigero vno Iusticiariorum pacis et manuceperunt pro Iohanne Plombe de westderby fidler, quod ipse personaliter comparebit coram [me] Iusticiario pacis domini regis ad proximam Sessionem pacis apud wigan tenendam, et quod ipse interim geret pacem erga cunctum populum domini regis, et præcipue erga milonem wad[ding]dington de Bootle. videlicet Quilibet manucaptorum prædictorum sub pœna decem librarum et prædictus Iohannes assumpsit pro seipso sub pœna viginti librarum. Quam quidem summam

35

40

10/ than corrected from that

viginti librarum prædictus Iohannes Plombe, et quilibet manucaptorum prædictorum dictam summam decem librarum recognoverunt, de terris et tenementis, bonis et cattallis suis levare, si in condicione subsequenti deficerit.

The Condicion of this Recognizance is such that if the within bounden Iohn Plombe shall be & personally appeare before his maiesties Iustices of the peace, at the next sessions of the peace to be holden at wigan; after the date hereof, then & their to answeare for [fi] continually fidling vpon the Saboath day, as also for strikeinge the constable, [& in the] after he was chardged with the peace, and thence doe not departe without licence of the Iustices their present, & in the interim doe keepe his maiesties peace towards our soueraigne lord the kinge & all his liedge people, & especially against Miles Waddington constable of Bootle, that then this recognizance to be voyde, & of noe effecte, or ells it to stand, in full power force & vertue.

°Debet.

(signed) Edward Moore

pro pace.

et ad respondendum

alia malefacta°

°Comparuit relaxatus per dominum°

2/4/

Irrotuletur

BURNLEY

1580

Letter of Edmund Assheton to William Farington LRO: DDF 2438/12
single sheet* (12 May)

I am sure (Righte worshippfull) youe haue not forgotten the laste yere sturres att Brunley, aboute Robyn hooe and the May games, Nowe Consideringe that itt is a Cause that bringeth no good effecte beinge Contrarie to the beste Therfore a Numbre of the Iustices of peace herein in Sallforde hundrethe haue Consulted with the Comysioners to suppressse those Lewde sportes tendinge to no other ende but to stirre vpp our ffrayle Natures to wantonnes, And meane not to allowe, neither olde Custome then their excuse in Comynge to the Churche in the tyme of devyne service, ffor euery man may well knowe with what myndes after their embrasinges, kissinges, vnchaste beholdinges of iche of others they can Come presently prepared to prayer, A ffit assemblie to Conferre of worst Causes, over and besides their mattinge, walkinge together in the nyght tyme. But Cheiffly for that it is a prophanacion of the Sabaoth day and donne (in some places) in Contempte

of the gossell and ye Religion established, I pray god it be not so att Brunley. Itt is called in the scriptures the Lordes daye, and was not Lawfull in the olde Lawe to carry a pitcher of water on the sabaoth, Or to geather stickes, but it was Deathe: suche regarde was hadd in the tyme of the Lawe to the Commandemente of god in kepinge holy the Sabaoth, [daye] And do not wee 5 withdrawe even the Practise and vse of good & godly workes vpon the same day [^] & then in reason thother shoulde Cease¹. Tell me I pray you yf you can fynd in the exercise of the forsaide Lewde pastymes good example or profitt to the Comon wealth, the defence of the Realme [or] [^]honor¹ to the Prynce or to the glory of god, then Lett them contynewe Otherwaies in my opynion 10 they are to be withdrawen, for to that ende I addresse these Contentes vnto youe, because wee wold not deale for any reformation within the Lymittes of your walke and for the better Credit of the Consente of the Comysyoners youe may *pervse* howe they meane to *proceede* against them of Brunley (who haue revyved their former follies) yf youe redresse not the same, Nowe 15 mr william I am to tell youe that your Consultacion att pilkington for the overthrowe of our Comysion in Ecclesiasticall causes cometh to Late for those that be Indyted affore vs Cannot be holpen by the endinge of our Comysion, the recordes (I do meane the Indytementes yf our auctoritie ende) wilbe broughte vpp to London by way of sursurari: and then your 20 ffrendes and myne muste Run the same race there that is tendered to them here, and as good (in my opynion) to growe to order in Lancashire as at London. And to tell you (...)tt one worde there is not one in our Cuntry suspected in Religion of any accompte but he is Indyted therfore I referre the *perswation* & due consideracion of the *premysses* to your approved wysdome 25 And so with my hartie Comendacions take my Leave Manchester May xijth Anno 1580/

Yours assured alwaies
to vse
(signed) Edmond assheton 30
verte

verso

Itt will not be longe [butt there wilbe] [^]affore¹ order taken for this dauncinge 35 ether by the pryvie Councell or by the Bysshoppe by ther comandemente my meaninge ys I woulde have youe to doe it your selfe, which will with one worde be broughte to pas, Iff youe woulde give me the readinge of a lytle boke [I have one] which I thincke youe would Lyke well of and yf youe sende

2-4/ and was not Lawfull ... Deathe: *Exodus 35: 2; Numbers 15: 32-6*

21/ red oftendered *written above the line and marked for insertion with a caret*

me worde by this berrar I woulde delyuer it vnto youe att Preston vppon
tewesday next where god willinge I meane to mete youe yf youe wolde sett
your hande to this precepte with vs I thinke it wolde [further] ende theis
disorders within prescribed/

5

BURY

1588

Report on Sabbath Breaking

Cumbers House: Kenyon MSS, Memorandum Book

10

ff 1v-2* (21 July)

...

The names of them yat commytted the disorder in Burye on Sundaie beinge
the xiiijth Daie of Iulie

15

- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Paule Ogden | } of Leeze | 4. Iohn Cowper seruaunte |
| 2. Thomas _A Travis [Leeze] | | to |
| | | Edmund whytheade |
| | | [sonne of] |

20

- | | |
|----------------------------|-------------|
| 3. Iames Taylor | } of Oldham |
| Peter Bexwicke | |
| William Hall | |
| Iackesone the sonne of | |
| Roberte Iackesone | |
| The wiffe of Edmund greave | |

25

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------|
| Alice Taylor | } of Oldham |
| Alice Tetlawe | |
| Margaret Hopwoode | |
| George [Taylor] Tetlawe | |

30

Chattertone

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| <E>llis Whitaker | } of Chattertone |
| <Ric>hard Thorpe | |
| <...> Goddarde | } All doughteres
of Iohn Goddarde
of Oldham |
| <Eliz>abethe Goddarde | |
| <..>ne Goddarde | |
| <Kat>herin Goddarde | |

35

Henry Whitaker of Oldham
<o>ne Bawtree
one Nylde and the eldeste sonne
of Iohn whitaker all of Hollinwoode

40

and as I thinke in the Towneshippe
 <of> Chattertone

<....>alkere } of Chattertone
 <....>te Hyne }

5

These with otheres to the number of threscore as I h<.>rd were at y<e> Ale
 some wherof rode & some wente o<n> foote, I wryte to the parson of Bury
 as you dyrected me william whitaker ffather to the abovenamed I Ellis ys
 verye Lustye as I h<...> faithe yat noe man can hu<r>te any of them ffor anie
 suche disorder 10

...

I am (Ryghte worshypfull) informed, that the xiiijth daie of this Iulie instante
 beinge Sundaie there was by certaine of oldham parishe in tyme of di<vine>
 service, gallowpinge of horses in the Streete of Burye, shawtinge & pypinge 15
 with other fowle disorderes in the forenone of the same daie A Lamentable
 spectacle in the place of a preachinge ministry of all good men to be pytyed
 & reformed in suche good sorte as the offendores & otheres by ther example
 maye be affraide to Commyte the Lyke againe, what you knowe eyther by
 your Self or otheres of Credytte yat maie procure the principalles in this accion 20
 to be in Lawfull maner dealte withall I hartilie prairie you to giue me
 intelligence therof by this bearer & I am perswaded that yf you [dyd] ¹woulde¹
 conferre with suche as kepte warde ¹in the towne of Burie¹ that daie or some
 the best affected of them they or some of them woulde giue suche notice vnto
 you as the principall actores ¹might¹ ffor ther owne benyfitte & good of 25
 otheres ¹[(...)]¹ have ther doinges some what Looked into by aucthorytie ffor
 these causes so flatte againste the Lawes of god (which I in other maner doe
 [manifouldlie] at & in every instante ¹manifouldlye¹ transgresse) & doe
 impudentlie thwarte the orderes put downe by my verye good Lordes the
 Earle of darbie & Lord Straunge with otheres [of] not of the inferioure sorte, 30
 besides, all the iustices of peace ¹in lancashire¹ haue subscribed to the same
 [orderes] & greate pytye yt were but yat some experimete should be had
 howe this accion wilbe disgested by the iudges att Lancaster, wherefore [I prairie
 you put your helpinge hande to], ffor the boultinge out of this Knaverye <...>
 to <...> disgrace of your ministerie, the deface of aucthorytye which we enioye 35
 in pyt<...> & denill & contempte of god, whose cause yt ys which nowe
 I move you too, ¹[I prairie you put to your helpinge <....>]¹ the<...> carefull &
 circumspecte good coosine to doe all your beste bothe in mattre &

14/ di<vine>: obscured by water stain

26/ i of into corrected from v

circumstan(ce concer)ninge the premisses. In truste wherupon, I betake you
to Iesus christe. Stanncl(iffe) xxjth of this Iulie 1588

youwer owne and for Eaver Iohn how
Your owne assured to hys power
Edmund Hopwood

5

...

CHILDWALL

1592

10

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/10
f 115v* (9 October)

*Proceedings of the court held for Warrington deanery before David Yale, LLD,
official principal*

15

excommun-
icatio

contra henricum hale de leuerpoole et Radulphum whitfeild for pipinge
appon the saboath Day & in the churchyard./

...

20

1621-2

All Saints' Churchwardens' Accounts All Saints' Church, Childwall
f 113 (4 April 1621-24 April 1622)

...

Item spent att Childwall being there about the rushes brought from
much wolton & lytle wolton

25

Item an other tyme about the rushes from Wavertrie & Thingwall

vj d.

vj d.

...

1622-3

30

All Saints' Churchwardens' Accounts All Saints' Church, Childwall
f 116 (24 April-23 April)

...

Item spent att Childwall being there to see Rushes brought to the
Church in decent manner, fro lytle Wolton

vj d. 35

Item an other tyme, when wauertry townshipp did bring Rushes

vj d.

Item when Muchewolton and Litle Wolton brought Rushes

vj d.

1625–6

All Saints' Churchwardens' Accounts All Saints' Church, Childwall
f 128v (20 April–12 April)

...

Item spent when the Rushes were brought from Wavertrye

vj d. 5

...

CHORLEY

1536

10

Examination of Participants in the Pilgrimage of Grace LRO: DDF 1
ff [39–9v]* (after 28 November)

A Copy of the examynacions of Percyvall Sanders William Charnok and others
sworn & examyned befor Edward Erle of Derby syr Alexander Radcliff syr 15
William Leylond Syr Thomas Halsall Knyghtes & Bartilmew Hesketh Iustices
of peace in the Comity of lancaster

The said Percyvall sworn and examyned saith that on Tuysday at nyght being
the xxviiij day of nouember abowtes xij of the Cloke the same nyght Ther cam 20
one Hugh parker assocyat with diuerse ill disposed and trayterous persons
their faces colored and disguysed and in harnes vnto the howse of the said
Percyvall/ he being in his bedde and called vppon hym/ And he being sodenly
called vppon awoke and asked who was there And the said Hugh said he and
the commons and therwith they brake upon his dore And cam to hym lying in 25
his bedde And on of theym clapped a boke to his mouthe And said thou must
be sworn to god and the king and the commons The said Percyvall answered
and said he wold not be sworn and gat on his shurt And when he was in his
shurt standing vpon his bed one of theym toke hym ouer the backe with a
mall and stroke hym down And said if he wold not be sworn he shuld see his 30
own blud befor his own eye And the said Percyvall for feare of his lyff was
sworn vnto theym

The said william saith that the said Hugh Parker And his cumpany cam the
same nyght to his howse and in lyke wise called vpon hym and bad hym ryse 35
And he asked theym wherto And sodenly gat vp and toke his wepon in his
hand And stode to the dore and kept theym owt aslong as he was hable tyll
they with force brake upon his dore And manased hym to kyll him And
[t]he[y] said [if] he wold not be sworn/ but said he wold goo the morn after
befor Genkyn Gylybrond who is a gentelman And then he wold do as other 40
dyd but in nowise they wold take no answar of hym but caused hym to be

sworn Also the saides percyvall and william saye that the same nyght on Laurance whyttyll owther was sworn or gave theym money to spare hym As the wiff of the said Laurance shewed theym And that Thurstan Collyng and his sonne were sworne lykewise

Hugh Parker of the age of xvj yeres examyned saith that the same nyght aforsaid he was at on bankes howse to got his hed rounded And in retornyng whom he cam to an Alehowse wher on Iohn Pyper and Iohn Yate were And there they had byn playing games and had blecked their faces And when they had ended their playe the said Iohn Yate put on his harnesse And said they wold go vnto on bonkes howse and see whether he wold be sworn to the commons or no And soo they went to the said bonkes howse And called vpon hym and bad hym opon the doore And so he dyd And when they cam in the said Pyper and Yate asked hym whether he wold be sworn to god the king and the Comons And the said bonkes said he wold not be sworn/ And then they asked hym whether he wold not lend theym his harnes And he said he wold not care to lend theym his harnes and so dyd And then the Pyper put on his harnes And forbicause that the saides Percyvall and William had said befor that tyme that they wold not be sworn to the commons to dye for it The Piper and Yate said they wold go to their howses and to see their boldnesses Wherupon they went to the said William Charnokes and called vpon hym and bad hym opon the dore And sone after he oponed the doore and the pyper asked hym whether he wold be sworn And then the said Charnok said to the said Parker he wold cum to theym if they wold do hym no hurt And the said parker said he wold awarant hym And therupon the piper dyd swere the said Charnoke And from thens they went to the said Percyvall Saunders and sware hym likewise I And when they had soo don they cam to the said Alehowse agayn And the piper and Yate were their all nyght And the said Hugh went whom to his fathers howse thinkyng no hurt nor intendyng no yll but thoght they had gon to make pastym for he being ignorant of their vngracious purpose foloed theym and no other thing dyd nor intended to doo but myrthe and pastyme orels he wold not haue foloed theym in nowise And therupon he will put his liff that he is no otherwise gylty therin

Iohn Yate of the Knolle in the parishe of Chorley sworn and examyned saith that on the said Tuysday at nyght after they had made games and pastymes intending no hurt he put on his harnes And he and the piper and the said

Parker went vnto the forsaied Robart Bankes howse And oponed his dore and went in/ and asked hym whether he wold be sworn to god and the king and the commons And he said he was content to be sworn/ but they dyd not swere hym/ And the said bonkes said they wold haue more pastym And the Pyper asked his harnesse And he toke hym his lacke and his salet And they iiij 5 persons went vnto Thurstan Collynges and oponed the doore and went in and asked hym what his mynd was whether he wold be sworn to god and the king and theym/ And said that the commons were cummyng bitwixt that and whalley And they had a boke non of theym being lerned nor lettered/ And soo swore the said Collynges to the king and theym And that don left hym in 10 his howse/ And after they went to the abouesaid William Charnokes And the said Hugh Parker called vpon hym and bad hym opon the doore for he wold awarant hym he shuld haue no hurt for he was their guyde And the said Charnoke knyng the said Hugh Parker oponed the doore and let theym in And they asked hym whether he wold be sworn to god and the king & theym 15 And he answered and asked theym whether to morow myght not *serue*/ And the pyper said no he must nedes swere that nyght for the commons were bitwixt that place and Whalley And fromthens they went vnto Percyvall Sanders howse And sware hym lykewyse/ And after they went to the howse of on Richard Wygan Wiff And their they sware on Hugh Modesley to lyke 20 purpose And also went vnto the howse of on Laurance whetyll And lykewise sware hym *without* compulcion of any of theym

Robart Bonkes examyned saith that vpon the said Tuysday at nyght as he sayt be the fyre abowtes x of the klokke being in his shurt and redy to goo to his 25 bedde his doore being vnbarred Cam a mynstrell And the forsaied Yate and oponed his doore their faces being blacke and coled And fyersly cam vp to hym And said he must swere to be true to the comons And said if he wold not swere he shuld dye The said Robart being hymself *without* any cumpeny but vij small Children whiche pyteously cryed for fear of the saides persons 30 soe disguysed and being sore mased *with* feare The said Mynstrell asked his harnes And for feare of his lyff and of his Childern he delyuered theym his harnes being a lacke and a salet And after they were cummon in he saith the said Hugh Parker cam after theym And that he had byn ther befor to round hym bycause he the said bonkes can shave and Rounde And then the said 35 Robart as shortly as they departed fro his howse he went to a neghburs howse on Collynges to geve theym knolage how he had byn intreted/ And incontynently the said Mynstrell and Yate and the boye Parker cam vnto the said Collynges being of lx yeres and aboue And sware hym And soo departed And the said Bonkes went vnto his own howse *without* any thing doing 40

CLITHEROE

1590

Presentment of William Craven, Piper LRO: QSR 1

mb 9d* (12 July)

Sessions held at Preston before John Fleetwood, Sir Richard Shireburn, Thomas Talbot, Thomas Southworth, James Anderton, Thomas Eccleston, Nicholas Bannister, Edmund Fleetwood, and John Wrightington, justices of the peace

...Et quod Willelmus Craven nuper de Clyderowe in Comitatu lancastrie pyper xij^o die Iulij Anno Regni domine Elizabeth Regine nunc &c xxxij^o existenti die dominico apud Cliderowe predictam in Comitatu predicto fistulavit/...

1619/20

Verdict of Inquiry into Affairs of Clitheroe Grammar School

PRO: C 93/8/2, item b

single mb* (14 January)

...

And the said Iurors do saie, That whereas some complainte hath bene, of the schole maister of the said schole for beateringe of a boye. We fynde that the said Boye did daunce in tyme of devyne Service in the churche and did plaie at coverpin, and therefore the said Master not culpable.

...

c 1620

Inquiry into Clitheroe Leet Verdict LRO: DDX 28/103

single sheet

...

They are agreed that Gyles Coulthurst [shall] maye gett sodds for A Cocke pitt att the sight of Master Bayliffes

...

1637–8

Bailiffs' Account LRO: MBC 680

f [1]*

...

Item paid that was bestowed on ye Beareward

v s.

...

Item paid to Ellen Nowell for Iohn Clarke piper

xviiij s.

Item paid to ye wife of Iohn Clarke piper

ij s.

...

f [1v]

...

Item paid *which* was giuen to ye Beareward

xx s.

...

CROSTON

10

1634

Information of James Hyet against Iohn Court LRO: QSB 1/138/51
single sheet*

Att Croston;

15

In Contempt of the kings edicte

1 [^][Iohn Court] The pyper after he was warnned by the minister
of the vnlawfullness of his pypinge there he beinge of an other
parish *which* was Contrary to the kings late declaration did yet
persist

20

2 Contrary to the sayde declaration hee hath not frequented the
Church forenoone & after nether his owne parish Church nor
the parish Church where he played/

25

3 Contrary to the sayd declaration there did vsually Come to
the sayd pypinge knowne recusants besyds Loyterers/ as Iohn
Blackhurst the Church warden Can wittness

30

In Contempt of authoritie

he beinge warned by the Cunstable from Mr Ashhurst a
Iustice of peace that inasmuch as his playinge there was
Contrary to the kings declaration [he yet did *presumptuously*
persist] & therefore Charged as he would answer the Contrary
to surcease he yet did *persiste*

35

In Contempt of the minister

Though he had many Convenient places to play in where he
 vsed to play at other tymes on sundayes./ yet he played at the
 Cross [^][which was in the sight of the Church daore¹ [&] after
 service [for the] many tymes before the minister or halfe the
 Congregation Could get out of the Church/

(signed) Iames Hyet
 Vicar of Croston 10

Warrant for Arrest of John Court, Piper LRO: QSB 1/138/56
 f [1]* (6 July)

*Sessions held at Newton before Thomas Ireland and Henry Ashurst, justices of the
 peace* 15

fforasmuch as wee are credibly informed, that one Iohn Courte of the parish
 of Penwortham in the county afforesaid Pyper frequenteth not [to any]
[^][his owne parish] Church, but playes on his pypes [^][in Croston] on the 20
 Sabboth day contrary to his *maiesties* late declaracion for the lawfull vseinge
 of recreacions &c Theis are therefore (in his *maiesties* name) straightly to
 chardge and comaunde yow and euerie of yow forthwith on receipt hereof
 to apprehende the body of him the said Iohn Courte and him bringe before
 vs or thone of vs [^][or some other of our fellowe Iustices] to fynde sufficient 25
 sureties for his personall appearance at the next quarter Sessions of the peace
 to behoulden at Ormskirke then and there to answeere to all such matters of
 misdemeanor as shalbee then objected *against* him And hereof fayle not at
 your perils Giuen vnder our handes and seales at °Newton° this °vj°th of Iuly
 Anno domini 1634. 30

(signed) Thomas: Ireland

To al Cunstables within this
 county of lancaster but especially
 to the Cunstables of Penwortham
 or Croston Greeteinge. 35

(signed) Henry Ashhurst

5/ daore for doare (?)

29/ Newton and vj inserted in another hand, possibly Ashurst's

Bond for John Coward, Piper LRO: QSB 1/138/24
single sheet* (6 July)

Sessions held at Worden before William Farington, justice of the peace

...

Iohannes Coward de Penwortham in Comitatu predicto Pyper Cognouit se debere dicto domino regi xx li.

Thomas Hodson de Croston et Thomas Worsleye de eadem husbandmen manuceperint pro predicto Iohanne, viz: vterque eorum sub pena v li.

De terris et tenementis bonis et Cattellis suis ad opus dicti domini regis heredum et successorum suorum fieri et levare si defecerint in Condiciónē subsequente.

The Condicion of this recognizance is suche, That yf the abouebounden Iohn Coward shall personallie appeare before the Iustices of our said soveraigne lord the kinge, att the nexte Sessions of the peace to bee holden for this Countie att Ormeschurche, aswell to ainswer vnto all suche matters of Misdemeanor, as shalbee then obiected againste him, as alsoe to stand to suche further order, as by the Courte shalbee then & there enioyned him, & thence not departe without lycence, Then this recognizance to bee voyde, ortherwyse the same to stand in force and vertue./

By Warrante from mr

Ireland & mr Ashurste./ (signed) William ffarington

Debet

ad Respondendum

°Comparuit examinatus per dominum°

°Irrotuletur°

DIDSBURY

1598

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/12b
f 88 (13 September)

Proceedings of the court held for Manchester deanery at Manchester parish church, before Peter Shawe, rector of Bury, and Robert Eaton, rector of Mobberley, deputies of David Yale, LL.D, official principal

...

contra Iohannem Vrmeston

12/ subsequente for subsequenti

21/ ortherwyse for otherwyse (?)

17/ Ormeschurche: Ormskirk

for pyping neere to the Church on the saboath daie at service tyme

...

1608

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/15

f 136 (11 October)

Proceedings of the court held for Manchester deanery before Gerard Massie, commissary of the bishop of Chester

Contra Dominicke ffletcher

for sufferinge Roger Morgill to plaie vpon his pypes vpon the Sabboath daie

Quo die comparuit et Dominus iunxit ei to confes his falte before the preacher churchwardens & swornemen & to certefye in festo omnium sanctorum proximo

...

DOWNHOLLAND

1629–30

Archbishop Harsnett's Visitation Book BI: V.1629–30/CB

f 94v*

Proceedings of the court held for Warrington deanery

...

vide
Ormskirke

Contra Thomam Barton ¹de Ormskirke¹ pyper for playing & pyping on the Saboth at down holland, et Contra henricum holland et Iohannem Aspinwall et Ienettam hale Alehouse keeper & others that are contributory, for hyring him so to pype as aforesaid

quo die (blank)

...

ECCLES

1578

Archbishop Sandys' Visitation Book BI: V.1578–9/CB.2

f 60v*

Proceedings of the court held for Manchester deanery

Officium domini contra gardianos de Eccles presentment maide for bearing

Russhes in service tyme to the disturbance thereof
comparuerunt gardiani and ar monysshed to beare Russhes henceforward if
 they beare anye so that no Disturbance be had of *service* there sub pena
excommunicacionis

...

5

1608

John White, The Way to the True Church STC: 25394

p 210*

10

... And for mine owne part, hauing spent much of my time among
 them, this I haue found, that in all excesse of sinne Papists haue bene
 the ringleaders, in riotous companies, in drunken meetings, in seditious
 assemblies and practises, in profaning the Sabboth, in quarels and braules,
 in stage-playes, greenes, ales, and all heathenish customes: the common
 people of that sort generally buried in sinne, swearing more then can be
 expressed, vncleannesse, drunkennesse, perfidiousnesse vile and odious: ...

...

15

ECCLESTON

20

1590

Bond for Ralph Pyke, Piper LRO: QSR 1

mb 7d* (9 July)

25

*Sessions held at Ormskirk before John Fleetwood, Sir Edward Fitton, Edward
 Scarisbrick, James Anderton, Richard Molyneux, and John Wrightington, justices
 of the peace*

*Memorandum quod ad hanc prefatam Sessionem tentam apud Ormeskirke
 predictam in Comitatu predicto dicto nono die Iulij Anno xxxij^o supradicto
 Coram prefatis Iusticiarijs venit Radulphus Pyke de Eccleston in Comitatu
 predicto pyper in propria persona sua & assumpsit pro seipso sub pena decem
 librarum quod ipse durante tempore vnus anni Modo proximi sequentis non
 fistulabit aliquo die dominico quam quidem somam predictus Radulphus
 Concessit se Domine Regine Debere & de bonis & Catallis terris &
 tenementis suis fieri & levari si Contingat ipsum in premissis delinquere
 & inde Modo legitimo Convinci*

30

35

...

EDENFIELD

1588

Churchwardens' Presentments to the Quarter Sessions

Cumbers House: Kenyon MSS, Memorandum Book

5

f 10* (*March–April*)

...

Bury parishe

Wee presente Iohn Ashworthe adulterer with Ienette Taylor Iames hunte
with Ellin Ainsworthe fornicators vpon the x daye of marche beinge the
Saobothe daye william Key of Etenfielde had an Alle & minstrelles viz
Rychard Keye & hys Sonne who plaid vppon the Saobothe daye

10

...

FARNWORTH

15

1611

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/17f 175 (*19 October*)

20

*Proceedings of the court held for Warrington deanery at Wigan parish church
before David Ellis, STD, deputy of David Yale, LLD, official principal*

...

Contra Richardum Pooley

for playeinge vpon his fiddle att sermon tyme vpon the Sabboath daie which
drwe manie people oute of the Church att sermon tyme

25

...

FLIXTON

30

1592

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/10f 166v (*14 October*)

*Proceedings of the court held for Manchester deanery before David Yale, LLD,
official principal*

35

...

contra Willimum heywood [et Iacobum Rile]

A piper plaied in Iames Rile his howse at euen songe time appon [the] ^{^A} holidaie and gaue the sworne man bad[d] wordes. *monitum est* [s<...>]
 Willimo heywood ad publice confitendum delictum suum in ecclesia
 parochiali ibidem and to promice that hereafter he will neuer committ the
 Like to the offence of any person xxix^o die instantis &c ad certificandum
 citra festum martini proximum, [<.....> <...>]
 Contra Iacobum Rile
 The said piper plaid in his house – *monitum est per<...> per magistrum*
 Richardson decanum that he suffer not the Like hereafter quia non fuit
 domi tunc personaliter

5

10

GARSTANG

1601

Presentment of Roger Coettes, Pedlar LRO: QSR 4
 mb 28* (28 April)

15

Sessions held at Preston before William Farington, Richard Fleetwood, Edward Walmesley, Geoffrey Osbaldeston, James Anderton, Edward Rigby, Nicholas Bannister, Edmund Fleetwood, Roger Nowell, Receiver General John Braddill, John Calvert, and Robert Pilkington, justices of the peace

20

...Et quod Rogerus Coettes nuper de Garstange in Comitatu lancastrie pedler
 vicesimo nono die Ianuarij Anno Regni domine Elizabeth dei gracia Anglie
 ffrancie et hibernie Regine fidei defensoris &c quadragesimo tercio et diuersis
 alijs diebus et temporibus tam antea quam postea apud Garstange predictam
 in Comitatu lancastrie in domo sua mansionali illicite manutenuit custodit et
 hospitavit Rogos vagabundos et personas suspectas ac etiam diuersas personas
 illicitas et inordinatas videlicet pedlers tynklers Iuglers pypers glase carriers et
 fether carriers et eos ad ludendum ad ludos illicitos in domo sua predicta
 et ad pacem dicte domine Regine perturbandam per insultas faciendas et
 sanguinem extrahendum et diuersos alios malefactores et seminatores litium
 inter vicinos suos in garstange predicta in Comitatu predicto ad magnum
 gravamen vicinorum suorum in Contemptu legum huius Regni Anglie ac
 contra pacem dicte domine Regine...

25

30

35

1608

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/15f 161v (*before 19 November*)*Proceedings of the court held for Amounderness deanery*

...

Contra Robertum Swarbrecke *parochie* de kirkham willimum Tomeson de
 Claughton et Thomam Bee de kirkland

for vndecente wordes given to the Church officers & rusheinge violently
 in to the Church att a rushbearinge

...

f 162

Contra Richard Caluerte Thomam Dawson pyper

for danceinge on the sabboath daie & pypeing the Calverte beinge Lord or
 leader thereof

...

1622/3

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/25f 26 (*23 January*)

*Proceedings of the court held for Amounderness deanery at Garstang parish
 church*

...

Contra henricum Skelton Thomam Rigmayden

for giveinge the Townsfolke warninge to beare rushes vpon a Sunday

Contrary to the notice in the Church by the minister

°extracted°

Comparuerunt Skelton et Rigmayden et [Iu] *fassi sunt virtute Iuramenti* that
 the asked some persons whether they would Carry rushes [<.....> tamen] et
 quia *presentantur dominus* eis iniunxit ad *Confitendum huiusmodi delictum*
tempore divinorum vt supra

16/ the Calverte for the said Calverte (?)

30/ I of [Iu] corrected from e

1623

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/23

f 144* (26 September)

Proceedings of the court held in the consistory of Chester Cathedral before David Yale, LL.D., official principal

...

Officium domini merum Contra Iohannem Bell Henricum Knowle henricum Walker et Richardum Berches Gardianos de Garstange

for giveinge warninge to the parishners to bringe Rushes vpon a Saboth day vnder payne of tenn groutes a household whereas the vsuall day of Rushebearinge is St Iames daye appoynted by Bushopp Moreton and Confirmed by the now Bushop of Chester quo die Comparuerunt henricus walker et Richardus Berches et quia Constat Iudici that Bushop Moreton in his time dyd decree the Rushes to be Carried to the Church vpon St Iames day which our now reuerend diocesan hath [(.)] since Confirmed the Iudge hath therefore decreed that hence forward the Rushbearinge be observed vpon St Iames day and non other and for the Churchwardens there contempte in the premisses as alsoe for yat they haue not ¹[decentlie] flagged there Church, accordinge to an order in yat behalfe interposed as alsoe in not providinge bread and wine accordinge to the Cannon the Iudge hath referred there Censure for these neglectes and Contemptes to my Lord and monisht them personally to appeare this day fornight to heare there Censure

...

GOOSNARGH

1590

Presentment of Margaret Yat and Constance Eccles LRO: QSR 1

mb 9d* (12 July)

Sessions held at Preston before John Fleetwood, Sir Richard Shireburn, Thomas Talbot, Thomas Southworth, James Anderton, Thomas Eccleston, Nicholas Bannister, Edmund Fleetwood, and John Wrightington, justices of the peace

...Et quod Margareta yat de Gosenar in Comitatu predicto spinster filia Christoferi yat & Constancia Eccles alias higham nuper de eadem in

12/ St Iames daye: 25 July

13/ the now Bushop of Chester: John Bridgeman, bishop 1619 – 43

Comitatu predicto spinster duodecimo die Iulij Anno Regni domine Elizabeth
Regine nunc &c xxxij^o existente die dominico Anglice the sonday apud
Gosenargh predictam in Comitatu predicto asportaverunt Iunccos
vocatos Russhes ad Ecclesiam...

5

1611

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/17
f 136v* (17 October)

Proceedings of the court held for Amounderness deanery

10

...

Contra Curatum predictum

for warninge the rushbearinge on the Sabboath daie beeinge admonished
to the Contrarie by reason whereof there was pypinge in the Church and
Church yord

15

...

GREAT HARWOOD

1556–7

20

St Bartholomew's Church Register and Account Book LRO: PR 481
p 102 (5 September)

...

Memorandum yat ther was offerer the fyrst Sonday of Septembre

at ye Ryssshebaring

v s. iij d. 25

& in ye yere before att ye Riss(h.)bering (w)as offered

v s. ij d. ob.

here of paed to Christofores polard for iij lj of wax...

...

HALSALL

30

1611

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/17
f 180 (19 October)

35

*Proceedings of the court held for Warrington deanery at Wigan parish church
before David Ellis, STD, deputy of David Yale, LLD, official principal*

...

contra Radulphum Poole Silvestrum Rymer

for keepeinge maie games and Ales on the Sabboath Daie xj^{mo} die Octobris
 1613 Coram magistro hugone Burches substituto &c Comparuit dictus
 Poole Cui dominus iniunxit ad abstinendum semper imposterum sub pena
 Iuris ^{et} quia est prima Culpa et ex mera ignorantia commissa, [et] sub
 hac Condicione de abstinendo semper imposterum, dimisit: ipsumque (alias
 excommunicatum) absoluebat ecclesieque restituit
 ...

1629–30

10

Archbishop Harsnett's Visitation Book BI: V.1629–30/CB
 f95*

Proceedings of the court held for Warrington deanery

15

vide
 Northmeholes

Contra Iacobum Arnett a pyper of Northmeholes parish for pyping on ye
 Saboth at Halsall et Contra henricum hesketh for hyring him so to pype

Contra Radulphum Poole Alehouskeeper for hyring certaine ffidlers to play on
 the Saboth day
 quo die (blank)

20

vide Sefton

Contra henricum Arnett pyper for pypeing on the Sabath, he is of ye parish
 of Sephton, et Contra Thomam Gore Alehouskeeper for hyring him so to do
 quo die (blank)

25

Contra Iacobum Wilson Alehousekeeper for hyring a pyper to play on Sondag
 in prayer time
 quo die (blank)

30

1633

Archbishop Neile's Visitation Book BI: V.1633/CB.2B
 f337* (25 November)

Proceedings of the court held for Warrington deanery

35

...

vide Much
 Crosby

Officium domini contra Willimum Arnett de Much Crosbie, et Thomam
 Barton parochie de Ormeskirke pippers, for prophaneing the lordes day by
 pypeing &c

vide Ormeskirke

...

40

HAWKSHEAD

1622/3

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/25

f 51v* (24 March)

Proceedings of the court held for Furness deanery at Cartmel parish church, before Thomas Stofford, LLB, commissary of John Bridgeman, bishop of Chester, and in the presence of Edward Morgell, notary public

...

Contra christoferum Sandes Iohannem Banke Iohannem Wilson

°*excommunicatio*° ffranciscum Strickland Iohannem Robinson

disguised themselves in womens habitt for the keepinge of a sumeringe
Comparuerunt Sandes et Banke et iniunguntur to make acknowledgement
of this there offence coram Ministro et gardianis et ad abstinendum semper
imposterum a tali certificando vt supra Comparuit Robinson et iniungitur
vt supra

HOLCOMBE

1626

Articles Charged against Richard Romsbotham 'ex parte' Giles Rothwell

CRO: EDC 5/1626/56

ff [1-1v]* (12 October)

Proceedings of the court held in the consistory of Chester Cathedral before Thomas Stofford, LLB, vicar general of John Bridgeman, bishop of Chester, and in the presence of John Morgell, registrar

...

3. Item tibi obijcimus et argumentamur quod premissis non obstantibus
tu scis credis vel dici audiisti that you the said Richard Romsbothom vpon
a Sunday or Saboth Day happeninge in Annis Domini 1623 1624 et 1625
vltimis elapsis & in the monethes therein concurringe or in the monethes
of March Aprill May Iune, Iulie August & September Anno Domini 16(2)6
now goinge on or in som^{mæ} or o(n)e of the said yeares or (m)onethes diddst
(timore {...} postposito | ^[open or] Cause or procure the Church Dore or
Chappell Dore of Holcome to be opened and didst ringe or toll a bell in
the said Church or Chappell or didst cause the said bell to be runge or
toll'd and didst hire or procure one Robert Wood a ballett munger or one

36/ (...): 10mm hole; missing words probably Dei

36/ closing bracket omitted after postposito

that vseth to sell ballettes beinge a Wandringe fellowe and not any Wayes constituted into holie orders to goe into the pulpitt of the *said* Chappell or to stand in some eminent place of the *said* Church or Chappell to [t] preach or to make some ridiculous or *prophaned* sermon therein to the greate Dishonor of Almighty god and the *prophanacion* of his Saboth, and that the *said* Roberte wood did the *said* Sunday or Saboth Day *de facto* go into the *said* Pulpitt or stand in *somme* other eminent place in the *said* Church or Chappell of Holcome and did preach a ridiculous sermon or pamphlett and that you the *said* Richard Romsbothom was *presente* the *said* tyme in the *said* Church or Chappell aforesaid, and didst heare see & laugh att the same to the greate *prophanacion* of the Saboth Day & the Church or Chappell and the greate Danger of thy owne soule *hocque fuit et est verum publicum notorium manifestum pariter et famosum* Ac obijcimus vt supra/

...

HUYTON

1614

William Harrison, The Difference of Hearers STC: 12870

sigs [A5v–A6]*

...I thinke few will complaine of the vnprofitablenes of our labours, but I those who doe reioyce thereat, and would haue vs remoued, lest our labours should become more fruitfull hereafter: who would rather haue the countrey still remaine addicted to popery and impiety, then brought to the obedience of the Gospell. How fruitfull our labours haue bene, your Lordship can better iudge then any of them. Yet must we needes confesse that the fruitfulness thereof, hath bene, and still is greatly hindered by two sortes of persons, namely by popish priests, and profane Pypers....

sigs [A7v–A8]

...
Moreouer I cannot but lament, and with grieve of heart complaine, that still in this part of the countrey, the course of religion is exceedingly hindered, the fruites of our labours greatly frustrated, the Lords Sabboth impiously profained, by publike pyping, by open and lasciuious dancing on that day. That it is not consecrated as holy to the Lord, but rather kept as a feast of Bacchus and Venus. That pyping should put downe preaching: that dancing should draw the people from their dutie: That for one person which we haue

6/ S of Sunday corrected from s

7/ P of Pulpitt corrected from another letter

in the Church, to heare diuine seruice, sermons and catechisme, euery pyper
(there being many in one parish) should at the same instant, haue many
hundreds on the greenes.

...

sigs [*1]–[*1v]

...

...Yet our people iudge it an honest and lawfull keeping of the Lords
Sabboth, to pype and dance all the afternoone.

And who are greater maintainers of this impietie, then our recusants and
new communicants. Their purses are euer open for the hyring of the pyper,
their children and seruants, alwaies ready to dance after him, and themselues
seldome fayle to be spectators. By this meanes they keepe the people from the
Church, and so continue l them in their popery and ignorance.

...

KIRKHAM

1619

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/22
f 142v

Proceedings of the court held for Amounderness deanery

Contra Iohannem Raunson

for haueinge an ale vpon the Saboth daie with pipeinge on the Saboth daie at
divine service time

...

1629–30

Archbishop Harsnett's Visitation Book BI: V.1629–30/CB
f 32v*

Proceedings of the court held for Amounderness deanery

...

Contra (blank) Westby for hyring Richard Iackson to pype on the Saboth day,
et Contra dictum Ricardum Iackson et Willimum graddell for pyping,
et contra Singleton for hyring ye said graddell [to pipe]
quo die (blank)

...

LANCASTER

1572

Town Constitutions and Orders LRO: MBLa Acc 4797, Box 82
mb [1]* (10 April)

5

These be the olde constitucions and orders vsed in the towne of Lancaster ...
examyned and ratified in the xxxvth yeare of the Reigne of Kynge Edward
the second after the conquest of England as the record therof may appere
And now afterwards recyted examyned and ratyfyed apon Thursday next
after the Feaste of Easter in the xiiijth year of the reigne of our sovereign lady
Elizabeth Quene of England Fraunce and Ireland Defendor of the faith &c.
by the Othes of Nicholas Olivers Maior of the said Towne Iohn ([.]ur)ton
Tailor and Iames Kendall then being balyves of the said Towne ...

10

15

mb [2]

The office and
duty of the
balyves

...
Also that neither the Maior nor any of the balyves geve any reward
for the towne to <.....> or mynstrelles without the consent of
ffoure of the heade burgesses and foure of the <comons vpon> payne
to fforfaite for euerie defalte

20

vj s. viij d.

...

25

c 1603

John Weever, Ancient Funerall Monuments STC: 25223
p 405*

...

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. The Subiect
of the play was the sacred Scriptures, from the creation of 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 suppress, not onely there, but in all other
Townes of the kingdome.

30

35

...

10–11/ Thursday ... Easter: 10 April

31/ Skinners Hall: error for Skinners' Well

® Corpus Christi
play.

1623

William Farington's Expense Book LRO: DDF 2437item 16a* (31 March - 5 April) (*Lent assizes*)

Received by mee Iohn Somner for the vse of my *Master* in Lancaster
att *Lent assizes* there holden in *Anno xxj^o Iacobi.*

...

Wherof disbursed for my *Master* his vse viz./

...

Item pd to musicioners

vj d. 10

...

1636

William Farington's Expense Book LRO: DDF 2437item 16* (19 April) (*Lent assizes*)

15

Monies disbursed by Iohn Rowe./1636./

...

Item for Trumpeters scarfs and Ribbins

0-19-0

...

Item to the waites at Lancaster

0-1-6

20

...

Item for the Trumpeters apparell as may appeare by ij seuerall
bills

8-5-0

...

25

1638

Bond for William Fox, Bearward LRO: DDKs 30/30single sheet* (29 November) (*Lancaster assizes*)

...

Memorandum quod vicesimo nono die Novembris Anno Regni domini nostri
Caroli dei gracia Anglie Scotie ffrancie et hibernie Regis fidei defensoris &c
decimo quarto. Willimus ffox de Garstang in Comitatu lancastrie Bearward
in propria persona sua venit Coram Dutton domino Gerard et Ricardo
Shutleworth Armigero duobus Iusticiarijs domi<.>i Regis <.>d pacem in
Comitatu lancastrie conseruandam assignatis et cognovi<.> <...> Regi viginti
libras, et ffranciscus Clark <...> Bearward et Thomas Rigmayden <...> pro

30

35

33/ Willimus: 3 minims in ms

35/ domi<.>i: ie, domini

35/ <.>d: ie, ad

36/ cognovi<.>: ie, cognovit

37/ <...>: tear of 60mm

37/ <...>: tear of 60 mm

predicto Willelmo ffox similiter cognoverunt (...) domino Regi vterque
 eorum quinque libris de bonis (...) <.>hat<.> et tenementis suis ad vsum dicti
 domini Regis fieri et levar<.> (...) Willimus ffox personaliter comparuit ad
 proximam generalem session<.> pacis apud Preston in Amoundernes post
 festum Epiphani<.> tene<.> et quod ab inde non secedet sine licencia
 Iusticiariorum tunc & (...) presencium. Et interim quod pacem geret erga
 dictum dominum Regem et cunctum populum suum et precipue e[st] erga
 Iohannem Curwenn Ita quod damnum vel malum aliquod [dcs] per se aut
 per alios non faciet nec fieri procurabit quovismodo. / In Cuius rei
 testimonium Iusticiarij predicti Sigilla sua apposuerunt Data die et Anno
 supradicto

(signed) D. Gerard.

LEYLAND

15

1599

Presentment of Richard Whytstones and James Harrison, Bearwards

LRO: DDF 192

single mb* (16 April)

20

Court leet before Richard Fleetwood, esquire, steward of the manor

...

Item presentant quod Ricardus Whitstones de Ormischurche in Comitatu
 predicto Bearward xxx^o die Novembris vltimo preterito apud Leilande infra
 Iurisdictionem huius Curie affraiam fecit super Iacobum Harrison de
 Croston in Comitatu predicto Bearwarde et de eo cum Baculo suo sanguinem
 traxit Ideo ipse in misericordia vj s. viij d.

Item presentant quod prefatus Iacobus Harison die predicto apud Leilande
 predictam similiter affraiam fecit super prefatum Ricardum Whitstones,
 instigatus pro se defendendo Ideo Amerciamenta parcantur

...

1/ <...>: tear of 70mm

2/ <...>: tear of 65mm

2/ <...> <.>hat<.>: probably et terris chattallis

3/ levar<.>: ie, levari

3/ <...>: tear of 30mm

3/ Willimus 3 minims in ms

3/ comparuit for comparebit

4/ session<.>: ie, sessionem

5/ Epiphani<.>: ie, Epiphanie

5/ tene<.>: probably tenendam

6/ <...>: probably ibi

7/ dominum 3 minims visible in ms

23/ Ormischurche: Ormskirk

LITHERLAND

1617

Presentment of John Johnson, Husbandman LRO: QSR 14
mb 10* (5 May)

Sessions held at Ormskirk before Richard Whatmoughe, William Chorley, William Laithwaite, Richard Morecrofte, John Shawe, James Burscoughe, William Naylor, Gillet Nelson, Humphrey Moorecrofte, John Blakely, Robert Rose, Richard Jacson, and John Balshawe, justices of the peace

...Wee present that Iohn Iohnson late of litherland in the countye of lancaster husbandman the fourthe day of Maye in the ffyfteenth yeare of the Raigne of our Soueraigne lord kinge Iames of England &c beinge the Saboth day at litherland afforesaid did keepe and maynteyne att his house there Beare Beatinge & fidlinge in greate profanacion of the Saboth and that Hugh Whitestones late of Ormeskirke in the countie of lancaster laborer and Thomas Whytestonnes of Ormeskirke in the countye of lancaster laborer then and there did beate there beares and that Richard pooley late of of Prescott in the countie of lancaster laborer did then and there playe of a fiddle and did profayne the Saboth contrarye to the peace of our Soueraigne lord the kinge...

LITTLE CROSBY

1641

Blundell Family Hodgepodge Book LRO: DDBI Acc 6121
ff 182-2v*

Delicta
iuuentutis
meæ ne
memineris
Domine

A Contry song remembring the harmetless mirth of Lancashyre in peaseable tymes. To the tune of Roger o' Coueley.

Robin and Ralph and Willy
tooke Susan and Ginnet and Sisly
And Roger and Richerd and Geordy
tooke mary and Peggie and Margery;
And daunc't a hornepype merilie
tripped and skipped nott wearilie
Tyr'd out the bagpype and ffidle
with dauncing the Hornepipe and didle.

But Gilbert and Thomas and Harry
 whose sweethearts weare Nell Nann and Marie
 Tooke sydes against Gyles James and Richard,
 whose wentches weare Ioane Iane and Bridgett
 The wager was for a wheate Cake
 they daunct till thire bones did ake
 That Gilbert and Nannie and Nellie
 did swett them selues into a Ielly

5

The Ladds of Chowbent weare there
 and had brought thire doggs to the Beare
 But they had not tyme too play
 they daunced a waye the daye
 And thither then they had brought Knex
 to play Chowbent hornepype that Nicks
 Tomms and Geffreyes shoone
 weare worne quit through with the tune.

10

15

The ladds of Latham did daunce
 thire Lord Strange hornepype which once
 was held to haue bene the best
 and far to exceede all the rest
 But now they doe hould it to sober
 and therfore will needs giue it ouer
 They call on thire Pyper then iouially
 play vs braue Roger o' Coueley.

20

25

The meales men daun'cd thire Copp
 and about the maypoule did hopp
 Till thire shoose weare so full of sand
 that they could no longer stand
 The fformeby trotter supply'd
 whoe though that his Breeches weare wide
 Yett would he nere giue it o're
 till the Pyper was redy to snore

30

35

But Gilbert and Susan[d] and Nazzie
 with Tom and Dick Sisly and Mazny
 Tripped and skipped full merily
 the Musique now sounding out chearily

40

° Thomas Knex:
 most famous
 pyper. °

Dick booted Nel flowted he showed
 tak't thee Iames Pyper of fformeby
 Ta[t]k't thee, Takt' thee, Takt' thee
 takt' thee Iames Pyper of fformeby |

At length it was tyme to goe
 alas Susan did heare ye Coke crowe
 The maydes might goe make vp thire fyres
 or els be chidd, ^{°by°} [with] thire S[<.>]yres
 Next holy day theyl'e ^{°ha°} [daunce] thire ffill
 at Iohnsons o'th Talke of ye hill
 Wheare Bell shall be brought [for] to play
 °Alack° [good Lord] how I longe for that day!

The second part to the tune of the Vpstroke

col 1

That day it was past
 On Twesday last
 And you might haue seene there
 (if that you had beene there)
 The Lasses and Lowtts
 with smerkings and showts
 S[h]uch did I nere heare on
 good Lord they would feare one
 ffor still they cryde merily
 hey for Crosbie.
 Hey Sefton hey Thorneton
 hey for Netherton.
 Till ho^fa^rse they whopped
 being weary they stopped.
 Then Cakes and Prunes stu'de
 weare greedily Chu'de
 Of ale that was good
 they pourd downe a flood
 And being gott giddy
 Then stepped forth Neddy
 and swore by his fakins
 that he would go dawnce againe
 I by the Makins

col 2

Then hand in hand they wente
chearily cherrily
Caling on thire Bell 5
merily merily
All sport was forsaked
to see loose leggs shaken
The maydes buttocks quaked
lyke Custards new baked 10
But Rowland and Nelly
with Susan and Billie
Gott all the glory
that is in the story
And those that are sager 15
Saye they woonne the wager
ffor whylst there was any day
they would nere ge'et a waye—[<...>]am
repetatur
ffinis 20
VB. Anno Domini 1641

...

LIVERPOOL

25

1557–8

Town Book 1 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/1

f [16] (18 October–17 October)

(30 January) (Assembly of burgesses)

...

Memorandum quod eadem die dominica venerint [Radulphus barley] Georgius
asheton et petrus Rymour balliui pro hoc Anno Radulphus barley et Thomas
Secom et Recognoverunt se esse plegios pro Thoma Wawen seruo pro villa ad
ludendum cum instrumento suo tam mane quam nocte qualibet per annum
diebus dominicis exceptis eo quod signum vel cymbalum comune Argenti 30
35

31/ {Radulphus barley}: underscored for deletion
34m/ fis(<...>): damage to right-hand margin; probably fistula
35/ diebus dominicis corrected from die dominica
35/ comune: 6 minims in ms

Thomas Wawen
wayt

® cum fis(<...>) sua
° mortuus est °

omnino coram maiore sit *productum* et *habitum* sub pena &c viz. sub pena quatuor marcarum monete anglie &c °mortuus dictus Thomas Wawen et plegij *sui* presentauerunt cymbalum commune Roberto corbet maiore anno primo Regni Regine Elizabeth &c et dicti plegij eant acquieti de premissis &c°

5

...

1558-9

Town Book 1 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/1

f [24]* (18 October-17 October)

10

(26 February) (Assembly of burgesses)

...

Vacat

Memorandum that the xxvjth daye of february Anno Regni Elizabeth Regine &c primo Rychard marser of this towne & Iamys wylliamson came before mayster mayre mr Thomas more George asheton Thomas Secom alixander Garnet Robert holden Thomas Bastwell & manye other cooburgesyes & knowledge theyme to be pledges and sureties that the scochyn or <....> badge of the towne Which was delyuery<.> to william poughtyn our newe wayt<.> <...> the sayd ¹badge shalbe presentyd & rediliueryd to mayster mayre or to his officer or officers <...>full [&] demaunde in payne of xxvj s. <viij d.>

15

20

1559-60

Town Book 1 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/1

f [40v]* (18 October-17 October)

25

...rd ... <.>he wayte ... mayster mayre ... worshypp come

1560-1

Town Book 1 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/1

30

f [46v] (18 October-17 October)

(24 October) (Second Portmoot before Ralph Sekerston, mayor)

...

Agreid alsoe that mayster mayre shall command the wayte at all tymes

35

...

3/ maiore for maiori

18/ <....>: triangular tear of 90mm narrowing to 20mm at foot; probably for comon

18/ delyuery<.>: ie, delyueryd

19/ wayt<.> <...>: further loss from tear, probably for wayte & that

20/ <...>full: further loss from tear, perhaps for vpon theyr lawfull

21/ <viij d.>: visible to Twemlow, but no longer legible

1562-3

Town Book 1 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/1

f [66] (18 October-17 October)

(26 October) (*Great Portmoot before Thomas Secum, mayor*)

5

Item wee fynd it convenient that thiese officers as the waterbalie the
Sargient, the keeper of the Comyn warehowsse & the wayte shall euerie
of thayme gyve theyr attendaunce on mayst^r mayre euerie festiell daye &
marcket daye euerie of thayme bearyng a handsome & comely byll mete
for such purpose &c

10

...

f [66v] (*Election of officers*)

...

Iamys Atherton Wayte

15

...

1563-4

Town Book 1 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/1

f [83v] (18 October-17 October)

(25 October) (*Great Portmoot before Robert Corbet, mayor; election of officers*)

20

...

Wayte or towns musicioner Iamys Atherton

...

25

1564-5

Town Book 1 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/1

f [90v] (18 October-17 October)

(23 October) (*Great Portmoot before Alexander Garnet, mayor; election of officers*)

30

...

Wayte Iamys Atherton.

...

f [93v]* (7 January)

35

...

This yere sondaye after the xijth daye the sayd maior imprisoned xx
youngkardes whereof *mayster* mayre calld Iames atherton than beyng wayte
Capitaigne & dischargd hym of his office And than he imprisoned George
asheton for reasonyng & speakyng for the Releaxyng of the say(.) wayte &

40

Leyng and
castyng stakes
in the stretes

40/ say(.): *ie*, sayd

call'd a
christmas
toves/

they younckardes & mayst mayre wold not suffer George a(...) be balyd or
maympraysed neyther by mr Sekerston mr C(...)d andleser *william Secom*
&c & than mr Iohn crosse movyd *mayster* maior t(...)ale the sayd George:
but it cold not be. whereat (it wa(s) (...) (C)rosse chaffed & fumed
inwardlie soe *George* & diuers younckard(es) (...)d all nyght & *mayster*
maior roylid styll & seyde he wold (...) the *Queenes* counsell: but he was
after Pacified otherwayes &c

5

1566-7

Town Book 1 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/1

10

f [122] (18 October-17 October)

(21 October) (Great Portmoot before Robert Corbet, mayor)

...

Memorandum That mayster Iohn Crosse esquier & last Maior before this
daye acknowledged vpon the benche at this inquirie openlie & audientlie to
all the halle That the Townes conisaunce badge or scochyn of syl(..)r which
belongyth to the wayte if eny be in the towne was & sh(..)e ^[be] readye in
^[his] save custodie & readie to be brought in to th(..)ll at eny tyme to be
demaundyd by the holle Comyntie

15

20

1567-8

Town Book 1 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/1

f [132] (18 October-17 October)

(20 October) (Great Portmoot before William Secum, mayor)

...

Item for the further & greater Repayre of gentilmen & others to this
towne (...) it nedfull That there be an handsome cockefeight pit made
with also (...) & stockes kept in due Reparacion

25

...

Item wee be agreyd That Nicolas forber shalbe wayte

30

...

1/ mayst: for mayster; abbreviation mark missing

1/ a(...): gap of 28mm, probably asheton to

2/ C(...): gap of 35mm, probably two names

3/ t(...): gap of 40mm

4/ wa(s) (...) (C)rosse: gap of 50mm; s and C conjectural

5/ (...): gap of 60mm

6/ (...): gap of 70mm

16/ syl(..)r: leaf damaged; probably sylver

17/ sh(..)e tear in leaf; probably sholde

18/ th(..)ll: tear in leaf; probably the hall

27/ towne (...) text lost from decay of right margin

28/ also (...) text lost from decay of right margin

1571-2

Town Book 2 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2

f 4v* (18 October-17 October)

(22 October) (Great Portmoot before Thomas Bavand, mayor)

... 5
 Item wee fynd necessarie for the vpholdyng better & long Continewyng
 of our Comyn hall of this Towne, in good ordre of Reparacion of the same
 That noe licence be or shalbe grauntyd and gyvyn, to make any weddyng
 diners or pleyes of dawnsyng therein to the dawnger, decaying or fallyng of
 the flooure of the same: and if it Chaunce vpon any vrgent Cause or earnest 10
 Request not deniable, any licence to be gyvyn therein: That then, by the same
 licence the partie & parties soe obteignyng licence Shall pay to the Comyn
 Cooffer for everie suche licence fyve shelynges vsuall money. And the Stwardes
 of the same hall, the tyme beyng, shalbe Charged to Collecte & Receyve all
 the same money & true accompte & due payment thereof make at tyme to 15
 be demaundyd by master Maiors Comaundement in payne of (blank)

...
 f 6 (25 October) (Second Portmoot before Thomas Bavand, mayor)

... 20
 Item Wee agrie that noe players of interludes, as Comyn, Rude, & agrest
 players, Iuggler(.) gesters, or wandrang people bryngyng in to this Towne any
 monstruouse, or straung(.) beastes or other visions voyde or vayne to theyr
 lucre & disceyte of the Queenes subiectes: with(...) licence of mayster Maior
 tyme beyng: & of his deputie in payne of imprisonment & fine at mayster 25
 maiors pleasure Excepte such person & persons as mey hap hyther to resorte
 ffrom any citie or worshipfull Corporacion & Right honorable & Right
 worshipfull &c

... 30
 f 7v* (17-25 January) (Assembly of burgesses)

...
 This daye henrie halewod bagpiper was admittid wayte of this Towne
 Condicionallie & vpon pleyasure, & had the Townes badge delivered to hym:
 but thorough his lewdnes it was takyn from all Saynct Iames fayre, to his 35

22/ Iuggler(.): ie, Iugglers; right margin torn

22/ g of wandrang written over d

23/ straung(.): ie, strange; right margin torn

24/ with(...): ie, without; right margin torn

25/ tyme for for the tyme (?)

35/ from for from him

35/ Saynct Iames fayre: apparently held only on St James' Day itself, 25 July

hindraunce & verie grieffe of repentance & after the fayre done vpon his
repentant submission it was Lend to hym agayne of pleysure

...

1572-3

Town Book 1 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/1

f [104] col 2* (18 October-17 October) (*Burgess roll*)

...

Iacobus Corlis Ricardus marser caliammentarius & henricus halewod wayte
admissi iure iurati liberi burgenses burgenses xviii^o die octobris 1572 &c

...

Town Book 2 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2

f 19v* (18 October - 17 October)

(24 November) (*Memorandum of court business*)

...

Item & the xxiii^o of novembre aforesayd Harrie halewod, wayte of this
towne entried into bound of Recognisaunce for peace & good ordre kepyng
which he Rechelesslie hedid and misregardyd not onlie to vile punishement
of his bodie at diuers tymes in le Edibus tenebrosis & alij enormitatibus ej
evenientibus &c prout mor at large aperith in Recordes Curie querelarum

...

f 19* (2 December) (*Annual audit*)

...

Iohn Rile alsoe beyng Schole mayster in this Towne acknowledged hym to
haue in his Custodie one Cheste & fourtine Smale borders Mor twoe Coops
the wheche he made in apparell for mayster maiors sonne William Crosse,
& Thomas Burscowgh with others to playe theyr paiaunces in: mor not
&c

...

f 24v* (19 April) (*Special assembly before John Crosse, mayor*)

...

subsheriff/

Nota quod that tuysdaye & weydyndsaye beyng vj & vij. of Aprile. 1573.
(blank) vnder sheriff of lancashire by vertue of the Quynes maiesties writ of
extendith caused a Iurie Impanelid abroad in the Countrie adionyng this
towne Where diuers of this Towne & parte of the Contrey were extendid

9/ caliammentarius for calciamentarius

10/ burgenses burgenses ditography

20/ alij for alijs

21/ &c altered from & pro

and evill trowbled: ffor remedie whereoff *mayster* maior of his naturall zelee
amitie & pure frendship in Remorse of the Common weale ease Comfortes
& Remedie off this Towne & all the Comyntie of the same: caused a
Congregacion in the hall sonday the xixth of this aprile wherein he
Comaundyd the twoe wandres & turners wyth the hobie horse to be
punishe in the stockes at the high Crosse

5

...

1574-5

Town Book 2 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2

10

f 44v (18 October-17 October)

(25 October) (*Great Portmoot before John Mainwaring, mayor;
election of officers*)

...

Iamis Atherton wayte sub Condicionē super visum *litterarum a*
prenobile Comite derbie ad magistrum Maiorem & aldermannos
vna cum omnibus burgensibus

15

f 48 (1 December) (*Annual audit*)

...

ffyrst to my Lord Mountaygles players

x s. iiij d.

More to Iohn Riele scholemayster here for his Scholers playe

iiij s. iiij d.

...

20

f 48v

25

mor paid by the wythin named Thomas Bastwell late baliff to
Iohn Sekerston The Erle of darbie our good Lords beyreward

vj s. viij d.

...

30

1576-7

Town Book 2 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2

ff 69-9v* (18 October - 17 October)

(15-28 April) (*Earl of Derby's visit to Liverpool*)

...

The ryght honorable Henrye erle of derbye havinge lycence of the Quenes
moste excellente Maiestie to goe over into the Isle of Mann, came to
Lyuerpole the xvth Daye of Aprile Anno supradicto And there his honor
stayed vpon a wynde till the xxviiijth of the same monethe in which tyme his
Lordship did feaste Mayster Maior his bretheren with the bailiffes and others of
the same towne On mondaye beinge the xxijth of Aprile aforesaid his honoure

35

40

came to the church or chappell of Liuerpole aforesaid to vewe and
 appointe oute A fyfte place for the clothe of estate *which* was on the southe
 syde of the same church or chappell rychlie hanged with costlie
 Ornamentes and clothe of golde And Mr Thomas Bavande beinge then
 Maior of Lyuerpole aforesaid caused preparacion to be made for A greate
 tryvmphe to honor the said noble erle at the said moste honorable ffeaste
 Appointinge Thomas Englefelde to be captaine & leader of A greate
 numbere of townesmen burgeses of Lyuerpole & others whome he caused
 his bayliffes Roger Roose and Robert Baule to se furnished & trymlye sette
 fourthe as souldiors in warre Lyke manner to marche and skirmyshe before
 the said right honorable erle whoe did the same verye orderlie and right
 well at diuers & sundery convenient tymes duringe the said most honorable
 ffeaste as hereafter is more at Lardge declared The same said xxijth daye of
 Aprile aforesaid the said righte honorable erle came to eveninge prayer at
 fyve of the clocke in the afternone accompanied with Mayster Maior the
 aldermen bailiffes & others aforesaid going in due order that is to saye the
 said twoe bailiffes formoste and then the bailiffes peares Then after theim
 the aldermen, Then certaine of my Lord his gentilmen Then the Seriente
 bearinge the mase before Mayster Maior And then nexte after Mayster
 Maior my Lord his honors vssher And then the said right honourable erle
 in his robes of redde purple his trayne beinge borne vppe by Mr Lee of
 bagulaye and then came after A great numbere aswell of his honors
 gentilmen as yeomen: And so his honor comynge to the church at that
 tyme ffirst of all he did marke him selfe vnto god and then turninge him
 self did his duetie in makinge obeysaunce to the place of estate and before
 his honor did take his owne place made obeisaunce againe to the said place
 of estate and so sate downe: And afterwarde service beinge done at his
 honors goinge from church there was (as Mayster Maior hadde appointed)
 the said captaine Thomas Englefelde with his souldiors readie and there
 skirmished very bravelie and orderlie shotinge of great store (not onlie) of
 calliver shotte but also of greate cast ordinance & chambers beinge placed
 in the church yaurde accordinge to Mayster Maiors appointment besides
 shotinge of from the shipps rydinge in the ryver: Then after the same
 Eveninge, Mayster Maior gave commaundement & warninge that all the
 said companie shoulde be in readines the morninge nexte folowinge, with
 theire furniture &c. *which* was done accordinglie and marched vpon the
 warthe and skirmished againe before the said righte honorable erle, in right
 good ordre beinge tewsdaye St george his daye when his honor came to the

3/ church: *Saint Nicholas' Church*22/ bagulaye: *Baguley, Cheshire*

4/ yearde corrected from yaurde

churche very gorgiouslye, accompanied of *Mayster* Maior & manie
 gentilmen, moe, then on the daye before, & so came to the churche & there
 taried A certain tyme, and after went in solempne [pro] procession aboute
 the churche yearde & so entered again into ye churche, and there offered A
 pece of golde *which* was gyven to Sir Iames Seddon clarke mynister there, 5
 that beinge done, Mr Cadwall his honors chaplaine made A godly and
 Learned sermon vpon the psalme 81, Audi populus meus et [const]
 contestabor te Israell si audires &c. And at every tyme of my *Lord* his
 honors departure from churche there was greate triumphe as afore is said
 bothe after [^]morninge & [^]Eveninge prayer So yat there was shotte at the 10
 leaste twelve hundred callyver shotte duringe ye saide most honorable ffeast
 beside the greate ordinance afforesaid And the same evening at after supper
 one Raphe Powell gonner by *Mayster* Maiors appointment beinge readie
 with squybbes to make pastyme was commaunded by my *Lord* to staye tyll 15
 yt was A litle darker whoe afterwarde when yt was darke in ye eveninge
 caste the said squibbes abroad very trymlye wherat his honor toke greate
 pleasure And on wednesdaye his honor came to churche to morning | Prayer
 as aforesaid but in chaungeable robes at *which* tyme Mr Nutter her
 Maiesties chaplen, batchler in devinitie & parson of Sefton & Aghton made
 A passinge famouse Learned Sermon vpon the xxijth of the apocalipps. Ecce 20
 venio cito et merces mea mecum &c. *which* Sermon was Lyked muche
 above the other. There was manye thinges done & pastymes made as A
 morres daunce over & besides the premisses *which* were all so orderlye &
 trymlye handled as was to the great lykinge & pleasure of the said right 25
 honorable erle The lyke wherof was never sene or knowen to be done in this
 said towne of Liuerpole for the *which* his honor did not onlie gyve vnto
Mayster Maior maniefolde thanks but also constrained him to take his
 honors liberalities sore against *Mayster* Maiors mynde to bestowe vpon the
 said companie: All these thinges beinge fynished in decent ordre then on the
 sondaye nexte folowinge god sending his honor A prosperous wynde & faire 30
 weather his *Lordship* toke shippinge at Liuerpole in the Edward Mr
 Terbockes shippe aboute foure of ye clocke in the afternone beinge
 accompanied with the michael of Liuerpole the Bee of the same The
 Elizabethe of Aulte & ye good Lucke of Dowglasse graunte his honor A
 good & luckie prosperouse voiage with the lyke retourne to his *Lordships* 35
 expectacion with perfecte health & dailie encrease of honor longe to
 endure/

...

ff 69v-70* (*Institution of horse-race*)

...

Memorandum that this yere vpon the holie ffeaste daye of the ascencion of
our lorde god ther was a rvnnyng of horses at Liuerpole for a Sylver bell in
valewe worthe vj li. xiiij s. iiij d. which Siluer bell was devised by Edwarde
Terbocke of terbocke in ye countye of Lancaster esquier and vpon his
proper costes & chardges made And by him the same Daye frelie gyven and
Deliuered vnto mayster maior of Liuerpole aforesaid/ mr Thomas Bavande
beinge then maior whoe receiued the same bell a his handes to thende yt
shoulde be and remaine to mayster maior of Liuerpole for ye tyme beinge
for ever to be rvnne for with horses everie yere at Lyuerpole vpon the said
ascencion daye as yt was then rvnne for by foure horses viz one beinge ye
horse of the said mr Terbocke/ an other of mr Davenport of brumhall
esquier an other of mr (blank) & the iiijth of mr (blank) Sutton gentleman
The course was iiij^{or} myles and Di or thereabouts beginninge at a place
caled (blank) iuxta crosbie (blank) in &c. and endinge almost anendest ye
banckhowse somthinge to Liuerpoleward of ye same haule but mr
Davenport his horse gote ye said bell in rvnnyng & the same mr Davenport
caryed it awaye entringe into bandes in obligacion of x li. to mayster maior
aforesaid for redeliuerance yerof accordinge to ye condicion thervnder writte
the true Copie wherof ensuethe &c.l

Nouerint &c.

The condicion of this Obligacion ys suche that where the Daye herof
makeinge ther was gyven and Deliuered vnto the handes of Thomas Bavande
nowe maior of Liuerpole in ye countye of Lancastre by Edward Terbocke of
Terbocke in ye said countie esquier one Sylver bell to the valuation of vj li.
xiiij s. iiij d. To thende & intende the same shalbe rvnne for by foure certein
horses prepared and alreadie appointed for the same purpose And the said
Bell to be deliuered vnto hym whose horse shall gette or wyne the same
Lawfullie by his iuste deserte of rvnnyng accordinge to ye ordre and Lawe
of ye game Yf the above bounden william Davenport (whose horse nowe
hathe gotten the said bell in rvnnyng) his heire or assignes or anye of
theym doe well & truely redeliuer or cause to be redeliuered the very same
sylver bell in as good ordre as yt is at the Daye of ye makeinge herof vnto the
said maior of Liuerpole for ye tyme beinge or to his Lawfull deputie or
attourney at and vpon the ffeast daye of ye As of our Lorde god nexte and
Immediatelie ensuinge ye daye of the Date of this obligacion betwene the

3-4/ the holie ffeaste ... god: 16 May
9/ a for at

23/ Nouerint &c; *underlined in ms*
38/ As followed by gap in original; for Ascension (?)

howres of nyne and eleaven of the Clocke in ye fornone of ye same Daye
 provided alwaies yat he whose horse gote or wan the said bell (After the
 deliuerie of the same as is aforesaid) shall have his horse to rvnne francke &
 free without anye money payinge for the same his Course That then this
 present Obligation to be voided & of non effecte Or els yt to be and remayne
 in ffull power strengthe & vertue

...

f 77 (24 October) (Second Portmoot before Ralph Burscough, deputy mayor)

...

Item we are agreed that Nicholas fforber shall serve in this towne as wayte
 and have the Scotcheon and have the benevolence of the towne vpon his
 good behaviour

...

1579–80

Town Book 2 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2

f 96v (18 October–17 October)

(26 October) (Great Portmoot before Edward Halsall, mayor)

Offycers chosen and appointed for this yeare till the feast of St Luke
 thevaungelist nexte &c. by the said xxiiij Iurors as foloweth

...

Haywart Iohn Hollinprest Iuratus/ And henry halewood wayte/

1581–2

Town Book 2 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2

f 114v (18 October–17 October)

(23 October) (Great Portmoot before John Crosse, mayor; election of officers)

...

...waite henry Clennes/

...

1582–3

Town Book 2 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2

f 127 (18 October – 17 October)

(22 October) (Great Portmoot before William Secum, mayor; election of officers)

...

Weate Henry Clennes

...

f 130 (25 January) (*Annual audit*)

...

Item there is founde due by the Towne to Mr Iohn Crosse esquier
for money disbursed to the Townes vse viz. towardes my Lord of
Oxfordes players iij s. iiij d., towardes my Lord of Darbie his Lordships
players x s....

...

1583-4

Town Book 2 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2

f 137v (18 October-17 October)

(21 October) (*Great Portmoot before Ralph Burscough, mayor; election of
officers*)

...

Item they are agreed That Henry Clennes shalbe wayte & receyve the
rewarde of the townespeople And that he shall playe at euery mans dore
that hath borne office

...

f 140 (29 June) (*Assembly of burgesses*)

...

...And also then and there Henry Clennes waite was admitted & sworne
a free Burges of this Towne and layd downe for his ingression vj s. which was
gyven him againe by mayster maior with the Consent of the other
gentlemen & burgesses In consideracion that the said henry shoulde
paye for the fasshioninge or makinge newe of the Townes skutchion.
&c.

1584-5

Town Book 2 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2

f 143v (18 October-17 October)

(26 October) (*Great Portmoot before Thomas Bavand, mayor*)

...

And Henry Clennes waite

Item wee doe presente the saide Henry Clennes finable for that he
doeth not vse to playe at euerie mans dore that hath borne office In the
Towne Accordinge to the order made in that behalf by the last xxiiijth
&c.

...

1585-6

Town Book 2 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2

f 149 (18 October - 17 October)

(25 October) (Great Portmoot before Thomas Bavand, deputy of Ferdinando, Lord Strange, mayor)

5

...

°Waite°

Item we agre to have a waite In this Towne

...

1586-7

10

Town Book 2 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2

f 158 (18 October - 17 October)

(27 October) (Second Portmoot before Edward Halsall, mayor)

...

°Wayt°

Item wee agre & fynde it meete to have a waite

15

...

1587-8

Town Book 2 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2

f 164v (18 October - 17 October)

(23 October) (Great Portmoot before William More, mayor)

20

...

Item they doe agree that Henry Halewood shalbe Wayte

...

25

1588-9

Town Book 2 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2

f 172 (18 October - 17 October)

(4 November) (Great Portmoot before Sir Richard Molyneux, mayor; election of officers)

30

...

Wayte - Henry halewood.

...

1589-90

35

Town Book 2 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2

f 183v (18 October - 17 October)

(30 October) (Second Portmoot before Thomas Whicksted, mayor)

...

Item the thinke it conveniente to have a waite when mayster maior his brethrenn and the towne shall fynde one they shall have good lyking of

40

...

1590-1

Town Book 2 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2

f 195v (18 October-17 October)

(26 October) (*Great Portmoot before John Bird, mayor*)

...

Item they are agreed yat there shalbe a sufficient Waite within yis Towne,
and wee thinke Henry Clennes a fitte man

...

f 199v (*Assembly before John Bird, mayor*)

...

Memorandum yat the xxijth daye of Marche Anno supradicto the scutchion
of this Towne was Deliuered vnto Edward Dawson whoe then and before
the same ys admitted waite of this Towne by *mayster* maior with the
Consente of his Bretheren and burgesses of the same Towne and for the
saffe kepinge and redeliuerie of the same Scutchion vpon demande hathe
putt in Roberte Ball nowe bailif of Liuerpoole aforesaid whoe hathe
vndertaken for the same in the behalf of the said Dawson as witnesseth his
hand herevnto./ and in defalte of the said scutchion to paye the summe of
xij s. iij d.

signum Roberti + Ball: /

1591-2

Town Book 2 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2

f 205v (18 October-17 October)

(25 October) (*Great Portmoot before Robert More, mayor*)

...

Item yat it is necessarie to have a sufficient man to be our waite &c

...

1592-3

Town Book 2 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2

f 215v (18 October-17 October)

(23 October) (*Great Portmoot before Giles Brooke, mayor*)

...

Item To have a sufficient man to be our waite.

...

1593-4

Town Book 2 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2

f 222v (18 October - 17 October)

(29 October) (Great Portmoot before Robert Berry, mayor)

...

Item that wee shall haue a sufficiente man to be our waite./

...

5

1594-5

Town Book 2 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2

f 232 (18 October - 17 October)

(21 October) (Great Portmoot before John Bird, mayor)

...

Item they are agreed to haue a wayte./.

10

15

f 230 (2 November)

...

Memorandum that the seconde daye of November in the sixe and thirtieth
 yeare of the reigne of our said Soueraigne [^]lady[]] Elizabeth the Quenes
 moste excellentie maiestie nowe beinge *mayster* maior aboue named by and
 with a comon assente & consente of the coburgesses of this said towne
 before agreed vpon) deliuered The townes scutchion of silver contayninge
 in weighte fyve ounces of haberdepoise to one Thomas Brookfelde a pyper
 beinge admitted wayte of this Towne vpon his good Demeanor/ and for the
 safe kepinge and redeliuerye of which said scutchion in suche plite and
 manner as the same nowe is vpon reasonable Demaunde as occasion shall
 require. Thomas Rose of yis saide towne yeoman and Nicholas Abraham of
 the same towne marchante have voluntarily before *mayster* maior
 vndertaken the same for the said Brookfelde as pledges and suerties for same
 redeliuerie of the said scutchion, and in further testimonie Thereof they
 haue herevnto putte their handes ye daye and yeare Laste aboue specified

20

25

30

signum manuale

(signed) Nicholas Abraham

Thome + Rose

1595-6

Town Book 2 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2

f 243 (18 October - 17 October)

(20 October) (Great Portmoot before Robert More, mayor)

...

Item wee agree to haue some honest man to bee our waite.

...

35

40

20/ opening parenthesis omitted before by

33/ + : Rose has signed with his personal mark

1597-8

Town Book 2 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2

f 258 (18 October-17 October)

(31 October) (*Great Portmoot before Richard Hodgson, mayor*)

...

Item the Iurors aforesaid finde it mete and convenient to haue a waite within this towne/ and also that the Clerke shall ringe Curfewe, or Cause the same to be done from this night forth vntill the feast of the Purification of blessed mary the virgin next to Come &c/

...

f 260* (12 June) (*Assembly of burgesses before Richard Hodgson, mayor*)

...

Item that there shalbe no pypinge nor daunsinge vpon the sabaothe Daies excepte it be at after eveninge praier./

1599-1600

Town Book 2 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2

f 273v (18 October-17 October)

(22 October) (*Great Portmoot before Robert More, mayor; election of officers*)

...

Wayte

Iohn Blakeden

1600-1

Town Book 2 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2

f 285 (18 October-17 October)

(6 December) (*Memorandum of civic business*)

...

Memorandum that sixt daie of December Anno regni dicte domine Regine nostre Elizabethe &c quadragesimo tertio the towne Scotchin was by the Comaundement of mayster maior aboue namde, delyvered to Hughe Harpur waite of the same towne, ffor the salf kepinge wherof, as also for the rediliuery of the same Iohn Seddon and Thomas Stringer of Liuerpoole afforesaid came before mayster Maior the daie & yeare aboue written and did vndertake as pledges and suerties for the said Hugh Harpur and he the said hughe did vndertake for him self & euery of them Ioyntlie and seuerally for him vnto the said maior that the¹ said¹ [s..d] hugh harpur shall at all tymes vpon reasonable demand redeliuer or Cause to be

8-9/ the feast ... virgin: 2 February

30/ that for that the (?)

redeliuered vnto the said maior his deputie or successor the foresaid
scutchion In such lyke plite & sorte as he receiued the same, the ordinary
wearing therof onely excepted/

1610–11

5

Town Book 2 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2

f 365* (18 October–17 October)

(22 October) (*Great Portmoot before Thomas Hackenhall, mayor*)

...

Item we do present Mychaell Harper the wayte for not playinge
in Convenient tyme and at such tymes as he ought to haue
done

10

iiij s. iiij d.

...

f 366

15

...

Item we do agree that the wayte shall goe about the towne at the tymes
and howers accustomed both evenynge & mornynge and so often as he
makes default therin, he shall pay for euery default iiij d., and the same
to be gathered to the vse of the poore of the towne

20

f 368* (25 October) (*Second Portmoot before Thomas Hackenhall, mayor*)

...

Item that all Burgesses of this towne shall giue there attendance of *mayster*
mayor at both the fayres and at midsomer accordinge to the ancient order
of this towne vpon payne of their ffynes and that the wayte shall giue an
howers warninge in gowinge throughe the streetes.

25

...

1611–12

30

Town Book 2 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2

f 378v (18 October–17 October)

(21 October) (*Great Portmoot before Edward Moore, mayor*)

...

Item Michaell harper the wayte for not playinge in tyme
Convenyent & at such tymes as he ought to haue done

35

vj s. viij d.

...

f 380 (*Election of officers*)

...

Mychaell Harper Wayte

40

...

1616-17

Town Book 2 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2

f 422v (18 October-17 October)

(28 October) (Great Portmoot before Richard Moore, mayor; election of officers)

...

Mitchallus Harpur admissus fuit le Wayte &c

5

1617-18

Town Book 2 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2

f 428v (18 October-17 October)

(27 October) (Great Portmoot before Edmund Rose, mayor; election of officers)

...

waite

Michael Harper

Iuratus

...

10

15

1618-19

Town Book 2 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2

f 443 (18 October-17 October)

(22 October) (Great Portmoot before Sir Richard Molyneux, mayor)

...

wee do agree that the sexton shall Ringe Corfye at Eaight in the eveninge
and att ffour in the mornynge

wee do agrie that the wheyte shall play at the said tymes also Item

...

20

25

f 443v (Election of officers)

...

Michell Harper wheite/

...

30

1619-20

Town Book 2 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2

f 453 (18 October-17 October)

(25 October) (Great Portmoot before Ralph Seacome, mayor; election of
officers)

...

Michael Harper wait./

...

35

1620-1**Town Book 2** LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2

f 461 col 1 (18 October-17 October)

(23 October) (Great Portmoot before Edward Moore, mayor;
election of officers)

5

...

Michaell Harper, Weate...

1621-2**Town Book 2** LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2

f 472v (18 October-17 October)

(22 October) (Great Portmoot before Oliver Fairhurst, mayor;
election of officers)

10

...

Michell Harper wayte

15

...

1622-3**Town Book 2** LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2

f 478v (18 October-17 October)

(28 October) (Great Portmoot before John Walker, mayor; presentments;
election of officers)

20

...

We present the wayte for neglectinge his office in playing at due tymes.

...

25

col 2

Wayte

Michell

Harper

30

...

1623-4**Town Book 2** LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2

f 493 (18 October-17 October)

(28 October) (Great Portmoot before John Williamson, mayor;
election of officers)

35

...

Michell Harper Wayte

40

...

1624-5

Town Book 3 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/3

p 2 col 2 (18 October-17 October)

(25 October) (*Great Portmoot before Richard Rose, mayor; election of officers*)

...

Wayte Michellus Harper.

...

1625-6

Town Book 3 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/3

p 27 (18 October-17 October)

(24 October) (*Great Portmoot before James, Lord Strange, mayor; election of officers*)

...

Wayte. Michael Harper.

...

1626-7

Town Book 3 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/3

p 37 col 2 (18 October-17 October)

(23 October) (*Great Portmoot before Edward Moore, mayor; election of officers*)

...

Wayte. Michael Harper.

...

1627-8

Town Book 3 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/3

p 51 col 2 (18 October-17 October)

(22 October) (*Great Portmoot before Ralph Seacome, mayor; election of officers*)

...

Wayte. Michael Harper

...

1629-30

Town Book 3 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/3

p 86* (18 October-17 October)

(25 October) (*Great Portmoot before Robert Williamson, mayor*)

Item wee doe agree [that] to haue a Bell man to goe about the Towne at Tenn of the Clock at night and ffouer in the morninge, to giue warninge to looke to there fires and Lockeinge there dores and to acquainte them

with the wynd and wether, and that hee shall haue the wages euery yere that
formerly the waite hath done

...

p 91 (18 October–17 October)
(7 May) (Common Council)

5

...

Eodem die

Yt is likewise agreed vpon that Iohn Hollinworth shalbee wayte within this
Towne and shall haue such wages as haue formerly beene alloued vnto the
wayte.

10

1630–1

Town Book 3 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/3

p 100 col 2 (25 October) (Great Portmoot before John Williamson, mayor;
election of officers)

15

...

Wayte. Iohannes Hollinworth./

1636–7

20

Town Book 3 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/3

p 176 (18 October–17 October)
(24 October) (Great Portmoot before William Dwerryhouse, mayor)

...

Item Richard Holland for keepinge a pyper in his house vpon ye Sabbath daye
amerced in ij s.

25

...

MANCHESTER

30

1523–4

Grammar School Deed and Statutes MCLA: L1/44

single mb* (1 April)

...

Item within the same Scole nor lybrare of the same by nyght or by day any
other Artes. thynges plays or other occupacions be hadd or vsed in them or
any of theym bot all ways kept honeste and cleynly as it be semythe a Scole or
a lybrary And that after the cleyneste maner without any logyng therin of any
Scole maister or of any Vsher or auther of theym or of any other person or
persons/...

35

...

40

Item that euery Scole maister and vssher for euer from tyme to tyme shall teyche ffreely and indifferently euery Childe and Scoler comyng to the same Scole without any money or other rewarde takyng therfore as Cokke peny, victor peny. potacion peny. or any other what so euer it be except only his said stypend and wagies hereafter specified...

...

Item the Scollers of the same Scole shall vse no cokfeyghtes nor other vnlafull games & Ryddyng aboute for victorys or other disportes had in this parties wich be to the grett lett of lernyng and vertue and to charge and Costs of the Scolers & of their frendes...

...

1563-4

Court Leet Book 1 MTH: M1/57

f 43v (30 September)

Court leet before Edward, earl of Derby, steward

concernynge
the weyte of
this towne,

Item the Iury dothe conclude and agre that Richarde Kyrshae [^]& Randill Lighe¹ shall from hensfurthe shall exersyse the office of the Commen weyte, in the towne of mamchestre & so to contynewe from tyme to tyme doinge his dewtie and vsing him selff honestlye as an honest man owe to doe, Or ellis an other to be put in his Rome ° and to gather their wages by thelpe of the cunstable or their deputies°

...

1567-8

Court Leet Book 1 MTH: M1/57

f 58* (1 October)

Court leet before Edward, earl of Derby, steward

...

The Iurie ys concluded and agreed by the consentes of thenhabitantes of mamchester that randill lighe & Richard wirrall shalbe weytes of our towne of mamchester yf they from tyme to tyme doe their duties in Playing mornyng and euening to gether according as others haue Bene heretofore accustomed to doe And yf the said waytes doe not their duties in the premisses then it is agreed by the lyke consent yat maister steuere Robert Langley gentleman Thomas willat George Pendilton Robert marler & Ihon Haughtone shall at all tyme & tymes vpon their mysdemayner

put forthe eyther of them so offending and place other in rowmes according to their discrecions & that thay do not absent them selues without lycence of the Steward & too of the persons aboue said at the least at no tyme sub pena of the forfeiting of their said office.

Teste Iohanni Gloverr clericumi ibidem

5

1568–9

Court Leet Book 1 MTH: M1/57

f 62* (14 April)

Court leet before John Gregory, deputy of Edward, earl of Derby, steward

10

...

The Iurie doothe geue thaire consentes of the wayte shipp to Randall lyghe hollye with one other to serue with him of his awne seruantes vpon a condicion that the towne be well serued and we wolde desyre maister steward to doe the same with the reste of the towne.

15

...

1576–7

Court Leet Book 1 MTH: M1/57

f 87v (11 April)

20

Court leet before Randolph Hurlston, steward

...

The Iury doth request yat all those, who haue withdrawne yeir good willes or suche stypend of money, as they haue ¹bene accustomed to gyve the Waytes, that they would the rather at our request extend their good willes to further ther stypend and not to hynder yt

25

1581–2

Manor Rental Book 2 MCLA: f 333 M45

ff 9v–10* (29 September)

30

...

William Ravalde holdeth by the same Tenure certen Burgages in Ye Mylnegate, ye Cockepitte and I And for other therevnto adioyninge, et Reddit inde domino per Annum

35

xxij d.

...

2/ finale of lycence written over c

5/ Iohanni for Iohanne

5/ clericumi for clerico

35/ and I And: dittography

1587-8

Churchwardens' Presentments to the Quarter Sessions

Cumbers House: Kenyon MSS, Memorandum Book

f 11v* (15 April)

The presentmente of the churchwardens of manchester the xvth of Aprill
1588. Anno regni regine Elizabethæ xxx^o

...

nihill

ffor those yat keepe wakes ffayres markettes bullbaites greenes Alles maye
gammes pypinge & dawncinge, huntinge & gamninge vppon the Saobothe
daye wee knowe none

ffor Causinge a bayre to be bayted vpon Sundaie beinge the xvijth of
marche 1587. att the bullringe neere the Conduyte in manchester/.
William Radcliffe of manchester gentleman Roberte Radcliffe Iames
Radcliffe Thomas Radcliffe william Batesonn Edwarde Prescotte George
wolsencrofte Iohn Lees Smythe Roberte Bridghowse & Rychard moreton
the yonger with diuerse others. wee [(&)] knowe not

...

Presentment of Sunday Bear-baiters LRO: QSR 1

mb 12 (15 April)

*Sessions held at Manchester before Ferdinando, Lord Strange, Sir Edmund
Trafford, Thomas Walmesley, serjeant-at-law, Thomas Holcrofte, Richard
Assheton, Richard Brereton, Francis Holt, James Assheton, Charles Holte,
Edmund Hopwood, John Wrightington, and John Bradshaw, justices of the
peace*

...that William Radclyffe of manchester gentleman Roberte Radclyffe
Iames Radclyffe Thomas Radclyffe William Bateson Edwarde Prescotte
George Wolsencrofte Iohn Lees Smyth Roberte Bridgehouse Richarde
moreton the yonger and diuers other vnknowne did vpon Sondaie the
Sevententh of marche in the yere of our lorde god 1587 baite a beare at
manchester aforesaide nere the Conducte there/...

1588-9

Court Leet Book 2 MTH: M1/57

f 8v* (3 October)

Court leet before Richard Swinglehurst, steward

...

The Iurie dothe gyve their consents, That Iamys Burton shall haue the

Wayteshipp whollye to him selffe, kepinge suche number for the service of the towne, as he hath at this instant, And forasmuche as they beinge ffoure in number, cannot be maynteyned sufficientlye without reasonable allowance of euerye inhabitant in Manchester And whereas at Weddinges strange pypers, or other Minstrells come and sometyme playe beffore weddinges to ye Church, sometyme at ye weddinge dyner, by reason whereof, they drawe to theym selves some gaynes, *which* oughte to redound to the Waytes of this towne. Thereffore in consideracion, it is a credit to ye towne to see theym well mayneteyned. The Iurye dothe order that no pyper or mynstrell, shalbe allowed to playe at any Weddinge dyner, or beffore any Weddinge within the towne to ye *preiudice* of the Waytes, earnestlye desyringe Master Stewarde, as also the inhabitants within this towne, to agree vnto this *our* order And rather augmente their wages, then otherwise, So longe as they shall vse and behaue theym selves duetiefullye & paynefully as apperteyneth.

Manor Rental Book 3 MCLA: f 333 M45

f [10v] (29 September)

William Ravalde
 ...
 Of him for certen burgages in ye Mylnegate, in ye tenure of
 Roberte Langley & Bartholomew ffletcher & ye cockfighte &
 ij tenementes adioyninge per annum xxij d.
 ...

Manchester Collegiate Church Register MCA: Parish Register 1
 p 358* (23 September) (*Burials*)

...
 Robert Asmall of Gorton slayne with a bull at the stake
 ...

1592–3

Manor Rental Book 4 MCLA: f 333 M45

f [11] (29 September)

William Ravalde
 ...
 Of hym for certen burgages in the mylnegate in the tenure of
 Roberte Langley and Bartholomewe ffletcher and the cockffighte
 & ij tenementes adioyninge per annum xxij d.
 ...

1594-5

Archbishop Hutton's Visitation Book BI: V.1595-6/CB.3
f 24v* (17 September)

Proceedings of the court held at Manchester parish church for Manchester deanery 5

...

Iohn Grene made an ale vpon sonday the 25 of May 1595 wher was great fighting & disorder &c

The said Iohn Grene for piping the first of Iune 1595 being the Lordes Sabaoth to the prophanyng of the Sabaoth/

10

1598-9

Manor Rental Book 5 MCLA: f 333 M45
f [12] (29 September)

...

William
Ravalde

Of hym for certen burgages in ye Mylnegate late in ye Tenure of Roberte Langley & ffletcher & ye cockpitte & 2 tenementes adioyninge per annum

xxij d.

15

...

Manor Rental Book 5 MCLA: f 333 M45
f [25]* (25 March)

...

September
1598

[Item paide on ye fayre daye for A potle of wyne 20 d. a potle of beare 4 d. to ye waytes xij d. to ye halberd-men vj d. in toto

iiij s. vj d. 25

...

Item paide for Master Stewardes dyner at ye Leetemoote ye vth of October 1598

vj s. viij d.]

...

f [26]

30

...

dyner at
Easter &
Michaelmas

Item payde for master Stewardes dyner & ye officers at ye Leete 2 courtes. at [Easter] Michaelmas. 98. & Easter 99
Item in wyne & to ye waytes

xiiij s. iiij d.

xviiij d. 35

...

1599–1600

Manor Rental Book 6 MCLA: f 333 M45

f [16] (29 September)

...

Of hym for certen burgages in ye Mylnegate in ye tenure of vxor
 George Awynn & vxor ffletcher and ye cockefighte & ij tenementes
 adioyninge per annum

xxij d.

...

f [25] (25 March)

10

...

Item paide on ye fayre daye .99. for .2. quartes of wyne & suger
 ij s. to ye halberdmen. xij d. & to ye waytes xij d. in toto

iiij s.

...

f [25v]

15

...

Item payde for master Stewards dyners at michaelmas ¹⁵⁹⁹
 & Easter 1600

xiiij s. iiij d.

Item for ye waytes & for wyne

ij s. x d.

...

1600–1

Court Leet Book 2 MTH: M1/57

f 46v (2 October)

25

Court leet before Richard Swinglehurst, steward

...

Item wee order that noe maner of person shall Hinder our waytes in
 Manchester with any musicke within ye saide towne at any weding but
 that they shall haue the comoditye And ye benevolence of ye wholl
 companye ther sub pena to euery one offendinge for euery tyme ij s. and
 yat also they shall not absent theim selues at any tyme from playing
 aboute ye towne eueninge and morninge without a verye reasonable
 cause made aquaynted to some two or three of ye lurye then beinge of
 ye lordes Leete./

30

35

...

f 47*

...

Wheras there was an order hertofore made in this Leete concerning the waytes that noe mynstrill shall playe within this towne at weddinges but ye waytes of *our* towne, wee doe now further Order that noe Inhabytantes shall suffer any other mynstrell to playe at his howse at weddinge dynners but onlye the waytes sub pena for euery tyme soe offendinge iij s. iiij d.

...

1601-2

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/12b
f 114v* (7 October)

Proceedings of the court held for Manchester deanery at Manchester parish church, before David Yale, LLD

...

contra Radulphum marler
for makinge an Ale on the sabbaoth daie

1603-4

Court Leet Book 2 MTH: M1/57
f 58v (6 October)

Court leet before Charles Leighe, steward

The Iurye dothe order that in regard the Waites of this towne haue lately receyued a man skillfull in musicke into their societye & companie and also that they haue bene seclued by forreine and other musicions a Weddinge dynners in this towne from the favorable and frendlye contribucion *which* the inhabitantes of this towne their lovinge frendes would willinglye and liberallye haue imparted and bestowed vpon them in remedie whereof this Iurye doth now order that the said waites shall hereafter be Receyued to playe musicke at all & euerye wedding dynners in this towne as afforesaid and the forreyne musicions and all others be hencefurth reiected, and that no Inkeeper or alehousekeeper doe admytte anie in Contempte hereof sub pena to euerye such Inkeeper and alehousekeeper so offendinge iij s. iiij d.

...

5/ Inhabytantes for Inhabytante (?)
29/ a for at (?)

29/ dynners: otiose suspension mark over first n

1604–5

Court Leet Book 2 MTH: M1/57

f 61v (2 October)

Court leet before Roger Downes, steward

5

...

Whereas one of our late waites of Manchester by name Iames Burton ys departed, wee doe allowe & admitte Roberte ffletcher Ewan Holker and Iohn Smedley to be Waites, and that all our orders heretofore made on their behalfe shall stand and be in force and so contynew till wee of the Iurye se cause to the contrarie./

10

...

1606–7

Court Leet Book 2 MTH: M1/57

f 67v* (1 October)

15

Court leet before Alexander Rigby, steward

...

Whereas dyuerse orders hath bene heretofore made for the seclunding of other mynstrills then the Waites to play within this towne, and that the said orders haue taken smale effecte, Therefore Wee order that all former orders made to that purpose shall and be in force, and that the Waites for the tyme beinge shall make presentmentes of all suche offences, as are Commytted contrarye to the said orders and wee the Iurye doe desire that the Constables for the tyme beinge will take order that the statute made Anno primo Regni Iacobi and intytuled an acte for the punishment of Rogues vagaboundes and sturdye beggers maye be duelye executed/

20

25

...

30

1608–9

Manor Rental Book 7 MCLA: f 333 M45

f [10] (29 September)

...

35

William
Ravalde

Of hym for certen Burgages in the Mylنگate in ye tenure of one percivall Chetam with the Tenementes adioyninge to the ould cockpitte, & ye Cockepitt per annum

xxij d.

...

23/ shall and be: and *redundant*

f [17] (25 March)

...

Item bestowed in wyne and ffrutes vppon ye townesmen at
ye ffayre

iiij s. vj d.

Item vppon ye waytes & halbertmen

ij s. 5

...

f [17v]

...

Item paide for Master Stewards dyner ye xijth of October
1608 after viij d. a person

10

vij s. iiij d.

Item in wyne ij s. & to ye waites xij d. in toto

iiij s.

...

f [18]

15

Item paide for Master Stewardes dyner ye 26th of
Aprill .1609. for xiiij^{tene} persons

vij s.

Item for a quarte of wyne ale & sugar

xij d.

Item to the waytes

xij d. 20

...

1610-11

Manor Rental Book 8 MCLA: f 333 M45

f [9v] (29 September)

25

...

William
RaualdeOf hym for certen burgages in ye Mylنگate in ye tenure of one
percivall & Chetam with ye old cockfight & .2. tenementes
adioynninge

xxij d.

...

30

f [17] (25 March)

...

Item in Wyne wafers and ffrutes to ye burgesses on ye faire
daye i6i0

vj s. 35

Item to ye waites, and halberdmen

ij s.

...

f [17v]

...

40

Item paide for Master Stewardes dyners aswell at ye Leete Courte holden

ye .9. October 16i0. & for Wyne & to the Waytes vij s. vj d.
As also at the Leete courte holden at Easter 1611. for ye lyke
vij s. iiij d. in toto

xv s. x d.

...

5

1611-12***Manor Rental Book 9*** MCLA: f 333 M45

f [10] (29 September)

...

William
Raualde

Of hym for certen burgages in ye Milngate in ye tenure of one
percivall & Chetam with ye tenementes adioyninge to ye old
cockfichte and ye cockfichte *per annum*

10

xxij d.

...

f [17v] (25 March)

15

...

Item bestowed in wyne, suger wafers & other ffruites vppon
ye townsmenn on ye ffaire daye
Item to ye waites & halbertmenn

vij s.

ij s. vj d.

...

20

Item paide for Mr Stewards dyner at ye Courte holden the
ixth October 1611. & to ye waites

vij s. viij d.

...

f [18]

25

...

Item paide for Mr Stewardes dyner at Easter Leete courte i612
vj s. & to ye waytes xij d. & a potle of Wyne xij d. in toto

vij s.

...

30

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/17

f 100* (15 October)

*Proceedings of the court for Manchester deanery at Manchester parish church
before David Ellis, STD, deputy of David Yale, LLD, official principal*

35

...

contra Thomam Baylie de Shooters brooke

had an Ale on the sondaie att sermon tyme and had a pyper and manie
people gathered together one wooman there was *which* att her comeinge
thretned to sticke an other with a knyfe

40

1613-14

Manor Rental Book 10 MCLA: f 333 M45

f [10] (29 September)

William
Ravalde

...

Of hym for certenn burgages in ye Mylنگate in ye tenure of one
percivall & others with the .2. Tenementes xxij d. adioyninge to
ye old cockfichte, & ye said cockfight *per annum*

xxij d.

5

...

f [17v] (25 March)

10

...

Item paide at the ffayre ye 21. September .16i3. to ye Halbertmen
& waites

iiij s.

Item in Wyne and ffruites to the Burgesses

viiij s.

...

15

Item paide for Master Stewardes dyner the 30 September i6i3

vj s.

Item for a potle of wyne & to the waites

ij s.

...

f [19] (28 April)

20

...

Item paide for Master Stewardes dyner .i3. persons after .8 d.
a piece

viiij s. viij d.

Item a potle of wyne

xvj d.

Item to the waites

xij d.

25

...

1620-1

Court Leet Book 2 MTH: M1/57

f 115* (5 October)

30

Court leet before William Sparke, steward

...

Whereas dyuerse good orders haue beene heretofore made concerninge
the Waites of this towne that the should perfforme theire dueties by
theire respectyue care and paines which they ought to take in the Winter
season, by theire Walkinge and goeinge abroad in the night wherebye the
might discouer many dangers and mysedeameanors which maye happen
to fale out in the night This lurye doth therefore order that they shall
not hencefurth be reputed as waites of this towne not expecte any paye or

35

40

wages of any the Burgesses or Inhabitantes Within the towne of Manchester

...

1621-2

Manchester Collegiate Church Accounts JRUL: Clowes Deeds CL.471

5

f [2]* (25-6 March) (Expenses)

...

+ Item to the Waites

ij s.

...

10

Manchester Collegiate Church Accounts JRUL: Clowes Deeds CL.1560(1)

f [1]* (1 April) (Expenses)

...

Received the daie & yere abouewritten of Mr James Chetam for

our quarters payement as waites & bellman & Clarkes

iiij s. j d. 15

(signed) Iohn birche (signed) Robart fletcher

Manchester Collegiate Church Accounts JRUL: Clowes Deeds CL.504(a)

single sheet (1 April-29 June) (Disbursements)

...

Item to ye waytes

0 2 0

20

...

verso

25

paide for Midsom(e)r quarters Wages. to ye Companie

...

Item to ye waytes

0 2 0

...

30

1623-4

Manor Rental Book 11 MCLA: f 333 M45

f [13] (29 September)

...

Of him for certen burgages in the Mylnegate in the tenure of one

percyvall & Chetam With the two tenementes adioyninge to ye

Cockfight per annum

xxij d.

35

...

1624-5

Constables' Accounts MCLA: M91/M1/31

p 97* (5 November) (Disbursements)

...

Robert Cowbornee beeinge a blind man and A ffiddler and his wiffe
 beeinge Taken begginge shee beeinge verye great with Child and beeinge
 putt in the Dungeon whilest the passe was makeinge beeinge
 not past halffe ane howre was deliuered of a Child which was
 christned and they weare both kept of the townes chardges till
 shee was churched whiche was xiiijteen dayes and for theare passe
 and keepeinge and bringinge to Cholerton Rowe

00 04 11

...

1626-7

Constables' Accounts MCLA: M91/M1/31

p 128 (30 September) (Disbursements)

...

paid for bringeinge Iohn Twiste a piper out of our Towne

00 00 2

...

1627-8

Constables' Accounts MCLA: M91/M1/31

p 147 (17 December) (Disbursements)

...

Item for a passe & whippinge Thomas Cowper of Congleton pyper
 & brought to ye Constable of chowerton Rowe 17^o. decembris

6 d.

...

1629-30

Constables' Accounts MCLA: M91/M1/31

p 175 (27 April) (Disbursements)

...

paid for punishing two ffidlers

00 00 02

...

1634-5

George Chetham's Cashbook CL: Mun. E.2.6 Allen Deeds, Parcel P

f [14]* (28 March) (Payments)

...

paid for makinge A frame for the Verginalles

000.07.06 40

...

1636-7

Constables' Accounts MCLA: M91/M1/31

p 221 (18 February) (Expenses)

...

to Tho Maskall a player & 5 more to voyd the Towne 00 05 00 5

...

to Eight players to goe, & Not to play in Towne 00 03 00

...

p 222* (3 July) (Expenses)

10

to Ion Costine a player with 10 in his Compeny to avide the Towne &
 Not playe, these dangerose tymes 00 06 08

...

15

MELLING

1611

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/17

f 190 (19 October)

20

*Proceedings of the court held for Warrington deanery at Wigan parish church
 before David Ellis, STD, deputy of David Yale, LLD, official principal*

...

Contra Thomam ffletcher, Georgium Aspinall, Willimum Harrison,
 Willimum Stoppford 25

for prophaninge the Sabboath daie by fetchinge in a May poole Quo die
 comparuerunt fletcher Aspinwall et Stopport et dominus iunxit eis to
 confes there faltes publiquelie in Mellinge Chappell vpon sonndaie
 sevensnight next & for that ytt appeareth that William Stopport is butt 30
 A boye the Iudge hathe appointed his father presentlie to giue him dwe
 Correction for this falte and to certefie there confessions by christemas
 nexte/

...

28/ iunxit: 6 minims in MS

30/ sevensnight: 4 minims in MS

1614

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/19
f 127v* (27 November)

*Proceedings of the court held for Warrington deanery at Wigan parish church
before Gerard Massie, STD, clerk, deputy of George Lloyd, bishop of Chester*

...

Idem contra Ianam Jackson alias Barnes

for a scould, and for making and singing of Rymes by her neighbours

...

1616/17

Melling Chapel Register and Memorandum Book

Melling: St Thomas' Church Safe, Register No 1

p [6]*

Anno Domini 1617

Memorandum that the Seconde Sonday of Lent beinge the nynth day
of March Last past hyt p<... was> that the Si<..>els play was at the full

Item Sonday the thyrd of Lent _^ the pley and brawlyng betwene Richard
mellynge and Thomæs Aspenwall was Thomæs Tyrer of Conschogh and
other present hyt was the xvjth of March Last past

°Margret Martin

Margret Molineux

Elizabeth Martin°

MYERSCOUGH

1590

Presentment of Christopher Poulton, Alehousekeeper LRO: QSR 1
mb 9d* (12 July)

*Sessions of the court held at Preston before John Fleetwood, Sir Richard
Shireburn, Thomas Talbot, Thomas Southworth, James Anderton, Thomas
Eccleston, Nicholas Bannister, Edmund Fleetwood, and John Wrightington,
justices of the peace*

...Et quod christoferus Poulton nuper de Merscoughe in Comitatu lancastrie
Alehousekeper die dominico permisit vnum Bearebate iuxta domum suam &
Manutenuit & Custodivit Manutentores eiusdem Bearebate in domo sua/...

NEWCHURCH IN PENDLE

1596

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/9
f 79v (16 September)

5

Proceedings of the court held for Blackburn deanery

...

Officium domini contra Nicholaum hargreaves for playing appon orgenns
in the howse and drawing people for evening prayer appon the Saboth.
Quo die comparuit vir et negavit penitus presentacionem [domini et]
dominus qui est presentator ipsum iniunxit ne imposterum ¹⁰ appon the
sabath daie¹ sub pena excommunicationis¹ et ad significandum

10

1614

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/19
f 92v* (24 November)

15

*Proceedings of the court held for Blackburn deanery at Preston parish church
before Gerard Massie, STD, vicar of Wigan, deputy of George Lloyd, bishop of
Chester, in the presence of John Morgell, registrar*

20

...

Idem contra Iohannem Stephenson
for suffring a pyper to play in his house in tyme of divine service quo die
comparuit Iohannes Stephenson et negavit penitus &c Dominus iunxit ei
to confes his falte publiquelie att service tyme & to certefye by Candlemas
nexte/

25

...

1633

Archbishop Neile's Visitation Book BI: V.1633/CB.2A
f 279v* (21 November)

30

Proceedings of the court held for Blackburn deanery

Officium domini contra henricum Parker for suffering pipeing and danceing
to be in his house & groundes on the sunday
Quo die comparuit dictus Parker et negavit obiecta vnde dimittitur
...

35

10/ for for from

13/ et ad corrected from etc

13/ significandum for certificandum (?)

