

MEDIÆVAL GAMES AND GADERYNGS AT KINGSTON-UPON-THAMES.

BY

W. E. ST. LAWRENCE FINNY, M.D., F.S.A.

Barrister-at-Law, Inner Temple.

THE earliest entries in the Churchwardens' Account Books of Kingston-upon-Thames now commence at 1503, but from the Report of the Historical Monuments Commission of 1872 we learn that at that date they commenced at 1496, and that still earlier pages were then missing.

In addition to these losses there are twelve pages missing in different places between 1503 and 1538, and there are no entries at all from 1539 to 1561.

These losses are unfortunate because among the entries in the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII, there are many which relate to games and gaderyngs at Kingston-upon-Thames undertaken at certain seasons of the year, and these missing pages may have contained further information about them.

These seasonal games, which were purely secular, had been undertaken from time immemorial by the people of Kingston-upon-Thames for their own recreation and amusement, and were quite distinct from the miracle plays by which the clergy imparted their religious teaching. If not of Saxon origin these games can be traced to the early days of feudalism when England was mainly agricultural, and there was no education and but little relaxation from toil for the people on the land, most of whom in return for their existence on it had to render certain services to their lord, most of which were services on his land to which they were more or less attached, so the thoughts of the people were mainly about agriculture, and their only teaching was imparted by the Church. As some of

the festivals and holy days of the Church had originated from Jewish religious festivals connected with seed-time and harvest, these became the feast days and holidays of the people on which they indulged in feasts, games and dances, of which the Beanfeast, Plough Monday game and the Milkmaids' dance were sturdy survivals.

At these games it became the custom to make gaderyngs, gatheryngs, or collections of money, to pay for the expenses of the game and the cost of the feast, and after these had been paid and "aull costes deducted" from the gaderyng, they gave what was over to the churchwardens towards the repair and upkeep of the nave of the parish church for which the people were responsible.

The churchwardens then made quarterly entries of these gifts from the gaderyngs in their account books with their other church receipts. Unfortunately they made no attempt to describe the games at which gaderyngs had been made, nor to refer to any other games that may have been held, and sometimes they omitted to mention the names of the games and only recorded the total "quarterage" which they received; at other times they entered the receipts from two games together, as "ye Maye game and Robartte Hode" in 1520, and "ye Kyngham game and Robyn Hode" in 1508. Sometimes, too, they entered the expenses of the different games all together, without indicating to which game they belonged. The reason may have been that they had already entered the details of the receipts and expenses of the games in their Quarterage Book, and that they merely entered a summary of them in their church account books.

This Quarterage Book which is now missing is referred to in the accounts for 1518: "Item, paid for writyng of this boke and ye quarterage boke . . . 4d." ¹

THE RESETS OF THE SAID YERE (1509).

Item Rd for ye gaderyng at Hoctyde	14s.
Item at Ester	£3 9s.
Item at ye Kyngham	£4
Item Rd for Robyn Hodes gaderyng.	3 marke.
Item Rd for the quarterage gaderyng	£3 3s. 6d.

¹ The churchwardens entered all money in Roman figures, but here their entries are shown in Arabic figures.

RESETS OF YE YERE (1510).

Item Rd for ye gaderyng at Ester	£3	12s.	8d.
Item Rd at Hoctyde for gadering		16s.	6d.
Item Rd of Robyn Hodes gadering		4	marke.
Item Rd of ye gadering of ye quarterage		5	1s.

HERRE FOLOVETHE THE RESSEYTES (1515-16).

Rd of quarteren of crestmass quartare		16s.	5d.
Rd at Voktyde of hokkeng money and avl costes aloved.		17s.	
Rd at Ester for quarterage		14s.	10d.
Rd at Whetsontyde of Roben Hodes gadering		13s.	5d.
Rd at Mehelmas for quarterage		14s.	6d.

The accomptes of tomas Robynson and Wylliam Flecher gevyen uppon saynt Lukes day in ye XIth yere of Kyng Henry ye VIII (1519-1520).

Item Reseyud of Jhon gaddysbe for Robyn Hode ye yere before past		3s.	2d.
Item Reseyud att Hoktyd of the gederyng		28s.	
Item Reseyud of quarterage for the holl yere	£3	6s.	7d.
Item Resayued of the Maye game and Robyn Hode	£3	12s.	4d.

The Accomptes of Thomas Robynson and Roger Wynter upon Seynt Lukes day in the XII yere of King Henry VIII (1520-21).

Item Res' at Ester for gaderyng	£3	7s.	
Item Res at Hoctyde		27s.	2d.
Item Res at the gaderyng of Robyn Hode at Whitsontyde		8s.	
Item Res for quarterage gaderyng for a hole yere		56s.	10d.

The accompte off Thomas Robynson and William Mowrer Chyrche wardens of the chirch of Kyngston apon Thamis made apon Seinte Lukes Day last passed In the XXIth yere off the Reign of Kyng Henry VIIIth (1529-30).

Reewyd of the lorde of Myssrville (misrule)		14s.	6d.
Item Res at Hocketyde in the hoole		22s.	6d.
Item Res at Ester gatheryng	£2	7s.	6d.
Item Res of Robin Hodes gatheryng		26s.	8d.
Item Res for quarterage for the hoole yere	£3	8s.	

In addition to recording their receipts from gaderyngs the churchwardens sometimes recorded also the details of the expenses of the games, the cost of repairing performers' costumes or buying new ones, as well as the expenses of the feasts, and so they have preserved much interesting information about the prices of food and clothing and about the games and dances of the people in Tudor times. The following extracts from among the churchwardens' expenses in 1509-10 relate to payments made for games and dances :

Thes be the costes and payments done by Thomas Ayme and John Walter tyler church wardens of Kyngeston the furst yere of Kyng Henry VIIIth (1509-10).

Item payd for a Ml of pynnys (pins)		4d.	
Item paid to Jhon Paynter for leveres grete and smale	12s.	4d.	

Item paid out of ye church box at Walton Kyngham	3s.	4d.
Item paid out of ye church box at Sonbury Kyngham	22s.	
Item paid for mete and drynke for ye moris dausers	2s.	
Item paid for mete and drynke for ye morris dausers on corpus christi day		4d.
Item payd for a Ml of pynnys		4d.
Item paid for pynnys		1d.
Item paid for ye fols cote		14d.
Item payd syluer paper for ye mores daunce		7d.
Item paid for Ml of pynnys		4d.
Item paid for V gece		15d.
Item paid for Egges		6d.
Item paid to exfold for a lambe		18d.
Item paid for botter		6d.
Item paid for sugar clovys and mace		11d.
Item paid for smale resins		3d.
Item paid for safern		2d.
Item paid for venegar and salt		3d.
Item paid for white coppys		2d.
Item paid for egges		3d.
Item payd for II cokes		18d.
Item paid to II tornars (roasting spit turners)		3d.
Item paid to Brokes wyff		4d.
Item paid for VII C of pynnys		3d.
Item paid to John Onam for II calves	5s.	8d.
Item paid to John Onam for a shepe		22d.
Item paid to John Onam for a quarter of Veyll		8d.
Item paid for a quarter of motton		6d.
Item paid for a legge of veyll and a necke		4d.
Item paid to Jope for a shepe and a legge of Veyll	2s.	
Item paid to Dyngley for a shepe and a quarter of veyll	2s.	6d.
Item paid to John Good for bakyng of XII bussells of Whete		2s.
Item paid for III bavens		1d.
Item paid for a quarter of Faggott		7d.
Item paid for VI pygges	2s.	
Item for VI payre of shone for ye mores dausers	4s.	
Item paid for III quarters of coles		12d.
Item paid for bavyn and talwood		11d.
Item paid to Thomas Tothe for half Robyn Hodes cote	7s.	6d.
Item paid for creme		8d.
Item paid to John Onam for a shepe		22d.
Item paid to Thomas Pyper for taberyng		8d.
Item paid for the Frers cote	3s.	
Item paid for litell John is cote	8s.	3d.
Item paid to a tabor	5s.	
Item payd for the bote hyre going up to Walton Kyngham		10d.
Item paid for Kendall for Robyn Hodes cote		15d.

Originally each rural game and dance was complete in itself, and was performed year after year unaltered before crowds that never tired of watching them, just as to-day

people never tire of watching a Punch and Judy show, although they have seen it again and again since childhood. With the decline of feudal power the minds of the people began to expand, and some of the more primitive pastimes ceased to please, and so to gratify the popular taste parts were altered or omitted, just as to-day on the 5th of November they now burn the effigy of Guy Fawkes alone, his original companions, the Pope and the Devil, being long since omitted and forgotten.

In course of time new features were introduced into some of the older dances, and dancers were introduced into the time-honoured games, and a certain amount of amalgamation took place between the different games, so that Maid Marian and Robin Hood, who were originally each the chief character in two quite different games, came to appear together as partners in the same game. Somewhat similarly the modern pantomime, instead of being all dumb show as its name implies, is now mainly dialogue with songs and dances, and the simple nursery story it pretends to tell is altered and amplified by the appearance in it of characters from other fairy tales and nursery rhymes, and by the introduction of troupes of dancers and music-hall turns. This amalgamation of mediæval games and dances had become usual by the time of the Tudors, and so the entries in the Kingston churchwardens' account books refer to the altered games and dances as the people performed them and the churchwardens knew them, and they only recorded the names of those games from which donations were made to the church.

