Records of Early English Drama

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JANET RITCH

Patrons and Travelling Companies in Chester and Newcastle upon Tyne

If the two REED volumes on Chester (1979) and Newcastle upon Tyne (1982) had been published after 1984, when the Norwich volume first included an index of travelling companies, there would be no need for the following combined supplement to those two previous publications. The one benefit from the delay, however, is the amount of research already expended upon the British patrons which REED publications are bringing to light. This index is part of a much larger project, directed by Sally-Beth MacLean, in which a data base and master list of the patrons' biographies are being compiled with an aim to plotting the itineraries of the companies.  

The following companies of travelling players, musicians, tumblers and bearwards are listed under the patron's principal title by which he or she is named in the two REED volumes of Chester and Newcastle upon Tyne. The titles are ordered alphabetically along with cross-references from other titles or variants which also appear in the Records. They are usually the principal landed titles of the patrons, a title conferred by civic
appointment or by the divine right of kings. If more than one successor to a title patronizes such entertainers, they are listed in chronological order. Thus Elizabeth I precedes Anne of Denmark, towards the end of the list under 'Q', because all their players are named the 'Queen's players' and Elizabeth precedes Anne chronologically. Similarly, the players of Charles Howard are listed under 'L', because they adopted the title of his civic appointment as 'Lord Admiral'.

Each entry is divided into four sections: the first lists the patron's title and relevant personal data; the second lists civic appointments showing the patron's local connections: 'local' here signifies Cheshire, Northumberland and their contiguous counties with the addition of Yorkshire, because it falls between the primary two in the north; the third section names the patron's principal seats, residences, and lands in the local counties thus defined; the fourth provides the index of entertainers by type, county, city, and the year date of their appearance, followed by the page number in parentheses from the relevant REED volume, either Chester or Newcastle upon Tyne. Before entering into the details of each section, some general observations concerning the extant records from these two northern cities would be helpful.

First, there is no document which records the existence of dramatic patronage before 1500 in either city, and the majority of the relevant entries fall between 1550 and 1600. Second, the sole language in which the identifiable patrons are found is English, not Latin. Third, there is no mention of any ecclesiastical involvement in the patronage identified here. These characteristics are less striking when one realizes the particular qualities of the extant records. Whereas all entries from Newcastle upon Tyne emerge from the Chamberlains' Accounts which do not begin until 1508, few records pre-date the mid-sixteenth century in the Chester volume. Ecclesiastical records are thus totally excluded from the entries found here from Newcastle upon Tyne. While the entries in Chester are more evenly balanced between the civic, guild and ecclesiastical accounts, they are also considerably more sparse.

The biographical information on the following patrons has been supplied from standard printed sources, of which the principal ones are the following: S.T. Bindoff (ed.), The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1509–1558, 3 vols (London, 1982); Acts of the Privy Council; Calendar of Close Rolls; Calendar of Patent Rolls (CPR; edited through 1576); Calendar of State Papers, Domestic (CPSD); George Edoardo Cokayne, The Complete Peerage (CP); The Dictionary of National Biography; James E. Doyle, The Official Baronage of England Showing the Succession, Dignities, and Offices of Every Peer from 1066 to 1885, 3 vols (London, 1886); J.W. Hasler (ed.), The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1558–1603, 3 vols (London, 1981); Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, 21 vols and Addenda (London, 1864–1932) and C.R. Cheney (ed.), Handbook of Dates for Students of English History in conjunction with F. Maurice Powicke and E.B. Fryde (eds), Handbook of British Chronology. Where disagreement arises between these authorities, those works which most closely relate to primary sources are preferred. Thus, information from the CPR and CPSD is privileged along with that gathered from lists such as the following: List of Sheriffs for England and Wales from the Earliest Times to A.D. 1831 (Public Record Office, Lists and Indexes, no 9 (London, 1898); J.H. Gleason, The Justices of the Peace in England: 1558 to 1640 (Oxford,
In the following lists, supplementary information has been supplied, in the case of Peregrine Bertie, from the Willoughby Papers, scattered amongst reports numbered 9, 29, 55, 70, 77 and 79 in the Publications of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts: Reports on Collections, Folio Series, 81 reports (rpt; London, 1870–1957). The information gleaned here pertains mainly to Lord Willoughby's military activities abroad and is only relevant insofar as it explains his minimal activity as a patron at home.

Local works on Newcastle upon Tyne have also been consulted in an attempt to identify the Lord Bartholomew whose players were paid by the mayor in April of 1581. Bartholomew, in itself, does not appear to be a title or even a surname in the region. The likelier possibility of such a first name leads down endless avenues of further frustration. Bartholemew Bee, sheriff in 1530, and Bartholemew Anderson, mayor in 1551, for example, are both too early and unlikely to be titled. In face of such fruitless results, a third possibility presents itself with greater persuasion; a semantic link between Berkeley and Bartholomew has now been established with reasonable certainty, thanks to some further evidence supplied by J.J. Macdonald. In Scotland, Bartholomew was occasionally confused in written documents with Barclay, a variant of Berkeley. George Black, moreover, cites the surname Bartlet, from Bartle, as one of the many diminutives of Bartholemew, in his book The Surnames of Scotland. All this suggests a true identity for Lord Bartholomew as Henry Berkeley who patronized a company of players from 1577–1610, also known as Lord Bartlett. Chambers, who categorizes the diminutive Bartlett as a misspelling, mentions a brawl at the Inns of Court which involved Lord Berkeley's men in July 1581, following which Lord Berkeley was obliged to apologize to the Lord Mayor of London and to vow to dispatch his players to the country. This incident follows shortly after the players' presence in Newcastle upon Tyne. The master list of patrons' biographies at REED attests to the rural activity of these players, named occasionally in the Devon and York records as the players of Lord Bartlett, Bertlett, or Bartley. Nevertheless, the records indicate that the dramatic activity of these players was predominantly in Southern England, although they did make an excursion to York in 1605.

The Chester volume also furnishes an allusion to patrons, a king and magnates, who cannot be identified, because the Treasurers' Accounts which mention them are undated. The fact that this entry is recorded in Latin renders it both quite distinct from the others and more non-descript: the REED office, under the guidance of Abigail Young, would now translate 'histrionibus' (Chester, 472) as entertainers in place of 'actors (or minstrels?)' (Chester, 507).

For the majority of patrons who can be identified, succession numbers are given only for the most important titles held by the patrons, along with those found in the Records. In the first section, these numbers follow the absolute sequence given in the cp, rather than the relative sequence which begins anew with every fresh creation, thus repeating some titles and creating some potential confusion. Knighthood titles are not normally considered significant enough to be included, except for minor gentry with no higher
titles, as is the case with Baron Kinderton below. Sir Henry Percy's knighthood, however, has also been mentioned because his minstrels visited Newcastle upon Tyne while he was so named and because his succession as Earl of Northumberland was both untimely and irregular. 'Lord' is commonly used interchangeably with 'Earl', but not necessarily with 'Baron' in these volumes.

