

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

**An Edition of the Records of Drama, Ceremony
and Secular Music in Winchester City and College
1556-1642**

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ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF ARTS

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AN EDITION OF THE RECORDS OF DRAMA, CEREMONY AND SECULAR MUSIC IN
WINCHESTER CITY AND COLLEGE 1556-1642

by Jane Cowling

In this thesis, the editorial procedures followed are those of Records of Early English Drama (REED) of Toronto, with whose approval and support the work has been carried out. The results are to be included in REED's forthcoming volume of records for Hampshire as part of their series covering the whole of Great Britain.

Included are transcriptions and translations, where necessary, of all relevant material and detailed descriptions of all documents from which extracts has been taken. These documents are, for the most part, in the Hampshire Record Office and Winchester College but other centres, such as London, Oxford, Guildford, Maidstone, Longleat and the Huntington Library in the USA have yielded much of value. For instance, the only accessible records in the College were the Bursars' Accounts but a 16th century schoolboy's notebook held in the British Library has afforded valuable insights into the dramatic activities of the College scholars during this period.

The introduction discusses the social and economic history of Winchester at the time. Its main purpose is, however, to address the material presented in the records and to examine in detail some of the more interesting data which has been uncovered. In examining the dramatic records of the College, particular attention has been given to the 16th Century schoolboy's notebook and to the existence of a ship hanging in the College Hall. Royal visits and a rare eyewitness account of a Forest Eyre have been discussed for their relevance to civic ceremonial. Winchester's attitude to visiting players and to the city's own musicians is examined and the records revealing the existence of horseracing on the downs near Winchester in the 1630's have been reviewed. A discussion of the Latin terminology used for the various sorts of players, and the consequent difficulties in the translation of these terms is also included. Problems associated with an individual editor's choice and inclusion of material are highlighted.

Footnotes have been used to give details of patrons and local notables, where they can be identified. Manuscript peculiarities, problems of dating and difficult readings have been pointed out. Unusual Latin and English words have been glossed. Also included is a list of documents surveyed which have yielded no relevant evidence, despite a painstaking search.

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Two REED editors have been particularly helpful. Dr James Gibson, the Editor of the Kent volume, kindly supplied me with a transcription of an MS from the Centre for Kentish Studies in Maidstone. Dr Peter Greenfield, editor of Gloucestershire and the future editor of Hampshire, gave me generously of his time and advice when he was in England at the start of his researches in the county.

I would like to thank the following archivists for their kindness in allowing me access to their records:

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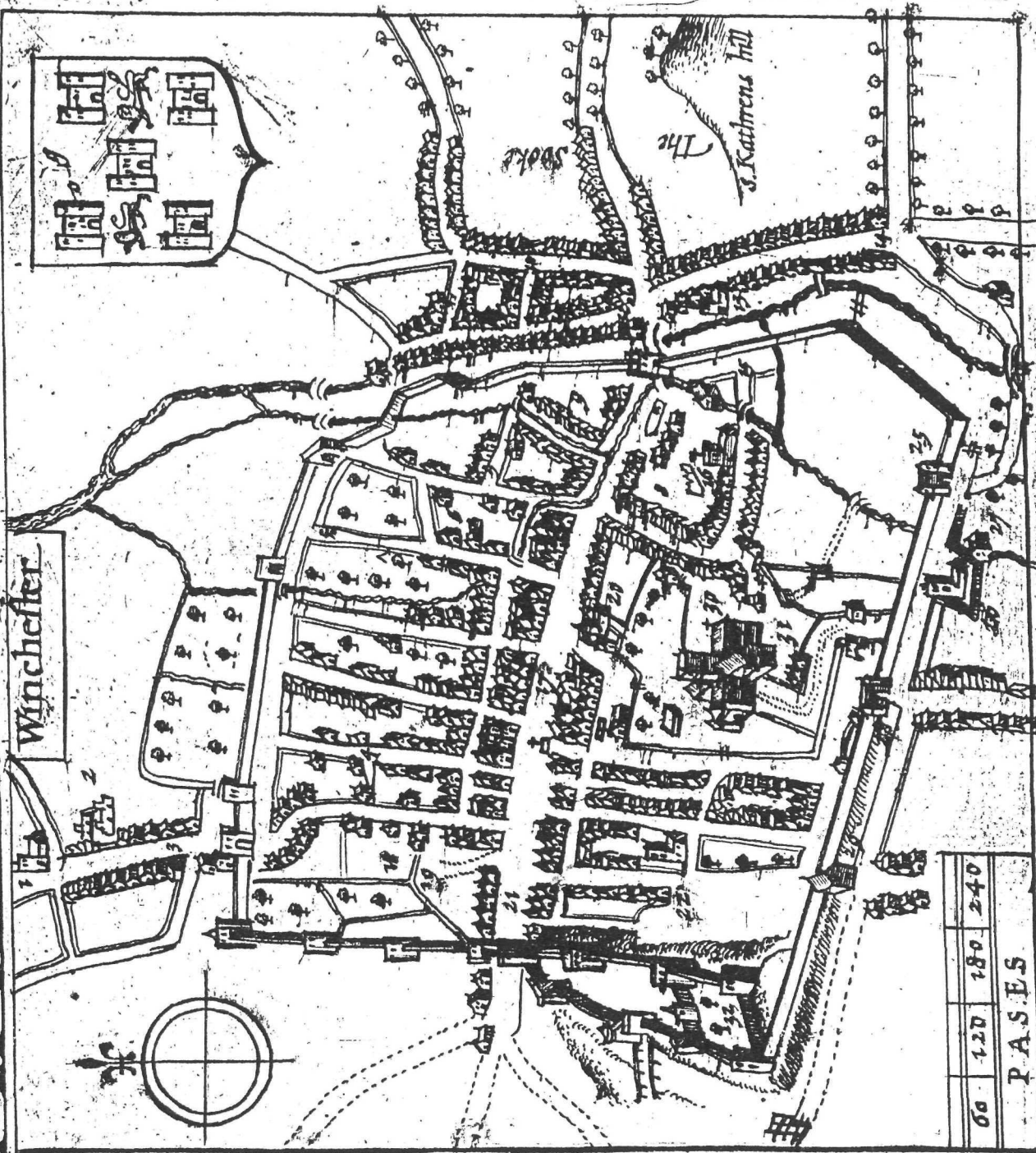
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Finally, my daughter Emma and her husband Simon Taylor and my son James have all listened patiently and constructively to my ideas. In particular my thanks are due to James for his expert teaching of all I know about word processing and for his help with the layout and presentation of this thesis.

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

A	Antiquarian Compilation of a single set of documents
AC	Antiquarian collection of material from diverse sources
BL	British Library
Bodl.	Bodleian Library
Chambers	<u>The Elizabethan Stage</u>
CKS	Centre for Kentish Studies, Maidstone
CL	Classical Latin
Hants N&Q	Hampshire Notes and Queries
HRO	Hampshire Record Office
HFCP	Hampshire Field Club Proceedings
Hun.	Huntington Library
Lam.	Lambeth Palace Library
Latham	<u>Revised Medieval Latin Word-List</u>
N&Q	Notes and Queries
Nichols	<u>Progresses...of Queen Elizabeth & James I</u>
OED	<u>Oxford English Dictionary</u>
PRO	Public Record Office
REED	Records of Early English Drama
Scholes	<u>Oxford Companion to Music</u>
SRO	Surrey Record Office
VCH	<u>Victoria History of the Counties of England: Hampshire</u>
WC	Winchester College
<...>	Lost or illegible letters in the original
[]	Cancellation in the original
◦ ◦	Matter in the original added in another hand
(blank)	A blank in the original where writing would be expected
—	Interlineation above the line
^	Caret mark in the original
...	Ellipsis of original material
 	Change of folio or membrane in passages of continuous prose
®	Right hand marginale



Winchester

- 1 Hyde Church
- 2 Hyde Abbey
- 3 Hyde street
- 4 Jury street
- 5 Tanners street
- 6 Ruell Chappell
- 7 Walles street
- 8 s. Maryes Abbey
- 9 s. Johns hospitall
- 10 s. Johns street
- 11 Tens Lane
- 12 Water Lane
- 13 s. Peters church in c
- 14 s. Peters street
- 15 Colbrok strete
- 16 s. Peter Colbrok
- 17 s. Mary Callender
- 18 The Gaol prison
- 19 Staple Garden
- 20 s. Morris Church.
- 21 s. Lawrence
- 22 s. Thomas
- 23 s. Bartholomewes
- 24 s. Clements
- 25 wolsey house
- 26 The Colledge
- 27 Colledge mill
- 28 Kings Gate
- 29 South Gate
- 30 The mynster
- 31 Paradise
- 32 The Castle

60	120	180	240
P A S E S			

The wars betwixt Maud the Em^{rs} wife/ intituled Lady of England unto

O H

18 fyeld

PART

Nur PA

HL

Redman
Apliccha
Chur
Forre

9

The
s. Kathrens hill

Spoke

John Speed's Map of Winchester, 1611.
(Reproduced by kind permission of the Hampshire Record Office)

INTRODUCTION

PRINCIPLES OF SELECTION

This edition is for the period 1556 to 1642 and is being produced under the auspices of REED and the Faculty of Arts of Southampton University. The results will eventually appear in REED's forthcoming Hampshire edition. I originally intended to cover all dramatic, musical and ceremonial records in Winchester College up to 1642, but unfortunately I was only allowed access to the College's Bursars' Account Books, dating from 1556, held in the Archivist's office. The Archivist, due to pressure of work, was reluctant to make available the earlier records, which are stored in the College's Muniment Room. Subsequently, it will be possible to arrange for microfilming of the earlier material, but not in time for inclusion in this edition. No other College records post 1556 were held in the Archivist's office, so my researches in the College have been very limited. It was decided, therefore, that I would cover the City's records for the same period, leaving the earlier material aside until it can be recorded alongside the earlier College records.

Most of the following records have been located either in the College Archivist's office or in the Hampshire Record Office. Others have been found in the British Library; the Bodleian Library in Oxford; New College, Oxford; the Public Record Office; the Surrey Record Office; Lambeth Palace Library; the Centre for Kentish Studies, Maidstone; the Huntington Library; and Longleat House.

It was agreed with REED at the outset that I would not survey Winchester Cathedral's records, since they would probably require a greater degree of expertise in Latin than I possessed at the time. Consequently, with the exception of the few available Treasurers' Accounts, which yielded no dramatic or secular musical activity, I have not attempted to survey the records held in the Cathedral, which are for the most part uncatalogued and difficult of access. Similarly, diocesan records in the HRO have not been surveyed in depth, although I have consulted those thought most likely to yield relevant records, such as Consistory Court Office Act Books and Bishops' Visitation Books. Unfortunately, they too have been unproductive. Ironically, while all account records both in the College and the City are in Latin, up to and beyond 1642, such Cathedral accounts as I have seen have been in English. Exeter seems to be the only other town so far covered by REED which uses Latin in its accounts as late as this.

A decision has had to be made whether to record all relevant records from both the College and the City together in date order or separately. To record them separately would maintain the institutional integrity of the material, and would reflect REED practice, but to combine the records of College and City would tell a chronological story of drama in Winchester as a whole. For the purpose of this thesis, my decision has been to record all relevant material in date order. On reflection, it seemed to me that the institutional separateness would be clearer if immediate contrasts between College and City records were permitted by fitting them into a single date order scheme. The same applies to Antiquarian sources, and diocesan

records, which REED's editors would normally record separately but which I have included chronologically, where the events they record can be accurately dated.

However, a totally accurate chronological system is not possible because of the differing dating systems used in the various documents. So, bearing in mind that my purpose is to transcribe records, not to record events, the records have been sorted under annual date headings, starting with the two sets of accounts (Chamberlains' and Bursars') which use a Michaelmas to Michaelmas accounting period, followed by the records which have been allocated a split year and then those records which have been given an exact date in one particular year. The College 'dictates', from a scholar's MS notebook of lessons delivered by the College schoolmaster in the 1560's, follow the accounts. In cases where a dictate can be tied in to a specific year, it has been given a single year heading, but the majority can only be dated to the Christmas Term, which took in the new year, and those have been given a similar year heading to that of the account records, preceded by an indication of the term in which the dictate was delivered. In the case of the two sets of Churchwardens' Accounts, the system of dating used, sometimes covering a period of three years in one set of accounts, makes the task of fitting them into a chronological amalgamation of records very difficult, so they have been set out separately at the end of the records. Any other material which is impossible to date to a particular year is also to be found at the end of the records, in Appendix 1. I have also included in Appendix 2 a list of sources which have proved unproductive. The process of sifting through all possible sources is time-consuming but necessary and such a list is indicative of more than just a lengthy and fruitless search. For example, it throws light on Winchester's comparative lack of preoccupation with sabbatarian laws involving entertainments, which so exercised the authorities in other parts of the country¹. Translations of all records in Latin follow.

The words in the records are not always a good guide as to whether a particular entry should be included in this survey. In the City accounts I have not included civic feasts and dinners unless specific mention is made of music or drama. My intention is to be as inclusive as possible, so it is with regret that I have excluded records that mention 'entertainment', but without specifying what form it took. Such a word may imply no more than giving visitors a meal and a bed for the night, for instance, at the time of the Assizes. There is one exception to this. I have included a letter dated June 5th 1623, referring to a party of nobles from the court travelling to Winchester and Southampton along with Edward Alleyn (sometime player and by the date of this letter, squire of the bears) and Inigo Jones, surveyor of the king's works and designer of masques for the Court, and also designer of the screen in Winchester Cathedral. Their purpose was to 'take order for his majesty's entertainment' on the expected arrival from Spain of Prince Charles with his proposed wife, the Infanta. The word 'entertainment' in this case probably had a dramatic significance, in view of the presence of Inigo Jones and Alleyn. From the point of view of this thesis it is a pity that the Spanish match was called off and that therefore no entertainment took place (see p.96).

¹For instance, see David N. Klausner. (ed). Herefordshire, Worcestershire. REED (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1990), passim.

It is important to emphasise here the difficulties of translating the different words for players of all sorts. In the case of entries in Latin I have attempted to be as consistent as possible, with the help of CL dictionaries, Latham and the Latin glossaries in the REED series of volumes. It must be borne in mind however, that some of these Latin words were probably considered to be interchangeable by the scribes using them, in the same way that the word 'players', used by scribes writing in English, carried a similar ambiguity. Nevertheless, it appears that the Latin words at least indicate that these were players of various musical instruments, whatever else they may have been performing, whereas the word 'players' in English records could denote either spoken or musical performances, or both.

In the College records in the early 17th Century there are regular payments of 10s to the town musicians, mostly referred to as 'musicis' but sometimes as 'tubicinis' or 'tubicinibus'. The royal players visiting the College are sometimes referred to as 'tubicinibus', sometimes as 'tubicinibus' and sometimes as 'buccinatoribus'. I have translated these according to the list below, even though they may have been playing the same instruments on each separate visit.

'Trompentarijs', 'buccinatoribus' and 'Tubicinarijs' all mean 'to the trumpeters' and are so translated. 'Tubicinibus' means 'to the reed players' or 'to the flute, fife (non-reed) players'. I have translated these as 'to the pipers'. I have translated 'citharedis' as 'to the cittern players'. 'Histrionibus' can mean 'to the players' or 'to the minstrels' according to Latham, and can probably also mean 'to the actors', or entertainers. I have translated these as 'to the players'. 'Lusoribus' means to the players or entertainers and has been translated as 'to the players'¹.

Where there is a prohibition about drinking, eating and playing unlawful games in Inns and taverns, it is apparent from other edicts which are more specific that what is involved is playing at cards or dice and that such a record has no place in this edition. Similarly, I have included entries about bull baiting but regulations about mastiff dogs, which may or may not have been used for bull baiting, have been omitted. Mention of fife and drum players' fees have been omitted where the surrounding context makes it clear that they were employed for military musters. References to bear baiting, cockfighting and horse racing have been included. I have excluded records of bell-ringing, except as evidence of Royal Visits, and liturgical and semi-liturgical ceremonies, such as processions in the churches and their surroundings.

Although REED's guidelines exclude records of ceremonial and royal visits unless there is clear evidence of mimetic activity, I propose to include them here. Since the records are predominantly financial, any mimetic activity would not necessarily be mentioned, and this lack of evidence does not exclude the possibility of ceremonial or quasi-mimetic events even when they incurred no expenditure by the City. A case in point is Trussell's eye-witness account of the ceremonial reception of Queen Henrietta Maria in 1625, together with a speech of welcome by the Mayor, for which there is no supporting evidence in the

¹For a further discussion of the Latin vocabulary used for visiting players to the College, see p.20.

City's accounts (see p.98), although we know from Trussell's account that it took place, but that there had been no time to purchase a gift for the Queen. Conversely, there is the occasional financial record of a presentation of gifts to royalty when there is no supporting record of a visit. This kind of unevenness in the records is a major reason for prudence in interpreting them.

I feel that one has to reach a working compromise between inclusiveness and selections of records in the case of Royal visits and the contextual value which is given by records which do not specifically mention the visits. Inclusion of the latter is an effort of hope or imagination and can blur the former. Exclusion of the latter reasonably attracts the accusation that one is literalistic and blinkered about the contexts in which such events occur. So I propose to make a distinction between the principal activity of a royal visit, secondary records in which the MS context suggests a connection with the central topic, and tertiary records in which ordinary activities may have been carried out specifically for the event or may have been coincidental with it. The primary and secondary records are included in the text and the tertiary records are referred to in footnotes or in this introduction. There is always a danger that such a subjective approach may omit some records that another editor might have included, but other than transcribing account records for the year in question in their entirety, I can see no suitable alternative. The sort of items which have been included, either as primary or secondary records, are the hire of horses for civic dignitaries to ride to greet royal visitors, the moving of the arms of the city from the Guildhall to the Westgate for the official ceremony of greeting the monarch and the speeches of welcome made on such occasions. I have also included all payments to members of the royal household made during royal visits and payments for preparatory work done by the city in advance of such visits, such as the hiring of special clothes, cleaning the streets and repairing civic regalia, such as the mace and the City's arms. Tertiary records include repairs to the roads and to the town pump. Routes of Royal visitors can sometimes be deduced from the preparations and refurbishments made to certain parts of the City. Footnotes have been used to indicate the existence of records which show that Winchester was involved in some expenditure as a result of royalty being in the neighbourhood, even when no visit to the city is recorded.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The early histories of both Winchester and the College will appear in REED's forthcoming Hampshire volume and I propose to confine my survey as far as possible to the situation in the late 16th and early 17th centuries.

Winchester

Winchester lies on the west bank of the river Itchen, where gravel banks afforded good footings for a bridge. On either side of the river valley are the Hampshire chalk downs. The boundary between the downs and the Hampshire Basin consisting of clays, sand and gravels, runs roughly east-west a few miles downstream from the City.

Once the centre of government and of monarchy and a prosperous manufacturing town, by the start of the period under review Winchester had become a much less significant town, with crumbling houses and ruined churches (17 listed in 1452). The decline in the city's prosperity was due to successive incidences of the plague and a slump in the wool and cloth industries. This slump resulted not only in unemployment locally, bringing poor families in need of relief into Winchester from the surrounding area, but also in an associated fall in trade at St Giles' Fair, which had already begun its decline in the late 13th century. This fair, once one of the most important in England, was held on St Giles' Hill, which belonged to the Bishops of Winchester, and in the past had been patronised by royalty and by merchants from all over Europe. It had lasted 16 days at the height of its success and had brought in as much as £150 a year to the bishopric, and associated wealth to the citizens of Winchester, not only in the trade of wool and cloth but also in services and lodgings provided for the visitors. It attracted such large crowds that, instead of the city courts sitting during the fair, the Bishop's own Pie Powder Court, which dealt with offences committed by travellers, sat to administer law in a special pavilion erected for the purpose. In the late 16th Century the fair was still held, but had lost its former importance and had become just one of a number of small markets held in the neighbourhood.

Of the numerous religious houses in Winchester which had provided employment in the town and which had relied on its markets for their provisions, Hyde Abbey, St Swithun's Priory and St Mary's Abbey were destroyed at the dissolution, along with a number of smaller houses, four friaries, for example, rendering a large part of Winchester desolate and uninhabited. Happily for the city, one of the largest of these institutions, Winchester College, was spared the fate of the others because of its connection with Oxford, and it continued to be a source of revenue, in the form of employment of the city's tradesmen and provisions. New markets in other Hampshire towns, the growth of Salisbury as a rival in the cloth industry, and not least the increasing importance of London, all contributed to Winchester's decline. Communications with London by road from rival towns such as Southampton and Basingstoke were more direct, and Winchester became increasingly by-passed as a centre of trade. Several attempts were made to alleviate the financial difficulties Winchester was suffering. Following a petition from the Corporation, the City's fee farm was reduced in 1554, probably as a result of the good will engendered by the Winchester wedding of Philip II of Spain to Queen Mary in that year¹. The city successfully opposed the opening of a market in nearby Bishop's Waltham in the 1590's. However, two attempts by the city fathers to re-open the river Itchen to navigation from Winchester to Southampton, the outlet to the continent for Winchester's trade, were unsuccessful, partly due to opposition from Southampton. The whole of the southern part of Hampshire was suffering a similar decline, but Winchester's plight was further exacerbated by bad communications.

In the past, the river had provided good communications to the coast and Roman roads ran south, west and east from the City. By the 16th Century, however, not only were these roads in bad repair and the

¹This was the last of many great royal ceremonies to be held in the city. The choice of Winchester was made more because of Philip's landfall in Southampton, and the political considerations against a London wedding than as a result of any upturn in the city's status.

river silted up and un-navigable, there were a number of bridges affording river crossings downstream of Winchester. The Great West Road ran from the Southwest to London via Winchester and Farnham, taking in part of the Pilgrim's Way, but a more direct route ran through the Test valley via Andover and Basingstoke and it was this route that was increasingly taken by travellers as Winchester's industry declined and other West Country and Hampshire towns became more important.

The Corporation's civic pride in the city's long history of self government, and its even longer royal and ecclesiastical connections, together with the frustration experienced by its inability to impress upon successive central administrations the full import of the city's difficulties, is evident in many of the city's records (see Trussell, p.82). Winchester still remained a judicial, administrative and ecclesiastical centre however, so from time to time there was a renewal of the spirit of the old Winchester when the Assizes were held or the Bishop made one of his rare visits to his residence at Wolvesey Palace. Royal progresses occasionally included a visit to Winchester and the citizens turned out with renewed enthusiasm to greet the visitors. Over the years there had been a failure to maintain the Castle, in the past the royal residence during such visits, and although the Bishop's palace was occasionally used for short stays, a lack of suitable accommodation meant that monarchs rarely stayed in the city.

By the beginning of the 17th century, Winchester began to assume a new role as a social centre. Merchants who had prospered in London, some of them originally natives of Winchester, were beginning to settle in the city. For instance, Peter Symonds, a Wintonian who became prosperous as a mercer in the City of London, became one of Winchester's benefactors and founded Christ's Hospital in 1607, providing almshouses for six old men, one matron and four boys. This foundation was built with stones from Hyde Abbey and was on the corner of Minster Street, re-named Symonds' Street. Symonds also endowed two scholarships for the City's boys, one to Oxford and the other to Cambridge.

The record in 1630 of a court case brought by a dancing master against a defaulting instrument maker (see p.103) is evidence of an increase in prosperity, at least among the gentry, who brought metropolitan ideas, leisure pursuits and social refinements with them. Horse racing (see p.34) was established in the neighbourhood by 1629 and attracted gentry and nobility both locally and from outside the immediate area, with resulting revenue to Winchester.

In 1623, John Taylor, the water poet, recorded the following impressions of his visit to Winchester:¹
'On Thursday the 21st of August, I took Winchester in my way homewards, where I saw an ancient city, like a body without a soul; and I know not the reason of it, but for ought which I perceived, there were almost as many parishes as people. I lodged at the sign of the Cock, being recommended to the host of the house by a token from Salisbury; but mine host died the night before I came, and I being weary had more mind to go to bed than to follow him so long a journey, to do my message or deliver any commendations.

¹Early Prose and Poetical Works (London: Hamilton and Adams, 1888) p.240. The editor of this volume is anonymous.

But the whole city seemed almost as dead as mine host, and it may be they were all at harvest work¹. But I am sure I walked from one end of it to the other, and saw not thirty people of all sorts. So that I think if a man should go to Winchester for a goose, he might lose his labour, for a trader cannot live there by vending such commodities.²

The crowds noted by Lieutenant Hammond in 1635 on the occasion of the forest eyre (see p.28), are in contrast to the above account. However, this sort of occasion was very rare and it seems that there were few, if any, other civic events to entertain the ordinary Wintonian. The gap between rich and poor widened and the poor took less interest in the administration of the city as they felt more and more excluded from its decision making processes. The ceremonial attached to the Corporation became progressively more exclusive to the civic dignitaries. For instance, Mayoral feasts such as St John's Supper gradually excluded those ordinary citizens who were freemen of the City and who had been entitled to attend in the past. This supper was held on the nearest Sunday after 24 June, the feast of St John the Baptist. Winchester's Black Book, a forerunner of the Ordinance Books, lists in 1546 the graduated contributions made to the feast, in money by the various people entitled to be present, whether they attended or not, and also in capons in the case of the Mayor and alderman of the High Street. Fines were levied for non-attendance. Even the Twenty-four³, who in the past were consulted by the Mayor on important matters, appear to have become less influential and most decisions affecting the city were made by the Mayor, with a handful of ex-mayors and the Recorder (his 'brethren') to advise him. He was free however to ignore such advisors and act independently, if he saw fit. If his decisions were unpopular, there seems to have been little the ordinary citizen could do about it; rectification often had to wait until the next Mayor was installed.

Winchester College

The College ('St. Mary College of Winchester near Winchester') was founded in 1382 by William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester from 1367 to 1404. Its first stone was laid in 1387, the year in which Chaucer supposedly began the Canterbury Tales. It was designed, uniquely at the time, to be a 'feeder' school for his earlier (1379) foundation, New College, Oxford ('St. Mary College of Winchester in Oxford'). It was however, independent of New College, although bound by close ties. Winchester College was, arguably, the largest and best endowed school in Europe and its statutes of 1400 provided for 70 scholars ('pauperes et indigentes'), sixteen quieristers (choristers) and no more than ten commoners (i.e. those paying for their education). The rest of the College community was made up of the Warden, ten

¹Few, if any, Wintonians were purely arable farmers. The surrounding downs were grazed by sheep.

²Winchester was still an important market town. Wednesdays and Saturdays were market days, when presumably Taylor would have found more activity in the city.

³The 24 were prominent citizens, members of the Merchants' Guild, and were called upon to advise the Mayor on more serious matters than those usually dealt with by the Mayor and his brethren.

fellows, two masters and three lay clerks. Although the provision for 70 scholars remains to this day, the number of commoners, including day boys from Winchester, usually younger sons destined for the church, had greatly increased by the latter part of the 16th century and the numbers were further swelled by the entry of boys who could claim to be 'Founder's Kin', whose academic qualifications on entry were less stringent than those of the other boys. Some of these 'Founder's Kin' had, in reality, little or no direct connection to Wykeham's family and this privilege, so often abused, was abolished in the late 19th century. Wykeham's integrated foundation of school and college was unprecedented in English education and served as the model for Henry VI's Eton and King's College, Cambridge. The election of boys to the College, and from the College to New College, was undertaken by Electors or Posers, as they were called, who were the Warden and two Fellows of New College, who rode to Winchester sometime in the summer, with an overnight stop in Newbury, and were met at the Middle Gate by a scholar with a Latin speech of welcome ('ad Portas')¹.

DRAMA

City

There seems to have been no indigenous civic drama in Winchester during the period under review, although a number of visiting players visited the city in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Other entertainers included puppeteers but the majority of the visitors, particularly in the early 17th Century, were musicians of various sorts.

In September 1603, during a brief visit to Winchester with King James, the Queen staged a masque to welcome Prince Henry. This was of no particular artistic merit according to the French ambassador, who records that the Queen herself promised to do better the following Christmas. Among those who took part was Lady Arabella Stuart, cousin to the King and the cause of one of the sets of trials held in the Castle that November. Lady Anne Clifford, then a child of 13 or 14, who was staying with the Court, seems to have detected an air of disapproval among those who witnessed the performance, suggesting that the Queen and her ladies behaved in an unseemly way.

College

During the period under discussion, the earliest records of plays being performed by the scholars in the College are dated 1563 and the latest 1625. Indeed, the performances may have continued for the whole of the period, because in the Bursars' accounts for 1641-42 payment was made for clothing for 'both shows'. These payments occurred in the 2nd Quarter, as do payments for plays in the 1560's and 1570's. As I

¹See discussion concerning orations on p.17.

indicate below, these performances were staged at Christmas time and the 'shows' may also have taken place then.

A boy called William Badger, a scholar at the College from 1561 to 1569, took dictations of his lessons between Michaelmas 1563 and post Christmas 1566/7. Most of these were dictated by Christopher Johnson, doctor of medicine and poet, and the schoolmaster at the College from 1561 to 1571. The remainder were by Mr Miller, the Usher, or second master, who took over from Johnson when he was absent in some years preparing the older boys for election to New College, Oxford. These notes, called 'dictates' survive in BL Add.MS 4379, Themes at Winchester School. I am greatly indebted to Dr Abigail Young of REED, for transcribing and, in all but two cases, offering translations of the relevant dictates for me, and to Mr Stephen Anderson, Head of Classics at Winchester College, for further advice and translation. It is their work which appears both in the text and in the relevant textual footnotes: it has been acknowledged by their initials. The remaining two translations are Baldwin's (see below).

There are approximately 422 dictates in Badger's notebook, of which only 8 have particular relevance for this survey. I would have preferred to number the whole sequence for ease of identification and to show where the relevant dictates appear in the brief period of three years which they cover. The difficulty is that not only are the dictates not dated, but there are sometimes two separate passages on one page, often one in verse and the other prose. Consequently, it is extremely difficult to determine the exact extent of a single dictate and I have accordingly used folio identification. Substantial work still remains to be done to establish the structure of the dictates and to explain areas of erasure contained in them.

From these dictates it is possible to establish how often boys performed plays in these years, and also, in some cases, where Johnson mentions characters in the plays, what plays they were. Each individual exercise is undated but the chronology of the dictates is discussed by Baldwin¹. The resultant position of the dictates in the records and the footnotes discussing the dating follow his reasoning. He is able to date certain dictates quite accurately, partly because Johnson was in the habit of referring to annual milestones such as harvest time, religious festivals and holidays in the course of his dictation. Badger himself marks most Mondays in his notebook and also the start of his entry into each new form. From the chronology thus determined, it can be established that two separate sets of performances of plays were given annually by the boys in the 1560's, one at Christmas and one at Shrovetide. There is supporting evidence for this in the entries concerning plays in the Bursars' accounts. Most of the expenses for plays are paid for in the 2nd Quarter of the accounts, which would be after the Christmas plays. A few are found sometimes in the 3rd Quarter and sometimes in the 4th, which could be the payments for the Shrovetide performances. Both Leach² and Baldwin assume that only one play was performed at Christmas time but Johnson uses the plural of 'ludus' in several dictates, indicating that more than one was performed on these occasions. The

¹T.W. Baldwin, William Shakspeare's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke 2 vols. (Urbana: Illinois, 1944) vol 2 pp.706-716.

²VCH vol 2 (1903) p.312.

word 'ludos' in the Bursars' accounts for the 2nd Quarter of 1564-65, and 'ludis' in the 2nd Quarter of 1573-74 provide supporting evidence for this. In the latter case the plays were performed over three nights. Kirby¹ suggests that these plays at Christmas took the place of the earlier boy-bishop ceremony, which ceased in 1543, and which in the College had lasted for only one day, Innocents' Day, 28th December. This is probably so, although there is no direct evidence. The plays were mostly in Latin, but at least one was in Greek and one was by Johnson himself.

The first dictate concerning plays occurs in the post-Christmas term spanning the end of 1563 and the start of 1564, when Badger was in the 4th form. The boys had been sent to Moundsmere, a house originally belonging to Southwick Priory, which had been transferred to the College in 1544. It was kept by the College specifically as a refuge from the plague, situated as it was about thirteen miles outside Winchester, on the healthier downs. According to evidence from earlier dictates, the boys were apparently still there at the time of this dictate. In it, Johnson refers to characters which appear in Acolastus, a Prodigal Son play by a Dutchman called William Fullonius, written in Latin in 1529, and it appears more than likely that this comedy was one which the boys had just performed. An English translation by Palsgrave was published in 1540 for use in grammar schools². Although it is just possible that this is the version the boys acted, it is much more likely that they performed the Latin one. Johnson's pedagogic intent would see to this and in the very next dictate he stresses the importance of using the Latin tongue. The scholars were supposed to speak Latin to each other, although it appears that it was getting more and more difficult to enforce this rule. However, the choice and performance of plays were under the schoolmaster's strict control and even though this play was not part of the classical syllabus which was being covered in lessons, it seems inconceivable that Johnson would not have made sure that the boys used their playacting to further their knowledge of the classics. Neither play text appears in the College's extensive library catalogue.

Despite only one play being mentioned by name in this dictate, the word 'shows' in the record of 1563-64 indicates that there were performances of more than one play on this occasion. Since no record of the expenses of these shows appears in the accounts, it can be assumed that no stage was built for the performances, as it would have been if they had been given in the College Hall. The crowd which so annoyed Johnson probably got too close to the performers and distracted them. He may also have been concerned about such a large crowd gathering at a time of plague.

On f27v of the notebook, Johnson refers to a play, in Greek, which the boys had performed the day before. Baldwin establishes the day of this performance as Shrove Tuesday in 1564 and the dictate as having being delivered the following Wednesday. According to the wording of the dictate, a play

¹T. Kirby. Annals of Winchester College (London: Henry Frowde; Winchester: P. and G. Wells, 1892) p.287.

²There had been a grammar school in Winchester up until about 1536, with a headmaster (a secular priest) appointed by the Bishop, after which time the town boys who would otherwise have been taught there were probably day boys at the College.

performed in Greek was evidently a rare occurrence. Johnson was obviously happier about this performance than the one the previous Christmas, perhaps because he and the boys were, by then, back in the College, where such performances and those who attended them could be controlled, to some extent at any rate.

Johnson's 4th dictate of the post-Christmas term spanning 1564-65 outlines what benefits he expects the boys to derive from acting plays, and comments favourably on a recent performance. These must be the plays performed in the Christmas holidays and referred to in the Bursars' accounts for 1564-65. Nevertheless he comments rather testily on the nature and performance of comedy in the very next dictate. Not only did he find the rehearsals exasperating, but had evidently had no luck in obtaining the necessary curtains for the stage. Again, there was a problem with the audience, this time with excluding those who were obstructing the doors, thus impeding the access of the players. What he calls the 'theatre' was expensive to build ('sumptuosa Theatri extractio') and since the whole performance was over so quickly it had hardly been worth the effort.

Johnson's own play, a comedy, is referred to on f100r in 1565. This was also a Shrovetide event and seems to have been a morality play, with its personifications of chastity, abstinence, gluttony and lechery - fitting topics with which to prepare the boys for Lent.

The first dictate on f142r (see p.60) is included not only because of its references to comedies but because of its position immediately before the reference to an actual performance which is recorded on the same page. Baldwin's chronology places these as the first two dictates in the post-Christmas term 1565-66, which is further evidence for regular performances of plays at Christmas.

The final entries of relevance in Badger's notebook (143r-145r), consist of a dramatic scene made up of two sets of dialogues, which can also be dated as occurring in the post-Christmas term of 1565-66. Because of their length it can be assumed that the dictates were the work of several days, perhaps taking as much as two weeks to complete. The first dialogue is between Nero and Poppaea and the second between Nero and a messenger. Baldwin¹ connects these dialogues with the play referred to in the second dictate of the post-Christmas term 1565-66, which refers at length to Cambyses and his court and also refers to Nero. So these dialogues either formed a part of that play or concerned another one on a similar theme.

There are no further references to plays in the following year. According to Kirby², a former Bursar of the College, the reason there were no plays in 1566 was because of: 'a riot and no performance, but whether there was no performance in consequence of the riot, or a riot in consequence of there being no

¹Small Latine. Vol. 1 p.333.

²Annals p.287.

performance, is not recorded. The scholars broke the lantern¹ looking down the staircase of Hall, and the locks and keys and hinges of the doors, and, which is scarcely credible, smashed to pieces three of the scholars' tables.' He quotes the payments in the Bursars' Accounts for repair of these items. In them, there is reference to the scholars having broken the doors' locks, keys and hinges at Christmas, but there is no direct evidence either that the other damage was done by the scholars themselves, on the same or any other occasion, or that there was a riot. However, the fact remains that there is no evidence in the dictates or in the accounts that the customary plays were performed at this time. There is evidence that the boys were prone to unruly behaviour from time to time. During Henry Garnet's time at Winchester, which coincided with Johnson's, the boys refused Johnson's summons to a sermon and shut themselves up in their dormitories. Johnson had to call in the military commander from Portsmouth to restore order².