In attempting to trace these altered games and dances back to the primitive forms from which they evolved, we are met with the difficulty that the dances were traditional, and, if ever there was one, there is now no printed book from which the performers of the games learnt their parts. The only dance mentioned by the Kingston churchwardens is the morris dance, and it is never mentioned alone; by the reign of Henry VII, when the churchwardens' account books begin, the morris dance had become a usual feature in both the May game and the Robin Hood game, and so the morris dance is frequently mentioned among the expenses of producing both these games, but there is no record of the morris dancers or of

any other dancers ever having made a separate gaderyng or donation for the church.

The games mentioned by the Kingston churchwardens are

THE LORD OF MISRULE
 THE HOCK GAME
 THE MAY GAME
 THE ROBIN HOOD GAME
 THE KYNGHAM GAME.

THE LORD OF MISRULE.

In Tudor times at Christmas and for the twelve holidays that accompanied it, the appointment of a Lord of Misrule was usual in the King's household and in the households of the nobility, the Lord Mayor of London, the Inns of Court, and the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, where the Lord of Misrule was chosen from "those of no lower rank than that of the M.A. degree." Polydore Virgil says that the practice of appointing a Lord of Misrule was peculiar to England.

At Hampton Court Henry VIII customarily appointed a nobleman as Lord of Misrule for Christmas, and in 1551 in the reign of Edward VI, George Ferrars, lawyer, poet and historian, was appointed "Lord of Misrule and Master of the Kinges pastimes" for Christmas in the King's Court at Greenwich. "This gentleman so well supplied his office both of shew of sundry sights and devices of invention, and in divers acts of interludes and matters of pastime played by persons, and so pleased the young King" that His Majesty rewarded Ferrars "with princely liberalitie."

In 1634 Edward Evelyn of Wotton in Surrey, Deputy Lieutenant and High Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex, appointed his Trumpeter, Owen Good, gentleman, to be the Lord of Misrule and of all Good Orders in his household during the twelve holidays at Christmas, and gave him power "to command all persons whensoever he shall sound his Trumpet or Musick to do him as good service as though I were present." Evelyn's elaborate "Order of appointment of the Lord of Misrule" printed in *Archæologia*, Vol. XVIII., pp. 313-33, goes on to depute to him powers to punish those who disobeyed

his commands to attend morning prayers, and those who tried to come into the Dining Hall "and sett att dinner or supper more than once," or who used coarse language, or who "drank more than is fitt," and "those who shall kiss any maid widow or wife, except to bid her welcome or farewell, or go into the kitchen and interfere with the Cook." Evelyn kept an open house that Christmas and his expenses for the twelve days amounted to £835.

At the Inns of Court the Lord of Misrule was always a barrister of at least five years' standing, and frequently one of noble family.

In 1635 in the Inner Temple the Lord of Misrule made such a fine display that he was knighted by Charles I. The appointment of Lord of Misrule was not confined to the rich. David Morris, in his *History of England*, tells us that "every parish had its Lord of Misrule who went about attended by mis-chief loving rustics, decked out in gay scarfs and ribbons or disguised in skins of animals."

Featherstone, a Puritan writer in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, says: "First they chuse them a grand captaine whome they innoble with the title of my Lord of misrule, and him they crowne with great solemnitie, and adopt for their king."

As at Kingston-upon-Thames the churchwardens recorded only the names of the games at which gaderyngs were made for the church, the only records they have left us of this annual Christmas festivity relate to two occasions on which the Lords of Misrule gave 14s. 6d. to the churchwardens for the church:

1527.	Res ^d of Lord of Messerville	14s.	6d.
1530.	Recfyd of Lord of Myssruille	14s.	6d.

HOCK DAY AND HOCK TIDE.

Hock Day was the second Tuesday after Easter on which at Kingston-upon-Thames and other English towns, according to ancient custom, the women of the place organized a gaderyng in the streets, capturing the men and making them pay a fine or contribution to the church. Jacob's *Dictionary* says "the women with great merriment intercepted the public roads with ropes, and pulled the men to them from whom they exacted money."

There is evidently nothing new under the sun, for the same idea inspires modern young ladies who collect money for charitable purposes from men in the streets on "flag days," only that they do so now without ropes.

The second Monday after Easter, being as it were the eve of Hock Day, the men of Kingston-upon-Thames usually retaliated and indulged in a similar gaderyng from the women of the town; however, as women were allowed to pay their fines in kisses, the amounts of money collected by the men were always much less than those collected by the women from the men. The word Hock is said to be derived from the German and means to bind. Hock Day is said to commemorate a great victory of the Saxons over the Danes.

The Hock Tide gaderyngs at Kingston-upon-Thames brought in considerable sums, having regard to the value of money at the time. The following is a summary of the entries relating to them in the churchwardens' books :

1508.	Rec ^d at Hocktyde	19s.	
1509.	Rec ^d for ye gaderyng at Hocktyde	14s.	
1510.	Pay ^d for mete and drynke at Hocktyde	17s.	
1511.	Receuid at Hocktyde for gaderyng	17s.	
1513.	Rd at Hocktyde	17s.	
1514.	Rd for gaderyng at Hocktyde, summa,	17s.	
1515.	Rd at uckytyd of hokkeng mony and aul costes aloued	17s.	
1516.	Rescued for Hokyng mony	13s.	4d.
1517.	Res at Hocktyde	£1	7s. 2d.
1519.	Item Reseyd att Hoktyd of the gaderyng	£1	8s. od.
1520.	Item Res' at Hoctyde	£1	7s. 2d.
1521.	Item Res at hoctyde for gaderyng		18s. od.
1522.	Item Res at Hoctyde for ye gaderyng		16s. od.
1523.	Item Resd. at Hoctyde for gaderyng in ye town	£1	os. od.
1525.	Item Res at Hoktyde clerely	£1	15s. od.
1526.	Res at Hoctyde in mony		19s. 8d.
1527.	Res of Hocyng mone at Hoctyde		18s. 4d.
1528.	Item Res of gaderyng at Hoktyde		15s. 8d.
1529.	Item Res at Hocketide in the hole	£1	2s. 6d.
1530.	Item Res of hocke money	£1	6s. 9d.
1531.	Item Reseyd of the gaderyng at Hoctyde	£1	3s. 8d.
1535.	Item Res gatheryng at Hocktyde	£1	10s. od.
1536.	Item R' at the gatheryng at Hocketide	£1	10s. od.
1537.	Item Recd. at the gatheryng at Hocketide		17s. 6d.
1538.	R' at voctidde		16s. 4d.
1539.	R at Hocke tide.	£1	3s. 8d.
	[There are no entries in the books from 1539-1561.]		
1561.	R' at Hoctide for the gatheringe of wives and men.		12s. 8d.
1562.	R of the wivis upon Hocke Monday	£1	10s. od.
1563.	Rec at Hocque tyde		18s. 6d.

1566.	Rec ^d of Hoctyd gatheryng	£1	4s.	od.
1567.	Rec ^d att hocke tyed gatheryng in all		10s.	
1568.	R one hocke munday of all the gatherynge	13s.	4d.	
1569.	R for the gatheryng at hocketyde	13s.	4d.	
1570.	Rs ^d for gatheryng at Hocke tyd	£3	7s.	od.
1571.	Resevd for gatheryng at hocke tyd	12s.	2d.	
1572.	Reseaved moor gathered at Hocktyde the sum of		9s.	4d.
1573.	Res for the gatherenge on hocke munday		14s.	4d.
1575.	R for the gatherenge on Hock Monday		17s.	6d.
1576.	R for money gathered on Hock monday	£1	0s.	od.
1577.	R of the women upon Hockmonday		7s.	
1578.	R of the women upon Hock Mondaye		5s.	2d.

Hock Day was a recognized day in the English Calendar. In 1252 Henry III summoned the citizens of London to appear before him "on Monday immediately before Hoke-daye"; and in 1258 Parliament was held "in London on Tuesday Hokedaye." The memory of Hock Day has never died out in England; at Hungerford in Berkshire, which obtained its first charter from John of Gaunt on Hock Day in 1330, it has been observed annually for the past six hundred years.

John of Gaunt was the patron and supporter of English mediæval games and dances, and his personal badge appears in many places as an unconscious survival of his interest in them. In addition to revivifying the declining Fools' dance by introducing into it the Moorish dancers from Spain, he founded a Guild of Musicians on his estate at Tutbury, in Staffordshire, where pipers and taborers were trained to play for morris dancers.