In the second section, much has been omitted which pertains to the counties beyond the perimeters of those local or northern ones, defined above. Minor Scottish and Irish landed titles, most military appointments and some other appointments in academic institutions have been excluded here. Such information, nevertheless, is recorded on the master patrons' list at REED, for those with the means to consult it there. By the time it is published, it will be not only comprehensive but also extremely reliable, since the constant publication of diverse parts allows for many checks and balances. Ideally, the beginning and ending dates of every appointment should be listed. Wherever possible, the date of the appointment is taken from the document which initially assigns it. The terms 'for life', found in the original documents, or 'until death', as the secondary sources prefer, will be used according to which documentation supplies it. If the duration of an office is unknown, then only the date of the appointment appears. On the other hand, the term 'until' before the date indicates that only the termination of the appointment is known; 'by' signifies the sudden appearance of some evidence during the tenure of an office. If a date has been called into question by conflicting evidence or any other uncertainty, '?' appears after it. Although the documentation regularly dates minor commissions, such as commissions of gaol delivery, commissions post mortem and commissions of the peace (jpr), by day and month as well as year, only the years are given here in order to avoid a proliferation of clutter. Finally, when one appointment pertains to various counties as well as towns, the counties are listed first in alphabetical order, followed by the towns similarly ordered and accompanied by the counties in which they are located.

In the third section, all the patron's known seats and principal residences are listed, no matter how far distant from the north they should happen to be located. Nevertheless, only those land holdings are included which fall into the local category.

In the fourth section, the reader may assume that the type of performer is named in the Records by the title under which the Lord is listed, unless a variation is placed next to the identification of the type of entertainer in parentheses. Such variants are often helpful to distinguish members of one lineage from one another. Henry Stanley's bearward, to take a rare example here, is distinguished from his father's, when both are in Newcastle upon Tyne in 1564, by his association with Lord Strange, a title which applies to Henry Stanley prior to the death of his father in 1572. Thereafter, he will assume his father's title, the Earl of Derby. When an 'Is' ending appears on the type of entertainers, this signals the ambiguity of the number when two or more companies or performers have collaborated on one occasion. The precise number pertaining to each of the patrons is unknown. In this index, there are only two examples of such collaboration between companies of players and no occurrence of more than two companies playing together.

A word of caution is also helpful to disassociate the citations of performers found in this index from actual performances. First, the date of the payment does not neces-
necessarily correspond to the date of the performance. Second, an actual performance did not necessarily take place. The players who were attempting to perform in Chester in 1602, for example, were apprehended at some stage in their preparation, performance or withdrawal after the fact, when their licence was examined and discovered to have expired long since (Chester, 178). Whenever the intervention, the self-styled Lord Dudley's players were intent enough upon the continuance of their profession to earn a reprimand. The index can be deceptive quantitatively as well, when two payments to the same companies occur within a week or a month. In two cases concerning the players of the Duchess of Suffolk in 1562 and those of the Earl of Essex in 1593, the payments occur in the same year and fall upon the same page of the REED volume so that the reader will not be able to distinguish the two payments each time from the single listings in this index. In any case, one payment may signify more than one performance when the latter is unspecified.

The dating in this fourth section is particularly complicated because of the complexity of the Chester Records. Since the dating in Newcastle upon Tyne follows the modern calendar for the main part, it serves as a better foundation for explaining the regular pattern in patrons' indexes. These indexes reflect both the Old and New styles of calendars. The Old Style, in effect in Britain from the fifteenth through to the mid-eighteenth century, began the year on Lady Day, otherwise known as the Feast of the Annunciation which naturally falls nine months before Christmas on 25 March. From the modern perspective, the Old Style thus lags three months behind our year, commencing as we know it upon 1 January. This ambiguous period is thus noted here by a slash between the Old Style Year to the left and the New Style to the right, even though the dates were fully modernized in the REED volume of Newcastle upon Tyne. Please see J.J. Anderson's introduction to this volume for further complications involving the Chamberlains' Accounts, whose accounting year reckons four weeks mechanically to every month from Michaelmas to Michaelmas, 29 September – 28 September (Newcastle upon Tyne, xxii).

To complicate matters, Lawrence Clopper employed a different system of double dates, reckoned ostensibly from Midsummer, 24 June, but practically accounting for all the diversity of the accounting systems which his documentation exhibits. Wherever possible, the double headings in the Chester volume have been overridden to reflect the standard usage for patrons' indexes just explained. They have been simplified to represent a single year in the four cases of entries from the Treasurers' Accounts of the Dean and Chapter of Chester Cathedral. This is possible because the quarterly periods, in which these accounts were entered, fall between the Feast of St Michael and that of St Katherine (29 September – 25 November) on every occasion but one, which occurs in May. Therefore, the autumn and spring dates elicit no ambiguity in either the Old or New Style calendars. The guild and civic accounts are more problematic, however, since payments occur there on three occasions when the accounting years are just turning. In 1556/7, the City Treasurers' Accounts, which were reckoned from November, list a payment under the heading of that month, which could pertain to the past accounting year, 1555–6, or the future one, 1557–8. The same is true for the accounts kept by the 'Smiths, Cutlers and Plummers', which they reckoned from July and the 'Cordwainers and Shoemakers' reckoning from the Feast of St Martin in winter, 11 November. There-
fore, the ambiguity between the date of the payment and the turn of the accounting year in these three instances cannot be dispelled. The double dates have therefore been left to stand, but the unusual addition of the month in parentheses before the year will alert the reader to the diverse nature of these few double dates from the standard ones employed elsewhere. Thus the Cordwainers and Shoemakers' Account Book, recording a payment to the Baron of Kinderton's minstrels at the turn of their accounting year, 11 November, will be listed with (Nov)1556–7(59) to indicate ambiguity outside the period for it between Christmas and Lady Day.

In the final analysis, we will always learn more about the patrons of the Records than the performers themselves. May it still be hoped that some other power and purpose can breathe the spirit back into these very dry bones, skeletons of often-tragic lives mixed with hints of light-hearted entertainment.

**ABBREVIATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>acc</td>
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<tr>
<td>adm</td>
<td>admiral</td>
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<tr>
<td>bapt</td>
<td>baptized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>br</td>
<td>brother</td>
</tr>
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<td>captain</td>
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<td>county</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comm</td>
<td>commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cr</td>
<td>created</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>custos rot</td>
<td>custos rotulorum</td>
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<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>died</td>
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<tr>
<td>da</td>
<td>daughter</td>
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<tr>
<td>eccles</td>
<td>ecclesiastical</td>
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<td>ER</td>
<td>East Riding</td>
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<tr>
<td>gen</td>
<td>general</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gov</td>
<td>governor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JP</td>
<td>Justice of the Peace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jt</td>
<td>joint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kt</td>
<td>knight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lieut</td>
<td>lieutenant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MP</td>
<td>Member of Parliament</td>
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<tr>
<td>nd</td>
<td>no date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NR</td>
<td>North Riding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parl</td>
<td>parliament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>Privy Councillor</td>
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<tr>
<td>pres</td>
<td>president</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qv</td>
<td>quod vide</td>
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<tr>
<td>succ</td>
<td>succeeded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>summ</td>
<td>summoned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wr</td>
<td>West Riding</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Months and the names of English counties (cos) follow standard REED usage. However, since Welsh counties are now becoming significant, the following abbreviations will also apply:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Denb</td>
<td>Denbighshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glam</td>
<td>Glamorganshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monm</td>
<td>Monmouthshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pemb</td>
<td>Pembrokeshire</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NOTES

1 Lawrence M. Clopper (ed), Records of Early English Drama: Chester, (Toronto, 1979) and J.J. Anderson (ed), Records of Early English Drama: Newcastle upon Tyne, (Toronto, 1982). It is my misfortune never to have worked with either of these editors directly. For the sake of brevity, Newcastle upon Tyne, in the county of Northumberland, has been shortened to Newcastle in the index.