The Bursars' Accounts show evidence of plays being acted in the College as late as 1624-25, and possibly even later, as mentioned above on p.12. A boy called Christopher Longland was elected to the College at the age of 11 in 1623. Some time between his admission, which could have been as much as a year later, and when he would have left college in about 1639 or 1640, aged 18, he was killed by a sword wound, according to Kirby³, who gets his information from the original College register. I have not been given access to this but according to the College archivist, a note next to the 1623 Longland entry says "gladio interrumpit' et in claustr' sepult'," but there is no date given for his death. In Huntington MS 116, called a Commonplace Book, there is a poem signed by 'H' concerning Longland's death during the performance of a tragedy (see Appendix 1). The authorship of this poem is unclear. All the handwriting in the MS, with the exception of the last page, appears to be the same, and includes at least one poem attributed to Donne. Others are by Carew, Cleveland, and Beaumont and Fletcher. There are several others signed 'H' and 'HH', which could be by the writer himself, who appears to have some connection with Oxford, either with Brasenose College or Christ Church but not with New College, as might be expected if there had been any personal connection with Winchester College. The MS is undated but Hudson⁴ gives the dates as between 1615 and 1640, although the last entry appears to be dated 1637. At any rate, the poems are copied down at random, not in any date order of the events to which they refer. 'On Dr Dun's Death', for example, comes earlier in the MS than the poem attributed to Donne himself. Hudson implies in his article that the poem was written by a fellow scholar, but there is no evidence of this in the MS. It was, however, written by someone who considered himself a friend and who knew what part Longland took in the performance, so he could well have been a Winchester scholar. Longland did not live long enough to matriculate at Oxford, although his friend may well have done so and have been at New

¹'pro reparacione lanternae'. It should be noted that this lantern was not called a 'navis'. See discussion below.

² Philip Caraman, Henry Garnet, 1555-1606, and the Gunpowder Plot (London: Longmans, 1964) p.4.

³T.F. Kirby, Winchester Scholars (London: Oxford University Press, 1888) p.170.

⁴Hoyt H. Hudson, 'A Schoolboy Tragedy at Winchester, ca.1623,' Huntington Library Bulletin 11 (1937) pp.153-4.

College. Hudson also says that a number of the pieces in the MS deal with Winchester College as well as with Oxford, but there is no mention of Winchester at all in the text of this Commonplace Book.

The College played host to a number of visiting players. The College records do not always identify under whose patronage they were, unless they were a royal troupe of players, preferring a more general description of them such as 'the players of a nobleman'. This is in contrast to the City's records where the patron's name is always given. Although there seem to have been no local edicts concerning unlicensed players, the City was always careful to give details of those players to whom it gave rewards, no doubt in view of the national regulations concerning unlicensed players, but also as a matter of civic pride that a troupe wearing the livery of a member of the nobility chose to visit Winchester. Since the College records appear much less explicit, the explanation may simply be that the scribe often had no idea who the patrons were and felt under no obligation to find out. In this, as in most other ways, the City and the College were very isolated from each other; the College, like the many religious houses in Winchester before their dissolution, being surrounded by high walls, both a physical and a metaphorical barrier, which very few outside influences encroached on¹. In any case, as discussed below on p.20, the entertainers visiting the College are nearly always described as musicians of various sorts, so it is impossible to be sure that they ever gave any dramatic performances during their visits.

Orations

In his will, a Thomas Williams, whose father-in-law, Henry Slinger, was Founder's Kin, instructed that £200 should be given to New College out of his estate, 'for some useful purpose'. Thomas's widow, Lettice Williams, was his executrix, but despite that, in 1614 an agreement was made between her father and the Warden of New College, deciding how the money should be spent. It was decided that part of the bequest would be used to pay for sermons and speeches to be made on certain occasions at Winchester College. The following passages are extracts from the resulting indenture, drawn up in 1614²:

'... And also one other sermon to be preached in the Chapell or Church of the said Colledge of St Mary by Winchester by one of the ffellowes of that Colledge upon the said ffifthe day of November yearely in thafternoone of the same day in memory & thankfullnesse likewise for the said deliverance³. And he that shall preache it to receive for his paynes xxvjs viijd...

...

¹This is in contrast to D.W. Blewitt's view that the City and the College had close ties, and that the College may even have provided a performance venue for the whole community. I have found no evidence in this period for either of these assertions. (see his article 'Records of Drama at Winchester and Eton, 1397-1576,' in *Theatre Notebook* 38 (1984) No 2 pp.88-91).

²The original indenture does not survive. There is a rough contemporary copy or abstract, but the indenture was also copied into New College's Lease Book No.8.

³Of the King from the Gunpowder Plot.

...Item for three solemne Orations to be made yearely by Three of the Children of the said Colledge of St Mayry by Winchester fforty Shillings viz for one Oration to be made to welcome the Warden and pposers at their entrance into the said Colledge to make their Election viijs iiijd. And for one other Oration also to be made in honour of the said ffounder on the day of his Commemoration next before Christmas viijs iiijd & for another Oration also in honour of the said Kinges Maiestie & of Queene Elizabeth on the four and Twentieth day of March viijs iiijd. These three to be chosen yearely by the Six Electors or the maior parte of them at Winchester Provided that if any of the ffounders kinred be found as fitt as others they shalbe chosen before others to make any of the said Orations especially those in honour of the said ffounder And that euery of the said Orators shall make speciall mencion of the Donors thereof namely of the said Thomas Williams and Lettice his wief And ffoure of the said Orators viz those who are to make their Orations in honour of the said ffounder & of the said Kinge and Queene immediatly after they have done their Orations shall then and there distinctly read this present Indenture or the Summe or contentes thereof the ij li vjs viijd to be employed in the Colledge by Winchester shalbe yearely carried & deliuered by the Warden and Opposers when they goe thither to make their Election...'¹

The first of these orations was called 'ad Portas' and, according to the College records, was first delivered by a boy called Cox in 1628-9. The first payments for the so-called 'Fundator' and 'Elizabeth and Jacob' speeches and for the sermon on 5th November, are also recorded in this year. In all, there are 57 incidences of such orations and sermons being delivered over the next 15 years. Although the orations bear no direct relationship to drama, they constitute an important element in the tradition of Latin speech making at public schools of this period and particularly at Winchester, where they continued until the late 19th Century. All the records concerning these orations and sermons have been located and transcribed but are not included here because, although part of the ceremonial life of the College, they are outside the general remit of REED.

MUSIC

City

Atkinson² says that 'from time to time there were minstrels appointed to enliven the citizens. These, together with all the other minor officials, were elected annually by a special panel of twelve freemen summoned for that purpose.' I have found no record of any such election. Indeed, in 1592, Lord Lawarre's musicians played on the occasion of the Mayor's dinner at his first Boroughmote, implying that

¹Oxford; New College; 97763; Lease Book No.8; 1614-30.

²Tom Atkinson, Elizabethan Winchester (London: Faber, 1963) pp.91-92.

the city did not have its own musicians at this time, or if it did, then they were unavailable for some reason on this occasion. A review of earlier records may, in the future, shed further light on this. James Beale and after him, someone called Combes, appears to have been the City's musician in the 1600's. The first mention of official city musicians in the City's records is of the payment of a gratuity of 40s to them in 1614, for playing at the Mayor's feasts, only to be continued 'yf they performe their service in due sort'. In 1619, though, a decision was made not to pay James Beale his fee because his company included foreigners (i.e. people from outside Winchester), some of whom were married men with children and others of the company having bastards, they all being too great a charge upon the city. Not only that, but that a further order would be taken for removing them from the city. However, Sir Richard Titchborne, a deputy Lieutenant, freeman of the City and local landowner, intervened on their behalf in 1620 and 1623 and they were paid their usual annual gratuity of 40s a year on both occasions. But a stipulation is made at the end of the 1623 account that it was 'onelie for this yere but not to continue anie longer'¹. Despite this, the musicians were paid 15s in 1630 and 10s in 1631 for playing during the annual St John's Supper. The following year they were again paid their annual 40s 'according to a later agreement in that behalfe made to be continued duering plesure'. Quite what this 'later agreement' was is not at all clear. In 1633, the usual 40s was 'given', not 'paid', as a gift from the Citie. The scribe started by writing 'pai', but crossed it out and substituted 'given' - a significant difference. In 1635 the annual fee was reduced to 20s but in 1636 the figure reverts to 40s, paid 'as a curtesie'. And finally, in 1639, they were again paid for playing at a Mayor's feast but this time the payment was a mere 5s.

It seems that the annual payments were to be seen as unofficial, where there were no such reservations about paying the musicians one-off sums, although those payments dwindled from 15s to 5s over a period of 9 years. These declining payments could indicate the lack of resources available to pay such entertainers, a situation already referred to in the 1619 Ordinance. £7.2s was paid for the 'musitans coats and Cognizances' in 1638. So, although they were not paid officially, which would have been against the Ordinance mentioned above, they were obviously considered to be the City's official musicians and wore a livery. The unofficial annual payments were probably a way of getting round the wording of the Ordinance. Having one's own musicians would have been seen as a necessary adjunct to a city determined to retain its sense of civic pride, no matter how low its fortunes had sunk.

The lack of resources available to pay these musicians could have been because of changed priorities, as I point out on p.35, away from civic entertainment which resulted in no financial advantage to the city, and towards more elitist forms of recreation such as horse racing, which generated income for Winchester.

College

¹Later in the same year there is a record of 20s being given to a Hugh Wilkins, to take as his apprentice James Beale's son, 'a pore boy that begged from dore to dore'. It seems that the city felt some obligation towards this boy as the son of their own official musician.

Thomas Weelkes, the composer, was the College organist in the 1590's but no reference to him has been found in the accounts. Although there were quiristers on the foundation of the College, there is no reference in the accounts to any performance of secular music by them, or indeed by the scholars themselves. The presence of the organ in Hall in 1574 and the possibility of the quiristers performing to its accompaniment is discussed on p.26.

A number of visiting musicians were rewarded for playing in the College. In the universities, entertainment by visitors to the colleges was usually music played at mealtimes and was rewarded by a meal and a fee. The same was probably true at Winchester. Blewitt¹ records such visits for dramatic entertainers only, omitting all reference to musicians. He obtained much of his information about the frequency of the visits and the nature of the entertainers by reference to the College Hall Books, to which I have not had access. These Hall Books included a diary at the end of each week noting the daily guests given meals in Hall, by number and occupation. Such information will be invaluable to any editor of the earlier College records. However, from the evidence available in the Bursars' account books some general observations can be made.

Although, in the period under review, the first reference to the City musicians in the Chamberlains' accounts is not until 1614, from 1611 to 1642 there were regular annual visits of the town musicians to the College. The College paid them 10s for each visit, which was, no doubt, a welcome supplement to their official annual payments and gifts from the City.

In almost all cases where rewards are given to visiting entertainers to the College, the Latin accounts describe these entertainers as musicians of various sorts. Exceptions are one reference to 'mimis' in 1568-69, and one to 'lusoribus' in 1570-71. Those words appear quite regularly in Blewitt's listings for 15th century visitors, so we are left with the alternatives that this indicates a change in vocabulary, or that it is evidence of a shift in emphasis from the dramatic to the musical, perhaps as the College began to put on its own plays. All the other Latin words used are musical ones: 'tubicinis', 'buccinatoribus', 'musicis' and so on. While we can say for certain that the word 'musicis' indicates payments to musicians (in most cases, to the city's own troupe), it may be that the other words are used for more general entertainers, who both acted and played instruments. Professor Johnston of REED has kindly made available to me her preliminary findings from Eton's records, which are in English. A comparison has shown that while Eton's records for the same period as Winchester's indicate only one visit by musicians, Winchester College records reveal sixty-six. This disparity can be explained in one of two ways or maybe by a combination of the two. As Professor Johnston suggests, the proximity of Eton to the Court at Windsor may provide the explanation. Visiting players of all sorts would naturally expect better rewards from the Court than from a neighbouring school. The other reason lies in the vocabulary used, as suggested above. The Latin words for musicians are perhaps not meant to be too specific, but to convey a more general

¹D.W. Blewitt, 'Records of Drama at Winchester and Eton, 1397-1576,' Theatre Notebook 38 No.2 (1984) pp.88-95.

sense of what sort of entertainment was offered. There is one further explanation to offer. It may be that it was the policy of the schoolmaster at the College not to encourage visits from outside performers of plays, which would be in English, but to confine such performances to ones by the scholars themselves, in Latin and occasionally in Greek, as part of their education.

I am grateful to Dr Peter Greenfield, future editor of REED's Hampshire volume, for giving me access to his preliminary survey of the Southampton records. By comparing them with Winchester's it is possible to establish whether the routes of travelling players ever took in both towns on the same journey. There are no records of Winchester's own musicians performing in Southampton in the late 16th or early 17th Centuries, nor of Southampton's visiting Winchester in the same period. Those of Warwick, Salisbury, Bristol, Bath, Southwark and Chester were all rewarded in Southampton but there is only one record of a visit to Winchester by any other town's own musicians: those of Andover visited the College in 1629-30. None appear to have been rewarded by the City. Local troupes of musicians who figure in the Winchester accounts are those of Sir George Phillipott, a Sheriff of the County and of Lord Lawarre, Lord of the manor of Longparish.

Other named patrons are all national figures (as indeed was Lawarre), with the possible exception of 'Lady Leonora' (whoever she may have been), a patroness whose players (trumpeters) visited the College in 1619. Lord Lawarre's '10 players' visited Southampton in May 1577. The Southampton records are in English and these 10 'players' may be the forerunners of Lord Lawarre's 'musicionibus' who appear in Winchester's Chamberlains' accounts for 1590-91. As usual, one is up against the problem of vocabulary. Nearly all the visiting troupes in Southampton are called players, although one or two entries do refer to musicians. Other troupes of players who visited Southampton at about the same time as they visited Winchester include the Earl of Warwick's (still called Lord Ambrose Dudley's in Winchester's accounts), in 1563; the Earl of Worcester's in 1567, and again in 1581-2; the Earl of Leicester's in 1581-2 and 1582-3; the Earl of Derby's in 1582-3 (they could have visited Winchester first, in 1582 and then gone on to Southampton); the Queen's in 1591 (payments made in June in both towns); the Admiral's in 1590-91; the Queen's again in 1592; and the Earl of Derby's in 1594. This last troupe, if it was correctly identified by the scribe, would have had to visit Southampton sometime before 16 April 1594 when the Earl died, and then have gone on to Winchester as the widowed Countess of Derby's players.

Considering the proximity of Southampton to Winchester one might have expected players on tour to have visited both towns at the same time of year. In fact, we do not find a necessary connection between the two.

Far more troupes of players visited Southampton, although more royal players visited Winchester. The Earl of Pembroke's musicians played in Southampton, but not in Winchester. His seat at Wilton House,

near Salisbury, is nearer to Southampton than to Winchester and, as was indicated above¹, the roads from Winchester to Wiltshire and the West Country and from Winchester to Southampton, were old and in very bad repair. Ogilby's strip map of the road from London to Southampton, dated 1675 and therefore a little late for our purposes but the earliest I could find, shows how the town of Winchester is by-passed, and also includes a map of the route from Southampton to Salisbury, via Romsey, which suggests that this was the normal route taken by travellers, rather than the old cross country route through Winchester to Salisbury and the West. Travelling players, having arrived in Southampton, were likely to take a more direct route to Wilton, the nearest great house, where players could expect generous payments and their journey would in any case be easier. The road along the south coast towards Portsmouth and into Sussex and Kent may also have been favoured by travelling players, but I am unable to make any informed observations about this until these areas have been covered by REED.

Rewards to players in Southampton and Winchester were on roughly the same scale. In Winchester, 20s was the going rate for royal players and between 6s 8d and 10s was paid to those with noble patrons. Royal musicians were paid varying amounts, which may reflect the number of players involved, but average rewards were about 10s. The city's own musicians, as we have seen, got an annual sum of 40s and an average of 10s for a single day's performance. The College paid them 10s too, on their annual visit. Other visiting musicians were paid varying sums, from 5s to 10s, again depending, one suspects, on the number of performers. On the single occasion when the same troupe of players visited both City and College in the same year, in 1570-71, the College paid less than the town. The College also paid less than the town did for the various workmen which both institutions employed.

It is remarkable that the troupes visiting Winchester did not take the opportunity to entertain in the College and that other troupes visiting the College did not also entertain in the City. Whether this had anything to do with the College being outside the walls of the City, making access to and from the City more difficult, particularly after dark when the gates were closed, it is impossible to be sure. At least, the implication is that there was a strong sense of the separateness of these two institutions. I have not surveyed the records of the Hospital of St Cross, even further outside the City than the College is. It may be that performers having entertained at the College went on to St Cross, which had a reputation of hospitality to strangers.

VENUES FOR ENTERTAINMENT AND STAGING

City

The record in the Chamberlains' Accounts for 1555-56, refers to players playing 'in Communi Aulla Ciuitatis' which I have translated as 'in the City's Town Hall'. This is the only record which gives any indication as to where players performed in the city. Both Alderman Jacob (see p.40), in his numerous

¹See pp.9, 10.

articles in local journals, and Paul Ranger¹, translate this as the 'Common Hall' and say it was in the Castle, but the Hall in the Castle was called the Great Hall of the Castle. The Corporation met either in St John's House or in the City Hall of Court, variously referred to in the 16th and 17th centuries as the Court House, the Council House, the Town Hall and the Guildhall, although this last name had nothing to do with the city Guilds. The City Hall of Court was mostly used for the administration of justice. It was on the corner of St Thomas' Street and High Street. The conclusion must be that the 'Town Hall' referred to in the 1555-56 accounts was the City Hall of Court under one of its names.

The city's musicians performed on the occasion of St John's Supper in St John's Hospital in the High Street in 1630 and 1631. By this time, St. John's House, as it was more commonly called, had passed into the guardianship of the City and, apart from housing poor men and women, was the venue for civic functions of various sorts. Barbara Carpenter-Turner² says that the hospital's correct title should properly be 'St John's Hospital within St John's House'.

Another possible venue for entertainments in the city was the Market House. Ranger says that there are records that the Market House, built in 1620-21, was used as a theatre by 1690 and that performances took place in daylight. The 1604-5 entry indicates an after-dark performance. The Weald and Downland Museum, in Sussex, which is responsible for moving and re-erecting old buildings from all over the south of England, has, as one of its exhibits, the Market House from Titchfield (c.1585). The upper floor, where Council business was conducted, has a small gallery and would be ideal for entertainments. It is apparently typical of Market Houses of the period and Winchester's, built in 1620-21, had replaced an earlier one, which may have been like Titchfield's. If, as Ranger suggests, there was a tradition of plays being performed in the Market House, it is possible that both the one built in 1620-21 and the earlier one were used for such a purpose, although there are no records in the period under review to support this theory.

Jacob refers to an entry in the Chamberlains' Accounts for 1604-5 concerning a link carried before the Mayor when he went to see a player but says the performance was at the George Inn, which is not mentioned (see p.86). I have noted an entry immediately above this one, which refers to a man called George and I think this is what confused Jacob. His eye must have slipped to the line above. He may also be perpetuating the old notion that plays were acted in Inns, whereas we now know that 'mayors' plays' in particular were almost always held in Town Halls, Council Chambers and the like.

¹The Lost Theatres of Winchester, 1620-1861 (Winchester Press, n.d.) p.66.

²'St John's House and the Commonalty of Winchester in the Middle Ages,' *HFCP* 19 (1955-57) pp.20-34.

College**Navis**

As will be seen from the College Bursars' accounts, under Hall Expenses for 1573-4 (4th Quarter), 1574-5 (3rd Quarter) and 1579-80 (4th Quarter), there was something called a 'navis' hanging in the Hall over a period of at least 6 years. Kirby¹ refers to the 1574-5 entry as follows:

'The lighting after dark seems to have been by means of oil lamps. A reference occurs in 1575 to a 'navis' or pendant lamp, shaped like a boat, which was repaired in that year by one who was a prisoner for debt in the gaol of the Cheyney Court.'

Subsequent writers have followed his lead, Leach ('a ship, ie a lamp in that shape')² and Vail Motter ('a great lantern')³ among them. It is likely that this interpretation has masked a dramatic event. No Latin dictionary gives the meaning of 'navis' as a lamp or lantern⁴. There is no evidence that even a boat-shaped lamp would have been called a 'navis'.

In the College records there are plenty of references to lighting of all sorts; links, rush lights and candles were used for illuminating plays and in the specific case of the 'theatrum' the word 'lychnis' is used. (see p.76). According to a 19th Century College Warden, there was a 'lanthorn' in Hall, to allow smoke from the central fire to be vented through a louvre in the roof, but this was an architectural feature, not a means of illumination. It would not have been boat-shaped, painted or suspended by a rope. As has been mentioned above, there was also another lantern on the stairs leading to the Hall (see p.16).

So if the 'navis' is not a lamp, it must be a ship, or boat. This, at first sight, seems so incongruous that perhaps it is not surprising that another explanation has held for so long. There are plenty of precedents for ships as scenery in Elizabethan street theatre and in plays staged indoors, but only one that I have been able to discover for a ship hanging in a Hall. In his Introduction to The Court Masque, Lindley refers to the record of an entertainment before James I given by the Merchant Taylors' Company⁵. He uses it to illustrate the problem of hearing the much quieter musical instruments of the Renaissance during the Masque, and thus how the placement of musicians and singers was an important consideration for masque designers and composers.

¹Annals, p.44

²VCH vol 2 (1903) p.312.

³The School Drama in England (London: Longmans, 1929) p.34.

⁴I am indebted to Dr Abigail Young for checking some sources for me.

⁵David Lindley, (ed). The Court Masque (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984) p.11.

'...at the upper end of the Hall there was sett a chayer of state where his Majesty sate and viewed the Hall, and a very proper child well spoken being clothed like an Angell of gladnes with a taper of francinnsense burning in his hand delivered a short speech contayning xviii verses devised by Master Benjamin Johnson the Poet, which pleased his Majesty marvellously well. And upon either side of the Hall in the windowe neere the upper end were galleries or seates made for musique in either of which were seaven singuler choice musitions playing on their lutes. And in the shipp which did hang aloft in the Hall three rare men and very skilful who sang to his Majesty. And over the skreene cornettes and lowde musique, wherein it is to be remembred that the multitude and noyse was so greate that the lutes nor songes could hardly be heard or understood.'¹

There follows a detailed account of the entertainment and ceremony, and the food ('three braces of bucks' were supplied by the Prince).

'...After all which his Majesty came downe into the greate Hall and sitting in his chayre of state did heare a mellodious song of farewell song by the three men in the Shipp being apparelled in watchet silke like seamen, which song so pleased his Majesty that he caused the same to be sung three tymes over. And his Majesty and the noble Prince and honorable Lordes gave the Company harty thanckes and so departed.'²

This entertainment took place in July, 1607, in London's Merchant Taylors' Hall. The King and Prince Henry, Prince of Wales were there, but not the Queen, although it appears that she was expected. The editors also include the accounts, in English, of the entertainment, which apparently amounted to £1000. They include payments for and references to the ship and the rope on which it was suspended, and also payments to the men who sang in the ship, one of whom was the King's own singer. There are several references to a larger ship, or maybe to the same ship, belonging to the Merchant Taylors, which was pulled through the streets at the Lord Mayors' Shows. If it was the same one then I suggest that it was stored in the Hall, hanging from a beam and was thus of double use - as a useful device for housing musicians during an entertainment and as a public representation of their mercantile trade.

The first mention of the 'navis' in the Winchester College Bursars' Accounts occurs in the 4th Quarter of 1573-4, along with the removal of the organ from the chapel to the Hall 'erga ludos'. The City Chamberlains' Accounts record two visits by the Queen in this year and there is strong evidence from Walsingham's journal³ that the second of them was from 7 to 13 September, 1574, with her Council sitting in Winchester on Sunday, 12 September (see p.29). In the Bodleian Library there is a little book of

¹I have emended and expanded this extract after referring to N.E. McClure, (ed), The Letters and Epigrams of Sir John Harington (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930) p.35.

²See also Jean Robertson and D.S. Gordon, (eds), 'A Calendar of Dramatic Records in the Books of the Livery Companies of London, 1465-1640,' Malone Society Collections 3 (1954) pp.169-70.

³Charles Trice Martin, (ed), 'Journal of Sir Francis Walsingham, from Dec 1570 to April 1583,' The Camden Miscellany vol 6, The Camden Society, 104 (London, 1871)

48 verses presented to the Queen by the scholars of the College¹. It is undated, but by checking the names of the writers of these poems against the known dates of their admission to the College² and the length of their stay there, it is possible to date them no earlier than 1574, although the Bodleian library dates them from 1573. The Queen was not in Winchester again until 1586, by which time all the authors of the verses had left the College. Unfortunately, although there is mention of the sea and ships in these verses, they seem to be of a conventionally figurative nature and therefore cannot be used as supporting evidence for the existence of a ship hanging in the Hall. There is an obvious appropriateness for the Merchant Taylors to have a ship in view of their profession, but no corresponding link is evident at Winchester College. Nevertheless, this is the only other reference I have found to a ship hanging in a Hall and I would argue that Winchester's was also used for dramatic performances of some kind. I can find no other way in which such a ship would have had any significance for the College.

From the evidence of Badger's notebook, (see p.13), we know that there were usually two separate college performances of plays each year, one at Christmas and one at Shrovetide. The records for the 2nd and 3rd Quarters of 1573-74 support this conclusion. But the 4th Quarter's records indicate a third set of performances in this year. The scribe may not have known what kind of performance had taken place when he used the word 'ludis' in the latter entry. It may have been an entirely different sort of performance from the usual ones, requiring the not inconsiderable effort of an expert³ to remove the organ out of the Chapel and upstairs into the Hall, something not attempted on any other occasion when plays were performed, as far as can be ascertained from the records. This singular reference to the organ, taken together with the mention of the ship and the existence of the loyal verses, all point towards a dramatic recital of verses with musical accompaniment, probably in the presence of the Queen. Whether the ship was used to accommodate musicians or singers as in the Merchant Taylors' Hall, or was merely used as scenery is conjecture. It is possible that the College quirksters sang in the ship, there being no gallery above the screens in the Hall, although we have no evidence that the ship was big enough to accommodate them. However, the payment of 7s 4d to the prisoner for painting and repairing the ship in 1574-5 is a large one, indicating perhaps that it was a considerable structure. It appears to have been a permanent feature in Hall in the years 1574 to 1580. The rope used to suspend it had to be replaced in 1579-80, which indicates that it was hauled up and down quite often during the 6 years it was there. This signifies its use for several activities and also suggests that it was of solid construction, built to last, rather than serving as temporary scenery. Why it was hauled up and down, unless to put something or someone into it, can only be surmised.

Johnson's use of the word 'theatre' in the dictate on f89r (see p.59) raises the question of the vocabulary used in the various records in the Bursars' accounts, concerning the acting of plays in the College. There

¹MS Rawl.Poet 187.

²See T.F. Kirby, *Winchester Scholars* (London: Oxford University Press, 1888).

³John Chappington, member of a well known family of organ builders.

are several entries concerning the building of a stage ('scena' or 'scaffolda'). Three of these, in 1573-74, 1582-83 and 1616-17, appear under the heading of Hall expenses and it was evidently here that the performances took place. The expenses for the plays in the Christmas holidays of 1564-65 appear under the heading of Expenses for Buildings and Repairs, in the 2nd Quarter. Although the entry neither specifies what expenses were incurred nor mentions the building of a stage, in view of the heading under which it comes it can be assumed that something must have been built or repaired.

The first mention of a theatre ('theatrum') in the accounts occurs in the 2nd Quarter of 1589-90, also under the heading of Expenses for Buildings and Repairs, with a further mention under the same heading in the 4th Quarter of 1596-97. Apart from the unspecific 1564-65 entry, the expenses incurred for building the 'scena', the 'scaffolda' and the 'theatrum' are similar, regardless of whether they appear under the heading of 'Hall Expenses' or 'Expenses for Building and Repairs'. They are concerned principally with the materials used, such as timber and nails, and the carpenters employed to do the work, together with a supply of extra lighting. The placing of these expenses under different headings probably reflects the different attitudes adopted towards the accounts by successive Bursars, some concentrating more on the specific work done and others more on where it was done, when deciding under which heading the entry should be made. The vocabulary used may have been equally arbitrary, as is the case for musicians (see p.7).

Although none of the entries concerning the 'theatrum' make any reference to plays, neither do the entries concerning the 'scena' in the 2nd Quarter of 1616-17. Consequently there appears to be strong, albeit circumstantial, evidence that the three words are roughly synonymous and that all refer to the same playing space in the College Hall, built to be used for the performance of plays. There is, it is true, no evidence of the dismantling either of the 'theatrum' or the 'scena' in the accounts, as there is for the 'scaffolda', but the fact that the expenses of building the stage were repeated in subsequent years indicates that it must have been taken down after each set of performances. Accordingly, Johnson's reference to the expense of erecting the 'theatrum' for the comedy, for the same occasion and in the same year that the Bursar was recording the expenses of the 'scena', can be regarded as referring to the same event seen from the different perspective and with the different vocabulary of Bursar and Schoolmaster. Whatever the playing space was called, no doubt Johnson would have preferred a more permanent structure because of the expense incurred in erecting it anew on each occasion that plays were performed.

There is no evidence as to the siting of the stage in the Hall, but it was most probably against the opposite end from the door and screens, as was the case in Cambridge. The quantities of wood used for the building of the 'theatrum' in particular, indicate a large structure - maybe some of the wood was used as seating for the audience, although there were benches along the sides of the Hall, which was mostly used

as a dining hall. The Terentian 'little houses' constructed for the plays in 1573-4 would have needed extra wood too¹.

CEREMONIAL

The Guild Corpus Christi procession, which was losing support by 1520, revived during Mary's reign. The last record is found in Chamberlains' Account Roll 89, for 1558-59, when payments were made for the canopy over the sacrament and for bread and wine. This procession was not accompanied by any dramatic activity. An ordinance of 1437 laid down the order in which the city's guilds processed from St John's House, but since this procession ceased at the start of Elizabeth's reign no other information, such as the route taken, has come to light during my research.

Although there is very little evidence of civic ceremony presented by Winchester itself, the records include an eyewitness account of a rarely-held Court of Eyre in the Great Hall of the Castle on 24 August, 1635. L.G. Wickham Legg² identifies the writer as a Lieutenant Hammond of the Norwich Militia, whose interests during his travels in 1634 and 1635 were mainly ecclesiastical and military. Hammond makes passing reference to country houses, but always describes castles and churches with their tombs and monuments. The eyre was preceded by a large procession of some 200 horse and 10 coaches, the King's Trumpeters and 12 of the King's Guard. These records are on the edge of the scale of ceremonial entries required by REED. The mention of the King's trumpeters is just enough to justify inclusion on the grounds of musical activity, but to include an extract of the procession alone, rather than the full account of the Court which followed, would exclude what must have been a rare account of civic ceremonial in Winchester. This is a good example of points at which REED's positivistic approach could be seen as too rigid, not allowing for inclusion of records which shade off into areas which are para-ceremonial and para-dramatic.

The forest eyre was a court called into being by the King's letters patent appointing justices to hear and determine pleas of the forest in a particular county or group of counties. It was supposed to be used to sentence people found guilty in local forest courts, called swanmotes, of misdemeanours in the royal forests; for example, that for the New Forest took place in Lyndhurst. However, these eyres were held so infrequently that in practice the deputy forest justices did the sentencing. In this account, the Court seems to be totally ceremonial, but Hammond left Winchester before the end of the proceedings and his references to the Articles the jury was to enquire of and to tears and misdemeanours at the end of the account indicate that the more serious work of the eyre was to follow. In fact, the Lord Warden of New Forest, the 4th Earl of Southampton, had reason to be more than usually 'interested in this great Busines'

¹See Richard Southern, *The Staging of Plays before Shakespeare* (London: Faber & Faber, 1973) pp.413-419.

²L.G. Wickham Legg, (ed), *A Relation of a Short Survey of 26 Counties* (London: Robinson & Co., 1904) Introduction, and 'A Relation of a Short Survey of the Western Counties,' *Camden Miscellany* 16 (1936) Introduction.

as Hammond puts it (see p.110). At this eyre, the King laid claim to Beaulieu Abbey as being part of the New Forest and consequently Crown property, and in October the Earl was deprived of land which had been worth £2,000 a year to him. Maybe that is why he found it necessary to sell his horses in the same year (see p.35). The King relented the following year, nullifying the order made by the court¹. He may even have taken part in the proceedings personally, after Hammond had left. Hammond remarks that Wolvesey Palace was being made ready for the King at great expense, as he was 'lately expected'. The next and last court of this sort was held in 1670.²

ROYAL VISITS

Queen Elizabeth came to Winchester several times during her reign, although where she stayed is not apparent from the City's records. According to both Nichols and Chambers, her first visit was in 1560, while on a progress through Surrey and Hampshire, staying in Winchester from 16th to 23rd August, but I have found no evidence of this visit in the City's records. Similarly, in 1569, the only record of a possible royal visit is an account of expenses in the Bodleian Library³, concerning preparations made to 'Lady Masson's house' in anticipation of the Queen's reception. She could have come from Southampton and Titchfield where she was in September, on her way to the Vyne on 22nd. In 'Queen Elizabeth's visits to Winchester'⁴, 'HC' speculates that 'Lady Masson' could be the widow of Sir John Mason, dean of Winchester in Edward VI's reign.

In the Chamberlains' accounts for 1573-4, there is substantial evidence of two visits by the Queen. The first of these is difficult to date; it could have been at any time between Michaelmas 1573, the start of the relevant account roll (100) and 20 December of that year. The date of the second visit is supported by two pieces of evidence. The first is in Walsingham's diary, of which only some is extant (see p.25). Entries for 18 January 1572 to 20 December 1573 are missing, and could well have recorded the earlier visit, but the following entry appears:

'Septembre Anno 1574 ... Fridaie 10. Her Majestie came to Winchester. Sondaie 12.
The counsell sat. Mondaie 13. Her Majestie removed to Aberstam⁵ the house of the Lord
Marques of Winchester. I went to Abington⁶ to Mr. Clarkes. Tuesdaie 14. I went from

¹VCH iv p.651.

²D.J. Stagg, *A Calendar of New Forest Documents, 15th to 17th Centuries* (HRO, 1983) Introduction.

³MS Rawl. A 195c.

⁴N&Q 10th Series, 4, (28 October 1905) pp.344-346.

⁵Abbotstone.

⁶Avington.

Mr. Clarkes to Sir Henrie Wallop's to bed. Her Majestie removed to Odeam¹.

Wednesdaie 15. I came from Sir Henrie Wallop's to the Court to Odeam, and from thence to Farneham to bed... Thursdaye 16. Her Majestie came to Farneham...'

Supporting evidence of this second visit comes in the form of loyal verses in Latin and Greek, presented to the Queen by the scholars of the College.² This must have been in late 1574 because some of the scholars named as authors of the verses had not started their education at the College until then. The bells of St Peter's Chesil were rung on the occasion of this visit.

According to Cal Cecil 359, The Queen's Progresses, the Queen was in Winchester for 4 days from 1 September, 1586. Unfortunately, there is no supporting evidence for this visit, since there are no extant Chamberlains' account records for that year.

In the autumn of 1591, the Queen was on a progress in Surrey, Sussex and Hampshire. The itinerary for South Hampshire, in September, as outlined by Chambers³, includes stays at Titchfield on 2nd and 3rd, Southampton on 5th and 6th, Bishops Waltham (with the Bishop) on 8th and 9th, Warnford, Tichborne, Winchester (with the Bishop - again?), Abbotstone, Wield, and then Farleigh on 12th and 13th and Basing on 13th to 16th. The visit to Elvetham and the lavish entertainment laid on for the Queen there took place on 20th to 23rd September. Chambers says that some of the localities in this list are doubtful and I think that the Winchester visit falls into that category. If the itinerary quoted above is accurate, then the route from Tichborne, SW of Alresford, to Abbotstone⁴, NW of Alresford, would not have taken the progress through Winchester at all. The City must have been expecting her, however. In the Chamberlains' accounts there are records of payments to a Southampton goldsmith for mending the City Mace and the sum of 53s 4d was spent on buying new doublets and straps for the Serjeants of the mace and the Beadle. The bells were rung for the Queen in St John's church and torches were bought to illuminate what was possibly to have been an after-dark civic reception of the Queen on her passage through Winchester.

The record in the Coffer Accounts for 30th August, concerning the purchase of a cup for the Queen, includes the phrase: 'yf she had come to the Citie'. This entry is not in the same hand as the records both immediately before and after it, but appears to be identical to that of the corresponding entry of the same date authorising the payment for the cup on f10v in the Proceedings Book. In the Coffer Accounts there was originally only one entry on f[12v], in the hand of all the other entries for this year, and space below it where this record must have been added. The entry is in the wrong place, among the 'paid in' entries,

¹Odiham.

²Bodl. MS Rawl. Poet 187.

³The Elizabethan Stage vol 4 (Oxford, 1923) pp.105-6.

