

P E O P L E A N D P L A C E S :

THE SOCIAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL
CONTEXT OF DRAMA IN YORK
1554 - 1609

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A B S T R A C T

Drama in York did not take place in isolation from the other happenings in the city, and this study examines the context of the presentation of drama between 1554 and 1609 through the lives of those people involved and the events of their time as revealed in the city records.

The first chapter looks at the events of the years 1554, 1569, 1572, 1584, 1592 and 1609, including the dramatic presentations of those years: the final performances of the Corpus Christi Play and Pater Noster Play, Grafton's Interlude, the travelling players and an attempt to establish a theatre in York. It demonstrates in particular the effect on drama of the establishment of the Church of England and the growing strength of central authority.

The longest chapter sets out information on people before whose houses the various plays were performed, and attempts to locate those houses and indicate the original appearance of the streets through which the pageants were taken. This is followed by an examination of the few people known to have been involved in presenting drama, comparing the different opportunities open to John Stammer in 1554 and Richard Middleton in 1609.

The implications of the documentary evidence for events, places and people are discussed in the final chapter, which notes how drama ceased to be a community activity, and how participation passed from the craftsmen to the professional and leisured classes.

For my parents

who enabled me to
undertake this work

PEOPLE AND PLACES:
THE SOCIAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT
OF DRAMA IN YORK, 1554-1609

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KEY OF ABBREVIATIONS

When practicable, references are immediately identified in the text, and to facilitate this, abbreviations are used as follows:

Archives

BI: Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York

AR Archbishops' Register followed by volume number

CP Archbishop's Court: Cause Papers followed by
BI reference number

D/C Dean and Chapter records as further described

D/C CP Dean and Chapter Court: Cause Papers
followed by the BI reference number

HC High Commission Court

AB Act Book followed by volume number

CP Cause Papers followed by BI reference number

Pr Reg Probate Register followed by volume number

PR Y/- Parish Records for York churches followed by
the church reference and document
number

V Visitation Records followed by BI reference

Other references are those of the BI (see the
Bibliography)

PRO: Public Record Office

followed by the PRO reference

YCA: York City Archives

B House Books followed by volume number

BR Bridgemasters' Rolls followed by the YCA
reference number

CB Chamberlains' Books followed by the volume
number, section and year

CR Chamberlains' Rolls followed by the YCA
reference number

RR Receiver's Rolls followed by the YCA
reference number

Other references follow those of the YCA; for details, see the Bibliography

NB: any reference to original material with no prefix always comes from the YCA

YML: York Minster Library

D/C Dean and Chapter records

Pr Reg Dean and Chapter Probate Register
followed by volume number
(Volume 5 is kept at the BI)

VC Vicars Choral records followed by the YML
reference number

other references are those used by the YML

Printed sources

Cal. Pat. Rolls Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved
in the Public Record Office (HMSO)
followed by the monarch, and years
calendared in the volume

Dorrell I and II The Corpus Christi Play at York by
Margaret Dorrell: two volumes
(unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Leeds
University, 1973)

FY I and II Register of the Freemen of the City of
York: Volume I, 1272-1558; Volume
II, 1559-1759: edited by Francis
Collins (Surtees Society, volumes
96 and 102; 1897 and 1900). The
dates of each Mayoral year have
been corrected.

Page I and II The Certificate of the Commissioners
appointed to Survey the Chantries,
Guilds, Hospitals Etc. in the
County of York edited by William
Page, two volumes (Surtees Society,
volumes 91 and 92; 1894 and 1895)

Page: Church Goods The Inventories of Church Goods for
the Counties of York, Durham and
Northumberland edited by William
Page (Surtees Society, volume 97;
1896)

printed Parish Register whenever possible, references
to births, marriages and deaths are
given from the printed Parish

Registers edited by the Yorkshire Parish Register Society. Unless stated, the Register is that of the church just mentioned in the preceding sentence. For further details, see the Bibliography. Reference is made to the original Register in the BI if it has not been printed, or if there is any doubt about a reading

- Raine: YCR 1-8 York Civic Records volumes 1-8, edited by Angelo Raine (Yorkshire Archaeological Society: Record Series, volumes 98, 103, 106, 108, 110, 112, 115 and 119, between 1938 and 1953)
- RCHM: York III and V Royal Commission on Historical Monuments: An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York
 Volume III: South-west of the Ouse (1972)
 Volume V: The Central Area (1981)
- R:Y or REED:YORK Records of Early English Drama: York (two volumes) edited by Alexandra F. Johnston and Margaret Rogerson (University of Toronto Press/Manchester University, 1979)
- REED: Newsletter Records of Early English Drama: Newsletter edited by Joanna Dutka (University of Toronto/Manchester University): twice yearly from 1976; followed by date and volume number
- Skaife Civic Officials of York and Parliamentary Representatives compiled by Robert H. Skaife: three volumes; unpublished manuscript in the York History Room of the North Yorkshire County Library, York; this is arranged in alphabetical order of names, but those of the same surname are entered chronologically
- Twycross Meg Twycross, 'Places to hear the play: pageant stations at York, 1398-1572' in REED: Newsletter (1978:2), pp 10-33
- VCH: York Victoria History of the Counties of England: The City of York, edited by P.M. Tillot (Oxford University Press, 1961).

- YMB I and II York Memorandum Book A/Y Parts I and II,
edited by Maud Sellers (Surtees
Society, volumes 120 and 125; 1912
for 1911 and 1914)
- YMB III York Memorandum Book B/Y edited by Joyce
W. Percy (Surtees Society, volume
186; 1973)
- The York Play The York Play: A facsimile of British
Library MS Additional 35290, together
with a facsimile of the Ordo
Paginarum section of the A/Y
Memorandum Book, introduced by
Richard Beadle and Peter Meredith
(University of Leeds, School of
English, 1983)

For further details, see the Bibliography.

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Last, but not least, my thanks are due to my supervisor, Peter Meredith, for introducing me to the study of drama in York, and seeing me through five years of research with patience and encouragement.

PRELUDE

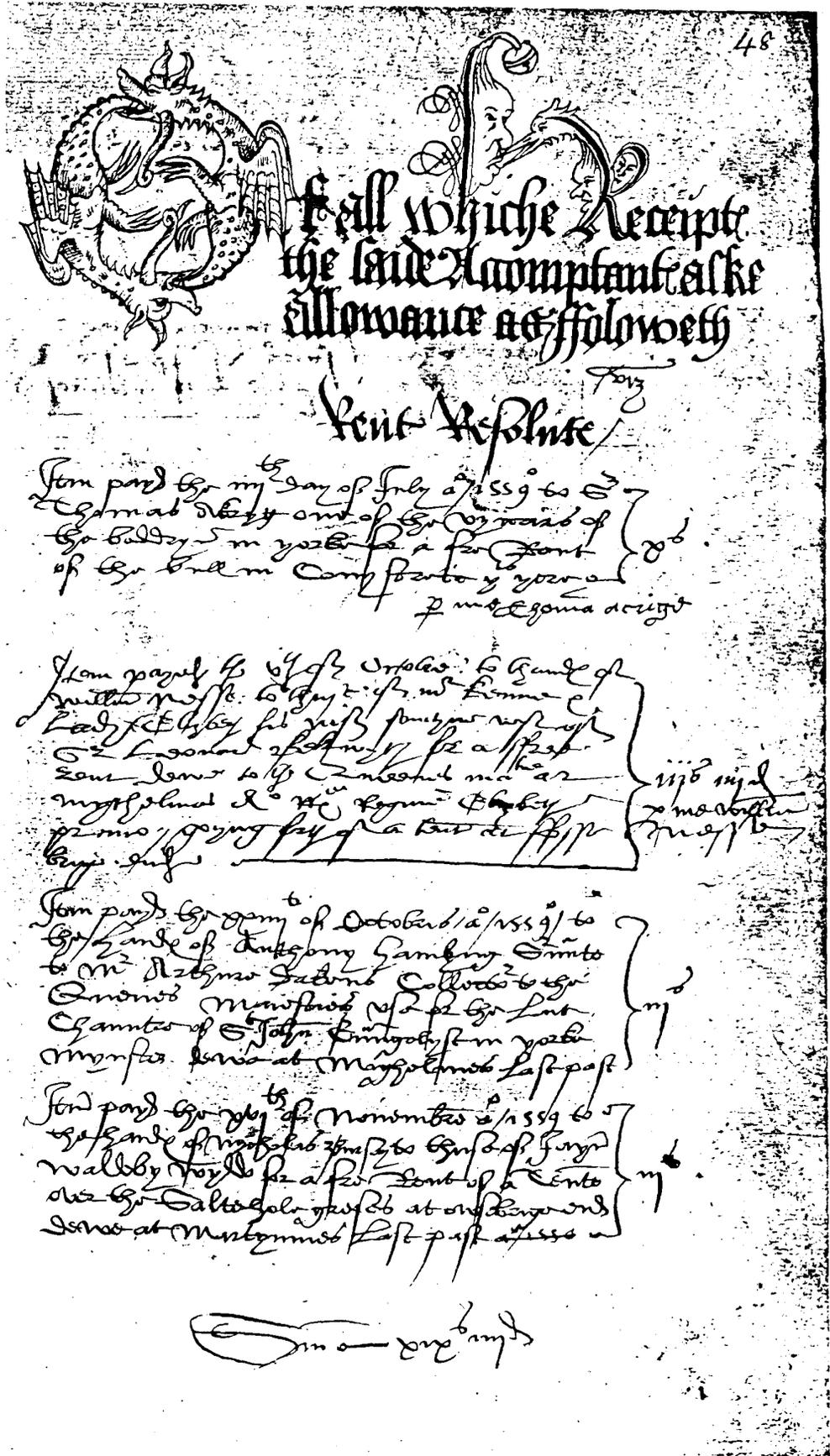


Illustration 1: John Clerke's hand in the York city records Chamberlains' Book 5 (1, 1559), f 48

Enough documentary evidence remains in York to indicate how the cycle of pageants forming the Corpus Christi Play was performed, and to give details of other drama and entertainment in the city. Early histories, like Francis Drake's Eboracum of 1736, mentioned the former 'religious solemnity' of the Corpus Christi festival, and even quoted some of the sources, but with an air of patronising curiosity. The first attempt to present the evidence in an informative way was made in 1843 by Robert Davies, Town Clerk of York, who was obviously very knowledg^lable about the city's archives in his care. This pioneering study, made before the manuscript of the York Play had been identified, also mentioned other events, such as the Creed and Pater Noster Plays, the Sheriffs' Ridings, the Show of Armour, the Riding of Yule and Yule's wife, and the plays organised by John Grafton in the later sixteenth century. Further sources were quoted by Lucy Toulmin Smith in the first edition of the York Play in 1885¹. Since then, more information has been made available, and most recently a compilation of all the documents relating to drama in the city of York has been published². It is now possible to assess the performance

- 1 Robert Davies, Appendix from Extracts from the Municipal Records of the City of York (London, 1843), pp 227-279; and York Plays, edited by Lucy Toulmin Smith (London, 1885).
- 2 Records of Early English Drama: York (two volumes), edited by Alexandra F. Johnston and Margaret Rogerson (University of Toronto/Manchester University Press, 1979). Future references to this volume will be given as REED:YORK or R:Y. In the following survey, when no page number is given, the entry can be found under the year in volume 1, which is arranged chronologically.

of the Corpus Christi Play and other drama from the fourteenth century to 1642. The picture of individual pageants within the Corpus Christi Play being performed by separate craft guilds on waggons taken from place to place round the city has long been familiar, and the evidence for this picture can now be assessed.

The tradition of civic drama in York

The cycle of pageants had been established and allocated by 1415, when the Ordo paginarum, which noted each craft and its pageant, was compiled (R:Y, pp 16-26 and 702-711), but earlier references take the existence of pageants and pageant waggons back to 1376. The Ordo, found in the city's important A/Y Memorandum Book (YCA: E 20, ff 252v-255), indicates the important fact that the performance of the Corpus Christi Play, as well as the Corpus Christi procession it accompanied, was overseen by the city council, which ordered the craft guilds. The Ordo was constantly being altered as responsibility to perform a pageant passed from one craft to another, or individual pageants were combined³. In due course, the city council caused a master copy of the complete cycle to be made up, known as the Register, using the individual play copies owned by the crafts⁴;

3 The York Play, a facsimile of British Library MS Additional 35290, together with a facsimile of the Ordo Paginarum section of the A/Y Memorandum Book, introduced by Richard Beadle and Peter Meredith (University of Leeds, School of English, 1983), pp liii-liv. The facsimile of the Ordo follows this introduction, at the end of the book.

4 Only one individual copy of a craft's pageant text has survived, the Scriveners' play of Doubting Thomas (YCA: Acc 104: G/1). See also A.C. Cawley, 'The Sykes MS of the York Scriveners' Play', in Leeds Studies in English and Kindred Languages, nos. 7 and 8 (School of English Language and Medieval Literature, University of Leeds, 1952), pp 45-80.

although mostly compiled in the later half of the fifteenth century, some additions were made as late as 1559⁵. This Register was used at the time of performance when, at least from the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Common Clerk of the city or his assistant watched the performance at the first station and noted down any alterations to the text.

The city council also drew up the Ordinances by which each craft guild was governed, and these normally included instructions for the election of Pageant Masters each year. These officers collected the subscription due towards the craft's pageant, often called pageant silver, not only from the members themselves but from others who encroached on the craft's trade. The Merchants in 1443 ordered that their Pageant Masters should

bring forth þair play & receyue all þe
ornements thatt belanges þto: by Indentour
& so deliuer ouer to þaym þat shall com
after And þy sall be countable to þe
Maister Constables & ffellow ship of all
þair receytes & expenses resonable and þe
iiij pagant Maisters ... shall bring furth
þe pagants & haue them in againe within
iiij days next after corpus Cristi day

(REED:YORK, p 61)

The reference to having the pageant waggon back in within four days is to the pageant houses where they were stored. The earliest reference to civic drama in York is found in the recorded receipt of two shillings by the city's Bridgemasters (the collectors of rent on

5 The York Play, op. cit., pp ix and xix-xxiii; and Peter Meredith, 'John Clerke's hand in the York Register', in Leeds Studies in English, New Series, volume 12 (Leeds University, 1981), pp 245-271.

city property) for a building in which three Corpus Christi pageants were housed (R:Y, pp 3 and 689), and from the context of the entry, this building was in the Micklegate area of the city. Despite an earlier proclamation by Archbishop de Zouche in 1343 that on Corpus Christi Day all should abstain from plays and spectacles as well as trade, commerce and other labour (R:Y, pp 1-2 and 688), some kind of pageant performance had attached itself to the city's Corpus Christi procession which by the middle of the fifteenth century had developed into the series of plays recorded in the Register. From 1387, the Skinners, Bakers and Dyers shared a pageant house on Toft Green, close to Micklegate Bar, although the Bakers rented a separate piece of land from 1418; and until long after the end of the performance of the Corpus Christi Play, several crafts continued to pay rent for pageant houses on Toft Green. The assembly of pageant waggons there earned the area the alternative name of Pageant Green.