There is no truth in Camden's oft-repeated statement that the three ostrich feathers of the Prince of Wales were taken from the King of Bohemia by the Black Prince at the Battle of Crecy. John of Gaunt's badge before his marriage, like that of his brother the Black Prince, was three ostrich feathers, which they both derived from their mother, Queen Phillipa, who before her marriage with Edward III had been the Countess of Ostrevant and used them on a black shield as her arms. After his marriage Edward III introduced three ostrich feathers into his great seal, and he and his sons used them as "a badge of peace" and not at all in time of war. At Kingston-upon-Thames payments for ostrich feathers occur among the expenses of Robin Hood and the morris dancers, and there both the King of May and the taborer in the stained



A FIFTEENTH-CENTURY FLEMISH ENGRAVING ON COPPER BY
ISRAEL VON MECHELN.



A FOOL'S DANCE.—XIV. CENTURY.

THE FOOLS' DANCE.
From Strutt's "Sports and Pastimes."

glass window of fifteenth-century design have ostrich feathers in their caps, in honour of their patron John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, who brought Moorish dancers with him from Spain.

It is possible that the shape of the costermongers' "bell-bottom" trousers, narrow at the knees and large around the feet, has evolved from the Spaniards' gala costume with trousers of similar shape, and the feathers worn by their wives from the ostrich feathers of John of Gaunt.

After his marriage with Constance, the daughter of Don Pedro, King of Leon and Castile, who bore on his shield the red rampant lion of Leon, John of Gaunt used as his badge a red rampant lion. This subsequently became a very popular inn sign, especially in the country towns where games were held. At Padstow, in Cornwall, the hobby-horse still emerges from the "Red Lion" every May Day, as it has done for centuries past, and at Kingston-upon-Thames the ancient "Red Lion Inn" remained until 1933, an unconscious survival from the days and games of John of Gaunt.

THE MORRIS DANCE.

The English morris dance seems to have been evolved from the still earlier Fools' dance, into which, when its popularity was declining, John of Gaunt introduced as a novelty the Moorish sword dancers whom he had brought home with him from Spain in 1336.

Strutt, in his *Sports and Pastimes*, 1831, says: "I make no doubt the morris dance which afterwards became exceedingly popular in this country originated from the Fools' dance," and he illustrates an early English Fools' dance in its primitive form from a manuscript which was illustrated in 1344, in the reign of Edward III, the father of John of Gaunt. This picture shows two musicians and five male dancers. They all wear shoulder capes with large hoods which have pointed extremities projecting at each side beyond the ears, with a small bell at the end of each extremity. This head-dress, which gave rise to the cap and bells worn by the Fools in the households of the nobility at a later date, originated from the ordinary head and shoulder cape or capucion worn by countrymen in the Middle Ages, and was purposely burlesqued by the dancers of the Fools' dance.

The Moorish or moresque military sword dancers, with their white flowing tunics and dark complexions and their flat wooden swords or staves, became such a popular feature when introduced into the English Fools' dance that its original name became altered because of them, and as the word fool fell into disfavour, the dance in its new form became known as the Moorish or moresque dance, which was corrupted by the illiterate into the morris dance.

Originally a fool was a clever, witty person, and in the morris dance as well as in some mediæval games and in the houses of the nobility, there was usually a witty person of some importance, who wore a distinctive costume and head-dress, and was known by the older designation of the Fool. In the Kingston churchwardens' account books, there is an entry dated 1510 "payd for ye fols cote" 14*d.*, and in 1515 "John Foull" was mentioned as one of the characters in the morris dance, and in 1537 "four yerds of cotton for ye fooles cote" cost 2*s.* The morris dancers were men, usually seven in number but sometimes more, who danced in knee-breeches and in their shirt-sleeves and braces, with small bells around their wrists, ankles and knees, and on their legs they wore broad leather garters covered with bells, four dozen on each leg, which jingled as they danced, and from their shoulders they had coloured ribbons streaming.

There were several different variations of the morris dance. Sometimes the dancers held a flat wooden sword or stave in each hand, and in imitation of the Moorish military dancers they clashed their wooden swords together and interlaced them to form a fret which they held aloft as they danced off; others held a handkerchief in each hand; others the flat wooden stave in one hand and a handkerchief in the other; while others held shorter round sticks, and as they danced they tapped the ends into the ground, imitating the action of a bean-setter in the popular bean-setting dance.

Accompanying the morris dancers was a trained musician, or taborer, who carried a small drum or tabor and played a pipe held in his left hand. One of the dancers capered about on a hobby-horse to amuse the crowd; another who blackened his face was a man or a boy dressed as a woman. This character was called the Morion. Blount, in his *Glossographia*,

1656, refers to this character as "a boy dressed in girl's habit whom they called Maid Marrion or perhaps Morian." And Featherstone, a Puritan writer of 1582, said of them, "You doe commonly call them May-Morrions."

In both French and in English the name Morion is the old word for a Moor from northern Africa who had a dark skin and countenance. *Morus* is the Latin word for a fool, and *morum* for a blackberry. The Morion in the morris dance seems to have been originally one of the native Moorish dancers introduced into the English Fools' dance by John of Gaunt in 1336. In course of time this part was taken by an ordinary English dancer, generally a boy who dressed himself as a girl, and blackened his face to resemble a Moor, and continued to do so long after the reason for doing so was forgotten. The female costume may have arisen from the white shirt-like garment worn by the native Moorish dancers which came down to their knees, being mistaken by the English spectators for a woman's dress, just as the Indians in the Mutiny of 1857 mistook the kilted Highland Regiments for women until they found out their mistake. Or it may have been introduced from some other dance in which all the characters were men dressed as women.

Although there is no such English dance now known, the Portuguese peasants have one of great antiquity, and they gave a performance of it, carrying flat staves and wearing posies of flowers like the Hungerford Tutti men at the annual Folk Dance Festival in the Albert Hall in 1933.

In the Middle Ages the danger to Europe of conquest by the Turks and Moors was very great. The Infidels hoped to destroy Christianity and to establish Mohammedanism throughout the world. The Turks had captured the Christian capital city of Constantinople and had driven the Christians out, and had established themselves firmly in Europe in their kingdom of Turkey; and the Moors had captured Spain and ruled it. It was only the great victory over the Infidels by the combined Christian forces at the Battle of Lepanto in 1571 that saved Europe from Mohammedanism. The Turks and the Moors were therefore much in the minds of the people in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and so the name Morion for a Moor was quite usual then. Fairfax, a sixteenth-century poet,

wrote of this battle with the Turks and Moors, "in vain the Turks and Morions strive."

Miss A. Gilchrist, F.S.A., who has written articles on the ancient morris dance, points out that among the varieties of English tulips in Parkinson's botanical work, *Paradisis in Sole*, 1629, the Latin name for "a Fooles cappe" is *Pileus Morionis*, and "a Fooles Cote" is *Tunica Morionis*, from its being parti-coloured like a Fool's or Morion's costume.

In the Kingston churchwardens' books there is an entry among the expenses of the morris dancers' costumes in 1533, "Paid for 4 yardes of buckram for ye morenyns cotes" 16*d.*, and in 1538 there is a reference to "a mowrens cote of Buckerame." In the sixteenth century a soldier's light helmet of Moorish pattern was called a morion.

A Moorish man was a morion but a Moorish lady was a morien, and we find her so described and depicted with her dark skin and complexion in the crest of the Worshipful Company of Brewers of London.

This City Company, which claims Thomas à Becket as its founder, was originally "the Gild of Our Lady and St. Thomas Becket," and its arms, granted by the Heralds College in 1468, contain the arms of St. Thomas of Canterbury, but its crest, a morien's head, granted in 1554, refers to Thomas à Becket's mother, who was a morien or Moorish lady. The heralds have depicted her in their grant of a crest, with her native dark-coloured skin and complexion, but because of her association with the Gild of St. Thomas and Our Lady, they have given her a blue robe with silver bands across it, and flowing fair hair instead of her natural black hair.

Gilbert Becket, the Archbishop's father, was a London merchant who married the Moorish lady who helped him to escape when he was captured by the Moors in the Mediterranean Sea. Mr. Alfred Burton, in his book *Rush Bearing*, shows a picture of a morien which is dated 1577; it represents an African lady from Fez dancing with the usual morris bells around her ankles.

After the morris dancers with their morion had been introduced into the May games, in which the chief character, the May Queen, was called Maid Marian, the original meaning of the word morion was forgotten, and the illiterate spectators

confused the two names Morion and Marian together, until the boy with the blackened face who was dressed as a woman became spoken of by the crowd as the May Morion, Mayde Marrion or Maid Marian in the morris dance. The entries in the churchwardens' account books at Kingston-upon-Thames in 1510 seem to show this confusion of these two names also, for among the accounts of the Robin Hood and the May games which are entered together, Maid Marian appears as "Mayde Marion" and "Mayde Maryon," and in 1537 the name occurs twice as "Maide Marrion." By the time that the Kingston churchwardens' account books begin, amalgamation had begun between the May game and the Robin Hood game, and the altered morris dance with its morion and hobby-horse had been introduced into both.

Francis Douce, in his *Dissertation on the Ancient English Morris Dance*, 1780, writes: "In course of time these several recreations were blended together so as to become almost indistinguishable. It is however very certain that the May games of Robin Hood accompanied by the morris, were at first a distinct ceremony from the simple morris dance."