2 Probably the greatest giant upon whose shoulders this index rests is Dr Elza Tiner, whose research notes are thankfully both thorough and legible. Her commitment and faithfulness to this project have only been interrupted by the inconvenience of living and working now in Lynchburg, Virginia, although even that has not hindered her entirely (cf. 'Patrons and Travelling Companies in York,' REED Newsletter, 17.1 (1992), 1–36. I have also appreciated the comradeship and advice of Arleane Ralph and Margaret Owens working simultaneously with the same master list for the forthcoming volume on Shropshire. My gratitude extends especially to Sally-Beth MacLean, who, even with all her responsibilities as REED Executive Editor, was never too preoccupied to answer my queries. I also thank the staff at REED who exercised similar patience, Alan Somerset who funded my work through a grant from the University of Western Ontario, and Alexandra F. Johnston.


4 John Brand, The History and Antiquities of the Town and County of the Town of Newcastle upon Tyne, (London, 1789), 2.441.

5 George F Black, The Surnames of Scotland: Their Origin, Meaning and History (New York, 1946), 58.

6 Black, 58–9.


8 Chambers, 103–4.

9 Alexandra F. Johnston and Margaret Rogerson (eds), York, Records of Early English Drama (Toronto, 1979), 1.517.

PATRONS LIST

Bartholomew
See Berkeley

Berkeley

Henry Berkeley (26 Nov 1534 – 26 Nov 1613), succ as 7th Lord Berkeley at birth. Comm of oyer and terminer Shrops and Staff 1564; lord lieut 14 Aug 1603 and vice-adm Glouc 14 Nov 1603 until death. Principal residences at Yate Court and Berkeley Castle, Glouc, and Caludon Castle near Coventry, Warw; lands and manors in various cos.

Probably

players (Lord Bartholomew) Northumb Newcastle 1581(71)
Bedford
Francis Russell (1527 – 28 Jul 1585), sumn to parl as Lord Russell 1 Mar 1553 and suc as 4th earl of Bedford 14 Mar 1554/5. Imprisoned in the Fleet 29 Jul 1553. pc 21 Nov 1558 until death; JP Cumb, bishopric of Dur, Northumb, Westmld, Yorks, Berwick upon Tweed, Northumb, Carlisle, Cumb, Kingston upon Hull, Yorks, ER, Newcastle upon Tyne, Northumb, and York 1564; lord lieut Cumb, bishopric of Dur, Northumb, and Westmld 1564; comm oyer and terminer Newcastle upon Tyne 1564; gov Berwick upon Tweed, Northumb, and warden East Marches towards Scotland during pleasure 24 Feb 1564 – 25 Aug 1568; lieut-gen, principal capt, and gov in the North 1 Aug 1565; chamberlain Berwick upon Tweed, Northumb 1575 until death. Seats at Amersham and Chenies, Bucks and Woburn Abbey, Beds; residence at Russell House, the Strand, Midd; lands in many cos.

players Northumb Newcastle 1564(38)

Cumberland
George Clifford (8 Aug 1558 – 29 Oct 1605), suc as 3rd earl of Cumberland and 13th Lord Clifford 2 Jan 1570. Hereditary sheriff Westmld; member Council of the North, 1582; JP Yorks, NR, 1584; constable and steward Knaresborough, Yorks, WR, 1597; pc 10 Apr 1603; warden West and Middle Marches towards Scotland, gov Carlisle, Cumb and custos rot Cumb, 1603; gov of Scottish borders 8 Jun 1603 and of Berwick upon Tweed, Northumb, by 29 Sept 1603. Seats at Brougham Castle, Westmld, and Skipton Castle, Yorks, WR.

musicians Northumb Newcastle 1599(130)

Darcy
Thomas Darcy (c. 1467 – 30 Jun 1537), sumn to parl as 1st Lord Darcy by 17 Oct 1509. Comm of array Yorks, WR, 1495 and 1511 and Northumb 1509 and 1511; JP Yorks, ER, 1498, 1511–12, 1514, 1525, 1529–30, 1532, and 1536, WR, 1498, 1501–2, 1504, 1506–8, 1511–14, 1521, 1525, 1528, 1530, and 1532, and NR, 1511–12, 1514, 1525, 1528, 1530, 1532, and 1536, and Northumb 1502, 1504, 1506, 1512 and 1514; capt Berwick upon Tweed, Northumb, 1498–1515; steward, receiver, constable, and porter, castle and lordship of Bamborough, Northumb, during pleasure 8 Jun 1498; steward, lordship of Sheriff Hutton and constable, castle of Sheriff Hutton, Yorks, NR, 1500–8 Sept 1501; treasurer, chamberlain, and custom-house officer, Berwick upon Tweed, Northumb, 10 Sept 1501; receiver general Barnard Castle, Dur, and various lordships, castles, and manors in Yorks and of customs in towns of Berwick upon Tweed and Newcastle upon Tyne, Northumb and Kingston upon Hull, Yorks, ER, during pleasure 12 Jun 1503; steward lordships, castles and manors of Brancepeth and Raby, Dur, and lordships of Buttercrambe, Yorks, NR, and Cambois, Northumb, during pleasure 6 Jun 1505; warden general East Marches towards Scotland, 1 Sept 1505 and East and Middle Marches towards Scotland, 20 Oct 1511; warden and chief justice in eyre north of Trent 11 Jun 1509; lordships of Pontefract Castle and Knaresborough Castle, Yorks WR from 1509; comm of musters Northumb and Yorks, 1512; PC, nd; attainted and beheaded
30 Jun 1537. Seats at Temple Hirst and Temple Newsam, Yorks, w/; lands in various cos including Northumb and Yorks.

John Darcy (c 1530–18 Oct 1602), grandson of Thomas Darcy, *qv*, succ as 2nd Lord Darcy 28 Aug 1558. *ip* Yorks 1562 and 1564; comm of oyer and termer Yorks 20 Mar 1569/70; member Council of the North May 1574. Seat at Aston, Yorks, w/.


Edward Sutton or Dudley (bapt 17 Sept 1567 – 23 Jun 1643), succ as 5th Lord Dudley by 12 Aug 1586. *mp* Staff 1584; *ip* Staff by 1585. Seat at Dudley Castle, Staff.

Robert Devereux (19 Nov 1566 – 25 Feb 1600/1), styled Viscount Hereford until he succ as 19th earl of Essex, 6th Lord Ferrers, and 9th Lord Bourchier 22 Sept 1576.
Master of the horse 1587–97; pc 25 Feb 1592/3; lord lieut Staff 1594; lord lieut Ireland Mar–Nov 1599; beheaded 25 Feb 1600/1. Seats at Chartley, Staff, and Lamphey, Pemb; residence at Essex House, Midd; lands in various cos including Staff and Wales.

Eure
Ralph Eure (24 Sept 1558 – 1 Apr 1617), succ as 3rd Lord Eure 12 Feb 1593/4. jr Yorks, NR, from c 1583, and Dur, c 1593; sheriff Yorks 26 Nov 1593; member Council of the North 14 Aug 1594 until death and vice-pres 1600; warden of the Middle March towards Scotland Dec 1595–8; custos rot Northumb 1596; lord pres Council in the Marches of Wales and lord lieut in Heref, Shrops, Wore and Wales 12 Sept 1607–17. Seats at Ingleby Greenbow, Malton, and Stokesley, all in Yorks, NR.