NEWTON IN MAKERFIELD

1598

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/12a
f 128* (19 September)

5

Proceedings of the court held for Warrington deanery at Prescot parish church

contra Willimū Ridyat de Newton

for prophaning the sabbaoth with pypinge & Bearbaytinge by reason of
an Ale hee then had, & pypinge still vsed in Newton the pypers name not
known to the Iurors Quo die comparuit dictus Ridiatt & affirmeth hee
beinge a poore man procured the Iustices of peace to giue hym a lycense to
kepe an Ale whoe dyd for his mentenance & steyp pypers & Bearewardes dyd
resorte to the same and submitteth hym selfe to the lawe dominus assignauit
ei to aske forgiveness & to confes his falte in winwicke church tempore
diuinorum oportune

10

15

...

NORTH MEOLS

20

1611

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/17
f 194v (19 October)

25

*Proceedings of the court held for Warrington deanery at Wigan parish church
before David Ellis, STD, deputy of David Yale, LLD, official principal*

...

Contra Antonium Cruste et Willimū Atkinson parochie de Preston
for disturbinge Divine service by pypinge & fidlinge on the Sabboath

30

ORMSKIRK

1605

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/14
f 99v* (19 October)

35

*Proceedings of the court held for Warrington deanery before David Yale, LLD,
official principal*

...

contra Thomam Ormeshawe Iohannem Bushell

40

Pypers plaie vpon the sabbaoth daies *Domínus* iniuxit Bushell nott to plaie
heareafter att *service* or eveninge prayer tyme sub pena Iuris et *Thomas*
Barton suscepit in se to certefie yf hee offend heareafter

...

5

1611

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/17
f 196 (19 October)

*Proceedings of the court held for Warrington deanery at Wigan parish church
before David Ellis, STD, deputy of David Yale, LLD, offical principal*

10

Contra humphredum Lithom
for haueinge a beare baite on the Sabboath Daie

...

15

1622

Inventory of Ralph Whystones, Bearward LRO: WCW 1622
sheet [1]* (9 July)

...

20

Item one Beare called Chester

xij li.

...

Item one Cratch with certayne Cluntry Woode over the beare
house & stable

iiij s.

...

25

1631

Deposition of Hugh Page Concerning Thomas Whystones
LRO: QSB 1/90/40
sheet 2* (7 June)

30

Examinations taken at Lathom before Henry Ogle, justice of the peace

Hugh Page of Ormskirk in the said County Glouer deposeth and saith,
That hee this deponent together with other honest men, were comming
from Liuerpoole, and one Thomas Whytestones of the same Towne
Bearward being in theire Company. this deponent together with the rest
of the said Company were saying that theire Towne of Ormskirk had many
honest men in it and was a very honest Towne wherupon the said

35

1/ iniuxit: for iniunxit; abbreviation mark missing

Whytstones said it was the devill as well, and wished that it were on fyre so that his goodes were forth of it And this deponent further saith that the said Whytstones doth harbour at the tyme of devyne service in his howse, the said Whytestones sister being a married woman. with one Henry Laithwait and in the night from Eight of the Clock vntill twoe in the morning, besides the said Whytstones doth keep continiall gaming at all tymes of the night. And that the said Whytstones being bownd to the peace and good behaiour hath broken them both without any feare of so doing, and hath abused the Constable and other Officeres at seuerall tymes. And farther hee doth not depose./.

(signed) Henry Ogle./

1637-8

Petition of Griffith Whytstones, Bearward LRO: QSB 1/194/62
single sheet (30 October-31 January)

To the worshipful Benche health wished &c Griffy Whystones a pore lame mann/

Theese are to lett your worships to vnderstand that Grffy Whystones of our towne of Ormskirk is most daungerly wounded with one of his Beares & is in greate [great] feare to be lamed by that acsident & misfortune hee moste humlie beseecheth your worships, to take it in comiseracion, in Regard of his great woudes, and misaries, hee beinge not able to goe or Ryde, his humble sute is that you would spare his Recullisons vntill the next Sessiones of the peace [in] hopeinge in god hee will bee then able to make his apparance [then] then/ wee whose names heare vnder writen knoweing the premisses to be true att the request of this peticioner haue heare vnto putt our handes for the more sertifyeing of the truth/

Hugh Lathom
Iames Chadacke
Richard Shawe
Georg Shaw
surgon

21/ Grffy for Griffy

25/ woudes for woundes

28/ names for names are (?)

PENWORTHAM

1608

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/15

f 144* (15 October)

5

*Proceedings of the court held for Leyland deanery at Preston parish church,
before David Yale, LLD*

...

Contra Inhabitantes de ffarington

10

Refuse to bringe Rushes to strowe the Church flore withall, will not
paie theire sessmentes due to the Church °xvj^{to} die decembris 1608

Coram venerabili viro David Yale legum Doctore &c Comparuit

Richardus ffarington et fecit fidem se esse nuntium specialiter missum

ad Constituendum procuratorem pro [parochia] Inhabitantibus de

15

farington et Constituit magistrum Humphreys procuratorem pro eisdem

qui sic Constitutus exhibuit procuratoreum verbis &c petijt beⁿe^ficiu^m

absolucionis inhabitantibus predictis impendi vnde Dominus eosdem

Inhabitantes (prestito premitus per eundem Humphreys Iuramento ^in

accione duorum suorum¹ ad sancta dei Evangelia de parendo Iuri &c) in

20

persona dicti magistri Humphreys in xxv^{to} die Martij proximo absolvendos

fore decrevit et absolvebat Et quia non Constat domino Iudicanti de

nominibus presentatorum dominus deliberavit donec constiterit specificice

de personis Inhabitantium predictorum et de eorum nominibus et

cognominibus particulariter in hac parte delinquentium^o

25

...

POULTON LE FYLDE

1611

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/17

f 134* (17 October)

30

Proceedings of the court held for Amounderness deanery

...

35

Contra Petrum Hull Robertum Ramell Cassee a pyper

for keepinge pypers or fidlers on the Sabboath daie & drawinge the people
from the Church

...

12/ paie: 2 minims in MS

1617

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/21

f 25v* (13 November)

Proceedings of the court held for Amounderness deanery at Preston parish church, before William Forster, STD, clerk, William Leigh, STB, clerk, and John Paler, clerk, commissaries of Thomas Morton, bishop of Chester, in the presence of John Morgell, his principal registrar

...

contra Richardum ffisher de Thornton Richardum Daue Willimum Hule de Thornton

had ales, pyping, and dancinge and prophane pastimes and assemblies on the saboath daie °quo die comparuit dictus hull and hee is inioyned to confes his falte publiquelie in the Churche in suche manner as mr whyte the vicar shall informe hym & to certefye in festo purificationis proximo° Postea [x] Nono Martij 1617 Comparuit Richardus ffisher per Iohannem Whiteside et iniunctus est vt supra certificandum proximo die Iuridico post festum Paschale proximum et dominus vices suas Comisit ad absolvendum eum°

contra Iohannem fforshell et Edwardum Watson

pypers at the forsaid ales &c °Postea vero (vizt) xx^{mo} die Iulij 1618 Comparuit personaliter Iohannes fforshall et beneficium absolucionis obtinuit quo sicut facto dominus ei iniunxit °ad abstinendum semper imposterum et [ad]¹ ad Confitendum huiusmodi suum delictum Coram magistro white vicario de Poulton et Gardianis ibidem et ad certificandum Citra fescum sancti michaelis proximum sub pena Excommunicationis. Postea °vero viz vj^{to} die mensis Octobris 168¹ introductum fuit huiusmodi ordinis Copiam debite impleti ac Certificati vnde dominus dictum forshall finaliter quoad premissa dimisit°

...

1622/3

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/25

f 30v (23 January)

Proceedings of the court held for Amounderness deanery at Garstang parish church

...

Contra Richardum Dagger Iohannem Gregson Richardum Lithome filium Willimi Lithom

17/ ad omitted before certificandum (?)
27/ 168: for 1618; date underlined

27–8/ introductum ... Copiam for introducta ... Copia

Dagger a pyper playeth vpon Sundaies att service time and Gregson and
 Lithom hyre him and daunce
 Contra Iohannem Hobson alias lack Annam Walton viduam Ianam Hull
 viduam Richardum Bamber milner Robertum Hall
 for haueinge Ales vpon the Saboth daie and keepinge pypeinge and
 daunceing vpon the Saboth att divine service

5

PRESCOT

1510

10

Court Leet Records LRO: DDCs Court Rolls (paper) pre-1558
 sheet [2] (4 April)

*Frankpledge court before Sir Richard Bold and Receiver General William
 Leyland, commissioners of Thomas Stanley, earl of Derby*

15

...

Ordinatum est ad hanc Curiam quod nullus homo morens infra villam de
 Prescote custodiet nec recepit ludentes ad illicitos ¹Iocos ¹[ludentes] vel ad
 talos & cardas deinceps sub pena xij d. tociens quociens post horam
 nouemam in nocte

20

...

1592

Manor Survey Book KCA: PRE/24/1/10/14
 f 11* (May) (Tenants of customary lands)

25

Iohn Ogle gentleman tenet vt supra duo burgagia cum duobus croftis
 adjacentibus vocata Cock pitt howse, in tenura Iohannis Dichfeild, et
 Roberti Howhton continentia per estimacionem i rood abuttantia Orientali
 super Simons & Robert Plumtons yeard, Occidentali super venellam
 ducentem ad templum, Australi super the schoole howse, Aquilonali super
 viam ducentem a Lirpoole ad molendinum Domini...

30

c 1603

Memorandum of Thomas Meade, Vicar to Edward Orme KCL: DDPs 2/6
 single sheet* (Rents owed to Prescott Grammar School)

35

...

The play house bwilded vppon the wast by Mr Richard
 Harrington now Master Stuardes rent by yeare

v s.

...

40

18/ recepit for recipiet (?)

1608

Court Leet Records LRO: DDCs Court Rolls (paper) 1608
sheet [7-7d]* (15 November)

Session held at Prescott before the Four Men

5

Memorandum That whereas Dyvers messuages landes tenementes & hereditamentes lying within the Manor of Prescott in the County of Lancaster houlden by Cope of courte roule according to the Costome of the sayd manor: viz: One Messuage and tenement with thappurtenances in the occupation of Iohn Davye showmaker One other messuage or Cottage in the occupation of Richard Whittling and Alyce Pryce his mother in law. One Crosse or ffeild of Land meadow & pasture in prescott afforesayd lykewyse in the occupacon of the sayd Iohn Davye: One Barne & one lyttle Croft adioyning lykewyse in the occupation of the sayd Richard Whittling & Alyce pryce: Three Bayes of Buyliding in Prescott afforesayd scytuate over agayst the Cocpytt howse in the ioynt or seuerall occupacions of the sayd Iohn Davye & one Richard Shawe of prescott afforesayd One other Messuage & tenement with thappurtenances in prescott afforesayd (scytuate ouer agaynst the Markett Crosse) now in the occupation of Iohn Dychfeeld One Barne & one Shippon or kylne scytuat on the north syde of the Mylne hill in prescott afforesayd lykewyse in the occupacon of the sayd Iohn Dychfeelde Tow Croftes or Closes of Land meadow & pasture in prescott afforesayd the one Called ffells Acre & the other called the Acre in the ffall Lane both which are lykewyse in the occupacon of the sayd Iohn Dychfeeld And one shopp scytuate betweene the marketsteed & the churchyord in prescott afforesayd & now in the occupation of Petor Wycke Butcher or his assigndes: And All descended & Commen vnto Margaret Rigbye wyef of Alexander Rigbye gentleman & vnto Dorothe Thomasonne wydow: as Doughters & Coheires of Thomas Layton late of the hall of Prescott in the County of Lancaster gentleman deceased: So as the sayd Alexander Rigbye & Margaret his wyef as in right of the sayd Margaret are now Lawfully seized accordinge to the Costome of the sayd Manor of & in the Moytye or one half of all & singler the Messuages Cottages buyldinges Landes tenementes hereditamentes & premysses before menconed with all & singler there appurtenances: & do hould the same to them & to the heirs &

14/ occupacon for occupation; abbreviation mark missing

17/ agayst for agaynst

22/ occupacon for occupation; abbreviation mark missing

25/ occupacon for occupation; abbreviation mark missing

35/ menconed for mencioned; abbreviation mark missing

assignes of the sayd Margaret by Cope of Courte Roule according to the
 Costome of the sayd Manor: Now be yt remembred That the ffifteenth
 Daye of November in the yeare of the Raigne of our soueraign(e) Lord
 kinge Iames by the grace of god ouer England ffrance & Ireland the sixt &
 ouer Scotland the xliijth: The sayd Alexander Rigbye & Margaret his sayd 5
 wyef Came before Henry Stanley esquier deputy steeward of the sayd
 Manor & before Edward Stockley Peter kenwrycke and William Alcock
 three Costomarye tenants of Prescottt afforesayd. And the sayd Alexander
 Rigbye & Margaret: (She the sayd Margaret beinge soly examined by the
 sayde Steward accordinge to the Costome of the sayd Manor:) Did 10
 Surrender into the Lordes handes accordinge to the sayd Costome All there
 Moytye Purpertye or one half of all & singler the before remembred
 Messuages Cottages buyldinges Landes tenementes & hereditamentes & of
 all yordes orcharch gardens backsydes Curtelages edifyces buyldinges landes
 tenementes hereditamentes easmentes profyttes & Commodityes whatsoever 15
 to the sayd Messuages landes tenementes & premisses or any of them in any
 wyse lyinge belonginge or apperteynige together with there moyty or
 purpertye of all messuages Landes tenementes & hereditamentes in pr̄scot(t)
 afforesayd which are descended or come vnto the sayd Margaret as one of
 the doughter(s) & coheires of the sayd Thomas Layton deceased with all & 20
 singler there appurtenances To the intent that the Lord being thereof seized
 by his steeward for the tyme beinge according to the sayd Costome would
 geve & regrante the sayd Moytye purperty or one halffe of all & singler the
 before mencioned messuages Landes tenementes | hereditamentes &
 premisses with thappurtenances to the vse of Iohn Orme of Bould in the 25
 sayd County of Lancaster yeoman & of his heires & assignes for euer To be
 houlden of the Lord of the sayd Manor accordinge to the Costome of the
 sayd Manor for the rentes & servyces for the moytye or one half of the
 premisses due & accostomed: And in Consideracion of the grante &
 Surrender afforesayd the sayd Iohn Orme did before the acknowledginge of 30
 these presentes geve satisfye & paye vnto the sayde Alexander Rigbye &
 Margaret his sayd wyef the some of lxxxiiij li. vj s. viij d.

		(signed) Alexander Rigby	
William Alcock	sola extrata per me	Signum + Margrete	
Edward Stockley	Henrie Stanley	Rigbye/	35
Peter Kenwricke			

°Received viij d.°

14/ orcharch for orchardes (?)

17/ apperteynige for apperteyninge

34/ extrata for extracta

34/ * : Margaret Rigbye has signed with her personal mark

1609

Court Leet Records LRO: DDCs Court Rolls (paper) 1609
sheet 1d* (16 June)

Court leet before Henry Stanley, understeward, deputy of William, earl of Derby, chiefsteward

5

...

Item we present That Mr Thomas Malbon hath Converted the play howse into a howse for habitacion And receyved a tenant into yt called whytsyde without Consent of the foure men [And ffor] ideo ipe in misericordia xij d. And ffor that the ffoure men and the whole Iury [the] hould that whytsyde to be an vnfitt tenante to haue beene receyved or to Contynew in the towne: we do therefore order that Mr Malbon shall remove & avoyde him before St Iames day next: vpon payne of vj s. viij d: And wee do ffurther order That neither Mr malbon nor any other shall Contynew or entertayne him in any place for habitacion within prescott after St Iames daye next vpon payne to forfeyt to the Lord for euerye moneth he shall so Contynew

10

15

vj s. viij d.

...

20

1610

Court Leet Records LRO: DDCs Court Rolls (parchment) 1610
mb 2 (8 June)

Court leet before Henry Stanley, understeward, deputy of William, earl of Derby, chiefsteward

25

...Et quod Magister Malbone non removuit quendam Whitsyde ex Lusorio secundum ordinem factum ad vltimam Curiam Ideo ipse in misericordia vj s. viij d....

30

mb 2d (*Orders of the court*)

...

Inprimis it is Ordered by the Iuriers afforesaide [that] Thomas Malbon gentleman shall avoyde & remove one Whitsyde which hee hath receyved to

35

11/ ipe: for ipse; abbreviation mark missing

18/ St Iames daye next: 25 July 1609

29/ removuit for removit

29/ Lusorio written in later in a blank space, in smaller letters, but possibly in same hand

dwel in the playhouse before the ffeaste daie of St Iames the Apostle nexte
vppon payne to fforfayte xij s. iiij d. And it is further Ordered That neither
the said Mr Malbone nor anie other Tenant of this Mannor shall entertayne
or admitt the said Whitsyde or his ffamilie to Inhabite in the said Playhouse
nor in anie other house or habitacion within this Mannor without lycence
and Consent of the ffoure men vppon payne to fforfeyte for euerie nighte
xij d./...

5

1612–14

Abstract of Prescott Grammar School Accounts KCL: DDPs 1/37

10

p 1* (*Contributions to school stocks*)

...

Widow Dichfield at the Cockpitt House

1

...

15

p 2* (*Christmas quarter rents*)

...

Philip Hare for the play House

ij s. vj d.

...

John Houghton for a House built upon the west hard by the
play House

ij s.

20

...

1614

Will of Edward Stockley LRO: WCW 1614

25

single mb* (*6 December*)

...I giue vnto Edward Stockley my sonne one lowe bedstidd in his Chamber
with a Conuenient bed & furniture theirevnto belonginge an old paire of
virginalls & Lute to teach the Children on vntill they be readie to goe to be
prentisses...

30

...

1614/15

Inventory of Edward Stockley LRO: WCW 1614

35

single mb (*30 January*)

...

Item one paire of virginals one Lute & a frame for the
virginals

xiij s. iiij d.

...

40

1/ ffeaste ... nexte: 25 July 1610

1615

Court Leet Records LRO: DDCs Court Rolls (parchment) 1615
single mb* (9 June)

Court leet before Henry Stanley, understeward, deputy of William, earl of Derby, chief steward

5

...

Qui dicunt et presentant super Sacramentum suum quod ad hanc Curiam Iohannes Mercer de Eccleston iuxta Knowesley in Comitatu lancastrie ffremason venit in propria persona [^][sua] Coram prefato Senescallo et petit licentiam ad intrandum in vnam parcellam terre in Prescott *predicta* iacentem in superiore fine alte platee ducentis uersus Eccleston prope ad Churchley feelde yate continentem in latitudine Apud orientalem finem inde novem virgatas et duas pedes et Apud occidentalem finem inde quinque virgatas et Continentem in longitudine novemdecim virgatas, de et super *predicta* parcella terre edificium erectum est antehac vsum pro quadam domu vocata a playehouse et pro quibus solutus est ad scholam de Prescott Annuatem redditus duorum solidorum et sex denariorum Et quod *predictus* Iohannes Mercer potest tenere et habere *predictam* parcellam terre et edificium sibi et heredibus suis Imposterum secundum Consuetudinem Manerij *predicti* Et in consideracione duodecim librarum legalis Monete Anglie per *predictum* Iohannem Mercer pre manibus solutarum Henrico Stanley Armigero licentia Concessa est prefato Iohanni Mercer per Senescallum *predictum* ad intrandum in *predictam* parcellam terre et edificium et eosdem tenere sibi et heredibus suis Imposterum secundum Consuetudinem Manerij de Prescott *predicta* Reddendum et soluendum proinde Annuatim Schole de Prescott *predicta* Redditum duorum solidorum et sex denariorum Ac etiam Reddendum Annuatim domino Manerij *predicti* Redditum (blank) in ffestibus Vsualibus per equales porciones Et Superhoc *predictus* Iohannes Mercer venit in propria persona sua ista eadem Curia Coram prefato Senescallo et petit se admitti inde tenens secundum Consuetudinem Manerij *predicti* et proclamacio facta fuit &c Et quia &c Ideo prefatus Iohannes Mercer admissus est inde tenens per Senescallum *predictum* secundum eandem Consuetudinem habendum et tenendum premissa *predicta* cum pertinentibus suis prefato Iohanni Mercer heredibus et assignatis suis Imposterum secundum Consuetudinem eiusdem Manerij pro Redditu et seruicia inde debitis et de iure Consuetis...

10

15

20

25

30

35

27/ Annuatim: 5 minims for nnu in ms

31/ ista eadem Curia for ad istam eandem Curiam

1617

Court Leet Records LRO: DDCs Court Rolls (paper) 1617
sheet [20]* (20 June)

Court leet before Henry Stanley, understeward, deputy of William, earl of Derby, chief steward

5

/Irrotuletur/...

The day & yeare affouresaid William Alcocke one of the Customarie Tennantes of Prescott in the Countie of Lancaster Came [before Henry Stanley] vnto the Courte houlden for the manner of Prescott affouresaid And in opon Court before the Steward & homage theire did in Considerac^on of the somme of vj li. Lawfull English money in hand paid by Iohn ffletcher alias Garnett of Prescot [hu] laborer grant & surrender in to the lordes handes accordinge to the Custom of the said manner all that one Barne with it appurtenaunces lyinge neire vnto the play howse in Prescott together with a parcell of Land lyinge at the south side theireof & vnto the same Barne belonging(e) & all his estate right tytle & demand of in & vnto the same with all & singuler theire appurtenances To the entent that the lord hauinge theirowf seyson by his Steward for the tyme beinge would regrant the same & euery parte theirowf vnto the said Iohn ffletcher alias Garnett To haue & to hold the same & euery parte theireof vnto the said Iohn ffletcher [his] als Garnett his heires & Assignes for euer & for the rentes & seruices theirefore due & of right accustomed.

10

15

20

25

°proclamacio
admissio°

1618

Court Leet Records LRO: DDCs Court Rolls (paper) 1618
sheet [25]* (5 June) (*Presentments by William Molyneux and John Sutton, constables*)

30

...

Item wee doe present Iames dyt^h c^h hefffeld for makinge a Tusle vpon one of the queenes servantes a Player & the said player with others of his ffelowes for the lyke vpon the said Iames dytcheffeyld./ Pledge for them all Henrye Stanleye Esquier./ — °quilibet eorum in Misericordia xij d.°

35

...

19/ belonging(e): 2 minims for in in ms
24/ als. for alias; abbreviation mark missing

1622

Court Leet Records LRO: DDCs Court Rolls (paper) 1623
sheet [18] (6 September)

Session held at Prescott before the Four Men

5

Sexto die Septembris Anno Regni domini nostri Iacobi Regis Anglie &c.
xx^o. et scotie lvj^o Annoque domini 1622

Itro ruletur

Memorandum That this daye Iames dychfeeld sonne and heire of Richard
dychfeeld Late of præscott deceased and Katheryn Late wyef of the sayd
Richard & mother of the sayd Iames dychfeeld. costumarye tenants of
the manor of præscott out of Courte before William Alcock [Iames]
^ [Henry Blundell] George Lyon and Peter kenwryck fflowre costumarye
tenantes of the sayd manor accordinge to the costome of the sayd manor
did in Consideracion of a valewable some of Lawfull money of England to
them in hand payd by Iames dychfeeld of Cockpytt howse in præscott
Surrender into the handes of the Lord of the manor afforesayd according
to the costome of the sayd manor: All those three bayes of buylding called
the workehowse scytuate neare. the towne mosse in præscott and now in
the occupacon of the sayd Katheryn or her assignes And all yordes
orchardes buyldinges backsydes gardens. easmentes & hereditamentes
therevnto belonginge. and all other the Costomarye Landes tenementes
& hereditamentes of the sayd Iames dychfeld. sonne of Richard dychfeeld
^ & Katheryn his sayd mother or either of them in præscott afforesayd
and the reuercion & reuercions thereof with all & singler those
appurtenances: To the vse of the sayd Iames dychfeeld of Cockpytt howse.
his heires & assignes for euer. to bee holden by Cope of Courte rowle
accordinge to the costome of the sayd manor. Yeldinge & payinge to the
Lord of the manor the rentes & Servyces due & accostomed./

10

15

20

25

30

signum + Iacobi
dychfeeld

signum + katherine
dychfeld

35

Cognita Coram nobis: with these wordes. (henry Blundell) in one place &

8/ 1622: underlined in ms

21/ occupacon: for occupacion; abbreviation mark missing

32/ *: James Dychfeeld has signed with his personal mark

34/ *: Katherine Dychfeeld has signed with her personal mark

these wordes (and Katheryn his sayd mother or either. of them.) in an oyer place:

(signed) William Alcock	°proclamacio
(signed) henrie blundell	admissio°
(signed) George Lyon	
(signed) Peter kenwricke	

5

1624

Court Leet Records LRO: DDCs Court Rolls (paper) 1624
sheet [24d] (28 May) (*Constables' presentments*)

10

wee do present

...

Georg^{15 s.} Wright & Iohn^{15 s.} orrell for Cutting downe the may powles
& Carrying them away

15

...

1632

Autobiography of Adam Martindale BL: Add. MS 4239
ff 7v–8*

20

...

That which I shall begin with as [^]first in time and¹ one of the least yet not altogether inconsiderable was a great disappointment that my father met with in the matching of [mihe] mine eldest brother. My father was not so severe as to expect he should bring him a fortune sutable to what himselfe had got, yet (in the order that things were then brought into), an[d] hundred and six score pounds would easily be answered with advantage enough, and therefore not difficult to be obtained: Nor was it, for besides others that it was then thought woud bid him welcome, there was one that actually did soe, that had sevenscore pounds to her portion (as I have often hear) of very sutable yeares and otherwise likely to make an excellent wife.

25

30

- (1) But when things were neare accomplishing, he on a sudden sleights her; and sets his affections upon a young wild airy girle between 15 and 16 yeares of age, an huge lover and frequenter of wakes, greenes and merrie nights where musick and dancing abounded: And as for her portion it was onely 40 pounds. This was a great surprize upon us, and we were all full bent against it. I was then under 10 yeares old but was either of my selfe or by impressions from others apprehensive of the difference of these two

35

14/ Georg ... orrell : both names underlined in ms
31/ hear for heard

33/ young corrected from yound
35/ And corrected from As

- matches. But say and doe what we could he was uncouncellable, have her he would, and at last with much adoe he procured my fathers unwilling
 (m) consent, and married her about Shrovetide 1632 as I take it. Tis true indeed she proved above all just expectation, not onely civill but religious and a [most excellent] 'exceeding good' ¹ wife; whereas the other he should have had proved (as I have heard) as much below it.

...

PRESTON

1596

Information from a Lancashire Official concerning John Wilson, Priest
 Hatfield House: Cecil Papers 205/83
 single sheet*

John Wilson vpon the certayne knowledge of one by whom I haue receiued advertismentes concerninge him hathe been in [Lonch] Lancashire by the space of one yeare & mor./

the sayd Wilson hathe resortede to the house of Mr Andrewe Hudstone att ffarington to the house of Williame Gradele dwellinge in Owswaltone, att the house of [O] Oliver Gerrarde of Denhame. att the house of one Henrie Walmsley of Brindle who hathe bene his conductor from place to place. att the house one Mrs Browne near Houghtone.

The sayd [W] Wilson [he] sayd Masse att ffarington hall vpon Candlmasse day Last past.

he hath lykwyse sayd Masse att the house of Henrie Walmsley.

The sayd Wilson hathe resortede verie moche to the house of Mr Massie of Rishton whear other Seminarie verie often do converse att [th] that house he was about a monthe befor Christenmasse last. the sayd Wilson sayd Mass by the space of three days togeather Mr Masse himselfe being not thear but his wife [his <.....>] & divers [to O] others knowne to the partie.

The sayd Wilson hathe a brother that is a Iesuite who continueth for the most parte in [Lincl] Lincolnshire. Mr S Hawxworthe who was apprehended att Leverpole. in the companie of Wilson the Iesuite & this Wilson the Seminarie within 4 days befor the apprehensione of the sayd Hawxworthe att the house of one Mrs Tilsey widowe of Morlays near Leighe. all three one after another sayd Masse.

Att two severall tymes the weer att the aforesayd place first all three togeather secondlie this Wilson & Hawxworthe./.

1/ first l of uncouncellable corrected from f
 20/ Owswaltone: Ulnes Walton

21/ Denhame: Denham Hall near Brindle
 23/ house for house of

Mr Hawxworthe was att Preston att Corpus. christi play.
The sayd Hawxworthe mayd Massinge stuffe att the house of one Iames Parker
within the parishe of Preston betwen Michaelmass(e) & Christenmasse Last.

c 1603

5

John Weever, Ancient Funerall Monuments STC: 25223

See Lancaster c 1603

1638

10

Will of William Sandes LRO: WCW 1638

single sheet* (11 September)

In the name of God Amen I William Sandes of Preston in Amoundernes in
the County of Lancaster Ioyner being sicke in body but of good memory doe
make my last will & testament in forme following ... Item I giue & bequeath
my Shewe called the Chaos, the Wagon, the Stage, & all the Ioyners tooles &
other ymplementes & [p]appurtenances to the said Shewe belonging to my
sonne Iohn Sandes...

15

20

PRESTWICH

1611

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/17

f 115v (15 October)

25

*Proceedings of the court held at Manchester before David Ellis, STD, deputy of
David Yale, LLD, official principal*

...

Contra Iacobum horrox

30

for haueinge an Ale on the Sabboath daie Quo die comparuit muiler vxor
horrox et dominus iniunxit viro to confes his falte in the Churche before the
minister & churchwardens & to certefie in festo natali domini proximo

contra Iacobum fowler

35

for pyyinge att the saide Ale Quo die comparuit fowler and ytt appeareth that
hee is nowe a weaver and hee inioyned to doe pennance two Daies in prestwich
churche tempore divinorum oportune et ad certificandum in festo natali
domini proximo

...

40

31/ muiler for mulier

37/ inioyned for is inioyned (?)

RIBCHESTER

1605

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/14
f 179v (21 October)

Proceedings of the court held for Amounderness deanery at Preston parish church, before David Yale, LLD

contra Thomam Houghton Robertum Harrison Thomam Seede filium
Iohannis Seede Adamum Norres Henricum Calverte ffranciscum Clarke
pyper

for pyping on the Sabboath daie an(d) followinge the saide Thomas
Houghton be(inge) a Lord of Misrule

...

RINGLEY

1626

A *Letter of Nathan Walworth to Peter Seddon* Fletcher: *Correspondence*
pp 11–12*

...

Honest Neighbour, your last lettre was so welcome to me, that I am
trobled that I had not then, nether have now tyme to Answer it so fully as
I would for by it I know that to be brought to passe which I have so long
Desyred and now I am at peace with my self and with all the world and
care for no more, onelye whyle I live I desyre to heare that as there hath
beene so good a beginninge so I may heare no other but that you all agree,
and Draw one way, least by faction and Scisme all be mard agayne,

Your day of meetinge was fittlye Chosen, and so great a number putts me
in mynde of what the poet said Spectatum veniunt, venuint spectentur vt
ipsi, for I make no question but some came to see, and to be seene and to
leayrne newes rather then to heare and to be edified bids me hope the
best, therefore I say no more,

All the recompence I can make those maydes that brought rushes, is, to
wish them good husbands, and if I knew when, I l would Dance at their
weddings, and the lesse doe I pittie those that stayd at home, and could not
keepe their meate from burninge, by the longe stay of their wished for

31/ venuint for veniunt

31–2/ Spectatum ... ipsi: *They come to see a sight, they come to be seen themselves*; adapted from Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, 199

guesstes. in the number of your ministers, I nether fynd Mr. Murrey, Mr. Horrax, nor Mr. Rawbone whereof I writt in my Cosins *lettre* the last weeke, therefore I shall not neede to troble you, to give a reason of their Absence for he will Doe it, but one thinge I shall for my Satisfaction, desyre to know of you, and that is why Robert Seddon is placed above your father in law, and not onelye so, but also above *John* Horrax and *Williame* Hulme, for so I fynd him by this note, I envye no man for their place, but onelye Desyre to know a reason now for Mr. Richard Crompton, I ... a *lettre* to him with myne own hands, *which* was sent from his sister in law, it was a good *lettre* and well written, she read it in my hearinge, wherin she moved him for some Contribution, and he promised to give x l., but it is out of a Debt *which* he hath in that Cuntry, I told him if the debt were it was well, but if it be Desperate, then no thanks to him to give that which he cannot gett himself, but I thinke he will be as good as his worde, as for Raph Robinson I have not seene him yett but I am sure you are not so good as your word for you promised I should have the notes of ye Sermons this weeke, and you have fayled, and I am lyke a great bellyed woman yat long and am lyke to miscarye for want of my longinge, and thus with my commendations to your father in law and mother, to Robert Seddon and his wyfe, and all in Ringley and the Owtwood, I committ you all to god's protection and rest,

Your lovinge frend

Baynards Castle

NATHAN
WALWORTHE

November 23, 1626

ROCHDALE

1588

Churchwardens' Presentments to the Quarter Sessions

Cumbers House: Kenyon MSS, Memorandum Book

f 10v* (15 April)

...

more presentmentes within Ratchdall parishe.

Adam Holte gentleman vppon the Saobothe daye in the Eveninge beinge eyther the Laste Sundaye in december or the fyrste in Ianuarie had a minstrell *which* plaied vpon a Gythorne a hys howse with a greate number of men and women dauncinge

Item vxor Lawraunce Collendge had A minstrell playinge vppon a Gythorne

37/ a hys *fōr* at hys

att hys howse vppon a festiuall daye in Christenmas Laste in the Evening
& many yonge folkes dauncinge.

...

1619

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/22
f 133*

Proceedings of the court held for Manchester deanery

⟨Contra⟩ Iosephum Duerden ⟨Theop⟩hilum Wythington
for playeinge in the towne and aboute the towne att divine service time

...

RUSHOLME

1601

Presentment of Ralph Shelmerden, Ape-baiter LRO: QSR 4
mb 38* (29 April)

Sessions before Sir Nicholas Mosley, Richard Assheton, Richard Holland, Ralph Assheton, James Assheton, Edmund Hopwood, Edmund Fleetwood, John Bradshaw, and Robert Pilkington

...Et quod Radulphus Shelmerden nuper de Withington in Comitatu
lancastrie xix^o die Aprilis Anno Regni dicte domine Regine xliij^o existenti
die dominico apud Risholme in Comitatu lancastrie vapulavit [^]anglice
bayted¹ simiam...

...

SALFORD

1600

Portmote Records Salford Archives Centre
f 12v* (14 October) (Portmote before Sir Richard Molyneux, steward)

...

The Iurye dothe order that noe Inhabitante of this towne doe permite or
suffer any wettes mvsitions or minstrilles to playe in ther howses at any
weddinge dyner saueinge the wettes of Manchester & Salford sub pena of
everye householder so offendinge iij s. iiij d.

...

SAMBLESBURY

1619

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/22f 100v (*before 18 December*)

5

Proceedings of the court held for Blackburn deanery

...

Contra Christoferum Woodruffe Iohannem Hayhurste Iacobum Turner
Iohannem Smyth et Annam Owdam

10

for haueinge pypeinge musicke and dauncinge in there houses att diuine
service time vpon the Saboth daie °to confes there falte in the Churche & to
certefye in festo natali Domini proximo° xvij die Decembris i6i9 introducta
fuit Copia ordinis debite execu(ti)

...

15

SPEKE

1635

A ***Sequestration Accounts for Royalists*** BL: Harley MS 2130

20

f 292* (30 October) (*Churchwardens' presentments*)

...

4 To this 4th Article wee present Thomas Blackey of Speake for having An ale,
and Typling 'Revelling' [gaming] & dancing at his house vpon the sonday.

...

25

STANDISH

1618/19

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/21

30

f 57v* (26 February)

Proceedings of the court held before David Yale, LLD, official principal

...

Idem Contra Willimum Heskin

35

(blank) Starkie

for proclayminge beare baytinge & other vnlawfull games vpon the saboth daie

...

13/ i6i9: apparently corrected from i6i7

36/ (blank) Starkie: Richard Starkie, a proctor for the accused, Heskin
35/ Willimum: 5 minims in ms

STRET福德

1611

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/17
f 98v* (15 October)

Proceedings of the court held for Manchester deanery at Manchester parish church before David Ellis, STD, deputy of David Yale, LLD, official principal

...

contra Iohannem Hughson de Stretford
for makeinge an Ale on the Sabboth daie & had pypinge & such like lewde
exercyses att tyme of dyvine service

contra Richardum Hampson

for keepeinge an Ale on the sonday which had a drummer and a taber that
played that daie

...

WALTON LE DALE

1626

Bishop Bridgeman's Act Book CRO: EDA 3/2
f 1* (12 July)

Proceedings of the court of audience before Bishop John Bridgeman at Wigan in the presence of<....> Russell, notary public

...

Similiter contra Edmundum Balshaw Economum de Low Church ffor
that he caused a Rushbearing to be made in that Chappell upon Sond<..>
xviiij^o Iunij 1626 being formerly ordered not to suffer yt by meanes whereof
there were many dronke and m<uch> prophanacion of divine service &c
Quo compar<....> et fatente habet ad agnoscendum in dicta capella et ad
certificandum infra mensem &c Quibus penitenciis deb<...> peractis et
certificatis postmodum dimittitur

28/ Sond<..>: ie, Sonday; leaf torn at lower right corner

31/ compar<....>: ie, comparente; leaf torn at lower right corner

32/ deb<...>: ie, debite; leaf torn at lower right corner

WALTON ON THE HILL

1590–1

'Detecta' for Archbishop Piers' Visitation BI: V.1590–1/CB.2

f 71v*

5

Proceedings of the court held for Warrington deanery

...

Henry Hallwood for piping before a wedding in the church at the time of
the offering at the wedding

10

...

WARRINGTON

15

1526

Grammar School Foundation Deed

CRO: Birch Cullimore Collection DBC/2391/2

single mb* (16 April)

...

20

ffirst it is ordeyned that the saide scolemaister shall teche euery scoler
Commynge to the saide scole after Whyttyngtons gramer and makynge or
aftre suche forme and suche gramer whiche shalbe moste vsed to be taught
hereafte in free gramer scholes And the same to be taught freely and quytlly
withoute takinge eny rewarde stipende of scolehire or eny other thinge by
promyse graunt or Couenaunt before made euery feriall day Excepte thre
feriall dayes next before the festes of the Natiuite of our lorde god Ester
and ʌ[penticoste] and other thre feriall days next after the saides festes:
Excepte the saide scolemaister shall happen to haue a reasonable lette or
Impedyment prouydet all wayes that it shalbe le(..)] to the scholemaister
and euery other ʌ[scolemaister] for the tyme beinge to take of euery scholar
of the saied scole lernynge gramer foure penyes by yere That is to say in
the quarter next after Christynmas a Cok peny and in euery of the other
quarters in the yere on potacion peny And for the same potacion penyes
that the saide scolemaister for the tyme beinge shall make a drinkinge for
all the saiedes s(col)ers in euery of the saide iij quarters in the yere

25

30

35

...

30/ le(..): ie, leful (?)

1632

Bond for Randal Rylance, Joiner LRO: QSB 1/106/26
single sheet* (8 May) (Lancashire sessions)

Memorandum quod octauo dei may Annoque domini 1632 Randle Rylance
de warrington in Comitatu predicto Ioyner; venit Coram me Thomam
Ireland armigero vno Iusticiariorum dicto domini regi ad pacem in
Comitatu predicto Concaruandam assignauit et Cognouit se debere domino
regi viginti libras bone et legalis monete angli de bonis et cattallis terris et
tenementis suis fieri ett Leuari ad opus dicto domini regis heredum et
successorum suorum si defecerit in Condicione sequenti.

William Wildigge et Robert wicke de warrington in Comitatu
predicto Laborers Silicet venit et manucepit pro predicto Randle
sub Condicione sequenti xx li.

The Condicon of this Recognizant is such that if the aboue bounden
Randle Rylence bee and personally appeare before his maiesties Iustices
of peace att the next quarter sessions to bee houlden at Ormechurch;
then and there to answer such matters as shall bee obiected against [them]
him; and that hee departe not the Courte without Lycence that then
this Recognizant to bee voyde or elsse to Remayne in full forse and
vertue./

Non Solluit

ad Respondendum (signed) Thomas: Ireland

Comparuit examinatur per dominum

2/4

Irrotuletur

Bond for Robert Wicke, Smith LRO: QSB 1/106/24
single sheet (8 May)

Comitatu
Lancastrie

Capta apud Bewsay in Comitatu predicto. Coram Thomam
Ireland vno Iusticiariorum domini Regis ad pacem in Comitatu
predicto conseruandum assignatorum &c octauo dei may Anno

5/ dei may for die maij

6/ Thomam for Thoma

7/ dicto domini regi for dicti domini regis

8/ assignauit for assignatorum

9/ angli for anglie

10/ dicto for dicti

13/ manucepit: 3 minims for nu in ms

15/ Condicon for Condicion; abbreviation mark missing

17/ Ormechurch: Ormskirk

31/ Thomam for Thoma

33/ conseruandum for conseruandam

33/ dei may for die maij

Regni Regis Caroli Angli &c octauo 1632

Roberto wicke de warrington in *Comitatu predicto* smyth Recognouit se
debere *domino* regi xx li.

Iohannis Choner ett willielmo wildigge in *Comitatu predicto*

Laborers Recognouit se se debere *domino* regi pro *predicto* 5

Robertus xx li.

The condicon of this Recognezant is such that if the aboue bounden
Robert wicke; bee and personally appeare before his maiesties Iustices of
peace and quorum at the next quarter sessions to to bee houlden at
ormechurch; then and there to answer such matters as shall bee obiected
against him; and that hee departe not the Courte wth out Lycence that
then this Recognezant to be voyde and of noe effecte or elsse to remayne
in full forse in the Law:/ 10

Non Solluit

(signed) Thomas: Ireland 15

ad Respondendum

Comparuit examinatus per dominum

2/4

Irrotuletur

20

Examinations of Gregory Harison, Alehousekeeper, and Others

LRO: QSB 1/106/72

single sheet* (11 May)

Depositions taken before Thomas Ireland, justice of the peace 25

...

Gregory harison of warrington within the Countie of Lancaster Alehouse
keeper beinge [...] Examined the day and yeare a boue written Before
Thomas Ireland Esquier one of his maiesties Iustices of peace and quorum
within the Countie afforesaid sayth that vppon Sunday Last beinge the 6th
day of this Instante may; aboute 12 or one of the Clocke; there came into
his house in warrington afforesaid; some younge men; and desyred him this
Examine; that thay meight goe; into a Loft which was in his house; the
which this Examine not thinkeinge that thay would haue stayed any Longer
then ffor the drinkinge of a Cann: or tow of alle; ssuffered them to goe vp, 30 35

1/ Angli for Anglie

2/ Roberto for Robertus

4/ willielmo for willielmus

5/ se se: dittography

5/ Recognouit for Recognouerunt

6/ Robertus for Roberto

7/ condicon for condicion: abbreviation mark missing

9/ to to: dittography

10/ ormechurch: Ormskirk

and there this Examine Confesseth; that thay were for an oure or tow;
and there were taken by the Cunstable and Churchwardens of the toune of
warrington; but this Examine sayth hee knoweth not what thay were
doinge in the Chamber soe Longe; but as hee hath hard since thay were
actinge of a play; and further sayth not;

Gregori harison:

+

(signed) Thomas:

his marke

Ireland

Iohn ssmyth Thomas Houlbrocke, Iohn willie of ouerford wthin the
Countie of Lancaster william Hardman Iohn Cadewell William wildigge
Robert wicke Iohn Choner And Randle Rylence of warrington in the
Countie afforesaid beinge Examined the day and yeare aforesaid; sayth; that
they all Concentered to gether; to meete at the house of one Gregorie
Harison in warrington afforesaid; vpon Sunday beinge the 6th day of may
Last past; there to acte a play Called Henery the Eaight; which thay
accordingly did; and as thay were in actinge of it; were in tyme of deuine
Seruise apprehended by the Churchwardens and Cunstable of warrington;
and soe brought before a Iustice of peace./ and ffurther say not

(signed) Thomas: Ireland

Quarter Session Orders LRO: QSR 29 1632

mb 33* (16 July)

*Sessions held at Ormskirk before Sir Charles Gerard, John Ireland, Gregory
Turner, rector of Sefton, Thomas Ireland, John Atherton, Edward Moore,
Henry Ogle, and William Johnson, justices of the peace*

...
whereas Iohn willie Iohn Smyth Thomas Holbroke William Hardman
Roberte wicke william wildigge Randle Rylance Iohn Cadwell & Iohn
Choner all of warrington in respect they & euery of them wth others were
taken by the Constables & Churchwardens of warrington vpon a Saboth
day in tyme of diuine sermon & service in the afternoone acting a play of
henry the eight & for staying in an alehouse contrary to lawe for which
misdemenors the partes aboue named were bound to answer there
contempt & did appeare att this Sessions and here receaved condigne
punishment In respect Whereof this Cort doth order that they & euery of
them shall bee ffreed & discharged of & from any further troble in the
Deane or ordinaryes Cort for the same offence in respect by lawe they are
not to bee punished twice for one offence And if the deane doe not vpon

71 + : Harison has signed with his personal mark, an X with its arms linking the four words describing it

notice hereof desist from any further *proceeding* against them then vpon
complaint made to any Iustice of peace an attachment shalbee awarded
against him to answer his contempt att the next Sessions to bee holden at
wigan

...

5

WAVERTREE

1592

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/10
f 115v (9 October)

10

*Proceedings of the court held for Warrington deanery before David Yale, LLD,
official principal*

...

15

contra Iacobum Claughton

excommunicatio

for pipinge appon the saboath daie in Waretree./

WESTHOUGHTON

20

1633/4

Petition of Richard Laythwait LRO: QSB 1/130/54
single sheet (20 January)

To the Righte worshipfull the kinges maiesties Iustices
of peace and quorum att the generall Sessions of peace
houlden att wigan the xxth daie of Ianuarie 1633:

25

The humble petición of Richarde Laythwait
of westhaughton Sheweth:

30

That there is a faire highe Rodde waye for Carte-hose, and beasse Leadinge
betweene wigan and manchester and other marketes townes as alsoe a foote
waie for men and weemen ouer the feildes the one waye as neighe as the
other: And your peticioners howse standinge in the feildes in the foot waye
and maney and dyuers tymes bellwardes with there beares Refuse the broad
waye and Cometh wñ their beares the said foote way which lyeth by the
Cheeke of the howse dower of your petitioner, and hath some tymes broken
in and frighted your peticioners wiffe & famelie

35

And whereas one Alexander Ascrofte alias Ormishawe of wigan Comynge
dyuers tymes the same waye wñ his beares, your petitioner Requested him

40

to Come that waie noe more seeinge the Roode waie was as neighe as that
 waye your petitioner hearinge his beares were [ve(...)] verie Curste beares,
 for feare of his wiffe Childeren and famelie in puttinge yem in a frighte as
 they haue beene heretofore, And the said Alexander lytle Regardinge, in a
 moste vile and malice saieth he will Com that waie still.

whereffore may it please your worshipps to sett downe order at this sessions
 that bellwardes, with beares shall goe the highe Rodewaye & not the foote,
 for the Cause aforesaid & in soe doinge your petitioner will dailie pray for
 your worshipps/

WHALLEY

1604

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/13
 ff 175–5v* (1 December)

*Proceedings of the court held for Blackburn deanery at Preston parish
 church before Hugh Burches, MA, cleric, deputy of David Yale, LLD, official
 principal*

...

contra (blank) Gledell a pyper
 for pypinge in the Churchyard at a Rushbearinge.

contra Richardum Dewhurst
 for danceing in the churchyard at a Rushbearinge

contra Edmundum Hodgson Iacobum Hodgson Georgium Throppe
 for stryvinge about Rushes in the churchyard Quo die comparuit Throppe
 Cui dominus iniunxit to confesse his falt before the minister &
 Churchwardens & to Certifie before Candlemas nexte

...

25/ danceing: corrected from dancers

29/ iniunxit: 7 minims in MS

30/ Candlemas nexte: 2 February 1604/5

WHEATLEY BOOTH

1559

Hallmote of Ightenhill Manor LRO: DDHC 1/3/41

mb 7d* (19 April)

5

Hallmote held before Thomas Talbot, knight, and John Townley, esquire, chief stewards

...

Misericordia iiij d.

10

Iuratores super Sacramentum suum quod Willimus bulcock de whitlaboith tenet et receptat in domo sua vnum mimum et vxorem suam contra ...

...

WIDNES

15

1556/7

Bill of Complaint of Roger Charnock to Chancellor of Duchy of Lancaster PRO: DL 1/37

f 65 item 2* (c 26 February–1 March)

20

To the Right Honorable Sir Robert Rochester Knyght
Comptroller of the king and Quene Maiesties most
honorable householde and Chancellor of the duchie of
Lancastre

25

Shewith and enformeth your honorable mastership aswell on the behalff of
your said enformer as on the behalffes of the King and Quene [^][maiesties]
Roger Charnock of greys Inne within the countie of Middelsex gentleman
That whereas our said soueraigne Lorde and Ladie the King and Quenes
maiesties being seased in their demesnes as of ffee as in the Right of their
duchie of Lancaster of & in certene Landes in widnes in the Countie of
Lancaster called widnes more being parcell of the waste grounde of our said
soueraigne Lorde and Ladie in widnes aforesaid and so being seased at the
thride halmote holden at ffarneworthe before Sir Iohn Saveage [age] Knight
their Highnes stuarde there the vijth day of September last paste your said
enformer dyd take of our said soueraigne Lorde and Ladie by the dymission
of the said Stuarde halff of one acre of Lande of the said waste called wydnes
more aforesaid To haue and to holde the same vnto your said enformer his
heires and assigneis for euer according to the custome of the said manor &

30

35

lordship of widnes yelding & paing therefore yerelie to *our* soueraigne
 Lorde and Ladie and to the heires of *our* soueragne Ladie a certen rent as by
 a Copie thereof vnder the seall of the Courte at halton readie to be showed
 dothe and may apere Apon wiche said halff acre *your* said enformer did
 latelie erecte and bilde one house with syx chambers thereunto belonging 5
 wich coste *your* said enformer one hundereth poundes and aboue And
 wherealso *your* said enformer was possessed of diuers chestes bedstockes
 ladders strawe haye bordes Carte Ropes dores wyndowes and peces of
 framed tymbre made mete for buylding and dyuers other goodes and
 Cattells liing in the same house to the valewe of xl li. and aboue Soe hit is if 10
 hit plecth *your* good Mastership that Iohn Wodfall a verey subtyll and evell
 disposed person and lyke a vauntparler and Ringleade of misordered
 persons contrarie to the Lawes and statutes together with henry Iohnson
 being baliff at widnes aforesaid Baldewen Mason Iohn dychefelde William
 Thomason henry davison Thomas Lynacre Thomas Apleton Robert 15
 Rathebon humfrey Lynacre accompaned with Toucher Bolde Richard
 Thomason henry davison and Ioane his wiffe William plumpton Rauffe
 Crofte Thomas davison Richard Astbroke Richard denton Iohn Woodes
 Richard davison henry Apleton Robert Astbroke Thomas Lee Richard deane
 Richard wodfall Margaret Astbroke widowe Thomas Rowson Iohn harne 20
 william Ienkynton Isabell Thomason henry Walker [Margaret harden] Iohn
 henryson Margaret harden Richard Slake Elyzabeth delye Thomas Norland
 Robert wright Richard Iohnson Richard Apleton Thomas harden gilbert
 Leadebeater Edward Bower Robert Almonde William Skathe Iohn harden
 Iohn henrison Iohn denton Iohn fferneham [&] Isabell Thomason to the 25
 number [(.)] of one hundereth persons and aboue vnknownen to *your* said
 enformer by the synistre counsell commandment and procurement of
 Richard Carter and Edmude Ley the xxvjth day of ffebruary Last paste with
 great force Armes And strong hand and in verey ryotius manner in Routes
 did assemble theym selffes together at the said house of *your* said enformer 30
 and then and there did violentlie take Iohn Marcer and henry Syngleton
seruantes vnto *your* said enformer being in godes peace the King and
 Quenes thinking no evell attending and aplyeng the affaires and busynes of
your said enformer nere adionying to the said house and cruelly in like
 riotius and disordered manner commytted theym without eny manner of 35
 Lawe or auctorite vnto the custodie of the Cunstable there within the said
 Libertie of widnes to be lede into the stockes there to be enprisoned, And
 not thus contented of their furth(..)
 evill disposed myndes meanyng

10/ liing: 5 minims in ms

28/ Edmude for Edmunde; abbreviation mark missing

32/ & omitted after peace (?)

38/ furth(..): text lost from right margin;
probably further

vtterlie to vndo *your* said enformer for ever did in like riotus and warlike
 manner with stronge hande and multytude of Men breake open the dores of
 the said house being locked and barred and entered into the same house and
 then and there did burst open all the chestes being within the same house
 And the same house with dyuerse bordes tymbre Ladders dores wyndowes 5
 and diuers other thinges of *your* said enformer in like cruell manner did
 cutte into diuers and manye peces And not being thus contented with
 mattockes axes billes staves spades and dyuers engynes did vndermyne the
 same house and ouerthrowe the same to the grounde and then and there cut
 all the Crokes and great tymbre into many smale Peces and the premisses so 10
 mangled and cut into litill peces dyd beare to the seuerall houses of the said
 misordered persons Saving the said misdemeaned persons did reserue one
 greate pece of tymbre being a Roffe tree of the same house wich the said
 misdemened persons synce the said xxvjth day of ffebruary yat is to saie
 aboute the first daye of Marche Last past earlie before daie in the mornynge 15
 and the same did beare into a Corner of [one] [^]the sad[^] waste ground or the
 More of our soueraigne Lorde and Ladie the King and Quenes commonlie
 called Wydnes More [^]aforesad[^] before the viewe and face of the dore of the
 house of the said Iohn Wodfall whereas the same tre is set vp as a Maypole
 with hollyns and flowres apou the same apou wich ground before was neuer 20
 none set vp/ and diuers benches and seates of suche cheastes and bordes
 taken oute of the said house by the said misdemeaned persons apou the said
 waste be made and many of the sade misdemeaned persons euery sonday do
 commonlie mete and assemble at the said may pole and gather together
 certen persons to the number of C persons and aboue and for that the same 25
 shulde be manyfeste vnto all the hole Contrey (but what the meane therebie
 is vnknownen to *your* said enformer, the childeren and seruantes of the said
 misdemeaned persons haue hired one mynstrell whoe playeth apou a loude
 pype at the same poale euery sondaie and holidaye synce by reason whereof a
 great number of peple be drawen contynually together there euery sondaie 30
 and holidaye to the terrible ensample of the hole contrey And after the said
 misdemened persons had distroed the said house and spoyled the goodes
 being within the same in maner and forme as is beforesaid, the said ryotius
 persons did geue thre great and terrible shoutes wich was herde fowre myles
 from the said place where the Riot was commytted to the parlius ensample 35
 of suche like offenders if condigne punysshement be not in this behalff
 spedelie had And forasmuche as the said misdemeanors be verely heynius
 riotus and after a Rebellius manner comytted againste the peace crowne and

16/ *sad* for *said*25/ number: 6 *minims* and *abbreviation mark* for *num* in *MS*27/ *comma* after *enformer* error for closing parenthesis (?)32/ *distroed* for *destroyed*32/ *oy* of *spoyled* written over other letters

dignities of *our* said soueraigne Lorde and Ladie the King and Quenes
maiesties the like whereof hath not bene in those *parties* commytte synce
 the tyme of the remembrance of eny *person* nowe lyving And also
 forasmuche as the said Iohn Wodfall is a man of an evell disposicioen and
 hath bene so reputed and taken to be of suche misordered and dissolute
 wilfull behavior & lyving that (...) the King and Quenes *Maiesties* Iustices
 for the peace that *perceaving* did cause the saide Iohn Wodfall to be bounde
 to be of good bearing and behavior to all the King and Quenes *Maiesties*
 Liege peple for that hit was enformed theym that the said Iohn wodfall for
 money dyd hire one to haue murdered and kyllled one Rauffe Richardson
preste and had caused the same executed and commytte indede if by the
 goodnes of god the same naughtie and secret enterprise ¹had not¹ bene
 reueled and opened for wich mysdemeaner the said wodfall flede into the
 tope of his house and there dyd hyde hym selffe ¹in the thatche¹ at what
 tyme one of the Iustice of peace sought for hym In consideracon whereof
 the *premisses* considered hit may please *your* honorable *mastership* to graunt
 furthe the King and Quenes most dreid *lettres* of previe seale to be directed
 to the said Iohn wodfall and the reste of the misdemeaned *persons*
 commanding theym thereby *personallie* to apere before *your* honorable
Mastership in the duchie chamber at westminster at a certene daye and
 vnder a Cerdigne payn by *your* good *mastership* to be lymyted than and
 there to answer vnto the *premisses* And thereapon to take suche order as to
your honor shalbe thought beste And *your* said enformer shall daile pray
 vnto almightie god for the *prosperius preseruacion* of *your* honorable
Mastership in honor long to endure/

Barton R

***Answer of Baldwin Mason, Thomas Apleton, and Robert Rathbone to
 Roger Charnock's Complaint*** PRO: DL 1/37

f 66* (c 26 February–1 March)

...

...for the said *defendants* further sayne ... or that the said *defendants* dyd
 take the said Iohn *merc*er & Henrie Syngleton named in the said bill of
complaint or dyd committe theim to the cunstable of the said libertie of
 wydnes to be had to the Stockes or that the said *deffendants* or anye of
 them dyd breake upon the dores of the said house named in the said bill
 beinge locked & barred & brake upon the chists within the same for the

6/ (...): 14 mm erasure covered by line fillers

9/ enformed: written over erasure

11/ to be omitted after same (?)

15/ one of the: written in cramped script over erasure

15/ consideracon for consideration; abbreviation mark missing

21/ Cerdigne for Certene condigne (?)

said defendants sayne that there were noe chists but one beinge of verey
 small valewe set wthin the said house but in dede the said house was afote
 depe of water and soe was noe place for anye chistes to stande vpon or that
 the dyd in Cruell mannor cut in peeces anye bourdes in wydnes of the same
 house in such manner and forme as alsoe most vntruelie ys alledged in the 5
 said bill of complaint or that the said *defendants* or anye of them toke awaye
 the said furste daye of *marche* laste paste or dyd bayre awaye the said greit tree
 named in the said bill by the name of a Rooffe tree & made or sett vppe the
 same as a maypole or were assenting to the caryinge awaie of the said pece of
 timber or makinge of the said maypole or that the said *defendants* dyd v{...} 10
 vndermyne or ouerthrowe the said house in suche manner & forme as is alsoe
 alledged in the said bill of complaint or that their be anye toyes or featts made
 aboute the said maypole or anye chistes or bordes taken furthe of the said
 house And without that that the said *defendants* or any of theym be any
 suche mysdemeyned or disordered persons as they are named in the said bill 15
 of complaint...

Answer of John Woodfall to Roger Charnock's Complaint

PRO: DL 1/37

f 67* (c 26 February–1 March)

20

...withut the said defendant or any othere person or persons aforesaid Aboute
 the first daye of maye Laste paste dide bere unto A corner of the sede waste as
 A maye pole as likewise is most untrulie allegged or that any mysdemeaned
 persons do commonlie mette and assemble at any maye Pole wthin the said 25
 lordship¹ to ye number of one hunderethe persons and above as by the said
 bill of compleyante ys Likewise moste slanderuslie allegged or that the said
 defendant is of any suche naughtie conversacon mysdemeanor & unrulye
 governance as in the said bill of compleyant ys Likewise most slanderuslie
 allegged... 30

1625

Court Leet Presentment of John Wilkinson, Piper PRO: DL 30/148

single sheet (2 May) (Edward Webster and Thomas Wollfall, presenting constables)

...

35

Wee present William Hichen Richard Norris & Iohn Wilkinson
 the piper for feghtinge quilibet eorum

xij d.

...

10/ v{...}: hole in parchment preceded by false start of vndermine

22/ withut for without that that

28/ conversacon for conversacion; abbreviation mark missing

WIGAN

1624

- A *Bishop Bridgeman's Wigan Ledger* Wigan Archive Service: D/DZ A 13/1
p 173* (29 October)

Toll at Wakes

...
The Serjeant of Wigan Ioseph Pennington, desired my leave that he might receive the Toll of such Butchers. &c: as came to sell flesh. &c: against the wakes: but because the Town hath no Toll but only on the fryday market and St: Lukes ffayr therefore I denyed him and bid my Baylife gather it to morrow being Saturday: as they did on Christmas Eve formerly./ Also

Bearbayts

because at the Wakes, or the day after, it has been a use emong ye Townsmen to have that barbarous and beastly game of Bearbayting and the Bear Wards were come to me to ask the Mayor (Iames Pilkintons) leave that he might bayt his beares on the Market hill the next Monday: The Mayor sent Mr: Robert Maudesly to me at Wigan hall to ask my leave thereto. and at length I assented on condition that they forbore till my monday Market were ended and the people had packed up their wares. which I note the rather that my Successors may know their power, and use their libertye, to licence or not such rude Pastimes:

...

1634

- A Relation of a Short Survey of 26 Counties* BL: Lansdowne MS 213
ff 325v-6* (11 August-29 September)

...

Lord

Gerrards.

Gasting

Castle, the

Earle of

Darbies.

Mr. Tillsleys.

Sir Gilbert

Houghton

his house by

ye Riuier.

Houghton

Castle.

Mr.

Farringtons,

Heyton.

Mr. Rigbies.

The next morning we made as much haste as wee could away for all their mighty Bagpipes, & pretty Lasses, for another County Palatine, leauing a most Stately House, & Parke situated vpon the Sea, and many other braue Castles, Parkes, & Situations, vpon the Riuers Dee, and Ribble, which last wee past ouer by a fayre arch'd Bridge, within 5. or 6. Miles of the Sea, which cutts this Shire in sunder iust in her narrow middle: The wayes being so pleasant, the Situations so sweet, the soyle so good, & fertile, as made vs truant, & beguile our Selfes in the Time, & to vndergoe such ffortune as is incident to Trauellers, for being benighted, wee mistooke our way, & were in great danger amongst those deep, Hell Coal-pitts; for which way soeuer wee tooke, we were still led to those Tartarean Cells, which our Horses discovered sooner then wee could, and by their snuffing made vs take heed of them; surely some of the Infernall Spiritts haue their residence in them.

It was now time or neuer to consult, what was fittest, and speediest to be done, to free vs out of this blacke, & dismall danger, and whilst wee

were at a stand, & in consultation, the melodious sound of a sweet Cornet arrested *our* Eares, (may those sweet blasts euer giue content to all, as to vs) for we were guided, & conducted through woods, from this darkesome haunted place, by the sounding thereof, to a stately fayre house of a Gentlemans, that was the High Sheriffe of that good rich Shire this yeere, into whose custody we had committed *our* Selues but that wee vnderstood, that his house was that night full of Strangers.

Mr. Standish,
of Standish.

5

Although we suffer'd a disappointment heere, yet were wee happie in that we heere got a guide to direct vs, ouer a small Riuer right to Wiggan, where we rested that night: wee came thither late & weary, & had fayre quarter afforded vs, by a fat honest Host, An Alderman, & a iouiall blade, his owne Castle was full, yet did he billet vs at his ouerthwart Neighbours, in two sumptuous Chambers, where we all soundly slept after our (that dayes) enchantment.

Dowglas.
Wiggan.

10

15

The next Morning we repayr'd to the Church, to heare morning prayers, heard their fayre Organs, view'd their new Church, built by the Pontificall Prelate of that See, who is Parson thereof, and a good Parsonage it is, for it is worth 600 li. per Annum: heere we saw some ancient Monuments of the ffamilie of the Bradshaws, after *which* done, we hastned to *our* Iouiall Alderman, but he with a noble, boone Parson, another honest Gentleman, & Mr. Organist, I did arrest vs, in their fayre Market Place, & kindly inuited vs to their mornings draught, A whiskein of Wiggin Ale, *which* they as heartily, as merrily whiskt off, as freely, & liberally they call'd for it: It was as good, as they that gaue it, for better Ale, & better Company no Trauellers whatsoeuer would euer desire. I dare say he was no ordinary Parson, neither in his Condition, nor Calling; for his Seale stil'd him an Arch-Deacon, that's his Condition; and what he call'd for, hee freely pay'd for, that's his Calling: There were other men of his Coat generous like himselfe, sure some of his neere Neighbours, into whom he had infus'd soe curteous a garbe;

Bishop of
Chester

20

25

30

This generous Company were so well pleas'd with vs, and *our* Iourney, & wee with them, & their curteous entertainment, that part we could not till together wee had parted a Breakfast, & in the interim we all marcht to Mr Organists Pallace, & their heard his domesticke Organs, Vyalls, with the voyces of this ciuill merry Company sweetly consorted

35

After all this, to giue more ample content, they were importunate with vs

40

Mr Bradshaw's.

to goe see a Gentlemans Place sweetly situated neere there on the top of a Hill, worth the viewing, for the Gardens, walkes, and other strange rare contentings that neat place affoorded; wee heartily wish'd our time would haue permitted vs to haue stay'd there longer, as we were willing to doe, but for want of that, wee could not fullfill their gentile requests; Haste away we must if this night wee would attaine Chester, *which* was the place of *our* morrowes rest; & therefor after breakfast, *with* reall thanks, bad this good Company Adieu.

...

WINWICK

1515

Bill of Complaint of Thomas Butler to Chancellor of Duchy of Lancaster PRO: DL 3/7

f 50* (14 April)

To the right honorable Sir Henry Marney knyght
Chauncellor of the Duchie of Lancastre

In most humble wise compleyning shewith vnto your gode maistersh(.)p
your Orator Thomas Boteler Esquier that where as he was in goddys and
our souerain lord the kinges peace (...) Wynwhik within the Countie of
Lancastre the setterday in the Estur wek last past in the sixte yere of our
souerain lord the kinges reigne that nowe is accompanied with dyuers
oth(...) gentilmen and others at A cokfeght there afore that tyme appoynted
betwene theym after the maner of the Cuntrey there used/ So it is that oone
Thoma(s) Gerrard Knyght of his cruell malice and intent afore that [that]
tyme prepensed accompanied with oon Robert worseley the yonger
gentilman Hugh Hyndley (...) gentilman Robert Gerrard gentilman
Edmund Gerrard gentilman Thomas Stanley gentilman Willyam Leche
y(om)an Humfrey Birchall yoman and many oder riottuo(...) and mysruled
persons whos namys to your saide Orator byn not perfiteley knowen to the
noubre of lxxx persounes and aboue arayed in maner of warre with force
and (...) that is to sey with bowes arrowes swordes buklers billys and staves
withoute any cause or color riottuously assembled theym self at wynwhik
beforsaid w(...) quarter of a myle of the same place where the said Cokfeght
was in the high wey betwix the same Cockfeght place and the dwelling
place of your said Orat(...) lay inwayte of your said Orator intending to
haue murdred and slayn hym The said Thomas Boteler your Orator
nothing knowing thereof At the which tyme and place oon sir Iohn
Southworth knyght seying the cruelnes of the said s^r Thomas Gerrard and
his said riottuous adherentes. And that grete myschef and murdure therof

shuld haue ensued/ exorted and advised the said *sir* Thomas not to take
 those wayes for he knewe well there was no such cause giffen to hym by
 your said Orator but the said *sir* Thomas nothing regarding the said aduise
 nor exortacion in moost cruell maner intending to execute his cruell mynd
 cast of his showes/ And bad his said riottuous cumpany and adherentes 5
 quyte theym like men that day And he shuld neuer fail theym And also
 comaunded his said [^][riottose[^]] Adherentes that whatsoeuer became of hym
 that they shuld make sure your said Orator And then the same *sir* Thomas
 desired the said *sir* Iohn Southworth to take his parte in accomplissement
 of his said riottuous intent/ which he then vtterly refused/ And theruppon 10
 Immediatly the said *sir* Thomas and the oder riottuous persons not dreding
 god nor punysshement of the kinges Lawes than and there riottuously and
 ayenst the kinges peace assaute(...) your said Orator/ And forther in fulfilling
 of his malicious intent the said *sir* Thomas and oder of the saide Riottours
 then and there vnlauffully [^][and riottusly[^]] ayenst the ki(...) peace toke oon 15
 Nicholas Stokton and Thomas Dichefeld then being in the cumpany of the
 saide Thomas Boteler And theym inprisoned by a certeyn spa(...) And
 theym bete and evill intreated So that they were in grete Ioperdie of thaire
 lyves/ And also oon of the said Riottours shot an arrowe at oon of the
 cumpany of your said Orator and put hym in Ioperdie of his lyff/ And then 20
 and there stroke and sore hurte oone Thurstan Clare then in the cumpany
 of y(...) said Orator and put hym in grete Ioperdie of his lyff contrary to the
 kinges Lawes and his peace/ And so of a likelyhode hade slayn your said
 Orator and oder hi(...) seruantes if he hade [^][not[^]] byn letted by the said *sir*
 Iohn Southworth and oder well disposed persons then resorting theder for 25
 appeasing of the same riott and sau[...] of the lyff of your said Orator and
 his cumpany/ And thereuppon dyuers of the said riottuous persons
 perceuyung that they were letted of thare maliciose purpos and (...) opynly
 saide and rehersed in the presence of dyuers persons that they were accursed
 that they hade not sette vppon your saide Orator according to their saide 30
 malicious and cruell inten(...) at the first begynnyng when they were byg
 enough to haue doon theire willys which Riottours and mysdemainor if it
 shuld not be punysshed shuld be to the most parlous example of oder like
 riottuous and mysruled persons so offending to the grevous damage of the
 kinges Subgiettes in those parties/ Wherefore the premisses tenderly 35
 considred it may please your goode maistership to graunt the kinges lettres
 of pryuey Seall to be directed to the said *sir* Thomas Gerrard Robert
 worseley hugh Hyndeley and Robert Gerrard at A certeyn day and vppon a
 certeyn payn to appere afore your goode maistership to answer to the
 premisses And forther to abide suche rule and direccion as by your 40

13/ *assaute(...)* probably *assautede*32/ *Riottours for Riottis (?)*

maistership shalbe considered in that behalf And *your* said Orator shall
euer more pray for *your* goode maistership long to endure/

Answer of Thomas Butler to Sir Thomas Gerard's Bill of Complaint

PRO: DL 3/7

f 52* (22 April)

5

The answer of Thomas Boteler Esquier to the surmysed
bill of complaynt of Sir Thomas Gerrard knyght

...And for forther Answer and declaracion of the trouthe The saide
Thomas Boteler saith that t(...) past the saide Thomas Boteler *sir* Richard
Bold knyght specified in the saide bill and *dyuers* oder gentlemen being in
cumpany at Manchestre in the said Countie (...) Bisshop of Elye appoynted
to mete at wynwhik the setturday then next folowing to see thair cokkes
feight afre accustumable maner of the Cuntrey euery setturday for (...) 15
vsed And according therunto they not knowing of any metyng or comyng
to the saide Town of the same *sir* Thomas Gerrard mette at the Cokfeyght
(...) aboute x of the Clok of the same Setturday The same Thomas Boteler
hauyng with hym abowte xij persons and other Children that bare Cokkes 20
the s(...) Richard Bold hade like asmony *with* hym/ And *dyuers* other
gentilmen hade *with* theym in their Cumpany oders to the noumbre in the
holl men and children aboutes fyfty perso(...) Boteler *sir* Richard Bold and
the others sitting aboutes thaire gamyn in the said Cokfeight place by the
space of ij howerrys/ The said *sir* Thomas Gerrard of A malicious mynd 25
(...) accompanied *with* oder mysdemeaned persons to the noumbre of lxxx
persons and aboue in moost cruell and rittous maner intending to haue
slayne the said Thomas Boteler came t(...) place And theruppon oon *sir*
Iohn Southworth knyght then present in the same Town in his best maner
aduyssed the said *sir* Thomas to kepe the kinges peace/ And (...) that the 30
said *sir* Thomas hade no suche cause giffyn on the behalf of the same
Thomas Boteler/ But that notwithstanding the said *sir* Thomas Gerrard
wold in nowise be ruled (...) same *sir* Iohn Southworth for the passion of
godde and for goddes blode take no hede on hym that day for he said his
wittes were not his awen and desired the same *sir* Io(...) he than like a wise 35
man refused And theruppon the said *sir* Thomas in most furious maner
cast of his shoes and bad his *seruantes* acquite theym well that day (...)
And (...) And *with* this the said *sir* Thomas and the oder riottuous persons
to accomplishe theire furyous mynd riottuosly came *within* an arrowe
shote toward the said Cokfeight p(...) said Thomas having verey shorte 40

wernyng and seyng theym so nere hym by the aduyse of the said Richard Bold send to the said *sir* Thomas ij honeste prestes to vnderstand t[...] of his so vnlauffull comyng To whom the said *sir* Thomas wold [^]make[^] noon answer...

5

Deposition of Witnesses Examined on behalf of Thomas Butler

PRO: DL 3/7

ff 54-5 (22 April)

Articles [^]of the deposicions of Witnesses examined & sworn

10

&c[^] [^]provyng the Riot agaynst *Sir* Thomas Gerrard Knyght

Roger Herdman deposith that Thomas Torbok Shewyd hym at Assheton

that All the seid towne was warned to be with *sir* Thomas Gerrard at

Wynweke the Seturday in Estur weke in theire Clene geere at a Cokfeght

William Southeworth deposith that he hard the Son of Thomas Seddon say

15

that he hadde ben in Assheton Egge to warne the tenantes of *sir* Thomas

Gerrard to be at Wynweke with theire Cokkes the same day

William Cartwright deposith that laurence Cartwright tenant [of] to Hugh

Hyndley seryant to *Sir* Thomas Gerrard shewed hym that his Maister

intended to be at Wynweke at the Cokfeght the said Seturday

20

ffor Assemblie
of peple
prepensed

The nombre
assembled &
wepyns

Sir Iohn Southeworth

Peiris Kyghtley

xvij [^]off his

howsehold

seruanttes[^]

at the first

comyng w[^]h

stavys & ij

bowes [& swords]

Roger Herdman

Rauff Kyghley

Iames Carre [x] lx & above

Iohn Neuport

Thomas Haghton

25

Articulo primo

sir Iohn Southeworth deposith he knowyth not for what cause *sir* Thomas

Gerrard came to Wynwek

30

° not sworn °

Iames Gerrard deposith there was no mater appoynted for his cause that day

The cause of
the assemble

Roger Herdman

William Southeworth

William Cartwright

prove that the

Warnyng was gyffen for

a Cokfeght vt supra

35

Warnyng of
Buttokkes

Iohn Southeworth deposith that *sir* Thomas Gerrard said in Hacches howse

that he wold warme his buttockes in the Cokfeght

40

10/ examined: *extra minim*, perhaps a false start for expressed m in MS after a

sir Iohn Southeworth deposith that the said *sir* Thomas said in Hacches Howse like wordes that he wold warme his buttokkes in the Cokfeght

The deameanor
of *sir* Thomas
Gerrard & the
cause of his
commynge out
of Hacches
Howse

sir Thomas Gerrard deposith vj^{to} *articulo* that by cause he saw at an hoole C
personnes of Thomas Botelers company in [harn] harnes in the strete he wold 5
not tarye in Hacches Howse/ And so went into the strete & taried theire ij
owres with his companye

periure proved
by *sir* Iohn
Southeworth
& others

vj^{to} *Articulo* *sir* Iohn Southeworth deposith that there was non of Thomas
Botelers company in the strete to his knowlege but the seid Thomas Boteler & 10
his company were still at the Cokfeght

All the Whyllis the seid *sir* Iohn Southworth & *sir* Thomas Gerrard were in
Hacches Howse & in the strete

John Southworth gentilman	}	Afferme the same/	
Peiris Kyghley gentilman		Which provith also periure in the seid	15
		<i>sir</i> Thomas Gerrard	

Demeanor of
sir Thomas
Gerrard cryng
on theym on
theym

Iames towres deposith he sawe iiij^{xx} personnes in the strete & hard a voyce
[on] remonges theym sayng on theym on theym/ And that *sir* Iohn
Southeworth seid to *sir* Thomas Gerrard he was sory that [his] he wold not be 20
ruled by hym And bade hym take his pleasure And *sir* Iohn Southworth
departed towardes the Churche yarde/ And *sir* Thomas Gerrard & l personnes
with hym went toward the seid Thomas Boteler to the lane ende within an
arrowe shotte of the [of] Cokfeght

Thomas Haghton sayth that on in *sir* Thomas Gerrard companye seid he wold 25
not be taken vp that day and knowith not Wheder it was *sir* Thomas Gerrard

Shotyng an
arrow at
Thomas Botelers
servant

Also the seid Thomas seith that on of the companye of *sir* Thomas Gerrard
shotte an arrowe at hym & bade hym bryng his Master tithynges 30

The assaulte
made by *sir*
Thomas
Gerrard

Iames Carre sayth that *sir* Thomas Gerrard wold haue gone downe the lane
which was toward the Cokfeght but that he was stoppet by *sir* Iohn
Southworth

Iohn Southeworth sayth that *sir* Thomas Gerrard & his Company were goyng 35
with theire stavys & wepynnys in theire handes towardes Thomas Boteler syttyng
in the Cokfeght

Peesyng to the
Cokfeght

sir Iohn Southeworth deposith yat ye servantes of *sir* Thomas Gerrard preysed
towardes the Cokfeght l 40

hattes bounde to their heedes	Peiris Kyghley affermeth the [same] same Roger Herdman seyth in the vj th article that <i>sir Thomas</i> Gerrard & his company came xij rodys from Haches howse toward to Cokfeght Iohn Southworth <i>gentilman</i> deposith that <i>sir Thomas</i> Gerrard & his cumpany went towardes the Cokfeght <i>with</i> stavys in their handes & their hattes bound to their heeds	5
	Thomas Haghton sayth they bounde their hattes to their heds <i>with</i> garters Peiris Kyghley sayth that those <i>personnes</i> as hadde hattes bounde theym to their heedes	10
prepayring to feyght	Sir Thomas Gerrard <i>confesseth</i> the same xxv ^{to} <i>articulo</i> and ferther sayth <i>yat</i> they prepayred theym self as if they wold haue fougheten	
<i>sir Thomas</i> Gerrard bade <i>his seruantes</i> Whyte theym like men	Rauff Kyghley <i>gentilman</i> say that <i>sir</i> Gerrard said in the Church yarde <i>sirs</i> if we fortune to goo to geders Whyte you like men this day & I shall neuer fayle you	15
<i>Sir Thomas</i> Gerrard desired <i>sir Iohn</i> Southworth to take his part	<i>Sir Iohn</i> Southworth seith <i>sir Thomas</i> Gerrard [desired] hym to take his part for savyng of his honeste/ And he answered that he so wold if he wold be [answered] ruled Iohn Southworth affermeth the same/ And sayth also in the last article that <i>sir Thomas</i> Gerrard bade <i>sir Iohn</i> Southworth take no hede what he said for he was sore vexed & trowbled	20
	Gilbert Gresse sayth <i>sir Thomas</i> Gerrard hade no Shoes on his fete <i>sir Thomas</i> Gerrard [h] seid his Shoes were troden of his fete <i>sir Iohn</i> Southworth in the xij th Article seyth that the cumpany of <i>sir</i> <i>Thomas</i> Gerrard preesyd toward the Cokfeght in which preese the shoes of the seid <i>sir Thomas</i> were Troden of his fete Peiris Kyghley affermyth the same	25
Tredyng of his Shoes		30
Crying to <i>Thomas</i> Butler to Ryse & save hym self	Roger Herdmon seyth that men & Wemen of Wynwek cryed to Thomas Boteler beyng in the Cokfeght to Rise & save hym self	35
Strikyng Thurstan Clare	<i>sir Thomas</i> Gerrard confessith that <i>William</i> of the stable on of his <i>seruantes</i> stroke Thurstan Clare <i>with</i> a staff/ Wherby the peace was then broken	
	The same Thurstan saith he was strekyn as he was goyng to Rescow Thomas	

Boteler And that the *seruantes* of *sir Thomas* Gerrard violently & evyll
entreated Nicholas Stokton & Thomas Dichefeld
Gilbert Gresse sayth that it was iiij of the Clok at after none or *sir Iohn*
Southworth hadde concluded any apointment

Word came to
Weryngton by
traveling men
yat *sir Thomas*
Gerrard wold
murdre *Thomas*
Boteler

The same Gilbert sayth yat he hard it said in Weryngton yat they of the
towne hade word by traveling men that *sir Thomas* Gerrard intendet to
murdre *Thomas* Boteler at Wynweke with a greete cumpany of men & they
were goyng thyder to Rescow hym

Thomas
Boteler offred
sir Thomas
Gerrard halfe of
the Cokfeght
place & the best
game he coude
make hym

sir Iohn Southworth seyth that *Thomas* Boteler send ij prestes to *sir*
Thomas Gerrard to knowe the entent of his comyng & offred hym half
the Cokfeght place
sir Thomas Gerrard confessith the same & sayth forther that the seides
prestes said he shuld haue the best game that the seid *Thomas* Boteler
cowde make hym

vj^{to} Articulo

sir Thomas Gerrard confessith that he & *sir Iohn* Southworth were ij houris
togeder in the strete affore that the seid *sir Iohn* went ¹to¹ commyn with the
seid *Thomas* Boteler.

1596/7

Articles 'Ex Officio' Charged against William Tailor

CRO: EDC 5/1596/64

f [1v]* (25 February)

Proceedings of the metropolitan consistory sessions held in the consistory of Chester Cathedral before David Yale, LL.D, official principal for Chester and commissary of Matthew Hutton, archbishop of York

- 7 Item that thou the said William Tailor diuers & sundry sundayes and holly
dayes hast neglected thy duety in the Churche especially in or aboutes the
xixth of december last which day thou Camest into the Churche aboutes the
readinge of the seconde Lesson with one [sl] Spode a piper ¹pipinge or
goinge¹ before thee very Contemptuosly ¹& disorderlye¹ into the said
Churche flyringe & laughinge so that therby the [peo] Congragacion [g<...>]
there heringe devine service were greatly trobled & anoyed & the service
therby letted & trobled Et obijcimus vt supra.

WITHINGTON

1601

*Presentments of Ralph Marler, Alehousekeeper, and John Tompson,
Piper* LRO: QSR 4 5
mb 51d* (15 July)

*Manchester sessions before Sir Nicholas Mosley, Richard Assheton, Richard
Holland, James Assheton, Edmund Hopwood, and Alexander Reddish*

...Et quod Radulphus marler nuper de Withington in Comitatu lancastrie
quinto die Iulij Anno Regni domine Elizabeth dei gracia Anglie ffrancie &
hibernie Regine fidei defensoris &c quadragesimo tercio Apud Withington
predictam in Comitatu predicto °obstinate atque ex auctoritate propria
ipsius Radulphi Marler absque aliquo Iusticiarij pacis in Comitatu predicto 15
admissione vel allocacione super se assumpserit custodire & Custodivit
Communem domum tipulacionis & ad tunc & ibidem Communiter
vendidit Cerviciam Contra formam statuti in huiusmodi casu editi et
provisi et quod predictus Radulphus marler adtunc & ibidem in domo sua
predicta custodivit fistulatorem contra pacem dicte domine Regine°... 20

Et quod Iohannes Tompson nuper de Withington in Comitatu lancastrie
pyper quinto die Iulij anno Regni domine Elizabeth dei gracia Anglie
ffrancie & hibernie Regine fidei defensoris &c quadragesimo tercio
^°existente die dominico° apud Withington predictam in Comitatu predicto 25
°fistulavit anglice pyped contra pacem dicte domine Regine/°

...

WOODPLUMPTON

1578

Archbishop Sandys' Visitation Book BI: V.1578-9/CB.3
f 60v (26 July)

Proceedings of the court held for Amounderness deanery

...

And the same day the churchwardens of Woodplumpton were monyshed to
Repayre the chauncell before Saynt Lukes day and to certefye/ And not
hereafter to suffer any Ryshebearynges in ther chappell in tyme of servyse
sub pena Iuris &c.

...

Monasteries

LYTHAM PRIORY

1352-3

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1352-3
single mb (21 May 1352-6 May 1353) (*Expenses*)

5

...

Item in Curialitate facta senescallo ducis. balliuis. subballiuis.
hustrionibus. & aliis superuenientibus per vices.

xlvj .s. viij .d.

...

10

1353-4

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1353-4
single mb (6 May 1353-26 May 1354) (*Expenses*)

...

Item Senescallo ducis balliuis subballiuis histrionibus & aliis
superuenientibus

xliij .s.

15

...

1354-5

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1354-5
single mb (26 May 1354-18 May 1355) (*Expenses*)

20

...

Item in Curialitate facta baliuiis subballiuis ducis histrionibus
& aliis

xx. s.

...

25

1393–4

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1393–4(A)
single mb (25 May 1393–7 June 1394) (*Expenses*)

...

Item in donis datis diuersis Officiarijs & Ministrallis per vicem xxvj s. viij d. 5

...

1394–5

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1394–5(A)
single mb* (7 June 1394–24 May 1395) (*Expenses*)

10

...

Item in donis datis diuersis Officiarijs & Mynstrellis xxvj s. viij d.

...

1395–6

15

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1395–6
single mb (24 May 1395–15 May 1396) (*Expenses*)

...

Item in donis datis diuersis officiarijs & Ministrallis xx. s.

...

20

1396–7

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1396–7(A)
single mb (15 May 1396–4 June 1397) (*Expenses*)

...

C In donis datis diuersis ministris domini ducis & 25
Ministrallis xxj s. iiij d.

...

1397–8

30

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1397–8(A)
single mb* (4 June 1397–20 May 1398) (*Expenses*)

...

In donis datis diuersis Officiarijs domini Ducis & Ministrallis
diuersorum dominorum xxiij s. iiij d. 35

...

1398-9**Prior's Accounts** DDCM: Lytham 1398-9single mb (20 May 1398-12 May 1399) (*Expenses*)

...

In donis diuersis officarijs & Ministrallis

xiiij s. iiij d. 5

...

1399-1400**Prior's Accounts** DDCM: Lytham 1399-1400single mb (12 May 1399-31 May 1400) (*Expenses*)

...

In donis datis diuersis officarijs & Ministrallis

x s. vj d.

...

1400-1**Prior's Accounts** DDCM: Lytham 1400-1single mb (31 May 1400-16 May 1401) (*Expenses*)

...

Item in donis datis Ministris domini Regis & Ministrall'

xx s.

...

1401-2**Prior's Accounts** DDCM: Lytham 1401-2single mb (16 May 1401-8 May 1402) (*Expenses*)

...

Item in donis diuersis officarijs domini Regis & Ministrallis
per tempus compoti

xiiij s. iiij d.

...

1415-16**Prior's Accounts** DDCM: Lytham 1415-16single mb (13 May 1415-1 June 1416) (*Expenses*)

...

Item in donis datis ministrallis & alijs per tempus compoti

xxiiij s. x d.

...

1416-17**Prior's Accounts** DDCM: Lytham 1416-17(B)single mb (1 June 1416-24 May 1417) (*Expenses*)

...

Item in donis datis ministrallis & alijs

xl s. xj d.

...

1418–19

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1418–19
single mb (9 May 1418–29 May 1419) (*Expenses*)

...

Item in donis datis ministrallis & alijs

xxxij s. j d. 5

...

1419–20

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1419–20(A)
single mb (29 May 1419–20 May 1420) (*Expenses*)

10

...

Item in donis datis ministrallis & alijs

xv s. iij d.

...

1420–1

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1420–1(B)
single mb (20 May 1420–5 May 1421) (*Expenses*)

15

...

Item in donis datis Ministrallis & alijs

xv s. ij d.

...

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1421–2

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1421–2(A)
single mb (5 May 1421–25 May 1422) (*Expenses*)

...

Item in donis datis ministrallis & alijs

xvij s. x d.

...

25

1422–3

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1422–3(C)
single mb (25 May 1422–17 May 1423) (*Expenses*)

30

...

Item in donis datis ministrallis & alijs

xviiij s. iij d.

...

35

1424–5

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1424–5(A)
single mb (5 June 1424–21 May 1425) (*Expenses*)

...

Item in donis datis ministrallis & alijs

xij s. xj d. 40

...

1425-6

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1425-6
single mb* (21 May 1425-13 May 1426) (*Expenses*)

...

Item in donis datis ministrallis & alijs

x(v) s. vj d.

5

...

1426-7

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1426-7
single mb (13 May 1426-2 June 1427) (*Expenses*)

10

...

Item in donis datis ministrallis & alijs

xj s. x d.

...

1427-8

15

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1427-8
single mb (2 June 1427-17 May 1428) (*Expenses*)

...

Item in donis datis ministrallis & alijs

xliiij s. x d.

20

...

1428-9

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1428-9
single mb* (17 May 1428-9 May 1429) (*Expenses*)

25

...

Item in donis datis ministrallis & alijs

x(....)j d.

...

1429-30

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1429-30(B)
single mb (9 May 1429-29 May 1430) (*Expenses*)

30

...

Item in donis datis ministrallis & alijs

xj s. vij d.

...

35

1430-1

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1430-1(B)
single mb (29 May 1430-14 May 1431) (*Expenses*)

...

Item in donis datis ministrallis & alijs

xij s.

40

...

1447-8

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1447-8(B)
single mb (22 May 1447-6 May 1448) (*Expenses*)

...

Item in donis datis Ministrallis & alijs viij s. 5

...

1448-9

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1448-9(B) 33
single mb (6 May 1448-26 May 1449) (*Expenses*)

...

Item in diuersis donis datis Ministrallis & alijs vj s. viij d. 10

...

1449-50

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1449-50(B)
single mb (26 May 1449-18 May 1450) (*Expenses*)

...

Item in diuersis donis datis Minstralibus & alijs hoc anno xx s. 15

...

1450-1

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1450-1(A)
single mb (18 May 1450-7 June 1451) (*Expenses*)

...

Item in diuersis donis datis minstralibus & Alijs eodem Anno xx s. 25

...

1451-2

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1451-2(A)
single mb (7 June 1451-22 May 1452) (*Expenses*)

...

Item in diuersis donis datis minstralibus & alijs eodem anno xx s. 30

...

1452-3

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1452-3(B)
single mb (22 May 1452-14 May 1453) (*Expenses*)

...

Item in Diuersis Donis Datis Ministrallis & alijs xiiij s. iiij d. 35

...

19/ hoc anno: omitted in other copy of account roll for 1449-50

1453-4

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1453-4
single mb (14 May 1453-3 June 1454) (*Expenses*)

...

Item in diuersis donis datis (.n)stralis & alijs

x s. 5

...

1454-5

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1454-5(D)
single mb (3 June 1454-19 May 1455) (*Expenses*)

10

...

Et in diuersis donis datis ministrallis

x s.

...

1455-6

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1455-6(A)
single mb (19 May 1455-10 May 1456) (*Expenses*)

15

...

Et in diuersis donis datis Ministrallis

vj s. viij d.

...

20

1456-7

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1456-7
single mb* (10 August 1456-30 May 1457) (*Expenses*)

25

...

Et in donis datis ministrallis dominorum & magnatum patrie
ac alijs diuersis

xj s. iiij d.

...

1457-8

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1457-8
single mb (30 May 1457-15 May 1458) (*Expenses*)

30

...

Et in donis datis ministrallis dominorum & magnatum infra
patriam & alijs diuersis ex curialitate

viiij s. ij d. 35

...

1458-9

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1458-9
single mb (15 May 1458-7 May 1459) (*Expenses*)

...

Et in donis datis Ministrallis dominorum & magnatum infra
patriam & alijs diuersis ex curialitate

ij s. ij d.

5

...

1459-60

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1459-60(A)
single mb (7 May 1459-26 May 1460) (*Expenses*)

10

...

Et in donis datis Ministrallis & alijs

viiij s.

...

15

1460-1

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1460-1(A)
single mb (26 May 1460-18 May 1461) (*Expenses*)

...

Et in donis datis ministrallis & Alijs

v. s.

20

...

1461-2

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1461-2(A)
single mb (18 May 1461-31 May 1462) (*Expenses*)

25

...

Et in donis datis ministrallis & Alijs

iiij s.

...

1462-3

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1462-3(A)
single mb (31 May 1462-23 May 1463) (*Expenses*)

30

...

Et in donis datis ministrallis & Alijs.

ij. s. viij. d.

...

35

1464-5

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1464-5(A)
single mb (14 May 1464-27 May 1465) (*Expenses*)

...

Et in donis datis ministrallis & Alijs diuersis per Idem tempus.

ij. s.

40

...

1465-6

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1465-6
single mb (27 May 1465-19 May 1466) (*Expenses*)

...

Et in donis datis ministrallis & Alijs mendicantibus

x. s. 5

...

1467-8

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1467-8
single mb (11 May 1467-30 May 1468) (*Expenses*)

10

...

Et in donis datis ministrallis & Alijs diuersis mendicantibus
per idem tempus

x. s.

...

15

1468-9

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1468-9
single mb (30 May 1468-15 May 1469) (*Expenses*)

...

Et in donis datis ministrallis & Alijs diuersis mendicantibus
per idem tempus

ix. s.

...

20

1469-70

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1469-70
single mb (15 May 1469-4 June 1470) (*Expenses*)

25

...

Et in donis datis ministrall(is) & Al(ijs) mendican(tibus)

viiij. s.(...)

...

30

1470-1

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1470-1
single mb (4 June 1470-27 May 1471) (*Expenses*)

...

Et in donis datis ministrallis & Alijs mendicantibus

xj. s. 35

...

1471-2

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1471-2
single mb (27 May 1471-11 May 1472) (*Expenses*)

40

...

Et in donis datis ministrallis & alijs mendicantibus

ix. s.

...

1474–5

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1474–5
single mb (23 May 1474–8 May 1475) (*Expenses*)

...
Et in donis datis ministrallis & alij(s) mendicantibus x s. vj. d. 5
...

1475–6

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1475–6
single mb (8 May 1475–27 May 1476) (*Expenses*)

...
Et in donis datis (M)inistrallis & alijs pauperibus mendicantibus x s. iij d. 10
...

1476–7

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1476–7
single mb (27 May 1476–19 May 1477) (*Expenses*)

...
Et in donis datis Minist(rallis) & alijs mendicantibus x s. vij d. 15
... 20

1477–8

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1477–8(A)
single mb (19 May 1477–4 May 1478) (*Expenses*)

...
Et in donis datis Ministrallis & alijs mendicantibus x s. viij d. 25
...

1478–9

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1478–9
single mb (4 May 1478–24 May 1479) (*Expenses*)

...
Et in donis (...) alijs (..)ndicantibus xix d. 30
...

1479–80

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1479–80
single mb (24 May 1479–15 May 1480) (*Expenses*)

...
Et in donis datis Ministrallis & alijs pauperibus medicantibus viij s. 40
...

33/ (...): gap of 40mm

40/ medicantibus for mendicantibus; abbreviation mark missing

1481-2

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1481-2
single mb (4 June 1481-20 May 1482) (*Expenses*)

...

Et in donis datis Ministrallis & alijs mendican(.) ix s. viij d. 5

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1482-3

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1482-3
single mb* (20 May 1482-12 May 1483) (*Expenses*)

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...

Et in donis datis Ministrallis & alijs mendicantibus viij s. viij (d.)

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1483-4

15

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1483-4
single mb (12 May 1483-31 May 1484) (*Expenses*)

...

Et in donis datis Ministrallis & alijs mendicantibus vj s.

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1484-5

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1484-5
single mb* (31 May 1484-16 May 1485) (*Expenses*)

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Et in donis datis Ministrallis & alijs mendicantibus v s.

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1486-7

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Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1486-7
single mb (8 May 1486-28 May 1487) (*Necessary expenses*)

...

Et in donis datis ministrallis & alijs mendicantibus v s.

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1488-9

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1488-9(A)
single mb (19 May 1488-1 June 1489) (*Necessary expenses*)

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Et in donis datis ministrallis & alijs mendicantibus v s. 40

...

1490-1

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1490-1

single mb (24 May 1490-16 May 1491) (*Necessary expenses*)

...

Et in donis datis ministrallis & alij(s) mendicantibus iiij s. iiij d. 5

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1491-2

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1491-2

single mb (16 May 1491-4 June 1492) (*Necessary expenses*)

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Et in donis datis ministrallis & alijs mendicantibus iiij s.

...

1492-3

15

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1492-3

single mb 4 June 1492-20 May 1493) (*Necessary expenses*)

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Et in donis datis ministrallis & alijs mendicantibus vj s.

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1494-5

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1494-5

single mb (12 May 1494-1 June 1495) (*Necessary expenses*)

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Et in donis datis ministrallis & alijs mendicantibus vj s.

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1495-6

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1495-6

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single mb (1 June 1495-16 May 1496) (*Necessary expenses*)

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Et in donis Datis ministrallis et alijs mendicantibus iiij s.

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1496-7

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1496-7

single mb (16 May 1496-8 May 1497) (*Necessary expenses*)

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Et in donis datis ministrallis & alijs mendicantibus (<...> s. 40

...

1497–8**Prior's Accounts** DDCM: Lytham 1497–8single mb (8 May 1497–28 May 1498) (*Necessary expenses*)

...

Et in donis datis ministrallis & alijs mendicantibus

x s. 5

...

1498–9**Prior's Accounts** DDCM: Lytham 1498–9single mb* (28 May 1498–13 May 1499) (*Necessary expenses*)

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Et in donis datis ministrallis & alijs mendicantibus

xi(j) s.

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1499–1500

15

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1499–1500single mb 13 May 1499–1 June 1500) (*Necessary expenses*)

...

Et in donis datis ministrallis & alijs mendicantibus

xij s.

...

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1500–1**Prior's Accounts** DDCM: Lytham 1500–1single mb (1 June 1500–24 May 1501) (*Necessary expenses*)

...

Et in donis datis ministrallis & alijs mendicantibus

xiiij s.

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1501–2**Prior's Accounts** DDCM: Lytham 1501–2single mb (24 May 1501–9 May 1502) (*Necessary expenses*)

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Et in donis datis ministrallis et alijs mendicantibus

xj s.

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1502–3**Prior's Accounts** DDCM: Lytham 1502–3single mb (9 May 1502–29 May 1503) (*Necessary expenses*)

...

Et in Donis datis ministrallis & alijs mendicantibus

xij s. 40

...

1503-4**Prior's Accounts** DDCM: Lytham 1503-4single mb (29 May 1503-20 May 1504) (*Necessary expenses*)

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Et in donis datis Ministrallis & alijs mendicantibus

x s. 5

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1504-5**Prior's Accounts** DDCM: Lytham 1504-5single mb (20 May 1504-5 May 1505) (*Expenses*)

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Et in Donis datis Ministrallis & alijs mendicantibus

xij s.

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1506-7

15

Prior's Accounts DDCM: Lytham 1506-7single mb (25 May 1506-17 May 1507) (*Expenses*)

...

Et in donis datis ministrallis et alijs mendicantibus

x s.

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1509-10**Prior's Accounts** DDCM: Lytham 1509-10single mb (21 May 1509-13 May 1510) (*Expenses*)

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Et in donis datis ministrallis ac alijs mendicantibus

x s.

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1514-15**Prior's Accounts** DDCM: Lytham 1514-15single mb (29 May 1514-21 May 1515) (*Expenses*)

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Et in donis datis Ministrallis & alijs

x s.

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1525-6**Prior's Accounts** DDCM: Lytham 1525-6single mb (29 May 1525-14 May 1526) (*Expenses*)

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Et in donis datis ministrallis & alijs

x s. 40

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WHALLEY ABBEY

1485

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 1 col 2 (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

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Ministrallis x d. ij d. ij d. iiij d. x d. xix d. ij d. xij d. xij d. (xij d.) vj d. xij d.
viiij d. xxij d. x d. ij d. iiij d. xx d. iiij d. ij d. (...) viij d. ij s. vj d. viij d. vj d.
iiij d.

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ductori vrsorum

vii(j d.)

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1486

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 7 col 1* (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

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(x)xij s. xj d.

Ministrallis ij s. iiij d. ij d. iiij d. iiij s. ix d. vj d. .xj d. iiij d. ij d. .vj d. ij s.
xj [s]d. viij d. vj d. iiij d. .iiij d. .viij d. x d. .viij d. x d. viij d. iiij d. ij s.
v d.

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col 2

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Ductori vrsorum

v. d.

25

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Ductori vrsorum

viij d.

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1487

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 12 col 1* (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

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Ministrallis xij d. xj d. iiij d. iiij d. v d. viij d. iiij d. iiij d. ij d. xij d. xv d.
[xx] xiiij d. viij d. x d. ij s. v d. vj d. vj d. iiij d. iiij d. ij d. iiij d. iiij d. viij d.
vj d. xij d. iiij d. v d. iiij d. viij d. j d. iiij d. iiij d. ij d. xij d. iiij d. ij s.
v d. vj d. viij

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°Summa xxiiij s. ij d.°

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18m/ (x)xij for xix (?)

27l D of Ductori written over R

37l d. omitted after viij (?)

38l xxiiij for xiiij (?)

1488

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 18 col 1 (1 January–31 December) (Gifts)

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 Ministrallis ij s. x d. iiij d. ij d. j d. iij d. iiij d. .iiij d. .viij d. xvj d. xiiij d.
 xxij d. vj d. vj d. .viij d. ij d. [viij d.] xij d. xiiij s. iij d. xij d. .ij d. ij d. xij d.
 ij d. iij d. iiij d. ij d. viij d. xij d. viij d. viij d. ij d. xij d. iiij d.

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1489

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 24 col 1 (1 January–31 December) (Gifts)

...
 Ministrallis xix d. xx d. .vj d. xj d. xix d. ij d. viij d. xiiij d. .v d. [v] ij s. x d.
 iiij d. viij d. x d. [I] .viij d. xiiij d. iij d. xij d. iij s. iij d. iiij d. ij d. x d. ij d.
 viij d. ij d. xviiij d. Item xiiij d. iiij d. ij d.

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col 2

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 [v] Custodi vrsorum

viij d.

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1490

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 30 col 1 (1 January–31 December) (Gifts)

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 Ministrallis iiij d. vj d. ij d. ij d. vj d. xij d. xj d. xxij d. xij d. ij s. iiij d. xvj d.
 xviiij d. ij d. viij d. xiiij d. xvj d. viij d. iiij d. iiij d. ij d. ij d. ij d. iiij d. xij d.
 xx d. vij d. xij d. ij d. vj d. vj d. xiiij d. vj d.

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Summa xxiiij s. ij d.

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1491

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 36 col 1 (1 January–31 December) (Gifts)

...
 Ministrallis viij d. iiij d. xij d. ij d. xviiij d. xxj d. xx d. vj d. iiij d. ij s. ij d.
 x d. ij d. xij d. xvj d. ij d. ij d. iiij d. ij d. xij d. xij d. iiij d. ij s. ij s. xxij d.
 vj d. x d. vj d. iij d. xviiij d. [xj d.]

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Summa xxvj s.

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1492

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 42 col 1 (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

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Ministrall's xiiij d. ij d. xiiij d. viij d. iij d. vj d. .iiij d. ij d. iij d. iij d.
 [xxij d.] xxij d. ij s. ij s. xij d. xvj d. xij d. viij d. xvj d. xij d. ij d. ij d. xiiij d.
 x d. vj d. xij d. iij d. ij d. xij d. iij d. x d. iij d. ij d. x d. xiiij d. ij s. iij d.
 v d. iij d.

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1493

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 48 col 1* (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

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Ministrall's ij d. ij d. ij s. iij d. ij d. xvij d. iij d. xxj d. ij s. vij d. xvij d.
 xij d. x d. xij d. xij d. viij d. vj d. xij d. vj d. vj d. iij d. vj d. vj d. ij d. viij d.
 x d. xij d. iij d. iij d. vij d. iij d. xj d. iij d. iij d. iij d. xx d. [(.)] xxij d. ij d.

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1494

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 54 col 1 (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

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Ministrall's xij d. viij d. iij d. xij d. viij d. vj d. vj d. vj d. xvij d. ij s. x d.
 xvij d. xiiij d. ij s. vj d. xvj d. ij d. xvij d. ij s. vj d. vj d. iij d. iij d. ij d.
 vij d. xij d. viij d. vj d. vj d. xvj d. xiiij d. iij d. xij d. ij d. iij d. v d. iij d.
 vj d. ij d. iij d. vj d. viij d. xij d. iij d. viij d.

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1495

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 60 col 1* (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

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Ministrall's xvj d. xxij d. xiiij d. xij d. iij d. viij d. ij d. ij d. ij d. xij d. ij d.
 xxij d. ij s. vj d. iij d. xiiij d. ij d. iij d. iij d. viij d. xij d. iij d. iij d. v d.
 iij d. iij d. xij d. viij d. ij d. iij d. iij d. viij d. iij d. xij d. vj d. xiiij d. iij d.
 iij d. ij d. vj d. xx d. vj d.

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1496

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 66 col 1 (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

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Ministrall's xj d. xij d. iiij d. viij d. iiij d. x d. vj d. xxij d. iiij s. ij d. xvj d. 5
xvj d. xj d. xx d. xij d. xiiij d. ij d. xiiij d. xiiij d. ij d. vj d. iiij d. (v)iiij d. xvj d.
vj d. ij d. iiij d. iiij d. x d. iiij d. ij d. ij d. vj d. xiij d. iiij d. viij d. iiij d. iiij d.
viij d.

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1497

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 72 col 1 (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

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Ministrall's xij d. xvj d. x d. xij d. xvj d. x d. xj d. iiij d. iiij d. ij s. vj d. ij s. 15
iiij d. xij d. xx d. ij d. vj d. xxij d. xij d. xiiij d. xiiij d. xij d. iiij d. iiij d. viij d.
iiij d. iiij d. vj d. ij d. ij d. iiij d. vj d. j d. iiij d. ij s. iiij d. iiij d. iiij d. viij d. iiij
d. ij d. viij d.

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1498

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 78 col 1 (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

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Ministrall's ij s. ij d. x d. iiij s. j d. vj d. xij d. vj d. iiij d. ij s. xxij d. xij d. 25
iiij d. xiiij d. xiiij d. xx d. viij d. viij d. iiij d. viij d. vj d. iiij d. xj d. xiiij d.
iiij d. xij d. ij d. ij d. ij d. xvj d. xiiij d. iiij d. x d. iiij d. iiij d. iiij d. xij d.
x d. ij d. ij d. vj d. ij d. iiij d. iiij d. ij d. x d.

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1499

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 84 col 1 (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

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Ministrall's xviiij d. xvj d. xvj d. iiij d. iiij d. xvj d. vj d. iiij d. ij d. ij d. ij d. 35
iiij d. xx d. xviiij d. x d. vj d. iiij d. xviiij d. xiiij d. vj d. xiiij d. iiij d. xij d.
vj d. iiij d. vj d. iiij d. vj d. iiij d. ij d. ij d. iiij d. vj d. vj d. x d. xx d. xij d.
vj d. xiiij d. vj d. iiij d. xviiij d. x d. vj d. xij d. viij d. iiij d.

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1500

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 90 col 1 (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

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Ministrallis xiiij d. ij s. xvij d. xiiij d. vj d. vij d. vj d. viij d. viij d. vj d. vj d.
 iiij d. iiij d. viij d. ij s. viij d. vj d. ij s. viij d. xvj d. vj d. vj d. viij d. iiij d. ij d.
 xij d. xvij d. viij d. ij d. iiij d. xij d. iiij d. v d. ij d. iiij d. vj d. ij s. iiij d. iiij d.
 viij d. iiij d. xij d. iiij d. xij d. iiij d. viij d. ij d. ij d. ij d. x d. viij d. ij d. viij d.
 ij s. vij d. xvij d.