The morris dance had become so popular by the time of the Tudors that when Sir Walter Raleigh sailed for North America to found the Colony of Virginia for Queen Elizabeth, he took with him a troop of morris dancers and hobby-horse men, "to provide pastimes and mery diversions" for the native population over there. The cost of shoes for the morris dancers and the names of the characters in the Robin Hood Game appear in the Kingston churchwardens' books in 1515-16:

Paid to soutar man [a shoemaker; Soutars or Shoemakers Row was on the south side of the Market Place] for Mehelmas quarterege, 10d.

CHOOSES FOR MORES DAVNSARS AND ROBEN HOD AND HES
COMPENYE.

ferset to Jhon at benes, a peyer of chone	8d.
tomas Kendavall a peyer of chone	8d.
tomas betteng A peyer of chone	8d.
lycroftes man a peyer	8d.
brenkersetes man a peyer	8d.
Harry godman a peyer	8d.
Robard uell A peyer	8d.
Rycharde Kneyte A peyer	8d.
Jhon Homleye a peyer	8d.

Item for rebaud for the chooes	1½d.
Item for Roben Hod a peyer of chone	8d.
Item for Jhon Fovll (John Fool) a per of chone	8d.
Item for pavlmares man a payer of chone	8d.
Item for Robard Webe	8d.
Item to Harry Payntare for IX C. of leveres	3s. 9d.
Item for XVI gret leveres	7s.
Item for makeng of a crown for ye mores dauners	2d.
Item for met and drenk for ye mores davnsars vpon feyer daye	9d.
Item to Roben Hode for hes labor	12d.
Item to leytell Jhon for hes labor	10d.
Item to Freer tuk	8d.
Item in money amongst Roben Hodes men at nythe	8d.
Item for a taberare upon may daye	8d.
Item in mony to young men that tok upon them to pleye the mores davnces	6d.
Item for a taberar upon feyer eve and feyer day and for belles for ye davnsares	16d.
Summa 21s. 4d.	

Among the other payments for the morris dances in 1509-10 are :

Item. Paid for mete and drynke for ye moris dauners	2s.
Item paid for mete and drynke for ye morris dauners on corpus christi day	4d.
paid for Syluer paper for ye moris daunce	7d.

MAY DAY GAMES AND DANCES.

From very early times at Kingston-upon-Thames and all over England, the first day of May has been regarded as a festival. On it superstitious people rose early in the hope of making their faces beautiful by bathing them at sunrise in the morning dew ; they also brought home blossoms and green for their houses. Chaucer refers to this custom in his " Court of Love," a poem in which there is a description of the Castle of Love and of the Festival of Love on May Day ; and he says " furth goth al the Court both most and least, to fetch the fleuris fresh, and braunche and blume " ; and they called white hawthorn " May," a name it still retains, because as Aubrey (Lands, MS. 26) informs us, " the witches do meet in the night before the first of May . . . and the common people doe, the night before the said day, fetch a certain thorn, and stick it at their house-door, believing the witches can doe them no harm."

On May Day the people also indulged in May games and

set up maypoles and danced around them, intertwining coloured ribbons attached to the maypoles as they danced until they formed a plait around the pole, and then they reversed and unplaited them again.

The girls chose from among them a May Queen, whom they crowned with due ceremony and seated in a floral arbour, and her courtiers danced around her.

The following entries in the churchwardens' books show that May Day was observed at Kingston-upon-Thames in the days of the Tudors :

1516.	Paid to the taborer upon May Daye	8d.
1530.	Payd for drynke for ye dauncers on Maye Day	6d.
1569.	Item payd to the Ringers on ye ferste Day of Maye	12d.

In course of time morris dancers were introduced and became usual in May games, but as Mr. Hone in his *Dissertation upon the Morris Dance and Maid Marian* states: "It must be borne in mind, that however the morris dance may be treated as part of the May Sports, it is only an interpolation upon those gambols, and is of itself an entirely distinct merriment."

In addition to the introduction of the morris dance, the Robin Hood game appears at times to have been played with the May game in which Maid Marian was the Queen of May, for there is in the Bodleian Library a rare copy of a play entitled "Robyn Hode and Lytell Johan," printed in 1489 by Wynken de Worde, and described as "a newe playe for to be played in Maye games and very plesaunte and full of pastyme." This combination of plays was not unknown at Kingston-upon-Thames, for in 1519-20 the churchwardens entered in their books both the expenses and the receipts of the May game and the Robin Hood game together, as follows :

THE RECEIPTS.

Item, resayued of the May game and Robyn Hode	£3 12s. 4d.
---	-------------

THE EXPENSES.

For ye Maye game and Robartte Hode.

Furst payett for VII yerdys of satane of beysgs at 2s. ye yerd	14s.	
Item payett for canves to lyne ye same cottes		16d.
Item payett for ye making of ye same cottes	2s.	
Item payett for III brode yerdes of rosett to make ye freers cott		3s.

Item payett for XIII candall cottess, beside ye gyfthe (gift) of Masters of the towne, and for ye making of ye same cottess	12s.
Item payett for VIII payer of schewes for ye morris dauners, ye freer and made maryen at VIIIId ye payer	5s. 4d.
Item payett for bellis for ye mores dawners	5s.
Item payett for XVI hattess and feders brorett at London	5s. 4d.
Item payett for a hatt yt wase loste	16d.
Item payett for IIII feders broken and loste	16d.
Item payett for XXC lyweres at IIIId. ye C.	6s. 8d.
Item payett for XXC. pynnys (pins)	8d.

The election as the May Queen was regarded as a great honour for the young girl who was chosen by her companions and called Maid Marian in the May game. *Webster's Dictionary* states that Maid Marian refers to the Virgin Mary, the name Marian in French being the diminutive form of Mary, and that Maid Marian means the lesser or little Virgin Mary. Before the Reformation the teaching of the Church was much in the minds of the people, and the Virgin Mary was always the young girls' model of perfection.

The Queen of May in the stained-glass window at Kingston-upon-Thames wears a golden crown and a blue robe. She has flowing hair and a flower in her hand, resembling the pictures of the Virgin Mary as the Queen of Heaven. There could be therefore no higher honour than to designate the young girl chosen as the Queen of May by the sacred name of Maid Marian.

There are varying versions of the story told in *The Antiquary*, Vol. V, 1882, which relates that the original Maid Marian was a young lady named Alice Maud or Matilda FitzWalter, of Saxon descent through her mother and her grandmother, who in the thirteenth century was regarded as a saint and the heroine of the oppressed Saxon English, because she virtuously resisted all the overtures of the hated Norman King John, who, in his rage at her resistance, outlawed her father, and had her poisoned in the Priory of Little Dunmow in Essex. Her tomb is still shown in the Parish Church there. The Saxon English, fearing the King's anger, did not dare to say her real name, but referred to her by the sacred name of Maid Marian. Subsequently the name was applied to the girl chosen by her companions to be the May Queen.

May games and maypoles were usual in most Surrey villages ; the stone base on which the maypole stood is still to be seen at Shalford.

In the *Collections of the Surrey Archæological Society*, Vol. I, p. 170, there is a picture of a fête at Horsley Down, Southwark, in 1590, which shows a maypole which is twice as high as the houses beside it.

English maypoles were usually of great height. The Church of St. Andrew Undershaft, in London, was so called because the church tower was "under" or lower than the maypole which stood near it.

During the Commonwealth, "An Ordinance for the destruction of Maypoles" was issued by Parliament, and churchwardens were ordered to "see that no maypoles shall hereafter be set up or erected or suffered to be within the Kingdom of England." There are no entries in the churchwardens' books at Kingston at this time, so we cannot say how far this Ordinance was obeyed there ; but if the maypole was taken down it was re-erected later and the dances revived, because there are some people still living who saw it and the dancing around it on May Day in Kingston some seventy and eighty years ago.

One Old Kingstonian, who is now nearly eighty, remembers when as a boy he and seven others, with "Jack in Green" and a piper who also beat a drum, dressed themselves up and "went about the town 'gigging' on May Day." They went from house to house and did simple traditional dances which he learnt from the others, and they sang :

The first of May is Gala Day,
Give us a penny and we'll go away.

A lady who is over ninety-one years remembers the maypole being carried through the Market Place and put up for May Day in the Apple Market, the whole of one side of which opened on to what was then a lane or roadway called Gig Hill, which at that time extended from the south end of the Market Place towards Heathen Street. Horner's map of Kingston-upon-Thames in 1813 shows Gig Hill all along the south side of the Apple Market with no division between them. The lady also remembers that the dancers were dressed up fantastically and had long waving streamers and coloured

ribbons from their hats and costumes, and that they had a man with them who played a pipe and beat a drum, while they danced around the maypole, and did jerky dances which the people called "gigs."