The Feast of Corpus Christi, established in 1264, is first known to have been celebrated in York Minster in 1325 (R:Y, pp 1 and 688); the celebrations included the carrying of the consecrated host in procession. It took place on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday, a feast dependent on the date of Easter, so that it could have been held on any Thursday between 21 May and 24 June. In York, three separate processions have been identified taking place on the feast day⁶, one at the Minster, one at St Mary's Abbey, and one in the city itself. This last procession was organised by the city council, which decreed the order in which the craft guilds should march with their torches, but the liturgical functions

6 Douglas Cowling, 'The Liturgical Celebration of Corpus Christi in Medieval York', in REED: Newsletter 1976:2, pp 5-9.

were carried out by the local parish priests. The religious Guild of Corpus Christi was founded in 1408 with the purpose of setting forth the procession, and its Master and chaplains were chosen from amongst the parish priests⁷. The Guild attracted a large membership throughout its existence, and received many bequests, which enabled it to create an elaborate and costly shrine which was carried in the procession (R:Y, pp 633-634 and 855-6). However, the Guild never ordered the Corpus Christi Play, which remained under the control of the city council, and no performance took place until the council instructed the craft guilds to prepare their pageants, which was done through issuing 'billets' or notices written on parchment. It may be that the summaries of each play contained in the Ordo were copied out, and sent to the appropriate craft as authorisation for them to perform that episode. Once the crafts received such notice, they were to take order for presenting their pageant, although only the Shearers' Ordinances (1405) include a specific clause instructing them in this response. The city council could prevent a performance simply by taking the billets back again: this happened in 1550, when plague in the city had increased to a dangerous level just before the time of performance, and the common officers were instructed to take back the billets 'And the seyde play for the seyde consideracion to be sparyd & not to be played this yere' (YCA: B 20, f 17; R:Y, p 295).

Once the craft guilds had been ordered to bring forth their pageant, organisation was in their hands, and details of expenditure are therefore not to be found in the city's archives. Unfortunately, very few

7 R.H. Skaife, editor, The Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi in the City of York (Surtees Society, volume 57, 1872).

documents belonging to craft guilds have survived, and any survey of their presentation must rely on two major sources. The Merchants' pageant accounts survive from 1437 and the 1460s, with expenses for the repair to the waggon or the cost of torches on Corpus Christi Day scattered among their other accounts. Notable documents include an Indenture of 1433 which describes the properties, costumes and other accessories of their pageant waggon which the new Pageant Masters had received, and would have to pass on to their successors (R:Y, pp 55-6), and an agreement with three men to produce the Merchants' pageant of Doomsday, made in February 1453/4 (R:Y, pp 87 and 763-4). They also had a separate pageant made 'for ye sallys to ryse owt of' in 1463, and in 1501 they commissioned a new pageant from the eminent York carver Thomas Drawswerd (R:Y, pp 95 and 188-9). The Bakers' accounts survive from 1544, so that details of their expenditure on players, the waggon and the pageant house are known for the final performances of the Corpus Christi Play. These isolated examples, along with city council records, serve to illustrate the performance of the Play during a period of over one hundred and fifty years. A picture of the presentation emerges, although, as the examples show, it is created by assembling information from many separate years. The appearance of the pageants, and even the text of the Play, would not have been the same in 1415, 1492 and 1569; nevertheless, the general pattern over all these years can be assumed with some confidence.

In the weeks before performance, the pageant waggons, costumes and properties would have been checked and repaired if necessary, and the actors chosen and rehearsed. The Merchants provided cakes and ale at the first rehearsal in 1463, and the Bakers in 1549 provided a meal for their players on Trinity Sunday: as this was the Sunday before the performance, it may have

marked a final rehearsal (R:Y, pp 95 and 294). The Bakers also recorded repairs to their lamb and three diadems in 1557 (R:Y, p 325); the actors would not have been able to eat the lamb at the Last Supper (which was their pageant), but presumably the bread was of the best. The diadems are also a reminder of the formal appearance of the scene, for they mean the disciples were portrayed wearing haloes, just as they were depicted in contemporary art. The most detailed list of costumes is that included in the Merchants' Indenture of 1433 (R:Y, pp 55-6). It includes both diadems and masks for the Apostles - perhaps more to be expected in this pageant depicting the Last Judgement - masks for devils, and shirts, hose, masks and wigs for the Souls who are summoned from their graves. The waggon stage itself had a large backcloth of painted red damask, and two smaller cloths for the sides, with a little square cloth hung to frame God. A wooden rainbow (in two parts) provided the setting for God's seat, again familiar from contemporary art, though in practice the actor sat on a prosaic iron brandreth or grid-iron, attached by four ropes to a pulley mechanism that would fly him to a heaven decorated with red and blue clouds, sun-beams and stars, and various angels. Nine of the smaller angels, painted red, were made to 'run about' in the heaven when worked by a 'long small cord'. These details should be remembered when imagining the pageant waggons being manhandled round the city: the stage was apparently enclosed on three sides, and the waggon had to be both tall enough to allow God to be hauled up at least some distance to a crowded heaven, and strong enough to support the weight of the lifting mechanism. One large and four smaller banners decorated with the Trinity, the symbol of the Merchants' religious guild, adding to the splendour of the presentation, were also the responsibility of the Pageant Masters in 1433. A much shorter list, with fewer costumes noted, only one cloud

and several items missing or defective, survives from 1526, after the new waggon had been commissioned from Thomas Drawswerd (R:Y, pp 241-2), and is a reminder that the presentation of a pageant changed over the years.

The city's oversight of the standard of production is illustrated by the concern for the quality of acting. The council issued a lengthy order in 1476, recorded in the first House Book that has survived. It established that 'from this day furth perpetually to be obserued and kepyd', four of the most 'Connyng discrete and able playeres within the Citie' should be called before the Mayor in order to search out, hear and examine players and plays of all the crafts in the Corpus Christi Play; all the actors 'sufficiant in persone and connyng to the honour of the Citie and Worship of the saide Craftes' were to be permitted to play, and those insufficient in cunning, voice or person were not to be allowed. Also, no actor was to be 'conducte and Reteyned to play' more than twice on the day of performance (YCA: B 1, f 14v; R:Y, p 109). It may have been possible for an ambitious actor to attempt to take a part in one of the earlier pageants, and after the last performance at the end of the route to hurry back to Toft Green and take part in another pageant still waiting to set off; to do this a third time could have been risky and very tiring⁸. There are several

8 See Margaret Dorrell, 'Performance in Procession', one of 'Two Studies of the York Corpus Christi Play' in Leeds Studies in English, New Series, volume 6 (University of Leeds, 1972), pp 77-111. Her chart of estimated times of performances through the city indicates that it would theoretically have been possible to perform in Plays 1 (Creation), 19 (Flight into Egypt) and 40 (Appearance to Mary Magdalen after the Resurrection); or 8 (Cain and Abel), 24 (The Transfiguration) and 48 (The Last Judgement), but the actor would have been performing for over 16 hours.

references to the city council and the Merchants in the fifteenth century, and the Bakers in the sixteenth century, paying actors for their performances, which has led some people to speculate that professional actors were hired; the 1476 ordinance sounds, however, more like the choice of local amateur actors, for no professional would have achieved that status if he were not already sufficient in the cunning of the art.

The performance was heralded by the Proclamation of the Play of Corpus Christi, made on the day before the feast, which was noted in the A/Y Memorandum Book after the Ordo. It was first a proclamation for keeping the peace, and ordered that no-one except the appointed officers (such as members of a craft guild accompanying the waggon), should carry weapons. The second part of the Proclamation (as amended in the sixteenth century) ordered the craftsmen to bring forth their pageants in due order with good players 'well arayed & openly spekyng', and each pageant should be ready 'at convenient time' from 4.30 in the morning to follow 'ilkon after other as ther course is without Tarieng' (YCA: E 20, ff 254v-5; R:Y, pp 24-5). On the same day the places where the play was to be performed were marked by banners bearing the arms of the city: this custom was noted in 1399 (R:Y, pp 12 and 698).

Originally, the performance of the Corpus Christi Play took place on the same day as the procession, but in 1426 a noted preacher, Friar William Melton, pointed out to the city council that the feasting, drinking and gossiping surrounding the Play were to the detriment of the procession, church going and observation of the religious purpose of the feast day. He suggested that the two events should take place on two different days. It was then agreed that the Play should be performed on the Wednesday, so that the feast day itself could be

devoted to the religious observances (R:Y, pp 42-4 and 728-730). It is not clear whether this arrangement was ever tried. Guild Ordinances of 1428 and 1462 suggest that pageants and procession still took place on the same day, and in 1464 the Merchants provided their players on Corpus Christi Day with food and drink, so the Play was still performed on that day. But in 1468, the city paid a preacher for making a sermon on the Friday after Corpus Christi Day, and from this time it becomes clear that the Play was still performed on the original day, and it was the procession that had been displaced, to the Friday (R:Y, pp 45-6, 92-3 and 102).

By the day of performance, the waggons would have been ready on Pageant Green, and all properties assembled there: in 1461 the Merchants paid 2d to take their pageant gear from their Hall to the pageant (R:Y, p 91). The accepted theory for the method of performance is that each individual play on its pageant waggon was performed at a number of places or stations through the city, usually twelve, but going up to apparently sixteen places in the sixteenth century. Robert Davies, in his 1843 study already referred to, was led to conjecture whether all of the pageants were speaking dramas (p 236), but he did not have the benefit of the evidence of the Register, and he knew from other evidence that by the end of the fifteenth century the pageants did have dramatic dialogue and action and that practised players took part (p 237). He also realised that as each craft had its own waggon, performances would be going on simultaneously at each of the places designated, and he also perceived that 'from the narrowness of antient streets, it was desirable that the populace should be divided into several audiences' (p 276). Alternative suggestions have been that there was an area where a single performance was given after the pageants had presented a tableau and a few spoken

words at each station, or indeed that the complete performance was given (possibly indoors) only to a few privileged people, such as the Mayor and councillors at the Common Hall Gates⁹. There is, however, no evidence in the dramatic records to suggest any other form of presentation apart from the traditional concept of processional staging, however incomplete the information is. The city council made orders designed to overcome the difficulties caused by such a manner of performance, and tried to ensure that the waggons moved without delay from place to place; these included the amalgamation of expanding pageants of the Crucifixion sequence in 1422 (R:Y, pp 37-8 and 722-4). The number of stations had been limited to twelve named sites in 1399, said then to have been those formerly in use (R:Y, pp 10-12 and 697-8). Although the precise sites before individual houses changed over the years, the fixed points allow comparison to be made, and the last performance of the Corpus Christi Play was presented in many of the same places:

1399 (R:Y, p 11)	1569 (R:Y, p 356)
1. Gates of Holy Trinity Priory, Micklegate	1. Trinity Gate
2. Robert Harpham's door	2. Mr Henrison's house
3. John de Gyseburne's door	3. The Cowper in Micklegate
4. Skeldergate and North Street	4. about St John's church
	5. Mr Pacock's door

9 For such extreme examples, see Martin Stevens, 'The York Cycle: From Procession to Play', Leeds Studies in English, New Series, volume 6 (op.cit.), pp 37-61; and Alan H. Nelson, The Medieval English Stage (University of Chicago Press, 1974).

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|--|--|
| 5. The Castlegate end of Coney Street | 6. Ousegate Corner |
| 6. the end of Jubbergate in Coney Street | 7. Mr Appleyard's house |
| 7. Henry Wyman's door in Coney Street | 8. Mr Fawkes in Coney Street |
| 8. the end of Coney Street next to the Common Hall | 9. Common Hall Gate |
| 9. Adam del Brigg's door | 10. about Christopher Willoughby's house |
| 10. The Minster Gates | 11. Minster Gates |
| | 12. Mr Birnand's house |
| 11. The end of Girdlergate in Petergate | 13. Hutton's house |
| | 14. John Chamber in Colliergate |
| | 15. William Beckwith's house |
| | 16. On the Pavement between Mr Harbert's and the Sheriff's house |
| 12. The Pavement | 17. Between Mr Pacock's and Mr Allen's places |

Other evidence that suggests that the pageants were performed in full at the designated stations can be quoted. Henry Watson and Thomas Diconson in 1478 took a long lease to have the Corpus Christi Play performed for the next twelve years before their house at the end of Ouse Bridge, offering to pay 11 shillings a year: surely in anticipation of a complete performance and not a series of tableaux. In 1487, the performance of the Play was postponed, so that King Henry VII could see it during his visit to the city; it was finally 'played through the Citie' on 1 August, 'his grace hering the same in Conyngstrete at Thomas Scot house' (R:Y, pp 119-120 and 781, and 155). Finally, after 1552, the Chamberlains' Rolls and Books began to note the receipt of rent for these places under the heading 'Places to hear the Play' (YCA: CR, C 6:16).

The payment of a rent for having the Play performed in front of a particular house was initiated in 1417, when the city council realised that the people who lived in the appointed houses were building scaffolds for a paying audience over the common streets; at first it was thought a proportion of the takings should be given to the city chamber, but finally it was decided that in future the Play should be performed before the houses of people who lived on the pageant route who had put in the highest bid (R:Y, pp 28-30 and 713-5). From that time, varying amounts were received, with the highest rates coming from those at the earlier stations¹⁰. The money thus received went into the city's coffers, and was not directly used to finance performances.

At least some members of each craft guild were expected to attend on their pageant as it was taken through the city, and particular order was given for those pageants presented by more than one craft. After the pageants of the Condemnation of Christ were combined, the city council decided in 1432 not only the financial contributions of the crafts concerned, but also that one or two Millers should accompany the pageant, and one of the Hayresters (a maker of horsehair rope), along with the Saucemakers and Tilemakers, and be entitled to refreshments (R:Y, pp 48-50 and 733-4). All the Armourers were ordered in 1475 to attend their pageant, carrying an authorised weapon as a sign of their peace-keeping status, from 'the playnge ande settynge furth of their saide pagende at the firste place where they shall begyns Ande so to awayte upon the same thair pagande thurgh the Cite to the play be

10 Might this mean that on occasions the final pageants never reached the last stations before the end of the day, so that a full rent was not expected? The balance gradually changed from the 1520s.

plaide as of that same pagende'. The Spurriers and Lorrimers were expected in 1494 to attend on their pageant 'frome ye mateir of play be begune At ye furst place unto such tyme as ye said play be Played & finished thugh the toun At ye last playse' (R:Y, pp 104-5 and 176). Anyone who was absent could be fined.

