



Items of Expenditure from the 16th Century Accounts of the Painters, Glaziers, Embroider- ers, and Stationers' Company, with special reference to the "Shepherds' Play"

BY JOSEPH C. BRIDGE,

M.A., D. Mus., Oxon et Dunelm, F.S.A., F.R.C.O.,
Organist of Chester Cathedral,
Professor of Music in the University of Durham

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AT first sight, these four trading organisations rolled into one seem an incongruous mixture; but it is not so in reality, for the first three had a common bond in the art and science of Heraldry, which was much used in painting, embroidery, and stained glass; and although they formed but one company, every member kept to his own particular craft, and it was specially laid down that "noe brother shall intermeddle in either other trades or occupacon . . . as a painter not to use either glasing, Imbrotheringe¹ or stacioninge, neither the Glaseor either paintinge Imbrothering or stacioning," etc.

The first three Companies had been amalgamated some time before the Stationers joined them.²

¹ We meet with Imbrauderers, Embroderers, and Brotherers.

² They had joined by 1567 as this Ledger shows, but I doubt if they had joined much earlier than this. There never could have been many Stationers. See *post*, p. 178, for the year 1590.

Some fifty years ago the late Mr. Thomas Hughes read a paper on Chester Booksellers before our Society, and gave some information respecting this Company and some extracts from the books.³

The volume I am about to refer to is, however, of an earlier date and is the oldest possessed by this Company, and, be it added, much more difficult to decipher, for the expenditure is, for the most part, in a very bad handwriting.

It is a book $11\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and has been, for the most part, put together in 1584 and bound and rebound in later years. It is prefaced by a beautifully written page of capitals (added in the eighteenth century) as follows:—

“BE IT REMEMBERED
BY THIS
WORSHIPFUL COMPANY
THAT THE
CHARTER
BELONGING THERETO IS PRESERVED IN
THE
BRITISH MUSEUM
AMONG THE
MSS
OF OUR DECEASED BROTHER
RANDLE HOLME.”

Then follows a memorandum:—

“Anno a Natu: Saluatoris nostri
1596

Wheat was sould in this year
for above xl shillings the Busshell

³ See Part V. of the Old Series of our *Journal* published in 1858. Mr. Earwaker also exhibited these books before the Society, and references to the Company may be found in Mr. Henry Taylor's paper on our "City Companies," Vol. V., N.S.; Mr. Frank Simpson's paper on the "Barber-Surgeons'" Company in Vol. XVIII., N.S.; the same writer's paper in the present Volume; and Morris' *Chester*, p. 409.

Rhy at xxxvij^s the Busshell
 Oates at xx^s the Busshell
 Sack at x^d the quart
 Gascoigne whyte & claret at viij^d the quart
 Good ale at iij^d & iiij^d the quart
 Oatmeale Groats at v^d the quart
 Fleash, butter mylk verey deare

Thomas Chaloner

1597

Rhy at xxi bus[hell] at 'alhalair tyde."

Then come the Oaths, Orders, and Ordinances⁴ of the Company; instructions "for others and straingers"; names of "Apprentices admitted," etc.; all excellently transcribed, and there can be no doubt that many of these opening pages were written by Thomas Chaloner of that family which is said to have "greatly affected heraldry" at the end of the sixteenth century.

Chaloner was a painter, a poet, a member of Lord Derby's company of players, an antiquary, and Ulster King of Arms. The first Randle Holme was apprenticed to him and he married Holme's widow.

When Chaloner joined the Company it is probable that he was asked to "write up" and arrange this book. The following minutes are in his own handwriting:—

"1584

Memorandum In Anno 1584 M^r Robert Brerwoode Maior of the Cittye the vjth daie of October, Thomas Chaloner was made a freeman and the vjth of October he was sworn a brother to the occupacone and laid doune for his ffyne iiij^{li} whereof he payd xx^s wicht was distributed the same day amongst the Company & uppon Thursdaie being the next day after hee made his dynner to the said Companye James

⁴ Similar regulations have already been printed in our *Journal* in connection with other Companies, so there is no need to give them here. (See for example Mr. Simpson's paper in the present Volume.)

Banester and Robert Leche weare Aldermen Edward Dobyey and John Deusburye Steuwards and uppon St Luks Day next after Edward Dobyey and Thom^s Chaloner weare chosen Steuwards.

xx^s 1584

Tho^s Chaloner

vijth of October

And besyde the sayde Thomas Chaloner gave to the Companye A^o 1587 bothe Coloures and the making of a Banner with the foure Sundrie Coats Helmes Mantells and Creasts well worth fyve nobles.

xxxiiij^s iiij^d”

In “Charges layd out for the Companye this year 1584” we find :—

“In pris for paper to write upp the other end ordered in the begynninge of this Booke j^d

For paper sett in this booke whearine are the Othes, Orders, and Ordinance of y^e Company j^d”

The items of expenditure of such a Company as this must always be interesting, but in this case they are especially so, for they include the monies spent in preparations for the “Shepherds’ Play,” and thus throw a valuable side-light on the stage management of one of our Chester Miracle Plays.

This Company had always undertaken to produce this special play.

In the earliest *Banes* we find :—

“Paynters Glasiars & broderers^s in fere [company]
Have taken on theym with full good chere
That the Sheppards play then shall appere
And that with right good will.”

In the later *Banes* we have :—

“The appearinge Angell and starr upon Christes beirth
To sheapeardes poore, of base & lowe degree,
You painters & glasiors decke out with all meirth,
And see that *Gloria in Excelsis* be songe merelye.

^s This is a Fifteenth Century *Banes*, and we should not expect to find any mention of *Stationers*. In the later *Banes* they were probably omitted, with the Embroiderers, for lack of space.

Fewe wordes in that pageante makes meirth truely,
 For all that the Alter had to stand uppon,
 Was Glorye to God above, and peace one Earth to Man."

We are told also in Kings' *Vale Royal* that in July, 1577,

"The Earl of Derby, the Lord Strange with many others came to this City and were honourably received by the Maior and Citizens, the Shepherds' Play was played at the High Crosse, with other triumphs on the Roods Eye."⁶

This play (which was undoubtedly by a local playwright and was the most popular of the series) also got tacked on to the Midsummer Show, and the Shepherds walked on stilts to add greater interest to the procession.⁷

I now give the principal items of interest from the Company's Ledger. Much must be omitted.

1567-1568⁸

For Whytsone Playes the yeare of oure Lord God a thousand fyve hundreth thrye score & eyght then Mayor of the Citie of Chester M ^r Ry ^d Dutton	li s. d.
--	----------

For the rest of a room at our first meeting ⁹	ij
--	----

To the shareman for the dressyng of oure skynnes ¹⁰	viiij
---	-------

⁶ I believe this to be the last performance of the play, and as it was by command of the Mayor I presume he paid for it, for it does not appear in the Company's Accounts. In these Accounts we read of the play being performed in 1567, 1572, and 1575, and the "Annals of Chester," published in the *Cheshire Sheaf*, give 1560, 1566, 1571, and 1574. Dates are never a strong point with these old scribes, and the old method of reckoning the commencement of the year often led to confusion.

⁷ This fact is made known to us for the first time by these Accounts. Was the idea of the Shepherds walking on stilts taken from France? See *post*, p. 173, for an amusing entry about these stilts.

⁸ 1568 was first written and then cancelled.

⁹ Every member "paid his shot" at a Meeting. This was generally a levy of one penny per member, and if the combined pence were not sufficient the debit balance was, as here, carried to the general account. The Company had no regular place for meeting until they joined the Barbers' Company in hiring the Phœnix Tower, see *post*, p. 190.

¹⁰ For their hoods.