⁴The scholars from the College went to see the Queen while she was there, according to 'HC', in 'Queen Elizabeth's Visits to Winchester,' N&Q 10th Series 4 (1905) pp.344-346. They would surely not have travelled there if the Queen had visited Winchester.

instead of the 'taken out' ones, which come much later in the accounts. It must therefore have been written after the events to which it refers, which explains the expression 'yf she had come to the Citie'. The conclusion is that by the time this Coffe Account entry was actually written, it was known that the Queen had not visited Winchester during this progress. Since the money to be presented in the cup was not taken out of the Coffers until the 7 September, and the cup was eventually presented at the Bishop's Palace in Bishops Waltham, it can be assumed that the opportunity to present the cup with some ceremony in Winchester never materialised. Nevertheless, the City of Winchester appears to have borne the expenses of the royal household while it was in the area, in addition to those of the cup and its contents, and the expenditure incurred in preparing for the visit amounted to a sum of at least £40. This story is of significance because the Chamberlains' Accounts for this year, with their copious entries concerning preparations for the Queen's visit and payments to her household, give a strong indication that the Queen did, in fact, visit Winchester. Even on f10v of Proceedings Book A, the entry dated 30 August says '...her maiestie being within the bvrge'. Against that supposed evidence is the initially puzzling phrase 'yf she had come to the Citie'. On occasion, statements in records give the impression of being post factum whereas they may have been written in hope or expectation.

There is no evidence in the records for 1599-1600, but an entry in Chamberlains' Accounts for 1598-99 concerning a supper given to two royal servants who had come to announce an impending royal visit, indicates that a visit was planned. Apparently, the Queen often changed her mind about plans for her progresses and this may have been one of those occasions. She did however visit Basing, seat of the Marquess of Winchester, in 1601, and verses by the scholars of Winchester College may have been presented to her on that occasion, which implies that since the scholars made the long journey to Basing, the Queen did not, in the event, visit Winchester in either of the previous years.

After the death of Elizabeth, on 18th September 1603 the new Queen Anne, and on 20th September King James, arrived in Winchester for a 3 day visit. They stayed at Wolvesey, the Bishop's Palace, before moving on to Basing, the Marquess of Winchester's house and then to the Earl of Pembroke's house at Wilton. It was on this occasion that the Queen staged a masque to welcome Prince Henry (see p.12).

The trials of Brooke, Cobham, Young and Raleigh, implicated in the 'Bye' and 'Main' plots, were held in November in the Great Hall of Winchester Castle. Unfortunately the Chamberlains' Accounts for this year are not extant, so there are no records of payments to members of the royal household or other references to the expenses involved in the influx of the Court and the later arrival of the judiciary for the trials. In the Lord Chamberlain's Accounts¹, there is a record of payments made for the preparation of both the Cathedral (£9.16s.8d) and Wolvesey Palace (59s) for the King and Queen. According to Trussell in *Touchstone of Tradition*, (see p.82), the original plan had been to accommodate the Court in the Cathedral but the King disapproved because of the profanation of God's house which would ensue, and so

¹PRO E351 Box 543, Lord Chamberlain's Declared Accounts, Mb92#.

not only did the King stay at Wolvesey Palace but when he moved to Basing, the Courts of Justice were installed there. The Judges were accommodated in the College, the scholars moving out to Silkstead for the occasion. As well as Trussell's eyewitness account, there are a number of letters concerning the events of that autumn and also the Recorder's speech of welcome to the King and Queen. In this speech, there is reference to the presentation of a cup to each of them, but no record of the purchase of these in the Coffe Accounts.

While in the area, the King installed several Knights of the Garter. Although the warrant to the great wardrobe for the King's apparel on this occasion¹ is dated at Winchester on 28th September, 1603, there is no evidence that the ceremony actually took place there. By that date, the King himself had left Winchester, although his Court remained in the City.

The removal of the Courts of Justice from London was in order to escape an outbreak of the plague. A number of alternative venues for the trials were suggested, according to Sir Thomas Edmondess, and Winchester was finally settled on (see p.83). This is somewhat surprising, since the plague also appears to have been rife in Winchester. There are records for this year, in one of the Proceedings Books, concerning precautions to be taken to prevent its spread and a collection was taken up to relieve those infected. The contributors included the Lord Chancellor and certain judges, so the collection must have been taken up while they were in Winchester for the trials. In the same papers as the letter from Sir Thomas Edmondess, there is a letter concerning the Spanish Ambassador waiting in Southampton for an audience with the King (which he eventually got) and being entertained with 'goode musicke' and bull-baiting. He had left Oxford because of the plague and came to Southampton because it had the 'sweetest air in the realm'. Perhaps he knew better than the English court.

In 1609, St John's Church bells were rung when the King came to Winchester from Tichborne. The 1610 Coffe accounts have several references to the City owing money to various members of the Royal Household - some footmen and other members of the Household took the city to court in London in the Easter term to get the fees they were owed from the previous year, at the time of the King's passage through the city 'last somer'.

In 1610, the bells of St Peter's Chesil were rung for the King when he came from Tichborne and again in 1611, when James I passed through Winchester on his way from Andover to Beaulieu. His Arms were hung at the Westgate, no doubt for the welcoming ceremony, and rubbish in the High Street was cleared away. The players of Henry, Prince of Wales, were rewarded by the city at about the same time, so they were probably travelling with the Court. The bells of St John's were rung again in 1614 and 1615 when the King passed through Winchester, but there is no other information concerning these two visits.

¹PRO SP 38/7 Docquets James I, p. 86.

Charles I appears to have visited Winchester quite frequently, although, as usual when royalty visited, there is no record as to whether he stayed in the city. He was there first in 1618, as Prince of Wales, when a purse of money was presented to him. His next visit was in 1619 or 1620 when he accompanied King James on a progress and passed through Winchester. The road near the Westgate was mended, the Royal Arms moved from the Guildhall to the Westgate, rubbish cleared away and a horse hired for the Mayor to ride to meet the royal party. A visit by Queen Henrietta Maria in 1625, with a welcoming speech by the Mayor, the Recorder being away, is recorded by Trussell in Touchstone of Tradition (see p.98). As King, Charles paid a visit to the city in 1630, when £33 3s 4d was paid to the King's Officers. The Queen must have been with him on this occasion because they were each given a gilt bowl on their passage through the city. She was there again in 1631, accompanied by her trumpeters. In March 1632 a payment was made to someone who had looked after her coach, probably during the same visit.

In October 1635 a surgeon was paid 6s 8d for tending to a poor boy whose leg was broken by a cart when the King was last 'in the Country', i.e. in the area. According to Hammond, the chronicler of the Forest Eyre, writing in August, 1635, the King had recently stayed at Tichborne and was 'lately expected' at Wolvesey Palace, situated just outside the walls of the City, where some rooms had been lavishly prepared for him, so he may also have visited the city itself.

In September 1636, £13 13s 4d was taken out of the coffers to pay the King's Officers and a messenger was paid £10 for carrying packets when the King was in the area. He must also have visited Winchester, because in November of the same year the royal Clerk of the Market was paid 'att the Kinges last being att this Citty.'

The King was in Winchester again in 1637. In July the King's Officers were paid £13 5s 'att his Majesties beeing heere'. The scholars of the College may have taken this opportunity to present their customary songs or verses to the King. In the College Bursars' accounts, for 1636-37, (4th quarter), it is recorded that a Mr Fisher was paid for writing songs given to the King.

In summary, the records bear witness to the following dates of Royal Visits and Progresses in or through Winchester:

1560?; 1573-4; 1586?; 1591; 1600?; 1603; 1609; 1610; 1611; 1614; 1615; 1618; 1619 or 1620; 1625; 1630; 1631; 1635; 1636 and 1637.

POPULAR CUSTOMS

Church Ales

Despite the many churches in Winchester at the period, only two sets of Churchwardens' Accounts have survived. Both are for churches in the Soke, an area to the south and east of Winchester, outside the walls

of the City. The 12th Century St John the Baptist's is now the oldest parish church in Winchester and the other church, St Peter's Chesil, dates from the 13th Century. Strictly, being outside the walls, they are also outside the scope of this research, but have been included to illustrate the sort of activities in which the parishioners of other churches in Winchester must have engaged. These include Church Ales, Kingales and Hocktide festivities. 'Church Ales' is a generic term for feasts, under the auspices of a church, at which food and drink (usually beer or ale) was sold to parishioners and other visitors for the benefit of the church. They were usually held in the churchyard. Kingales were held at Whitsuntide, and, in the case of St John's church, the Kingale was presided over in about 1557 by one of the parishioners acting as the summer lord¹ (see p.119). The reference to the 'payntyng of the clothe vpon the somerloge' at about the same time probably means that there was some sort of decorated booth, or summer house, built to accommodate the summer lord during his reign over the proceedings (see p.119).

The Hocktide festivities were held on the Monday and Tuesday of the week following Easter Week. On the Monday the men, and on Tuesday the women, of the parish went about the neighbouring roads capturing the opposite sex, binding them with ropes, and only releasing them on payment of a fine to the church. The women generally gathered more money than the men.

Cockfighting

The dictate on f95v of Badger's notebook (see p.13) has been included because of its reference to cockfighting in the College. According to Leach², schoolmasters often put on cockfights at Shrovetide, and this dictate appears to have been delivered at about that time, in 1565, according to Baldwin's chronology. Since this is the only record of cockfighting in Winchester in the period under review, it has been impossible to establish whether this was a regular occurrence or an isolated incident.

Horse racing

Although there is a record of boxes of preserved quinces, sugar and wine being given to the gentlemen at the race in the Chamberlains' accounts for 1590-91, we have no evidence concerning what sort of race this was. It is safe to assume it was a horserace, however, and it seems to have been an early and isolated occasion. Maybe the event was such a success that it was decided later to make more permanent provision for similar occasions. Other than this, the first verifiable record of horseracing in Winchester is supplied by John Trussell in his compilation Benefactors to Winchester (see p.40). Donations were collected from prominent local citizens totalling £215, of which £20 was paid out for a prize of 'plate' to be run for at the first race, which was held on the Wednesday of Easter Week in 1629. The remaining £195 was paid to the City to provide a cup to be run for each year 'for euer'. In the Coffer accounts from 1630 onwards

¹E.K. Chambers, The Mediaeval Stage vol 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903) pp.172-174.

²VCH, vol 2 (1903) p.313.

there are annual records of purchases of a race cup, costing between about £21 and £24. At that rate, the original £195 would only have lasted about another 9 years. On 10 June 1631, a figure of £100 is mentioned as being available towards the annual provision of a cup and contributions from various citizens, totalling just over £5, were added to this sum. An Ordinance in 1634 lays down that £24 shall be spent annually on the cup. Over the years, the shortfall was made up by contributions from the Mayor and artificers and by general collections from Winchester's citizens. A charge of 6s 8d was levied on the man who won the race in 1631 for the 'ouer plus' of the weight of the cup, (see p.105). The weight was not specified when the original fund was set up, but in 1631 it weighed 83 ounce and 3 pennyweight at 5s 8d an ounce, 82 ounces 12 pennyweight at 5s 8d an ounce in 1632 and in 1633, 84 ounces 'les 6d' at 5s 7½d an ounce. No other weights are recorded with the purchases in subsequent years. Unlike in North West England and Southern Scotland, where the trophy had to be returned by the winner and may even have been melted down and extra weight added before being made available to the next year's winner, the cup in Winchester was won outright and a new one bought by the City each year. So why the winner, in 1631 alone, paid money for the 'ouer plus' is unclear, unless the corporation decided to levy roughly an ounce worth of the cup's value from the winner towards the cost of next year's cup.

Betting must have taken place at the races, to which members of the nobility came. The 2nd Earl of Salisbury's horses were raced there¹ and maybe the 4th Earl of Southampton's too, until he sold them in 1635². There is further evidence of participation by the nobility in a letter dated 21 April 1631, saying that the Earl of Pembroke had 'extraordinary great winnings' at Winchester races that year. He no doubt visited Winchester races while in residence at Wilton, although he celebrated his winnings in London.

The decreasing scale of payments made to the city's musicians and the continued willingness of the Corporation to find money for a cup for the annual races demonstrates the shift away from community entertainment towards a more elitist form of recreation. Investment in the races resulted in financial benefit to the City, whereas payments to musicians, which we have seen became less contractual as time went on, were a drain on the City's limited resources, resulting in no monetary advantage to the Corporation.

The following was written by Jane Austen on St Swithun's day (15 July) in 1817, three days before she died³.

¹L. Stone, Family and Fortune (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973) p.148.

²L. Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965) p.571.

³R.W. Chapman, The Works of Jane Austen vol 6, Minor Works (London: Oxford University Press, 1954) pp.451-2.

Venta¹

Written at Winchester on Tuesday the 15th July 1817

When Winchester races first took their beginning
It is said the good people forgot their old Saint
Not applying at all for the leave of St. Swithin
And that William of Wykeham's approval was faint.

The races however were fix'd and determin'd
The company met & the weather was charming
The Lords & the Ladies were sattin'd & ermin'd
And nobody saw any future alarming.

But when the old Saint was inform'd of these doings
He made but one spring from his shrine to the roof
Of the Palace which now lies so sadly in ruins
And thus he address'd them all standing aloof.

Oh, subjects rebellious, Oh Venta depraved
When once we are buried you think we are dead
But behold me Immortal. - By vice you're enslaved
You have sinn'd & must suffer.-Then further he said

These races & revels & dissolute measures
With which you're debasing a neighbouring Plain²
Let them stand - you shall meet with your curse in your pleasures
Set off for your course, I'll pursue with my rain.

Ye cannot but know my command in July.
Henceforward I'll triumph in shewing my powers,
Shift your race as you will it shall never be dry
The curse upon Venta is July in showers.

J.A. (initialled)

¹Venta Belgarum, 'market place of the Belgae', the Roman name for Winchester. The Celtic name was Caer Gwent, 'White City', a reference to its situation on the chalk downs. The Saxon name was Wintanceaster, from which the 13th century abbreviation 'Winton' is taken.

²Worthydown. Whether this was the venue for the original races is not clear.

Originally, the Winchester races were run on the Wednesday in Easter week but evidently the date was later changed to St Swithun's day (15 July).

Bull-baiting

The earliest reference to bull-baiting in Winchester during the period under review occurs in an ordinance of 1562, when one of the Bailiffs was fined for encouraging one of the city's butchers to sell 'bull's flesh unbaighted' (see p.57). It was the job of the butchers to provide a fighting bull to be baited on various days in the year, such as on the first Boroughmote day and also when the Mayor held his feasts (see p.66). This particular butcher had evidently omitted to provide a bull when it was his turn to do so, and had slaughtered it and sold the meat, perhaps to the Bailiff concerned. In 1557-8, a blacksmith was paid for making the bullring but bull-baiting must have taken place earlier than this, because in 1538-9 it was prohibited from taking place outside the Mayor's house. There is also an edict in the Proceedings Book for 1593 punishing people for assembling unlawfully to watch bullbaiting 'Contrarie to expresse Commandment and publique notice...in this Danger of Infection'.

Bear-baiting.

The Queen's bearwards visited Winchester in 1573-74 and again in 1581-82 but there is no record of bear-baiting in Winchester on other occasions.

REGULATIONS AND RECUSANCY

I have found very few ordinances and regulations enforcing the Sabbatarian laws and other Puritan regulations in Winchester. There is a diocesan letter of 1585 from the Bishop of Winchester banning Church Ales, May games and morris dancing on Sundays. From the evidence in the Churchwardens' accounts, this was not always obeyed but I have found only one occasion, in 1621, when an order invoking the sabbatarian laws was made in the Quarter Sessions as the result of complaints made against St John's in the Soke (see p.94). The order prohibits the playing of unlawful games 'in or between divine service'. By this time James I had issued his Book of Sports.¹ In it, he refers approvingly to Maygames, Whitsun Ales and Morris dances and directs that such lawful recreation be allowed on Sundays, but after divine service:

'...That after the end of Diuine Seruice, Our good people be not disturbed, letted or discouraged from any lawfull Recreation; Such as dauncing, either men or women, Archerie for men, leaping, vaulting, or any such harmelesse Recreation, nor from hauing

¹The Kings Maiesties Declaration to His Subjects, Concerning lawfull Sports to be vsed (London: Bonham Norton and John Bill, 1618).

of 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:'.¹

Bear- and bull-baiting, interludes and bowling were still prohibited. Recusants were barred from taking part in any of the above activities, the prerequisite being attendance at church before taking part. The parishioners of the Soke obviously fell foul of the law by playing games during or between services. There were areas in the country where Sunday observance was strictly enforced and the Book of Sports deeply resented, but in view of the existence of only one court order, Winchester was obviously not one of them.

In one of Alderman Jacob's scrapbooks is the record of a court examination of 3 musicians, a sailor, a tailor and a shoemaker, who were taken to court in 1598 for attempting to play their instruments in the City. They got away with it, because they were apprehended before they could start to play, but not before they had spent two nights in the Westgate prison. In his deposition, the sailor defended himself by saying that he must have been at sea when 'the statute' was made. This could refer to the Vagrancy Act of 1597, which reiterated the prohibitions against 'common players in Interludes, and minstrels' originally set out in a Statute of 1572. On the other hand, the musicians' defence was that they had only played in the Soke, not in the City, so maybe the statute referred to was a local one, against playing in the City itself. If so, it has not come to light.

Many other towns and cities in England took the Vagrancy Act very seriously, not allowing entertainers to play, and often paying them to go away, even when they had quite exalted patrons, even royal ones. This is in addition to those occasions when they were paid to go away in times of plague, a situation well evidenced throughout the country, but not, apparently, in Winchester. In 1593, £1 was paid to the Earl of Worcester's players not to play in Southampton. No reason is given for this, but it was probably because of the plague, which was rife in both Winchester and Southampton in this year. Several troupes were paid to go away from Southampton in the early 17th Century, including the King's and the Prince of Wales's in 1634. This was almost certainly because of an order of Southampton's Common Council in 1624 banning Interludes and plays and any other sports and pastimes in the Town Hall because of the disorder and breaking up of furniture which occurred during such performances². Winchester seems to have been much more tolerant, since there are plenty of rewards given to all sorts of players right up to the end of the period under review. It appears that, whatever local regulations there may have been against such activities in Winchester, they were mostly not enforced.

¹Quoted from: Audrey Douglas and Peter Greenfield (eds), Cumberland / Westmorland / Gloucestershire REED (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986) Appendix 3 of Gloucestershire pp.365-368.

²C.E.C. Burch Minstrels and Players in Southampton 1428-1635 Southampton Papers 7 (City of Southampton, 1969).

The attitude of Winchester's city fathers towards visiting players of all sorts was, as I have pointed out, fairly liberal. No stringent measures seem to have been enacted against any visitors except when there was a danger of infection in times of plague. Even then, the regulations about strangers being barred from the city do not mention travelling players, although there is an edict in Proceedings Book B in 1593 punishing people for assembling unlawfully during times of plague to watch bullbaiting, 'and other such like exercises... ', which term probably intended to include any entertainers likely to attract a crowd. There is also an Order in Proceedings Book B dated 6 July, 1593 concerning persons coming from infected places being forbidden to stay in the city for more than one night. I have been unable to find any local regulation requiring visiting players to seek permission from the Mayor before playing.

There seems to be little sign of Puritan attitudes in any part of the city's corporate life. Recusancy rates in Winchester were very high and differed from those of the rest of the county¹. After the Act of Uniformity was passed in 1559 the Dean and 5 Canons of the Cathedral, including the Warden of the College, were all deprived of their offices for refusing to accept Protestantism. The Bishop, John White, was deprived of his Bishopric and sent to the Tower for adhering to the old faith and for threatening to excommunicate the Queen. In 1561, the new Bishop of Winchester, Robert Horne, a Puritan, reported after the first visitation in his large diocese that, although the clergy were conforming, there was still trouble with the laity and particularly in Winchester. A number of prominent citizens in Winchester were recusants and must certainly have had an influence on the attitude of the Corporation towards puritan regulations emanating from London. For instance in November, 1564, after appearing before the Privy Council, the Mayor, Robert Hodson, and two of Winchester's Bailiffs, Richard Birde and John Winnall, were imprisoned in the Marshalsea for their failure to act against a suspected recusant. In fact, Hodson was a papist himself. Bishop Horne, in October that year, when asked to evaluate Hampshire's Justices of the Peace according to whether or not they were they were in favour of the Government's approach on religious matters replied that, with regard to Winchester: 'all that bear authority there, except one or two', were 'addict to the old superstition, and earnest fautors² thereof'. He particularly singled out Hodson; William Lawrence, a former mayor; White (a Gilbert White was mayor in 1565); Pottenger, the Chamberlain in 1558; and someone called Coreham (who could be Roger Coreham, of Bar End).

After the Pope excommunicated Elizabeth in 1570, action against English Catholics became increasingly rigorous. In 1576, the future Cardinal Allen listed Winchester, along with York, Lancaster and other cities, not one of them in the south, to be among the most Catholic towns or parts of England. In 1583, when a return of recusants was made, out of about 300 in the whole county, 51 came from Winchester and its immediate neighbourhood, one-sixth of the total. In the period 1598-March 1603, this figure had risen to one-fifth of the total, 437 recusants in the county, of which 82 were in Winchester and its immediate neighbourhood. In the same period only one recusant is listed in Southampton. That such a

¹John E. Paul, 'Hampshire Recusants in the time of Elizabeth I, with special reference to Winchester,' *HFCP* 21, 2 (1959) pp.61-81.

²Partisans, abettors. (*OED*)

discrepancy existed between two neighbouring towns can only be put down to Winchester's long history as an ecclesiastical centre and, as it grew increasingly isolated and impoverished, its dislike of change.

ANTIQUARIAN SOURCES

A number of antiquarians have supplied me with a starting point for my researches. In particular, in the late 19th Century, Alderman Jacob was instrumental in saving copious amounts of old documents which were stored in the Westgate in less than ideal conditions. He pasted those which he thought interesting into scrapbooks and although this means that they are sometimes incapable of being read on their reverse side and are often inadequately identified, at least they are available to scholars today, instead of being eaten by vermin and insects or thrown away. Someone called Zähnsdorf, about whom little is known, except that he was a binder, collected together old court records which are slightly better preserved. They too are inadequately identified and incomplete. John Trussell, who could be called Winchester's first local historian, an eyewitness to many of the events discussed in this thesis, was the son of Catholic refugees who settled in Winchester. His father was steward of the Winchester College estates in 1597 and it has been suggested that Trussell himself was a scholar at the College, but there is no proof of that. He was a Freeman of the City in 1606, a solicitor, one of the 8 city auditors, an Alderman and a JP, High Sherriff in 1615, and twice Mayor of Winchester, in 1624 and again in 1633. He died in about 1648, having witnessed the events of the civil war as they affected Winchester. He was also a poet, but not a very good one, judging by some of his verses. He collected together a number of miscellaneous documents, some of which are in his own hand, in Benefactors to Winchester, c. 1617-47, among which is found a list of those who contributed to the setting up of Winchester's races. It also has a long narrative poem called 'The Declaration of Caerguent's Lament', written in the first person, as if by the city of Winchester itself, chronicling its own history. His chief work is Touchstone of Tradition, including 'The Origin of Cities', which may have been intended as its introduction. This relates the History of Winchester from its supposed beginnings. It also includes many of Trussell's own eyewitness accounts of events in Winchester including those of 1603, when King James visited Winchester and when the trials were held in the Castle, and the visit of Queen Henrietta Maria in 1625. Responsible for many historical errors and flights of fancy about the early history of Winchester, which have been perpetuated by some subsequent historians, Trussell is really only to be relied upon when speaking of events to which he was an eyewitness. Even so, I have a sneaking admiration for his view, expressed on f10r of 'Origin of Cities' that he was: '...verillie perswaded, That to belieue nothing of Antiquitie, but what is perspicuous and unquestionable proued, is but the bare refuge of dulpated ignorant droanes, or meachanicke precise plebeyans,...

CONCLUSION

Now that I have reached the end, for the time being, of my researches in the various archives, I am in a position to attempt an evaluation of the material I have found and to join the debate about the relevance and scope of REED's project and the methodology used by REED's editors.

This edition supersedes all other work done in this field of research, which in any case has not previously been undertaken on any comparable scale. It has afforded unique insights into the various corporate and collegiate activities under discussion. I have found some interesting and hitherto unidentified material, despite the short period under review. I have attempted an evaluation of it and tried to point out the sort of records, found in other towns covered by the REED project, that are missing in Winchester. Such records as visiting players' requests to the Mayor to play in the town and his granting or refusing permission, as required by statute, are in this category, along with local regulations banning or restricting players either during plague years or because of Puritan edicts from London.

Although Winchester's civic records are extensive, there are inevitably some gaps and it is difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish between what never happened and what happened but is no longer on record. Because there are lacunae in the records, some room for speculation is left in individual cases, such as I have attempted with the matter of the ship/lantern in the College. Interpretation of the significance of a body of records as a whole, beyond the rather positivist nature of a record-identifying project, is more difficult to do while large areas of the country have not yet been covered by REED, particularly those counties adjacent to Hampshire. For example, this has made impossible the task of pursuing travelling players along their routes, through Winchester to their next destination. In addition, I will be in a much better position to evaluate Winchester's records overall when I have looked at the earlier material. However, from the evidence available, it appears that Winchester's dramatic records are totally unlike those of these other cities. The REED project started with the cities in the North, such as York, Chester and Coventry, which are well-known civic pageant cities. No pageants seem to have been staged at Winchester, even in the years prior to those I have been examining. Norwich and Exeter both have far more records of civic entertainment than Winchester has, at least in the period I am reviewing. Cambridge is a special case, as a university town, with royal patronage and a wealth of college drama. Winchester College's drama records are more comprehensive than at first appeared, thanks to William Badger's notebook, but it would not be practical to compare a University's records with those of a single school's. So far, I have the records of only one other school to compare with the College ones. Eton appears to have staged about the same number of plays as Winchester did, but also has a very comprehensive and interesting list of stage properties and costumes, something totally lacking at Winchester College. In contrast, visits by musicians to Winchester College appear much more frequently than at Eton, though, as I have pointed out, there are a number of possible interpretations of this (see p.20).

My aim has been to be as comprehensive as possible, without including a mass of totally irrelevant material. Here lies the difficulty. How does one decide what is irrelevant, since the social context informs the drama, and dramatic activity has a social dimension? It is not only what is left out because of gaps in the records, but what individual editors choose to include. Each REED volume, it seems to me, is more a reflection of each editor's view of the records, what he or she sees as significant, rather than a homogeneous contribution to a unified picture of the dramatic, musical and ceremonial activity of the whole of England. REED's final choice is mediated through the individual editor's selection of material

INTRODUCTION

for inclusion¹. My decision to include tertiary account records concerning royal visits is a case in point. This is one of the reasons that I have included more material than REED's guidelines ask for, since I am not constrained by those guidelines for my present project.

¹See Peter Happé's review of Cambridge in Comparative Drama 24, No 1 (1990) pp.78-82.

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION

Winchester College

Bursars' Account Book 1

Winchester College Muniments, 22213; 1556-8; Latin; paper; ii+81+ii; 305 mm x 202 mm; unfoliated; contemporary parchment binding; title on spine 'Bur. 1556 ad 1558'; fly leaves are MS: 4 leaves from the second part of the Latin treatise on the election of bishops by Gulielmus de Mandagot, Archdeacon of Nimes, printed at Lyons in 1509 under the title 'Tractatus vtilis et perquam necessarius de electione'. Written in England XIV - XVth Century.

Accounts for 1558-9 are missing.

Bursars' Account Book 2

Winchester College Muniments, 22214; 1559-64; Latin; paper; i+181+i; 300 mm x 193 mm; unfoliated; contemporary parchment binding; title on spine 'Burs' ab 1559 ad 1564'; fly leaves are MS. Fly leaf at beginning of Vol. is a fragment of St. Mark's Gospel Ch.I v.1 to Ch.III v.13. Gospel begins on what is now dorse of fly leaf. Fly leaf at end is a fragment of Song of Songs Ch.III, part of v.5, to Ch.VIII, part of v.7. English MS. Early XIIIth Century.

Bursars' Account Book 3

Winchester College Muniments, 22215; 1564-71; Latin; paper; i+308+i; 308 mm x 209 mm; unfoliated; contemporary parchment binding; remains of 3 leather straps, one originally buckled; Title on spine: 'Burs ab 1564 ad 1572'; fly leaves are MS: a fragment of 2 consecutive leaves (the centre of a gathering) containing an apparatus or commentary upon the Clementines of Pope Clement V, 1305-1314, probably by Zenzalinus de Cassanis, alias Zesselin de Casagnes. MS written in XIVth Century, possibly in S. France.

Bursars' Account Book 4

Winchester College Muniments, 22216; 1572-83; Latin; paper; i+394+i; 313 mm x 200 mm; unfoliated; contemporary parchment binding; remains of three leather straps, one with metal buckle; Title on spine: 'Burs: ab 1572 ad 1583'. The two fly leaves are now loose from binding and are MS: 2 leaves from a commentary on the Minor Prophets in Latin containing Hosea X9-XI 11 and Joel III 13 - Amos I 9. Written in England XIVth Century.

Bursars' Account Book 5

Winchester College Muniments, 22217; 1583-99; Latin; paper; ii+462+ii; 300 mm x 200 mm; unfoliated; contemporary parchment binding; remains of 3 leather straps, one originally buckled, buckle missing; Title on spine: 'Burs: ab 1583 ad 1599'; MS fly leaves are 2 leaves from a copy of the *Legenda Aurea* compiled (after 1259) by Jacobus de Voragine, Archbishop of Genoa, 1212-1298, containing parts of the lives of SS Clement I, Pope (ff 1,2), and Catherine (ff 3,4). Written in England XIVth Century.¹

Bursars' Account Book 6

Winchester College Muniments, 22218; 1599-1624; Latin; paper; ii+656+ii; 300 mm x 200 mm; unfoliated; contemporary parchment binding; remains of leather straps, buckle missing; MS fly leaves from book on Martyrs including St. Sebastian². Leaves very dog eared. First 2 pages of accounts torn out, leaving a 75mm border on which one can discern parts of the usual 'computus' records which open each year's accounts. Title on spine: 'Burs: ab 1599 ad 1624'.

Bursars' Account Book 7

Winchester College Muniments, 22219; 1624-41; Latin; paper; 0+472+0; 305 mm x 195 mm; unfoliated; contemporary parchment binding with parchment straps and metal buckle; leaves very dog eared; title on spine: 'Burs: ab 1624 ad 1641'.

Themes at Winchester School

London; BL; Add MS 4379; c.1563; Latin; paper; ii-204-ii; 190mm x 145mm; contemporary foliation; MS in black leather binding; Title on spine 'Themes at Winchester School'. British Museum Birch Coll. Additional MS 4379.

Winchester**Chamberlains' Account Rolls**

These are listed in the HRO Catalogue with the overall title of 'City Accounts to 1835'. Before the 15th and after the 18th centuries the rolls contained the accounts of various officers: of the Aldermen, the Mayor and others in the 14th century and of the City Treasurer after the 18th century. By the 15th century

¹Information concerning the MS flyleaves of the first 5 volumes is taken from letters addressed to the then College archivist by the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum, in November, 1933.

²Details taken from Sheila Himsworth, (comp) Winchester College Muniments vol 1 (Chichester: Phillimore, 1976) p.65.

all the City's account rolls were in the hands of the City Chamberlains and the sub-heading in the Catalogue thus calls them the Chamberlains' Account Rolls. Some of the rolls survive only as fragments, many of the others are damaged by fire, vermin, insects and damp. The accounting period is from Michaelmas to Michaelmas. Since the rolls share most details in common, they have been given an overall description, rather than a specific one for each roll, following the example of the Cambridge editor. This description should prove sufficient to provide a finding aid for others.

Winchester; HRO; W/E1/83; 85; 88; 90; 94; 95; 97; 100-103; 106-117; 119-124; 126; 127; 129; 1555-6 to 1638-9; Latin; parchment; from 3 to 9 membranes, average 6; the membranes of rolls 89 to 92 (1589-1563) are attached at the top, before and after those dates they are attached serially. This is the original format; average 500mm x 302mm, longest 770mm, shortest 470mm; width consistent; any writing on dorse of the serially attached rolls starts on the reverse of the last membrane. On membranes attached at the top, the writing continues on the reverse of each membrane before starting a new one; all rolls have paper wrappers, taken from 19th Century parish electoral rolls, on the reverse of which are listed Mayors and other civic officials at the time the rolls were compiled, together with occasional notes concerning any unusual records and a note of the regnal year. These are signed by Alderman W. Jacob and dated 1899.

Coffer Account Books

These Account books record transactions into and from the City Coffer, the City's depository for its treasures, which was kept in the Council House. Each entry is signed by the Mayor of the time and by those of his brethren who were present. All 'paid in' entries are bound into the books before all 'taken out' entries.

In August 1590, the Council House was entered and the locked Settle in which the Coffer was kept was broken into. The Coffer, several silver seals, the City's Seal, coin to the value of £80 and plate, bonds and stock, '& the bookes of accompte', were stolen. So a new coffer account book had to be started, and the first few pages contain a summary of debts owed by various citizens to the Coffer, and other important financial information which had been originally recorded in the stolen accounts. In Proceedings Book A, W/B2/2, on f1v, there is a record dated 20 November 1591 of the payment of a reward of 5 shillings to a servant called Mr Clerke, who found some of the stolen items including 'certaine writings', in November 1591.

Whether there was ever an earlier Coffer Account book is not known, although the expression 'bookes of accompte', in the list of what was stolen, suggests that possibility. If earlier account books were among the items recovered by Mr Clerke, they have not survived.

Winchester; HRO; W/E6/1; 1590-1627/8; English; paper; ii + 122 + ii; 288mm x 200mm; unfoliated; original parchment binding retained inside modern black leather binding; title on both board and spine: City of Winchester Coffer Accounts 1589 to 1627.

Winchester; HRO; W/E6/2; 1628-1661; English; paper; i + 155 + i (last 10 pages bound in upside down); 290mm x 200mm; unfoliated; original parchment binding retained inside modern black leather binding; title on both board and spine: City of Winchester Coffer Accounts 1628 to 1661.

Corporation Proceedings Books

Records of about twice-weekly meetings, called 'general assemblies', held sometimes in the Guildhall and sometimes in St John's House, attended by the mayor and about 7 of his Brethren (past Mayors and after 1587, the Recorder), mostly recording decisions about the granting of various tenements and lands to citizens. They also dealt with various administrative matters, such as the prevention of disease by requiring citizens to clean up in front of their properties, the appointment of various city officials, including the mayor, proclamations against malpractices of various sorts and regulations prohibiting visiting traders, for instance, in time of plague. Authority was also given for the payment of certain sums of money, either out of the city's coffers or by the Chamberlains. The records also show the incorporation of various Guilds, such as the Tailors and the Fishmongers, and the delivery to the City of its new Charter in 1560. Each set of entries under a particular date is signed by the then mayor and such of his brethren as were present.

Winchester; HRO; W/B2/2; 1590-1598 and 1602-3; English; paper; ii + 56 + ii; 290mm x 250mm; modern foliation; some pages slightly torn at bottom, no relevant text affected; pages pasted onto stubs of paper when rebound; original parchment cover (a probably contemporary MS) retained inside early 20th Century black leather binding; title on board and spine: 'City of Winchester Proceedings of the Corporation Nov 7 1589 to Sep 7 1598, A.' The modern binding wrongly gives the starting date of this volume as 7 November 1589 instead of 6 November 32 Elizabeth i.e. 1590. The closing date is given as 7 September 1598 instead of 29 September 1598. There are also some entries for 1602 after the first five entries for 1590.

In one of the Coffer Account Books (W/E6/1), on f[66v], dated 5 September 1591, there are two references to orders agreed 'in the booke of remembrance'. Since most payments from the city coffers were authorised by orders recorded in the Proceedings Books and no Books of Remembrance are listed in the HRO Catalogue, I undertook a lengthy investigation to discover what and where these books of remembrance might be. Alderman Jacob on p.4 of Top Win 3/2 (one of his scrapbooks of press cuttings etc) refers to 'Old records ... Coffer, sessional and Remembrance.' Further, in an article on Elizabethan Trade in Hampshire Notes and Queries, Volume 4 (1889) pages 40-41, he quotes from 'a curious book: "The remembrance of things agreed in the Council House".' From the records he quotes I have traced

this book to what the HRO Catalogue calls Proceedings Book A (W/B2/2), which was rebound in the early part of the 20th Century and has the Title on its cover: Proceedings of the Corporation. From this evidence it was established that the orders 'in the booke of remembraunce', referred to in the Coffe Account Book and quoted above, are at f10v and f11r of Proceedings Book A and that therefore the Proceedings Books were originally known as Books of Remembrance. It appears that the original title must have been lost at the time of re-binding. The City Archivist has now amended the HRO Catalogue description to reflect my findings, although the books will not be re-named because of the number of references to them in printed sources.

Winchester; HRO; W/B2/3; 1593-1625; English; paper; ii+91+ii; 293mm x 197mm; contemporary foliation; original parchment cover retained within early 20th Century black leather binding; title on board and spine: City of Winchester Proceedings of the Corporation July 6 1597 to Apr 3 1605 B. Despite this title, the earliest records in this book are dated 1593. Other 1593 records appear in Book A. Dates after 1599 are haphazard. Flyleaf of modern binding has the following: "My books" Blind tooled and morocco printed/They have Zaehnsdorfs daintiest dress. Austin Dobson, Longmans Magazine'.