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col 2

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Ductori vrsorum

vj s. viij d.

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1501

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 96 col 1 (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

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Ministrallis vj d. ij s. vj d. xij d. viij d. vj d. iiij d. xvij d. iiij d. ij d. vj d.
 iiij d. ij s. vj d. ij s. j d. viij d. xiiij d. xij d. iiij d. x d. iiij d. ij d. iiij d. vj d.
 ij d. ij d. ij d. ij d. iiij d. vj d. vj d. iiij d. vj d. iiij d. iiij d. vj d. iiij d. ij d.
 vj d. vj d. iiij d. ij s. iij s.

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col 2

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Vrsario

iij s. iiij d.

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1502

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 102 col 1 (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

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Ministrallis ij s. iiij d. xv d. xvj d. xvij d. iiij d. iiij d. iiij d. xij d. ij s. xiiij d.
 ij s. iiij d. xvj d. vj d. iiij d. xij d. x d. vj d. iiij d. ij d. viij d. vj d. iiij d. iiij d.
 ij d. iiij d. xij d. viij d. j d. xij d. viij d. x d. xij d. vj d. viij d. ij d. ij d. iiij d.
 iiij d. ij d. x d. ij d. xvij d.

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col 2

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Vrsario

ij s. Item xx d.

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1503

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 108 col 1 (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

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Ministrallis ij s. viij d. xij d. iiij d. iiij d. viij d. vj d. vj d. vj d. viij d. iiij d. xiiij d. iiij d. ij s. iiij d. xij d. iiij d. viij d. x d. xij d. iiij d. vj d. iiij d. ij d. iiij d. vj d. ij d. ij d. ij d. vj d. x d. xx d. xxij d. vj d. xij d. xij d. viij d. iiij d. ij d. xiiij d.

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col 2

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Vrsario

iiij s. iiij d.

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1504

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 115 col 1 (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

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Ministrallis xvj d. xiiij d. xij d. xij d. iiij d. ij d. vj d. ij s. vj d. ij s. vj d. xij d. iiij d. iiij d. iiij d. xiiij d. ij d. iiij d. ix d. xvj d. iiij d. xviiij d. iiij d. iiij d. ij d. iiij d. vj d. ij d. viij d. ij d. viij d. viij d. iiij d. xviiij d. ij d. vj d. viij d. vj d. ij d. ij s. ij d. vj d.

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1505

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 121 col 1 (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

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Ministrallis xviiij d. vj d. xx d. viij d. iiij d. vj d. xvj d. vj d. x d. xij d. viij d. iiij d. iiij d. vj d. vj d. iiij d. ij d. ij d. vj d. xiiij d. iiij d. ij d. xvj d. ij d. ij d. xij d. ij d. iiij d. viij d. vj d. ij s. ij d.

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col 2

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Vrsario

iiij s. iiij d.

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1509

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 132 col 1 (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

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Ministrallis ij s. iiij d. ij s. vj d. / xij d. vj d. iiij d. vj d. ij d. xx d. ij d. ij d.
 ij d. ij d. ij s. iiij d. ij d. iiij d. x d. x d. xvj d. xj d. vj d. vj d. viij d. iiij d.
 xvj d. vj d. xiiij d. [v] viij d. ij d. iiij d. ij d. ij d. iiij s. x d.

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Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 138 col 1 (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

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Ministrallis iij s. vij d. xij d. xx d. vij d. xij d. viij d. [v] iiij d. iiij d. xiiij d.
 viij d. xvj d. xij d. iiij d. xij d. x(.) d. ij d. xx d. ij s. x. d. viij d. viij d. xij d.
 j d. ij d. / viij d. iij d. xvj d.

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col 2

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vrsario

v s.

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vrsario

iij s. iiij d.

1511

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 144 col 1 (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

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Ministrallis iiij s. viij d. [(xij d.)] x d. vj s. viij d. iiij d. ijd. iiij d. xvj d.
 iiij d. xij d. viij d. viij d. vj d. viij d. x d. vj d. iij d. xx d. xvj d. ij s. iij s.
 viij d. iij s. iiij d. iij s. iiij d. vj d. iiij d. iiij d. iij d. xiiij d. iij s.

xl s. vij d.

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col 2

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vrsario

iij s. iiij d.

35

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Vrsarijs

v s. viij d.

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1512

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 150 col 1 (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

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Ministrallis iij s. v d. xij d. xvj d. xvj d. iiij d. ij d. ij d. ij d. iiij d. xvj d.
 viij d. iiij d. viij d. vj d. vj d. ij d. vj d. vj d. x d. xij d. xvj d. ij s. vj d. vj d.
 xij d. vj d. vj d. x d. iiij d. ij d. iiij s. iiij d. v s.

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1513

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 155 col 1* (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

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Ministrallis ij s. viij d. viij d. iij d. ij d. xij d. x d. xij d. xvj d. xvj d. xj d.
 vj d. vj d. vij d. xvj d. iiij d. iij d. vj d. xij d. vj d. iiij d. iiij d. ij d. xvj d.
 xvj d. iiij s. iiij d. vj d. iiij d. iiij d. vj d. iiij d. viij s.

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col 2

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Vrsario

v s.

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1514

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 161 col 1* (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

...

Ministrallis ij s. vj d. iiij d. xvij d. viij d. vj d. viij d. xij d. xij d. vj d. xij d.
 iiij d. viij d. viij d. vj d. viij d. iiij d. iiij d. xvj d. viij d. viij ij d. iij s. (iiij) d.
 iiij s. viij d. xij d. iiij d. xvj d. iiij d. ij d. xij d. iiij d. (x)iiij d. viij d. vj d.
 ij d. vj d. ij d. ij d. v s. iiij d.

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col 2

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vrsario

v s.

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30/ s. omitted after viij (?)

1515

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 167 col 1 (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

...

Ministrallis xij d. viij d. iiij d. iiij d. iiij d. xij d. x d. viij d. xij d. xiiij d. x d. 5
 vj d. iiij d. vj d. xvj d. iij d. ij d. xij d. iiij d. viij d. viij d. vj d. xvj d. viij d.
 xj d. iiij d. vj d. iiij d. vj d. iij d. vj d. xv d.

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col 2

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vrsario

v s. Item iij s. iiij d.

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vrsario

viij s.

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f 167v col 1

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vrsario

v s.

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1516

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 173 col 1 (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

...

Ministrallis xx d. viij d. vij d. ij d. iij d. ij d. ij s. ij d. xiiij d. xiiij d. v d. iiij d. 25
 xiiij d. vj d. xij d. xxij d. iiij d. iij s. iiij d. iiij d. xiiij d. iiij d. xij d. xij d. xij d.
 vj d. xvj d. xij d. viij d. xij d. iij d. vj d. xij d. xj d. ij s. x d.

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col 2

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vrsario

vj s. viij d.

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1517

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 179 col 1 (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

...

Ministrallis iij s. iiij d. iiij s. iiij d. iiij d. viij d. viij d. ij s. ij s. vj d. vj d. xvj d. 40

vij d. xiiij d. vj d. viij d. ix d. iij d. iij d. xij d. viij d. xij d. iij s. vj d. xij d.
xij d. xij d. ij d. xij d. iij d. ij s. vj d.

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col 2

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Vrsario

v s.

...

Vrsario

ij s. vj d.

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Vrsarijs

xiiij s. iij d. Item iij s. iij d. Item iij s.

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1518

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

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f 186 col 1 (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

...

Ministrallis xij d. ij s. vj d. xiiij d. ij d. xij d. iij d. xiiij d. iij s. iij d. viij d.
x d. xij d. iij d. vj d. vj d. viij d. xij d. viij d. iij d. vj d. xx d./ xij d. xijij d.
ij d. vj d. iij d. viij d. vij s. xij d.

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col 2

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vrsario

iij s. iij d. Item vij s.

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1519

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 193 col 1 (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

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Ministrallis v s. ij d. xiiij d. xij d. vj d. iij d. viij d. vj d. vj d. iij d. ij d. ij d.
xij d. viij d. xvj d. viij d. viij d. vj d. iij d. ij s. iij d. xvj d. xvj d. xx d. xx d.
viij d. iij d. iij d. iij d. viij d. iij d. iij d. viij d. iij s. iij d. x d. iij d. viij d.
vj d. xij d. xx d. iij s. vj d.

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col 2

Vrsario

ij s. viij d. vj d.

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iij s. viij d. xij d. v s. iij s. iij d. xx d.

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1520

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5f 199, col 1 (1 January-31 December) (*Gifts*)

...

Ministrallis iij s. iiij d. ij s. iiij d. viij d. xij d. iiij d. iiij d. xx d. vj s. viij d. 5
 xvj d. iij s. ij d. xij d. viij d. viij d. xij d. vj d. iiij d. viij d. iiij d. vj d. iiij d.
 x d. viij d. viij d. vj d. iiij d. iiij d. iiij d. ij d. iij s. xxiiij d. xij d. xvj d. viij d.
 ix d. x s.

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col 2 10

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Vrsar' ij s. viij d. Item iiij s.

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Bursars' Accounts LRO: DDT0/B 21/1-6 15single mb col 2* (*Gifts*)

...

Ministrallys xliiij s.

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Vrsar' x s. 20

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1521

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5 25f 205 col 1 (1 January-31 December) (*Gifts*)

...

Ministrallis iij s. iiij d. x d. xij d. xvj d. xviiij d. ij d. iij d. ij s. ij d. iij s. iiij d.
 xx d. iij s. iiij d. xvj d. ij s. viij d. xij d. ij s. viij d. xij d. xiiij d. iij s. iiij d.
 xij d. xij d. viij d. xij d. xij d. xvj d. vj d. vj d. vj d. iiij d. iiij d. vj d. iiij d. 30
 v s. iiij d.

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col 2 35

...

Vrsario xij d. Item iij s. iiij d. Item ij s. iiij d. Item xij d.

...

A **Bursars' Accounts** BL: Harley MS 2064f 95 col 1* (*Gifts*) 40

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Ministrallis 2 4 0

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Vrsarijs

0 10 0

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1522

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

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f 211 col 1 (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

...

Ministrallis iij s. viij d. vj s. vj d. iiij d. .iiij d. xvj. d. xij. d. xiiij d. iiij. d.

iij s. .v s. .xx. d. vj. d. viij d. iiij s. ij. d./ iiij. d. iiij. d./ xvj d. .x. d. iiij d.

.viij. d. xij d. .vj d. viij. d./ iiij d. .iiij d. .iiij d. .ij d. iiij d. .vj s. viij. d. v s.

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col 2

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Vrsarijs

xx d.

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1523

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

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f 217 col 1 (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

...

Ministrallis iij s. iiij. d. iiij d. xx d. xix d. .ij d. .ij. d. iiij. d. xij d. xij d.

xx. d./ xij. d. x d. .xvj d. .xvj. d. xij d. .vj d. .vj. d./ iiij. d. vj. d. iiij. s. x d./

xx. d. ij s. iiij. d. iiij. d. xij d. iiij d. vj d. .vj s. viij d. .iiij s. ij d.

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col 2

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Vrsario cum alijs

iij s. Item xij d.

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1524

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

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f 224 col 1 (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

...

Ministrallis iij s. iiij. d. viij d. xvj d. .xvj d. .iiij d./ ij. s. iij. s. xij d. ij s. vj. d.

vj d. .x d. .ij. s. x d. .iiij d. xij d. .xx d. .ij. s./ iiij. d./ vj. d. iiij d. iiij. d./

xvj d./ iiij. d. vj d. .iiij d. vj d. .viij d. iiij s. vj d. .iiij s. iiij d.

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1525

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 230 col 1 (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

...

Ministrallís v. s. ij s. vj d. iiij. d./ viij. d. vj d. xx. d./ iiij. d. xvj d. iiij d. iiij d. 5
 .ij. d. iiij. d. iiij d. .ij d. xiiij d. .iiij s. xiiij d. .iiij s. viij d./ xvj d. xiiij. d. xij d.
 .vj d. .xij. d. iiij d. vj d. .xx. d. iiij. d. iiij. d. iiij. d. xx d. .iiij d. .xx d. .viij d.
 .xij d. xij d. ij s. viij d. v s. iiij d.

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col 2

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Vrsar'

vj s. viij d. Item xx d.

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1526

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 236 col 1 (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

...

Ministrallís. iiij s. iiij. d. xvj. d. iiij d. Item ij s. viij d? Item xx. d. iiij s. viij. d. 20
 xx d. Item xx d. Item xiiij d. xvj. d. viij d. Item xiiij d. Item x d? Item viij d.
 Item .viij d. Item iiij d. Item xij d. Item xix. d. Item ij. s. Item viij d. .ij. s.
 Item x. d. Item iiij d. Item ij. s. Item vj. d. Item vj. d. x. d. iiij. d. ij. d. viij d.
 Item iiij d. Item .iiij s. viij. d. Item vij s. viij d.

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col 2

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Vrsario

iiij. s.

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1527

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 242 col 1 (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

...

Ministrallís vj. s. Item xvj. d. Item vij d. viij. d. ij s. ij. d. viij. d. ij. d. ij. d.
 ij s. iiij. s. xx. d. iiij s. viij d. xvj. d. ij s. ij d. Item vj. d. Item vj. d. Item ij. d.
 Item xij. d. Item iiij d. Item x d. Item xij. d. Item ij. d. Item ij. d. v. d. xij d.
 iiij. d. iiij d. .xxij d? xiiij. d. xiiij d. Item vj d. viij d. Item vj. d. iiij s. viij d.

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col 2

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Vrsario

xx d. Item xvj d. Item ij s.

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1528

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 248 col 1 (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

...

Ministrall's v s. vj. d. ix d. xiiij d. viij. d. ij s. x d. .ij s. iiij. d. v s. vj. d.

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xiiij d. vj. d. ij s. ij. d. vj. d. iiij. d. iiij. d. viij. d. xij. d. vj. d. xvj. d./

xiiij d. xij d. viij. d. xvij d. .vj. d. xvj. d. xij. d. viij. d. ij d. x. d. x d. .vj d.

.v. s. vj s. viij. d. xij d. x d.

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15

col 2

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Vrsar'

xvj d. Item xij d. Item xij d.

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1529

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 254 col 1 (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

...

Ministrall's xx d. vj. d. xvj d. viij. d. ij. s. ij s. .ij. d. x. d. iiij. s. v. s. ij s. iiij d.

25

xij. d. xiiij d. v. d. vj. d. xij. d. vj. d. xvj d. iiij. d. xvj d. Item xij d. .xij. d. x d.

.vj d. vj d. .iiij. d. xij. d. xvj d. xij. d. iiij. d. iiij d. iiij. d. v d. .x d. .x d. x d.

.vj d. viij s.

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col 2

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Vrsar'

xij d. Item ij s.

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1530

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 260 col 1 (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

...

Ministrall's iiij s. viij d. x. d. xiiij d. .xvj. d. x. d. viij. d. xx. d. vj. s. x. d.

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xij. d. xij. d./ iiij d. .iiij s. .iiij. d. .ij s. vj. d. vj. d./ vj. d./ x d. .iiij. s. viij d.

.iiij d. vj d. xx d. .x s.

...

col 2

...

Vrsar'

xij d. Item xij d. Item iij s. iij d.

...

1531

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 265v col 1 (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

...

Ministrall's vj. s. iij d. ij s. viij d. .ij s. iij d. .iij s. viij d. viij d. ij d. .xx. d.
 xij d. .xij d. .xij. d. viij. d. viij. d./ xvj d. 'princess(e)z' .x s. viij d. vj s. viij. d.
 ij d. .x d. .xxij. d. xij d. xij. d. viij. d. iij. d. iij d. .vj. d. viij. d. iij d. ij d.
 ij d. iij s. vj. d.

...

col 2

...

Vrsar'

xx d. Item xvj d.

...

1532

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 271 col 1* (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

...

Ministrall's iij s. viij d. ij s. .xx d. .xvj d. vj d. .xij d. vj. d. iij. d. viij d. ij. s./
 xij. d./ xvj d. x d. x d. .iij. d. xvj. d./ vij s. x d. vj. d. ij s. xiiij. d. ij. s. v s./
 xviiij. d./ ij s. .xiiij d. viij. d./ xij. d./ iij d. .vj d./ viij. d./ xx d. iij s. vj d.

.. :...

...

col 2

...

Vrsar'

xx d.

...

1533

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 277 col 1 (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

...

Ministrall's. viij s. .iij s. ij s. x. d./ ij s./ xvj. d./ vj. d./ viij d. .ij d. iij d./
 .xvj. d./ xiiij. d./ ij. s. iij. d./ xviiij d. xij. d./ xij. d./ iij. s./ iij d. .vij d.
 iij d./ xvj d./ xvj d./ .xx d? v s./ xij d. iij d./ viij d. .viij d. .v s. .v s.

...

col 2

...

Vrsar'

xij d. Item xx d.

...

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1534

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 283 col 1* (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

...

Ministrall's iij s. x. d. xvj d. .iij s. vj d./ xvj d./ ij. s./ xvj. d. /iiij d./ xvj d.

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.xx. d. iiij s./ v s. xx d./ viij d. xij. d. viij d./ ij. s. xij d./ xx d./ x d. vj d./ ij s.

.viij d./ iiij d./ ij d./ xvj. d. viij. d. iiij. d./ vj s. x d./ vij s. viij d.

... . :

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1535

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 289 col 1 (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

...

Ministrall's .iiij s. iiij d. .iij s. iiij. d. ij s. viij d./ ij s. x d. viij d./ iiij d./ ij. d.

20

xij d. .xxij d. .xij d./ ij d./ vj. d./ xij. d./ viij d. ij s. viij d./ iiij s. viij d. .ij. s./

ij s. vj d./ xx s. vj s./ xx d./ xx d./ vj s./ xx. d. vj d. x s. x. d./ viij. d. viij. d./ xvj d. .ix s. viij d. v s. ij. d.

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col 2

...

Vrsario

viij d. Item viij d.

...

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1536

Bursars' Accounts MCLA: L1/47/5

f 295 col 1* (1 January-31 December) (Gifts)

...

Ministrall's iij. s./ iij s. iiij d./ .iij s./ xx. d./ vj d. viij d. xx d. xij d. .xiiij d.

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iiij s. iiij d. x d./ iiij. s. .xij d./ vj d./ xij d./ xx d./ xvj. d. .x. d. iiij d./ ij d./

ij s./ x d./ xviiij. d. (v)iiij. d. xij d./ vj d./ iiij d./ xx d./ xxij d. .viij s.

.. :. :.

...

col 2

...

Vrsar'

ij s.

...

5

1536/7***Bursars' Accounts*** MCLA: L1/47/5f 301 col 1* (1 January-March) (*Gifts*)

...

Ministrall's ij s. vj. d. x d./ xxij d. .ij s. ij d. .iij s. vj d./

10

...

Vrsarijs

iiij s. iiij d.

...

Inventory of Abbey Goods PRO: E 36/154

15

p 183* (24 March) (*Plate remaining in the bursars' house*)

The Inventorye of all the goodes belonging. vnto the monasterie of Whalley.
taken by the Erle of Sussex and. other of the kinges Counseill the xxiiijth
day of marche in the xxviiij yere of the reigne of our souereigne lorde kyng
henry the eighte/

20

...

Item a Minstrelles Skochyn and a litle Scochen wāth a black lyon

...

25

Households

ASSHETON OF DOWNHAM

AC 1617

Journal of Nicholas Assheton of Downham Whitaker: *History of Whalley*
p 300* (1 June)

5

...

Mr *Christopher Parkinson* moved my brother Sherborne from Sir Richard Houghton, to do him such favor, countenance, grace, curtesie, as to weare his clothe, and attend him at Houghton, at ye kings comming in August, as divers other gentlemen were moved and would. He likewise moved mee. I answered I would bee willing and redie to doe *Sir Richard* anie service.

10

...

p 303* (15 July)

15

...

To Dunkenhalth. Dyned. Preston; musick; dancing.

...

(18 July)

20

Sir *Richard* and Mr. Assheton made a match, dunn gelding *against* a dunn nagg of Sir *Richards* at Lirpoole, for 20 pieces a side; Sir *Richard* and my Coozen to ride light as they can, so as Sir *Richard* be ten stone.

25

...

p 304* (25 July)

...

St. James Day. At Whalley: ther a rushbearing, but much less solemnitie than formerlie. Spent xij d....

30

...

(13 August)

To Mirescough; the court. Coozen Assheton came with his gentlemanlie servants as anie was ther, and himself excellently well appointed. The King killed five bucks. The Kinges speche *about* libertie to pipeing and honest recreation. We that were in Sir Richards livery had nothing to do but riding upp and downe.

...

(15 August)

The King came to Preston: ther, at the crosse, Mr. Breares, the lawyer, made a speche, and the corporation presented him with a bowle; and then the King went to a banquet in the town-hall, and soe away to Houghton: ther a speche made. Hunted, and killed a stagge. Wee attend on the Lord's table.

...

p 305* (17 August)

...

Houghton. Wee served the lords with biskett, wyne, and jellie. The Bushopp of Chester, Dr. Morton, *preched* before the King. To dinner. *About* 4 o'clock, ther was a rushbearing and pipeing afore them, affore the King in the middle court; then to supper. Then, *about* ten or eleven o'clock, a maske of noblemen, knights, gentlemen, and courtiers, afore the King, in the middle round, in the garden. Some speeches: of the rest, dancing the Huckler, Tom Bedlo, and the Cowp Justice of Peace.

...

p 309 (30 December)

...To Whalley ward. Had young Mr. Holden's company to Haslingden. Staid all night at Abbey: verie merrie all with dancing....

...

1617/18

AC *Journal of Nicholas Assheton of Downham* Whitaker: *History of Whalley*
p 309 (6 January)

...Twelfth-day. At night some companie from Reead came a Mumming; was kindly taken: but they were but Mummers....

1618

AC *Journal of Nicholas Assheton of Downham* Whitaker: *History of Whalley*
p 312* (2 June)

...Wee all to Prescod to a cocking. Sir *Richard* Coozen Assheton to Leaver. Sir 5
John Talbot, of Bashall, Coozen Braddyll, &c very pleasant. Tabled all night...

(19 July)

...Sherborne, Starkee, &c. to Clitheroe: staid drinking some wyne: soe to a 10
summer game: Sherburne's mare run, and lost the bell: made merrie: staid
until, &c. 2 o'clock at Downham....

1618/19

AC *Journal of Nicholas Assheton of Downham* Whitaker: *History of Whalley* 15
p 312 (7 January)

...With Coozen Assheton home. Maskeing, gameing, other friendlie sports....

ASSHETON OF GREAT LEVER AND WHALLEY 20

1588

Inventory of Goods of Ralph Assheton the Elder

JRUL: Suffield deposit, no 19

p [11]*

25

...

The newe parler

...

Item one pare of virginales

vj s. viij d.

...

30

1616

Inventory of Goods of Ralph Assheton the Younger GMRO: E7/27/2/5

p [2]* (25 June)

...

35

In the Buttery Chamber

...

Item a chest & vj violins

C s.

...

5/ to Leaver for of Leaver (?)

6/ Tabled: in italic type in Whitaker's edition, probably representing italic script or underlining in original

p [3]*

...

In the dyneinge parlour

...

Item a paire of double virginalls

xx li.

5

...

p [4]

...

In the Chamber next to the Nurcery

...

Item two Trunckes & one hot boye

x s.

10

...

p [6]

...

In the Midle Chamber

...

Item two old paire of virginalls

xiiij s. iiij d.

20

...

1628

Bond for Robert Deane, Servant LRO: QSB 1/49/10

single sheet*

25

Recognicio capta coram Iusticiario predicto die et anno predictis &c:
 Robertus Deane de Boulton husbandman tentur domino Regi pro seipso
 in x l.

Iohannes Deane de Whalley in comitatu lancastrie yeoman tentur Domino
 Regi in x l.

30

Sub Condicionē that the said Robert Deane shalbe and personallie appeare
 before his Maiesties Iustices of peace at the next generall quarter Sessions
 holden at Preston in Amoundernes in the countie of lancaster then and there
 to answer vnto such Matters of Misdemanor as at his comeinge shalbe laied
 vpon him concerninge the takeinge a Tribble viall out of a Chist of Sir Raphe
 Asshton house of leaver. And doe not from thence depart without due Order
 of ye Court that then this Recognizance to bee voyd or otherwise in force to
 remaine &c.

35

ad Respondendum

° Comparuit exoneratur per dominum°

(signed) Iohn Braddyll

40

° Irrotuletur° 2/4/

Examination of Robert Deane, Servant LRO: QSB 1/49/38
single sheet* (15 December)

The examinacion of Robert Deane of Boulton in ye countie of lancaster
husbandman taken at Whalley in the said countie before Iohn Braddyll
Esquier one of his Maiesties Iustices of peace within this countie the xvth daye
of december 1628

5

Beinge examined Confesseth & saith that hee beinge a hired servant to Sir
Raphe Asshton of greate leaver, had free accesse to goe into any place of his
said house at leaver where this examinent dwelled, and that hee tooke an
Instrument called a tribble viall forth of a Chist which was open in the said
house of leaver and lent yt to a neighbor for three weekes and afterwards
beinge att want of money, panded the said instrument to another man

10

(signed) Iohn Braddyll

15

1628/9

Presentment of Robert Deane, Servant LRO: QSR 25 1628
mb 46d* (14 January)

Sessions held at Preston before Sir Ralph Assheton, Sir Gilbert Hoghton,
Robert Blundell, Alexander Rigby of Burgh, Radcliff Assheton, protonotary
of the county palatine, Edward Veale, John Starkey, and Richard Burgh,
justices of the peace

20

...

Et quod Robertus Deane nuper de magna leaver in comitatu lancastrie
husbandman vicesimo die Octobris Anno Regni Regis domini Caroli Anglie
&c quarto apud leaver predictam in comitatu predicto vj et armis vnum
Instrumentum anglice vocatum a tribble vyall ad valenciam octo denariorum de
bonis et cattallis [^][domini] Radulphi Ashton baronet adtunc et ibidem
Inventis et existentibus [fecit] cepit et asportabit contra pacem dicti domini
regis coronam et dignitatem Suas

25

30

...

ASSHETON OF MIDDLETON

35

1618

Inventory of Goods of Richard Assheton LRO: WCW 1618
mb 2 (24 November)

...

In the parlor

40

...

Item j paire of virginalles

xx s.

...

BANKES OF WINSTANLEY

1617

Inventory of James Bankes LRO: WCW 1617

mb 1 (12 August)

...

Item a pare of virginalls

XXX s.

...

BRUCHE OF BRUCHE

1589/90

Indenture between Roger Bruche and Sir Peter Legh

JRUL: Legh of Lyme Deeds Box R, B No 20

single mb (17 February)

This Indenture, made the °seavent(e)enth° day of ffebruary(e) in the twoo
 and Thirtieth yere of the Raigne of our soveraigne ladye Elizabeth by the
 grace of god of England ffraunce and Ireland Queene defendor of the faith,
 Betwene Peter Leigh of the lyme in the Countie of Chester esquier vpon
 thone partie, and Roger Bruche of Bruche in the Countie of lancaster
gentleman vpon thother partie, witneseth That, wheras the said Roger
 Bruche by one Recognisance or writing obligatorye of the nature of a statute
 Staple bearing date with these *presentes*, taken and knowleged before Sir
 °Edmond Anderson° knight lord chief Iustice of the °comen ples° standeth
 bounden to the said Peter leigh in the summe of one hundreth poundes as
 by the said Recognisance or writing obligatorye doth & may appere, Now
 the said Peter leigh doth covenant and graunt for himself his executors and
 administrators, to and with the said Roger Bruche his heyres executors
 administrators and assignes by these *presentes*, That if the said Roger Bruche
 do not at any tyme during his life play at dice or Cardes except in the
presence of the said Peter leigh and by his consent, And also if the said Roger
 Bruche do not at any tyme during his life play at Tables or Bowles or at any
 other play or game, above xij d. a game, nor do not vye or bett at Tables or
 bowles above xij d. a game, nor do not shoote bett or lay vpon any one
 matche shooting, or bett at any one matche shootinge above Twentie
 shillinges, nor do not make or fight any battell at any Cockfight above twoo
 shillinges a battell, nor lay nor hold any bett or wager at Cockfight above
 twoo shillinges at any one battell, nor do not become bounden iointlye or

17/ This Indenture: *written in display script*20/ Betwene: *written in display script*22/ witneseth: *written in display script*

severallye with or for any person or persons, or as suertie with or for
any person in any bond or somme whatsoever without the consent of
the said Peter leigh first had and obteyned in writinge, That then the said
Recognisance or writing obligatorye shall be of no force, or els shall stand
in full strengthe and effect, In witnes wherof the parties abovenamed to
these *presentes* interchangeablye haue putt their handes and Seales the day
and yere above written./.../

(signed) Roger bruche

dorse

°Sealed & deliuered by the said Roger Bruch
in the presence of vs° (signed) peter warburton
Roger downes
Thomas Allott

BUTLER OF BEWSEY

1579

Household Accounts and Inventory of Sir Thomas Butler

BL: Add. MS 36926

f 111v* (18–21 October)

...

Item delyuered my master that he paide for horsemeate in
manchester at my Ladies firste beinge there with xij d. to
Sir Edmund Traffer mynstrells

...

CLIFTON OF LYTHAM

1634

Inventory of Sir Cuthbert Clifton LRO: WCW 1634

mb 4 (25 April)

...

In Mr: waltons chamber

...

Item one Chist with Instruments of Musique

...

5/ In witnes: written in display script

25/ my master: Edward Butler, son of Sir Thomas

13–14/ Sealed ... vs: probably in Warburton's hand

26/ my Ladies: Margaret Butler, Edward's wife

Item one Lute

1 10 0

...

FARINGTON OF WORDEN

1608/9

Letter of William Farington the Younger to his Father

LRO: DDF 2438/103

single sheet* (7 February)

My hvmble Dvty remembered &c./. I will not trooble yow at this tyme (good ffather) with many Circvmstances, only thussmvche I thowght good to certiffy [^][yow] that when I am in London I am for the most part with Alderman ffarington whoe doth vse mee very kyndly when I Comm vnto hym. But as ffor any other hope to receave any proffitt by hym but his Cowntinance & good Cheare, *which* I doe cheeffly respect ffor my Credit, I ame altogether owte of hope. And althoe I doe exspect but smale kindnes to comm as yt were owte of his pvrse, yet will I handle the matter soe wi(ss)el(y) god willinge), as that his Cowntinance will dowe mee greate(r) good then an hundreth Powndes in gowld./. If yt will please god to blesse mee with grace, lyffe, & health, & that yow will stand my kynde ffather, I make noe dowbt but I shall worcke my selffe fforth very shortly of all my troobles./ I have none soe great enymeas as my owne kynssmen & Covyntymen,: But let them doe theire worst, & combyne them [them] selffes together to dowe mee all the villany they can: Yet I trust in god to lyve in despyte of them all, & to bringe my bussiness to a good end with Comfforth./

ffor Newes I thowght good to let yow vnderstande that vpon Candlemas night last there was a most statly Maske at the Cowrt, performed by the Queene, and the Ladyes, *which* as yt is thowght by them that had a hand in that bussines, Cost at the least (towe) thowsande Powndes./. The Commonalty doe somewhat (murmur) at suche vaine expences, and thinckes that that mony wich (was) bestowed thes waies, might have bene conferred vpon better vses. But Quod supra nos, nihill ad nos./

Vpon the Sondag last at the Cowrt there grewe some vnkindnes betwene the Dvke. of lynax, and the Lord Haddington, commonly called Lord Ramsey./. they are both Skottssmen, and had yt not beene that the kynge hadd present notyce thereof, there had groen great Inconvenience therevpon.

Sir I was soe bowld as by my last letter to entreate yow and my mother ffor a Coople of the best Cheeses, *which* yf yt shall please yow to satisfy, I shall (god willinge) err longe salve yowe with a more kynde & dvttifull remembrance./ If yt shall pleas(e) yow to send them, I woulde very willingly have them left

19/ opening bracket omitted before god

33/ Quod ... nos: 'What is above us is no concern of ours'

with Master Ellys Sompner, at the signe of the Bell, in ffryday street. And thus
 cravinge Pardon ffor my Bowldnes moste hvmbly desiringe your Blessinge with
 my mothers I most dvtiffully take my leave. Beseechinge the Almighty to blesse
 yow & youre, and to send yow as mvche Comfforth as your hart desires./
 ffrom Alderman ffarington(s) howsse, this seaventh day of ffebruarij: 1608

5

your dvtiffull Sonne till death

(signed) W Farington

FLEETWOOD OF PENWORTHAM

10

1625

Will of Richard Fleetwood PRO: PROB 10 Box 439

f 3* (Probated 8 July 1626)

...

Item I give and bequeath unto my daughter Katherine both my lutes and
 the playeing instruments which standeth in the Parler and the Royalls.

15

...

HESKETH OF RUFFORD

20

1620

Inventory of Robert Hesketh LRO: WCW 1620

mb 7* (16 November)

...

Instrumentes of Musicque praised

25

Imprimis Vyolls & vyol(..)tes with Chist for them

vij li.

(...) paire of Virginalls

l s.

(...) Chist of Wynd Instrumentes Sagbutts, Howboies & Cornetts

ij li.

Item more Vyols violen, Cithron flute in veluet Case, taber pypes

iiij li.

Item a Chist with Musicque bookes in

vj s. viij d.

30

Item one Coach & all ffurniture thereto belonginge

vj li. i3 s. 8 d.

...

HOGHTON OF HOGHTON TOWER

35

c 1578

Letter of Thomas Hoghton to his Brother Richard

JRUL: English MS 213, letter 8

single sheet* (6 April)

Trusty & welbeloved these may be to Singnifye vnto you I have Receaved your

40

letter of the xiiijth of marche wherin I doe vnderstand 'you' [(.)] wold be
 glad to have me at home, I wold be as glade to be at home as you wold have
 me/ but not as you wryt vnto me without lysence/ also you wryt vnto me
 that antony Stamper & Mr ottwey should geve coppes out of my letters yf yt
 be trew I have kepte them to longe wherfore I wold desyre you to send me
 word by your letter what *profe* you have of yt/ for tyll I heare *from* you by
 your letter I can hardly beleve yt/ I have spoken wth them & they doe deny
 yt/ & desyre me to try yt to the vttermost/ wherfore I wold have you to send
 me all the *profe* you can therof/ I have Receaved o(ne) other letter from you
 of the xxth of marche/ wherin yo(u) doe wryte my lord keper & the queens
 Attorney genar(al) hathe comanded you that you shal not meyntheyne neth(er)
 bryan nor any that comes *from* me/ yet my trust is you will not see them
 want yf nede shall Requyre & (I) am glad they gave you no comandement
 conserninge my selfe/ I have wryten you a letter hertofore in the faufore of
 my yonge men desyringe you to be good to them & see they shall not want/
 I trust you will doe accordinge to my Request ether prevely or othe(r) wyse
 althoghe you have suche streyt comandement I am sore that all these trobles
 comes of my brether the *which* I never dezerved vnto them/ & that you and
 all the countrey dothe know welinoghe, I myst be content & have pasyence
 & Refarre all to god & let him doe his will, for I see yt is my fortune to be
 playdd in this world/ but yt is as welcom to me as all the pleyasure I have had
 afortyme in this misarable worl(d) the world laghes at my brether at this
 present [A] and yt lookes sowrely on me/ I geve god thankes as well for my
 parte as they for thers/ I wuld have you to send for my virgenals *which* is at
 the lea to yor howse/ & then you may 'let' Little antony have them to exersys
 his handes/ you may lett my brether vnderstand/ that I am sore they take
 suche weyes/ I never geving them cause, I wold be glad to here of ther
 amendment/ Thus Restinge to trouble you any further *from* aquisgreyn this
 vjth of apreyll (*blank*) by yor lovinge brother
 (signed) Thomas Hoghton.

1617

Welcoming Speech to James I LRO: DDHo 474

ff [1–1v]* (15 August)

A Speech made to Kinge Iames at his comeinge
 to Hoghton Tower; by two conceaved to be
 the Household Gods. Iuly i6i7.

The first attyr'd in a purple Taffata

21/ playdd *for* playgd (?)28/ aquisgreyn: *Aachen, now in Germany*38/ i6i7 *underlined in ms*

Mantle in one hand a Palme Tree
 branch, on his head a Garland of the
 same, & in the other hand a Dogge; begins

This day (Great Kinge for Government admir'd)
 which these thy Subjects have soe much desir'd 5
 Shall be kept holy, in their Hearts best Treasure
 and vow'd to Iames, as is this month to Cæsar.
 And now the Landlord of this Antient Tower
 Thrice fortunate to see this happy hower
 Whose trembling heart thy presence sett's on fire, 10
 vnto this House (the heart of all the Shire)
 does bid thee hearty welcome, and would speake it
 In higher Notes, but extreame Loy doth breake it
 Hee makes his Guest most welcome, in whose eyes
 Love tears doe sitt, not he that shouts & cries. 15
 And we the Gods and Guardians of this place,
 I, of this House, he of the fruitfull Chase,
 since first the Hoghtons from this Hill tooke name,
 who with the Stiffe vnbridled Saxons came
 And soe have flourisht in this fairer Clyme 20
 successively from that, to this our Tyme.
 Still offeringe vpp to our Imortall powers
 sweet Incense, wyne, & odoriferous flowers
 while sacred Vesta (in her virgin tyre)
 with vowes & wishes tend the hallowed fire, 25
 Now seeinge that thy Majestye we see
 (Greater then Countrey Gods more good then wee)
 wee render vpp to thy more powerfull Guard
 this House, this Knight t'is thyne he is thy ward:
 for by thy helpeinge & auspicious hand 30
 he & his house shall ever, ever stand:
 and flourish in despight of envious fate
 and thou Live (like Augustus) fortunate
 And longe, longe, mayst thou live to which both men
 Gods, Saints, & Angells, say Amen, Amen. 35

verte l

The seacond Tutelar God begins:

Thou greatest of Mortalls! [he's non-plust.

24/ n of virgin corrected from another letter

30/ second u of auspicious corrected from another letter

39/ [he's non-plust: [scribal, to set off stage direction

The 1st God begins againe:

Dread Lord! the Splendor and the glorious Raye,
 of thy high Majestye hath stricken dumbe
 his weaker God-head; if t^hhimselfe he come
 vnto thy service straight he will comend
 These fforresters, and charge them to attend
 Thy pleasure in this parke, & shew such sport
 To the Chiefe Huntsman, and thy Princely Court,
 As the small Circuit of this Round affords,
 And be more ready, than he was in's words./

5

10

HOGHTON OF THE LEA

1581

Will of Alexander Hoghton LRO: WCW 1581

15

single mb* (3 August)

...

...Item yt ys my mynd & wyll that the said Thomas houghton of
 brynescoules my brother shall haue all my Instrumentes belonging to
 mewsyckes, & all maner of playe Clothes yf he be mynded to keppe &
 doe keppe playeres./ And yf he wyll not keppe & manteyne playeres. Then
 yt ys my mynde & wyll that Sir Thomas Heskethe knyghte shall haue the
 same Instrumentes & playe clothes. And I most hertelye Requyre the said
 Sir Thomas to be ffrendlye vnto ffoke gyllome & William Shakshafte
 nowe dwellynge wth me & ether to take theym vnto his Seruice or, els to
 helpe theym to some good master as my tryste ys he wyll ... And whereas
 I the said Alexander & the said Thomas houghton my yonger brother in
 consyderacion of an Agreement betwene the said Thomas & me for the
 Establysshinge of all my manors Landes & Tenementes after dyuers
 Remanderes vppon the said Thomas & the heires malle of his bodye
 Lawfullye begotten. By our Dede berringe datte the Twentythe daye of
 Iulye in the yeare of our lord god one Thowsande ffyve hundreth &
 ffourescore, and in the towe and Twentythe yeare of the Reigne of our
 said Soueraigne Ladye the quenes maiestie that nowe ys/ haue graunted
 vnto Thomas fletwoode sonne & heire apparente of Iohn fletwoode of
 penworthame in the said countye of Lancaster Esquyre & vnto Robert
 Talbote bastarde sonne of the said Iohn Talbote the Anewall Rente of
 Sixtyne poundes Thryttie shillinges ffoure pence Issuyng & goinge oute
 of certeyne my Landes & Tenementes in wythnell in the said Countye of
 Lancaster. To haue perceyve & Take the said yearlye rente to the said

20

25

30

35

40

Thomas & Robert & theire heires ffrome the daye of the desease of me the
 said Alexander for & duringe the terme of the Naturall Lyves & of suche
 persone & persons & of the longest lyver of theym As I the said Alexander
 shall decayre & appoynte in & by my Laste wyll & Testament in wrytinge./
 yearlye payeable at the ffeaste of pentycoste & sanct martyne the byshoppe 5
 in wynter by even porcions, And ffurther as by the said dede more at lardge
 yt dothe & maye appeare. and for soe muche as the said Rente was graunted
 in suche sorte as ys aforesaid vnto the said Thomas & Robert onelye vpon
 truste & confydence Reposed by me in theym that theye & theyre heires 10
 sholde suffer suche persons as should be nomynated & appoyntede by me
 to haue & enioye the same in suche order & maner as should be by me
 derected. And not Intended nor mente that anye profyte or comodytie
 should growe thereby vnto the said Thomas & Roberte or theire heyres The
 which my Intencion & meanyng, I truste that whosoever shall fortune to 15
 be the Iudge for matters in the Chancerye ffrom tyme to tyme wyll see
 dulye executed accordinge to Equytye & good Consyence, Therefore for the
 playne declaracion howe & in what sorte the said rente shalbe dysposede &
 howe longe the same shall contynewe It ys my wyll ffyrste that the said
 Rente shall haue Contynewance vnto the said Thomas & Robart & theire 20
 heires for & duringe the naturall lyve & lyves & of the longest lyver of these
 my servantes that ys to weete, Thomas barton, william Rigbie, Roger
 lyffseye, Iohn houghton, henrye bounde, william Cloughe, Thomas Coston,
 Iohn kychen, Iames pembedon, Robert Tomlynson, Rycharde ffysheweke,
 Iohn Cotham, Thomas barker, henrye browne, myles Turner, Rycharde 25
 Snape, Iames greaves, Thomas sharpe, George banester, Iohn beseley,
 Thomas warde, Roberte bolton, Iohn Snape, Roger dyconson, ffoke gyllom,
 william shakeshafte, Thomas [ormesheye alias] gyllom, william ^rormishae
 alias²¹ Ascrofte, Roger dugdayle & margerye gerrarde./ And yt ys my wyll
 that the said rente shalbe devydette amongeste my said servantes in maner &
 forme folowyng, soe that there shalbe yerely due & payeable, vnto the said 30
 Thomas sharpe the some (of) three poundes syxe shillinges eighte pence,
 vnto the said Thomas Coston Twenty shyllinges, vnto the said Thomas
 barker Twenty shyllinges, vnto the said Roger dyconson Thryttyne shillinge
 foure pence, vnto the said william ormesheye alias Ascrofte Thryttyne
 shyllinges foure pence, vnto the said Robart Boulton Twenty shyllinges, 35
 vnto the said Thomas warde Twenty shyllinges, vnto the said ffowke
 Gyllom ffortye shillinges, vnto the said william shakeshafte ffortye shyllinges,

21/ Lyves & for Lyve & Lyves (?)

5-6/ sanct ... wynter: feast of St Martin, 11 November

18/ It ys my will: written in display script

20/ & after lyves redundant

27/ [ormesheye alias]: apparently crossed out
in the same hand which added the same
name below

vnto the said Thomas Gyllome fortye shyllinges & vnto the said Roger dugdayle fforty shyllinges. To euerye of theym accordinge to seuerall porcions, To haue & perceyve vnto everye one of theym the said seuerall somes for & duringe theyre naturall lyves, And yf yt fortune anye of theym to dye Lyvinge the Reste. Then yt ys my wyll that the porcion of that partye that shall soe dye shalbe equallye devyded amongeste theym that shall survyve & soe frome one to one as longe as anye of theym shalbe lyvin(ge) soe that the survyvor of theym all shall haue for & duringe his naturall lyffe, the said whole & entyre Rente of Syxtyne poundes thryttyne shillynges foure pence./ And yt ys my especyall desyre & I stratlye chardge the said Thomas fletwood & Robert Talbote & theire heires as theye wyll answere me before god that theye see my wyll in this poynte dulye & Trulye executed....

IRELAND OF LYDIATE

1637

Inventory of Edward Ireland LRO: DDIn 60/26
single mb (7 April)

...

Item One ould vyall a pare of broken virginals and broken woode in the loft for Cowper timber

...

KENYON OF PARKHEAD

1620

Household Accounts of Roger Kenyon LRO: DDKe
f [2v]* (after 3 June) (London)

given in A Morninge to Musick

...

MOLYNEUX OF SEFTON

1622/3

Inventory of Sir Richard Molyneux LRO: WCW 1623
single mb (14 March)

...

Item virgenalls paires ij

5/ y of wyll written over another letter
7/ s of as longe written over another letter

10/ And yt ys: written in display script

Item Organes paires j

v li.

...

MOORE OF BANK HALL

5

1632

Inventory of Edward Moore LRO: WCW 1632 INV

f [5v] (10 December) (In the closet)

...

Item a Trumpett

xij s. iiij d.

10

...

NORRIS OF SPEKE

1603

15

Expense Receipt for Knighting of Sir William Norris LIRO: 920 Nor 2/620

single sheet, recto* (after 24 July)

+ Item to the master kooke

vj s. viij d.

+ Item [R] for the spores

<[.]> iij s. iiij d.

20

+ Item the Trumpeters

xxxx s.

Item to the Preacher

iij s. iiij d.

Item to the howse keeper

vj s. iiij d.

verso

25

Receaved x <s>. by me Willm Cordel Master Cooke

Receaved of Sir william Noris for the kinges Trompets fees xl s.

(signed) N: Ward

30

1624

Inventory of Sir William Norris LIRO: 920 Nor 1/395

f [5]* (30 September) (In the kitchen chamber)

...

Item one drumme

xx s.

35

...

20/ t of Item written over another letter or mark

20/ iij s. iiij d. corrected from another sum

23/ vj s. corrected from another sum, possibly xj s.

27/ x <s>. corrected from xl (?)

NOWELL OF READ

1569

Accounts of Executors of Robert Nowell CL: Mun. A.6.50
f 114v* (27 July–29 August)

5

...

To Iames sir Thomas heskethe Minstrell

xij d.

...

SHERRINGTON OF WARDLEY

10

1583

Household Accounts of Gilbert and Francis Sherrington
Wigan Archive Service: D/D2.A 13/17
p 20* (Payments)

15

...

paid to huett the musycsun 13 September 1583

iij s. iiij d.

...

1583/4

20

Household Accounts of Gilbert and Francis Sherrington
Wigan Archive Service: D/D2.A 13/17
p 27 (Payments)

Inprimis paid to the players of Clytherowe 2 Ianuary

0 2 0

25

...

1587

Household Accounts of Gilbert and Francis Sherrington
Wigan Archive Service: D/D2.A 13/17
p 37* (31 August–16 September) (Payments)

30

...

Item Mimo

0 0 3

...

35

1587/8

Household Accounts of Gilbert and Francis Sherrington
Wigan Archive Service: D/D2.A 13/17
p 38 (18 Ianuary–1 March) (Payments)

40

...

Item to certen players

0 1 0

...

1588

Household Accounts of Gilbert and Francis Sherrington

Wigan Archive Service: D/D2.A 13/17

p 39 (1-21 July) (Payments)

...

Item mimis 4 d. & pauperibus 4 d.

0 0 8

5

...

1592

Household Accounts of Gilbert and Francis Sherrington

Wigan Archive Service: D/D2.A 13/17

p 42 (Payments)

...

Item to Charles leigh for repayringe virgynals 10. Iulij

0 3 4

10

...

15

p 43

...

Item \wedge 27 & 28 december to 3. mynstralls

0 0 9

...

20

1592/3

Household Accounts of Gilbert and Francis Sherrington

Wigan Archive Service: D/D2.A 13/17

p 43 (14 January-25 March) (Payments)

...

Item spent at Manchester in commissione uersus lancastriam

& 5 d. pauperibus & 3 d. mimis

0 (blank)

...

30

1593

Household Accounts of Gilbert and Francis Sherrington

Wigan Archive Service: D/D2.A 13/17

p 44 (15-20 October) (Payments)

...

Item at wigan per mr holcroft 2 s. pauperibus apud Eccles 6 d.

& 2 fyferes 2 s. \wedge in worseley

0 4 6

35

...

Item to Mr Carterston for tunyng the vyrgynals 26 october

0 0 12

...

40

1594

Household Accounts of Gilbert and Francis Sherrington

Wigan Archive Service: D/D2.A 13/17

p 48 (1–31 December) (Payments)

...

Item mimos

0 0 8

5

...

1595–6

Household Accounts of Gilbert and Francis Sherrington

Wigan Archive Service: D/D2.A 13/17

p 53 (5 March–2 April) (Payments)

...

Item Mimo

0 0 2

10

...

15

p 54 (1 July–25 September) (Payments)

...

Item to my brother ffrancis boy 4 d. & pauperibus 6 d.
& mimo. 2 d.

0 1 0

20

...

1597

Household Accounts of Gilbert and Francis Sherrington

Wigan Archive Service: D/D2.A 13/17

p 57 (7–14 June) (Payments)

...

Item pauperi & mimo

0 0 3

25

...

30

SHIREBURN OF STONYHURST

1569

Rental Book of Sir Richard Shireburn LRO: DDSt

p 235 (25 July)

...

tolls of bolton

Item the same day Receued of edmund shyrburn the tolls of bolton in the
mores that ys to saye on the fare even called seant margret even for tolls of
bestes iiij li. xvij s. iiij d. on the fare day beyng seant margret day viij s. viij d.
for stallege wolls & horsses where of to the erle of Derbye for hys fourt parte

40

38/ seant margret even: St Margaret's Eve, 19 July

39/ seant margret day: St Margaret's Day, 20 July

xxvj s. vj d. to the lorde movntegylle for the halffe of ye same tolle
liij s. & to me Rychard shyrburn for my ffourtte parte xxvj s. vj d. whereof
the holle Desseburssed for the stueres dener & lxxix persones with hym
xxviiiij s. iiij d. to xvj tolleres on ye fare even v s. iiij d. to menstrelles ij s. vj d.
for our *servantes* charges ye tyme of the fare x s. to some tolleres on ye fare 5
day xvj d. & in Reward in thare afte housse xvj d. for [drynke iiij s.] ye folye
[xiiij s. v d. clere]

1572

Rental and Account Book of Sir Richard Shireburn

10

Stonyhurst College: D.3.5.1

f 61* (29 July)

...

bolton in the
mores

Item the sayd xxix day of Iulye 1572 Receyued of edmund Shyrburn
lvij s. ix d. ob. my Rent dwe at Seant margret day laste and for the wyketolle 15
of bolton for my Rent thereof as I hawe granted the same to mr barton of
smythes dewrynge my plesuer xij d. and for the tolle vpon the fare daye
& the fare even at fyrste syght vj li. ij s. vj d. whereof the charges of our
servantes ix s. xj d. to xiiij tolleres vpon the fare even v s. x d. and to vj
tolleres vpon the fare daye xviiij d. for the charges of the stweerde xxiiij s. 20
ij d. to menstrelles vj d. to the balyffe for makynge the proclomacion iiij d.
whereof for my parte xx s. to my some iiij li. xviiij s. ix d. ob.

1574

Rental and Account Book of Sir Richard Shireburn

25

Stonyhurst College: D.3.5.1

f 325* (2 April)

...

lankester siyes

Item the ijth day of Aprelle in the xvj yere of our quene elezabethe &c
payed for my charges & my man with x horsse alle the syes wycke fyrste 30
for my *servantes* mette *videlicet* Rychard Shirburn of baley Iohn holdon
hugh Iohnes george Rosse edward Shirburn Charles shirburn thomas
panter Rychard walton thomas wamsseley Iohn yngham Alexsander
Rychardson Iohn parker Iohn wendor & hugh Iohnes mane beyng in
nomber xiiij persones with my sone hugh lxvij s. x d. and for foure wynle 35
of ottes vij s. haye to the same horsse v s. and horsse brede vj s. iiij d. and
for somtor horsse thare mette xviiij d. hugh Iohnes Rychard Shirburn
^ [parkers] horsse ij s. vij d. and for shouynge xij d. of wyche ^ [some for]
manes mette aforesayd the Crier hayed xij d. the poure xij d. the wattes of

lancaſter xij d. & for weſſhyng vj d. [fo the] a quare of paper [vj] iiij d.
 iiij li. xj s. iiij d.

...

1575

Rental and Account Book of Sir Richard Shireburn

Stonyhurst College: D.3.5.1

f 386* (23 July)

...

neweton

The pamentes of the landes of walton & newton as folowes &c
 ffyrſte the xxijth day of Iulye 1575 gyffyn thomas langton the quenes
 warde xx s. to hawe in hys purſſe at the playe of lalande &c

xx s.

...

f 351v (2 September)

toll of bolton
clere

Item the ſame day of edmvnd ſhyrburne iiij li. xiiij s. vij d. dwe vpon
 ſeant margreteſ even & daye &c whereof the erle of derbye hathe [the
 one halffe eſſe an] the fourt parte eſſe aneſſe worthe the halffe and
 I a fourtte parte whereof for the ſtuerdes dener for lxxixth perſones
 xxxij s. ix d. to menſtrells xij d. to the balyffe vj d. for tokynes iiij d.
 for wyne iiij d. to xvth toleres v s.—ſo Remanes to my parte liiij s.
 viij d. whereof my iiijth parte

xiiij s. viij d.

...

f 466 (26 December)

playeres

Item the xxvj day of december 1575 gyffyne to the playeres of walton
 iiij s. iiij d.

iiij s. iiij d.

...

1576

Rental and Account Book of Sir Richard Shireburn

Stonyhurst College: D.3.5.1

f 387 (24 April)

langton

Item the xxiiijth day of Aprylle 1576 delyuered to my ſone langton
 vj s. iiij d. to put in his purſſe when he went to Rybcheſter to a coke
 fyght there

vj s. iiij d.

...

f 470* (c 9 May)

lancaster

Item at lankester payed to the cryator xij d. to menstrelles vj d. to the
pore iij d. for drynge at chabelle of long Ryche vj d. for horssemete there
xiiij d. shoyng ye horsse vj d. & for the [followe] charges of edward
shirburn vj d. for hys charges to [the<..>] ye northe ij s. vj s. xj d.

...

f 421v (2 August) (Toll at Bolton fair)

toll of the
fare evene and
daye &c

Item the same second day of avgust Receyued of edmund Shyrburn
vj li. xvj s. iij d. ower the day & yere tolls where of the Ryght
honorabyll henrye erle of derbye hathe the iiijth parte & gylles
aneworthe the halffe of ye holle tolle & I but a fourtte parte where
for steuerdes dener for lxxvij persones vpon ye fare day xxv s. viij d.
for suger & wyne to ye stuerd xvj d. to menstrelles xvj d. for drynke at
after dener ix d. vpon ye fare even for brecke faste dener & soper of
xviiijth persones vj s. to xvth tollerres v s. j d. & to ye sayd tolles xvj d. to
balyffe for makynge the [pro clamac] proclamacion vj d. for tokynes xij d.
for paper ij d. [clere ower ye charges]

xxij s. d. q.

f 471

organes
mending

Item the xxviiijth day of Avgust 1576 payed for iiij shepeskynes & one
pound glowe xxij d.

...

f 471v (c 7 September)

the portytyfes

Item to the organe maker thomas tovtelle mendinge the portatyffes x s.

...

1594

Inventory of Sir Richard Shireburn LRO: DDSt

f [1v] (26 August)

...

Item one paire of Virginalls xx s;

...

SHUTTLEWORTH OF SMITHILLS AND
GAWTHORPE

1583/4

Household Accounts of Sir Richard Shuttleworth 1 LRO: DDKs 18/1
p 26 (20-4 January) (Smithills)

5

...

Item payed vnto the musicions of sir piter lyghe xij d.

...

10

1586

Household Accounts of Sir Richard Shuttleworth 2 LRO: DDKs 18/2
p 17 (1-7 July) (Smithills)

Item geven vnto my lorde morlesse pleyeres ij s. vj d. 15

...

p 18 (16-26 July)

...

Item geven vnto the wyethes of ponmfrete xij d. 20

...

p 26* (15-24 October)

...

Item payed to the mvsiciones of mr trafforthe xij d. 25

...

1587

Household Accounts of Sir Richard Shuttleworth 2 LRO: DDKs 18/2
p 41 (16-18 April) (Smithills)

30

...

Item payed vnto mvsiciones of [S<.)r] Sur edmvnde trafforthes xij d.

...

p 50 (23 July)

35

...

Item payed vnto the mvsicions of mr tuttones xij d.

...

8/ sir piter lyghe: *Sir Peter Legh of Lyme, Shuttleworth's father-in-law*
 20/ ponmfrete: *Pontefract, Yorks* WR

(23–5 July)

...

Item payed vnto a mvsicione of mr athertones

vj d.

...

5

1588*Household Accounts of Sir Richard Shuttleworth 2* LRO: DDKs 18/2
p 88* (7–13 October) (Smithills)

...

Item geven to plaeres of Sur peter lyghe knyghte beinge his mene

v s. 10

Item geven to onne of the said mene to gete a letter conveied frome
hornbie to barbone

vj d.

...

1588–9

15

Household Accounts of Sir Richard Shuttleworth 2 LRO: DDKs 18/2
p 96 (27 December–5 January) (Smithills)

...

Item geven to the plaeres of prestone

v s.

...

20

Item geven to towe pieperes

viij d.

...

1588/9*Household Accounts of Sir Richard Shuttleworth 2* LRO: DDKs 18/2
p 96 (6–8 January) (Smithills)

...

Item [payed] [geven] to the plaeres of nante wyche

ij s.

...

30

1590*Household Accounts of Sir Richard Shuttleworth 2* LRO: DDKs 18/2
p 171 (21–8 December) (Smithills)

...

Item payed vnto a mynestrall of lyghe

vj d. 35

...

1590/1***Household Accounts of Sir Richard Shuttleworth 2*** LRO: DDKs 18/2

p 171 (1-3 January) (Smithills)

Item payed vnto a piper	vj d.	5
...		

p 172 (6 January)

...		
Item geven to the plaeres of downam	ij s. vj d.	10
Item geven to the wyethes of elande	iiij d.	
Item payed to an other piper	iiij d.	
...		

1591***Household Accounts of Sir Richard Shuttleworth 2*** LRO: DDKs 18/2

p 180* (5-8 April) (Smithills)

...		
Item payed to huete the wyethe of yorke	ij s.	
...		20

p 214 (28 December)

...		
Item geven ye same daye vnto plaeres which came frome rachdall	ij s. vj d.	25
...		

p 215 (31 December)

...		
Item [payd] 'geven vnto the' wyathes of hallyfaxe	viiij d.	30
...		

1591/2***Household Accounts of Sir Richard Shuttleworth 2*** LRO: DDKs 18/2

p 216* (5 January) (Smithills)

...		
In primys payed by the appontement of my brother vnto playeres which came frome garstyngg	ij s.	
Item geven vnto a piper	iiij d.	
...		40

p 217* (6-7 January)

...

Item geven vnto playeres *which* came frome blacburne by the
appontement of my brother the same daye

iiij s. iiij d.

...

5

(17-23 January)

Item geven by the appontement of my ladie vnto playeres *which*
came furthe of cheshiere

xij d.

10

...

1592-3

Household Accounts of Sir Richard Shuttleworth 2 LRO: DDKs 18/2

p 271 (26 December-1 January) (Smithills)

15

...

Item geven vnto a pyper

vj d.

...

p 272 (2-6 January)

20

...

Item geven vnto the wyathes of hallyfaxe

vj d.

...

1593/4

25

Household Accounts of Sir Richard Shuttleworth 2 LRO: DDKs 18/2

p 312 (11 January) (Smithills)

...

Item paid ye same daye to vij players *which* came from
Downeham

ij s. vj d.

30

...

1594

Household Accounts of Sir Richard Shuttleworth 2 LRO: DDKs 18/2

p 327 (31 August) (Smithills)

35

...

Item ye same daye to my Lord off Essex players *which* came
hither to Smythills ye Summe off

ij s.

...

Household Accounts of Sir Richard Shuttleworth 3 LRO: DDKs 18/3

p 9 (29 December) (Smithills)

...

Item payed the same Daye vnto a minstrell and one wth an eppe viij d.

...

5

1594/5

Household Accounts of Sir Richard Shuttleworth 3 LRO: DDKs 18/3

p 9 (2 January) (Smithills)

Item payed the same daye vnto fower minstrells viij d.

...

10

1595/6

Household Accounts of Sir Richard Shuttleworth 3 LRO: DDKs 18/3

p 29 (5 January) (Smithills)

...

Item giuen the same daye vnto the plaiers of downham v s.

...

Item giuen the same daye vnto the musisioners of Chester xij d. 20

...

1602

Household Accounts of Sir Richard Shuttleworth 5 LRO: DDKs 18/5

p 74* (19–23 June) (Gawthorpe)

...

A Reward

Item gyven to A pypper vppon the Rearinge day by abraham vj d.

...

25

1609

Household Accounts of Sir Richard Shuttleworth 10 LRO: DDKs 18/8

p 76 (25 November) (Gawthorpe)

...

Item giuen to a piper by my masters appointment iiij d./

...

35

p 76 (2 December)

Item giuen to the Lorde of darbies plaiers by my masters appointment

...

vj s. viij d./ 40

p 80 (30 December)

...

Item to the piper of Padiham by my mistress appointment vj d./

...

Item to foure musitians which came to gawthrope by my mistress appointment xij d./ 5

...

1609/10

Household Accounts of Sir Richard Shuttleworth 10 LRO: DDKs 18/8 10

p 81 (2 January) (Gawthorpe)

...

Item to three musitians by my mistress appointment xij d./

...

15

p 88* (13 March)

...

Item giuen to Distle and his companie the plaiers xx s./

...

20

(15 March)

Item giuen to the Hallifax fiddlers by my masters appointment xij d./

...

25

1610

Household Accounts of Sir Richard Shuttleworth 10 LRO: DDKs 18/8

p 92* (18 April) (Gawthorpe)

...

Item giuen to the musitians at the mariage vj s. viij d./ 30

...

p 105 (25 July)

...

Item giuen to my Lord Monteagles plaiers vj s. viij d./ 35

...

p 113 (28 September)

...

Item giuen to a piper by my masters appointment vj d./ 40

...

1611***Household Accounts of Sir Richard Shuttleworth 10*** LRO: DDKs 18/8

p 141 (5 October) (Gawthorpe)

...

Item giuen to the waites of Carlill

xij d./ 5

...

p 147 (25 December)

...

Item giuen to a piper by my master his appointment

vj d./ 10

...

(27 December)

Item giuen to the musitians, master Warren his men

xij d./ 15

...

1612***Household Accounts of Sir Richard Shuttleworth 10*** LRO: DDKs 18/8

p 155 (9 May) (Gawthorpe)

20

...

Item paid for a sacke butt att Clitherowe

viij s. vj d.

...

p 156 (12 May)

25

Item giuen to a minstrell

iiij d./

...

p 159 (14 June)

30

...

Item giuen to a piper at my master commandement

vj d./

...

(17 June)

35

Item giuen to Wade the piper

ij s./

...

p 161 (5 July)

40

...

Item giuen to a piper at my master his Command

iiij d./

...

p 163 (3 August)

...

Item giuen to a beareward by my *mistris*

xij d.

...

5

p 164 (11 August)

...

Item giuen to my Lord monteagles his plaiers at my *masters*
commandment

l s./

...

10

(12 August)

Item giuen to my Lord darbie his plaires

xxvj s. viij d./

...

15

p 165 (27 August)

...

Item giuen to three fdlers

xij d./

...

20

(28 August)

Item to Bell the piper

iiij d./

...

25

p 167 (16 September)

...

Item giuen to my Lord staffords plaiers

xl s./

Item giuen to Arthure Gurney piper

xij d./ 30

...

(18 September)

Item giuen to three fdlers

xij d./ 35

...

p 169 (7 October)

Item giuen to distley and his companie my Lord dudley his plaeres

xxx s./ 40

...

Item giuen by Thomas Yate to twoe fidders	vj d./	
...		
p 171 (29 October)		5
...		
Item giuen to a piper	iiij d./	
...		
p 172 (7 November)		10
...		
Item giuen to the wates of manchester	ij s. vj d./	
...		15
p 173 (15 November)		
...		
Item giuen to the piper of Clitherowe	iiij d./	
...		20
p 174 (31 November)		
...		
Item giuen to a piper	iiij d./	25
...		
p 175 (10 December)		
...		
Item giuen to a poore piper	iiij d./	30
...		
(12 December)		
Item giuen to my Lorde of darbie his plaiers	vij s. iiij d./	35
...		
p 176* (21 December)		
...		
Item giuen to dynnley piper	vj d./	
...		

1612/13***Household Accounts of Sir Richard Shuttleworth 10*** LRO: DDKs 18/8p 180 (20 January) (*Gawthorpe*)

...

Item giuen to a pyper

ij d./ 5

...

p 182 (23 February)

...

Item giuen to the fidleres of Heptonstaule by my masters
appointment

xij d./ 10

...

p 183 (4 March)

...

Item giuen to Distle and his companie

vj s. viij d./ 15

...

(6 March)

Item giuen to Alexander Grunney piper at my masters commandment
in steede of oates

xviij d./ 20

...

p 184 (11 March)

...

Item giuen to the waites of weakfeld

xviij d./ 25

...

1613***Household Accounts of Sir Richard Shuttleworth 10*** LRO: DDKs 18/8p 187 (4 May) (*Gawthorpe*)

...

Item giuen to three fidlers

vj d./

...

35

p 195* (4-21 September)

...

<.....>y Lord of Darbie his <.....>

xx s./

...

40

1616***Household Accounts of Sir Richard Shuttleworth 12*** LRO: DDKs 18/9

p 3 (7 November) (Gawthorpe)

...		
Gift./	Imprimis giuen by my masters appointment, to distle & his companie	vj s. viij d./ 5
...		

1616/17***Household Accounts of Sir Richard Shuttleworth 12*** LRO: DDKs 18/9

p 11 (13 January) (Gawthorpe)

...		
Gift./	Item giuen to the tumblers boye	vj d./ 15
...		

p 13 (25 January)

...		
Gift./	Item giuen to my lord Stafford his plaiers	iiij s. iiij d./ 20
...		

p 16 (11 March)

...		
Gift./	Item giuen to three plaiers by my mistris her appointment	xij d./ 25
...		

p 17 (18 March)

...		
Gift./	Item giuen to my lord darbie his plaiers	iiij s. iiij d./ 30
...		

1617***Household Accounts of Sir Richard Shuttleworth 12*** LRO: DDKs 18/9

p 18 (9 April) (Gawthorpe)

...		
Gift./	Item giuen to a piper at my mistris her Comandment	iiij d./ 35
...		

p 37 (10 September)

...		
Gift./	Item giuen to the waites	vj d./ 40
...		

p 47 (1 December)

...

Gifte./	Item giuen to twoe fidlers by my <i>masters</i> appoyntment	xij d./
	...	

5

p 49 (9 December)

...

plaiers./	Item giuen to my Lorde Stafford his plaiers	iiij s. iiij d./
	...	

10

1617/18***Household Accounts of Sir Richard Shuttleworth 12*** LRO: DDKs 18/9p 52 (9 January) (*Gawthorpe*)

...

Gifte./	Item giuen to Dynley pyper	xij d./	15
	...		

Gifte./	Item giuen to Grunney for a newe yeares gifte for my <i>mistris</i>	ij s. vj d./
---------	---	--------------

Gifte./	Item giuen to <i>Alexander</i> Grunney for his Christmas playinge by my <i>master</i> appoyntment	x s./	20
	...		

p 54 (26 January)

...

Gifte./	Item giuen to fyve plaiers by my <i>masters</i> appointment	ij s. vj d./	25
	...		

(28 January)

Gifte./	Item giuen to Parker trumpeter by my <i>masters</i> appoyntment	v s./	30
	...		

p 58 (10 March)

...

Gifte./	Item giuen to the queens plaiers by my <i>masters</i> appoyntment	x s./	35
---------	---	-------	----

17/ G of Grunney written over d

(11 March)

Gifts./ Item giuen to the waites of Durraham by my masters
 appoyntment iiij s. iiij d.

...

5

1618

Household Accounts of Sir Richard Shuttleworth 12 LRO: DDKs 18/9
 p 59 (25 March) (Gawthorpe)

...

10

Gifts./ Item giuen to the waites of Liddes by my masters
 appoyntment xij d./

...

p 65 (1 June)

15

...

fiddlers./ Item giuen to master Ratcliffes fiddlers by by my masters
 appoyntment xij d./

...

20

1618/19

Household Accounts of Sir Richard Shuttleworth 12 LRO: DDKs 18/9
 p 85 (27 January) (Gawthorpe)

...

Gifts./ Item giuen to three fiddlers xij d./ 25

...

1620/1

Household Accounts of Sir Richard Shuttleworth 12 LRO: DDKs 18/9
 p 127 (8 January) (Gawthorpe)

30

...

fiddles. Item paid for twoe fiddles vj s. viij d./

...

1621

35

Household Accounts of Sir Richard Shuttleworth 12 LRO: DDKs 18/9
 p 136 (6 July) (Gawthorpe)

...

Vyall. Item paid for a little viall iiij s. vj d./

...

40

p 141 (30 September)

...

ffidle
mending./

Item paid by Iohn marshe for mendinge of a fiddle

ij s./

...

5

p 142 (1-31 October)

...

lute booke

Item for a Lute booke

xij d./

...

Lute case

Item pd for a Lute and case

xxv s./

10

Bandore

Item for a bandore and case

xxxij s./

...

STANLEY OF KNOWSLEY, LATHOM HOUSE,
AND NEW PARK

15

1459-60

Household Account Roll of Thomas, Lord Stanley LRO: DDHi, Box 23
sheet 2*

20

...And of xiiij s. iiij d. payed Thomas piper for his wagis/...

...And of xiiij s. payet mordoc trumpet be my lord bidding...

1523

Inventory of Edward Stanley, Lord Monteagle PRO: SP 1/27
f 237v* (20 April)

25

...

In my lordes Chambre.

...

In custody
Master Edward
Stanley

Item iij Recorder pipes in A Case of Master Edwardes

30

...

1586-7

Derby Household Book LRO: DDF 2429p 9 col 1* (18 July 1586-19 July 1587)
(13 May) (Check-roll of household servants)

35

...

Trompeters viz

Ihon King

Geordge Campe

40

...

40/ Campe: otiose suspension mark over m

p 13 col 1* (*week of 2-8 July*) (*Lathom House*)

...

On sonday Sir Rychard shirborne came & also mr comptrowler & mr Receyver from London, Sir Rychard mollynewx & yonge mr Leigh mr Danyell, mr skillycome, mr braddill & many others & the same daye mr 5
stewarde wente awaye, on mondaye mr houghton mr comptrowler & mr receyver wente awaie, on tuesdaye mr standeley of alderley & Sir Rychard shirborne went, on wendesdaye, mr clerke mychell was sent to London on thorsday mr stanley departed, & the same daye my Lord of Leysesters plaiers 10
plaied on fryday they plaied againe which day mr salesbury came & also mr receyver, & on satterday they departed awaye & mr Sorrocolde a pretcher came./

...

1587-8

Derby Household Book LRO: DDF 2429

p 19 col 1* (*19 July-12 February*)
(*27-30 December*) (*Knowsley*)

...

On wednesday mr baron of walton & mr Thomas gerrard came & on 20
thursday the sayd mr baron went awaie On ffryday my Lord the earle came home from the cowrte & the same night came my Lord bushoppe, mr stewarde mr receyver mr foxe, on saturedaye Sir Thomas hesketh plaiers wente awaie, & the same daye mr Edward halcoll, mr Houghton of 25
houghton & many strandgers came to knowsley./

1588-9

Derby Household Book LRO: DDF 2429

p 22 col 3* (*26 September-18 July*)
(*6-12 October*) (*New Park*)

...

On sondaye mr Talbot the shirffe the parson of wigan pretched mr baron of walton yong mr osbeston & on mondaye they all departed, & then mr warren came, tuesday mr more, mr henry stanley ivnior came & wente, on 35
wednesday Sir Rychard mollynewx & Sir Ihon Ratcliffe, mr trafforth mr Petter Leigh, mr bradshaw of hagh mr Atherton mr winstanley came & wente awaye, thurssday mr Ihon bradley & the Qwenes players on frydaye mr dvtton mr brokes came & on satterday they went.

...

p 24 col 2* (*29 December-4 January*) (*Lathom House*)

...

Sondaye mr Carter pretched at which was dyvers strandgers, on mondaye

came mr Stewarde, on Tvsedaye the reste of my *Lords* cownsell & also *Sir* Ihon Savadge, at nyght a playe was had in the halle & the same nyght my *Lord* strandge came home, on wednesdaye mr fletewod pretched, & the same daye yonge mr halsoll & his wiffe came on thursedaye mr Irelande of the hutte, on frydaye *Sir* Ihon savadge departed & the same daie mr hesketh
mr Anderton & mr Asheton came & also my *Lord* bushoppe & *Sir* Ihon byron

col 3* (5–10 January) (*Lathom House*)

...
Sondaye mr Caldewell pretched, & that nyght plaiers plaid, mondaye my *Lord* bushop pretched, & the same daye mr trafforth mr Edward stanley, mr mydleton of Leighton came on Tvsedaye *Sir* Richard shirborn mr stewarde my *Lord* bushoppe *Sir* Ihon byron & many others departed, wednesdaye my *Lord* removed to new parke, on frydaye mr norres & mr Tarbocke & mr Tildesley came & wente

p 27 col 1* (6–10 July) (*Lathom House*)

...
Sonday mr stanley of yollow & his doughter & his sone in law mr Leigh, mr Henry stanley senior & mr henry stanley Ivnior & many other gentlemen & the vicker of Rarchedalle pretched the same daie the Qwenes plaiers plaid ij severall nyghtes, monday mr stewarde departed Tvseday *Sir* Rychard shirborne, mr receyver generall & mr foxe departed, wednesday, mr Edward halsoll & mr Cvtebert halsoll came, & so dydde my *Lord* strandge & his doghters also from *Sir* Ihon birons, & so dydde mr holcrofte mr James Anderton mr poole mr secratoryes mane & the next daye departed/

1589–90

Derby Household Book LRO: DDF 2429

p 28 col 2* (18 July–18 July)

(31 August–6 September) (*Knowsley*)

...
Sondaie parson of (*blank*) preached great companie mondaie mr Bold at dinner tuesdaie mr Egerton, mr sherington the lawier & his brother came mr Bouthe wente my *Lord* my *Lord* dudley *Sir* Edward stanley mr william etc. went to Lathome to hunt my *Lord* dudley his men stayed, saturdaye my *Lord* my *Lord* dudley & all the rest came home my *Lord* dudley brother in law came, the quenes players came & played at nyght my *Lord* of Essix players came./

p 29 col 1* (7–13 September) (*Knowsley*)

...

Sondaie mr Leigh preached the quenes players played in the after none & my Lord off Essix at nyght, mondaie my Lord and all went away Tuesdaie mr townelay came in the evening to haue sene my Lord wedensdaie he went home againe, thursdaie ij stagges were baked Saturdaie my Lord & Sir Edward came home my Lord dudley & mr william Stanley went from my Lord in Chester towards London:/

...

p 34 col 2* (15–21 February) (*Lathom House*)

...

Sondaie mr heaton preached mondaie my Lord & lady strange dyned at marshall frydaie Sir Richard Shearburne came & mr halsall Iunior, this saturdaie my Lord came home, mr ffoxes came & a servant of the Bishop of Canterbury players played at nyght, mr halsall & mr osbaldeston Iunior came/

...

p 38 col 2* (21–7 June) (*Knowsley*)

...

On sonday mr heaton preched, on mondaye my Lord rydde to Lathom, & the same daye mr william my Lords sone rydde towards London, on wednesday my Lord retorned, on Thurseday Sir Ihon Savadge mr dutton & the Qwiens playes came, on frydaye the departed & Sir Randle brereton came on saturday mr skaresbryk mr morte & mr Edwarde halsoll came./

Letter of Henry, Lord Scrope, to William Asheby BL: Egerton MS 2598 f 82* (20 September)

After my verie hartie comendacions: vpon a *lettre* receyved from Mr Roger Asheton, Signifying vnto me that yt was the kinges earnest desire for to have hir Maiestes players for to repayer into Scotlande to his grace: I dyd furthwith dispatche a servant of my owen vnto them wheir 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 gyve 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 Maiestie. So for the present, I bydd yow right

hartelie farewell Carlislie the xxth of Septembre/ 1589./

your verie assurdd loving frend
(signed) H Scrope

1594

5

Funeral Book of Henry, Earl of Derby

Knowsley House Library: NH 6 Cpd B H 84

f [49] (12 July) (*Inventory of the earl's goods at Lathom House*)

10

In the Storehouse.

...

Item j Chist of violins

04 00 00

...

15

1606

Letter of William, Earl of Derby, to the Mayor of Chester

CCRO: Great Letter Book ML/2/184

p 115 (2 December)

20

This Company beinge my Lord of Harforth his men and haveinge beine
with mee, whose retorne and abode for this Christmas tyme I expecte, I
ame to desire that if theire occatione bee to Come to the Cittie that youe
will permit them to vse theire quallatie Lathome my howse this ijth of
december 1606

25

(signed) your Loving frend
william Derby

post Cript I would Request you
to lett them haue the towne hall
to playe in Ile vale

30

1617

Book of Presents to William, Earl of Derby

Knowsley House Library: NH 6B H 83

f [108]* (18 August) (*King James' visit to Lathom House*)

35

...

Item for the trumpeters and litter men beinge twenty and ffoure in number
allowed for them three messes of meate

40

...

1637/8

Blundell Family Hodgepodge Book LRO: DDBI Acc 6121

f 259* (7 February) (Lathom House)

...

A Prologue to a Swoord
dance spoaken at Latham
Vpon Ash wednesday °by William Blundel°
1638

5

The common prouerb teacheth us to say
tis hasardus with sharp edg tooles to play
Yet we t'increase your honors pleasuer shall
adding more triumphs to this carnaual
forgett ye muses hid those nimpths those dames
and practyse with oure swords the olimpicke games
be but auspitious to our platt while wee
this night shall marse preferr to mercury

10
15

...

1640/1

A Masque at Knowsley House National Library of Wales: MS 5390D

p 35* (6 January) (Knowsley)

20

A Masque as it was presented at ye right honourable
ye Lord Strange his at Knowsley on Twelfth night [640] 1640
Christmas day yat year lighting on friday.

25

...

WALMESLEY OF DUNKENHALGH

1613-14

Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley 1 LRO: DDpt 1

f [7v]* (7 February - 7 February)

(Payments for provisions for 31 December 1612 - 7 January 1612/13)

30

Gyven to 7 Pypers ij s. iiij d. 35
Gyven to Mr Warrens men ij s.

f [13] (before 3 April) (Disbursements)

...

Item gyven to the Waytes of Wakeffeild xij d. 40

...

f [24] (*before 14 January*) (*Gifts*)

...

Gyven to the Pyper

x s.

Gyven vnto the waites of wakefeild

xij d.

Gyven vnto xj pypers

iiij s. viij d.

5

Gyven vnto my Lord of Darby plaiers

xx s.

...

1614–15

Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley 1 LRO: DDPt 1

10

f [28] (*7 February–7 February*)

(*before 24 February*) (*Disbursements*)

...

Item Gyven vnto my Lord Mounteagles players

xiiij s. iiij d./

Item Gyven vnto the waites of wakefeild

xij d./

15

...

f [35] (*after 26 September*)

...

Inprimis gyven vnto my Lord Mountegles men the xiiijth of
October 1614

x s./

20

Item gyven vnto my Lord Staffordes men the xjth of
November

xiiij s. iiij d./

Item gyven vnto Sir Edward warrans men the xiiijth of
November

v s./

25

Item gyven vnto the Waites of wakefeild

xij d.

...

f [36v] (*after 21 December*)

...

Item gyven key pyper

x s.

30

...

1615–16

Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley 1 LRO: DDPt 1

35

f [43v] (*7 February – 7 February*)

(*before 8 November*) (*Disbursements*)

...

Item gyven vnto my Lord of Darbyes plaiers the xxjth of
Iulye 1615

xiiij s. iiij d./

40

...

f [44v] (*before 8 November*)

...

Item gyven vnto the Queenes players for 2 playes xxiiijth of
October

xxx s./

Item gyven vnto my Lord Staffordes men for a playe xxviiijth
of October

x s./

...

f [48] (*after 8 November*)

...

Item gyven vnto my Lord Mountagles players 16th of
November

vj s. viij d./

Item gyven vnto the Ladye Elizabeths men

xx s.

Item gyven vnto mr warrans men

ij s.

Item gyven the waytes of Halliffax

ij s.

Item gyven the pypers

iiij s.

Item gyven to Key pyper

xiiij s. iiij d.

...

1616-17

Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley 1 LRO: DDPt 1

f [52v] (*7 February - 7 February*)

(*before 22 October*) (*Disbursements*)

...

Gyven vnto the Queenes players xxth of Aprill 1616

xxx s.

...

f [56]* (*17-23 August*) (*Kitchen provisions*)

Gyven vnto Sir Cutbard Halshay men

x s./

...

f [60] (*after 22 October*) (*Disbursements*)

...

Item gyven vnto mr. Warren men

xij d.

...

Item Gyven vnto my Lord of Shrowsburys men 6th of
November

vj s. viij d.

f [61]

...

Item Gyven vnto the Ladye Elizabeths men

xxx s.

...

f [62]* (*Christmas*) (*Kitchen provisions*)

...

Gyven the pyper	ij s. vj d.	
Gyven other pypers	iiij s. viij d.	
Gyven the waites	xviij d.	5

...

f [62v]* (*23–9 January*)

...

Gyven vnto my Lord Staffordes men	xiiij s. iiij d.	10
-----------------------------------	------------------	----

...

1617–18***Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley 2*** LRO: DDpt 1f [4] (*7 February–7 February*)

15

(*March*) (*Disbursements*)

...

Item Gyven vnto my Lord Evers men xiiij th of March i616	v s.	
---	------	--

Item Gyven to my Lord of darbyes men xxiij th of March i616	xiiij s. iiij d.	
--	------------------	--

...

20

f [13v]* (*12–18 July*) (*Kitchen provisions*)

...

Iulie 12th i617Sir Richard
Mollinex and
the rest of his
Companie &c

paid for 6: veales	iiij l. iiij s. vj d.	25
--------------------	-----------------------	----

paid for j Lambe	iiij s. viij d.	
------------------	-----------------	--

paid for Suet	iiij s.	
---------------	---------	--

paid for 4 piges	viiij s. x d.	
------------------	---------------	--

paid for 3 Beasse Tonges	ij s. vj d.	
--------------------------	-------------	--

paid for bease ffeet	iiij d.	30
----------------------	---------	----

paid for xiiij Cople of Rabbetes	xj s. viij d.	
----------------------------------	---------------	--

paid for fowle	xviij d.	
----------------	----------	--

paid for 6 l. of Cherryes	ij s. iiij d.	
---------------------------	---------------	--

paid for Garden peyes	v d.	
-----------------------	------	--

paid for Eges	v s.	35
---------------	------	----

paid for Ayle	v s.	
---------------	------	--

paid for Bread	iiij s.	
----------------	---------	--

paid for Butter	xxij s.	
-----------------	---------	--

paid for ffishe	xxiiij s. x d.	
-----------------	----------------	--

paid for the Charges of j man & j horse	xviij d.	40
---	----------	----

paid for ffreshe water ffyshe	iiij s. ij d.	
-------------------------------	---------------	--

Gyven vnto Sir Richard Houghtons man, for venison sent from Sir Richard	vj s.	
Gyven vnto the waytes of Preston	v s.	
Gyven vnto Two Cookes for helpe in the Keechinge	xxvj s. viij d.	
	Summa x l. xj d.	5

...

f [7v] (2 August) (Disbursements)

...

Item Gyven vnto my Lord of darbyes men 2 ^d of August i617	xx s.	10
--	-------	----

...

f [16] (3-10 January) (Kitchen provisions)

...

Gyven Key Pyper	v s.	15
Gyven other Pypers	iiij s. viij d./	
Gyven Sir Edward warrans men	ij s. vj d.	

...

f [10] (January) (Disbursements) 20

...

Gyven my Ladye Elizabeths men Ianuarye 19 th i617	x s.
Gyven my Lord Staffordes men Ianuarye 24 th i617	v s.

...

25

1618-19***Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley 2*** LRO: DDPt 1

f [20v] (7 February-21 January)
(after 14 February) (Disbursements)

...

Item Gyven vnto the waytes of dorham	ij s.	30
--------------------------------------	-------	----

...

Item Gyven vnto the waites of wakefeild	xviij d.	
---	----------	--

...

35

f [31v] (5-8 January) (Kitchen provisions)

...

Gyven vnto Key the pyper	vj s. viij d.
--------------------------	---------------

...

1619–20

Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley 2 LRO: DDPt 1

f [36] (21 January–21 January)

(27 February–2 March) (Disbursements)

...

Item Gyven vnto the Waytes at wakefeild

xviij d.

5

...

f [38v] (9 July–1 September)

...

Item Gyven vnto the waytes of wakefeild

xij d.

10

...

f [40v] (on or after 7 November)

...

Item Gyven vnto the younge Prince men 7th of November

xx s.

15

Item Gyven vnto my Lord Dudleyes men

xiiij s. iiij d.

...

f [47]* (after 8 January) (Kitchen provisions)

...

Item Gyven vnto Browne the Pypar

x s.

20

...

1620–1

Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley 2 LRO: DDPt 1

f [49v] (21 January 1619/20–24 January 1620/1)

(before 22 September) (Disbursements)

...

Item Gyven vnto my Lord of darbyes men i2th of ffebruary i619

x s.

30

...

f [51v]* (25 July–22 September)

...

Item Gyven vnto the kinges players 25th of Iuly

xx s.

35

...

Item Gyven vnto disley and his Companye

v s.

16/ the younge Prince: *Charles, Prince of Wales, later Charles I*
 30/ i619: *underlined in ms*

f [63] (25 November–1 December) (*Kitchen provisions*)

The Earle of Darbie plaiers one night.	...		
	November xxv: th paid for a veale & a half	viiij s. viij d.	
	Item haulf a mutton	iiij s. vj d.	
	Item 2 Cople of rabetes	ij s.	5
	Item j mutton of your owne		
	Item 6 plouers	xviiij d.	
	Item 4 Cockes	xij d.	
	Item 6: Suytes	vj d.	
	Item ffishe & portage	iiij s. vj d.	10
	Item Ayle	viiij d.	
	Item Eges	viiij d.	
	Summa	xxij s.	

... 15

f [61] (2 December) (*Disbursements*)

...	Item Gyven vnto the Prince players december 2 ^d 1620	xxx s.
-----	---	--------

... 20

ff [63–3v] (2–8 December) (*Kitchen provisions*)

The Prince plaiers 2 nights.	...		
	December 2 ^d paid for 2 veales	xv s. viij d.	
	Item 2 muttons of your owne		
	Item 2 Cople of rabetes	ij s.	25
	Item 2 dussen of Larkes	iiij d.	
	Item 4 plouers	xij d.	
	Item 2 Cockes	vj d.	
	Item 24 fflookes	xviiij d.	
	Item j Stabbine	viiij d.	30
	Item j mylwen	xij d.	
	Item portage	x d.	
	Item Eges	viiij d.	
	Summa	xxiiij s. ij d.	

... 35

(16–22 December)

The Kings plaiers one night./	December i6: th j veale and a haulf	ix s. vj d.	
	Item j mutton of your owne		40

Item 2 Cople of rabetes	ij s.	
Item 2 Cockes	vj d.	
Item 2 plouers	vj d.	
Item 4 Suytes	iiij d.	
Summa	xij s. x d.	5

...

f 61v (18 December) (Disbursements)

...

Item Gyven vnto the kinges Players the xviiij th of december 1620	xx s./	10
--	--------	----

...

f [64v] (January)

...

Item Gyven vnto Browne the Pyper	xiiij s. iiij d.	15
Item Gyven vnto the Lady Elizabeths Players 2 ^d of Ianuary 1620	xl s./	

...

Item Gyven the pypers	iiij s. viij d.	
-----------------------	-----------------	--

...

20

1621-2**Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley 2** LRO: DDPt 1

f [67v] (24 January-19 January)

(12-13 February) (Disbursements)

...

25

Item Gyven to the players of dounham i2 th of ffebruary i620	x s.	
Item Gyven vnto the waites of Leedes 13 th of ffebruary i620	xviij d.	

...

f [80v] (after 5 January) (Kitchen provisions)

30

...

Gyven Iohn Browne the piper	xiiij s. iiij d.	
Gyven to other pypers	iiij s.	
Gyven to downham players	v s.	

...

35

1622-3**Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley 3** LRO: DDPt 1

f [11v]* (19 January 1621/2-22 January 1622/3)

(26 January-1 February) (Kitchen provisions)

40

...

mr Bradshaw 2

Inprimis paid for 3 veales	xxiiij s.	
----------------------------	-----------	--

nights.	Item paid for a mutton	viiij s.	
the prince	Item 3 mutton of your owne		
players	Item [3] [2] Cople of Rabbetes	xx d.	
2 nights.	Item paid for fowle	iiij s. vj d.	
Sir Richard	Item paid for a pige	ij s.	5
Houghton	Item paid for Eges	xij d.	
one night.	Item ffishe and portage	iiij s. vj d.	
	Summa	xliij s. viij d.	
	...		

f [16v] (after 5 January)

10

...			
Gyven to the Piper	xiiij s. iiij d.		
Gyven to other pipers	iiij s.		
...			15
Gyven to the wates of Preston	ij s.		

1624-5

Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley 5 LRO: DDPt 1
f [6]* (15-21 October) (Kitchen provisions)

20

...			
October the xvth fish & portage from prestone	iiij s. iiij d.		
Item for Ale iiij s. & Eggs iiij s.	vij s.		
Item 4 quire of Browne paper Cost	xij d.		
Item paid for Earthen pottes	iiij d.	25	
Item two muttons from the hacking	nil		
Item paid for ffowle this weeke in all	ix s.		
Item one veale	x s. vj d.		
Item paid for Capons & Chickins & duckes this weeke in all	xiiij s. vj d.		
Summa	xlvi s. viij d.	30	
...			

f [5] (14 December-17 January) (Disbursements)

...			
plaiers	Item giuen the kinges plaiers the 16th. of december	xx s.	35
...			
plaiers	Item paid the plaiers of Ribchester	x s.	
...			
	Item paid pipers in all during Cristmas	ij s. viij d.	
...			40

f [14v] (4–10 February) (Kitchen provisions)

Item paid Ned Singleton the 4th of ffebruary for fish
& portage

iiij s. iiij d.

Item paid for 3 Cuple of Rabbettes

iij s. vj d.

5

Item 3 Cockes & one patridge Cost

ij s.

Item ffranckes Chardges

viiij d.

Item paid for 2 veales bought in Clitherowe 21 s. & his
Chardges 3d.

xxj s. iij d.

Item paid for 3 henns

ij s.

10

Item paid to whipp for troutes

xij d.

Item 3 muttons of our owne

nil.

Summa

xxxiiij s. ix d.

...

15

f [10]* (11 February) (Disbursements)

...

My lord of
darbie his
plaiers

Item giuen Bradshewe the plaier & his Companie

xx s.

...

20

f [10v] (2 March)

...

plaiers

Item giuen disley the player & his Company the 2^d of March

xiiij s. iiij d.

...

25

f [22v]* (3–9 June) (Kitchen provisions)

...

Mr Parkinsons
Children
4 nightes

Inprimis Iune the 3^d fishe bought by Ned Singleton & portage

v s.

Item paid for Ale xij d. & for Cackes iij d.

[xv d.] xv d.

Item one veale bought in skipton Cost xj s. a quarter of lambe
ij s. spent vij d.

xiiij s. vij d.

30

Item paid for 2 lobsters the 4th of Iune

ij s.

Plaiers one
night

Item ffresh water ffishe this weeke

xiiij d.

Item one veale of our owne

Nil.

Item one mutton of our owne

Nil.

35

Item one lambe of our owne

Nil.

...

f [18]* (11 June) (Disbursements)

...

Plaiers

Item giuen plaiers being pirrie & his companie [the xith of Iune]

xx s.

40

...

f [19v]

...

plaiers

Item giuen disley the plaier for his reward the same day

vj s. viij d.

...

1625-6

Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley 6 LRO: DDPt 1
f [9]* (11-17 November) (Kitchen provisions)

...

my lady
Gerrard and
mrs. Standley
3. Nightes

November the xjth. fish & portage from preston by Nedd
Singleton

iiij s. x d.

mr Pirrie the
player & his
Compny 3
nightes

Item paid in clitherowe for 2 vealls xx s. 3 quarters of Mutton
6s. 2 neates tonges x d. chardges ij d.

xxvij s.

Item paid for an other veale this weeke

xj s. vj d.

Item paid by ffrancke for fowle in preston this weeke in all

x s. ij d.

Item for 3 cuple of Rabettes

ij s. vj d.

mr Ashton of
Whaley one
night.

Item for 9 Neates tonges

iiij s. iiij d.

Item paid for aples

xij d.

Item paid for capons & Chickins this weeke

xij s. v d.

mr. george
Midleton &
& mrs. Anne
all weeke.

Item paid for 12 Cockes more this weeke & bringinge them

iiij s. iiij d.

Item paid for a More hean this weeke

ix d.

Item 2 Muttons of our owne this weeke

Nil.

Summa

iiij li. xvij s. x d.

...

f [4] (12 November) (Disbursements)

...

plaiers

Item paid to Pirrie the plaier & his Companie the 12th of
November

xl s.

...

f [10]* (29 December - 4 January) (Kitchen provisions)

...

Mr. thomas
Hoghton
his Wyffe 2
doughters
& sonne in
lawe.

December the 29th paid by ffrancke for ffish in preston

xx s.

Item paid whipp for ffish the same day

ij s. vj d.

Item ffowle bought by ffranck the same day cost

vj s. ij d.

Item paid baron the same day for 5 cockes

xv d.

Item bought by francke the last of december 20 cuple of Rabettes

xx s.

Item paid by him for ffowle the same day

xv s. x d.

Mr. William Hoghton.	Item 2 neates tonges 12 d. chardges 2 men & horses 14 d.	ij s. ij d.	
Mr. Preston of holker 4 nightes.	Item paid lawrence yate of huncote for a veale	x s.	
Mr. Bradill & his Brother.	Item to Iohn hetoughe of Acrington for a veale	xij s.	
mr Rishton his wyffe & mother all weeke.	Item to Henry Aspeden of baxenden for a veale	xj s.	
& mr Huigh anderton	Item to Roberte Haworths wyffe of acrington for a veale	x s. vj d.	5
Bradshay the plaier one night.	Item paid ogdens wyffe of highshutleworth for a veale	xij s. vj d.	
	Item paid ffeilden of whaley Banckes for a veale	xij s.	
	Item paid Thomas Hindle of Roagreave for a veale	x s. ij d.	
	Item to Robert holden of Acrington a veale	xij s.	
	Item to Iackson of totleworth ¹ for 2 piggs ¹ [a veal]	iiij s.	10
	Item given one that brought Rabettes from preston the 5 th of Ianuary	xij d.	
	Seaven Muttons this weeke	Nil.	
	Item paid Tom. wilson for a veale	xij s.	
	Summa	viiij li. xvij s. j d./	15

f [6] (*January*) (*Disbursements*)

plaiers	Item paid to Bradshay the 2 ^d . of Ianuary	xx s.	20
	Item paid to the piper for plaieinge in Christenmas	xij s. iiij d.	

f [6v]

	Item paid to pipers that came in christmas by Sutcliffe	ij s. iiij d.	25
--	---	---------------	----

f [13] (*21 March*)

plaiers	Item given disley the Plaier the 21 th of March	v s.	30
---------	--	------	----

f [19]* (*21–7 April*) (*Kitchen provisions*)

	Aprill the 21 th ffish & portage from Preston	iiij s. viij d.	35
	Item paid the same day for a ffresh salmon	ij s.	
mr. thomas Houghton, his wyffe, & doughter one night	Item bought in Clitherowe the 22 th of aprill one veale cost xj s. 3 d. halfe a mutton v s. ij d. a quarter of Mutton ij s. ij d. spent ij d.	xviiij s. ix d.	40
	Item paid whipp for ffish this weeke	xij d.	
	Item paid for Chickins this weeke	xj s.	

mr sudall all weeke & plaiers one night.	Item one veale of our owne this weeke	Nil.	
	Summa	xxxix s. iij d./	
	...		
	f [23v] (26 August) (Disbursements)		5
	...		
	Item paid bradshay & his Company the 26 th day of August	xx s.	
	...		
	f [24] (September)		10
	...		
	Item given 2 Trumpiters	xij d.	
	...		
	Item given a Iugler	xij d.	
	...		15

1626-7

Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley 7 LRO: DDPt 1

f [10v]* (1-7 December) (Kitchen provisions)

	December the first. ffish and portage from preston	iiij s. vj d.	20
Mrs. Hoghton of Pendleton 2 nightes.	Item paid whipp for ffish this weeke	vij d.	
	Item 2 vealls this weeke	xviiij s. x d.	
	Item paid for xj neates Tonges this weeke	v s. viij d.	
Pirrie the plaier & his Companie one night./	Item paid by ffrancke for Rabettes & ffoule this weeke	v s. ix d.	25
	Item his chardges at preston	vij d.	
	Item paid for 4 capons	iiij s. iiij d.	
	Item paid for a pound of packe threed	ix d.	
	Item one Muttne of our owne	Nil.	
	Summa	ij li. ij d.	30
	...		
	f [5v] (Disbursements)		
	...		
Plaiers	Item paid Pirrie the plaier & his Companie the same Daye	xx s.	35
	...		
	f [6] (January)		
	...		
	Item given the Musick of preston the 4 th of Ianuary	x s.	40
	...		

	Item given Thomas Lathom the piper for pipeinge all christmas	xij s. iiij d.	
	Item given other pipers that came in christmas	ij s. iiij d.	
	...		
	f [13] (<i>February</i>)		5
	...		
	Item given the wates of Ripon the same daie	xij d.	
	...		
disley the plaier	Item given Disley the plaier the same daie	iiij s. iiij d.	10
	...		
	f [13v] (<i>February – March</i>)		
	...		
	Item given the wates of Leedes the last of ffebruary	xij d.	15
	...		
	Item given to fidders the same daie	vj d.	
	...		
	Item given the fidders of Peteley Brigges	[xij] vj d.	
	...		20
	f [14] (<i>4 April</i>)		
	...		
Plaiers	Item given Bradshay the plaier the 4 th of aprill	x s.	
	...		25
1628–9			
<i>Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley 9</i> LRO: DDPt 1			
	f [4v] (<i>Disbursements</i>)		
	...		30
plaiers	Item given the kinges plaiers the same day	xx s.	
	...		
	f [5] (<i>December – January</i>)		
	...		35
	Item given Clitherowe Plaiers	x s.	
	...		
	Item given mr sherburnes Plaiers the 3. ^d of Ianuary	x s.	
	Item paid Talier the Piper for all Christmas	xij s. iiij d.	
	...		40

8/ the same daie: 17 *February*
10/ the same daie: 23 *February*

17/ the same daie: 25 *March*
31/ the same day: 11 *December*

Item given vij pipers that Came in Christmas ij s. iiij d.
...

f [13v] (*February – March*)

... xij d. 5
Item given the wates of Ripon the same day

... xij d.
Item given the wates of wackfeild the same day

... xij d. 10
Item paid the wates of leeds the 14th of march

... xij d.
Item given the fidlers of wiglesworth

f [14] (*11 April*)

... xij d. 15
Item given the wates of hallifax the xjth of Aprill

f [15v] (*7 May*)

... vj d. 20
Item given musitians that came from bradforth 7th of May

f [26]

... vj d. 25
Item given the musitians the same day

f [26v] (*20 August*)

... xij d. 30
Item given the wates of lancaster the 20th of august

1629–30

Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley 10 LRO: DDPt 1

f [3v] (*Disbursements*)

... xx s. 35
paid Bradshay & his Company the same day

6/ the same day: 22 February

8/ the same day: 7 March

27/ the same day: 27 July

39/ the same day: 22 October

f [5v] (10 December)

...
giuen disley the player & his Company December xth vj s. viij d.
...

5

f [6]

...
giuen musizians the same day vj d.
...

10

f [6v] (January)

...
paid the pyper for playinge in Christenmas xiiij s. iiij d.
...

giuen henry the porter for viij pipetes in Christenmas ij s. viij d. 15
giuen to fidlers vj d.

...
giuen William Bradshay for makinge songhes vj d.
...

20

f [7]*

...
paid to my lorde of huntingtons pyper vj d.
...

25

f [27v]* (15 February) (Kitchen provisions)

Mr Banister of.
Altham one
night.
this weeke.

Mistris Anne
Houghton.
all this weeke.

ffysh bought in preston by Ned Myller the xiiijth of ffebruarie
ffresh Eeles. vj s. x d. sixe Skeytes. vj s. vj d. a Conger. and one
Myllwonn iiij s. ij d. sixe Tenches. ij s. vj d. fflookes vj s. vj d. 30

.3. salt Eeles. ij s. vj d. halfe a. i00. of Red heareing. ij s. a i00.
of Sprotts. viij d. more in Red heareing. vj d. a Mett and halfe
a pecke of Cockles cost iiij s. vj d. halfe a pecke of Muskles. v d.
Leekes. iiij d. in Mustard seed. iiij s. all ys.

xxxix s. v d.

Charges for one man & .2. horses ye same one night

ij s. 35

payd to Whippe for ffyshe the xiiijth of ffebruarie

xvj d.

payd to Roger Abbott the same day for ffower Teales.

xvj d.

giuen to the Waytes of Rypponn the xvth. of ffebruarie by my
Maysters appoyntment

xij d.

...

40

8/ the same day: 24 December

(20-5 February)

Sir Charles Garrard	ffyshe bought of Whippe the xxth of ffebruarie	xiiij d.	
ffive Nyghts. this weeke.	ffyshe bought in præston by Ned Miller the xxth of ffebruarie.		
Mr. Houghton of Parkhall and Mr. Hughe.	ffresh Eeles. x s. iiij d. fflooks. x s. iiij d. one Brett. xj d. ffive.		5
Anderton ffive Nyghts.	Skeytes. viij s. ffower. Myllwons. v s. Nyne Tenches. iiij s. Twoo.		
one Mr. Haughton.	Salt Samons. vj s. Smelts. iij s. iiij d. Halfe a .C. of Redheareinge.		
ffive nights.	ij s. a C. of. Sprotts. viij d. 3. Pecks and an Aghendawle of		
Mr. Daulton of Thorncham	Cockles. vj s. vj d. halfe a Pecke. of Muskles. v d. Leekes. vj d.		
twoo.	all which ys	ij l. xviiij s.	10
Nyghts.	payd ffor a Dosenn of Wheate Caykes the same daye	xij d.	
Mr. Thomas Houghton.	payd ffor Mustardseed the same daye	xij d.	
of Brynscoes .3. Nights.	Charges for himselfe & .2. horses one night	ij s.	
Mr. Pyrrie the Player and his Companie .2. Nyghts.	ffowle bought in præston by Roger Abbott the xxth of ffebruarie.		
	one Ducke. viij d. ffower snipes. and .3. halfe snipes. vij d. 2.		15
	grayplouers. x d.	ij s. j d.	
	giuen to a man that brought a Dosen Tenches. ffrom Mr. Standysh		
	of Standysh ye xxijth of ffebruary	ij s.	
	paid to Iohn Myller this weeke for halfe a veale	iiij s.	
	Sum ys	iiij l. x s. iiij d.	20

...

f [7v] (10 March) (Disbursements)

...

giuen the waites of leedes march 10 th	xij d.	25
---	--------	----

...

f [8] (March or April)

...

giuen Disley the player for one play	x s.	30
--------------------------------------	------	----

...

f [14]* (19 July)

...

giuen a sorte of Players which tearmet them selves the lady Elizabethes players for playinge one night	xx s.	35
--	-------	----

...

1630-1

Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley 11 LRO: DDPt 1
f [8]* (2-8 October) (Kitchen provisions)

...

Mr. Houghton. of Parkehall. 2. nights this. weeke.	Inprimis ffyshe bought of Whippe the seacond of october. payd to William Wyllcocke the same day ffor Nyne and Thirtie Chickins	xij d.	5
Mr. Guest they. Player and. his Companie. one night.	ffowle Bought in Preston by Roger Abbott the seacond of october. Eight grayplouers sixe Teales. 2. quylks. 2. greeneplouers ffiue Dosen of Pyrres and Larkes. all cost paid for sixe Couple of Rabbetes the same daye giuen they man that brought they Rabbetes to preston. bought in Clytherowe by Ned Myller the seacond of october .2. veales cost xij s. vj d. one Mutton cost. vij s. vj d. seauen Neates Tongs. iij s. spent. ij d.	xij s.	
Mistris Ann. Houghton. all this weeke.	paid to Robert Lawe ye. 3th. of october. for xvij. Chickins paid to Robert Lawe the same daie ffor .2. Pyggs. paid to Robert Lawe the iiijth of october for ffiue Capons. payd to Thomas Aspdenn of Altham the vth of October ffor a veale. paid Robert Lawe the vjth of october. for .3. Capons. paid Robert Lawe the same daye for Nyne Chickins. one Mutton of our owne this weeke.	vij s. iij d. iiij s. vj d.	10
	Sum	xxiiij s. ij d. iiij s. iij s. iiij d. v s.	15
		vj s. viij d. iij s. ij s. iij d. Nyll.	20
			25

ff [8-8v]* (16-22 October)

Mr. Houghton. of Parkehall. twoo nights. this. weeke.	ffowle bought in Preston by Roger Abbott the xvjth. of october. seauen Dosen of Larkes. j s. ix d. sixe. snipes. vj d. .3. grayplouers. x d. sixe Cockes. j s. ix d. Thirteene Teales and a Shellducke. iiij s. vj d.		30
Mistris. Ann: Houghton all this weeke.	giuen to a Soulgier by my Master. appoyntment the same daye giuen to 2. Players by my. Master appoyntment the same daye Bought in Clytherowe by Ned Myller the xvjth. of October. Twoo veales cost xv s. vj d. one Mutton. cost. viij s. viij d. six Neats Tongs. ij s. vj d. spent. ij d.	ix s. iiij d. vj d. vj d. l	35
	giuen to a man of Mr Shirburnes of Wygelsworth. for brynginge ffyshe ffrom thence by my Master appointment payd to Robert Lawe the xvijth of october. ffor ffyfteene Chickins. iij d. a peece ys.	xxvj s. x d. xij d. iiij s. ix d.	40

f [4v] (27 December)

piper	...		
	giuen a Merye man that belonged to my lorde Strange	ij s.	
	giuen the Pyper this Christenmas for playnge	xiiij s. iiij d.	
	...		5

(7 January)

...			
giuen viij. minstrelles this Christenmas iiij d. each	ij s. viij d.		
...			10

f [19]* (21-7 January) (Kitchen provisions)

Mr. Pyrrye. they. Player and his. Companie. twoo. Nights this weeke. Mistris Gyrdyngton. and her Syster. Mistris Gyllebert Houghtonn one night. this weeke.	...			
	ffyshe bought of Whippe the xxjth of Ianuarie cost	vj d.		
	Bought in Clytherowe by Ned Myller the xxijth of Ianuarie.			15
	a veale. and a hallfe. xiiij s. iiij d. spent ij d.	xiiij s. vj d.		
	payd to Henerie Taylyer of Carterplace neare Haslingden			
	the xxiiijth of Ianuarie for a veale	ix s.		
	paid to Robert Lawe ye xxvth of Ianuarie for 2. Caponns.	ij s.		
	paid to Robert Lawe ye xxvjth of Ianuarie for .2. henns.	xij d.		20
	paid to Robert Lawe ye xxvijth of Ianuarie for other 2. henns	xij d.		
	Twoo Muttonns of our owne this. weeke.	Nyll.		
	Sum ys	xxvij s.		
	...			25

f [13v] (24-8 February) (Disbursements)

...			
giuen the wayites of Nottingham	xij d.		
...			