To Cryss ^r [Christopher] talyor for makyng of our huddes ¹¹	li. s. d. xii
For our horses at the rydyng of the Banes	xvi
To the priseners ¹²	j
To Newton for rydyng of the Banes	j
Spent at Thomas Imsons to speak with M ^r Hankey for Shepheard Boyes	ij
For paper to coppye the oreygenall ¹³	j
At our first rehearse at oure Aldermans	xvj
Anendst Ric ^d Garrett for rest of a shote ¹⁴	v
Spent at Ric ^d Halewoods about the hyrrrying [hiring] of the Carryge ¹⁵	iiij
Spent at M ^r Hankeys about M ^r Bryd [Bird]	vj
Spent at Master Hankeys at the rehearsee the same day	v
Spent at our Aldermans when we rehearsed before M ^r Mayor ¹⁶	ij vj
Spent at our Aldermans the first tyme we mett in the Common Hall	xx

¹¹ "Yet in London amongst the graver sort (I mean the liveries of Companies), remaineth a memory of the hoods of old time worn by their predecessors: these hoods were worn, the roundlets upon their heads, the skirts to hang behind in their necks to keep them warm, the tippet to lie on their shoulder, or to wind about their necks; these hoods were of old time made in colours according to their gowns, which were of two colours, as red & blue, or red & purple, murrey, or as it pleased their Masters & Wardens to appoint to the Companies."—Stow's *London*.

¹² The Banes were proclaimed at the Bars, the Castle, and the Northgate. The wretched prisoners confined in these places were allowed certain privileges and could walk outside to hear the Banes read.

¹³ The original Play book. Possibly the one possessed by the Corporation containing all the plays, or perhaps the "Shepherds' Play" belonging to the Company.

¹⁴ It is curious how the word "Shot" (o.e. *sceot*—a tax or levy) lost its original meaning and became synonymous with a meeting or carouse. A document belonging to the Chester Corporation speaks of "a shott or drinking." See Morris' *Chester*, p. 381.

When the mourners at a Welsh funeral were too poor to bear the expenses of it, a collection was made outside the house and was called a "shot." See *Border Counties, Byegones*, August, 1899.

¹⁵ The carriage or "pageant" on which the play was performed.

¹⁶ It was the Mayor's duty to take care that the actors were efficient.

	li	s.	d.
Spent for borrying & conveying a naked child ¹⁷			ij
For mogges [mugs for drinking]	ij		vj
For painting of our ox and asse, and our pye in the Common Hall ¹⁸			iiij
For a bests baly [beast's belly] to diner ¹⁹			x
For a wysshing pudding ²⁰			j ^{ob}
For copping our origenall			xij
Spent at John Cocks to borrow bottells ²¹			ij
To butter to the play			viiij

¹⁷ A small child dressed in gay ribands and sitting amidst a bower of green rode upon a horse in the Midsummer procession. Each Company seems to have had one, and the Accounts contain dozens of references to this custom, the origin of which is obscure.

¹⁸ The painting was probably on canvas and was intended to represent the manger at Bethlehem.

¹⁹ There are other similar entries and they evidently mean a kind of haggis, *i.e.*, the heart, liver, etc.

²⁰ What pudding was this? I am inclined to think that it refers to the previous item, as the intestines of an animal were called "puddings," and an untidy person was said to "have his puddings about his heels." Or does it refer to a sweet pudding? Our Christmas plum pudding is said to have come in with the House of Hanover, and everyone in the house is expected to "wish" and to stir it when made. The act of "wishing" is very old Folk-lore (*cf.*, wishing-wells), and it seems possible from this item, that it may have got grafted on to our Christmas pudding from earlier times.

²¹ No doubt the old wooden flasks with stoppers, such as shepherds used. Ordinary bottles would have been easily procured.

Pastor I.: "Now to wete our mouths tyme were
This flagetete will I tame, yf thou rede us

Pastor III.: And of this bottill nowe will I bibbe
For heare is but of the beste."

The first shepherd's boy presenting his offering to Our Saviour at the manger says:

"Now Lord for to geve thee have I nothings
Neither goulde, silver, bruche nor ringe
Nor no rich robes mete for a Kinge
That I have heare in store:
But that yt lacks a stoppell
Take thou heare my well [fayer] bottill
For it will hold a good pottill
In faith, I can geve thee no more."

	li	s.	d.
For chesse [cheese] ²²			v
To nayles			ij
To a Corde ²³			ij
For Whystells ²⁴			j
For pynnes			j
poyntes ²⁵			j
Spent att Rich ^d Halewoods upon Whitsun Sunday in drink			iiij
Spent the same day upon the Shepherd boyes			ij
To brydde [bread]			vj
To Crab fysshes ²⁶			ij
To mending Trowes Cote ²⁷			ij
For copying a y'sell [an epistle or letter]			iiij
For Potes of ale at Ric ^d Halewoods when we dressed our player & when we made our caps and cote			vj
For brede for the playe			iiij

²² Pastor II. :

“Here is bred this daie was baken ;
 Onyans, garlicke and leickes
 Butter that bought was in Blacon,
 And greene cheese that will greese your cheekes.”

Halliwell says “green cheese—cream cheese.” Other authorities consider that it means fresh cheese and made of skim milk. *cf.*, “The moon is made of green cheese.”

²³ To nail up the canvas scenery.

²⁴ Third Boy [at the manger] :

“O noble childe of thee [?]
 Alas ! what have I for thee
 Save only my pipe ?
 Elles trewlye nothinge.
 Were I in the rocks or in
 I coulde make of this pippe
 That all the woode shoulde ringe
 And quiver, as yt were.”

²⁵ Laces.

²⁶ Perhaps a Parkgate commodity, for shell fish could not have carried far in those days.

²⁷ Each of the shepherds had a boy under him. Their chief assistant, however (who also had a boy under him), was Trowe or Trowle—a ragged, impertinent, strong young fellow who could “sauce” the shepherds and wrestle with them. His appearance with his “good dog Dotinel,” otherwise “Sillybilly,” must have created great laughter. Trowle was, no doubt, the “making” of the play.

	li	s.	d.
Paid for them that puled the caryge [pulled the carriage] ²⁸			vj
To the viii pullers of the caryge	iiij	-	
To the Mynstrell			x
To Joseff			x
To meat for the Ass ²⁹			viiij
Towards the fechyng of him			iiij
For horse bread ³⁰ to the harness horse			iiij
To John Hutton for a q[u]arter of vele			xvj
a quarter of corse vele			viiij
a beasts belly and calves fette			viiij
a myd calf ³¹ and a nox tonge ³²			viiij
a calves head			iiij
a grene ³³			iiij
a Tuppes head ³⁴			ij

²⁸ The "pageant" or "carriage" was sometimes drawn by horses and sometimes pulled by men.

²⁹ It seems that this animal must have been hired for use in the "Manger" scene, thus superseding the canvas representation, or possibly Mary rode on it in procession.

³⁰ Made of beans and pease by the bakers of the city. A baker was prosecuted, *temp.* Richard III., for selling horse bread deficient in weight and quality.

³¹ The "m" is written in a much later hand over what appears to be "k," and kyd calf—a young calf. But the later scribe is right. "Mid-calf" is a well-known Lancashire dish similar to lamb's fry, and the cost corresponds.

³² Primus Pastor :

" My secchell [satchel] to shake oute
To shepheardes am I not ashamed ;
And this tonge pared round aboute
With my tonge it shall be atamed."

[another version]

" And that is in my sachell to shake out
To shepheardes am I not ashamed,
This oxe tonge, pared round about,
For your tooth it shall be attamed."

³³ Some green vegetable. Very few were grown at that time.