Ordinance Books

Contain ordinances such as election of officials, granting of leases and (again) regulations to do with trade and health. Also include elections to membership of the Merchants' Guild and incorporation of various other Guilds, such as the Fishmongers and the Tailors and Hosiers. These books can be seen as the official register of decisions made at the General Assemblies, the Boroughmotes, held twice a year in either the Guildhall or in St John's House and attended by the Mayor, the 24, other Freemen of the Merchants' Guild and supposedly, the Commonalty, although it is doubtful whether the ordinary citizen had any formal say by this date, or was even present, whatever may have been the case earlier. Many are ratifications of decisions already made at the more frequent meetings of the Mayor and his brethren and initially recorded in the Proceedings Books. The first book includes the Queen's proclamation concerning the fate of Mary Queen of Scots and regulations, dated 16 October 1561, concerning the wearing of scarlet gowns by Mayors, ex mayors and their wives and the days on which they are to be worn. As the ordinances were amended or cancelled a marginal entry to that effect has been added.

Winchester; HRO; W/B1/1; 1552-1608; English and some Latin; paper; ii+316+vi; 310mm x 200mm; contemporary foliation; some pages torn, but condition generally good; contemporary brown suede leather binding; gold tooled title on spine: First Book of Ordinances.

On f99r there is an ordinance dated 7 Nov 1552 that such acts and ordinances in Winchester's Black Book (a forerunner of the Ordinance Books), as the Mayor and the 24 considered still valid, should be translated into English and bound into a new paper book. The rest of the Black Book then to be 'voyde and vtterlye

abolished for euer'. It appears that the new paper book forms the first 98 pages of this Ordinance Book and records ordinances dating back to 1358.

Winchester; HRO; W/B1/4; 1617-1647; English and Latin; paper; i+170+i; 298mm x 192mm; contemporary foliation; f14 missing; contemporary brown suede leather binding; gold tooled title on spine: Fourth Book of Ordinances.

St John's Churchwardens' Accounts

Winchester; HRO; 88M81W/PW1; 1549-1596; English; paper; i+65+i; MS flyleaves bound sideways, consisting of two columns; along the space dividing the two columns is 'John Leache churchwarden in Anno 1600'; 296mm x 217mm; modern pencilled foliation; pages in good condition; writing on front : '13 This Church booke d<.>de<.> Anno Domini 159<.>', followed by title, very faded, the only words discernible being: 'The Church Boke...'; writing on verso of front binding: 'The Church booke of the parish of St Johns' and other indecipherable odd words. First two pages blank, f3r is an inventory dated 1659, f5r (bound in upside down) says: 'This boke semeth to be made about some ffortie six yeares agoe and now the date of Our Lord is MCCCC95'. There are no accounts as early as this entry suggests, so either there was an earlier set, now lost, or this page is from some totally unrelated source, or the writer was mistaken about the age of the book. On f57v is an account dated 19 January 1605/06. Accounting period varies. 1st Jan. to 1st Jan to begin with, and then as shown at the beginning of each relevant entry. Often 3 years together, accounting dates changing when churchwardens change. Contemporary parchment binding, torn and worm-eaten.

Winchester; HRO; 88M81W/PW2; 1596-1824; English; paper; vii+463+0; 4 of the fly leaves are accounts for 1819; possibly 18th Century foliation for the first 99 pages only; 320mm x 220mm; contemporary parchment binding. Names of churchwardens on front cover, with date 1596. Accounts run from varying dates in April to varying dates the following April. The accounts for 1615-1628 (f14r-f24v) are bound in between two pages of 1603 'payments'. The accounts then resume with one 'payments' page for 1615 and then the accounts for 1629 onwards.

St Peter's Cheeshill¹ Churchwardens' Accounts

Winchester; HRO; 3M82W/PW1; 1566-1642; English; paper; i+86+i; 296mm x 200mm; modern pencilled foliation; 19th Century board and parchment binding; some pages out of order. See note to that effect in front of account book. Title on board: 'Saint Peter Cheeshill, Winchester, No.1, Churchwardens' Book, AD 1566 to 1642 eighty seven leaves Sept 21 1870, transcribed October 1895 W. Jacob'; some pages badly damaged and repaired, a few misplaced. A note dated 1876 inside cover says

¹Spelt 'Chesil' in modern Winchester.

that accounts actually started on 26th September, 1554, 1554-1566 being lost, and that the book contains 140 leaves. Accounting period varies, sometimes Michaelmas to Michaelmas and sometimes Midsummer to Midsummer, depending on the change of churchwardens. Layout of accounts also varies. Most commonly, in the earlier accounts, 'Layed out' appears on verso, 'receytes' on following recto, and this reverses later and eventually some accounts cease to distinguish receipts from payments separately but just record them all together.

Recorder's Speech

London; BL; Harl.MS 852; Single document undated, Volume dated 'Jac I' although the last item is a poem to Charles I; English; paper; originally p8 & 9 and now f5r & v of volume (v-41-iv); 300mm x 185mm; both contemporary and modern foliation (I have followed the latter); part of a collection of 11 miscellaneous MSS; Tan leather binding; Coat of Arms on board; Title 'Miscellaneous Tracts Temp Jac I' on spine.

Diocesan Letter

SRO; Guildford Muniment Room; LM Cor 3/377; 13 May 1585; English; Paper; 1 leaf; 300mm x 204mm, text area 215mm x 170mm; Text area on dorse 30mm x 70mm; Single leaf, originally folded into 4, with title and addressee on dorse; leaf slightly torn at bottom, no writing missing. At top of text, in pencil: '1585 Church Ales etc (copied)'; unbound.

Musicians' Court Examinations

Winchester; HRO; W/K5/8; 23 Feb 1598¹; English; paper; court record² 290mm x 395mm; single sheet folded in half, writing on front and inside verso, endorsement on back, pasted onto page 8 and bound in a scrapbook with other MSS and press cuttings; the scrapbook is a large leather bound book, with the following title on the binding: 'City of Winchester A Retrospect of Civic Manners and Customs Elizabeth 1576 to Victoria 1888.' The introduction on the verso of the binding is signed W.H. Jacob 1888.

Quarter Sessions Order Book

Winchester; HRO; Q/1/1; 1607-28; mostly Latin, some English; paper; ii+272+ii; 317mm x 203mm; contemporary foliation; modern black leather binding, title on spine: Order Book 1607-28.

¹This is one of a series of scrapbooks, containing a collection of miscellaneous MSS and press cuttings made by Alderman W.H. Jacob.

²It is impossible to say which court, since the MSS in this collection are fragmentary and mostly unattributed.

Court case concerning Dancing Master

This forms part of a collection called the Zähnendorf Volumes, which he named 'City Court Rolls'.

Winchester; HRO; W/D1/288; Latin; paper; 235mm x 178mm; single document, no 163 at guard paper 182, bound in a collection of miscellaneous Town Court records, files and Pie Powder Court Records; each individual MS guarded; modern binding.

Letters

Sir Thomas Edmondes to the Earl of Shrewsbury.

London; Lam; MS 3201; 1600-1605; English; paper; 310mm x 215mm overall; foliation neither recent nor contemporary; single document dated 17 October 1603, bound at f143r in a collection of individual sheets of correspondence; brown leather binding; College of Arms crest on board; 'K Talbot MSS Shrewsbury letters MS 3201' on spine.

Lady Arabella Stuart to the Earl of Shrewsbury

Longleat House, Wiltshire. 112, vol 2; 1588-1608; English; paper; 315mm x 225mm, text area: 305mm x 190mm; single document dated 8 October 1603, pasted onto blank page, f209v, by the edge only and bound with other correspondence; pagination and foliation by several different hands, none contemporary, I have followed the 19th Century foliation; red morocco binding on boards, gold tooled decoration. Title on spine: Original Letters, 1588-1608.

Beaumont to Villeroy, 27 October 1603

London; BL; Add. MS 30639; 1603; French; paper; iii-445-iv; 357mm x 220mm; contemporary foliation; MS in good condition; Contemporary leather binding; Crest on board. Title on gold tooled spine 'Ambassade de M de Beaumont en Angleterre 39'. Title on flyleaf 'Depesches de Monsieur de Beaumont Ambassadeur pour le Roy en Angleterre Second Vol.'

Dr Joseph Meade to Sir Martin Stuteville, 7 June 1623.

London; BL; Harl. MS 389; 1623; English; paper; single document; 273mm x 170mm; foliation neither contemporary nor modern; Letter originally folded so that it now reads from f338v to f337v; Originally separate letter, now bound with others in one volume; Leather binding; crest on board; Title on spine: 'Letters from Joseph Meade to Sir M. Stuteville Nov 1620-Dec 1625 Vol I Brit Mus Harley MS 389.'

Wills¹

Probate Inventory of Thomas Stempe²

Winchester; HRO 1581 B107/22; Probate, 15 April 1581; English; Paper; Inventory to Will; 347mm x 235mm; 4 folio sheets, folded.

Will of William Cheynie

Winchester; HRO 1601 B15/1; 25 March 1598 (Probate 28 November 1601); English text, Latin probate; Paper; Will; 245mm x 390mm.

Probate Inventory of William Cheynie

Winchester; HRO 1601 B15/2; 21 October 1601; English; Paper; Inventory; 395mm x 150mm; 2 sheets attached serially, writing on recto only.

Nuncupative Will³ of William Turner

Winchester; HRO 1621 B59/1; 21 December 1621; English; Paper; Will (nuncupative); 315mm x 195mm.

Probate Inventory of Gilbert Titchborne

Winchester; HRO 1631 A78/2; 22 December 1636; English; Paper; Inventory; 380mm x 150mm; 2 sheets folded in half vertically, first 2 pages written on, last two pages blank.

¹Only the wills of residents of Winchester have been surveyed, not all those probated there. This unfortunately excludes wills of a number of local gentry which may prove fruitful when surveyed for the Hampshire volume.

²I have not described the will if there is a relevant entry only in the inventory, and vice versa.

³A will declared orally. (OED)

Miscellaneous

Commonplace Book¹

San Marino, Calif.; Hun; HM 116; c1615-1637²; English; paper; ii-180-ii; 140mm x 91mm, interleaved with blank pages measuring 158mm x 145mm, some with late 18th or early 19th century notes concerning the MS; contemporary pagination; 20th Century re-binding in marbled calf.

Benefactors to Winchester

Oxford; Bodleian Library; MS Top Hants C5; 1617 to c1647³; English; Parchment; i+104+i; 345 mm x 255 mm (average); contemporary and more recent pencilled foliation, I have followed the latter; Fairly good condition - some MS faded; single leaves bound together; no damage or repair; red morocco binding (?C19); gold blocked title on spine: Trussell's Benefactors to Winchester City. 1636 1 Charles 12.

Relation of a Short Survey of the Western Counties

London; BL; Lansdowne 213; August 1635. All MSS in this compilation are in the same handwriting and the last entry is dated 1663; English; paper; 74 pages, originally separate, now bound with other papers in book form (iii+445+iii); 280mm x 170mm; 1r-74v: original foliation, renumbered on several more recent occasions, current foliation is 347r-384v; Title page on f347r: 'A Relation of a short Survey of the Western Counties, in which is briefly described the Citties, Corporations, Castles, and some other Remarkables in them. Obserued in a seuen Weekes Journey begun at Norwich, & thence into the West. On Thursday August 4th 1635 and ending att the same Place. By the same Lieutennant, that with the Captaine, and Ancient of the Military Company in Norwich Made a Journey into the North the Yeere before.' Now bound into modern red leather binding. Title on spine 'Miscellaneous Tracts XVII Cent. Lans MS 213'.

Touchstone of Tradition

Winchester; HRO; W/K1/12; c1647⁴; English; paper; i+237+ii; 313mm x 195mm; contemporary foliation, which starts after a) title page, b) blank page and c) dedication page; 18th Century binding,

¹The following information has been kindly supplied by the Huntington Library.

²For a discussion of these dates, see p.68.

³The date of Benefactors is uncertain. The writings, mostly in Trussell's own hand, are dated between 1617 and 1647 except for a list of mayors dated 1648-1656 in a different hand, so the compilation may have been made by someone else, after Trussell's death in 1648.

⁴The reference to Edward White on the dedication page refers to his 5th Mayoralty, which was in 1647.

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION

marbled paper on board; gold blocked title on spine: Trussel's Winchester; 2 book plates on inside of cover, one is the coat of arms of Lord Mostyn, 1744, No 25, the other, that of Gladdath Library.

EDITORIAL PROCEDURES

Dating and Chronology

Both the College Bursars' Accounts and the City Chamberlains' Accounts use the split accounting year running from Michaelmas to Michaelmas. Thus, for example, the date 1569-70 in an account heading signifies the year beginning 29 September 1569 and ending 28 September 1570. Other records, such as the Coffe Accounts, which give a specific day, month and year for each entry, have been given a single year heading. Where other documents are dated by regnal year I have used the tables in C.R. Cheney's Handbook of Dates for Students of English History (London: Royal Historical Society, 1978) to establish the modern date. Some documents use the dating system beginning the calendar year at Lady Day (25 March), even when New Year's Day was recognised as 1 January. In this case, where I have included records whose dates fall between New Year's Day and Lady Day, I have indicated this by a date heading giving first the year as written, followed by a diagonal slash and then the year by modern dating. For example the entry in the records taken from the Coffe Accounts dated by the scribe 18 March 1613, but which, from the surrounding context, must have been written after 1st January 1614, has been headed by the date 1613/14. The entry itself includes the date the scribe has given it, in this case 18 March 1613.

Layout

Each entry in the Records is preceded by a name or descriptive title, along with a brief identification of its source. Fuller details can be found in the section describing the source documents. On a separate line the folio, page, or membrane number is given, along with the precise accounting period of the entry (where known), and a modernised version of the manuscript account heading (where available). The general layout of the original documents has been retained. Headings, marginalia and account totals have been printed in the approximate position they occupy in the source. Totals are transcribed only when all the amounts making up the total have been transcribed. Right marginalia are set in the left hand margin, and so designated by the symbol ®. Original lineation has not been preserved in lines of continuous prose. In the Coffe Accounts, where the whole of an entry has been bracketed together and the sum expended recorded on the right hand side of the page, the braces have been omitted and the sum concerned flushed to the right. Dittography and obvious scribal errors have been indicated in footnotes. Persons referred to by title in the records are identified more fully in footnotes on their first appearance only. Decay, damage or other problems which adversely affect the clarity of the original are noted in the footnotes, along with problems of dating or provenance.

Punctuation

Manuscript punctuation has been retained, except that manuscript braces and all line fillers have been ignored. Virgules are indicated as /.

Spelling, Capitalisation and Expansion

The spelling and capitalisation of the original has been preserved. 'ff' has been retained for 'F'; the standard and elongated forms for 'I' are uniformly transcribed as 'I'. Minuscules have been preferred where it is difficult to distinguish minuscules from majuscules. Abbreviated words have been expanded, the letters supplied having been underlined in this edition, for future italicisation on publication. First names, surnames and place names have been expanded wherever possible. Where abbreviated words in manuscripts yield no evidence of scribal intention, resulting in ambiguous forms, the manuscript form has been left unexpanded, an apostrophe supplied to indicate a mark of suspension and the problem explained in a footnote.

Abbreviations which are easily understood today, such as 'li', 's', 'd' and 'ob' (for a halfpenny), 'viz' and 'etc' or '&', and abbreviations too cumbersome to expand, such as 'lb' for 'pound', are retained. Mr. has been left unexpanded when in a passage of English but expanded when appearing in Latin records. The sign C has been expanded 'es', except when following an 'e', when it has been expanded as 's'. When single minims are too many or too few by obvious scribal error, the editorially correct version has been supplied in the text and a footnote explains the textual oddity. Otiose flourishes have been ignored. Superlineated letters have been lowered to the line except when used with numerals. A change of scribe has been indicated by raised circles ($^{\circ}\dots^{\circ}$).

Damaged text, Cancellations and Interlineations

Letters or words obliterated, damaged or lost are enclosed between diamond brackets, with an indication by dots of the number of lost letters. Blank spaces in the text are indicated by the word 'blank' in parentheses. Cancellations are placed within square brackets and transcribed if legible. Interlineations are included in their appropriate place in the text and enclosed in upper half brackets, with the caret mark, if used in the original, placed immediately before the first half bracket.

CHRONOLOGICAL RECORDS

1555-56

Chamberlains'¹ Accounts² HRO W/E1/83

mb[3] (External expenses)

...

...Citharedis Domini Regis et Domine Regine hoc anno viij d ...histrionibus Ludentibus in Communi
Aulla Ciuitatis³ in vigilla Epiphanie hoc anno / xvij d /...

...

1556-57

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/85

Mb[3] (External expenses)

...

...Ludentibus cum le poppetes⁴ per mandatum maioris hoc anno ij s...

...

1557-58

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/88

Mb[5d] (External expenses)

...fabro ferrario pro compositionem le bolringe vj d...⁵

...

1560-61

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/90

Mb[4d-5] (External expenses)

...

¹Usually there were two Chamberlains but John Potinger was the sole Chamberlain from 1563-66 and again from 1577-79.

²In these accounts, the routine formulaic phrases 'Allocat.Solut.', or alternatively 'et in Sol.' which precede each entry and 'Et eisdem' or 'et eidem', which link each entry, have been omitted.

³ Communis-e. adj. common, communal or pertaining to a community, in this case a city.(REED) This is the only recorded reference to a venue for visiting players.

⁴This is the only record of visiting puppeteers in Winchester during the period under review.

⁵Alderman Jacob's transcriptions for 1567 include: 'Le Bulringe in the High Strate repayed xiid.' Other listings made by him in his article 'The Drama in Winchester in Tudor Times,' *Hampshire Notes and Queries* 8 (1896) pp.128-131 have been traced and are in Latin, but despite an extensive search in records both in Latin and in English, I have been unable to locate this particular entry. The above reference and the ones in 1591-2 (p.74) are the only records of the bullring which I have found.

...histrionibus Domine Regine hoc Anno per mandatum maioris xvij s iij d...histrionibus Domini Ambrosij
Dudleye¹ hoc anno ix s iij d ...

1562

Ordinance Books HRO W/B1/1

f134r (26 October 1562)

...

The xxvjth of October 1562 The same daye and yere it was agreed by the maior and the more
part of the xxiiij^{ti2} for that Steven Asheton³ did without anye
warning gevin to the maior ticed Bartelmew Lardner to sell bulls
fleshe unbaighted contrary to the forme of proclamacion of the cyte
that he shuld paye for a fyne fyve pence to the use of the chamber

...

1563-64

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/93

Mb[5] (External expenses)

...

... histrionibus domini Ambrosij Dudleye hoc Anno vij s... histrionibus Domini Strange⁴ vijs iij d...lusori
ad le drome pro labore suo precedentj bigas in quibus insanies mulieres vehebantur hoc Anno iij d...

...

post-Christmas 1563-64

Dictates London, BL Add MS 4379

f20v⁵

Quum essem animo offenso propter eos qui multitudinem ad spectacula convocarunt, statueramque ab
eorum corpore quod operam minime invitam navassent abstinendum: coepi iurgijs (Sicut meus est mos)⁶

¹cr. 21st Earl of Warwick 1561 (c.1528-1590). His players continued to use his previous style of Lord Ambrose Dudley until September 1573, when he was made a member of the Privy Council.

²Most decisions were made by the Mayor and his brethren and the more important ones were later ratified by the Mayor and the 24 and recorded in the Ordinance Books.

³One of the City Bailiffs. Mayor in 1573.

⁴Henry Stanley, (1531-1593), succ. as 13th Earl of Derby, 24 Oct 1572.

⁵First dictate of term.

⁶This is a quotation from Horace: Satires 1.ix.1. (SPA)

acrimonia et stomacho plenis vti: inconsultius fortasse presertim apud saucios animos, sed indulci¹ dolori meo Itaque cum sevis meis dictis eos omnes protelassem, eo adegī vt pacandi animi mei causa, de integro partes quas in commedia habebant, non iam in scena sed in vita ipsa factosque immitarentur. Eubulus non minus sanum consilium de suis rebus cepit, quam pridie Pelargo vicino et amico suo dedit. Acolastus iterum solum vertit: qui ne in Pamphagos et Pantalabes incidat vereor. certe Pelargus perinde iam mestus ac dudum a filio credo egre se patitur distrahi

1564

Dictates London, BL Add MS 4379

f27v²

Vestra sub hesterna res est sic luce peracta
tam quod ad insuetam vocem quam rem attinet ipsam
vt nunc, vt posthac possitis ludicra vestra
aprici meminisse senes, tractasse recordor
me puero, quae Greca forent hic actor et ille
pars aliqua ipse fui³ dicetis et haec erit illa
quae nunquam proavos decoravit gloria vestros

1564-65

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22215

f[18v] (Expenses for buildings and repairs) 2nd Quarter

...

Item pro expensis factis circa ludos in ferijs natalicijs vt patet per billam xj s vj d

...

post-Christmas, 1564-65

Dictates London, BL Add MS 4379

f88v⁴

Ex ludis istis scenicis quos publice spectandos nuper exhibuimus, illud opinor praeter alia percepistis commodi quod quid, quo ore, quibus gestibus pronuntiandum sit, non ipsi solum intelligitis, sed alios quoque docere (si opus fuerit) potestis. Debet enim in voce elevatio, depressio, ac flexus quidam esse, in

¹Scribal error for 'indulsi'. (AAY/SPA)

²15th dictate, probably in 5th week of term. Baldwin establishes the day of this performance as Shrove Tuesday in 1564 and the dictate as having been delivered the following Wednesday.

³Possibly a reminiscence of Virgil, *Aeneid* II, 6 'et quorum pars magna fui'. (SPA)

⁴4th dictate of term. Probably the end of week 1.

corpore motus sine iactatione decorus interdum remissior, interdum etiam vehementior, cum pedum supplotione ad rem accommodata. haec ego me docere memini quae et vos satis dextre expressistis omnia superest vt memoria ita teneatis, ne aut ego laborem meum, si quid posthac in re simili experiendum sit, aut vos laboris fructum perdidisse videamini

1565

f89r¹

Terentij ac Plauti interpretes multa de comedarum origine earumque natura afferunt, haud pauca de eo, vt quid sit comoedia intelligatur, disputantes. Alij vitae civilis imitationem, alij morum, qui in senibus, adolescentibus, meretricibus, lenonibus, parasitis, et id genus aliis inveniuntur, representationem esse volunt. ab hijs si mihi liceret dissentire, et veriore opinor et breviorē adferre possem comoediae notationem. Quid enim aliud est comoedia quam negotiosum nihil? inventio difficilis, laboriosa dispositio, molesta partium descriptio, eorum qui agunt, si paulo ineptiores sunt, iracunda institutio. Aulæorum comparatio inexorabilis, sumptuosa Theatri extractio, non sine offensione multorum e portis exclusio et ipsa comoedia nihil. Quid enim tam nihil est quam quod vno horae momento puncto temporis nictu oculi, et incipit esse et desinit.

f95v²

Iphicrates dux, quum vidisset gallos gallinaceos tonsoris Midæ adversus eos qui erant Calliæ pennis ac rostro dimicantes, animum ad rei militaris gloriam adiecit. Idem et Themistocli accidi dicitur. qui quum exercitum adversus Barbaros educeret gallos vidit pugnantes, totumque exercitum cohibens, dixit ad ipsos: An hij neque pro patria, neque pro dijs penatibus, neque pro libertate, aut liberis pugnant, sed tantum ne alter ab altero superetur aut alter alteri cedat: Quibus verbis Atheniensium animos confirmavit et Persas in fugam vertit. Hinc Athenienses legem posuerunt vt galli gallinacei quotannis certamen in theatra³ inirent, quam eandem consuetudinem vobis haud aliter concessam existimate quam vt eius pugnae spectatores minime oscitantes, ex illa incitamentum ad virtutem cum Iphicrate reliquisque Atheniensibus studiose decerpatis.

f100r⁴

Nemo cum legitima coniuge sanctissima matrimonij foedera initurus, prius cum vulgati corporis scorto concreditur. sed ita se castum servat, vt coniugio optato plenius etiam fruatur. haec eo tendunt, vt

¹5th dictate of term: week 2.

²18th dictate, probably in 4th week of term.

³AAY - error for 'theatro'?

⁴27th dictate, probably in 7th week of term.

intelligatis quam turpe sit ieiunia inituris¹, corpus ante nimia ingurgitatione² et crapula contaminare.
 abstinentiae filiam ^ "quam" ego in comedia [ita] introduxi [ut] castitatem qui ambit eidem a gula cuius
 filia est luxuria abstinendum censeo. Idque vt semper alias, ita hodie maxime precavendum est. audite
 Phocylidem μέτρον δέϊ φαγεῖν πινεῖν καὶ μυθολογεῖν; Est modus in verbis, potuque ciboque tenendus.

post-Christmas, 1565-66

f142r³

In die lunge

Comediarum tres partes numerantur prothesis, epitasis, catastrophe. comediae autem eorum qui in vita
 fiunt imitatrices esse dicuntur vt in vita has easdem partes esse nemo sit qui dubitet. tria etiam in morbis
 tempora animadvertas augumentum, statum, declinationem. hoc idem hysce ferijs iamdudum accidit nam
 et principium, et medium, et finem habuerunt vt verum esse intelligatis quod est apud Ciceronem nihil
 diuturnum debere videri quod finem sit habiturum

Esse quid hoc dicam totis quod noctibus errant

continuo ante oculos ludicra nostra meos.

Sed neque me vanis conturbat Mitio formis

nec Nero, Cambyses omnia solus agit.

Ille mihi satrapeque ipsius et vxor, et omnes

siue sacerdotes seu fera monstra fluunt.

Horum ego nunc egre confusos ferre tumultus

nunc ravim videor nunc loca stricta nimis.

Interdum voces imis e partibus aulae

audire actores nec bene stare meos.

Quid sit adhuc dubito placui spectantibus ille⁴

forte die certe displicui ipse mihi.

ff143r-145r⁵

Nero et poppea simul loquuntur

Nero

Effare (nam plus ledit occultus dolor)

cur mesta toties vxor ex animo gemis?

renovasque luctum de fide dubitas mea?

¹Corrected from 'initurus' by crossing out one minim. (AAY)

²Corrected from 'ingurgitatione'. (AAY)

³1st and 2nd post-Christmas dictates.

⁴Scribal error for 'illo'.

⁵6th post-Christmas dictate: no doubt the work of several days, perhaps all or part of two weeks. (AAY)

cuius iugales nupta nunc thalamos tenes
 poppea: Ancilla nuper maximum mundi decus
 Auguste, thalamis digna quod videor tuis
 coniunxque dicor, munus agnosco tuum.
 numquam expetivi, nec meum votum fuit.
 adeo superbum: testor Hymineos sacros
 et te colendum numen inprimis mihi.
 quanquam quid istud contulit munus tamen
 vxor Neronis particeps tanti imperi
 si maneo qualis ante Chrispino¹ fui
 humilis marito, spreta contempta omnibus |
 metuens ruine, quod nec occulte ferunt
 scelerum ministri, qui meo capiti graues
 minantur, et te iam viro insultant tamen.
 Nero: Hoc in Neronis coniugem quisquam facit?
 poppea: negor esse coniunx, pellicem et scortum vocat
 Nero quae more sancto iuncta fers partem mei?
 poppea: pars ista non dum nata tamen audit male
 Nero negant meam esse? poppea: non negant, sed me tuam?
 Nero audere quenquam facinus hoc tantum rear?
 poppea: ausos fuisse versa simulachra edocent.²
 Nero reposita sunt haec? plebs dedit poenas tibi.
 poppea: magis ad nocendum instructa, si inveniatur ducem.
 Nero dux esse discat alius ex Plauti³ nece.
 poppea: multos in vna foemina plautos habet.
 Nero quae tanti potens est mulier, vt tantum audeat?
 poppea: que patre titulos Claudio tantos gerit.
 Nero que sterelis⁴ et despecta concessit tibi?
 poppea: que vivit et adhuc spiritus magnos alit.
 Nero Exilia frangent: poppea: si quidem vere Nero
 tota exularet, nunc clientelas habet
 in vrbe nostra, servitia patris sui,

¹Rufrius Crispinus, pretorian prefect under Claudius and Poppaea's first husband. (AAY)

²According to Tacitus, Octavia, Nero's first wife, was so popular that, when a rumour circulated that Nero was going to bring her back from exile as his wife, the city mob tore down Poppaea's statues. (AAY)

³Rubellius Plautus, a cousin of Nero who was descended in the same degree from Augustus, whom he had put to death on a charge of treason, etc. (AAY)

⁴Scribal error for 'sterilis'.

veteres amicos quodque nunc demum patet |

Adulteros: fatetur Encerus stuprum

turpis Canopi verna, qui sistro¹ potens,

et arte, thalamis struxit insidias tuis.

Hij se quieti semper adversos gerunt,

agitantque plebem vocis ambiguae sono,

armati vt iterum Claudiae stirpem domus

patrijs reponant lauribus, ac reddunt viro.

quae gravida, magnis imperi spebus tumet.

Nero

vterumne portat? socia quae nostri thori

nil peperit, aut concepit hijs annis decem?

poppea:

sic fama vulgi dubia: neque mirum id mihi

peperisset antehac, casta si thalamo tuo

vacasset vni, nunc veneris vsus vagae

petulansque in omnes perdit luxur calor

partus abegit: quicquid hinc vicij fuit

libido fecit. ipsa (si dubitas Nero)

res ipsa monstrat: concipit, postquam videt

sine prole quod sit, crimen obiectum sibi.

Si quaeris vnde? proh sacri leges thori:

hinc servus, inde nauta de partis loco

certant vicissim: quodque perpetuum est probum |

Suum esse vult Encerus, Anicetus suum,

armata quem mox matris arbitrio manus

degenerem alunnum, pignore eiecto tuo,

ac sobole vera, (quis feret tantum scelus?)

in Caesarum vocabit Augustam domum,

eidemque habendos imperij frenos dabit.

Nero

compesce lachrimas vxor, et iustus dolor

tuus est, et ira debilis semper mea.

sed corrigetur: illa sic nempe auferet?

cuius nephando nostra concubitu domus

polluitur omnis? que suos spurios mihi

supponit? et meditatur imperium notho?

nunc video, foedam nata denetricem sapit

matrisque magno didicit ^ "exemplo" vetus

¹Sistrum: a musical instrument consisting of a thin oval metal frame furnished with transverse metal rods loosely fixed in it and a handle by which it was shaken. (OED)

renovare stuprum: Silio¹ nupsit parens,
 hec in Aniceti mutuū amplexū ruit.
 Vtriusque par est facinus et pœna pari
 Bene vindicandum: Claudio patri Nero
 in vltione cedit? aut matri suæ
 qui non pepercit, parcat inceste exule
 vsque adeo post tot nobiles iuvenes, senes,
 fratrem, parentem, traditos varie neci
 saevire iam desistet oblitus sui et |
 morum suorum. sentiet nostras manus.
 nec imperator insulas solas habet
 habet et secures, carcares, vncos, cruces.
 Hec concitatrix plebis in nostrum caput
 adultera, exul <a>, sterilis, etiamnum meos
 pascet timores? ite iam primum impero,
 et expedite principem vestrum metu.
 ea quam diu spirabit atque auram trahet
 non acquiescet populvs, extinctam volunt.

Nuntius:

humana quisquis „laudat“ ac rebus potens
 gaudet superbis, Claudiae extremam domus
 sobolem, et ruinam videat. haud vnquam tulit
 documenta sors maiora. nero: quid rerum gerit
 prefectus, an mandata transegit mea?

Nuntius:

transegit. Nero: illa viuit? an morti occubat?

Nuntius:

viuit. sed ipsam morte quæ vitam libens
 mutare cupiat, vnicum votum est mori,
 maiora iam tormenta si exquiris, places.

1566-67

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/94

Mb[5] (External expenses)

...

...Henrico Williams clerico mercati Domine Regine per mandatū maioris hoc Anno vj s viij

d...Histrionibus Domine Regine per mandatū maioris hoc Anno xx s...²

...

¹Silius was a lover of Octavia's mother, Messalina, with whom she underwent a form of marriage while Claudius was elsewhere. (AAY)

²See an almost identical pair of entries in 1570-71. From the Membrane number the payments would also seem to have been made at the same time of the year. Did the Queen's players travel with her Clerk of the Market?

1567-68

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/95

Mb[4d] (External expenses)

...Histrionibus Comit¹ worciter¹ per mandatum maioris hoc Anno v s x d²...

...

1568-69

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22215

f[178r] (Payments and Gifts) 4th quarter

...

Item in regardis datis Mimis domine Regine ad preceptum Domini Custodis v s

...

1569-70

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22215

f[214r] (Payments and Gifts) 1st quarter

...

In primis in regardis datis tibicinis domine Regine cum vino ad mandatum vicecustodis vij s iiij d

...

1570-71

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/97

Mb[5] (External expenses)

...

...clerico mercati hospitij Domine Regine per mandatum maioris hoc Anno x s ...histrionibus Domine Regine per mandatum maioris hoc Anno xx s...

...

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22215

f[252r] (Payments and Gifts) 4th quarter

...

Item in regardis datis lusoribus domine Regine vj s viij d

...

¹William Somerset (c.1527-1589), succ. as 8th Earl of Worcester, 1549.

²This entry comes immediately after the usual annual entry about St John's Supper, but there is no indication of any connection.

1573-74

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/100

Mb[5-5d] (External expenses)

...

...histrionibus Domini vocati le lorde Chamberlayne¹ ad duas vices hoc Anno xxvj s viij d /...custod' vrsin² Domine Regine per mandatum maioris hoc Anno v s...Simoni Goodman conducto ad ludendum super le dromme³ hoc Anno xvj d... | ...tribus Seruientibus ad [Cha] Clavam Ciuitatis ad emendandum aliquas vestes pro corporibus eorum in adventu Domine Regine⁴ hoc Anno xxx s...Adamo Marble pro pitacione et deauracione de les Armes apud portam occidentalem in adventu Domine Regine per mandatum maioris hoc Anno v li...pro dealbacione et pictacione aliarum partum porti⁵ predicte in adventu Dicte Domine Regine hoc Anno xliiij s iiiij d ob,... diuersis laboratoribus conductis die Sabboti pro emendacione vie regie apud ffawconers corner⁶ in adventu Domine Regine ad ecclesiam per eandem viam hoc Anno ij s vj d... clerico mercati in adventu Domine Regine hoc Anno xx s...valectis obbarum Domine Regine hoc Anno vj s viij d... tubicinarijs Domine Regine hoc Anno xx s...peditibus Domine Regine hoc Anno xxx s... marescallo Domine Regine hoc Anno x s...culinarijs Domine Regine hoc Anno iij s iiiij d...Servienti ad arma Domine Regine hoc Anno xiiij s iiiij d...portatori gladij Domine Regine vj s viij d ...Ianitoribus Domine Regine hoc Anno vj s viij d... plaustrarijs Domine Regine hoc Anno vj s viij d... supervisoribus viarum Domine Regine hoc Anno vj s viij d...haroldis Domine Regine nichil hoc Anno quia xx s Soluti sunt tantum in prius adventu Domine Regine et hic nichil allocatum quia in secundo adventu Domine Regine...⁷ pro homine conducto cum duobus equis ad equitandum vsque Civitate Sarum pro vna toga de Scarlet mutuo accepta ibidem in adventu Domine Regine et pro redeliberacione euisdem hoc Anno iiiij s...⁸

...

¹Henry Radcliffe (c.1532-1593), 9th Earl of Sussex, son in law of the 3rd Earl of Southampton, was Lord Chamberlain at this time, but he was ill and from 24 April 1574 Lord Charles Howard was acting Lord Chamberlain.

²I have not attempted to expand the abbreviations here. It is not possible to say whether this is a reference to one or more bearwards. More than one was possible. See entry at 1581-82.

³Although this payment may have been made on the occasion of a muster, there is no surrounding context to indicate this. See also similar entries in 1578-79, 1580-81 and 1588-89.

⁴The Queen was in Winchester for 3 nights from 10th to 13th September, 1574, according to Walsingham's journal. Her Council sat at Winchester on Sunday, 12th. There is no record as to where she stayed.

⁵Should read 'porte'.

⁶Falconer's Corner was between St Swithun Street and Symonds Street (then called Minster Street) against the Close Wall. The Queen must therefore have been visiting the Cathedral, not one of the city churches.

⁷Evidence here of two visits by the Queen in this accounting year. It is not possible to establish the dates of one of them but we know from Walsingham's journal that the other was in September, 1574.

⁸Tertiary entries (see p.8) include mending of the highways, the buttes (twice) and Eastgate, and painting of the High Cross.

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22216

f[43v] (Hall Expenses) 2nd quarter

...

Item pro diversis expensis circa scaffoldam erigendam et deponendam et pro domunculis de novo compositis cum cariagio et recariagio ly ioystes et aliorum mutuatorum ad eandem scaffoldam cum vij ly linckes et j^a duodena candelarum pro lumine expensis 3^{bus} noctibus in ludis comediarum et tragediarum
xxv s 8 d

3rd Quarter

Item Rogero darneley pro vij ly linckes deliberatis pueris¹ Magistri Informatoris² pro ludis iij s

4th Quarter

Item Rogero Lyme pro j^o fune ad appendendam navim in aula xij d

Item Johanni Chappingeton³ pro labore suo in removendis organis e templo in aulam et preparandis eisdem erga ludos v s

...