(4 March)

giuen the wayetes of Hallifax	xij d.		
...			30

f [14] (22-6 March)

giuen the waites of leedes	xij d.		
...			35

f [18] (18-21 May)

...

giuen ij. players helpinge when the house was on fyre ij s.

...

5

1631-2**Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley 12** LRO: DDPt 1

f [5] (4-30 January) (Disbursements)

...

giuen fyue pypers that Came to the gaites this Christemas xx d. 10

...

f [13] (16 February)

...

players. giuen the players Gest and his Company nott playinge 15
february 16th x s.

...

f [13v]* (6 March)

...

giuen the waites of leedes xij d. 20

...

(10 March)

fiddlers giuen the tomlinge fiddlers when Sir Gilbert Houghtonn was heare v s. 25

...

1633-4**Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley 13** LRO: DDPt 1

f [5] (24-30 December) (Disbursements)

...

players. giuen players that Came from whaley xiiij s. iiij d. 30

...

35

Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley 23 LRO: DDPt 1

f [4v] (1-3 January) (New Year's gifts)

...

the piper ij s. vj d. william Eastham, ij s. Lawrence ij s. 00 06 06

...

40

Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley 13 LRO: DDPt 1
f [5v] (*January*) (*Disbursements*)

...

pyper

giuen to iiij. piperes iiij d. a peece is

xvj d.

5

...

giuen the pyper for plaine this Christenmas

xiij s. iiij d.

...

Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley 23 LRO: DDPt 1
f [5] (3–19 February) (*Expenses*)

10

...

Item giuen mrs. Elenor which she gaue the fidlers at
Christenmas

00 02 00

...

15

Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley 13 LRO: DDPt 1
f [15] (8–28 February) (*Disbursements*)

...

fidlers.

giuen the fidlers when bornley players was here

v s.

...

20

f [22v]* (14–20 February) (*Kitchen provisions*)

...

Mr. Ratclyffe
Houghton and
Mistris

ffyshe bought of Whippe the xiiijth of ffebruary

ij s. x d.

Gyrlington
fflower Nyghts
this weeke.flookes bought in Preston by William Whalley the xiiijth
of ffebruarie. cost

iiij s. vj d.

25

Mr. Hothersall.
and his wiffe 4.
Nights this
weeke.

paid ffor Twoo Muttons bought in preston by William

Whalley the same day xix s. the one Cost. xij s. the other. vij s.
his Charges for himselfe & his horse.

xix s.

xij d.

Burneley Pla-
yers one night
Mr. Parker of
Extwysle. Mr.
Barcroft of
Lodge. and my
Lord of Houme
one night this
weeke.fowle bought in Preston by Roger Abbott the. xvth of ffebruarie,
and sent hither .2. Dosen of Pyrres & 22. Dunns.

iiij s. iiij d.

30

paid to Mr: Hyndle of Cowell the xvth ffebruarie ffor a veale.

x s.

ffyshe bought of Richard Phyllypsonne the xvijth of ffebruarie
fflookes. iiij s. Thomebackes and Blowes. iiij s. vj d. in Sparlyngs.
iiij s. one Coddffyshe vj d.

x s.

35

Giuen him for bringinge this fyshe.

xij d.

Twoo veales of our owne this weeke.

Nyll.

...

f [15v] (29 February) (Disbursements)

...

giuen the waites of leedes

xij d.

giuen the fidders of knasborough

xij d.

...

5

Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley 23 LRO: DDPt 1

f [7]* (8 July) (Expenses)

...

Item for supper & dinner at Shrawsburie with necesaries

00 10 08

10

giuen the prisoners xij d. for watinge xij d. giuen a piper vj d.

00 02 06

...

(9 July)

Item at witchurch for supper and dinner with necesaries

00 12 06

15

for watinge xvij d. giuen the pore vj d. [musicke xij d.]

00 03 00

(10 July)

Item att Chester for our suppers with necesaries

00 08 08

20

for watinge xij d. iij. musicke iij s. giuen the pore vj d.

00 04 06

...

1634-5

25

Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley 14 LRO: DDPt 1

f [9v]* (10-16 October) (Kitchen provisions)

ffyshe bought of Whippe the xth of october

viiij d.

My Lord:
Strangeis
Players
one Nyght
this weeke.payd to Thurston the same day for a Dosen of Larkes bought
in the house heare.

ix d.

30

payd for ij l. of Rawzinn the same daye

v d.

Bought in preston by Wylliam Whalley the xjth of october.

a veale. ix s. halfe a veale. iij s. vj d. vij. Neats. Tonges. cost.

ij s. xj d. his Charges. vj d. all is.

xvj s. xj d.

35

payd to Robert Lawe the xvth of october for ffyue young
Turkeyes

iij s. iij d.

payd for sixe Chickins the same daye

xviiij d.

4/ xij corrected from xx

17/ 03 corrected from 02

Twoo Muttons of our owne this weeke

Sum ys

Nyll.
xxiij s. vij d.

...

f [3v] (14-31 October) (Disbursements)

5

...

players.

giuen my lorde strange players

xx s.

...

f [6] (December - 20 January)

10

players.

giuen the players of whaley

xx s.

...

players.

giuen the players for iij. playes

xxvj s. viij d.

piper

giuen the piper his wagis xiiij s. iiij d. & ij s. over

xv s. iiij d.

giuen vj. pipers and fidlers this Christenmas

ij s.

...

ff [12 - 12v]* (26 December - 1 January) (Kitchen provisions)

20

...

Mr. Shirburne.
of Stonihurst.
and his wyffe.
and his sonne.
all this weeke.Payd to Richard Osboldeston of byllington the xxvjth of
december ffor a veale.

xij s.

paid to Nicholas Houlker of billington. the same daye ffor
a veale.

x s.

paid to William Woodd wyffe of billington. the same daye for
a veale.

ix s.

Mr. Ryshton of.
Poutehaulghe
and his wyffe.
and his Mother
his Syster and
his Brother
all this. weeke.paid to Lancelett Boultons wyffe of. Copthurst the same daie
for a veale.

xj s.

paid to Richard Craven of Ashis. the same day ffor a veale.

xj s.

paid to Iohn Rawclyffe of Padyham. the same day ffor a veale.

x s. vj d.

paid to Emer Rishton the same day for a veale.

xiiij s. iiij d.

Mistris
Elysabethe
Standyshe all.
this weeke.

ffowle bought in Preston by Thurston. the xxvijth of December

.6. Cocks. ij s. iij d. 9. Grayplouers. iij s. iiij d. .8. Teales. iij s.

4. Doson of Larkes. xvj d. .3. Morepoots. ij s. iij d. one Seapye.

vj d. .4. Dosenn: and .7. Snypes. v s. viij d. .6. Duns. xij d.

Mr. Wallmisley.
of Showley.
all this weeke.

Tenn Thrushes and Redshanks. xij d.

xx s. iiij d.

paid for Twelue Couple of Rabbetes the same day

xij s.

paid for bringing theis Rabbets to prestonn.

xij d.

Charges for himselfe & his horse the same day.

xviij d.

Whalley.
Players .3.
Nyghts this.
weeke.payd to Edmund Cockshutt of Harwoodd. the xxixth of
December ffor a veale.

xj s.

40

ffowle brought by Iohn Collye the. xxixth of December 7.		
Teales and one Cocke. iiij s. .2. Duns & 4. snypes. xij d.	v s.	
paid ffor .8. Couple of Rabbets the same daye.	viiij s.	
paid for bringing theis Rabbets hyther.	xij d.	
payd to Edward Duckworthe of Dynckley. the last of December		5
ffor a veale.	viiij s.	
paid to Richard Houghton of Ewewoodd. the same daie ffor		
a veale.	ix s. viij d.	
Payd to Iohn Rawthwell of Grayne the. Last of December ffor		
a veale.	x s. vj d.	10
One veale of our owne this weeke.	Nyll.	
Eight Muttons of our owne this weeke.	Nyll.	
Sum ys	viiij l. iiij s. x d.	

...

15

Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley 23 LRO: DDPt 1
f [9] (1-7 January) (New Year's gifts)

...

echristofer woode, Thurston, and the piper each ij s. vj d. — 07 06

...

20

Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley 14 LRO: DDPt 1
f [12v]* (2-8 January) (Kitchen provisions)

...

Mr. Shirburne of Stonihurst his wyffe and. his Sonne all this weeke	Payd to Bryan Shutleworth of hapton. the seacond of Ianuarie ffor a veale.	vij s. x d.	25
	paid to George Hargreaues of ffearnehurst the same day ffor a veale.	ix s. vj d.	
Mr. Ryshtonn of. Poutchaulghe his. wyffe his. Syster and. his Brother all this. weeke	ffyshe bought in preston by Thurston the iijth of Ianuarie. ffowerteene. Myllanns. xvij s. vj d. a hundrethe of fflookes. xiiij s. Twoo skeyts v s. ffower Stockes. ij s. viij d. all ys.	j l. xix s. ij d.	30
	paid ffor bringinge this ffyshe hyther	ij s.	
	ffowle bought in preston by Thurston the same daye .4.		
Mr. Hothersall. all this weeke Mistris Elisabethhe. Standysh all. this weeke	Wiggeons. ij s. viij d. seauen Dosen and a halffe of Pyrres ij s. ix d. a Mallard. x d. twoo Grayplouers. xij d. ffower Teales. ij s.	x s. iij d.	35
	paid for Twelue Couple of Rabbetes the same day	xij s.	
	paid for bringinge theis Rabbets to prestonn	xij d.	
Mr. Haworthe one Night this weeke.	paid to Robynn Coates ffor goeing twyse. to preston and twyse to Stonyhurst.	viiij d.	40

My Lord.
Strange Players
2. Nights
this weeke.

Charges ffor Thurston and an other to. preston the iijth of Ianuary for ffyshe & ffowle	xviiij d.	
paid to Richard Phillipsonn by Roger. Abbott for ffowle sent the vth of Ianuary fflower and ffowertie Dunns. and one Wyggeon and Carryage hither	viiij s. vj d.	5
paid to Thurston the same day for a Curlewe	xvj d.	
paid to Raphe Shutleworthe of Whalley the. vth of Ianuary for sixe Pyggs this Christmas.	xv s.	
paid to Iohn Prockter of Darwynn the vth of Ianuarie ffor a veale.	x s.	10
paid to Christopher Hyndle of Harwoodd. the vth of Ianuarie ffor a veale.	viiij s. vj d.	
paid to Thomas Clayton of harwoodd. the same daye ffor a veale.	viiij s.	
paid to Richard Houlden of Ravenshore. the vth of Ianuarie ffor a veale.	viiij s. vj d.	15
paid to Richard Asheworth of Newellheye. the vth of Ianuary ffor a veale.	xj s.	
payd to Iames Ellis of Hygham the vjth of Ianuary ffor a veale	ix s.	
paid to Iohn Edleston of Whalleybanks the vjth of Ianuarie ffor a veale	viiij s. vj d.	20
One veale of our owne this weeke.	Nyll.	
Nyne Muttonns of our owne this weeke.	Nyll.	
Sum ys	viiij l. xij s. iij d.	

25

Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley 23 LRO: DDPt 1
f [11] (12 August-4 September) (Expenses)

...		
for musicke at Selbie	00 01 00	
...		30

1635-6

Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley 15 LRO: DDPt 1
f [4] (16-30 November) (Disbursements)

...		35
giuen Bradshaw and his Company	xx s.	
...		
f [5v] (24 December - 10 January)		
...		40
giuen the players of whaley	x s.	
...		

players.

players.

pepers giuen pipers and fidders this Christenmas iiij d. a peece xvj d.
...

f [11] (5 April)

players. giuen the players not stayinge Aprill the vth. x s.
...

1636-7

Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley 16 LRO: DDPt 1
f [3v] (November-December) (Disbursements)

players. giuen my lorde Strange players xij s. iiij d.
...

f [9v] (March) (Disbursements)

giuen the waites of Leedes xij d.
...

f [19] (September)

giuen the waytes of Ripon xij d.
...

1637-8

Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley 17 LRO: DDPt 1
f [5v] (January) (Disbursements)

January 1637. Imprimis giuen the players the iijth day x s. 30
...

piper giuen the piper for playinge this Christenmas xij s. iiij d.
...

piperers giuen ix. piperes and fideres iiij d. each after ould Costome iij s.
...

Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley 23 LRO: DDPt 1
f [19]* (January) (New Year's gifts)

giuen the piper and william whaley, ij s. each 00 04 00 40
...

Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley 23 LRO: DDPt 1
f [20] (31 May-4 July) (Expenses)

...
giuen a man with a hobbie horse by Mrs. Iulian 00 00 02

5

(4 July-4 August)

giuen the musicke at knowsley ij s. vj d. giuen the woman
brought breackfastes v s. 00 07. 06 10

1638-9

Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley 18 LRO: DDPt 1
f [3] (December-January) (Disbursements)

15

players. giuen the players this Christenmas from Whaley xij s. iiij d.

players. giuen the players this xijth. day xij s. iiij d.

piper giuen the piper for playinge this Christenmas xij s. iiij d. 20

peperes. giuen fidlers and pypers this Christenmas euery one iiij d. ij s. iiij d.

Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley 23 LRO: DDPt 1
f [21v] (1 January-12 February) (New Year's gifts)

25

...
piper ij s. ned mitton xij d. mr. Richarde for the bruster
bowle vj d. 00 03 06.

30

...
mrs. Sherborne of Twisleton v s. the fidler ij s. ij. nurses
ij s. Chewe ij s. all 00 11. 00

1639-40

35

Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley 23 LRO: DDPt 1
f [24v] (January) (New Year's gifts)

...
giuen Raphe Crosse and the piper ij s. each 00 04 00

40

4/ Mrs. Iulian: *Juliana, wife of Thomas Walmesley's son Thomas; or else her daughter of the same name*

1640-1***Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley 23*** LRO: DDPt 1f [27] (7-9 January) (*Expenses*)

...

Item giuen mrs. Elenor to giue dicke the fidler

00 02 06 5

...

f [29] (25 June-17 July)

...

giuen Iames Lightoullers which was giuen the fidlers

00 02 00 10

...

1641-2***Household Accounts of Thomas Walmesley 23*** LRO: DDPt 1f [31] (January) (*New Year's gifts*)

15

...

Thurston, and the piper ij s. vj d. each

00 05. 00

...

Province of York and Diocese of Chester

1556–8

Bishop Scott's Visitation Articles GMRO: E7/12/1/2

f [1v]*

...

Concernyng the dewe maner of lyving of the laitie/
Also whether you here tell of any assembles or conventicles wherein is redd
previe lecturs sermons [⁊]or^l playes to thindrance or derysion of the Catholike
faythe

5

...

1571

Archbishop Grindal's Injunctions and Visitation Articles STC: 10375

sig C.ij.

10

...

19 Item, that the Minister & churchwardens shall not suffer any Lordes
of misrule, or Sommer Lordes, or Ladies, or any disguised persons, or others
in Christmasse, or at May games, or any Minstrels, Morice dauncers, or
others, at Rishbearings or at any other times, to come vnreuerently into
any Church, or Chappell, or Churchyarde, and there daunce, or play anye
vnseemely partes, with scoffes, ieastes, wanton iestures, or rybaulde talke,
namely, in the time of diuine seruice, or of anye sermon.

15

20

...

sig C.ij.

...

61 Whether the Minister and Churchwardens haue suffered any Lordes
of Misrule or Sommer Lordes or Ladies, or any disguised persons, or others
in Christmasse, or at May games, or any Morice dauncers, or others at rishe
bearings, or at anye other times, to come vnreuerently into the church, or
churchyard, and there to daunce, or playe any vnseemely partes with scoffes,
iestes, wanton gestures, or ribalde talke, namely in the time of common

25

30

praier. And what they be that commit such disorder, or accompanie or maintaine them?

...

1577–8

Archbishop Sandys' Visitation Articles STC: 10376

sig B.iii.v*

...

40 Whether any morice dauncers, rishe bearers, or any others haue come vnreuerntly into the churh or churchyard, and there daunced, or played any vnseemely

1581

Bishop Chaderton's Visitation Articles STC: 10174.5

sig Aii.

® Church and Churchyards.

First, whether ... your sayde Church, Chappell or Churchyarde be abused or prophaned by any vnlawfull, or vnseemely acte, game, or exercise, as by Lordes of misrule, Summer lordes, or ladies, Pipers, Rushebearers, Moricedancers, Pedlers, Bearewardes, and such like. Then through whose default, and what be the names of the offenders in that behalfe.

...

1604

Bishop Vaughan's Visitation Articles STC: 10175

sig A2

First, whether ... the sayd Church, Chappell, or Churchyard be abused or prophaned by any vnlawfull or vnseemely act, game, or exercise, as by Lords of misrule, Summer lords or ladies, Pipers, Rushbearers, Morris-dancers, Pedlers, Bearewardes, and such like: Then through whose default, and what be the names of the offendours in that behalfe?

1605

Bishop Lloyd's Visitation Articles STC: 10176

sig B2

® Prophaning the Sabbath

44 First, whether do any prophane the Sabbath day by vnlawfull games,

10/ vnreuerntly *for* vnreuerently

10/ churh *for* church

17, 28, 38/ First: *ornamental initial F, followed by black-letter capital I*

by piping, dauncing, Stage playes, meeting at Aleberryes, drinking and
tippling in time of common praier, or by working vpon the Sabboth dayes
and holy dayes, since the xx. day of March, 1601, and what be their names
that do so prophane the same?

...

5

1607

Archbishop Mathew's Visitation Articles STC: 10377.5

pp 8–9

...

10

38. Item Whether are there within your saide parish or Chappellry any
Rush bearings, Bull-baytings, Beare-baitings, May-games, Morice-dances,
Ailes, or any such like prophane pastimes or Assemblies on the Sabboth to
the | hinderance of Prayers, Sermons, or other godly exercises.

...

15

1617

Bishop Morton's Visitation Articles STC: 10176.5

sig B2v

...

20

Rushbearings.

39 Item, Whether are there within your said Parish or chappelry any
Rushbearings, Bul-baitings, Beare-baitings, Maygames, Morrice-dances,
Ales, or any such like prophane Passetimes, or Assemblies on the Sabbath,
to the hinderance of Praiers, Sermons, or other godly exercises?

...

25

1628–9

Archbishop Harsnett's Visitation Articles STC: 10379.7

p 9

...

30

39 Item, Whether are there within your sayd Parish or Chappelry, any
Rush-bearing, Bull-baitings, May-games, Morice-dances, Ales, or any such
like prophane pastimes or assemblies on the Sabbath, to the hinderance of
Prayers, Sermons, or other godly exercises?

...

35

21/ Item: roman; rest of text black-letter

31/ Item: roman; rest of text black-letter

1633

Archbishop Neile's Visitation Articles STC: 10380

sig A2

...

2 Whether hath your Church or Church-yard beene abused and
 prophaned by any fighting, chiding, brawling or quarrelling, any playes,
 Lords of misrule, summer Lords, morris-dancers, pedlers, bowlers,
 bearewards, butchers, feasts, schooles, temporall courts, or Leets, Lay Iuries,
 musters, or other prophane vsage in your Church or Church-yard, any bells
 superstitiously rung on holidayes or their eeuves, or at any other time
 without good cause allowed by the Minister and Church-wardens: haue any
 trees been felled in your Church-yard, and by whom?

...

1634

Bishop Bridgeman's Visitation Articles STC: 10177

sig B2

...

45 Item, whether hath your Church or Chappel, Church-yard, or
 Chappel-yard beene abused or profaned by any fighting, quarelling,
 chiding, brawling, or by any Plaies, Lords of Mis-rule, Summer Lords,
 Morris-dancers, Pedlers, Bowlers, Beare-wards, Feasts, Schooles,
 Temporall Courts, or Leets, Laie Iuries, Musters, or other profane usage
 whatsoever?

...

1636

Archbishop Neile's Visitation Articles STC: 10380.5

sig A2

...

2 Whether hath your Church or Church yard beene abused, and
 prophaned by any fighting, chiding, brawling or quarrelling, any playes,
 Lords of misrule, summer Lords, morris-dancers, pedlers, bowlers,
 bearewards, butchers, feasts, schooles, temporall courts, or Leets, Lay Iuries,
 musters, or other prophane usage in your Church or Church-yard, any bells
 superstitiously rung on Holidayes or their eeves, or at any other time
 without good cause allowed by the Minister, and Church-wardens: have
 any Trees beene felled in your Church yard, and by whom?

...

1637

Bishop Bridgeman's Visitation Articles STC: 10178

pp (9)–(10)

...

53 Item, Whether hath your Church or Chappell, Churchyard or Chappelyard beene abused or prophaned by fighting, quarrelling, chiding, brawling, Bearebaiting, or by any playes, Lords of misrule, Morrice-dancers, Pedlers, Bowlers, or of any feasts Schooles, Temporall Courts, Mustars, Faires, or Markets been kept therin, or hath any excommunicate person beene suffered to come into your Church or Chappell, or beene buried therein in time of divine service, and when? 5 10

...

p (12)

...

71 Item, Whether are there any within your Parish or Chappelry who have used any sports or recreations upon the Lords day commonly called Sunday, which have not beene at Morning and Evening Prayer, or otherwaies then is permitted and allowed by his Maiesties late Declaration published in that behalfe? 15 20

...

County of Lancaster,

1574

JPs' Orders for Salford Hundred

Cumbers House: Kenyon MSS, Memorandum Book

f 46v (21 April)

...

Orders Taken at mannchester The xxj daye of Aprill In the xvjth yeare of the Queenes maiesties Raigne Elizabeth That nowe ys &c By vs Edmund Trafforde Iohn Radcliffe Rycharde Hollaunde ffrauncis Holte Roberte Bartonn Edmund Ashetonne Randolphe Hurlestonn and Roberte Worsley esquiers eighte of the Queenes maiesties Iustices of peace within the Countye of Lancaster viz.

...

Item That noe iustices of peace within this hundred shall giue any Lycence to any minstrell or minstrelles & those allreadie giuen be repelled and revoked.

...

1579

AC *Richard Hollingworth, Mancuniensis* CL: Mun. A.6.51

f 20*

...

Anno 1579.

In their times Henry E of Derby Henry E of Huntington William Lord Bishop of Chester the fourth was thomas [Wilkinson] williamson afterwards D D.¹ & other her Maiesties high comissioners being assembled at Manchester gaue forth good orders & Iniunctions against pipers & Minstrells playing, making & frequenting ales bearebayting or bull-bayting on the Sabbath dayes or vppon any other dayes in time of devine service or sermons also against superfluous & superstitious ringing, wakes & common feasts continuing in Alehouses drunkennesses...

...

1587

Report of Edward Fleetwood PRO: SP 12/240f 292* (*before 7 September*)

Lankisshire & Chesshire.

1. By the Ecclesiasticall Commission smale reformation hath bene had in those Counties as maie appere by the emptynes of Churches on Sondaies and hollidayes in the tyme of devine Seruice, multytude of Bastardes, and abundance of dronckardes/

...

f 293*

28. In Church townes and in divers other places of those Counties, Cockfights and other exceedinge vnlawfull games are tollerated vpon Sondaies & holidais at the tyme of devyne Seruice, And oftentymes thereat are present divers of the Iustices of the peace of the same Counties, And also some of the eccliasticall Commissioners/

...

Report of Seventeen Lancashire Preachers Bodl.: Tanner MS 144f 28* (*before 7 September*)

...

6. Wackes, Ales, Greenes, Maigames, Rushbearinges, Bearbaites, [^]Doveales, Bonfiers¹, all maner vnlawfull Gamin(ge) Pipinge & Daunsinge, and suche like, ar in all places frely exercised vppon ye Sabboth./

...

f 28v*

16. The Action of mariage disturbed with many popishe Rites as By sundrie Crosses vsed of the parties them selves: by transposing the Ring(e from) finger to finger at the severall names of the father the sonne & the holy gh(ost: By) layinge downe and gevinge a large portion of money, as an Indowment of (the) woman: by bringinge the parties to and from the

18/ eccliasticall *for* ecclesiasticall25/ Gamin(ge): *right margin tightly bound; Raines, p 7, reads Gamin(g, but the other gerunds in this list end in e*32/ Ring(e from): *right margin tightly bound; reading from Raines, p 7*34/ gh(ost: By): *right margin tightly bound; reading from Raines, p 7*35/ of (the): *right margin tightly bound; reading from Raines, p 7*

Churche with Piping, (and) spendinge the whole Sabbothe in Daunsinge.
...

f 29v*

The names of the Preachers in the Cowntie of Lancaster that geve Testimony herevnto.

(signed)

Peter Shawe	Edwarde fletewoodde
Oliuer Carter	Iohn Caldwell
William langley	Edwarde Assheton:
Iohn Embleye	Robert osbaldeston
Leonard Shaw	Iames Smyth
Miles Aspinall	
Iames Gosnell	Richard meidgley
Peter White	Iohn ashworth
Edwarde welshe	Henry Sumner

Proposals of Sixteen Lancashire Justices Concerning Sabbath Observance

BL: Harley MS 1926

ff 80–80v* (before 7 September)

...

The Enormities of the Sabbothe are theis./

Wakes, ffayres, markettes, bayrebaytes, bullbaites, Ales, Maygames, Resortinge to Alehowses in tyme of devyne service, pypinge and dauncinge, huntinge & all maner of vnlawfull gamynge./

The meanes howe to Refourme the same./

To geve in chardge at the publicke quarter Sessions to all mayors, bayliffes and Cunstable & other civill officers, churche wardens & other officers of the Churche to suppress by all meanes Lawfull the saidde dysorders of the Sabbothe as also to presente the said offenders l at the quarter Sessions that they may be dealt wth for the same soe farre as Lawe will beare, and for the presente tyme to Apprehend the minstrelles bearewardes and other suche Lyke cheeffe aucthors of the saide disorders And them to bringe ymmediatly before som^m Iustice of peace to be pvnished at their discrecions./

That the Churchwardens & other Churche officers be Enioyned to Appeare at the quarter Sessions And their to make presentment of all that neglecte divyne service vpon the Sabothe daye by absence or other wyse that they may

1/ Piping, (and): right margin tightly bound; reading from Raines, p 7

8/ Shawe corrected from Shawper

be Indicted vpon the Statute *which* Imposethe a penaltie of xij d. for euerie suche offence.

...

ff 81–2v

5

...

John Byron, Richard Shirborn, Edmund Trafforde, Nicholas Banester, James Asshton, Richard Brereton, Richard Asshton, Bryan parker, Thomas Talbotte, Iohn Bradshawe, Edmund Hopwood Roberte worsley, Thomas Talbot, Alexander Rigbie, Iohn wrightington, Edmund ffleetwoodde./

10

The Condicion of a Recognisance sett downe & agreed vpon by the right honorable fferdinando Lord Strange, & the reste of her maiesties Iustices of peace within the Countie of Lancaster to be taken of all that nowe or hereafter shalbe [A] Allowed to keepe Alehowse within the saide Countie./

...

15

...And also if the saidde (*blank*) do not hereafter Recepte or [keepe] receyve I into his saide howse, or sell or vtter anie Ale beare or victualles vnto anie mainteyner or vphoulder of anie disorders vpon the Sabothe daye, as of wakes, ffayres, *markettes*, Bayre beates, greenes, Ales, maygames, huntinge, bowlinge, Cockfightinge or suche Lyke. ... And alsoe if the saide . doe [fr] from hencefourth observe and keepe good order in his said howse & other places belonginge to him And also all & euerie suche orders & rules as are & shalbe sett fourthe & made by the Iustices of peace within the said countie of Lancaster for and Towchinge the goode gouernemente & orders to be kepte by Ale howse keepers. That then this *presente* Recognisance to be voide and of none effecte, Or els to stande in full power strengthe & vertue./

20

25

Letter from Edward Fleetwood to Lord Burghley BL: Cotton Titus B.ii
ff 239–40* (7 September)

30

Right honorable) beinge, by *your* especiall good favor, made acquainted with *your* honorable Action, concerninge the placing and displacinge of the Iustices of peace in the Countie of Lancaster, I have thought it my parte to advertise *your Honor* of the Sequell thereof. *Which* that I might the more fully be able to do, I bestowed my attendance at the Assises. where I perceived in them *yat* stand displaced no smale Indignation towardse those, whome they cowlde any way suspecte to have bien furtherors, or suppose to be favowrers of that honorable Action. Wherewith also they *presumed* to possesse the right honorable the Earle of Derby, as with a matter of no smale dishonor vnto him and depe discontentment. Wherevpon, for the

35

40

20/ saide . . . apparently for .. standing for the name of the accused in an actual bond

present time and place, I thoughte good (my selfe remayninge in som part
 of Ielowsie with them) in generalitie to lay foorth (as occasion served)
 in the Pulpit to their faces that, *which* before I had more particularly
 delivered to *your Honor* concerninge the corrupte state of the whole
 Cuntre; that every guilty Conscience of them might gather vp that *which* 5
 was due vnto it. Whereof it pleased my *Lords* the Iudges to take so good
 notice, that they delivered the chefe pointes thereof after to the Iurors in
 charge, and the same also more specially recommended to the Iustices of
 peace to be in their continuall Service regarded. All *which* so nerely
 towched the guiltie Conscience of the discontented sorte, that they began, 10
 for the residue of the Assises, to plucke downe their highe lookes, and
 somewhat better to pacify their discontented mindes, and to brooke their
 emulated frendes then befor they semed to do. After *which* immediatly,
 when matters wer at the hottest, I also thought good to attende the right
 honorable my verie good Lord the Earle of Derby by way of accustomed 15
 duetie, *which* I accordingly did, thereby to geve opportunitie to his
 Lordship of speache in the *premisses* matters, and my self also to win
 occasion to lay foorth *yat* to his *Honor* concerninge the vnsowndnesse of
 divers of his Councell, as might either fully satisfy his Lordship, or at the
 lest clerely iustify *your honors* most considerat action. But I obteyned not 20
 one werde of the *premisses* matter, thowghe I endevoured to sturre him
 vp thereto by many wordes of my parte vttered concerninge *your honors*
 direction of the Ecclesiasticall Commission. Whereof he semed to have
 great good likinge, and professed his best furtherance thereto. wherefore
 howsoever the discontented sorte (the rather to countenaunce their
 discontented state) will seme to cast vpon his Lordship a prefixed purpose 25
 of discontented Expostulation, yet I am persuaded, when he shall come in
 presence with *your Honor* it will be wholly turned into an honorable
 request of a most dishonorable matter. Wherein *yat* *your Honor* shoulde
 not be narrowly overtaken, as vnfurnished of sufficient intelligence, I have 30
 with all speede addressed these my letters to *your honor*, as soone as I
 vnderstode of the Earle his suddaine departure towardse the Courte, by
which to geve *your Honor* to vnderstande, *yat*, as our state standeth, the
 satisfaction of his *Lordships* request, or rather of the suggestion of som
 evell Instrumentes abowte him, shall breede not a litle Inconvenience to 35
your honor, his honor, their reformation *yat* ar displaced, to the publique
 service, and to the good estate of the syncere professors bothe of the
 Commission and of the whole Cuntre. ffor, ffirst, it shall argue *your*
honors former action of Insufficiencie, beinge in dede, in all Iudgment
 of those *yat* feare god amongst vs, most discreetly syncerely and fully 40
 to all 'good' purposes accomplished, bothe for the singuler comfort
 of the faithfull professors of the truthe, and the rare disparigement of the

adversaries thereof in our Cuntri(e) Then it shall not a litle nourishe in the Earle that humor of carelesse securitie in tolleratinge and no way sowndly reforminge the notoriows backwardnesse of his whole Company in religion, and chefely of the chefest abowte him. In Somme, it shall harden the discontented in theire former state of vnsowndnesse; it shall drive the
5 zelowse gentlemen from the publique service; and settle in the mindes of all ye true professors an vtter dispaire of any good Course of Reformation hereafter to be taken in these partes, when they shall see your honors first action, and the same of so greate importance to theire well doinge, to receive so spedie and vntimely an overthrow, and thereby a marine wale (as
10 it were) of currupte Magistracie sett vp here at home amongst vs against all good directions of your honors hereafter to be made from above. These Considerations (right honorable) have caused me to wishe the Earle to want in this matter som parte of his desire (whome yet I honor many wayes not unworthily) and so likewise any other, if such therebe, that seke to have
15 theire privat humors of singuler Soveraintie still nourished with publique discommoditie. Neither may your Honor thinke that two or but one more of his Lordshipse Councell added (as, if it wer but Mr Halsall or Mr ffarrington to the Commission, or Mr Rigby to the Quorum) shall worke no great præiudice. ffor one bad man, amongst many, not all good, shalbe
20 able to do no smale hurte. Halsall is a Lawier, præsentet this laste Assises as a Recusant in som degree. ffarrington is as cuninge as he, not any thinge sowneder in religion thowghe muche more subtile to avoide the publique note then he. Rigby is as cuninge and vnsownde as either, and as grosly to be detected therein as Halsall. All three of them as busie Contrivers of
25 daungerowse devises against the peace of the Ministerie, and free course of the Gospell, & directe procedinge of Iustice, in all common opinion, as any that ever bore auctoritie amongst vs. If there wer yet roome for any more of his Lordshipse Councell, it might rather be wished to mr Tildesley or Mr Scarsbricke, gentlemen of best note amongst the rest for honest and
30 vpriht dealinge in civill matters. But muche rather to be wished that his honor woulde be persuaded to howlde him selfe sufficiently contented with those three of his Councell and chefe abowt him, which your Honor hath allredie (vnrequested) freely geven to his Lordship: Namely, Sir Peter Lee, Sir Richard Sherborne & Mr Rigbey, all three of the same affection with
35 the rest; and yet Rigbey as discontented & as præsumptuously | Vsinge his speche against your honors former proceedinges as any that remaine wholly expulsed. (But it may be that his honor or som other, the rather to gaine theire purpose, shall bringe in Question the state of the present
40 Commission, in respect, either, of the whole body of the Commissioners, or, of the particuler members thereof. Wherefore I thowght it also most expedient to lay foorth vnto your honor the sundrie observations which I

have made in this behalfe. ffirst, for the whole body of the Com^{missioners},
 they ar so ^{pro}portionably allotted to the severall partes of the Shire, as
 our store of sownde men wOULD any way afforde: ffive or fowre or Three
 Iustices at the lest vnto every hundrethe. By meanes whereof every
 hundreth hathe his sufficient Magistracie within it selfe; and every Quarter
 Sessions (intertayninge (the most of them) two hundrethes) a compitent
 number of Iustices; and the generall Assises, a full furnished Benshe of
 worshipfull gentlemen to countenance and attende that greate and
 honorable service Which appered most evidently in the eie of all men this
 last Assises, by the most plentifull concourse of all the gentlemen Iustices
 well affected from all partes of the Shire. ^{pro}vidinge thereby, that, neither
 the common service specially layed vppon them shoulde be disfurnished
 of due attendance, nor the discontented sorte shoulde obtaine any iust
 occasion to argue ^{your honors} direction of Insufficiencie, or them of any
 neglect of duetie. Where they imployed them selves so throwghly in the
 Cause of Religion, that there insued a most plentifull detection of 600
 Recusantes by Othe presented, as also the Indictment of 87 of them
 (as many as for the time cowlde be preferred to the Iurie) and further a
 notification (by Othe) of 21 vagrant Priestes vsually receipted in Lancashire
 and 25 notoriowse houses of Receipt for them. Suche ar the manyfolde
 Commodities, which we fele allredy by ^{your honors} most sownde direction,
 in respecte whereof it is of all that desire reformation amongst us (as
 iustice of her children) most confidently iustified. The onely wante in
 generall is the want of sownde gentlemen in most partes of the Cuntrie
 (whereof, I assure my selfe, they that promote the Office agains^t ^{your}
 honors former direction will say litle). Herevnto ^{your honor} conceived a
 most apte and necessarie supplie, namely, the attendance of the Iustices of
 Salford hundrethe at the Quarterly Sessions of other partes of the Cuntry
 worst affected. To which effecte, it is geven owte, that ^{your honor} hathe
 allredy sent downe letters to the Earle. But I feare me his Lordships
 absence, and the synister Emulation of som of his Councell, as namely
 of mr ffarington (as I certainly here ()) will disapoint them of their due
 successe. Wherefore it wer good ^{your honors} more speciall letters were
 written to the gentlemen them selves, of whome I dowbte not but they shall
 inioy a most duetifull acceptance and a most effectuall regarde, to the greate
 commoditie of my self and others that dwell in the most desolate partes
 of the Cuntrie from all goodnesse & good men. Then, for the particuler
 gentlemen by ^{your honors} more speciall direction assigned to this Service,
 (as namely; Mr Warren and Mr Talbot, most commodiowsly borrowed of
 the two Cuntries next adioyninge; Mr Banister and Mr Hopwood, for

°Salford°

their former most approved service put forward to the (*Quorum*); Mr
 Wrightington and Mr Brodshaw, for the speciall benifite of the Ministerie
 most happily planted in the partes where they bothe dwell, necessarily
 added; Mr Lancton and Mr Eccleston still retayned in places most
 disfurnished of able men for the Service) there is no exception to be
 taken, either, for their Gentry, livinges, affections in religion [and] good
 discreations and well furnished Experience for all partes of the Service, and
 so I beseeche your honor to rest most resolute vpon my poore credit with
 your honor which I shall be esely able to vphold in this matter with your
 honor by the most plentifull testimony and Censure of my bretheren
 the preachers of the Cuntrie, and of the Gentlemen best affected in the
 Commission, if your honor require it of me. In the mene time I shall
 crave your honor to vowchsafe vnto me your speciall letters vnto them of
 Incouragement and direction, by which they shall not a litle be strengthened
 in the busy charge they have in hande, for the suppressinge of many
 vngodly Enormities of the Sabbothe, imposed vpon them by my Lords the
 Iustices of Assise at the speciall instance of my selfe and som other of my
 bretheren. where I must not omit to signify vnto your honor the speciall
 good Countenance I inioyed at their Llordshipes handes, beinge in dede
 the more favorably bestowed vpon [^]me^l, as, vpon speciall notice, they
 had som way taken, and there openly professed, of your honors good favor
 towardse me. Where vpon I suppose your honor shall gather convenient
 occasion to make your honorable good likinge of their effectuall *proceedinges*
 this last Assises in the cause of Religion to appere vnto them, whereby no
 dowbte they shall receive no smale incoragement to continue the same
 hereafter, to the greate comfort of the true professors and faithfull preachers.
 ffor the which I shall not cesse to be thankfull to the Lorde with all my
 bretheren of the ministerie, by whych we shall inioye a most sownde meanes
 of thankfullnesse to your honor. / Concerninge my *proceedinges* with the
 Commission Ecclesiasticall, I have accordinge to your honors direction
 wholly possessed Mr Sollicitor therewith, and he farther required of me
 and Mr Goodman a full advertisement of our manifolde Enormities, which
[^]by^l mutuall Conference with all my bretheren I have redie furnished,
 and am therewith the nexte weke to attende the Bishop and Mr Sollicitor
 by their appointment. I feare no thinge therein but my Lord of Derby
 his discontinuance, lest it brede som inconvenient delay, but your honors
 continuall presence and redie minde shall werke us (I trust in the Lorde) a
 more spedie dispatche. Thus, commendinge my humble duetie to your
 honor, and your Sole and spirit and body to the most comfortable presence

of Christes holy spirit in you now and forever; I humbly take my leave from
Wigan ye 7th day of Septembe(r) 1587

Your honors most bownden in the Lord
Edwarde ffletewoodde pastor of Wig(an)

Letter of Edward Fleetwood

Cumbers House: Kenyon MSS, Memorandum Book
f 112* (7 September–10 December)

The enormities of the Sabothe in lancashire are these./
ffayres, markettes, wakes Ales, mayegames, pypinge and dauncing bearebeates,
bullbeates, resorting to alehouses in tyme of dyvine service hvntyng
hawkinge and all manner of vnlawfull gamninge. The meanes to redresse
these, as I am persuaded ys, by lettres from the archbishop of yorke; the
righte honorable thearle of darby, a bushopp the lord Straunge; and yf your
honor thinke good to move the Chaunceler of the duchie, and the master
of the rowles beinge vicechaunceler in lancashire ^hto Ioyne with^o These [to
Ioine] & wryte ther lettres to the Iustices of Assizes, the shereif & iustices of
peace in lancashire that they g[y]ue chardge att euery ther assizes & quarter
sessions to all maiores, shereifes, bayliffes cunstable & other ciuill officers,
churchwardens & other officers of the churche, to suppress by all meanes
lawfull, the said disorders of the Saoboth, as also to presente the saide
offendoures att the assizes, that they maye be dealte with for the same so farr
as lawe will beare. And for the presente tyme, to apprehende the minstrelles
bearewardes and other suchelike chiefe authores of the said disorders, and
them to bringe, immediatlie before some iustice of peace, and the said Iustice
to take them bounde, to appeare att the Assizes, there to answeare ther
Contempte, before the Iudges./

...

Letter from Derby, Walsingham, and Gerard on Sabbatarian Campaign

LRO: DDKs 30/2

p 17* (10 December)

After our hartie Commendacions. Whereas by your lettres sent vnto mee the
Chancellor of the Dutchie of Lancaster there appeareth a genrall defaulte
in the ffreehoulders and Constables at ye Quarter Sessions of that Countie.
Wee haue thought good for ye more effectuall Reformation thereof as alsoe
for ye better direction of that whole service, to Recommend vnto you theis
Articles herein enclosed Requiringe you, and yf vppon Consultacion
amongest yourselves any inconveniences shall appeare in ye same. yow
fourthwith Certifie vs thereof, That wee maie vppon further Consideracion

giue you such direction as in that behalf shalbee expedient, but yf none such appeare (as wee trust there shall not) then wee nothinge doubtte, but yow will from tyme to tyme imploy *your* best endeauor for ye effectuall execucion hereof, *which* wee take to bee noe lesse needefull in respect of those Articles you wrytt of, *which* ye Preachers of *your* Countie haue exhibited, and *yourselves* haue signed, *which* alsoe now wee haue well approved as expedient for *your* present estate, wherevnto yt were needfull that you annex some good direction to the Churchwardens for ye due levyinge & discreete bestowinge of ye penallties of those that are or shall at any tyme bee Indicted for absences from the Church accordinge to the Statute. Wherein yt were good that the saide Churchwardens beinge in many places (as wee here) men of the meanest qualitie should vse the advyce of their Ministers & preachers by you to bee assigned, in whome yt maie rest to Carrie some Convenient Consideracion in this accion, both of the disabilitie of some and readie Conformitie of other some, that shall *be* Come subiect to the saide penallties, *which* Course wee coulde wish might specially take place in the parish of Wigan in respect of ye greate number of ye persons that allreadie stande indicted therein. And soe wee Comitt you to the lorde. ffrom the Courte the xth of December. 1587./

Your assured ffrendes

Henry darbie.
ffrancis Walsingham.
Gillbert Gerrard

To the right Honnorable the LLord
Straunge & the Busshopp of
Chester, And to the Sherif & other
the Iustices of peace within the
Countie of Lancaster.

...

1590

Memorandum from Bishop of Chester to Privy Council PRO: SP 12/235
f 146* (*Summary of Report of Lancashire Preachers*)

...

2. The lords daie is generallie prophaned, with vnlawefull trades & Markettes, with heathenish and popishe pastymes, some tendinge to the Norrishinge of Idolatrous Supersticion, other som to the encreas of horedome & dronkennes, All purposelie maynteynid & countenanced by ye Gentrye and better sorte, for the hinderance & defacynge of the Religious & holie excercyses of the Sabaoth/

...

1592

Letter of the Privy Council to Henry, earl of Derby PRO: PC 2/19
p 414 (23 June) (Greenwich)

...

A *lettre* to the Earle of Darbye. whereas wee are informed that there are
Certaine May gaimes Morryce daunces, Plaies Bearebaytinges, Ales and other
like pastimes vsed ordinarilye in those Counties vnder your *Lordships*
lieutenancye on the Sondaies and hollydaies at the tyme of diuine service and
other godlie exercyses to the disturbance of the service and bad example that
those kinds of pastimes should be vsed in such sorte and at suche tyme when
men do assemble together for the hearinge of gods worde and to ioyn in
Common Praiers, *which* sportes are moste ordinarilye vsed at those vndue
seasons by suche as are evill affected in Religion purposlie by those meanes to
drawe the People from the Service of God and to disturbe the same. Theis
shalbe therefore to praie your *Lordship* by vertue hereof to give knowledge
not onlie to the Byshop of that dioces of this Common and vnsufferable
disorder but to give speciall direction to all the Iustices in their severall
divisions by all meanes to forbid and not to suffer theis or the like Pastimes
to be in anye place whatsoever on the Sondaie or holydaie at the tyme of
diuine service. And yf notwithstandinge this strait prohibicion and speciall
order taken any shall presume to vse the saide sportes or pastimes in the
tyme service, sermons or other Godlye exercyses, yow shall cause the favorers
mayntainers or Cheife offenders to be sent vp hether to answeere this their
Contentious and lewde behaviour before vs.

...

1616

Orders for Sabbath Observance Cumbers House: Kenyon MSS, No 28
single sheet* (8 August)

...

Orders to be observed within the cou(n)tie of Lancaster sett downe by the
Iustices of peace within the said countie by the appointment of the Iudges
of assise./

...

- 7 That there be no Pippinge, dauncinge, Bowlinge, Beare, or Bull baitinge
or any other prophanation vpon anie sa(b)oth daie in any parte of the daie
or vpon anie festiuall daie in time of diuine service That the pers(on)s so
offendinge be bound to the good behavior, and to appere as aforesaid./

...

(signed) Edward Bromley

1617

The King's Declaration Concerning Lawful Sports

MCLA: MS f 347.96 M2

pp 14–15* (27 August)

Whereas wee did lustlie in *our* progress throughe Lancashire rebuke some puritanes & *precise* people and tooke order that the like vnlawfull cariage should not bee vsed by anie of them hereafter in the prohibitinge & vnlawfull punishinge of *our* good people for vsinge their lawfull recreations & honest excercises vpon sondaies & other holidais after ye afternoon sermond or service. Wee now fyndinge that two sortes of people whearwith that cuntrie is too much infected (wee meane Papistes & Puritanes, have maliciouslie traduced & calumniated theise *our* iust & humble proceedings & thearefore least *our* reputacion might vpon the one syde (thoughe innocentlie) have some aspersion left vpon it & that vp(on) the other *parte* *our* good people in that Cunttrie bee not misled by the mistakinge or misin(ter)pretacion of *our* meaninge wee have thearefore thought good heareby to cleare & make *our* pleasure to bee manifested to all *our* good people in those partes. It is true yat at *our* first entringe to this Crowne & kingdome wee weare informed & that too trulie that *our* Cunttrie of Lancaster abounded more in papishe recusantes then anie Cunttrie of England and this hath continued synce to *our* great regret with litle amendment save that now of late in *our* last comminge throughe the said Countie wee fynd both by the reporte of the Iudges and of the Byshopp of that diocess that theare is some amendm(ent) now daylie begininge which is no smale contentment vnto vs this reporte of this groinge amendment made vs the more sorie when wee heard with *our* owne eares the generall complainte of the people that they weare barred from all lawfull recreacion and excercise vpon the sondaies afternoone after the endinge of all devine service which cannot but produce twoe evils The one a hindringe of the Conuersion of manie whom their preistes will take ocasion heareby to vex perswadinge them that no honest myrth or recreacion is lawfull or tollerable in *our* religion which cannot but breede a great discontentment in peoples harts especially of such as are peradventure one the point of turninge. The other inconvenience is that this prohibition barreth the common & meane sorte of people from vsinge such excercises as may make their bodies more able for warrs when wee or *our* successors shall have occasion to vse them & in place therof settis vpp filthie Typlinge & drunkennes & breedes a number of ydle & discontented speeches in their Alehowses: ffor when

12/ Puritanes: closing bracket omitted

18/ heareby altered from hearebie

23/ comminge: 8 minims in MS

shall the Common sorte of people have le(ave) to excercise if not vpon
sondaies or holidais seeinge they must plie their labores & wi(nne) their
livinges in all workinge daies. Our expresse pleasure is thearefore yat the
lawes of our kingdome & Cannons of our Church bee aswed observed in
that Countie as i(n) all other places of this our kingdome & vpon the other
part that no lawfull recreation bee barred to our good people which shall
not tend to ye breach of our aforesaid Lawes & cannons of our Church
which to express more particulerlie Our pleasure is that the Bishops & all
other inferior Churchmen & churchwardens shall for their partes bee
carefull & dilligent both to instruct the ignorant & convince & [re]forme
them yat are mislead in religion presentinge them that will not conforme
themselves but obstinatelie stand out to our Iudges & Iustices whome wee
likewise comand in yat case to put the Lawe in due execution against them
— Our pleasure likewise is that the Byshopp of the diocess shall through
all his said diocess take the like straight order with all | The [recusantes]
puritanes & precesians within the same either constraininge them to
conforme th(eim) selues or to leave the Cuntrie accordinge to ye lawes of
our kingdome & Canons of our Church & so to strike equallie one both
handes against the Contemners of our authoritie & adversaries of o(ur)
Church And as for our good peoples recreation our good pleasure likewise
is that after the e(nd) of all devyne service our good people bee not letted or
discoraged from anie vnlawfull recreacion such as Pypinge dansinge either
men or women archerie for men leapinge valtinge or any such harmeles
recreation & the women to have leave to Carrie rushes to ye Church for
the decoringe of it accordinge to their ould Custome but withall wee
doe heare accounte still as prohibited as vnlawfull games to be vsed vpon
sondaies onelie as beare & Bull beatinge enterludes & bowlinge & likewise
wee barr from this benifitt & lib(ertie) all such knowne recusantes either
men or women as will abstaine from Comminge to ye Ch(urch) or devyne
service beinge thearfore vnworthie of anie lawfull recreation after ye sa(id)
service that will not first come to ye Church & serve god prohibitinge in
like sorte the said recreations to anie that though conforme in religion are
not present in the church at the service of god before their goinge to the
said recreation. Our plesur(e) likewise is yat they whome it belongeth to
in office shall present & sharplie punnishe all such as in abuse of this our
libertie will vse these excercises before the endinge of all devyne service for
yat day. And wee likewise straightlie comand that everie person shall resorte
to their owne parishe Church to heare devyne service & eich parish by it

4/ aswed for aswel

10/ [re]forme corrected from conforme

22/ vnlawfull for lawfull

27/ as beare: as *redundant*29/ Comminge: 8 *minims in ms*

selfe to vse the said recreation after the service straightlie prohibitinge anie
 offensive weapons to bee caried or vsed one the same tyme of recreation
 And *our* pleasure is that this *our* declaracion shalbee published by order
 from the bushoppe of the diocess throughout all the parish Churches
 and that both our Iudges of our sircuite & *our* Iustices of the peace bee
 informed. Given at Gerrardes Bromley the xxvijth day of August in the
 xvth yeare of *our* Reigne of England ffrance & Ireland & of Scotland the
 Ljth./ *Thomas Lake*://

A further Comand from his maiestie to bee observed
 & published by the ministers & Curates in All Churches
 After that his maiestie was pleased to express his religious meaninge of
 grantinge recreation vnto his people vpon Sondaies & holidiaies after tyme
 of eveninge service his highnes ha(th) furthermore Comanded mee to
 provide first [^]yat the^l [that the] principall ministers that bee preacherr
 within anie diocess doe instruct the people concerninge the lawfulness of
 recreacion vpon Sondaies accordinge to the limittes & restraintes set downe
 in his maiesties declaracion secondlie to observe all such kind of people as
 are said to encline to a kind of Iudaisme by neither eatinge meate themselves
 nor sufferinge others to dress it vpon vpon the Lordes day concerninge
 whome yee ought to informe mee that the may bee reduced from yat error
 3lie yat everie one of you doe reade the publicke service in the Church
 accordinge to ye forme of lethargie set downe in the booke of common
 praier lastlie yat in ye sermondes in the afternoone you excede not the
 compass of an howre least that his maiesties former favowrable Intendement
 & Indulgencie to his people may seeme to bee deluded thearby./
Thomas Cestrensis

John Barwick, 'Ιερωνίκης Wing: B1008

pp 79–82* (*August*)

...

45. And having committed this charitable and learned work to the blessing
 of God upon the hearts of the Readers, he betook himself to endeavour the

6/ Bromley *corrected from* Bromleies

8/ Thomas Lake: *written in italic script, probably by same hand as text*

15/ preacherr *for* preachers

20/ vpon vpon: *ditto*graphy

21/ yee *corrected from* hee

27/ Thomas Cestrensis: *Thomas Morton, bishop of Chester; written in italic script, probably by same hand as text*

33/ he: *Thomas Morton*

reducing of the other adverse party, the Popish Recusants, wherein God blessed him exceedingly considering how great the work was, and how little time he had to bring it towards any perfection, being Bishop there not full three years. And of this we have a very authentick and ample testimony from royall authority in the declaration of King James, concerning lawfull sports to be used, in these words: We were informed, and that too truly, that our County of Lancashire, abounded more in Popish Recusants then any County in England, and thus hath still continued to our great regret, with little amendment, save that now of late, in our last riding though our said 1 county, we find both by the report of the Judges, and of the Bishop of that diocess, (viz. this reverend Bishop,) that there is some amendment now daily beginning, which is no small content to us. 5 10

46. Having thus fallen casually upon this declaration, it will be requisite to speak more fully of it, seeing this reverend Bishop was in a peculiar manner concerned in it. And the case was thus: It was no small policie in the leaders of the Popish party to keep the people from Church by danceing and other recreations, even in the time of divine service, especially on holy dayes, and the Lords day in the after noon: By which meanes they kept the people in ignorance and luke warmnesse, and so made them the more capable to be wrought upon by their emissaries: Which gross abuse this Bishop endeavored to redress in his primarie visitation. 15 20

47. But it was represented to King James as a very great greivance, at his return out of Scotland through Lancashire, Anno. 1617. by some in Court who were too favourable to that partie. And his readiness to hear any complaint against a thing that carried but the name of a publick greivance, incouraged some to so much boldness the next Lords day after, as even to disturb the publick worship and service of God, by their piping and dancing within the hearing of all those that were at Church, whereof the King being fully informed by this Bishop, utterly disavoured any thoughts or intention of encourraging such prophaneness: and therefore left them that were guilty of it to the Bishops censure; which he inflicted only upon one, that was the head and causer of it, by way of publick acknowledgment of the fault, and penance for it; having formerly caused the Piper to be laid by the heeles. 25 30 35

48. There wanted not some still to complain to the King of the Bishops proceedings herein as rigourous and tyranicall; considering that the chief thing they desired was only some Innocent Recreation for servants and 40

other inferiour people on the Lords day and Holy dayes, whose laborious callings deprived them of it at all other times: and thereupon to sollicit his Majesty for some favour therein, and the rather because it was the generall desire of most of that Country. Which the King finding to be true upon enquirie, and willing to give them satisfaction therein, consulted with this reverend person being the Bishop of that Diocess, how he might satisfy their desires without endangering this liberty to be turned into Licentiousness.

49. The Bishop hereupon retiring from the Court at Houghton Tower, to his own lodging at Preston, considered of six Limitations or Restrictions, by way of Condition, to be imposed upon every man that should enjoy the benefit of that liberty; which he presented to the King in writing the next day; and which the King did very well approve of, and added a seventh; saying only, he would alter them from the words of a Bishop, to the words of a King. It is not to be omitted that Bishop Andrewes attended the King at the same time, and therefore in all probability was consulted in the same business; but all I can positively say in it, is what I have here said, and this I can positively say because I have often heard it from this reverend Bishops own mouth. And upon this it was that King James published his Declaration of May the twenty-fourth in the 16. and 51. year of his Reigne, intituled [concerning lawfull sports to be used,] under these following Conditions and Limitations, which I think not amisse to insert, seeing all of them but one, (which I think is the first,) had their originall and first being from this reverend Bishop, viz.

50. 1. That all unlawfull games should be prohibited on Sundayes, as Beare & Bull-bayting, interludes, and bowling at all times by law prohibited to the meaner sort of people. 2. That all such known Recusants, either men or women, as abstained from coming to Church, or divine service, shall be barred from this benefit and liberty; they being therefore unworthy of any lawfull recreation after the said service, that will not first come to Church and serve God. 3. All that, though conforme in religion, are not present at Church at the service of God before their going to the said recreations, were also debarred this liberty. 4. All such as, in abuse of this liberty, should use these exercises before the end of all divine services for that day, were to be Presented and sharply punished. 5. That every person should resort to his own parish Church, to heare divine service. And 6. that each parish by it self should use the said recreation after divine service. 7. And last of all. That no offensive weapons should be carried, or used, in the said times of

recreation. I have kept myself to the very words of the Declaration as much as I could.

...

1626

Suppression of Recusant Alehousekeepers and Musicians

LRO: QSB 1/4/13

f [1]* (27 March)

Sessions held at Lancaster before Francis Harvey, judge of the common pleas

Yt is ordered by the lord Haruey in open Courte That the Iustices of peace in euerie their division Within this Countie shall take a spetiall Care to suppressse all such alehouses, where the goodman of the house, or his wiffe, be recusantes. And alsoe to be carefull, no piper, ffdler, or other Minstrell in their diuisions being recusantes shall passe, To sing, or make Rimes vpon paine of x li. vpon euerie Iustice being herein delinquente. And the Clarke of the Crowne to giue Notice, of this order before the next Sessions, To thend he may publish the same, through the whole Countie//.

Rigby

Exemplificatum per me Mar. Baynnester

1631

Quarter Session Orders in Time of Plague LRO: QSR 28

mb 12* (11 July)

Sessions of the peace held at Ormskirk before Sir Charles Gerard, Gregory Turner, rector of Sefton, Thomas Ireland, John Atherton, Edward More, Henry Ogle, Henry Ashurst, and Edward Bridgman, justices of the peace

...

Yt is ordered by the Cort that the Constables of euerye Towneshipp within the hundredes of derbye and leyland doe see and take Care that noe generall meetinges bee hadd or suffred to bee within their Townes eyther by maye games publicke shotinges Riminges pyppinges fiddlinges danceinges fayers and markettes other then for corne cattell victuall & other necessaryes for the sustenance of man and those with good care & prudent lookinge vnto beeing a tyme much fitter for fastinges and humble prayer then for sportes & lollytes And yf the said Constables of any Constabularyes shall offend or if any alehousekee(per) or any other shall manteyne or keepe any such assemblyes or that any other person after notice given doe the second tyme

offend then vpon complt thereof made to any Iustice of peace warrant^{es} to
bee awarded against the offenders to take them bound to appeare and
answer theire contempt^{es} before the Iudges of Assyse

...

5

Quarter Session Orders in Time of Plague LRO: QSO 2/6
p 64* (14 July)

*Sessions of the peace held at Manchester before Sir Alexander Radclyffe, KB,
Sir Cecil Trafford, Ralph Assheton of Middleton, Edmund Assheton, Edward
Rastorn, Leonard Asshawe, John Greenehalgh, Robert Holt of Stubley, John
Bradshawe, and Richard Worsley, mayor of Wigan, justices of the peace*

10

Interrotulatur

Yt is ordered by this Cort in respect of the present & apparent danger the
Cuntry is now exposed vnto by reason of the dispercon of the sicknes into
sundry partes of this County & other partes not farr remote of that aswell
the seuerall persons within the hundred of Salford beeing of the trayned
band as all others beeing vnder the degree of esquiers which the Constable
of the Townshipp or hamell wherein they shalbe resient & inhabiting shall
appoint to watch or ward ([..]) shall watch & ward in theire owne persons
according to the same direcon & appointment duly & carefully & if eyther
the Constables bee deficient and carelesse in appointing watch & ward or
bee negligent in keeping & Contynuing theire watch & ward during the
same tyme [then vpon Complaint made to any Iustice of peace] warrant^{es}
shalbee awarded against them to answer theire Conte(.) take them bound to
the good behauour & to appeare before the Iudges of Assyse and] [or] if any
alehouškeper shall manteyne keepe or permitt any publicke assembyles to
consort together to [vse & exercise] drinke[ing] dance[ing] pype[ing] fidleing
bowling diceing Carding shooting or any [such] other [such] exercise in
theire houses or any other places within theire goverment [That then] or
if any person beeing warned to forbear [any] to resort to such publicke
assembyles or vse any the games or exercyces afforesaid shall the second
tyme frequent the same [during the tyme ([..]) of visitacon] That vpon
Complaint made to any Iustice of peace warrant^{es} shall be awarded against
the delinquentes to take them bound to answer theire contempt^{es} before
the Iudges of Assyses/

15

20

25

30

35

1/ complt for complaint; abbreviation mark missing

15/ dispercon for dispercion; abbreviation mark missing

21/ direcon for direccion; abbreviation mark missing

33/ visitacon for visitacion; abbreviation mark missing



APPENDIXES, TRANSLATIONS, ENDNOTES, PATRONS
AND TRAVELLING COMPANIES, GLOSSARIES, AND
INDEX

APPENDIX 1

Post-1642 Records

Information of William Newsham against Actors

This record can probably be dated 6 January 1648/9, a few months after the Scots had invaded Lancashire on the king's behalf and been defeated by Cromwell at the battle of Preston, 17 August 1648. The 'Lawe' that Newsham refers to (l.11) is presumably the ordinance of 31 August 1642, sent to the Lords on 2 September, forbidding stage-plays (*Journals of the House of Commons*, vol 2 (London, 1803), 747a and 749a). There was, however, a renewed ordinance against staging plays in or near London passed on 22 October 1647 (*Journals*, vol 5, p 339b); that was passed, according to Leslie Hotson, because in that year 'the actors began their trade at the Salisbury Court, the Cockpit, and the Fortune, in quite an open and public manner – treating the ordinance of 1642 as a thoroughly dead letter' (*The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage* (Cambridge, 1928), 24). On 9 February 1647/8 parliament passed yet another measure for suppressing plays (*Journals*, vol 5, p 461a). The fare offered by these local men at Christmas-tide was most likely a mumming.

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, QSP 10/22; 1648/9; English; paper; single sheet; c155mm x 202mm; endorsed in a second hand.

WOODPLUMPTON

1648/9

Information of William Newsham against Actors LRO: QSP 10/22
single sheet* (6 January)

To the Right *worshipful* the Iustices of the Peace att the Generall Quarter
Sessions holden att Preston
William Newsham of Woodplimton informeth that Certaine *persons* within
Woodplimton and Places adioyning have this present Winter assosiated
themselues & Ioyned in Acting Playes & Interludes in seuerall howses &
places in this hundred of Amoundernes *which* Acting as it is against Lawe
so this Informer supposeth the same to bee farr vnsutable for these sadd &

10/ e of Ioyned *written over d*

Distracted times & therfore desireth *your* *Worships* Order for the suppression of the said Playes. The Names of the Actors are.

John Whalley
Georg Taylor
Edward Billington
Christopher Hodgkinson
Edward Charneley
& (2) of Iohn Halls sonnes with
otheres

5

William Newsham./

10

° not to play or act hereafter but vpon Cumplaint fiat warrantum presens!°

Prescot Court Leet Record

The following excerpt from the Prescot Court Leet Roll of 1668 fills a gap in our knowledge of the playhouse after it was converted into a dwelling (see p 80 above). Although the first section of this document refers to events of 1615 also recorded on p 82 (from a contemporary roll), the account of the 1634 entrance of Edward Stockley into the tenancy is not elsewhere recorded. (There is an excerpt from the will of his father, another Edward Stockley, on p 81.) From the English draft version of the court records (LRO: DDCs Court Rolls (paper) 1668, f 11), it appears that the descendants of John Mercer were contesting the rights of Stockley's heirs by claiming that Stockley had entered the premises by abatement, ie, tortiously rather than legally. Richard Harrington, whose estate is mentioned on p 241, l.23 below, originally built the playhouse; the younger Edward Stockley married his eldest daughter Jane in 1615 (Bailey, 'The Elizabethan Playhouse at Prescot,' pp 71, 76).

Preston, Lancashire Record Office, DDCs Court Rolls (parchment) 1668; 1668; Latin and English; parchment; 3 membranes, attached at head; mb 1: 698mm x 325mm, mbs 2 and 3: 735mm x 332mm; text on dorses written tail to top; a part of an English deed, cut down, has been sewn to the tail of mb 3, and a further tag cut from the same deed has been attached to the end of that, to serve as a wrapper, endorsed, on the outside (which is the back of the original deed): '1668' in a contemporary hand, and in a modern hand 'DDKc' in pencil and 'PC 4/78' in ink (former Record Office classmark and shelfmark respectively).

PRESCOT

35

1668

Court Leet Records LRO: DDCs Court Rolls (parchment) 1668
mb 2d (22 May)

40

Court leet before John Entwistle, steward

...

Et quod Ioh~~ann~~es Mercer antehac de Eccleston iuxta Knowsley et nuper de

Prescott *predicta* Freemason qui (*pro* et in consideracone duodecim libratum
 legalis monete Anglie *per* ipsum in manu Solutarum Henrico Stanley Armigero
 nuper Scenescallo Manerij de Prescott *predicta*) *per* Copiam Curie Rotuli dati
 nono die Iunij Anno regni preclari Domini Iacobi nuper Regis Anglie ffrancie
 et Hibernie &c decimo tertio Tenuit Sibi et heredibus Suis de Dominis 5
 Manerij *predicti* *Secundum* consuetudinem *ibidem* vnā parcellam terre in
 Prescott *predicta* iacentem in Superiore fine de le Highstreet ducente erga
 Eccleston *predictam* prope ad le Churchley field gate Continentem in
 latitudinem ad orientalem partem inde nouam virgas et dimidium pedis Et
 ad occidentalem partem inde quinque virgas Ac continentem in longitudinem 10
 novendecim virgas Super quam parcellam terre structura fuit et est erecta et
 modo stat antehac vsitata pro domo vocata a playhowse Et pro qua soluta
 est Schole de Prescott *predicta* annalis redditus duorum solidorum et sex
 denariorum Ipse *predictus* Iohannes Mercer moriebatur inde seizitus vel
 gressessus *secundum* consuetudinem Manerij *predicti* Super vel circiter 15
 Tricessimū diem Maij anno Domini Dei Millessimo Sexcentesimo
 tricessimū quarto Et Iuratores *predicti* Super Sacramenta Sua *predicta* vltius
 dicunt et presentant Quod cito post mortem prefati Iohannis Mercer vnus
 Edwardus Stocley nuper de Prescott *predicta* generosus modo defunctus
 intravit in premissa *predicta* et vertute Separaliū Sursum redditionum et 20
 admissionum Superinde habita et facta ante et post mortem *predicti* Iohannis
 Mercer ipse *predictus* Edwardus Stockley et ipsi qui clamant subter illum et
 statum Ricardi Harrington generosi defuncti pro Spatio Triginta et vnus
 annorum vel eo circiter quiete gavisī premissa *predicta* et acceperunt
 redditum exitum et proficuum inde 25
 ...

1/ consideracone *for* consideracione; abbreviation mark missing

9/ nouam *for* nouem

12/ soluta *for* solutus

21/ habita et facta *for* habitarum et factarum (?)

24/ gavisī *for* gavisī sunt

APPENDIX 2

Lancashire Entertainers

The following entries extracted from Lancashire parish registers give names and dates for a variety of local entertainers – fiddlers, a fool, harpers, a jester, musicians, players, pipers, and waits. Some of these entertainers are found being paid for a performance in accounts in the main body of records. The dates range from the date of the earliest parish register extant for a given church to 1642. Some Lancashire parish registers survive from about the middle of the sixteenth century, but others begin only in the earlier part of the seventeenth century. Episcopal transcripts made for the bishop of Chester have also been used.

BLACKBURN

St Mary the Virgin Parish Register LRO: PR 3073/1/1

1618	8 November	Thomas, base son of Thomas Meatcalf, piper	buried (f 65v)
1621	26 April	John Fishe, piper	buried (f 68)
1623	23 October	Thomas Smyth, fiddler	buried (f 73v)
1626	26 March	Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Holte, fiddler	christened (f 39v)
1628	11 April	James Browne, piper	buried (f 81v)
1630/1	18 March	Hamlet Hope, piper	buried (f 85)
1632/3	23 January	a piper's child	buried (f 86v)
1637	12 September	Richard, son of Robert Browne, player, stranger	christened (f 54v)
	17 September	Elizabeth, daughter of George Hall, player, stranger	christened (f 54v)

Bishop's Transcripts LRO: DRB 2/4

1641	13 June	Thomas, son of Thomas Bragger, fiddler	christened (f 1)
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BURNLEY

St Peter Parish Register LRO: PR 3027/1/1

1627	10 July	Edmund Jacksonn, piper	buried (f 202)
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CARTMEL

St Mary and St Michael Parish Register KCRO: WPR 89/1

1610/11	17 March	Miles, son of Richard Dixon, piper	christened (p 65)
1615/16	19 February	James, son of Richard Dixon of Lindal, piper	christened (p 71)

St Mary and St Michael Parish Register KCRO: WPR 89/2

1614	1 November	John, son of Richard Dixon of Lindal, piper	buried (p 18)
1620/1	3 March	William Walker, fiddler	buried (p 42)

COCKERHAM

St Michael Parish Register LRO: PR 1368

1623	23 June	wife of Robert Hodgson of Ellel, piper	buried (p 200)
1623/4	21 March	Elizabeth, widow of Michael Jackson, piper	buried (p 204)
1626	c 4 October	Janet, daughter of John Jackeson, piper	christened (p 63)
1632	16 December	Henry, son of Harry, the piper of Pilling	christened (p 82)
1642	23 November	Elizabeth, daughter of John Haworth, fiddler	christened (p 101)

DALTON

St Mary Parish Register BCRO: BPR I 1/1

1592	20 September	John Richardson, piper	buried (p 43)
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1600	22 June	son of John Jackson, piper	christened (p 56)
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ECCLES

St Mary Parish Register MCLA: L49/1/1/1

1616	27 October	Ellen Thropp, called Mr Atherton's fool	buried (p 106)
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ECCLESTON

St Mary the Virgin Parish Register LRO: PR 2695/1

1604	6 April	blind harper of Charnock	buried (p 7)
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FORMBY CHAPEL

Bishop's Transcripts LRO: DRL 2/428

1626/7	11 March	Elizabeth, daughter of Roger Aynsdell, piper	christened (p 3)
1627/8	February	Janet, daughter of James Rymer, piper	christened (np)
1627	September	Thomas, son of James Rymer, piper	buried (p 100)
1630	8 November	Anne, daughter of Edmund Rymer, harper	christened (p 5)
1638	25 December	Thomas, son of James Rymer, piper	christened (p 7)

GARSTANG

St Helen Parish Register LRO: PR 2399

1621/2	25 February	Anne, daughter of John Croskell, piper	christened (p 80)
1622	5 May	John, son of Thomas Dawson, piper	christened (p 81)
1638	9 September	Mary, daughter of John Parkinson, piper	christened (p 138)

HAWKSHEAD

St Michael Parish Register KCRO: WPR 83/1

1631	19 June	Barbara Braythwait, daughter of William de Sawrey, whistler	christened (nf)
1639/40	17 January	William Rigg, piper	buried (nf)

KIRKHAM

St Michael Parish Register LRO: PR 2052

1589	2 August	William Gradel, piper	buried (p 323)
1622	8 June	John Kason of Kirkham, piper	buried (p 377)

MANCHESTER

Collegiate Church Parish Register 1569–1653 MCA

1595	5 May	Richard Kay, jester	buried (p 387)
1601	2 May	(<i>blank</i>) of Francis Kircke, harper	buried (p 419)
1602	19 June	Mary, daughter of Huon Holcard, musician	christened (p 127)
	23 July	John, son of John Greene, piper	christened (p 127)
1605	9 June	Ewan Howker of Manchester, wait	buried (p 440)
1608/9	20 January	John Smedley of Manchester, musician	buried (p 474)
1609	26 November	Francis Kirke of Manchester, harper	buried (p 478)
1611	17 May	Katherine, wife of John Greene of Manchester, piper	buried (p 485)
1612	18 May	William Baxter of Manchester, fiddler	buried (p 490)
1613	10 December	Bartholomew Whiterowe of Manchester, musician	buried (p 499)

Collegiate Church Parish Register 1616–53 MCA

1617	14 July	John Greene of Manchester, piper	buried (p 402)
1619	27 December	Frances, daughter of Robert Fletcher, Jr, of Manchester, wait	christened (p 31)
1621	14 June	Anne, daughter of Thomas Hall of Manchester, musician	buried (p 428)
1622/3	7 March	Margaret, daughter of Henry Renall of Manchester, musician	christened (p 57)
1635/6	14 January	Thomas Hall of Manchester, wait	buried (p 542)
1641	9 May	Katherine, daughter of Roger Makand of Manchester, musician	christened (p 203)

POULTON LE FYLDE

St Chad Parish Register LRO: PR 2831/1

1608/9	26 February	Margaret, daughter of John Casson of Marton, piper	buried (p 228)
1610	23 June	Richard Cowarte of Fornan, piper	buried (p 231)

PRESTON

St John Parish Register LRO: PR 1432

1614	1 June	Thomas Chanlett, piper	buried (p 25)
1617/18	11 February	Anne, daughter of (<i>blank</i>) Bragger, piper	christened (p 61)
1624/5	16 January	infant of a piper	buried (p 115)

RIBCHESTER

St Wilfred Parish Register LRO: PR 2905 1/1

1598	27 December	Hugh Brighte, piper	buried (p 74)
1627	9 April	Arthur Gurnar, piper	buried (p 90)
1629	19 December	Seth Spawdd, piper	buried (p 93)

STANDISH

St Wilfrid Parish Register LRO: PR 176

1604	12 April	blind harper's man	buried (p 314)
1623/4	31 January	Bartholomew Wickham of Langtree, musician	buried (p 353)

TORVER

St Luke Parish Register KCRO: WPR/52/I1

1639/40	15 March	Thomas, son of Thomas Dixon, piper	christened (p 50)
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ULVERSTON

St Mary Parish Register BCRO: BPR/2 I 1/2

1607	16 October	Margaret, daughter of James Towers of Soutergate, piper	christened (p 28)
1611	13 June	Isabel, daughter of John Fisher, piper	christened (p 39)
1615	6 October	Elizabeth, daughter of James Towers, piper	christened (p 54)

WARRINGTON

St Elphin Parish Register St Elphin's Church

1621/2	11 March	Annice, daughter of Henry Clarke, piper	buried (p 127)
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WHITTINGTON

St Michael the Archangel Parish Register LRO: PR 2927/1

1636/7	22 January	Ann, daughter of Richard Sharpe, piper	christened (p 243)
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WIGAN

All Saints Parish Register Wigan Archive Service: D/P 24/1/1

1607	23 October	Nutter, piper,	buried (f 111v)
		'none of this <i>parishe</i> '	
1610	before 6 May	(<i>blank</i>) of Robert	christened (f 118v)
		Lowe, piper	
1610/11	4 January	Ellen, daughter of	christened (f 120v)
		James Browne, piper	
1612	15 June	Christopher, son of	christened (f 124)
		Jeffrey Shepes, piper	
	23 August	John, son of James	christened (f 124)
		Browne, piper	
	16 December	John, son of James	buried (f 125)
		Browne, piper	
1614/15	11 March	Gilbert Gorse	buried (f 130)
		of Wigan, piper	
1617	22 July	John, son of John	buried (f 140)
		Teller of Wigan, piper	

APPENDIX 3

A Lancashire Minstrel at Windermere

Although the incident recorded in the following state papers took place at Windermere in Westmorland, it has seemed appropriate to include it here, since the minstrel involved was based at Cartmel in Lancashire. Sir James Leyburn of Cunswick Hall, Westmorland, was deputy steward of the barony of Kendal and a prominent and active royal official. The letter printed here, with which he transmitted the deposition following, is only one of many that he wrote to Thomas, Lord Cromwell and later earl of Essex, Henry VIII's lord privy seal. Cromwell was the king's chief agent in the suppression of the monasteries and in that business Leyburn served under him as a commissioner for the survey of the Augustinian priories at Cartmel and Conishead and was commended for his diligence by Sir Thomas Wharton. Yet in December 1536 he joined in the northern rebellion called the Pilgrimage of Grace, although like the men examined about the incident at Chorley printed above (see pp 11–13), he afterwards pleaded duress. The excuse seems ultimately to have been accepted, since Leyburn was still prominent in local affairs in the 1540s, but in 1537, when Thomas Lee, the monastic visitor, wrote to Cromwell in his favour, he still seems to have lain under some suspicion (S.T. Bindoff, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1509–1558*, vol 2 (London, 1982), 531–2). The song 'crummok' or 'crumwell' (p 250, ll.16, 19) was presumably a lampoon of Cromwell composed during the rebellion; the duke of Norfolk had got hold of a copy of that or another similar piece, which he passed on (2 February 1536/7) to the victim (*Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, James Gairdner (ed), vol 12, pt 1 (London, 1890), item 318, p 146). Leyburn may, then, have regarded Stotson's deposition as an opportunity to curry favour with Cromwell by demonstrating continued zeal for his interests.

The scribe's spellings of place-names are not the most transparent. In the deposition 'wyndandermer' (p 250, l.10) is Windermere, 'wynster' (p 250, l.12) is Winster, and 'crostwat' (p 250, l.15) is Crosthwaite, all in Westmorland. In the letter 'conyswik' (p 251, l.32) is Cunswick Hall, three miles northwest of Kendal.

London, Public Record Office, SP1/134; 9 July 1538; English; paper; single sheet; 300mm x 210mm; mounted on a paper guardstrip.

London, Public Record Office, SP1/134; 13 July 1538; English; paper; single sheet; 298mm x 210mm; mounted on a paper guardstrip, the inner edge showing signs of repair.

These documents, which are in the same hand, have been bound, with others, as ff 131 and 157 in a volume titled on the spine: PRO: SP 1/134, 'SP1 LETTERS AND PAPERS HENRY VIII 134 XIII T.1 1307-1518.'

CARTMEL

1538

Deposition of Alexander Stotson to Sir James Leyburn PRO: SP 1/134
single sheet (9 July)

Memorandum ixth Day of Iulye in The xxxth yere of The Reigne of our
Soueraigne lorde Kyng henry the viijth Alexandre stotson lat of cartmell in
the countye of Lancastre mynstrall Saieth the last day of Iune Last past on
ysaac dikson of wyndandermer in the countie of westmorland A bout Sexe of 10
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 minstrall to Syng on Song he had
song At on ffayrbank howsse in crostwat in the said countye of westmorland 15
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 20
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 them both to
Angre & wold syng no such/ And then the said ysaac called for A cuppe of 25
aill & bad the mynstrall syng agayn which he always denyed/ & then the said
ysaac tuk the said mynstrall by the Birde & dasshit 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 30
rescuyng of the said mynstrall only for that matter
Item the said ysaac after the day goyng in violent maner followede & sought
further for the said mynstrall to on Nicollus brokbank howsse in the said
Wyndandermer which was iij quarters of a myll fro the said william willan
howsse 35
Thes witnesse of the premysses Robert phelipson of wyndandermer aforsaid
william bolman of the same & wylliam dromylanyer of wynster
(signed) James Layburn Knight

CUNSWICK HALL

1538

Letter of Sir James Leyburn to Thomas, Lord Cromwell PRO: SP 1/134
single sheet (13 July)

5

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 vngracius & myscheuus fellow ysaac dikson in the tooll 10
buthe in Kendall and hath chargid the bailly deutes of the same with the
sahre custody & kepyng of hym afor *Richard* Duckett Iustice of peace within
the countie of westmorlande/ vnto Such tyme I knowe ffurther of *your*
lordshipe pleassure I be such *your* lordshipe haue me excuside that ye haue
no sonere worde ye knowe my mynde is to say thewrth & so I besuche yow 15
to trust me both withe Bodye and goodes Redye to *serue* the kynges highnesse
to the vttermost of my powre and *your* lordshippe/ and some of thos *persones*
which gaue me informacion of the *premysses* dide stayger & deny theyr
wordes which maid me tary the longer and further I assure *your* lordshipe
her is mych importunat besynes in this cuntry as I haue shewede my lord 20
president & othre the kynges honorable counsaill established in the north
parties/ And where *your* lordshipe of *your* goodnes dide gyue me lycensse
to com to London for restawryng of my health leuyng sufficient deutes or
deputies to stonde chargid *with* myn office accordyng as the kynges highnesse
did pute me in trist/ for the which I hartely thank yow & when the cuntry 25
is at any better staye I shall come and gyue attendance vpon *your* lordshipe
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 *your* lordshipe pleassure. And also I haue sent a copy of the artikilles herin
clossede to the kynges honorable consaill established in the north parties 30
accordyng to my dewtye And thus I be such Iesu send yow much honor
& Ioye to *your* most comffurth ffrom conyswik the xiiijth day of Iulye

(signed) Youre ain to hys lytyll
Frendship Iames Laybur(n)

15/ thewrth *for* therwith (?)

23/ deutes *for* depute (?)

APPENDIX 4

A Masque at Knowsley House

The masque printed here is the only extant specimen of the Twelfth Night masques known to have been performed for the Stanley household. They may have been an annual event in the late 1630s and early 1640s; at least, such masques are known to have been performed in both 1644 and 1645 for James Stanley, sixteenth earl of Derby from 1642, at Castle Rushen in the Isle of Man, to which he had removed his seat after the collapse of royalist power in Lancashire in 1643 (see Appendix 5, pp 269–70 and 281).

This masque was written by Sir Thomas Salusbury (d. 1643), a kinsman of the Stanleys, who may himself have played the part of Christmas (see below). It runs to some 350 lines, which makes it much shorter than *Comus* or the royal masques of the same era; even allowing for three antimasques, two discoveries, and interludes of music and dance, the whole show need not have lasted more than an hour.

There are seventeen speaking parts. The prologue was spoken by Abraham L'Anglois, the resident apothecary at Knowsley. His name suggests that he may have been a Huguenot who came to England in the train of Lord Strange's wife, Charlotte de la Trémoille (1599–1664); her father, the duc de Thouars, was a Huguenot leader. The chief evidence that Salusbury himself played Christmas is the line 'I haue a ... [^]burgesse of Parliamen' in my tyme Sir' (p 258, ll. 23–4); Salusbury was MP for Denbighshire in the Long Parliament. Dr Almanac may have been played by Lord Strange himself, who had performed in Ben Jonson's *Love's Triumph through Callipolis* at court in 1631.

The New Year was played by Charles Stanley (1628–72), Lord Strange's son; January by 'Mr Tilsbey,' (p 263, l. 1) possibly Edward, younger son of Edward Tyldesley (died c 1618), steward to the fourteenth earl of Derby (F.R. Raines (ed), *The Stanley Papers*, pt 3, vol 2, cs, vol 67 (Manchester, 1867), cccxxxi–cccxxxii). February was played by Richard, Lord Molyneux (1623–54), whose betrothed child-wife, Henrietta Maria Stanley (1630–85), played April. March was played by Richard, son of William Fox, a senior household servant to Henry, thirteenth earl of Derby; Richard was a royalist captain at the siege of Lathom House in 1643–4 (Raines (ed), *The Derby Household Books*, pp 109–10).

May was played by 'Mrs Phill:' (p 264, l. 1), possibly an abbreviation for 'Phillips', the name of the Knowsley chaplain in 1585 (Coward, *The Stanleys*, p 150). Though John Philips had died 7 August 1633 as bishop of Sodor and Man, his family's connections with the Stanleys must have remained close. June and July were acted by two 'Duckerfeild' ladies (p 264, ll. 10, 15);

'Duckenfield' is the usual spelling of this family's name. Robert Duckenfield was a member of the Cheshire gentry who fought on the parliamentary side in the Civil War, but showed friendship to the Stanleys when Lathom House was forced to capitulate at the end of the siege in 1644; 'Mrs Duckerfeild' (l.10) and 'Mrs E: Duckerfeild' (l.15) may have been his wife Martha and one of his sisters, or else two sisters.

August was acted by 'Mrs Mesieur,' (p 264, l.20) either a visitor from France or a companion of Lady Strange. September was acted by 'Mrs Farrington,' (p 264, l.35) probably the wife, or else a daughter, of Stanley's officer William Farrington (Coward, *The Stanleys*, p 69), a grandson of Earl Henry's steward William Farrington. Thomas Stanley, who represented October, is obscure; he may have been one of the Stanleys of Weaver, perhaps a son of Sir Thomas (born 1576; Raines (ed), *The Derby Household Books*, p 142). Andrew Broome, who played November, was 'Clarke of the Kitchin' (p 259, l.20, 22) at Knowsley, and Hugh Haughton, Christmas' 'priue servant' (p 259, l.27, 29) December, must have been one of the Hoghtons of Hoghton Tower, quite possibly the Hugh Hoghton who leased Childwall House and was charged during the Civil War with evading service in the parliamentary army (R.G. Dottie, 'Childwall: a Lancashire Township in the Seventeenth Century,' *THSLC* 135 (1986 for 1985), 17).

Of the guests and members of the Stanley household referred to in the text of the masque, 'The Chaplaine' who was 'a new thinge here about Knowseley' (p 258, ll.12–13) was probably either Humphrey Baguley, John Lake, or Samuel Rutter, all three household chaplains by 1644 (Raines (ed), *The Stanley Papers*, pt 3, vol 1, cs, vol 66 (Manchester, 1867), xcv). Baguley is not recorded as having taken a degree, but Lake had a BA from St John's College, Cambridge, by 1641/2 and later obtained the bishopric of Sodor and Man, a Stanley perquisite (John Venn and J.A. Venn (comps), *Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of all Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge from the Earliest Times to 1900; Pt 1, From the Earliest Times to 1751*, vol 3 (Cambridge, 1922–7), 34). Samuel Rutter, an Oxford graduate, served as the Stanleys' domestic chaplain during their stay on the Isle of Man and composed the songs that are printed in Appendix 5 below for their entertainment there. In 1640 he was apparently archdeacon of Sodor and Man, but he never seems to have taken up his duties until Lathom House capitulated in 1644 (Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: the Members of the University of Oxford, 1500–1714*, vol 3 (Oxford, 1891–2; rpt New York, 1968), 1293; see also Appendix 5, p 268–9).

'Mr Holt' (p 259, l.1) may have been the 'Mr Holte' invited to dine with Lord Strange on 30 October 1636 (Raines (ed), *The Stanley Papers*, pt 3, vol 1, cs, vol 66 (Manchester, 1867), lvi), or the Alexander Holt who 'co-operated with Earl Charles in 1653 in the purchase of Burscough manor' (Coward, *The Stanleys*, p 78), if indeed the two were not the same man. 'Sir Iohn Wickcliffe' (p 260, l.19) might be the John Wickcliffe who intruded on Earl James' privacy with some of his 'petty transactions connected with the sequestration of his lordship's estates' on 27 September 1651, shortly before the earl was tried and beheaded (Raines (ed), *The Stanley Papers*, pt 3, vol 1, p cciv). 'Tom Stanley' (p 260, ll.27 and 29) was not of the main branch of the family, but there were others, some stemming from the twelfth and thirteenth earls' extra-marital liaisons ('The Stanleys in Bury,' *The Bury and Rossendale Historical Review*, vol 2, no 5 (1910), 12–13). The bantering and perhaps patronizing tone might suggest that 'Tom' was some such poor relation of Derby's.

'Master Doctor Pasley' (p 261, l.6) was probably Christopher Pasley of Trinity College, Cambridge, (BA 1615/16, MA 1619, DD 1638 (see Venn and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*,

p 513). The steward, controller, cook, and marshal (p 258, ll.26, 33, 34; p 259, l.11) do not seem to be identifiable. 'Mr Heinhofer' (p 259, ll.34, 36) must have been another household servant, perhaps one who came with Lady Charlotte, whose mother was the daughter of William the Silent, prince of Orange and steadholder of the United Netherlands; although it looks German, 'Heinhofer' could be a corruption of (Van) Eindhoven or some similar Dutch name. 'Dick Fox' (p 260, l.11) was probably the Richard Fox referred to above (p 252) as playing March.

The masque reflects contemporary controversy about the proper keeping of Christmas-tide, particularly in the passage (p 256, ll.27–39) where the 'thin gutt frydayes' (p 256, l.35) are represented as 'full of wrath' (l.37) because Christmas and his followers have 'vsurpt theyre houres' (l.38). In Christmas-tide 1640–1, both Christmas Day and New Year's Day fell on Friday. The Church of England normally kept Fridays as fasting days, but Christmas, as a major feast, clearly pre-empted the Friday fast, and 1 January as the Feast of the Circumcision of Christ might also be held to do so. In any case by ancient custom (to which the Stanleys evidently adhered) no fast was observed at any time during the Twelve Days of Christmas. The Book of Common Prayer, however, provided no clear directions on this latter conflict until the revision of 1662. The fasting days of the masque represent the contemporary puritans, who disliked traditional holy-days as relics of popery (Christopher Hill, *Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England* (London, 1964), 146–53) and agitated to have the number of compulsory fasting days increased. Christmas' speech after the antimasque in which the Fridays beat the holidays and carry them off (p 257, ll.12–35) alludes to the strength of the puritan party in the Long Parliament and the threat, as perceived by the opposing royalist and high church party to which Derby and his friends adhered, that once they got the upper hand the puritans would outlaw Christmas along with the other customary holy-days – as indeed they did during Cromwell's usurpation. Extreme puritans so loathed the word 'mass' that they avoided using it even in its weakened form as a suffix in 'Christmas,' 'Michaelmas,' and other such traditional feast names, and insisted on finding other terms for those feasts if they had to talk of them at all; Christmas' reference to 'nickenames' (l.24) is intended to satirize their practice.

The manuscript appeared as lot 421 in the sale at Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, 14–16 March 1921, of 'Printed Books and a few Manuscripts comprising The Property of J Baskerville-Clegg, esq., of Withington Hall, Chelford,' and appears to have been presented to the National Library shortly afterwards in 1921 by two anonymous donors. Sir Israel Gollancz contributed an article on it in *The Times Literary Supplement*, 26 January 1922, and a letter to *The Times*, Tuesday, 6 July 1926. It is a miscellany chiefly containing Sir Thomas Salusbury's own dramatic and poetic pieces and verse translations, but also others ascribed to 'H.S.' and 'J.S.', probably other members of the family: Sir Thomas' father was Sir Henry, and two John Salusburies, senior and junior, wrote commendatory verses prefixed to Sir Thomas' published poem *The History of Joseph* (src: 21620). There are also verses by Sir John Harrington, Sidney, and Vaughan, and prose excerpts of literary and antiquarian interest.

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, ms 5390D; 1641; English; paper; 271 leaves; modern pagination, 1–538; 283mm x 190mm; full brown leather binding with blind-tooling and remains of brass clasps, the spine recently repaired. The text of the masque is written in secretary, the title and the speech prefixes mostly in italic by the same hand.

STANLEY OF KNOWSLEY

1640/1

A Masque at Knowsley House National Library of Wales: MS 539OD
pp 35–45* (6 January)

5

A Masque as it was presented at ye right honourable
ye Lord Strange his at Knowsley on Twelfth night [640] 1640
Christmas day yat year lighting on friday.
Designed & written in six howres space
by Sir Thomas Salusbury

10

The Prologue made to bee spoken by Mr
Abraham L'Anglois
who speaks very broken English

15

Long Prologues please not, th'Author therefore sent
a short one, in greate hope to giue content
and find such Candor [t] in you, as t'approue it
or vnderstand [^] mee at least, ere censure of it

20

Enter Dr Almanacke, leadinge in Christmas an old *gentleman*, now in his
night capp, ye Doctor with an Alminack vnder his girdle an Vrinall in his
hand: — Christmas attended by his plump festivall days & gambolls

25

Christmas: Why trust mee Doctor I feelee not such faintnes
noe Symptomes of ye danger yat you speake of
but haue as good a stomacke to disgest
plum porridge, or mince pye [as if I were] boyld beefe & brewes
or any manlie meate, as if I were
to last out all the year.

30

Doctor: A lightninge before death: Let mee asure you
you cannot last twelue houres, in any state
to make a will that may not bee excepted
against, as done when you were not Compos mentis
the honest butler may perchance bestow
a sicklie Taper on you, now & then by whose dimme light
a few poore gleeke and one & Thirtymen

35

8/ night written over day and 1 of 1640

22/ Almanacke altered from Alminacke

33/ A lightninge ... death: cf *Romeo and Juliet* v. iii. 90

39/ Thirtymen: y written over i

may watch *your* herse, this fortnight, but beleue't
that in the Kitchin you are dead already
noe more till Candlemas to bee remembred
then Coffin'd in [could] cold crust, some small solemnity
may bringe you to *your* grave

5

Christmas: It cannot bee *Doctor*, I haue not felt
soe great a lightsomenes about my heart
since I beganne to reigne!

10

Doctor: Make good vse of *your* tyme then, tis but short
For by ye morrowes Sunne, the whininge schoole boy
shall wth his satchell on his backe lament
ye losse of Christmas, ye dull clowne oth Country
shall whistle to his teame most dolefullie
& vnder euerie hedge in euery Corner
shall grunt & groane till teares stande in his eyes
for loathnes to depart wth Christmas pyes

15

Christmas: Well if I must dy, i'le dy merrilie
I feele my selfe dispos'd, wheres my retinue
Come Gambolls let mee see some feats of yours
and *your* plump fellowes, they are growne soe fatt
they cannot shake theire heeles, liuelie my boyes.

20

® [Enter Gambolls
&]

® 1 first Antemasque
of Christmas
gambolls
2d. of ye fat
festiualls

Musick strikes they beginne some figures of the ¹2d¹
Antemasque: Then enter ¹an equall number of ¹leane ghost like apparitions
of fasting dayes
Christmas starts vpp

25

30

Hah: what are theise. theise Ghostly things y^{at} looke like
soe many shapes of death, come to arrest mee

Doctor: These bee the pale fore runners of thy end
lictors to hungry lentt: they'r thin gutt frydayes
sent to distroy thee, and thy followers,
beinge full of wrath, at thy and New yeares day
that haue vsurpt theyre houres, soe that devotion
it selfe would scarce allow them obseruer

35

3/ Candlemas: 2 February

12-14/ the whininge ... Christmas: cf *As You Like It* II. vii. 145

Christmas: Avant hence *with* theise hagg
 theire sight is horrid, foch, theire breath is noysome
 it brings infection with't, and is as badd
 as theyres, that onelie liue, by drink, and smoake
 are in a morninge fastinge

5

All [gether] [^]together¹ dance, an Antemasque in way of a Matichine, *with*
 postures of strugling and wrestlinge, the fastinge dayes carrying att last ye
 hollidayes out vpon theire backs:

Christmas starts vpp, and giues a great groane

10

Ah Doctor I beginne to feele to late
 the truith of what you told mee, theise feinds that tooke I
 my hollidayes away, haue [^]left^{o1} behind
 a poyson here, and now my harts opprest
 with dismall thoughts: mee thinks I see the tyme
 a Covenanter of the plott against mee
 strange feares distract mee, least I proue ye last
 of all my race here, least my poore successors
 with all theyre troopes of hollidayes bee bannasht
 for ever hence to Roome: & heere esteem'd
 as superstitious raggs of Popery.
 but let them throw [dust] 'dirt' in my face & spend
 all theire whole stock of scorne, & nickenames on mee
 Christide instead of Christmas, or what else
 their brainesicke fancies, please, one wretched name
 I'll certenlie avoyde, and thats ingratefull.
 Reach hither penn, and inke: [&] Doctor Alminack
 I must intreate *your* paines to make my will
 that to this honnorable familie
 where I and all my predecessors haue
 receau'd such bounteous entertainment and
 with soe magnifecent solemnities
 being still observ'd, I somewhat may bequeath
 to bee remembred *with* when I am dead

15

20

25

30

35

Doctor: It is a wholesome care, and I shall serue you

Christmas his Will:

40

Will you remember ye poore sir

- Christmas*: 'Oh oh oh this Cough'
 I Could laugh at you mr doctor but for this cough: sure you
 haue practised noe where, but among Peasants and Country
 Landlords: Lett this poynt passe good doctor : it is out of fashion 5
- Almanack*: Why then Sir: for *your* freinds in the house here
- Christmas*: I now you say somewhat, Name em in their order
- Almanack*: The Chaplaine Sir 10
- Christmas*: oh oh oh: I haue seene that man Sir hee is a new thinge here
 about Knowseley is hee not
- Almanack*: Hee is Sir : 15
- Christmas*: I doe giue, and bequeath vnto him, one Cuppfull of my last
 breath to coole him in his expectations Let him feede vpon Aire,
 awhile, twill gett him the better l stomack: Provided allwayes,
 that if once hee beginne to bee a foole in good earnest, this 20
 legacy shalbee voyd. hee may bee well enough to liue wthout it:
 A smile or soe from his good Mistresses, A prettie Competency
 I haue a [Knight of sh(eere)] [^]burgesse of Parliamen^l in my tyme
 Sir: I would not haue ye Clergie suffer 25
- Almanack*: Will you think vpon ye steward Sir:
- Christmas*: hee is a minister of Iustice is hee not. Doctor. hee is soe.
Christmas: I giue & bequeath vnto him full to talk what he
 pleas, & it is my will hee be obeyd, by ye whole family as they 30
 shall see cause
- Christmas*: To him [yes Sir]: and [vpo] to ye Controuler his Leiuetenant,
 and master Cooke his Serjant 'minor' [Maior] : I doe giue,
 and bequeath °evne° vnto them altogether, one new books of 35
 Tacktick, to learne a new march vp wth my Lords mace, it is a
 verie weightie office: And I would haue them carry themselues
 iustlie, and in an equippage

23/ haue for haue beene (?)

29/ full: word omitted: possibly or authority

29-31/ Christmas ... cause: added in space to right of main text

33/ To him: added in space to left of main text

35/ books for booke

Almanack: O Sir; you forgett Mr Holt.

Christmas: Where is hee?

Almanack: Att his prayers I think, shall I call him?

5

Christmas: Noe it needs not. Let him eene alone, I am resolved to giue him nothinge: Noe tyme to pray but in Christmas I heare hee kept his fast [too] vpon my day [^]too¹ As I said hee shall haue nothinge. I must forgiue myne enemyes but it is certaine I will giue them nothinge: Is there not one *Master* Marshall about the house:?

10

Almanack: There is *Sir*, a verie officious gentleman; will you giue him any thing?

15

Christmas: Oh by all meanes *Doctor*: hee shall haue my blessinge: hee will haue neede on't *Master Doctor*: for I feare hee hath not many more: People are full of cursinge: you see I dye in Charity

Almanack: you'le doe the better *Sir*: There is a Clarke of the Kitchin too

20

Christmas: verie right *Sir*: Mr Andrew Broome: I doe giue and bequeath vnto him; one new booke of Arethmaticke and one other new booke of the Poetrie of theise tymes: hee may censure, and damne all as hee pleaseth: The verie Pope of the Muses *Sir*, hee is infallible

25

Almanack: Honest Hugh Haughton *Sir*

Christmas: O my priuie servant: I haue a purpose to settle an annuity vpon him, Prouided allwayes, That if hee act I not once at the least, euery Christmas, or talke of any thing else, till Shrouetyde followinge, this legacie shalbee voyde, and of none effect:

30

Almanack: Haue you nothinge left for your sage freind Mr Heinhofer

35

Christmas: Hyeronimo Heinhofer my freind: *Master Doctor* you are mistaken, hee is of plott against mee with the [gravest] ¹greatest¹ Enemy that I haue [^]He hath a very Ashwensday in his face¹ and hee lookes as leane, and as longe, as all the fortie dayes ensuinge: It is my will that when his black velvett jerkin is worne out, hee may

40

gett him another, ene where hee pleaseth: hee hath seene the world abroad: Oh: oh:

Almanack: There are other officers, remember Paul Sir

Christmas: oh oh: I am drawing towards it, my fitt is comming on —
I am noe laster Hee shall haue ene what hee will: And that's too
much for one man: I would advise him leaue his purse behind,
when hee goeth to the next scottish sermon Hee may carry his
conscience along with him, I know none will meddle with it —
To Dick Fox I giue [and] 'and' bequeath my Mannor house
of Owhr hall together with the best moveable therein for his
private solace. To Peter ye Cooke I doe giue and bequeath
three whole pounds of Fullers earth together with a pattent
of reformation to mend ill faces: I would haue him to try the
receipt vpon his owne first, and soe goe on with his commission
as hee shall see cause

Almanack Alas Sir Iohn Wickliffe: haue you nothing for him?

Christmas: Faith noe but my best Councell, I would haue him take lesse
paine, and doe more buisness sweating to small purpose,
you know Doctor [ye] it is a verie great dryer, and hinders
propogation: I am a spent man, I feare I shall neuer liue to see
his yssue: Haue I done yet

Almanack: Not yet Sir. will you not think vpon Tom Stanley

Christmas: O my virtuous Tom Stanley hee hath a charge of children, hath
hee not?!

Almanack: Some few Sir of one side,

Christmas: Doth hee not study Art Magick

Almanack: A little Sir, the white witch or soe.

Christmas: I doe giue and bequeath vnto his yssue, begotten, or to bee
begotten vpon the witch aforesaid one new book of Palmestry,

11/ Mannor: 3 minims in ms

22/ sweating corrected from swearing

that when they come to yeares of discretion they may turne
 Gipsies and reade theire Fathers fortunes In the meane tyme it is
 my will, they bee nurtured and brought vp without any religion
 at the charge of the Parrish Oh, oh, To the rest of the officers, for
 I cannot hold out to name them all I doe giue and bequeath as
 little as my Executor *Master Doctor* Pasley shall think fitt,
 I would haue em all stand to his curtesie, hee is a wise man and
 a great sauer

5

Almanack: Of his flock you meane Sir

10

Christmas: No No No No I meane noe such thinge I can assure you *Master*
Doctor, nor hee neither but oh oh oh I am troubled with such
 a stoppage: Oh ah. Ouerseer of this my will I doe make, and
 ordaine, Mr Abraham L'Anglois, Apothecary, to whome I giue,
 and bequeath one fox tayle, to fright away his brethren the flyes,
 from his potts and glasses, One paire of stilts that hee may bee
 seene, with some quantity of English hony, to annoynt his
 tongue, that hee may bee vnderstanded This is all *Master Doctor*
 you will see me fairelie buried and let the Poet that writes my
 Epitaph, bee remembred like the rest of [my] 'his' trybe: I would
 not hurt his witt Sir; you vnderstand mee: Oh oh

15

20

Almanack: Thats his last fetch, hee is gone, and now you sonnes of hunger
 beare him forth: [hee being borne out by ye fridays

25

The Scene changeth ye Temple of ye New year being discovered full
 of lights out of *which* issues a Priest & Priestesse with siluer censers
 in theyr hands scattering incense a Chorus of Priests follow them

30

The first Priests song
 ye Chorus bear ye last staffe as aburthen I

Song by ye Preist of the New Yeare.

35

Hence all prophane, the blest new yeare
 though little yet, will strait appeare
 Then *which* you haue not seene a Power deviner

Hence all prophane, bee none soe bold

40

to bring or cloth, or faces old
Beleeu't the God would haue you gone or finer

Noe Mistris bearing date last May
noe solemne thoughts of yesterday
Or whatsoers soe piteous, old or mustie

5

Bee sufferd here to harme *our* Mirth
but let them all bee damn'd to earth
whilst wee grow plump, and young againe, and lustie

10

Wee will haue all new blood new fires
new beauties all, and new desires
To welcome in the newnes of the Season

15

Haue you not seene the beauteous morne
this day by th' Sunns wild horses torne
Because t'was thought too old, and that was treaso(n)

After this Song ye Temple opens 'ye New year is discouere(d) with
his 12 month about him. ye winter month represented by me(n) by
ye Summer month by Ladyes ye personages of ye Grand Mas(q)'¹

20

New yeare:
Presented by Mr Stanley: my Lordds sonne

25

All you, who nouelties expect, I here
your risinge Sunne, and hopes of *your* new yeare
shall onelie this, nor neede I promise more
then my great Ancestors perform'd before
Let States, and Kingdomes change their fates & face
new Lawes, new Councillers, yet this old place
shall take it as my blessinge, and possesse
their Auncient plentie, Mirth and happines
This for the generall, I but vnto you
whose cares makes my tymes good, shall pay as due
All that my Seasons can, each Month shall giue
Theyre proper blessings, & *your* name shall liue
In the new yeare: as in the age of gold
Nor like the world grow worse, as it growes old.

30

35

40

21-2/ by ye *for* and ye (?)

29/ shall: *understand* promise by anticipation (?)

Ianuarie.

Mr Tilsbey

I twofac'd Ianuary [summoned here] first apear
 that am the lock, and key to either yeare
 in whome the sage Astronimer surveyes 5
 ye face of Heauen, of fate, and following dayes
 In homage thus to both, your honors bow
 which all as well as I for tymes past know
 But of their length of date, and light of glory
 You shall obtaine, requires an endles story 10

This onelie they shall last, let mee ensure
 whilst revolutions of new yeares endure.

ffebbruary:

Lord Molineux 15

Let still my cold
 hoarfrosts, and snowes keepe Course, yet you shall grow
 In honors old
 and in a happie age as white as snow/ 1 20

March:

Mr Fox.

Let winds, and Tempests vex Heaven, earth & Seas
 noe stormy fates, shall interrupt your ease. 25

Aprill

Lady Molineux

The dawne of the encreasinge daie by mee
 presents her Tribute of felicitie, 30
 and euergrowing blisse, perpetuall springe
 of honor, loue, and euerie precious thinge
 crowne all your dayes, and as the teeming earth
 now glads the halfe starv'd world, with a new birth
 of long lost sweets, soe may you euer blesse 35
 this place with your continued fruitfullnes

1/ Mr Tilsbey for Mr Tilsley (?)

7/ both, your honors: *ie, Lord and Lady Strange*33/ teeming: *seconde blotted; perhaps written over a*

May

Mrs Phill:

My Maiden Sister past, I next appeare
 shee was the budd, I blossome of the yeare
 blowne neerer ripenes, and shall I bee lesse
 in wishinge or in giving happines
 Noe wee both darlings of the Springe agree
 All Seasons bee to you, as faire as wee

5

Iune

Mrs Duckerfeild

10

The fairest longest dayes, are Iunes, whoe praies
 for calmnes to you both, and length of dayes.

Iuly

Mrs E: Duckerfeild 15

[Iuly as much as shee can giue, bestowes
 her best, and earliest fruits: you are sure of those:]

August

Mrs Mesieur

20

The Seasons all by mee are fedd
 I gather in, and giue out bread
 for ye whole yeare of this as due
 My Lord, I Tribute pay to you
 plentie, that may [keepe vp] 'support' your free
 and bounteous hospitality,
 And if occasion bee againe
 to feed, an Army, shall mayntaine
 a guard for ye whole Realme, that they
 as a debt in Iustice may
 to you acknowledge and confesse
 they safety owe, and happiness

25

30

September

Mrs Farrington

35

I Ladie of the Vintage, must bestowe
 my blessings too, and may they ouerflow
 as doe my Cupps, bee fresh as they, and fall
 thick as my Clusters on you: and may all

40

that doe not say Amen, by mee bee curst
to want of liquor & eternall thirst:

October

Mr Thomas Stanley

5

My barren Season I deplore
but what I haue, and had I more
of blessings onelie, *yours* they were
Let Cold rage ore the earth, yet heere
bee it my chardge such care to take
Noe hands grow numme nor teeth shall ake!