Hertford
Edward Seymour (22 May 1539 – 6 Apr 1621), styled earl of Hertford 1547 until his father's attainder 12 Apr 1552; restored 1553 or 1554; cr Baron Beauchamp and 9th earl of Hertford 13 Jan 1558/9; imprisoned 1561; released after 27 Jan 1567/8; lord lieut Somers and Wils 24 Apr 1601 until death. Seat at Elvetham, Hants.

Hunsdon
Henry Carey (4 Mar 1525/6 – 23 Jul 1596), cr 1st Baron Hunsdon 13 Jan 1558/9. jr Yorks, NR, 1584; gov Berwick upon Tweed, Northumb, 25 Aug 1568–87; warden East Marches towards Scotland 23 Oct 1571; pc 16 Nov 1577; lord chamberlain of the household Jul 1585 until death; high steward Doncaster, Yorks, WR, 1590. Seats at Buckingham, Bucks, and Hunsdon, Herts; lands in many cos including Yorks.

Huntingdon
George Hastings (c 1540 – 30 Dec 1604), succ as 21st earl of Huntingdon and Baron Hastings, Hungerford, Boreaux, Moleys, and Moels 14 Dec 1595. Lord lieut Leic and Rut 2 Oct 1596. Seat at Loughborough, Leic.

Kinderton
Thomas Venables (by 1513 – 19 Jul 1580), styled Baron Kinderton; kt 11 May 1544. Chamberlain Middlewich, Ches, 1540–72; jr Ches 1543–6, 1547, 1562 and 1564, until death; sheriff Ches 1544–5 and 13 Nov 1556; comm of musters Ches by 1545; jr Ches Mar 1553 and 1563. Seat at Kinderton, Ches; lands elsewhere in Ches.
King
Henry Tudor 'of Richmond' (28 Jan 1457 – 21 Apr 1509), son of Edmund Tudor, earl of Richmond, and Margaret Beaufort; acc as Henry vii 22 Aug 1485; crowned 30 Oct 1485.

Henry Tudor (28 Jun 1491 – 28 Jan 1547), son of Henry vii, qv, and Elizabeth of York; cr prince of Wales 18 Feb 1503; acc as Henry viii 22 Apr 1509; crowned 24 Jun 1509.


Charles Stuart (19 Nov 1600 – 30 Jan 1649), son of James i, qv, and Anne of Denmark, qv; cr duke of Albany 23 Dec 1600; duke of York 6 Jan 1605; succ as duke of Cornwall 6 Nov 1612; cr earl of Chester and prince of Wales 4 Nov 1616; acc as Charles i 27 Mar 1625; crowned 2 Feb 1625; beheaded 30 Jan 1649.

Leicester
Robert Dudley (24 Jun 1532 or 1533 – 4 Sept 1588), cr baron of Denbigh, Denb, Wales, 28 Sept, and 14th earl of Leicester 29 Sept 1564; imprisoned Jul 1553; attainted 22 Jan 1553/4; pardoned 18 Oct 1554; restored in blood 7 Mar 1557/8. Master of the horse 1559–87; pc 23 Apr 1559; granted lordship of Beverley, Yorks, er, 1561; high steward and receiver, honour of Pickering Lythe and constable and master forester, Pickering Castle, both in Yorks, nr. 4 Nov 1564; chamberlain county palatine of Chester 2 Jul 1565 until death; lord steward of the household 1 Nov 1584–8. Seats at Kenilworth, Warw from 29 Sept 1564, and Wanstead, Essex; residence at Leicester House, Midd; lands in many cos including Lanc, Yorks.

Lincoln
Henry Clinton or Fiennes (after 1539–29 Sept 1616), styled Lord Clinton 1572 until he succ as 17th earl of Lincoln and Lord Clinton 16 Jan 1584/5. Vice-adm York by 1572; pc Mar-May 1603. Seat at Tattershall, Lin; lands in many cos including Yorks.

Lord Admiral
Charles Howard(c 1536–14 Dec 1624), succ at Baron Howard 11 or 12 Jan 1572/3 and cr 10th earl of Nottingham 22 Oct 1597. Chamberlain of the household 1 Jan 1583/4 –

11
Jul 1585; pc by 5 Mar 1583/4 until death; lord high adm 8 Jul 1585 – 27 Jan 1618/19; lord steward of the household 24 Oct 1597 – Nov 1615. Seat at Effingham, Surr.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Player</th>
<th>Northumb</th>
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<th>Players Northumb Newcastle</th>
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**Monteagle**


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<th>Newcastle</th>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Player</th>
<th>Northumb</th>
<th>Newcastle</th>
<th>Players Northumb Newcastle</th>
<th>1580(69)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

William Parker (c 1575–1 Jul 1622), son of Edward, 12th Lord Morley, *qv*, succ as 5th Lord Monteagle 12 Jun 1585 and as 13th Lord Morley 1 Apr 1618. Imprisoned in the Tower Jan 1600/1 – Aug 1601. Seat at Hornby Castle, Lanc; lands in various cos.

**Morley**

Edward Parker (c 1551–1 Apr 1618), succ as 12th Lord Morley 22 Oct 1577. Imprisoned Apr 1573; JP Yorks, NR, 1584. Obtained manor of Belhouse, North Tuddenham, Norf, 1 Mar 1578.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Player</th>
<th>Northumb</th>
<th>Newcastle</th>
<th>Players Northumb Newcastle</th>
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**Northumberland**

Henry Algernon Percy (14 Jan 1477/8 – 19 May 1527), succ as 9th earl of Northumberland, 8th Lord Percy, and Lord Poynings 28 Apr 1489. Constable, steward, and master forester Knaresborough, Yorks, WR, 1501; warden-gen East March towards Scotland 30 Jun 1503; steward honour of Holderness, Yorks, ER, 1509; JP Yorks, ER, 1509–10, 1511–12, 1514, and 1525, WR, 1511–14 and 1521, NR, 1512 and 1514, and Yorks 1511 and 1514, and Northumb 1512; imprisoned in the Fleet 1516; member Council of the North Jul 1522. Seats at Alnwick Castle, Northumb and Wressell, Yorks, ER; house in Aldgate, London; lands in Yorks.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bearward</th>
<th>Northumb</th>
<th>Newcastle</th>
<th>Bearward Northumb Newcastle</th>
<th>1508(11)</th>
</tr>
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</table>

Henry Percy (c 1532–21 Jun 1585), cr kt and Baron Percy 1 May 1557 and succ as 12th earl of Northumberland 22 Aug 1572. Imprisoned in the Tower 15 Nov 1571 – May 1573; imprisoned again in the Tower 9 Jan 1583/4 until death. MP Morpeth, Northumb, 1554 and Northumb 1571; deputy warden of East and Middle Marches 1 May 1557; member of Council of the North Dec 1558 – Apr 1571; capt of Norham Castle, Northumb, by 5 Nov 1559; keeper and capt of Tynemouth Castle, Northumb,
and chief steward of all lands, courts, and leets of the parish of Tynemouth and of the
former monastery 25 Dec 1560 and renewed for life 3 May 1570; comm of inquiry into
offences against the Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy Yorks 5 May 1561 and 1568;
comm of inquiry into unlawful congregations Cumb, bishopric of Dur, Northumb,
Westmld, Yorks, Berwick upon Tweed, Northumb, Carlisle, Cumb, Kingston upon Hull,
Yorks ER, Newcastle upon Tyne, Northumb, and York 20 Jan 1561 and 17 May 1564;
JP Northumb 1562 and Cumb, Yorks ER and NR 1569; sheriff Northumb 1562. Seats
at Alnwick, Northumb, and Petworth, Suss; lands in various cos including Dur,
Northumb, and Yorks.