1574-75

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22216

f[78r] (Hall Expenses) 3rd Quarter

...

Item cuidam incarcerato pro reparacione navis pendentis in aula vz pro coloribus et alijs ad reparacionem eiusdem necessarijs 4s et pro labore suo 3s 4d in toto vij s iiij d

...

1577

Ordinance Books HRO W/B1/1

f193v (9 September)

°Expired^{o4} The same daye & yere yt was Agreed by Mr. William Hall mayor & the more parte of his bretherne⁵ with thassent & consent of all the butchers of the Cytie there present viz William Lane James Vibert Richarde Harvey William Broxtone John Vallower William

¹In the College, the word 'children' was used to denote the scholars as opposed to the commoners and quiristers.

²Thomas Bilson, a native of Winchester, schoolmaster from 1571-82, then the first married Warden until 1596, when he became Bishop of Winchester.

³A member of a family of organ builders from South Molton, Devon, died in Winchester 1606.

⁴In a different, but contemporary hand. Ordinances were updated or cancelled from time to time.

⁵The brethren were ex-mayors and were called upon to assist the Mayor in day-to-day decision making. The Recorder was also included after the 1587 Royal Charter.

Chapman William Goodale Bartholemew Lardener John Abbot Edmonde Bodham
 Richarde Kente Edwarde Gardener that William Broxtone and Richarde Kent & the
 survivor of them shall yerelie fynde and provide for one sufficient ffightinge bull to be
 bayted such dayse the first boromote daye¹ at such tyme & place on that day within
 the Cytie aforesaied as shalbe from tyme to tyme appointed by the mayor for the tyme
 beinge & so lykewise euery other day that week in which the mayor doth kepe any
 ffeaste and also that the sayed William Broxtone & Richarde Kent & the Survivor of
 them doo fynde a like bull to be bayted as Aforesayed the Sunday in which [the] the
 bayliffes doo ryde the liberties of the Cytie and that they be bounde in fyve poundes so
 to doo and that they & the Survivor of them have of every butcher of the Cytie
 Aforesayed towards the findinge of the bull Aforesayed vj d and that every of the sayed
 butchers doo pay yerelie the sayed vj d the borowmote daye to the sayed William
 Broxtone & Richarde Kent or the Survivor of them upon payne [f] to forfayte euery
 of them iij s iij d thene half to the [butcher] sayed William Broxtone & thother to the
 pore people of the Cytie the same to be lyvied by Dystresse by the Discrecion of the
 mayor of the said Cytie for the tyme beinge

1578-79

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/101

Mb[5] (External expenses)

...

...tribus purswants² pro portatione proclamacionem pro lana pro bombardis ac contra librum proiectum iij
 s...tubicinario flauti ad ultimam proclamacionem contra librum proiectum³ vj d...Simoni Goodman pro
 feodo suis⁴ ludendo super le dromme hoc Anno xvj d...

...

1579-80

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22216

f[264v] (Hall Expenses) 4th Quarter

Imprimis pro fune pro nave pendente in aula xvij d

(Payments and Gifts) 2nd quarter

¹Boroughmotes were held half-yearly, usually between Michaelmas and Christmas and Easter and Pentecost.

²The mark of suspension here has been expanded as if a modern French (or English) word, according to REED's guidelines.

³Although the context gives no clue, this must refer to Proclamation 642 dated 27th September 1579 concerning John Stubbs' book The Discoverie of a Gaping Gvlf whereinto England is like to be Swallowed by another French mariage which was pronounced seditious and ordered to be destroyed wherever found.

⁴Scribal error for 'suo'.

f[272r]

...

Item in regardis 3^{bus} tibicinibus servis comitis¹ leicestriensis² ex consensu domini custodis et sociorum

[iiij s] v s

...

1580-81

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/102

Mb[5d-4d] (External expenses)

...

...Histrionibus Comitis Darbie per mandatum maioris viz. Magistri Edwardi White hoc Anno viij s iiij

d... | ...Simoni Goodman pro feodo suo ludendo super le dromme pro dicto Anno viij d ...

...

1580/1³

Probate Inventory of Thomas Stempe⁴ HRO 1581B107/1-2

1580

...

j pair virginalls xxvjs viijd

...

1581-82

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/103

Mb[5] (External expenses)

...

...in Regardis datis Custodibus ursorum domine Regine per mandatum Maioris et de Consensu quorundum

De fratrum suorum x s...in Regardis datis Histrionibus Domini Comitis Leicestrie per mandatum Maioris

hoc anno x s...Histrionibus Comitis Darbie per mandatum Maioris hoc Anno xvj s...

...

¹The reading here is very difficult. A possible rendering could be 'cunitis', if there were such a word.

²Robert Dudley, (24 June 1532 or 1533-4 Sep 1588), cr.14th Earl of Leicester 29 Sep 1564.

³Stempe's will is dated 5 Feb 1580 and the probate is dated 20 April 1581. The inventory is dated 1580, but he died on 9 Feb 1581 according to Kirby, on p. 280 of Annals of Winchester College, referring to his obit in College cloisters (no longer there).

⁴Warden of Winchester College from 1556 until his death.

1582-3

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22216

f[373r] (Hall Expenses) 4th Quarter

...

In primis pro expensis in extruenda scena in aula ad agendas comedias iij li iij s x d

...

1585

Diocesan Letter SRO, Guildford Muniment Room, Loseley MS Cor 3/377

Mb[1] (13 May 1585)

°.b. Wynchester. may games etc. °

To all ministers, Constables Churchwardens and other like officers, and to the discretest persons of Townes & Parishes and to all and every of them within the dioces of Winton

Mb[1d]

Wheras a heathenish and vngodly custome hath bene vsed before time in many partes of this land aboute this season of the yeare to have Church Ales, maygames, morish daunces, and other vaine pastimes vpon the Sabath Dayes, and other dayes appointed for common prayer, which they have pretended to be for the relief of their Churches, but indeede hath bene only a meanes to feed the mindes of the people, and specially of the youth with vaine sightes, alluring them from Divine service, and hearing of the woord of God, and inducing them to the prophaning of the Sabath, to the provoking of Gods heavy wrath and Indignation against vs, when as no time hath bene so lewdly and vngodly spent as that hath bene, on which principally we ought to have served God reverently, and given thankes for his benefites which from time to time he hath bestowed vpon vs: I cannot therefore but be hartily sory to heare and vnderstand, that after so long preaching of the Gospell, the people in many places of this dioces, continue in the delight of those vaine and vngodly pastimes, on those dayes that are dedicated to the service of God, and pretend as before time the reliefe of their Churches. Which is a straunge perswasion among Christians, that they can not by any other meane of contribution repaire their Churches, and set forth the service of God, but that they must first Do sacrifice to the Devill, with Dronkennes and dauncing, and other vngodly wantonnes. These are therfore to charge all Ministers Churchwardens, and other like Officers, together with the discretest of the parishes, that as they tender the true Service of God, and will avoide such penalties as may comme vnto them by lawe, that they suffer not any such Church Ales, morish daunces, or Riflinges,¹ within their parishes. And if any persons shall shew them selves so obstinate that they will not obey this order: I require the saide Ministers, Bayliffes, Churchwardens, and other, with Speede to desire the aide of somme of her majestes next Iustices of peace to repress them, and to putt them in bandes to appeare before me, or before the Iustices of peace, at the next Sessions for the peace, there to receive further order, for their disobedience vsed. Which assistance I Doubt not, but the worshipfullest of them selves, will be ready to yelde vnto you, without any further request by me made. And hereof faile

¹Gambling

you not as you will answer to the contrary at your perilles. / This xiiijth of Maye 1585:

Thom. Winton.¹ (signed)

1588-89

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/106

Mb[4d-3d] (External expenses)

...

...Histrionibus regijs datis eis in regardis per mandatum Maioris decimo die martij hoc Anno xx
s...servienti Johannis Chapington Ludenti super le fife vt de pecunia eidem aretro hoc Anno xij
d... | ...Histrionibus regijs in regardis in mense Septembris hoc Anno per mandatum maioris xx s...

...

1589-90

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/107

Mb[4d] (External expenses)

...

...Datis in regardis Histrionibus Domini Admiralis Anglie² / per mandatum maioris hoc Anno x s...Datis
in regardis histrionibus Domine Regine hoc anno xx s...

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22217

f[203v] (Expenses for buildings and repairs) 2nd Quarter

...

Item pro j M 2 C clavorum pro teatro vj s

Item 2^{bus} serrantibus meremium pro eodem iiij d

Item Hancock et Payne carpentarijs ex consensu Domini Custodis³ pro conficiendo eodem xij s vj d

Item Johanni George et filio operantibus per vnum [diem ibidem]⁴ xij d

...

¹Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester, 1583-1594.

²Charles Howard of Effingham (1536-1634) 2nd Baron. Lord High Admiral 1585. Commanded English fleet which defeated Spanish Armada (1588). Created 1st Earl of Nottingham, 1596 after leading an expedition to destroy shipping in Cadiz. His players known successively as Howard's, the Admiral's and Nottingham's. He was also acting Lord Chamberlain during the illness of the Earl of Sussex, from April 1574 to 1583.

³The 'C' of Custodis has been written over another, indecipherable, letter.

⁴It is possible that the scribe only intended to cross out the last word, in which case this entry may not be connected to the three above it.

1590-91

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/108

Mb[5d-4d] (External expenses)

...

...datis in regardis diuersis honorabilibus et generosis viris ad Communem Cursum vocatum the Rase viz pro duobus pixidibus de les preserved Quinces hoc anno xiiij s iij d...datis eisdem honorabilibus et generosis viris vnum le Sugar loffe ponderant xij li et dimidium per mandatum maioris hoc anno xiiij s vij d...pro duobus les gallons vini clarett datis eisdem honorabilibus et generosis viris per mandatum maioris hoc anno v s iij d...datis in regardis histrionibus domini magni Admiralis anglie per mandatum maioris hoc anno xx s...Histrionibus Domine Regine Datis eis in regardis in mense februarij hoc anno xx s... | ...Datis in regardis Histrionibus Regijs in mense Iunij hoc anno xx s...Datis in regardis seruienti Domine Regine Vocatur the Queenes Brewer in mense Iulij hoc anno v s... Datis in regardis Clerico Mercatij hospicij Dicte Domine Regine xx s...Datis in regardis Trumpentarijs Dicte Domine Regine et Seruient¹ de le Knight Marshall² hoc anno xx s...Trumpentarijs dicte Domine Regine Datis eis in regardis hoc anno xx s...Datj Nicholo Markes euntj Londin' pro quadam poculo avreo vocat³ silver parcell guilte Datj Dicte Domine Regine hoc anno existentj apud Waltham Episcopi hoc anno x s⁴...pro vna mensa emptj pro impressione precij pro Clericum⁵ mercatij Hospicij Dicte Domine Regine super victualibus importatis hoc Anno iij d...pro sex les Torches emptis in adventu Domine Regine vsque Civitatem hoc anno vj s...Datis in regardis harbenger⁶ Dicte Domine Regine hoc anno xxvj s viij d...Nicho Markes euntj bis ad villam Southampton pro emendacione magni le mase Civitatis hoc anno iij s iij d... Avriferar⁷ pro le guiltinge eiusdem le mase x s...pro novis duploidis et brachijs emptis pro servientibus ad Clavam et Budellis Civitatis in adventu dicte Domine Regine hoc anno liij s iij d...magistro Paice vt in regardis per eum Datis Diuersis officarijs sellar' Dicte Domine Regine Dum eadem Domina Regina fuit apud Waltham Episcopi hoc anno x s...magistro Willelmo Badger vt de pecunijs per ipsum Datis in regardis Diuersis officarijs dicte domine Regine apud Waltham Episcopi hoc anno v s ...pro vno potello vini vocato secke et ^vno^ potello vini Clarett Datis ad les Seriantes Dicte Domine Regine hoc anno iij s... Musicionibus Domini Lawarre⁸ Datis eis in regardis hoc anno iij s iij

¹I am unable to expand this abbreviation - could be singular or plural.

²Deputy to Earl Marshal. He exercised a jurisdiction over breaches of the peace for 12 leagues around the Court (The verge). The mark of suspension here is not capable of expansion. The scribe may have been thinking of Latin while writing in English.

³'Poculo' being neuter and 'quadam' being feminine, it is impossible to expand this.

⁴There are records here of payments for mending the town pump, and to Thomas Vanderplank for taking letters to the Court at Titchfield.

⁵This should read 'clerico'.

⁶Harbingers arranged housing and provisioning for the Court during a progress.

⁷This scribe's consciousness of Latin names for occupations seems unreliable as a basis for expansion. See also "sellar'", below.

⁸William West, 10th Baron LaWarre (before 1520-1595). Lord of the Manor of Longparish.

d...

...

1591

Coffer Accounts¹ HRO W/E6/1

f[12v] (30 August)

...

the cup	The same day & yere was taken out of the coffers by
wayeth	thassent of Mr Maior & the more parte of his
xxxv oz	bretherne xij li vj s viij d to pay for a cupp of Silver
<u>quarter</u>	& gilt <u>wh</u> ich was bought to <u>pre</u> sent to her <u>maiestie</u> yf
	she had come to the Citie xij li vj s viij d ²

...

Proceedings Book A HRO W/B2/2

f10v (30th August)

The same day & yere yt was agreed that xij li vj s viij d shoulde be taken out of the coffers to pay for a cupp of silver and gilte bought for a present at the Quenes commynge to Winton & also that xx s shoulde be given by the chamberlens to the clerke of the market her maiestie being within the bvrge

f11r (31st August)

The same day & yere it is agreed that the chamberlains of the citie shall paie & geve unto her [hig] maiesties trumpeters for their reward xx s, And also that the Chamberlains of the Citie shall likewise paie Tenne shillinges vnto her maiesties marshall, [T <..>] and [vnto] tenne shillinges unto a trumpeter attendinge the Clerke of the Market of her highnes howsholde /

...³

And also that the Chamberlaines of the Citie shall likewise paie and geve [vnto] five shillinges in rewards to the purveior and master of her maiesties buttrie.

¹The following entries for this year are a good example of the fiscal processes in the City. The Mayor and his brethren made decisions about payments for the cup to be presented to the Queen, which were recorded in the Proceedings Book and the payments themselves were recorded in the Coffer Account Book. Most other authorised payments, for instance to the Royal Household, are recorded in the Chamberlains' Account rolls. For the latter, see pp.64, 71.

²This entry is in the same hand as the following record of the same date in Proceedings Book A. All other entries in both books are in a single, different hand. See Introduction, p.30, Royal Visits, concerning the wording and positioning of this record.

³A payment was made here for the mending of the 'town plumpe'.

<p>this is agreed to be made upp xx li as apareth in the leafes followinge</p>	<p>The same day and yere it is agreed that the <u>somme</u> of Tenne poundes shallbe taken owte of the Coffers of the Citie and converted into goolde & presented in A Silver Cuppe vnto her maiestie, if it be not otherwise determined before her maiesties <u>commynge</u>.</p>
--	--

And also that all such fees as have byn hertofore geven vnto the officers of her maiesties howsholde in the time of her highnes progase, shall likewise be paid by the Chamberlaines. And that all other meete¹ thinges & rewardes shallbe paid and disbursed by the discesion of mr maior not exseedinge the somme of Twentie or fortie shillings above that which hath byn hertofore accustomed
And likewise the somme of [fortie shillinges], [^] [liij s iijij d] shallbe geven vnto the three Seriantes [^] & bedell[^] towards the provision of there apparrell against her maiesties Commynge to ye Citie

f11v (31 August)

The same daie & yere it is agreed that the chamberlaines of the Citie shall geve & paie vnto Nicholas Markes the somme of tenne Shillings for & towards his labor & Chardges in his travaile to London' in providinge of A guilte Cuppe [for being] to be presented to her maiestie, & other buisnes of the Citie /
...

Coffer Accounts HRO W/E6/1

f[66v] (5 September)

<p>the gifte to her maiestie</p>	<p>The same daie & yere the <u>somme</u> of Tenne poundes were taken owte of the Coffers to be presented in [A] the Cuppe provided for her maiestie at her repaire to the Citie accordinge to an order therfore agreed in the booke of remem^{br}braunce² xli³</p>
--------------------------------------	---

The same daie & yere the somme of xij li vj s viij d were taken owte of ye Coffers to paie for the Cuppe of silver & guilte bowght to be geven & presented to her maiestie at her commynge to the Citie accordinge to an order agreed uppon in the book of remem^{br}braunce

xij li vj s viij d

(7 September)

¹There is a minim missing here. MS reads 'neete'.

²This refers to the entry on f10v of Proceedings Book A, dated 30th August 1591. For a discussion of the correct title of these books, see Introduction, p.47.

³The page distance between this entry and the one on f[12v] of the Coffer Accounts is explained in the Introduction on p.45 concerning the theft of the Coffer Account Books.

...

1593

Proceedings Book A HRO W/B2/2

f 22r (7 December)

...

The same daie & yere it is agreed that tenne shillings shallbe geven by the Chamberlaines of the Citie to the plaiers of the Right Honorable the Erle of Sussex & five shillings to the plaiers of A noble man in the parts of the North

...

Proceedings Book B HRO W/B2/3

f5r (21 December¹)

...

Whereas Divers persons wjthin the Citie Contrarie to expresse Commandement & publique notice to them geven for the restraunte of bulbaitinge and other such like exercises beinge meanes in this Danger of Infection to drawe concorse & assemblie of people, have nevertheles in open and manifest contempte of the premisses assembled themselves & a grete number of people < . > in the places adioyninge to the Citie & have there havnted bulbaitinge & such like unlawfull exercises, It is therefore ordred that the saide parsons present at the saide bulbaitinge for their contemp^te in this behalf to the Danger of the Inhabitantes of the Citie and evill example of others shallbe Committed to the prison of the Citie, and before their enlargement shallbe bounde wjth suerties for their good behavior & their aparance at the next quarter Sessions² then to answer the premisses

...

1594

Proceedings Book A HRO W/B2/2

f25v (27 May)

The same daie & yere it is agreed that there shallbe geven in rewards owte of the Chamber of the Citie unto the plaiers of the Countesse of Derby³ six shillings and eighte pence

...

¹Date found on f4v.

²It is not possible to follow this up, since there are no extant Quarter Sessions records in HRO from 1590 to 1617.

³Widow of Ferdinando Stanley (c.1559-16 Apr 1594), 14th Earl of Derby.

1595

Proceedings Book A HRO W/B2/2

f33r (3 April)

The same daie & yere it is agreed that the Chamberlaines of the Citie shall paie and geve in rewards unto her maiesties plaiers Twentie shillinges

...

1594-95

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/110

Mb[4] (External expenses)

...

...datis histrionibus regijs per mandatum maioris et fratrum suorum in regardis hoc Anno xx s...

1596-97

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/111

Mb[4d] (External expenses)

...histrionibus domine Regine hoc Anno xx s...

...

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22217

f[394r] (Expenses for buildings and repairs) 4th Quarter

...

Item pro 13 lychnis pro teatro iij s

...

Item pro 11 C 50 pedibus asserum pro teatro precio 1 C vj s 8d iij li xvj s viij d¹

...

1598

Alderman Jacob's Scrapbooks HRO W/K5/8

f8r (23 February)

23 ffebruary 1598 Thexamination of Robert ffurn <....> of Tichfeld² Teyler

He also professeth to be a Musician, vpon a harpe / & saith that on friday last he came to

Bisshopswaltham & lodged at the howse of Nichol^{as} Dyer / and accompanied Thomas Monday there & he

¹There is a pointing hand in the left hand margin of this entry, possibly in pencil.

²Titchfield, in modern spelling.

is skillfull vpon a base violl & William Noble of Portsmoth mett them there who plaieth vpon the violett¹ / And there they continued from friday last ontill Wenisday last / & then came to the Soke² in Winchester & there lodged / & had no other errand thither but to use there minstrelsy / & to make merry / & to gett somewhat if they could / But saith that they played not in Winchester with there instrumentes only at there lodging the morning they tuned there Instrumentes & soe they brought them vp into the City intending to play amongst there friendes but did not play as he seith for he seith he was apprehended before / This deponent hath byin [was] acquainted with Thomas Monday these xx yeres past / & with Noble he hath byn acquainted about one Moneth past /

The examination of Thomas Monday³ of Bisshopswaltham shomaker/

He saith he hath skill to play on a base vvall & cam in company with Robert ffurnesse & William Noble to Winchester on Wednesday night last / & lodged at William Warrens in the Soke but saith they played not on there Instrumentes either in the Soke or in the Towne / They came this tyme to see there friendes & to gett somewhat if they cold / |

The examination of William Noble sayler/

He also sayth that he is a Musician / & came lately from sea, & fell acquainted with Dionise Tucker of Stockbridge whom he entendeth to take to his wife / & is purposed to goe to sea againe as sone as the Rose Lion can be made redy / He came on Wednisday night last to Winchester in the company of ffurnesse / & Monday / who also are Musicians / & they brought there Instrumentes with them / intending to gett some mony here by there minstrelsy to help bere there charges / But this deponent saith that they did not vse or excercise there Instrumentes in this City / in any place / because they were apprehended before by the Officers⁴ / He pretendeth that he was at Sea when the statute⁵ in this behalf was made / and being now aduertized thereof he protesteth that henceforth he will not offend against the same⁶

¹A member of the viol family but more akin to the violin. (Scholes)

²An area outside the walls of the City, to the South and East and under the jurisdiction of the Bishop.

³ See entries dated 1606 and 1609, pages 86, 87, for the baptism of two children of a Thomas Monday, minstrel, in St Maurice's Church, Winchester. Monday was a fairly common name in Winchester and so no certain connection can be made between these entries.

⁴Possibly the Constables.

⁵Probably the Vagrancy Act of 1597, which reiterated the prohibitions against 'common players in interludes, and minstrels' (including harpers, pipers and fiddlers) made in the Statute of 1572. There seems to be no local statute.

⁶This case could have been heard in the Pie Powder Court, but there is insufficient information in this MS to be sure.

Endorsement on the back:

The examination of

Robert ffurnesse

Thomas Monday Minstrells

William Noble

Taken in Winchester & committed

to Westgate¹ by Mr John White one of

the Justices of the City where they

remayned 2 dayes & then enlarged

by the Maior & the said John

White: 24 febrj 1598

1598-99

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/112

Mb[5d] (External expenses)

...histrionibus Domine Regine Tercio Martij hoc Anno xx s...Thome Bedam² pro quadam Cena data
servientibus Domine Regine qui nunciauerent Maiori adventum Domine Regine ad hanc Civitatem hoc
Anno ix s vij d...³

1599-1600

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/113

Mb[5] (External expenses)

...

...Histrionibus Domine Regine per mandatum Maioris hoc Anno xx s...

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vagol 22218

f[8v] (Payments and Gifts) 2nd Quarter

...

Item buccinatoribus Dominæ Reginæ et Conciliariorum xv s

...

¹Used as a prison until at least 1742.

²Thomas Bedham, one of the Chamberlains.

³I have found no evidence that this visit took place.

1600-1

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/114¹

Mb[4d] (External expenses)

...Trompentarijs Domine Regine per mandatum Maioris Ciuitatis hoc Anno xx s...

...

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22218

f[38r] (Payments and Gifts) 4th Quarter

...

Item in regardis buccinatoribus Domine Reginæ x s

...

1601²

Will of Walter Cheynie HRO 1601B15/1

...Item I geve to William Wiggthorppe my Sisters sonne v li of lawefull monie and my virginalls and bookes,...

Probate Inventory of Walter Cheynie³ HRO 1601B15/2

21 October 1601

...

Item one paire of virginialls vj s viij d

...

Item a paire of clavicordes xx d

...

1602

Coffer Accounts HRO W/E6/1

f[17r] (12 August)

x s therof was	The same day and yere was taken out of the coffers
taken out of	xxxj s iiij d viz. xxj s iiij d to paye the first payment
the money paid by	of the the second subsidie & thother x s for a supper
Benstede	geven to the Queenes men ⁴ xxxj s iiij d

...

¹Torn at bottom of Mb[4]/top of Mb[4d].Heading, (External Expenses) in left hand margin of Mb[4] and part of first 6 lines of text at top left of dorse missing.

²Date of probate is 28 November 1601. Will is dated 25 March 1598.

³Singingman of Winchester Cathedral.

⁴It is possible that these men were players but there is no supporting evidence.

1603¹

A Recorder's Speech British Library Harl. MS 852

f5r-5v

Mr John Moore his speeche before King James at his Comeing to Winchester

If my tongue the naturall messenger of the heart and mynde, could soe lively expresse, (Most highe & mighty Prince & our most deere & Dreade soveraigne) the exeeding ioy & gladnes, of this your highnes Auntient City of Winchester, as they are sencibly conceived within vs all, Then needed I not, though the meanest of your Majesties Subjects feare to vndergoe the office of my place, and be the mouth of this politike body, A bodie Consisting of many bodies, & yet relynge onely vpon one body < . > your sacred person, by whose happy entrance into this famous Iland decreed & ordeyned by the God of heaven we finde & acknowledge ourselves, possessours of our present felicity And by whose continuance as over vs soe amongst vs, wee still hope to participate both celestially blessings and all earthly benefitts, the devyne Graces we enjoy vnder the plenty of your gracious Maiestie be innumerable, and consequently ineffable, especially by prophane and unhallowed lipps. And belong properly to our Levi² who by his Vrim & Thumim³ can best relate them, by his silver sounding Bells proclayme them, And thereby incite vs to honour Iacob for them, & Iacobs God for him The earthly benefitts as I finde them in our seuerall & particuler possession; for I Challenge them as most peculier to my profession & subiect to my treaty. And yet the variety & multiplicity of them is soe manifold, & present themselves in their sundry formes to my Contemplation, by such equall & well matched worthines That I thinke it harde & difficult for a learned Heralde to rancke them. Peace would be first because it is generall & stilleth our borders, Plentiousnes well deserveth it because it is vnto vs very familiar & feedeth within the walles, Peace because there is no complayninge in the streetes, no leadinge vnto Captivity Plenteousnes because our Baskett & our store is full and leane palefaced penury is bannished out of our Coast, Peace because our swordes & speares are, or may be turned into Sithes & Mathookes, Plentiousnes because his bread doth strengthen our hartes & his oyle maketh vs a Cheerefull countenance, Peace would be preferred because Mars doth not annoy vs, But plentiousnes must be honoured because Ceres and Bachus doe suply vs, But if the comparison, or rather emulation, were onely betweene Peace and plenty which we possesse & enjoy vnder your sacred Maiestie, the Controversy were the sooner ended, But Iustice which floweth from your highnes, which we all find in our particulers claymeth the first place, without the which peace could never be obtayned nor plenty continued, Iustice the last that forsooke the earth & the first, which came from heaven, Iustice the life of lawes, the vitall spiritt of Comon wealthes the onely safeguard of Princes the honour of the Nobilitie & the maynteynance of the Cominalty, Iustice whose Scepter your

¹This document is undated, but we have it on the authority of John Trussell, an eyewitness, in *Touchstone of Tradition*, that this speech was delivered on the occasion of James's first visit to Winchester on 20 September 1603.

²The Bishop of Winchester, Thomas Bilson (1597-1616).

³Certain objects, the nature of which is not known, worn in or upon the breastplate of the Jewish High Priest, by means of which the will of Jehovah was held to be declared. (OED)

highnes weldeth without parciality whose sworde your Maiestie beareth upright without respect of persons or Nations, And whose Ballance (most mighty Monarch) we Finde carryed with an even hand. Happy Albania that bred you, whose pappes gave you sucke, But thrise happy Albion that received you, or rather is received by you. Albania had the honour & glory of your vnspotted youth. Oh lett Albion have the Comfortable fruition of your riper yeares & mature Iudgment, And seeinge the Kinge of Kinges, hath comitted to your Maiestie the gouernment of both and your Maiestie vnited both, Then as a father vnto both, And [^] yet of kinne to neither, lett both of them knowe their happines vnder your gracious iust peaceable & plentifull gouernment. And lett me presume [my] my dreade soueraigne, heere before your Maiesties feete in the name & behalfe of all these graue Magistrates & Cittizens of your highnes Auncient & in times past most famous City of Winchester, beinge sometimes the seate of your Maiesties progenitors the place of their Parliamentes and Sepulch[^]ers[^][s], The place of the Minte & Staple whose nowe decayed walles & Ruynous buildinges presentinge to your Maiesties veiwe a desolacion, are againe reedified with the ioye & comfort of your Maiesties presence & Accesse to this place, Lett me I say presume to yeelde & give vppe vnto your highnes All that we enioy & possesse vnder your Maiestie and by your gracious permission hopinge that your highnes of your Clemency & goodnes will agayne restore vnto vs, All our Ancient liberties heretofore granted by your highness Progenitors Ratified & Confirmed, Such stronge Confidence & vndoubted hope in your Princely favour & gracious Benignity hath possessed vs, In testimony whereof And all other our Loyall Offices & duties, And as a Pledge of our unfaynged loue & faythfull heartes vnto your Maiestie, Wee your Cittizens of your highnes Ancient City of Winchester in all obedient and dutyfull manner, & in all humblenes presume to present this Cuppe, Most humbly beseeching, your Royall Maiestie to accept the faythfull heartes & good wills of your highnes poore Cittizens of this City. And further as a most certayne Assurance of the same, wee tender vnto your highnes, our Landes & livinges Goodes & bodies, to be spent in your Maiesties service, to the last Gaspe of our breathe, & to the shedding of the last droppe of our deerest Blood, And he whatsoever he be, whose heart is touched with the least disloyaltie towards either your Maiestie or your Princely Offspring, lett either the earth swallowe him or the Birdes of the Ayre bewray him, And nowe I doe most humbly beseech your Maiestie, that your highnes will vouchsafe to pardon my tymerous nature & vnexercised tongue, that would but cannot expresse in wordes the thankfull mindes of your highnes Cittizens of < . > your Maiesties City of Winchester nor Render to your highnes for them the entire thanckes which my selfe and their hearts for whome I speake doe inwardly & vnfainedly yeeld. Beseeching god of his Infinite mercy & goodnes to blesse your Maiestie & your Royall Progeny with longe life & many happy dayes, with victorie ouer all your enemies & with all other heavenly & earthly Blessinges to the glory of his holy name & to the vnspeakable happines & euerlastinge comfort of our selves & of our posterities.

Most soueraigne Lady & our most gracious Queene, the Mayor of the Kinges Maiesties City of Winchester, & the rest of the Magistrates & Cittizens of that City, here present, in the behalfe of themselves vnto you our Most gracious soueraigne Lady. As men most willinge & desirous to expresse & make knowne the readines of their service & dutie, & to acknowledge their Loyaltie vnto your highnes, In testimony whereof & of their faythfull heartes & willinge mindes to entertayne you our most gracious

Soueraigne Lady with the best welcome this decayed Citty is able to afforde, they doe most humbly present this Cuppe, beseeching your Maiestie to accept the good will of the givers, Although the thinge given, be not of that worth & merritt which we doe all in our heartes wishe and could most willingly vouchsafe to your Maiestie.¹

Touchstone of Tradition HRO W/K1/12²

f183v

...Michelmas terme adiourned from Westminster began att Winchest Crastino Animarum³ against which tyme preparation beyfitting for the places for the seats of Justice to be erected and accommodation necesserie for the entertaynment & lodging for all officers and ministers of Justice and all sutch as showld haue occation to repayer to the terme were Carefullye & most Conuenientlie in all places made & provided But many thinges were altered from the first intention By Reason of the Kinges Coming in persone ffor where as first yt was resolued upon The Courte should all of them haue been kept in the bodye and one of the Iles of the Cathedrall Church | his Maiestie mutch misliking sutch as hee pleased to stile yt (prophanation of god howse) appoynted the same to be prepared elsewhere.

The King came to Winchester being the first Cittie after his Coronation that euer he graced with his Royall presence and their with incredible acclamations, of ioyfull welcome by the inhabitantes & their neighbours, he was receaued, And to Wooluesey the Lord Bishoppes pallace (where hee was to keep his Court) Conducted ffrom whence hauing gratified the Cittie with all what they petitioned for, which though yt were something yt was nothing in Comparison of what they might if well aduised haue desired, hee departed to the Lord Marquesse of Winchesters howse att Basing⁴...Presentlie upon his departure the Courtes of Justice were conuenientlie fytted upp att Wooluesey howse, the Kinges bench, and Common place,⁵ att each end of the halle there, the Chauncerye, Exchequer, Courte of Wardes, Court of requestes & Dutchy Courte, and all their respectiue offices in seuerall roomes, aboue the hall, and the Court of

¹There are no account records concerning the cups referred to here.

²This is an MS Book of the History of the English Monarchs, written in 1647 by John Trussell, solicitor, Alderman, and twice mayor of Winchester, an eyewitness of the above account. See further details in Introduction, p.40. This entry is undated but included here in chronological order of the events to which it refers.

³3rd November, but see letter from Edmondes below, which said it was Crastino Martini, i.e. 13 November.

⁴John Trussell, in Benefactors to Winchester, (see Introduction, p.40) on f95 in part of a poem, 'The Declaration of Caerguent's lament...', writes:

But when King James of pious memorye
(The plague in London raging heauely)
Was heere well pleased to appoynt to keep his Court
And howld the terme, then hither did resorte
More noble men and honorable peers
then had before in many skore of years
appeerd; who on generall summons hither came
about the arraignment of some men of name,
And spent their mony heer. my Inhabitants
pickt then their Crums up and sodred up their wants...

⁵Presumably the Court of Common Pleas.

Starchamber in a conuenient place Remote from the rest.¹

...

A² Diary of Lady Anne Clifford³ CKS U269/F48/1

f16r (29 September 1603)

...Now there was much talk of a Mask which the Queen had at Winchester & how all the Ladies about the Court had gotten such ill names that it was grown a scandalous place & the Q. herself was much fallen from her former greatness & reputation she had in the world

...

Letter from Sir Thomas Edmondes to the Earl of Shrewsbury. London, Lambeth Palace MS 3201 f143r (17 October 1603)

It maie please your Lordship I thought good to lett your Lordship knowe that it was yesterdaie resolued at the meeting of my lordes in Counsell, uppon the arryuall of my lord Chanceler, that the terme shalbe nowe kept here in this Towne, because it doth appeare since the wryting of my last letters to your Lordship that the Towne of Reading where it was formerlie assigned, is much Infected with the sicknes,⁴ But for the danger of the Contagion, the Terme is not to beginne till Crastino Martini,⁵ which is the twelfth of the next moneth, and so to last but fourteene daies [^] [onlie for the retourne of prz']⁶ And on the 15th 17th and 22th daies during the said tyme it is appointed to proceade [^] [also in this place] to the arraignment of the prisoners in the Tower, for the which, order is already geuien, and amongst other of the lordes that are to be vsed in that seruice your Lordship will fynd your self also spetiallie remembred. We are nowe remouing of pourpose from hence to Wilton, to make roome in this place for the expediting of these busynes. The Counte of Aremberg is newelie departed hence and promiseth to retourne with the Comissioners that are appointed to Come to treat of the matter of peace, we vnderstand that the Connestable of Castile, one of the cheif grandis of Spayne is one of the persons that is assigned to come hither for that negotiation, and bringeth with him a verie magnificent Trayne. My lord Admyrall hath made verie good vse of his marriage, hauing bemoaned himself that he is so much preiudiced by the

¹Trussell goes on to say that the Judges were accommodated in the College and were very complimentary about their lodgings, saying they were as comfortable as in London. After this comes a very full account of the trials in the Castle. The King went on to Wilton from Basing and was there during the trials.

²This extract comes from a 19th Century transcription, which has been temporarily mislaid by CKS, so it is not possible to describe the document. This version is from a microfilm copy kindly transcribed for me by Dr. J. Gibson, editor of REED's Kent volume.

³Later Countess of Dorset and Pembroke. (1590-1676) A prolific diarist, she wrote this when she was thirteen or fourteen.

⁴From another of Sir Thomas's letters it appears that other towns, including St. Albans, Northampton and Coventry were also considered suitable venues for the removal of the Court from London.

⁵See Trussell, footnote 3 on p.82.

⁶This interlineation is squashed in at the end of a line. 'prz' being the last word, it is difficult to decipher, but could stand for 'prisoners' in this context.

Ceasing of his accustomed profittes of the Admyraltie, as he hath not meanes¹ * to defraie the ordynarie charges of his dyett, in which Consideration it is thought fitt to bestowe a pention of six hundred poundes a yeare on him for his dyettes, and twoe hundred poundes land for his further maintenance. There be other guiftes of that nature to passe to Sir John Ramsey & others. The Queene did the Prynce the kindnes at his Coming hither to enterteine him with a gallant maske. I will forbear to speake of other particularities till your Lordship's Coming. And so with the remembrance of my most humble duetie to your Lordship and my honorable good lady I most humbly take my leaue ffrom Winchester the 17th of October 1603

Your Lordship's most humble

(signed)Tho Edmondes *

Letter to M de Villeroy² from M de Beaumont³ London, British Library Add MS 30639

f283v (27 October)

Lettre a Monsieur de Villeroy du dit jour⁴

... Elle fit Il y a quelques Jours un Ballet ou pour mieux dire une masquarade de champestre car Il n'y auoit n'y ordre n y despence, mais elle se propose d'en faire dautres plus beaux cet hyuer en recompense. & semble que le Roy & ses principaux Ministres qui sont toujours en Jalousie de son Esprit soient bien aise de le voir occupé en cet exercice...⁵

...