10

Nouember

Mr Andrew Broome:

The dayes are shortest now, the tedious night
blinds all the earth, whilst I for *your* delight
light out of darknes bringe, and offer more
then all the pleasant Months haue done before
The stall fedd Ox, that on his back doth beare
spoyles, of the fruitfull Seasons of the yeare
I sacrificize, and that from's entrayles take
shall restore day, and keepe the world awake |

15

20

Hugh Haughton:

December:

Epilogus

25

I am the last, nor [will] can I offer more
then what my predecessors gaue before
the selfe same plenty to you, onelie this
if you but deigne to pardon whats amisse
in this nights worke, I'le promise to prepaire
(a peice to entertaine you) with more care
in the Composure, that shall surelie please
if you can smile now, or but suffer these:

30

Iulyes part chang'd at the
request of the faire representer
of that Month:

35

Bright Summers glory, Iuly comes to pay
her full ripe Cherryes, those of Iune and May

40

that did prevent her gift, and came before
were taken pale, halfe colour'd from her store
But theise are red, sweete, swelling in their pride
as tempting lipps of the expectinge Bride,
Or those that open to pronounce *your* blisse
Then seale it wth a chast, and mutuall Kisse

APPENDIX 5

Musical and Dramatic Entertainment in the Isle of Man

ROGER DICKINSON

Historical Background

Conquered by the Norsemen about the beginning of the ninth century, the Isle of Man was the seat of the kingdom of Man and the Isles from 1079 until 1266, when it passed into the possession of the Scottish crown. Finally coming under the suzerainty of the English king in the fourteenth century, the island was granted to a succession of English nobles until Henry IV bestowed it upon Sir John Stanley in 1405 (see R.H. Kinvig, *The Isle of Man* (Liverpool, 1975), 9, 54–9).

Under the Stanleys Man retained its royal rights, although the title of king was diplomatically dropped outside the island and it only rarely received direct personal attention from its lord (Kinvig, *The Isle of Man*, p 97). After a visit from Sir John Stanley II in 1422 to deal with an insurrection, more than a hundred and fifty years went by during which the Stanleys had more pressing matters to attend to, until in 1577 and again in 1583 Henry, thirteenth earl of Derby, crossed the Irish Sea to preside at sessions of the Manx courts (Coward, *The Stanleys*, pp 36, 101).

The death of Henry's elder son and successor, Ferdinando, fourteenth earl of Derby, in 1594 marked the beginning of a dispute over the descent of the Stanley estates between earl Henry's younger son, William, the fifteenth earl, and Ferdinando's widow, and with England facing the threat of invasion from Spain, Elizabeth I promptly seized the opportunity to take the island into the custody of the English crown (Coward, *The Stanleys*, pp 41–52). It was returned to the Stanleys by private act of parliament in 1610.

During the three hundred and thirty years of Stanley rule there was only one relatively short period when the lord was actually resident in the island. His presence then was owing not to any special concern for the inhabitants but to the pressure of outside events. James Stanley, sixteenth earl of Derby, was a firm supporter of Charles I in his struggle with Parliament. In 1643 the threat of a rising in Man, reportedly encouraged by parliamentarian agents, compelled him to leave England to secure the island for the king. Apart from a brief spell in the summer of 1644, when he went to enlist support for the relief of his wife, besieged in Lathom House,

Earl James spent the whole period from June 1643 to August 1651 on the island (Coward, *The Stanleys*, pp 173–4).

Entertainment at Castle Rushen, 1603

It seems quite clear that this entertainment at Castle Rushen must have been arranged to celebrate the peaceful accession of James VI of Scotland as James I of England on 24 March 1602/3. The play was performed in the fiscal year ending at Michaelmas 1603; the payments for the charges of the deputy, Robert Molyneux, and the rest of the officers at 'the kinges proclamacion throughout the Island' appear in the same accounts; money was disbursed for 'wyne and ayle spent on the kinges Coronacion day'; Edward Moore, the controller, went to 'the Court' with a certificate of the king's proclamation in the island (f 13v). Lord Vaux's men were a provincial company who had appeared at Leicester in October and December 1601 (Leicester Chamberlains' Accounts, Leicestershire Record Office: BR III/2/74, f 40). After their engagement in the Isle of Man, they returned to England, performing in Coventry some time in 1604 and again on 30 August 1608 (R.W. Ingram (ed), *Coventry*, Records of Early English Drama (Toronto, 1981), 364, 373) and stopping at Skipton Castle in Craven in March 1609 (Earl of Cumberland's Household Accounts, Chatsworth House: Bolton Abbey MS 228, f 267v).

San Marino, California, Huntington Library, EL 981; 1603; English; paper; i + 14 + ii; 360mm x 200mm; contemporary foliation, ff 1–6, completed by modern foliation, ff 7–14; paper booklet stitched together, now bound with others into 19th c. (?) blue cloth binding on boards, Bridgewater arms stamped in gold on the front, title on spine: 'MSS.' stamped in gold.

Archdeacon Rutter's Songbook

Samuel Rutter was reputed to be the grandson of John Rutter, the miller on the Stanley estate at Burscough in Lancashire. He was educated at Westminster School and entered Christ Church College, Oxford, in 1623 (Raines (ed), *The Derby Household Books*, pp 200–1). He was instituted as rector of Waberthwaite in Cumberland in 1630 (A.G. Matthews (ed), *Walker Revised: being a Revision of John Walker's 'Sufferings of the Clergy during the Grand Rebellion 1642–60'* (Oxford, 1948), 104). He later became chaplain to James, Lord Strange, subsequently sixteenth earl of Derby, and served as tutor to Strange's son and heir, Charles (Raines (ed), *The Stanley Papers*, pt 3, vol 3, cs, vol 70 (Manchester, 1867), 42).

In 1640 or soon after, Strange nominated Rutter as archdeacon of Sodor and Man, a post that carried with it the rectorship of the parish of Andreas in the island (John Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae: or a Calendar of the Principal Ecclesiastical Dignitaries of England and Wales to 1715*, T. Duffus Hardy (ed), vol 3 (Oxford, 1854), 329). When James Stanley, now earl of Derby, departed for the Isle of Man in June 1643, Rutter seems to have remained with Countess Charlotte, the earl's wife, at Lathom House, one of the chief Stanley residences and a royalist stronghold, which withstood a parliamentary siege throughout the rest of that year and into the spring of 1644 (Raines (ed), *The Stanley Papers*, pt 3, vol 1, cs, vol 66).

(Manchester, 1867), cxxx, n 57). Rutter seems to have gone to Man for the first time with the countess after the siege of Lathom House was temporarily lifted on 27 May. He administered an oath of loyalty to the clergy of the island in July 1644 (Manx Museum Library: Liber Scaccarii 1644, inter 16–17 (1,2)). After the death of Richard Parr, bishop of Sodor and Man, on 23 March 1644 the earl, who possessed the patronage of the see under the original grant of the island from Henry IV, had left it vacant in order to use the revenues for defending the island; Rutter consequently became the chief ecclesiastical officer there (A.W. Moore, *Sodor and Man* (London, 1893), 143). He was one of the commissioners nominated by Countess Charlotte, after her husband's execution, to meet the leaders of the parliamentary force sent to take control of the island at the end of the third phase of the Civil War in October 1651. Following the surrender of Castle Rushen, the Stanleys' chief seat there, he seems to have left the island (Moore, *Sodor and Man*, p 180). Rutter was a fairly prolific author, producing among other pieces 'Attorney Bated' (printed in W. Harrison (ed), *Mona Miscellany*, Manx Society, vol 16 (Douglas, 1869), 227–30) and an ode 'To the Glorious Memory of the Blessed Martyr, James, Earle of Derby' (Raines (ed), *The Stanley Papers*, pt 3, vol 2, cs, vol 67 (Manchester, 1867), appendix 15, pp ccclxxxvi–cccxc). The pieces contained in the songbook must, from their subject matter and the existence of Manx versions alongside the English, have been written during his years in the Isle of Man.

Soon after the Restoration, in November 1660, Rutter was made prebendary of Longdon in Lichfield Cathedral (*The Forty-Sixth Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records* (London, 1886), appendix 1, p 102). In October 1661, after nomination by his old pupil Charles Stanley, now seventeenth earl of Derby, he was confirmed as bishop of Sodor and Man (Le Neve, *Fasti*, vol 3, p 327). He did not, however, enjoy his bishopric long for he died 30 May 1662 and was buried in St German's Cathedral within Peel Castle (Harrison, *An Account of the Diocese*, p 65).

Douglas, Isle of Man, Manx Museum Library, Moore ms 154 A; late 18th or early 19th c.; English and Manx; paper; 19 + xi; unfoliated; 100mm x 155mm; paper booklet, originally unbound, now bound with other material in a Victorian library binding.

The title of the whole collection appears, in English only, on p [1]. 'Eubonia's Praise' and the 'Threnodia' are arranged with the English text on the left (pp [2], [4], [14], [16], and [18]) and the Manx on the corresponding right pages (pp [3], [5], [15], [17], and [19]) but the English text of 'The Little Quiet Nation' is written on consecutive pages (pp [6]–[9]) with the Manx following, laid out the same way (pp [10]–[13]).

Masques Performed at Castle Rushen

During Earl James' residence in the island, masques were staged on Twelfth Night in at least two years, 1643/4 and 1644/5. A notice of these was made by Thomas Parr, vicar of Malew 1641–91 (d. 1695), who was the episcopal registrar. Parr's own text appears to be no longer extant but it was copied into a volume of extracts made, or at least owned, by Paul Bridson,

honorary secretary of the Manx Society. From that copy it was twice printed in the society's publications, once by the Reverend J.G. Cumming in his edition of *A Short Treatise of the Isle of Man* by James Chaloner (Manx Society, vol 10 (Douglas, 1864), appendix G, p 123) and once by William Harrison in *Mona Miscellany* (Manx Society, 2nd ser, vol 21 (Douglas, 1873), 258). Bridson's transcript cannot now be traced and Cumming's version has been chosen as the basis for the text offered here because it appears to represent the more diplomatic rendering of the two.

CASTLE RUSHEN

1602–3

Castle Rushen Book of Allowance Huntington Library: Ellesmere MS 981
f 13

...

Paid to my Lord vause's players in Reward for a plaie acted by them xx s.

...

1643–51

Archdeacon Rutter's Song Book Manx Museum Library: Moore MS 154A
pp [1–2]

A Choice

Collection

of Songs

Composed by

ArchDeacon Ryter

For the Amusement & Diversion

of the Right Honourable

James Earl of Derby

During his Retreat [in] to his

Island of Man, in the

Time of the Oliverian

Usurpation!

Eubonia's Praise

A Song

1

See 'See' the Sun yæt Rules the Night,
Not made to Hurt, but help ye Sight,
The Envy of the proudest Vine,
Fix'd in an Orb Pure Crystalline:

Chorus

Sing we aloud Eubonía's Praise,
 Eubonia Bright whose sparkling 'Rays,'¹ ^
 Break through ye Clouds of troubled Souls,
 A'nd¹ Leaves no Care but in the Bowls.

5

2

Had the Unruly Boy Desired,
 This Sun *when* He his Chariot Fired:
 The Parched Earth & all the Sky,
 Had Been as Safe as You & I.
 Sing we Aloud &c.

10

p [4]

15

3

Let me this Heav'enly Creature View,
 See How our Noses through its Hue,
 Like Colours in the Rainbows Stream,
 From the Reflection of a Beam.
 Sing we Aloud &c

20

25

4

But as the Sun do's never Rise,
 To ye Blind or those that Shut *their* Eyes,
 So He *yat* will not Drink & May,
 Makes a Sad Gloomy Night of Day.
 Sing we Aloud &c.

30

5

Live, Mortals, Live, No time Delay,
 Your Hopes in Beauty will Decay;
 The Gods none other Beauty Send,
 But this *which* Age it self Do's Mend.
 Sing we Aloud &c.

35

40

20/ Heav'enly: *apostrophe possibly a later addition*

p [3]

Eubonia in Manks
Arraan er Soo ny Horn

1

5

Ieagh, Ieagh y Ghrean to reil ny Hoiee,
Niartagh yn Soilshey & y Chree;
Ta'n Billey-Feeney Semoinee troo,
Mish shoh tah jeh yn Coonteh Smoo.

10

Chorus

Mollee-jee Maryms, Vanninee,
Bean yn Luin Lajir as y Vree:
Dagh Seaghyn as Dagh Karrail 'tayne,
Fa ghol er Ghool Lesh Soo ny Hoarn.

15

2

20

Dy beagh y Staghyl nagh ghow Coyrle,
Er niu jeh s'h'oh meh Losht eh'n Seoyl:
Yn Air, & Oor, myrgearthey mish,
Beagh ahd cha Sauchey¹ as uss as Mish^{o1} tah-shin nish.

25

Mollee-jee Maryms &c

p [5]

30

[4] 3^d

Oh Hesshey Gou's yn Ghless shoh hood,
Oh Cre'naght heeims dy Stroinn ny hrooid;
Myr tah'n Gholtwooi jeh Cullee'n Aile,
M'shen tah Shoh, Lesh Soilshey'n Khaile.

35

Mullee-jee Marym's &c

25/ tah-shin nish *not cancelled, but as uss as Mish inserted as correction*

p 272, l. 33—p 273, l. 8/ Oh Hesshey ... Marym's &c: *stanzas 3 and 4 are written in reverse order in the MS but marked for transposition*

[3] 4

Agh Myr ta'n Ghrean foh Boitjal 'bodjal' still,
 Dahsyn tah Doal, ny Dooïn y Hooil,
 Eshyn nagh Iough 'Lune' tra teh paa,
 Sheh shoh, tah Iannoo'n Oie jeh'n Laa.

5

Mulleejee Marym's &c

5

10

Oh Boyaghyn ny Curjee Geil,
 Dah Eddyn Aalin nee falleil;
 Dooghyss, cha dug doïn ny share voie,
 'M'shinneh teh, teh gase ny spwoie'
 Ny Shoh, Lesh Eash tah gase ny Spooie.

15

Mulleejee Maryms etc.

pp [6–13]

20

Prologue to a Play Acted in Castle Rushin, before the Right Honourable
 James Earl of Derby, to Divert his Pensive *Spirit* and Deep Concern for the
 Calamity of his Country – Occasioned by the Grand Rebellion begun Anno
 1641

25

Let the World run round,
 Let the World run round,
 And know neither End nor Station;
 Our Glory is the Rest [of],
 Of a Merry, Merry Breast,
 In this Little Quiet Nation.

30

2

35

We Eat, we Drink, we Dance, we Sing,
 To morrow freely Comes & Goes;
 We Strike up Musick's gentle Strings,
 And Understand no other Blows.
 [Chorus] Let the World run Round &c |

40

3/ Boitjal *underlined for deletion*

40/ [Chorus]: *square brackets in MS*

3

If any Sour, Unhallow'd Breath,
 Our Harmless Sports, *should* Dare Defile;
 Let *yat* Man Fall in Love *with* Death,
 Whilst we the Griefs of Life beguile.
 Let the World Run Round &c.

4

What though our Race much Envyd be,
 Our Fears, they need not to encrease:
 For Every where abroad we see,
 That Men do Ever fight for Peace.
 Let the World Run Round &c.

5

Thus from all Enemies Secure,
 Our Heads & Hearts as light as Air:
 Not made the Heavy Yoke [to Bear] 't'Endure',
 Of too *much* Wealth, or too *much* Care.
 Let the World run round &c l

6

Gold, and the Troubles of pale Gold,
 Are Crosses unto us unknown:
 Our Cloathing's neither Gay nor Cold,
 It Covers, – & it is, – Our Own.
 Let the World run round &c.

7

We do not Liberty Contrive,
 Ourselves in Bondage for to bring;
 As Birds to Snare do haste Alive,
 By the Loose Freedom of their Wing
 Let the World run Round &c.

8

Our Shepherds on their Reeds do play,
 Charming their Sweet-hearts & their Sheep:
 Neither of *which* do go astray, 5
 By Nature taught, their Bounds to keep.
 Let the World run round &c |

9

Our Mistrisses are still the Same,
 No Rivels Blowing at our Fire;
 We Live and Frolick in Loves Flame,
 Without the Pain of fond Desire. 10
 Let the World run round &c 15

10

If any Fool to change is bent,
 And Thinks to thrive ye Lord knows when, 20
 Let Him first go and Learn *whats* meant,
 By Excise & Committee Men.
 Let the World run round &c.

11

The Master of these Sports & Us,
 Commander of ye Truest Hearts,
 Takes to himself the Serious
 And Leaves to us the Merry Parts. 30
 Let the World run round . &c. |

The Little Quiet Nation
 A Manks Translation

1

Lhig da'n Seighl tchindah my-geart,
 Lhigh da'n Seighl tchindah my geart,
 Nagh nione dah Feah, ny Aash orbee, 40

Hond as tah Shee doin or ny reagl,
Fud Ashoon beg ny Manninee.

2

Eee mad, & eiu mad's, gou mad Arraan,
As Lhig da'n [Seol] ¹Seighl¹ ghol bun-ry-skin,
Yn Vial's y Feddan, Khiall smoo 'tain,
Gyn, Geil, da Clloo, ny Slel, ny Gun.
Lig da'n Seol tchinda &c

5

10

3

As nish me nee drough Hongey'r bee,
Er y Chlee dyn-loaght ain, drogh-Imra
Lhig Da'n Baase y Veayl y Ghoinneh Chooi
Choud as vis shin Dy Gernal Soiee.
Lhig Da'n Seol tchinda &c l

15

4

Geh dy vell yn Shee ain Moarit Doin,
Cha Liass doin veh ¹ayns¹ Doot erbee,
Hee mad Dagh Tcheer my-geartey moinn,
Caggey & Strin dy Chossney Shee.
Lhig Da'n Seyl tchinda &c

20

25

5

Myr shoh, woish [Noijin] ¹Noaddyn¹ Dowiley Seir,
Edrim as Air nyn Khion & Cree,
Gyn Lhaadyt lesh y Verchyss Vroor
Agh, whoish shon Shichyr ta nyn Shee.
Lhigh da'n Seyl tchindaa – &c

30

6

[Ayre] ¹Airh¹, & ny Scaghyn geirt or [Ayre] ¹Airh¹ –
Cha dug rean Chrossh ny trimshey Doin:
Cha vel nyn Coamreh Leir – ny Loam –
Teh Coodagh Shin & teh Leinn hene.

40

[7]

Cha vel shin Shirrey Reamyss smoo
 Deh Farn foh Bondia'ght smoo shin hene
 Myr Ieanlee feaslyt ayns yn Air
 Der', tah nyn Skeanyn Gou'it sy Leen
 Lig Da'n Seyl tchinda &c l

5

8

Tah nyn [Boigh'lyn] 'Boch'lyn¹, er y Feddan Cloice,
 Cleonagh nyn Ghrai & nyn Shallvaan:
 Veg Iin cha jeid or Shaghryn Choice,
 Unn Uwoillee & Unn Voghill tain.
 Lhig Da'n Seyl tchinda &c

10

15

9

Ta ech dagh Cree y Hesshey [Coien] 'hene¹,
 Nagh(.) vod ve or ny Violagh Veih;
 Tah shin Annoil still, Doinney's Ben,
 Agh Glen veih'n Earroe, tah noi'n Leih.
 Lhig Da'n Seyl tchindah &c.

20

10

25

Eh tah bwooiaght nyn Sheshaght Choal,
 Dy veh Bertchagh nagh vel fyss Coinn:
 Lhig Dah Smoinaght or Tcheer ny Ghaul,
 Cre'n Leih & Keeshyn douil tah's Shen.
 Lhig Dahn Seyl tchinda &c.
 Nagh neon dah Feah, ny Aash orbee,
 Hond as tah Shee doinn er ny Reayl
 Fud Asshoon beg-ny Vanninee. l

30

35

11

Mainster, nyn Myrkt, tah Harryn Reil,
 E Chree rean firrinagh dah'n Roice;
 Teh Ghoa¹l er Hene, ooilley'n Charrail
 As Lhiggey doinn ve Gennal Choice.
 Lhig Dah'n Seyl tchindaa

40

12

Shoh Hood esht, Slaint nyn Mainstyr Mie,
 As Eh, nagh Ieeg y Chabban ass
 Lhig da veh Eebyrtit magh as Thie
 Dy Casteh Phaa's sy'n [N]ouin Ghoo-Ghlys.
 Lhig Dah'n Seyl Tchinda &c

5

p [14]

A Threnodia – Or Elegiac Song on the Direfull Effects of the Grand
 Rebellion, with a Prophetick View of the Downfall & Catastrophe
 thereof – Composed the Reverend Ruther on Scarlett Rocks near
 Castletown

10

15

1

My Mind with troubles Vexed,
 My Heart with Grief Annoyd,
 My Head with Cares perplexed,
 And all of Comfort Void;
 Upon this Stony Pillow,
 I Seek for Rest in Vain,
 And Just Like yonder Billow
 My Thoughts Do swell amain.

20

25

2

These Rocks below are Shaken,
 And torn as well as I;
 Our strength is all Mistaken,
 And we are found a Lie.

30

p [16]

35

The Weaves with often Beating,
 Have eaten into Stone,
 Mine ills with oft Repeating,
 Have made my Heart to Moan.

[3]

W[he]n by a Storm are Clusterd,
 The Waters & the Skie,
 And all to ruin Musterd, 5
 But this poor Rock & I:
 You Wanton Shells are Sinking,
 For all your Oaken Sides,
 Oh then, shall I be thinking
 Of all Deceitfull Tides. 10

4

You Lofty Sails yæt Pride you,
 With Empty Blasts of Air, 15
 When Angry Seas bestride you,
 Then tell me *what* you are;
 The Treacherous Winds yæt flatterd,
 May Louder winds beget,
 And send you hither tatterd, 20
 Then you and I are Met.

p [18]

5

And thus my Harms recounting
 Upon this Cliff I rest,
 My Ship no Longer Mounting,
 My Anchor in my Breast; 30
 When First I came in hither,
 Methought I heard one Say,
 We shall have Change of Weather
 And see a fairer Day.

35

p [15]

Arraan-Dobbaryn ny Caggaghyn Douil & yn Anvea v'ayns Soxyn –
 trah Iirree'n Parliament & y Thea noin Roiee
 Lesh Phaderyss jeh Toartmou-yss ocksyn by-kindagh-rish & myrgeddyn 40
 Ieh'n Shee & ny Earishin Bannee vah Gerryt ry heit

1

Meh Chree Lesh Seaghyn tooilylt,
 M'Aigney Lesh trimshey Lane,
 Meh Choin jeh Cadley Spooilylt,
 Gyn Seveen tcheit or M'Arn:
 My Lie or Being, ny Heinyn,
 Tchee Aaish, agh ayns fardail
 Son Naght myr tah ny Ioanyn
 Ta M'Aigney Still Ranail:

5

10

2

Yn Vwoir lesh Goanee Caggey,
 Ta kean ny threggyn Loam,
 As Sneiee, lurg Sniee er m'Aigney
 Choart er me Chree veh trome

15

p [17]

20

Ny Brooinyn Sirjey Liagytt,
 Lesh Ioanyn sheer Ahei foue;
 Ta'n Kheayl ain Mennick Mollyt,
 As Moads nyn Nerhal Moue

25

[3]

Meh tah' yn Sterrym Troggal, 's
 ny Bo(a)tallyn dyn Sei,
 Fa'n Air gaase Doo, & gobbal,
 Yn Soilshey heit neose veih:
 Myr Bleayst sinkeal tah Lhongyn,
 Ga taad jeh Darragh Ihent,
 Ta'n Seighl & Moads y Chronnyn,
 Cur er meh Chree ve faint.

30

35

[4]

Shinish Khroinn, Ard, Coamrit, Mornagh,
 Shoalch Lesh foar ny Goaih,

40

Tra ta'n Toan ghat & Anragh,
 Spog sheagh diu strieu Ne'oih:
 Yn Geoah nish kiune & Brynnagh,
 Nee Sterrym gaase nish-hene,
 Shinish brisht er Creg ny Gennagh
 Esht bee shin ghollrum-pene.

5

p [19]

5

10

Myr-shoh, er Khroshyn Smoiniaght¹ Cunniaght¹,
 Ieh'n Chreg [Ch¹r¹oiee] Chloo-iee ta mee Shee,
 Foast er my Lhong vog Smoiniaght,
 [Ta] E Akyr ayns my Chree;
 Son tynsit doo's myr Hannish,
 Dy bee ayn Leaa Kaghlaa,
 Beg'n Sterrym dowil shoh horrish,
 S'Dy vou mad foast lei hraa.

15

20

1644-5

AC *Masques performed at Castle Rushen* Cumming: *Short Treatise*
 p 123

...

The right honourable James Earle of Derby and his right honourable
 Countesse invited all the Officeres Temparall and Spirituall The Cleargie
 the 24 Keyes of the Isle the Crowners with all theire wives & likewise the
 best sort of the rest of the Inhabitance of the Isle to a great maske; where
 the right honourable Charles lord Strange with his traine the right
 honourable Ladies with their attendance were most gloriously decked with
 silver and gould broidered workes & most Costly ornaments bracelletts on
 there hands chaines on there neckes Jewels on there foreheads, earrings in
 there eares & Crownes on there heads and after the maske to a feast which
 was most royall & plentifull with shutting of ornans &c And this was on
 the twelfth day (or last day) in christmas in the year 1644. All the men
 just with the earle and the wives with the Countesse likewise there was such
 another feast that day was twelve moneth at night beinge 1643.

25

30

35

per me
 THOMAS PARRE Vicar
 of Malew.

40

12/ Smoiniaght not cancelled, but Cunniaght inserted as correction

APPENDIX 6

The Stonyhurst Pageants

At Stonyhurst College near Clitheroe is a manuscript of the early seventeenth century (MS A.VI.33), now mutilated, containing a cycle of Old Testament plays. The surviving portion runs from f 56 to f 190, lacking ff 121–5; thus 55 leaves have been lost at the beginning, five part way through, and an unknown number at the end. The extant pageants are those of Jacob (of which the beginning is lost), Joseph, Moses, Joshua, Gideon, Jephthah, Samson, Saul (of which a few lines are lost), David, Solomon, Elijah, and Naaman (of which the very end is lost). Carleton Brown, who produced the only modern edition, *The Stonyhurst Pageants* (Baltimore, 1920), believed that it originally comprised eighteen pageants totalling some 13,000 lines; of these 8,740 lines remain. Brown noted that the pageants must date from 1609 or later, since they are based on the Douay version of the Old Testament, first published in that year. The handwriting, which is italic with lapses into secretary, suggests the manuscript was written in the first quarter of the seventeenth century or very soon after. Marginal names suggest it belonged to a succession of families in the north of England (see Hardin Craig, *English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1955), 371) before coming to rest at Stonyhurst, which since 1795 has housed the Jesuit school for English Roman Catholic boys formerly at St Omer in the Hapsburg Netherlands (see Hubert Chadwick, *St Omers to Stonyhurst* (London, 1962), 11 and 393). Northern rhymes ('law' with 'bestow', 'cry' with 'bee'), inflexions ('thou goes'), and spellings ('neene' for 'nine'; compare 'neeneteene' in the Prescott court-leet roll for 9 June 1615, p xlv above) are consistent with a Lancashire author. While such an ambitious work was presumably written to be performed, no evidence of performance has come down to us. Brown was probably right in thinking the cycle to be the work of an educated Lancashire Roman Catholic of the reign of James I who hoped that his form of Christianity would be restored to official favour in England, and with it the opportunity to stage cycles of biblical plays such as had apparently survived at Preston until only a few years before the Douay version appeared (see p 29, ll.33–6 above). Since Roman Catholic hopes of such a restoration tended to recede as James' reign went on, 1609 or very soon after seems the likeliest time of composition.

APPENDIX 7

Robin Hood Plays in Lancashire

Lancashire receives a passing mention in the *Lytell Geste of Robyn Hode* published by Wynkyn de Worde some time between 1492 and 1534 (*src*: 13689; for dating see R.B. Dobson and J. Taylor, *Rymes of Robyn Hood* (London, 1976), 71). There King Edward hunts Robin and Sir Richard at the Lee through 'All the passe' (ie, extent) 'of lancasshyre' (sig E.i.) but fails to find them. The earliest known mention of a Robin Hood play in Lancashire, however, is Edmund Assheton's laconic reference in 1580 to 'sturres att Brunley, aboute Robyn hooode and the May games' (p 6, l.30–1). The only other reference to a Robin Hood play before 1642 yet discovered is the following passage from Richard Hollingworth's 'Mancuniensis' (MCL: Mun. A.6.51, f 18):

It is reported & belieued that Iohn *Bradford* preaching in Manchester in *king Edwards* dayes tould the people as it were by a Prophetical spirit that because they did not readily embrace the word of God the Masse should bee sayd againe in that church & the play of Robin Hood acted there *which* accordingly came to passe in *Queen Maries* reigne.

John Bradford (c 1510–55) was a leading figure in the protestant Reformation in the time of Edward VI and died for his beliefs under Edward's Catholic successor Mary I. He was born in Manchester and his ministry there is vouched for by the materials collected by John Foxe the martyrologist, including Bradford's own letters. There is no reason to doubt that Hollingworth reported a genuine local tradition about Bradford, current in his time, but the value of that tradition, surfacing as it does nearly a hundred years after the date of the incidents it purports to record, is uncertain. It has no corroboration in Bradford's own surviving correspondence and this negative evidence carries unusual weight considering that Foxe does preserve an epistle of Bradford to the people of Manchester, cast self-consciously in the mould of St Paul's epistles to his mission churches. There, if anywhere, one would have expected to find some echo of the tradition Hollingworth recorded, if it had a foundation in fact.

Certainly that tradition provides no foundation for the elaborate superstructure that later antiquaries confidently erected on it. G.F. Eastwood, for instance, identified the Blackburn grammar school play as a Robin Hood play on no evidence whatsoever (see p 311, endnote to LRO: DDBk 3/9 single sheet dorse). The construct appears at its fullest, however, in Samuel Hibbert-Ware's *History of the Foundations in Manchester*, vol 1 (Manchester, 1830):

Previous to the time of the Reformation, the pageant of Robin Hood was actually exhibited within the sacred walls of the collegiate church of Manchester. It was a favourite interlude, which had been generally got up by the priests. A pageant was prepared; the bold outlaw presided as lord of the May, attended by Maid Marian as queen or lady of the May, and by archers in green, denominated Robin Hood's men. The expences of the splendid dresses, minstrels, morris-dancers, and the subsequent feast of bowers, which was held in the church-yard, were usually defrayed by the church-wardens. Their indemnification and profit were derived from a collection made from house to house in the parish. This was named the gathering for Robin Hood. The ancient play of Robin Hood had probably its origin in the fondness for the sports of archery (pp 63–4)

...

Henry the Eighth found that the games, which had been prepared for the populace by priests and monks, retained such possession over the public mind, that he readily yielded to the exhortations of the reformers to enact a law against their continuance. But this edict was of no farther effect in the play of Robin Hood, which was the favourite pageant of Manchester, than in preserving the interior of the church from being profaned by its mockeries. The scene of the exhibition was changed and nothing more. In the place of being held within the walls of the church it was removed to the church-yard. (p 65)

...

In the year 1553 Edward the Sixth died, and Mary ascended the throne. Bradford's prediction, as Hollingworth has remarked, was soon confirmed. Mass was sung within the walls of the collegiate church, and its doors were again thrown open to receive the imposing pageantry of Robin Hood, Maid Marian, and Friar Tuck. Its aisles were again crowded with archers in green, and a motly assemblage of morris-dancers, fools and their hobby-horses, while its solemn roofs were condemned once more to re-echo the profane sounds of taborers and minstrels. (p 71)

Very little of this actually derives from Hollingworth. He gave none of Hibbert-Ware's details of the actual performance; nor did he assert that 'the pageant of Robin Hood was actually exhibited within the sacred walls of the collegiate church of Manchester' or that it 'had been generally got up by the priests,' for 'acted there' in Hollingworth's account need mean no more than acted in the town. Nor is there anything of this kind about Robin Hood in John Greswell's 'Collections relating to the towns of Manchester and Salford' (now CL: Mun. A.6.54), which was Hibbert-Ware's other chief MS source for Manchester history. Hibbert-Ware evidently had no scruples about fleshing out Hollingworth's bare bones with evidence of usages elsewhere in England and the common body of antiquarian opinion about Tudor Robin Hood plays as received in his time. Documentary evidence indeed exists for Robin Hood's men, sometimes at least clad in green, gathering money to defray the cost of their performance and turning any profits over to churchwardens to be applied to pious uses. We can also

document the association with morris dancing, the identification of Robin Hood and Maid Marian with the lord and lady of May, and the consequent fusion of the play with the May folk rites (see Dobson and Taylor, *Rymes*, pp 38–42, and David Wiles, *The Early Plays of Robin Hood* (Cambridge, 1981), 7–19). None of those features, however, is universal and none is attested anywhere in Lancashire before 1642.

Worse yet for Hibbert-Ware's construct, no corroborative evidence has yet appeared that Robin Hood plays were got up by clergy and actually performed in church buildings. The canons and statutes of the unreformed English church condemned such profane use of churches just as unequivocally as any protestant preacher (see, for example, Bishop Peter Quinel's statutes for Exeter diocese, 1287, printed in John M. Wasson (ed), *Devon, Records of Early English Drama* (Toronto, 1986), 4–6). As products and proponents of the counter-reformation, the church authorities under Mary I would have been no more sympathetic to such goings-on.

Thus Hibbert-Ware painted his elaborate picture of Robin Hood observances in Lancashire over a very sketchy outline of known fact. Nevertheless, it would be injudicious to infer from the paucity of surviving evidence that Robin Hood plays in Lancashire before 1642 were confined to Burnley. Elsewhere the best evidence for such plays comes from parochial records and it must be borne in mind that from the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries comparatively few Lancashire records of that kind have come down to us.

APPENDIX 8

The Black Knight of Ashton

The 'Riding of the Black Lad' or 'Black Knight' was an Easter Monday custom at Ashton under Lyne, first recorded in the Ashton manorial accounts in 1758–9: 'For the Black Lad as usual 5/-' and again in 1759–60: 'Allow'd towards making the Black Lad 5/-' (Winifred M. Bowman, *England in Ashton-under-Lyne* (Altrincham, Cheshire, 1960), 287). Thomas Barritt (1743–1820) set down the first extended account of the ceremony in his 'Antiquarian Miscellany,' a manuscript compilation made between 1761 and 1780. The page in question is now mutilated and the following extract (Barritt MSS, Antiquarian Miscellany, CL: Mun. A.4.72, f 56) is filled out from the transcription made by the Lancashire historian William Farrer in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century (MCLA: MS. L1/49/15/1, f 26.):

The townsmen of Ashton under line have a custom upon every Easter monday of making the effigie of a man & placing him on the back of lean horse & shooting at him with Guns & Pistols as the horse runs loose through the streets this effigie is stiled the Black Knight & one of the Ashtons whose residence was at this hall Easter monday some report to be the day of his death & whether the firing at him be a mark of <rejoicing, or contempt for his c>ruelties & black deeds time hath to the public lost its <original institution. Yet there is a trifling allowance arising from the tolls of Ashton towards the support of this custom.)

Elsewhere Barritt wrote that the effigy was finally 'shot at and pulled to pieces ... by the populace' (Barritt MS. on Ashton under Lyne, CL: Mun. A.4.76, f 38).

In 1795 John Aikin set down another account of the custom in *A Description of the Country from Thirty to Forty Miles Round Manchester* (London, 1795). Aikin agreed that it involved parading a straw-filled effigy on horseback through Ashton, 'after which it is hung up at a cross in the market-place, and there shot away in the presence of a large concourse of the neighbouring people' (p 224). Two later antiquaries continued to attest to these details, namely Samuel Hibbert-Ware in *Illustrations of the Customs of a Manor in the North of England, During the Fifteenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1822), appendices, pp 21–2, and W.E.A. Axon. According to Axon, who witnessed the ceremony about 1870, it then lasted from 2 pm until dark (*The Black Knight of Ashton* (Manchester, [1870]), 25) but in 1883 he reported that the shooting was 'a thing of the past' ('The Black Knight of Ashton,' *Lancashire Gleanings* (Manchester, 1883),

187). The ceremony was last reported in 1953 (Bowman, *England in Ashton-under-Lyne*, p 282, inserted footnote).

Who was the original Black Lad? Barritt proposed two candidates who both lived in late medieval times and since some have thought the ceremony goes back at least that far, a brief examination seems in order.

Barritt's earlier candidate was Thomas Ashton, lord of the manor of Ashton under Lyne, who in 1346 captured the Scots standard at Neville's Cross. As Barritt would have it, the grateful Edward III gave him 'the honour of knighthood, and the title of Sir Thomas Assheton of Assheton-under-lyne, and to commemorate this singular display of his valour he instituted the custom of the riding of the Black Lad upon Easter monday at Ashton and left the sum of ten shillings yearly to support it with his own suit of black velvet and a coat of Mail the helmet of which was very lately remaining' (CL: Mun. A.4.76, f 40; Aikin has the same passage in *A Description*, p 225, and Barritt might be thought to depend on him, except that Aikin adds that the ten shillings was 'within these few years reduced to five;' this suggests that he followed Barritt but updated his information). Thomas Ashton, however, is not a convincing original for the Black Knight; it is improbable that a ceremony commemorating his valiant deed should have turned into the one Barritt described, in which the effigy was clearly an object of hatred like that of Guy Fawkes. Moreover, Edward III does not seem to have knighted Thomas; in 1385, when he went to Spain with John of Gaunt, he was still styled esquire (*DNB*).

Barritt's second candidate, and a more promising one at first sight, was Sir Ralph Ashton (before 1422–83), a powerful magnate under Edward IV and Richard III, who shortly before his death was appointed vice-constable of England and lieutenant of the Tower. Barritt cited

an order which I have been shewn, from Richard 3^d. I think I think it is in Rymers Federa, that if in case this Ralph, in cases of emergency, cannot procure suitable persons for the trials of delinquents, that his own authority should be a sufficient warrant, so that from the nature of his Office, and the powers that were allow'd him by Richard, and perhaps from his natural disposition to serve a tyrant, was a dreaded and despised character and from him arose the adage and prayer

⑥*From the
Reverend
Mr. Watsons
M.S

*O Jesu for thy mercies sake
And for thy bitter passion
Save us from the Ax of the Tower
And Sir Ralph Asheton.

one would almost suppose this Ralf to have been the Black Knight so called, from the yearly insults which are bestowed upon the [{.....} (of)] [or] effigy, it is said he died upon an Easter monday (CL: Mun. A.4.76, ff 38v–9).

This theory might appear to receive some corroboration from a local tradition, first recorded

by Samuel Hibbert-Ware in 1822, that Sir Ralph oppressed the people of Ashton and was eventually shot to death by a woman on the very spot where he had earlier outraged her and that the riding of the Black Lad re-enacted her revenge. Hibbert-Ware expressed skepticism about the origin of a public ceremony in a private act of vengeance but he tried to substantiate Sir Ralph's oppression from a custom roll and rental of Ashton manor dated 1422 (*Illustrations*, p 21), citing the following entries:

Rauf of Assheton, and Robyn of Ashton, have the Sour Carr-guld Rode and stane rynges, for terme of their lives. Rauf of the gifte of John Assheton, Knyghte, the elder, and Robyn of the gifte of John Asshton, Knyghte, the younger, the farm. The same Rauf and Robyn have a place in the town of Ashton, and the garden thereto longing, for terme of their lives, the farm. (John Harland (ed), *Three Lancashire Documents of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, CS, vol 74 (Manchester, 1868), 102–3; in 1868 the custumal was still owned by the Ashtons of Middleton.)

Hibbert-Ware took 'the Sour Carr-Guld Rode' to mean 'the privilege of Guld-riding, a custom that, in Scotland at least, is of great antiquity, having been intended to prevent lands from being over-run with the weeds, which, from their yellow colour, were named gools or gulds' (p 21). This weed, said Hibbert-Ware, was the corn-marigold, and it overran the Ashton fields; to compel the tenant farmers to destroy it, Sir Ralph held an annual inspection, riding round the Sour Carr in black armour and fining those tenants who let the gulds go unchecked. But Sir Ralph exacted his fines so ruthlessly that the tenants rebelled and killed him. So the ceremony commemorates the tyrant's death; according to Hibbert-Ware, 'Upon the death of the Guld Rider of Assheton, Sir John's heir and successor abolished the usage forever; and reserved from the estate a small sum of money for the purpose of perpetuating, in an annual ceremony, the dreaded annual visits of the Black Boy' (pp 23–4).

This theory can be attacked on several grounds. Winifred M. Bowman has pointed out that in 1422 Sir Ralph was a mere infant. The 'Rauf' who received the grant had it from 'John Assheton, Knyghte, the elder', who was not Sir Ralph's father but his grandfather, and had likely died at least a decade before Sir Ralph was born. Hence the 'Rauf' of the grant was probably not the notorious Sir Ralph but an obscure uncle. Moreover, she believes Hibbert-Ware misunderstood the entry in the custom roll and mispunctuated it; she would read 'have the Sour Carr, Guld Rode and Stane Rynges', meaning three tracts of land out of the Ashton family estates, whose 'farm' or revenue two cadets of the family named Rauf and Robyn were to enjoy for life (*England in Ashton-under-Lyne*, pp 285–6). Leaving the custom roll entry aside, while popular tradition as embodied in the rhyme Barritt quoted does seem to have represented Sir Ralph as a grasping and exacting minister of the kings he served, it is doubtful whether he was ever in a position to oppress the people of Ashton in particular. He was never the lord of the manor; that passed from his father, Sir John the Younger, to his elder half-brother, Sir Thomas, and then to Sir Thomas' son, another Sir John (*DNB*). Furthermore, Winifred Bowman points out that, as an adult at least, Sir Ralph appears to have spent little

time at Ashton, if any: 'At no period is there any reason to think Sir Ralph of Middleton resided in Ashton-under-Lyne subsequent to his marriage with the Middleton heiress in 1439' (p 284). And while a cadet of the Ashton family could conceivably have outraged a local girl in his youth and been killed by her many years later on a return visit to his place of birth, and the people of the manor could have decided to perpetuate the incident in an annual ceremony, it seems most unlikely that the victim's half-brother would endow this yearly reminder of a family disgrace (Christina Hole, *A Dictionary of British Folk Customs* (London, 1976), 249).

In fact this suspiciously romantic story of a tyrant lord and a woman's vengeance is more likely to have been invented, well after Sir Ralph's time, to account for a rite that already existed. If an origin is to be sought for the Black Knight or Lad, Christina Hole was probably nearer the mark in alleging that Sir Ralph's name 'became attached to an already existing custom, and that the original effigy was not his, but that of some more ancient and universal figure associated with Winter and its evils. Riding the Black Lad may perhaps be a late form of the ritual "driving out hunger", in which a real historical personage has taken the place of the older symbolic figure' (*Dictionary*, p 249). A parallel custom is known to have existed until about the middle of the nineteenth century at Neston in Cheshire, in which a living man was engaged to ride on a donkey on Easter Monday from one end of the long village street to the other, while the assembled villagers jeered him and pelted him with mud, rotten eggs, and other rubbish; this was called 'Riding the Lord.' Christina Hole notes that this figure, too, 'was some sort of scapegoat originally' and 'may have represented the dying Winter, or the long Lenten fast that had just ended' (*Dictionary*, p 250). Certainly in the weather cycle of Lancashire, Easter Monday usually falls at a particularly apt time for the symbolic destruction of a figure of cold and darkness.

If this is its true origin, the Ashton custom ought to go back considerably further than the fifteenth or even the fourteenth century; it seems possible at least that the Thomas Ashton who distinguished himself at Neville's Cross, or some later member of the family, should have begun a family tradition of giving money to help sustain an already existing ceremony and so provided some basis for Barritt's first account of its origin. Christina Hole suggests Sir Thomas, Sir Ralph's half-brother, as the originator of the payments (*Dictionary*, p 249). Barritt himself admitted 'I cannot find the town of Ashton has any authentic record to produce upon the subject' (CL: Mun. A.4.76, f 40). Unless some earlier documentation comes to light, the existence of the Black Knight's riding before the eighteenth century cannot be regarded as established.

APPENDIX 9

The Ghost Maypole of Cockersand Abbey

Cockersand Abbey, now represented only by a 'ruined chapter-house, with a modern roof' (Bagley, *A History of Lancashire*, p 29), overlooks the estuary of the river Lune in north Lancashire. It was founded shortly before 1190 by the Premonstratensian canons (Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, pp 184, 187). At some time before Michaelmas 1268, they received a grant of land from Geoffrey, son of Sir John de Hackensall (William Farrer (ed), *The Chartulary of Cockersand Abbey*, vol 1, pt 1 (CS, ns, vol 38 (Manchester, 1898), 74–5) and according to A.R. Wright in *British Calendar Customs* (T.E. Lones (ed), vol 2 (London, 1936–40, rpt 1968), 218), a maypole served as a boundary marker for this:

A very early maypole reference is given in a long account of a charter of the time of King John granting land to Cockersand Abbey. One section of this account relates to a free transfer (*donatio*) of land delimited by a line starting from the Lostock maypole, about three miles west from Bolton, that is to say, from the Lostock maypole, where a cross was situated, along a straight line extending in a southerly direction all the way to the cross beyond le Tunge.

Lostock is a place in Lancashire not far from Bolton. At a first reading, then, this seems remarkably positive evidence but an examination of Wright's sources shows things are not quite so clear as he made them out to be. Wright, as he acknowledged, followed Dugdale's *Monasticon*; but that reads 'Lostock-mepul' (William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol 2 (London, 1661), 633 col 2) and 'Lostock-mepul' is hardly likely to be Middle English for 'Lostock maypole.' Dugdale's source in turn was a royal confirmation, dated 8 April 1385, of the original Cockersand grant (*Monasticon*, vol 2, pp 632–4). This, now in the Public Record Office (PRO: C.53/160, mb 1), reads either 'lestockmepul' or 'lestockinepul'; as often in condensed legal hands of the fourteenth century, the minim sequence admits of more than one interpretation. The scribe's intention, however, can be established from his source, the original grant by Geoffrey de Hackensall. This clearly defines the boundaries of the grant as starting from 'le Stockenepul, ubi crux sita est' (Farrer (ed), *Chartulary*, p 74). Here 'le' is clearly the French definite article, used as it commonly is in Anglo-Latin documents of the period to introduce a vernacular word into a Latin context. Evidently the royal scribe copying this in 1385 chose to write 'le Stockenepul' as one word and changed the first 'e' to 'i'; this

produced 'lestockinepul.' Dugdale in turn misread this as 'lostockmepul' and interpreted it as a compound of the known place-name Lostock with another element, which he may have understood as meaning 'maple (tree).' Wright, however, took it as meaning 'Lostock maypole' and apparently did not trouble to pursue the point further by looking up the original grant, which by the time he wrote was available in Farrer's *Chartulary*.

The original grant settles the reading, however, and it only remains to decide what it means. Farrer treats it as a proper name and half modernizes it, translating 'the Stockenpool, where the cross is set up' (p 75). On its own this might suggest some sort of hard ground that could hold the post of a wooden cross or support the base of a stone one. When the word reappears further down, however, the context implies a visible feature of some size, since the boundary is there said to run 'ex parte aquilonis de le Stokenepul, recta linea usque in sablones': ie, 'from the north side of the Stokenpool in a straight line to the sands' (p 74). This is compatible with what philology would suggest, for 'Stokenepul' can be interpreted as ME 'stoken', past participle of 'steken' (modern dialect 'steek'), meaning 'shut up' or 'enclose' and 'pul(l)', which is modern 'pool' (*OED* 'Steek' *v*¹ and 'Pool' *sb*¹; *MED* 'steken' *v* 7). A 'stocken pool' is thus an enclosed pool, that is, either one produced by artificially damming a stream or (more likely) one fenced in to prevent outsiders from poaching the owner's fish. The 'Stocken pool' was most likely a fishpond, a common feature of monastic properties. In any case, it was not a maypole; that was a ghost, created by a series of miscopyings and misunderstandings.

Translations

The Latin documents have been translated as literally as possible. The order of records in the translations parallels that of records in the original. Place-names and given names have been modernized. Surnames have been normalized on a document by document basis. If the same person or family is referred to by different spellings of the same surname in a document, the most common spelling is adopted throughout the translation. If no one spelling predominates, the spelling closest to modern spelling has been chosen. Judges and other court officials, whose names also appear in the modernized court headings, form a special category. The spelling of their names is based on all the spellings which appear in the manuscript court headings as well as that of individual documents. Capitalization and punctuation are in accordance with modern practice.

As in the Records text, diamond brackets indicate obliterations and square brackets cancellations. Round brackets enclose words not in the Latin text but needed for grammatical sense in English.

In accounts of cases heard before ecclesiastical courts, phrases in round brackets have been used to complete formulae suspended with 'etc,' when the remainder of a formula can be deduced with certainty (see the section on ecclesiastical court procedure pp cii–civ for a full discussion of such cases). The dates in ecclesiastical court cases, which are normally given according to the English church practice of beginning the year on 25 March, have not been adjusted to agree with the modern historical year.

Not all the Latin in the text has been translated here. Latin tags, formulae, headings, or other short sections in largely English documents are either translated in footnotes or not at all. Individual documents which consist of a single line, or other very short entries, especially those that are part of repetitive annual series, are not translated, unless they present some unusual syntactic or semantic problem. All Latin vocabulary not found in the standard Latin dictionary, the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, is found in the glossary.

BOOTLE

1630

Bond for John Plombe, Fiddler LRO: QSB 1/78/18
single sheet* (7 September)

Lancaster

Be it known that Anthony Martin of Melling, husbandman, and Thomas Robinson of Litherland, husbandman, came before me, Edward Moore, esquire, one of the justices of the peace, and posted sureties for John Plombe of West Derby, fiddler, that he himself will appear personally before a justice of the peace of the lord king at the next sessions of the peace to be held at Wigan and that in the meantime he will keep the peace towards all the lord king's people and especially towards Miles Waddington of Bootle. That is, each of the aforesaid guarantors gave his undertaking under penalty of £10 and the aforesaid John gave his undertaking on his own behalf under penalty of £20. The aforesaid John Plombe and each of the guarantors acknowledged that that amount of £20 and the said amount of £10 (each) be levied from their lands and tenements, goods and chattels, if he (*ie*, Plombe) fail in the following condition:

(*English follows*)

°He is bound

(*signed*) Edward Moore

for the peace
and to answer for
other misdeeds.°

°He appeared (and) was released (from this
bond) by the lord (judge).°
2(s) 4(d)

Let it be enrolled.

CLITHEROE

1590

Presentment of William Craven, Piper LRO: QSR 1
mb 9d* (12 July)

Sessions held at Preston before John Fleetwood, Sir Richard Shireburn, Thomas Talbot, Thomas Southworth, James Anderton, Thomas Eccleston, Nicholas Banester, Edmund Fleetwood, and John Wrightington, justices of the peace

...And (the jurors present) that William Craven, recently of Clitheroe in the county of Lancaster, piper, piped at Clitheroe aforesaid in the aforesaid

county on 12 July, being a Sunday, in the thirty-second year of the reign of Lady Elizabeth, now queen, etc....

CROSTON

1634

Bond for John Coward, Piper LRO: QSB 1/138/24
single sheet* (6 July)

Sessions held at Worden before William Farington, justice of the peace

...

John Coward of Penwortham in the aforesaid county (*ie*, of Lancaster), piper, acknowledged that he is bound to the said lord king for £20.

Thomas Hodson of Croston and Thomas Worsleye of the same, husbandmen, posted sureties for the aforesaid John, namely, each of them (gave his undertaking) under penalty of £5 to be got and levied from his lands and tenements, goods and chattels for the use of the said lord king, his heirs, and his successors, if they fail in the following condition:

(*English*)

He is bound
to reply.

°He appeared (and) was examined by the lord (judge).°

°Let it be enrolled.°

ECCLESTON

1590

Bond for Ralph Pyke, Piper LRO: QSR 1
mb 7d* (9 July)

Sessions held at Ormskirk before John Fleetwood, Sir Edward Fitton, Edward Scarisbrick, James Anderson, Richard Molyneux, and John Wrightington, justices of the peace

Be it known that at these aforementioned sessions held at Ormskirk aforesaid in the aforesaid county on the said 9 June in the abovesaid thirty-second year (of the queen's reign), Ralph Pyke of Eccleston in the aforesaid county, piper, came in his own person before the aforementioned justices and gave his undertaking on his own behalf under penalty of £10 that for the duration of one year now next following he himself will not pipe on any Sunday. The

aforesaid Ralph granted that he was bound to the lady queen and that this sum would be got and levied from his goods and chattels, lands and tenements if it should happen that he fail in the foregoing and be lawfully convicted thereof.

...

FLIXTON

1592

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/10
f 166v (14 October)

Proceedings of the court held for Manchester deanery before David Yale, LL.D., official principal

...

Against William Heywood

A piper, (he) played in James Rile's house at evensong time (on) a holiday and gave the swornman bad words. A warning was given to William Heywood to confess his fault publicly in the parish church in that place and to promise that hereafter he will never commit the like to the offence of any person on the twenty-ninth instant, etc, and to certify (his compliance) before the next feast of (St) Martin.

Against James Rile

The said piper played in his house. A warning was given (...) by Mr Richardson, the dean, that he suffer not the like hereafter. (No further warning was given) because he was not then at home in person.

GARSTANG

1601

Presentment of Roger Coettes, Pedlar LRO: QSR 4
mb 28* (28 April)

Sessions held at Preston before William Farington, Richard Fleetwood, Edward Walmesley, Geoffrey Osbaldeston, James Anderton, Edward Rigby, Nicholas Banester, Edmund Fleetwood, Roger Nowell, Receiver General John Braddill, John Calvert, and Robert Pilkington, justices of the peace

...And (the jurors present) that Roger Coettes, recently of Garstang in the county of Lancaster, pedlar, on 29 January in the forty-third year of the reign of Lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God queen of England, France, and

Ireland, defender of the faith, etc, and on various other days and at various other times both before and after, at Garstang aforesaid in the county of Lancaster unlawfully maintained, kept, and entertained in his dwelling rogues, vagabonds, and suspect persons and even various unlawful and disorderly persons, namely, pedlars, tinkers, jugglers, pipers, 'glass carriers' and 'feather carriers' both in order for them to play at unlawful pastimes in his aforesaid house and in order for them to disturb the peace of the said lady queen by making assaults and shedding blood, and (they present that he maintained) various others, wrongdoers and sowers of quarrels among their neighbours, in Garstang aforesaid in the aforesaid county to the great hurt of his neighbours, in contempt of the laws of this realm of England, and contrary to the peace of the said lady queen....

1622/3

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/25
f 26 (23 January)

Proceedings of the court held for Amounderness deanery at Garstang parish church

...

Against Henry Skelton (and) Thomas Rigmayden

For giving the townsfolk warning to bear rushes on a Sunday contrary to the notice in the church by the minister.

Skelton and Rigmayden appeared and acknowledged by virtue of their oath that they asked some persons whether they would carry rushes and because they are being presented (for this) the lord (judge) enjoined them to confess this fault in time of divine service as above.

GOOSNARGH

1590

Presentment of Margaret Yat and Constance Eccles LRO: QSR 1
mb 9d* (12 July)

Sessions held at Preston before John Fleetwood, Sir Richard Shireburn, Thomas Talbot, Thomas Southworth, James Anderton, Thomas Eccleston, Nicholas Banester, Edmund Fleetwood, and John Wrightington, justices of the peace

...And (the jurors present) that Margaret Yat of Goosnargh in the aforesaid county, spinster, the daughter of Christopher Yat, and Constance Eccles, alias Higham, recently of the same (parish) in the aforesaid county, spinster, on the

twelfth of July in the thirty-second year of the reign of Lady Elizabeth, now queen, etc, being the Lord's Day, in English, 'the Sunday,' at Goosnargh aforesaid in the aforesaid county carried reeds, called 'rushes,' to the church....

HALSALL

1611

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/17

f 180 (19 October)

Proceedings of the court held for Warrington deanery at Wigan parish church before David Ellise, STD, deputy of David Yale, LLD, official principal

...

Against Ralph Poole (and) Silvester Rymer

For keeping may games and ales on the sabbath day. On 11 October 1613 the said Poole appeared before Mr Hugh Burches, deputy, etc. The lord (deputy) enjoined him always to refrain (from doing so) hereafter under penalty of law and because it is his first offence and was committed out of sheer ignorance, (the deputy) dismissed him on this condition of always refraining hereafter and absolved him, since he had been excommunicated elsewhere, and restored him to the church.

...

HAWKSHEAD

1622/3

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/25

f 51v* (24 March)

Proceedings of the court held for Furness deanery at Cartmel parish church, before Thomas Stofford, LLB, commissary of John Bridgeman, bishop of Chester, and in the presence of Edward Morgell, notary public

...

Against Christopher Sandes, John Banke, John Wilson, Francis Strickland, (and) John Robinson.

Disguised themselves in women's habit for the keeping of a summering. Sandes and Banke appeared and are enjoined to make acknowledgment of this their offence before the minister and churchwardens and always to refrain from such (behaviour) hereafter, certifying (their compliance) as above. Robinson (also) appeared and is enjoined as above.

^oExcommuni-
cation^o

LANCASTER

1638

Bond for William Fox, Bearward LRO: DDKs 30/30single sheet* (29 November) (*Lancaster assizes*)

...

Be it known that on 29 November in the fourteenth year of the reign of our Lord Charles, by the grace of God king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, etc, William Fox of Garstang in the county of Lancaster, bearward, came in his own person before Dutton, Lord Gerard, and Richard Shuttleworth, esquire, two of the lord king's justices assigned to keep the peace in the county of Lancaster. And he acknowledged that (he was bound to the lord) king for £20 and Francis Clark (...), bearward, and Thomas Rigmayden (...) likewise acknowledged on behalf of the aforesaid William Fox that (they were bound) to the lord king for £5 each, to be got and levied from their goods and lands, chattels and tenements to the use of the said lord king (on condition that) William Fox appear personally at the next general sessions of the peace at Preston in Amounderness, to be held after the feast of Epiphany and that he not go away from there without the permission of the justices then and (there) present. And in the meantime that he keep the peace towards the said lord king and all his people, especially towards John Curwenn, such that he does not do or cause to be done any loss or harm through his own agency or that of others in any way whatsoever. In witness of this matter, the aforesaid justices affix their seals. Given on the day and in the year abovesaid.

(signed) D. Gerard

LEYLAND

1599

Presentment of Richard Whytstones and James Harrison, Bearwards

LRO: DDF 192

single mb* (16 April)

Court leet before Richard Fleetwood, esquire, steward of the manor

...

Likewise (the jurors) present that Richard Whytstones of Ormskirk in the aforesaid county, bearward, on 30 November last past at Leyland, within the jurisdiction of this court, made an affray upon James Harrison of Croston in the aforesaid county, bearward, and drew blood from him with his stick. Therefore he himself is to be fined 6s 8d.

They also present that the aforementioned James Harrison on the aforesaid day at Leyland aforesaid likewise made an affray upon the aforementioned Richard Whytstones (but) was provoked (into doing so) in self-defence. Therefore (his) fines should be forgiven.

...

LIVERPOOL

1557-8

Town Book 1 LIRO: 352/MIN/COU I 1/1

f [16] (18 October - 17 October)

(30 January) (Assembly of burgesses)

...

Thomas
Wawen,
wait

°he has died°
® with his pipe

Be it known that on the same Sunday George Asheton and Peter Rymour, bailiffs for this year, Ralph Barley, and Thomas Secum came and acknowledged that they were guarantors for Thomas Wawen, a servant (hired) on the town's behalf to play with his instrument every morning and every night for a year, Sundays excepted. (They pledge) that the town's insigne or badge of silver shall be produced before the mayor on any occasion (when it is demanded) and that it will be kept in good condition under penalty of four marks of English money. °The said Thomas Wawen died and his guarantors have presented the town's badge to Robert Corbet, mayor, in the first year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, etc, and the said guarantors shall go quit of the aforementioned (fine), etc.°

...

1572-3

Town Book 1 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/1

f [104] col 2* (18 October - 17 October) (Burgess roll)

...

James Corlis, Richard Marser, shoemaker, and Henry Halewood, wait, were admitted by law (and) sworn free burgesses on 18 October 1572, etc.

...

1574-5

Town Book 2 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2

f 44v (18 October - 17 October)

(25 October) (Great Portmoot before John Mainwaring, mayor; election of officers)

...

James Atherton (was chosen) wait conditionally upon examination of a letter

from the right honourable earl of Derby to master mayor and the aldermen together with all the burgesses.

...

MYERSCOUGH

1590

Presentment of Christopher Poulton, Alehousekeeper LRO: QSR 1
mb 9d* (12 July)

Sessions of the court held at Preston before John Fleetwood, Sir Richard Shireburn, Thomas Talbot, Thomas Southworth, James Anderton, Thomas Eccleston, Nicholas Banester, Edmund Fleetwood, and John Wrightington, justices of the peace

...And (the jurors present) that Christopher Poulton, recently of Myerscough in the county of Lancaster, alehousekeeper, permitted a bear-baiting near his house on a Sunday and maintained and kept the supporters of the same bear-baiting in his house....

NEWCHURCH IN PENDLE

1596

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/9
f 79v (16 September)

Proceedings of the court held for Blackburn deanery

...

'Ex officio' proceedings of the lord (judge) against Nicholas Hargreaves for playing upon organs in the house and drawing people from evening prayer upon the sabbath. On this day the man appeared and thoroughly denied the presentment. (But) the lord (judge), who is the presenter (in cases of this kind), ordered him not (to play so) hereafter upon the sabbath day on pain of excommunication and to certify (his compliance).

1633

Archbishop Neile's Visitation Book BI: V.1633/CB.2A
f 279v* (21 November)

Proceedings of the court held for Blackburn deanery

Office of the lord (archbishop) against Henry Parker for suffering piping and

dancing to be in his house and grounds on the Sunday.

The said Parker appeared on this day and denied the charges. He is therefore dismissed.

...

PENWORTHAM

1608

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/15

f 144* (15 October)

Proceedings of the court held for Leyland deanery at Preston parish church, before David Yale, LLD

...

Against the residents of Farington

(They) refuse to bring rushes to strew the church floor withal (and) will not pay their assessments due to the church. °On 16 December 1608 Richard Farington appeared before the honourable man, David Yale, LLD, etc, and took an oath that he was a messenger specially sent to appoint a proctor for the residents of Farington and appointed Mr Humphreys as a proctor for the same. He, having been thus appointed, exhibited his proxy in words, etc, (and) sought the benefit of absolution to be bestowed for the aforesaid residents. Therefore the lord (official) decreed that since the same Humphreys had already taken an oath on the holy gospels of God to obey the law, etc, during an action involving two of his (other clients) (*or*, two of them, *ie*, of the residents), the same residents should be absolved in the person of the said Mr Humphreys on the following 25 March and he issued an absolution. And because the lord judge was not certain of the names of those presented, the lord (judge) continued his deliberations until he was certain of the identities of the aforesaid residents and of the names and surnames of those persons particularly delinquent in this matter.

...

POULTON LE FYLDE

1617

Chester Diocesan Visitation Proceedings CRO: EDV 1/21

f 25v* (13 November)

Proceedings of the court held for Amounderness deanery at Preston parish church,

before William Forster, STD, clerk, William Leigh, STB, clerk, and John Paler, clerk, commissaries of Thomas Morton, bishop of Chester, in the presence of John Morgell, his principal registrar

...

Against Richard Fisher of Thornton, Richard Davie, (and) William Hull of Thornton

(They) had ales, piping, and dancing and profane pastimes and assemblies on the sabbath day. °The said Hull appeared on this day and he is enjoined to confess his fault publicly in the church in such manner as Mr White, the vicar, shall inform him and to certify (his compliance) on the next feast of the Purification. °Afterwards on 9 March 1617 Richard Fisher appeared by (his proctor), John Whiteside, and he is enjoined as above to certify (his compliance) by the next court day after the next feast of Easter and the lord commissioned his deputy (*or*, deputies) to absolve him. °

Against John Forshall and Edward Watson.

Pipers at the aforesaid ales, etc. °But afterwards, that is, on 20 July 1618, John Forshall appeared personally and received the benefit of absolution. When indeed that had taken place, the lord enjoined him always to refrain hereafter and to confess this his fault before Mr White, vicar of Poulton, and the churchwardens in the same place and to certify (his compliance) before the next feast of St Michael on pain of excommunication. But afterwards, that is, on 6 October 16(1)8, a copy of this order, duly fulfilled and certified, was introduced. Therefore the lord gave the said Forshall a final dismissal as far as the aforementioned (charges) are concerned. °

...

PRESCOT

1510

Court Leet Records LRO: DDCs Court Rolls (paper) pre-1558
sheet [2] (*4 April*)

Frankpledge court before Sir Richard Bold and Receiver General William Leyland, commissioners of Thomas Stanley, earl of Derby

...

It was ordered at this court that no person remaining within the town of Prescott shall keep or receive those playing at unlawful sports or at dice and cards hereafter under penalty of 12d (to be paid) as often as (any person shall do so) after the ninth hour at night.

...

1592

Manor Survey Book KCA: PRE/24/1/10/14f 11* (*May*) (*Tenants of customary lands*)

John Ogle, gentleman, holds as above two burgages, together with two adjacent crofts, called Cockpit House, in the tenure of John Dichfeild and Robert Howhton, containing, by reckoning, a rood (and) abutting on the east side on the yard of Simons and of Robert Plumton, on the west side on the lane leading to the church, on the south side upon the school house, and on the north side upon the road from Liverpool to the lord's mill....

1610

Court Leet Records LRO: DDCs Court Rolls (parchment) 1610mb 2 (*8 June*)

Court leet before Henry Stanley, understeward, deputy of William, earl of Derby, chief steward

...And (the jurors present) that Mr Malbon has not removed one Whitsyde from the playhouse according to the order made at the last court; therefore he is to be fined 6s 8d....

1615

Court Leet Records LRO: DDCs Court Rolls (parchment) 1615single mb* (*9 June*)

Court leet before Henry Stanley, understeward, deputy of William, earl of Derby, chief steward

...

They (the jurors) say and present upon their oath that John Mercer of Eccleston near Knowsley in the county of Lancaster, freemason, came to this court in his own proper person before the aforesaid steward and sought permission to enter into one parcel of land in Prescot aforesaid, lying at the upper end of the High Street leading to Eccleston, near to Churchley Field gate, comprising in width nine yards and two feet on its eastern end and five feet on its western end and comprising in length nineteen yards – of and upon the aforesaid parcel of land a building has been put up, earlier used as a certain house called 'a playhouse,' and for these (*ie*, the building and the land) a rent of 2s 6d has been paid annually to the school of Prescot. And (the jurors say and present) that the aforesaid John Mercer is able to hold and have the aforesaid parcel of land and the building for himself and his heirs hereafter according to the custom of the aforesaid manor and (that) in consideration of £12 of lawful English money paid beforehand by the

aforesaid John Mercer to Henry Stanley, esquire, permission has been granted to the aforementioned John Mercer by the aforesaid steward to enter into the aforesaid parcel of land and the building and to hold the same for himself and his heirs hereafter according to the custom of the manor of Prescot aforesaid, rendering and paying for it annually to the aforesaid school of Prescot a rent of 2s 6d and also rendering annually to the lord of the aforesaid manor a rent of *(blank)* on the usual festivals in equal portions. And because the aforesaid John Mercer did come in his own proper person to this same court before the aforementioned steward and seek to be admitted as a tenant thereof according to the custom of the aforesaid manor and (because) an announcement was made, etc, and because, etc, therefore the aforementioned John Mercer has been admitted as a tenant thereof by the aforesaid steward according to the same custom, to have and to hold the aforesaid premises together with their appurtenances for the aforementioned John Mercer, his heirs, and his assigns hereafter according to the custom of the same manor for the rent and service owed for it and customary by law....

RUSHOLME

1601

Presentment of Ralph Shelmerden, Ape-baiter LRO: QSR 4
mb 38* (29 April)

Sessions before Sir Nicholas Mosley, Richard Assheton, Richard Holland, Ralph Assheton, James Assheton, Edmund Hopwood, Edmund Fleetwood, John Bradshaw, and Robert Pilkington

...And (the jurors present) that on 19 April in the forty-third year of the reign of the said lady queen, being a Sunday, Ralph Shelmerden, recently of Withington in the county of Lancaster, thrashed, in English 'baited,' an ape....
...

WALTON LE DALE

1626

Bishop Bridgeman's Act Book CRO: EDA 3/2
f 1* (12 July)

Proceedings of the court of audience before Bishop John Bridgeman at Wigan in the presence of (...) Russell, notary public

...

Likewise against Edmund Balshaw, chapelwarden of Low Church, for that he

caused a rushbearing to be made in that chapel upon Sunday, 18 June 1626, being formerly ordered not to suffer it, by means whereof there were many drunk and much profanation of divine service, etc. After he has appeared and confessed, he has to acknowledge (his fault) in the said chapel and to certify (his compliance) within a month, etc. After this penance has been duly performed and certified, he is afterward dismissed.

WARRINGTON

1632

Bond for Randle Rylance, Joiner LRO: QSB 1/106/26
single sheet* (8 May) (*Lancashire sessions*)

Be it known that on 8 May AD 1632 Randle Rylance of Warrington in the aforesaid county, joiner, came before me, Thomas Ireland, esquire, one of the justices of the said lord king appointed to keep the peace in the county of Lancaster, and acknowledged that he is bound to the lord king for £20 of good and lawful English money, to be got and levied from his goods and chattels, lands and tenements for the use of the said lord king, his heirs, and his successors, if he fail in the following condition.

William Wildigge and Robert Wicke of Warrington in the county of Lancaster, labourers, came and posted sureties for the aforesaid Randle under the following condition

£20.

(*English follows*)

He has not paid.

To answer.

(*signed*) Thomas Ireland

He appeared (and) was examined by the lord (justice).

2(s) 4(d)

Let it be enrolled.

Bond for Robert Wicke, Smith LRO: QSB 1/106/24
single sheet (8 May)

(Recognizance) taken at Bewsey in the aforesaid county before Thomas Ireland, one of the justices of the lord king assigned to keep the peace in the aforesaid county, etc. On 8 May 1632, in the eighth year of the reign of Charles, king of England, etc, Robert Wicke of Warrington in the aforesaid county, smith, acknowledged that he was bound to the lord king for
John Choner and William Wildigge in the aforesaid county, labourers, acknowledged themselves bound to the lord king on

£20.

behalf of the aforesaid Robert for

£20

(*English follows*)

He has not paid.

To answer.

(*signed*) Thomas Ireland

He appeared (and) was examined by the lord (justice).

2(s) 4(d)

Let it be enrolled.

WHEATLEY BOOTH

1559

Hallmote of Ightenhill Manor LRO: DDHC 1/3/41

mb 7d* (19 April)

Hallmote held before Thomas Talbot, knight, and John Townley, esquire, chief stewards

...

Fine: 4d

The jurors (present) on their oath that William Bulcock of Wheatley Booth keeps and receives in his home one performer and his wife contrary to (the customs of the manor)....

...

WITHINGTON

1601

Presentments of Ralph Marler, Alehousekeeper, and John Tompson, Piper

LRO: QSR 4

mb 51d* (15 July)

Manchester sessions before Sir Nicholas Mosley, Richard Assheton, Richard Holland, James Assheton, Edmund Hopwood, and Alexander Reddish

...And (the jurors present) that Ralph Marler, recently of Withington in the county of Lancaster, on 5 July in the forty-third year of the reign of Lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God, queen of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, etc, at Withington aforesaid in the aforesaid county °took it upon himself to keep and did keep a common alehouse obstinately and upon the sole authority of Ralph Marler himself without any permission or licence from a justice of the peace in the aforesaid county and at that time

and place he commonly sold ale contrary to the form of the statute promulgated and provided in a case of this kind and (they further present) that the aforesaid Ralph Marler then and there in his aforesaid house kept a piper contrary to the peace of the said lady queen°....

And (they also present) that John Tompson, recently of Withington in the county of Lancaster, piper, on 5 July in the forty-third year of the reign of Lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God queen of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, etc, °which was a Sunday°, at Withington aforesaid in the aforesaid county °piped, in English 'piped,' contrary to the peace of the said lady queen.°

...

ASSHETON OF GREAT LEVER AND WHALLEY

1628

Bond for Robert Deane, Servant LRO: QSB 1/49/10
single sheet*

Recognizance taken before the aforesaid justice on the
aforesaid day and in the aforesaid year, etc.

Robert Deane of Bolton, husbandman, shall be bound to the lord king on his own behalf for £10.

John Deane of Whalley in the county of Lancaster, yeoman, shall be bound to the lord king for £10.

On condition (*English follows*)

To answer.

°He has appeared (and) is discharged by the lord (justice).°

(*signed*) John Braddyll

°Let it be enrolled.° 2(s) 4(d)

1628/9

Presentment of Robert Deane, Servant LRO: QSR 25 1628
mb 46d* (14 January)

Sessions held at Preston before Sir Ralph Assheton, Sir Gilbert Hoghton, Robert Blundell, Alexander Rigby of Burgh, Radcliff Assheton, protonotary of the county palatine, Edward Veale, John Starkey, and Richard Burgh, justices of the peace

...

And (the jurors present) that Robert Deane, recently of Great Lever in the county of Lancaster, husbandman, on 20 October in the fourth year of the

reign of Lord Charles, king of England, etc, at Lever aforesaid in the aforesaid county took and carried away by force and arms one musical instrument called in English 'a treble viol,' (worth) up to the value of 8d, from the goods and chattels of Sir Ralph Assheton, baronet, found and being at that place and at that time contrary to the peace of the said lord king, his crown, and dignity.

...

APPENDIX 1: PRESCOT

1668

Court Leet Records LRO: DDCs Court Rolls (parchment) 1668
mb 2d (22 May)

Court leet before John Entwistle, steward

...

And (the jurors present) that John Mercer, previously of Eccleston near Knowsley and recently of Prescott aforesaid, freemason, who – for and in consideration of £12 of lawful English money paid in hand by him to Henry Stanley, esquire, lately steward of the manor of Prescott aforesaid – held, by copy of the court roll given 9 June in the thirteenth year of the reign of the illustrious lord, James, late king of England, France, and Ireland, etc, for himself and his heirs from the lords of the aforesaid manor according to the custom there one parcel of land lying in Prescott aforesaid at the upper end of the High Street leading towards Eccleston aforesaid near to the Churchley Field gate, comprising in width at its eastern side nine yards and half a foot and at its western side five yards and comprising in length nineteen yards. A structure had been and was put up and is now standing on this parcel of land, formerly used as a house called 'a playhouse' and for this (structure) an annual rent of 2s 6d is paid to the school of Prescott aforesaid. He, the aforesaid John Mercer, died seised or admitted into possession thereof according to the custom of the aforesaid manor on or about 30 May AD 1634. And the aforesaid jurors further say and present upon their oaths that shortly after the death of the aforementioned John Mercer, one Edward Stockley, recently of Prescott aforesaid, gentleman, now dead, entered into the aforesaid premises and by virtue of separate surrenders and admissions had and done on that account before and after the death of the aforesaid John Mercer, he, the aforesaid Edward Stockley, and those who claim under him and under the estate of the late Richard Harrington, gentleman, have quietly enjoyed the aforesaid premises for the space of thirty-one years or thereabout and have received its rent, revenue, and profit.

...

ENDNOTES

4 Cumbers House: Kenyon MSS, Memorandum Book f 12v

This presentment is in answer to one of a list of seven topics about which information has been sought. The list of topics is not headed with the name of any parish but Ashton is named in the headings for replies to the last two items. The whole document is therefore probably a series of presentments for that parish made by one of the churchwardens. The similarity in language to that of the sabbath reform proposals issued by the Lancashire assize bench in 1587 (see pp 220–1 and endnote, pp 364–5) suggests that these churchwardens' presentments to the quarter sessions were made in accordance with those orders as part of a programme to curb sabbath breaking.

4–5 LRO: DDBk 3/9 single sheet dorse

Blackburn Grammar School was founded in 1509 as a chantry school, dissolved in the time of Edward VI, and refounded in 1567 under royal patronage as a grammar school with a board of governors (George Alfred Stocks (ed), *The Records of Blackburn Grammar School*, CS, NS, vol 66, pt 1 (Manchester, 1909), ix–x). The original school building 'must have been a poor structure, standing on the south-east side of the old Church, and north of the present one' (Stocks (ed), *Records*, p xvii). This fragment of a single leaf must have belonged to the earliest minute book after the re-foundation. The ten governors who signed the 1591 minutes included Sir Thomas Walmesley.

The school historian, G.F. Eastwood, believed the prohibition of English plays was aimed at a local Robin Hood play ('*Queen Elizabeth's: A New History of the Ancient Grammar School of Blackburn* (Blackburn, 1967), 27), but no evidence exists to prove that Robin Hood plays were ever staged in Tudor grammar schools. More likely the intention was to prohibit English plays while allowing Greek or Latin drama, which the humanists preferred because it gave the pupils practice in speaking the classical languages. The 'playe dayes' (p 5, l.1), however, as Eastwood recognized, were probably not days for putting on such plays but simply holidays.

Blackburn may nevertheless have had a Robin Hood play, for the local antiquary William Durham alluded to one in his *Chronological Notes on the History of the Town and Parish of Blackburn*, 2nd ed (Blackburn, 1866), under 1536 (p 13). Durham's chief source of information on Robin Hood plays appears to have been Samuel Hibbert-Ware's account of the supposed plays in Manchester, the value of which is discussed in Appendix 7 (pp 283–5), but Durham adds that such plays 'became totally disused in 1690, so far as Blackburn was concerned,' citing 'Ainsworth's Mss.' Without further particulars it has not proved possible to trace his source.

5 LRO: DDBk 2/1 p 16

Like the 1591 prohibition against extraordinary play days, this minute may deal with holidays. The

obvious interpretation is that only masters and ushers could get the afternoon off before a vacation began but just possibly the minute means that only a governor or schoolmaster could obtain permission for a play, that it was to be acted in the afternoon, and at most once in a quarter. Eastwood fills in the missing word as 'fortnight' ('*Queen Elizabeth's*', p 29), but a Rivington Grammar School order of c 1570 states that the maximum number of 'play' occasions was to be 'not above twies in the quarter of the yeare' (LRO: DDX 94/100 f 14v).

5 LRO: WCW 1630 single sheet

Collinson was schoolmaster at Blackburn Grammar School from 1613 to 1623, when he died (Stocks (ed), *Records*, pt 2, cs, ns, vol 67 (Manchester, 1909), 130, 146).

5-6 LRO: QSB/1/78/18 single sheet

Edward Moore (c 1575-1632) (p 5, l.33) was a severe puritan JP of the Liverpool area, sheriff of Lancashire in 1621, and MP for Liverpool in 1625 (Thomas William King and F.R. Raines (eds), *Lancashire Funeral Certificates*, cs, vol 75 (Manchester, 1869), 57-8). For his inventory see p 159.

6-8 LRO: DDF 2438/12 single sheet

This letter was edited originally by Susan Maria Ffarington (*The Farington Papers*, pp 128-9). She notes that the writer, Edmund Assheton, was 'fourth in descent from Edmund Assheton, the first of that name, of Chadderton (who was younger son of Sir T. Ashton of Ashton-under-Lyne Knight), [and] succeeded his father James Assheton 3 Edward VI., being at that time aged 27. He died 1584, aged 79.... He was in the commission of the peace for Lancashire' (p 129 n 3). Assheton's correspondent, William Farington, was much younger. He was born in 1537, inherited his father's estates in Leyland, and about 1558 was appointed a JP and a deputy lieutenant for the county. He was controller of the household to Edward, the twelfth earl of Derby, steward of the household to Henry, the thirteenth earl, and receiver general to Ferdinando, the fourteenth earl. He died in 1610.

The tone of the letter is guarded. Assheton wishes to win over Farington to his view of the sabbath, but he 'wold not deale for any reformation within the Lymittes of your walke' (p 7, ll.12-13). Farington's 'walke' was Amounderness hundred, where he was a JP on the bench at Preston. In Salford hundred and Blackburn hundred (where Burnley was) there were puritan justices prepared to proceed harshly against May game revels, but in Amounderness the authorities were evidently more lenient. Moreover, Farington had attended a consultation at Pilkington Park, a Derby house, 'for the overthrowe of our Comysion in Ecclesiasticall causes' (ll.16-17). The Queen's ecclesiastical commission for the diocese of Chester had been appointed in 1562 'to enforce the Acts for the Uniformity of Common Prayer, and for restoring to the Crown the ancient jurisdiction over the estate ecclesiastical and spiritual' (*Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series, of the Reigns of Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, 1547-1580*, Robert Lemon (ed) (London, 1856), 20 July 1562, p 203). The commission expired c 1586 or 1587 but was renewed soon after (PRO: SP 228/19 f 76, dated 16 November 1589). We may surmise that Assheton was on the ecclesiastical commission and felt that its influence was waning. Hence he took a careful tone with Farington but tried to pressure him into forestalling the May game revellers and the sabbath breakers by playing on his religious scruples and by suggesting that if he did not act, higher authorities would.

There had evidently been 'sturres' (p 6, l.30) at Burnley the previous year (1579) and in that year the ecclesiastical commission, sitting at Manchester, had given forth 'good orders & Iniunctions' against Sunday pastimes (see p 218, l.25). Whitsunday, which in many places marked the start of may games,

fell in 1580 on 22 May, ten days after the date of this letter. Assheton may have anticipated a major outbreak of sabbath breaking then and written his letter as a timely attempt to forestall it.

8–10 Cumbers House: Kenyon mss, Memorandum Book ff 1v–2

This confusing document has at least three elements. There is a list, with commentary, of the names of the offenders involved in an incident of sabbath breaking in Bury. Then there is a letter or report which appears to contain parts of two different letters or reports prompted by this incident. One is from John How to an unknown person, possibly in parish ministry, whom he addresses as 'good coosine' (p 9, l.38) and the other is from Edmund Hopwood to another unknown person addressed as 'Ryghte worshypfull' (p 9, l.13). Edmund Hopwood (d. 1612) was a JP, deputy lieutenant for the county, and an ecclesiastical commissioner (F.R. Raines (ed), 'A Visitation of the Diocese of Chester, by John, Archbishop of York, Held in the Chapter House of the Collegiate and Parish Church of Manchester, 1590, with the Archbishop's Correspondence with the Clergy,' *Chetham Miscellanies*, vol 5, cs, vol 96 (Manchester, 1875), 19–20 n 20). The rector of Bury at this time was Peter Shaw, also an ecclesiastical commissioner and one of the signatories of the 1587 Report of Seventeen Lancashire Preachers (F.R. Raines (ed), 'A Description of the State,' p 15; see pp 219–20). John How has not been identified.

It seems that at least one of the letter writers saw in this offence an opportunity to test the commitment of the Lancashire bench to undertake prosecutions under the sabbatarian reform proposals of 1587 (see pp 220–1 and endnote, pp 364–5). The purpose of both the letters and the list appears to be to marshal evidence and gain support for such a test case. It is not possible now, without the originals, to untangle the letters or to be sure whether the list of names is separate or a part of one of the letters. Possibly Alexander Rigby, who kept this book and whose interest in the sabbatarian campaign is shown in its contents, copied from an original in which Hopwood had written a list of names with his comments and a draft of a letter to some influential official, such as Lord Burghley, on the same page as and around a letter from John How on the same subject.

10 CRO: EDV 1/10 f 115v

Henry Hale of Liverpool, piper (l.17), could well be the same as Henry Halewood, a Liverpool wait (see pp 39–40, 47 and endnote, pp 322–3). Hale was excommunicated, as the marginal note reveals, but this entry provides no details of any court appearance. Probably Hale simply never appeared to answer the charge and so was excommunicated for contumacy. Ralph Whitfeild (l.17) was apparently still active in the district in 1619. Some time before 22 December of that year, a Ralph Whitefeilde was one of four persons in Childwall parish accused of being involved in an ale on Sunday. Unfortunately, the account of that incident does not mention piping or other entertainment at the ale (CRO: EDV 1/22 f 83).

11–13 LRO: DDF 1 ff [39–9v]

This incident probably took place at Chorley since John Yate was of that parish. The principals were John Pyper (p 12, l.8), John Yate, and Hugh Parker, who represented the 'commons' (p 11, l.25) or labouring classes. They were no doubt recruiting for the rebellion of Lord Darcy and Robert Aske of October 1536. On 24 October Lord Darcy had a force of about 35,000 men just north of Doncaster but the campaign stalled for the Doncaster Bridge conference of 26 October, the York conference of 21 November, and the Pontefract discussion of 2 December. Lord Derby thus had ample time to deal with the rebels in Lancashire. On 5 December, after Aske had petitioned for the king's free pardon before any further discussion of the Pontefract articles, the rebel forces dispersed. The last flicker of the rebellion had died by 10 February 1536/7 and the leaders were executed by the summer. (See H.A.L. Fisher, *The*

History of England from the Accession of Henry vii to the Death of Henry viii. 1485–1547 (London, 1906), 407–17; see also Christopher Haigh, 'The Defence of the Lancashire Monasteries: The Pilgrimage of Grace,' *The Last Days of the Lancashire Monasteries and the Pilgrimage of Grace*, cs, 3rd ser, vol 17 (Manchester, 1969), 61–85.)

Whalley was one of several abbeys dissolved by the attainder of their abbots that year (David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 2nd ed (London, 1971), 128). Derby's examination of the Chorley rebels probably took place in early December.

The examination reveals that the recruiters had blackened and coloured their faces at the alehouse, ostensibly for a game or pastime. Their behaviour may have fitted in with some customary game of disguising, perhaps associated with minstrelsy. Lancashire men were still using blackface disguise in 1967; Jessica Lofthouse records dancers at Bacup who blackened their faces and performed 'ritualistic leaping and whippings' (*Portrait of Lancashire* (London, 1967), 204).

14 LRO: QSR 1 mb 9d

As the date of the court session is unavailable, the date assigned is that of the offence. 12 July was a Sunday in 1590.

14 PRO: C 93/8/2, item b single mb

This paragraph comes from the records of 'A Commission to inquire in the Countie of Yorke, of lands and goods given to charitable uses' (PRO: C93/8/2, item a, verso). Clitheroe is actually in Lancashire and presumably the grammar school came within the commission's scope because of the school's endowment lands in Yorkshire. The commission chiefly investigated allegations about mismanagement of the school and its funds and in this connection Abraham Grene, the schoolmaster, complained that he was owed two years' stipend. The commission took occasion from this to investigate his conduct and found that 'Abraham Grene now schoolmaister of the said schoole of Clitherowe is a sufficient schoolemaister, And that he the said Grene hath taught att the said schoole by the space of Twoe yeares and duringe the said tyme hath behaved himself industriouslye & honestlye in the said place' (PRO: C 93/8/2, item e).

When William Self Weeks first published this extract in *Notes and Queries* 161 (1931), 135, he gave the place of the inquisition as Milton but there is no Milton in the West Riding and the MS clearly reads 'Mitton.'

From the wording of the text, Grene seems to have beaten the boy only once for both dancing and playing coverpin, which suggests that he did both on the same day. The phrase 'in the churche' (l.23) is probably to be construed only with 'devyne Service' (l.23) and need not imply that the boy actually danced and played in the church while the service was going on.

14–15 LRO: MBC 680 f [1]

These extracts come from accounts of money received and disbursed by the town steward, Richard Dugdall, on behalf of the bailiffs. The expenses occupy f [1] and the top of f [1v]. The rest of f [1v] is blank and the receipts appear on the top half of f [2], headed 'quinto die Ianuarij 1638.' At the foot of f [2] is a note to the effect that as of 11 February 1641/2 rents due at Christmas 1637 and tolls at the feasts of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary (8 December) 1637 and the Annunciation (25 March) 1638 had not been recorded.

All this suggests that these are accounts for a single civic year 1637–8, more likely than not running from Michaelmas 1637 to Michaelmas 1638, possibly rendered on 5 January 1638/9. The available

internal evidence is consistent with this since the earliest payments or receipts are recorded for 24 October 1637 and the latest sum is a receipt for 24 July 1638.

15–16 LRO: QSB 1/138/51 single sheet

This complaint by Hyet is not dated. Any suggested date would depend on the relationship of this complaint to the following document, a warrant requiring the constable of Court's parish (or any constable) to apprehend him and have him bound over before a justice of the peace to answer charges about his activities. If the clause in Hyet's complaint which mentions the warning from the constable (p 15, ll.34–8) contains an oblique reference to the warrant, then the complaint was possibly intended to support the prosecution. If, however, the clause does not refer to the warrant, then the complaint was probably intended to encourage the justices to lay a charge. In any case, the text makes it clear that Court's offence was long-standing and had been complained of before.

16 LRO: QSB 1/138/56 f [1]

This warrant appears to have been drawn up with blanks left for the name of the place and for the date. Most likely the clerk who wrote it out was not sure where and when two JPs would be available to sign it. Even if the complaint by Hyet above followed this warrant rather than instigating it, he was probably the source of the credible information referred to (cf l.18).

It is difficult to identify 'Newton' (l.29) because there are many Newtons and Newtowns in Lancashire. The two most probable candidates are Newtown, two miles east of Croston, and Newton in Makerfield, about fifteen miles southwest of Croston. Both are in the same court district as Croston and Penwortham, that made up of Leyland and West Derby hundreds, and the one where the two JPs were on the bench. Newtown is closer to the site of the offence but it is small, off the main road, and has no connection with either justice nor with the regular quarter sessions sites. Newton is on a major road and near the seats of both Ireland (at Bewsey, near Warrington) and Ashurst (at Ashurst's Hall in Dalton township southeast of Wigan).

Ashurst 'is described as a wise and pious gentleman, zealous for the reformed religion in a part of the country where Roman Catholics abounded'; such a person would certainly take seriously any such offences as Court was accused of and might have been particularly glad to oblige Hyet, who had lent Ashurst's son £300 about 1630 to set him up in trade in London (*DNB* under Ashurst, Henry (1614?–1680), where the family is discussed). He was also a zealous sabbatarian who 'boldly, but peaceably, denied the legality' of the reissue of the Book of Sports in October 1633, shortly before this case arose (see Halley, *Lancashire*, vol 1, p 263). The other JP who signed the warrant, Thomas Ireland (1602–38/9), was on the Commission of the Peace from 1626 at the latest in West Derby hundred. B.W. Quintrell says of him that he was 'barrister, king's counsel for the duchy and MP Liverpool 1614 ... the author of the *Abridgement of Dyer's Reports* which appeared in 1651, twelve years after his death' (*Lancashire Justices of the Peace*, p 185 n 78).

17 LRO: QSB 1/138/24 single sheet

Worden, where this recognizance was taken, was the home of the Faringtons, near Leyland. This William Farington (c 1585–1658) was the grandson of the William Farington noticed above (p 312, endnote to LRO: DDF 2438/12 single sheet). He was a JP, deputy lieutenant of the county, and high sheriff of Lancashire in 1636.

This may be the bond referred to in the previous document, the arrest warrant for John Court. Court and Coward are both pipers and from the same parish, Penwortham. Coward seems to have been appre-

hended at Croston. Farington required this bond from Coward on the basis of a warrant from Ashurst and Ireland, the same justices as had signed the warrant for Court. So one man may be the subject of Hyet's complaint, the warrant, and the bond.

However, if the contemporary dating of both warrant and bond on 6 July is correct, this identification is less easy to maintain. As stated above, the warrant was signed at 'Newton.' If this refers to Newtown, the constable had one day to travel over back roads the two miles to Croston, find and arrest Court, take him and his guarantors to Worden (another five miles), and find Farington before the bond was taken. If 'Newton' is Newton in Makerfield, the initial stage was fifteen miles, though largely on a major road. In either case this is quicker work than was usual in such cases. (In 1632 the craftsmen arrested for putting on a play on Sunday in Warrington on 6 May did not appear before Ireland at Bewsey to be bound over until 8 May.) Perhaps the ties between Hyet, the vicar of Croston, and Ashurst explain the speed with which Court was handled. If Coward and Court are not the same, however, we have no way of knowing what Coward's offence may have been.

There appear to have been three different hands at work in this bond in addition to that of Farington (who signed it). The main hand is seen in the body of the text, the English note (ll.22–3), and the first Latin note (ll.24–5). The second and third Latin notes (ll.26 and 27) appear to have been written in two other and distinct hands.

18 BI: V.1629–30/CB f 94v

This manuscript contains marginal cross-references between the parish of the offence (in this case Halsall, where Downholland is located) and the parish in which the accused person(s) dwelt (in this case Ormskirk), when the parishes differ. Under Ormskirk, no information is given about the offence but two names are listed, Thomas Barton and Francis Wright (f 112v). Perhaps Wright was also involved in the 'playing & pyping' (l.26). Francis Wright's name also occurs at a later date, on f 337v of BI: V.1633/CB.2B, associated with that of Richard Maghull, whose name is also elsewhere linked with Sunday piping (see p 318, endnote to BI: V.1629–30/CB f 95).

A Thomas Barton (l.26) also occurs as a piper from Ormskirk in cases found under Ormskirk in 1605 (pp 72–3) and Halsall in 1633 (p 25). These three occurrences probably refer to the same person or to two generations of the same family.

18–19 BI: V.1578–9/CB.2 f 60v

Edwin Sandys, archbishop of York 1577–88, issued visitation articles in 1577–8 which asked churchwardens whether any rushbearers had come unreverently into the church or churchyard (see above, p 214). This record is undated but precedes one dated 23 September 1578 on f 62.

19 src: 25394 p 210

White (1570–1615) was vicar of Eccles, near Manchester, from 1606 to 1609. His chief work was *The Way to the True Church* (1608), which was attacked three times at least by other writers as new impressions appeared in 1610, 1612, and 1616. His general bent was towards 'the reformed faith,' ie, the puritan wing of the Church of England.

There were prosecutions in the church courts for ales in Eccles on Sunday, 11 October 1608 and 15 October 1611 but no music or playing is mentioned (cro: EDV 1/15 f 138 and EDV 1/17 f 102).

19 LRO: QSR 1 mb 7d

Although it is clear from the language that this is the report of a sort of bond, it is a most unusual one.

The characteristic formula 'recognovit se debere' ('acknowledged him/herself to be bound') does not occur in the report and there are no guarantors. The closest analogy (by no means a perfect one) seems to be a modern bail bond: as someone posting a bail bond posts a sum with the court which is forfeit if he or she fails to appear on an assigned court date, so Pyke had to post £10 which would be forfeit if he piped on a Sunday during the following year. No evidence has been found showing whether Pyke kept the bond. Even if he did, the court had the power, at the end of the term, to bind him over for another year (an option which, for obvious reasons, has no analogue in the case of a bail bond).

The action of the quarter sessions court in 1590 in using such a bond to control a sabbatarian offender seems to be related to the campaign of 1587–8, which made churchwardens and other church officers responsible for reporting sabbath breaking to the quarter sessions (see p 363, endnote to PRO: SP 12/240 ff 292, 293). Although that campaign was not successful in moving such prosecutions to the courts of common law in any large numbers, the precedent had been established that the Lancashire bench had jurisdiction over sabbath breaking. During the ensuing decades, there were five other cases in which some kind of performance on Sunday was prosecuted in the courts of common law as a secular offence either prior to, or without reference to, the king's Declaration of 1618.

There are two Ecclestone, either of which would have fallen under the jurisdiction of the quarter sessions court meeting at Ormskirk. It is likely that Pyke was from the larger of the two, a parish in its own right, near Chorley.

20 Cumbers House: Kenyon MSS, Memorandum Book f 10

These presentments for Bury parish, which include one for Edenfield chapelry, were made by the churchwardens of Bury to the quarter sessions under proposals made by the Lancashire assize bench in 1587 to curb sabbath breaking (see pp 220–1 and endnote, pp 364–5). They are undated on f 10 but were copied in among other similar presentments dated in March or April 1588, which suggests that they too belong to that period.

'Etenfelde' (l.11) is nearer than the modern form to OE 'Ēgtūnfeld,' which Ekwall believed to be the original name of the place. On Speed's map and later Lancashire maps it appears as 'Aytenf(i)eld' and the oldest form known to Ekwall was 'Aytounfeld' in an inquisition post mortem of 1324. These represent a parallel development from the OE form.

21 LRO: QSR 4 mb 28

The language of this presentment is taken from an act of 39 Elizabeth I (1596/7) for the punishment of rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars. Condemned as such by the act are 'all Juglers Tynkers Pedlers and Petty Chapmen wandring abroad' (*The Statutes of the Realm*, A. Luders et al (eds), vol 4, pt 2 (London, 1819), 899). It is interesting that pipers are caught up at Preston in this group.

'ludos illicitos' (l.30) included 'bowlinge Coytinge Cloyse Cayles halfe bowle Tennys Dysyng Table or Cardinge' in any house kept for those purposes unless a special placard was obtained announcing the games permitted to be played lawfully (act of 33 Henry VIII, *The Statutes of the Realm*, vol 3, (London, 1817), 841).

23 CRO: EDV 1/23 f 144

The passage 'as alsoe in not ... there Censure' (ll.20–3) is written in the left margin below the case heading because the space the scribe had originally allotted for the case was too small.

23–4 LRO: QSR 1 mb 9d

As the date of the court session is unavailable, the date assigned is that of the offence. There does not

seem to have been a civil injunction against Sunday rushbearing but it was opposed in York metropolitical visitation articles of 1571, 1577–8, 1607, and 1628–9, and also in Chester diocesan articles of 1581, 1604, and 1617 (see pp 213–15). Alfred Burton (*Rush-Bearing* (Manchester, 1891; rpt 1974), 27) quotes a letter by Samuel Rush Meyrick dated 1842 on the reason for general opposition: 'The Puritan Magistrates and Ministers were opposed to the ancient custom of bearing the Rushes to the Churches, probably from the intemperance and indecorum which generally attended the ceremony.' The Declaration of Sports of 1617 made Sunday rushbearing entirely acceptable.

The piper's presence establishes the ceremonial character of the rushbearing.

24 CRO: EDV 1/17 f 136v

The name of the curate is not given, although his parish is identified as Goosnargh in previous prosecutions on f 136. The date of the court session for this deanery is not given in the 'acta' heading but a comparison with the dates and locations given for other deaneries suggests that the sitting for Amounderness occurred on 17 October 1611 at Preston, the same time and place as the sitting for Blackburn deanery.

25 BI: V.1629–30/CB f 95

This manuscript contains marginal cross-references between the parish of the offence (in this case Halsall) and those parishes in which the accused persons dwelt (in this case North Meols and Sefton), when the parishes differ. James Arnett's name and occupation are listed under North Meols but no information about the offence is given. Under Sefton, too, no information is given about the offence but three names are listed, Henry Arnett, Richard Maghull, and William Ramett (f 116). Perhaps Maghull and Ramett were involved in Arnett's piping. Richard Maghull's name also occurs at a later date, on f 337v of BI: V.1633/CB.2B, associated with that of Francis Wright, whose name is also elsewhere linked with Sunday piping (see p 316, endnote to BI: V.1629–30/CB f 94v).

25 BI: V.1633/CB.2B f 337

Although this court book is marked with marginal cross-references between the parish in which an offence was committed and the parish of the accused, when the parishes differ, there are in fact no entries for Arnett and Barton under Much Crosby or Ormskirk. However, Thomas Barton was also cited for Sunday piping at Downholland in BI: V.1629–30/CB, f 94v (see p 18 and endnote, p 316).

26 CRO: EDV 1/25 f 51v

Although the marginale 'excommunicacio' is next to Strickland's name, it seems likely that it applies to Wilson as well. The other three defendants appeared in court to answer the article and receive correction but there is no indication that Strickland and Wilson did so. Such a refusal would involve both in excommunication for contumacy. The phrase 'vt supra' (l.17) refers to an otherwise unrelated case on f 51v in which the accused is ordered to confess his fault at time of divine service on any Sunday before 1 May and certify that he has done so.

26–7 CRO: EDC 5/1626/56 ff [1–1v]

Full information on the court session at which these articles were charged against Romsbotham is provided by a comparison between this cause paper, which names the judge and gives the date, and the court books for that period. From CRO: EDV 1/47, f [1], we learn that Stofford's court met that day in

the cathedral consistory, and the name of the notary. Holcombe chapelry, in which the alleged offence occurred, is in the parish of Bury.

A number of charges were brought against Romsbotham in this set of articles. He is alleged in articles 1 and 2 to have carried out the actions described here in article 3, despite knowing that the profaning of a consecrated church or chapel brought automatic excommunication to the perpetrator and that the chapel of Holcombe was, in fact, such a consecrated space. It is also alleged that his involvement in this 'prophaned sermon' (p 27, l.4) was well known in the district (article 4) and that he was an excessive drinker and a swearer (article 5). The remaining articles, 6, 7, and 8, are primarily procedural, establishing the court's jurisdiction over Romsbotham as a resident of Bury parish and over his activities.

This case was not brought against Romsbotham in the usual way, that is, 'ex officio mero,' by the court on its own authority on information received through the normal channels. Rather it was promoted, that is, instigated, by Giles Rothwell, also of Bury parish. He would have provided the information on Romsbotham's alleged activities that was used in drawing up the articles.

27–8 *src*: 12870 *sigs* [A5v–A6]

Harrison 'has been identified with a person of his name who was M.A. of Cambridge, 1595,' and he was a queen's preacher at Huyton, near Liverpool, following the inception of the preacherships in 1599. He probably gave the post up in 1619 when he became rector of Eccleston, Cheshire. He died in 1625 (see Ernest Axon, 'The King's Preachers in Lancashire, 1599–1845,' *THSLC* 56 (1941–2), 77–9).

28 *BI*: V.1629–30/CB f 32v

A William Gradel, piper, was buried at Kirkham St Michael church on 2 August 1589, perhaps the father of the William Graddell mentioned in this record; see Appendix 2, p 245.

29 *LRO*: MBLa Acc 4797, Box 82 *mb* [1]

The first two membranes of this roll are so badly faded that the heading cannot now be made out. The text given here is taken from the transcript accompanying the roll in the record office.

These 'constitucions and orders' (l.7) seem first to have been drawn to modern public notice by a local antiquary, Robert Simpson, who printed excerpts in *The History and Antiquities of the Town of Lancaster* (Lancaster, 1852), 276–86. His text differed from the one printed here but whether he saw a different MS that cannot now be traced or read the one excerpted here when it was more legible is uncertain because his text is largely modernized and may in places be paraphrased.

The original date for the constitutions of 35 Edward II, as given in the record office transcript (ll.8–9), is impossible because Edward II reigned for only nineteen years and a half. Simpson read 'the xxxvjth. year of the reign of king Edward second' (p 276) and deduced that Edward II was an error for Edward III, thereby deriving a date of 1362. If these by-laws really do go back to the fourteenth century, then the likeliest explanation is that the Elizabethan recorder got the reign wrong and the true date is either 35 or 36 Edward III (1361–2). The heading may, however, be a garbled reference to the charter of 1363 as confirming the then established customs of the town and its implication that all the ordinances recorded in 1572 are that old should be treated with caution.

Simpson reported the by-law excerpted from *mb* 2 as follows: '16. Neither the mayor nor any of the bailiffs to give any reward for the town to any bear-wardens or minstrels, without the consent of four of the head burgesses and four of the commons ... forfeit 6s. 8d.' (p 278). In the roll the word or words preceding 'or mynstrelles' (l.20) come at the end of a line and are now completely illegible. There does

not seem to be enough room for 'any bear-wardens' but the lost text may well have been 'bearwards' or some variant.

29 *src*: 25223 p 405

John Weever (1576–1632), minor poet and antiquary, was born near Preston (W.A. Abram, 'John Weever's Notice of Corpus Christi Play at Preston and Lancaster, temp. James I,' *Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Notes* 2 (1886), 27). Sir Sidney Lee in the *DNB* states that Weever had retired to Lancashire by about 1598 after studying at Cambridge; thus he was in a position to know when the Corpus Christi plays had ended in Lancashire and Westmorland. He was led on to the subject here by his discussion of the monument of Richard Marlow, Lord Mayor of London in 1409, in St Michael's Queenhithe in London; this evidently reminded him that in his 1603 edition of *A Survey of London*, John Stow (c 1525–1605), the London antiquary, had recorded the eight-day London plays at Skinners' Well as occurring during Marlow's mayoralty (*src*: 23343, pp15–16).

'The Townesmen were sore troubled' (l.36) probably means they were troubled by the government. There was strong resistance to the plays by puritan preachers and even more moderate Anglican clergy. These Corpus Christi plays seem to have been the latest performed in the kingdom, the other towns having suppressed them before the turn of the century.

30 LRO: DDF 2437 item 16a

For William Farington see p 315, endnote to LRO: QSB 1/138/24 single sheet.

The date of the assize week can be determined by internal evidence. The account contains payments for 31 March and 1–2 April as well as others for the entire week. These dates, taken in conjunction with the contemporary date of 21 James I, establish that these assizes were held during the week immediately prior to Holy Week 1623, ie, 31 March to 5 April. The assizes held during the Hilary law vacation normally took place in March or April and are usually referred to as Hilary assizes. However, they often therefore come in Lent, as here, and could be referred to as Lent assizes (see Quintrell, *Lancashire Justices of the Peace*, p [ix]).

30 LRO: DDF 2437 item 16

John Rowe was evidently Farington's steward. The occasion of the expenses was the Hilary assizes at Lancaster, held in April that year. The trumpeters, whose apparel and accoutrements were such costly items, were probably the assize trumpeters, part of the justices' retinue, who played at the formal openings of the sessions.

30–1 LRO: DDKs 30/30 single sheet

This recognizance is included to show how, in keeping with their harsh trade, bearwards were often involved in physical violence. Although Fox's recognizance was taken before both Dutton, Lord Gerard, and Richard Shuttleworth, justices of the peace, only Lord Gerard signed it. John Harland notes that 'Dutton, Lord Gerard, was the third Baron Gerard of Bromley, having succeeded his father Gilbert in 1622. He died in 1640.' Richard Shuttleworth was the master of Gawthorpe Hall from 1608 until his death in 1669 and his account books are quoted at length in this collection (pp 166–79). He was a JP from 1615 onward (Harland (ed), *The Lancashire Lieutenancy*, pp 266 n 10 and 272 n 15).

31 LRO: DDF 192 single mb

Richard Whytstones (1578–1638) was the eldest son of Ralph Whytstones. For other notices of this family of bearwards, see pp 32, 73–4.

32 LRO: QSR 14 mb 10

Hugh and Thomas Whytstones of Ormskirk (ll.16–18) were two of Ralph Whytstones' sons; all were Ormskirk bearwards. See Ormskirk records for 1631 and 1637–8, with their endnotes, for further examples of the Whytstones' capacity for trouble. Richard Pooley (l.19) was in trouble in 1611 with the ecclesiastical courts for playing his fiddle at sermon time on a Sunday (see p 20).

32–5 LRO: DDBl Acc 6121 ff 182–2v

William Blundell (1620–98) was the owner of Crosby Hall at Little Crosby near Sefton. The song he gives is related to the first of May and the decking of the maypole. Maypoles flourished in this period, having been particularly endorsed by King Charles' reissue of the Book of Sports in 1633. The Commonwealth ordered their destruction in 1644.