Algeron Percy (29 Sept 1602 – 13 Oct 1668), sumn to parl as 4th Baron Percy 28 Mar
1626 and succ as 14th earl of Northumberland 5 Nov 1532. Lord lieut Cumb, jt 6 Nov
1626, Northumb, jt 6 Nov 1626, sole 31 Aug 1639, and jt 21 Aug 1660, Westmld 6 Nov
1626; chief commander Newcastle upon Tyne and Tynemouth, Northumb, 21 Aug 1660;
member Council of the North 21 Mar 1632/3; PC Mar 1636 and 31 May 1660; lord
high adm 19 Mar 1637–42. Seats at Petworth, Suss and Wressell, Yorks, ER; residences
at Syon House, Midd and Northumberland House, the Strand, Midd.

Cuthbert Ogle (c1540–20 Nov 1597), succ as 7th Lord Ogle 1 Aug 1562. Member
Council of the North Oct 1572–97; comm to survey forts and castles East and Middle
Marches 1580–8; JP Yorks, NR, 1584. Seat at Bothal, Northumb.

Henry Herbert (after 1538–19 Jan 1601), styled Lord Herbert 1551 until he succ as
21st earl of Pembroke and Baron Herbert 17 Mar 1569/70. Lord pres Council in the
Marches of Wales Mar 1586 until death. Seat at Cardiff Castle, Glam; residences at
Ludlow Castle, Shrops and Wilton, Wilts.

Elizabeth Tudor (7 Sept 1533 – 24 Mar 1603), da of Henry VIII, *qv*, and Anne Boleyn;
acc as Elizabeth t 17 Nov 1558; crowned 15 Jan 1559.
Anne of Denmark (12 Dec 1574 – 2 Mar 1619), da of Frederick II of Denmark and Norway and Sophia of Mecklenburg; m James VI of Scotland (later James I of England), qv, 20 Aug 1589; crowned queen of England 25 Jul 1603.

Stafford
Edward Stafford (17 Jan 1535/6 – 18 Oct 1603), succ as 12th Baron Stafford 1 Jan 1565/6. Justice in eyre and lieut parks in the duchy of Lancaster 13 May 1559. Seat at Stafford Castle, Staff.

Suffolk (duchess)
Katherine Willoughby (22 Mar 1518/19 – 19 Sept 1580), (de jure suo jure) 12th Baroness Willoughby de Eresby (of Eresby, Linc); m Charles Brandon, 4th duke of Suffolk (d. 22 Aug 1545), c 7 Sept 1533 and Richard Bertie probably early 1553; fled England 5 Feb 1554/5; returned summer 1559. Principal seats at Grimsthorpe and Tattershall Castle, Linc, from c 1536; residence at Westhorpe, Suff, from c 1528; all lands seized by the Crown, 1557; returned, Aug 1559.

Sussex
Henry Radcliffe (by 1533 – 14 Dec 1593), succ as 9th earl of Sussex, 4th viscount, and 10th Lord FitzWalter 9 Jun 1583. Jt lord lieut Hants and Winchester and Southampton, both in Hants, 3 Jul 1585 until death. Seat at New Hall, Boreham, Essex; lands in various cos.

Willoughby

Worcester
William Somerset (c 1527 – 21 Feb 1588/9), styled Lord Herbert until succ as 8th earl of Worcester 26 Nov 1549. Member Council in the Marches of Wales Nov 1553 and from 1576. Seat at Raglan, Monm; residence at Hackney, Midd.
Edward Somerset (c 1550–3 Mar 1627/8), son of William, 8th earl of Worcester, styled Lord Herbert until succ as 9th earl of Worcester and Baron Herbert 21 Feb 1588/9. Member Council in the Marches of Wales 16 Dec 1590; PC 29 Jun 1601; JPs Yorks, NR, 1626; lord keeper of the privy seal 2 Jan 1615/16 until death. Seat at Raglan, Monm; residence at Hackney, Midd.

**Vrieses**
See Eure

DAVID GEORGE

**Anti-Catholic Plays, Puppet Shows, and Horse-Racing in Reformation Lancashire**

Since the publication of the Reed Lancashire volume (1991), material that affects two endnotes has come to light, along with an item that would have gone into the Records text. In this article I propose first to argue for a more precise date for Bishop Cuthbert Scott's visitation articles for the Diocese of Chester. Second, I want to show that William Sandes' travelling puppet-show called 'The Chaos' was much more well-known than I had supposed; and thirdly, I wish to gather in one more Lancashire horse-racing record.

**BISHOP SCOTT'S UNDATED VISITATION ARTICLES**

Cuthbert Scott was bishop of Chester from 1556 to 1559, for which diocese he wrote some undated Visitation Articles, now preserved in the Greater Manchester Record Office. In the Reed Lancashire volume, they have been assigned the date 1556–8. Bishop Scott was concerned in his Visitations to learn of any 'assembles or conventicles wherein is redd previe lecturs sermons [or] playes to thindrance or derysion of the Catholike faythe.' The impression given by these few words is that of a Catholic bishop still secure in his diocesan seat, but afraid of subversive and anti-Catholic material being more or less clandestinely disseminated. (A 'conventicle' was a subversive thing shortly after the time of Henry VIII, who died in 1547, as OED's meaning 4 of the word makes clear, especially the quotation from Ridley in 1550: 'unlawful or private conventicles ... separating themselves from the rest of the parish.') As Mary's reign wore on, however, such subversive material must have become more abundant as the chances of a Protestant succession became more likely.

When Mary died on 17 November 1558, Elizabeth acceded and was crowned on 15 January 1558/9. This is precisely the period when we might expect Bishop Scott to fear that anti-Catholicism would erupt in his diocese. One might object that even in
1556 Reginald Pole, archbishop of Canterbury, was concerned with 'sowers of discord betwene neighbours, by plaies, rymes, famous libels, or otherwise' in his archbiocesan injunctions, but Pole's phrasing indicates that he did not face Scott's problem of anti-Catholic plays. These were being performed in London by 6 February 1558/9, that is, within a month after Elizabeth's coronation. On that date, Il Schifanoya, a Mantuan resident in London, wrote to Ottaviano Vivaldino, the Mantuan ambassador in Brussels, concerning an outbreak of anti-Catholicism in London. 'There are yet many frivolous and foolish people who daily invent plays in derision of the Catholic faith, of the Church, of the clergy, and of religion, and, by placards posted at the corners of the streets they invite people to the taverns, to see these representations, taking money from their audience.' Here is almost the exact phrasing Scott used, 'plyas to th[e]... derysion of the Catholike faythe.' The London plays were put on in the taverns, and since these were the days before the building of Burbage's Theatre in Shoreditch, we may guess that the taverns in question were the inn-playhouses such as the Bel Savage, the Bell, the Cross Keys, the Bull, and the Boar's Head, all occasional playhouses in 1578 and probably for twenty years before that.