³⁴ Tercius Pastor :

" Lo ! heares a sheepes head sawsed in ale,
And a grayne to lay on the greene,
And sower mylke my wife hath ordered
A noble supper as well is seene."

	li	s.	d.
ale at John Cocks			iiij
To our Ladyes wayge			iiij
To iiij shepherd boyes	ij		viiij
The hyre of our carryage			iiij
A pair of & Trowe's shewes [shoes]			xvj
To Rich ^d Halewood's wyffe for xv hagays ³⁵	vij		-
To her for bacon			vj
To her for a calves hed			iiij
To her for bread and ale in the morning			
To the Putters & to the Mynstrelle & at our supper		iiij	-
For p'bolyng [parboiling] of our garbyge ³⁶			xij
For a q ^r of lambs to John Hutton			x
To five haggassys to Randolph Bales wife	ij		ij
To a garnishe for the lyttell chyld			ij
For a pottel of beer at our aldermans			ij
To the Mynstrelle uppon Mydsomer even ³⁷			vj
To the Prysoners at the same time			j
To Rich ^d Halewoods wyffe for brede upon Midsomer even			viiij
To her for drynk the same tyme			ij viij
To a pottell ³⁷ of whyte wyne			vj
For Samontt ³⁸			ij iiij

³⁵ and ³⁶ Or "Hagosyes," *i.e.*, "Haggis," a "heart, lungs, liver, etc., of sheep boiled in maw with suet and oatmeal," and "garbyge" means "offal of an animal used for food" (*Oxford Dictionary*). In *Promptorium Parvulorum* we find "Garbage of Fowles—Entera," and "Gybelet—idem quod garbage" and "Gyserne of Foules—idem quod garbage." Halliwell has "Gesarne—the garbage," and quotes: "Tak the gesarne of a hare, and stampe it, and temper it with water, and gyf it to the seke mane or womane to drink."

³⁷ A "Pottill" was two quarts, therefore the wine was threepence per quart, or about the usual price in those days.

³⁸ This is the only entry referring to this fish. The old idea that salmon was so plentiful in bygone times that apprentices refused to eat it has long been exploded. There seems no reason for thinking that it was more plentiful or cheaper than now.

Unfortunately, "salmon" may mean *one* fish or *more*, so that this item is no guide as to cost, but at that period a salmon must be sold *whole*, so it was not less than *one*. The fishmonger was not permitted to cut it up for sale. See *Morris*, p. 424.

	li	s.	d.
To the Eldest sheppett ⁸⁹		ij	
To the Second sheppett			xx
To the third sheppett			xx
To Trow		ij	
To Trowes boy			vj
To Tow sheppetts for goying upon Mid- somer even			x
To Tow sheppetts when the Banes were rydden			x
To hym that rydeth [readeth] the oryginall			xij
To the Angel			vj
The sum is	iiij	ij	vj
The hole sum of the Whytsone playes and all the charge of oure Occupacon from Saynt Lukes Daye untyll the v th of July is	iiij	ij	vj
Wyche is for every brother		v	v
Whereof Thomas Poule is bated in his part			iiij
Mem: That Ric: Calye ys indebted to the Occupacyon for Whytsone playes		v	v
Due to him for income of the brydren [brethren]		ij	ix
He is behind for charges upon Saynt Lukes Day			iiij

Grave and gay alternate in the next list of expenses:—

1568

At the Feste of Sannte Luke lasste passed Midsome Showe
no Whitson playes.

	li	s.	d.
at oure brodear Wetts dinner for ii pottells of sake			x
The menstrell at our broder Watts Dinner		viiij	
Payd to our Sister pilline the fosste of alle			x
To oure Sistear Pilline the rest that [is due] laid oute for ye menstrelles at William Stevenson Wedding			x
	iiij		

⁸⁹ The three shepherds were always represented of different ages. The importance of Trowle is seen in his pay being equal to the principal shepherd.

	li	s.	d.
lede doune for carringe of the Coffin			viiij
Spend at Mestear Meares bissness for a bill			ij
Upone Midsomer nighte at oure Alldermans	v		vj
The same feste medsomar nighte in wyne			viiij
Given to Rycharde Dawbye and the myn- strelles for midsomer nyghte			xiiij

1569

Midsomer Show no Whitson playe

Aneust layd doune for a quart of sacke at our aldermanes uppon Sayntt lukes daye			vj
For entryng <u>anayon</u> [an action] uppon Crysser Buckley			ij
For a rystetyng [arresting] of him			iiij
For the iij Sheppets wayge			xviiij
a payre of gloves for the Angell			ij
To Ry ^d Cawayde [Cawood] for a stern [star] ⁴⁰			ij
For a declarat[i]on for Chris ^r Buckley	ij		iiij
Spent a Thomas Massies uppon our Alder- men at the buryall of Ry ^d Halewoode			xij
Mem: Ry ^d Dobe is fyned for his absence at a meetyng the ix of Aprill ⁴¹			vj

In 1570, the Company laid down most stringent rules regarding the price of hats and caps, and also punishments for evading the rules. It is notified therefore

“That if any of the sayd companie make or cause to be wrought made or done or by any subtell means or devyse [device] devyysse [devise] or cause to be devysed to be wrought made or done, any kinds of hatt or hatts of any kynd of facyon [fashion] or makyng, if hit be butt playne, to any manner of p'son or p'sons within the Cytte of Chester or whout the sayd Citte unther [under] suche prysses, or lesse than suche prysses as are hereafter and under wrytten and expressed,”

⁴⁰ The Star of Bethlehem.

⁴¹ Fines such as this constantly occur but the amounts are reduced sometimes to 4d. and 3d., and sometimes remitted.

then, for such breach of rule, 6s. 8d. must be paid and the stuff might be seized and sold.^{41a}

Here are the prices:—

	li	s.	d.
Ffurst for a hatt playne w ^h oute any work on it		vij	
a hatt w ^h a lyttell border not wrought in the tent ⁴²		xij	
a hatt one payne ⁴³ wrought & a nother playne		xij	
a hatt thatt ys in stryppes or paynes wrought all over		xvj	
a hatt styched all over		xvj	
a hatt the turffé ⁴⁴ and all styched	ij	-	

^{41a} "I take it, that the use of square bonnets worn by noblemen, gentlemen, citizens and others took beginning in this realm by Henry VII., and in his time, and of further antiquity, I can see no counterfeit or other proof of use.

"Henry VIII., towards his latter reign, wore a round flat cap of scarlet or of velvet, with a brooch or jewel, and a feather; divers gentlemen, courtiers, and others did the like. The youthful citizens also took them to the new fashion of flat caps, knit of woollen yarn, black, but so light that they were obliged to tie them under their chins, for else the wind would be master over them."—Stow's *London*.

⁴² Made at home in the shop and not "wrought in the tent" at the great Midsummer fair.

⁴³ "Payne" is a "panel," or the pattern divided off by stripes, as the next item shows.

⁴⁴ This is a very uncommon word. Halliwell quotes Palsgrave's old *French-English Dictionary*, published 1530: "Turfe of a cappe, *rebras*"—Palsgrave, and "Tyrf or turvyng upon an hoode or sleve, *resolucio*."—*Promptorium Parvulorum*, 1440.

It was evident from these quotations that "turffé" meant a hat "turned up at the brim," but, in order to be certain, I brought the matter before Professor Weekly, of University College, Nottingham—a recognized authority—who says: "The word undoubtedly means the 'turned up brim of a hat in this case The origin is the Mid.-Eng. verb 'tirve,' more commonly 'terve,' to *turn* in general The word is interesting because of its solitary survival in topsy-turvy." It is amusing to see how the scribe thought the word, like a good deal of the finery of the period, was French!

a hatt Imbraudered all over of velvet in the tente	li	s	d.
a hatt w ^h a border a bouthe hit and a flower in the Crowne wrought in the tente	iiij		vj
		ij	iiij

1570

The charges for our occupacyon for the yeare of our lord god 1570.