Coffer Accounts W/E6/1

f[18r] (2 Dec)

The second of December 1603

This day & yere Mr John Luke accompted vnto the City for the ten powndes which he receyued owt of the Coffers the xvijth of September last past And also for fiftye powndes more which he recieved by the order of Mr Maior & his bretheren of Tollfree of Worthy for his fyne of the Cityes land there / the whole summ being lx li whereof he payde for the vses of the City against the late coming of the King & Quene⁶ / & towardes a pest howse xlix li ix s ij d And the residew of all his said Receites viz x li x s x d. this

¹The passage between these two asterisks is written along the left hand margin of the letter.

²The French Foreign Secretary.

³The French Ambassador.

⁴Previous letter dated 27 October 1603.

⁵This appears to be the original 'office copy', the original letter presumably being in France. There is a late 17th or early 18th Century transcription of this letter in the British Library (Kings MS 124 f175r).

⁶This visit occurred in September, 1603.

day Mr Luke paid into the Coffers And soe is he clere & quitt of this Accompt

x li x s x d¹

...

Original Letters Longleat House, Wiltshire 112 Vol 2²

f.209v (8 December)

1603 Dec.8

...

...But out of this confusion of Imbassages will you know how we spend our time on the Queenes side Whilst I was at Winchester³ theare weare certeine childeplayes remembred by the fayre ladies. viz. I pray my Lord give me a Course in your park. Rise pig and go. One peny follow me. Etc. and when I came to Court they weare as <.> highly in request as euer <.> cracking of nuts was. So I was by the Mistress of the Reuelles not onely compelled to play at I knew not what for till that day I neuer heard of a play called Fier but euer perswaded by the princely example I saw to play the childe againe. This exercise is most used from 10 of the Clocke at night till 2 or 3 in the morning but that day I made one it beganne at twilight and ended at supper time. Thear was an enterlude, but not so ridiculous (as ridiculous as it was) as my letter⁴ * which heare I conclude with many prayers to the Almighty for your happinesse. and so I humbly take my leaue, From Fulston the 8 of December 1603 your lo⁵ necce Arbella Stuart⁶ *

1603-4

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22218

f[113v] (Payments and Gifts) 1st Quarter

...

Item regijs tubicinibus x s

...

1604-5

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/115

Mb[6] (External expenses)

...

¹This record shows one of the ways in which royal visits were financed. Unfortunately, the Chamberlains' Accounts for 1603 are no longer extant, but must have included many other payments to members of the household and other expenses incurred by the City in accommodating the visiting judiciary and other dignitaries. Such payments would have been a severe drain on the City's slender resources.

²Letter from Lady Arabella Stuart to the Earl of Shrewsbury.

³According to a previous letter, she was in Winchester on 6 October 1603.

⁴The passage between the two asterisks is written along the left hand margin of the letter.

⁵Loving/lordship's?

⁶Arabella or Arbella Stuart, 1575-1615. Daughter of Charles Stuart, Earl of Lennox and grand-daughter of Countess of Shrewsbury ('Bess of Hardwick'), by whom she was brought up.

...datis histrionibus principis¹ in regardis hoc Anno xx s...pro uno linke portato coram maiore ad
histrionem videndum hoc Anno iiii d²...

...

1605-6

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/116

Mb[4d] (External expenses)

...Datis histrionibus Domine Regine in Regardis per mandatum maioris et ffratrum suorum hoc Anno xx
s...Tubicinarijs Domine Regine per mandatum maioris et fratrum suorum hoc Anno v s...Tubicinarijs
Domini Regis in Regardis hoc Anno x s...

...

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22218

f[165r] (Payments and Gifts) 4th Quarter

...

Item tubicinibus Domini regis ex gratia v s

...

1606

St Maurice's Parish Register HRO 1M82 PR1 CMB 1538-1662

...

°Thomas Buckland°

Thomas Bocklland was baptised the 20 of Maye being the sonn of Thomas Bocklland a fyddler °a Fidler°

...

margit mondaye was baptised 13 of September being the davghter of Thomas Mvnday a mynstrill

...

1606-7

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22218

f[188v] (Payments) 4th Quarter

...

Item in regardis regijs tubicinibus xv s

...

¹Prince Henry's men. They became the Prince Palatine's men on Henry's death in 1612. See pp. 88, 91.

²See Introduction p.23.

1607-8

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22218

f[213v] (Payments) 4th Quarter

...

Item tubicinibus Domini principis iij s vj d

...

1608-9

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22218

f[238r] (Payments and Gifts) 4th Quarter

...

Item tubicinis Domini regis ex gratia Domini custodis x s

...

1609

St Maurice's Parish Register HRO 1M82 PR1 CMB 1538-1662

...

Wyllyam Mvnday was baptised the 15 day of December being the svnn of Thomas Mvnday a mynstrell

...

1610-11

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/117

Mb[9-9d] (External expenses)

...

...Datis Tubicinarijs Domini Regis hoc Anno x s...Datis Clerico Mercati Domini Regis tempore quo Dominus Rex fuit apud Andiver pro feodo suo hoc Anno xx s...pro uno le packet ad portandum litteras ad Curiam Domini Regis tempore quo Curia Domini Regis fuit apud Bewley hoc Anno iij s...Datis lusoribus prenobilis Principis Henrici Principis Wallie¹ hoc Anno xx s...tribus hominibus laboran² in portando in pendendo Arma Regis apud Westgate tempore quo Dominus Rex equitavit per Ciuitatem hoc Anno ij s...Dat Phillippo Adams le postmaster Ciuitatis pro duobus equis continue paratis ad itinerandum ad | Curiam Domini Regis apud Bewley preter et ultra pertium Domini Regis hoc Anno xiiij s iij d³ [Westgate tempore quo Dominus Rex equitavit per Ciuitatem hoc Anno ij s]...Laborar³ ad Caryandum le Rubbishe in alto vico Ciuitatis vsitate in adventu Domini Regis per Ciuitatem hoc Anno iij d...

...

¹ Henry Frederick Stuart (1593/4-1612) Ist son of James I. See footnote 1 on p.86.

²Either participle or gerund possible here.

³Judging by the size of the payment, probably only one labourer.

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22218

f[293r] (Payments and Gifts) 4th Quarter

...

Item pro magistro Johnson¹ datis buccinatoribus Regis x s

...

1611-12

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22218

f[313r] (Payments and Gifts) 3rd Quarter

Item musicis de Civitate Winton ex gratia domini Custodis et sociorum x s

...

1612-13

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22218

f[331r] (Payments and Gifts) 3rd Quarter

...

Item musicis ex gratia Domini Custodis et sociorum x s

...

f[331v] 4th Quarter

...

Item pro tibicinatoribus ex gratia Domini Custodis et sociorum xiiij s 4d

...

1613-14

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/119

Mb[6d] (External expenses)

...Dat^{is} Lusoribus² serenissimi Principis x s...Dat^{is} Lusoribus serenissimi Principis³ xx s...

...

1613/14

Coffer Accounts HRO W/E6/1

f[34r] (18 March 1613)

...

Taken owt of the coffers fforty shillinges given by the Maior & his Company vnto the Musitians as their

¹George Johnson, (1570/1-1642), one of the College Fellows (Masters).

²Impossible, in either of these entries, to distinguish between min^uscule and majuscule 'L'.

³The Prince Palatine. See footnote 4 on page 91.

gratuity for their Attendance on Mr Maior for the tyme being at his ffeastes¹ due for one yeare ended at Christmas last past And by consent to continew and be paid vnto them at that feaste yf they performe their service in due sort xl s²

...

1614-15

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22218
f[383v] (Payments and Gifts) 4th Quarter

...

Item Regijs tubicinibus x s

...

1615-16

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22218
f[411r] (Payments and Gifts) 2nd Quarter

...

Musicis Oppidanis ex gratia pro more x s

...

Item tibicinatoribus quibusdam v s

...

1616-17

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22218
f[435r] (Hall Expenses) 2nd Quarter

...

Item Willelmo Shershall et socio serantibus 450 pedes meremij pro scena in aula pretio 2s 4d ly C x s
vi d

...

Item Rowse et servo eius pro labore circa scenam tam³ in astruendo quam in destruendo 6 diebus xiiij s

Item Curteise laborantij circa scenam 5 diebus 5 s x d

Item Alderly et Searle laborantibus 8 diebus circa scenam 18 s 8 d

...

4th Quarter

¹B. Carpenter-Turner, *A History of Winchester* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1992) p.92, records a payment to minstrels in 1613 'when the Mayor went to sup with the Recorder' but I have been unable to trace this. For a similar record in 1591, see p.74.

²This is the first reference to the official town musicians in these accounts, although there are annual records of their visits to the College from 1611-12 onwards. See p.19 of Introduction.

³The 't' of 'tam' is written over a 'q'.

...

Item Johani Hayward pro redendo big¹ contorum pro orando [fenestra'] scenam lud² vj d

...

f[442v] (Payments and Gifts) 1st Quarter

...

Item tibicinibus Wintonientibus x s

...

1617-18

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/120

Mb[5d-4d] (External expenses)

...

...Datis Lusoribus Domine Regine hoc Anno xx s... | ...Clerico Mercati Hospitij Domini Regis pro feodo suo hoc Anno xx s...Tubicinarijs Domini Regis hoc Anno x s...pro Crumena ad presentandum Principem³ cum x li in auro intus hoc Anno xvij s...pro Oleo et alijs Rebus vsitatis ad escurandum Arma Civitatis hoc Anno xvij d...Armorario Civitatis pro labore suo et trium aliorum in escurando Arma Civitatis hoc Anno xvij s... Diuersis laborantibus circa viam Regiam in adventu Domini Regis hoc Anno et alijs operibus tunc factis et pro meremio tunc vsitato v li v d... Pedestribus⁴ Domini Regis pretereuntis per Citatem hoc Anno xl s...Lusoribus Dne Regine hoc Anno xx s...le Postmaster pro seperalibus itineribus suis et conduccione equorum suorum Durante tempore quo Dominus Rex fuit in Comitatu Southampton xxxij s iij d ...Orton Brooker in Remouendo Arma Civitatis ad Portam occidentalem in adventum Domini Regis per Civitatem hoc Anno iij s x d...

...

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22218

f[468r] (Payments and Gifts) 4th Quarter

...

Item buccinatoribus regijs ex gratia xj s

...

¹Either 'bigata' or 'bigatus' is possible.

²This could be either singular or plural - ludo/ludis.

³Charles Stuart (19 Nov 1600-30 Jan 1649), cr Prince of Wales 4 Nov 1616.

⁴In view of the size of the payment, probably more than one footman.

1618

Coffer Accounts HRO W/E6/1

f[43r] (14 August 1618)

The same daie was taken owt of the Cofors x li¹ in golde which is xj li which xj li is taken owt for a present to be given to the most noble Prince Charles, Prince of Wales at his first comming into the Cittie

xj li²

...

1618-19

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/121

Mb[6d] (External expenses)

...

...Dat^{is} Lusoribus prenobilis Domine Elizabeth^e hoc Anno x s...Dat^{is} Lusoribus prenobilis Principis Pallatini⁴ hoc Anno x s...

...

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22218

f[498r] (Payments and Gifts) 1st quarter

...

Tibicinibus publicis x s

...

2nd Quarter

...

buccinatoribus regijs 2s vj d

...

f[499v] 4th Quarter

...

Buccinatoribus Dominæ Leonoriæ⁵ et aliorum Nobilium 5s vj d

...

¹This first sum appears to be a scribal error, but see p.90 where the £10 was presented to the Prince in a purse.

²In Chamberlains' Account Roll 120 (1617-18), there are records of payments to the Prince's grooms, footmen, coachman and cook.

³Elizabeth Stuart (mid-Aug 1596-13 Feb 1662), daughter of James VI and I and Anne of Denmark, married Frederick V, Elector Palatine, 14 Feb 1613; crowned queen of Bohemia 7 Nov 1619.

⁴Frederick V, Elector Palatine. See above.

⁵I have been unable to identify this lady.

1619¹

AC Alderman Jacob's Scrapbooks HRO Top Win 3/1

p10-11²

(6 November 1618)

'Whereas James Beale, musition, hath brought into the cittie since his coming hither,³ divers in his companie who are foreigners, and some of them being married men and have children everie yere and others of the Companie have bastards, whereby in Continuance of tyme the chardges and burthens therof will be great to the citie yf in tyme it be not prevented. It is therefore thought fit for the further avoyding of future danger that henceforth they shall have no ffee paid of the citty as usually they heretofore have had by the Chamberlaynes, and that such further order shalbe taken for removing of them as shalbe lawfully advysed and directed - Thomas Fussell, Maior.'⁴

1619-20

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/122

Mb[5d-4d] (External expenses)

...

...Dat̄is Lusoribus Domini Regis hoc Anno xx s...dat Richardo Walker Le | postmaster pro conducione equorum suorū tempore progressus serenissimi Domini Regis in Comitatu Southampton hoc Anno xl s...Dat̄is Tubicinarijs Domini Regis tempore progressus sui in Comitatu predicto⁵ hoc Anno x s...Dat̄is Clerico Mercati hospitij Domini Regis tempore progressus predicti gratis non ex Debito hoc Anno xx s...Dat̄is Pedestribus Domini Regis Domini Regis⁶ tempore quo Dominus Rex preterijt per Civitatem predictam gratis non ex debito hoc Anno xl s...dat Pedestribus Domini Charoli Principis Wallie tempore quo preterijt per Civitatem gratis non ex debito x s...Dat̄is Tubicinarijs Dicti Domini Principis hoc Anno v s...Dat̄is diuersis laborarijs in emendando viam extra Portam occidentalem erga adventum Domini Regis in progressu suo per Civitatem hoc Anno xvij s vijj d...Dat̄is pro conducione vnius equi ad attendandum adventum domini Regis per Civitatem hoc Anno xij d...Dat̄is pro vno Carucata Le Rubbis ad emendandum viam apud Westgate erga adventum Domini Regis hoc Anno x d...dat̄is (blank) Coleman le ffootposte erga

¹VCH vol 5 (1912) p.33, refers to this record as being in Ordinance Book 4 under the 1618 entries but there is no such record there now. However, the Ordinance Book has contemporary foliation and f14 has been cut out sometime since 1912. The position of f14 places the above entry in 1619.

²This is from an undated article: 'Elizabethan Music and the Drama' in W.H.Jacob's scrapbook, printed originally in a newspaper, the 'Winchester Observer and County News' and reprinted and bound by the newspaper into Hampshire Notes and Queries 8 (1896) p.210.

³This implies that the leader of the city musicians was not a native of Winchester.

⁴Despite Jacob's transcription, I can find no record of anyone called Fussell being mayor of Winchester at this period. According to a list in HRO, Christopher Hussey was mayor in 1618 and William Budd in 1619. John Trussell was mayor in 1624 and again in 1633.

⁵A previous entry makes it clear that this is the 'County of Southampton'.

⁶Dittography.

empcionem equi de mandato Maioris hoc Anno ij s vj d...Dat Orton Brooker pro labore suo in remouendo
arma Domini Regis a Guihalda ad portam occidentalem erga adventum Domini Regis per Civitatem hoc
Anno ij s...Datis Thome Willoby pro vino consumpto apud edes Maioris tempore quo Recordator et
Aldermani [^] ^bis^ pranserunt ibidem et pro vino dato Tubicinarijs Domini Regis per Maiorem hoc Anno
in toto xx s...

...

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22218

f[526v] (Payments and Gifts) 2nd Quarter

...

Item cuidam tubicini vj d

...

f[527r] 4th Quarter

...

Item tubicinis regijs xj s

Item tubicinibus de Classe regia ij s vj d

...

1620

Coffer Accounts HRO W/E6/1

f[47v] (30 June 1620)

...

Taken out of the Coofers which was paid & deliuered unto James Beale [^] ^musicion^ in the Counsell
house the day abouesaid for one year < . > gratuitie geuen him & his companie at the request of Sir
Richard Titchborne Knight xl s

...²

1620-21

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22218

f[550r] (Payments and Gifts) 1st Quarter

...

Buccinatoribus urbanjs 10s

...

<....> tibicinj j s

...

¹A Deputy Lieutenant, Freeman of the City and local landowner.

²There are records here concerning the building of a new Market House. See p.23.

f[550v] 2nd Quarter

...

Tubicinj vj d

...

f[551r] 4th Quarter

...

Tibicinibus magnatum 5s

...

1621

Quarter Sessions Order Book HRO Q/1/1

p429 (24th June)

<p>An order about vnlawfull games in the Soake</p>	<p>Uppon Complaine made at this Sessions of the greate Disorders in the parishe of St Johns in the Soake by vseinge vnlawfull games and Conventicles, & <u>prophanatj</u>on of the Saboth <u>whi</u>ch as is informed by the allowance and furtherance of the Constables, Churchwardens and other Cheif Inhabitan<u>tes</u> there. It is thought fitt and soe ordered by this Corte that they shall from henceforth forbear to vse or suffer to be v<u>sed</u> the said vnlawfull games w<u>i</u>thin the said <u>parishe</u> and likewise shall forbear there other <u>sportes</u> and recreacj<u>ons</u> of dauncinge & the like on the Saboth daie in or betweene the tymes of divine seruice Or in Contempte or neglecte thereof that any offendinge against this order shalbe bounde to the good behavior.¹</p>
--	---

...

1621

Will of William Turner² HRO 1621B59/1

(21 December)

...

Item he did geeve vnto George Bathe one of the singingemen of the said Church, one paire of old clavicordes which he formerlye had promised him

...

1621-22³

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/123

Mb[2d] (External expenses)

¹The latest entry for such games in the Churchwardens' Accounts is in 1615.

²Chanter of Winchester Cathedral.

³Partly damaged by fire, including last part of External Expenses.

...Datis Lusoribus Domini Regis hoc Anno xx s...Datis Lusoribus Principis Wallie hoc Anno xx s...Datis Tubicinarijs George Phillpott militis¹ Vicecomitis Southampton hoc Anno ij s vj d...

²Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22218

f[578v] (Payments and Gifts) 1st Quarter

...

Item tibicinibus procerum ij s vj d

...

f[579r] 2nd Quarter

...

Musicis oppidanis ex gratia 10s

...

1622-23

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22218

f[608v] (Payments and Gifts) 1st Quarter

...

Tibicinibus regijs per Vicecustodem ij s

...

Tibicinibus regijs ad mandatum ij s vj d

...

2nd Quarter

Musicis oppidanis x s

Tibicinibus Comitjs Kantie³, de Baronjs Bartley⁴ ex consensu Domini Custodis 2s 6d

...

f[609r] 3rd Quarter

...

Tibicinibus quibusdam cum consensu Domini Custodis 2s

Tibicinibus Regis cum consensu eiusdem vj s viij d

...

f[609v] 4th Quarter

¹County Sheriff, local landowner and Lord of the Manor of Thrupton (d.1624) He was a descendent of Sir John Phillpott, Lord Mayor of London in 1378.

²'Computus' not dated, but same accounting period appears to have been followed.

³Charles Grey, (c.1545-28 Sept 1623) succ. as 7th Earl of Kent, 1615.

⁴Unidentified. There was a Bartley, or Bartley Grange in Hampshire's Redbridge Hundred and Bartley Regis is in the New Forest Hundred, near Cadnam. I can find no record that the Earls of Kent ever held lands in either place, nor that they held lands with similar names elsewhere in England. See R.E. Glasscock, Lay Subsidy of 1334 (London, 1975) and VCH Hampshire and Bedfordshire.

...
 Tibicinibus Regis 10s

...

1622/23

Coffer Accounts HRO W/E6/1

f[54v] (21 February 1622)

...

Taken owt of the Cofers xl s which was given to the musitians at the request of Sir Richard Tichborne Knight onelie for this [tyme] yere but not to continue anie longer xl s

...

1623

Letter from Dr Joseph Meade¹ to Sir Martin Stuteville, London, British Library, Harl MS 389

f338v (7 June)

To the Right Worshipfull his much respected friend Sir Martin Stuteville Knight these at Dalham June 7
 f338r

7 June 1623

Sir

Besides this enclosed received last Saturday, I received upon a speciall occasein last night another letter from the Doctor where he intimated that there is <..> lesse newes stirring then usuall, what there was he writes as followeth

London June 5

On Munday the Lord Duke of Richmond², the Lord Treasurer³ the Earles of Arundell⁴, Pembroke⁵, Mountgomery⁶, Carleile⁷, if not others; all with Sir Thomas Edmonds⁸ Treasurer of the Houshold, Sir John Fearne, Allein⁹ (sometime a player, now) squire of the Beares, Inigo Jones¹⁰ surveyor of the Kings

¹1586-1638. Biblical scholar.

²Ludovic Stuart, 2nd Duke of Richmond and 15th Earl of Lennox, (1574-1624).

³Lionel Corefield, 1st Earl of Middlesex, (1575-1645).

⁴Thomas, 26th Earl of Arundel, (1585-1646), Earl Marshal.

⁵William Herbert, 3rd Earl of Pembroke, 1580-1630. Lord Chamberlain.

⁶Philip Herbert, 1st Earl of Montgomery, cr. 1605. 1584-1650. Younger brother of the above.

⁷James Hay, 1st Earl of Carlisle. cr. 1622. (c.1586-1636). Ambassador to Madrid.

⁸Sir Thomas Edmondson, diplomat. (c.1563-1639). See his letter on p.83. Father-in-law of Lord Lawarre.

⁹Edward Alleyn, actor and founder of Dulwich College. 1560-1625.

workes rode hence on Tuesday towards Winchester & Southhampton to take order for his Majesties entertainment, with the Princes & the Lady Maries; whither its sayd, the king entends to go & meet them: which Lords are to be heere againe on Saturday...

f337v 7 June 1623

This is all: & for this, you must expect no newes next Saturday; since you haue it before the time. This with my best respect to your selfe & my Lady I rest & am Yours most ready to be commanded Joseph Meade Christ College June 7

Coffer Accounts HRO W/E6/1

f[56r] (22 August 1623)

...

<p>13 Augusti 1624 pd into the cofers againe of this x s and he is to paie the other x s the next yere</p>	<p>Taken owt of the Cofers xx s which is given vnto [him] ^ Hugh Wilkins to take James Beale the sonne of James Beale musition a pore boy that begged from dore to dore to be his Apprentice and he is to give his owne bond for the teaching of his trade and for his educacion</p>	<p>xx s¹</p>
--	--	-------------------------

...

1623-24

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/124

Mb[5d] (External expenses)

...

...Dat[is] Lusoribus excellentissimi Principis °Charoli° hoc Anno xx s...

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22218

f[636v] (Payments and Gifts) 1st Quarter

...

Musicis civitatis Winton ex consuetudine 0 10s 0

...

f[637r] 4th Quarter

...

Quibusdam tibicinibus nobilium cum consensu Domini Custodis 5s 0

¹⁰Architect and masque designer. 1573-1652.

¹This shows that Winchester still felt a responsibility for the son of the leader of the city's official musicians, despite the Ordinance passed in 1619, qv., stopping payment of their fees. In Southampton several poor children were apprenticed to musicians, but I have been unable to establish the occupation of Hugh Wilkins, if that was his name.

...

1624-25

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22219

f[15r] (Payments and Gifts) 1st Quarter

...

Tibicinibus publicis ex consuetudine 0 10s 0

...

2nd Quarter

...

Buccinatoribus Principis pro iussu Domini Custodis 3s 6d

...

Item tibicinibus clangentibus in Collegio ad Iussum Vicecustodis 2s 6d

...

3rd Quarter

f[15v]

...

Allocati Magistro Informatori in expensis pro ludis 6s

...

1625¹

Touchstone of Tradition HRO W/K1/12²

191r-193r

...

...The 17th of August Anno 1625 Sir John Tunstall Knight & other officers Came to Winchester to take upp lodgings for | the Queene: who took upp Woluesey the Bishoppes howse for that purpose And acquaynted the Maior with her intention of Coming to the Cittie the second daye after, whereuppon the Maior sending for his Brethren to resolue of what to present her with or how to excuse the not presenting Among them yt was Concluded that the tyme of the notice of her Coming being so shorte that nothing on sutch a soddayne cowlde fyttinglie be provided And the daunger of the pestilence, then mutch ronging in the Cittie and naighboure places That with assurance of safty nothing Could bee sent for That the then Maior the Recorder being absent, showld to the purpose before spoken make some shorte excusatarye speech vnto her which hee Consented vnto /

¹This record is undated but is put here chronologically, according to the date to which it refers.

²Although the bulk of this account is not strictly relevant, it does bear witness to ceremonial location and key actions both by the Mayor and the Queen.

Uppon the nyneteenth of August the Queen with a very small trayne Came into the Cittie of Winchester att the Westgate thereof where the Maior and his Brethren were attending her Coming When the Coatchman staying ye Coatch The Maior howlding the Mace vayled on his leaft arme pitt spake as foloweth, Neuer were trulie loyall hartes, most royall Emperess driuen to that narrowe straight as [w] wee your most humble subiectes att this tyme are, ffor euer before att ye | prime aduent of the Consorte of the Soueraigne hath to this Cittie beene accustomed to bee entertayned with all expressions of wellcome, by popular Acclamations and some welbefytting presentes, wee now whose forwardnes in Dutifull affection that waye equalles yf not exceed your most forward, Dare not presume to assume unto ourselves that libertie as to permytt the manye according to their wonted manner outwardlie to expresse their inward ioye with echoing Your Maiestie is welcome God saue your Grace mutch lesse the tymes in regard of the raging sicknesse heer in this Cittie and other adiacent places are so contagious att this present as to present your excellent Maiestie with more then wordes no not with the least pleadge of our more especiall alleageance which with all willing Readines wee had performed had wee not feard daunger in the one and distast in the other both arising from this one ground lest ether might proue obnoxious to the sound health of your Maiesties sacred person the preseruation whereof with the deer expence of our deerest blood wee haue been are & shalbee euer ready to procure though the notice of Your Maiesties addresse hither was to soddayne & shorte to prouide any befitting preparation And otherwise that the guifte of all our all like nothing would haue been drowned in the Ocean of your excellent | greatnes (blank) yett yf with assurance of acceptance yt might haue been safelye tendred, I presume this poore Citties mite might haue appered somewhat in the vast threasorie of your singuler goodnes Howsoever disproportionable other to your infinite[s] desert or our immense desire But now what restes since what wee wowlde wee cannot & what wee can wee dare not, But to presume of your gracious pardon & expectation of Your Maiesties most desired returne And in the meane tyme wee shall not cease with all the faculties of our sowle & bodye to praye to the geuer of all good guiftes that hee wOULD bee pleased to multiplie his graces upon your gracious Maiestie. That Mary great Brittaines greater Emperesse may bee found upon earth amongst us her humblest vassalles as good & gracious as the most blessed virgyn Mary is in heauen amongnst the saintes great & glorious This I with these my brethren pray for and to this lett all true hearted subiectes saye amen,

This speech was verbatim rendred to the Queen in ffrench by Sir Morrice Droman her Maiesties then Interpreter wherewith the Queen seemd to bee exceedingly well pleased. And protested allowd that shee was therewith as well | Contented as yf wee had presented her with ten hundred thowsand Crownes and presentlie pluckt of her gloue and gaue her hand to the Maior to kis and upon his request to all the Aldermen And so being Conducted to the Confines of the Cittie libertie which is the great stone beyond the water without Kingsgate by the Company The Maior towld her ^ [maiestie] hee durst not Carrye the enseigne of authoritie any further¹ shee with a merry Countenance said Adiuue prefect, & the Coatch

¹Presumably, the stone being one of the City limits, the Mayor's writ did not run beyond it. In any case as the text points out, fear of the plague rendered going outside the city a hazardous enterprise.

turning shee ingeminated¹ the word Adeue Adeue prefect And so was Caried to Woluesey where shee remayned two nightes And then departed att pleasure where I leaue her to enioye yt in full measure heer on earth and praye for the perfect Consummation thereof in heauenly Hierusalem.

...

1625-26

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22219

f[43v] (Payments and Gifts) 3rd Quarter

...

Solut tibicinibus diversis temporibus 5s 10d

...

1626-27

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22219

f[71r] (Payments and Gifts) 1st Quarter

...

Item Tibicinibus ex gratia Domini Custodis 3s

...

2nd Quarter

...

Musicis oppidanis ex consuetudine 10s

...

1627-28²

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22219

f[98v] (Payments and Gifts) 3rd Quarter

...

famulo dominj³ Custodis pro musicis ludentibus In Collegio 2s 6d

...

4th Quarter

...

Regijs tubicinarijs ex gratia x s

¹Repeated, reiterated. (OED)

²The computus says 'ab octavo die Decembris 1627 usque ad die (blank) eiusdem mensis anni subsequentis viz 1628'. Despite this, the quarters appear to be as before. Certainly, the next accounting year starts in September as usual, so this December date may be a mistake. The Second Quarter of Necessary Expenses in this year includes a Christmas Day payment, which would bear out the idea that the December date is mentioned in error and that the accounts ran from Michaelmas to Michaelmas as usual.

³The distinction between majuscule and minuscule 'd' is not clear in the entries by this scribe.

...

1628-29

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22219

f[124r] (Payments) 1st Quarter

...

Tibicinibus regis ex gratia 0 10s 0

...

Datum Musicis per Dominum Custodem 0 1s 0

...

f[124v] 4th Quarter

...

Datum tibicinibus regijs 0 10s 0

...

1629¹

AC Benefactors to Winchester, Bodleian Library, Oxford MS Top Hants C5

f59

...

To prouide a Race Cupp yeerlie to be ran for on Weddensday in the Easter weeke for euer

John Lord Marquess of Winchester gaue Thirty poundes²

Henry Earle of Southampton gaue twentie pounds³

The Lord Sands gaue Twentie pounds⁴

The Lord Mountague gaue fiue pounds

Sir Henry Wallopp x 1⁵ Sir Francys Dowse x 1 Sir Gerard Fleetwood x 1

Sir Richard Titchborne 5 l Sir Robert Oxenbridge 5 l Sir Joseph Cooper v 1

Sir Francis Inglefield 5 l Sir Hugh Stickly 5 l Sir Henry Clarck⁶ v 1

¹This record is not dated, but is ordered according to the date of the event it refers to. The reference to Henry, Earl of Southampton, who died in 1624, is probably erroneous since John Paulet did not succeed as 5th Marquess of Winchester until 1629. Hammond, recording those present at the Forest Eyre in 1635 made the same mistake. In both cases the Earl concerned was almost certainly Thomas, the 4th Earl.

²John Paulet, 5th Marquis of Winchester, (1598-1629) succ. 1629.

³Henry, 3rd Earl of Southampton, (1573-1624) of Titchfield, but as outlined above, more likely Thomas, the 4th Earl, succ.1624, (ca.1608-1667).

⁴Thomas, 4th Baron Sandys, of the Vyne, succ. as a minor in 1623, d. 12 Nov. 1629.

⁵Of Farleigh Wallop, 1568-1642.

⁶Of Avington.

Sir Henry Whithead 5 l Sir William Lite 5 l Mr Robert Wallopp 5 l¹
 Sir John Carill 5 l Sir Edward Baynton 5 l
 Mr Dutton 5 l Mr Letton 5 l Mr Thomas Webbe 5 l Mr Parkinson 5 l
 Mr Fleming 5 l Mr White 5 l Mr William Coreham 5 l Mr Thomas Henslow 5 l
 Mr Hampden Dowse 3 l Mr Wells 3 l Mr Clarck 40s Mr Webb junior 40s
 Mr Robert Freak 40s Mr Nicholas Venables „40s“ in the total amounting to 215 li - 0 - 0 whereof
 Donation being made of Twentye pounds for plate provided for the first race the remaynder was 195 li
which was deliuered to the Cittie to provide a Cupp for euer att sutch rates as by articles to bee agreed
 uppon showld bee sett downe

The first race began on Wednesday in Easter weeke 1629

Mr Ralph Rigges being Maior

...²

1629-30

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/126

Mb[3d] (External expenses)

...

...pro expensis sustentatis in Hospitio Domus Sancti Johannis Baptiste pro Cena pro Maiore Ballis et
 Civitate et uxsis³ suis Die Sabbati post festum Sancti Johannis Baptiste hoc Anno iuxta antiquam ordinem
 prout patet per particularem notam earundem expensarum Auditoribus ostensis et per eos approbatam vj li
 xj s...Dat pro vino comsumpto in eadem Cena hoc Anno ix s...Dat musicis pro eodem tempore xv s...

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22219

f[149r] (Payments and Gifts) 4th Quarter

...

Item datum in regardis tubicinibus regijs et reginensis xx s

...

Item Musicis de Andever ex gratia 2s 6d

...

¹Son of Sir Henry Wallop above. M.P. One of the judges at the trial of King Charles I. Son-in-law of Henry, Earl of Southampton above.

²On f95 of **Benefactors**, as part of his poem 'The Declaration of Caerguent's Lament', Trussell says: '...ffurthermore
 The illustrious John, Lord Marquis, well incites
 Southamptons Erle and many lords and knights
 and other generous gentlemen to meet
 and heer an horse race keep each Easter weeke...'

³Scribe writing in anticipation of the 'suis' that follows? Presumably this should read 'uxoribus'.

1630

Coffer Accounts HRO W/E6/2

f[70v] (25 August)

Taken owt of the Cofers the somme of thirtie and three powndes three shillinges & fower pence which was paid to the Kinges Majesties officers at his comming into the Citie according to a note of the perticulers of the seuerall fees deliuered vnto Mr Maior vnder the hand of Mr William Glover one of the Kinges maiesties gentlemen usshers and the money was deliuered to Mr Thomas Bartholmew the generall receiver

xxxij li iij s iij d

eodem die

Taken out of the Cofers the some of fiftie poundes fiftene shillinges <...> for the payment to the gold smyth for plate two guilte boles which was given thene of them to the Kinges Majestie then to the Queene att the Comminge <...> Thorough the Citie of Winchester which monie was deliuered to Mr Maior

l li xv s

...

1630¹

Town Court Rolls HRO W/D1/288

f182r²

ffranciscus Hamlin attachiatus est ad respondendu Henrico ffissher de placito transgressionis super casu Et vnde idem Henricus ffissher per Iohannem Morne Attornatum suum queritur quod cum idem ffranciscus Hamlin <...> arte sua qua vtitur vsus est facere et aptare panduras Anglice fiddles or violls, Cumque idem [ffranciscus] Henricus fuit et est pedotriba³ Anglice one that teacheth children howe to dance or exercise there bodies Cumque vicesimo die Augusti Anno Regni Domini nostri Caroli Regis nunc Anglie etc Quinto hic apud Civitatem Winton infra iurisdictionem huius Curie in consideracionem duodecem denariorum legalis monete Anglie per eundem Henricum ffissher eidem ffrancisco premanibus soluti et septem solidorum per eundem Henricum eidem ffrancisco soluendorum post facturam duarum pandurarum Anglice of two fiddells or violls pro eodem Henrico per eundem ffranciscum fiendarum in se assumpsit et eidem Henrico adtunc et ibidem fideliter promisit quod ipse idem ffranciscus duas panduras Anglice two fiddles or violls pro eodem Henrico faceret et aptaret infra quindecim dies Anglice within fortnight tunc proximas sequentes, predictus tamen ffranciscus promissionem et assumpcionem suas predictas minime curans sed machinans et fradulenter intendens eundem Henricum ffissher in hac parte callide et nequiter decipere et defraudare duas panduras iuxta promissionem et assumpcionem suas predictas non fecit et aptavit per quod idem Henricus ffissher nonnulla proficua et emolumenta in arte

¹This document is not dated but is ordered chronologically by the date to which it refers.

²This is the number on the guard paper, the text itself is on a single sheet, numbered 163.

³Paed/pedotribe, Greek: one who taught wrestling and other exercises; a gymnastics master. (OED)

pedotribe qua tunc vtebatur et adhuc vtitur perdidit et amisit vnde idem Henricus dicit quod deterioratus est et damnum habet ad valendam quadraginta solidorum et inde producit sectam suam etc

1630-31

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/127

Mb[2d] (External expenses)

...

...pro expensis sustentatis in hospitio domus sancti Johannis Baptiste pro Cena pro Maiore Ballis et Communitate et uxoribus suis vicesimo quarto die Julij hoc Anno eo quod Cena non fuit ibidem die Sabbati post ffestum sancti Johannis Baptisti tempore quo solebat fieri iuxta antiquam consuetudinem pro diuersis occasionibus hoc Anno vj l j s ix d ob...pro vino ibidem consumpto in eadem Cena hoc Anno xj s viij d...dati musicis ciuitatis pro labore suis in eadem Cena x s...

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22219

f[174r] (Payments and Gifts) 2nd Quarter

...

Soluti tibicinis ex gratia 10s

...

1631

Coffer Accounts HRO W/E6/2

f[72r] (1 April)

...