Among the Kingston churchwardens' receipts in 1522-23, John Chapman paid 12*d.* rent "for a howse in Gyghyll." Major Heales, in *S.A.S. Collections*, Vol.† VIII, p. 291, mentions "a tenement with purtinentis situated in Kingston in a lane called Gyghyll," which was leased by Charles Carew in 1539. Among the "Various" bundle of Corporation deeds in the Muniment Room at Kingston-upon-Thames, "Gyghill" is mentioned in 1540, and "apud Gighall" in 1541; "a tenement called Gigge Hyll" and "a messuage in a street called Gygge Hyll" in 1568; "a messuage in Gigge Hill Street" in 1593; and "My tenement called the Hartes horne in gighill in the towne of Kingston" in 1603.

Gig Hill and Heathen Street in Kingston have now disappeared, merged since 1855 into Eden Street, which extends northwards from the south end of the Market Place in a semi-circle until it joins the London Road.

Mr. Arthur Bonner, F.S.A., in *Place Names in Surrey*, tells us that "Giggs Hill" is shown on the 6-inch Ordnance Survey Map, and that among the Surrey Wills the name occurs as "le Gighill" in 1484, "Gyghyll" in 1539, "Gurdiner Stret or Gyghill" and "Gyghill" in 1545, and as "Giggehill" in 1599. He says: "I cannot trace a second instance of 'Gigg Hill' in England, Surrey stands alone." The *Shorter Oxford Dictionary* gives "Gig, something that whirls, a gig mill" for teasing cloth, and it also gives "gig" an obsolete 1588 word, meaning to sing or play as a jig, to dance in a rapid, jerky fashion, as an alternative and old form of the word jig. Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* gives "gig, anything whirled round in play."

There is a Gig Hill at Long Ditton and a Gig Hill Green at Thames Ditton; they are divided from each other by the Portsmouth Road. Both of these and the portion of Eden Street in Kingston which was formerly called Gig Hill, were in later years spoken of as "Giggs Hill." The site of the former Gig Hill at Kingston is now perfectly level and there is no indication of a hill ever having been there. In Hone's

Every Day Book, 1827, there is a picture of a maypole at Necton in Norfolk which stood on a large artificial " mound of earth fenced in around to protect it from the pressure of the crowd." The spectators are shown standing outside the encircling barrier, while couples in gala costume dance around the maypole on the top of the large mound or hill, which has been made flat on the top for them to dance upon.

It is possible that at Gig Hill in Kingston there was formerly a similar artificial mound for the summer gigs and maypole dances, which has long since been cleared away and forgotten.

THE ROBIN HOOD GAME.

At Kingston-upon-Thames the Robin Hood Game and gaderyng took place annually at Whitsuntide as well as at other times, and was performed by archers dressed in green who, under their leader Robin Hood, gave displays of archery. In course of time morris dancers were introduced and became a usual part of the performance. The names of the chief characters mentioned by the churchwardens are Robin Hood, Maid Marian, Little John, Friar Tuck, and a Minstrel.

The following is a summary of the amounts received by the churchwardens from the Robin Hood gaderyngs, together with some expenses mentioned with the receipts :

1509-10.	Rd for Robyn Hodes gaderyng	3 marks
1510-11.	Rd for Robyn Hodes gaderyng	4 marks
	Pd to John Gover for Robyn Hodes cote and for litell Jhons cote and for ye freres cote	25s. 6d.
1514-15.	Res for Roben Hodes gaderyng	12s.
	Res for Robyn Hodes gaderyng at Croydon	9s. 4d.
1515-16.	Rd at Whetsontyd of Roben Hodes gadereng	23s.
	Pd for Roben Hod for a peyer of chone	8d.
1517-18.	Reseid for the gaderyng of Roben Hode	6s. 6d.
1519-20.	Resayved of the Maye game and Robyn Hode	£3 12s. 4d.
1520-21.	Res at the gaderyng of Robyn Hode at Whitsontide	8s.
1521-22.	Rd at the gaderyng of Robyn Hode	8s. ½d.
1522-23.	Res for ye gaderyng of Robyn Hode	46s. 8d.
	Pd for the hyre of 20 hattes for Robin Hode	16d.
	Pd for a hatt that was lost	10d.
	Pd for 1500 of leveres for Robyn Hode	5s.
	Pd for 4 estrygge fethers for Robyn Hode	20d.
	Pd for 2 peyre of shone for Robyn Hode and lytell Jhon	21d.
1523-24.	Res at ye gaderyng of Roben Hode	45s. 4d.

1524-25.	Res at the Kyngham and Robyn Hod all thyng deducte	£3 10s.	5d.
	Pd for VI yardes and a quartern of saten for Robyn Hodes cotys	12s.	6d.
1525-26.	Res at ye gaderyng of Robyn Hode	20s.	
1526-27.	Res for ye gaderyng of Roben Hode	31s.	2d.
1527-28.	Res of Robyn hode is gatherenge	12s.	
1528-29.	Res of Robyn Hodes gaderyng at Whytsontyde	15s.	4d.
1529-30.	Res of Robin Hodes gatheryng	26s.	8d.
	Pd for mendyng of Robyn Hoodes Kootes		2d.
1530-31.	Res of Robyn Hoodes gatheryng	20s.	6d.
	Item paid for spungyng and brushyng of Robin Howdes cotes		3d.
1536-37.	R' at the gatheryng of Robyn Hods	£5 6s.	8d.
	Pd to the fryar and the Pipar to go to Croydon		8d.
1538-39.	R' at Robyn Hoodes gatheryng	23s.	1d.
	THE DISCHARGE.		
	Pd for a Kilderkyn of bere dronken in the Markett Place		2s.
	Item for Robyn Hoodes cotes		7s.
	Item for XIIIte paire of showen		6s. 10d.
	Item for XII C of lyvereys to Russell		4s.
	Item to a mynstrell		5s.

The Whitsuntide Feast or "Whitsun Ale," as it came to be called, was held on a large scale. In 1508-09 and 1509-10 the churchwardens have entered the expenses of the Robin Hood feast and the Kyngham game feast together and have recorded the details, but without indicating to which feast they belong, or stating if they were held separately or together. In subsequent years they have deducted the expenses of the feasts from the gaderyngs without showing the details. The churchwardens' entries are as follows:

These be the costes and payments done by John Sparke and Thomas Cheverall churchwardens of Kyngiston and Countes geven upon Seynt Lukys day the XXIIIte yere (1508-9) of Kyng Henry ye VIIth.

THE COSTES OF YE KYNGHAM AND ROBYN HODE.

First paid at the Kyngham to all ye Company for a pott of wyne		1d.
Item payd for a quarter of Colys		4d.
Item paid for pattes cuppys and spones		4d.
Item paid for a Kyldys Ken of III halpenny bere and Kyldyken of sengyll bere	2s.	4d.
Item paid for VII busselles of whete	6s.	3d.
Item paid for II busselles and a half of Ry		20d.
Item paid for III shepe	5s.	
Item paid to John Wonam for a lambe		16d.
Item paid for half a bussell and half a pecke of flowere		10d.

Item paid for X busshells of whete for bakyng	16d.
Item paid for stale brede and a bavyn	2d.
Item paid to Stevyn Rosyar for II calvys	5s. 4d.
Item paid to the said Steveyn for veyll and moton	2s. 8d.
Item paid for a Kylderken of dobill bere	18d.
Item paid for VI pygges	2s.
Item paid for Mylke and creyme	4d.
Item paid for C of pynnys (pins)	$\frac{3}{4}$ d.
Item paid for a quarterum of Faggott	6d.
Item paid for a dosyn of square trenchers	1d. ob.
Item paid for otmell	$\frac{1}{2}$ d.
Item paid for III busshelles of colys	3d.
Item paid for veneger and verges	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
Item paid for a ladill	$\frac{1}{2}$ d.
Item paid for white sale and garlick	1d.
Item paid for Faggott	7d.
Item paid for egges and trenchers	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
Item paid for peper safys clovys and segar	9d.
Item paid for a glas	1d.
Item paid for mustard	$\frac{1}{4}$ d.
Item paid for suger and small Reseynys and safern	10d.
Summa 33s.	

Item paid for peper	$\frac{1}{2}$ d.
Item paid for II dosyn of sponys	2d.
Item paid to the Cokes for ther labor	23d.
Item paid for turning of the spyttes and for skoryng	7d.
Item paid for II women for ther labor for II dayes	5d.
Item paid to the taborer	5s. 4d.
Item paid for levyres on the feyre day	7s. 10d.
Item paid for makyng of Roben Hodes cote	16d.
Item paid for II Ml of pynnys	12d.
Item paid for mete and drynke for Roben Hode and his men	18d.
Item payd for the freres (friar's) cote	4d.
Item payd for mete and drynke for the mores dauncers on the fayre day (13 Novr.)	14d.
Item payd for II peyre of shone for ye moreys dauncers	14d.
Item paid for litell John is cote	8s.
Item of V brode arovys (broad arrows)	7d.
Item payd for shone	3s.

THE RECETTES OF THE SAME YERE.

Item receuid for the Kyngham and Robyn Hode gaderyng	4 marks.
--	----------

Thes be the Costes and payments done by John Sparke and Thomas Cheverell church Wardens of Kyngiston, and countes geven uppon Seint Lukes day the First yere of Kyng Henry VIII (from April 1509-10).