It is a little difficult to imagine what Bishop Scott had to fear in the north of England. In his whole diocese he had only two towns of any importance, Chester and Manchester, but it was probably in one or both of these that anti-Catholic plays were being put on. The best candidate is Manchester, which had been John Bradford's base for his protestant reformist preaching in 1552. The Marian government arrested him and martyred him in London in 1555. Manchester would have been ready to avenge its native son when the chance came in 1558/9, and probably that is what Scott feared when he wrote his Articles. I believe they should be dated 1558–9 rather than 1556–8, as they are now in the REED: Lancashire volume. If this were the real date, one must admire Scott's boldness. He was in any case a bold bishop; he spoke against the Queen's ecclesiastical authority on 17 March 1558/9, was incarcerated in the Fleet prison on 4 April, and was deprived of his bishopric on 26 June. He remained in the Fleet until 1563 and was then allowed to leave England for Louvain. Thus he had probably written the articles between November 1558 and March 1558/9.

PUPPET SHOWS AS REPLACEMENTS FOR CORPUS CHRISTI PLAYS

Corpus Christi plays continued in Lancashire (at Preston and Lancaster) until 'the beginning of the raigne of King Iames.' The Preston Corpus Christi play was, to John Weever, the same as or similar to an eight-day play at Skinners' Hall in London in 1409 which covered 'the sacred Scriptures, from the creation of the world.' Naturally the Corpus Christi plays at Preston and Lancaster were Catholic, and so an educated Catholic—perhaps a priest—seems to have attempted to supply the loss of the Preston play by composing a new cycle in 1609 or soon thereafter. He failed, and on that note I closed the matter in Appendix 6 ('The Stonyhurst Pageants') of the Lancashire volume.

Such a conclusion was incomplete, since also among the Preston records is a will dated 1638 with a brief bequest of a show called 'The Chaos.' This was William Sandes' puppet show, which he bequeathed along with its wagon, stage, and tools to his son
John Sandes. Almost certainly puppet shows like 'The Chaos' filled the gap left by the suppression of mystery plays in the late sixteenth century and therefore the point should have been made in the Lancashire volume, as it is easy to realize by hindsight, that they were overwhelming competition for pedestrian efforts like the Stonyhurst Pageants. I had no idea how overwhelming, however, until I wrote to George Speaight, the author of The History of the English Puppet Theatre (1955), who sent me much valuable information on William Sandes and his once-famous show.9

William Sandes was licensed on 27 August 1623 by Sir Henry Herbert to show "the Chaos of the World," to show a motion called the Creation of the World.10 Here are two clearly distinct shows, yet readers of my endnote to the 1638 bequest of William Sandes will find a confident speculation to the effect that 'The Chaos' was about Genesis 1:1–2 and also about Creation ('the Chaos dealing with the Creation story').11 Sir Henry Herbert's licence makes matters clear.

In 1630, Sandes, his two sons, and about nine others took their shows to Beaminster in Dorset. The Dorset Quarter Sessions Orders tell what happened on their arrival:

1630

Dorset Quarter Sessions Order Book 1625–37
ff 272v–273r (16–18 October)

Order versus forasmuch as complaint was made vnto this Court that William Sands the elder John Sands and William Sands the younger doe wander vp and downe the Countrey and about nine others of their Company with certaine blasphemous shewes and sights which they exercise by way of poppett playinge contrary to the Statute made against such unlawfull wanderers. And whereas the Constable of Beaminster in this County and other inhabitants there haue now alsoe informed this Court that the said William Sands theelder and his Company are come to Beaminster aforesaid and there haue sett vp their shewes of poppett playinge, and there doe exercise their feats not only in the day tyme but alsoe late in the night to the great disturbance of the Townsmen there, and the grievance of divers of the Inhabitants who cannot keepe their Children and servants in their houses by reason that they frequent the said shewes and sights late in the night in a disorderly manner. And likewise that the said John Sands and two other of their company on Sunday last pursued the precher that preched at Beaminster aforesaid from the Church to his house and entred the said house and there challenged him for his sermon and gave him threateninge speeches: and likewise that on Tuesday night last there was an uproare in the said Towne of Beaminster by reason of a brawle between the said John Sands and a disorderly inhabitant of the same Towne, the said John runninge in a forceible manner into a Townsmans house there to the afrightinge of the people of the same house: Wherevpon this Court takinge the said complaint and Informacion into consideracion and findinge the same to be true. And father consideringe the great dearth of Corne and other victualls at this time and the extremity that is like to come on the poore of this Countrey by reason of the said dearth/ and alsoe by two seuerall Proclamacons his Maiestie hath
commanded the puttinge in execution the Law and Statutes against such wanderers, doe hold it very vnfit and inconvenient to suffer the said Sands and his company to exercise their said feats in this Country. It is therefore by this Court ordered that the said William Sands the elder John Sands and William Sands the younger shall remove themselves and their shewes on Monday next and shall then forthwith depart out of this County and that neither they nor any of them or any of their Company shall henceforth use or exercise their said feats or shew I their said sights in this County but shall forthwith depart out of the County toward the place of their dwellinge/ And if they or any of them shall againe use or exercise their said feats or make shew of their sightes within this County That then the Constables Tythingmen or other officers of the place where they shall soe exercise their said feats or shew their said sightes shall convey all the said parties soe offendinge contrary to this order before some one of his Maiestys Justices of the peace neare or next adjoyninge to the place where they shall soe offend to be by him bound over to the then next Assizes to be held in and for this County and in the meane tyem to be of the good behavior towards the kings Maiestie and all his Leige people.12

Sandes' shows must have been big affairs, requiring a dozen men to work them, and capable of being illuminated for night performances. They were probably similar to what William Davenant called 'Op'ra-Puppets' in 1668.13 I think therefore that 'The Chaos' must have been some kind of enlargement of Genesis 1:1. Quincy Adams thought it might refer to 'The end of the world, doomsday?' and Speaight thought it might even have been about the Flood.14 These strike me as unlikely guesses, and it is probably the charge of blasphemy that gives the clue to the actual subject matter. 'The Chaos' may have represented God creating the world, as He was represented in the old Corpus Christi plays, but now in the form of a hand puppet, and surely that is what irked the puritanical preacher of Beaminster. The order of the two Sandes shows as given by Sir Henry Herbert suggests the order found in Genesis – that is, Chaos followed by Creation.

Both shows were popular. 'The Creation' seems to have impressed Thomas Randolph (1605–35), who was writing plays in London in 1631–5. In his Hey for Honesty, a character remarks, 'Had he lived till now, I would h' showed him at Fleet Bridge for a monster. I should have beggar'd the Beginning o' th' World.'15 That may well be a reference to 'The Creation of the World,' of which there were various versions available. Speaight lists 'Creation' puppet shows by Sandes, Taylor, and Tomson before 1642, and many later ones.16 'The Chaos' was shown at Bartholomew Fair in London between c 1647 and 1657, but whose version we do not know.17 Probably, as the reed volumes continue to appear, we shall hear more of the Lancashire showmen William and John Sandes, and of their two travelling shows.