Apart from food and drink to the players and craftsmen accompanying the pageant, the men who manhandled the waggons round the city were also given much-needed refreshment; for example, the Merchants in 1461 paid for ale 'to ye puters' or 'putters-on of the pageant (R:Y, p 91). The audience too obviously made a holiday out of the festival, for Friar Melton had complained at the feasting and drunkenness in 1426. Other feasting was at the cost of the city. The council regularly provided bread, wine and fruit as gifts to notable visitors in York for the Play, as accounts of 1445, and 1479 (when King Edward IV was in York) show. (R:Y, pp 65, 121, 743 and 783). But they themselves had their own feast, for which several accounts remain from the early sixteenth century. In 1520 they had fish, bread, mutton, cheese, strawberries, eggs, pullets and capons, geese, pigeons, venison, rabbit, lamb and apples, with wine and other fruit (R:Y, pp 225-6 and 819). The cost to the city grew each year; in 1532 the councillors agreed that the city would not have to pay, but this decree was revoked in 1543. When rising prices and scarcity of food caused them to cut back civic entertaining in 1558, they decided to keep the Corpus Christi feast, although refreshments to their wives, gathering elsewhere in the city, were no longer allowed (R:Y, pp 253, 282 and 325-7).

At the end of the day, the streets beyond the Pavement would have been filled with pageant waggons. No doubt the valuable hangings and properties were

dismantled immediately, but more time would be needed to return the waggons to their pageant houses, whether on Toft Green or other places. The Merchants ordered the Pageant Masters to return the waggons within four days (R:Y, p 61), and in 1464 they paid 7d to have both their pageants (by this time they had the separate waggon for the souls to rise out of) put back again into the pageant house (R:Y, p 97). The hill from the river up to Toft Green would not make an easy journey. The Bakers in 1549 spent 8d 'yat day yat we put in the pagend and mayd ffast the dorys' (R:Y, p 294), no doubt with relief as well as satisfaction. It remained only for the Pageant Masters to make up their accounts, and hand over to their successors.

Other plays and entertainments

Most dramatic evidence from York relates to the performance of the Corpus Christi Play, and the survival of the Register allows a fuller appreciation of this event. There were, however, two other major plays capable of replacing the Corpus Christi Play in any year. The Pater Noster Play, which 'showed vices and sins reproved and virtues commended', was known to John Wyclif before the end of the fourteenth century; its performance had made such an impact that a special religious Guild, the Pater Noster Guild, was formed simply to perform it 'for the health and reformation of the souls, both of those in charge of that play and those hearing it' (R:Y, pp 645-8 and 863-6). Amongst the duties of the Guild members was the obligation to ride with the players of the play through the streets of York, just as the craft members did with their Corpus Christi pageant, and this suggests that this play was given a similar processional staging. The Pater Noster Guild was joined to the St Anthony Guild by 1444, when Thomas Carr bequeathed ten shillings to the combined fraternity (BI: Pr Reg 2A, ff

91v-92), and consequently the Master of the St Anthony Guild had custody of the play script. There are references to performances in 1536 and 1558.

The Creed Play had become the responsibility of the Corpus Christi Guild after William Revetour, a chantry priest in York, bequeathed the book, together with the banners and other books, to the Guild in 1446 (R:Y, pp 68 and 746). The text was newly copied in 1455, on the condition that this 'incomparable play' should be presented every ten years in various parts of the city before a suitable audience for their spiritual health, and at the cost of the audience (R:Y, pp 87-8 and 764-5); this suggests a different method of production was envisaged. It was given a special performance in 1483 to honour Richard III's first visit to the city since his coronation (the King had been made a member of the Corpus Christi Guild whilst Duke of Gloucester), and later performances are known in 1495, 1505, 1525, 1535 (on Corpus Christi Day) and 1545. Although replacing the Corpus Christi Play in 1535, it was not at the cost of the craft guilds, whose pageant donations were used instead to subsidise the costs of an important law case concerning the rights of the city that had been heard in London (R:Y, pp 256-7)¹¹.

Apart from drama, the city streets saw other spectacles, the most lavish being the shows and speeches used to greet visiting monarchs. The King invariably entered the city through Micklegate Bar, and processed

11 For further comment on the Pater Noster and Creed Plays see Alexandra F. Johnston, 'The Plays of the Religious Guilds of York: the Creed Play and the Pater Noster Play' in *Speculum*, volume 50 (The Medieval Academy of America, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1975), pp 55-90.

along the same route taken by the pageant waggons, at least until Minster Gates. There are descriptions of the entry of Richard III in 1483, and even more details for the shows and speeches devised to greet Henry VII in 1586, on his first visit to the city which had supported his predecessor (R:Y, pp 130-3 and 137-152). Instead of watching pageant waggons move by, the monarch himself progressed, riding from one static show to the next. Pageant waggons were often utilised to provide the shows, as the Weavers' pageant of the Assumption of the Virgin provided the setting for the Virgin Mary to descend from heaven and speak to Henry VII during his entry (R:Y, pp 142-4, 145 and 790). The ingenuity of such welcomes decreased in the sixteenth century, and although the earlier records had been consulted before Henry VIII's visit in 1541, after the event two carvers were sued by the city council for not finishing one of the shows they had been contracted to make (R:Y, pp 275-6). Civic splendour was more regularly paraded, especially on occasions like the election of a new Mayor, when the councillors in their red or scarlet gowns processed from the council chamber on Ouse Bridge to the Common Hall, or after the installation of the new Mayor, when they processed from the Common Hall to his house for a feast.

The Sheriffs provided other street processions, recorded from the beginning of the sixteenth century, when they rode through the city to proclaim the King's Peace in November or early December. They were also ordered on several occasions to ride with a small band of armed men, especially on Corpus Christi Day, but often they seem to have avoided this duty by paying a fine. Other Ridings were more dramatic in character. A regular presentation was revealed in 1546 when it did not take place: because St George's Day fell on Good

Friday that year, 'thay did not Ryde with Seynt George'¹². The presentation of this Riding and Play was not much noted in the city records because it was the concern of the religious Guild of St Christopher and St George; the connection can be made through a bequest from Sir William Todd in 1503, who gave his sallet (or helmet) to the St Christopher Guild to be used 'at the Ridyng of Saynt George with in the said Citie' (BI: Pr Reg 6, f 59).

Similar entertainments were recorded only in passing, and indicate other dramatic opportunities in the city. On 8 March 1554/5, the city council decided on a 'reward on shrofetuysday':

Item where dyverse the honest youngmen of this Citie on Shrove tewysday last to shoue my lord mayor Aldremen & wholl comonalte of this Cite honest & pleasant pastyme one sorte in defendyng a fort & thother in making thassalt were at chardges in divisynge & preparyng the same it is nowe therfor ffully consented that they shalle haue towardses their chardges in reward of the Chamber costes tenne shillynges (YCA: House Book B 21, f 79)

These young men would have been the sons of gentry or the wealthier inhabitants of York who had no need to be apprenticed and kept at work; 'honest' is a regular description of substantial citizens. There may have been other entertainments, presented more privately and not expecting any reward from the city, which were not recorded.

The collection of dramatic evidence from the

12 For a summary of the entries relating to this Riding and Play, see my article '"Bryngyng forth of Saynt George": The St George Celebrations in York', in Medieval English Theatre 3:2, 1981.

medieval and Tudor records, notably presented in REED: YORK, enables this kind of survey to be made, and allows a more critical examination of the Corpus Christi Play itself.

However, this drama and pageantry did not take place in isolation, but within the civic and social structure of society. Robert Davies wrote his study of the Corpus Christi festival from a wide knowledge of the city's documents in his care; not only had he identified the dramatic material, but he could interpret the evidence in context. His approach indicates an area for further research. Decisions controlling the performance of plays were usually made for non-dramatic reasons, and knowledge of other material in the archives - which may not at first seem relevant - can help to explain the development and then disappearance of civic drama. Some questions already present themselves from the brief survey of drama in York: were the actors being paid by the craft guilds for performing in the Corpus Christi Play professional players or craftsmen? Was Robert Davies correct in saying, in a general way, that due to the narrowness of the streets restricting audience numbers, it was desirable to repeat the performance of each pageant in several places? Further information on the people associated with the presentation of plays clarifies their position, explaining who they were and why they were involved; above all, it enables a better understanding of the status of drama in York. The value of an extended view can be best demonstrated by examining a transitional period of about fifty years after the above survey left off, during which the traditional form of dramatic presentation in York, described above, was lost, and 'medieval drama' (which survived for more than half of the Tudor era) gave way

to 'Shakespearean theatre', and a new concept of the place of drama in society.

The transition can be traced by looking at a number of specific years, each including events that illustrate the change in the place drama occupied in the social and cultural life of the city. 1554, the first full year of Queen Mary's reign, reveals not only details of the performance of the Corpus Christi Play but also information on other drama and processions, otherwise little recorded, but part of the experience of York citizens. The final performance of the Corpus Christi Play took place in 1569, and that of the Pater Noster Play in 1572. A new kind of civic drama was attempted in 1584, but a new tradition was not established. Drama was served mostly by travelling players, and civic display centred on an elaborate Show of Armour which was supposed to involve all the citizens: 1592 provides examples of both these. The new drama developed in London was performed in permanent playhouses, and in 1609 there was an attempt to set up such a theatre in York.

There is a large amount of material in the archive collections in York to enable a survey of the period from 1554 to 1609 to be made (as the Bibliography demonstrates) and a variety of approaches could be made. The contrast between the dramatic opportunities for a York citizen in 1554 and 1609, in the context of other events in the city, forms the framework of the ensuing study, and the search for people named in REED:YORK for this period was the basis of research. From the surviving books and rolls and papers, a series of small pieces of information about people who were involved with drama, and about the places where they performed, can be assembled: an unfinished mosaic that can be built around the dramatic records already extracted. There

are, however, over one hundred and fifty names recorded during the fifty years examined, and this study is therefore limited to those most concerned with the presentation of plays, and those who had the Play performed outside their own houses. Musicians, and Aldermen carrying out their duties have not been considered unless they were more directly involved. Only a few of the craftsmen who were employed professionally - for example, to repair a pageant waggon - have been noted. Pageant Masters as such were not investigated, for it became apparent that theirs was a junior office in the craft guild, imposed on younger members as a matter of course, and the holders were more responsible for collecting the pageant money and keeping accounts than for the actual presentation of the craft's play. Various examples among the Merchants, and one from the Bakers, will be noted to illustrate this. Nor were the travelling players considered, for such an investigation would have to go outside York. Those people who are included here are presented through various details of their lives: when they were franchised and started to practise their craft, their age if known, their affluence (known from tax assessments), and their families and relationships. Less often, there can be found assessments of their character or occasionally their reported words. They are seen in the context of their lives in York, and not just their involvement in drama, but not every piece of information can be presented here. Emphasis is given to those aspects that most relate to their inclusion in the dramatic records.

Information emerging from the detailed examination of documentary evidence is presented as three separate strands: events, places and people. Chapter I gives the background events to each of the representative years - 1554, 1569, 1572, 1584, 1592 and 1609 - which are taken

primarily from an analysis of the minutes of city council meetings, contained in House Books 21 to 33 (YCA), but reference to other years has been made as necessary. National events are seen through the reports in the House Books, and no further comment on them is intended. Various aspects are emphasised in relation to the dramatic performances, but obviously the implication of all events in the city cannot be fully examined within the scope of this analysis. Chapter II looks at those people who had a play performed before their houses, and attempts to locate the sites; it is a development of the method first suggested by Meg Twycross¹³. The route of the pageant waggons is known, but this study may answer what kind of people took stations, why they did, and more precisely where they were. Further information on Pageant Green, Ouse Bridge and Ousegate, and the Pavement is included to indicate the original appearance and size of the streets through which the waggons passed. The evidence is presented under the years in which the different people are known to have taken a place: 1554 and 1569 for the Corpus Christi Play, 1572 for the Pater Noster Play, and 1584 and 1585 for Grafton's plays. Chapter III looks at people actually involved in the presentation of drama, with some speculation on the nature of their involvement. It is divided into three sections: those concerned with the traditional religious plays; those concerned with Grafton's playes, performed in the traditional way; and the dramatic opportunities for York citizens when the tradition was lost. A concluding chapter considers the evidence presented, and draws the strands together, through a consideration of how the nature of drama in York had changed during fifty years.

13 Meg Twycross, '"Places to hear the play": pageant stations in York, 1398-1572', in REED: Newsletter 1978:2, pp 10-33.

Terms of reference

Any evidence that can be found printed in REED:YORK will be given both its original reference and the page number of the printed work; if a general survey has been made, only the years will be given, as REED:YORK is arranged chronologically and items are easy to locate. However, in order not to confuse the presentation with too many references, page numbers for Raine: YCR¹⁴ have not been included; again, the material in those volumes is presented chronologically, and can be easily checked.

In transcribing quotations, I have silently expanded contractions, but attempted to keep the lay-out of the original (including insertions). The choice of spelling of names is personal, and often a decision is based on the form in which they were first encountered. The surname 'Herbert' (the modern spelling) is always found in the late sixteenth century as 'Harbert', and I have retained this; and I use 'Aynley' here although previously I used 'Aynelay'. In speaking of 'the Council in the North' I have used a capital C, but not for 'the city council'; however, capitals are used for Mayor, Aldermen, Privy Council of the city, Sheriffs, Twenty Four and the Common Council or Commons of the city.

The organisation of city government is described in various books¹⁵ and is not repeated here. However, it is worth noting that despite formal elections each January, in the period here studied the Aldermen took

14 Angelo Raine (editor), York Civic Records, volumes 1-8 (Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, between 1938 and 1953).

15 Dorrell I, pp 4-8; REED:YORK, pp x-xiii; YCR, Introductions for volumes 1 and 3.

turn to be Mayor according to their seniority. Once all of them had served, the most senior took office again, although occasionally Aldermen were excused a second term if they were old and infirm, or no longer wealthy enough to bear the costs.

In referring to churches and parishes, I have chosen the names by which they were called at the time of this study. The main differences are:

All Hallows, North Street (now All Saints)

All Hallows, Pavement (now All Saints)

Christ's Church (often called Holy Trinity,

King's Court; the site is now represented

by King's Square at the top of the

Shambles)

St Michael Ousebridge End (St Michael Spurriergate)

St John Ousebridge End (St John's, Micklegate).

However, in dealing with the later history of the Pavement, 'All Saints' has been used for the church if a later source is quoted. It should be noted that 'Flesh Shambles' was always used for the Shambles, to differentiate it from the 'Fish Shambles' near Foss Bridge; and 'Whitney Whatney Gate' was the sixteenth century name of the later 'Whipmawhopmagate'. 'Common Hall' is used as the name of the Guildhall, as it was in the period under review.