Taken owt of the Cofers xxij li xiiij s. viij d for a bowle with a Couer for the race Cup waieng 83oz and twelve pennie weight at 5s 8d the oz which commeth to xxij l xiiij s viij d

Taken more owt of the Cofers xxviiij s ij d towards the paiement of a siluer salt for the Citie to be yerelie vsed by the maior for the tyme being which Salt waieth 27oz 18d weight at v s viij d the oz the salt commeth to 7 li.18s:2d and the other vj li was paied viz. v li by Mr Salter for a fyne, and xx s was paied by William Withers when he was sworne a freeman xxxviiij s ij d [xxviiij s ij d] ¹

f[72v] (1 April)

For graving the salt [and] xij d and for a box to bring Downe the cup and salt viij d xx d

...

f[73r] (20 May)

...

Taken more owt of the Cofers xxxiiij s vij d paied to Mr Rigges maior the last yere which he gave to pore

¹This entry is included for context.

people to relieue there necesseties owt of his purse more then he receiued and paid now to him x s which he gave to the Quenes maiesties Trumpeters at her being in the Citie whilest he was maior in the whole

v l iij s vij d

Taken more owt of the Cofers and Delivered to Mr Thomas Godson¹ xxxv s which he laid owt in the tyme of his Maioraltie for mending the [high] waies nere the raceposte against the Lordes came to the race that yere

xxxv s

...

f[10r] (10 June)

...

Paid more into the Cofers towardes the vse of one hundred poundes [to the] by the Citie to be yerelie allowed towardes the mainteinaunce of a cup for the race as followeth viz by William

Westcomb xl s: by Mr John Haines xx s, by Nicholas

Hancock v s: by James Guy² vj s.viij d by William

Hancock: vj s: viij d by Richard ffiddey x s.

by Richard Broxton xx s in toto v li <.>³vij s: iij d

and for the ouer

plus of the wayt of

the race cup

vj s. viij d

and for the ouer plus of the wayt of the race

cupp received of Mr <...> cne who did win the cup

vj s viij d

1631

AC Letter from Mr Pory to Sir Thomas Puckering, The Court and Times of Charles the First, Vol 2.

p.107 (21 April)

...

On Sunday night, the old Countess of Buckingham feasted both their majesties in her lodging at Whitehall; and on Monday night, my lord chamberlain⁴ did the like at his lodgings at the Cockpit, after his extraordinary great winnings at a horse-race at Winchester.

¹Mayor of Winchester in 1628.

²Yeoman, of Preston Candover.

³Obliterated by an ink blot. In order to make sense of the total, this must be an 'x'.

⁴Philip Herbert, 4th Earl of Pembroke, succ. 1630 (1584-1650).

...

1631-32

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22219

f[201v] (Payments) 1st Quarter

...

Item Musicis civitatis Winton ex gratia 0-10-0

...

f[202r] 4th Quarter

...

Item tubicinibus Regijs ex gratia tempore electionis 0 10 0

...

1631/32

Coffer Accounts W/E6/2

f[77r] (2 March 1631)

...

Taken owt of the Cofers v s which was paid to William Westcomb for money which he laid owt for watching & garding the Quenes Charriott [which], "when" she was last in the Citie v s

...

1632

Coffer Accounts HRO W/E6/2

f[77r-77v] (17 April)

...

pd to	Taken more owt of the Cofers 22 li: 17s: 6d [for]
Mr	<u>wh</u> ich was paied for a <u>silv</u> er cupp at the last race in the Easter weke at v s viij d the oz waieng lxxxij oz and xij d weight
Trussell	xxij li xvii s vj d

Taken more for a box to bring the cup - viij d, and
paid to the foteposte¹ for bringing the cup ij s: and xij
d for carving the armes in all

ij s viij d

¹A letter carrier or messenger who travels on foot. (OED)

...

1632/33

Coffer Accounts HRO W/E6/2

f[81r] (25 January 1632)

...

Taken owt of the Cofers and [pai] given to Combes and his fellow musitians as a gift from the Citie for one yere ended at Christemas last the somme of xl s xl s

...

1633

Ordinance Books HRO W/B1/4

f85r (Monday 20 April)

...

The Race Cupp	Item that the Cittie shall yearlie provide a Cupp of the value of xxiiij li to bee rann for att the race <> ^ "uppon" wednesdaie in Easter weeke accordinge to the articles formerlie drawn ¹
---------------	--

...

Coffer Accounts HRO W/E6/2

f[82r] (26 April 1633)

...

Taken owt of the Cofers xviiij li xvj s ij d [x<.>d] which was paid for the rase Bowle at the rase in the Easter weke the cup waieng 84 ownces les six pence at 5s: 7d :ob the oz. and for the box & graving the inscripcion xij d in toto xviiij li xvj s ij d and Mr Maior added to that iiij li. [xx] xix s. x d. which was paid by sutch artificers in the towne as did contribute towards the providing the said cup and so the cup in the whole ^ "commeth" to the somme of 23 li 16s 0d xxiiij li xvj s 0d

...

1633-34

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22219

f[248r] (Payments and Gifts) 1st Quarter

...

Musicis oppidanis ex consuetudine 0 10 0

¹See extract from John Trussell's Benefactors to Winchester, on p.101.

...

1634

Coffer Accounts HRO W/E6/2

f[83v] (18 April 1634)

...

Taken more owt of the Coffers which was paied for the race cupp at the last race the somme of xxij li xv
s x d xxij li xv s x d

...

1634-35

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22219

f[272r] (Payments and Gifts) 1st Quarter

...

Musicis oppidanis ex consuetudine 0 10 0

...

f[272v] 4th Quarter

...

Tubicinibus regijs 0 10 0

...

1634/35

Coffer Accounts HRO W/E6/2

f[85v] (9 January 1634)

Taken owt of the Cofers xx s which was geuen to the musitians this yeare xx s

...

1635

Coffer Accounts HRO W/E6/2

f[86r] (16 April 1635)

...

Taken more owt to paie Mr John Trussell for the race cupp

xxij li xiiij s

...¹

¹Records here include payment to a surgeon for tending a poor boy whose leg was broken by a cart when the King was last in the neighbourhood.

AC¹ Survey of the Western Counties BL Lansdowne 213

f363r-363v²...

...

* Sir William
Udall

* Sir Richard
Tichburne

* Waltham. ye
Bishops.

* Winchester

* King
Ruhudibras

The Court of
Eyre

...

f368r

...

By this time it was high time to finish my third weekes Trauell, therefore away I hasten by a noble Knights House³, and Parke, where ther was 3. or 4. Earles, leauing not farre on my right another right noble generous knights Seat⁴, where his Majestie very lately, was Royally entertayned, & through some part of Beare fforrest, by the fayre Mansion, & large Parke of the Bishop of that Diocesse, where his Lordship altogeather resides; And soe ouer the Downes, till I tumbled downe a steepy Hill a whole mile, togeather, into that old and ancient City of Winchester, which is of the same age with her sister Canterbury, and which was founded by ye same Brititish King, and there tooke vp my third Sundays rest at the (blank) in their high, and principall Street there, which runs | from East, to Westgate, where I had as much adoe to obtaine fayre Quarter, as I had in all my trauell: for this old City was then crowding full, in respect of that great, & long vnsett⁵, sitting Court was then held there, where all the Cheife of this faire & goodly County were...⁶

And now I am heere (although it bee a little digressing & retarding of my Iourney, yet) I could not part from the stately Hall⁷ vntill I <....> had both seene, & heard, the noble Proceedings, of soe high & honourable a Court, as did then sit there, which I could not omit without some (cursory) Obseruation, and notice off.

¹All the miscellaneous documents in BL Lansdowne 213 are in the same hand. The last of them is dated 1663, so this is an antiquarian compilation.

²The writer began his journey on Thursday 4 August 1635 and this part of it started on Sunday, 23 August 1635.

³Wickham House.

⁴Either Hammond's geography or his information was incorrect. Titchborne, where Sir Richard lived, is N.E. of Winchester and not anywhere near Hammond's route.

⁵Unsat.

⁶Descriptions of the City, Cathedral, College, Castle, St. Cross Hospital and Wolvesey Palace follow. Of the latter, the writer says: 'Some cost extraordinary hath beene lately bestowed, about some Roomes there, to make them for his Maiesties reception, whose comming hither was lately expected.'

⁷The Castle Hall.

The Lord Finch
Sir John Bridgman

The noble Earle¹ of Holland Cheife Justice in Eyre of all his Maiesties fforests, Chases, & Parkes, on this Side Trent, with the Assistance of 2. Judges, the Lord Cheife Justice of the Common Pleas², and the Cheife Justice of Chester:

On Monday morning His Lordship came from Sir William Vdalls House accompanied with the Earl of Southampton (who was deeply interested in this great Busines) with diuerse Knights, and Gentlemen of ye Shire, & the High Sheriff thereof, and his Attendants, making in all about 200. Horse, & 10. Coaches. The Mayor with his Brethren in Scarlet, receiued his Lordship at the East Gate on the same morning it being St. Bartholomew's day,³ the Saint (though not their owne, St. Swithin) entertaining him with weeping teares, which soundly washed ye Scarlet weeds of their graue Worships. Then after a small time of repose at Captain Tuckers house, not far from that Gate where his Lordship lay, by the said 2. Judges in their Scarlet, Mr. Mayor, & his Aldermen in theirs; Mr. High Sheriff, with all his Retinue in theirs Colours; some 12. of the Kings Guard with their Royall Badges; The Kings Trumpeters, & the High Sheriffs, was he guarded, & attended in this maiestick manner to the great Hall, where they sat in Royall State, most of the Knights, Esquires, & cheife Gentlemen of ye Country bearing Offices in New fforrest, Wolmer fforrest, & Chale fforrest, attending at this great, and high Court.

Heere was exceeding great Crowding of People, to see & heare, soe that there was but a little roome for Strangers, as I was; yet obtained I that fauor from one of the Guard, as to get a conuenient one, not onely to see the great State of the Court, and the order of their sitting therein, but also to heare the Honourable Proceeding thereof | the which in breife, as well as my Memorie gaue me assistance, by vse of Parenthesis take thus

First an O yes, was made, and Silence Commaunded vntill the Commission and Letters Pattents were read.

Then a Letter was read, which came from his Maiestie to those 2. Judges, to be present, to aduise, and assist.

¹Henry Rich (bapt. 19 Aug 1590-9 Mar 1648/9) cr. 1st Earl Holland 24 Sept 1624.

²John, 1st Baron Finch (1584-1660), Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, 1634-40.

³24 August.

CHRONOLOGICAL RECORDS

An O yes, if any would be Essoyned¹ etc.

An O yes, Commaunding all Brewers, Bakers, Victuallers, Inn-keepers, etc. not to enhance the Prices of their Commodities, but to keep the Assize during this Sitting.

An O yes, [frome] and the High Sheriff called to returne his Precept², which he did on his knee.

An O yes, commaunding all Officers, to deliuer in all Indictments, etc. taken sittce the last Sitting, which they all did vpon their knees.

An O yes, and all High Stewards called, yeilding up their Rods, etc. on their knees.

An O yes, for the Warden to returne his Precept.

An O yes, and all Cheife Officers of all the 3. fforrests, called to appeare Personally. ffirst

Henry, Earle of Southampton³
Lord Warden of New fforrest,
he onely couered on the Bench

Presented vp his Bugle
Horne to ye Earl of
Holland

Sir William Vdall, Lieutennant.
Mr. Kempe, Bow-bearer.
Mr. Cuthert Bacon, fforrest Rider.
Mr. Knapton, & Mr. Browne,
Rangers.⁴

Yeilded vp their Bugle
Hornes to his Lordship
on their knees.

The Earle of Montgomeries Deputy.
Sir Thomas Penruddocke.
Sir John Jephson.
Sir Richard Vdall.
Mr. Hartstrong, Mr. Gifford, and Mr.
Knight.

Head Officers in the New
fforrest yeilded vp all
their Bugle Hornes, in
ye same Posture.

Wulmer fforrest

¹Excused for non-appearance at the court. (OED)

²A writ or warrant. (OED)

³Actually this was Thomas, 4th Earl of Southampton, succ.1624 (ca.1608-1667).

⁴Forest officers, gamekeepers. (OED)



Robert Bennet Esq; Lieutenant. Deliuered vp all their
 Mr. ffeild, Mr. Hobson, Mr. ffish, Mr. Knight, & Hornes soe.
 Mr. Adams, fforresters
 there.

Sir John Lee, Late Warden.
 Robert Tirret Esq. Warden.
 William Earle of Banbury. Appeared.
 Sir Robert Ramsey.
 Henry Ramsey Esq; and diuerse
 others of all the 3. fforrests.

Then an O yes, and all Regardors¹ called, 12 of euery of the fforrests.

An O yes, and all Verderors² called 2. a peece.

Then the Wood Reeues³ of the seuerall fforrests, deliuered vp their Marking Axes, on their knees.

An O yes, and all the Freemen of the Reeues called. |

Then the Registers⁴, Beadles, & all Vnder fforresters, and Officers called, taking their Oaths for seuerall Places.

An O yes, & all ffreeholders of the fforrest, aswell Archbishops, Earles, Bishops, Viscounts, Lord Barons, Knights etc. were called to giue their Attendance, at this high Court: Some of the great men appeared by their Deputies, and many Knights, & Gentlemen in their proper Persons.

An Oyes, and the Great Enquest called, and sworne.

All which Busines tooke vp Monday and Tuesday fforenoone & some part of the Afternoone, before the Earle of Holland had time to make a pithy, & short preparatiue to the Charge that was to be deliuered by the Lord Cheife Justice ffinch; in which his Lordship intimated, that since his Majestie had honoured, and intrusted him with this great Seruice, his great, & speciall care should not bee wanting therein, to doe his Majestie all due, and rightfull Seruice, & the Subiect no wrong; & how glad hee was to see so full an appearance, of such noble Gentlemen, which did evidently manifest, their Loue, and Obedience to their Soueraigne, which he heartily thanked them for; & engaged his Honour to them, that his Majestie should soone know it: ffor heere were 3. great Enquests of Knights & Gentlemen empanelled, & sworne, vizt. Sir John Mills, Bart., Sir Daniell Norton, Sir Thomas Jeruis, Sir Francis D'Ews, 15. of euery Jury of Knights, Esquires, & Gentlemen: His Lordship told them he would leaue the Charge, to be deliuered to

¹Regarders were officers charged with the supervision of a forest. (OED)

²A verderer is a judicial officer of the King's forest, sworn to maintain and keep the assizes of the forest, and also to view, receive and enroll the attachments and presentments of all manner of trespasses of the forest, of vert and venison. (OED)

³Stewards or overseers of a wood or forest. (OED)

⁴Registrars. (OED)

them, by one of his Assistants, who was better read in the fforrests Lawes, & Priuiledges then he was, the Lord Cheife Justice, wherewith his Lordship concluded, and the Lord Finch humbly, & thankfully embraced it, and eloquently and learnedly deliuered it.

ffirst, be began with the Antiquity of the Lawes of this Kingdome, and that they were before the Normans came hither, for said hee, William the Conqueror was sworne to obserue the Lawes of King Edward the Confessor.

That the Common Law we haue was in the Danes time, neither did the Romans differ, or alter from vs; so he proued itt.

That the Brittons were the first ffounders, & Makers of our Lawes, which may goe for currant, before any other Nationall Law in the World.

That the fforest Law is Sister to the Common Law.

Hee shewed how it preserues the Health, & Life of our Soueraigne by Sports & Recreations, after those serious, arduous & important Affaires that Kings, and Princes haue: for he that prouides, & takes care for our Recreations, we haue great cause, & iust reason to bee singularly carefull to maintaine his.

Then he shewed, that in King Canutus his time ye fforrest Law was then holden to be ancient, which hee proued. And that the same King granted to the Subiect to kill in his owne ground.

That William the Conqueror, and King Henry 1. confirmed it, soe as the King might make his fforrest at pleasure, & punish with Life.

That Perambulation, & Proclamation, might make any mans Land fforrest, Henry 2d. Richard 1. and King John [^] grants to ye Subiect with an enlargement of their Liberties, well termed Tuta Ferarum Stationa¹. |

King Henry 3d. confirmed it; And so doth Magna Charta.

Then went out Writs to bound, & take out the Circuits of fforrests, and Chases, & confirmed the Charter by Iury, View, and Perambulation; In Edward 1. <...> [^] time the fforrests were perambulated.

Hee shewed how the Kings, & Queens since, were so imployed, as they could not soe conueniently tend this weighty Busines.

Hee set forth what was done at this Sitting at Glocester, and how the State of the fforrest in Essex, stood very ticklish, and desperate for the Subiect.

Then he shewed, & sett forth, his Maiesties singular Care for the preseruation of this Land, and the Safety of his Subiects by maintayning the Royall Nauy.

And lastly he told the Iuries, that Differences may arise by ye vncertainty of Meares, & Bounds, therefore they must be carefull; first, to set out the Bounds truly; Next, that no wrongs, and Incroachments be committed; and Thirdly, that the seuerall Officers execute their Places without Partiality, or Coniuency.

That the Articles they were to enquire off, he told them were many, & of great consequence, which [^] are to be deliberately weighed, & scanned, amongst them therefore they should have them in writing.

By this time his Lordship (as he had good cause) was wearyed, and I (as I had iust reason) with crowding, & thrusting was quite ouertyred; and his Lordship ending there, makes my worke end heere, and close

¹'A safe home for the beasts of the chase'.

with my long Parenthesis, no further to weary, & racke your Patience, & heere I could well haue spent my whole weekes trauell, if I could haue made this another City, but the period of this weeke was by me designed for ^a 4th. City; So I left many of the Keepers, & the Country Planters, poore delected Delinquents mourning with the Planets, and the merry Citizens laughing with the Time.

...

1635-36

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22219

f[295v] (Payments and Gifts) 4th Quarter

...

Item datum buccinatoris regijs ex gratia 0-10-0

...

1635/36

Coffer Accounts HRO W/E6/2

f[89r] (18 March 1635)

...

To the musitions as A curtisie xl s

...

1636

Coffer Accounts HRO W/E6/2

f[86v] (29 April)

...

More taken out of the Coffers for the Race Cuppe the somme of

xxj li vj s vj d

...¹

Coffer Accounts HRO W/E6/2

f[89v] 7 November 1636

...

Taken out of the Coffers alsoe and payed to the Clerke of the markt of his majesties howshold att the Kinges last being att this City² Twenty six shillings

xvj s

...

¹Entries here include payments to the King's Officers and to a messenger carrying packets to the Court when the King was in the neighbourhood.

²The College songs/verses referred to above could have been presented to the King on this occasion.

Probate Inventory of Gilbert Tichborne HRO 1636A78/2

22 December 1636

f[1r]

...

In the Parler

...

Item 2 staves one old paire of virginalls, 1 fforme of Wainscott, 2 Dowers & 1 Tubb with other Lumber there 0-10-0

...

1636-37

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22219

f[316r] (Payments and Gifts) 1st Quarter

...

Musicis ex gratia 0 10 0¹

...

f[316v] 4th Quarter

...

Allocatj Magistro Fisher² scribenti Carmina ad Regem 0 2 6

...

Magistro Fisher scribenti carmina data Regi 0-2-6

...

1637

Coffer Accounts HRO W/E6/2

f[91v] (26 April)

...

23 li-14s-1d

Taken out also [^] and payd to Mr Maior[^] for the Race Cupp for this yere and for a stampe for Cloth made in the Citty [viz. for the Race Cupp]

xxij li xiiij s j d

...

f[20r] (8 July)

Payed into the Coffers by Mr White Tenn poundes due by bond [^] of 30 li[^] to the Citty and also payed

¹It can be inferred from the amount paid and the regularity of such payments that these are the City's musicians.

²Unidentified.

formerly vizt. the fowerth of Aprill 1636. Twenty pounds by the sayd Mr White towardes the Race Cupp
^ 20 li which is in full of the sayd bond of Thirty poundes xxx li

...

(21 July)

...

Paid into the Cofers by Jeames Guye in paymente of the Collection of Contribution towards the race Cupp
from the Inhabitantes the some of fiftie three shillinges fower pence liij s iiij d

...

f[94r] (25 September)

...

Taken more owt of the Cofers iij li v s which was deliuered to Mr Maior for the Kings officers att his
Majesties beeing heere iij li v s

...

1637-38

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22219

f[339r] (Payments) 1st Quarter

...

Sol Mr. Hardinge¹ pro scribendis libris Cantelenarum pro choro 0 4 0

...

Soluti Tibicinibus ex Winton 0 10 0

...

1637/8

Coffer Accounts HRO W/E6/2

f[95r] (20 March 1637)

...

Also for the musitans Coats & Cognizances² seaven pounds two shillinges vij li ij s

...

1638-39

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/129

Mb[2d] (External expenses)

...

¹Unidentified.

²Marks; emblems. (OED)

...pro feodo duarum damarum et nuncio pro labore suis¹ in asportando eorundem hoc anno xxv s...pro
Maiore et socijs suis apud edes Richardi Broxton quando dame fuerunt Consumpte iij li vj s viij
d...musicis tunc temporis dati, v s...

...

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22219

f[361v] (Payments and Gifts) 1st Quarter

...

Musicis oppidanis ex gratia 0-10-0

...

1639

Coffer Accounts HRO W/E6/2

f[100r] (26 April)

...

Likewise taken owt and paid to the Maior for the Race Cupp for Easter last 21 li.18s. and for carriage of
the same ij s vj d in toto 22 li vj d

...

f[25v] (5 July)

Payed into the Coffers by Captayne Tooker towards the Race Cupp in Anno Domini 1638

iij l ix s iiij d

eodem Die

And also payed into the Coffers by Mr Maior that towe is towards the Race Cupp in Anno Domini 1639

iij l ij s vj d

...

1639-40

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22219

f[381r] (Payments and Gifts) 1st Quarter

...

Musicis oppidanis 0-10-0

...

¹This should read 'suo'.

1640-41

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22219

f[400v] (Payments and Gifts) 1st Quarter

...

Soluti Musicis Oppidanis 0-10-0

...

1641-42¹

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22219

f[421r] (Payments and Gifts) 1st Quarter

...

Soluti Musicis oppidanis 0 10 0

...

2nd Quarter

...

Dat buccinatoribus Regijs 0 10 0

...

Soluti pro vestimentis datis ex gratia vtrisque Showes² 1 12 0

...

1642

Coffer Accounts HRO W/E6/2

f[105r] (22 April)

...

Taken then owt of the Cofers and delivered to Mr Maior xvj li ij s vj d for the [Racep] Racecupp this
yeare

xvj li ij s vj d

¹The accounts run, as usual, from Michaelmas to Michaelmas but the scribe has left blank the closing date.

²On p.714 of REED's Cambridge, the editor refers to 'quasi-dramatic shows' in the form of brief topical jokes in verse, being staged in the Colleges, but there is no evidence as to what form they took in Winchester College.

CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS

ST JOHN'S

1 Jan 1554-1 Jan 1557

St John's Churchwardens Accounts HRO 88M81W/PW1

f13r (Receipts)

...

Item Received for Hocke money the first yere ix s iiij d¹

Item Received for the secunde yere ix s vj d

Item Received for the thryd yere ix s x d ob

...

Item Received for Kynge ale money all thynges Deducted xij s

Item Received for Kyngeale money of Robert Samwell x s vj d ob

f14r (Charges and Payments)

...

Item for payntyng of the clothe vponn the somerloge xj d

...

Item paid for the wyefs soper at Hocktyde ij s vj d

...

1st Jan 1557 - 14 Jan 1559

f16r (Receipts)

...

Item Received for the chosynge of the Somer lorde iiij s ix d

Item Received for Hocke money the fyrst yere xiiij s ob

f16v (Receipts)

Item Received at the Kyngale and Drynkynges afore and after and for wheat and malt sold as apereth by the boke of the particulers lvij s j d

...

f17v (Charges and Payments)

Item paid to Dyvers mynstrelles at sundry tymes xiiij s ij d

...

¹John Trussell, on f13 of his Benefactors to Winchester, written c.1617-1647, notes: '10. The hocktide meryments began here tempore regis Ethelredi Anno 979 but being lett fall were here first revized in Edward the Confessors time, Anno 1043.'

14 Jan 1559 - 6 Jan 1562

f18v (Receipts)

...

Item for Hockmoney the same yere¹ xiiij s

...

Item for Hocke money the same yere² ij s viij d

...

6 Jan 1562 - 6 Jan 1563

f21r (Receipts)

...

Item received for hocke money ix s

...

6 Jan 1563 - 11 Feb 1564

f22v (Receipts)

...

Item Received for Hocke money iiij s viij d

...

11 Feb 1564 - 29 Dec 1566

f24v (Receipts)

...

Item Received for Hocke money vij s³

...

Item Received for Kyngale money ix li iiij s vij d ob⁴

...

f25v (Charges and Payments)

...

Item for expenses of all thynges that was layde owte by the churche wardens at suche tyme as they kepte the Kyngale as it Dothe apere by a bill of particulars vij li xvj s j d ob

...

f26r (Charges and Payments)

¹This is the first year, i.e. 1559.

²This is the second year, i.e. 1560.

³The position of this record in the accounts indicates that it occurred in 1565.

⁴This is the last receipt in this set of accounts, so must be dated 1566.

...

Item paid to Thomas Norton owte of the Kyngale to the church of Cheshull vj s

...

29 Dec 1566 - 22 Jan 1569

f27r (Receipts)

...

Item Received for Hocke money for the ffyrst yere xij s vj d

Item for the secunde and thryd yeres - nihill

...

f27v (Receipts)

...

Item Received for Kyngale money althynges Discharged xvj s vj d

...

f27v (Charges and Payments)

...

Item for delivered a bill a hocktyde iiij d

...

f28v (Charges and Payments)

...

Item for the Drynkynge at Hocktyde xviiij d

...

Item for a Drynkynge for the men at Hocktyde iij s iiij d

Item for gonne powder xviiij d¹

f29r (Charges and Payments)

Item for mache iij d

...

14 Jan 1591-24 Feb 1592

...

Received at the Kyngale xx s ix d

...

¹The gunpowder and match, consecutive entries although on different pages, could be for fireworks.

11 Jan 1595 - 11 Jan 1596 (Receipts)

f56v

...

Received for our Kyngalle vij li xj s ij d

...

(Charges and Payments)

f57r

...

Payd for all charges for ye Kingalle iij li xj s j d

11 Jan 1596-12 Jan 1597

St John's Churchwardens' Accounts HRO 88M81W/PW2

f[3v] (Payments)

...

Item for ryboding at the last churchale xv d¹

...

1605

f[32v] (Payments)

...

Item to the Ringers at the trivmphe when the parlament house should have ben blowen vp iij s²

...

1609

f[40v] (Payments)

...

Item to the Ringers when the Kinge came from Tichborne & oyle then vij d

...

1611

f[43v] (Payments)

...

Item for Ringinge when the Kinge came bye vj d

...

¹The ribbons could have been for a maypole.

²This entry is included partly because of the word 'trivmphe', which implies some sort of celebration and partly because this is the year of the Gunpowder Plot. I have not included bell-ringing on its anniversaries.

1614

f[45r] (Payments)

...

Item for ringinge when the Kinge came through Winchester xx d

1615

f[15v] (Laid out)

...

Item tymber for the church Hailes iij s

...

f[32r] (Laid out)

...

Item to the Ringers when the Kinge Came bye xx d

...

ST PETER'S CHEESHILL

1572

St Peter's Cheeshill Churchwardens' Accounts HRO 3M82W/PW1

f10r (Receipts)

...

In primis Recyvid first at oure Churche Drincking xv s xj

...

1573

f11r (Laid out)

...

Item for mynstrells on assencyon daie that I cold not gather viij d¹

...

1574

f13r (Laid out)

Imprimes furst for Ringene at the Quens comeng viij d

...

Item for our dringkeng viij d

¹It looks as if the musicians should have been paid from a gathering but that not enough was raised, so the Churchwardens made good the shortfall. This entry could concern a performance of liturgical music or the musicians could have performed during an ale.

...

1610

f50r (Laid out)

...

Item for Ringinge at the Kinges comminge from Tichborne vj d

...

TRANSLATIONS
1555-56

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/83

Mb[3] (External expenses)

...

...to the Lord King's and Lady Queen's cittern¹ players in this year 8d...to the players playing in the City's Town Hall on the vigil of Epiphany in this year 18d...

...

1556-57

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/85

Mb[3] (External expenses)

...

...To the players with the puppets by order of the Mayor in this year 2s...

...

1557-58

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/88

Mb[5d] (External Expenses)

...to the blacksmith for making the bullring vj d...

1560-61

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/90

Mb[4d-5] (External expenses)

...

...To the Lady Queen's players in this year by order of the Mayor 17s 3d...To Lord Ambrose Dudley's players in this year 9s 4d...

...

1563-64

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/93

Mb[5] (External expenses)

...

...To Lord Ambrose Dudley's players in this year 7s ...To Lord Strange's players 7s 3d...to the drummer

¹Cithareda-e (n): literally, in CL, a female lyrist. Scholes gives cittern as 'a wire-stringed instrument...played with a plectrum until the end of the 16th Century'. Similar to a lute.

for his work in going before the cart in which the mad women were being carried in this year 4d...

...

post-Christmas, 1563-64

Dictates London, BL Add MS 4379

f20v

When I was annoyed because of those who called a multitude together to the shows and decided one ought to refrain from corporal punishment since they had worked not at all reluctantly, I began to use abuse, full of acrimony and vexation, as is my custom: rather rashly, perhaps, especially among stricken spirits, but I gave full rein to my grief. And so when I had driven them all off with my savage words, I forced them wholly to assume those parts which they had in the comedy, not just on the stage but in life itself and deed, as a way of placating my spirit. Eubulus formed no less sound a plan about his affairs than he gave the day before to Pelargus, his neighbour and friend. Acolastus again goes into exile, who, I fear, may fall among the Pamphagi and Pantalabes. Surely Pelargus, just as unhappy now as previously, finds it hard, I think, to be separated from his son. (AAY/SPA)

1564

Dictates London, BL Add MS 4379

f27v

Your business was carried out in such a way yesterday, as much with regard to the unusual pronunciation as to the action itself that now and hereafter, as old men basking in the sun, you can remember your performances. You may say 'I remember, when I was a boy, having performed (plays) which were in Greek. He was an actor, and so was he; and I myself played some part.' And this will be a glory which never adorned your forefathers. (AAY/SPA)

1564-65

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22215

f[18v] (Expenses for buildings and repairs) 2nd Quarter

...

Likewise for expenses made regarding the plays in the Christmas holidays as shown by bill 11s 6d

...

post-Christmas, 1564-65

Dictates London, BL Add MS 4379

f88v

From those stage plays which we have lately exhibited publicly to the view, I think you have derived this

benefit besides others, that what must be pronounced with what expression, with that¹ gestures not only you yourselves learned, but are able also to teach others (if need were). For there should be in the voice a certain amount of elevation, depression, and modulation, in the body decorous movement without prancing around, sometimes more quiet, at others more vehement, with stamping² of the feet accommodated to the subject. These I remember I taught, all of which you expressed dexterously enough. It remains that you so remember that if anything hereafter be undertaken in a similar matter neither I shall seem to have lost my labour nor you the fruit of labour (Baldwin)

f89r

The interpreters of Terence and Plautus say a great deal about the origin of comedies and of their nature, disputing not a little so that it may be clear what comedy is. Some wish it to be an imitation of civil life, others wish it to be a representation of the manners which are found in old men, youths, courtesans, pimps, parasites, and others of that kind. From these if it were permitted for me to dissent, I think I could give both a truer and shorter definition of comedy. For what else is comedy than a laborious nothing? Invention difficult, disposition laborious, the description of parts³ difficult, of those who act, if they are rather inept, the training exasperating, the providing of the curtains well-nigh impossible, the construction of the theatre expensive, the exclusion from the doors not without the offence of many, and the comedy itself nothing. For what is so completely nothing as that which in one moment of the hour, point of time, winking of the eye, both begins to be and ceases? (Baldwin)

f95v

When the commander Iphicrates had seen the cocks of Midas' barber attacking those who were Callias' with wings and beak, he turned his mind to military glory. They say that the same thing happened to Themistocles. When he was leading the army out against the barbarians, he saw cocks fighting and, stopping the whole army, he said to them: 'Can it be that these (birds) are fighting not for their homeland nor for their household gods, nor for liberty, or for children, but only lest one be overcome by the other or one give place to another?' With these words he strengthened the spirits of the Athenians and put the Persians to flight. Thereafter the Athenians made a law that cocks should fight every year in the theatre. Understand that this same practice is only allowed you so that, as no half-hearted onlookers of that fight, you may, each one, earnestly take from it an incentive to courage, along with Iphicrates and the other Athenians. (AAY)

f100r

No-one about to enter the most holy bonds of matrimony with a lawful wife first has dealings with a whore whose body is common property but he keeps himself chaste, so that he may even more fully enjoy

¹Misprint for 'what'.

²AAY suggests 'stamping', rather than Baldwin's 'supplasion'.

³Baldwin has added '[characterisation]' here.

the longed-for marriage. The point is that you may understand how disgraceful it would be for those about to begin a fast to contaminate the body beforehand with excessive gorging and drunkenness. I judge that he who embraces the daughter of abstinence, as I introduced chastity in a comedy, must also, I think, abstain from gluttony, whose daughter is lechery. One must be fore-warned of this especially today, so that (you may remember) it ever after; hear Phocylides: (Greek) *It is necessary to eat, drink and speak with moderation*. There is a mean to be kept in words, and in drink, and in food. (AAY/SPA)

post-Christmas 1565-66

f142r

On Monday

The three parts of comedies are reckoned as prothesis, epitasis, and catastrophe. Comedies, moreover, are said to be imitators of people who exist in real life, so let no-one doubt that these same divisions occur in real life. You should realise that there are also three time periods in diseases: growth, stasis, and decline. This same thing occurred in the recent holidays, for they had a beginning, a middle, and an end, that you may understand that what Cicero said is true, that nothing ought to seem lasting that will have an end.

What shall I say! That it happens that every night

Our plays continually pass before my eyes.

But Mitio does not disturb me with empty forms,

Nor Nero — Cambyses alone does all.

He and his satraps and his wife and everyone,

Whether priests or monstrous beasts, flow by me.

Now I seem to bear ill their confused tumult,

Their hoarseness and the too-restricted places.

Meantime I seem to hear voices from the lowest parts

Of the hall nor do my actors seem to go over well.

I'm still not sure why this is; I perhaps on that day pleased the audience;

I certainly didn't please myself. (AAY/SPA)

ff143-5

Nero and Poppaea speak together

Nero: Speak, for hidden sorrow causes greater pain: why do you, my wife, weep so often from your heart and renew your griefs? Do you doubt my faithfulness, whose marriage-bed you now occupy as a bride?

Poppaea: Augustus, greatest glory of the world, I, late but a handmaiden, acknowledge that it is your gift that I seem worthy of your marriage-bed and am called your wife. I have never sought this nor was it my so-arrogant desire — I call sacred marriage and you yourself to

witness that I above all must worship your divinity. Although what good is that gift, to be the wife of Nero and a partner in such great power if yet I remain lowly as I was before when I was married to Crispinus, spurned, despised by all, fearful of ruin, because the servants of evil who gravely threaten my head no longer speak secretly and insult me even now that you are my husband.

- Nero: Does anyone do this against the wife of Nero?
- Poppaea: I am not called a wife! That one calls me courtesan and whore.
- Nero: You, joined to me by holy bonds, who bear a part of me?
- Poppaea: That part, though not yet born, is still addressed harshly.
- Nero: Do they deny that it is mine?
- Poppaea: No, but they deny that I am yours.
- Nero: Shall I believe that anyone would dare such a great crime?
- Poppaea: The overturned statues tell you they have dared.
- Nero: Have they been put back? The mob has been punished for you.
- Poppaea: Rather, it has been taught to do harm if it find a leader.
- Nero: Let another learn (how) to be leader from the death of Plautus.
- Poppaea: It has many Plauti in one woman.
- Nero: What woman is so powerful that she would dare such a thing?
- Poppaea: The one who bears such great titles, whose father was Claudius.
- Nero: Who barren and despised has given place to you?
- Poppaea: Who lives and still nurtures a powerful spirit.
- Nero: Slight things are soon broken.
- Poppaea: If in fact, Nero, she were wholly sent into exile! But now she has clients in our city, her father's slaves, old friends, and — what is finally revealed — lovers. Encaerus confesses the shameful act: a vile Egyptian slave, mighty with the sistrum and his art, has made an ambush in your marriage-bed. These, though quiet, are always your enemies and they are stirring up the mob with the sound of a double-edged word, that they are armed to replace the offspring of the Claudian house among paternal laurels, and they restore to her husband one who, great with child, swells with dread hopes of rule.
- Nero: Is she pregnant, who as the companion of our bed bore nothing, did not even conceive in these ten years?
- Poppaea: So (says) the doubtful rumour of the mob, nor does that seem wonderful to me. She would have borne a child before now had she chastely kept to your bed alone. As it is, her practice of fickle desire and her lascivious passion of lost debauchery towards all men produced an abortion. Lust has made whatever vice there is in her. If you doubt, Nero, the thing itself shows what is happening: she conceives, after she sees what crime is charged against her without offspring. If you ask where the child comes from! Alas for the sacred laws of marriage! On this side a slave, on the other a sailor struggle in turn for the place of its father and, what is the lasting disgrace, Encaerus wants to be his

own and Anicetus his own, the base fosterling whom soon, at his mother's will, an armed band will summon unto the august house of the Caesars, having cast out your own child and true offspring. Who can bear such a great crime? They will give over the reins of power to be held by that same (base child).