Midsomer Show no Whitson plays.

payd to the mynstrelle uppon Saynt Lukes day at our Aldermans	li	s.	d.
payd for the rest of a shotte at Ryfe [Rafe] Shortwoods the same day			xij
For the rest of a shonte ⁴⁵ at our Aldermans the same day			ij
Spent at Randall Ynces [Ince's] when the passage was for Chris: Byckley			vj
Spent when Chissr Byckley sealed their oblygacyon			iiij
For enteryng anacyon [an action] uppon Ry ^d Sutton			vj
for a Restyng him to the same accyon			ij
For goyng on the styltes			iiij
Spent uppon Midsomer even in gud cheare to the Mynstrells the same time			xij
for makyng a declaracyon for Sutton	iiij	-	xvj
			xij

1571

No expenditure noted, only fines.

1572

For Whitson Playes the yeare of our Lorde God a thousande fyve hundrethe sevente and jj.

The mayre of the Cytte of Chester Master John hankye.

Whitson Playes went this year 1572 and Midsomer Show also.

[Accounts]	li	s.	d.
For our horses at the rydyng of the banes			xvj
For papare			j
For ryddyng [reading] the banes			j

⁴⁵ A fresh corruption.

	li	s.	d.
For the reste of a Shonte at the fyrste reheresse			vj
Spende on the iiij singarse at Rondylle Ynces ⁴⁶			ij
For xiiij yerthen moges [mugs]	iiij		-
Spende at Tomas lynecarse for the baryage of the cariage			vj
Pede to Doosse wyfe to garneshe the hagoosscys			xij
Spentte in Rychart twyssces speking for the Arse ⁴⁷			j
Before the generall reherse in Robert hale- wodes			vj
Lede done [laid down] goinge to loke for skynnes ⁴⁸			ij
lede done at the generaulle reherse denar	vj		-
Payde to Rogare Colarke for ij yarne [iron] stabylls [staples]			iiij
For iiij wystlles			ij
payde at the hyrynge of the caryages			j
payde for ij chesses			v
for a gambone ⁴⁹ a bacon & iiij fyttte ⁵⁰			vj

⁴⁶ The music was not expensive. The singers named probably come from the Cathedral, or Monastery as it was then still called.

⁴⁷ For the Manger scene or for riding in procession.

⁴⁸ For their hoods.

⁴⁹ Tercius Pastor :

"Abyde, fellowes, and you shall see here
This hotte meate serveid here
Gammons and other good meate in feare [company]
A pudding with a pricke [skewer] in the ende."

⁵⁰ A pig's feet.

Primus Pastor :

"Now will I caste of my cloke
And put out part of my liverye,
And put out that I have in my pocke
And a pygges foote from pudding purye."

"Gygges" foot appears in Wright's version, but the alliteration clearly shows "pigges," as Wright himself observes.

	li	s.	d.
For ij gannokes from Wavyntone ⁵¹			ij
For getting wedes ⁵²			ij
Spend at gettynge cattes ⁵³ an bottylse			iiij
payde for a topes yede [tup's head]			ij
For nelles corde pynes pynttes & pake- thryde ⁵⁴			ix
For the as[s] lede doune			xij
For peynting the honke ⁵⁵ & ars the styltes and the stave			xij
For Crabes			j
for a lawne a velle [loin of veal]			vj
To Dosse wyfe for hagocyes		vj	viiij
To the Sheppet boyes		iiij	-
Roger Calcotte for a form to the carryge			ij
A skynne to trowes shewes			vj
Trowes boye			vj
O' Lady			vj
John Tacker for a board			iiij
A pot of bear			j

⁵¹ Tereius Pastor :

“ And heare ale of Halton I have
And whotte meate I hade to my hier
A pudding may no man deprave,
And a jannacke of Lancaster Shire.”

But instead of going to Lancashire they went to Waverton for the “jannocks.” Even then one wonders why they went so far to get so little. “Waverton puddings” are an old institution and are made at Waverton Wakes, which take place on the first Sunday after July 10th. Perhaps these are the descendants of the famous “jannocks.”

⁵² Garments, *cf.*, “widow's weeds.”

⁵³ Cates, “choice food,” “Comfits and Cates.” “From an earlier *acate*, an old French dialect form corresponding to modern French *achat*=purchase, . . . whence our *Caterer*.”—*Weekly, Romance of Words*.

⁵⁴ Points=laces. All these were in use for the scenery and actors.

⁵⁵ The hank or handle of the banner, and the staff of office carried before the Company. Perhaps there was some decoration of the harness of the “Ars.”

	li	s.	d.
Harvey's wages ⁵⁶		i	viiij
Tuddes wage		i	viiij
Trowes wage		ij	-
The wage of the Angel			vj
Ryding [reading] of the orygnal		j	-
Spent going to borrow bogyttes ⁵⁷			ij
For a bestes tongue & iiij calves fyte			viiij
For botture [butter]			viiij
Payd W. Dooses wyffe for lethes & lenarse ⁵⁸			xij
For a tryne platar [treen platter] ⁵⁹			iiij
To viii pottares of the caryages		ij	x
To Peter a Moston ⁶⁰ for trowe's shone [shoes] making and for his penes an laburs			xvj

⁵⁶ The first shepherd was Hankin, the second Harvey, and the third Tudde.

First Shepherd: "Ho! Harvey! ho! ho!
Drive thy sheep to the low.

Cry thou must this loud—by this day—
Tud is deaf and may not well hear us."

Second Shepherd: "How Tud! Come for thy fathers's kin!"

First Shepherd: "Nay! fye! thy voice is wondrous dim
Why knowest not thou him?
Fye man for shame.
Call him Tud, Tibbe's son,
And then will the Shrew come."

⁵⁷ "Budge" is lambskin with the wool dressed outwards. "Budge Row," in London, was for the sale of this trimming, as "Paternoster Row" was for the sale of beads. The budge was used for the hoods.

⁵⁸ "Lenesse" or "lennesse"—lean flesh. (*Promptorium Parvulorum*.) "Lethes," I take to be "livers." The scribe is a wretched speller and probably pronounced "liver" as "lither." Such a change was not uncommon, as "Litherpool" and "Liverpool."

⁵⁹ A wooden platter. The word still survives in "trencher" and "trencherman." Holinshed, the historian, in speaking of the improvements in the life of the people, says: "The thirde thinge they tell of is the exchange of treene platters into pewter, and woode spoones into silver or tin. For so common were al sortes of treene vesselles in old time that a man should hardly find four peces of pewter, of which one was peradventure a salte, in a good farmer's house." "Treen beddes was he went to make."—*Cursor Mundi*.

⁶⁰ Moston—a small township just outside Chester. Trowe's shoes seem to have been of rough goatskin, so that he must have looked something like Robinson Crusoe. It is evident that they were a very important item.

	li	s.	d.
For bayse [baize] that Richard Dobie had			j
For paints to bone ⁶¹ the pleares			ij
payd to the Mynstrals			ij
for two wystyles for Trowe			ij
For the breakfast to the pleares and pottars of the Caryage	vi	viii	
Drink to the pleares			iiij
Payre of lether garters			vj
a Shype hoke [sheep's hock]			vj
For going upon the styltes at the riding of the banes			vj
a nother payr of sewes [shoes] for Trowe			xvj
	3	3	²
	li	s.	d.
For wheat to cook veneson ⁶² the xj of September			ij -
a Crock of beer			xij
a pottle of sack			xij
a q ^r of mutton			x
another q ^r of mutton			x
iiij pound of sewett			viiij
ii oz of pepper			vj
Sasone [seasoning]			j
butter			iiij
iiij pottles of claret wyne			xviiij
To the Wayterne			iiij
another pottele of claret wyne			iiij
For ale			iiij
For pearces			iiij
for baking the venison			iiij

⁶¹ Bone—to get ready.