Thomas Ellison Gibson, who edited the song in *A Cavalier's Note Book*, pp 233–6, comments that 'Mr. Blundell seems to have had some misgivings in leaving on record this lively sketch of the frolic and pastimes of his earlier days' (p 236). This comment refers to the marginale, which means 'Remember not, O Lord, the sins of my youth.' There is evidently a pun at p 33, l.28 on Meols Cop, a small hill just inside modern Southport.

36 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/1 f [24]

There is a wedge-shaped gap in the bottom of each leaf of Town Book 1, which in some places affects the text. J.A. Twemlow deduced that these gaps were caused by damp, and possibly rodents, some time before the book was rebound towards the end of the eighteenth century. He concluded that the additional readings found in a transcript made about 1750 were mostly intelligent restorations but he attempted to distinguish from these certain readings visible to the transcriber but lost after his time, mainly in rebinding (*Liverpool Town Books*, vol 1, xlii–xliii and xlviii–xlix). The book seems to have suffered some slight additional wear and tear since Twemlow saw it. The footnotes and endnotes here follow Twemlow's practice in trying to distinguish readings once visible but now lost from the restorations made by the eighteenth-century transcriber or suggested by Twemlow.

The readings in the footnotes to this extract are inferable from the context and from the usage of the recorder, Adam Pendleton, throughout the book and were largely supplied by the eighteenth-century transcriber. Twemlow, however, suggested 'vpon theyr lawfull' where the older transcriber had 'upon lawfull,' noting that the size of the gap here implied another missing word (l.20).

36 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/1 f [40v]

Five successive leaves relating to 1559–60 were torn out of Town Book 1 at some time before the eighteenth-century transcript was made. Only the lower inner corners survive. The extract printed here comes from one of those fragments, measuring 100mm x 200mm at its widest point. Twemlow wrote, 'This fragment probably represents a presentment about the mayor's authority over the town's wait,' and cited the entry printed under 1560–1 below (*Liverpool Town Books*, vol 1, p 136 n 6).

37–8 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/1 f [93v]

A triangular piece has been lost from the bottom of this leaf, 8mm wide at the top widening to 95mm at the base.

The mayor referred to in this entry was Alexander Garnet, whom Pendleton consistently depicts as irascible, peremptory, and high-handed (see Twemlow, *Liverpool Town Books*, vol 1, pp xvi–lxvii). Since 7 January 1564/5 was a Sunday, the twenty ‘youngkardes’ (p 37, l.38) were guilty of playing games on the sabbath. The game, called a Christmas ‘toves’, (p 38, l.3m) was evidently played by setting sticks in the street and throwing other sticks at them. This word may be ‘touse’ or horseplay, but that does not explain the game, which probably involved shooting the sticks toward a point or marker. Within this century, north-country dialect has used the word ‘taws’ to mean the game of marbles (see Wright, *English Dialect Dictionary*, ‘Taw’ *sb*¹ and *v*¹, 2). W.H. Thomson mentions the Manchester game of ‘giddy-gaddy’ or ‘cat’s pallet,’ which involved ‘striking one end of a sharpened piece of wood causing it to rise and then driving it some distance with a stick’ (*History of Manchester to 1852* (Altrincham, Cheshire, 1967), 87).

Twemlow fills out the passage as follows, putting damaged text in parentheses and using italics for wholly conjectural restorations: ‘mayst[er] mayre wold not suffer George *Asheton* to be balyd or mayn-praysed, neyther by mayster Sekerston, mayster *Corbet*, *Richard Andleser*, *William Secum* etc. And than mayster John Crosse movyd mayster maior to *set fre on bale* the sayd George, but it cold not be, wheareat it was *seen that mayster Crosse* chaffed and fumed inwardlie. Soe G(eorge) and divers younckardes *were imprisoned* all nyght, and mayster maior reylid styll, and seyde he wold *bryng theym before* the quynes counsell, but he was after pacified otherwayes etc’ (vol 1, pp 252–3). Of this ‘on bale’ derives from the eighteenth-century transcriber, who may have been able to read it in the original in his time or may have conjectured it. The words ‘were imprisoned’ and ‘bryng theym before’ are the least certain restorations, but probably represent well enough the general sense of what Pendleton wrote.

‘The *Queenes counsell*’ (p 38, l.6) must mean the privy council in London, which was charged with maintaining public order and took particular interest in cases of riot. Elizabethan petty officials were prone to represent relatively trivial incidents such as this as serious breaches of the peace in order to get their private enemies into trouble with the central government. Shakespeare represents Shallow, a local JP, as threatening Falstaff in like terms for stealing his deer in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*: ‘The Council shall hear it, it is a riot’ (I.i.35). Garnet had displayed a similar lack of perspective in 1546 when, as alderman, he got the town into trouble by detaining a messenger bringing letters from Ireland to the king (*Acts of the Privy Council*, ns, vol 1 (1542–7), John Roche Dasent (ed) (London, 1890), 500–1 [30 July 1546]).

39 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2 f 4v

‘pleyes of dawnsyng’ (l.9) are defined by R.J. Broadbent as primitive masques given in connection with the marriages of the better classes (*Annals of the Liverpool Stage* (Liverpool, 1908), 6). As an example he cites the memorial portrait of Sir Henry Unton (c 1596) in the National Portrait Gallery, London, which shows masquers and torchbearers in procession round a consort of music (see Roy C. Strong, ‘Sir Henry Unton and his Portrait: An Elizabethan Memorial Picture and its History,’ *Archaeologia* 99 (1965) 53–76).

39–40 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2 f 7v

For further notices of Henry Halewood, see pp 40, 47. He was apparently dismissed as wait by 1574, since in that year James Atherton, who had held the office from 1562 to 1565, was reinstated. In 1577

Nicholas Forber was appointed wait and Halewood's name was dropped from the roll of burgesses (Burgess Roll 1572–7, Town Book 2, f 13v). There is evidence suggesting that Halewood was inclined to violence. At the portmoot of 22 October 1576 he was presented as follows: 'Item we fynde Henrye Halewood fyneable for disobeying *mayster* maiors Deputie and other officers and also for breaking the *plummes* & syling in the *commyn* haule' (Town Book 2, f 63). The '*plummes*' were probably leads, ie, strips of lead used to cover a roof, and the '*syling*' was the ceiling or perhaps the panelling; Halewood may have tried to break in through the roof. A year later, at the portmoot of 21 October 1577, he was presented again: 'Inprimis we present as fynable Henry Halewood for bloud shedd vpon Iohn Wakefield ... vj s. viij d.' (Town Book 2, f 75v). Nevertheless, Halewood was restored to the freedom of the borough on 16 March 1579, when the note of 1576/7 recording his disfranchisement was struck from the roll of burgesses and in the margin was substituted 'Henry Halwodd was restored to his former fredome [by] at the assemblie' (Burgess Roll 1572–7, Town Book 2, f 13v). Then at the portmoot of 26 October he appears as town wait again.

He did not, however, manage to keep the post long since Henry Clennes got it in 1581 and held it until 1584. Halewood was reappointed again in 1587 and 1588, and appears on the burgess roll of 1589 (Town Book 2, f 190v) but from the portmoot of 26 October 1590 we learn 'Item they presente Robert Mooney finable for drawinge bloude vpon Henry halewood' (Town Book 2, f 194v). At that same portmoot Henry Clennes got the waitship again and Halewood was excluded once and for all. He was probably, however, the Henry Hallwood presented at Walton on the Hill in 1590–1 for piping before a wedding (p 93) and may have been the piper who was presented by the churchwardens of Childwall in 1592 under the name '*henricum* hale de leuerpoole' (see p 10).

40 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/1 f [104], col 2

This folio, although part of the section of Town Book 1 covering 1568–9, has been used to record the admissions of various persons as burgesses in subsequent years. The entry included here has been fitted into an originally blank space in the upper right corner of the page.

40 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2 f 19v

Halewood was imprisoned in '*le Edibus tenebrosis*' (l.20) or the dark house, Liverpool's prison (cf Twemlow, *Liverpool Town Books*, vol 1, p 32 n 5).

40 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2 f 19

Liverpool Grammar School is first mentioned in the will of John Crosse, rector of St Nicholas by the Shambles, London, in 1515, where its founding is made a condition of the gift of lands to support a priest at Liverpool chapel. The grammar school was evidently in operation by 1526–7 when the revenues were alleged to have been misappropriated. In 1611 its location is given as on the west of the cemetery of the chapel (vch: *Lanc*, vol 2, pp 593, 595).

'Coops' (l.27) are copes, church vestments worn until 1552 for processions. Their use was continued under Elizabeth's injunctions of 1559 by celebrants at holy communion but only in cathedral and collegiate churches, the Chapel Royal, and similar foundations. The Liverpool church copes, like many others, had evidently been given to the schoolmaster to cut up and make into costumes for the school '*paiaunces*' (l.29) or plays.

40–1 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2 f 24v

In this memorandum two otherwise unconnected events seem to have been telescoped together because

they were dealt with on the same day. The first involves the difficulties caused in the district by the events of 6–7 April. At that time the undersheriff of the county, Thomas Gidlow, had empanelled a jury under an extent (that is, a writ of execution upon debt issued by the exchequer, normally in cases in which the creditor was the Crown). Such a writ directed the sheriff to appraise a debtor's property to the full extent of its value (hence the name) before seizing it and turning it over to the creditor to rent out at the appraised value until such time as the rental obtained was equal to the amount owed (see *Black's Law Dictionary*, 5th ed (St Paul, Minnesota, 1979), under 'Extent'). It is difficult to see from the sketchy account given here why any jury was empanelled: one would expect that, if the writ had already been issued, the names of the offenders would not need to be provided by a jury. Perhaps the jurors assisted the sheriff in his appraisal by providing information about local property values. In any case the activities of Gidlow were a source of concern to the powerful of the district and the mayor of Liverpool was moved to call the session of 19 April. The second event is the punishment of the two entertainers, which was apparently ordered by that special session. Although the memorandum connects the punishment with the mayor's concern about the application of the writ, it is very difficult to see how there could have been any legal or procedural connection. The pair were punished under the portmoot by-law of 25 October 1571, printed in the records text above (p 39).

41–3 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2 ff 69–9v

The 'clothe of estate' (p 42, l.2) and the 'place of estate' (p 42, l.25) were both representative of the queen's majesty. The cloth was a canopy and the place a chair, equivalent to the throne (Twemlow, *Liverpool Town Books*, vol 2, pp 242 n 7 and 243 n 4).

John Caldwell ('Mr Cadwall,' p 43, l.6), besides being chaplain to the earl of Derby (see p 181, l.11), was rector of Mobberley in Cheshire and Winwick in Lancashire. He preached on Psalm 81:8 (80:9 Vulgate) which in the Douay/Rheims version is 'Hear, O my people, and I will testify to thee: O Israel, if thou wilt hearken to me ...' He also signed the Report of Seventeen Lancashire Preachers (see p 220, l.9).

John Nuttall ('Mr Nutter,' p 43, l.18) was a prebendary of Chester Cathedral and rector of Sefton, Aughton, and Bebington. He preached on Revelation 22:12, which in the Douay/Rheims version is 'Behold, I come quickly, and my reward is with me ...'

The *Michael* and the *Bee* (p 43, l.33) are clearly described as of Liverpool and ships are usually designated in sixteenth-century texts by their home ports. Hence Twemlow (*Liverpool Town Books*, vol 2, p 246 n 3) was right in taking the *Good Luck* to come from Douglas in the Isle of Man rather than the river Douglas in Lancashire. By 'Aulte' (p 43, l.34), where the *Elizabeth* was based, the writer presumably meant modern Hightown at the mouth of the Alt, downstream from Formby; this is called Altmouth on Speed's Lancashire map of 1610 and the neighbouring district is still called Altcar.

44–5 LIRO: 352 MIN/ COU I 1/2 ff 69v–70

The horse-race was run south from a point near Great Crosby, four and a half miles, to a point near to Bank Hall, the seat of the Moores ('ye banckhowse,' ll.16–17). An extract from the inventory of Edward Moore, who lived there, is printed in the Records (p 159).

50 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2 f 260

This act of the Liverpool council is rather surprising in view of the orders and injunctions of the ecclesiastical commission in 1579, which banned all piping on Sundays. But it anticipates what the Declaration of Sports was to permit in 1617, though not in 1618.

51 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2 f 365

Michael Harper was appointed town wait at some time before 1610 and in that year became a leave-looker or market superintendent as well, keeping both posts until 1627. As a leave-looker he was often delinquent: at this same portmoot, for instance, he was presented along with James Woodward, the water bailiff, for neglect of office (Town Book 2, f 380) and he was fined for similar faults in 1612, 1621, 1624, 1626, and 1627 (Town Book 2, ff 396 and 472; Town Book 3, pp 1, 36, and 51). Harper was also presented in 1623 'for drawinge blood vpon Henry Bell' (Town Book 2, f 472). Harper's double employment with Liverpool probably meant that he was financially rather more stable than most Liverpool waits and perhaps helps to explain why he lasted so long.

51 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2 f 368

The Liverpool fairs were held on St James' day (25 July) and St Martin's day (11 November) (see Tupling, 'Markets and Fairs of Lancashire,' p 101).

54-5 LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/3 p 86

The bellman, who was to go about the town at 10 pm and 4 am, was no doubt intended to combine the tasks of the sexton and the wait as mentioned in 1618. The curfew hours in 1618 had been 8 pm and 4 am (Town Book 2, f 443). The decision to give the wait's wages to the bellman seems not to have been implemented and a new wait was appointed in 1630.

55-6 MCLA: L1/44 single mb

Manchester Grammar School was founded by Hugh Oldham, bishop of Exeter, in 1515. The original schedule or statutes from which the present extracts are taken is dated 1524 and is written on two parchment membranes and contains detailed rules for masters, ushers, scholars, and feoffees. Twelve governors signed the document, including Edmund Trafford.

The second item printed here prohibits schoolmasters and ushers from supplementing their incomes with the boys' money. Cockpenny was 'paid by the Scholars to the Master, for his permission to fight or throw at cocks at Shrove-tide'; victor penny was 'paid by the Scholar who had won the greatest number of battles, or whose cock, after having been thrown at, had escaped unhurt; and received by the Master, for leave to ride as Victor'; potation penny was 'paid by the Scholars, or their friends, to the Master, to enable him to give an entertainment at some season of the year, (usually in Lent,) to the Scholars on quitting school' (Whatton, *The History of Manchester School*, p 25). Strutt reproduced an illumination from a 1343 Bodleian manuscript which he took to be a 'Ryddynge aboute for victorys' and described it as follows: 'The hero supposed to have won the cock, or whose cock escaped unhurt from the danger to which he had been exposed, is carried upon a long pole by two of his companions; he holds the bird in his hands, and is followed by a third comrade, who bears a flag emblazoned with a cudgel, the dreadful instrument used upon these occasions' (Joseph Strutt, *The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England*, J. Charles Fox (ed) (London, 1903; rpt Detroit, 1968), 309 and plate facing p 310). When Christopher Walton of Little Hoole founded what is now Hutton School for poor children of Penwortham in 1552, he provided that the schoolmaster was to receive no school-hire except cockpence twice a year (vch: *Lanc*, vol 2, p 605).

56-7 MTH: M1/57 f 58

The steward of the court leet was its judge and therefore had to be learned in the law and local custom

(Harland (ed), *Court Leet Records of Manchester*, pp 17n–18n). The other five men named were jurors of the court leet.

57 MTH: M1/57 f 62

'we wolde desyre maister steward to doe the same with the reste of the towne' (p 57, ll.15–16) puzzled Earwaker, who suggested that 'with' in this passage means 'agree with' (*Court Leet Records*, vol 1, p 126). But if a comma is supplied after 'doe the same,' the meaning becomes clear: 'with' has the sense 'together with' and 'the reste of the towne' means the whole body of burgesses.

57 MCLA: f 333 M45 ff 9v–10

William Ravalde was buried at Manchester Collegiate Church on 13 October 1623 (Manchester Cathedral Archives: Parish Register 1, p 453). He drew rents from burgages (freehold or life-tenure properties in a borough) in Millgate and from the cockpit. A plan of Manchester in 1650, first known in a 1746 engraving but believed to derive from a contemporary original, appears in *VCH: Lanc*, vol 4, opposite p 174. There the cockpit is placed just north of Marketstead Lane.

58 Cumbers House: Kenyon MSS, Memorandum Book f 11v

This document, which is a copy of churchwardens' presentments to the Manchester quarter sessions, and the next document, which is the presentment made by the inquest jury at the same quarter sessions, demonstrate the working of the new assize proposals for curbing sabbath breaking in the county (see pp 220–1 and endnote, pp 364–5). These proposals required churchwardens and members of quarter sessions juries to report sabbatarian offences to the quarter sessions courts. In this case it appears that the churchwardens either were also jurors or had conferred with the jurors since the order of the ten names is identical in both presentments.

The bear-baiting was an offence under the 1579 ruling by the ecclesiastical commission forbidding 'bearebayting or bull-bayting on the Sabbath dayes' (p 218, ll.26–7). In the 1650 plan of Manchester the 'Conduit Head' appears in an open field just south of Market Street Lane, within sight of Radcliffe Hall and other houses. If the bullring was near this, as the presentment says (l.13), then the bear-baiters could be said to be openly defying the law.

The case was probably difficult to prosecute locally since the Manchester court leet had, on 11 April 1588, a Thomas Radcliffe (l.30) and a Richard Moreton (ll.31–2) seated on the jury. The blatant nature of the offence makes it seem that a contest was going on between certain citizens of Manchester and the JPs for Salford hundred.

58–9 MTH: M1/57 f 8v

James Burton became by this action of the jury 'wayte Capitaigne', to use a phrase from the Liverpool Town Book, 7 January 1564/5 (p 37, ll.38–9). The entry seems to indicate that higher wages are being recommended, as previously on 11 April 1577 (p 57, l.28).

The waits' troubles with interlopers continued and were finally dealt with on 1 October 1606; see p 63.

59 MCA: Parish Register 1 p 358

Since Asmall was buried in Manchester, he most likely died there, which makes the entry evidence for bull-baiting in Manchester rather than Gorton.

60 BI: V.1595-6/CB.3 f 24v

This 'Iohn Grene' may be the same as the 'Iohn Greene of Manchester pyper' who was buried 14 July 1617 in the collegiate church at Manchester. Also on 23 July 1602, John Greene 'Piper' had his son John baptized there; see Appendix 2, pp 245-6. All three John Grene's are probably the same man.

This case appears in two different court books and is recorded under the same date on f 80 of BI: V.1595-6/CB.2, another book for the same archiepiscopal visitation. It appears that the entry on f 24v of Court Book 3 included here is the first instance, that is, that it records the substance of the original detection of wrongdoing reported for the visitation. The entry in Court Book 2 seems to have been intended to record Grene's court appearance at the visitation session in Manchester on 17 September, but there is no new information added about the offence and no evidence that he actually appeared.

As usual with court cases, the date given in the subheading is that of the court session to which the accused was first summoned. The dates of his two offences are given in the text: 25 May, which was Rogation Sunday, and 1 June, which was the Sunday after the Ascension.

60 MCLA: f 333 M45 f [25]

Manchester's fair days were 20-2 September in 1227 (Tupling, 'Markets and Fairs of Lancashire,' p 101). The cancelled entry on f 25 would seem to imply that the date of Michaelmas given for the autumn leet on f 25v was only approximate.

62 MTH: M1/57 f 47

This order was almost precisely duplicated by that of the Salford portmote on 14 October 1600 (printed under Salford, p 90), which suggests collusion.

62 CRO: EDV 1/12b f 114v

Although there is no evidence of the kind of activity which took place at this ale, the document is worth including in light of the prosecutions recorded in 1594-5 (p 60). Furthermore, this Marler may be the same as the man from Withington prosecuted during this year for keeping an illicit alehouse and maintaining a piper (p 113).

63 MTH: M1/57 f 67v

The 'statute made Anno primo Regni Iacobi and intytuled an acte for the punishem^{ent} of Rogues vagaboundes and sturdye beggers' (ll.26-8) was an extension of 39 Elizabeth (1596/7); see *The Statutes of the Realm*, A. Luders et al (eds), vol 4, pt 2 (London, 1819), 899-90. This act provided for whipping vagrants and returning them to their home parishes, or if that was not possible, to a house of correction or jail. The act of 1 James I (1603) provided for the letter 'R' to be branded with a red-hot iron on the shoulder of an 'incorrigible or dangerous' vagrant (*The Statutes of the Realm*, vol 4, pt 2, pp 1024-5).

65 CRO: EDV 1/17 f 100

Shooter's Brook (l.37) was originally a stream flowing southwest through the parish of Manchester to join the River Medlock. It formed one boundary of the township of Newton. The district lying in the wedge formed by Shooter's Brook and the river was known as Ancoats (vch: *Lanc*, vol 4, pp 222-3). The name 'Shooter's Brook' was also applied to an estate or neighbourhood, at least from the sixteenth century, but the exact location of the site referred to is unclear (vch: *Lanc*, vol 4, pp 240-1).

66-7 MTH: M1/57 f 115

The dismissal of the Manchester waits for not doing their night-watch duty is based on orders of 1 October 1567 and 2 October 1600, both of which required them to play both evening and morning. Still, the reason given for the dismissal has seemed to Walter L. Woodfill disingenuous, a mere excuse to be rid of the waits (*Musicians in English Society* (Princeton, 1953), 76). There were waits again in Manchester in 1635-6, for 'Thomas Hall one of the waytes of Manchester' was buried on 14 January 1635/6 (see Appendix 2, p 246).

67 JRUL: Clowes Deeds CL.471 f [2]

These accounts were kept by James Chetham on behalf of the warden of the College of Christ in Manchester, the collegiate church. The waits in question must have been Manchester's, even though the court leet had apparently dismissed them from the town's service on 5 October 1620. These payments by the church may have been for liturgical music.

67 JRUL: Clowes Deeds CL.1560(1) f [1]

'Robart fletcher' was one of three Manchester waits allowed at the Manchester court leet on 2 October 1604. The payment by Chetham to the waits is a quarterly one, suggesting that they had regular employment at the church, probably for liturgical music.

68 MCLA: M91/M1/31 p 97

'Cholertonne Rowe' (p 68, l.11) and 'chowerton Rowe' (l.26) are variants of 'Chorlton Row,' an old name for Chorlton upon Medlock (*vch: Lanc*, vol 4, p 251). It is now a district of Manchester southeast of the city centre but was then a separate adjoining township.

68 CL: Mun. E.2.6 Allen Deeds, Parcel P f [14]

The frame for the virginals may have been made for the College of Christ (the collegiate church), for George Chetham or his father James, or for his uncle Humphrey. The Chethams, father and son, do not seem to have been living in Manchester in 1641-2 when the Protestation Oath was administered ('The Protestation of 1641-2 in Manchester,' *The Palatine Note-Book*, vol 1 (1881), 80-4, 102-8, 122-4, 136-40, 167-72, 210-15). They may have lived at Clayton Hall, the home of Humphrey Chetham, four and a half miles east of Manchester. George Chetham frequently wrote down expenses incurred by his uncle, the antiquary and refounder of the College of Christ.

69 MCLA: M91/M1/31 p 222

'these dangerose tymes' (l.13) may refer to the plague (Earwaker, *Constables' Accounts*, vol 2, 1633-1647, p 36 n 1).

70 CRO: EDV 1/19 f 127v

'Idem' (l.8) here stands for the phrase 'Officium domini merum.' Often the first case brought during a session for a given deanery would begin 'Officium domini merum contra A. B.,' that is, 'Purely "ex officio" proceedings of the lord judge against A. B.' This formula indicates that the proceedings have been brought by the court on its own authority on information received and not at the prompting of any individual. In subsequent cases, the registrar would replace the full formula with 'Idem contra A. B.' to save time and space.

70 Melling: St Thomas' Church Safe, Register No 1 p 6

The key to this entry is the word 'Si(..)els' (l.19), which has four minims in the middle that could yield 'Sinnels,' 'Simiels,' or (if a minim was omitted) 'Simnells.' 'Sinnels' and 'Simiels' are not recognizable words, but the possibility remains that the parish clerk here records a 'simnel' play. Simnel cakes were generally associated with the fourth Sunday in Lent, known as Mid-Lent Sunday or Mothering Sunday, or with the fifth Sunday, known as Passion Sunday or Care Sunday.

In parts of Germany on Passion Sunday there was a mock combat between Winter and Summer. Thomas Kirchmeyer, an opponent of Roman Catholicism, wrote a book translated into English by Barnabe Googe as *The Popish Kingdome, or Reigne of Antichrist* (London, 1570; *etc.* 15011). He lists Romish practices and under 'Care sunday' (f 50v) offers this passage:

Thus children also beare with speares, their Cracknelles round about,
And two they haue, whereof the one is called Sommer stout:
Apparalde all in greene, and drest in youthfull fine araye,
The other Winter, clad in mosse with heare all hoare and graye:
These two together fight, of which the Palme doth Sommer get,
From hence to meate they go, and all with wine their whistles wet.

Similar ritual combats on Mid-Lent Sunday are well attested for later times in upper and central Germany by Jacob Grimm (1785–1863) (*Teutonic Mythology*, 4th ed, J.S. Stallybrass (trans), vol 2 (London, 1883; rpt New York, 1966), 764–74). These are Catholic areas and the custom could conceivably have existed also in Catholic England and persisted among the Catholics of west Lancashire, particularly in the thick cluster of Catholic population surrounding seventeenth-century Liverpool.

Since cracknels and simnells meant the same thing (bread twice baked), we can perhaps conjecture that Melling had a Lenten simnel game like the German one but if so, this is the only known example from Britain.

Evidently the Melling simnel play did not, in fact, take place on the second and third Sundays in Lent, for the writer of the entry has made some mistake about the dating. In 1616/17, 9 and 16 March were the first two Sundays in Lent but they must be the days intended, because the corresponding dates in 1617/18 were not Sundays at all. The order of entries in the register confirms this conclusion, since the entries immediately preceding the simnel entry deal with events in 1616 while those immediately following belong to 1617. That the simnel play and the brawling occurred on consecutive Sundays implies a two-part ritual or else a repetition.

On the 9th the simnel play was 'at the full' (l.19) and on the 16th it was probably out of hand. This 'play' with brawling was perhaps noted down because on 8 August 1616, at Lancaster assizes, the JPs had forbidden sports or games at any time on Sunday (see p 228). Edward E. Newton notes that of the three women whose names follow this entry, two were churchwardens' wives, Margaret Martin and Elizabeth Martin, and the third, Margaret Molyneux, was the wife of Robert Molyneux of Wood Hall, kin to the powerful Molyneuxs of Sefton. Newton believes that the three young men might have been disturbers of divine service (*Melling with Cunsough* (Melling, [1977]), 15), which is probably correct.

70 LRO: QSR 1 mb 9d

As the date of the court session is unavailable, the date assigned is the probable date of the offence: the other sabbath breaking charges in this section of mb 9d are concerned with Sunday, 12 July.

71 CRO: EDV 1/19 f 92v

For an explanation of the use of 'Idem' in l.23, see above p 328, endnote to CRO: EDV 1/19 f 127v.

71 BI: V.1633/CB.2A f 279v

In the visitation book, this chapelry is simply referred to as Pendle. 'Pendle' itself is the name of a local hill; its villages include Chatburn, Downham, Worston, Sabden, Newchurch, and Barley. Parker's home had grounds (l.37) and therefore he might have been one of the Parkers of Browsholme, an estate within seven miles of Pendle Hill.

72 CRO: EDV 1/12a f 128

Ridyat lived in, and presumably held his ale in, the chapelry of Newton in Makerfield. However, he is ordered to do his penance in the parish church of Winwick, since that chapelry fell within the Winwick parish boundaries. In the 'acta' heading giving the date and place of this court session, the name of the judge was left blank.

72-3 CRO: EDV 1/14 f 99v

A Thomas Barton (p 73, ll.2-3) also occurs as a piper from Ormskirk in cases found under Downhol-land, 1629-30 (p 18) and Halsall, 1633 (p 25). These three occurrences likely refer to the same person or to two generations of the same family. In this particular case, Barton was apparently acting as a proctor or guaranteeing Bushell's behaviour in some way and may therefore have been the latter's master. The other accused, Ormeshawe, seems neither to have appeared in person nor to have sent a proctor.

73 LRO: WCW 1622 sheet [1]

Ralph Whytstones was very likely Ormskirk's official bearward. He had three sons, Richard, Hugh, and Thomas, all bearwards, and a grandson, Griffith Whytstones, was another bearward. For other notices of this family, which was often in court, see the entry immediately following and also Leyland (p 31) and Litherland (p 32).

73-4 LRO: QSB 1/90/40 sheet 2

Thomas Whytstones (1587-1639) was Ralph's youngest son. He is described as a bearward in this examination but as a butcher in a peace bond of 9 November 1635 (LRO: QSB 1/162/16). This is not surprising because the two trades were frequently combined. Thomas fell afoul of the law more than once: on 1 July 1631 he was cited for a drunken brawl (LRO: QSB 1/90/39) in which his nephew Roger Barton was fatally wounded. In the autumn of 1635 he was evidently carrying on a feud with his nephew, Griffith, for on 23 October that year Griffith was bound for £10 to keep the peace toward Thomas and appear at the next quarter sessions to answer his complaints (LRO: QSB 1/162/19). On 9 November Thomas in turn was similarly bound over for £20 to appear at the sessions and answer for misdemeanours and to keep the peace towards Mildred Whytstones, Griffith's wife (LRO: QSB 1/162/16). This quarrel was very much a family affair: not only did it involve the nephew's wife, but two of the bondsmen were either relatives or people previously involved with family disputes. One of Thomas' bondsmen was his brother Hugh (1583-1641), Ralph Whytstones' second son. One of Griffith's sureties was Hugh Page, a man who had previously complained that Thomas was abetting Anne Barton, Thomas and Hugh's married sister and the mother of the slain Roger Barton, in immoral behaviour (LRO: QSB 1/90/40). (See further 'The Whitstones Family of Ormskirk: Bearwards in the Early Seventeenth Century,' *Lancashire Record Office: Annual Report 1978*, 45-8; the discussion of the

property divisions in Ralph and Richard Whytstones' wills contained therein must, however, be used with caution.)

75 CRO: EDV 1/15 f 144

The phrase 'specificce ... delinquentium' (ll.23–5) has been written in the left margin near the beginning of this entry because too little space was left for the completion of this entry before the beginning of the next. Two matching sigla, pointing hands, are used to link this continuation with the text it is intended to follow. Farington is a small village two miles north of Leyland; it was within Penwortham parish at this time.

75 CRO: EDV 1/17 f 134

The date of the court session for this deanery is not given in the 'acta' heading but a comparison with the dates and locations given for other deaneries suggests that the sitting for Amounderness occurred on 17 October 1611 at Preston, the same time and place as the sitting for Blackburn deanery.

76 CRO: EDV 1/21 f 25v

Three hands are represented in these entries. The text enclosed by bubbles in ll.13–15 ('quo die ... proximo') is in hand 2. The remainder of the first case is in the third hand ('Postea ... eum'; ll.15–18), as is most of the second case ('Postea vero ... dimisit'; ll.21–9).

77 KCA: PRE/24/1/10/14 f 11

This excerpt in the manor survey book fixing the size and location of the Cockpit House holding is the first mention of it found in Prescott records. The phrase 'vt supra' (l.27) refers to an otherwise unrelated entry above in which another tenant is described as holding his tenement 'per copiam,' that is, by copyhold (see LG, 'copia').

77 KCL: DDPs 2/6 single sheet

For the origin and textual history of this copy of Meade's undated memorandum see the document description, p lxxi. Bailey seems to have used the original in his paper, 'The Elizabethan Playhouse at Prescott,' p 77. There he gave the rent as '[ijs. vjd.]' (p 71), implying that he could not read the original figure. His conjecture was probably influenced by the fact that all other mentions of the rent for the property give the sum as 2s 6d. That evidence suggests that the 5s amount is a transcriber's or typist's error or that Meade was genuinely mistaken about the sum.

Bailey (pp 70–1) dated the memorandum 'a few years later' than 1609 when Thomas Malbon, who converted the playhouse into a dwelling, was tenant. A typed note on the copy states that a pencilled '1609' was on the original 'in a later but not a modern hand.' But the key to the date seems to be the phrase 'now Master Stuardes' (l.39). The property is likely to have been in the hands of the steward of the manor only between tenants, most commonly between the death of one tenant and the entry of the next one. We do not have full information about the changing tenancies, but the available information suggests 1603 or 1615 as the most likely possibilities.

In 1603 Richard Harrington (ll.38–9) died and there was a delay of several months before his wife entered formally into the property (Bailey, pp 73–4), a period during which the steward would have been in formal possession. If the memorandum was written during that period, the most natural way of referring to it would have been that used by Meade, since Harrington was not only the builder but the only tenant and it had not yet been converted to a dwelling. In the first half of 1615 the property must

have changed hands, since a Philip Hare paid the rent for Christmas 1614 (see p 81) but a John Mercer entered the property in June 1615. The eighteenth-century copy of a 1615 list of rents due the school, from which we know of Hare's tenancy, contains a group of six entries of which five are the same as rents described in Meade's list. One entry above that group is a marginale, 'New Rents.' If the copyist transcribed the marginale and placed it correctly and if it refers to all the entries below it, then the list in Meade's memorandum must refer to the 1615 vacancy. On balance, however, the 1603 date appears more probable.

78–9 LRO: DDCs Court Rolls (paper) 1608 sheet [7–7d]

This extract comes from the roll for the court leet of 27 May 1608. However, as was noted in the document description (p lxx), records of what might be called 'business' arising out of an annual leet are often found in this series rolled up with the draft version of the proceedings of the leet proper. Sheet 7 actually records an appearance of Alexander and Margaret Rigby on 15 November 1608 before the Four Men of Prescot, town officials who seem to have acted in many capacities on behalf of the steward of the manor of Prescot (see Bailey, 'The Elizabethan Playhouse at Prescot,' p 71 n 4 and p 75).

The 'Three Bayes of Buylding in Prescott ... scytuate over agayst the Cocpytt howse' (p 78, ll.16–17) suggests directly opposite, facing. Jack Knowles writes that the cockpit house was at the corner of Church and High Streets in old Prescot but gives no source for this information (*Prescot Records: The Court Rolls 1602–1648* (Knowsley, 1980), 53 n 17). In 1618 Nicholas Assheton and his friends rode over to a 'cocking' at Prescot; see p 147.

80 LRO: DDCs Court Rolls (paper) 1609 sheet 1d

According to Bailey ('The Elizabethan Playhouse at Prescot,' p 75), 'Thomas Malbon' (l.8) probably belonged to the family of this name then established in Eccleston, a township adjoining Prescot and Knowsley. Prescot Parish Register, in recording the baptism of five children of his in the years 1606–12, describes him as "of the hall of Prescot, gentleman."

Though the term 'playhouse' occurs often in Bailey's account, he makes it clear that the building was operated as a playhouse only some time after 1592 and before 1609. Indeed the present record begins by reciting that Malbon has converted the playhouse into a house for habitation.

The fine recorded in the paper version for taking a tenant without permission ('ideo ipe in misericordia xij d.' (l.11)) was not entered in the parchment version (LRO: DDCs Court Rolls (parchment) 1609 mb [3]), which otherwise is substantially the same.

81 KCL: DDPs 1/37 pp 1, 2

These excerpts come from an abstract of the Prescot school accounts beginning in 1610, which was presented to the manor court by John Chorley, overseer of charities, on 30 May 1755. The first comes from a list of householders who increased the school 'stocks'; each is credited with one or more stocks but Thomas Meade the vicar, who compiled the list, has not specified how much money each stock represented. Clear dating limits for the entry are established by the title on the cover page, 'An abstract of Prescott School accounts Comenceing Anno 1610,' and the heading on p 1, according to which 'Thomas Mead then Vicar of Prescott & overseer of the school of Prescott made out the Account for the School rents & School Stocks to Christmas 1614 as follows.' The list begins with New Year's gifts for 1610, 1611, and 1612 and is immediately followed on p 2 by entries of sums of money beginning with a New Year's gift for 1614. This suggests that the widow Dichfield made her contribution between

New Year's 1612 and New Year's 1614. The second excerpt comes from the cash account beginning with the New Year's gift for 1614 and therefore probably belongs to that year.

81 LRO: WCW 1614 single mb

On 9 October 1615 Stockley's son and heir, also Edward Stockley of Prescott, yeoman, married Jane Harrington, eldest daughter of Richard Harrington, the man who built the Prescott playhouse (F.V. Driffield (ed), *The Parish Register of Prescott 1573–1631*, Lancashire Parish Register Society, vol 76 (Preston, 1938), 121).

82 LRO: DDCs Court Rolls (parchment) 1615 single mb

John Mercer took possession of the Prescott playhouse site in 1615, as the present record shows, and kept it until his death in 1634. 'in ffestibus Vsualibus per equales porciones' (ll.29–30) means quarterly payments. The English version of this roll (DDCs Court Rolls (paper) 1615 sheet [5]) is substantially the same, except that it lacks the final section recording that Mercer sought successfully for admittance into his property.

83 LRO: DDCs Court Rolls (paper) 1617 sheet [20]

The Prescott playhouse had been converted into a 'howse for habitación' by 1609 (see above, p 80, l.9) and so the phrase 'neire vnto the play howse' (l.17) can only mean near the tenement which was formerly a playhouse. The Latin version of the roll for this year (LRO: DDCs Court Rolls (parchment) 1617 single mb) has substantially the same entry.

83 LRO: DDCs Court Rolls (paper) 1618 sheet [25]

'James dytⁿ c^l heffeyld' (p 83, l.35) was one of the Four Men, the leading officers of Prescott township. The queen's company mentioned here was probably a provincial branch of the queen's players led by Thomas Swinnerton. They appeared at Gawthorpe Hall on 10 March 1617/18 (see p 177).

85–6 BL: Add. MS 4239 ff 7v–8

Martindale (1623–86) wrote his autobiography in the last year of his life. The incidents described here can be dated about 1632, when Martindale (born mid-September 1623) was 'under 10 yeares old' (ie, nine?). If 1632 is meant, then his brother's wedding took place in February or March 1632/3. The wakes, greens, and merry nights frequented by the 'young wild airy girle' (p 85, l.33) would then belong to 1632. Martindale became a Presbyterian divine. His autobiography was edited by Richard Parkinson for the Chetham Society in 1845.

86–7 Hatfield House: Cecil Papers 205/83 single sheet

This information by a Lancashire priest-catcher against John Wilson led to his arrest at Preston and his incarceration on 16 June 1596. The letter can be dated between Candlemas (2 February) and 16 June 1596. John Wilson, alias Richard Railton, was born about 1568 and was at Douai on 3 December 1594. He was probably ordained there. He was arrested by Mr Sorums, minister of Preston, and committed to the Gatehouse in London by the lord chief justice, the solicitor general, and Richard Topcliffe, priest-hunter (Godfrey Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests: A Dictionary of the Secular Clergy of England and Wales, 1558–1850*, vol 1 (1558–1603) (Ware, Herts and Durham, 1968), 383).

Wilson's companion, 'Mr S Hawxworthe' (p 86, l.33), was probably Robert Hawkesworth, born 25 December 1567 in Yorkshire, educated at Blackburn Grammar School, and ordained priest at the

Lateran on 10 August 1593. Since he was arrested at Liverpool on 6 December 1595, the Corpus Christi play he saw was probably that of May or June 1595. Although Hawkesworth was committed to London's Gatehouse prison on 13 December 1595, he escaped on 29 May 1597 and later lapsed and married (Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests*, vol 1, p 157).

Wilson's brother, the Lincolnshire Jesuit, was no doubt a fictitious alias used by Wilson to keep the authorities guessing. Anstruther comments, 'He is said to have a brother a Jesuit in Lincs, but no such Jesuit is known' (*The Seminary Priests*, vol 1, p 383).

Farington, Ulles Walton, Brindle, Hoghton, and Rishton are all near Preston. Denham Hall, no longer standing, was near Brindle.

87 LRO: WCW 1638 single sheet

A show 'called the Chaos' (l.17) presumably dealt with Genesis 1: 1–2, and if so it must have been very dramatic indeed, presenting the 'earth ... without form, and void; and darkness ... upon the face of the deep,' as 'the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.' George Speaight refers to two Sandes shows of 1623 called 'The Chaos of the World' and 'The Creation of the World,' but does not give his source (*The History of the English Puppet Theatre* (London, 1955), 325). If Speaight is right, this too was probably a marionette show. Jonson and Shakespeare call this kind of show a 'motion.' Jonson speaks of a 'Motion of the city of Niniueh, with IONAS, and the whale' in *Every Man Out of His Humour* (II. iii. 146–7 in *Ben Jonson*, C.H. Herford and Percy Simpson (eds), vol 3 (Oxford, 1927; rpt 1954)) and Shakespeare refers to 'a motion of the Prodigal Son' in *The Winter's Tale* (IV. iii. 96). A show about the Chaos dealing with the Creation story would have been very entertaining indeed if it presented the making of all the kinds of creatures that swim, fly, and walk. The tools imply that Sandes, who gives his trade as 'Toynier' (l.15), made his own marionettes.

Since these marionette shows commonly dealt with biblical themes, I once speculated that they 'probably filled the gap left by the suppression of mystery plays in the late sixteenth century' (REEDN 1979:2, 4) and E.K. Chambers was inclined to the same view. He explains that marionettes were used to show the nativity long before actors were and also that 'representations of miracle plays by means of moving puppets ... make their appearance in all parts of Europe at a period when the regular dramatic performances of similar subjects were already becoming antiquated' (E.K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage* (Oxford, 1903), vol 2, pp 157–8).

88–9 Fletcher: *Correspondence* pp 11–12

For the history of the manuscript containing this letter see the document description, p lxxiii.

This letter alludes to the opening of Ringley Chapel, which Walworth had had built and endowed at his own expense. J.S. Fletcher, the Chetham Society editor, identified some of the 'ministers' (p 89, ll.1–6). 'Mr. Murrey' (l.1) was George Murray, BD, of King's College, Cambridge, who had been tutor to Lord Strange and was made rector of Bury by the earl of Derby in 1622, holding the cure until his death in 1633. 'Mr. Horrax' (ll.1–2) was Alexander Horrocks, vicar of Deane, whose puritan leanings earned him the enmity of Archbishop Laud and later of Prince Rupert's troopers. 'Mr. Rawbone' (l.2) was probably William Rathband, minister of Ainsworth chapelry and later (1632) of Blackley chapel (Halley, *Lancashire*, vol 1, pp 242–3). John Horrax, mentioned below (l.6), was perhaps the minister of Colne of that name, but more likely John Horrocks of Pilkington, who was married to a kinswoman of Walworth's and to whose son of the same name Walworth left £10 in his will (Fletcher, p 12). Robert Seddon was apparently Peter's youngest son, later to be a noted Presbyterian preacher (Fletcher, p xiii). William Hulme of Hulme in Reddish had a house in Outwood and in his will left 20s to the incumbent

of the chapel and £5 as endowment for the chapel itself (Fletcher, p 12 n 39). Fletcher identified Richard Crompton (l.8), who was evidently an acquaintance of both the correspondents, as 'Probably one of the Cromptons of Breightmet' (Fletcher, p 12 n 40) and 'Raph Robinson' (ll.14–15) as a Robinson of Kearsley, whose daughter Elizabeth married William Hulme's son of the same name (Fletcher, p 13 n 41). Baynard's Castle, from which Walworth addressed this and his other letters, was the London residence of Walworth's employer, the earl of Pembroke.

89–90 Cumbers House: Kenyon mss, Memorandum Book f 10v

These presentments were made by churchwardens to the quarter sessions in accordance with the assize proposals of 1587 as part of a programme to curb sabbath breaking in the county: see pp 220–1 and endnote, pp 364–5.

90 CRO: EDV 1/22 f 133

This book is very tightly bound so that parts of some words are obscured in the gutter. Duerden and Wythington (l.11) may have been musicians and therefore playing musical instruments, although it is also possible that they were engaged in playing some sport or game.

90 LRO: QSR 4 mb 38

Ape-baiting may have involved setting dogs on a large ape or, just possibly, setting dogs on an ape riding a horse cantering round a bullring. A London showbill of about 1590–1600, preserved in the Dulwich College mss, vol 2, f 86, reads 'Tomorrowe being Thursd(aie) shalbe seen at the Beargard(in) on the banckside ... plasant spor(t) with the horse and ape an(d) whipping of the blind beare.'

90 Salford Archives Centre f 12v

This is an almost exact duplicate of the order passed in Manchester on 2 October 1600 and printed above (see p 62) with this difference: Salford protected the Manchester waits but Manchester did not protect the Salford waits. The Cinderella status of Salford beside Manchester is well known even today.

91 BL: Harley ms 2130 f 292

The fourth article for Bishop Bridgeman's visitation of 1634 reads 'Item whether hath any person or persons within your parish or chappelry spent the said Lords day and other holidaiēs or any part thereof in loytering, tipling dicing, carding | or any other vnlawfull and profane exercise, or prohibited by the lawes of this kingdome' (src: 10177, sigs A2–2v). Blackey was evidently presented for retailing ale. Ales on the sabbath were also forbidden by the York provincial articles of 1628–9 (see p 215).

91 CRO: EDV 1/21 f 57v

For an explanation of the use of 'Idem' (l.35) see above p 328, endnote to CRO: EDV 1/19 f 127v.

92 CRO: EDV 1/17 f 98v

Stretford was a township and chapelry within the parish of Manchester. In this court book cases are organized by parish, with the names of subdivisions, such as chapelries, specified when necessary within the general section for each parish. It is not clear whether the lack of such specification in the second case given here means that it is to be taken as another Stretford case or as a resumption of cases for Manchester proper. The former seems more probable and so it has been given here.

92 CRO: EDA 3/2 f 1

Balshaw (l.27) had previously been prosecuted in the church courts for a sabbatarian offence. On 25 September 1618 he appeared with two others, one of whom was his brother, Richard, to answer a charge of bowling on Sunday at time of divine service (CRO: EDV 1/19 f 212v). The boys' father, William, appeared on their behalf, saying that his sons were thirteen and eighteen at the time and so Edmund Balshaw, now a chapel warden, was either twenty-one or twenty-six at the time of this second offence.

The chapelry in which he lived is referred to as Low Church in the court books. Its modern name is Walton le Dale and it is within the parish of Blackburn.

93 BI: V.1590-1/CB.2 f 71v

This entry from visitation records for 1590-1 bears no specific date. Henry Hallwood (l.9) was very likely the Henry Halewood who held the town waitship at Liverpool at intervals between 1571 and 1589, for whose career see pp 39, 40, 47 and endnote, pp 322-3; he was possibly also the Henry Hale prosecuted in Childwall (see above, p 10, and endnote p 313).

93 CRO: Birch Cullimore Collection DBC/2391/2 single mb

Warrington Grammar School was founded by Sir Thomas Butler of Bewsey, who died 27 April 1522 (John Fitchett Marsh, 'On the Foundation and History of Boteler's Free Grammar School at Warrington,' *THSLC* 8 (1856), 53). The deed provides that the schoolmaster shall teach every ferial day, that is, every week day not a holy day, during the year, except the six days defined therein and that he shall receive no extra pay or inducement except the four customary pennies. The customary penny in the Christmas quarter is called a cockpenny but the pennies in the other three quarters seem to constitute a fund for a school drinking (for a description of a drinking at St John's College, Cambridge, see Alan H. Nelson, *Cambridge, Records of Early English Drama* (Toronto, 1989), 102; see p 325, endnote to MCLA: L1/44 single mb for the cockpenny at Manchester Grammar School). According to the *OED*, the term is used only in the north of England. Shrovetide occurred just before Ash Wednesday, usually in February, and was evidently a time for cockfighting or for throwing sticks at cocks tied to posts, in order to knock them down or kill them (see John Harland and T.T. Wilkinson (eds), *Lancashire Folk-Lore* (London, 1867; rpt 1972), 218-19).

Marsh printed the deed, giving a text which appears to be contemporary with the one given here but which differs greatly from it in accidentals (pp 57-9). Presumably it represented another copy of the original four-part indenture. Marsh consistently gave 'any' wherever the CRO text has 'euerie,' although he himself noted that in the phrase 'any Ferial day' the sense required 'every' (p 58). This suggests that either the scribe of Marsh's source or Marsh himself had consistently misread his exemplar.

94 LRO: QSB 1/106/26 single sheet

This is one of nine bonds or records of bonds which survive for this case; for a complete list, see the document descriptions, pp lxxv-lxxvi. Strictly speaking, only the document for Robert Wicke (see pp 94-5) is an actual bond and the rest are reports. Of these, this one for Randal Ryland has been chosen as a representative sample because it contains the cleanest text. All the men appeared before Thomas Ireland (c 1602-38) on 8 May, two days after the alleged offence, a performance of *Henry VIII* (see p 96, l.16). The site of the session is identified in the bonds for Wicke, John Choner, and William Wildigge as Bewsey. This was Ireland's seat, located near Warrington.

The bonds name the men and give their trades. The identifiable actors in the alleged performance are

listed in the examinations of Gregory Harison: John Smyth, described as both a husbandman and a webster; Thomas Houlbrocke, webster; John Willie, husbandman, all three of Overford, now Orford, near Warrington; William Hardman, a 'teldy' (possibly a tent-maker); John Cadwell, webster; William Wildigge, described as both a labourer and a blacksmith; Robert Wicke, described as both a labourer and a smith; John Choner, labourer; and Randal Rylance, described as both a labourer and a joiner. Choner alone is described just as a labourer; perhaps he also had a trade. He is associated most often in the bonds with Wildigge and Wicke, who are described variously as labourers and smiths, and so possibly Choner too was a smith.

It is possible that other persons were involved. The quarter session orders (printed below, pp 96–7) discussing this case state that these nine men were taken 'with others' (p 96, l.31) by the constables and churchwardens. Unfortunately these 'others,' if they existed, are not named in the examinations, although we do lack the actual report of the court appearance by the named defendants which might have offered more information. It is not likely that any bonds were taken and then lost, since the names of those who are known to have been bound over correspond to the names of those examined and tried.

A total of £280 was posted by thirteen persons in order to fulfill the requirements of the bonds. Amounts posted for individuals varied between £40, the total posted for Wicke, Wildigge, Rylance, and Choner, and £15, the total posted for Houlbrocke. Four of nine defendants also posted bail for one another; the other five guarantors tended to be relatives, members of the same trade, or residents of the same town as those for whom they went bail. The result was that several defendants posted quite large sums: Wildigge posted a total of £50 for himself and three others; Wicke, £40 for himself and two others; and Rylance and Choner each posted £30 for himself and one other.

These are large sums of money. No defendant posted less than £10 and we have seen that several posted considerably more. This shows that the defendants, their families, and their friends had the resources to lay hands on £280 at less than two days' notice. It also suggests that the JP took their offence very seriously. He may also have thought some or all of them likely to fail to appear in court.

95–6 LRO: QSB 1/106/72 single sheet

On 11 May 1632, three days after the bonds were posted, the men were examined at Ormskirk quarter sessions together with Gregory Harison, in whose alehouse they had acted on Sunday, 6 May.

The play performed was presumably either Shakespeare's *Henry VIII* (published in the folios of 1623 and 1632) or, more likely, Samuel Rowley's *When You See Me, You Know Me: or, the Famous Chronicle Historie of King Henry the Eighth*. This was more readily available than Shakespeare's play, having been first published in quarto in 1605 and reprinted in 1613, 1621, and 1632 (for a modern edition see the Malone Society reprint (Oxford, 1952)).

The performance had been in progress from one to two hours when the churchwardens raided the alehouse. The fact that nine men were named in the bond and memorandum is probably misleading; if a performance occurred or was intended, there must have been another three or four boys to play the women's parts and double as pages, criers, and attendants. That would bring the cast up to thirteen, the size of a normal acting troupe of the time.

Why the men should have decided to break the sabbath by acting is unexplained; so too is the lack of an audience. Perhaps it was what we would call a dramatic reading or else a rehearsal.

96–7 LRO: QSR 29 1632 mb 33

This order cannot be dated exactly and the actual account of the trial has not been found. This document confirms that the nine defendants had already appeared earlier in the session, as could be inferred from the discharges noted on the bonds, but states only that they received 'condigne punishment' (p 96,

ll.36–7). In it, the sitting JPs make a very unusual claim, asserting that proceedings before a Chester diocesan court ('the Deane or ordinaryes Cort,' p 96, ll.38–9) for sabbath breaking would subject these men to double jeopardy now that they had been sentenced by the quarter sessions. Normally such a common-law principle would be applied only within the courts of common law. The late sixteenth century had seen common-law jurists employ existing common-law writs and principles in ingenious ways both to block any growth in the jurisdictions of chancery and the conciliar courts at the expense of the common-law courts and to restrict those jurisdictions. Now that the secular arm, in Lancashire at least, had firmly established a jurisdiction over sabbath breaking, judges trained in this new zeal to secure the rights of the common-law may have been ready to employ similar tactics to deny an ecclesiastical jurisdiction (see J.H. Baker, *An Introduction to English Legal History* (London, 1971), 38–58).

In fact, the constables and churchwardens of Warrington seem to have acted as the Lancashire bench had recommended as long ago as 1587, when churchwardens and others were required to bring sabbatarian offences before the JPs (see pp 220–1 and endnote, pp 364–5). A precedent may have been established at that time which lingered in local communities. Perhaps the actions of these craftsmen/actors, like the Sunday alehouse activities at Withington prosecuted before the quarter sessions in 1601 (see p 113), were construed as breaches of the peace.

On the local level, the issue may have been a purely practical one of enforcement. When the offence occurred a secular authority was on the spot in the person of Sir Thomas Ireland, one of the JPs for West Derby hundred and a local magnate. He acted quickly to prevent any further outbreak by binding everyone over to the next sessions and conducting a preliminary examination. The fact that the church courts appear to have been considering action suggests that the churchwardens also reported the offence to their superiors.

These orders survive in both the enrolled parchment record from which this record is taken and a rough paper order book, LRO: QSO 2/7 f [20]. There is only one substantive variant between them: in the paper book, instead of 'in respect by lawe they are not to bee punished twice for one offence' (p 96, ll.39–40), the clerk originally wrote a longer phrase: '& as according to the lawes of this Realme that noe man shall bee punished twyce for one offence.' However, it was deleted and the phrase which appears in the record copy substituted.

98 CRO: EDV/1/13 ff 175–5v

'dancing in the churchyard at a Rushbearinge' (p 98, l.25) may refer to morris dancing; compare Archbishop Grindal's article of 1571, mentioning 'Morice dauncers, or others at rishe bearings' (see p 213, ll.27–8).

99 LRO: DDHC 1/3/41 mb 7d

'whitlaboith' (l.11) is a peculiar and apparently unique spelling of Wheatley Booth, in the chapelry of Newchurch in Pendle; for other forms beginning with 'Whit' or 'Wit' see Eilert Ekwall, *The Place-Names of Lancashire*, p 81. Ightenhill Manor is two miles northwest of Burnley and Wheatley Booth is four miles north of Ightenhill.

Bulcock had contravened a statute, probably 22 Henry VIII (1530–1): 'And furthermore be yt enacted, that yf any person or persones at eny tyme hereafter gyve any herborowe, monye or lodgyng to any beggers beyng stronge & able in theyre bodyes to worke whyche order them selves contrary to the fourme of this estatute, that every suche person so doying, beyng suffyciently proved or presented afore any Justice of Peace shall make suche fyne to the King, as by the dyscretion of the sayd Justices of Peace at theyre generall Sessions shalbe assessed' (*The Statutes of the Realm*, vol 3 (London, 1917), 330).

Why Bulcock should have answered charges when the offending player did not is unclear but probably the performer and his wife had fled.

99–102 PRO: DL 1/37 f 65 item 2

This bill of complaint served to open proceedings in this case in the Court of the Duchy Chamber, a prerogative court of chancery with jurisdiction over the entire duchy of Lancaster. The case was heard there because of the nature of the complaint (ie, the charges of rout and riot) and the alleged status of Charnock as tenant by copyhold of the king and queen in right of the duchy of Lancaster.

It is difficult to fix the date of the events because not all the documents survive. However, Charnock stated in the complaint that he had been seised of the land in question at the third hallmote for the manor, held on 7 September in the current regnal year (p 99, ll.33–4), and that the alleged events took place the following February and March (p 100, l.28; p 101, ll.14–15) in the same regnal year. From another case (PRO: DL 3/74 f 57) it is possible to determine that this hallmote was held on 7 September 3 and 4 Philip and Mary, ie, 1556. Hence the alleged events took place between 26 February and 1 March 1556/7. How soon after that Charnock filed his complaint we do not know, but the wording implies it was filed in the same regnal year as the alleged riot and maypole.

Charnock had claims to several plots of land in Lancashire and at least one other in Widnes. In the same case which provided the date for this suit (PRO: DL 3/74 ff 56–61), litigation over two plots of land there which involved rights of common was reviewed demonstrating clearly that the other tenants felt they had legitimate grievances against Charnock for interfering with their traditional rights. This may have fuelled the alleged attack and would explain the apparent presence of the bailiff of the manor (p 100, ll.13–14).

Charnock names nearly half the rioters and characterizes the entire group as tenants of Widnes. In three instances, there appear to be two defendants of the same name, but this would not be unheard of in an isolated rural district. One of the defendants may be identifiable, namely Toucher Bolde (p 100, l.16); his name appears often in the presentments of the Liverpool portmoot of about 20 years later and he was always fined (1596, 1597, 1598, 1599, 1602; Twemlow, *Liverpool Town Books*, vol 2, pp 723, 727, 737, 740, 763–4, 773, 804).

Roger Charnock (p 99, l.28) of Gray's Inn was probably the third son of Robert Charnock of Charnock Richard, near Chorley. 'Barton R' (p 102, l.26) may be Ralph Barton (1525–92), also of Gray's Inn and his contemporary. Ralph Barton was the younger son of Andrew Barton of Smithills and also duke's or king's serjeant and attorney at Lancaster (Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster*, p 484).

Sir Robert Rochester (p 99, l.22, c 1494–1557) was chancellor of the duchy and county palatine of Lancaster from 1553 to late 1557 (Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster*, p 395).

Sir John Savage (p 99, ll.34) was of the Savage family of Clifton, Cheshire.

102–3 PRO: DL 1/37 f 66

Although there is no specific word of denial used, the general tenor of the reply makes it clear that these defendants intend to deny the truth of Charnock's claims. Perhaps some phrase such as 'it is false that' has been omitted after 'further sayne' (p 102, l.32).

103 PRO: DL 1/37 f 67

Like the reply above, Woodfall's answer is a denial of Charnock's claims. Some phrase such as 'he denies that' should be understood to precede 'that the said defendant' in ll.27–8. The error in ll.22–3 'Aboute

the first daye of maye' (for 'Aboute the first daye of march') is doubtless the result of the natural association of maypoles with May. In 1556/7 2 March was Shrove Tuesday and Shrovetide was a traditional time to kick over the social traces; this alleged enclosure riot fits well with that custom. But setting up a maypole two months early (if Charnock's allegation is correct) is much harder to parallel. The rioters may have meant to serve notice that they would continue to make the site their playground into the summer but their exact motive remains elusive.

104 Wigan Archive Service: D/DZ A 13/1 p 173

John Bridgeman was bishop of Chester 1619–43 and rector of Wigan from 1615. His original Wigan ledger is lost but a transcription of 1708 survives.

The focus of this short narrative is a series of jurisdictional conflicts between the town and the bishop. He was apparently lord of the manor of Wigan and as such had the right to collect tolls from merchants coming to the Monday market and at most other times, except the Friday market and the annual St Luke's fair. This section of his ledger describes events from 29 October, the Friday before the town 'wakes' (l.9), that is, the two or three days of festivities celebrating the dedication feast of the local church. In this case, that festival, All Saints' Day, coincided with the occasion of the next Monday market.

The town, through its serjeant, sought permission to gather tolls on Friday from those butchers and others who had arrived early for the wake and fair. But the bishop, apparently arguing that although they had come on a Friday, they had not come for the town's Friday market, insisted that their toll be collected by his bailiff on the Saturday. Subsequently, the town authorities sent to double-check with the bishop whether a bear-baiting could be licensed to take place on Monday, All Saints' Day, on Market Hill. He grudgingly conceded on condition that it not take place until the market had finished, that is, until his jurisdiction was at an end. Perhaps his only concern here was to preserve the revenues of his Monday market, which must have been considerably enhanced on this occasion by the coincidence of the market with the parish wake. Certainly his motive in insisting upon collecting tolls on Saturday from Friday's early arrivals seems to have been to protect his total profits. But he may also have been concerned for public order, since he specified that the wares offered for sale at the market should be packed away before the bear-baiting began.

104–6 BL: Lansdowne MS 213 ff 325v–6

Hammond's narrative of his party's journey is confused, as if he had misordered his notes before writing them up. The travellers clearly entered the county from the north, crossing the Lune and spending one night at Lancaster (f 325v). By 'another County Palatine' (p 104, l.28) he means Cheshire, the next county they meant to visit after Lancashire. They were heading for Preston, passing Ashton Hall near Overton or the house of Calvert of Cockerton (both 'vpon the Sea' (l.29)), Lord Gerard's house at Winmarleigh, Greenhalgh Castle at Garstang ('Gasting Castle, the Earle of Darbies' (l.30–2m)), and the Tyldesley house at Myerscough, but crossing the Ribble west of Preston at Lea Town, near the Hoghton house called the Lea. From the Lea they must have been directed to the other Hoghton house ('Castle' (p 104, l.37m)) at Hoghton, south-east of Preston, from where they turned back south-west towards the Farington house at Worden (Leyland), which Hammond noted down or misread later as 'Heyton' (p 104, l.40m). They finally passed the Rigby house at Burgh (Duxbury), and ended up lost among the coalpits at Standish, having covered about 33 miles that day.

Hammond has made his tracks harder to follow by putting his reference to the Dee, which flows through Chester, much too early. On the other hand, Preston is mentioned only in a marginal note in

the next paragraph after the text excerpted here, as is 'Houghton Castle' for a second time (f 326); these marginalia are evidently misplaced. The party must, in fact, have spent the night of either 27 or 28 August at Wigan and gone on to Chester the next morning via Winwick and Warrington (f 326).

106-8 PRO: DL 3/7 f 50

This feud between Thomas Butler and Sir Thomas Gerard is dated 1515-16 by Henry Fishwick (*Pleadings and Depositions*, p 61) but, in fact, the wording 'setterday in the Estur wek last past in the sixte yere' (p 106, ll.23) of Henry VIII leaves the date doubtful. If we take Saturday in Easter week to mean the Saturday after Easter, which is normal sixteenth-century usage, then 1514 is possible; in 1514 Easter was 16 April and the Saturday following was 22 April, the very first day of the regnal year 6 Henry VIII. However, in 1515 Easter was 8 April and hence the Saturday following was 14 April, also in 6 Henry VIII.

Two factors suggest that 1515 is the more likely date. The commission to examine witnesses in this case was issued on 10 July 7 Henry VIII, that is, 10 July 1515. That implies that the complaint itself was likely received not long before in the Court of the Duchy Chamber (for which see p 339 above, endnote to PRO: DL 1/37 f 65 item 2). If Butler's attorney was drafting the bill in the late spring of 1515, the expression 'the setterday in the Estur wek last past in the sixte yere of our souerain lord the kinges reigne' (p 106, ll.23-4) would most naturally refer to the immediately previous Easter season of 1515.

The reply made later by Butler to the bill of complaint in Gerard's counter-suit (of which an excerpt appears on pp 108-9) sheds more light on the situation. In that document, the following statement is made: 'the saide Thomas Boteler ... and dyuers oder gentilmen being in cumpany at Manchestræ in the said Countie (...) Bisshop of Elye appoynted to mete at wynwhik the setturday then next folowing ...' (p 108, ll.12-15; the wear to the right margin caused enough damage to obliterate 15-20 characters and spaces represented by (...)).

The mention of the bishop of Ely is intriguing. If Easter 1515 is the more likely of the two possible times, then James Stanley, bishop of Ely and brother of the earl of Derby, was recently dead. He died on 22 March 1514/5 and was buried not at Ely but in the collegiate church of Manchester where he had previously been the warden. Given the closeness in time and the apparent position of Butler and his friends, it is possible that what is recorded here is a meeting upon the occasion of Stanley's funeral at which plans were made for the cockfighting.

Sir Thomas Butler was born in 1495 and was thus only twenty when this confrontation took place. He died in 1550.

108-9 PRO: DL 3/7 f 52

Butler's 'Answer' gives interesting detail about the cockfight. The fixed time for cockfights seems to have been Saturday morning, children carried the cocks to the cockfight, and the cockfight place could hold at least fifty persons.

112 CRO: EDC 5/1596/64 f [1v]

This is the seventh in a series of thirteen articles charged against Tailor. The first four (on f [1]) involve various charges of immorality. Articles 5-12 document alleged harassment of the curate, as well as usurping a minister's office and interfering with the operations of the church courts. Article 13 is purely procedural and alleges that the conduct described in the first twelve articles is public knowledge in Winwick and the neighbouring parishes. Tailor's harassment of the curate, which includes this incident with a piper, is described in some detail and includes accounts of dated incidents which indicate an escalating hostility between him and the new curate, John Rider, who was presented in 1595.

Although no account survives of Tailor's appearance to answer these charges and of his pleading, a comparison of the opening of the articles with the court headings in the consistory court records shows that they were prepared to be charged against him at a session in the consistory of Chester Cathedral before David Yale in his capacity as commissary of Matthew Hutton, then archbishop of York and hence metropolitan for Chester. This indicates, no doubt, the seriousness with which the authorities took these accusations, or at least those claiming that Tailor had also interfered with the lawful operation of the Chester diocesan court.

Curiously article 5 accuses Tailor of claiming to be parish clerk. Certainly, if he had been parish clerk at the beginning of Rider's tenure and still considered himself to be such, some of the allegations against him make better sense. We learn from a later court battle over the rights to the parish living of Winwick that a William Tailor was parish clerk in 1616. This dispute is analysed in detail by Mark H. Curtis in 'Trials of a Puritan in Jacobean Lancashire' (*The Dissenting Tradition*, C. Robert Cole and Michael E. Moody (eds) (Athens, Ohio, 1975) 78–99). Curtis points out that there was a faction in the parish with recusant leanings with which Tailor can be associated, if the William Tailor of this set of articles and the William Tailor who was parish clerk twenty years later are the same man, although Tailor was apparently not a Roman Catholic, since he is accused of officiating at the Anglican liturgy.

In bringing a piper into the church Tailor may have meant to mimic some traditional folk practices, such as those surrounding a parish Christmas lord, which were evidently being suppressed in the church at this time (see Archbishop Grindal's visitation articles, pp 213–14). There is an undated but probably early seventeenth-century document from neighbouring Westmorland describing the alleged activities of 'christemas misrule men' at the parish church at Bampton, another parish with known recusant connections (Douglas and Greenfield (eds), *Cumberland/Westmorland/Gloucestershire*, (p 218, ll.10–11). It is not impossible that such folk practices, if they were known or had been carried on in Winwick, may have suggested to Tailor a particularly appropriate form in which to continue his harassment of a puritan cleric.

113 LRO: QSR 4 mb 51d

The Marler here accused of running an unlicensed alehouse and breaching the peace by selling ale illicitly and maintaining a piper (both on a Sunday) may be the same man accused in the church courts of holding a Sunday ale in Manchester parish (see p 62 and endnote, p 327). Although it is not stated explicitly, Tompson was probably the piper Marler was maintaining in his alehouse. The intervening case is against another unlicensed alehouse but there is no mention of piping or pipers in that prosecution.

115 DDCM: Lytham 1394–5(A) single mb

At this time, the accounting year of Lytham Priory was changing slightly. In 1393–4 and for several years previously it had run from Pentecost to Pentecost; in 1395–6 it ran from the Monday after the Ascension 1395 to the following Monday after the Ascension in 1396. The heading of both surviving accounts for 1394–5, however, does not specify a feast; it simply states that the year runs until the same feast in the following year. The most logical conclusion seems to be that the year ran from Pentecost 1394, when the previous account ended, until the Monday after the Ascension 1395, when the next account begins. This dating has been adopted in the subheading.

115 DDCM: Lytham 1397–8 (A) single mb

The festival used for dating the beginning and ending of the accounting year has been left out of the

heading in both surviving accounts for this year. However, comparison with the previous and subsequent years' accounts determines that the accounting year here ran from the Monday after the Ascension to the next Monday after the Ascension.

118 DDCM: Lytham 1425–6 single mb

Although portions of the date heading are damaged, enough survives to determine that this account is for 1425–6 and that the beginning and ending dates are, as usual after 1395–6, the Monday after the Ascension in each year.

118 DDCM: Lytham 1428–9 single mb

The sum is partly illegible because of damage to the right side of the roll. The first and last figures are clear under ultraviolet light.

120 DDCM: Lytham 1456–7 single mb

The opening of the account is later than usual this year, owing to the appointment of a new prior, William Dalton. He was appointed and presented on 14 August according to the monastic register (Durham, Dean and Chapter Muniments: Register iv, ff 100–100v), but this account is dated from the feast of St Lawrence, 10 August. The terminal date is, as usual, the Monday after the Ascension. No account survives for the three months from the previous Monday after the Ascension, 10 May 1456, when the last account closed, to 10 August.

124 DDCM: Lytham 1482–3 single mb

The date heading for this roll is missing. Comparison of the opening and closing account balances with those of other years determines the year assigned here. The opening and closing dates are assumed to be as usual, the Monday after the Ascension in each year.

124 DDCM: Lytham 1484–5 single mb

The date heading for this roll is missing. Comparison of the opening and closing account balances with those of other years determines the year assigned here. The opening and closing dates are assumed to be, as usual, the Monday after the Ascension in each year.

126 DDCM: Lytham 1498–9 single mb

The date heading of the roll is damaged in such a way that it is possible to be sure only of the decade in which it falls. Comparison with the opening and closing account balances of other surviving records for the decade determines the accounting year assigned here. The opening and closing dates are assumed to be, as usual, the Monday after the Ascension in each year.

128 MCLA: L1/47/5 f 7 col 1

The marginal total is difficult to read because the book is tightly bound. However, it appears to be either 'xxij s. xj d.' or possibly (and less likely) 'xvij s. xj d.' Neither is correct since the total of the individual payments is 19s 11d. The mistake is more likely to be arithmetical than to result from a mechanical error in writing roman numerals.

128 MCLA: L1/47/5 f 12 col 1

The last entry in this series of individual payments probably stands for viij d. If so, the total of payments

would be 290d, or 24s 2d. This would mean that the explicit total (23s 2d) is off by only one shilling, involving in this case an easily explicable mechanical error in writing roman numerals.

130 MCLA: L1/47/5 f 48 col 1

The series of dots at the end of the account paragraph represents a form of total used in medieval accounting. Both the grouping of the dots and their arrangement within the groups are significant. Up to four groups are usual, standing for pounds, shillings, pence, and farthings respectively, moving from left to right. (For accounts dealing with large sums, further columns could be added on the left for scores of pounds, hundreds of pounds, and so on.) Dots placed on or below the line count as units, but dots placed above the line vary in significance according to their position. In the pounds or shillings columns dots above the line and on the left count as tens, dots above the line and on the right count as fives. In the pence column dots above the line in the centre or on the left count as sixes. Thus this series of dots represents a total of £1 8s 6d, which is the correct total for the series of payments. The practice is discussed and examples given by C. T. Martin in *The Record Interpreter*, 2nd ed (Dorking, 1976; facsimile of London, 1910), xii–xiii and A. G. Petti in *English Literary Hands from Chaucer to Dryden* (Cambridge, Mass, 1977), 28.

130 MCLA: L1/47/5 f 60 col 1

The sum expressed in accounting dots is £1 7s 9d, the correct total. The method of reading accounting dots is explained in the endnote above.

135 MCLA: L1/47/5 f 155 col 1

The accounting dots, representing a sum of £1 8s 4d, were written between this account paragraph and the next (see above, endnote to MCLA: L1/47/5 f 48 col 1, for an explanation of accounting dots). However, the actual total of the minstrel payments is £1 13s 6d. The error of 5s 2d is presumably one of calculation.

135 MCLA: L1/47/5 f 161 col 1

The 'viiij' in l.30 probably represents a payment of 8s. If so, the actual total of the minstrel payments is £2 4s 7d, only 10d less than the total expressed by the accounting dots, £2 5s 5d. Such a discrepancy is more easily accounted for as an error in calculation than the discrepancy of 8s 2d between the accounting dots and £1 17s 3d, the total which would result from taking 'viiij' as 8d. See above, endnote to MCLA: L1/47/5 f 48 col 1, for an explanation of accounting dots.

138 LRO: DDT0/B 21/1–6 single mb col 2

This finished account is dated only by the names of the bursars and the year of John Paslew's abbacy, year 14. Comparison with the annual accounts in the abbey's paper account book shows that this is the modern historical year 1520. The account year is not stated. Most of the payments recorded in the gifts section of this account exactly match payments in the running account for 1520 in the paper book. But neither of the two entertainer payments matches: where the paper book records a total of 49s 4d given to minstrels in 1520, this account reads 44s; where the paper book records a total of 6s 8d to bearwards, this account reads 10s. As a result the relationship between these two accounts for 1520 is not clear.

138–9 BL: Harley Ms 2064 f 95 col 1

This antiquarian transcription seems to have been made from a finished account for 1521 similar to

LRO: DDT0/B 21/1-6 (for 1520). No accounting year is given but both the calendar year 1521 and the year of the abbot's 'reign' were used for dating. There are more discrepancies in general between payments listed in this transcription and those recorded in the paper book for 1521 than between payments in the two accounts for 1520, and the two entertainer payments also differ. In this case the intervening stage of transcription provides a further opportunity for mechanical error to arise, especially in recording figures. The relationship between the original of this transcription and the running account for 1521 in MCLA: L1/47/5 is unclear.

142 MCLA: L1/47/5 f 271 col 1

The accounting dots, representing a sum of £2 13s, were written between this account paragraph and the next (see pp 344, endnote to MCLA: L1/47/5 f 48 col 1 for an explanation of accounting dots). However, the actual total of the minstrel payments is £2 11s 10d. The error of 1s 2d is presumably one of calculation.

143 MCLA: L1/47/5 f 283 col 1

The accounting dots, representing a sum of £3 1s 7d, were written between this account paragraph and the next (see pp 344, endnote to MCLA: L1/47/5 f 48 fol 1 for an explanation of accounting dots). However, the actual total of the minstrel payments is £2 16s 8d. The error of 4s 11d is presumably one of calculation.

143-4 MCLA: L1/47/5 f 295 col 1

The sum expressed in accounting dots, which were written between this account paragraph and the next, is £2 10s 4d, which is the correct total. The method of reading accounting dots is explained above, pp 344, endnote to MCLA: L1/47/5 f 48 col 1.

144 MCLA: L1/47/5 f 301 col 1

This account covers only part of the intended year because of the dissolution of the abbey in March 1537. Early in that year, John Paslew, then in his thirty-first year as abbot, was convicted of treason for alleged involvement in the Pilgrimage of Grace and harbouring of a fugitive. On 10 March 1536/7 he was executed and on 24 March the final inventory of the abbey's goods was taken by members of the privy council. The remaining monks, about thirteen, were turned out and the abbey's property was forfeited to the crown. See David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, vol 3 (Cambridge, 1959), 332 and David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval English Religious Houses*, rev ed (London, 1971), 115, 128.

144 PRO: E 36/154 p 183

Mackenzie E.C. Walcott comments that 'Minstrels went about in some noblemen's trains and often received gifts for playing in convents and colleges' ('Inventory of Whalley Abbey,' *THSLC*, ns, 7 (1867), 104), implying that some minstrel had left the scutcheon at the abbey.

145 Whitaker: *History of Whalley* p 300

'my brother Sherborne' (l.7) was Richard Shireburn of Dunnow Hall near Slaidburn; he was the second son of Sir Richard Shireburn of Stonyhurst and the husband of Nicholas Assheton's sister Dorothy. Whitaker comments, 'The King was now expected at Hoghton Tower; and Sir Richard Hoghton was naturally desirous to make a splendid display of his friends and connexions' (p 300). In the endnotes to

Nicholas Assheton's Journal, all references to Whitaker's *History of Whalley* are to the third edition of 1818 unless otherwise specified.

145 Whitaker: *History of Whalley* p 303

Under 14 July Nicholas recorded going to Dunkenhalgh and on to Blackburn to meet 'old Sir Richard Molyneaux' and his son of the same name, who were coming to stay at Dunkenhalgh. On 16 July he dined with them at Whalley Abbey, the house of his cousin Ralph Assheton (1579–1644) of Great Lever. The two contestants in the horse-race on 18 July were probably Ralph Assheton and the younger Sir Richard Molyneux. Nicholas made another entry under 26 January 1617/18 beginning 'Self, John Braddyll, Coozen Assheton with others went to Walton to see Sir Richards horses that stode ther' (pp 309–10). Whitaker, however, did not print the remainder but merely summarized it saying, 'Here follows a long account of an horse-race' (p 110). Since 'Coozen Assheton' without further qualification usually means Ralph Assheton of Great Lever and Whalley in the Journal (see endnote to Whitaker: *History of Whalley*, p 304 below), it seems likely that the same persons were involved in this race as in the earlier one. On John Braddill see p 347, endnote to Whitaker: *History of Whalley*, p 312.

145–6 Whitaker: *History of Whalley* p 304

St James' Day had been appointed for the annual rushbearing by Thomas Morton, bishop of Chester; when he was translated to Coventry and Lichfield in 1619, his successor at Chester, bishop John Bridgeman, appears to have kept this date (see above p 23, ll. 11–16).

Whitaker identified 'Coozen Assheton' here (p 146, l.3) as Ralph of [Great Lever and] Whalley. He was doubtless right because elsewhere 'coozen Assheton' unqualified means Ralph wherever the identity can be inferred from the context. Under 24 July, for instance, Nicholas wrote 'To Whalley, at former request of coozen Assheton' (p 304). He usually identifies his other Assheton kinsmen more specifically, referring for instance to 'cousen John Assheton, of Middleton' under 26 June 1617 (p 302) and 'My now Coozen Assheton, of Middleton, Richard' under 27 December (p 308), where 'my Coozen Assheton' unspecified is Ralph of Great Lever.

146 Whitaker: *History of Whalley* p 305

King James progressed into Lancashire in August 1617 on his way back from Scotland. He was at Hornby Castle on 11 August, at Myerscough Lodge on the 12th, and at Preston on the 15th, whence he went to Hoghton Tower nearby. The speech of welcome there was presented as a kind of short play, with costumes and a little action. The speakers were probably Sir Richard Hoghton (1570–1630) and his huntsman, who is given only four words to speak.

This speech was given on Friday and James stayed through the weekend until Monday the 18th. Full details of the four days are given by George C. Miller in *Hoghton Tower in History and Romance* (Preston, 1954), 34–47. The most important day was the Sunday, when James received a petition concerning sports signed by Lancashire peasants, tradesmen, and servants. He was soon to approve Sunday sports after evening prayer, which in most parishes began between 2 and 3 pm.

The detailed account of the masque given by the Preston antiquary Peter Whittle (*The History of the Borough of Preston*, vol 2 (Preston, 1837), 358) does not seem to rest on any contemporary testimony.

There is some controversy over the dances mentioned – 'the Huckler, Tom Bedlo, and the Cowp Justice of Peace' (p 146, l.26). F.R. Raines dates 'Tom Bedlo' from January 1617/18 (*The Journal of Nicholas Assheton of Downham*, p 46) but in *King Lear* (c 1605) Shakespeare makes Edmund remark, as

if he were an actor, 'Pat he comes like the catastrophe of the old comedy. My cue is villainous melancholy, with a sigh like Tom o'Bedlam' (1.ii.134–6). George C. Miller cites the fourth edition of Whitaker's *An History of Whalley* (revised and enlarged by Nichols and Lyons,) to explain the dances, adding some speculation of his own. Miller writes, 'Concerning the ancient dances, Dr. Whitaker suggests that "Dancing the Huckler" might resemble the Cutty Hunker, a burlesque dance performed in Scotland by two persons in an almost sitting posture, whilst "Tom Bedlo and the Cowp Justice of Peace" should perhaps read "Tom o' Bedlam the Cowper and the Justice of Peace," this being by way of a rude interlude and not a dance. [Miller now speculates himself.] Actually, the phrase should read "Cupar Justice." According to tradition, in Cupar a magistrate once tried a prisoner after he had been hanged, and returned the verdict "not guilty, but no war' [*ie*, worse] for a hanging'" (*Hoghton Tower*, p 40). However, it was not Whitaker who made the suggestions that Miller quotes, but his later editors, Nichols and Lyons and in any case Miller's own reflections are as speculative as theirs.

In fact, 'Tom o'Bedlam' was a song: according to Albert Deutsch 'the original Tom o'Bedlam song ... is contained in a manuscript songbook now in the British Museum. It is inscribed simply "Giles Earle his booke 1615"' ('Tom O'Bedlam and His Song,' *Yale Review*, ns, 29:4 (June, 1940), 858). This songbook is quite likely BL: Add. ms 24665. Deutsch goes on to say that 'the music for it may be found in ... a London songbook of 1666,' but he does not give the title (pp 858–9). Given the lateness of the hour, 'Tom Bedlo, and the Cowp Justice of Peace' more likely represent one or two brief songs or jigs.

Further particulars of the king's visit to Hoghton Tower will be found under Hoghton of Hoghton Tower, pp 153–6. On Monday, 18 August, the king left for Lathom House, one of the Derby seats, near Ormskirk.

147 Whitaker: *History of Whalley* p 312

For the textual history of the Journal, see the document description, pp lxxxi–lxxxii. The editors of the fourth edition of Whitaker's *History of Whalley* made significant changes in this entry, changing 'Sir Richard Coozen Assheton to Leaver' (l.5) to 'Sir Richard, coozen Assheton [of] Leaver,' the comma at the end signifying that Nicholas Assheton and the four named men remained together. The square brackets enclosing 'of' show that the 1876 editors were proposing it as an emendation of 'to' as reported by Whitaker in 1818. The words 'Tabled all night' (l.6) should be compared with 'Tables slurring almost all night' in the entry for 22 September 1617, for 'slurring' there means slipping or sliding a die out of the box so that it does not roll (*OED* *Slur* v2 1) and implies that 'Tables' means backgammon. It follows that 'Tabled' in the present entry must likewise mean 'played backgammon' even though the *OED* attests that sense only for the gerund (Tabling *vbl sb*2) and the agent noun (Tabler2).

If Whitaker's text is right, it means that from the cockfight at Prescott Nicholas went with Sir Richard Molyneux and his cousin Ralph – the same companions as he had had the previous summer at Dunkenhagh – to Ralph Assheton's house at Great Lever some thirty-five miles away and spent the night playing backgammon, probably for money. On the other hand, if the emendation of the 1876 editors is accepted, the all-night session may have taken place at Molyneux's house at Sefton, a mere nine miles from Prescott, or in Prescott itself. This makes the emendation very plausible.

Sir John Talbot of Bashall and John Braddill were father-in-law and son-in-law, Braddill having married Talbot's daughter while they were both minors. Braddill was about nineteen at this time and Sir John Talbot about thirty-six. Nicholas Assheton (1590–1625) was about twenty-eight.

J.J. Bagley interprets the 1818 text as follows: 'On 2 June "we all" went to Prescott to a cockfight and then rode to Lever near Bolton. Sir Richard Assheton, Sir John Talbot of Bashall and John Braddyll of

Portfield near Whalley were among the company' (*Lancashire Diarists* (London, 1975), 12). Neither of the passages in the third or fourth editions says the whole party rode over to Lever; the text as Whitaker gave it in 1818 implies that only Molyneux and Ralph Assheton went there, while the emended text of 1876 implies nothing about anyone's movements. Also, Bagley's identification of 'Sir Richard' as Sir Richard Assheton is impossible; Sir Richard Assheton had died the previous Christmas and his son, also Richard, was apparently not a knight.

147 JRUL: Suffield deposit, no 19 p [11]

The pair of virginals was at the Whalley house; in 1616 there were 'two old paire of virginalls' in the Asshetons' house at Lever (p 148, l.19) and one of them may have come there from Whalley.

147-8 GMRO: E7/27/2/5 pp [2], [3]

That the pair of double virginals (p 148, l.5) was worth £20 seems unlikely; this may be an error for 20s, which was the value assigned to the virginals of Richard Assheton of Middleton two years later (see p 149).

148 LRO: QSB 1/49/10 single sheet

This bond cannot be dated exactly because it is not clear to what previous document the phrase 'die et anno *predictis*' (l.26) refers. If it refers to the day and year of the examination (which was taken before the same judge, see p 149), then the bond was also required on 15 December 1628. It is likely, however, that in this case, as in the events in Warrington in 1632 (see pp 94-6 and p 337, endnote to LRO: QSB 1/106/72 single sheet), the bond was taken prior to the examination before the JP. All that can be said with assurance is that the bond was taken some time in the autumn of 1628, between 20 October (the date of the alleged theft (p 149, l.26)) and 15 December (the date of the examination). The fact that Deane's guarantor, one John Deane, was from Whalley, taken together with the fact that the same JP conducted the examination at Whalley, suggests that the session at which the recognizance was taken also took place at Whalley.

There are three or possibly four hands at work in this bond other than that of the JP who signed it. The first hand, that of the body of the text, appears from the heading to the phrase 'ad Respondendum' (l.39). The phrase 'Comparuit ... dominum (l.40) is in a second hand. 'Irrotuletur' and '2/4' in l.41 may each be in different hands: 'Irrotuletur' is certainly in a third hand but since none of the three hands uses arabic numerals, it is not possible to tell if '2/4' (doubtless a court fee) was written by one of those three clerks or by a fourth.

Sir Ralph Assheton (ll.35-6) (c 1579-1644) inherited Great Lever and Whalley on his father's death in 1616. John Braddill was of Portfield, near Whalley, and about twenty-nine in 1628 (see p 347, endnote to Whitaker: *History of Whalley*, p 312).

149 LRO: QSB 1/49/38 single sheet

Deane is described as being of Bolton but his examination (and probably his recognizance also) was taken in Whalley. There are several possible reasons for this. Most likely Deane was in Whalley when apprehended; perhaps he was there as a servant of Assheton, who had a house in Whalley (as well as one in Great Lever), or perhaps he was visiting his guarantor, possibly a relative.

A photograph of a treble viol (l.11) appears in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol 19 (London, 1980), 800.

149 LRO: QSR 25 1628 mb 46d

The entry for Deane's actual court appearance and trial has not been found. Only this presentment gives the value of the viol. The fact that a presentment was still needed implies that Deane had not yet been formally charged, although a warrant should have been issued if he was bound over and examined.

151 BL: Add. Ms 36926 f 111v

This Sir Thomas Butler was the son of the Thomas Butler who was involved in the fracas with Sir Thomas Gerard at Winwick in 1515 (see pp 106–12) and grandson of the founder of Warrington Grammar School (p 93 and endnote, p 336). S.T. Bindoff in *The House of Commons 1509–1558*, vol 1 (London, 1982), 557) and older writers style these Butlers barons of Warrington but the *Complete Peerage* notes that their remote ancestor, William le Boteler, in the reign of Edward I was the only one of the line ever summoned to parliament as a peer. Sir Thomas sat in the House of Commons as MP for Lancashire in 1553 and 1571, for which he would have been ineligible if he had been recognized as a peer of the realm. In the account extract here, entered after Butler's death, 'my master' (l.25) must mean his son Edward.

152–3 LRO: DDF 2438/103 single sheet

William Farington the younger became high sheriff of Lancashire in 1636 and died in 1658. The masque he refers to was Ben Jonson's *Masque of Queens*, acted at court on Candlemas night, that is, 2 February 1608/9 (for a modern edition see *Ben Jonson: Selected Masques*, Stephen Orgel (ed) (New Haven and London, 1970), 80–99). Farington offers the only testimony to the cost of the masque but unfortunately the key word for the amount is almost obliterated; under ultraviolet light it reads 'towe' (l.30), which accords with Susan Maria Ffarington's reading in 1856 (*The Farington Papers*, p 151).

153 PRO: PROB 10 Box 439 f 3

W.A. Hulton remarks that Fleetwood's will is dated 26 July 1625, that is, over three months after his death. The will was proved at Canterbury on 8 July 1626. Katherine Fleetwood was baptized 12 October 1603 at Penwortham (*Documents Relating to the Priory of Penwortham, and Other Possessions in Lancashire of the Abbey of Evesham*, W.A. Hulton (ed), CS, vol 30 (Manchester, 1853), lv–lxiv).

153 LRO: WCW 1620 mb 7

The mixed group of instruments described in l.29, made up of strings and winds, is very similar to one of the first known fixed ensemble groupings, the 'English consort.' This normally consisted of six instruments: treble viol or violin, the 'flute' (possibly a recorder), bass viol, lute, cittern, and bandora (see David Munrow, *Instruments of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Oxford, 1976), 53). Several of them appear here (cittern, viols, violin, and 'flute'), but Hesketh does not seem to have had a lute or bandora. So large and varied a collection of instruments as appears in this inventory suggests that he may have maintained musicians to play them.

153–4 JRUL: English MS 213, letter 8 single sheet

Thomas Hoghton (1518–80) writes to his brother from Aachen ('aquisgreyn' (p 154, l.28); Latin Aquisgranum), then a free city of the Holy Roman Empire. He had left England for good in 1569, a Roman Catholic exile, and died at Liège. His brother Richard the younger, of Park Hall in Charnock Richard, was the only kinsman whom he could trust. The brothers' surviving correspondence begins on 22 September 1576 (E.A.J. Honigsmann, *Shakespeare: The 'Lost Years'* (Totowa, N.J., 1985), 8–11). The virginals were at 'the lea,' (p 154, l.25) ie, Lea Hall, near Preston, another Hoghton home.

154-6 LRO: DDHo 474 ff [1-1v]

Further particulars of the visit of James I to Hoghton Tower will be found under Assheton of Downham, pp 145-6 and pp 346-7, endnote to Whitaker: *History of Whalley*, p 305.

156-8 LRO: WCW 1581 single mb

Alexander Hoghton kept players, as his will shows. Hence the name 'William Shakshafte' (p 156, l.24) has attracted much attention. E.A.J. Honigmann has made the most detailed recent claim that Shakeshafte was William Shakespeare (*Shakespeare: The 'Lost Years'* (Totowa, N.J., 1985)). At the time of Hoghton's will Shakespeare would have been seventeen and still unmarried. Evidence that might clinch the identification of the two names is, however, lacking; the name 'Shakeshaft' is common in Lancashire even today.

'Thomas houghton of brynescoules' (p 156, ll.18-19) was Alexander's half-brother, living in Brin-scall, near Preston. The musical instruments no doubt did go to Sir Thomas Hesketh (c 1518-88) of Rufford, as we see from the inventory of the goods belonging to his son, Robert Hesketh, made in 1620 (see p 153). Hence it is likely that Sir Thomas Hesketh accepted both the musical instruments and the players. Fulk Gyllom (p 156, l.24) seems to have been a Hesketh servant in 1591 (Honigmann, *Shakespeare: The 'Lost Years'*, pp 31-2).

The term 'playe Clothes' (p 156, l.20) notwithstanding, it is impossible to be certain that these 'play-eres' (p 156, l.21) were really actors and not musicians. The fact that there were only two of them is puzzling, because such a small band could not have acted a typical Elizabethan play; if they were actors, we must assume that Hoghton did not single out the other members of the troupe.

158 LRO: DDKe f [2v]

Kenyon arrived in London on 3 June but the account does not reveal when the trip ended.

159 LIRO: 920 Nor 2/620 single sheet, recto

Sir William Norris was made a knight of the Bath by James I at St James' Palace on 24 July 1603 (see Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, vol 1, pp 221-6). Norris' birth date is not known, but he was called 'young Mr. Norris' in 1586. This receipt is a scrap of paper without accompanying documents, written on both sides, each side having a different hand. It can be dated 1603 by its listing of 'spores' (spurs) and king's trumpeters (ll.20-1), both requisites for the ceremony.

159 LIRO: 920 Nor 1/395 f [5]

This inventory was not taken at a death. It is headed 'An Inventorie taken the last daye of September in Anno domini 1624 . of all bedding & other howshould stuffe then being att the howse of Speak.' The occasion seems to have been the disordered affairs of Sir William Norris, who died in 1630; see E.B. Saxton, 'A Speke Inventory of 1624,' *THSLC* 97 (1946 for 1945), 107-14 for an account of Norris' profligate life.

160 CL: Mun. A.6.50 f 114v

When Robert Nowell died in London he left a large sum of money to be distributed. Alexander B. Grosart, the editor of the accounts, notes that 'The MS. shows in detail the manner in which Dean Nowell carried out the distribution of his brother's bounty, subsidized by much of his own money, during about twelve years from 1569 to 1580' ('The Spending of the Money of Robert Nowell,' p xl). 'Dean Nowell' was Alexander Nowell (c 1507-1602), dean of St Paul's in London.

The minstrel is further evidence of Sir Thomas Hesketh's interest in music, noticed on p 156.

160 Wigan Archive Service: D/D2.A 13/17 p 20

'huett the musycsun' was probably Robert Hewet, chief wait at York in 1567 and 1584–5, for whose career see Eileen White, 'Hewet, the wait of York,' *REEDN* 12.2 (1987), 17–22. He was at Smithills in April of 1591 (see p 168).

160 Wigan Archive Service: D/D2.A 13/17 p 37

Gilbert Sherrington gives money to a 'mimo' or to 'mimis' seven times and the amounts are always small; this payment of 3d to a single performer is probably the most generous.

163 Stonyhurst College: D.3.5.1 f 61

'wyketolle' (l.15) means a town toll, 'wyke' being OE 'wic', one sense of which was 'village, hamlet, or town,' and which appears as the second element in such placenames as Prest-wich and Win-wick. Shireburn had rights of toll in the township of Bolton.

163–4 Stonyhurst College: D.3.5.1 f 325

The Lancaster assizes ('lankester siyes,' l.29m) were held in the Hilary and Trinity vacations of the London courts, that is, in March or April and in August or September. The date given in this document, 2 April (l.29), fixes the present occasion as the Hilary assize.

164 Stonyhurst College: D.3.5.1 f 386

'thomas langton' (l. 11; c 1561–1605) was a crown ward in Sir Richard Shireburn's custody. Walton (l.10) is Walton le Dale near Preston and was part of Langton's estate. Langton was MP for Newton (l.10) in 1601. Leyland or 'lalande' (l.12) lay a few miles to the south.

165 Stonyhurst College: D.3.5.1 f 470

'chabelle of long Ryche' (l.4) for 'chapel of Longridge' shows a confusion of voiced and voiceless consonants characteristic of Lancashire dialect. The chapel is six miles west of Stonyhurst.

166 LRO: DDKs 18/2 p 26

The Traffords of Trafford Park, near Stretford, retained a minstrel as early as 1539 when 'maister Traffordes mynstrell' was indicted for assaulting 'dominum Hugonem Parre' (Prescot Court Leet Roll, LRO: DDCs Court Rolls (paper) pre-1558, mb [18], 6 June 1539). The only other surviving evidence of the Traffords' interest in music not included in the records text is an inventory of the goods of Sir Edmund's son and heir, a younger Sir Edmund Trafford (c 1560–1620), taken 12 May 1620, four days after his death, which lists among his goods 'on payre of Organes' worth 'x li.' (LRO: WCW 1620, single sheet). According to H.T. Crofton, Trafford Park house contained a chapel (*History of the Ancient Chapel of Stretford*, vol 3, cs, ns, vol 51 (Manchester, 1903), 130) and if so, the organs may have been purely for liturgical use.

167 LRO: DDKs 18/2 p 88

Hornby Castle, near Lancaster, was the seat of Edward Parker, Lord Morley; Barbon is a property of the Shuttleworths three miles north of Kirkby Lonsdale in Westmorland.

168 LRO: DDKs 18/2 p 180

For 'huetē the wyethe of yorke' (l.19) see p 160 and endnote, p 351.

168-9 LRO: DDKs 18/2 pp 216, 217

'my brother' (pp 168, l.37 and 169, l.4) refers to Sir Richard Shuttleworth; the accounts were actually drawn up by Thomas Shuttleworth (c 1546-93), his younger brother (Harland (ed), *The Shuttleworth Accounts*, pp 295-7). 'my ladie' (p 169, l.9) was Sir Richard's wife, Margery Legh, daughter of Sir Peter Legh of Lyme Hall, Cheshire. The appearance of Cheshire entertainers (p 169, ll.9-10) at Smithills was on her account.

170 LRO: DDKs 18/5 p 74

These accounts relate to the building of Gawthorpe Hall, the Shuttleworths' new seat. The 'Rearinge day' (l.27) was the day when its walls had reached their full height and the roof was raised; a nineteenth-century annotator has identified it in the MS as 19 June (see also Harland (ed), *The Shuttleworth Accounts*, CS, vol 46, p 931).

171 LRO: DDKs 18/8 p 88

'Distle' (l.18) was also known as Distley and Dishley. The company is called 'distley and his companie my Lord dudley his plaeres' on 7 October 1612 (p 173, l.40). Although other references to Distley's company occur in the Records (see pp 176, 189, 193-5, 197, 199-200), they are not clearly identified as Lord Dudley's troupe again; G.E. Bentley notes that the company is never called Dudley's after 1612 and thinks 'Distle's troupe was not improbably a local organization' (*The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, vol 2, p 423; see also John Wasson, *Theatre Notebook* 42: 2 (1988), 51-7).

171 LRO: DDKs 18/8 p 92

'at the mariage' (l.30) means at the marriage of Eleanor Shuttleworth, daughter of Thomas and sister of Richard, to Sir Ralph Assheton (1579-1644) on 6 March 1609/10. Ralph Assheton was of Great Lever and Whalley and was Nicholas Assheton's 'coozen Assheton' referred to in the entries from Nicholas' Journal printed in this volume under Assheton of Downham (see pp 145-7 and endnotes, pp 346-7).

174 LRO: DDKs 18/8 p 176

Weeks (*Clitheroe in the Seventeenth Century*, p 110) gave the date of this entry as 12 December, following Harland (*The Shuttleworth Accounts*, CS, vol 46, p 893). While the date in the MS might be read as 12, its place in the date sequence establishes that it is, in fact, 21, perhaps corrected from 11.

175 LRO: DDKs 18/8 p 195

The upper part of this leaf, which originally measured about 150mm x 380mm, is torn away at the outer edge. From a width of 25mm at the top, the extant part gradually widens to 100mm about halfway down. The entry almost certainly originally read 'Itēn giuen to my Lord of Darbie his plaiers xx s/.

179 LRO: DDHi, Box 23 sheet 2

Since 14s is very close to one mark and others on the roll, such as Thomas Piper, received a mark for their year's wages, we can perhaps conclude that Mordoc was also receiving wages as a household trumpeter.

179 PRO: SP 1/27 f 237v

The goods at Hornby Castle were presumably inventoried at Sir Edward Stanley's death, 6 or 7 April 1523; his will is dated 5 April. Sir Edward (born c 1460), fifth son of Thomas Stanley, tenth earl of Derby, was created first Baron Monteagle in 1514 and buried at Hornby, near Lancaster. PRO: SP 1/27 contains two copies of the inventory, of which the first is printed here. The second specifies Lord Monteagle's chamber as the third chamber over the wine cellar.

The identification of 'Master Edward Stanley' (l.31m), who actually owned the recorders, is fraught with difficulties. Lord Monteagle had two known sons, both named Thomas; the elder succeeded him and the younger became bishop of Sodor and Man. The twelfth earl of Derby, son and heir of Lord Monteagle's elder brother Thomas, was, in fact, named Edward and it is conceivable that he is meant. Although his father had died in 1521, this Edward was at the time of his uncle's death only thirteen years old and did not receive licence to enter upon his inheritance until 29 January 1530/1. It seems likely, though, that he would have been styled at least 'my Lord Strange,' which was the courtesy title given to the heir to the earldom of Derby. Master Edward, then, was more likely an otherwise unknown third son of Lord Monteagle's other brother, James Stanley, bishop of Ely, who is known to have had at least two natural sons. A third possibility, of course, is that Edward was an illegitimate son of Lord Monteagle himself.

179 LRO: DDF 2429 p 9 col 1

A second check-roll 'of sutch of my Lords servantes as are to remayne in my Lords householde at Knowsley after his Lordships departure towards the Cowrte viz. the fyrste of September 1587' mentions John King the trumpeter but not Campe (see Raines (ed), *The Derby Household Books*, pp 37–8). This may mean that Campe accompanied his master to Whitehall or alternatively that he had left Derby's service.

180 LRO: DDF 2429 p 13 col 1

In the endnotes to the Derby Household Book only persons who appear to have actually witnessed a performance at a Stanley house will normally be identified. Particulars about most other persons mentioned by Farington can be found in Raines (ed), *The Derby Household Books*, which is the chief source for the identifications given here. Other sources edited by Raines are *The Visitation in 1613 by Richard St. George* and *The Visitation in 1664–5 by Sir William Dugdale*. These genealogies have been supplemented by those found in Baines, *History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster*, James Croston (ed) and Whitaker, *History of Whalley*, 4th ed. Several identifications also come from Harland, *The Shuttleworth Accounts*, and the *DNB* and certain dates of birth and death have been deduced using J. Paul Rylands (ed) *Lancashire Inquisitions, Stuart Period*, Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, vols 3, 16, 17 (1880, 1887, 1888).

During the Friday performance 'mr salesbury' (l.10) and 'mr receyver' (ll.10–11) were probably present. The first was Sir John Salusbury of Llewenni, near Denbigh, who was married to Ursula Stanley, an illegitimate daughter of Henry, earl of Derby. His grandson, Sir Thomas Salusbury, wrote the masque performed at Knowsley on Twelfth Night 1641/2 (see Appendix 4, pp 255–66). The second was the earl's receiver general, who cannot be positively identified. Sir Richard Molyneux of Sefton (l.4) (c 1559–1623) was lord of the manor of Liverpool, a JP, and member of parliament for Lancashire in 1584, 1593, and 1604; his inventory is printed above (pp 158–9). The 'yonge mr Leigh' (l.4) was most likely Peter Legh of Lyme, heir to his grandfather of the same name. Two years earlier he had gone to France in Derby's train as a gentleman waiter. He was later to conclude the indenture with Roger Bruche

of Bruche, (pp 150–1) and some further account of him will be found on p 366, endnote to BL: Cotton Titus B.ii ff 239–40. For 'mr Danyell' (ll. 4–5) Raines suggested one of the Daniels of Tabley, Cheshire, or else John, son of John Daniel of Daresbury. William Skillicorne (l. 5) of Preese was married to Jane, daughter of Thomas Hoghton of Hoghton Tower and connected through the Langtons of Newton with the Monteagle Stanleys. Edward Braddill of Portfield was married to Anne Assheton of Great Lever, a great-aunt of Nicholas whose Journal is excerpted above (pp 145–7).

180 LRO: DDF 2429 p 19 col 1

In the phrase 'on saturedaye S^r Thomas hesketh plaiers wente awaie' (ll. 23–4) it seems most natural to take 'S^r Thomas hesketh' as possessive or attributive, particularly given that no punctuation follows (what might be taken for a comma proves, on close inspection, to be merely a grain of wood in the paper). This passage then affords the best evidence so far discovered that Hesketh did indeed keep 'plaiers,' though it receives some corroboration from Alexander Hoghton's will of 1581 (pp 156–8). The implication there seems to be that Hesketh will certainly retain the players if given the opportunity, and this he apparently did, since Fulk Gyllom, who had been one of Hoghton's players, was in Hesketh's employ in 1591 (Honigmann, *Shakespeare: The 'Lost Years'*, pp 31–2). The players who were at Knowsley during 27–30 December 1587 could hardly have been Lord Strange's men if, as Chambers noted (*Elizabethan Stage*, vol 2, p 119), they were showing feats of activity at court on 28 December (see also Edwin Nungezer, *A Dictionary of Actors* (New Haven, 1929) under 'Symons, John,' p 346). If they were Hesketh's, they may have been musicians rather than stage players since it appears from Robert Hesketh's inventory (see p 153) that the Heskeths still had Hoghton's instruments in 1620.

180 LRO: DDF 2429 p 22 col 3

'mr Ihon bradley' (l. 37) was a Lancashire magistrate. 'mr dvtton' (l. 38) was conceivably John Dutton of the queen's men, but more likely John, son and heir of Hugh Dutton, of Great Budworth, Cheshire. This latter John Dutton has an interesting connection with the later London stage as his two grand-daughters, Anne and Rebecca Marshall, were actresses in the Restoration theatre.

'mr brokes' (l. 38) was Thomas Brooke of Norton Priory, Cheshire.

180–1 LRO: DDF 2429 p 24 col 2

The players were probably Strange's own troupe, in view of the fact that Lord Strange came home that night (31 December). Farington himself ('mr Stewarde', l. 1) and the rest of Derby's own privy council apparently watched the play. The council was made up of Derby's chief household officers, who included many of the leading gentry of Lancashire. Edward Fleetwood, in a letter to Lord Burghley in 1587 printed in this collection (see pp 221–6), named as among them Sir Richard Shireburn, Sir Peter Legh, Alexander Rigby, Edward Halsall, Thomas Tyldesley, and Edward Scarisbrick (p 223). For notice of them, see p 366, endnote to BL: Cotton Titus B.ii ff 239–40. To this list we should certainly add William Fox of the Rhodes near Prestwich, Derby's household controller (Coward, *The Stanleys*, p 87) and Nicholas Rigby of Harrock Hall, at one time Derby's receiver general, and probably also Michael Doughty, his secretary and clerk of the kitchen. There is nothing in the records of court performance that would rule out Strange's players being in Lancashire at this time.

'S^r Ihon Savadge' (p 181, ll. 1–2) was of Clifton, Cheshire, where he built a house called Rock Savage.

181 LRO: DDF 2429 p 24 col 3

'plaiers plaied' (l.11) means, as in the previous record, Strange's men, or else it means that Farington did not know what players they were. 'mr Caldewell' (l.11) was John Caldwell, the earl of Derby's chaplain, for whom see further under Liverpool, p 43, and p 324, endnote to LRO: MIN/COU I 1/2 ff 69–9v.

181 LRO: DDF 2429 p 27 col 1

The queen's men acted on 6 and 7 July, Sunday and Monday. The audience was large: Edward Stanley of Ewloe ('yollow' (l.20)) in Flint, with his daughter Margaret and son-in-law Robert Salusbury; 'mr Leigh' (l.20), who could have been Peter Legh of Lyme in Cheshire or William Leigh, rector of Standish; and Henry Stanley, senior and junior, uncle and nephew, together with many other gentlemen. The two Henry Stanleys were of Cross Hall, near Ormskirk; the uncle inherited from the nephew.

'the vicker of Ratchedalle' (l.22) was Richard Midgley, on whom see Raines, 'A Description of the State Civil and Ecclesiastical,' pp 45–7, and *The Derby Household Books*, p 177.

The departures on Monday and Tuesday probably included more of the Sunday and Monday audience: Farington, Sir Richard Shireburn of Stonyhurst, 'mr receyver generall' (l.24), and William Fox, the clerk controller. These were all officials of the Derby household; Raines notes that Shireburn had been steward to the thirteenth earl but had 'resigned all his offices at Knowsley before 5 July 1589' (*The Derby Household Books*, p 105).