Basic references are usually given immediately in the text, using abbreviations explained on pp 10-13 above; longer references and relevant notes are given as footnotes on the same page, when abbreviations are not always used. Longer comments not immediately relevant to the text are referred to End Notes, which immediately follow Chapter IV, and Notes to the illustrations, maps and figures are included after that. Sources for the figures in particular are discussed in these Notes, which explain how some of the reconstructions of sites

in York have been arrived at. Several reconstructions are based on descriptions of property in conveyances, which name the holders of adjoining property.

To avoid confusion on whether I have used Old Style or New Style dates, double dates are given for the overlapping period 1 January to 25 March: for example, 3 February 1553/4 marks the swearing in of the new Mayor John North, and the precise beginning of my period of study, although as a generalisation he is said to be Mayor during 1554.

No attempt has been made to convert money in terms of modern pence, or indeed to offer a modern value; amounts are best related by comparing prices, and remembering that an artisan was supposed to charge 6d a day for his services in 1554.

I have already made several points in various articles written at the time of research; I have not repeated any information unless necessary, and refer instead to these earlier articles, which are listed in the Bibliography.

A map illustrating the route of the Play, and places mentioned in the text, and two others to show the division of the parishes and wards, are included in an end pocket. These are intended to illustrate Chapter II. Other maps and figures are included in the text.

I THE BACKGROUND



Illustration 2: Ouse Bridge and St William's Chapel, looking towards the east end of the chapel: J. Halfpenny, 1807

This chapter summarises the matters discussed and agreed by the York city council in 1554, 1569, 1572, 1584, 1592 and 1609, but not every item agreed can be mentioned. Choice has been made to indicate the regular business of the councillors, as well as the more unusual problems that faced them. The constant instructions from the central government, through the Council in the North, are noted. Most time was spent on property matters - the sale or upkeep of the city property, and the demands on householders to pave the road before their doors and to keep their houses in good repair - but few examples are given as the content of such decisions becomes repetitive. The city council also fixed dates for the regular Wardmote Courts, assessed the fines imposed on wrongdoers at both these and the General Sessions of the Peace, and decreed other punishments, and a few examples are given. The summary is intended to show the variety of business dealt with by the city council, whilst emphasising the concerns most affecting the performance of drama.

The regular meetings of the city council took place in their chamber in St William's Chapel on Ouse Bridge (Illustration 2, p 42), and only those occasions which included the Common Council were held in the Common Hall (or Guildhall): notably the election and swearing-in of the Mayor on 15 January and 3 February, and the election of the Sheriffs on 21 September each year.

1554

John North, Lord Mayor

Introduction

The dramatic events of 1554 reflect the restoration of Roman Catholic worship under Queen Mary after the changes initiated by Henry VIII and confirmed by Edward VI. The pageants concerning the Virgin Mary were restored to the Corpus Christi Play, whilst the Corpus Christi procession, Whit Tuesday celebrations and the Procession and Riding on St George Day were revived. Not all the changes of the preceding decade could be reversed; the religious institutions which had formed an important part of life in medieval York had gone, and their lands were sold away. Even the local religious guilds - such as the Corpus Christi Guild, the St Anthony Guild and the St Christopher and St George Guild of York - were lost. Links with the first two guilds, however, were preserved in the charitable hospitals once connected with them: the St Thomas Hospital of the Corpus Christi Guild, situated outside Micklegate Bar, and the St Anthony Hospital at Peasholme Green. These two aspects of the religious changes - the loss of religious property to the crown, and then to absentee landlords, and the need for a state control of charity and relief - would still be concerning the York council in the next century.

Queen Mary was proclaimed in York on 21 and 22 July 1553, but the only indication from the city's records that she was restoring the forms of Catholic worship comes in an entry of 7 November 1553, when it was ordered that the altar should be set up again in St Thomas Hospital, and the chaplain was to take services there three times a week. The official instructions

received, and copied into the House Book, concern only the proclamation of the marriage settlement between Mary and Philip of Spain, dated 30 January 1553/4 (YCA: B 21, ff 4, 16a and 28-30). The other indications of change, the restoration of the Marian pageants and religious processions in 1554, were introduced without comment in the records.

1554 is an interesting year from the point of view of dramatic references. First, entries concerning drama and processions in the civic and craft guild records of York exceed the number from previous years in the sixteenth century except for 1503 and 1541, when royalty visited the city¹; and second, the city council took responsibility for organising the events of St George's Day which had previously been taken by the St Christopher and St George Guild, and so information on this Riding and Play has been preserved.

Alderman John North was elected Mayor on 15 January 1553/4, and was sworn on 3 February. There are thirty four meetings recorded during the year, most of them concentrated at the beginning and end, in February and March 1553/4 and January 1554/5. On average during the rest of the year there were only two meetings a month.

February

(four meetings; B 21, ff 31-36v)

The early meetings show the effect of the new reign on the city, and other business was mainly concerned with the city's control of individual craft guilds. At the first meeting of John North's term, on 9 February

1 See Records of Early English Drama: York, pp 310-320.

(f 31), the councillors discussed the amalgamation of the crafts of Carpenters, Joiners and Carvers, and initiated repairs to the chapel on Ouse Bridge. Finally, they agreed to a performance of the Corpus Christi Play with the pageants concerning the life of Mary restored², and the craft guilds were to prepare their accustomed torches (f 31; R:Y, p 310). The torches had formerly been carried in the Corpus Christi procession, which in York had taken place on the day after Corpus Christi Day: this is the first of the religious processions revived this year. It was to be a colourful occasion for, perhaps anticipating such events, it had been ordered on 12 January that all the Aldermen should make sure they had their traditional scarlet cloaks ready to be worn in processions (f 21v).

A letter from the Queen sent through the Council in the North, dated at York 11 February, informed the city of the defeat of Sir Thomas Wyatt and other rebels of Kent, and a meeting was specially convened the same day - a Sunday - to take the action required (ff 31v-32): a state of alert was to be maintained, and especially they were to apprehend 'spredres of false & vntrewe tales & rumoures'. A further letter was sent from the Council following the discovery of a conspiracy planned by the Duke of Suffolk and others. A list of instructions was attached, to counteract the possibility of any further disorder: vagabonds, spreaders of false rumours and other disordered persons were to be punished; certificate was to be made of able men and their weapons, and of the number of mounted men who could be levied; people were to attend divine service; watch was to be kept by 'the honestest sorte of men'; spreaders of rumours were to be punished, and 'bookes and prophesies'

2 The Marian pageants had been left out since 1548 (YCA: B 19, f 16v; REED:YORK, pp 291-292).

burned (ff 35-36v). The city council on 26 February responded to these orders by arranging a night watch at the city's four bars, but the rest of the meeting was concerned with internal government, including the decision that the six officers of the Mayor were to continue on half fees because the city was temporarily without money.

March

(four meetings; B 21, ff 37-42)

On 8 March, the council chose Alderman Richard White and John Bean to represent the city at the forthcoming Parliament to be held at Oxford, and ordered that the Queen's Proclamation for expelling 'Aliens' from the Realm be read in the open market. Expenses for the two Burgesses were allowed, for attending the Parliament, and also for Mr Symson, one of the Twenty Four, who was travelling with them on the city's business (ff 38-39).

April

(one meeting; B 21, f 43)

There is no note of any meeting after 23 March, when instructions were given to the Burgesses, until 20 April, when the council was ready to turn its mind to events in the city. According to ancient custom, the procession of St George's Day, with the Riding of St George, was to be revived, and the Whit Tuesday procession would be held again. The Corpus Christi procession was specifically ordered for the morning after Corpus Christi Day (f 43; R:Y, pp 310-11).

Monday, 23 April, was St George's Day, and after a lapse of some years, and to the music of the city waits, St George, a King and Queen with a 'May', a pageant, and

figures of St Christopher and a dragon were presented again in York. Although formal authorisation had been given at short notice, the decision to revive the event must have been taken earlier, to allow for organisation and repairs to the pageant and figures. The cost was met by the city, and details were noted in the Chamberlains' Book (YCA: CB 4 (2, 1554), p 162; R:Y, pp 318-9).

May

(two meetings; B 21, ff 44-45v)

The meeting of 11 May began with a report from the Burgesses on the Parliament at Oxford, during which the city's Charter had been confirmed. Then order was made that those who wished to have the pageants of the Corpus Christi Play performed before their doors should make application before Trinity Sunday (the Sunday before the performance), and the Mayor would appoint the places. The Play would be performed in less than two weeks, and there were nine days in which to apply; obviously the number of stopping places for the pageants along the route did not have a great effect on the preparations. In the end, sixteen places were taken. Next, it was agreed that the expenses of St George's Day would be paid by the city chamber, that the event would be held regularly, and that the Mayor would invite the councillors and others to his house for dinner on that day each year (R:Y, p 311). The meeting closed after approving the sale of St Wilfrid's Churchyard to one of its number, Mr Golthrop³ (f 44-44v).

3 A number of parishes which had grown too poor or depleted had been merged with others. Although the formal Deed of Union was not signed until 27 January 1585/6 (YCA: G 7), some of the mergers suggested in 1549 had gone ahead, and redundant churches like St Wilfrid's and St Gregory's demolished. See also the note to Map 17.

On the Tuesday following this meeting, Whit Tuesday, the city experienced its first Whit procession for several years, and the Mayor and his colleagues, their wives, church representatives and others were refreshed in the council chamber on Ouse Bridge at the cost of the city 'accordinge to the old laudable custome' (f 43). No doubt the Aldermen wore their scarlet cloaks again⁴.

On 18 May, the Friday before the performance of the Corpus Christi Play, the meeting began in the council chamber at the Common Hall. It dealt first with the contributions of certain craft guilds to the pageants of others: Saddlers who sold bits and spurs had to contribute to the Spurriers' and Lorimers' pageant and Carvers, Joiners and Carpenters using turning in their work were to pay 16d to the Turners and Ropers (R:Y, p 311). Then the councillors moved into the Common Hall itself, to include the Common Council, Searchers and other 'honest comonars' in their deliberations. These concerned the sale of St Wilfrid's churchyard to Mr Golthrop, which was agreed; an ordinance against the sale of spiced cakes; and an offer of the use of St Anthony's Hall to the craft guilds with no meeting house of their own, if a yearly fee could be agreed (f 45-45v).

On the eve of Corpus Christi, Proclamation for peacekeeping at the Play was made, the Mayor and Aldermen again wearing their scarlet cloaks⁵. For the

4 See End Note 1 for further information on the expenses of this day.

5 See REED:YORK, p 24, for the Proclamation, and pp 333 and 357 for evidence of making the Proclamation in 1561 and 1569. The final part of the Proclamation had been rewritten in the sixteenth

Mayor and council, the performance of the Play on Thursday 24 May meant a feast set out in the chamber of the house they leased to Richard Aynley at the Common Hall Gates⁶. The cost of the feast, borne by the city chamber (or treasury) was this year £5 14s 8d. As thirty six trenchers were provided (which corresponds nearly exactly with the number of Aldermen, Sheriffs, Twenty Four, Chamberlains and Common Clerk who were entitled to attend⁷, the cost per person was about 3s 2d - which represented a week's wage to a craftsman (YCA: CB 4 (2, 1554), pp 107 and 132-3; R:Y, pp 315-7).

The following day saw the Corpus Christi procession. The Aldermen would be wearing their red cloaks, and the Mayor would be carrying a white rod:

Itm payd for a whyte wand to my Lord
 Maior as Master of Corpus crysty gyld the
 fryday after Corpus christi day iiiij^d 8
 (YCA: Chamberlains' Book 4 (2, 1554), p 142;
 REED:YORK, p 317)

The whole procession was led by the three waits of the city, who were paid 20d. The councillors did not have

century (YCA: E 20 - the A/Y Memorandum Book - ff 254v-255). This is reproduced at the back of the facsimile edition of The York Play, and a note on the Proclamation can be found on p liv.

- 6 See my article 'The Tenement at the Common Hall Gates: the Mayor's station for the Corpus Christi Play in York' in REED:Newsletter 1982:2, pp 14-24.
- 7 According to the Chamberlains' Roll of 1547: YCA: C 6:15; REED:YORK, p 290.
- 8 The Hospital of St Thomas, once part of the Corpus Christi Guild, had been handed over to the keeping of the Mayor and Aldermen in 1552. See R.H. Skaife, The Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi in the City of York (Surtees Society, volume 57, 1871/2), pp xii-xiii, 270-273 and 298-303; YCA: B 20, f 102.

another feast, but limited themselves to 'maynebreade' (a fine wheat loaf), 'byskettes', apples and wine, which cost only 2s 6d and for which they paid themselves (YCA: CB 4 (2, 1554), pp 112 and 133; R:Y, pp 315 and 317). This procession may have taken place for the last time in 1558, but the last known references are for 1557.

June

(two meetings; B 21, ff 46-48)

After a two week break from meetings, the council had a great amount to go through, and some concerned the aftermath of the Corpus Christi Play. On 1 June, it first dealt with a letter from the Council in the North, dated 22 May: this took the form of a rebuke that the Mayor and other Justices of the Peace had not been carrying out the commands to curb unrest and rebellion by controlling the vagabonds and spreaders of false rumours. In response, an order was sent to the Ainsty (the country between York and Tadcaster in the jurisdiction of the city of York) for suitable precautions to be taken, and the Aldermen were instructed to be vigilant in their wards. The councillors then took order for the payment of pageant money by the Vintners, and for contribution from the Corn Merchants to the Scriveners' pageant. These decisions may have been taken at the time of the performance, and were now being made official. Then the Girdlers were fined 10 shillings for hindering the procession of the pageants on Corpus Christi Day for over an hour: according to the Chamberlains' Book, which noted the receipt of the fine, because their players were not ready⁹. Half of the fine was paid

9 See my article, 'The Girdlers' Pageant House in York' in REED: Newsletter volume 8, number 1 (1983), pp 1-8, for further details.

over for the Scriveners' pageant, as John Meltynby had no-one to help him towards his charges in bringing it forth (f 46-46v; CB 4 (2, 1554), p 69; R:Y, pp 311-2 and 314). There was little more attention given during this year to plays or processions, and no evidence for a Sheriffs' Riding.

July

(three meetings; B 21, ff 48v-50v)

Further commands came from the central government in the summer; a letter had been received from the Council in the North, dated 30 June, warning the Mayor to see that all those who should have arms and armour were ready for service, but to do so 'withowt any open musters or stirre'. It was ordered that commands should go to the Constables of city parishes and Ainsty townships to warn the inhabitants accordingly (f 49-49v).

The next meeting on 18 July was concerned with the city's property: the Buttery in the Common Hall was to be mended, and houses in Petergate and Jubbergate were to be surveyed (f 50v).