⁶² This was "Frumenty" or "Furmety." An old formula is: "Take clean wheat, & tray it in a mortar, that the hulls be all gone off, and see the it till it burst, and take it up and let it cool; and take fresh clean broth, & sweet milk of almonds, or sweet milk of kine and temper it all; and take the yoke of eggs. Boil it a little & set it down & mess it forth with fat venison or fresh mutton." Venison was seldom served without this accompaniment, but sometimes furmety seasoned with cinnamon, sugar, etc., was a dish of itself. A person in a dilemma was said to be "in a frumenty sweat."

1573

Midsomer Showe only no Witson playe

	li	s.	d.
For ij potts of ale att Thomas Barkers on Midsomers even			ij -
To Ryd Dobe for going uppon the styltes			ijj
To Edward Dobe for going uppon the stylts at Midsomer			ijj
For wrytyng the coppe of our order			ij
For Russhes			j

1574

	li	s.	d.
For ryngyng the greate bell of ye abbey ⁶³			xij
For going on the stylts			xij
For entryng Tomase Pentone			ij
For a restyng tomase Pentone			iiij
For an excekusion for Jeffere byckeke ⁶⁴			ij

1575

For Whytson playes in the y^r of oure Lorde God 1575 and in
the same yeare

John Sanyche⁶⁵ Mayor of this Cyte of Chester.

	li	s.	d.
I layd doune at the rehearse by command of M ^r Mayore			xij
For bere for the pleares at the same reherse			j
For ij goat skynnes for trowes shoes			ijj
For xvj erthen moges [mugs]			xxj
For wystells			ij
For the heyare [hire] of the ij bardes ⁶⁶ and trowes cape			xvj

⁶³ The first time this is mentioned in the Accounts. Most of the Companies contributed to this useful curfew for a long period.

⁶⁴ These are for offences against the Company, which, as time went on, became more and more strict in compelling its members to observe the rules and regulations.

⁶⁵ This is an extraordinary spelling for Sir John Savage; and this is the last performance entered on the books.

⁶⁶ Bard—a trapping for a horse—Halliwell. Probably used in procession.

	li	s.	d.
For wystemelles			ij
For the brekyng of the botell			ij
In nales, pynes & pak thryde			vj
For powder for the sengers ⁶⁷			vj
For the leg loyne & tounge of vell			xv
For the topes hed & the greynes			ij
For the boylenge and dressinge the garbyche			xij
For xvj haggosses	iiij		vj
For ij chysse			iiij
For xij pouttires of the caryge	iiij		iiij
To Peter of Moston for makying of Trowles showes & hys paynes			xij
iiij Shepardes boyes			xvj
For Troules boy			vj
To Joseeffe			xij
To Marye			vj
To our Angell			vj
For a Janoke			ij
For Cakes			iiij
For Drynke for the pleares			x
To Rycharde Dobie for goying one the styltes at the banes rydyng			vj
For goyng on the styltes on Midsomer Eve			vj
For the mynstrell to the plase	ij		-
In boroweng tangkardes & bages			ij
For wedes			ij
For the Souper to the pleares	v		-
Bystowed one drynke to the penters [painters] when the playe was donne			vj

1575

	li	s.	d.
For the Waytes men			xij
To Pere Morlocke the piper			iiij

The singers were carefully disguised, and perhaps rightly so, as they generally came from the Cathedral.

AND THE "SHEPHERDS' PLAY"

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	li	s.	d.
Spent when we were with M ^r Mayor about Pole ⁶⁸			iiij
Payd to Edward Dobie for going on the stilts			xij
1576			
Things laid out for our occupacyon since Saynt Lukes day 1576 then Mayor M ^r John Harvey			
	li	s.	d.
Payd for a pottell of Sacke at our Aldermans house uppon Saynt Lukes day			xij
Payd for iiij pottles of alle at Wyllyam framways upon Midsomer even before the wache[watch] was uppon the Sheperts and others			iiij
For payntyng the styltes			vj
payd for the rent of the tower			xij
Spent in going about the occupacyons business			vj
the ij sheperts for going uppon the styltes			xx
Lede doune for Rysscysse [Rushes]			j

1577

[Mem.]

Robart Waytt is fyned for that he did premysse the Company that his man should goe uppon the Styltes upon Midsomer even 1577 and keptt bothe his man and the Styltes from us and went in to the Isle of Man with them and so caused us to be at xviiij^d more charge untyll we had neded⁶⁹ xij^d

Memo that Robert Wayt is contented that Thomas Pyllam⁷⁰ shall pay unto the Company xij^d whyche he oeth him for his accounts uppon Saynt Lukes day for this fyne that he is fyned for keping of the Styltes.

1578

	li	s.	d.
For Midsomer device for Cutberson to set the Armes uppon a payre of gloves			iiij ij

⁶⁸ See *post*, pages 189-90.

⁶⁹ This shows what importance was attached to their stilts, and they must have been a great speciality as no others were available.

⁷⁰ Pyllam owed Wayt 12d., but paid it to the Company, who were, evidently, in no mood to relax the fine.

	li	s.	d.
For dressing the boye			iiij
Rent for the Meeting housse			vj

1579

[Mem.]

That James Bannester ys to paye to the Company for the loan of the Cheste in the Churche yearly as long as please the Company

vj^d

[Accounts]

	li	s.	d.
for wyne at John Dewsburie's dynner			viiij
for wyne the same day in M ^r Goodmans Taverne			vj
For the arreest and entering of Chatterton & spent in ale j ^d goinge about the same			vij
For the overplus of a shott at our aldermans Hallwoods when we mette the 12 of November			ij
Spent at the selenge of the obligacon be tyxte Chatterton & us			ij
Spent the sextenthe of May at the wydowe percinas ij ^d and at thomas barkers the same day ij ^d when we recevd iij ^s of wydowe Halwode ⁷¹			iiij
For goying one the steltes			vj

1580

Received of John Dewsburye for rent of the Cheste

vj

1581

Rec^d of John Dewsburye for the lone of the Cheste

vj

1582

Payd for a pottell of Sacke at Gesper⁷² Gyllams uppon Saynt Leukes Day or for peares ables and nuttes

xij

⁷¹ On another page we read: "Mem. that the 19 May 1579 Ales Halewood wydow came agayne to our Company and then & there was contented and did submytte her selfe & her sonnes unto the Company, but was then agreed that thenceforth she should be as a sister of the said Company." On S. Luke's day, 1586, she "did wholly discharge herself from the Companie in maner & forme as heretofore in like case hath been accustomed."

⁷² Jasper. Later it is spelt "Chesper."

AND THE "SHEPHERDS' PLAY"

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li s. d.

Payd to the Steward of the barbers for the rent of the tower	vj
To Edward Dobie for going uppon the styltes	xvj

1583

Spent at the beryaull of our Alderman Halwood	viiij
For a payre of gloves to the child that rode on Midsomer even	iiij
For a payre of showes to the same child	x
Payd at the buriall of John Allens chylde	vj

1584

To the officer for to faitch brother Hale- woode before the maior for denying of deuties	iiij
For the paper sett in this book whearine are the Othes orders and ordinance of ye Company ⁷⁸	j
For Cloathe to the Fuarde [furred] hoodes and the makying of them	vj vj
For a payre of Buskyns to the childe	xij
For the lace to the buskkyns	ij

1585-6

To Beasby the Minstrell	iiij
Spent by the Companye at John Chaloners after the buringe of Anne Picke the 9 of November	vj
Spent by the Companie at Foxholes house in handbridge after the buring of our Syster Doby the last day of January 1586	x
Layd out for the enteringe and arrestinge of Richard Sutton	vj

⁷⁸ This and many other subsequent entries are in the excellent handwriting of Thomas Chaloner.

	li	s.	d.
For the bond wherein the sayd Sutton was bound not to truble the Companye			vj
Spent at the borowing of two chaynes of gould ⁷⁴			iiij
For flins ⁷⁵ to dresse the boyes capp			iiij
For pynes to dresse the boy			j

1585

[Fines]

Thomas Barker fyned for not accompaninge his Aldermen & complimes [<i>sic</i>] uppon Midsom Eve			xij
Raffe Halewoode fyned for deludinge and in the breaking promyse with his officers and Company for not accomplishing bargayne with his brother according to promise			xij
Nicholas Halewood fyned for installinge his brother Rafe without the meeting house			vj

1586

Fine holland clothe for our banner ⁷⁶	v	-	
For threyde to hem yt and for the ylott holes			j
To the Taylor for the setting on the fringe to the Banner			iiij
To the Smythe for the Iron rodde that beareth upp the banner			vj
To the Bereache ⁷⁷ at the makinge of oure Banner spent at our Aldermans	ij	viiij	
Spent at a bereach to the Taylor at the putting on of the fringe of ye banner			ij
For the staffe to carry the banner			x
Spent at the buriall of our Alderman			xvj

⁷⁴ To deck the boy with at the Show. He was very gay this year.