Nero: Stop crying, my wife: your sorrow is justified and my wrath ever weak. But it must be corrected: surely she must not get away with this, by whose unspeakable sleeping-around our entire house is polluted? She who foists off her bastards on me and intends my empire for her by-blow... Now I see that the child has gained understanding of a depraved mother and learned to renew an ancient shameful act from the illustrious example of her mother: the mother married Silius, she rushes headlong into the mutual embrace of Anicetus. The crimes of each are equal and deserve an equal punishment. Will Nero yield in vengeance to her father Claudius? Will he spare the incestuous exile who did not spare his own mother? After so many noble youths and old men, a brother, and a mother had been given over to various deaths, will he so far desist from slaughter, unmindful of his habits and theirs? She will feel my blow. An emperor has not only islands: he has also axes, prisons, hooks, and crosses. This inciter of the mob against my head, adulteress, exile, and barren woman — will she cause my fears to grow besides? Go first of all, I command, and free your emperor from this fear! As long as she breathes and draws breath, the people will not find rest: they wish her dead.

Messenger: Let anyone who praises human affairs or rejoices in proud things behold, if he is able, the last progeny and fall of the Claudian house. Scarcely ever has fortune provided greater lessons.

Nero: What has the prefect done? Has he carried out my commands?

Messenger: He has.

Nero: Does she live? Does she lie in death?

Messenger: She lives, but as one who desires freely to change that life for death: her only wish is to die. If you order harsher punishments, you will please her. (AAY/SPA)

1566-67

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/94

Mb[5] (External expenses)

...

...To Henry Williams the Lady Queen's clerk of the market by order of the mayor in this year 6s 8d...To the Lady Queen's players by order of the mayor in this year 20s...

...

1567-68

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/95

Mb[4d] (External expenses)

...To the Earl of Worcester's players by order of the mayor in this year 5s 10d...

...

1568-69

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22215

f[178r] (Payments and Gifts) 4th Quarter

...

Likewise as gratuities given to the Lady Queen's performers at the command of the Lord Warden 5s

...

1569-70

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22215

f[214r] (Payments and Gifts) 1st Quarter

...

First as gratuities given to the Lady Queen's pipers with wine at the order of the sub-Warden 7s 4d

...

1570-71

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/97

Mb[5] (External expenses)

...

...to the clerk of the market of the Lady Queen's household by order of the mayor in this year 10s...To the Lady Queen's players by order of the mayor in this year 20s...

...

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22215

f[252r] (Payments and Gifts) 4th Quarter

...

Likewise as gratuities given to the Lady Queen's players 6s 8d

...

1573-74

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/100

Mb[5-5d] (External expenses)

...

...To the players of the Lord called the Lord Chamberlain on two occasions in this year 26s 8d...To the

Lady Queen's bearward/s by order of the Mayor in this year 5s...To Simon Goodman hired for playing on the drum in this year 16d... | ...to three Serjeants of the mace of the city for buying some clothing to wear at the visit of the Lady Queen in this year 30s...To Adam Marble for painting and gilding the Arms at the Westgate at the visit of the Lady Queen by order of the mayor in this year £5... for plastering and painting of other parts of the said gate at the visit of the said Lady Queen in this year 44s 4d...to sundry workmen hired on Saturday for mending the king's highway at Falconer's Corner at the visit of the Lady Queen to the church by the same road in this year 2s 6d...to the clerk of the market at the visit of the Lady Queen in this year 20s...to the Lady Queen's cup bearers in this year 6s 8d...To the Lady Queen's trumpeters in this year 20s...to the Lady Queen's footmen in this year 30s...to the Lady Queen's Marshal in this year 10s...to the Lady Queen's cooks in this year 3s 4d...to the Lady Queen's serjeant-at-arms in this year 13s 4d...to the Lady Queen's sword bearer 6s 8d...to the Lady Queen's doorkeepers in this year 6s 8d...to the Lady Queen's wagonners in this year 6s 8d...to the Lady Queen's surveyors of roads in this year 6s 8d...to the Lady Queen's heralds nothing in this year because 20s was paid solely for the first visit of the Lady Queen and consequently nothing is allowed here for the Lady Queen's second visit...for the man hired with two horses to ride as far as the City of Salisbury for a scarlet cloak received on loan at the same place for the visit of the Lady Queen and for redelivering the same in this year 4s...

...

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22216

f[43v] (Hall Expenses) 2nd Quarter

...

Likewise for sundry expenses for the putting up and taking down of the scaffold and for the little houses newly made, with carriage and carriage back of the joists and of other things borrowed for the same scaffold, with 7 links and 1 dozen candles for light being expenses for 3 nights on plays of comedies and tragedies 25s 8d

3rd Quarter

Likewise to Roger Darneley for 7 links delivered for the children of the Schoolmaster for the plays 3s

4th Quarter

Likewise to Roger Lyme for one rope for suspending the ship in the Hall 12d

Likewise to John Chappingeton for his work in removing the organ from the chapel to the Hall and for preparing the same for the plays 5s

...

1574-5

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22216

f[78r] (Hall Expenses) 3rd Quarter

...

Likewise to a certain prisoner for repairing the ship hanging in the Hall viz. for colours and other things necessary for the repairing of the same 4s and for his labour 3s 4d in all 7s 4d

...

1578-79

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/101

Mb[5] (External expenses)

...to three pursuivants for carrying the proclamation for wool for cannons and against the banned book
3s...To the trumpeter blowing at the last proclamation against the banned book 6d¹...to Simon Goodman
for his fee for playing the drum in this year 16d...

...

1579-80

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22216

f[264v] (Hall Expenses) 4th Quarter

First for a rope for the ship hanging in the Hall 18d

f[272r] (Payments and Gifts) 2nd Quarter

...

Likewise as gratuities to three pipers, servants of the Earl of Leicester, with the agreement of the Lord
Warden and fellows [4s] 5s

...

1580-81

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/102

Mb[5d] (External expenses)

...

...To the Earl of Derby's players by order of the mayor, viz Mr. Edward White, in this year 8s 4d...To
Simon Goodman for his fee for playing on the drum for the said year 8d...

...

1581-82

Chamberlains' Accounts W/E1/103

Mb[5] (External expenses)

...

...Given as gratuities to the Lady Queen's bearwards by order of the Mayor and with the consent of some
of his brethren 10s...Given as gratuities to the Lord Earl of Leicester's players by order of the Mayor in
this year 10s...To the Earl of Derby's players by order of the Mayor in this year 16s...

...

¹The Latin here is macaronic. A strict translation would be: 'to the trumpeter of a flute'.

1582-83

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22216

f[373r] (Hall Expenses) 4th Quarter

...

First for expenses in building a stage in the Hall for acting of the comedies £4 3s 10d

1588-89

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/106

Mb[4d-3d] (External expenses)

...

...To the royal players given to them as gratuities by order of the Mayor on the tenth day of March in this year 20s...To John Chapington's servant for playing on the fife and for the cash due to the same in arrears in this year 12d... | ...To the royal players as gratuities in the month of September in this year by order of the Mayor 20s...

1589-90

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/107

Mb[4d] (External expenses)

...

...Given as gratuities to the Lord Admiral of England's players by order of the Mayor in this year 10s...Given as gratuities to the Lady Queen's players in this year 20s...

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22217

f[203v] (Expenses for buildings and repairs) 2nd Quarter

...

Likewise for one thousand two hundred nails for the theatre 6s

Likewise for two men cutting wood for the same 4d

Likewise to Hancock and Payne carpenters with the agreement of the Lord Warden for making the same 13s 6d

Likewise to John George and son working for one [day in the same place] 12d¹

...

1590-91

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/108

Mb[5d] (External expenses)

...

¹See footnote 4 on p.70.

...given as gratuities to sundry honourable gentlemen at the City race, called the race, viz for two boxes of preserved quinces in this year 13s 4d...given to the same honourable gentlemen one sugar loaf weighing 12lb and a half by order of the mayor in this year 14s 6d...for two gallons of claret wine given to the same honourable gentlemen by order of the mayor in this year 5s 4d...Given as gratuities to the Lord High Admiral of England's players by order of the mayor in this year 20s...To the Lady Queen's players given to them as gratuities in the month of February in this year 20s...

Mb[4d]

...Given as gratuities to the Royal players in the month of June in this year 20s...Given as gratuities to the servant of the Lady Queen called the Queen's Brewer in the month of July in this year 5s...Given as gratuities to the Clerk of the Market of the said Lady Queen's household 20s...Given as gratuities to the Trumpeters of the said Lady Queen and to the Servant(s) of the Knight Marshal in this year 20s...To the trumpeters of the said Lady Queen given to them as gratuities in this year 20s...Given to Nicholas Markes going to London for a certain cup of gold called silver parcel gilt given to the said Lady Queen staying this year at Bishop's Waltham in this year 10s...for one board bought for the Clerk of the Market of the household of the said Lady Queen for printing the tariff on foodstuffs brought in, in this year 3d...for six torches bought at the visit of the said Lady Queen up to the City in this year 6s...Given as gratuities to the harbinger of the said Lady Queen in this year 26s 8d...to Nicholas Markes going twice to the town of Southampton for mending the great mace of the City in this year 3s 4d...to the Goldsmith for gilding the same mace 10s...for new doublets and straps bought for the serjeants of the mace and Beadles of the City on the visit of the said Lady Queen in this year 53s 4d...to Mr. Paice for gratuities given by him to sundry official saddlers of the said Lady Queen when the same Lady Queen was at Bishop's Waltham in this year 10s...to Mr. William Badger as for monies given by him as gratuities to sundry officials of the said Lady Queen at Bishop's Waltham in this year 5s...for one bottle of wine called sack and one bottle of Claret wine given to the Serjeants of the said Lady Queen in this year 3s...To the musicians of Lord Lawarre given to them as gratuities in this year 3s 4d...

...

1591-92

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/109

Mb[6d-5d] (External expenses)

...

...for straw bought and scattered across the City Bullring in this year 4d... | ...Given as gratuities to the royal players in this year 20s...To Richard Tonge for constructing one new bullring in this year 8d...For one piece of timber bought for the setting in of the Bullring in this year 6d...To the Carpenter/s hired to fix the bullring and occupied there for squaring the timber in this year 3d...

1594-95

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/110

Mb[4] (External expenses)

...

...Given to the royal players by order of the Mayor and his brethren as gratuities in this year 20s...

1596-97

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/111

Mb[4d] (External expenses)

...To the Lady Queen's players in this year 20s...

...

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22217

f[394r] (Expenses for buildings and repairs) 4th Quarter

...

Likewise for 13 lamps for the theatre 4s

...

Likewise for 1150 feet of board for the theatre at a price of 6s 8d per hundred £3 16s 8d

...

1598-99

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/112

Mb[5d] (External expenses)

...To the Lady Queen's players on the 3rd of March in this year 20s...to Thomas Bedam for a certain dinner given to the servants of the Lady Queen who announced to the Mayor that the Lady Queen was coming to this city in this year 9s 7d...

...

1599-1600

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/113

Mb[5] (External expenses)

...To the Lady Queen's players by order of the Mayor in this year 20s...

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22218

f[8v] (Payments and Gifts) 2nd Quarter

...

Likewise to the trumpeters of the Lady Queen and Council 15s

...

1600-1

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/114

Mb[4d] (External expenses)

...To the Lady Queen's trumpeters by order of the Mayor of the city in this year 20s...

...

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22218

f[38r] (Payments and Gifts) 4th Quarter

...

Likewise as gratuities to the Lady Queen's trumpeters 10s

...

1603-4

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22218

f[113v] (Payments and Gifts) 1st Quarter

...

Likewise to the royal trumpeters 10s

...

Letter to M. de Villeroy from M. de Beaumont London, British Library Add MS 30639

f283v 27 October 1603

Letter to M. de Villeroy of the same day

...A few days ago, she produced a ballet or more properly a rural masque for it had neither order nor expense, but she proposes to produce finer ones this winter in recompense. And it seems that the King and his Principal Ministers who are always concerned for her Spirits, will be very glad to see her occupied in this activity ...

...

1604-5

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/115

Mb[6] (External expenses)

...

(Wherefore the same accountants seek to be allowed in payment) ...Given to the Prince's players as gratuities in this year 20s...For one link carried before the Mayor going to see the player in this year 4d...

...

1605-6

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/116

Mb[4d] (External expenses)

(Wherefore the same accountants seek to be allowed in payment)...Given to the Lady Queen's players as

gratuities by order of the mayor and his brethren in this year 20s...To the Lady Queen's trumpeters by order of the mayor and his brethren in this year 5s...To the Lord King's trumpeters as gratuities in this year 10s...

...

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22218

f[165r] (Payments and Gifts) 4th Quarter

...

Likewise to the Lord King's trumpeters as a favour 5s

...

1606-7

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22218

f[188v] (Payments) 4th Quarter

...

Likewise as gratuities to the royal trumpeters 15s

...

1607-8

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22218

f[213v] (Payments) 4th Quarter

...

Likewise to the Lord Prince's trumpeters 3s 6d

...

1608-9

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22218

f[238r] (Payments and Gifts) 4th Quarter

...

Likewise to the Lord King's trumpeters as a favour of the Lord Warden 10s

1610-11

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/117

Mb[9] (External expenses)

...

(Wherefore the same accountants seek to be allowed (in payment) for)...Given to the Lord King's trumpeters in this year 10s...Given to the Lord King's Clerk of the Market for his fee at the time when the Lord King was at Andover in this year 20s...for a packet for carrying letters to the Lord King's Court

at the time when the Lord King's Court was at Beaulieu in this year 3s...Given to the players of the right honourable Henry Prince of Wales 20s...to three men for work on the carrying and hanging of the King's arms at the Westgate at the time when the Lord King rode through the City in this year 2s...Given to Phillip Adams the City postmaster for two horses standing ready to travel to [the Lord King's Court at Beaulieu beyond and on the further side of the parks¹ of the Lord King in this year 13s 4d⁺ [Westgate at the time when the Lord King rode through the City in this year 2s]...To a labourer/labourers, for carrying the rubbish used in the High Street of the City, at the coming of the Lord King through the City in this year 4d...

...

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22218

f[293r] (Payments and Gifts) 4th Quarter

...

Likewise for Mr. Johnson, given to the King's trumpeters 10s

...

1611-12

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22218

f[313r] (Payments and Gifts) 3rd Quarter

...

Likewise to the musicians from the city of Winchester as a favour of the Lord Warden and Fellows 10s

...

1612-13

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22218

f[331r] (Payments and Gifts) 3rd Quarter

...

Likewise to the musicians as a favour of the Lord Warden and Fellows 10s

...

f[331v] 4th Quarter

...

Likewise for the pipers as a favour of the Lord Warden and Fellows 13s 4d

...

¹The New Forest.

1613-14

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/119

Mb[6d] (External expenses)

(Wherefore the same accountants seek allowance for)...Given to the most serene Prince's players

10s...Given to the most serene Prince's players 20s...

1614-15

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22218

f[383v] (Payments and Gifts) 4th Quarter

...

Likewise to the royal trumpeters 10s

...

1615-16

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22218

f[411r] (Payments and Gifts) 2nd Quarter

...

To the town musicians as a favour by custom 10s

...

f[411v] 4th Quarter

Likewise to certain pipers 5s

...

1616-17

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22218

f[435r] (Hall Expenses) 2nd Quarter

....

Likewise to William Shershall and companion for sawing 450 feet of wood for the stage in the hall at a price of 2s 4d a hundred 10s 6d

...

Likewise to Rowse and his mate for 6 days work in erecting and dismantling the stage 14s

Likewise to Curteise working on the stage for 5 days 5s 10d

Likewise to Alderly and Searle working on the stage for 8 days 18s 8d

...

4th Quarter

...

Likewise to John Hayward for delivering a load of poles for equipping the [window] stage for the play/s 6d

...

f[442v] (Payments and Gifts) 1st Quarter

...

Likewise to the pipers of Winchester 10s

...

1617-18

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/120

Mb[5d-4d] (External expenses)

(Wherefore the same accountants seek to be allowed for)...Given to the Lady Queen's players in this year 20s... | ...to the Lord King's Clerk of the Market for his fee in this year 20s...to the Trumpeters of the Lord King in this year 6s...for a purse for presenting to the Prince with £10 in gold within in this year 17s...for oil and other things used for scouring the City's Arms in this year 18d...To the City Armourer for his work and that of three others in scouring the City's Arms in this year 18d...To various men working on the king's highway at the visit of the Lord King in this year and for other works done at that time and for wood used then £5 5d ...to the footmen of the Lord King passing through the City in this year 40s...to the Lady Queen's players in this year 20s...to the Postmaster for his several journeys and for hiring his horses during the time that the Lord King was in the County of Southampton 33s 4d...to Orton Brooker for removing the City's Arms to the Westgate at the coming of the Lord King through the City in this year 3s 10d...

...

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22218

f[468r] (Payments and Gifts) 4th Quarter

...

Likewise to the royal trumpeters as a favour 11s

...

1618-19

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/121

Mb[6d] (External expenses)

(Wherefore the same accountants seek to be allowed for)...Given to the right honourable Lady Elizabeth's players in this year 10s...Given to the right honourable Prince Palatine's players in this year 10s...

...

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22218

f[498r] (Payments and Gifts) 1st Quarter

...

To the pipers of the town 10s

...

2nd Quarter

...

To the royal trumpeters 2s 6d

...

f[499v] 4th Quarter

...

To the trumpeters of the Lady Leonora and of other nobles 5s 6d

...

1619-20**Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/122**

Mb[5d-4d] (External expenses)

(Wherefore the same accountants seek to be allowed for)...Given to the Lord King's players in this year 20s...given to Richard Walker the | postmaster for the hire of his horses at the time of the progress of the most serene Lord King in the County of Southampton in this year 40s...Given to the Lord King's Trumpeters at the time of his progress in the aforesaid County in this year 10s...Given to the clerk of the market of the Lord King's household at the time of the aforesaid progress as a favour not as an obligation 20s...Given to the Lord King's footmen at the time when the Lord King passed through the aforesaid City as a favour not as an obligation in this year 40s...Given to the footmen of the Lord Charles Prince of Wales when he passed through the City as a favour not as an obligation xs...Given to the said Lord Prince's trumpeters in this year 5s...Given to various labourers for mending the road outside the Westgate against the arrival of the Lord King on his progress through the city in this year 17s 8d...Given for the hire of one horse for attending on the coming of the Lord King through the City in this year 12d...Given for a cartload of rubbish for mending the road at the Westgate on the visit of the Lord King in this year 10d...given to (blank) Coleman the footpost towards the purchase of a horse by order of the Mayor in this year 2s 6d...Given to Orton Brooker for his labour in removing the Lord King's arms from the Guildhall to the west gate on the coming of the Lord King through the City in this year 2s...Given to Thomas Willoby for wine consumed at the Mayor's house at the time when the Recorder and Aldermen "twice" dined there and for wine given to the Lord King's trumpeters by the Mayor in this year in all 20s...

...

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22218

f[526v] (Payments and Gifts) 2nd Quarter

...

Likewise to a certain trumpeter 6d

...

f[527r] 4th Quarter

...

Likewise to the royal trumpeters 11s

Likewise to the trumpeters from the royal band 2s 6d

...

1620-21

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22218

f[550r] (Payments and Gifts) 1st Quarter

...

To the town trumpeters 10s

...

<...> to a piper 1s

...

f[550v] 2nd Quarter

...

To a trumpeter 6d

...

f[551r] 4th Quarter

...

To the pipers of magnates 5s

...

1621-22

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/123

Mb[2d] (External expenses)

(Wherefore the same accountants seek to be allowed for)...Given to the Lord King's players in this year 20s...Given to the Prince of Wales's players in this year 20s...Given to the Trumpeters of George Phillpott, knight, Sheriff of Southampton in this year 2s 6d...

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22218

f[578v] (Payments and Gifts) 1st Quarter

...

Likewise to the pipers of noblemen 2s 6d

...

f[579r] 2nd Quarter

...

To the town musicians as a favour 10s

...

1622-23

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22218

f[608v] (Payments and Gifts) 1st Quarter

...

To the royal pipers by the sub-Warden 2s

...

To the royal pipers by order 2s 6d

...

2nd Quarter

...

To the town musicians 10s

To the Earl of Kent's pipers, from Baronis Bartley with the consent of the Lord Warden 2s 6d

...

f[609r] 3rd Quarter

...

To certain pipers with the agreement of the Lord Warden 2s

To the King's pipers with the agreement of the same 6s 8d

...

f[609v] 4th Quarter

...

To the King's pipers 10s

...

1623-24

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/124

Mb[4d] (External expenses)

(Wherefore the same accountants seek to be allowed for)...Given to the most excellent Prince Charles's players in this year 20s...

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22218

f[636v] (Payments and Gifts) 1st Quarter

...

To the musicians of the city of Winchester according to custom 10s

...

f[637r] 4th Quarter

...

To certain pipers of noblemen with the agreement of the Lord Warden 5s

...

1624-25

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22219

f[15r] (Payments and Gifts) 1st Quarter

...

To the pipers of the town according to custom 10s

...

2nd Quarter

...

To the Prince's trumpeters by order of the Lord Warden 3s 6d

...

Likewise to the pipers sounding in College at the order of the Sub-Warden 2s 6d

...

f[15v] 3rd Quarter

...

Allowed to Mr. Schoolmaster for expenses for plays 6s

...

1625-26

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22219

f[43v] (Payments and Gifts) 3rd Quarter

...

Paid to the pipers on sundry occasions 5s 10d

...

1626-27

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22219

f[71r] (Payments and Gifts) 1st Quarter

...

Likewise to the pipers as a favour of the Lord Warden 3s

...

2nd Quarter

...

To the town musicians according to custom 10s

...

1627-28

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22219

f[98v] (Payments and Gifts) 3rd Quarter

...

To the servant of the Lord Warden for musicians playing in College 2s 6d

...

4th Quarter

...

To the royal trumpeters as a favour 10s

...

1628-29

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22219

f[124r] (Payments) 1st Quarter

...

To the King's pipers as a favour 10s

...

Given to the musicians by the Lord Warden 1s

...

f[124v] 4th Quarter

...

Given to the royal pipers 10s

...

1629-30

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/126

Mb[3d] (External expenses)

(Wherefore the same accountants seek to be allowed for)...for expenses incurred in the Hospital of the House of St. John the Baptist for the supper for the Mayor, Bailiffs and Citizens and their wives on the Sunday after the feast of St. John the Baptist in this year according to the ancient order as is shown by an itemised note of the same expenses shown to the Auditors and approved by them £6 11s...Given for wine drunk at the same supper in this year 9s...Given to the musicians for the same occasion 15s...

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22219

f[149r] (Payments and Gifts) 4th Quarter

...

Likewise given as gratuities to the King's and Queen's trumpeters 20s ...

Likewise to musicians from Andover as a favour 2s 6d

...

1630**Town Court Rolls HRO W/D1/288**

f182r

Francis Hamlin is attached to answer to Henry Fisher concerning a plea of offence in the case and in respect whereof the same Henry Fisher through John Morne his attorney complains that whereas the same Francis Hamlin employing his skill, the purpose of which is to make and adjust stringed instruments, in English, fiddles or viols, and whereas the same [Francis] Henry was and is a 'pedotribe', in English, one who teaches children how to dance or exercise their bodies, And whereas on the 20th Day of August in the fifth year of the Reign of our Lord King Charles now of England etc, here at the City of Winchester within the jurisdiction of this Court in consideration of twenty pence of legal English money paid by the same Henry to the same Francis in advance and seven shillings paid by the same Henry to the same Francis after the making of two stringed instruments (panduras), in English, of two fiddles or viols, to be made for the same Henry by the same Francis, he undertook and to the same Henry then and in the same place promised faithfully, that he himself, the same Francis, would make and adjust the two stringed instruments, in English, two fiddles or viols, for the same Henry within fifteen days, in English, within fortnight, then next following. However, the aforesaid Francis, caring little for his aforesaid promise and undertaking, but contriving and intending deceitfully to cheat and defraud cunningly and wickedly the same Henry Fisher in this matter, did not make and design two stringed instruments according to his aforesaid promise and undertaking, through which the same Henry Fisher has been deprived of and lost a certain amount of profits and benefits in the profession of pedotribe, which he then was using and still uses whereof the same Henry says that he is damaged and has loss to the value of forty shillings in respect thereof he produces his suit¹ etc.

1630-31**Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/127**

Mb[2d] (External expenses)

...

(Wherefore the same accountants seek to be allowed for)...for expenses incurred in the hospital of the house of St. John the Baptist for the supper for the Mayor, Bailiffs and Commonalty and their wives on the 24th day of July in this year because the supper was not held there on the Sunday after the feast of St. John the Baptist at the time when it normally took place according to ancient custom for a variety of reasons in this year £6 1s 9½d...for wine drunk there at the same supper in this year 11s 8d...Given to the town musicians for their work at the same supper 10s...

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22219

f[174r] (Payments and Gifts) 2nd Quarter

...

¹Or 'body of witnesses'.

Paid to the pipers as a favour 10s

...

1631-32

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22219

f[201v] (Payments) 1st Quarter

...

Likewise to the musicians of the city of Winchester as a favour 0-10-0

...

f[202r] 4th Quarter

...

Likewise to the Royal trumpeters as a favour at the time of the Election 0-10-0

...

1633-34

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22219

f[248r] (Payments and Gifts) 1st Quarter

...

To the town musicians according to custom 0-10-0

...

1634-35

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22219

f[272r] (Payments and Gifts) 1st Quarter

...

To the town musicians according to custom 0-10-0

...

f[272v] 4th Quarter

...

To the royal trumpeters 0-10-0

...

1635-36

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22219

f[295v] (Payments and Gifts) 4th Quarter

...

Likewise given to the royal trumpeters as a courtesy 0-10-0

...

1636-37

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22219

f[316r] (Payments and Gifts) 1st Quarter

...

To the musicians as a favour 0-10-0

...

f[316v] 4th Quarter

...

Allowed to Mr. Fisher for writing songs for the King 0-2-6

...

To Mr. Fisher for writing songs given to the King 0-2-6

...

1637-38

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22219

f[339r] (Payments) 1st Quarter

...

Paid to Mr. Hardinge for writing books of songs for the choir 0-4-0

...

Paid to the pipers from Winchester 0-10-0

...

1638-39

Chamberlains' Accounts HRO W/E1/129

Mb [2d] (External Expenses)

(Wherefore the same accountants seek to be allowed for)...as a fee for two deer and to the messenger for his labour in transporting them in this year 25s...for the Mayor and his brethren at the house of Richard Broxton when the deer were eaten £3 6s 8d...Given to the musicians at that time, 5s...

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22219

f[361v] (Payments and Gifts) 1st Quarter

...

To the town musicians as a favour 0-10-0

...

1639-40

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22219

f[380r] (Payments and Gifts) 1st Quarter

...

To the town musicians 0-10-0

...

1640-41

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22219

f[400v] (Payments and Gifts) 1st Quarter

...

Paid to the town musicians 0-10-0

...

1641-42

Winchester College Bursars' Accounts WC Vol 22219

f[421r] (Payments and Gifts) 1st Quarter

...

Paid to the town musicians 0-10-0

...

2nd Quarter

...

Given to the Royal trumpeters 0-10-0

...

Paid for clothing¹ given as a favour for both shows 1-12-0

...

¹This could also be translated as 'costumes'. Is payment being made as a favour for clothes given for the shows or were the clothes given as a favour but the College felt it should pay for them (in order to acquire them permanently), or were the clothes graciously given but payment was always expected?

APPENDIX 1

For a discussion of this poem, see p.16.

A **Commonplace Book** Hun. HM 116

ca. 1615-1637

pp.75-76

On ye Death of Longland slaine in acting a Tragedy

O let me weepe in English whole denye
 My Mothers Tongue wherin I l[^]e[^]a[^]r[^]nd to cry
 The Graecian Idiom fitts not all, their fiue
 Affords no case like this sad Ablatiue
 The courting period of a Spanish breath
 Yeilds not persuasiue complement for Death
 The french excludes most consonants and I
 Must be a consonant in this wofull crye
 Indeede ye fluent Latin may expresse
 Our sorrows tide, yat ouerflowes no lesse. |
 Yet their Declensions are all designd
 To' in[^]v[^]o<.>ke a fate yat cannot be declined.
 Vnhappy Wretch yat acts a this dismall part
 That puts to Silence all ye Tongues of art
 For what can Nature speake alasse this fall
 Hath <.> made her dumbe too, tis vnnaturall
 How shall wee uent our greife? (o lets devise
 To wring a Language from our blubbord eyes
 Teach me to pen a sigh, yat euery line
 May <..> pickle vp a Mourner in ye brine
 Of his owne teares, at least; lets be agreed
 To weepe as fast as this our freind did bleed
 Deare heart that was so serious in ye rest
 Of all his lyfe, he could not play in Iest
 O too too true Tragaedian twas thy task
 To practize to be murderd & to maske
 A Deadman on ye stage, vnhappy strife
 To act <..> a lyfe of Death, a Death of Lyfe
 But sure his soule had still bene Chamberd in
 Within his Body had his Body bin

Still in his Chamber, had her not drawne ayre
To quicke throughs new made mouth Id'e not dispayre
But that his one might still haue breath'd quick
Had he not sickly liu'd; that dy'd not sick
Had Heauens posture bene as Drowsy as
Was ours, or ours as Wakefull as Heauens was
Doubtlesse he had (alass alass my greife
Sends me I know not whither for releife)
Hees dead, hees dead & all haue giuen him or'e,
Hees slaine, Ile weep, for I can write no more.

H

APPENDIX 2

UNPRODUCTIVE DOCUMENTS

Chamberlains' Account Rolls

W/E1/89,(1558-59); 91,(1560-61); 92,(1561-62); 96,(1569-70); 98,(1571-72); 99,(1572-73); 104,(1582-83); 105,(1585); 118a,118b,(1612-13); 125,(1627-28); 128,(1637-38); 130,(1639-40).

Bishop White's Register

21M65 A1/25 (1556-1559)

Bishop Horne's Register

21M26 A1/26 (1561-1579)

Registers of Bishops Watson and Cooper

21M65 A1/27 (1580-1594)

Bishops' Visitation Books

21M65 B1/14,15,16,17,18,20,21,22,23,24,27,28,31,32,33,34. (1575-1642)

Proceedings of the Borough Mote

W/B2/1

Book of Ordinances

W/B1/3

Bursars' Account Books, Winchester College.

22213 (1556-8) and 22214 (1559-64)

Cathedral Treasurers Accounts

1560. 1561-2. 1627. 1634-5.

Jervoise Papers (Herriard Collection)

Impossible to search this uncatalogued collection thoroughly, but I have looked at some household accounts which yielded some records of relevance to Hampshire, but not to Winchester.

Dean Young's Diary (no shelf number) In Cathedral Library.

Sir Henry Whithed's Letter Book 1601-14.

St John's Hospital Account Rolls

W/H1/134-180 (1556-1639).

Quarter Sessions Order Book

Q1/2 (1628-49)

Pie Powder Court Records

W/D2/10 (1581/2), W/D2/22 (1568), W/D2/23 (1585/6).

Jacob's Scrapbooks

W/K5/2,3,4,5,6 and 7.

Jacob's Volumes (City Court Papers)

W/D1/295-7 (1570-1622).

Zähnsdorf's Volumes ('Town Court Rolls')

W/D1/280-287 (1556-1629), W/D1/289-292 (1633-42).

Family Papers, (Indexes)

Banbury, Barker Son & Isherwood, Barker, Beale & Son, Bolton, Bond, Bonham-Carter, Calthorpe, Chutte, Clarke Jervoise, Cope, Coventry, Daley (3 vols), Dutton, Fleming, Gunner & Carpenter, Heathcote, Jervoise (7 vols), Kingsmill (12 vols), Knight (3 vols), Legge, Makins, Malmesbury, Mildmay (2 vols), Morant (2 vols), Mottisfont, Normanton (2 vols), Portal, Russell, Rycroft, Pulteney, Sloane Stanley, Southwick (2 vols), Sturges Bourne-Dyson (2 vols), Wallop, Wickham (2 vols), Wood, Wriothesley (12 vols).

Box Files containing Hampshire Records in other Repositories

No shelf numbers.

NOTE: These documents are, I think, neither comprehensive, nor very up-to-date.

1. Berkshire RO
Reading University RO
2. Bedfordshire RO
Cornwall RO
Derbyshire RO
3. Dorset RO

Dyfed RO

4. East Sussex RO
Glamorgan RO
Greater London RO
Kent AO
Lambeth Palace Library
Lancashire RO
5. Guildford Muniment Room (Loseley Archive)
6. Lincolnshire RO
Monmouthshire RO
Norfolk RO
Northamptonshire RO
North Yorkshire RO
Somerset RO
Suffolk RO
Warwickshire RO
Worcestershire RO
7. Staffordshire RO
8. Surrey RO
9. Wiltshire RO

City Court Rolls

W/D1/85-94 (1559-1574)

City Court Books

W/D1/95 (1578, 1632-1649)

Consistory Court Office Act Books

21M65 C1/6, (1556); 7,(1558-62); 8, (1562-63); 9/1-3, (1563-65); 10, (1566); 11, (1567-68); 12, (1568-69); 13/1-2, (1569-70); 14/1-2, (1570); 15, (1572-73); 16, (1573-74); 17, (1574); 18, (1575-76); 19, (1576-77); 20, (1577-79); 21, (1581-82); 22, (1582-83); 23/1, (1586-87); 24, (1588-91); 25, (1593); 26, (1598-1603); 27/1-2, (1599-1600); 28, (1606-8); 29/1-3, (1607-8); 30, (1611-12); 31, (1611-28); 32, (1618-19); 33, (1619-20); 34, (1621-22); 35, (1623-25); 36, (1636-38).

Lambeth Palace MS 684.8 Acts of Visitation in Winchester College, 1607.

Lambeth Palace MS 943 p.416 Articles ministered by the Archbishop (Laud) to Winchester College in his Visitation, 1635.

British Library Add 20,058 Account Book of Dean and Chapter 1617-43

British Library Add MS 11,316 Compotus of Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester 1621.

Wills with Inventories

Schoolmasters. (Wardens, Masters and Fellows of Winchester College)

1572B21/1-2 (Clark); 1578B36/1-2 (Flower); 1605B47/1-2 (Jeffrey); 1605B69/1-3 (Smyth); 1608B49/1-2 (Matkyn); 1630B44/1-3 (Love); 1642B39/1-2 (White).

Clerics

1571BO41 (Cheston); 1577BO19/1-2 (Drew); 1578AD5 (Paddy); 1586B15/1-2 (Davison); 1595B47/1-2 (Rainoldes); 1598B25 (Kingsmill); 1608AD08 (Brooks); 1613BO5/1-2 (Blacleache); 1613ADO57 (Maycock); 1624ADO93 (Munday); 1627B14/1-2 (Case); 1627AD96 (Wright); 1628AD105 (Wharton); 1634A49 (Moore); 1634B47/1-2 (White); 1635B108 (Stamp); 1636B25/1-2 (Milward).

'Gent'

1577BO88/1-2 (Tichborne); 1580AD52 (Turvill); 1586A40/1-2 (Hampton); 1586B55/1-2 (Uvedale); 1596AD75 (Thomas); 1596AD72 (Tripp); 1598A111/1-2 (Willmott); 1605AD21 (Denham); 1606BO7 (Burton); 1608AD01 (Abbott); 1608B47/1-2 (Luke); 1610AO74 (Lambert); 1610AD42 (Mompesson); 1610AI36 (White); 1611A115/1-3 (White); 1615A58/1-2 (Osbaldeston); 1619BO9 (Bond); 1620ADO08 (Bath); 1622AD46 (Kirby); 1624B30 (Hodson); 1625ADO5/1-2 (Ashton); 1626ADO17 (Brasfield); 1629ADO1/1-2 (Badger); 1629ADO2 (Barkesdale); 1630AO02/1-3 (Adderley); 1633AD20 (Carces); 1638AO79/1-4 (Harwood); 1640AO25/1-2 (Brexton); 1640ADO26 (Budd); 1640AD168 (Unwin); 1642A10/1-2 (Burte); 1642B07 (Clark); 1642B33/1-2 (Phillips).

'Esquire'

1591AD53 (Pister); 1618B60/1-2 (Wroughton).

Yeomen

1585B51/1-2 (Pottinger); 1588AD54 (Richardson); 1591AO71/1-2 (Hewitt); 1597A101/1-2 (Waterman);
1604B08/1-2 (Bye); 1607BO06/1-3 (Beare); 1626AO45/1-2 (Guy); 1627AD82 (Terry); 1636A37/1-2
(Hobbs); 1638A145/1-2 (Purdy).

Fullers

1575B59/1-2 (Parker); 1596A104/1-2 (Pitt).

Winchester Bishopric Estates (Cheyney Court)

Eccles II 159664

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