August

(three meetings; B 21, ff 51-55)

Proclamation of the marriage of Philip and Mary was made in York on 3 August, and their combined titles given (f 51). The meeting of 17 August closed with the decision to allow the franchised minstrels of the city to form an association (f 52v)¹⁰.

10 The Ordinances are not given at this point, although two blank pages were left in the House Book. They do not appear until 1561, written in the B/Y Memorandum Book (YCA: E 20A, ff 222-223v; REED:YORK

September

(five meetings; B 21, ff 55v-59v)

On Friday 21 September, a meeting in the council chamber on Ouse Bridge chose a new member for the Common Council, and then the councillors reassembled at the Common Hall to elect the new Sheriffs. Meeting first in the council chamber there, they accepted a petition from the Carpenters and Joiners, and agreed to amend the earlier decision on contributions of pageant money to the Turners and Ropers (R:Y, pp 312-3). Robert Cripling bower and William Greisdale capper were elected Sheriffs. The Common Council agreed to the sale to Mr Cowpland of a tenement in Jubbergate, but not to Mr Golthrop buying tenements in Petergate and Water Lane (ff 57-57v).

October

(three meetings; B 21, ff 60-62)

The meetings on 17, 22 and 31 October were mainly concerned with the choice of Aldermen William Holme and William Cowpland as Burgesses for the city at the new Parliament, their Letter of Attorney, and a request to the Common Council for a list of any matters they wanted the Burgesses to pursue in London. Only one was noted, concerning a licence to gather relief for the use of St Anthony's Hospital.

November

(two meetings; B 21, ff 63-65)

pp 312, 334-8 and 385-9; see also YCA: E 22, ff 142-143v and REED:YORK pp 385-9). Amongst other things, the Minstrels were given the responsibility of bringing forth a Corpus Christi pageant, Herod and the Three Kings, formerly presented by the Masons.

The meeting of 9 November began with a serious matter, an investigation into a riot in Oxton, one of the Ainsty villages near Tadcaster. Also at this meeting, four members of the Tailors' and Drapers' craft were brought in for refusing to pay pageant silver: Edmund Grenebery, George Diconson, Thomas Broddes and John Jackson (f 63; R:Y, p 313)¹¹. Thomas Standeven and James Symson, two former Sheriffs now members of the Twenty Four, were given permission to sue the Bailiff of the Liberty of St Peter in the city (the Minster Garth), who had impinged on their jurisdiction by seizing felons' goods forfeit within the city: the council was always ready to react against any erosion of its authority and rights. New Ordinances of the Bookbinders or Stationers were ratified, and noted in the House Book (ff 63v-64).

December

(one meeting; B 21, f 66)

The Sheriffs - already sworn to the duties of their office - were sworn to the Privy Council of the city on 14 December, and could begin to attend council meetings. The matter of the disturbance in Oxton had been examined and two men from there were given 6s 8d towards their costs of staying in the city: the Chamberlains' Book, recording the payment, describes this for expenses in the law for defending the liberty of the city (YCA: CB 4 (2, 1554), p 161).

January

(six meetings; B 21, ff 67-73v)

Two leases were granted on 18 January: John Clerke,

11 Biographical details are given in End Note 2.

assistant to the Common Clerk, had the lease of a moat outside North Street Postern, and Alderman Gale the lease of a moat at Layerthorpe Postern (f 70v).

Alderman William Beckwith was elected Mayor on 15 January, at the same time as new Chamberlains, Bridgemasters and Muremasters were chosen. It was agreed on 18 January that one of these Muremasters and one Bridgemaster could bypass these offices on a payment of £8, and they were promoted to Chamberlains; replacements for their discarded offices were then chosen (ff 69 and 70). On 21 January, £50 remitted from that year's tax was handed over to the Mayor by the Tax Collectors, for the use of the city, as well as £40 called Girdlington's money¹², and the new Chamberlains took their oaths (f 71-71v). A special meeting on 23 January chose Richard Golthrop (also written Goldthorpe) as Alderman in place of John Shadlok, who had died¹³ (f 72). The final meeting of this Mayoral year agreed new articles for the Carpenters' and Joiners' Ordinances; and as a sign that the city had restored its finances, full fees were allowed to the common officers (f 73-73v).

John North handed over to his successor on 3 February (f 74).

The 1554 records reveal various dramatic events

12 This had been left to the city by Nicholas Girdlington in 1464, to be used to make loans to citizens (BI: Pr Reg 3, ff 295v-296). Other people followed this example, and by the end of the period under review various amounts of money were handed over from one Mayor to the next.

13 He last attended a meeting on 17 October 1554.

and pageantry familiar to the citizens of York, which are all expressions of religious belief or linked to religious processions. The Corpus Christi procession, the Whit Tuesday procession and the procession and Riding of St George's Day were all revived, and the Corpus Christi Play performed with the Marian pageants. Not every thing was acceptable, however. Perhaps taking example from these revivals, citizens were returning to other customs, and the council took care to stop them: on 4 June 1555 it was noted:

Apon certayne consideracons it is nowe agreed that all Somergames latly begone & vsed within this Citie shalbe forth with discharged & leaft of for this yere/

(YCA: House Book, B 21, f 93v)

Summer Games were to be more specifically disassociated from church activities in Archbishop Grindal's Injunctions of 1571 (BI: AR 30, f 130v; R:Y, p 358): it is interesting to see the civic authorities acting against them at this earlier time.

More intriguing is the hint that some return was made to liturgical drama in the parish churches. When the parish of St Martin Coney Street set up its Rood again in the church in 1554/5, expenses included altar hooks for the Sepulchre (BI: PR Y/MCS/16, p 18). The custom of creating a Sepulchre near the altar at Easter continued through Mary's reign, for the expenses of the Churchwardens over Easter 1558 include:

Itm for fe ffyer on ester euer [sic] . . .	ij ^d
Item ffor sope & naylles for the Resurrey)	j ^d
Resureckcyon)	
Item ffor a cord ffor the vyce for the sayd)	vj ^d
Resureckcyon)	

(BI: PR Y/MCS/16, p 32)

('Vice', according to the OED, is a mechanical contrivance or device by which some piece of apparatus is worked (1650), or a screw (1611))

This indication of liturgical drama in York so close to the time of the final performance of the Play shows that more developed dramatic presentations did not preclude the survival of others. The celebration of various church festivals offered extra opportunity for dramatic expression through processions or other devices to York citizens in 1554, even though activities of a more apparently folk origin, like Summer Games, were not encouraged.

1569

William Beckwith, Lord Mayor

Introduction

Over the next four decades, the number of meetings of the city council increased each year, along with the number of matters discussed. The sudden rise in 1569 - seventy eight meetings, as opposed to thirty four in 1554 - exaggerates this trend however, for it was caused by the Rising of the Northern Earls. Unlike the opposition to Queen Mary, which had been defeated without involving York, this rebellion turned York into a garrison town at the forefront of the defence. There had been forty seven city council meetings by the end of October, and the remaining thirty one took place in the following three months, most of them arising from the state of alert.

William Beckwith, who had first been Mayor in 1555, served his second term of office during this year.

February

(three meetings; B 24, ff 126v-128)

The first meeting after the inauguration of the new Mayor, William Beckwith, dealt with the two main preoccupations of this or any other year: the poor, and upkeep of the city property. A regular source of income had always come from leasing city property, but in 1562 it had been decided to sell as much as possible because the cost of keeping it all repaired often exceeded the rents received. Despite the objection of some of the Common Councillors - described as being 'of the mean sort' and only a minority (YCA: B 23, ff 69v-70, 16 November 1562) - the sales went through, with the tenants being given first option to buy. Property like the Bars, bridges, the Common Hall, moats, pastures, garths and other ground was not included. The sale gave the city a stock of money, and in the meeting on 4 February 1568/9 £100 of this money was allocated for the weaving project to train and employ the poor. There had been virtually no mention made in 1554 of poor relief, but a new system had to be devised to cope with the problem after the demise of the various religious institutions which had organised relief before, and whilst York implemented directives from the state it made its own arrangements. Assessments for payment of contributions to poor relief were made in February 1560/1 (YCA: B 23, f 7) and collection was made through the parishes (B 23, f 15v, 5 May 1561). From this time, the council meetings contain many examples of allowances, either as weekly payments or single payments for specific purposes. Although, once the organisation was set up, much could be dealt with by the Aldermen acting within their wards of the city, or through the parishes, the city council still had to oversee the whole, and this is obviously one reason for the rise in council business during Elizabeth's reign. The weaving scheme was one example of the attempt to deal with the problems of the unemployed but able poor, by teaching them skills and providing a work place and stock in the

hope that a profitable business would ensue. In this meeting of 4 February 1568/9, a bill for repairs to the highway outside the city, from Heworth Moor to Monk Bridge, was ordered to be paid, part of the cost coming from a legacy left to the city (f 127).

Another meeting in February arranged for wool to be bought for the weaving scheme, and ordered that St George House (the former St George Chapel near the Castle, site of the St George's Day celebrations) be viewed as a place to work the wool (f 127v).

March

(four meetings; B 24, ff 128v-132)

Property matters and the weaving scheme occupied the first two meetings, but on 17 March it was also ordered that the Mayor's six officers were to have 4 shillings each to buy matching liveries 'for the worship of the Citie'. The concern for the proper appearance of the city's representatives and servants was shown on other occasions in the year; and on 23 March the Sheriffs, elected the previous September, were threatened that they would have to shut up their shops (and so cease carrying on their business) if they did not provide themselves with the red gowns proper to their office (f 130v-131).

In the same meeting of 17 March, it was also decided that the Corpus Christi Play was to be performed on the Tuesday of Whit week (31 May): not on the usual Corpus Christi Day (this year falling on 9 June), but at least on a day previously associated with civic processions (f 130; R:Y, p 355). The previous year, the Commoners - that is, the Common Council - had been 'much desyerous' to have the Play produced after a planned alternative performance of the Creed Play had

been abandoned. The city council had apparently been uneasy about the suitability of the Creed Play in the changing religious atmosphere, and had sent the manuscript to the Dean of York, Dr Matthew Hutton, for his comments. After his reply, suggesting it were better left off for doctrinal reasons, the councillors became nervous about the Corpus Christi Play itself, and thought it best that the book 'shuld be perused/ and otherwise amendyd/ before it were playd'. In the end, no performance of any play took place that year (YCA: B 24, ff 106a, 106v and 108v; R:Y, pp 353-4). There was no hesitation before a performance of the Corpus Christi Play was decided on in 1569: does this mean that some alterations had been made, or that the council was less sensitive a year after Dean Hutton's letter concerning the Creed Play? The councillors may also have felt that by disassociating the Play from the now uncelebrated Corpus Christi Day, they were removing a link with the old Catholic festivities.

The last meeting in March, again mostly concerned with property, included an order for the Girdlers to explain why they claimed pageant money from those who sold iron stuff in the city, which should go to the Ironmongers (f 131v; R:Y, p 355), perhaps indicating that the craft guilds were already beginning to collect money for their pageants.

April

(three meetings; B 24, ff 132v-134)

Roger Leigh was appointed overseer of the weaving project, to see the wool spun, woven, walked and tented. Idle persons, vagabonds and mighty beggars, as well as the poor and impotent, were to be viewed so that the truly needy could be relieved and the others put to weaving (ff 132v and 134).

It was decided on 22 April that harnessed men (that is, men wearing their armour) should accompany the Corpus Christi Play as accustomed; the Sheriffs, in charge of this display, were to be assisted by those who had not been so charged in their year as Sheriff; the Aldermen were to provide ten men and the Twenty Four four men each. Also concerning the performance of the Play, it was ordered that the Innholders, once more deprived of their pageant of the Coronation of the Virgin, should contribute to the costs of the Waxchangers, now poor, for their pageant of the Offering of the Shepherds (f133 and 133v; R.Y, pp 355-6).

May

(seven meetings; B 24, ff 134v-140v)

Further order for contributions by one craft to another's pageant was taken on 4 May (f 134v; R:Y, p 356). The same meeting also allowed wool and other necessaries to Roger Leigh for the weaving project, and further orders were made on 13 and 16 May (ff 137v and 138). On 18 May, it was decided that the poor should go to St George House for their skill at working to be tested, and Roger Leigh was to teach those who needed help (f 138v). An enquiry was ordered on 26 May to fix the true boundary of the Bull Ring on the Pavement (f 140), and John Lutton was appointed to succeed Henry Smyth as Esquire of the Mace on 27 May (f 140v).

The Lord President, the Earl of Sussex, wrote to the city on 12 May to command a general Muster of armour and weapons, stating that neighbouring realms were 'in Armes and troubles' (f 135-7v). If the government was afraid that such unrest would provoke dissident elements in England to plan revolt, then the end of the year showed their caution was not misplaced. Musters were eventually ordered for 13 June in the city and 14 June

in the Ainsty (f 140). The previous October, York had been the venue for a meeting between England and Scotland concerning the fate of Mary Queen of Scots who had fled from Scotland (YCA: B 24, f 117). Mary's presence in the North became a focus for those who wanted the Catholic religion restored, and the Duke of Norfolk entertained the idea of marrying her. Perhaps the consequent sense of unease was the reason why the show of harnessed men at the Corpus Christi Play was spared 'apon certayne reasonable consideracons' on 18 May (f 139); in any case, the Aldermen and Twenty Four would not be unhappy to forego the provision of arms and men.

Fourteen places where the Play was to be performed throughout the city were appointed on Thursday 26 May, but the option was left open to make changes. Proclamation for keeping the peace during the performance was ordered for Whit Monday (f 140; R:Y, pp 356-7). Three more places were named for the Play the next day, if agreement could be made for the price, although none of the other places were cancelled (f 140v; R:Y, p 357): there is no way of knowing whether the Play was actually played at all sixteen places or not: the Chamberlains' Book for this year has not survived to list receipts.

The performance took place on Whit Tuesday, 31 May.

June

(six meetings; B 24, ff 141-146v)

Concern for city property was centred on the recently rebuilt Ouse Bridge (which had collapsed in the winter of 1564/5; it had taken two years to replace). No heavy waggons carrying coal or timber were to cross over, except on 23 June a sledge with millstones was

allowed: perhaps it was too difficult to load them onto the ferry (f 143 and 143v). The Earl of Northumberland had offered land for sale to the city, but the council decided on 28 June to decline it, as all their money had been invested in the weaving scheme (f 144).