Nor were the Sandes the only puppet-showmen in the North of England. An entry in the Manchester Constables' Accounts dated 18 February 1636/7 concerns one Thomas Maskall, who at first reading sounds like an actor: 'to Tho Maskall a player & 5 more to voyd the Towne – 00 05 00.'18 However, Maskall was not an actor at all, but rather a puppetmaster, as George Speaight notes. Maskall showed his puppets in Norwich (1635)
andManchester (1636).19 Another probable instance of the same kind of deceptive wording comes from the Manchester constables, who paid 'Ion Costine a player with 10 in his Company to avide the Towne & Not playe, these dangerouse tymes.'20 A William Costine was a puppet showman in 1632–3, according to Speaight, exhibiting at Coventry.21 The name Costine is relatively rare and I suspect that William and John were related. A solid case of identification of player and puppetmaster is the showman Robert Browne, who exhibited a puppet show at Coventry and Norwich in 1637/8 and 1639 respectively. He was working with George Hall in those two same years.22 In 1637 these two men had turned up in Blackburn, Lancashire, and had their children christened on 12 and 17 September respectively.23 Ominously for REED researchers, the vicar (Adam Bolton) called both of them 'player', and the same usage may be observed in the phrasing by the Coventry chamberlains for Browne and Hall and by the Manchester constables for Thomas Maskall. Naturally I never suspected that Maskall, Costine, and the Browne-Hall team might have been puppet showmen, nor is there anything in any REED volume or the OED to warn the hapless researcher that 'player' could mean 'puppeteer'. However, the above entries put the matter beyond dispute.

One confession I should make at this point. I did not know whether Elizabethan and Jacobean puppets were ever worked by strings, like Pinocchio, but I readily assumed so.24 George Speaight speculates that early English puppets were probably glove puppets: 'I would hazard the guess that the complete absence of the well-worn simile on man moved by strings in Elizabethan writings strongly suggests that marionettes were, at least, not well-known. The type of puppets used in the Bartholomew Fair play is not specified, but they are brought out in a basket before the show, and this strongly suggests that they must have been glove puppets.'25 However, matters are not so simple. Marionettes are clearly referred to before the end of Elizabeth I's reign and shortly thereafter; OED recognizes 'marionette' as a sense of 'motion', 'puppet', and 'poppet'. Mechanical motion in the style of marionette is suggested by Shakespeare in The Two Gentlemen of Verona (c 1592): 'O excellent motion! O exceeding puppet! Now will he interpret to her' (2.1.100). Ben Jonson in The Poetaster (1601) has a similar figure: 'What's he, with the half-arms there, that salutes us out of his cloke, like a motion' (3.4). Also, Beaumont clearly alludes to puppets on strings in The Woman-Hater (1607): 'Like dead motions moving upon wyers' (3.1.). The best quotation for the existence of marionettes in the early seventeenth century comes from Babington, 1610, who wrote 'On Easter day in the morning they raise vp a Poppet, and make him walk by wyers and strings' (OED, 'Poppet', meaning 3). The question remains open, then, as to whether The Chaos and other travelling puppet-shows were glove-puppet or marionette spectacles.

HORSE RACING AND RECUSANTS AT LANCASTER

Finally, among the many liberties permitted to Catholics incarcerated in Lancaster prison in 1598/9 was attendance at horse-races. Bishop Richard Vaughan of Chester wrote with some asperity to Thomas Hesketh, 'I hear that the prison at Lancaster is very ill kept; that recusants there have liberty to go when and whither they list; to
hunt, hawk, and go to horse races at their pleasure; which notorious abuse of law and justice should speedily be reformed.' Bishop Vaughan did not say just how far afield the Catholic recusant prisoners were allowed to wander, but presumably they had to be back in prison for the night. The letter is evidence, then, of horse races either at Lancaster or nearby, and since it was written on 29 January, possible evidence of horse-racing in the colder months. However, Bishop Vaughan fails to state the date when the alleged irregularities had taken place; news of them may have reached him only slowly.

Two of these three corrections to the Lancashire volume could easily have been made prior to going to press. The only defence I can make is that when I began the Reed Lancashire work, I did not realize I had signed on for an examination of the Catholic-Protestant struggle as it was waged in Lancashire. A.L. Rowse once remarked that it lasted so much longer there than almost anywhere else in England or Wales because the earl of Derby so skillfully temporized at the time of the Pilgrimage of Grace, effectively sheltering Lancashire Catholics from the kind of wholesale deprivation that fell upon other northern Catholics when the Pilgrimage failed. Be that as it may, had I realized that I was to come upon document after document making reference to the Catholic-Protestant struggle, I would have found Fr. Caraman's book and hence met Il Schifanoya and the sporting Catholics of Lancaster gaol earlier than I did. The lesson is clear enough—a county's religious politics in the sixteenth century probably mattered more to the authorities than, say, its ability to feed itself.

NOTES

1 Records of Early English Drama: Lancashire, David George (ed), (Toronto, 1991), [213].
2 This article (from the 1556 Visitation Articles of Reginald Pole, Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury) is found in STC 10149, A.[iiij]. I owe this reference to the courtesy of William Cooke of the Reed staff.
3 This quotation is found in the Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1558–80, 27, and is here taken from the translation by Philip Caraman, in The Other Face: Catholic Life Under Elizabeth, Philip Caraman (ed), (New York, 1960), 9–10, with endnote on [289].
4 John Bradford is noticed in Reed: Lancashire, 283–4
5 Scott's speech against the Queen's headship of the English Church is printed from John Strype's Annals in Caraman, The Other Face, 19–20. Details of Scott's fate following his House of Lords speech are from Caraman, 322, and the DNB.
7 Reed: Lancashire, Appendix 6, [282].
8 Reed: Lancashire, 87.
9 Sandes and his son are noticed in The History of the English Puppet Theatre (London, 1955), 314, and their two shows on 325.
10 The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert, Joseph Quincy Adams (ed), (New Haven, 1917), 47. Adams found Herbert's entry in George Chalmers, A Supplemental Apology for the Believers in the Shakespeare-Papers (London, 1799), 208–9. Sandes was also licensed in the same entry 'to show certain freaks of charging and discharging a gun,'
and George Speaight rightly comments that freak shooting was not usually combined with puppet shows (private letter of 23 December 1993).

11 Reed: Lancashire, 334.

This lengthy quotation, taken from the microfilm of the ms, Dorset Quarter Sessions, Orders, 1625–37, is printed here, with the generous permission of C.E. McGee and Rosalyn Hays, the editors of the forthcoming Reed: Dorset volume. A much briefer account given by T. Wainwright, compiler of Bridport Records and Ancient Manuscripts, 1.56, was reprinted in John Tucker Murray, English Dramatic Companies, 1558–1642, 2 vols (London, 1910), 2.206, as follows:

1630. In this year a case was tried at Bridport at the Michaelmas Sessions. William Sands the elder, John Sands and William Sands the Younger, and about nine others, it is stated, who wander up and down the country with blasphemous shows and sights which they exercise by means of puppet-playing, not only by day but late in the night, are arrived at Beaminster, so that the townsmen cannot keep their children and servants in their houses. The Court, considering the scarcity of corn and other victuals and the extremity likely to come on the poor by reason of the sad dearth, ordered Sands to leave the county. The preacher at Beaminster, not the Vicar probably, but one of the Puritan licensed preachers, had assailed Sands and his show in his Sunday sermon.

13 ord, 'puppet', meaning 3.c.