THE COSTES OF YE KYNGHAM AND ROBYN HODE.

First paid for a pece of Kendall for Roben Hode and litell Johns cote	12s. 10d.
Item paid for III yerdes of white for the freres cote	3s.

Item paid for III yerds of Kendall for mayde marion is huke	2s.	4d.
Item paid for saten of sypers for ye same huke		5d.
Item paid to mayde marion for her labor for II yere	2s.	
Item paid to a luter for lutyng in the Whitsun Weke	2s.	
Item paid for leverseys grete and smale	11s.	6d.
Item paid for VI C of pynnys to Harre Nicholl		2½d.
Item paid to John Gervys for a Ml of pynnys		5d.
Item paid to Alis Nicoll for halff of Ml of pynnys		2d.
Item paid for II peyre of glovys for Robyn Hode and Mayde maryon		4½d.
Item for VI brode arovys		6d.
Item paid for mete and drynke for Robyn Hode and his compeny	2s.	2d.
Item paid to Alis Toth (Alice Tooth) for mete and drynke for Robyn Hode and his company		5d.
Item paid for II Kyldyrkenys of III halpeny bere for Robyn Hode and his company	2s.	8d.
Item paid for a dosyn of sponys		1d.
Item paid for the hyre of a barge to Walton Kyngham		10d.
Summa £3 12s. 11d.		
Item paid for VI pygges	2s.	7½d.
Item paid for VI gece	2s.	4d.
Item paid for II calvys	5s.	2d.
Item paid to John Wonam for half a shepe		12d.
Item paid to Jope for half a shepe		12d.
Item paid to the said Jope for a calfe	2s.	4d.
Item paid to Stevyn Rosyar for 2½ shepe	2s.	0d.
Item paid to Robert Dyngley for moton		18d.
Item paid for a peyre of shone		9d.
Item paid to the broche (roasting spit) turners		3d.
Item paid to the maister Coke		20d.
Item paid to Thomas but		12d.
Item paid to John a Ham for laboring in ye Kechen		2d.
Item paid to John Lynys		2d.
Item paid to Thomas Slefeld		2d.
Item paid to grenwod		3d.
Item paid to II women for tendyng on ye Kechen		8d.
Item paid to John Gervys for peper safern clovys mase sugar and resenys	2s.	0d.
Item paid for butter and egges		12d.
Item paid for bruing of II quarters of malte		16d.
Item paid for bakyng of the Kyngham brede		6d.
Item paid to John Jervys for egges		4d.
Item paid to ye said for a Ml of pynnys		4d.
Item paid for a lambe		13d.
Item paid for V busshelles of malte	2s.	6d.
Summa 36s. 7d.		
Item paid for a busshell of whete		6d.
Item paid for a Kylderkene of III halpeny bere		6d.
Item paid for II Kyldyrkenys of syngell bere		22d.
Item paid for creyme		4d.

Item paid for III galonys of mylke	3d.
Item leyde out of ye church box at West Mulsey Kyngham	8s. 6d.
Item paid to Harre Nicoll for pynnys	4d.
Item paid for salt and venyger	3¼d.
Item paid for VI bavenys	3d.
Item paid for a quartern of talwood	5d.
Item paid for a quartern of Faggott	7d.
Item paid for a peyre of beloës	2d.
Item paid for IIII busshelles of coles	3d.
Item paid for half a quartern of talwood	5d.
Item paid for a quartern of Faggott	7d.
Item paid for IIII busshelles of colys	3d.
Item paid for II bavenys	1d.
Item paid for a busshell of colys	1d.
Item paid for a Ml of pynnys	4d.
Item paid for egges	3d.
Item paid to Fygge ye Taborer	5s. od.
Summa	£13 14s. 12d.
Summa	26s. 11¼d.

THE RECETTES OF YE SAME YERE.

Item receuid for gadering of ye King at Whitsontyde	19s.
Item rec at ye Kyngham and for ye gaderyng of Roben Hode	4 marke 2od.

The time-honoured tales of the exploits of Robin Hood in Sherwood Forest, and the story that he was the Earl of Huntingdon, are fictions, elaborated from traditional tales and songs of travelling minstrels, who drew upon their imaginations to gratify the wishes of the villagers, who listened to them and who always wanted to hear something more about their popular hero.

These popular traditional tales were made use of by the Elizabethan dramatists who made Robin Hood an Earl in their plays, and to add romance gave him Maid Marian to fall in love with, although she had died several years before Robin Hood was born.

The only historical record of Robin Hood comes from the Scottish historian, John de Fordun, who in writing about the Saxon English whose lands had been taken from them by the Norman Conquerors after the Battle of Hastings, says: "At this time there arose among the disinherited the most famous robber Robin Hode, whom the stolid vulgar celebrate in games and sports at their junketings, and whose history sung by minstrels delights them more than any other."

Robin Hood seems to have been born in 1225 and to have died in 1294. The earliest extant ballad about him, "The Lytell Geste of Robyn Hode," was written some time between 1377 and 1413 in Chaucer's lifetime, that is about eighty years after Robin Hood's death, when his exploits were still remembered. It is a romantic ballad of two thousand lines, which was first printed in 1489 in black letter by Wynkyn de Worde. In it Robin Hood is definitely stated to have been "a yeoman" who assisted people of his own class, and there is no claim in it that he was of noble birth or rank. There is no mention in this poem of Friar Tuck or of Maid Marian, nor indeed of any woman companion either of Robin Hood or any of his men. Maid Marian and Friar Tuck are first mentioned with Robin Hood in a play about him produced in London in 1460.

The name Hode is Saxon, and Robin Hode, because he robbed the rich Normans and helped the poor Saxons, became as much the hero of the oppressed Saxon English as Maid Marian had been their heroine before him.

The last entries in the churchwardens' account books at Kingston-upon-Thames which relate to the Robin Hood game occur in 1536-37 :

THE CHARGES FOR ROBYN HODDE.

Item for II yerdes and a quarter of brode cloth for the fryer	6s.
Item for IIII yerdes of cotton for the fooles cote	2s.
Item for half a pice of fustian of gene for the morres dauncers cotes	7s. 5d.
Item for II elles of Wustedde for maide marrion's Kyrtell	6s. 8d.
Item for XIII C of Lyverey	4s. 4d.
Item for VI payre of Dubble sollyd shows	4s. 6d.
Item for VI payre of single sollid showis	3s.
Item for XXIIII greate lyvereys	4d.
Item for makyng of maide marrions Kyrtell	14d.
Item for makyng of the mores dauncers and the freyers cotes	4s. 1d.
Item for VII paire of lether garters to sett the bells apon (for the morris dancers)	6d.
Item for the costes and charges of the morres dauncers as metes and drynkes	3s. 8d.
Item to the mynstrell	10s. 8d.
Item to twyckeman and Walton	4s. 8d.
Item payd for wasshyng the morres dawncers cotes	4d.

One of the last entries relating to the mediæval games at

Kingston-upon-Thames occurs in 1538, when the joyless Reformation was just at hand :

Md. left in the kyping of the Wardens now being, a freyeres cote of Russett and a Kyrteell of Buckrame, and IIII morres dawnsars cotes of whitte fustian spangled, and II gryne saten cotes, and a Dysarddes cote of cotten, and VI payre of garders with bells.

THE KYNGHAM GAME.

The Kyngham game, in which there was both a King and a Queen with their nine attendants, seven of whom were dancers, but not ordinary morris dancers, was a secular summer game or play complete in itself, and quite distinct from the religious " King Game " of the three Kings of Cologne, and from the May game in which there was a Queen of the May.

The home of the Kyngham game in the reign of Henry VII, and of Henry VIII until the Reformation, seems to have been at Kingston-upon-Thames, because, although there are entries relating to it elsewhere in the books of the churchwardens at Croscombe and at Yatton, both in Somersetshire, at St. Edmund's, Sarum, and in several other parishes in England, there are many more accounts of performances of it at Kingston-upon-Thames than anywhere else ; and there it was played on a specially appointed day known as the Kyngham Day, as well as at other times. In 1506-07 the Kyngham game was played at Whitsuntide, when it brought in £1 6s. and again that year on " Kyng-ham Day ", when its gaderyng brought in £4 16s. 10d.

In 1507-08 " The Kyngham Day " is mentioned again, and in 1509-10 there was " paid for the bakying of the Kyngham brede 6d." The Kingston Kyngham game was so popular that it was sent to be played at Croydon and also sent up and down the river by boats to all places on the Thames from Walton to Richmond.

Unfortunately there are now no books of the words of the Kyngham game nor any full description of it in existence, the reason may be that if they were ever written they were wilfully destroyed, for William Harness informs us in the preface to *The Complete Works of William Shakspeare* that " Even in the reign of Elizabeth play books were burnt, privately by the bishops and publicly by the Puritans," so we can now only learn what the Kyngham game was like from the references to it in the

THE KENGGAM.