⁷⁵ Nap or down.

⁷⁶ This new banner was undoubtedly due to Chaloner's influence. He gave the Company a new one the next year.

⁷⁷ Beer-age or beer-drinking.

	li	s.	d.
Layde doune for iij ^{lb} of pould ^{r 78}			vj
For pax ⁷⁹ and Crossebowe threade			vij

1587

[Mem.]

In this yeare Thomas Chaloner gave to the Companies bothe the Colours and the making of a banner with the foure sundrie Coats and Creastes of the Companyes, the Alderman Robert Leche gave the Couler to yt and the garnishinge of the staffe to beare yt, and the socket to yt, and the rest payde by the Companie.

	li	s.	d.
In pris uppon S ^t Luke Daye at our brother Barkers house for wynne			x
for drink in all			x
To the Waytes			xij
Spent at the recete of our brother Allens moneys			xi

1588

Spent atte the coming in of the Erle of Darbye			xij
Spent when we went fyrst to M ^r Mayre about the Wevers			vij
Spent upon M ^r Grene M ^r Hankye M ^r Bryde in M ^r Barans taverne as concerning the fylt wever [felt weaver]			ij ij
Spent about a work man that the Sadlers kepte			vij
Given to M ^r Recorder att his coming home a quart of wyne			vij
Spent at the buryall of thomas pyllyns wyfe			xvj

1589

To Thomas Chaloner for the Booke			xiiij
Spent at Thomas Chaloners at the amend-inge of our banner			vij

⁷⁸ Powder. The origin of these warlike preparations, both "ancient and modern," may be found, I think, in the "Annals of Chester" (*Sheaf*, Jan., 1912) for 1586: "There was a sodden hew and crye which came to this Cittye in the neighte that London was one fiere and Bristow and that there were a Navye of Spanish shippes landed in Worrall; which news raised up all the Cittye and Cuntrie hear abouts, but it proved nothing soe."

⁷⁹ Pack thread.

	li	s.	d.
Spent at the fetchinge awaie of y ^e banner			vj
To an impotent old man on Midsom ^r Eve			ij
	1590		
To the Barbers for rent of the tower			vj
For the entering of an action and for the arresting of Griffith			
For painting and doing the windows			vj

In this year, we have, for the first time, a list of the "occupations" of the eighteen members of the Company. They include:—

7 Painters,
7 Embroiderers,
4 Glasiors;

and of the five journeymen:—

2 Painters,
1 Embroiderer,
2 Glasiors.

There is not a single Stationer or Bookbinder.⁸⁰

1591

[Mem.]

Suche as did followe the banner upon Mydsomer eve 1591
M^r R^d Massye Maio^r⁸¹

Will^m Fframwaye
Tho Chaloner
John Walker
Rob^t Wayte
Edward Dawbye
John Dewsburye
Raffe Halewood
Thomas Prickett
Robert Edmunds

⁸⁰ In 1591, there is one Stationer—William Holme—and so late as 1688 there was only one Stationer in Chester.

In 1592, John Alleyne appears in the book as a journeyman "bookebindder." It is possible that he was the father of the two brothers named John Allen who were choristers in Chester Cathedral, c. 1601.

⁸¹ The Company did not muster so strongly as one would expect. Only half the members were present.

	li	s.	d.
[Accounts]			
For a skin to make the boy a jerkin for Midsummer ⁸²		vj	
For the making of a jerkin for the boy	xiiij		
For dressing the staff for Midsomer	iiij		
1592			
To the arrestinge of an Imbroderer		viiij	
For fringe to the banner & sowing		xvj	
For painting the staff		vj	
Spent on Coronation Daie		x	
To the entering of an action to the Imbroderer		j	
1593			
To Edward Dobie for going on stiltes	ij	vj	
Spent upon the Queenes Ma ^{te} day	v	ij	
1594			
To the 3 men that guyded the boy	j	iiij	
To M ^r Ridley ffor warning Percivall		iiij	
[Mem.]			
Thomas Chaloner fined for wilfully absent- ing himself		xij	
1595			
Laid out for paper		j	
Paid towards the reparacion of the meeting house and to keep it drye		xv	
Laid out for bereage to the mason		iiij	
For the Tyling of the meeting house	v	iiij	
For rybbands to tie about the childes hede		ij	
1596			
Upon S ^t Lukes at our brother Basnettes dynner for a pottle of sack at Wydow Alcocks		xx	
To the Waytes of the Cittie the same daie	xviiij		
Spent in wyne at our brother Hankens dinner		xx	

⁸² The boy was no longer embowered in green.

	li	s.	d.
Given to the Mynstrelles ⁸³ at ye tyme			xij
For the hire of ij horses to the Stewards for the bringing in of my Lord Darbie by M ^r Maiors Comandem ^t			xvj

1597-8

Item spente after our meeting upon the iij daye of June when Randall Holme became a brother xij ^d that remayned in ^r debiting his fyne and xij that William hancock paide for a fine	ij	-	
--	----	---	--

[Mem.] Randall Holme became a brother uppon the thride daie of June 1598 and paide doune for his fyne xl^s whearof there was geaven him ageane xx^s so hee paide xx^s which was equally divided amonge the Company the same time.

The saide Randall made his dyner boothe unto this Company and unto there wyves the xiiijth day of November 1598.

	li	s.	d.
For the Childs apparell the outesydes lyn- inges bumbast lase buttons and for the makeing			xxiiij -

1599

For the amending and repaying of our banner and layinge of the staff in oyle cullers	ij	-	
Spent upon Randall Eaton for helping to drive away the statyoner after the fayre ⁸⁴			iiij
Spent upon the Seconde daye of July in the Companyes behalf in inquiringe about the petycoat that was taken from Thomas Gyllams and at the sealing of Jeremy Smythes bonds			vj

⁸³ The Waits were City *officials* and musicians. Minstrels were ordinary city musicians licensed to perform by the Annual Minstrel Court, but not *officials*.

⁸⁴ This was a peripatetic stationer who was not allowed to remain in the city after the fair was finished.

AND THE "SHEPHERDS' PLAY"

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1600

paid in overplus for repaying our meeting house	li s. d.
	j

1601

Payd to Randall Holme that he layd doune for the reperation of our meeting house	v ij
To Stev ⁿ Dawbye for going upon Stilts	xij

1602

Spent upon S ^t Lukes in Gose-lane	iiij iiij
Payd upon the xvij th daye of November for the arresting of one that was paynteing in S ^t Jones lane ⁸⁵	v
Spent upon Shrove tewsdays upon Sconse ⁸⁶ and others in laying wayte for a paynter that was working at John Rogersonns	iiij
Spent at another tyme in layeing wayet about a glasear	ij
For a pokett to carry the hour glasse	ij
Spent when the Companye went about M ^r Powell for selling of glasse	iiij
For the mans examynatyone before M ^r Maior touching M ^r Powell	xij
Layd down at our drinking on the Kyngs day	xij

1603

Given unto Nicnolas Hallwood when his house was visitted w th the plagg	v -
Spent at sundry tymes when wee went about the Imbroderers peticion	xiiij
Given to Thomas Dalby for draweing and writting the peticion	ij -
Payde for Mr. Whitby preferring the said peticyon at the assembly	xij

⁸⁵ The Company got more and more litigious and tenacious of their rights and privileges; and we have here some of the "peaceful picketing" of the period, brought about by the steady growing opposition to the close privileges of City Companies.