On 30 June, the councillors noted a Commission and Instructions from the Council in the North for the inquisition of vagabonds and rogues, on which they should have been making a monthly report (f 144v-146v). This called for a secret search the following Sunday to apprehend idle vagabonds and sturdy beggars 'comenlie callid Rogues or egiptianes'; and such searches should then be made once a month. There were also the usual items for relieving the genuine poor, collecting charity, preventing unlawful games - especially bowling - and maintaining the practice of archery; but a new order was included, against

comon somer games for we here of some great
abvses therein in sundrye partes of ye Realme
both that they ar over generall and Lewdnes &
vngodlynnes commyttid, by the confluence of
nombres and evill disposyd people for lack of
the presence of some wise honest ~~men~~ & goðdlie
Justices, And officeres

(YCA: House Book, B 24, f 146v)

There was also a final warning for them to be on their guard in case 'any levy or rasinge of people be mayd as in some corneres of the realme hath bene lately attempted though well staid by the wyser men' (f 146v). This seems to have a more particular emphasis in the light of events at the end of the year.

July

(eleven meetings; B 24, ff 147-154)

Both this Commission and the earlier order for

Musters dictated a number of activities commanded by the city council. Citizens were to have bows and arrows (1 July, f 147), and both the city and the Ainsty were rated to obtain the requisite amount of common armour for each parish (ff 148, 149v, 152-152v and 154). Watch was set at the Bars, and arrangements made for the searching out of vagabonds and other wanderers (f 147). Personal pastimes were also circumscribed: Thomas Chambers was bound over for unlawful games (or gambling) in his house and three men imprisoned for playing 'shove-groat'. Once more, order against rush bearing and summer games was taken:

It is also Agreyd that frome henseforth no parochianores in this Citie nor Suburbes of the same shall vse any Reshe bearynge by there chyldren or seruantes nor assemblye of yong people to any Somergames for avoydyng of suche Inconvenyences that may Growe there appon as euery of them will Answer to the contrary at there vttermost perilles

(YCA: House Book, B 24, f 149v; 9 July 1569)

On a more practical level, the weaving project was under way, and both wool and whale oil were to be bought (ff 153v, 154).

The demarcation of the Bull Ring on the Pavement had led to a dispute between William Allyn and Christopher Harbert¹⁴. The city council offered to arbitrate but Mr Allyn refused to cooperate, and both men were bound to good behaviour (15 July, f 151).

14 Note also p 61 above. The thirteenth place where the Corpus Christi Play had been performed this year was on the Pavement between Mr Harbert's and Mr Sheriff's houses. See further below, pp 284, 300 and 334-5.

August and September

(three and six meetings; B 24, ff 154v-159)

These two months were quiet; the city council only dealt with matters concerning the everyday running of the city and they took order amongst the craftsmen, saw to the upholding of law, collected money for poor relief, and elected the new Sheriffs. Leonard Temple was given 20 shillings towards his costs for producing the Ironmongers' pageant for two years (16 September, f 157v; R:Y, p 357), and Dean Hutton's brother Thomas, a goldsmith, was made free of the city for a reduced payment (27 September, f 159). There is no hint of the rumours that must have been spreading through the county of the Duke of Norfolk's plan to marry Mary Queen of Scots, which had been confessed to Elizabeth by the Earl of Leicester in September, nor the defensive reaction of the Earl of Westmorland (Norfolk's brother-in-law) and the Earl of Northumberland¹⁵.

October

(four meetings; B 24, ff 159v-161)

The Earl of Sussex, Lord President of the North, had apparently been unaware of Norfolk's intentions, but he summoned the Earls of Westmorland and Northumberland before him on 9 October to question them. He reported to the Privy Council that he had taken precautions to hold York, Hull and other Yorkshire towns, but thought

15 For background, see The Rising in the North: the 1569 Rebellion (Shotton, Durham, 1975), a reprint of Memorials of the Rebellion of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, edited by Sir Cuthbert Sharp (1840). The reprint has a foreword by Robert Wood, which summarises the events leading up to the Rising. See also Tudor Rebellions by Anthony Fletcher (1968), pp 91-106.

that the coming of winter would put an end to any trouble. He had sent specific orders to the Mayor and council of York, for on 10 October they examined all Innholders, Taverners and Tipplers, to see if they had overheard 'any newes tales reportes or rumorz' concerning matters between the Queen and her nobles or commons, or between the nobles and commoners 'soundyng to any sedicon slandr or dishonor of theym or any of theym'. Nothing was admitted, but they were to pass on anything they did hear (f 160).

On 12 October, Henry Smyth, Esquire at Mace, surrendered his office to John Lutton gentleman, as had been promised earlier in the year (f 160v).

November

(twelve meetings; B 24, ff 161v-174v)

As far as the House Book records are concerned the Rising began on 9 November, which coincided with a Summons from the Earl of Sussex for the Earl of Northumberland to appear before him in York, to which Northumberland nervously reacted by summoning his retainers. The city council ordered the Bars and posterns to be 'vndylayedly viewed' and repaired, and the city's ordnance was to be made ready. There was to be a strong watch kept at the Bars, no guns, gunpowder or armour were to be taken from the city, and anyone carrying more than their 'ordynarie weapon' was to be apprehended. The watch had to look out for suspicious people, and note had to be taken of gentlemen's serving men coming into the city. The Innkeepers and Tipplers had to report rumours 'that sound to sedicion dissention or slandre', whilst Armourers had to certify what weapons they had made and sold (ff 161v-162v).

The defensive reaction of both the Earls of

Northumberland and Westmorland meant the Lord President had to act, and York along with other places received commissions to muster men. The Mayor was informed of the events in a commission dated 12 November, and a Muster was ordered for the city on 14 November and for the Ainsty on 16 November (f 163-163v). On 16 November, the Council ordered the Mayor to inform the city of the Earls' 'vnloyaltie'. The hundred soldiers chosen from the city and Ainsty were to be taken up to Darneton: originally by John Lutton the Esquire at Mace, but a later note added that they were taken by Mr Dawson 'apon certayne consideracons' (ff 164v-165)¹⁶.

For the rest of the month, very little of the city's own affairs was discussed. A new officer for Micklegate was named to replace an old man, and the cloth woven by the poor was to be taken into the council chamber on Ouse Bridge. The Sheriffs were sworn to the Privy Council of the city (ff 165v, 166 and 174). Otherwise, the city council implemented the Lord President's orders, and saw to the defence of the city. Proclamation against seditious words was made; armed men were appointed to defend the city, a separate band to the one already mustered; boats were to be shut away and the ferry boat sunk or otherwise kept safe. The city walls were repaired and strengthened, and the posterns stopped up; ladders kept in the suburbs were to be brought into the city, and pitch and tar removed from the streets. The Sheriffs were excused their customary Riding 'for this troblesome tyme' (f 167). A Proclamation was received

16 Angelo Raine, York Civic Records, volume 6 (YAS, Record Series Number 112, 1948), in a footnote on p 167, stated that Lutton was suspected of collusion with the Earl of Northumberland, but I have found no evidence in the House Books for this. Lutton remained in his office after the Rising was over.

from the Lord Lieutenant, dated 15 November, naming the rebels and explaining the situation, and four York men suspected of having left the city to join the Earl of Northumberland were named (f 168). Order was also taken that the citizens were to remain silent and not panic if any alarm was made. Adding to this state of siege, York had to lodge soldiers assembling from the surrounding area, and food supplies had to be organised; over three thousand men were noted, quartered around the city (ff 168v-174).

At the end of the month, the city was faced with the cost of a new bulwark at St Leonard's Landing and the repair of the walls. It provided eight post horses, and had to fix the price of meals for soldiers. A Proclamation from the Earl of Sussex, dated 28 November, was received, 'declaryng truely the falshodes & vayne delusions' of the Earls, who were claiming to reform religion; they were accused instead of being 'dryven to pretend a popisshe holynes to put some false colour upon their manifest tresons' (29 November, ff 174v-175).

North of York, the country was receptive to the Earls' cause, for the old feudal loyalties and the old religion were bound together. Mass had been celebrated in Durham Cathedral, and the rebel army set off south to York. However, the rebels did not press their initial numerical superiority, and a southern army under Lord Hunsdon and Sir Ralph Sadler arrived in York on 24 November, the same day that the rebels, who had reached Bramham Moor near Tadcaster, began to retreat. The city of York presented the two leaders with mainbread, hippocras and a fresh sturgeon the day after their arrival (f 174). The rebel Earls retreated to their own strongholds, and York was the centre for assembling an army to march after them.

December

(ten meetings; B 24, ff 175v-182v)

For the city, the main preoccupation now was with supplying the soldiers quartered in the city, and providing carts or waggons for the transport of armour. A meeting with the Vice-President of the Council in the North, Sir Thomas Gargrave, and Dean Hutton in the Minster fixed the prices to be charged for feeding and billeting soldiers (f 177). But the city council also returned to the problem of the poor, and on 19 December rates of pay were given, 'for the bettar encoragynge to the idle poore ffolke of this Citie to worke': those who refused to work were to have no relief (f 178).

At the end of the year, the citizens were asked to provide a loan to pay the soldiers from the disbanded army: they were asked for one or two thousand pounds, but the city council, 'thynkyng that Allas they were not of habilite to make vp soomoch as ys required', offered to try and find £500, as long as they were given assurances for repayment (f 179). For the city council, the Rising came to an end after they had examined Martin Wayte jerkin-maker, a citizen who had been with the Earl of Northumberland - he showed a warrant of protection from the Earl of Warwick and the High Admiral - and after they had paid 5 shillings to Mr Wilkinson for an injury to his horse which had been taken for post (ff 180 and 182v). From then, they were able to return to their own matters.

January and February

(eight and one meetings; B 24, ff 183-187)

Some recognition of the extra work done at the time of the Rising by the city's paid servants was made: the officers were given 2s 6d, the Common Clerk 40 shillings

and his servant John Clerke 13s 4d (13 and 20 January, ff 183v and 185). Mr Dyneley, one of the Twenty Four, was told on 16 January to shut up his shop as he did not wear his crimson gown when he should, nor attend meetings. He eventually offered to submit on 26 January and on 31 January paid a fine for his disobedience (ff 184v, 185v and 186v). The three waits were bound to good behaviour against each other on 20 January, but there is no indication of the reason for their quarrel (f 185). Auditors were appointed for the accounts for the sale money and weaving project, and further order taken for relief of the poor and setting the able to work (f 185v, 186v).

William Beckwith handed over to his successor on 3 February.

It is unlikely that anyone in York realised they were watching the last performance of the Corpus Christi Play in May 1569. The city councillors were aware that changes would have to be made, but they did talk of changes and not suppression. However, Dean Hutton, in his letter of 1568, saw that the changes to the Creed Play would have to be so drastic that the whole piece would have to be rewritten:

as I finde manie thinges that I mvche like because of thantiquitie, so see I manie thinges, that I can not allowe, because they be disagreeinge from the senceritie of the gossell, the which thinges, yf they shuld either be altogether cancelled, or altered into other matter, the wholle drift of the play shuld be altered, and therefore I dare not put my pen vnto it, because I want bothe skill, and leasure, to amende it, thoghe in goodwill I assure you.

(YCA: House Book, B 24, f 106a; REED:YORK, p 353)

This letter, although written about the Creed Play and not the Corpus Christi Play, shows the more tolerant side of the opposition to the old religious drama: however good it was in itself, it was now distasteful to the learned, and misleading if it were presented to the ignorant. The Rising had demonstrated that the authorities could no longer turn a blind eye to a disregard of the newly established religion, for conservatism there could be linked with dislike of the secular order, centred on a southern government, and headed by a Queen who never in all her progresses travelled to the North. York, despite being independent of the feudal ties holding the land further north, and having the Council in the North based just outside its walls to remind it of government control, was nevertheless viewed with suspicion by the central government. Lord Hunsdon, during the Rising, informed Cecil that if it had not been for the Earl of Sussex, Lord President of the Council in the North, 'her Majestye had neyther had Yorke nor Yorksher at this ower att hyr devocyon and commandment'¹⁷.

From this time, there is a definite rise in the number of orders received by the city from the Privy Council or the Council in the North on religious matters, and recorded in the House Books. No doubt the new aggression was partly due to the Papal Bull of 1570, which absolved English Catholics of their allegiance to Queen Elizabeth¹⁸. A new emphasis on attending sermons is apparent, as well as services and communion; in 1570 it was ordered that at least two from every household should attend the sermons in York Minster (YCA: B 24, f

17 Anthony Fletcher, Tudor Rebellions, p 100.

18 See Neville Williams, Elizabeth 1, Queen of England (Sphere Books, 1972), p 171.

210v). The Earl of Sussex was succeeded as Lord President by the puritan Earl of Huntingdon (1572-1595), who could be expected to encourage the established religious settlement. Modern historians have seen secular rather than religious tendencies behind the Rising, the ever-present tension between north and south; Catholicism was something 'habitual and uninformed' rather than fuel for rebellion¹⁹. But those who suppressed the Rising all spoke in religious terms. Sir Ralph Sadler reported 'The ancient faith still lay like lees at the bottom of men's hearts and if the vessell was ever so little stirred came to the top', and the Earl of Sussex and Sir Thomas Gargrave also recognised the religious sympathies of many who had supported the Rising²⁰.

It is not possible to state that the Corpus Christi Play was never performed again because of the Rising of 1569; but the Rising meant that afterwards the authorities could not afford to be so tolerant of anything that seemed to represent the old religion. Even discounting their personal preferences (which are not revealed in the House Books), the Aldermen and Twenty Four would realise that a performance of the Play would no longer be to the honour and profit of the city²¹, but a dangerous affirmation of the old order.

19 Anthony Fletcher, Tudor Rebellions, p 106.

20 Ibid, p 105.

21 YCA: E 20 - A/Y Memorandum Book - f 19v; REED:YORK, pp 11 and 697: the Play was so described in 1399.

1572

William Allyn, Lord Mayor

Introduction

Continuing the general trend to more meetings in a year, there were forty four, and many of them dealt with commands coming from the Privy Council or Council in the North. There was a rise in the number of commissions from the government throughout the decade, usually repeating the same themes for good order in the Realm: against loiterers and vagabonds, spreaders of rumours and publishers of false tales 'and other secrete Crepers in corneres' (YCA: B 24, f 250: 7 August 1571); for relief of the poor; against forestallers and regraters of corn (those buying corn before it came to market); for the maintenance of archery and the supression of unlawful games, and control over the number of alehouses. The Justices of the Peace were expected to maintain permanent watch against conspiracies and unlawful meetings, and submit regular certificates of their doings. The other notable element, which had always been present but which was now more specifically brought out, was the enforcement of religious unity. All this seems inevitable after the 1569 Rising, when religion and politics had been joined in an anti-government movement, and after the 1570 Papal Bull. The presence in England of Mary Queen of Scots gave a focus for further opposition. The orders to keep a watch on suspect people now included those suspect in their religion, and in due course the Justices had to certify the names of those who did not attend church. The people most generally distrusted were the gentry and more educated people, who were expected to give a good example to the poor and simple people: the authorities complained if the certificates they received contained

only the names of the poorer sort, for they suspected that the Justices were deliberately shielding their friends and social equals. 1572 shows how these commissions were enforced in York, and perhaps also the more Protestant, or even Puritan, tendencies of those in authority.