181 LRO: DDF 2429 p 28 col 2

It is a nice question whether one should place a semicolon after 'played' (l.40) or after 'nyght' (l.40) in the last sentence. Probably the queen's men played and Essex's players arrived at night. There may have been some intent to combine.

On this Saturday, 6 September 1589, a distinguished audience was in attendance. Henry, earl of Derby, was there and so were Edward Sutton, Lord Dudley, a nephew of the earl, and Lord Dudley's brother-in-law (ie, his wife's brother), a man named Harrington. Others may have stayed at Knowsley for the play. Mr Bold (l.35) may be John Bold, who was visiting the previous week, or Richard Bold of Bold, half-brother of Henry Bold, a gentleman waiter in the earl's household (see the check-roll of household servants incorporated in the Derby Household Book and excerpted above under 1586–7 (p 179)). Sir Thomas Egerton was solicitor general. Gilbert and Francis Sherrington were probably still there; for some particulars of them see the document description for their accounts, Wigan Archive Service D/D2.A 13/17 (p lxxxvii). Sir Edward Stanley, the thirteenth earl's brother, and 'mr william' (l.37), William Stanley, the future fifteenth earl, also probably saw the play.

182 LRO: DDF 2429 p 29 col 1

This Sunday follows the Saturday of the previous entry. 'mr Leigh' (l.3) was William Leigh, rector of Standish and chaplain of Knowsley (Halley, *Lancashire*, vol 1, pp 127–9). On Tuesday, 8 September, the queen's men must have set off a second time for Carlisle, summoned by Henry Scrope, governor of Carlisle, who in turn was responding to a letter 'from Mr Roger Asheton, Signifying vnto me that yt was the kinges earnest desire for to have hir Maiestes players for to repayer into Scotlande to his grace' (ll.31–3 below). They evidently arrived on the 10th, since on the 20th Scrope reported to William Asheby, English ambassador in Edinburgh, that they had been in Carlisle 'for the space of ten dayes' (l.36); contrary winds kept Princess Anne in Denmark, delaying her wedding to James VI. On 22

September Scrope told Asheby that he had asked Lord Derby for two red deer, which were being sent forward to Edinburgh by the bearer of the very letter he was writing (BL: Egerton MS 2598 b 16 f 83). In the event the two baked stags and probably the players arrived too early in Edinburgh, since Walsingham reproved Asheby a little later concerning the deer: 'the false l'arme that was given of the *Queenes* landing, hastened it sooner then it shold haue come otherwise' (BL: Egerton MS 2598 b 16 f 114). The players waited in Edinburgh for about a month, Asheby reporting to Burghley on 22 October 1589 that 'My Lord Bothwell ... sheweth great kindness to our Nation using her Maiesties players and Cannoniers with all Courtesie' (BL: Harley MS 4647 f 107v).

182 LRO: DDF 2429 p 34 col 2

The Saturday performance by 'players' (l.16) was probably given by Strange's men, in view of the presence of Lord Strange at Lathom. Sir Richard Shireburn no doubt saw the play, as did Cuthbert Halsall (later Sir Cuthbert), the earl of Derby, William Fox (a member of the earl of Derby's council), a servant of the archbishop of Canterbury, Richard Halsall, father of Cuthbert, and John Osbaldeston of Osbaldeston, whose grandmother was a Stanley.

182 LRO: DDF 2429 p 38 col 2

While the queen's players came to Knowsley, there is no mention of their playing there. We must assume they acted on Thursday night, though there was little company in the house. Earl Henry was there, and Sir John Savage and John Dutton came at the same time as the queen's men. Sir John Savage was of Clifton, Cheshire, and John Dutton may have been the son and heir of Hugh Dutton of Great Budworth, Cheshire.

182-3 BL: Egerton MS 2598 f 82

Henry Scrope, governor of Carlisle, reports to Queen Elizabeth's ambassador in Scotland. 'Roger Asheton' (l.31-2), more commonly known as Aston, was a servant of King James VI but did much to further English interests in Scotland; see *Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Scotland*, vol 1, Markham John Thorpe (ed) (London, 1858), 480, and vol 2, pp 598, 612, etc. Scrope says that the queen's men arrived in Carlisle from 'the furthest parte of Langkeshier' (ll.34-5), ie, Knowsley. Since the journey is 100 miles and was made in two days, they must have used horses but by 20 September they had been waiting ten days in Carlisle.

Scrope also reveals that the queen's men had gone south from Carlisle to Knowsley before they were summoned back again. Karl P. Wintersdorf has shown that eventually the queen's men did go to Edinburgh and act there, although not before Anne. James set sail to fetch her on 22 October, by which time the queen's men were at Coventry ('The Queen's Company in Scotland in 1589,' *Theatre Research International* 6 (Winter, 1980-1), 33-6; see also R. W. Ingram (ed), *Coventry, Records of Early English Drama* (Toronto, 1981), 324).

183 Knowsley House Library: NH 6B H 83 f [108]

These trumpeters and litter men were fed in connection with the entertainment of James I by the earl of Derby during the king's progress through Lancashire. For the king's previous stop at Hoghton Tower, see the entries under Assheton of Downham (p 146) and Hoghton of Hoghton Tower above (pp 154-6). Nicholas Assheton recorded in his Journal that on 18 August, the morning after the masque at Hoghton Tower, 'The King went away about 12 to Lathome' (Whitaker, *History of Whalley*,

p 305). According to John Nichols, James rested there two nights and on the 20th, before leaving, knighted six local gentlemen (*Progresses*, vol 3, pp 403–4). The trumpeters would have had a part to play in that ceremony as well as in what was probably a ceremonial banquet on the 18th. In the ms this entry follows similar ones for grooms of the chamber and footmen, and precedes ones for ‘the gentlemen *which* did belonge vnto the Nobilitie aboute the Kinge beinge sixe and twentie in number’ and for the steward of the royal household, the lord chamberlain, and the master of the king’s horse. This suggests that, as commonly on royal progresses, these trumpeters were members of the royal household, accompanying their master and living on such provisions and fees as they received from the households and towns he visited along the way.

184 LRO: DDBI Acc 6121 f 259

This record does not make clear whether Blundell wrote the Prologue or spoke it, or both. The writer was William Blundell the cavalier (1620–98) of Little Crosby, which lies within a few miles of Knowsley (see Little Crosby, pp 32–5). Sword-dancing would be appropriate to the beginning of Lent for, as Joseph Strutt explains, ‘The day before Lent began used to be a universal holiday given up to a variety of sports’ (*The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England*, J. Charles Cox (rev ed) (London, 1903; rpt 1968), 274).

The *OED* offers two definitions of sword-dancing: ‘a dance in which the performers go through some evolutions with swords, or in which a person dances among naked swords laid on the ground.’ Strutt defines the sword-dance as ‘more properly, a combat with swords and bucklers, regulated by music’ (*Sports and Pastimes*, p 209). Blundell’s references to ‘olimpicke games’ (l.14) and ‘marse’ (l.16) confirm that the exhibition was to be a combat rather than dancing over unsheathed swords. ‘mercury’ (l.16) is named as god of music and eloquence.

184 National Library of Wales: ms 5390D p 35

Sir Thomas Salusbury, the author of the masque, was of Lleweni, near Denbigh in Wales, and related through his grandfather Sir John Salusbury’s wife, Ursula Stanley, to the Stanleys. The cast was composed of family members and servants and the subject was Christmas and the twelve months of the year. For the full text and further commentary, see Appendix 4.

184 LRO: DDPt 1 f [7v]

Thomas Walmesley inherited Dunkenhagh Manor, the estate for which these accounts were kept, late in 1612. The first accounting year was officially 7 February 1612/13 to 7 February in the following year, but there are in fact payments recorded for money disbursed in the weeks preceding 7 February, especially during the Christmas season.

186 LRO: DDPt 1 f [56]

On f [55v] there is a note specifying that the wedding of Walmesley’s daughter Elizabeth took place on 17 August 1616 and so perhaps the payment to these entertainers reflects the festivities provided for that event.

187 LRO: DDPt 1 f [62]

This section in the account is only Christmas 1616 in the heading. The earliest explicit date given in the section is Christmas Eve (24 December 1616), the latest is the Friday after New Year’s Day

(3 January 1616/17). However, the Christmas season was normally considered to last until 6 January.

187 LRO: DDPt 1 f [62v]

Although these payments appear under the section for kitchen provisions for the week of 23–9 January, there is a possibility that they include some made for the next week, 30 January to 7 February, as well. This would be the last week of the fiscal year and there are no explicit payments for that week. Therefore, although it is most likely that Stafford's men were paid in the week of 23–9 January, it is also possible that they were paid in the next week instead.

187–8 LRO: DDPt 1 f [13v]

Sir Richard Molyneux is noticed above, p 347, endnote to *History of Whalley*, p 312, and pp 353–4, endnote to LRO: DDF 2429 p 13 col 1. His wife Frances was the daughter of Sir Gilbert Gerard, vice-chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and the great-aunt of Dutton, afterwards Lord Gerard, who visited Dunkenhalth in October 1624 (see p 192 and endnote, below).

189 LRO DDPt 1 f [47]

Although this is part of a section of payments written before the 8 January kitchen purchases, it is clear from the dates given in individual payments within the section that they follow 8 January chronologically.

189 LRO: DDPt 1 f [51v]

The payment to Disley (for whom see p 352, endnote to LRO: DDKs 18/8 p 88) immediately follows a payment dated 1 September.

191–2 LRO: DDPt 1 f [11v]

'mr Bradshaw' (p 191, l.42m) might be Roger Bradshaw (d. 1640) of Haigh, near Wigan, married to Jane, daughter of Thomas Hoghton of Hoghton. Sir Richard Hoghton, his nephew, was also visiting that week. However there were Bradshaws of Bradshaw, Darcy Lever, Pendleton, Pennington, and Preesall also. 'Sir Richard Houghton' (p 192, ll.4–5m, 1570–1630) was Sir Richard Hoghton of Hoghton Tower.

192 LRO: DDPt 1 f [6]

'My Lord Gerrards sonne' (ll.23–5m) was Dutton, afterwards Lord Gerard (1613–40), son of Gilbert, Lord Gerard (d. 1622); for further particulars of him see p 320, endnote to LRO: DDKs 30/30. 'Mr Marsh' (l.26m) is perhaps an error for Stephen Marshall, who as Lord Gerard's domestic chaplain might well have accompanied young Dutton on an outing. Marshall was married to Elizabeth, illegitimate daughter of John Dutton of Dutton (see p 354, endnote to LRO: DDF 2429 p 22 col 3).

Two 'muttons' are listed as coming from 'the hacking' (l.26). Hacking was an estate of the Shuttleworths and it came into the Walmsley family when Anne Shuttleworth, the heiress, married Sir Thomas Walmsley. Hacking Hall, the seat, is west of Whalley on the river Calder where it joins the Ribble, about four miles north-northwest of Dunkenhalth.

193 LRO: DDPt 1 f [10]

Richard Bradshaw's company (l.18) visited Dunkenhalth seven times in all between 1625 and 1635.

J.T. Murray (*English Dramatic Companies*, vol 2, p 106) writes that 'after 1610, by which date Richard Bradshaw had probably left the company of Lord Edward Dudley, nothing further is heard of him till 1630.' A Richard Bradshaw led a troupe of six strolling players that got into trouble over its licence at Banbury in 1633 (PRO: SP 16/238, p 67; to be published in the REED Oxfordshire collection). Murray (*English Dramatic Companies*, vol 2, p 109) thought he was the same man, but G.E. Bentley doubted the identification (*Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, vol 2, pp 387–8).

193 LRO: DDPt 1 f [22v]

'Mr Parkinsons children' (ll.28–9m) were presumably children of Robert Parkinson of Falsnape. He had a daughter, Elizabeth, aged eighteen in 1623, by his first wife, who was an Assheton of Middleton, and another daughter, Mary, by his second wife. Robert Parkinson's mother was a Shuttleworth.

193 LRO: DDPt 1 f [18]

William Perry ('pirrie,' l.41) was, according to G.E. Bentley, 'probably the most conspicuous of the provincial players' (*Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, vol 2, p 529). His company came to Dunkenhalth six times between 1625 and 1631 and on each occasion the players stayed in the house and ate there. In 1623 he belonged to 'ye late Queene Ann her Company of players,' but by 1629 he had another company, 'his Majestie's sworn servantes ... of the Red Bull company' (Bentley, vol 2, pp 529–30). The Dunkenhalth accounts, however, do not identify his company as either Queen Anne's or that of the Red Bull.

194 LRO: DDPt 1 f [9]

The lady styled 'my lady Gerrard' (ll.10–11m) was probably Eleanor, widow of Gilbert, Lord Gerard, and daughter of Thomas Dutton of Dutton. The other possibility is her daughter-in-law, Mary, daughter of the earl of Westmorland, who had lately married Dutton, Lord Gerard. The 'mrs. Standley' (l.12m) could be any of the Stanley wives. The head of the Assheton family of Great Lever and Whalley at this time was Sir Ralph (1579–1644), created a baronet in 1620, but since he would not normally have been styled 'mr Ashton of Whaley' (ll.17–18m) at this time, the man meant was more likely his next brother, Radcliffe Assheton, whose descendants eventually inherited Downham. The 'mr. george Midleton & mrs. Anne' (ll.20–2m) were Sir George Middleton (1601–73; not created a baronet until 1642) of Leighton Hall and his wife. Middleton and Walmesley were cousins; their mothers were both sisters of Sir Richard Hoghton of Hoghton Tower.

194–5 LRO: DDPt 1 f [10]

Although the next set of kitchen provisions are for the week beginning 5 January, there is one payment for 5 January listed among this week's payments (p 195, ll.11–12). 'Mr. thomas Hoghton' (p 194, ll. 35–6m) was probably Sir Richard Hoghton's brother, Thomas Hoghton of Brinscall, near Preston, who was married to 'Katherine, daughter and co-heir of John Hoghton, of Pendleton ... in 1600' (Baines, *The History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster*, Croston (ed), vol 3, 354). They had four daughters, Christiana, Anne, Jane, and Katharine, all of whom eventually married, but which one's husband was the son-in-law visiting Dunkenhalth on this occasion cannot be determined.

'Mr. William Hoghton' (p 195, ll. 1–2m) was most likely William Hoghton of Park Hall, who came with Hugh Anderton and the Brinscall Hoghtons again in February of 1629/30 (see p 200). 'Mr Preston of holker' (p 195, ll.3–4m) was George Preston of Holker Hall in the parish of Cartmel; his wife was an

Assheton of Great Lever. 'Mr. Bradill' (p 195, l.5m) was John Braddill of Portfield, near Whalley, and his brother (p 195, l.6m) was named Thomas. Mr Rishton and his wife and mother are further identified in the marginalia to the entries for Christmas-tide 1634/5 (p 207, ll. 26–8m) as Rishtons of Ponthalgh. He was William Rishton (b 1605), his wife was Dorothy, Hugh Anderton's sister, and his mother, lately widowed, was another Dorothy, daughter of George Talbot of Carr. Hugh Anderton was of Euxton, near Chorley.

195–6 LRO: DDPt 1 f [19]

For 'mr. thomas Houghton, his wyffe, & doughter' see p 359, endnote to LRO: DDPt 1 f [10] above. The 'mr sudall' (p 196, l.1m) was probably William Suddall, alderman of Preston.

196 LRO: DDPt 1 f [10v]

'Mrs. Hoghton of Pendleton' (ll.22–3m) was Katherine, wife of Thomas, for whom see p 359, endnote to LRO: DDPt 1 f [10] above.

199 LRO: DDPt 1 f [7]

'my lorde of huntingtons pyper' (l.23) was a piper employed by Henry Hastings, twenty-second earl of Huntingdon, whose estate was in Leicestershire. Hastings was married to Elizabeth, daughter of Ferdinando Stanley, fourteenth earl of Derby, and the piper was no doubt in Lancashire as a result of Elizabeth's connections.

199–200 LRO: DDPt 1 f [27v]

The company assembled at Dunkenhalth on this occasion corresponded closely with the one entertained at Christmas-tide 1625–6 (pp 194–5). William Hoghton of Park Hall and Thomas Hoghton of Brinscall ('Brynscoes,' p 200, l.15m) are both discussed on pp 359–60, endnote to LRO: DDPt 1 f [10], as is Hugh Anderton. Both these Hoghtons had daughters named Anne, but since Anne Hoghton twice more visits Dunkenhalth with William (p 201, ll.12–13m, ll.35–6m), she was more likely his daughter than Thomas'. The 'Mr Haughton' (p 200, ll.9–10) who, like William Hoghton, stayed five nights was perhaps his half-brother, John Hoghton of Charnock Richard. 'Mr Banister of. Altham' (p 199, ll.28–9m) was either Nathaniel (c 1582–1649) or one of his sons, Nicholas or Richard. Sir Charles Gerard (p 200, ll.3–4m) was the grandson of Sir Gilbert, master of the rolls and vice-chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster under Queen Elizabeth; hence he was a kinsman of the Lady Gerard who had visited Dunkenhalth in November 1625 (see p 359, endnote to LRO: DDPt 1 f [9]). 'Mr Daulton of. Thorneham' (p 200, ll.11–12m) was Thomas Dalton of Thurnham, near Lancaster. In the Civil War he became a colonel of horse in the royalist army and William Hoghton served under him as his lieutenant colonel.

200 LRO: DDPt 1 f [14]

'a sorte of Players which tearmet them selves the lady Elizabethes players' (ll.35–6) is the acid phrase of the steward (John Hayhurst) for Ellis Guest's company. A year earlier (27 June 1629), Guest had presented himself at Norwich as a Princess Elizabeth's man under a licence dated 8 June 1629 but it was probably a fake. The real licence was dated 7 June 1628, made out for an unnamed company headed by Guest (David Galloway (ed), *Norwich 1540–1642*, Records of Early English Drama (Toronto, 1984), 197–8, 201). Guest seems to have been trying to make the same claim to royal patronage at Dunkenhalth as he did at Norwich.

Guest's company returned to Dunkenhalth in early October (p 201, ll.9–11m) and stayed overnight but in February 1632 they were paid to go on their way (p 204, ll.15–16).

201–2 LRO: DDPt 1 ff [8], [8–8v]

For Mr Hoghton of Park Hall and Mistress Anne Hoghton, see p 360, endnote to DDPt 1 f [27v].

202 LRO: DDPt 1 f [9v]

For Anne Hoghton (ll.14–15m) see p 360, endnote to DDPt 1 f [27v].

203 LRO: DDPt 1 f [19]

'Mistris Gyrlington' (ll.17–18m) was Katherine, wife of Sir John Girlington (d. 1645) of Thurland Castle. 'Mistris Gyllebert Houghtonn' (ll.19–21m) was quite likely Lettice, wife of Gilbert Hoghton of Hoghton Tower, a major in Gilbert Gerard's regiment in the Civil War.

204 LRO: DDPt 1 f [13v]

On Sir Gilbert Hoghton (l.26) see endnote to DDPt 1 f [19] immediately above.

205 LRO: DDPt 1 f [22v]

The Burnley players came with two Burnley men, 'Mr. Parker of Extwysle' (ll.32–3m) and 'Mr. Barcroft of Lodge' (ll.33–5m). The first was John Parker (d. 21 January 1634/5) of Extwistle, near Burnley, or his son, John (d. 1655) or the younger John's son, Robert (d. 1636). The second was Thomas Barcroft of Barcroft Lodge, Cliviger, near Burnley, who married Robert Parker's wife, Mary, after Robert's death.

'Mr. Ratclyffe Houghton' (ll.24–5m) was Radcliffe, brother of Sir Gilbert Hoghton. 'Mistris Gyrlington' (ll.25–6m) is noticed above, endnote to LRO: DDPt 1 f [19]. 'Mr. Hothersall. and his wiffe' (ll.28–9) were Thomas Hothersall (born c 1584) and his wife Bridget.

'my Lord of Houme' (l.35m) was probably James Home (d. 1666), earl of Home in the peerage of Scotland and co-heir to George Home, who was earl of Dunbar in Scotland and Baron Hume or Howme of Berwick in the peerage of England.

206 LRO: DDPt 1 f [7]

'Shrawsburie' (l.10) and the places named in the next two entries – Whitchurch (l.16) and Chester (l.21) – were stages on the journey back from Bath, where Thomas Walmesley had gone to take the waters for his arthritis.

206–7 LRO: DDPt 1 f [9v]

'My Lord: Strangeis Players' (ll.30–2m) is next to a provisions entry for the week of 10–16 October but the payment for performance was made between 14 and 31 October (p 207); thus the performance probably took place between 14 and 16 October.

207–8 LRO: DDPt 1 ff [12–12v]

'Mr. Shirburne. of Stonihurst. and his wyffe. and his sonne' (ll.22–4m) were Sir Richard Shireburn, grandson of the Sir Richard whose Rental Books are quoted in this volume (see pp 162–5), his wife Elizabeth, a daughter of Thomas Walmesley of Dunkenhalth, and their son, probably Richard (b 1628).

For William Rishton of Ponthalgh and his wife and mother see pp 359–60, endnote to LRO: DDPt 1 f [10] above. He had two brothers who survived infancy and three sisters, any two of whom could be intended here (p 207, ll.26–30m).

The form 'Poutehaulgh' given for the place-name here agrees with early evidence and other contemporary sources; the modern standard spelling seems to have originated as a misreading (see Eilert Ekwall, *The Place-Names of Lancashire*, p 90).

'Mistris Elysabethe Standyshe' (ll.32–3m) may be the wife of Thurston Standish of Burgh, near Chorley, or of Edward Standish of Standish or perhaps she was Edward's unmarried sister, Elizabeth.

'Mr. Wallmisley, of Showley' (ll.35–6m) was Richard Walmsley (born 1598) of Showley Hall, near Ribchester or one of his five sons.

208–9 LRO: DDPt 1 f [12v]

Most of the guests are the same as those under 26 December to 1 January (p 207), but 'Mr. Hothersall' (l.34m) and 'Mr. Haworthe' (l.39m) are new arrivals. The former was Thomas Hothersall, noticed under February 1634 (p 361, endnote to LRO: DDPt 1 f [22v]). 'Mr. Haworthe' offers many possibilities—Robert Howorth (d. c 1637) of Howarth, near Rochdale, or his brother, Theophilus (1614–71), or Peter Howorth (b 1587) of Thurcroft, near Preston, or his brother, Thomas of Okenhead in Lower Darwen.

210 LRO: DDPt 1 f [19]

This account book contains more detailed expense payments than the others and much of it records payments made on behalf of 'my ladie.' This would normally mean Walmsley's daughter-in-law, Juliana, but it is possible that the New Year's gifts were made by her daughter of the same name. Modern Lancashire custom, at least, is to have a child of the family present such gifts.

213 GMRO: E7/12/1/2 f [1v]

These manuscript visitation articles are preserved among the Assheton of Middleton papers but it is not clear why. They are headed 'Articles to be emproved vppon in the vysitation at chester.' The references here to 'thindrance or derysion of the Catholike faythe' (ll.6–7) and on f [1] to 'suche preistes as wer married' and are now to be divorced from their wives place them in the reign of Mary I. They were therefore almost certainly issued by bishop Cuthbert Scott (1556–9), a zealous supporter of the 'old religion' as then restored. Scott's predecessor, George Cotes (1554–5), was also appointed by Mary but did not hold the see long enough to have organized a visitation. Scott was deprived 26 June 1559 for refusing to accept protestantism as restored by Elizabeth I.

214 src: 10376 sig B.iii.v

The end of the text proper of the article is lost, the top four-fifths of sig B.iv having been cut away from the one surviving copy. But the word 'part' appears as the catchword at the foot of B.iii.v and may have been the only missing text, or the article may have concluded like the York provincial article of 1571 (see pp 213–14).

218 CL: Mun. A.6.51 f 20

If Hollingworth (1607–56) had not set this down there would have been no record of this important meeting of the ecclesiastical commission for the diocese of Chester. Henry Stanley, thirteenth earl of Derby, was lord lieutenant of Lancashire at the time and Henry Hastings, twentieth earl of Huntingdon, was president of the Council of the North. They met with William Chaderton, bishop of Chester,

Thomas Williamson, DD, and other members of the ecclesiastical commission to begin the sabbatarian legislation of Lancashire. Williamson was probably of St John's College, Cambridge, a Lancashire man who became BA in 1564/5 and fellow of his college in 1566 (John Venn and J.A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Pt 1, vol 4 (Cambridge, 1927), 420). There had been earlier enactments in Liverpool against Sunday labour, but this seems to have been the first attempt to regulate Sunday sports.

219 PRO: SP 12/240 ff 292, 293

A Victorian hand has docketed this report in pencil 'Aft. June 2, 1591' and Mary Anne Everett Green accepted that dating, with a query, in the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1591-1594* (London, 1867), no 138, pp 158-9, asserting that the report was sent to the privy council. Neither the date nor the recipient can be confirmed from internal evidence. It seems likely that this report was actually written by Edward Fleetwood, rector of Wigan, for Queen Elizabeth's chief minister, Lord Burghley (for a brief sketch of Fleetwood's career, see Christopher Haigh, 'Puritan Evangelism in the Reign of Elizabeth I,' *English Historical Review* 92 (1977), 38). It was probably sent to Burghley in advance of the Lancashire Trinity assizes in 1587, which likely took place in August. There Fleetwood delivered the assize sermon at the invitation of his uncle, John Fleetwood, the sheriff of Lancaster. In a letter to Burghley of 7 September 1587 (see pp 221-6), Fleetwood describes the gist of his sermon as 'that, which before I had more particularly delivered to your Honor concerninge the corrupte state of the whole Cuntrie' (p 222, ll.3-5). This report certainly fits that description and the style and opinions accord well with Fleetwood's.

If this conjecture is correct, then 'Lankisshire & Chesshire' (l.5) is the beginning of Fleetwood's ultimately unsuccessful drive to reform the sabbath behaviour of the people of Lancashire. His method, at least for a time, was to make both civil and ecclesiastical authorities responsible for reporting sabbatarian offences to the regular sittings of the quarter session courts. The next five records document his course in achieving and enforcing this goal and the churchwardens' presentments recorded in the Kenyon Memorandum Book (see pp 8-10, 20, 58, 89-90) demonstrate, at least in part, the results. But he seems ultimately to have failed, since in the seventeenth century a smaller proportion of sabbatarian offences was prosecuted by the courts of common law than by the ecclesiastical courts.

219-20 Bodl.: Tanner Ms 144 ff 28, 28v, 29v

The words at the edge of f 28 are now worn away in places and have been restored from Raines' edition of J.P. Earwaker's transcription (Raines (ed), 'A Description of the State, Civil and Ecclesiastical,' pp 1-13). According to Raines, Earwaker identified the amanuensis, if not the author, of this document as Oliver Carter, one of the signatories, by comparing the hand of the body of the text with the signatures (p iii). Since Carter's signature and the text are in different scripts, this argument lacks force and there are good reasons for assigning the composition to Edward Fleetwood.

Fleetwood in his letter of 7 September 1587 (p 225, ll.31-5) and Derby, Walsingham, and Gerard in their joint letter of 10 December 1587 (p 227, ll.5-7) all make reference to information provided by a group of concerned Lancashire preachers on extensive sabbath breaking and recusancy. This document has been dated before 4 September 1587 on the assumption that Tanner Ms 144, ff [28-9v] contains that information in the form of signed articles constituting a report. Although there may have been two recensions of the report, it is conjectured that both were ultimately derived from Fleetwood and closely related.

The recension referred to by Fleetwood (p 225, ll.31-5) appears to have been drafted originally by

him and Christopher Goodman, archdeacon of Richmond, and then revised in consultation with a larger group of like-minded clergy, the first draft going to Sir Thomas Egerton, the solicitor general, and the second draft going to both Egerton and the bishop of Chester. The recension referred to in the joint letter of 10 December, if different, was a copy signed by Lord Strange and the bishop of Chester for forwarding to Derby, Walsingham, and Gerard (p 227, ll.5–7). Tanner MS 144 ff 28–9v cannot be the copy referred to in this joint letter since it does not bear the subscriptions of Strange and the bishop of Chester, nor can it be the first draft by Fleetwood and Goodman because it is the product of a larger group. It is therefore most likely to be either what Fleetwood delivered to Egerton and the bishop soon after writing Burghley on 7 September or what was sent to Strange and the bishop and forwarded to Derby, Walsingham, and Gerard.

It is difficult to date Tanner MS 144 ff 28–9v on the basis of the signatories and their careers, although Raines tried to do so. He dated it between 3 June 1589 (when one of the signatories, John Ashworth, was instituted to the parish of Warrington) and 14 March 1590/1 (when another signatory, James Smyth of Kirkham, died) and believed it to have been originally addressed to the privy council or the high commission court (pp iii–iv). Clearly Smyth's death does provide an absolute point of reference, since he signed it, but Ashworth's institution to Warrington parish does not.

There are two chief reasons for this. First, Ashworth had already held a benefice in Lancashire before being instituted to the parish of Warrington, having been vicar of Bolton for a year from 27 February 1587/8 (Raines (ed), 'A Description of the State,' p 47 and CRO: EDA 1/4 f 16). Second, the signatories need not have been beneficed clergy, but only licensed preachers in the county. The names and dates of appointment of these preachers cannot always be recovered; Raines was not able, for instance, to identify Miles Aspinall as holding a benefice and concluded that he might have been one of the queen's preachers (p 37). Ashworth, too, may have been a queen's preacher even before serving as vicar of Bolton.

This Tanner copy has therefore been assigned to the earliest date at which a recension of the report is known to have been in existence, that is, some time before 7 September 1587.

220–1 BL: Harley MS 1926 ff 80–80v

Ff 80–1 (from which this excerpt is taken) contain the last of the three documents whose conjectural dating depends upon Edward Fleetwood's letter of 7 September 1587 (pp 221–6). It is a set of proposals for sabbatarian reform whose text survives in three copies, which appear to go back to two different exemplars. Of the other two copies, one is in the Ellesmere collection at the Huntington Library, EL 6299 (which is a copy of the same original as BL: Harley MS 1926), and the other is found on f 62v of the Kenyon Memorandum Book at Cumbers House (which is a copy of a different original, since it concludes with copy signatures of Derby and Walsingham rather than those of the sixteen JPs). We have chosen to print from BL: Harley MS 1926 because that manuscript also contains the related form of recognizance of alehousekeepers on ff 81–2v (p 221).

There are hints in Fleetwood's letter of 7 September that some sort of programme for reform was drafted at the 1587 Trinity assizes. Fleetwood boasted to Burghley that the judges at the Trinity assizes in 1587 were so impressed by his analysis of the current situation and the programme for change laid down in his assize sermon that they incorporated its chief points into their jury charge and recommendations to the JPs (p 222, ll.6–9) and further even charged the preachers of the county to become involved (p 225, ll.14–18). The most obvious link between this set of proposals and Fleetwood's letter is the phrase 'Enormities of the Sabbothe,' which occurs in three of the six documents we have associated with the Fleetwood programme of reform. Its use as a heading in this document (p 220, l.22) echoes the phrase 'vngodly Enormities of the Sabbothe' used by Fleetwood in his letter (p 225, l.16). These

proposals do not specifically lay a new charge on the clergy, as Fleetwood implied the assize bench had done, but rather they charge 'churche wardens & other officers of the Churche' (p 220, ll.29–30) to report sabbath breaking at the quarter sessions. However, the 10 December letter from Derby, Walsingham, and Gerard (see pp 226–7) shows that such ordinary lay folk were perceived to need supervision and prodding by JPs and the clergy to discharge such responsibilities (p 227, ll.7–18).

Another link between what Fleetwood describes in his letter and these proposals is that they are apparently the product of an assize meeting. As Quintrell has shown (*Lancashire Justices of the Peace*, pp 3–10), the quarter session meetings in Lancashire had become locally oriented, meeting in the hundreds and tending to attract only the local JPs from one or at the most two hundreds so that a large number of justices rarely came together to deal with county-wide issues except at assizes week. The names of the sixteen JPs which appear in two of the copies are significant, for these men are members of the new bench of JPs appointed for the Trinity assizes. Quintrell recognized the importance of this for the dating of the proposals: 'Before that assizes [Trinity 1587], the commission of the peace lost a dozen members, several of them regular signatories to the surviving orders of the JPs meetings in 1578 and 1586; and it is possible that, with a more amenable gathering, Edward [Fleetwood] took the opportunity to draft the petition, principally on Sabbath observance, which he and thirteen other JPs presented to the judges during the same assizes. One of the signatories at least, Sir Richard Sherburne, was more likely to have signed on a public occasion than otherwise' (*Lancashire Justices of the Peace*, p 32). Although Quintrell has mistaken the number of justices who signed (there are sixteen, not fourteen) and confused Edward Fleetwood the minister with Edmund Fleetwood the JP, the mention of Shireburn and the description of the contents leaves little doubt that he was referring to the proposals preserved in Harley MS 1926. It seems clear that a set of proposals, probably drafted by Fleetwood and certainly based on his sermon, was widely circulated at these assizes and ultimately signed by a majority of the local bench.

It seems highly unlikely that these proposals went into effect immediately. Quintrell refers to them as a 'petition.' The presentments made when the proposals did come into effect, or at least the ones copied into the Kenyon Memorandum Book, are from March and April 1588. This suggests that the proposals became binding only early in 1587/8.

The proposals have been variously dated. John Harland (*The Lancashire Lieutenancy*, p 217) dated them c March 1589. Kenneth Parker (*The English Sabbath*, p 143) assigned a date 17 November 1586 but this is evidently a mistake for 17 February 1586/7, the nearest preceding date in BL: Harley 1926, in which these proposals fall between 17 February 1586/7 and 8 July 1588. We have assigned them to the earliest date when a draft was known to be in circulation.

221–6 BL: Cotton Titus B.ii ff 239–40

This letter does not contain any direct references to the activities with which REED collections are primarily concerned. Its chief importance is to serve as a benchmark for the dating of other documents and the most probable sequence of events in Burghley and Fleetwood's programme for sabbath observance. The one permanent legacy of this programme in Lancashire seems to have been a tendency (which we have not yet met elsewhere) for Sunday entertainment or folk activities occasionally to be prosecuted in courts of common law rather than in ecclesiastical courts, even as long as forty years later.

As its first lines suggest, most of the letter is taken up with Fleetwood's report on the events of the recently concluded assizes. It also includes his reflections on the status of the programme of reform and his considerable concern that Derby or the members of his council may not prove co-operative over the coming months in securing the adoption of the plan. Further, he congratulates Burghley on the composition of the new bench and briefly alludes to the ecclesiastical commission (pp 222, l.23 and 225, l.30).

The commission whose shortcomings Fleetwood complained of was to be renewed on 16 November 1589, as appears from PRO: SP 12/228, No 19 (ff 81–2); it contained several Lancashire men.

The men that Fleetwood did not particularly wish to see added to the Lancashire bench had close connections with the Stanleys or with known or suspected Roman Catholic families, while those he genuinely approved of had shown zeal for enforcing the sabbath or bringing recusants to book. They can most easily be identified with the help of BL: Lansdowne 53, ff 178–9v, a list of thirty-eight members of the commissions of the peace and the quorum appointed in 1587, annotated in a contemporary hand and to which has been appended a list of those whose appointments were not renewed.

'Mr Halsall' and 'Mr ffarington' (p 223, ll. 18–19), who as Fleetwood thinks would have proved a danger on the 'Commission' (ie, the commission of the peace; p 223, l. 19), were probably Edward Halsall and William Farington, both on the list of those removed. According to Raines (*Derby Household Books*, p 116) Halsall (d. 1593) was the sixth son of Sir Henry Halsall of Halsall and his wife Margaret, daughter of James Stanley, bishop of Ely. Farington was the earl's steward and the writer of the Derby Household Book (see p 312, endnote to LRO: DDF 2438/12 single sheet). Although as a JP and deputy lieutenant he himself helped to enforce the penal laws against recusants, his wife and children fell under suspicion in 1591 as infrequent communicants ('Lord Burghley's Map of Lancashire, 1590,' *Miscellanea* 4, Catholic Record Society (London, 1907), 182, 192–3). 'Mr Rigby' (p 223, ll. 19), whom Fleetwood considered a danger well avoided for the more powerful commission of the quorum, was probably Alexander Rigby of Burgh and Layton Hall (d. 20 April 1621); like Farington he was both a deputy lieutenant and a JP but also a Derby household officer. He appears on the list of JPs for 1587 but is not a member of the quorum, which according to Fleetwood caused him discontent (p 223, ll. 36–8).

'mr Tildesley' and 'Mr Scarsbricke' (p 223, l. 29–30) were members of Derby's council whose restoration to the bench of JPs Fleetwood says he could tolerate; both names appear in the list of removals. The Tyldelesleys were a staunchly Roman Catholic family and the man Fleetwood referred to would seem to be Thomas, who was deputy forester of Myerscough under Derby from 1586 until his death in 1590 ('Lord Burghley's Map,' pp 171, 207). In the 1587 list he is called Edward, apparently by confusion with his father, who had died the previous year. Edward Scarisbrick (d. 27 April 1599) was married to a niece of the countess of Derby; he too was a JP. Sir Peter Legh of Lyme (p 223, l. 34) was in Derby's service as forester of Macclesfield but he was also Sir Gilbert Gerard's son-in-law and 'appears to have been free of Catholic tendencies.' As a JP he was entrusted in 1593 with rounding up certain recusants in his area. He was MP for Wigan in 1586 and 1589 and for Cheshire in 1601 (Hasler, *The House of Commons 1558–1603*, vol 2, p 453).

Sir Richard Shireburn of Stonyhurst (p 223, l. 35) held many different offices of trust under Derby and was considered his chief councillor; his daughter-in-law's mother was a Stanley. As a deputy lieutenant, a JP, and a member of the ecclesiastical commission he was committed to enforcing the penal laws and he had signed the proposals for sabbath reform. Although denounced to the government more than once as a secret Roman Catholic or at least a recusant sympathizer, he evidently retained the queen's confidence (Bindoff, *The House of Commons 1509–1558*, vol 3, pp 313–14; cp 'Lord Burghley's Map,' p 178).

'Mr Warren' (p 224, l. 39) was probably John Warren of Poynton, sheriff of Cheshire in 1577, who died three months after this letter was written. The 1587 list identifies 'Mr Talbot' (p 224, l. 39) as Thomas Talbot of Bashall, Yorks (c 1557–98); according to Raines (*Derby Household Books*, p 158), he was a kinsman of Derby.

Nicholas Bannister, Edmund Hopwood, John Wrightington, and John Bradshaw (pp 224, l. 40 and

225, ll.1–2) were all jps and had all signed the proposals for sabbath reform; Hopwood is noticed in the endnote to Cumbers House: Kenyon MSS, Memorandum Book ff 1v–2 above (p 313).

'Mr Lancton' and 'Mr Eccleston' (p 225, l.4) received what seems a somewhat grudging approval from Fleetwood, apparently because Burghley himself had ordered their reappointment. They were Robert Langton (d. 1605) of Low in Wigan parish (*Derby Household Books*, p 140; *Abstracts of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, William Langton (ed), CS, vol 99 (Manchester, 1576), 98) and Thomas Eccleston of Great Eccleston, whose wife Helen was a daughter of Sir Peter Legh of Lyme ('Lord Burghley's Map,' pp 200–1). Although he was evidently at pains not to offend Burghley, Fleetwood could not resist suggesting that these two were acceptable only for want of anyone better from their districts (p 225, ll. 4–5).

'Mr Solicitor' (p 225, l.31), with whom Fleetwood had communicated at Burghley's behest, was Sir Thomas Egerton, appointed solicitor general 26 June 1581. The 'full advertisment of our manifolde Enormities' (p 225, l.32) was probably the Lancashire preachers' report printed above (see pp 219–20). 'Mr Goodman' (p 225, l.32), who apparently helped Fleetwood to draw it up, was Christopher Goodman, who as archdeacon of Richmond had responsibility for church discipline in Lancashire north of the Ribble (Richardson, *Puritanism in North West England*, pp 62–3).

The letter has been printed twice before, in John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, vol 3, pt 2 (Oxford, 1824), 488–94 and in David Sinclair, *The History of Wigan*, vol 1 (Wigan, 1882), 159–62.

226 Cumbers House: Kenyon MSS, Memorandum Book f 112

This document, so similar in style and theme to BL: Harley 1926 ff 80–80v, appears to be a fragment of a letter. It was believed by W.J. Hardy to be part of a letter from Edmund Hopwood, JP, to John Piers, archbishop of York, dated 23 February 1590/1 (*The Manuscripts of Lord Kenyon*, p 601). Although this fragment was copied into the Memorandum Book in the middle of Hopwood's letter, Fleetwood seems a more likely author for several reasons.

As stated above, the letter seems to be in his characteristic style and employs several turns of phrase to be found in his undoubted correspondence. The phrase 'The enormities of the Sabothe' (l.10) occurs here, as it does also in BL: Cotton Titus B.ii ff [1–2v] and Harley ms 1926 ff 80–80v, and many other phrases are repeated from the latter, the set of reform proposals signed by sixteen justices. The writer proposes that the archbishop of York, the earl of Derby, a bishop (probably the bishop of Chester), Lord Strange (Derby's son and heir), the chancellor of the duchy, and the master of the rolls ('beinge vicechaunceler in lancashire' l.17) should write letters to secure the co-operation of the local authorities in Lancashire for the sabbath reform programme. But the archbishop of York is referred to in the third person, which is not what one would expect if he were the true addressee. The key phrase for identifying the recipient is 'and yf your honor thinke good' (ll.15–16): the archbishop of York would have been called 'your grace'; Burghley, by contrast, would have been quite properly called 'your honor,' as he is by Fleetwood throughout the letter of 7 September. He was also one of the very few people who could 'move' (l.16) Sir Francis Walsingham, chancellor of the duchy from 15 June 1587 to 6 April 1590, and Sir Gilbert Gerard, master of the rolls and vice-chancellor of the duchy.

The letter seems undeniably to be the work of Fleetwood and it is difficult to imagine that it was addressed to anyone other than Lord Burghley. It was likely composed between 7 September and 10 December 1587. In his letter of 7 September Fleetwood had expressed concerns about the future of the reform movement and resistance to it in high places in Lancashire, especially among Derby, the lord lieutenant, and his council. This fragment asking Burghley to set off a letter-writing campaign suggests a means of meeting those concerns and thus seems logically to follow after it. The letter which Derby, Walsingham, and Gerard eventually wrote was sent on 10 December, apparently as a covering letter for a

signed copy of the reform proposals, is clearly a response to Fleetwood's request for those men (among others) to write such letters.

How it came to be copied into the Memorandum Book in the midst of a letter of several years later and between different correspondents is unclear. As was seen above in the 1588 report on sabbath breaking in Bury parish (pp 8–10 and endnote p 313), this is not the only case of a confusing intermingling of letters in this book. Perhaps the excerpt from Fleetwood's letter was an enclosure in the letter from Hopwood to the archbishop, but we will probably never find a completely satisfactory explanation at this late date.

226–7 LRO: DDKs 30/2 p 17

This letter is signed by Henry, earl of Derby, as lord lieutenant of Lancashire; Sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state, as chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster; and Sir Gilbert Gerard, master of the rolls and vice-chancellor of the duchy. Like that of 7 September printed above (pp 221–6), it contains no references to dramatic activity or entertainment. Its importance, and the reason for its inclusion in this collection, lies in establishing connections between the various documents which are part of Fleetwood's sabbatarian reform campaign. The signatories express concern over the attendance at quarter sessions, recusancy, and the need for guidance for churchwardens from the JPs as well as the parish clergy, specifically in dealing with non-attendance. This need for guidance presupposes, it seems, the new situation in which churchwardens report to quarter sessions. The writers refer to a report from the preachers of the county on the poor state of Sunday observance, here identified as one recension of the report in Bodl.: Tanner MS 144 (pp 219–20).

This is a covering letter for a set of articles for 'ye effectuall execution' (p 227, ll.3–4) of which the writers are seeking the best efforts of the addressees. These are probably the same articles proposed by the sixteen JPs (see pp 220–1) and preserved in BL: Harley MS 1926, Huntington Library: EL 6299, and Cumbers House: Kenyon MSS, Memorandum Book f 62v. A comparison of the full text of the proposals, printed by Hardy (*The Manuscripts of Lord Kenyon*, p 601) with this letter and the preachers' report suggests the connection. The link is strengthened by the fact that the Cumbers House copy of the proposals is a copy letter by Derby and Walsingham, two signatories of the covering letter. This supports the previous conjecture (p 365) that the JPs' proposals did not come into force as early as the August assizes at which they seem to have been first circulated, since the articles enclosed with the 10 December letter were apparently to be put into effect at the next quarter sessions, probably to be held early in 1587/8.

This letter was printed by John Harland in *The Lancashire Lieutenancy*, pp 186–7. Harland implies that there is a copy of the letter in Harley MS 1926 but in fact there is not.

227 PRO: SP 12/235 f 146

The last document with a connection to the 1587 reform campaign is 'A Summarie Informacion of the state of Lancashire exhibited by the Lord Busshop Secretary Register vnto the late highe Commission in those partes, accordinge to the direction of the Busshop his Master.' The phrase 'Lord Busshop Secretary Register' is difficult but presumably means 'the Lord Bishop's secretary, [who was also] registrar to the late high commission.' If so, this seems to mean that the full report of the seventeen preachers (pp 219–20) had gone to the High Commission and that the summary, made after the expiry of that commission, was intended for the privy council; to confirm this, we may note that the document is now among the state papers. The text complains in the same terms as a letter of 12 October 1590 from Fleetwood to Lord Burghley (in BL: Yelverton MSS Add. 48064 f 69) that the lax observance of the sabbath is countenanced in this document 'by ye Gentrye and better sorte' (ll.38–9). We may date this late

in 1590, after the apparent demise of the campaign of 1587, and accept Kenneth Parker's view that it is a summary of the seventeen Lancashire preachers' report (*The English Sabbath*, p 143) while not, however, accepting Parker's dating of the original report.

228 Cumbers House: Kenyon MSS, No 28 single sheet

These orders of 8 August 1616 precede King James' 'Declaration concerning Sports' by about a year. They come from Lancaster assizes, presided over in this year by Edward Bromley, who signed this copy. The key phrase is 'vpon anie sa(b)oth daie in any parte of the daie' (l.36), which was very unusual; it was copied at Warrington in March 1617 in an order that declared '⟨no person⟩ vppon anie parte of the Sabbothe day shall vppon the heath, in the st⟨reetes or⟩ in the houses, vse anie shot⟨ing, bowle⟩inge, dicceinge, cardinge, ball playinge, ^odrinking^o, or anie other vnlawfull games⟨.⟩ or exercyses tendinge to the ⟨breach of the lawe⟩' (LRO: DDLi: Box 1 mb 2; rubbed and faded passages supplied from R. Sharpe France (ed), 'The Statutes and Ordinances of Warrington, 1617,' *A Lancashire Miscellany*, The Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, vol 109 (1965), 29–30). Later in the same year Thomas Morton, newly chosen bishop of Chester, issued his visitation articles (p 215) in which he inquired about 'prophane Passetimes, or Assemblies on the Sabbath' (l.23).

The orders are also preserved in a copy, made by Oswald Mosley (1583–1630) of Manchester, in the Manchester Sessions Book (MCLA: MS f 347.96 M2, pp 25–6). This copy differs in having the word 'vnlawfull' written above 'Bowlinge, Beare or' (see l.35); it also has a marginale, 'Piping/ dancinge/ valtinge/ leaping/ shootinge &c lawfull vpon sondaie by ye kinges declaracion' (p 26), probably belonging to a year later since it alludes to 'ye kinges declaracion,' ie, the Book of Sports. There can be no doubt that these sabbatarian orders touched off the reaction of the next year.

229–31 MCLA: MS f 347.96 M2 pp 14–15

This is the first version of the famous Book of Sports, issued on 27 August 1617 from Gerard's Bromley in Staffordshire, where King James stayed after he had left Lancashire. The printed version came out in London the following 24 May 1618 and was printed in Douglas and Greenfield (eds), *Cumberland/ Westmorland/ Gloucestershire*, pp 366–8. There are some significant differences, the main one being that the 1617 version seems to have been intended for Lancashire only. Also, piping, allowed in 1617, disappears in 1618, but the later version adds as permitted Sunday pastimes 'May-Games, Whitson Ales, and Morris-dances, and the setting vp 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' (p 367, ll. 30–4).

Edward Bromley, who was judge of assize when the sabbatarian orders of 1616 had been signed, was summoned to see the king and no doubt rebuked. Good accounts of the Book of Sports affair are found in Quintrell, *Lancashire Justices of the Peace*, pp 41–2, James Craigie, *Minor Prose Works of King James VI and I*, pp 217–30, and Parker, *The English Sabbath*, pp 139–40. The order is countersigned by Thomas Lake (p 231, l.8), secretary of state, who accompanied James in his progress.

231–4 Wing: B1008 pp 79–82

John Barwick (1612–64), dean of St Paul's, was a protégé from c 1641 of Thomas Morton, who had been bishop of Chester 1616–19. When Morton died in 1659, Barwick wrote the present account, which he must have had from Morton directly. The 'charitable and learned work' (p 231, l.32) was Morton's *A defence of the innocencie of the three ceremonies of the church of England* (strc. 18179), first published in 1618.

234 LRO: QSB 1/4/13 f [1]

'the lord Haruey' (l.12) was probably Francis Harvey (d. 1632), whose father was an auditor of the duchy of Lancaster. Harvey was appointed a judge of the common pleas in 1624 (Hasler, *The House of Commons 1558-1603*, vol 2, pp 266-7).

'Rigby' (l.20) was Alexander Rigby of Middleton (1594-1650), who held the clerkship of the peace in trust for Lancashire 1621-7 and 1644-8 (J.J. Bagley, 'Kenyon v. Rigby: The Struggle for the Clerkship of the Peace in Lancashire in the Seventeenth Century,' *THSLC* 106 (1955 for 1954), 38). 'Mar. Baynnester' (l.21) has not been identified. 'Mar.' is likely an abbreviation for a name such as 'Marcum' or 'Martinum.' This otherwise unknown Baynnester may have been related to the powerful Lancashire jurist Christopher Bannister, who held many posts in the county and the duchy (see Somerville, *Office-Holders*, p 50). Whoever he was, he seems to have been the clerk in Rigby's office responsible for making this exemplification, over Rigby's copy signature, of Harvey's order.

234-5 LRO: QSR 28 mb 12

These orders are also preserved in the Quarter Sessions Order Book, LRO: QSO 2/6 p 42. The roll text has been chosen for printing because it is the official record of the order.

235 LRO: QSO 2/6 p 64

These orders are also preserved in the Quarter Session Roll, LRO: QSR 28 mb 16d. That version, however, is now too badly faded to be used as a copy text and the order book version has been given instead.

Appendix 1

239-40 LRO: QSP 10/22 single sheet

If William Newsham's name (p 240, l.10) is an actual signature and not a copy signature in the hand of a court clerk, then he has written out his own information and signed it since the whole sheet appears to have been written in a single hand with the exception of the final note (l.11). The last clause of that note is obscure, but the sense appears to be 'they are not to play or act hereafter but, upon receipt of a complaint that they have done so, a warrant will be issued forthwith.'

Patrons and Travelling Companies

The following list has two sections. The first lists companies alphabetically by patron, according to the principal title under which the playing companies and entertainers appear. Cross-references to the principal title are given from other titles named in the Records. The second section lists companies which are identified by place of origin.

The biographical information supplied here has come entirely from printed sources, the chief of which are the following: *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*. Other sources for Lancashire gentry and local titles are listed in the Select Bibliography.

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, dates given in the *Calendar of State Papers* and lists based on primary sources such as the following are preferred: *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 and for titles given in the Records. These numbers follow the absolute sequence given in *The Complete Peerage* rather than the relative ones which begin afresh with each new creation. Knighthood dates are included only for minor gentry not possessing higher titles. The second section lists appointments in chronological order showing connections local to Lancashire and surrounding counties and includes those known to have been used in titles of playing companies. Purely expeditionary military titles have been largely omitted, along with most minor Scottish and Irish landed titles. For patrons holding peerage titles, minor civil commissions not given in *The Complete Peerage* and *The Dictionary of National Biography* have been omitted.

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 title of that post. If the original document has not been edited and a secondary source is used which 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' and a 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 appointment. For all minor commissions such as commissions of the peace (JP), years only are given. If the dates of these commissions cover several years in sequence, then the earliest and latest years of the sequence are separated by a dash.

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. If a patron has more than one kind of company, all entries for a given kind are grouped together in chronological order. Each group of entries is then listed starting with the earliest year that each company appears in the Records. If two or more companies first appear in the same year, alphabetical order is followed.

The reader may also wish to refer to the Index for additional references to some of the patrons and to various entertainers without a named patron or place of origin. Where it has been possible to identify patrons of such entertainers, the reference has been included here (eg, Lord Dudley's company headed by Distle). Other companies may have a key player's name given in the Records but no solid evidence of a patron's continuous support. The troupe apparently headed by William Perry (see p 193 and endnote) is one such example. Such a company is listed in the Index under the player's name, rather than here, by patron. Noble patrons are listed in the Index under their family names or, in the case of women, under their maiden names.

Abbreviations

acc	acceded	custos rot	custos rotulorum
adm	admiral	d.	died
bapt	baptized	JP	Justice of the Peace
capt	captain	jt	joint
co	county	kt	knight
comm	commissioner	lieut	lieutenant
cr	created	MP	Member of Parliament

nd	no date	pres	president
parl	parliament	succ	succeeded
PC	Privy Councillor	summ	summoned

Companies Named by Patron

Atherton

John Atherton (*c* 1557–May 1617). JP Lanc 1577–8, 1586; sheriff Lanc 1582; MP Lanc 1586, Lancaster 1589. Seat at Atherton Hall, Lanc; lands in Lanc and Yorks.

musician	Smithills	1587 (167)
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Derby

Henry Stanley (Sept 1531–25 Sept 1593), styled Lord Strange until summ to parl as 12th Lord Strange 23 Jan 1558/9; succ as 13th earl of Derby, 5th Lord Stanley, and lord of the Isle of Man 24 Oct 1572. High steward Ormskirk, Lanc, 6 Dec 1550; jt comm of musters Lancaster, Lanc, 1569; mayor Liverpool, Lanc, 1569–70; lord lieut 24 Oct 1572 until death and vice-adm Lanc and Ches May 1574–87; keeper of Mere Clough Park, Lanc, 7 May 1574; eccles comm province of York 17 Jun 1577; PC by 20 May 1585; lord steward of the household after Sept 1588–93; chamberlain co palatine of Chester 5 Nov 1588–93; member Council of the North. Seats at Lathom and Knowsley, Lanc.

bearward	Liverpool	1574–5 (41)
players	Liverpool	1582–3 (46)

William Stanley (*c* 1561–29 Sept 1642), succ as 15th earl of Derby 16 Apr 1594; confirmed as lord of the Isle of Man 7 Jul 1609. Mayor Liverpool, Lanc, 1603; PC Mar–May 1603; chamberlain co palatine of Chester 30 Oct 1603 and jt with James Stanley, *qv* (under **Strange**), for life 23 Oct 1626; lord lieut Lanc and Ches, sole 22 Dec 1607 and jt with James Stanley, *qv*, for life 12 Dec 1626; member Council in the Marches of Wales by 1617; vice-adm Lanc and Ches 1619–38; jt steward Furness, Lanc, 30 Nov 1627. Seats at Lathom and Knowsley, Lanc; lands in Lanc.

players	Gawthorpe	1609 (170)
		1612 (173, 174)
players (?)	Gawthorpe	1613 (175)
players	Dunkenhalgh	1613–14 (185)
		1615–16 (185)
	Gawthorpe	1616/17 (176)
	Dunkenhalgh	1620–1 (190)
		1624–5 (193)
men	Dunkenhalgh	1617–18 (187, 188)
		1620–1 (189)

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. Seat at Dudley Castle, Staff.

men (?)	Knowsley	1589–90 (181)
men	Dunkenhalgh	1619–20 (189)
men (Distle <i>et al</i>)		1620–1 (189)

players (<i>Distle et al</i>)	Gawthorpe	1609/10 (171) 1612 (173) 1612/13 (175) 1616 (176)
	Dunkenhalgh	1624–5 (193) 1629–30 (199)
player/s (<i>Distle</i>)	Dunkenhalgh	1624–5 (194) 1625–6 (195)
player (<i>Distle</i>)	Dunkenhalgh	1626–7 (197) 1629–30 (200)

Essex

Robert Devereux (19 Nov 1566–25 Feb 1600/1), styled Viscount Hereford until he succ as 19th earl of Essex, 6th Lord Ferrers, and 9th Lord Bouchier 22 Sept 1576. Master of the horse 1587–97; pc 25 Feb 1592/3; lord lieut Staff 1594, lord lieut Ireland Mar–Nov 1599; beheaded 25 Feb 1600/1. Seats at Chartley, Staff, and Lamphey, Pembrokeshire, Wales; residence at Essex House, the Strand, Midd; lands in Staff and Wales.

players	Knowsley	1589–90 (182)
	Smithills	1594 (169)

Eure

Ralph Eure (24 Sept 1558–1 Apr 1617), succ as 3rd Lord Eure 12 Feb 1593/4. JP Yorks, NR, from c 1583 and Dur c 1593; sheriff Yorks 26 Nov 1593; member Council of the North 14 Aug 1594 until death and vice-pres 1600; warden of the Middle March towards Scotland Dec 1595–8; custos rot Northumb 1596; lord pres Council in the Marches of Wales and lord lieut Wales 12 Sept 1607–17. Seats at Ingleby Greenhow, Malton, and Stokesley, all in Yorks, NR.

men	Dunkenhalgh	1617–18 (187)
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Halsall

Cuthbert Halsall (c 1573–c 1632), kt 22 Jul 1599. 1595–1631; JP Lanc 1595–1631; sheriff Lanc 1600 and 1611; mayor Liverpool, Lanc, 1615; imprisoned for debt 1631. Seat at Halsall, Lanc.

men	Dunkenhalgh	1616–17 (186)
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Hertford

Sir Edward Seymour (22 May 1539–6 Apr 1621), styled earl of Hertford 1547 until his father's attainder 12 Apr 1552; restored 1553 or 1554; cr Baron Beauchamp and 9th earl of Hertford 13 Jan 1558/9; imprisoned 1561; released after 27 Jan 1567/8. Seat at Elvetham, Hants.

men	Lathom	1606 (183)
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Hesketh

Thomas Hesketh (c 1518–20 Jun 1588), kt 2 Oct 1553. Sheriff Lanc 1562–3; comm of

musters Lanc 1570; mayor Liverpool, Lanc, 1577; JP Lanc 1577–8, 1583–4; imprisoned 1581. Seat at Rufford Hall, Lanc.

minstrel	Read	1569 (160)
players	Knowsley	1587–8 (180)

Huntingdon

Henry Hastings (24 Apr 1586–14 Nov 1643), styled Lord Hastings 1595 until he succ as 22nd earl of Huntingdon 30 Dec 1604. High steward, duchy of Lancaster in Leic nd; JP Derb nd. Seat at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Leic; lands in several cos.

piper	Dunkenhalgh	1629–30 (199)
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King

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	Dunkenhalgh	1620–1 (189, 190, 191) 1624–5 (192)
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Charles Stuart (19 Nov 1600–30 Jan 1649), son of James I, *qv*, and Anne of Denmark, *qv*; cr earl of Chester and prince of Wales 4 Nov 1616; acc as Charles I 27 Mar 1625; crowned 2 Feb 1625/6; beheaded 30 Jan 1649.

men (as prince)	Dunkenhalgh	1619–20 (189)
players (as prince)	Dunkenhalgh	1620–1 (190) 1622–3 (192)
players	Dunkenhalgh	1628–9 (197)

Legh

Peter Legh (23 Apr 1514–6 Dec 1589), kt 1544. Sheriff Lanc 1549 and Ches 1553; comm of musters Lanc 1570; provost-marshal Lanc and Ches 1585. Seats at Bradley, Lanc, and Lyme Hall, Ches; lands in Lanc and Ches.

musicians	Smithills	1583/4 (166)
players	Smithills	1588 (167)

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; restored in blood 7 Mar 1557/8. Master of the horse 1559–87; PC 23 Apr 1559; high steward and receiver honour of Pickering Lythe and constable Pickering Castle, Yorks, NR, 4 Nov 1564; chamberlain co palatine of Chester 2 Jul 1565 until death; chancellor and chamberlain 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. Seats at Kenilworth, Warw, Wanstead, Essex, and Leicester House, Midd; granted lordship of Beverley, Yorks, ER, 1561,

lordship of Denbighshire, including Denbigh Castle and borough of Chirk, 1563, and lands in various parts of England and Wales, including Lanc, Staff, and Yorks.

players	Lathom	1586–7 (180)
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Monteagle

William Stanley (*c* 1527–10 Nov 1581) succ as 3rd Lord Monteagle 25 Aug 1560. Comm of musters Lanc 1569. Seat at Hornby Castle, Lanc.

players	Liverpool	1574–5 (41)
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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. Imprisoned in the Tower Jan–Aug 1600/1. Seat at Hornby Castle, Lanc; lands in several cos.

players	Gawthorpe	1610 (171)
		1612 (173)
	Dunkenhalgh	1614–15 (185)
		1615–16 (186)
men	Dunkenhalgh	1614–15 (185)

Morley

Edward Parker (*c* 1551–1 Apr 1618), succ as 12th Lord Morley 22 Oct 1577. Imprisoned in the Fleet Apr 1573; JP Yorks, NR, 1584.

players	Smithills	1586 (166)
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Oxford

Edward de Vere (12 Apr 1550–24 Jun 1604), styled Lord Bolebec until he succ as 17th earl of Oxford 3 Aug 1562. Lord great chamberlain 3 Aug 1562; chief comm of musters Essex 1579; imprisoned in the Tower *c* Mar–8 Jun 1581. Seats at Hedingham Castle, Essex, and Hackney, Midd.

players	Liverpool	1582–3 (46)
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Prince *see* Charles Stuart *under* **King**

Princess

Probably

Mary Tudor (18 Feb 1515/16–17 Nov 1558), daughter of Henry VIII and Katherine of Arragon; 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 Jan 1556.

minstrel/s	Whalley Abbey	1531 (142)
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Elizabeth Stuart (mid-Aug 1596–13 Feb 1662), daughter of James VI (of Scotland) and I (of England), *qv* (under **King**), and Anne of Denmark, *qv*; married Frederick V, elector palatine, 14 Feb 1613; crowned queen of Bohemia 7 Nov 1619.

men (Lady Elizabeth)	Dunkenhalgh	1615–16 (186)
		1616–17 (186)
		1617–18 (188)
players (Lady Elizabeth)	Dunkenhalgh	1620–1 (191)
		1629–30 (200)

Queen

Elizabeth Tudor (7 Sept 1533–24 Mar 1603), daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn; acc as Elizabeth I 17 Nov 1558; crowned 15 Jan 1559.

players	New Park	1588–9 (180)
	Lathom	1588–9 (181)
	Knowsley	1589–90 (181, 182)

Anne of Denmark (12 Dec 1574–2 Mar 1619), daughter of Frederick II of Denmark and Norway and Sophia of Mecklenburg; married James VI of Scotland (later James I of England), *qv* (under **King**), 20 Aug 1589; crowned queen of England 25 Jul 1603.

players	Dunkenhalgh	1615–16 (186)
		1616–17 (186)
	Gawthorpe	1617/18 (177)
	Prescot	1618 (83)

Ratcliffe

Possibly

Savile Radcliffe (*c* 1584–1652), JP Lanc 1615, 1642 and Yorks, WR, nd. Seat at Todmorden Hall, Yorks, WR; lands in Lanc and Yorks, WR.

fiddlers	Gawthorpe	1618 (178)
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Shireburn

Richard Shireburn (*c* 1591–1667). JP Lanc 1612; sheriff Lanc 1613–14. Seat at Stonyhurst, Lanc; lands in Lanc and Yorks.

players	Dunkenhalgh	1628–9 (197)
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Shrewsbury

Edward Talbot (bapt 25 Feb 1560/1–8 Feb 1617/18), succ as 11th earl of Shrewsbury and as earl of Waterford 8 May 1616. MP, Northumb 1584–5, 1586–7; comm of musters Middle March May 1596; custos rot Northumb Jul 1603; member Council in the North Jul 1603–Feb 1618; JP Yorks, WR, Jul 1603; member Council in the Marches of Wales 3 Mar 1616/17. Seat at Sheffield Castle, Yorks, WR.

men	Dunkenhalgh	1616–17 (186)
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Stafford

Edward Stafford (bapt 20 Sept 1572–25 Sept 1625), succ as 13th Baron Stafford 18 Oct 1603. Imprisoned in the Fleet Mar 1605. Seat at Stafford Castle, Staff.

players	Gawthorpe	1612 (173) 1616/17 (176) 1617 (177)
men	Dunkenhalgh	1614–15 (185) 1615–16 (186) 1616–17 (187) 1617–18 (188)

Strange

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 Ches from 28 Feb 1642 and Lanc from 29 Sept 1642; chamberlain co palatine of Chester for life, jt 23 Oct 1626 and sole from 29 Sept 1642; jt steward of Furness, Lanc, 30 Nov 1627; eccles comm in the North 1629; jt high steward of Blackburn, Hidenowe, Rochdale, and Tottington, all in Lanc, 8 Jun 1636; lord lieut North Wales by 1642; chief comm of array Lanc 11 Jun 1642; alderman of Chester until 27 Oct 1646; capt-gen Ches, Lanc, and North Wales Aug 1651; custos rot Lanc nd; beheaded 15 Oct 1651. Seats at Lathom and Knowsley, Lanc.

merry man	Dunkenhalgh	1630–1 (203)
players	Dunkenhalgh	1634–5 (206, 207, 209) 1636–7 (210)

Trafford

Edmund Trafford (23 Jun 1526–14 May 1590), kt 1578. JP Lanc from *c* 1561; comm of musters Lanc 1570; sheriff Lanc 1570–1, 1579–80, 1583–4; MP Lanc 1572; steward lands of collegiate church Manchester, Lanc, 1575. Seat at Trafford Hall, Lanc; lands in Ches, Derby, and Lanc.

minstrels	Manchester (?)	1579 (151)
musicians	Smithills	1587 (166)

Edmund Trafford (*c* 1562–8 May 1620), son of Edmund Trafford, *qv*; kt 17 Apr 1603. JP Lanc by 1587 until death; MP Newton, Lanc, 1589, 1593; deputy lieut and sheriff Lanc 1601–2, 1608–9, 1616–17, 1620; eccles comm province of York 1603. Seat at Trafford Hall, Lanc.

musicians	Smithills	1586 (166)
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Tutton

Possibly

William Tatton (*c* 1543–19 May 1611). Seat at Wythenshawe Hall, Ches.

musicians	Smithills	1587 (166)
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Vaux

Edward Vaux (13 Sep 1588–8 Sep 1661), succ as 4th Lord Vaux of Harrowden 20 Aug

1595. Imprisoned in the Fleet 1 Mar 1611/12–1 Mar 1614/15 and 13–25 Nov 1625; JP Northants 1626. Seat at Harrowden, Northants.

players	Castle Rushen	1602–3 (270)
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Warren

Probably

John Warren (*c* 1585–20 Jun 1621). Seats at Poynton, Ches, and Woodplumpton, Lanc.

musicians	Gawthorpe	1611 (172)
men	Dunkenhalgh	1613–14 (184)
		1615–16 (186)
		1616–17 (186)

Edward Warren. Unidentified.

men	Dunkenhalgh	1614–15 (185)
		1617–18 (188)

Companies Named by Location

Blackburn, Lanc

players	Smithills	1591/2 (169)
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Bradford, Yorks WR

musicians	Dunkenhalgh	1628–9 (198)
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Burnley, Lanc

players (fiddlers?)	Dunkenhalgh	1633–4 (205)
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Carlisle, Cumb

waits	Gawthorpe	1611 (172)
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Cheshire

players	Smithills	1591/2 (169)
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Chester, Ches

musicians	Smithills	1595/6 (170)
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Clitheroe, Lanc

players	Wardley	1583/4 (160)
	Dunkenhalgh	1628–9 (197)
piper	Gawthorpe	1612 (174)

Downham, Lanc

players	Smithills	1590/1 (168)
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		1593/4 (169)
		1595/6 (170)
	Dunkenthalgh	1621-2 (191)
Durham, Dur		
waits	Gawthorpe	1617/18 (178)
	Dunkenthalgh	1618-19 (188)
Elland, Yorks WR		
waits	Smithills	1590/1 (168)
Garstang, Lanc		
players	Smithills	1591/2 (168)
Halifax, Yorks WR		
waits	Smithills	1591 (168)
		1592-3 (169)
	Dunkenthalgh	1615-16 (186)
		1628-9 (198)
		1630-1 (203)
fiddlers	Gawthorpe	1609/10 (171)
Heptonstall, Yorks WR		
fiddlers	Gawthorpe	1612/13 (175)
Knaresborough, Yorks WR		
fiddlers	Dunkenthalgh	1633-4 (206)
Lancaster, Lanc		
waits	Dunkenthalgh	1628-9 (198)
Leeds, Yorks WR		
waits	Gawthorpe	1618 (178)
	Dunkenthalgh	1621-2 (191)
		1626-7 (197)
		1628-9 (198)
		1629-30 (200)
		1630-1 (203)
		1631-2 (204)
		1633-4 (206)
		1636-7 (210)
Leigh, Lanc		
minstrel	Smithills	1590 (167)

Manchester , Lanc		
waits	Gawthorpe	1612 (174)
Nantwich , Ches		
players	Smithills	1588/9 (167)
Nottingham , Nott		
waits	Dunkenhalgh	1630-1 (203)
Padiham , Lanc		
piper	Gawthorpe	1609 (171)
Pateley Bridge , Yorks WR		
fiddlers	Dunkenhalgh	1626-7 (197)
Pontefract , Yorks WR		
waits	Smithills	1586 (166)
Preston , Lanc		
players	Smithills	1588-9 (167)
waits	Dunkenhalgh	1617-18 (188)
		1622-3 (192)
musicians	Dunkenhalgh	1626-7 (196)
Read , Lanc		
mummers	Downham	1617/18 (146)
Ribchester , Lanc		
players	Dunkenhalgh	1624-5 (192)
Ripon , Yorks WR		
waits	Dunkenhalgh	1626-7 (197)
		1628-9 (198)
		1629-30 (199)
		1636-7 (210)
Rochdale , Lanc		
players	Smithills	1591 (168)
Wakefield , Yorks WR		
waits	Gawthorpe	1612/13 (175)
	Dunkenhalgh	1613-14 (184, 185)
		1614-15 (185)

		1618–19 (188)
		1619–20 (189)
		1628–9 (198)
Walton le Dale, Lanc		
players	Stonyhurst	1575 (164)
Whalley, Lanc		
players	Dunkenhalgh	1633–4 (204)
		1634–5 (207)
		1635–6 (209)
		1638–9 (211)
Wigglesworth, Yorks WR		
fiddlers	Dunkenhalgh	1628–9 (198)
York		
wait	Smithills	1591 (168)



Glossaries: Introduction

The purpose of the glossaries is to assist the reader in working through the text. The criteria for the selection of glossary entries are discussed below under the headings Latin Glossary and English Glossary. The glossaries include words found in records printed or quoted in the Records, Introduction, Appendixes, and Endnotes. Definitions are given only for those senses of a particular word which are used in the records printed in this collection.

Within references, page and line numbers are separated by an oblique stroke. Multiple references are separated by a comma. Words occurring twice on the same page and line in the same sense are indicated by '(2)' following the page and line reference. Words occurring within marginalia are indicated by a lower case 'm' following the page and line reference. Manuscript capitalization has not been preserved and for this purpose 'ff' is considered as equivalent to 'F', words so beginning in the text being spelt in the glossary with one initial 'f'; however, if proper names are glossed, they are capitalized in accordance with modern usage.

Variant spellings are listed within the main entry set apart in bold-face type. In the English Glossary, they are given in alphabetical order under each grammatical form; in the Latin Glossary, they follow the definition. If a variant would not be found within two entries of the main entry, it is also listed separately and cross-referenced to the main entry.

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 is found in the *OLD*, but appears in the text in an obscure spelling or anomalous inflectional form for which the *OLD* provides no cross-reference, that word has been included and its standard lexical entry form indicated, without giving a definition. If the spelling variants or anomalous inflectional forms have been treated as scribal errors and more correct forms given in textual notes, the 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, if at all, according to common medieval variations. The results of these common variations are not treated here as new words, nor are forms of glossed words resulting from such variations cross-referenced. 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*
- ML *ff* for CL *f*; common in an initial position
- ML addition of *h*
- 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 CL consonant cluster *mm* 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. Where the same word occurs in spellings which differ according to the list above, the most common spelling (or the earliest, when numbers of occurrences are roughly equal) is treated as standard and used for the headword. However, the practice of the *OLD* has been followed as regards 'i/j' and 'u/v' variation: in this glossary only the letter forms 'i' and 'u' are used.

It is difficult to know in some cases whether certain words are being used in a CL sense or in one of the modified senses acquired in Anglo-Latin usage during the Middle Ages. In these circumstances, the range of possibilities has been fully indicated under the appropriate lexical entry. Unclear, technical, or archaic terms, especially those pertaining to canon or common law, performance, and music, are usually given a stock translation equivalent, but receive a fuller treatment in the glossary.

As a rule, only one occurrence of each word, or each form of each word, will be listed; 'etc' following a reference means that there are more occurrences of that word or form. The one occurrence listed is either the sole occurrence or the first chronologically. Since this collection is arranged by locality, the occurrence cited is not necessarily the first to occur in the page order of the Records; the other occurrence(s) indicated by 'etc' may in fact precede the first occurrence in page order. Page order has been used only if there are two earliest occurrences in different documents assigned to the same year. In such cases, the chronologically first occurrence which also appears earliest in page order is given. Multiple occurrences of each sense may be listed for words defined in more than one sense; in fact all possible occurrences of a given sense may be listed if it is difficult to distinguish the senses in context.

All headwords are given in a standard dictionary form: nouns are listed by nominative and genitive; 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.

English Glossary

The English Glossary is not meant to be exhaustive, but only to define words or record senses that are genuinely obsolete or likely to be mistaken by a modern reader and to give the modern equivalents of spellings that would puzzle a beginner. Accordingly words and senses given in the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* have usually been passed over and these include archaic words and phrases still familiar to most educated readers, such as 'doth,' 'herein,' 'in sunder,' 'morrow,' and 'spake.' The reader is also assumed to be familiar with such common spelling alternations as *au/a*, *c/s*, *ea/e*, *i/e*, *i/j*, *i/y*, *oo/ou*, *s/z*, and *u/v*, and accordingly forms offering no other difficulty have usually been passed over. Abbreviations are also mostly omitted. Forms such as 'yem' for 'them,' in which a 'þ' identical in shape with 'y' has been transcribed as 'y,' are, however, glossed for the benefit of readers unfamiliar with that convention.

To these general rules there are three exceptions. First, fuller treatment has been given to words and phrases likely to be of special interest to users of a REED volume; these include terms for articles of dress (eg, 'coops') and textiles (eg, 'clothe of golde'), names of musical instruments (eg, 'bandore'), and the specialized vocabulary of popular custom, pastimes, and the performing arts (eg, 'summer lords,' 'coverpin,' 'matichine'). Second, since the surviving evidence for performers' activity in Lancashire comes so largely from legal records, special attention has been paid to technical terms of both secular and church law. Lastly, encyclopedic information on political or social history has been provided where it seemed necessary to an understanding of the text.

The glossary follows alphabetical order. Normal headword forms are the uninflected singular for nouns, the positive for adjectives, and the infinitive for verbs, but nouns occurring only in the plural or possessive, adjectives occurring only in comparative or superlative forms, and verbs occurring only in one participial or finite form are entered under the form that actually occurs. Verbal nouns are subsumed under the infinitive when other parts of the same verb also occur in the text and adverbs are entered under the related adjective when that also occurs.

Fully glossed words appearing in a variety of spellings are entered under the one most often found in the text. When two spellings are equally or nearly equally common, the one nearer modern usage is used as headword.

Unfamiliar spellings of words not fully glossed appear in their alphabetical places but several may be grouped into a single entry where that can cause the reader no confusion. Forms corrected in the footnotes or cancelled and replaced by the original scribe are not normally entered.

For every word, sense, and variant recorded, the glossary cites the earliest example occurring in the Records as a whole. Since this collection is arranged by locality, the examples cited are not necessarily the first to occur in the page order of the Records. When two citations are given without 'etc,' that means that the form or sense in question occurs only twice. Otherwise further occurrences are represented by 'etc,' except when it is deemed advisable to alert the reader that the sense in question applies in particular later passages.

Where the definition begins by repeating the headword in a different spelling, the latter is normally the headword in the *Oxford English Dictionary* and further information can be found there. Occasionally it has been thought advisable to cite the authority followed or succinctly indicate the glossarian's reasoning process and this information is then given within square brackets at the end of the entry.

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Abbreviations

abbrev	abbreviation	LL	Late Latin
abl	ablative	m	masculine
acc	accusative	Mk	Mark
adj	adjective	Mt	Matthew
adv	adverb	n	noun
AL	Anglo-Latin	nt	neuter
art	article	OE	Old English
CL	Classical Latin	pa	past tense
coll	collective	phr	phrase
comm	common gender	pl	plural
comp	compound	poss	possessive
compar	comparative	pp	past participle
conj	conjunction	ppl	participial
cp	compare	pr	present tense
dat	dative	prep	preposition
E	English	pron	pronoun
EG	English Glossary	prp	present participle
f	feminine	refl	reflexive
gdve	gerundive	sbst	substantive
gen	genitive	sg	singular
imper	imperative	superl	superlative
inf	infinitive	tr	transitive
interj	interjection	v	verb
intr	intransitive	var	variant
L	Latin	vb	verbal
LG	Latin Glossary	vb n	verbal noun
Lk	Luke		

Latin Glossary

ABIGAIL ANN YOUNG

absolucio, -onis *n f* absolution, the formal assurance of forgiveness from sin or remission of the penalty incurred for committing a sin in ecclesiastical law 75/18, etc

absoluo, -ere, -ui, -utum *v tr* to absolve from sin, or from penalty for a sin, bestow forgiveness 75/21, etc

abutto, -are, -ui, -atum *v intr* to abut on, share a common boundary (used in describing a plot of land) *here found only as prp* 77/29

accio, -onis *n f* legal action, lawsuit, *here apparently in a church court* 75/20

acquietus, -a, -um *pp* quit, freed from specified obligations, *in this case from the conditions of a bond* 36/4

admissio, -onis *n f* 1. permission 113/16; 2. act of admitting (a person) to the legal status of tenant 83/28, etc

admitto, -ittere, -isi, -issum *v tr* 1. to admit (a person) to a legal status or condition, *here used of burgess-ship* 40/10 and tenancy 82/31, 82/33; 2. to admit (a person) to an office, *here used of a wait's office* 52/6

adtunc *adv* at that time, then 113/19, etc; **ad tunc** 113/17

affraia, -e *n f* *literally* affray, a fight between two or more persons in a public place, *here by extension* an assault 31/25, 31/29 [*Black's*]

aldermannus, -i *n m* alderman, a civic officer 41/16

alias *adv* 1. elsewhere 25/5; 2. with alternate names, alias 23/37, etc

alius, -a, -um *adj* 1. other 6/20, 21/26, 21/32;

2. *m or f as sbst* another person, *in pl* other people, others 114/8, etc

allocacio, -onis *n f* permission, leave 113/16

amerciamentum, -i *n nt* amercement, a fine assessed at the discretion of the court 31/30 [*DML, Black's*]

Anglia, -e *n f* England 36/2, etc

Anglice *adv* in the English language 24/2, etc

annuatim *adv* yearly, on an annual basis 82/27, 82/28; **annuatem** 82/18

argumentor, -ari, -atus sum *v intr with dat of the person + object clause* to maintain or allege (something) against (someone) 26/30

armiger, -eri *n m* *literally* one who bears arms, *in AL* used as a title, esquire 82/23, etc

armum, -i *n nt* weapon, *here in idiom vi et armis* by force and arms, a legal fiction used in stating a charge or allegation of theft or trespass, irrespective of any actual use of force 149/27

articulum, -i *n nt* article, a charge or list of charges laid against a person in court 109/30m, etc

asporto, -are, -ui, -atum *v tr* 1. to carry away, take away, steal 149/30; 2. to carry, bring 24/3

assignatus, -i *sbst m* assign, a person to whom another has assigned, or made over, rights in property or in receivable sums of money 82/36

assigno, -are, -ui, -atum *v tr* 1. to allot or assign a responsibility (*pp* used in the formal title of a JP) 94/8, etc; *see also iusticiarius*; 2. + *dat of the person* to order (someone to do something) 72/15

assumo, -ere, -psi, -ptum *v intr* in idiom with 'super' + *acc* or 'pro' + *abl* to undertake (to do something) on behalf of (someone), *here used* in a bond 19/33, etc

balliuus, -i *n m* bailiff: 1. civic officer 35/32; 2. household officer 114/7, 114/15, 114/23

burgagium, -ii *n nt* burgage, a special form of tenure for houses or lands formerly containing houses within a borough 77/27 [*Black's* Burgage, Burgage-tenure]

burgensis, -is *n m* burgess, one having the rights and privileges of a freeman of a city or town 40/10, 41/17

capella, -e *n f* chapel, the place of worship in a chapelry, a subdivision of a parish; owing to the area covered by many Lancashire parishes, places which in most parts of England would be parishes in their own right were chapelries 92/31

capio, -ere, cepi, -tum *v tr* 1. to take, remove 149/30; 2. *here in idiom* with 'recognicio' 148/26 or without 'recognicio' 94/12 to take or require (a bond)

carda, -e *n f* playing card 77/19

catallum, -i *n nt* chattel, moveable property 19/36, etc

certifico, -are, -aui, -atum *v tr* to certify formally (one's compliance with a court order) 21/5, etc

ceruicia, -e *n f* ale 113/18

circiter 1. *adv* with 'eo' thereabouts 241/24 [OLD]; 2. *prep* around, near (used of a date) 241/15 (*error for* OLD *circa?*)

clamo, -are, -aui, -atum *v tr* to make a claim (*here used of* rights in property) 241/22

clericus, -i *n m* clerk, *here apparently* the town clerk 57/5

cognomen, -inis *n nt* surname, family name 75/25

cognosco, -oscere, -oui, -itum *v tr* 1. to acknowledge, accept (an obligation), *here used in* bonds 94/8, etc; 2. to acknowledge title or possession (of land) 84/37

comes, -itis *n m* earl, a peer ranking above a viscount but below a marquess 41/16

comitatus, -us *n m* county 14/11, etc

commissio, -onis *n f* commission, *here possibly* a commission of the peace 161/27

committo, -ittere, -isi, -issum *v tr* 1. with 'ad' + *gdve* and *acc* of the person to entrust (a responsibility) to (someone) 76/18; 2. to commit (a crime) 25/4

communis, -e *adj* 1. common, communal, of or pertaining to a community, in this case a city 35/35, 36/3; 2. common, open to the public 113/17

communiter *adv* openly, publicly, generally 113/17

compareo, -ere, -ui *v intr* to appear before a judge to answer charges, *here used of* appearances before both secular courts 148/40, etc, and church courts 19/2, etc

compotus, -i *n m* account, formal accounting made of the receipts and disbursements of a corporate body, *here in idiom* **per tempus compoti** 116/26, etc, or **per idem tempus** (with implicit 'compotus') 121/41, 122/13, 122/21 during an (*or* the same) accounting period, the period of time covered in a given account

concaruandus, -a, -um *gdve* see **conseruandus**
confiteor, -fiteri, -fessus sum *v intr* to make a statement, claim, acknowledge 21/3, etc

conseruandus, -a, -um *gdve* of 'conseruo,' to keep, preserve [OLD], *here in idiom* **ad pacem conseruandam** to keep the peace, part of the formal title of a JP 94/32-3, etc;

concaruandam 94/8; *see also* **iusticiarius**

consideracio, -onis *n f* consideration, *here in idiom* **in consideracione** + *gen* in consideration of, in return for 82/21, 241/1

consuetudo, -inis *n f* custom, customary usage, *here in idiom* **secundum consuetudinem manerii** according to the custom of the manor; within the jurisdiction of a manorial court, customary usage had the force of law, especially as regards land tenure 82/32, etc

consuetus, -a, -um *adj* customary, in accordance with custom 82/38

copia, -e *n f* *literally* a copy, especially of a legal instrument 76/28, etc, *here also in idiom per copiam curie rotuli* by copy of the court roll (a reference to copyhold, a form of land tenure in which the property rights of the tenant were guaranteed by a copy of the record of his or her entry into the land) 241/3 [*Black's Copyhold*]

corona, -e *n f* crown, *here* standing symbolically for royal authority, the Crown 149/31

croftum, -i *n nt* croft, a small enclosure of land attached to a house 77/27

curatus, -i *n m* curate, any priest having the cure of souls 24/12

curia, -e *n f* law court 77/17, etc; *see also* **curialitas**, -atis *n f* gratuity, gift 114/7, etc

custodio, -ire, -iui, -itum *v tr* 1. to keep, maintain (a guest or lodger) 77/18, etc; 2. to keep, operate (a business) 113/16 (2)

custos, -odis *n m* *literally* guardian, keeper, *here in idiom custos ursorum* bearward 129/21

cymbalum, -i *n nt* *from* 'symbolum,' *in cl* a signet ring, *hence in al* an heraldic device or badge bearing such a device [*OLD, Latham*], *here* a badge, probably bearing the arms of the city 35/35, 36/3

decanus, -i *n m* dean, *here probably* a rural dean, a priest supervising a deanery, an administrative division of a diocese which also functioned as a court circuit for the diocesan courts 21/9

denarius, -ii *n m* a penny, one-twelfth of a shilling 82/18, etc

Derbia, -e *n f* Derby, title of an earl 41/16

dies, **diei** *n m* or *f* 1. day 40/10, etc; 2. day of the week: **dies dominicus** 14/13, etc, or **dominica** 35/31, 35/35 Sunday; 3. *in idiom dies iuridicus* court day, day upon which legal business could be conducted 76/17

diuersus, -a, -um *adj* various, divers 115/5, etc

diuina, -orum *subst nt* divine service, an unspecified liturgical service, often used to

refer to the main worship service at a parish church on any Sunday 72/17

doctor, -oris *n m* doctor, one holding the highest academic degree in a given faculty, *here in idiom legum doctor*, doctor of laws, LLD (*pl* 'legum' formerly indicated a degree in both laws, that is, canon and civil, but after the teaching of canon law was forbidden at the universities by Henry VIII, the degree was presumably in civil law only and retained the *pl* by custom) 75/13

domina, -e *n f* lady, *here* honorific for royalty 14/12, etc

dominus, -a, -um *adj* of or pertaining to the Lord; *see dies*, *sense 2*

dominus, -i *n m* 1. the Lord, title of God or Christ 87/33, etc; 2. lord: title of bishop or other church official acting as judge 18/41, etc; honorific for royalty 116/19, etc, a peer 115/26, etc, or various royal justices 148/40, etc; 3. Sir (title of baronet) 149/29; 4. the lord of a manor 57/36, etc; *see also manerium*

domus, -us *n f* (*abl sg in forms* 'domo' and (once) 'domu') 1. house, home 99/12, etc (in some cases it is not possible to be sure whether the **domus** is a private dwelling, an alehouse, or both); *also in idioms: domus mansionalis* dwelling place, home 21/27 (*see Black's Mansion*); **communis domus tipulacionis** a public alehouse, *literally* a common house of tippling 113/17; 2. playhouse 82/17, 241/12

ductor, -oris *n m* *literally* one who leads, *here in idiom ductor ursorum* bearward 128/11, etc

dux, -cis *n m* duke, highest rank of the hereditary peerage 114/7, etc

ecclesia, -e *n f* 1. specific church or church building 24/4, etc; 2. the church as a corporate or spiritual body 25/6; *see also parochialis*

economus, -i *n m* churchwarden 92/27

epiphania, -e *n f* epiphany, revelation; *here* used of the revealing of Christ to the Gentiles (Mt 2:1–12) or the liturgical festival commemorating it; *see festum*, *sense 2*

erga *prep* 1. *of space* towards, in the direction of 241/7; 2. *of relationship* towards, with regard to 5/37, etc

euangelium, -ii *n nt* gospel, *here* referring to a gospel book used in swearing oaths 75/20

examino, -are, -aui, -atum *v tr* to examine (a person or a case) judicially, used of a judge 94/24, etc

excommunicacio, -onis *n f* excommunication, 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 church members 19/4, etc

excommunico, -are, -aui, -atum *v tr* to excommunicate, impose the penalty of excommunication on someone 25/6

exemplificatus, -a, -um *pp* exemplified, copied, used of the formal copying or exemplification of legal documents 234/21 [*Black's Exemplification*]

exitus, -us *n m* revenue, earnings 241/25

exonero, -are, -aui, -atum *v tr* to discharge (someone) from a bond, normally when its conditions have been met 148/40

extraho, -here, -xi, -ctum *v tr* 1. to draw (blood) 21/32; 2. to copy out, make a copy of 79/34 (*in form extrata*)

festum, -i *n nt* 1. festival, feast 82/29 (*in 3rd declension form festibus*); 2. a specific festival: **festum Epiphaniæ** feast of Epiphany, 6 January 31/5; **festum Martini** feast of (St) Martin, Martinmas, 11 November 21/6; **festum natale Domini** Christmas, 25 December 87/33, etc; **festum omnium sanctorum** feast of All Saints, 1 November 18/14–15; **festum purificationis** feast of the Purification (of the Virgin Mary), Candlemas, 2 February 76/15; **festum Paschale** Easter, Sunday after the full moon on or following 21 March 76/17; **festum sancti Michaelis** feast

of St Michael, Michaelmas, 29 September 76/26 (*in form fescum*)

fides, -ei *n f* 1. (religious) faith 21/25, etc; 2. oath, *here in idiom facere fidem* to swear an oath 75/14

fistula, -e *n f* pipe, *literally* a reed-pipe [*OLD*], possibly a generic term for any wind instrument 35/34m

fistulator, -oris *n m* one who plays upon a 'fistula,' piper 113/20

fistulo, -are, -aui *v intr* to play upon a 'fistula,' to pipe 14/14, etc

forma, -e *n f* 1. tenor, purport, terms (eg, of a statute or agreement) 113/18

Francia, -e *n f* France 21/25, etc; **Frauncia** 30/32

gardianus, -i *n m* churchwarden 18/41, etc

generalis, -e *adj* *see sessio*

generosus, -i *n m* gentleman 67/37m, etc

gero, -rere, -ssi, -stum *v tr* to bear or carry, *here in idiom pacem gerere* to keep the peace, to behave in a peaceable manner 5/37, etc

gracia, -e *n f* grace, divine favour 21/24, etc

grauamen, -inis *n nt* injury, harm, disturbance 21/34

gressessus, -i *sbst m* *apparently from* 'gresumarius' *var of* 'gersumarius' one possessing a holding by the payment of a premium, called in OE 'gersuma,' used especially of an heir 241/15

Hibernia, -e *n f* Ireland 21/25, etc

histrion, -onis *n m* entertainer; *in cl* actor of the better sort; *in later, eg, patristic, Latin* performer in the often obscene farces or ritual drama of the later Empire; *in al usage* usually a generic term, synonymous with 'ministrallus' and 'mimus,' which frequently refers to a musician; often the exact sense cannot be determined 114/15, 114/23; **hustrio** 114/8

informatio, -onis *n f* information, specifically that laid before a court in the course of proceedings 23/15m

infra *prep* within 1. used of extent of space 120/34, etc; 2. *by extension* used of the boundaries of civil authority 31/24; 3. used of a period of time 92/32

inprimis *adv* for 'imprimis' [OLD]

instans, -ntis *adj* present, instant, used in dates 21/5

instrumentum, -i *n nt* musical instrument: used to refer to a stringed instrument 149/28 and a wind instrument 35/34

insulta, -e *n f* from 'insulto' (to leap upon) attack, assault 21/31

intro, -are, -aui, -atum *v intr* literally to go in, enter, *here in idiom with* 'in' + *acc* to enter into, that is, take formal legal possession of, property 82/11, etc

iocus, -i *n m (nt in pl)* in *cl* jest, joke, usually verbal; in *AL* amusement, entertainment, recreation, or trick (eg, of a performing animal); *here exact sense is unclear* 77/18

irrotulo, -are, -aui, -atum *v tr* to enroll (a legal document or record) formally in a record copy 83/8, etc

iudicans, -antis *sbst m* judge, *here in an ecclesiastical court* 75/22

iuramentum, -i *n nt* oath 22/30; **iuramentum ad sancta Dei euangelia** an oath taken on a gospel book 75/19–20

iurator, -oris *n m* juror, *here a member of the jury of a manorial court or court baron* 99/11, 241/17 [*Black's Court-baron, Inquest*]

iuridicus, -a, -um *adj* *see dies, sense 3*

iusticiarius, -ii *n m* judge, justice of the peace: *used absolutely* 19/32, etc; *in formal title*

iusticiarius domini regis ad pacem in comitatu predicto (or Lancastrie)

conseruandam assignatus the king's justice appointed to keep the peace in the aforesaid county (or the county of Lancaster) 94/7–8, etc; *and in idiom parallel to modern e*

iusticiarius pacis justice of the peace 113/15, etc

Lancastria, -e *n f* Lancaster, name of a county 14/11, etc

le *form of the Romance definite art used to signal the beginning of an English word or phr in an otherwise Latin passage* 52/6, etc

legalis, -e *adj* lawful, *here in idiom* **legalis monete Anglie** (a sum) of legal English currency 82/22, etc

leuo, -are, -aui, -atum *v tr* literally to lift up, raise, erect, *in legal idiom* to raise or levy money posted as a bond in the event that specified conditions are not met 19/37, etc

lex, legis *n f* law 21/34; *see also* **doctor**

libra, -e *n f* pound (currency denomination) 19/34, etc

licencia, -e *n f* permission 82/11, etc

ludo, -dere, -si, -sum *v tr* to play, with various significances 1. to play a sport or game, engage in a pastime 21/30; 2. to play music 35/34; 3. *prp as sbst* player, participant in an unspecified sport, pastime, or play 77/18 (2)

ludus, -i *n m* game, pastime; the following broad senses may be distinguished: 1. game of chance; 2. folk game, popular pastime; 3. stage play; 4. entertainment, performance; it is not possible to determine in what sense **ludus** is used on 21/30

lusorium, -ii *n nt* playhouse 80/29

magister, -tri *n m* one who has authority or rank, master, Mr: *used as a title with names* 21/8, etc, and titles of office 41/16

magnas, -atis *n m* magnate, member of the gentry, peer, or other person of importance 120/26, etc

maior, -oris *n m* mayor 36/1, etc

manerium, -ii *n nt* manor, a tract of land and rights associated with it, held of either the Crown or another lord in return for specified services, by a tenant, called the lord of the manor. He in turn admits tenants who hold their lands by copyhold, in return for payment of rent or performance of services. The lord exercises jurisdiction over these tenants through a manorial court, or court baron, in which he or his steward sits as judge and judgments are rendered according to

customary usage 81/21, etc; *see also*

consuetudo

mansionalis, -e *adj* *see domus*

manucapio, -ere, **manucepī**, -tum *v tr* to act as a pledge or guarantor 5/34, etc

manucaptor, -oris *n m* one who acts as a pledge for another's performance of a bond, guarantor 5/39, 6/1

manus, -us *n f* hand, *here in idioms: in manu solutus + *dat* paid in hand, paid directly (to) 241/2; **pre manibus solutus** + *dat* paid beforehand (to) 82/22–3*

manuteneo, -ere, -ui, -tum *v tr* to maintain, keep, support 70/40, etc

manutentor, -oris *n m* supporter 70/40

marca, -e *n f* mark, currency denomination equal to 13s 4d 36/2

mendicans, -antis *subst m* one who begs, beggar 122/5, etc

mimus, -i *n m* *in cl* actor of the less savoury sort, and often *in ll* a synonym for 'pantomimus,' a performer in pantomime; *in al* usually a generic term for an entertainer, probably a musician of some kind 99/12

minister, -tri *n m* 1. *literally* servant 115/26, 116/19; note that 'minister' is in both cases distinguished from the related 'ministrallus'; 2. *by extension with reference to Mk 10:43–5*, clergyman, minister, specifically the incumbent of a parish 26/15

ministrallus, -i *n m* *literally* a servant (*ultimately from ll* 'ministerialis'); minstrel; usually 'ministrallus' appears to refer to a performer, probably a musician and often a member of the household of a royal, ecclesiastical, noble, or other important person; synonym of 'mimus' and 'histrio,' the most common of the three here 115/5, etc; **ministrallys** (*dat pl*) 138/19; **minstrallus** 118/5, etc (*third declension forms* 119/19, 119/26, 119/36); **mynstrellus** 115/12

misericordia, -e *n f* *literally* mercy, *here frequently in idiom in misericordia* (to be) in mercy, that is, subject to a fine, called an amercement, levied at the mercy, ie, the discretion, of the

judge rather than at a fixed rate 31/27, etc, *hence by extension* the fine so levied 99/10

molendinum, -i *n nt* mill 77/32

moneta, -e *n f* money, currency 36/2; *see also*

legalis

mynstrellus, -i *n m* *see ministrallus*

natalis, -e *adj* of or relating to birth; *see festum*, *sense 2*

nomen, -inis *n nt* 1. name 75/23; 2. first name 75/24

nuncius, -ii *n m* *in cl* a messenger, *here more specifically* spokesman, representative (of a group) 75/14

officiarius, -ii *n m* officer, official, *here probably a* functionary in a royal or noble household 115/5, etc

officium, -ii *n nt* *literally* office, position, duty, task, *here in idiom officium domini* 18/41, etc, *or officium domini merum* 23/8 office, a church court acting 'ex officio' on information received and not as the result of promotion by a complainant; what criminal proceedings are to the common law courts, office proceedings are to the church courts

omnino *adv* at any time, on any occasion 36/1

opus, -eris *n nt* *literally* work, labour, *here in idiom ad opus* + *gen* for the use (of) 94/10, etc

ordo, -inis *n m* court order, *here used both of* secular courts 80/30 and ecclesiastical courts 76/28, etc

parcella, -e *n f* parcel, small plot of land 82/11, etc

parochia, -e *n f* parish; normally smallest distinct unit of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and Christian ministry, each parish having its own church, priest, wardens, and tithes; however, Lancashire parishes were often divided into chapelries which functioned as parishes 4/26, etc; *see also* **capella**

parochialis, -e *adj* of or pertaining to a parish, *here in idiom ecclesia parochialis* parish church 21/3–4

particulariter *adv* in detail, exactly 75/25

paschalis, -e *adj* of or pertaining to Easter; *see festum, sense 2*

patria, -e *n f* countryside, often the rural district round about a city, town, or village and associated with it, here apparently the district surrounding a monastery 120/26, etc

pax, pacis *n f* peace; *see gero, iusticiarius*

penitencia, -e *n f* penance, act of contrition or restitution imposed by ecclesiastical authorities upon persons guilty of canonical offences; in case of moral offences such as sabbath breaking, penance often took the form of public confession on a set day or series of days 92/32

persona, -e *n f* person 21/28, etc; *in various idioms: in (propria) persona sua* in one's own person, personally 19/33, etc; *in persona + gen* indicates the individual through whom one acts or receives by proxy 75/20–1

personaliter *adv* in person, personally 21/10, etc

plegius, -ii *n m* guarantor, one who acts as a pledge for another's performance of a task or obligation 35/33, 36/3, 36/4

postpositus, -a, -um *pp* having been put aside, ignored 26/36

premissa, -orum *sbst nt* premises, that is, lands and tenements 82/35, etc [*Black's Premises*]

premisum, -i *sbst nt* what has gone before, the foregoing 36/4, etc

premitus *adv var* of 'primitus' [*OED*] first, at first, *here by extension* before, already 75/19

presentacio, -onis *n f* presentment, the act of presenting a person or persons as guilty of canonical offences or a written copy of the name(s) and charge(s) reported at a presentment; presentments were originally made by churchwardens but later by parish clergy as well 71/11

presentator, -oris *n m* literally presenter, one who makes presentment, *but here apparently used of the judge in an 'ex officio' church court proceeding as the mover of the case, unless this unidentified judge was also the incumbent of the parish of the accused* 71/12

presentatus, -i *pp used as sbst comm* one who was present, attender 75/23

presento, -are, -aui, -atum *v tr* 1. to present, turn over (something to someone) 36/3; 2. to present (someone) as guilty of a canonical offence, used of churchwardens or of parish clergy or both 22/32; 3. to present a finding, *used of an inquest jury: this finding may be either about a crime* 31/23, 31/28 *or about property holding and other transactions* 82/8, 241/18

presto, -are, -iti, -atum *v tr* to furnish, provide, *here in idiom iuramentum prestare* to swear or take an oath 75/19

proclamacio, -onis *n f* announcement, *here the public announcement that one had entered into property and become a tenant of a manor* 82/32, etc

procurator, -oris *n m* proctor, one who acts as counsel for another in a church court 75/15, 75/16

procuratoreum, -i *sbst n* proxy, the form of words appointing a proctor 75/17

procuro, -are, -aui, -atum *v intr + inf* to bring about, cause 31/9

proficiuus, -i *n m* revenue, proceeds, profit 241/25

purificacio, -onis *n f* (ritual) purification, *here used with reference to the Virgin Mary's purification after the birth of Christ* (Lk 2:22–4) *or the liturgical commemoration thereof; see festum, sense 2*

recognicio, -onis *n f* recognizance, a pledge or bond, usually made by the principal party and one or more guarantors, for the performance of a task or condition 148/26

recognosco, -oscere, -oui, -otum *v tr* to acknowledge, used especially in pledges and bonds to acknowledge that a given amount of money has been posted 6/2, *hence in idiom recognoscere se debere + a sum of money* to acknowledge that one is bound (for a given amount) 35/33, etc

redditus, -us *n m* rent 82/18, etc

regina, -e *n f* queen, reigning monarch 36/4, etc
regnum, -i *n nt* 1. reign 36/4, etc; 2. realm, kingdom 21/34

relaxatus, -a, -um *pp* released (from an obligation) 6/20

rex, regis *n m* king, reigning monarch 116/19, etc

rogus, -i *n m* rogue, idle and disorderly person 21/28 [*Black's Rogue*]

rotulus, -i *n m* roll 241/3; *see also copia*

sacramentum, -i *n nt* oath, especially the oath sworn by jurors to give true findings to the best of their ability 99/11, etc

sanctus, -a, -um *adj* holy or blessed, used of persons or things, *m pl* also used as *sbst* holy ones, saints; *see festum*, *sense 2 and iuramentum*

schola, -e *n f* school 82/17, etc

Scotia, -e *n f* Scotland 84/8, etc

seizitus, -a, -um *pp* seised, in lawful possession of a tenement 241/14 [*Black's Seisin*]

senescallus, -i *n m* steward: 1. of a noble household 114/7, 114/15; 2. of a manor 82/10, etc; **senescallus** 241/3 (*sense 2*)

seruicia, -e *n f* service by which a tenant maintains possession of land, the nature of the service varying from manor to manor and sometimes simply consisting of a cash rent 82/37

seruus, -i *n m* literally *in cl* (male) slave, *in al* servant, *here* a town wait 35/33

sessio, -onis *n f* court session, *here in idiom* (*generalis*) **sessio pacis** (general) session of the peace, ie, of the court of quarter sessions 19/30, etc

sigillum, -i *n nt* seal 31/10

significo, -are, -aui, -atum *v tr* literally to signify, *by extension* to make known, to certify formally 71/13

signum, -i *n nt* sign, symbol: 1. personal sign used by an illiterate person instead of a signature 79/34, etc; 2. *by extension* insigne, a device or object bearing a device (*here* that of a town) 35/35

solidus, -i *n m* shilling, one-twentieth of a pound 82/18, etc

specific *adv* specifically, specially 75/23

status, -i *n m* estate, interest in property 241/23 [*Black's Estate*]

statutum, -i *n nt* statute, regulation, law 113/18

subballivus, -i *n m* sub-bailiff, assistant or subordinate to a bailiff, *here probably* a household officer 114/7, etc

substitutus, -i *n m* substitute, deputy, a judge acting on behalf of another 25/2

subter *prep* *here used metaphorically* under 241/22

superhoc *conj* because 82/30

superinde *adv* thereupon, on that account 241/21

superuenio, -enire, -eni, -entum *v tr* to come in from outside, visit 114/8, 114/16

sursumredditio, -onis *n f* surrender, *here* the surrender of copyhold, an act by which a tenant formally surrendered his rights in a holding to the lord of the manor or his representative so that the lord might then dispose of the holding in accordance with pre-agreed terms of surrender, ie, a legal fiction to obtain a transfer of title 241/20 [*Black's Surrender*]

talus, -i *n m* literally knucklebone [*OLD*], a die or playing piece in the shape of a die, *here in idiom* **ludere ad talos** to play at 'tali,' *hence* to game or gamble with dice or similar objects 77/19

templum, -i *n nt* literally temple, *here apparently* the parish church 77/31

tempus, -oris *n nt* 1. time, occasion 21/26 (*in this sense often found with gen of specification defining the nature of the occasion* 72/16, etc); 2. period of time 19/34 (*here often in idiom* **per tempus compoti** or **per idem tempus** during this account or the same period; *see compotus*)

tenementum, -i *n nt* 1. building; 2. tenement, freehold interest other than in land; there may be some overlap between these two senses implied in 19/37, etc [*Black's Tenement*]

tenens, -ntis *sbst comm* tenant, one who holds property from the lord of a manor 82/32, 82/34 [*Black's Tenant*]

teneo, -ere, -ui, -tum *v tr* to have, hold 1. to hold a meeting or court session 5/36, 19/30; 2. to have as a guest 99/12; 3. to hold property 77/27, etc; 4. *in pass* as synonym of 'debeo' to be bound 148/27, 148/29

tenura, -e *n f* tenure, act of holding property as a tenant or sub-tenant 77/28 [*Black's Tenure*]

tipulacio, -onis *n f* tippling; *see* **domus**

uaco, -are, -ui, -atum *v intr* to be void (of statutes, etc) 36/15m

uagabundus, -i *n m* vagabond, vagrant, wanderer 21/28 [*Black's Vagabond*]

ualencia, -e *n f* + *gen of price or value* value, worth 149/28

uenella, -e *n f* lane, side road 77/30

uicarius, -ii *n m* vicar, one who acts as a deputy

for a rector who cannot discharge his duties in a parish 76/25

uicis (*gen*) *n f* (*nom sg is lacking*) 1. occasion, time, *here in idiom* **per uicem** 115/5 or **per uices** 114/8 on occasion; 2. part or function filled by a person (filled in rotation or turn implied), *hence in idiom* **uices sue** a person who fills one's role, one's deputy 76/18

uilla, -e *n f* town 77/17, etc

uirga, -e *n f* yard, unit of measurement, eg, for land 241/9–11

uirgata, -e *n f* yard, unit of measurement, eg, for land 82/14–15

uis, uis *n f* power, force; *see* **armum**

uisum, -i *sbst nt* act of seeing or looking at, examination 41/15

ursarius, -ii *n m* bearward 132/29, etc

ursus, -i *n m* bear; *see* **custos, ductor**

warrantum, -i *n nt* arrest warrant 240/11

English Glossary

WILLIAM COOKE

- a boue** *adv* above 95/28
abouebounden *pp comp* bound above, ie, by an earlier clause 17/14; *see also* **bounden**
aboutes *adv and prep* about 108/23, etc; **abowtes** 11/20, 13/25
aboutward *adv in phr* **be aboutward** try, do one's best 251/28
abroade *adv* at large, round about 43/16, 66/37, etc; **abroad** 274/13; **abrod** 251/27; **abrood** 40/37
aburthen *n phr* a burden, ie, a refrain 261/32
abvsed *v pa 3 sg refl in phr* **abvsed hym selfe** misbehaved himself 4/27
accompanied *pp* accompanied 100/16
accompete *n* 1. account, reckoning 39/15;
2. worth or importance in others' eyes 7/24;
accounte 5/11
accustomable *adj* accustomed 108/16
acquite *v refl in phr* **acquite theym well** acquit themselves well, play their parts well 108/37;
see also **quyte**
aduerteshede *pp* advertised, ie, notified 251/8
affoorted *v pa 3 sg* afforded, provided 106/3; *pp* 105/12
afore *adv and prep* before 106/25, etc; **affore** 112/19, etc; **afor** 251/12
aforesad *adj* aforesaid, previously mentioned 101/18; **affouresaid** 83/10, 83/12
afortyme *adv* in time past 154/22
afote *n phr used adverbially* a foot, one foot 103/2
afte housse *n comp* back-house, addition at rear of, or building behind, the main house (?) 163/6
after *prep* 1. according to 55/38, 93/21, 101/37;
afre 93/22; 2. at the rate of 64/11, 66/22
after none *n comp in phr* **at after none** in the afternoon 112/3; **in after nones** *pl* in afternoons 5/12
aghendawle *n* eighth part (*here* of a peck) 200/8
[*MED* *eighten-dēl*]
agre *v* agree 56/19, etc; **agrie** 39/21, 52/23;
agreyd *pp* 38/30
agrement *n* agreement 156/28
agrest *adj* rustic, countrified 39/21
ailes *see* **ale**
ain *adj* own 251/33
ainswer *v* answer 17/17
airy *adj* frivolous, flighty 85/33
ale *n* 1. the kind of beer most commonly drunk in England, originally made without hops 221/17, etc; **alle** 95/35; 2. a festival or gathering where ale was drunk and usually sold for profit 9/7, etc; **alle** 20/11; **ailes** *pl* 215/13; **ales** 218/26, etc; **alles** 58/9
aleberrry *n usually*, a drink of ale boiled with spice and sugar and served with a sop of bread; *here apparently* a drinking or festival where that was served or sold; **aleberrryes** *pl* 215/1
allowaunce *n* approval xxv/28 [*OED* Allowance *sb* 2]
amerced *pp* fined 55/26
anendest *prep* opposite 44/16 [*OED* Anent 7]
annoyd *pp* 1. distressed 278/19; 2. hampered, bothered **anoyed** 112/37
antemasque *n* antimasque, a grotesque interlude between the acts or scenes of a masque, to

which it served as a foil 256/22m, etc
aperith *v pr 3 sg* appears 40/21
aplyeng *prp* attending diligently to, pursuing 100/33 [*OED Apply v 16*]
apon *prep* upon 100/4, etc; **appon** 10/18, etc
apothecary *n* one who stores, compounds, and dispenses medicaments of all sorts 261/15
apparisions *n pl* apparitions, spectres 256/25
apportemente *n* 1. appointment, direction 168/37, etc; 2. agreement **apportment** 112/4
approved *pp* proved, demonstrated 7/25, etc
Apreyll *proper n* April 154/29
art *n* scientific or scholarly learning; **artes** *pl* subjects of the school curriculum 55/36; *in phr*
art magick magic, occult science 260/34;
masters of arte *pl* masters of arts, university graduates fully qualified to teach the liberal arts 5/11
aslong *adv phr* as long 11/37
asmony *see like asmony*
assautede *v pa 3 pl* assaulted 107/13
assignes *n pl* those to whom rights in property or in receivable sums of money have been legally made over 44/35, etc; **assigndes** 78/28;
assigneis 99/39
assizes *n pl* the local sessions of the judges going on circuit under commission of the Crown to take indictments and to try those cases issuing out of the central courts at Westminster that were ready for trial, with the assistance of a local jury. Orders might also be issued there which then had the force of law within the county unless superseded by act of parliament or royal proclamation 226/23, etc; **assises** 221/35, etc; *sg in phr iustices of assise* the judges of the assizes 225/17; **iustices of assizes** 226/18; **iudges of assise** 228/32–3; **iudges of assyse** 235/3, 235/26; **iudges of assyses** 235/36; *see also siyes*
attachment *n* a warrant for arrest for contempt of court 97/2
authoritye *n* authority 9/35; **auctorite** 100/36; **auctoritie** 7/19; **auchorytie** 9/26; **auctoritie** 223/28
audientlie *adv* audibly, for all to hear 38/15

author *pron* either 55/39
avant *interj* avaunt, begone 257/1
avoyde *v* 1. *tr* evict 80/14, 80/36; 2. *intr* leave
avide 69/12
awarant *v* warrant, guarantee 12/25, 13/13
awne *adj and pron* own 57/14; **awen** 108/35
ayenst *prep* against 107/13, 107/15

backsydes *n comp pl* back premises of buildings, including yards and outbuildings 79/14, 84/21
backwardnesse *n* refractoriness, unwillingness to change 223/3
bad *v pa 3 pl* bade 11/35, etc
bailif *n* 1. a municipal officer, in Lancaster and Liverpool subordinate to the mayor 48/17; **baliff** 41/27; **bailiffes** *pl* 41/40, etc; **balyfes** 29/18m; **balyves** 29/14, 29/18; **bayliffes** 14/32, 42/9, 220/28 (?), 226/20 (?); 2. a manorial officer, responsible for collecting rents and tolls **baliff** 100/14; **balyffe** 163/21, etc; **baylife** 104/10; 3. an officer of justice, subordinate to the sheriff **bayliffes** *pl* 220/28 (?), 226/20 (?)
bailly deutes *n phr pl* deputy bailiffs, municipal or judicial officers or both 251/11
baite *v* set dogs to bite and worry (an animal, usually one confined for this purpose) for sport 58/33; **bayt** 104/15; **beate** 32/19; **bayted** *pa 3 sg* 90/28; *pp* 58/12; **baitinge** *vb n* 228/35; **beatinge** 230/27; *see also* bearbayting, bearebate
baliff *see bailif*
ballett *n* ballad, a popular song, especially one celebrating or scurrilously attacking persons or institutions; **ballettes** *pl* 27/1; *in comp* **ballett munger** ballad-monger, an itinerant hawker of printed ballads 26/39
balyd *pp* bailed, released on bail 38/1
balyffe, balyfes, balyves *see bailif*
band *see trayned band*
bandes *pl* bonds 44/19
bandore *n* bandora, a musical instrument resembling a bass guitar, with wire strings and a fixed bridge 179/11, 179/11m

bannasht *pp* banished 257/20

baylife, bayliffes *see* bailif

bayre *n* bear 58/12

bayre *v* bear, carry 103/7

bayre beates, bayrebaytes *see* bearebate

bayt *see* baite

be *prep* by 13/25, 179/22

bearbayting *vb n comp* bear-baiting, setting dogs to bite and worry bears for sport 104/13;

bearbaytinge 72/10; **bearebaiting** 217/7;

bearebayting 218/26; **beare baytinge** 91/37;

beare beatinge 32/15–16; **beare-baitings** *pl* 215/12, 215/22; **bearebaytinges** 228/6

beare *n* beer 221/17

bearebate *n comp* a bear-baiting 70/39, 70/40;

beare baite 73/14; **bayre beates** *pl* 221/19;

bayrebaytes 220/23; **bearbaites** 4/12,

219/24; **bearbayts** 104/12m; **bearebeates** 226/11

beargardin *n comp* beargarden, a place set apart for bear-baiting and other rough sports 335/20

bearward *n comp* bear keeper, one who leads a bear about 31/24, etc; **beareward** 173/3, etc;

bearwarde 31/26; **beyreward** 41/28; **bear**

wards *pl* 104/14; **bearewardes** 214/20, etc;

bearewards 214/31, etc; **beare-wards** 216/22;

bellwardes 97/35, 98/7

bease, beasse *see* bestes

beate *see* baite

bedstidd *n comp* bedstead 81/28

bedstock *n comp* a headboard and footboard for a bed, taken as a pair; **bedstockes** *pl* 100/7

behalf *n in phr in this behalff* in this regard

101/36; **in this behalfe** 224/1; **in that behalf**

in that regard 108/1, etc; **in that behalfe**

214/21, etc; **in yat behalfe** 23/20; **on the**

behalff of in the interest of, for the benefit of

99/26; **on the behalffes of** 99/27; **on their**

behalfte with regard to them 63/9–10

beholden *vb phr* be holden, ie, be held 16/27

beine *see* byn

bellman *n comp* a town officer paid to go round the streets with a bell, making public announcements and ringing curfew 67/15

bellwardes *see* bearward

ben *see* byn

benshe *n* bench, ie, body of judiciary 224/7

bere *v* bear, carry 103/23; **berringe** *prp* 156/31

berrar *n* bearer 8/1

be semythe *v pr 3 sg* beseemeth, befits 55/37

bestes *n pl* beasts, ie, cattle 162/39; **beasse** 97/31;

pl poss **bease** 187/30; **beasse** 187/29

besuche *v* beseech 251/15; **be such** 251/31

besynes *n* business 251/20

betake *v* commit, entrust 10/1

bete *v pa 3 pl* beat, thrashed 107/18

betwix *prep* betwixt, between 106/37

beyreward *see* bearward

bien *see* byn

billes, billys *see* byll

bill of complaint *n phr* a written statement of a plaintiff's cause of action in a suit 102/33–4, etc; **bill of complaynt** 108/9; **bill of compleyant** 103/29; **bill of compleyante** 103/27

birde *n* beard 250/27

blecked *pp* blacked, blackened 12/9

blode *n in phr for goddes blode* for God's blood, a strong oath 108/34

blowes *n pl* blowfish, a kind of flatfish 205/34

boke *n* book 11/26, etc

bonfiers *n pl* bonfires 219/25

bot *adv* but 55/37

boue *see* a boue

boultinge out *vb n phr* sifting out, ie, thorough investigation 9/34

bounden *pp* bound, placed under a legal or moral obligation 44/34, etc; **bownden** 226/3; *see also* **abouebounden**

bourdes *n pl* boards 103/4

bowls *n pl* drinking bowls, *with pun on bowels* (?) 271/6

brainesicke *adj* issuing from a diseased mind, mad 257/26

brecke faste *n comp* breakfast 165/17

brether *n pl* brothers 154/18

brett *n* a kind of fish, a brill or turbot 200/5 [*OED* Bret sb 1]

brewes *n* brewis, broth from boiling beef and

- vegetables, sometimes thickened with bread or meal 255/29
- broidered** *pp* embroidered 281/31
- brother** *n* brother-in-law 145/7
- bruster bowle** *n phr* brewster bowl, a local name for the wassail bowl (?) 211/28–9
- buklers** *n pl* bucklers, small round shields 106/34
- burgages** *n pl* freehold properties in a borough 57/34, etc; *see also* LG **burgagium**
- burgess** *n* burgess, a citizen of a borough possessing full municipal rights 46/24;
- burgesses** *pl* 42/8; **burgesses** 29/20, etc; *in phr*
- burgesse of Parliamen** member of parliament (properly for a borough) 258/23; *see also*
- coburgesses** and LG **burgensis**
- bushoppe** *n* bishop 180/22, etc; **bushopp** 226/15, etc; **busshopp** 227/25
- buthe** *see* **tooll buthe**
- buttery chamber** *n phr* the room in a house where provisions were stored and dispensed 147/36
- bwilded** *pp* built 77/38
- by** *prep* about 70/9
- by cause** *conj* because 110/4
- byg** *adj* powerful 107/31
- byll** *n* bill: a tool or weapon consisting of a blade attached to a long shaft, usually and properly one with a simple curved blade but also applied to halberds and other long-handled cutting weapons 37/9; **billes** *pl* 101/7; **billys** 106/34
- byn** *v pr 3 pl* are 106/32; *pp* been 107/24, etc;
- beine** 183/21; **ben** 109/16; **bien** 221/37
- C** *abbrev* (a) hundred 110/4, etc
- cackes** *n pl* cakes 193/29
- caled** *pp* called 44/16; **caling** *prp* calling 35/7
- calliver shotte** *n phr* ammunition for a caliver, a kind of light musket fired, like the modern rifle, without a rest or stand 42/31; **callyver shotte** 43/11
- cam** *v pa 3 sg* came 11/20, etc
- candor** *n* impartiality, openmindedness 255/19
- cannoniers** *n pl* cannoneers, gunners who shoot off cannon 356/12
- capitaigne** *n in phr* **wayte capitaigne** wait-captain, chief wait 37/38–9
- carding** *vb n* card playing 235/29; **cardinge** 317/36, 369/11
- care** *v in phr* **wold not care to lend** would not mind lending, would not object to lending 12/17
- cariage** *n* conduct, behaviour 229/7
- carte-hose** *n comp pl* cart-horses 97/31 [‘hose’ is the OE *nt pl* ‘hors,’ with dialectal loss of ‘r’ before ‘s’]
- cattells** *n pl* chattels, pieces of movable property 100/10
- cayles** *n pl* kayles, a game, the forerunner of skittles or ninepins 317/35
- cesse** *v* cease 225/27
- chabelle** *n* chapel 165/4
- chaffed** *v pa 3 sg* chafed, felt annoyance 38/4
- chambers** *n pl* pieces of ordnance, especially small ones without carriages, stood on the breech and used to fire salutes 42/31 [OE *Chamber sb* 10b]
- chancellor** *n* a state or law official, *here specifically* the chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, the sovereign’s chief representative within the duchy and overseer of its business 226/36; **chancellor** 99/24; **chaunceler** 226/16; **chauncellor** 106/19
- chancerye** *n* chancery: one of the courts of the Crown, originally presided over by the lord chancellor, which among other matters had jurisdiction over charitable bequests 157/15
- charge** *n* burden, burdensome amount or number 260/29
- chaunceler, chauncellor** *see* **chancellor**
- chaungeable** *adj* variegated; *here* parti-coloured or made of shot fabric to show different colours in different lights 43/18
- cheeke** *n in phr* **by the cheeke of** cheek by jowl with, right up against or right next to 97/37
- cherrily** *adv* a variant of cheerily(?); or charily, ie, carefully, circumspectly(?) 35/6
- childern** *n pl* children 13/32
- chist** *n* chest 153/28, etc; **chistes** *pl* 103/3, 103/13; **chists** 102/37, 103/1; *in phr* **chist of**