⁸⁶ Five members of this family still belong to the Company.

	li	s.	d.
Payde to Mr. Whitby for Ingrossing the order granted unto us by the Assembly and writing it in the black book of the Citty for Record		viiij	-
Spent upon him in wyne at Thomas Ollertons tavarne		viiij	
Payd to Thomas Corbyn for a Coppy of the order		ij	-
1604			
To Thomas Dalby for draweing a noate between our Company and the barbers		vj	
Payd for the Syling of our meeting house		vj	
1605			
For aresting the Imbroderer		viiij	
For fetching the said man before M ^r Maior		vj	
For a new hower glasse and mending the case		v	
For a sokett to houlde the banner		ij	
For mending the banner and Colloring the staff		xviiij	
For the lone of a hatt at Midsomer even		xij	
1606			
Spent aboute the trouble wee had w th the lady Cholmley		x	
For Sylvering the lace of the Chyldes Clothes at Midsomer		xx	
For the chest and hinges		ij	iiij
1607			
Geven to Symones daughters offering ⁸⁷		iiij	iiij
For mending the banner		xij	
1608			
For the aresting and entering of the paynter		x	
Given to the paynter again out of his money		vj	

⁸⁷ Perhaps on her marriage.

1609

Fines and offences committed:—

	li	s.	d.
William handcock fined for giving John fframway foule wordes		vj	
Nicholas Halwode [for the same offence]		vj	
William Polle fined for seteing a gorniman at work contrarye to our orders ⁸⁸		xij	
John fframway fined for giving Tapley whit[e] to collor the talbot and for mantaning him aganast the Companie	iiij	iiij	
Receved of William tapley for wrongeing the Company		vj	

[Expenses]

Payd for shewties for the boyes showes		ij	
Payd for showes		xvj	
Payd for the Entering and aresting of William Tapley		vj	
To Mr Amery for St George ⁸⁹	xx	-	

1610

[Receipts]

Receaved of Gilbert Eaton for lending on St Georges day the childes clothes ⁹⁰		xij	
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[Expenditure]

For silvering the Childs Clothes		ij	-
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⁸⁸ We may note that in this year two journeymen were at work with Randle Holme—Samuel Harmer and Thomas Heskett. In 1610 we find John Holme "with his father" William Holme, as a journeyman.

⁸⁹ Archdeacon Rogers tells us "In 1609 . . . one Mr. Amerye iron-monger sometime Sheriff of Chester . . . at his own coste chiefly, as I conceive, caused three silver cuppes or bells to be made," and they were awarded for horse races on the Roodeye on S. George's Day. The Archdeacon's qualification is correct, for this item shows that Mr. Amery did not pay the *whole* cost of his festivities.

⁹⁰ The clothes were evidently much thought of, and certainly the Company had spent a good deal in "silvering and gilding" them from time to time, so this year they were used in the Great Show organised by Robert Amery in honour of Prince Henry. The Historian specially says: "The Boyes were of rare spirit & exquisite performance." See *Chester's Triumph*, Chetham Society Series.

1611

	li	s.	d.
Spent at Alderman holmes the v th of Novem- ber being the Kinges day			iiij
payd for rushes			v
payd for wrytinge paper			j
For a quarter of Callin ⁹¹			vj
Given to the Taylors man for bererage			iiij
Spent at Harrison in ffleshmonger lane			xij
For furkle ⁹² for the childs clothes			vj
for gilding of the childs Clothes	ij		-
Payd for a pyk of iron for the staffe			ij

1612

payd for the Companies two new banners	1		-
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1613

[Receipts]

Receaved of Nicholas Gare ⁹³ for his fine for abusing the Companie and refusing to collect being stuard and was turned out of his place	iiij		vj
William handcock for disprasing the red lion in[n] ⁹⁴	ij		-
Nicholas Gare fined for giving the Alderman foule words			vj
Rec of Moses Dalby for not enrouling his aprentice within the yeare fined in			xiiij
Rec: of John Walker for his fine for abuse at a meeting			vj

⁹¹ ? *Callimanco*, a rough sort of cloth.

⁹² Perhaps "crinkled" or "crimped" edging. A "Forkelyd" woman was one "wrinkled with age."

The tailor had much to do for the boy this year, as many items (omitted here) show.

⁹³ "Carr" or "Carre," but frequently spelt "Gare." The "C" must have been much softened in pronunciation.

⁹⁴ On what grounds the Company inflicted so heavy a fine I fail to see. Possibly the Inn was kept by a member, or a relation of a member, of the Company.

[Expenditure]	li s. d.
Given to M ^r Mayor towards the new mesure ⁹⁵	vj viij
Spent on a banket for M ^r Mayor and his bretheren	xvj iv
payd for Rushes flowers and making the house clean	xij
payd for our part for lead and mending the topp of the tower	xx
For rushes for the house	vj

1614

Given by the Aldermens appoyntment to an Imbroyderer w ^b came out of Ireland	xviij
Layd out the xxij of Auguste for our Aldermens expenses in attending upon M ^r Maior and Judge Warburton	x
Payd to Robert Thynne for going with us to distrayne upon the later fayre day	vj

1615

Payd for a brawne and for dressing it which was bestowed by the Companye upon Sheriff Holme ⁹⁶	xxxj j
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1616

For the first suite against Joseph Osspringe attorney fees	ijj vj viij
For declaration	ij -
paid to Joseph Lingley for being a witness for his oath	vj ijj
Spent on him	viij
for execution	ij viij
bill of Cost	viij
To the Aturney on the passage day	iiij
Given to William Holme by apointm ^t ⁹⁷	vj viij

⁹⁵ A "newe Bushell or measure for the measuring of corn" was adopted by the Corporation in 1610. Perhaps this was a special measure for rye. See *post* 1618.

⁹⁶ Randle Holme was this year Sheriff of the City and Alderman of the Company.

⁹⁷ He died shortly after. Perhaps this assistance was given to him in his illness.

	li	s.	d.
At alderman Hooles the day the King came for stronge beare			vj
[Fines & Receipts]			
of the ij aldermen and vj bretheren for coming short to a meeting the last of June iij ^d a piece	ij	-	
of Moses Dalby for setting a Jurneyman a worke without admittance of the alder- men			vj
For the Execution served on Joseph Osspring	xv	-	

1617

For mending ye lead and top of ye meeting house for our part	viiij	x	
For our part of ye rent of ye phenix ⁹⁸			
About ye suite against William Norman Embroiderer	j	vj	
For stuffe for ye childes breeches	iiij	viiij	
For Cotton and ye making	ij	ij	
For silvering	ij	-	
For gloves for the Aldermen & Stuards	iiij	iiij	
To Sir George Bendcles man that led the horse	j	vj	
riband for the horse head		ij	
For Arsedine ⁹⁹		ij	
To the Smith for altering ye locke of ye loar house ¹⁰⁰			viiij

1618

[Fines]			
of our Stuard John Tailor for not coming to our meeting nor sending ye key ye xv th of July	j	-	
of peter Ince for being tardy at a meeting ye xiiij of Oct ^r			iiij

⁹⁸ The Phoenix Tower. This is the first time this name is used.