March

(three meetings; B 25, ff 2-4)

The only meeting recorded in February is that on 3 February, when the Mayor was sworn in and the councillors and other officers took their oaths to him. They had received a commission and printed Proclamation, dated 29 February, which was discussed on 2 March, against those who were making enquiries into 'concealed lands' with no commission. 'Concealed lands' referred to property belonging to religious bodies, such as parish churches or institutions like the St Thomas Hospital in York, which had escaped confiscation at the Dissolution but which might still be claimed by the crown. These unauthorised agents were challenging the rights to lands held by the Churchwardens on behalf of their parish churches, as well as ownership of plate, money and bells. All commissions were now revoked, Proclamation of this was to be made, and all future extortion or misuse under the old commissions were to be reported to the Justices. It was agreed on 28 March that Walmesley, the mason in charge of the structure of the new Ouse Bridge, should have his annual fee for surveying the Bridge and Staith, together with a loan of 13s 4d.

April

(three meetings; B 25, ff 4v-12)

Another commission took up time at the beginning of this month; dated 12 April, it demanded that the

Statutes for good order should be carried out. Because Justices had been negligent, 'the evill sorte of people be permytted to runne headlong from falt to falt and frome vice to vice and frome one disordre to an other' (f 4v). A series of Articles was attached, including the usual ones against vagabonds, superfluous alehouses and spreading of rumours; a new article was added, that those living by ports, creeks or havens should examine any unknown travellers either leaving the country or coming in (ff 4v-5v).

The meeting on 14 April, when the Articles were read, noted the choice of Gregory Paycock and Hugh Graves to be Burgesses for the city at the next Parliament. It ordered that the Master of St Anthony's Hospital should bring in the books of the Pater Noster Play²², 'that the same may be pervsed amended and corrected', and the Mayor would inform the next assembly of his decision concerning a performance (f 6; R:Y, p 365). There is no indication of the motivation behind the order, three years after the last performance of the Corpus Christi Play: whether the Commoners had requested a performance, or whether the councillors themselves made the proposal. The Creed Play had been declared no longer acceptable to the new doctrine in 1568, and in the years after the Rising there had been no recorded attempt to perform the Corpus Christi Play.

22 The Pater Noster Guild had been merged with the St Anthony Guild by 1444, the year of the first will I have found leaving a bequest to the combined fraternity (pp 31-2 above). St Anthony's Hospital remained a charitable institution housing the poor and needy after the demise of the religious guilds, and the building offered a meeting place to those crafts without their own hall. The Masters were chosen from the craftsmen of the city. The building, at Peaseholme Green, now houses the Borthwick Institute.

This left the city with its other major play, the Pater Noster Play, and perhaps the city councillors may have felt that there was nothing extreme in the sentiments of the Lord's Prayer. Whereas the Creed Play had been sent to the Dean of York for his advice, this play was to be perused and allowed only by the Mayor.

May

(three meetings; B 25, ff 12v-14v)

There was no further meeting until 14 May, but then it was decided that the Pater Noster Play would be performed on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday, in other words on the old Corpus Christi Day (this year falling on 5 June). The last known performance, in 1558, had also been on Corpus Christi Day (YCA: B 22, ff 125v and 127; R:Y, pp 327-8), but the association was not customary and the previous performance, in 1536, had been ordered for the Sunday after Lammas, 8 August (YCA: B 13, ff 35v and 50v; R:Y, p 262). The choice of day in 1572 may have been a deliberate invocation of the former religious celebration. It was further ordered on 14 May that there should be the customary Riding of the Sheriffs with harnessed men on Corpus Christi Day, and the Aldermen had to find six men and the Twenty Four four men each, in specified armour. The citizens were ordered to scour the armour they were expected to have by statute: this suggests that they were intended to take part in the Riding (ff 12v-13; R:Y, p 365).

The other meetings dealt mostly with property matters and a certificate of wages, but on 30 May it was also ordered that those using an occupation other than that to which they had been apprenticed should pay pageant money: this suggests that the Pater Noster performance was being financed by the craftsmen, although they would not necessarily be bringing forth their usual

Pageant waggons (f 14v; R:Y, p 366).

June

(five meetings; B 25, ff 15-17)

The meeting on 2 June dealt mainly with matters concerning the performance. Two craftsmen of each occupation whose pageants were being 'occupied in Pater Noster play or for the Shew' were to attend on them, along with the Pageant Masters. This entry is somewhat enigmatic, for it suggests that pageant waggons could be used for a 'show' as well as a play, although it appears that 'show' relates to the Riding of the Sheriffs, the only other event ordered for that day. Also at this meeting, thirteen places were named where the Play would be heard (f 15; R:Y, p 366): the last 'at Mr Harbert doore and he to pay therfor iij^s iiij^d'. This sum had been paid by most people before whose houses the Corpus Christi Play had been performed in 1554, except for the Aldermen along the route who paid less, and yet this year Alderman Harbert was the only one singled out, and he was expected to pay what was apparently the full fee. The other agreement in this meeting, unconnected with drama, was that Isabell Warwicke, who had skill in surgery, should be allowed to practise without being prevented by other surgeons in the city (f 15).

The day of the performance, 5 June, should have been only a social occasion for the city councillors, as they met in the chamber at the Common Hall Gates overlooking Coney Street, to see the Pater Noster Play. Two events, however, had to be noted whilst they were there. First, the mason Walmesley turned up to inspect the state of Ouse Bridge; and as he did not know when he could next come, a formal agreement had to be taken that he should be paid for any necessary repairs he

undertook. Next, it was recorded that when the Mayor, in that chamber, asked Aldermen William Beckwith and Christopher Harbert to associate with him and assist him at the time of the performance of the Pater Noster Play, they not only refused but would have departed. The rest of those attending on the Mayor agreed to the two men being committed to ward. There is no indication what the two men refused to do, or why they refused, so it cannot be assumed they disliked the performance, or even that Mr Harbert objected to paying for the Play before his house: the point at issue was their refusal to obey the Mayor, thus breaking their oath to him at the beginning of the year (f 15v; R:Y, pp 366-7). It should be noted that this is the only meeting of the city council to be held 'in the Chambre at the Common hall gates', which had become the regular place where the councillors assembled when a Play was performed: this emphasises the unforeseen nature of the two matters ordered there at that particular time.

The two Aldermen were released on 7 June, but it was decreed that they were to be disfranchised because they refused to submit; this would also mean that they could no longer be Aldermen, although it is not precisely stated (f 16; R:Y, p 367). Mr Harbert was the first to submit, on 23 June, and apologised for his disobedience and for suing the Mayor before the Council in the North (was this suit the cause or result of the order against the two men on the day of performance?). He was refranchised on a fine of 40 shillings, and it was ordered that he should keep his place of Aldermanship²³ (f 16v; R:Y, pp 367-8). Alderman Beckwith did not submit until the end of Mr Allyn's Mayoralty.

23 In other words, he did not lose his order of precedence amongst the Aldermen.

The final meeting of the month brought in the Common Council, as the city's Charter for Election was to be renewed and amendments suggested; it was agreed that the members of the Twenty Four should be allowed to take part in the election of the Mayor and Sheriffs. The council had also realised that some of the old craft guilds had decayed, and new ones had grown up: these were now to have representatives on the Common Council (f 17).

July

(four meetings; B 25, ff 17v-19)

On 16 July, it was ordered that William Roper and Agnes wife of William Jeffreyson should be carted round the city for adultery, together with Katherine Thomson widow who had allowed them to use her house (f 18v). On 30 July, after the request of the Archbishop²⁴, it was agreed that he should have a 'trewe Copie' of the Pater Noster Play 'even as they weare played this yere' (f 19; R:Y, p 368). This emphasises that the Mayor had authorised the performance at his own discretion, and had not submitted the books, with or without corrections, before the performance. In 1568, the council had apparently sent the Creed Play unsolicited to Dean Hutton, but it was left to the Archbishop in 1572 to initiate an investigation into the suitability of the Pater Noster Play only after the performance. There is nothing in the city records to indicate that he made any reply.

24 Archbishop Edmund Grindal (1571-1576): his Injunctions of 1571 had included an item prohibiting Lords of Misrule, morris dancers and others from coming irreverently into churches or churchyards at Rushbearing or other times (BI: Archbishops' Register volume 30, f 130v; REED:YORK, p 358).

August and September

(two and three meetings; B 25, ff 20-22v)

Meetings in these two months dealt with property, tax and a view of the poor for ascertaining their relief; fines from the Easter Wardmote Courts were assessed, and the next Courts fixed to be held on 8 October. The new Sheriffs were elected as usual on 21 September.

October

(four meetings; B 25, ff 23-26v)

During this month, John Griffyn and Jane the wife of William Newsome were carted for fornication 'in example of otheres' (f 23v), and the city waits were dismissed 'for certayne consideracons' (unstated) on 20 October (f 24; R:Y, p 368).

November

(four meetings; B 25, ff 27-29v)

On 21 November, the councillors read a letter coming from the Archbishop, Dean Matthew Hutton and four other members of the Queen's High Commission for Ecclesiastical Causes (f 27-27v; R:Y, pp 368-370)²⁵. It referred to 'a very rude and barbarouse customme' peculiar to York, the Riding of 'twoo disguysed persons called Yule and Yules wif' which took place on St Thomas Day before Christmas (21 December). This often indecent event caused many people to gather to see it, in preference to attending services and sermons. The Mayor and Aldermen were charged in no uncertain

25 A copy of this letter is also to be found in the High Commission Act Book covering the period, BI: HC.AB 7, f 41-41v.

terms that this Riding should be forbidden and never allowed again. It seems likely that its origin lay in pagan rather than a Christian past, despite an attempt in a broadsheet of about 1570 to link it with Christian imagery (R:Y, pp 359-362)²⁶. This intervention by the High Commission is the most overt act by an outside authority to prevent a dramatic or partly dramatic performance in York, and may mark the general intolerance by the authorities to all events of folk or pagan origin (such as Rushbearing, Summer Games and dancing). The city council agreed that Yule and Yule's wife should not ride, and neither should the Sheriffs' sergeants, and command to that effect was given to the Sheriffs. This link with the Sheriffs, who also had a Riding to proclaim the peace in November or December²⁷, is the only hint of who might have organised the event. It is not mentioned elsewhere in the city records.

On 28 November, arrangements were made to greet the new Lord President, the Earl of Huntingdon, at Micklegate Bar. The Mayor and Aldermen would be in their scarlet gowns, and the Twenty Four in crimson, whilst the Sheriffs and substantial citizens were to wear their best apparel. The appointment of 'the Puritan Earl'²⁸ may have been influenced by the need to ensure the North of England's conformity to the new religion after the Rising. There had been a forcible reminder of that event in York during this year. The

26 See also 'Yule in York' by Alexandra F. Johnston, REED: Newsletter, 1976:1, pp 3-10.

27 See my unpublished MA Dissertation, Sett forthe the Shew for the Worshipp of this Cyttie (Workshop Theatre, School of English, University of Leeds, 1979), pp 30-38.

28 See Claire Cross, The Puritan Earl: The Life of Henry Hastings Third Earl of Huntingdon, 1536-1595 (Macmillan, 1966).

Earl of Northumberland, betrayed by the Scots, had been handed over at Berwick in June 1572, and he was beheaded on the Pavement in York in August. At the meeting of 28 November, it was agreed that the city chamber should pay for the scaffold built there for the purpose (f 29-29v).

December

(four meetings; B 25, ff 30-43v)

The Ordinances of the Plasterers, Tilers and Bricklayers were augmented and agreed, dated 19 December. These included directions for the craftsmen to 'goe with their pageant aforesaid throughe the Citie as other occupacons & Artyfficeres dothe', for the payment of pageant money 'whan the play is played' and for the election of Pageant Masters (ff 32-33v)²⁹. This does not suggest that the city knew there would be no more performances of the Corpus Christi Play; but in any case, the office of Pageant Master had become part of the hierarchy of craft guild organisation, and the right to claim contributions from others encroaching on the craft's work was an important indication of a craft's jurisdiction. Related ordinances could not be lightly omitted. The Merchants, always closest to the government of the city and to the representatives of national government, seem to have accepted the end of the performance of the religious plays before the other craft guilds. In their Roll of 1572-1574, when Christopher Harbert was Master, they recorded an agreement that the Pageant Masters should in future gather the money due for the annual venison feast, and bear the residue of all charges except of venison and

29 These are also contained in the B/Y Memorandum Book (YCA: E 20A, ff 230-231); see REED:YORK, pp 370-371.

wine, or pay 10 shillings, 'if there be no play'³⁰. The title of the officer remained, but the duties changed.

On 22 December, the councillors examined the Queen's Commission for the use of divine service and administration of the Sacraments, which claimed the laws made in that respect were not being observed through the negligence of the Justices of the Peace 'to the perill and trubler of the whole Contrey'. They were asked 'rather by Jentle admonyson then due correction' to execute the Articles attached, and certify their doings to the Earl of Huntingdon by the end of January, and then every month. The articles covered the certifying of known or suspect papists, and those who did not attend church; the suppression of false news and rumours, 'and of other lewd practeses and secrett messagies frome some of the late Rebelles to some of their adherentes and other evill disposed people suspected of papistry and discontented Subiectes dislikyng of the state'. There were the usual articles against superfluous alehouses, and for the maintenance of archery, and against unlawful assemblies, but now special watch must be kept on those who were in the 'late Rebellion and have not their pardones'. Even those who had been pardoned were to be enquired after, to see how they had behaved themselves and how they conformed. The Justices had also to certify the names of all those living in the lands and houses formerly belonging to attainted rebels, the names of those who had fled the country 'for Religion or any other cause or notoryouse cryme', and the names of those who kept any retainers who had taken part in the late Rebellion.

30 York Mercers and Merchant Adventurers, edited by Maud Sellers, pp 189-190.

After taking order to assemble the churchwardens, constables and other discrete and honest men who would have to implement these articles, the councillors moved on to other matters. Robert Crosthwaite and Elizabeth Fox were to be carted for fornication; and householders were to clean the streets before their doors every Saturday night (ff 35-37v). There follows a list of those parishioners entrusted with the duty of seeing the Articles carried out, both in the city and the Ainsty (ff 35-43v).