Md that the XXVII day of JOVN ANNO XXI. K. H. VII (1505-6) that we Adam Bakhovs and Harry Nycoll hath made acovns (accounts) for the Kenggam' that same tyme done, William Kempe Kenge and Jovn Whytebrede quene. and Aull costes dedotted	£4	5s.
Md yt ye same yere we Adam Bakhouse and Herre Nycoll a mountyd of a play	£4	
1506-7. recd of ye Kynges gatheryng at ye same tyme (Whitsuntide)		26s.
Rd. a pon Kengam day	£4	16s. 10d.
Item payd for whet and malt and well and motton and pygge and ges and cokes for ye Kyngam		33s.
(1507-8) Item leyde out of the church box at long ditton for ye Kyngham		3s.
Item leyde out of the churche box at west Mulsey for ye Kyngha		2s.
Item paid at the Kyngham at Hamton		3s. 6d.
Paid out of ye church bos at Walton Kyngham		3s.
Paid to Robert Neyle for going to Wyndsore for Maister Doctor's horse agaynes the Kyngham Day		4d.
[“ Maister Doctor ” was Lawrence Stubbs, D.D., Vicar of Kingston.]		
Paid for bakyng the Kyngham brede		6d.
Paid at the Kyngham to all the company for a pott of wyne		1d.
Paid to a laborer for bering home of the gere after the Kyngham was done		1d.
1509-10. Payd out of ye Churche box at Walton Kyngham		3s. 6d.
Payd out of ye churche box at Sonbury Kyngham		20d.
Layde out of ye churche box at west mulsey Kyngham		8s. 8d.
Payd for the hyre of a bote going uppe to Walton Kyngham		10d.
Payd to Thomas Pyper for taberyng at ye Kyngham		8d.
Resd at ye Kyngham	£4	
1510-11. Res ^d for the gaderyng of the Kyng at Whitsontide		19s.
1522-23. Res at the Kyngham	£6	13s. 4d.
Res of the Kyngham	£9	10s. 6d.
1524-25. Res at the Kyngham	£7	15s.
[“ Kyngham ” is struck out and “ Church Ale ” substituted.]		

This is the last entry relating to the Kyngham game.

At Betley Hall in Staffordshire there used to be a window of seventeenth-century stained glass which seems to depict the characters in a Kyngham game. This window is now in the possession of Lord Bridgeman at Minsterley in Shropshire. It formerly belonged to Mr. George Tollett of Betley Hall, who

wrote a description of it ; he was the patron of the living of Betley and died there on the 22nd October, 1799.

In this window there are a king and a queen and nine others, seven of whom are dancers with bells at their wrists or ankles, and there is a musician with a tabor and pipe, a friar, and a maypole. The costumes are of the time of Edward IV, but the stained glass is of seventeenth-century date, and was probably made in 1621, when Betley Hall was built. An engraving of this window appeared in Johnson and Steevens' *Shakespeare* in 1778, with the first part of *Henry IV*, in Vol. V.

The costumes and attitudes of the figures in this window so closely resemble those of the figures in a scarce Flemish engraving, the work of Israel von Mecheln, between 1460 and 1480, which was reproduced by John M. Gutch, F.S.A., in 1847, in his book on the ballad of Chaucer's time entitled *A Lytell Geste of Robin Hode*, that there is little doubt that the design of the figures in the window and in the engraving are the work of the same artist, who may well have drawn them from life, taking as his models the figures and the costumes in some well-dressed Kyngham game which he saw about 1470 or 1480. The laced vestures of the ladies in each are similar ; the steeple-shaped head-dress of the lady in the engraving was worn in the middle of the fifteenth century.

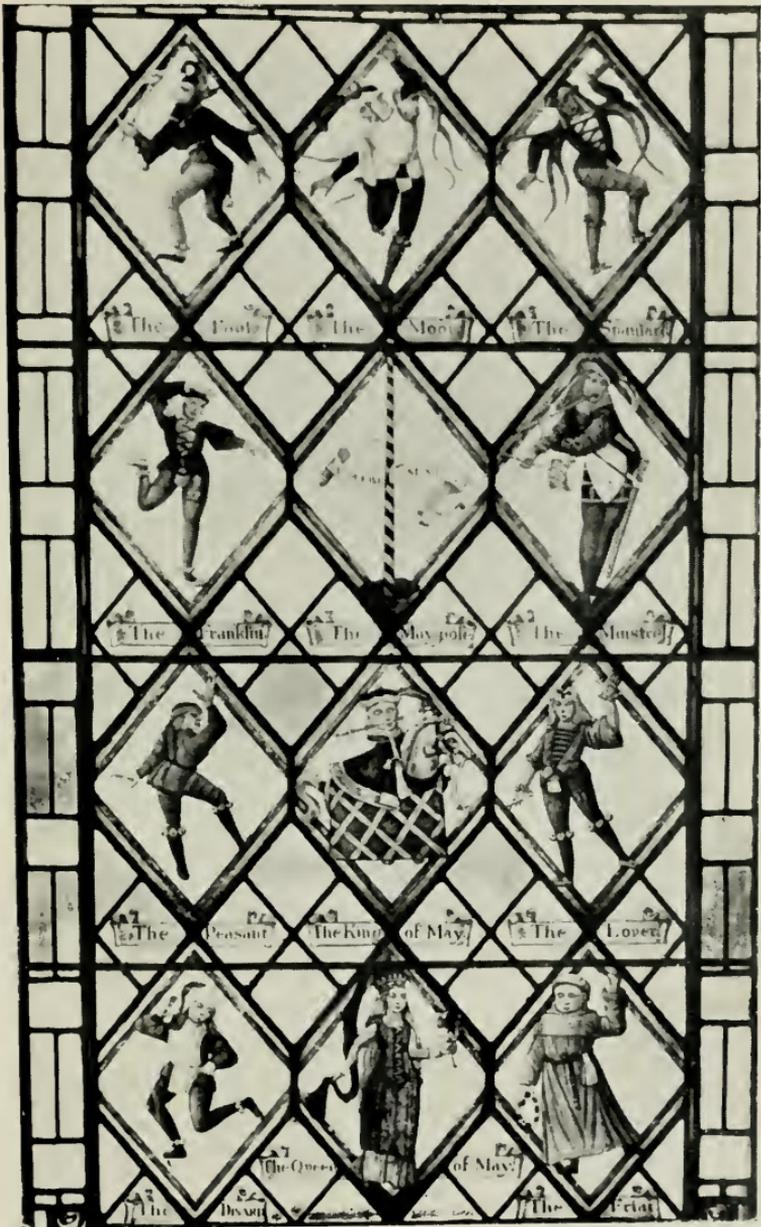
A modern reproduction of this window, but on a larger scale, was made in 1901 by Messrs. Heaton Butler & Bayne of London, and placed in the Town Hall of Kingston-upon-Thames.¹ Examination of the costumes and the attitudes of the figures in it may help us to discover the forgotten story of the once popular Kyngham game.

The Kyngham Game Window at Kingston-upon-Thames.

The figures in this window are arranged in four rows one above the other, with three figures in each row. The three figures on the top row were named by Mr. Tollett, The Fool, The Moor, and The Spaniard ; they have all got dancers' bells on their clothing and have evidently been placed together as the superior men in attendance on the King and the Queen in the game.

The Fool in the window is a character of much interest ;

¹It is now the Kingston Museum.



THE KYNHAM GAME WINDOW AT KINGSTON-UPON-THAMES.

in the Middle Ages kings and noblemen kept Fools or witty jesters to amuse their households. In *King Lear* Shakespeare introduces a Court Fool who plays a considerable part, and was faithful to the King in his adversity.

These men wore the special costume shown in the window and were allowed much freedom of speech. They were, however, liable to punishment or dismissal.

In 1637, the King's Fool so offended Archbishop Laud that Charles I ordered that "Archibald Armstrong the King's Fool shall have his coat pulled over his head and be discharged from the King's service and be banished from the Court."

But long before the Stuart Period many household Fools had lost their former high positions by the impoverishment and destruction of the old nobility in the Wars of the Roses, and so to gain a living as jesters these Fools joined the strolling players and morris dancers. Then, because their jests to the crowd became coarse, they were denounced by the Church as rogues and vagabonds. In consequence of this the Fools retaliated by burlesquing the Church, and so we find the Fool in the window wears a pointed hat to resemble a church steeple which has bent, with a cock's head with its beak open crowing at the point, the cock being the badge of St. Peter and the Pope. In his right hand this Fool carries as a crozier a staff with a pig's head and asses' ears, while with his left hand behind him, with two fingers bent, he gives a burlesque of the Bishop's blessing.