⁹⁹ Gold-leaf. It appears several times in the accounts of the Coventry Mystery Plays (see Sharp's *Dissertation*):

"Payd for a paper of Aresdyke xija"

There are numerous variants of spelling, one of which is "Orsady" or "Orsadie," and this may perhaps be the original form, but the derivation seems obscure.

¹⁰⁰ The lower room in the Tower.

[Expenditure]	li	s.	d.
At the measuring of rie at ye Watergate ¹⁰¹		j	ij
For loan of the hat and feather			vj
To an officer for shutting down ye Stationers windowes at midsom ^r			iiij
William Handcock for gilding ye little phenix			vj
Paid for o ^r part for mending ye glas win- dowes		j	xj
	1619		
[Fines]			
of Thomas Waite for his fine in taking work out of John Walkers hand at M ^r Becketts at Backford			xij
Alderman Poole Nicholas Halwood and William Handcoke for setting a whit- limer on worke to lay red lead iiij ^d a peece			xij
[Expenditure]			
Given in berage at dressing ye Phenix carried at Midsom ^r			ij
For Arsedine			iiij
Paied at severall times the charges disbursed about ye Phenix		xvij	x

The book closes with the Accounts for this year (except an odd page for 1628), but a few extracts from the various memoranda jotted down on the blank leaves may be of interest as illustrating the rules and customs of the Company.

We have seen from the Accounts how the Company insisted upon regularity and punctuality of attendance at meetings, how members were fined even for not

¹⁰¹ Morris (p. 228) says: "In an Assembly Order 12 Aug. 28 Elizabeth [1585-6] directions are given that a certain quantity of rye bought as a 'common bargain' should be sent up to the Watergate by and in severall boats and two members of the Council are deputed to 'attend at times convenient at the Watergate for recepte of the said corne and of the boats.'" The Company probably shared in one of these "common bargains."

coming with enough money to pay their share, or for using improper language, and how the payment of fees was very rigorously insisted on. A defaulter, if alive, was turned out of the Company (a very serious matter for him); and if dead, his household goods were seized for payment, as the following cases show :—

“ 1619

John fframwell

Turned out of o^r Company ye xvth of Aprill 1619.

Rec^d of John ffromway for his fine he being turned out of o^r Companie upon his humble petition ye xjth of January to be admitted Whereas his fine was xx^s ye Companie accepted iij^s so that he behave himselfe well and orderly if he misbehave himself to pay ye whole fine.

1573

Memorand that Wyllyam Framway Robert Lyche John Clynyes & Edward Dobie are a pointed to prayse [appraise] a brasse pot taken from Robert Wayttes for dewetes belonging to the occupacyon the value is ij^s j^d and also a brason chamber taken from Ales Hallewood the vj of April 1573. the sayd potte is praysed by the sayd four men to the value of iij^s iiij^d the chamber ys in lyke manner praysed the value of xvj^d.

1574

Memorand that there was a chaffer of potte brasse taken from Ales Halewood late wyffe to Ryd halwood the xiiijth of November 1572 for dewtyes belonging to the Company to the value of ii^s iiij^d and the same was praysed by Wyllyam framway Thomas powle Thomas Barker and John Allen and the same wayd at dame Sonnders shoppe waying nyne ponde and halffe at iiij^d a ponde ij^s ij^d.”

In regard to dress, it is noteworthy that in 1586

“It is ordered that noe brother shall weare his aprone before him at any tyme or tymes when hee goeth out of his house or shopp into the Cittye ; excepte hee have his stufte or tooles in his hand that hee doothe or shall worke withall,”

and in May, 1610, it is ordered that

"every brother shall at every meeting weare his gowne"
under pain of a fine, and

"Whereas some of our brethren have no gownes there is a tyme lymeted by the Companye to give them warninge to provyde them gownes in the mean tyme they are not to be culpable of the fine afore written."

The Company did its best to keep peace between its members:—

"March 8, 1595

That whereas variencie hath beene between Edward Dawbie and John Walker for and concerning the glasing of a house of John Hope of broughton Esq^r; yt is ordered and sett doune by the assent of all or most part of the Companie that all the said woorke now to be done for new worke that it shall be divided into three pts and Edward Dawbie to do twoe pts thereof & John Walker the thurd pte and to agree & contynue brethren & friendly."

Sometimes, however, a member was absolutely uncontrollable:—

"1575

Thomas Pole dyd say the laste of October att a metying that he wolde nott come to any metying at the warnyng of anye Stuerte [Steward] upon an others warnyng no nor with M^r Mayre nether

That the same tyme he bade Thomas pentnye being stuerte that he shulde nott come in his house, for if he did that that came for the one shuld smarte for ytt¹⁰²

Att the same tyme he sayd to our Alderman by these wordes of the name of Halwood thou lies falsleye and thou wyll prove a thousand lyes I have an . . . othe to lay againste the.

At the same tyme he called the whole Company *Drunken Swallygutttes*.

¹⁰² Owing to erasures this sentence is obscure.

Att the same tyme he saide we all wrytte no pure woordes but false with gods blud gods house and gods wounds.

The said tyme he went his way and wolde nott tary att the bydyng of nether aldermen nor stuerthe w^h ys contrary to his othe."¹⁰³

Any resignation was solemnly dealt with:—

“Memorand that Thomas Pentony came to oure metyng housse and there utterly refused the occupacyon uppon Saynt Lukes daye being the year of oure Lord God 1570 then beyng meare [mayor] M^r John hankye and his mother Jane pentony dyd refuse the sayd occupacyon the same daye in lyke maner.”

“Memorand that Anne pyck [Pike] late wyffe to Wyllyam pyke paynter came to our metyng housse uppon Saynt Lukes day and then & there utterly refused the occupacyon in the yeare of oure Lord God 1573 then Mayor of the Cytte Ryd Dutton.”

A late memo.¹⁰⁴ gives an interesting summary of the arrangements for the hire of the meeting house:—

“The Company of painters etc gave 2^s 8^d to the Company of barbers etc the 5 May 1573 for their good will to have the meeting house to meet in as ffreely as themselves & to pay 6^d the yeare.

Paid 1575 the rent of tower 6^d & so paid to the yeare 1612.

Our part of the rent of the tower meeting house 18^d in the yeare 1613 when the tower was built on the charge of both Companies.

Paid 1613 the treasurers the rent of ye tower 1^s.

Spent at a general meeting of both Companies in goinge to the 4 Companies that were tenants to the under house 3^s 8^d.

¹⁰³ Many fines are recorded against him, and the Company spent “when we went with M^r Mayor about Pole iija,” but all to no purpose, I think. They met their match this time.

¹⁰⁴ On a small sheet of paper, and inserted when the book was rebound.

Paid for our part for lead & mending the tower 20^d & these have bine continued to the year 1672."

It is probable that the pictures mentioned below were destroyed at the time of the Civil War. We must all regret that this rule was inoperative and that we have lost such priceless relics:—

" Memorandum

That it is ordered at a meeting the 4 day of April 1621 that whereas hearetofore there were certaine pictures of ancient brethren of this Company given to the house for the ornament there of, it is agreed that no brother nor any other shall take away these pictures henceforwarde or borrow the same without the assent of the Aldermen and Stuards under fine of x^s."

In conclusion, I would point out that these accounts do not show, as is commonly supposed, that these Companies spent much time and money in eating and drinking. The liquor when divided up amongst those present at a meeting very often did not amount to more than a pint for each person, and then it should be remembered that it was *good* wine and honest wholesome beer. With regard to the food, I doubt if our citizens nowadays of the standing and position of Randal Holme or Thomas Chaloner would care to sit down to a "feast" consisting of a sheep's head, or tripe, or haggis.

The Company still exists and numbers twenty-three members, of whom nineteen reside in Chester.

To the two Aldermen, Mr. Jepson, senr., and Mr. D. Sconce, I am deeply indebted for allowing me the free use of their valuable volume. May the Company long flourish!