14 Adams, Dramatic Records, 47; Speaight thinks it might have been about 'Doomsday or the Flood,' private letter (13 January 1994), where he points out that Edward Ecclestone composed a rhyming opera called Noah's Flood or the Destruction of the World, printed 1677. John Wilders, the editor of Samuel Butler: Hudibras (Oxford, 1967), notes that to Thomas Vaughan, the Chaos meant 'that limbus or huddle of matter wherein all things were so strangely contained' before the creation of the universe, citing Vaughan's Anthroposophia Theomagica, Works, 18 (335).

15 The quotation from Hey for Honesty is from Adams, Dramatic Records, 47, citing Hazlitt's edition of Randolph, 393.

16 Taylor and Tomson's Creation shows are listed by Speaight, 325. Creation puppet shows went on being played after the Restoration, from 1675 up till c 1790 (Speaight, 325).

17 Samuel Butler, Hudibras, Part i, Canto 1.557–62:

The Chaos too he had descried,
And seen quite through, or else he ly'd;
Not that of Past-board which men shew
For groats at Fair of Bartholomew;
But its great Grand sire, first o' th' name
Whence that and Reformation came:

Part i was begun c 1658, and published in 1662 (Samuel Butler: Hudibras, John Wilders (ed), xviii, xix). Wilders notes that mystery or cycle plays were not longer given in the late seventeenth century, but that such plays survived in the repertoire of the puppet showmen. 'A playbill of Queen Anne's reign advertises, 'during the time of Bartholomew Fair,' 'a little opera, called the Old Creation of the World, yet newly revived; with the
addition of Noah’s Flood’ (Joseph Strutt, Sports and Pastimes, ed. Cox, 1903, 144–7 (335)).

18 Reed: Lancashire, 69

19 Speaight, 314; his sources were Murray, 2.358; and G.E. Bentley, The Jacobean and Caroline Stage (Oxford, 1941–68), 2.507. Maskell was at Norwich on 23 December 1635 ‘to sett forth an Italian motion’ (Murray, 2.358). The Manchester reference for 18 February 1635/6 in Bentley (2.507) is the same as the one in Murray (2.331) and Reed: Lancashire for 18 February 1636/7. Bentley (2.507) was aware of the use of ‘player’ to mean ‘puppeteer’: ‘Maskell was probably a showman, in spite of the fact that he was called a player at Manchester, but it is possible that six men formed a touring company, as they had in Elizabeth’s days.’

20 Reed: Lancashire, 69.

21 Speaight, 313; his sources were again Murray, 2.252, and Bentley (2.414). Bentley dated John Costine’s visit to Manchester 3 July 1636, whereas Murray and Reed: Lancashire (69) date it 3 July 1637. Bentley’s speculation about Costine is more radical than mine; he thought that Jon Costine ‘may possibly be the same as the William Costine who was paid with two others for showing an Italian motion at Coventry in 1632–3.’ William Costine was accompanied by ‘Thomas Hunt[er] and Henry ffussell’ at Coventry, who were ‘licenced to set forth an Italian motion’ and paid five shillings (Murray, 2.252).

22 The 1638 Coventry Chamberlains’ and Wardens’ Account Book iii has this entry on 27 November 1638: ‘to Robert Browne, Georg Hall, & Richard Jones players by warrant who had a motion to shew expressing the world’s abuses’ (R.W. Ingram, ed, Records of Early English Drama: Coventry, 442): Murray, 2.253 and Bentley 2.391, date it 12 January 1637/8. The Norwich Mayors’ Court Book xx has an entry for 9 October 1639 concerning Robert Browne and George Hall, who ‘did this Day exhibit a lycence from Sir Henry Herbert master of the Revelles to shewe an Italian motion but because he sayth his motion is noe Italian motion but made in London this Court thinkes fit not to suffer them to shewe’ (David Galloway, ed, Records of Early English Drama: Norwich, 232; Murray, 2.359; Bentley, 2.391, 458).

23 Reed: Lancashire, 242.

24 Reed: Lancashire, 334.

25 Speaight, 65.

26 Quoted from Caraman, The Other Face, 216, who gives his source as the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, 246, no. 32.

27 Caraman fails to indicate whether the date 1598 means 29 January 1597/8 or 1598/9, but as his practice elsewhere in his book is to adjust 1 January – 25 March to the modern year, 1597/8 is probably right.

FORTHCOMING PUBLICATION


Shropshire, in two volumes, is the eleventh publication in the series. In the introduction, Alan Somerset surveys the social and economic history of each major borough and provides a commentary on the major issues raised in the documents. He discusses travelling performers routes, the places where they performed, and the remarkable public exhibitions of high-wire artists, camels, bears, and giants. The records for this country are rich and varied, providing new detail about local playing and festivities.

IN APPRECIATION

In 1976, when we were all much younger and caught up in the excitement of the establishment of the REED project, JoAnna Dutka bravely undertook to edit the Newsletter. Eighteen years and thirty-six issues later (but still full of enthusiasm for early drama), she has asked to be relieved of the task. We all owe her a tremendous debt of gratitude for her patience, her skill as an editor, her ability to be firm when necessary and her unswerving courtesy to all contributors. Thanks to her efforts the Newsletter has become an essential organ not only for the project but also for the field of early drama.

Along with her work on the Newsletter, JoAnna has been a valuable member of the REED Executive Board. She was one of the original group from the University of Toronto who applied for the first Canada Council grant. She was also very much part of the first (and, as it turned out, the only) REED Colloquium and edited its proceedings in 1978. Over the years her wise counsel has helped me through the roller-coaster experience of running the project. In recent years, she has returned to her work on the medieval records of Norwich. When her collection is completed, it will serve as the first volume to David Galloway's Norwich 1540–1642.

We will all miss JoAnna's modus operandi. Those of you who do not know the University of Toronto campus will not realize the logistical problems created by JoAnna's appointment at Erindale College. Erindale is a suburban campus over twenty miles from the REED office – and JoAnna does not have a car! One year her comings and goings were so fugitive that we knew of her presence only by messages signed 'Phan' for 'Phantom of the Office' left at all hours of the night and on weekends. Recently, her increasing involvement in the committees of the Department of English and her graduate teaching has brought her more regularly to the downtown campus. It was her desire to have more time to devote to these important activities that led to her decision to hand the Newsletter on. She remains, however, a member of the Executive Board and, in that
capacity and as a collection editor, she will continue to be very much part of REED.

Through JoAnna's appointment at Erindale College, the college has subsidised the publication of the Newsletter since 1976. We are grateful to Erindale for the many years of support.

With this issue of the Newsletter, we welcome, as the new editor, Professor Helen Ostovich of the Department of English, McMaster University. We are also grateful to McMaster University for taking over the sponsorship of the Newsletter from Erindale.

Alexandra E. Johnston

Subscriptions to the REED Newsletter are invited. The cost per year of two issues is $10.00 for Canadian subscribers and $10.00 in U.S. funds for American subscribers. Cheques should be made payable to Records of Early English Drama, and mailed to 150 Charles St. W., Toronto, Ontario M5S 1K9, Canada. The cost per year for British and European subscribers is £5.50. Cheques should be made payable to University of Leeds, and mailed to Peter Meredith, School of English, The University of Leeds, Leeds LS2 9JT, England. Please address correspondence and submissions to the editor, Helen Ostovich, REED Newsletter, Department of English, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario L8S 4L9, Canada. E-mail correspondence may be addressed to ostovich@mcmaster.ca

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