- violins** a set of bowed string instruments of varying pitch, commonly kept together in a single chest or case 183/13
- Christenmas** *proper n* 1. Christmas **Christynmas** 93/33; 2. Christmas-tide, beginning on Christmas Eve and lasting till Twelfth Day 90/1, etc; **Christenmasse** 86/29, 87/3
- Christide** *proper n* Christ-tide, ie, Christmas-tide; this alternative name was favoured by, although not confined to, puritans 257/25
- churched** *pp* (of a mother) brought to church to give thanks for the delivery of a child 68/10
- churchmen** *n comp pl* church officers 230/9
- churchyord** *n comp* churchyard 78/26; **church yord** 24/15; **churche yaurde** 42/32; **churche yearde** 43/4; *see also* **yeard**
- cithhorne** *n* cittern, a stringed instrument resembling a lute, but always played with a quill plectrum 5/23; **cithron** 153/29
- clarke** *n* 1. cleric, clergyman 43/5; 2. parish clerk, clergyman's lay assistant performing limited liturgical functions; **clerke** 50/7; 3. *in phr* **clarke of the crowne** a public official who drew up and proclaimed judicial orders and indictments 234/17–18; 4. an officer who keeps the records and oversees the business of a household or corporation or one of its departments **clerke** 180/8; *in phr* **clarke of the kitchin** 259/20; 5. lay clerk, church singer (or musician?) **clarkes** *pl* 67/15
- cleargie** *n* clergy 281/26
- clene** *adj* neat, trim 109/14 [*OED* Clean *a* 9]
- clere** *adj* net 163/7, etc
- clerke** *see* **clarke**
- cleyn** *adj* clean; **cleyneste** *superl* 55/38; **cleynly** *adv* 55/37
- close** *n* close, enclosed plot of land 78/13; **closes** *pl* 78/23
- closed(e)** *see* **herein** **closede**
- clothe** *n* livery 145/9; *in phr* **clothe of estate** a covering or hanging decorated with a coat of arms or other emblems of rank or authority and placed on or over a dignitary's official seat 42/2; **clothe of golde** a cloth woven with gold wire or flat strips of gold or both, usually mingled with silk 42/4
- clowne** *n* bumpkin 256/13
- cloyshe** *n* cloysh, a ball game in which a wooden ball was driven through a hoop or ring with a wooden bat shaped like a spade 317/35
- cluntry** *adj in phr* **cluntry woode** odd disused wooden articles or fragments, lumber 73/23 [*cp* *OED* Clunter *v* and *sb*]
- coburgesses** *n pl* the full citizens of a borough as a body, the citizenry 49/21; **cooburgesyres** 36/17; *see also* **burgess**
- cockefight, cockfighte, cockfight(e)** *see* **cokfeght**
- cocking** *vb n* cockfight 147/5
- cockpitte** *n comp* cockpit, a pit or enclosure where cocks are set to fight for sport 60/17, 63/38; **cockepitt** 63/38; **cocke pitt** 14/31–2; **cockepitte** 57/35; *in phr* **cockpytt howse** a building to house a cockpit 84/16, 84/26; **cockpitt house** 81/13; **cock pitt howse** 77/28; **coopytt howse** 78/17
- cokfeght** *n comp* 1. cockfight, combat between cocks for sport 106/25, etc; **cokfeyght** 108/19; **cockfightes** *pl* 219/15; **cokfeyghtes** 56/7; *in phr* **cockefeight pit** cockpit 38/27; **cockfeght place** 106/37; **cokfeght place** 112/13, 112/14m; **cokfeight place** 108/25; 2. a place for this, a cockpit **cockefighte** 61/6; **cockffighte** 59/36; **cockfight** 64/28 etc; **cockfichte** 59/21; **cokfeght** 109/40, etc
- cok peny** *n comp* a customary payment made to the schoolmaster in certain northern English schools 93/33; **cokke peny** 56/3; *see also* p 325 (endnote to *MCLA*: L1/44 single mb)
- coled** *pp* coaled, ie, blackened with charcoal 13/27
- color** *n* pretext 106/35 [*OED* Colour *sb* 12]
- comen ples** *n phr pl* common pleas, the court for deciding at common law cases between private parties in which the Crown had no interest 150/25
- comfort** *n* 1. solace, contentment 278/21; **comfforth** 152/26, 153/4; **comffurth** 251/32; **comfortes** *pl* 41/2; 2. encouragement 222/41, 225/26

comfortable *adj* morally and spiritually sustaining or strengthening 225/39

comity *n* county 11/17

commen *pp* come 78/28; **cummon** 13/33; *see also* **common**

commodiowsly *adv* advantageously 224/39

commoditie *n* advantage, benefit 224/36;

comoditye 61/31; **comodytie** 157/12;

commodityes *pl* 79/15

common *adj* 1. general: serving, made by, or intended for all 184/9; **commen** 56/20;

comon 49/21; **comyn** 37/7, etc; *in phr*

common feasts open banquets 218/29;

common praiier the public worship of the Church of England 213/30–214/1, etc;

common praiers *pl* 228/12; **common weale** general welfare 41/2; **comon wealth**

commonwealth, the nation as a community

7/9; 2. joint 224/12; 3. not of high rank, ordinary (often implying rudeness or vulgarity)

19/15, etc; **comyn** 39/21; 3. frequent and widespread 228/16; *see also* **comen plees**

commonalty *n* the commons, the common people 152/31

communicants *see* **new communicants**

commyn *v* commune 112/19; *see also* **common**

comoditye, **comodytie** *see* **commoditie**

compass *n* extent 231/25

compleyant, **compleyaunte** *see* **bill of complaint**

compos mentis *L adj phr* of sound mind 255/35

composure *n* composition 265/31

comyn *see* **common**

comyntie *n* community 38/19, 41/3 [*OED* **Commonty** 2]

concluded *pp* resolved 56/33

condition *n* social rank or standing 105/28, 105/29

conduyte *n* a public fountain 58/13; **conducte** 58/34 [*OED* **Conduit** 2 and **Conduct** *sb*¹ 10]

conforme *adj* conforming 230/32, 233/32

conisaunce *n* cognizance, distinctive device 38/16

consaill *n* *see* **councell**

consorted *pp* fittingly blended, harmonized 105/38

constable *n* officer of a parish or township appointed as keeper of the peace 68/26, etc;

cunstable 100/36, etc; **constables** *pl* 226/37, etc; **cunstables** 220/29, etc

constabulary *n* a constable's district of authority; **constabularyes** *pl* 234/38

contentings *n pl* contentments, objects of content 106/3

convenient *adj* suitable, appropriate 37/6, etc; **conuenient** 81/29, 369/32; **conuenyent** 250/17; **conveniente** 47/40; **convenyent** 51/36

cooburgesyys *see* **coburgesses**

cooffer *n* coffer, ie, treasury 39/13

coops *n pl* copes, cape-like church vestments, open in front, reaching to the ankles, fitted with a real or vestigial hood, and often richly embroidered or otherwise ornamented 40/27

coozen *n* cousin 145/24, etc

cople *n pl* couple, brace 187/31

copp *n* top, summit; *in phr* **daunc'd thire Copp** danced to the peak of their ability, danced their best 33/28 [*OED* **Cop** *sb*² 1 and *cp* **Top** *sb*¹ 15 and *EDD* **Cop** *v*² 'surpass']

coppes *n pl* copies 154/4

copye of courte roule *n phr* an entry in the court roll of a manor made by the steward, when a tenant was admitted to a dwelling or holding within that manor, as evidence of the tenant's right 78/9, 79/1; **copye of courte rowle** 84/27; *see also* **LG copia**

corfye *n* curfew 52/21

corne *n* grain 234/35

cornet *n* cornetto, a wind instrument with a cup mouthpiece and seven finger holes (not to be confused with the modern cornet) 105/1; **cornetts** *pl* 153/28

costomarye *adj in phr* **costomarye tenantes** *pl* tenants holding their lands according to the custom of the manor, copyholders 79/8, etc; **customarie tennantes** 83/10–11; **costomarye landes** lands so held, copyholds 84/22

coude *see* **cowde**

Coueley *see* **Roger o'Coueley**

councell *n* 1. council 38/6, etc; **consaill** 251/30; **counsail** 251/21; **counseill** 144/19; **cownsell** 181/1; *in phr* **pryvie councell** privy council,

- the sovereign's private council of state 7/36; 2. counsel, advice **councell** 100/27
- councillers** *n pl* councillors, council members 262/32
- countenance** *n* favour, regard 145/8; **countenaunce** 225/19
- country, country** *see* **cuntrie**
- covenanter** *n* one who has sworn to a pact, *here* alluding to the Scottish National Covenant of 1638, regarded by the English royalists as treasonable 257/17
- coverpin** *n comp* some kind of game, perhaps a variety of loggats, in which the players knocked pins down by throwing another pin or a stick, or else what is now called mumblety-peg 14/24
- cowde** *v pa 3 sg* could 112/16; **coude** 112/15m
- cownsell** *see* **councell**
- cowp** *see* pp 346–7 (endnote to Whitaker: *History of Whalley* p 305)
- cowper timber** *n comp* cooper's timber, wood for a cooper to use in making and mending barrels 158/21
- coytinge** *vb n* playing with quoits 317/35
- cracknelles** *n pl* simnels, light crisp biscuits of a curved or hollowed shape 329/12
- cratch** *n* a rack to hold fodder 73/23
- cript** *see* **post cript**
- croft** *n* a small enclosed property, usually with a dwelling; a smallholding 78/15; **croftes** *pl* 78/23; **croftis** 77/27
- crokes** *n pl* crucks, paired curved timbers extending to the ground as part of the framework of a house roof 101/9
- crowners** *n pl* coroners, local officers appointed to look after the interests of the crown 281/27
- crummock** *n* a cow with one or more crumpled horns *or* a crooked staff; *here, as title of a song* a derogatory nickname for Thomas, Lord Cromwell, whose name was commonly pronounced as 'Crumwell' or 'Crummle' 250/16
- cryator** *n* town crier, maker of public announcements 165/3
- cryng** *prp* crying 110/19m
- cummon** *see* **commen**
- cunstable** *see* **constable**
- cuntrie** *n* 1. county 222/5, etc; **country** 233/4; **cuntries** *pl* 224/40; 2. region or district **countrey** 29/32; **countrie** 40/37; **cuntrey** 105/26, 108/16; **cuntry** 251/20; 3. people of a district **countrey** 154/19
- cupe** *n* cup 250/27
- curates** *n pl* clergy having cure of souls, parsons 231/11
- curste** *ppl adj* vicious 98/2 [*OED* Cursed 4b]
- curtelages** *n pl* curtilages, small plots of ground, usually enclosed, attached to and adjoining particular dwellings 79/14
- curtesie** *n in phr* **stand to his curtesie** depend on his favour or benevolence 261/7 [*OED* Courtesy *sb* 2b]
- customarie** *see* **costomarye**
- daile** *adv* daily 102/23
- dasshit** *v pa 3 sg* dashed, flung 250/27
- datte** *n* date 156/31
- daungerly** *adv* dangerously 74/22
- deane** *n* rural dean, cleric in charge of church discipline within a district, under the bishop and archdeacon 96/39, 96/40
- decent** *adj* seemly, fit 10/35, 43/29; **decentlie** *adv* fittingly, properly 23/19
- deceased** *pp* deceased 3/30
- decoringe** *vb n* decorating 230/25
- deface** *n* discredit 9/35 [*OED* Deface *sb and* Deface *v* 4]
- defacynge** *vb n* spoiling, marring 227/39
- deluded** *pp* evaded 231/26
- demand** *n* legal claim 83/19
- demesne** *n* possession of real estate as one's own; *pl in phr* **seased in their demesnes as of fee** possessing as their own inherited freehold 99/30
- dener** *n* dinner 163/3
- denill** *n* denial 9/36
- deputes** *n pl* substitutes 251/23; *see also* **bailly** **deputes** [*OED* Depute *ppl a and sb*]
- desseburssed** *pp* disbursed, laid out 163/3
- detected** *pp* exposed, revealed 223/25

- devydette** *pp* divided 157/29
dewe *adj* due, proper 213/4
dewrynge *prep* during 163/17
dewtie *n* duty 56/22, 251/7; **dewtye** 251/31
di *abbrev* for *L* dimidium, used in *E* context for a half 44/15
didle *n* a dance with short, quick steps 32/40 [*cp* *EDD* Diddle *v* 2]
disceyte *n* deceit 39/24
discommoditie *n* inconvenience, trouble 223/17
discontinuance *n* absence, temporary interruption of residence (?); or ceasing to apply oneself (to a task or project) (?) 225/36
disfurnished *pp* divested, stripped 224/12, 225/5
disgest *v* 1. digest 255/28; 2. bear, tolerate **disgested** *pp* 9/33
disportes *n pl* sports, pastimes 56/8
disposicioen *n* disposition, temperament 102/4
doare *n* door 16/5; **dower** 97/37
don, donne, doon, doothe *see* **dowe**
dosen *n* dozen 200/17, etc; **dosenn** 200/11, 207/35; **doson** 207/34; **dussen** 190/26
doveales *n comp pl* ales (*see* **ale**) somehow involving doves (?) or error for 'eaveales,' ie, eve-ales, ales held on the eves of church dedication feasts (?) 219/24 [*cp* *OED* 'eve-feast' under *Eve sb* 1 4]
dowe *v* do 152/19, 152/25; **doothe** *pr* 3 *pl* 57/13; **dothe** 58/42; **don** *pp* 12/27, 13/10; **donne** 6/42; **doon** 107/32
dower *see* **doare**
dreid *pp* dread 102/17
drwe *v pa* 3 *sg* drew 20/26
drynge *n* drink 165/4
duns *n pl* pochards, a kind of red-headed duck 207/35, 208/2; **dunns** 205/31, 209/4 [*OED* Dun-bird]
dussen *see* **dosen**
dwe *adj* due 163/15, 164/17
dye *v in phr* to dye for it though he/they should die for it, if his life/their lives depended on it 12/19–20; to dye fore 250/22
dymission *n* conveyance by lease 99/36 [*OED* Dimission 2]
eaight *n and adj* 1. eight 52/21; 2. eighth 96/16; **eight** 96/34; **eighte** 144/21
eaver *adv* ever 10/3
edg tooles *see* **sharp edg tooles**
eene *adv* e'en, ie, even; as a weakly emphatic modifier just, merely 259/7; **ene** exactly 260/1, 260/7
eight(e) *see* **eaight**
em *pron* 'em, ie, them 258/8, 261/7
eminent *adj* high, prominent 27/3, 27/7
emong *prep* among 104/12
emonges *prep* amongst 110/19
emproved *pp in phr* **emproved vppon** tested, investigated 362/27 [*OED* Improve *v* 3 1; construction apparently influenced by Improve *v* 2]
emulated *pp* envied 222/13
emulation *n* jealousy 224/31
encreas *n* increase 227/37
ene *see* **eene**
ensample *n* example 101/31, 101/35
ensue *v* follow; **ensueth** *pr* 3 *sg* 44/22; **insued** *pa* 3 *sg* 224/16; **ensued** *pp* 107/1; **ensuinge** *prp* 45/1, 259/39
ensure *v* assure, guarantee 263/12
enterludes *see* **interludes**
entertainment *n* hospitality 105/35; **entertainment** 257/32
entertayne *v* receive as a tenant 80/17, 81/3
entreated *see* **evill**
entried *v pa* 3 *sg* entered 40/18
epilogus *L n* epilogue speaker 265/23
eppe *n* ape 170/4
equippage *n* a train, a retinue ceremoniously attired and ordered 258/38 [*OED* Equipage *sb* 9 and 11]
equytye *n* fairness, general principles of justice, specifically the principles applied by the court of Chancery (*see* **chancerye**) intended to secure natural justice 157/16
err *adv* ere, before 152/40
esquier *n* esquire, a title of rank given to gentlemen, especially landholders, who were not knights 38/14, etc; **esquyer** 79/6; **esquyre** 156/36; **esquiers** *pl* 218/10, 235/18

establysshinge *vb n* settlement, entailment (of an estate) so that it cannot be bequeathed at will by a later heir or heirs 156/29

estate *n* 1. condition, circumstances 227/7; *in phr* **good estate** good condition, welfare 222/37; 2. legal right or interest 83/19; 3. dignitary; **estates** *pl* 29/30; 4. *in phr* **place of estate** seat or other prominent place reserved for the sovereign and marked with emblems of sovereignty 42/25, 42/26–7; *see also* **clothe estatute** *n* statute 338/31

Estur proper *n* Easter 106/23, 109/14; **Ester** 93/27

even *see* **fare even**

eveninge prayer *n phr* the afternoon or evening service of public worship of the Church of England 42/14, etc; **eveninge praier** 50/15

evill *adv in phr* **evill affected** ill-disposed, adverse 228/13; **evill disposed** ill-disposed, malicious 100/38; **evill intreated** ill-treated 107/18; **evyll entreated** 112/2; **evill trowbled** badly harassed 41/1

examine *n* person examined under oath 95/33, etc; **examinent** 149/10

exersys *v* exercise 154/25; **exersyse** 56/20

expulsed *pp* expelled, turned out of office 223/38

extendid *pp* assessed under a writ of extent (*see* **writ of extendith**) 40/38

extendith *see* **writ of extendith**

fairelie *adv* fairly, ie, suitably 261/20

faith *interj* by my faith (a mild oath) 260/21

fakins *n in phr* **by his fakins** a mild, jocular oath 34/39 [*OED* I'fegs]

fale out *v phr* fall out, ie, happen 66/39

fare *n* fair 163/5; *in phr* **fare day** the day of a fair 162/39, etc; **fare daye** 163/17, 163/20; **fare even** the evening before a fair 162/38, etc; **fare evene** 165/12m; **after the fayre done** after the fair was over 40/1

faufore *n in phr* **in the faufore of** in favour of, to secure favour for 154/14

feasts *n pl* local festivals marked by convivial gatherings 216/8, etc; *see also* **common**

fedill *n* fiddle 250/13

fee *see* **demesne**

feghtinge *vb n* fighting 103/37

feight *v* fight 108/16; **feyght** 111/13m

festiell *adj* festival 37/8

fetch *n* gasp 261/24

fether carryers *n comp pl* feather-carriers, itinerant hawkers of feathers, apparently suspected as vagabonds 21/30

feyldfayres *n pl* fieldfares, a kind of bird 202/17

flatte *adv* completely 9/27

flesh *n* butcher's meat 104/8

flookes *n pl* flukes, flounders or other flatfish 199/30, etc; **flooks** 200/3

flooure *n* floor 39/10

flowted *v pa 3 sg* fluttered her skirts (?) 34/1 [*OED* Flaughter *v* 2 1 and Floghter *v*]

flyinge *prp* fleering, ie, grimacing and laughing mockingly and obstreperously 112/36

foch *interj* faugh (expressing disgust) 257/2

foloed *v pa 3 sg* followed 12/31; *pp* 12/32

folye *n* foolish action, escapade (?) 163/6

foorth(e) *see* **lay foorth**

forbicause that *conj phr* because 12/18

forenoone *n comp* forenoon, morning 15/25;

forenone 9/16; **fornone** 45/2

foresaid *pp* previously mentioned 51/1; **forsaid** 13/1 etc; **forsaide** 7/8

forfeyt *v* forfeit 80/18; **forfaite** 29/21; **forfayte** 81/2; **forfeyte** 81/6; **forfating** *vb n* 57/4

fornight *n in phr* **this day fortnight** a fortnight from this day, two weeks from today 23/23

forreine *adj* belonging to or coming from another town or locality 62/28; **forreyne** 62/34

forsaid(e) *see* **foresaid**

forsaked *pp* forsaken, abandoned 35/9

forth bringing *vb n comp* the formal carrying of a corpse from the place of death to the church 3/15

foughten *pp* fought 111/13

fourt *adj* fourth 162/40, 164/19; **fourtte** 163/2, 164/20, 165/14

fourtime *adj* fourteen 40/27

framed tymbre *n phr* shaped timber, timber made ready for building 100/9

francke & free *adv phr* freely, without fee 45/4–5
friendship *n in phr to hys lytyll friendship* as far
 as his poor friendship will serve 251/34

fro *prep* from 13/36, etc

fromthens *adv phr* from thence, from there 13/18

furthe *adv* forth 102/16, etc

furthwith *adv* forthwith, at once 182/34

fyersly *adv* fiercely 13/27

fyferes *n pl* fifiers, fife-players 161/37

gambolls *n pl* frisky leaps and turns, frolics, *here*
personified as characters in a masque 255/24, etc

gaminge *vb n* 1. playing games, including sports
 and a wide range of pastimes 4/13(?), 219/25;

gamninge 58/10, 226/13; **gamynge** 220/25;

2. *specifically* gambling 4/13 (?) **gaming** 74/6,
 91/24

gammes *see* maygames

gamyn *n* sport, pastime 108/24 [*OED* Game *sb*]

garbe *n* demeanour 105/32

gat *v pa* 3 *sg* got 11/28, 11/36

geather *v* gather 7/3

geders *see* togeder

geere *n* gear, ie, war-gear, arms and armour
 109/14

ge'et a waye *v phr* give it away, ie, give it up,
 stop (?) 35/20 [*OED* Give *v* 54f(?)]

generous *adj* noble, magnanimous 105/30,
 105/34

gentile *adj* courteous 106/5 [*OED* Gentle *a* and *sb* 3]

gentleman *n comp* man of good birth, usually one
 ranking below the titled aristocracy 56/39, etc;

gentilman 106/29, etc; **gentlemans** *poss*

105/5, 106/1; **gentilmen** *pl* 106/25, etc;

gentlemen 46/26, etc

gentlemanlie *adj* befitting a gentleman 146/3

gesters *n pl* jesters, professional buffoons and
 amusement makers 39/22

gether *see* togeder

geve *v* give 13/37, etc; **geue** 101/33, etc; **gyue**
 251/22, 251/26; **geving** *prp* 154/27; **geven** *pp*
 166/20, etc; **giffen** 107/2; **giffyn** 108/31;

gyffen 109/36; **gyffyn** 164/11; **gyffyne**

164/28; **gevinge** *vb n* 219/34; *see also* ge'et a

waye

glase carriers *n comp pl* glass-carriers, itinerant
 hawkers of glass, apparently suspected as
 vagabonds 21/29

gleeke and one & thirtymen *n phr pl* players of
 the card games gleek and one-and-thirty
 255/38 [*OED* Gleek *sb*¹ 1 and One numeral *a*
 2b]

glouer *n* glover, maker and seller of gloves 73/34

glowe *n* glue 165/26

goddys *n poss* God's 106/21

gode *adj* good 106/20

gonner *n* gunner 43/13

goo *v* go 111/16, etc

government *n* government 155/4, 235/30

gowinge *prp* going 51/27

gramer *n* 1. Latin grammar 93/32; 2. a textbook
 of Latin grammar 93/21, 93/22; 3. *in phr* free
gramer scholes schools where Latin grammar
 was taught and no tuition fees were charged
 93/23; **free gramer scoles** 93/23–4

grayplouers *n phr pl* grey plovers, a kind of bird
 200/16 etc

greneplouers *n phr pl* green plovers, a kind of
 bird 201/10

greenes *n pl* public merrymakings on grassy
 commons, with music and dancing (?)
 219/24, etc [*cp* *EDD* Green, *adj*, *sb* and *v*¹ 12]

grete *adj* great 106/42, etc; **greete** 112/8; **greit**
 103/7; **grett** 56/9

groen *pp* grown, arisen 152/37

groutes *n pl* groats, fourpenny pieces 23/11

gyffen, **gyffyn(e)**, **gyue** *see* geve

gythorne *n* gittern, an early form of the guitar
 89/37, 89/40

ha *v* have 34/10; **hawe** *inf* 164/12; *pr* 1 *sg*
 163/16; **hayed** *pa* 3 *sg* 163/39

haberdepoise *n* avoirdupois, the common system
 of weights (as opposed to the Troy weights
 more usually employed for objects made of
 precious metal) 49/23

hable *adj* able 11/37

halberdmen *n comp pl* halberdiers; men armed
 with halberds, long-shafted weapons ending in
 both a spearhead and an axe-blade 61/13,

- 64/36; **halberd-men** 60/25; **halbertymen** 64/5, 66/12; **halbertymenn** 65/19
- halfe bowle** *n comp* a bowling game played with a hemispherical wooden bowl and fifteen conical wooden pins 317/35
- hall** *n* 1. a town hall used for civic functions 39/7, etc; 2. the persons present in a town hall for an official meeting **halle** 38/16; 3. the residence of a landholder, especially the lord of a manor 78/30, 104/16; **haule** 44/17; *facetiously in phr my mannor house of Owhr hall*, ie, Hour Hall, *but with pun on 'our hall'* 260/12; 4. the dining hall of a great house, also used for performances **halle** 181/2
- halmote** *n comp* hallmote, the court of the lord of a manor 99/34
- hamell** *n* village 235/19
- hard** *v pa 3 sg* heard 109/15, etc; *pp* 96/4
- harnes** *n* harness, defensive armour 110/5, etc; **harnesse** 12/10, 13/5
- haule** *see hall*
- hawe, hayed** *see ha*
- headie** *adj* headstrong, impetuous xxv/28
- hean** *see more hean*
- heare** *n* hair 329/15
- heareing** *see red heareing*
- heather** *see hether*
- hede** *n* heed, attention; *in phr take no hede on hym* pay no attention to him 108/34; **take no hede what he said** pay no attention to what he said 111/23
- hedid** *v pa 3 sg* heeded, ie, observed 40/19
- heedes** *n pl* heads 111/6m, 111/10; **heeds** 111/6
- heire** *n* inheritor or successor 44/35, 84/9; **heires** *pl* 99/39, etc; **heyres** 150/29, 157/13; *in phr heire apparence* heir whose right cannot be superseded by birth of another 156/35; **heires malle** *pl* heirs male, heirs in the male line 156/30
- hencefurth** *adv* henceforth, from now on 62/35, 66/40; **hensfurthe** 56/20
- her** *adv* here 251/20
- her** *pron poss used in place of poss suffix in phr my mistris her appointment* my mistress' appointment 176/23; **my mistris her** *comandment* my mistress' commandment 176/35
- herborowe** *n* harbour, ie, shelter 338/41
- herein closede** *pp phr* here enclosed 251/8; **herin closed** 251/29–30
- herse** *n* hearse, wooden frame supporting a funeral pall over a coffin, often carrying lighted candles 255/39
- hertelye** *adv* heartily 156/23
- hether** *adv* hither, to here 228/23; **heather** 182/35
- heynius** *adj* heinous 101/37
- high** *adj* 1. of persons, denoting exalted rank, *in phr high sheriffe* 105/5; **high comissioners** *pl* ecclesiastical commissioners, overseers of church discipline and public morals 218/24; 2. of things, denoting prime importance *in phr high crosse* the cross at the centre of town 41/6; **highe rodde waye** high roadway, main thoroughfare 97/31; **highe rodewaye** 98/7; **highstreet** high street, main street 241/7; 3. of an expression, displaying pride or assumed superiority *in phr highe lookes* 222/11
- his** *pron poss used in place of poss suffix in phr at ye right honourable ye Lord Strange his* at ... the Lord Strange's (house understood) 184/24, 255/8
- hit** *pron* it 100/11, etc; **hyt** 70/19, 70/22
- hobbie horse** *n comp* hobby-horse, a figure of a horse made of wicker or other light material and worn by a performer, most often in the morris dance 211/4; **hobie horse** 41/5
- holden** *pp* held 99/34, etc; **houlden** 78/9, etc
- hole** *adj* whole 101/26, 101/31; **holl** 108/23; **holle** 38/19, etc; **hoole** 110/4; **hollye** *adv* wholly 57/14
- hollyns** *n pl* hollies, ie, boughs of holly 101/19
- holpen** *pp* helped 7/18
- holy day** *n comp* 1. a day kept with a special service by the Church of England; **holydaie** 228/19; **hollidayes** *pl* 219/8; **hollydaies** 228/8; **holly dayes** 112/31–2; **holy dayes** 215/3, 232/18; 2. such a day considered as a day of rest, a holiday 34/10; 3. the days from Christmas to Twelfth Day, kept as a festal season **hollidayes** *pl* 257/9, etc

- honeste** *adj* 1. respected 109/2; 2. neat, decent 55/37
- honeste** *n* good name, good repute 111/20 [*OED* Honesty 1]
- honor** *n in phr* persons of honor persons of exalted rank 5/10
- hoole** *see* hole
- horedome** *n* whoredom, prostitution, *here used loosely for any sexual promiscuity* 227/37
- hornepype** *n comp* hornpipe, a vigorous dance normally performed to the hornpipe 32/37; **hornepipe** 32/40; *in phr* Chowbent
- hornepype** a particular tune for the hornpipe dance 33/15; **Lord Strange hornepype** 33/20
- horsemeate** *n comp* horse-fodder 151/25; **horssemete** 165/4
- horsse brede** *n comp* horse-bread, coarse bran bread baked as horse-fodder 163/36
- host** *n* innkeeper 105/12, 250/30
- hot boye** *n* hautboy, oboe 148/12; **howboies** *pl* 153/28
- houlden** *see* holden
- house** *n* a public house, an inn or tavern 95/32, etc; **howse** 221/17; **howsse** 250/11, 250/30, 250/35; **houses** *pl* 235/30
- howboies** *see* hot boye
- hower** *n* hour 155/9; **howers** *poss* 51/27; *pl* 51/17; **howerrys** 108/25
- humlie** *adv* humbly 74/24
- humor** *n* 1. mood, habit of mind 223/2; 2. fantasy, foolish daydream **humors** *pl* 223/16
- hundreth** *n* 1. hundred (the quantity) 156/32, etc; **hundereth** 100/6, 100/26; **hunderethe** 103/26; **hundrethe** 208/30; 2. hundred (the administrative unit); **hundrethe** 6/33, etc; **hundrethes** *pl* 224/6
- husbandman** *n comp* a man farming a relatively small tract of land for himself, a smallholder 32/13, etc; **husbandmen** *pl* 17/8
- hyt** *see* hit
- I** *interj* aye, yes 35/1, 258/8
- iacke** *n* jacket, especially one made of leather or strengthened with metal plates and worn as defensive armour 13/5, 13/33 [*OED* Jack *sb*² 1b]
- iche** *pron* each 6/39
- iestes** *n pl* jests 213/30; **ieastes** 213/19
- Ile vale** *v phr* I will say farewell (?) 183/33 ['vale' from *L* vale (?); *cp OED* Vale *int* and *sb*³]
- ill** *adj* ugly 260/15
- importunat** *adj* pressing 251/20
- incontynently** *adv* immediately 13/38
- inconvenience** *n* 1. trouble, harm 222/35, etc; 2. injury, harmful thing 229/35; **inconveniences** *pl* 226/41
- inconvenient** *adj* troublesome, harmful 225/36
- indede** *adv* indeed 102/11; **in dede** 103/2
- indifferently** *adv* indiscriminately, without distinction 56/2
- indulgencie** *n* indulgence, lenience 231/26
- ingratefull** *adj* ungrateful 257/27
- ingression** *n* formal entry (*here* into the status of a burgess) 46/24
- inhabitance** *n pl* inhabitants 281/28
- insued** *see* ensue
- intendement** *n* intent 231/25
- intendet** *v pa 3 sg* intended 112/7
- interludes** *n pl* short plays 39/21, etc; **enterludes** 4/41, 230/27
- intertayninge** *prp* comprising 224/6 [*cp OED* Entertain *v* 11]
- intituled** *pp* entitled 233/21; **intytuled** 63/27
- inwayte** *adv phr* in wait 106/38
- iollytes** *n pl* jollities 234/38
- ioperdie** *n* jeopardy 107/18, etc
- ioyner** *n* joiner, a woodworker, *properly* one doing lighter work than a carpenter, eg, furniture making, but in more recent times the only term used in Lancashire for a woodworker 87/15, 94/6; **ioyners** *poss* 87/17
- it** *pron poss* its 83/17
- iudge** *n* 1. the presiding officer of an ecclesiastical court 23/16, 23/21, 69/31; 2. a justice of one of the royal courts based at Westminster 157/15; **iudges** *pl* 222/6, etc; **judges** 232/10; *see also* assizes, iustice
- iugler** *n* juggler, professional buffoon or merry-maker 196/14; **iugglers** *pl* 39/22; **iuglers** 21/29; **juglers** 317/32

iuriers *n pl* in *Prescot*; jurats, members of the court leet (*see leete*) 80/35

iurors *n pl* 1. jurors, members of a jury of inquest 14/21; 2. members of a jury of assize (*see assizes*) 222/7; 3. persons making presentments to an ecclesiastical court, sworn men 72/12; 4. in *Liverpool*, jurats, town officials comparable to aldermen 45/23, 50/6

iurye *n* 1. inquest jury *iurie* 40/37; 2. assize jury (*see assizes*) *iurie* 224/18; 3. the members of a court leet (*see leete*), the judicial and legislative body of a manor 59/9, etc; *iurie* 56/33, etc; **iury** 56/19, etc; *pl in phr laie iuries* 216/8, 216/34; **laie juries** 216/23

iustice *n* 1. a justice of the peace, a lay magistrate appointed to keep the peace and punish petty offences in a local district 234/17, 251/12, etc; **iustece** *pl* 102/14; **iustices** 6/11, 11/16, 17/15, 224/7, etc; 2. a judge, *in phr lord chief iustice of the comen plees* the principal judge of the Court of Common Pleas (*see comen plees*) 150/25; **iustices of assize** *pl* the judges of assize (*see assizes*) 225/17; **iustices of assizes** 226/18; *see also quorum*

jerkin *n* a man's close-fitting full-skirted jacket, worn over the doublet 259/40

keechinge *n* kitchen 188/4

keipe *n* keep, guard 251/28

keppe *v* keep, sustain 156/20–1

kepyng *vb n in phr peace & good ordre kepyng* keeping of the peace and good order 40/18

keyes *n pl* members of the House of Keys, the legislature of the Isle of Man 281/27

knight of sheere *n phr* knight of the shire, member of parliament for a county 258/23

knowledge *v refl* acknowledge 36/17;

knowledge *pp* acknowledged, assented to 150/24

knoyng *prp* knowing 13/14

laghes *vb pr 3 sg* laughs 154/22

laid by the heeles *pp phr* put in the stocks or in leg-irons 232/36 [*oed* Heel *sb* 18]

laie juries *see iurye*

l'arme *n* alarm 356/9

late *adj* 1. former (not necessarily implying the subject is deceased) 41/27, 63/7, etc; *adv* formerly 32/12, 32/17; 2. recent 15/21, etc; *adv* recently 60/16; **of late** *adv phr* lately, recently 229/23, 232/9

lawe *n in phr the olde lawe* the precepts of the Old Testament 7/2–3; **the tyme of the lawe** Old Testament times 7/4

lay foorth *vb phr* explain 222/2, 222/18; **lay foorth** 223/42

le *definite art m (French)* used to mark the presence of a vernacular noun or phrase in a passage of Latin, or vice versa 40/20, 52/6, etc

least *conj* lest 229/14, etc

leayrne *v* learn 88/33

lede *pp* led 100/37

leete *n* a manorial or borough court exercising limited civil and criminal jurisdiction, *here* commonly referring to a court in an ancient manor combining the functions of a leet proper and a court baron 60/34, etc; **leets** *pl* 216/8, etc

leetemoote *n comp* session of a leet 60/27

leful *adj* lawful 93/30

lend *pp* lent 40/2

lest *adj superl* least 222/20, 224/4

lethargie *n* liturgy, order of public worship 231/23

lett *n* hindrance 56/9; **lette** 93/29

letted *pp* hindered, prevented 107/24, etc

lewde *adj* rude, vulgar 6/34, etc

lewdnes *n* rudeness, vulgarity 39/35

leyng *vb n* laying 37/39m

liff *see lyff*

lightninge *n* lightening, ie, exhilaration 255/32

liing *prp* lying 100/10

like asmony *pron phr* like as many, ie, the same number 108/21

likelyhode *n in phr of a likelyhode* probably 107/23

litter men *n comp* litter-bearers 183/39

Liuerpoleward *see ward*

logyng *vb n* lodging 55/38

lord of misrule *n phr* a man chosen to preside over revels, which commonly involved practical jokes and inversion of the usual social hierarchy 88/14; **lordes of misrule** *pl* 213/14–15, etc; **lords of misrule** 214/29–30, etc; **lords of mis-rule** 216/21

Lords day *n phr* the Lord's day, ie, Sunday as the Christian sabbath 232/19, etc; **Lordes day** 25/39, 231/20; **Lordes daye** 7/2; **Lords daie** 227/35

lowtts *n pl* louts, ie, bumpkins 34/23

loyterers *n pl* loiterers; the term connotes those who are able to work but avoid doing so and was applied to the same sort of persons as 'vagabonds' and 'sturdy beggars' 15/29

luke warmnesse *n comp* lukewarmness, ie, apathy, indifference 232/20 [*see* Revelation 3:15–16]

lybrare *n* library 55/35

lyff *n* life 107/22, etc; **liff** 11/31, 12/33; **lyffe** 152/21, 158/8; **lyve** 157/20

lykewise *n and adj in phr in lykewise* in like wise, in a similar manner 11/35

lymyted *pp* specified 102/21

magick *see art*

maid *v pa 3 sg* made 251/19; **maide** *pp* 18/41

maie games, maigames *see maygames*

maister *n* master 109/19; *as a title* 56/38, 57/15;

maysters *poss* 199/39; *see also art and*

scolemaister

maistership *see mastership*

makeinge *prp* being made 68/7

makins *n in phr by the makins* a mild oath 35/1 [*OED* Mackins]

makyng *vb n* method (of instruction) 93/21

mall *n* maul, heavy wooden hammer 11/30

malle *see heire*

manased *v pa 3 pl* menaced, threatened 11/38

mane *n* man, ie, servant 163/34, 181/27

manes *see mette*

manor *n* a territorial unit, originating as a fief, over which the lord of the manor retained certain rights, and governed in local matters by its own customary law as declared and administered in the lord's court (*see leete*)

99/39, etc; **manner** 83/12, 83/16; **mannor** 81/3, 81/5; **manores** *pl* 156/29; *in comp* **mannor house** the residence of the lord of a manor 260/11; *see also* **lc manerium**

manteyne *v* maintain 156/21, etc

marchante *n* merchant, wholesale or retail trader 49/28

marine wale *n phr* a marine wall, ie, a dyke or breakwater (?); *used metaphorically* for a barrier or obstacle 223/10

marke *v in phr marke him self vnto God* make the sign of the cross 42/24

market *n* gathering of people at a fixed day and place to buy and sell provisions, livestock, and other goods 104/9, 104/17; **markets** *pl* 217/9;

markettes 220/23, etc; *in comp* **market hill**

hill where the market was held 104/15;

market place 105/23; **marketes townes** *pl*

towns entitled to hold markets 97/32;

marketsteed market-place 78/26; **markett**

crosse cross in middle of market-place 78/20

Marse *n* Mars, the Roman god of war 184/16

mase *n* mace, ornamental staff borne before a

mayor as an emblem of civic authority 42/19

mased *pp* amazed, ie, stupefied, bewildered 13/31

maske *n* masque, a dramatic and musical entertainment, in which members of a royal or

noble household often took part 152/28, etc;

masq 262/22; **masque** 184/23, 255/7

maskeing *vb n* performing of masques 147/18

massinge stuffe *n comp* vessels, vestments, and

other articles for celebrating mass 87/2

mastership *n* title of address given to persons commonly styled master 99/26, etc;

maistership 106/20, etc

masters of arte *see art*

matichine *n* matachin, a sword dance performed in fantastic costume 257/7

maygames *n comp pl* traditional games played or rites observed at the beginning of May

220/23, etc; **maie games** 25/1; **maigames**

219/24; **mayegames** 226/11; **maye games**

234/33–4; **maye gammes** 58/9–10; **may**

gaimes 228/6; **may games** 213/16, etc; **may-**

games 215/12, 215/32

- maympraysed** *pp* mainprized, released on a surety's undertaking that the released person will appear in court on a certain day 38/2
- maypole** *n comp* a tall pole, usually ornamented, set up in an open place for merry-makers to dance round on May Day and at other times 101/19, etc; **maye pole** 103/9, 103/25; **may pole** 101/24; **may poole** 69/27; **maypoule** 33/29; **may powles** *pl* 85/14
- maysters** *see* **maister**
- mean** *adj* inferior, of low rank xviii/22; **meane** 229/35; **meaner** *compar* 233/28; **meanest** *superl* 227/12
- meaninge** *vb n* intention 231/12
- meate** *see* **mette**
- meete** *see* **mete**
- meight** *v pa 3 pl* might 95/33
- menstrelles** *see* **mynstrall**
- mentenance** *n* maintenance 72/14
- merye man** *n* merryman, jester or buffoon 203/3
- messes** *n pl* servings, portions 183/40
- mete** *adj* suitable, fit 100/9, etc; **meete** 47/15
- methought** *vb phr pa impersonal* it seemed to me 279/32
- mett** *n* a measure of capacity, *probably* a bushel 199/32
- mette** *n* 1. food (not necessarily flesh) 163/31, 163/37; **meate** 88/38 (?), 183/40 (?); *in phr* **manes mette** man's food (as opposed to horses') 163/39; 2. particular dish or kind of food **meate** 255/30; 3. a meal **meate** 329/17
- mette** *v* meet 103/25
- mewsyckes** *see* **musick**
- midsomer** *n* midsummer day, 24 June 51/25; *in phr* **midsomer quarters wages** wages for the quarter of the year ending on midsummer day 67/26
- milner** *n* miller 77/4
- minister** *n* clergyman, *particularly* one in charge of a church or chapel 213/14, etc; **mynister** 43/5; **ministers** 227/13, etc
- ministerie** *n* 1. clergy 223/26, etc; **ministry** 9/17; 2. office (not necessarily clerical) **ministerie** 9/35
- minstrall, minstrell, minstrels, minstrilles** *see* **mynstrall**
- misdemanor** *see* **mysdemainor**
- misdeameaned** *ppl adj* misbehaved 101/12, etc; **misdeemened** 101/13, 101/31; **mysdeameaned** 103/24, 108/26; **mysdemeyned** 103/15
- misregardydyd** *v pa 3 sg* disregarded 40/19
- misrule** *see* **lord of misrule**
- moche** *adv* much 86/27
- moe** *adj compar* more 43/2
- moneth** *n* month 80/19; **monethe** 41/39; **monethes** *pl* 26/33, etc; *in phr* **that day was twelve moneth** twelve months before to the day, exactly a year earlier 281/37
- monisht** *pp* admonished, warned 23/22; **monyshed** 113/37; **monysshed** 19/2 [*OED* **Monish v**]
- monstruouse** *adj* monstrous 39/23
- moost** *adv superl* most 107/4, 108/27
- more** *n* moor 101/16; *in phr* **bolton in the mores** Bolton in the Moors (now Bolton le Moors) 162/37–8, 163/14–15m; **widnes more** Widnes Moor 99/32; **wydney more** 99/37–8, 101/17
- more hean** *n comp* moorhen, a kind of waterfowl 194/21
- morepoots** *n comp pl* moorpouts, young grouse 207/34
- moricedancers, morice dauncers** *see* **morris-dancers**
- morice-dances** *see* **morres daunce**
- morn** *n in phr* **the morn** in the morning, the next morning 11/39
- morning prayer** *n phr* the morning service of public worship of the Church of England 43/17; **morninge & eveninge prayer** 43/10
- morres daunce** *n comp* morris dance, a kind of traditional dance, performed by a troupe, usually in costume 43/23; **morice-dances** *pl* 215/12, 215/32; **morrice-dances** 215/22; **morryce daunces** 228/6
- morris-dancers** *n comp pl* dancers in a morris dance 214/30, etc; **moricedancers** 214/20; **morice dauncers** 213/16, etc; **morrice-dancers** 217/7

mosse *n in phr* **the towne mosse** a tract of bog from which the townsfolk were entitled to cut peats 84/19

move *v* urge, incite 9/37, 226/16; **moved** *pa* 3 *sg* 145/7, etc; **movyd** 38/3; **moved** *pp* 145/10

moytye *n* moiety, half 78/33, etc; **moyty** 79/17

mummers *n pl* amateur actors who go about a neighbourhood in fantastic costume, performing a short play 146/40

mumming *vb n in phr* **came a mumming** came performing a mummers' play 146/39

munger *see* **ballett munger**

murdure *n* murder 106/42

musicioner *n* musician 37/23; **musicioners** *pl* 30/10; **musisioners** 170/20

musick *n* a band of musicians 158/30(?), 196/40; **musicke** 211/9; **mewsyckes** *coll pl* 156/20; **musickes** 206/22 [*OED Music sb* 5]

muskles *n pl* mussels 199/33, 200/9

musycsun *n* musician 160/17; **musizians** *pl* 199/8

mutton *n* sheep's carcass for eating 190/4, etc; **muttne** 196/29; **muttonn** 202/8, 202/21; **muttonns** *pl* 203/22; **muttons** 190/24, 207/1

mych *adj* much 251/20

myll *n* mile 250/34

myllwonn *n* milwyn or mulvel, some kind of fish 199/30; **mylwen** 190/31; **myllannns** *pl* 208/30; **myllwons** 200/6 [*EDD Milwyn sb and OED Mulvel*]

mynister *see* **minister**

mynstrall *n* entertainer using music, storytelling, juggling, etc 250/9, etc; **minstrall** 250/14; **minstrell** 160/7, etc; **mynestrall** 167/35; **mynstrell** 13/26, etc; **mynstrill** 62/4; **minstrelles** *poss* 144/23; **menstrelles** *pl* 163/4; **minstrelles** 218/14, etc; **minstrells** 218/26, etc; **minstrels** 213/16; **minstrilles** 90/38; **mynstralls** 161/19; **mynstrelles** 29/19; **mynstrells** 151/27; **mynstrills** 63/21

myschef *n* mischief, ie, harm 106/42

myscheuus *adj* mischievous, ie, pernicious 251/10

mysdemainor *n* misdemeanour 107/32; **misdemanor** 148/34; **mysdemayner** 56/40; **mysedeameanors** *pl* 66/38

mysdemeaned, mysdemeyned *see* **misdemeaned**

mysruled *ppl adj* disorderly 106/31, 107/34

myst *v pr* 1 *sg* must 154/19

namely *adv* particularly 213/20, 213/30

narrowly overtaken *ppl phr* temporarily deceived (?) 222/30

naughtie *adj* wicked 102/12, 103/28

neat *adj* handsome, elegant 106/3

neates tonges *n phr pl* ox-tongues 194/13, etc; **neates tongs** 201/15; **neats tonges** 206/34; **neats tongs** 201/37, 202/22

neighe *adj* nigh, near 97/33, 98/1

neire *adv* near 83/17

nere *adv* ne'er, ie, never 33/34, 34/25, 35/20

new communicants *n phr pl* persons who had only lately adhered to the Church of England and begun to take communion there 28/11

nimpths *n pl* nymphs 184/13

none *see* **after none**

noon *adj* none, ie, no 109/4

note *n* 1. notice 223/24; 2. repute 223/30

noumbre *n* number 106/33, etc

ob *abbrev for* *L* obolus, *used in E context for* halfpenny 24/26, etc

obligatorye *see* **writing obligatorye**

obteignyng *prp* obtaining 39/12

occatione *n in phr* **if theire occatione be** if they have occasion or opportunity 183/23

oder *adj and pron* other 106/31, etc; **oyer** 85/1; **oders** *pron pl* 108/22; **other** 11/40, etc; **othre** 251/21; *in phr* **other som** some others 227/37; **other some** 227/15; **som other** 225/17

of *prep and adv* off 107/5, etc

off *prep* of 169/38

offering *vb n* collection of alms during church service 93/10

officious *adj* punctilious, zealous and scrupulous in discharging duties 259/13

oftentymes *adv* at many times, frequently 219/16

one *prep* on 229/34, 230/18, 231/2

one & thirtymen *see* **gleeke and one & thirtymen**

oon *adj and pron* one 106/28, etc; **on** 11/26;

onne 167/11; **oone** 106/26

or *conj* before 112/3

orator *n* petitioner 106/21, etc

ordinary *n* bishop of a diocese; *poss in phr*

ordinaryes cort the bishop's court 96/39

ore *prep* o'er, ie, over 265/8

orels *conj phr* or else 12/32

ornans *n* ordnance, artillery 281/34

oth *prep phr* o'th, ie, of the 256/13

other, othre *see* **oder**

otherwaies *adv* otherwise 7/10, 217/18;

otherwayes 38/7

ottes *n pl* oats 163/36

ouerseer *n* one appointed by a testator to supervise or assist the executor of the will 261/14

ouerthwart *adj* opposite, lying across the way 105/13

oure *n* hour 96/1; **owres** *pl* 110/7

overtaken *see* **narrowly overtaken**

owe *v pr 3 sg* ought 56/22

owen *pron* own 182/34

ower *prep* over 165/12, 165/20

Owhr hall *see* **hall**

owres *see* **oure**

owther *conj* either 12/2

oyer *see* **oder**

packthreed *n comp* packthread 202/22; **packethreed** 196/28

paed *pp* paid 24/27; **payet** 179/22; **paing** *prp* paying 100/1

paiaunces *n pl* pageants; *here probably set* speeches recited on a stage in costume 40/29

paine *see* **payne**

paing *see* **paed**

pamentes *n pl* payments 164/10

pamphlett *n* short scurrilous or burlesque treatise or speech 27/9

panded *v pa 3 sg* pawned 149/13

papishe *adj* popish, Roman Catholic 229/21

parlous *adj* dangerous 107/33; **parlius** 101/35

passion *n in phr* for the passion of godde for the sake of Christ's suffering on the Cross 108/34

pasyence *n* patience 154/19

patridge *n* partridge 193/6

payet *see* **paed**

payne *n* 1. penalty 39/16, etc; **paine** 234/17;

payn 102/20, 107/39; 2. trouble taken **paines** *pl* 66/36, 257/29

paynefully *adv* painstakingly 59/15

peares *n pl* peers, equals; *here* former bailiffs (?) 42/17

peculiar *adj* particular, special 232/15

peper(e)s *see* **pypper**

perceyve *v* take into possession 156/40, 158/3

perfutely *adv* perfectly 106/32

periure *n* perjury 110/9m, 110/15

perswation *n* argument, matter urged as grounds for conviction 7/25 [*OED* Persuasion 1b]

petty chapmen *n phr pl* itinerant small traders, hawkers 316/34

peyes *n pl* peas 187/34

pieperes, pippers *see* **pypper**

pipinge *vb n* piping 228/35; **pyppinges** *pl* 234/34

plaeres, plaier, plaires *see* **player**

plaie *see* **play** *n* and *v*

plasant *adj* pleasant 334/10

platt *n* undertaking 184/15

play *n* 1. dramatic piece or other public spectacle 87/1, etc; **plaie** 270/7; **playe** 41/22, 164/12 (?), etc; **plaies** *pl* 216/21, 228/26; **playes** 4/41, etc; **plays** 55/36; 2. game, pastime 150/34; **playe** 164/12 (?); **pley** 70/20; *pl in phr* **pleyes of dawnsyng** 39/9; *see* p 322 (endnote to LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/2 f 4v); 3. jest, sport **playe** 12/10

play *v* 1. perform a dramatic piece or other public spectacle 213/18, etc; **playe** 213/29, etc; **plaied** *pa* 180/10, etc; **played** 182/3, etc; **playde** *pp* 4/42; **played** 214/10; **playinge** *prp* 204/15; **playinge** *vb n* 177/20 (?), 200/36, etc; 2. perform on a musical instrument or instruments **plaie** 73/1; **play** 71/24, etc; **playe** 46/16, etc; **playes** *pr 3 sg* 16/20; **playeth** 77/1, 101/28; **plaie** *pr 3 pl* 73/1; **plaid** *pa* 21/8; **plaied** 20/12, etc; **played** 92/15, etc; **playing** *prp* 218/26, 250/13; **playinge** 89/40;

- plaicing** *vb* *n* 195/21; **plaing** 4/27; **plainge** 205/6; **playeinge** 20/25, 90/12; **playing** 56/36; **playinge** 51/10, 177/20 (?), etc; 3. play a game, make sport 150/31, etc; **plaie** 14/24; **playing** *prp* 12/9
- playe clothes** *n comp pl* clothes worn specifically for performance, *here probably* musicians' livery 156/20, 156/23
- playe dayes** *n comp pl* *probably* school holidays 5/1
- playeinge instruments** *n comp pl* musical instruments for performance 153/16
- player** *n* performer, whether actor or musician or one performing feats of skill 83/36, etc; **plaiier** 193/18, etc; **plaieres** *pl* 167/9, etc; **plaiers** 180/9, etc; **plaires** 173/14; **players** 39/22, etc; **pleyeres** 166/15
- playgd** *pp* plagued, ie, afflicted with calamities 154/21
- playhouse** *n comp* a building adapted to performances, a theatre 81/1, 81/4; **playhowse** 241/12; **play howse** 83/17
- pleysure** *n* pleasure 39/34, etc
- plite** *n* plight, ie, state, condition 49/25, 51/2
- plummes** *n pl* leads, strips of lead used to cover a roof 322/3
- plum porridge** *n phr* a boiled dish containing dried plums or other fruit and cereal, the forerunner of modern plum pudding 255/29
- pomell** *n* pommel, the knob at the end of the hilt of a sword or dagger 250/21
- pontificall** *adj* episcopal 105/18
- pore** *adj* poor 165/4, etc; **poure** 163/39
- portage** *n* carriage, transport 190/10
- portatyffes** *n pl* portatives, portable organs 165/31; **portytyfes** 165/31m
- porter** *n* gatekeeper 199/15
- post cript** *n* postscript 183/30
- potacion peny** *n comp* a customary payment made to the schoolmaster in certain northern English schools to fund a convivial drinking 56/4, 93/33; **potacion penyes** *pl* 93/34
- potle** *n* pottle, a half gallon or a vessel of that size 60/24, etc
- poure** *see* pore
- praised** *pp* appraised 153/25
- preacher** *n* clergyman licensed to preach 18/14; **preachers** *pl* 220/6, etc; **pretcher** 180/11
- precepte** *n* order 8/3
- precesians** *n pl* precisians, persons punctilious in religious observance 230/16
- precise** *adj* punctilious 229/7
- preese** *n* crowd, packed throng 111/29 [*OED* Press *sb*¹ 1]
- preese** *v* press, crowd; **preesyd** *pa* 3 *sg* 111/29; **preysed** 110/39; **preesyng** *prp* 110/39m
- prefixed** *pp* predetermined 222/26
- prentisses** *n pl* apprentices 81/31
- prepensed** *ppl adj* intended, premeditated 106/28, 109/13m
- prescribed** *pp* previously written 8/4
- presently** *adv* at once 6/39; **presentlie** 69/31
- president** *n in phr* my lord president the president of the Council of the North 251/20–1
- preste** *n* priest 102/10; **prestes** *pl* 109/2, etc
- pretched** *v pa* 3 *sg* preached 180/32, etc
- pretcher** *see* preacher
- prevely, previe** *see* priuie
- prevent** *v* anticipate 265/40
- preysed** *see* preese
- primarie** *adj* first 232/22
- prince** *see* prynce
- priuie** *adj* 1. confidential 259/29; *in phr* **previe seale** the sovereign's lesser seal of state, originally used for confidential business 102/17; **pryuey seall** 107/37; 2. secret, clandestine **previe** 213/6; **prevely** *adv* secretly 154/16; *see also* **councell**
- profe** *n* proof 154/6, 154/9
- promote** *v pr* 3 *pl in phr* **promote the office** instigate prosecutions in the church courts 224/25 [*OED* Promote *v* 7 and Office *sb* 8]
- proper** *adj* 1. own, personal 44/7; 2. characteristic 262/35
- prosperius** *adj* prosperous 102/24
- prouydet** *pp* provided 93/30
- prynce** *n* 1. ruler, head of state 7/9; 2. sovereign's son and heir **prince** *poss* 189/16, etc

pryuey *see* **priue**

pryvie counsell *see* **counsell**

punishe *pp* punished 41/6

purpertye *n* purparty, share 79/12, 79/18;

purperty 79/23

purposelie *adv* deliberately 227/38; **purposlie** 228/13

pypper *n* piper 170/27; **peperes** *pl* 211/22m;

pepers 210/1m; **pieperes** 167/21; **pippers** 25/34

pyppinges *see* **pippinge**

pyrrs *n pl* pirrs, a kind of bird, *probably* terns *but possibly* black-headed gulls 201/10, etc; **pyrrs** 208/34

q *abbrev for* *L* quarterium, *meaning* a fourth part, *used in E context for* farthing 165/21

qualitie *n* 1. social standing 227/12; 2. trade or profession **quallatie** 183/24

quare *n* quire, a quantity of paper, usually twenty-four sheets 164/1

quarter sessions *see* **sessions**

quarter *n* quarter 106/36

quit *adv* quite, completely 33/17

quorum *n* a sub-group of the justices of the peace for a county, comprising those with some formal legal training, whose presence was required for the more important proceedings 223/19, etc

quylks *n pl* whilks or scoters, a kind of wild duck 201/9 [*OED* Whilk]

quynes *n poss* queen's 40/36; **qwiens** 182/25

quyte *v refl in phr* **quyte them** acquit themselves, behave themselves 107/6; **whyte theym** 111/17m; **whyte you** *imper pl* acquit yourselves 111/16; *see also* **acquite** [*OED* Quit *v* 3a]

quytly *adv* unconditionally 93/24 [*OED* Quite] 1]

rare *adj* unusually good or effective, capital 106/2, 222/42

rather *adv compar in phr* **the rather** the more readily 104/18–19

rawzinn *n* rosin 202/23, 206/32

rearinge day *n comp* the day when the roof of a building was ceremonially raised 170/27

reasonyng *vb n* arguing 37/40

receipt *n* recipe, formula 260/16

recepte *v* harbour, shelter 221/16; **receipted** *pp* 224/19 [*OED* Receipt *v*¹ and Recept *v*]

receyver *n* an officer of a household, government, or corporation appointed to receive money due 180/4, etc

rechelesslie *adv* recklessly 40/19

recognezant *n error for* recognizance 94/15, etc;

recullisons 74/26; *see also* **LG** **recognicio**

recyted *pp* gone over in detail 29/10 [*OED* Recite *v* 4]

red heareing *n phr* red herring 199/31, 199/32;

redheareinge 200/7

redshanks *n pl* a kind of bird, a large variety of sandpiper 207/36

refarre *v* refer 154/20

rehersed *pp* stated at length 107/29

releaxing *vb n* releasing 37/40

remorse *n* regard 41/2 [*OED* Remorse *sb* 4b]

repelled *pp* repealed 218/14

rescow *v* rescue 111/39, 112/9

resient *adj* resident 235/19 [*OED* Resiant]

restawryng *vb n* restoring 251/23 [*OED* Restaur *v*]

riotius *see* **ryotius**

riotuous *adj* riotous 106/42, etc; **riottuously** *adv* 108/39; **riottuously** 106/35

rishbearings, rishe bearings *see* **rysshebearing**

rishe bearers *n comp pl* rushbearers 214/9

rodde waye, rodewaye *see* **high**

rodis *n pl* rods, perches; in the sixteenth century, as now, the statute rod comprised 5 1/2 yards but longer rods were in customary use locally 111/3

roffe tree *n comp* roof-tree 101/13

Roger o'Coueley *n phr* Sir Roger de Coverley, the name of a traditional country dance and its tune 33/26 [*OCM* Sir Roger de Coverley]

rome *n* room, ie, place 56/23; *pl in phr* **in**

rowmes in (their) places 57/1

rood *n* a measure of land, properly a quarter of an acre but varying locally 77/29

roode waie *n comp* roadway 98/1; *see also* **high**

round *n* 1. a round open lawn or other space in a garden 146/25; 2. *in phr* **this round** this tract of land, this enclosed park 156/9

rounde *v* trim or shape hair 13/35; **rounded** *pp* 12/7
routes *n pl* disorderly bands 100/29
rowmes *see* **rome**
royalls *n pl* variant of regals, ie, portable organs (?) 153/16

roylid *v pa 3 sg* railed, uttered abuse 38/6
rude *adj* crude, vulgar 39/21, 104/20
rydde *v pa 3 sg* rode 182/22, 182/23; **ryddyng**
vb n riding 56/8

rynner abroad *n phr* runner abroad, vagabond 251/27

ryotius *adj* riotous 100/29, 101/33; **riotius** 100/35; **riotyus** 100/39

ryssebearing *vb n* rushbearing 24/25;
risshebering 24/26; **rishbearings** *pl* 213/17;
rishe bearings 213/27–8; **ryshebearynge** 113/39

saboth *n* sabbath, referring to Sunday as the Christian day of worship and rest 71/10, etc;
sabaoth 6/42, etc; **sabaothe** 50/14; **sabath** 25/23, 71/13; **sabbaoth** 72/10, etc; **sabbath** 218/27, etc; **sabboath** 18/12, etc; **sabboth** 219/26, etc; **sabbothe** 220/1, etc; **saboath** 10/18, etc; **sabothe** 220/38, etc; **saobothe** 226/22, etc

sacke butt *n* sackbut, the ancestor of the modern trombone 172/22; **sagbutts** *pl* 153/28

sade, saides *see* **seid**

salet *n* sallet, a kind of helmet, without a crest and often without a visor, with a tapering extension to protect the nape of the neck 13/5, 13/33

salf kepinge *n phr* safe keeping 50/33

saobothe *see* **saboth**

sargient *see* **serjeant**

save custodie *n phr* safe custody 38/18; **savre custody** *compar* safer custody (?) or error for 'save custody' (?) 251/12

sayne *v pr 3 pl* say 102/32, 103/1; **sayng** *prp* saying 110/19

sayt *v pa 3 sg* sat 13/24

scholar, scholars, schollers *see* **scoler**

scholes, scoles *see* **gramer**

scolehire *n comp* school fee 93/25

scolemaister *n comp* schoolmaster 93/20, etc;

scholemaister 93/30; **scholemayster** 41/22;
shoole maister 5/21

scoler *n* pupil, schoolboy 56/2, 93/20; **scholar** 93/31; **schollers** *pl* 5/1; **scolers** 56/10, 93/35; **scollars** 5/9; **scollers** 56/7; **scholers** *pl pass* 41/22

scutchion *n* scutcheon, a shield or shield-shaped object decorated with a coat of arms or other emblem, characteristically worn by town waits and other retained musicians as a badge of office 48/12, etc; **scochen** 144/23; **scochyn** 36/18, 38/16; **scotcheon** 45/13; **scotchin** 50/31; **skochyn** 144/23; **skutchion** 46/27

scytuate *adj* situate, lying 78/16, etc; **scytuat** 78/21

seapye *n comp* sea-pie, oystercatcher, a kind of bird 207/34

seased *see* **seyzed**

seclude *v* exclude, debar; **secluded** *pp* 62/28;
secludinge *vb n* 63/20

seid *pp* said, ie, specified 109/13, etc; **sade** 101/23; **saied** 93/31; **sede** 103/23; **saides** *pl* 93/28, etc; **saiedes** 93/35; **seides** 112/14

seminarie *n* an English Roman Catholic priest trained at Douai or one of the other continental colleges 86/35; **seminaries** *pl* 86/28

semythe *see* **be semythe**

send *v pa 3 sg* sent 109/2

serjeant *n* 1. a minor municipal officer responsible for criminal arrests 104/7; **sargient** 37/7; **seriente** 42/18; 2. an officer in charge of some department of a household; *here* with pun on the military sense *in phr* **serjant minor** 258/34; 3. a retainer **seryant** 109/19; 4. *pl in phr* **sergeantes at the lawe** serjeants-at-law, a superior order of legal counsel who assisted the judges at the assizes (*see* **assizes**) xviii/2–3

sermond *n* sermon 229/11; **sermondes** *pl* 231/24

sertifyeing *vb n* certifying 74/30

sessions *n pl* quarterly meetings of justices of the peace in a county or district to try misdemeanours and issue orders which then

- had the force of law 234/18, etc; *construed as sg* 96/36, 98/6; *in phr* **generall sessions of peace** 97/26; **quarter sessions** 220/28, etc; **quarterly sessions** 224/28; **sessiones of the peace** 74/26–7; **sessions of the peace** 16/26, 17/16
- sessmentes** *n pl* assessments 75/12
- Setturday proper** *n* Saturday 108/15, etc;
setterday 106/23; **seturday** 109/14, 109/20
- sevennight** *n comp* week; *in phr* **vppon sonndaie**
sevennight next a week from the coming Sunday 69/29–30 [*OED* Sennight]
- sexe** *n* six 250/10
- sextyne** *see* **syxtyne**
- seyng** *prp* seeing 106/41, 109/1
- seyson** *n* seisin, legal possession 83/21
- seyzed** *pp* seised, in legal possession 78/33, 79/21; **seased** 99/30, 99/33; *see also* **demesne**
- sharp edg tooles** *n phr pl* sharp edge-tools, sharp cutting-tools (?) *or, by phonetic simplification, for sharp-edged tools (?)* 184/10
- shawtinge** *vb n* shouting 9/15
- shelynges** *n pl* shillings 39/13
- shereif** *n* sheriff 226/18; **shirffe** 180/32;
shereifes *pl* 226/20
- shewyd** *v pa 3 sg* showed, ie, informed 109/12
- shippon** *n* shippen, cattle-shed 78/21
- shoole maister** *see* **scolemaister**
- shoone** *n pl* shoes 33/16
- shotinge** *vb n* shooting 42/30, 42/33; **shoting** 367/25; **shotyng** *prp* 110/28m; **shuttinge** 281/40; **shotinges** *pl* 234/34
- shouynge** *vb n* shoeing (of horses) 163/38
- showes** *n pl* shoes 107/5
- showmaker** *n comp* shoemaker 78/11
- shuttinge** *see* **shotinge**
- singler** *adj* singular 78/34, etc
- circuite** *n* circuit, district within which itinerant judges hold courts 231/5
- situations** *n pl* sites, localities 104/30, 104/33
- sixt** *adj* sixth 50/30, 79/4; **sixte** 106/23
- siyes** *n* assize (*see* **assizes**) 163/29m; *in phr* **syes wycke** assize week, the week of the assizes 163/30 [*OED* Size *sb*¹ 1]
- skeytes** *n pl* skates, a kind of fish 199/29, 200/6;
skeyts 208/31
- skochyn, skutchion** *see* **scutchion**
- sleights** *v pr 3 sg* slights, disdains 85/32
- solace** *n* pleasure, enjoyment 260/13
- solempne** *adj* solemn 43/3
- soly** *adv* solely 79/9
- somes** *n pl* sums 158/4
- somtor horses** *n comp pl* sumpter-horses, pack-horses 163/37
- sone** *adv* soon 12/22; **sonere** *compar* 251/15
- song** *pp* sung 250/15
- soo** *adv* so 12/12, etc
- soper** *n* supper 165/17
- sore** *adj* sorry 154/17, 154/26
- soulgeer** *n* soldier 201/33
- sowneder** *adj compar* sounder 223/23
- sowrely** *adv* sourly 154/23
- sparlyngs** *n pl* sparlings, a kind of smelt 205/34
- spores** *n pl* spurs 159/20
- spoyled** *pp* seized and carried off 101/32 [*OED* Spoil *v*¹ 4]
- sprots** *n pl* sprats, a kind of fish 199/32, 200/8
- stabbine** *n* a kind of fish, a thick, flat codfish (?) 190/30 [*EDD* Stablin *sb*]
- staffe** *n* stave, verse of a poem or song 261/32
- stage playes** *n comp pl* plays performed on a public stage 215/1; **stage-playes** 19/15
- stallege** *n* stallage, a fee charged for putting up stalls in a market 162/40
- staple** *see* **statute staple**
- statly** *adj* stately 152/28
- statute staple** *n phr* a bond acknowledging a debt to be due 150/23–4
- staves** *n pl* staffs 101/7, 106/34; **stavis** 110/36;
stavys 109/27, 111/5
- staye** *n* 1. settled condition 251/26; 2. support **stey** 72/14
- stayger** *v* waver in conviction or resolution 251/18 [*OED* Stagger *v* 2]
- steede** *n in phr in steede of* instead of 175/22
- steward** *n* 1. official overseeing a household 258/26; **steward** 180/6, etc; 2. lord's deputy overseeing a manor 57/3, etc; **steeward** 79/6, 79/22; **steuerd** 56/38; **steward** 59/12, etc;

- stuarde** 99/35, 99/37; **stuerd** 165/16;
stweerde 163/20; **steuerdes** *poss* 165/15;
stewardes 60/27; **stewards** 61/18; **stuardes**
 77/39; **stuerdes** 164/20; **stueres** 163/3; 3.
 officer overseeing a town hall **stwardes** *pl*
 39/13
- stey** *see* **staye**
- stockes** *n pl* perches (?) or a timber frame with
 holes for the feet, and sometimes the hands, in
 which offenders were set for public display (?)
 38/28 [*OED* **Stock** *sb*¹ 19 and 8]
- stode** *v pa 3 sg* stood 11/37; *pa 3 pl* 344/41
- stonde** *v* stand 251/24
- stone** *n pl* a measure of weight equal to 14 pounds
 avoirdupois 145/24
- stoppet** *pp* stopped 110/32
- stoppinge** *vb n* constipation 261/14
- straight** *adj* strait, ie, strict 230/15; **straightlie**
adv 230/37, 231/1; **straightly** 16/22; **stratlye**
 158/10
- straight** *adv* at once 156/5; **strait** 261/37
- stroke** *v pa 3 sg* struck 11/30; **strekyn** *pp* 111/39;
strucken 156/3
- stuarde**, **stuerd**, **stueres**, **stwardes**, **stweerde** *see*
steward
- sturdye beggers** *n phr pl* beggars who were able-
 bodied and alleged to be violent 63/28
- subgiettes** *n pl* subjects 107/35
- subtile** *adj* subtle 223/23; **subtyll** 100/11
- suddaine** *adj* sudden 222/32
- sumeringe** *vb n* summering, summer revel 26/13
- summer lords** *n comp pl* men chosen to preside
 over summer revels, most often Whitsun ales
 216/7, etc; *in phr* **summer lords or ladies** men
 or women chosen thus to preside, often jointly
 214/30; **sommer lordes or ladies** 213/15,
 213/26; **summer lordes or ladies** 214/19
- sundry** *adj* sundry, various 42/12
- supply'd** *v pa 3 sg* stepped in, took over 33/32
- surgon** *n* surgeon 74/36
- surmysed** *pp* alleged, trumped up 107/17
- suytes** *n pl* suets 190/9, 191/4
- swoord dance** *n comp* sword-dance 184/5–6
- swornemen** *n comp* churchwardens' assistants,
 sidesmen 18/14
- syes wycke** *see* **siyes**
- syling** *n* ceiling or panelling 322/3 [*OED* **Ceiling**
vbl sb 4 and 5]
- sixtyne** *n* sixteen 158/9; **sextyne** 156/38
- taber** *n* 1. tabor, a small drum 153/29; 2. taborer,
 tabor-player 92/14
- table** *n* backgammon 317/35; **tables** *pl* 150/33,
 150/34
- tabled** *v pa 1 pl* played backgammon (?) or
 dined (?) 147/6 [*OED* **Tabling** *vbl sb* 2 and
Table *v* 2b]
- tacktick** *n* tactics 258/36
- taffata** *n* taffeta, plain-woven glossy silk 154/39
- tak't thee** *v phr imper* take it (to) thee, ie, take up
 the tune (?) 34/2–4
- tearmet** *v pa 3 pl* termed 200/35
- teyche** *v* teach 56/2
- than** *adv* then 107/12, etc
- thappurtenances** *n phr* the appurtenances 78/10,
 etc
- thare** *see* **thire**
- thayme** *see* **theym**
- the** *pron* they 103/4, etc
- theare** *impersonal pron and adv* there 38/27,
 229/25; **thear** 86/30; **their** 6/9, 6/12; **theire**
 110/6, etc; *in comp* **thearby** thereby 231/26;
thearefore therefore 229/14, etc; **thearfore**
 230/30; **theirefore** therefor, for that 83/25;
theireof thereof 83/18, 83/23; **theirolf** 83/21,
 83/22; **theirevnto** thereunto, to that 81/29;
see also **thire**
- theder** *adv* thither 107/25
- theim** *see* **theym**
- then** *conj* than 43/2, etc
- thenhabitantes** *n phr* the inhabitants 56/33
- ther(e), thers** *see* **thire**
- ther in** *adv comp* therein, in that 251/9–10
- thes** *pron pl* these 152/32, 250/36
- thewrth** *error for* 'therwith' *in phr* to say
 therwith to agree with that (?) 251/15
- they** *art* the 38/1(?), 201/9m, etc
- theym** *pron* them 106/26, etc; **thayme** 37/8,
 37/9; **theim** 102/34, etc; **theyme** 36/17;
in comp **theim selues** themselves 230/17;

- theimselves** 230/12; **theym self** 106/35, 111/13; **theym selves** 59/7, 59/14
- thight** *n* thigh 250/30
- thindrance** *n phr* the hindrance 213/6
- thire** *pron poss* their 33/6, etc; **thare** 107/28, etc; **theare** 68/10; **ther** 57/28, etc; **there** 51/24, etc; **thers** theirs 154/24
- thirtymen** *see* **gleeke and one & thirtymen**
- thomebackes** *n comp pl* a kind of fish 205/34
- thone** *adj and pron phr* the one 16/25, 150/21
- thorough** *prep* through 39/35
- thother** *adj and pron phr* the other 7/7, 150/22
- threed** *see* **packethreed**
- thrid** *adj* third 250/23; **thride** 99/34
- throwghly** *adv* thoroughly 224/15
- thryttie** *n* thirty 156/38
- thryttyne** *n* thirteen 157/33, 157/34
- thyder** *adv* thither, to there 112/9
- thyis** *pron pl* these 56/9
- tippling** *vb n* selling ale by retail, or drinking it freely and hard 215/2; **typling** 91/24; **typlinge** 229/38
- tithynges** *n pl* tidings, news 110/29
- to** *adv* too 33/23
- to** *prep* till 251/28
- togeder** *adv* together 112/19; **to geders** 111/16; **to gether** 56/36, 94/14; **together** 328/8
- toke** *v pa 3 pl* took 107/15, etc
- tokynes** *n pl* stamped pieces of copper or other metal, resembling coins, put out by tradesmen and other entrepreneurs to serve as small change or as receipts 164/21, 165/19 [*OED* Token *sb* 10 and 11]
- tolleres** *n pl* toll-collectors 163/4, etc; **toleres** 164/22
- tomlinge** *prp* tumbling, ie, acrobatic (?) 204/26
- tooll buthe** *n comp* tolbooth, jail 251/10–11
- tow** *adj* two 78/23, etc; **too** 57/3
- towes** *n* commotion, uproar (?) 38/3m; *see* p 322 (endnote to LIRO: 352 MIN/COU I 1/1 f [93v]) [*OED* Touse *sb*]
- towneshipp** *n* one of the local divisions of a large parish, each containing a village or small town and usually having its own chapel 234/31, 235/19; **towneshippe** 9/1; **townshipp** 10/36
- toyes** *n pl* antics 103/12
- travelyng men** *n phr pl* wayfaring men 112/7, 112/8m
- trayned band** *n phr* trained company of citizen soldiers 235/17–18
- treasure** *n* treasury 155/6
- trible** *see* **vyall**
- trist** *n* 1. trust, position of responsibility 251/25; 2. trust, confidence **tryste** 156/26
- triumpths** *n pl* triumphs 184/12
- trooble** *n* trouble 152/11; **troobles** *pl* 152/23
- trotter** *n* one who moves briskly and constantly, *here*, an especially accomplished dancer (?) 33/32
- trouthe** *n* truth 108/11
- trumpet** *n* trumpeter 179/22
- tryste** *see* **trist**
- tuk** *v pa 3 sg* took 250/27
- turners** *n pl* those who do turns, ie, bodily tricks and feats; acrobats 41/5
- tusle** *n* assault 83/35 [*OED* Tussle *sb*]
- Twelfth Day proper** *n phr* Epiphany (6 January) the twelfth day after Christmas 146/39, 282/1
- Twelfth night proper** *n phr* the eve of Twelfth Day 184/24, 255/8
- twill** *vb phr pr 3 sg* 'twill, ie, it will 258/19
- tynkens** *n pl* tinkers, itinerant menders of pots and pans, commonly considered vagabonds 316/30; **tynklers** 21/19
- typling(e)** *see* **tippling**
- tyre** *n* attire, costume; *in phr* **virgin tyre** *perhaps* specifically a headdress 155/24
- vale** *see* **Ile vale**
- vauntparler** *n comp* one who talks or boasts too readily (?) *or* one who stirs others up, a ringleader (?) 100/12
- verginalles** *see* **virginalls**
- viall** *see* **vyall**
- vicker** *n* vicar 181/22
- victor peny** *n phr* a penny paid for a celebration when a schoolboy became victor, ie, won a cockfight (?) 56/4
- victorys** *n pl* triumphs, victory celebrations 56/8

violen *n* violin, a bowed stringed instrument, properly one with four strings, tuned in fifths, and with no frets 153/29; **violins** *pl* 147/38, 183/13; *in phr* **base violin** a large instrument of this kind with a lower pitch 5/23

virginalls *n pl* a keyboard musical instrument, usually having the strings laid parallel to the keyboard 165/38, etc; **verginalles** 68/40; **virgenalls** 158/39; **virgenals** 154/24; **virginales** 147/29; **virginalles** 149/42; **virginals** 81/37, 81/38; **virgynals** 161/14; **vyrgynals** 161/39

visions *n pl* shows, spectacles 39/23

vnkindnes *n* ill-will, hostility 152/34

vnlafull *adj* unlawful 56/8

vnreuerntly *adv* unreverently 214/10

voyd *v* leave 69/5

vse *v refl* behave 59/14; **vsing** *prp* 56/22

vtter *v* offer for sale 221/17

vyall *n* viol, a bowed stringed instrument, properly one with six strings, tuned mainly in fourths, and with frets 158/20, 178/39m; **viall** 178/39; **vyalls** *pl* 105/37; **vyolls** 153/26; **vyols** 153/29; *in phr* **trible viall** treble viol, a small instrument of this kind with a higher pitch 148/35, 149/11; **trible vyall** 149/28

vye *v* compete 150/34

vyrgynals *see* **virginalls**

wackes *see* **wakes**

wafers *n pl* thin, crisp cakes, commonly eaten with wine 64/34, 65/17

wagies *n pl* wages 56/5

wait(e) *see* **wayte**

wakes *n pl* local annual parish festivals held on or near the day of the patron saint of the church and observed with merrymaking and often with revelry and sports 218/28, etc; **wackes** 219/24

wale *see* **marine wale**

walke *n* area of jurisdiction 7/13

wan *v pa 3 sg* won 45/3

wandrang *prp* wandering 39/22

wandres *n pl* error (?) for 'wandrers,' ie, wanderers 41/5

wanted *v pa impersonal in phr* there wanted not there were not lacking 232/38

ward *adv in phr to* Liuerpoleward towards Liverpool 44/17; **to Whalley ward** towards Whalley 146/31

warthe *n* strand, shore 42/37

wast *n* waste 77/38; **west** 81/20

waterbalie *n comp* water-bailiff, an officer enforcing shipping regulations, with power to search vessels and collect customs 37/6

watinge *vb n* waiting, ie, table service 206/11, 206/17, 206/22

wayte *n* a musician retained by a town or other corporation 36/27, etc; **wait** 52/37; **waite** 46/23; **wayt** 36/19; **weate** 45/39, 53/7; **weyte** 56/20, 56/21m; **white** 52/28; **wehete** 52/23; **wyethe** 168/19; **waites** *pl* 62/26; **wates** 174/13, etc; **wattes** 163/29; **wayetes** 203/33; **wayites** 203/28; **waytes** 56/37; **wettes** 90/38, 90/39; **weytes** 56/34; **wyathes** 168/30, 169/22; **wyethes** 166/20, 168/11

wayteshipp *n* wait's office 59/1; **wayte shipp** 57/13

weare *v pa 1 pl* were 229/20, etc; **weer** 86/38

weaves *n pl* waves 278/40

weemen *see* **wemen**

weete *v in phr to* weete to wit, namely 157/21

wek *n* week 106/23

welinoghe *adv phr* well enough 154/19

wemen *n pl* women 111/33; **weemen** 97/33

wepon *n* weapon 11/36; **wepynns** *pl* 110/36; **wepyns** 109/23m

wernyng *vb n* warning 109/1

wesshyng *vb n* washing 164/1

west *see* **wast**

wettes *see* **wayte**

Weydynsdaye *proper n* Wednesday 40/35

weyte *see* **wayte**

what *adj* which 102/14

whatsoers *v phr pr 3 sg* whatsoe'er's, ie, whatsoever is 262/3

whear *conj* where 86/28; **weare** 34/12; **whair** 182/34; *in comp* **whearwith** wherewith, with whom 229/11

weche *pron* which 40/28

wheder *conj* whether 110/26

wehte *see* **wayte**

where *conj* whereas 44/26

whyte *see* **wayte**

whiskin *n* a shallow drinking bowl 105/24

white witch *n phr* a worker of beneficent charms, one who cures ills using spells and simples, *here* used jocularly of Stanley's wife or sweetheart 260/36

whom *n* home 12/8

whopped *v pa 3 pl* whooped 34/31

whylys *n in adv phr* **all the whylys** all the while 110/12

whyte *see* **quyte**

wide *adj* torn open (from exertion) (?) *or* stiffened wide with starch or whalebone stays, and so impeding movement (?) 33/33

wiffe *n* wife 100/17, etc; **wiff** 12/3, 13/20; **wyffe** 194/36m, etc

wiggeons *see* **wyggeon**

willys *n pl in phr* **to haue doon theire willys** to have done their wills, ie, to have done as they wished 107/32

wissely *adv* wisely 152/18

without that that *conj phr* not admitting that; a technical legal phrase used when denying some matter of fact without admitting some more general allegation with which it is bound up 103/14, 103/22 [*OED* Without 15d]

witt *n in phr* **hurt his witt** impair his ingenuity (?) 261/22

wolls *n pl* wools, ie, fleeces (?) 162/40

woonne *v pa 3 pl* won 35/18

workehowse *n comp* workshop 84/19

worshipfull *adj* worthy of great respect or esteem

39/27, etc; **worshipful** 74/18; *as a form of address in phr* **righte worshipfull** 6/30; **ryghte worshyppfull** 9/13

worshipp *n* high repute or esteem 5/10; *often as a title given to office holders* **worshypp** 36/27 (?); **your worships** *pl* 98/6; **your worships** 98/9 etc

writing obligatorye *n phr* written document creating a legal obligation 150/23, etc

writ of extendith *n phr* an order compelling assessment of property for recovery of debt 40/36–7 [*Black's* Extent]

writt *v pa 1 sg* wrote 89/2; **wryte** 9/8; **wryt** *pa 2 sg* 154/3 (2); **wrytt** *pa 2 pl* 227/5; **writte** *pp* written 44/21

wyathes, wyethe *see* **wayte**

wyffe *see* **wiffe**

wyggeon *n* widgeon, a kind of wild duck 209/5; **wiggeons** *pl* 208/34

wyketolle *n comp* town toll 163/15

wynle *n* windle, a measure of grain, probably about three bushels 163/35

yat *conj* that 110/39, etc

yat *pron* that 230/13, etc

yaurde *see* **churchyord**

yeard *n* yard 77/30; **yordes** *pl* 79/14, 84/20; *see also* **churchyord**

yeir *pron poss* their 57/25

yem *pron* them 98/3

yerof *conj comp* thereof, of that 44/20

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The Index combines subjects with names, places, and book or play titles in a single listing. When identical headwords occur in more than one category, the order is as follows: names of persons, titles of nobility, names of places, subjects, and titles of books or plays; thus 'Hoghton, Thomas' precedes 'Hoghton Tower' and entries relating to Henry VIII as a person precede those relating to the play *Henry VIII*.

Place-names and given names appear in modern form where that can be ascertained, and titles and family names of nobility and other public figures in forms commonly used by modern historians. Other surnames are usually cited in the most common form occurring in the text, except that capitalization and the use of *i/j* and *u/v* have been assimilated to modern usage. Surnames and place-names are regularly followed by any variant spellings (in parentheses), but these are given for titles only where clarity requires them. Nobles are entered under their family names with cross-references from any titles which occur in the text or apparatus, and royalty under their regnal or given names. Saints' names are indexed under 'St,' alphabetized as if spelt out. Occupations are given only when considered relevant (e.g., 'Wawen, Thomas, Liverpool wait').

The chief sources used for identifying persons were *The Dictionary of National Biography*; F. Maurice Powicke and E.B. Fryde (eds), *Handbook of British Chronology*, 2nd ed (London, 1961); F.R. Raines (ed), *The Derby Household Books, The Visitation in 1613 by Richard St. George*, and *The Visitation in 1664-5 by Sir William Dugdale*; Baines, *History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster*, James Croston (ed); and Whitaker, *History of Whalley*, 4th ed. Sources for the identification of royalty and nobility are specified in the headnote to 'Patrons and Travelling Companies,' to which the index refers throughout.

The format for names and titles has been adapted from R.F. Hunnisett, *Indexing for Editors*, British Records Association, Archives and the User No 2, 1977. Members of noble families have usually been distinguished by their family relationships when those are known rather than by succession numbers, but when required for clarity, succession numbers have been used following *The Complete Peerage*. In a few places (eg, Butler, Shireburn) it has been necessary to assign numbers to different persons of the same name and those numbers follow the names in parentheses.

Certain items are grouped under broad topics such as 'food,' 'musical instruments,' and 'trades and professions' to aid research. The pertinent members of these classes are then either given as subentries or referred to by cross-references.

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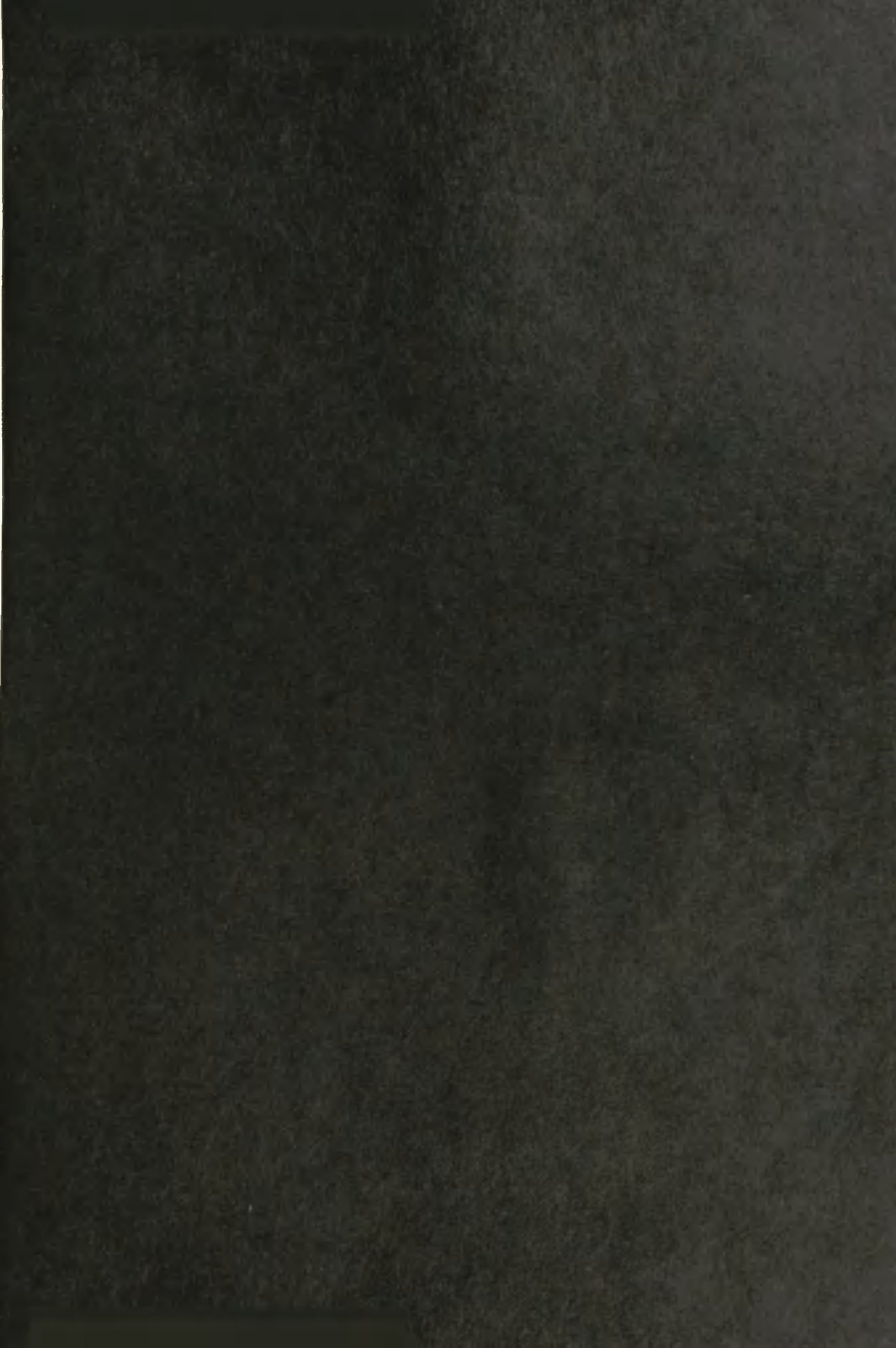
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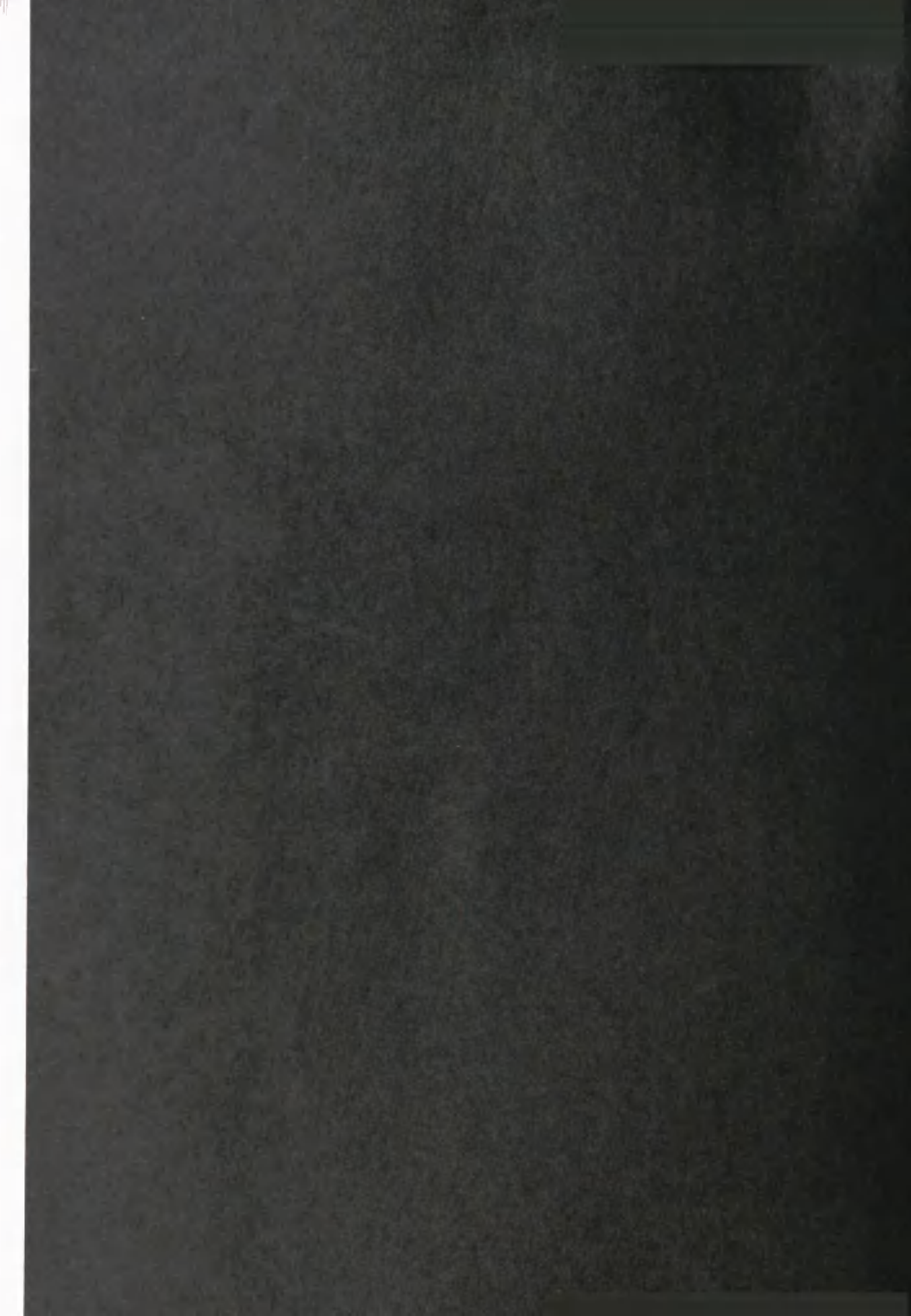
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