The Moor and the Spaniard as the King's own bodyguard come next to the Fool in the window. Their attitudes and the bells at their knees indicate that they were dancers. The remarkable streamers from their shoulders of late fifteenth-century pattern help to decide the date of the design. The Moor has an ostrich feather in his cap, the badge of John of Gaunt who introduced him into English dances, and his white tunic is an unconscious survival from the native shirt-like robe in which he danced originally. The Spaniard's tunic is laced across in front like the tunics worn by two other figures in the window, and by two figures in the Flemish engraving of late fifteenth-century date. Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*, published in 1831, reproduces a late fifteenth-century playing-card of the knave of Pinks in a pack of cards, who as the King's attendant

in the game carries a halbert, a weapon introduced into England early in the reign of Henry VII. His uniform and plate armour breast-plate are those of a soldier of the same period also. This knave has streamers from his shoulders similar to those of the Moor and the Spaniard, and beside him on the playing-card there is a gillyflower. Strutt believed that the playing-card was the work of Martin Schoen, a Flemish artist who died in 1486, or perhaps of Israel von Mecheln, and suggests its date as about 1480, which exactly coincides with the other evidence as to the date of the design of the window. In the next row in the window there is a maypole with a figure on each side of it. One of these is a dancer, who in Mr. Tollett's opinion was the Franklin or gentleman who had the purse of money in the game, and the other was the musician or taborer who beats his tabor or small drum with a drumstick held in his right hand while he plays a pipe held in his left; in his hat he wears an ostrich feather, the badge of John of Gaunt who founded the Guild of Musicians for the morris dancers.

The Maypole in the centre displays two flags, one of which bears the cross of St. George of England and the other the cross of St. James, whose Festival, falling on the 1st of May, was probably regarded as the patron saint of May games and morris dancers. His name is perpetuated in St. James' Park, near Mayfair, so called because of the annual fair which was held there each May. On the Maypole there is a scroll which bears the words "A Mery May," corresponding with the words of the King of May in the Kyngham game in Beaumont and Fletcher's play, "London to Thee I do present the Mery Month of May" and suggesting that "Mery May" was the title of an episode in the Kyngham game.

In the next row the King of May is shown mounted on a white hobby-horse between two dancers, who have bells around their knees. The dancer on the right of the King of May was, according to Mr. Tollett, the Peasant or yeoman, and the one on the left with the long curled fair hair and the gillyflower on his forehead was described by Mr. Steevens as the Lover. There is a similar figure to this one on a fifteenth-century playing-card shown by Mr. Morley in his book on *Playing Cards*, and another in the fifteenth-century engraving by Israel von Mecheln, which also has a gillyflower on its forehead. The

King of May, who wears a ducal cap with an ostrich feather in it, which were the emblems of his ducal patron, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, has got daggers in his cheeks to indicate that he was also a juggler or a magician. His white hobby-horse has a Spanish gourd in his mouth for gaderyng money from the spectators. The white horse and the dancers, jingling bells around their wrists and ankles, give us the forgotten meaning of the otherwise meaningless nursery rhyme about the summer games at Banbury :

Ride a cock-horse to Banbury Cross
To see a fine lady upon a white horse, etc.

The hobby-horse, which became such a popular feature in the morris dance, and appeared also in the Kyngham game, seems to have been taken from the ancient Farriers' Dance which was complete in itself. Mrs. A. J. Nunn, of Dulwich Village, gave an excellent description of it as she saw it in France in 1930 at the Grande Fête in Havre in support of ancient customs. The performers were all men. There were six or seven dancers besides the hobby-horse and two musicians. The dance symbolized shoeing a horse. Each dancer carried something from the stables, a horse's bit, a shoe, a curry-comb, a brush, a shoeing hammer or pincers. At first all the dancers advanced in a line with the hobby-horse in the middle and the musicians one at each end. As the dance proceeded each performer in turn approached the horse dancing, and went through his office of shoeing it, while it danced, pranced and jibbed. In the end the hobby-horse chased all the grooms off the stage. It is unfortunate that we have no such description of the Kyngham game.

In the centre of the lowest row of figures in the window is the Queen of May with the Disard on her right and the Friar on her left.

The Disard on the right of the Queen was an eccentric comedian, contortionist, dancer and mimic. He was one of the performers mentioned in the churchwardens' books. Among the costumes stored in their charge in 1537-38 was "a Dizzards cote of cotten." The *Oxford Dictionary* gives the spelling of Disard in 1529 as having been Dizzard. *Wright's Dictionary of Obsolete and Provincial Words* tells us that Disard, now obsolete,

was the name for "an actor, generally a clown," and he quotes a description of a disard from "Nomenclator" as "A dizzard or common vice and jester, counterfeiting the gestures of any man, and moving his body as him list." He adds that a vice was "The buffoon in a play." *Funk's Standard Dictionary of the English Language*, 1921, gives a disard as "a fool clown," and adds that Dizard and Dizzard are obsolete. *Nuttall's Dictionary* gives Disard as an obsolete word for a prattler and boastful talker. Mr. Tollett thought, from a passage in Fletcher's *Two Noble Kinsmen*, that this character was a tumbler and barked like a dog. Strutt tells us of the former popularity of those who could imitate the sounds of animals. The Disard in the window has dancers' bells around his ankles, and wears what both Mr. Tollett and Mr. Steevens described as a child's bib, and they therefore thought he was a Bavian fool of the village-idiot type. But Mr. Francis Douce, in his *Dissertation on the Ancient English Morris Dance*, says "they have both erred in thinking that he was silly or a simpleton" and that "what they termed 'a bib' was no uncommon part of the male dress in the fifteenth century," and that some of the contemporary figures of the minstrels in Beverley Minster are so habited.

On the left of the Queen is the Friar, in full clerical gown and tonsure, with a rich chaplet of beads in his hand and wearing an ornamental girdle. The name Friar Tuck was the generic name given to all ranks of friars who had girdles round their waists, just as Tommy Atkins was formerly applied to all English soliders in uniform.

The Queen of May in the centre has fair hair hanging down, and a golden crown from which flows behind her to right hand a long rich coif or folded veil. Both Margaret, the daughter of Henry VII, and Anne Boleyn wore their hair in this fashion at their weddings. In her left hand the Queen of May holds a flower, and she wears a long blue robe with silver lacing across the chest, similar to the representations of the Virgin Mary as the Queen of Heaven, and, like the demi-morien, the crest of the Brewers' Company of London.

The flower in the left hand of the Queen of May is interesting, as it is not the lily usually shown in the left hand of the Virgin Mary, but it is a gillyflower, a name formerly applied to clove pinks, but later to stocks and wallflowers also. Mr. Tollett



THE KNAVE OF PINES.



THE KYNGHAM GAME.

The Fool.
The Queen.

A Fifteenth-Century Playing Card.

The Moor.
The King.

thought the gillyflower was "The emblem of Summer." *Cotgrave's Dictionary* of 1660 quotes Chaucer to show that "a clove of gilofflower is the full form of this name." Certainly among the rents paid in Kingston-upon-Thames in the fifteenth century was "a clove of gilofflower."

Tilburina in Sheridan's play "The Critic" speaks of

"The striped carnation, and the guarded rose,
The vulgar wallflower, and the smart gillyflower,"
"But oh, to me no joy can they afford!
Nor rose, nor wallflower, nor smart gillyflower."

In examining the figures in Lord Bridgeman's window and the copy of it at Kingston, in the hope of discovering more about them and of the plot of the game they represent, we notice that, although seven of the figures wear dancers' bells, they are not morris dancers because they do not carry staves or scarves and have no ribbons from their shoulders or broad garters covered with bells on their legs; nor are they Robin Hood men, as none of them are dressed in green and they have no bows or arrows. Whatever the rules of this game were, some of the figures in the window seem to have their counterparts in the picture cards in packs of playing-cards of very early date.

Mr. H. T. Morley, in his *Old and Curious Playing Cards*, tells us that the oldest European playing-cards date from the fourteenth century, and he describes an early and widely used Italian pack which contains 78 cards, of which 22 are picture cards. These early playing-cards, like others, were used as much for fortune-telling as for games.

Among these picture cards one is a female with her hair down and a long flowing coif or veil from her head to her right hand. The King and Queen of May in the window seem to have their counterparts in the Emperor and Empress, with their crowns and sceptres and the magician or conjuror in the playing-cards. There is also the Fool who wears the characteristic cap and bells and the party-coloured clothes of a Jester. He survives as the Joker in the modern pack of cards. There are also the Lover, with his fair flowing hair, and the hermit in his gown and girdle, who seem to have their counterparts in the Lover and the Friar in the Kyngham game. Some of the Queens in the fifteenth- and seventeenth-century French packs of cards hold gillyflowers in their left hands.

The first Queen in an English pack of playing-cards was Elizabeth of York, who held a Tudor rose in her left hand to proclaim that by her marriage with Henry VII in 1486, she united the houses of York and Lancaster, and so the Queens in every pack of cards hold a Tudor rose to commemorate this marriage and the end of the Wars of the Roses.

The significance of the gillyflower in the left hand of the Queen and on the forehead of the Lover in the window, and in the left hands of the Queens in the early French playing-cards, and on Mr. Strutt's card of the Knave of Pinks, is not ascertained, but they seem to indicate some purpose common to them all. It is not clear what that purpose was, and we have yet to discover the forgotten story of the Kyngham game, which was formerly the most popular and most profitable of all the summer games at Kingston-upon-Thames.