January

(eight meetings; B 25, ff 45-58v)

On 2 January, John Wyseman and John Troughton joined Robert Crosthwaite and Elizabeth Fox, carted for 'incontynent lyvyng' (f 45v). Before the election of the new Mayor, Alderman Beckwith finally submitted for his disobedience at the time of the Pater Noster Play, and for suing the Mayor before the Council in the North: he had not attended any meeting since 5 June. Like Alderman Harbert, he was restored to the freedom of the city with a fine of 40 shillings, and he would keep his place as Alderman (f 47). The final meeting of William Allyn's Mayoralty on 31 January, before he handed over to his successor Christopher Harbert, was taken up with a reading of another Commission from the Queen, ordering the observance of fish days, 'not for the maynteynans or confirmacon of any olde popesse supersticyons opinion or error', but for the increase of mariners who would then be available to serve the navy, the relief of poor fishermen, and the increase of meat at other times (f 58-58v).

William Allyn handed over to Christopher Harbert on 3 February (f 59).

The reason for the ending of the Corpus Christi Play after 1569 may be linked with the Rising, where religious and political considerations were joined. The Archbishop's demand to see a copy of the Pater Noster Play, which finally marks the end of the long tradition of religious drama in York, and the suppression of the Riding of Yule and Yule's wife on the direct command of the High Commission, emphasise the new religious attitudes that could no longer tolerate remnants of the old order.

The objections to the Corpus Christi Play were not just to any suspect doctrine it may have contained, but to the very notion of performing the actions central to the Play. On 27 May 1576, when members of the High Commission, including Dean Matthew Hutton, heard that 'a plaie commonlie called Corpus Christi plaie' was intended to be performed in Whitson week in Wakefield

Wherein they ar done tundra stand that there be many thinges vsed which tende to the Derogation of the Majestie and glorie of god the prophanation of the Sacramentes and the mainteynaunce of superstition and idolatrie/ The said Commissioners Decreed a letter to be written and sent to the Balyffe Burgesses and other the inhabitantes of the said towne of Wakfeld that in the said playe no Pageant be vsed or set furthe Wherein the Majestye of god the father, god the sonne or ~~and~~ god the holie ghoste ~~is~~ or the administration of either the Sacramentes of Baptisme or of the Lordes Supper be ~~eof~~ counterfeyted or represented or any thing plaied which tende to the maintenaunce of superstition and idolatrie or which be contrarie to the lawes of god ~~and~~ or of the Realme

(BI: High Commission Act Book 9, f 20)

Obviously this would cut out most of the Play and make the performance meaningless. There is no record of such a letter being sent to York, but there would be no need: York Aldermen were appointed to sit on the Commission,

and are recorded as attending in all the Commission Act Books. They would know at first hand what should not be done, and convey the information to their fellows on the city council³¹.

It would be tempting to see the disobedience of the two Aldermen at the Pater Noster Play as a sign of their disapproval of the performance, but there is no evidence for this, and no information on the order from the Mayor they had disobeyed. The office of Mayor carried considerable power, and the Aldermen were sworn to obey him even if they did not like what he was doing. One of the two Aldermen concerned, Christopher Harbert, succeeded William Allyn as Mayor, and one of his first actions was to sue William Allyn, who had renewed a bond for repayment of a debt by Alderman Gregory Paycock, giving him more time before repayment was due, without informing the other Aldermen. During this controversy, Alderman Allyn was in his turn temporarily disfranchised and taken before the Council in the North, and he became liable for Mr Paycock's debt to the city³². It seems as though Christopher Harbert took the first opportunity to take revenge on William Allyn, and perhaps the business at the Pater Noster Play was as much due to a long-standing personal enmity as religious sensitivity. The two men had already been in dispute in 1569 (see p 64

31 1576 is also the last time that the York Chamberlains' Rolls contain space for 'Leases of places to heare the playe', when of course nothing was received. The 1577 Roll has dropped the heading (YCA: C 7:2 and 3).

32 YCA: B 25, ff 63, 63v, 64, 64v, 65, 67v, 70-70v, 71v, 75, 77v, 82v-83v; the matter lasted from 13 February 1572/3 to 6 May 1573. The money owed by Gregory Paycock dated from 1571, when the cloth woven by the poor was sold to the Aldermen as its quality was not up to standard for profitable sale: YCA: B 24, ff 245v, 246 and 278v-279v. See also below, pp 190 and 300.

above) when William Beckwith, the other Alderman concerned, had been Mayor.

However, if Alderman Beckwith and Harbert cannot be proved to have disliked the Pater Noster Play, it seems that Alderman Allyn had Catholic leanings, and so he may have initiated a performance of the only religious Play not yet brought under suspicion because he was nostalgic about the old traditions. He made two appearances before the High Commission in this period, the first on 18 December 1570. He was charged that on the previous Wednesday at the Sermon in the Minster, he had accused the preacher of lying, who had spoken of the marriage of the apostles. He admitted that after the sermon, whilst he was walking in procession after the Mayor with the other Aldermen, he had spoken with John Myton clerk, and said that the statement that the apostles accompanied with their wives after they were called by Christ was not true 'so farre as he had redd'. The matter was adjourned until 5 February 1570/1, and then until 8 March, when it was decreed that Mr Allyn shuld not be troubled until he was called anew by the Commission³³. This new call did not take long, because he appeared on 17 March 1570/1, this time before the Archbishop Himself (BI: HC.AB 5, ff 237v-238). He was accused of making the sign of the cross; in reply he argued that

by the signe of the Crosse made on his
forheade or other parte of his bodye with
his hande he is ~~br~~ stronger against the
assaltes of the devell and perilles of
the worlde and that also he is enstructed
therby to Remember Christes passyon
Therefore for the takinge awaye of such
superstition and the Removing of suche
abvse the said Comissioners did iudically
enioyne him from henceforthe not to vse

33 BI: High Commission Act Book 5, ff 190-190v, 193v and 215v.

suche crossinge ~~with~~ (the vse whereof the said Mr Allen confesse) either pryvatelie or publiquelie vnder payne of the lawe to be inflicted against him

(BI: High Commission Act Book 5, f 238)

Mr Allyn was not the only York Alderman to appear before the High Commission. This Commission dealt with cases concerning both religion and morality - there are several matrimonial cases, for example. In the earlier books, there are also orders against possessing 'Books Images and other monumentes of supersticious Religion'³⁴. The actions against recusants began to build up in the 1570s and names become familiar through constant entries referring to their appearances. The Commission was trying to enforce attendance at church, and when a woman refused to attend, the responsibility often fell on the husband. John Dyneley, when he was Mayor of York, was summoned before the High Commission on 5 July 1577, which included Archbishop Sandys, the Earl of Huntingdon, Dean Matthew Hutton, William Birnard (the city's Recorder) and Alderman Ralph Hall. Mr Dyneley's wife had refused to attend services and sermons, and the Archbishop harangued him, 'puttinge him in mynde of his office and of that place which he beareth vnder her majestie/ and that he is vnmete to governe a Cittie that can not governe his owne howsehold' (BI: HC.AB 9, f 91v). In defence, he claimed that his wife was not well, but if she still refused to go to church when she was recovered, he would pay the forfeitures appointed. This illustrates the difficulty of implementing the national directives locally, for those entrusted with enforcing the orders found themselves acting against family and friends. In the same year, the Commission had to press the city council to deliver them 'a more full and

34 See End Note 3.

perfect' certificate of those who refused to attend church (BI: HC.AB 9, ff 107-107v and 116v). The original order for this certificate had been read in the council meeting on 15 January 1576/7, the same day that John Dyneley had been elected Mayor. It spoke of those who did not attend their parish churches

through a certayne singularitie of some the symplificities of dyuerse and the wilfull ygnorances of others being thervnto dangerously seduced & drawne by the synister persuasyons or secrete practices of some which desyer by all lykelihood and ~~apoynt~~ apparante coniectures nothingse somoche as to disquiet the happie & blessed quietnes which throughe gods goodnes we have long tyme enjoyed

(YCA: B 26, f 109)

The activities of the Catholic priests had indeed become more apparent by this time. Letters of Commission from the Queen were received in September 1578 to search in any suspected houses for

certen lewde and eilve [sic] disposed persons which do remayne obscurely in secret places or elles very secretly do go frome place to place disguised in apparell either after the maner of servyng men or of some other artificers where as in dede they be massyng or popishe prestes and do vnder that visour in whispering maner hold & maynteyne sundry of our subiectes in supersticion & error

(YCA: B 27, f 113; Commission dated 19 September 1578)

An accompanying letter from the Earl of Huntingdon, Lord President, exhorted the councillors to perform what was required:

for surely there can not be a worse people in any common welth, then these Romyshe Rounegate Reconcylinge Preistes be who vnder the pretence of holynes seke most wickidlie to steale the hartes of the

simple people frome there god, and there
lawfull and vndoubtid Prynce, Well I will
troble youe no further at this tyme for
fewe wordes to the wise be sufficient

(YCA: B 27, f 114)

The Mayor of 1579, Robert Cripling, was to offend the authorities far more than either William Allyn or John Dyneley, and not only in religious matters. He already had a record of association with Catholic sympathisers, and had appeared before the High Commission on several occasions concerning his wife's fault in not attending church³⁵. It may, therefore, be significant that for the first time since William Allyn's year, there was an attempt to stage a religious play, the Corpus Christi Play itself, during his term of office. On 8 April 1579 it was agreed to have a performance: but caution prevailed, and the book was first to be taken to the Archbishop and Dean to be corrected 'if that my L. Archebisshop doo well like theron' (YCA: B 27, f 151; R:Y, p 390). If the Mayor felt that he was doing all he could to revive the Play, other councillors may have realised that performance was impossible given the opinions that had opposed performance of a Corpus Christi Play in Wakefield in 1576. There had been an attempt to regain the various playbooks still held by the Archbishop in 1575, but the outcome is unrecorded³⁶. It was still expected at that time that some kind of civic performance could be held. When a new lease of the tenement at the Common Hall Gates was made to Thomas Colthirst in July 1575 - the tenement where the councillors met to have their meal on Corpus Christi Day - a special condition was included,

35 See, for example, BI:HC.AB 9, f 91v, 5 July 1577.

36 YCA: B 26, f 27, 8 July 1575; see REED:YORK, p 378.

that the building should be available as usual 'whan anie play Interlude or other Geastes of pleasoure shalbe playd shewed or publisht in the streates of this Cittie to the generall delite of all men' (YCA: B 26, f 28v)³⁷. In the event, the 1579 attempt to perform the Corpus Christi Play was unsuccessful: no more mention was made of it in this year.

Mr Cripling during his Mayoralty may have used his influence to discourage the proposal that the city should have its own preacher: a symbol of the shift in the new religious order towards the predominance of the word. Each craft guild had been ordered to report what they would give towards a salary; on 4 May a letter was sent to the Lord President to say that the general feeling was that they had no need of one, as the presence of the Minster gave the citizens the opportunity to hear the preaching of the Archbishop and his chaplains, as well as the Dean, Chancellor, two Archdeacons and over fifty Prebendaries. Only the Merchants and Drapers and Tailors had offered to contribute (YCA: B 27, ff 152v and 159-159v).

It seems clear that Mr Cripling used his office to protect those who did not attend church; and his attitude to the representatives of state authority and to the dignity of his own office showed disrespect. To the shame of the city, whilst he was still Mayor, in January 1579/80, he was temporarily imprisoned in the Castle for speaking 'certayne wordes' (not at that time recorded in the House Book: B 27, f 215v). His faults

37 For further details of this tenement, see my article 'The tenement at the Common Hall gates', in REED: Newsletter 1982:2, pp 14-24. This clause was kept in the lease as late as 1592, when tenure passed to Mr Cole (YCA: B 30, f 310-310v); see below, p 105.

had been enough to take him before the Lord President and Council, a much more serious event than Mr Dyneley being reprov'd by the High Commission during his Mayoralty. The Council did, however, refer his punishment to the city councillors, acknowledging that the city was not to be condemned for the actions of what must have been a highly individual personality. Consequently, his faults are set out in the House Book (March 1579/80, YCA: B 27, ff 226v-227v). He had 'not onely of playne purpose & wilfulnes, omytt sundary thynges which apperteyned to his dewtie office credite and the Credite of this Citie', including the punishment of those who did not attend church, but he had also disregarded the dignity of his office by walking through the city without having the sword and mace carried before him, and not wearing his gown. What was worse, because he lived outside the city proper (near Layerthorpe Postern) he left both the sword and mace and other city valuables in his care outside the protection of the city walls. He was considered in the city to have made himself 'but as a matter of mockerie', even without offending the Church and State. The Church he had offended by telling the Chancellor in violent manner that he had made a 'railyng Sermon' in the Minster, to the great embarrasment of the other Aldermen who had attended there. The State he had offended by offering 'foule wordes conteynyng sedicyouse Rumour; and tendyng to the contempte of the wholle Clergie' when he received a Commission for the muster of troops to be sent to Ireland. The rest of the city council were alarmed lest the Queen's Council thought they 'had over light regarde to their dewties in electyng so rashe and heady a man to be their Cheif governour'³⁸. Given the opportunity to judge Robert Crippling themselves, they decreed that he

38 See End Note 4.

should be deprived of his place of Alderman and be disfranchised³⁹. In retrospect, it may have been an advantage that he had not presided over a revival of the Corpus Christi Play.

The 1579 proposal possibly provoked the earnest request of the Commoners for a performance in 1580, when the traditional petition from them was presented on 3 February 1579/80, the day of the swearing in of the new Mayor. Their bill as a whole was to be considered, and representatives were appointed for the Commoners; it was to be 'further reasoned and consulted vpon' in early April (YCA: B 27, ff 219, 222 and 229v; R:Y, pp 392-3). However, the House Book contains no details of their bill, the discussions, or the outcome. It was obvious that the 'request to haue corpus christi play' was rejected; instead, a Show of Armour, a development of an existing parade of armed men, was expanded as if to take the place of the street pageantry that had been lost (YCA: B 27, f 246; R:Y, p 393)⁴⁰.

The attempt to block the appointment of a city preacher was also reversed after Robert Crippling's year. On 8 April 1580 it was decided to appoint the preacher if money could be found, and assessments in the parishes for contributions were made in early May (YCA: B 27, ff 230, 230v, 233v and 234v). The city continued to

39 After his death the city provided an annuity for his impoverished widow (YCA: B 33, f 188, 20 December 1609).

40 Although not specifically recorded, some kind of Show was an accustomed event, presumably developing from the Sheriffs' Ridings often ordered for Corpus Christi Day and other festivals, as in 1569. In 1577, there is no mention that there should be a Show, but some of the city's guns were broken at it on May Day (YCA: B 27, f 28).

maintain one or more preachers from this time. The growing emphasis on sermons and moral behaviour may also have prompted the number of punishments of adulterers, several of which were noted in 1572.

The end of religious drama and the banning of Yule and Yule's wife in York in 1572 is not surprising in the context of the work of the High Commission and of the Council in the North during the 1570s. A substitute form of civic expression would have to be found, and a new kind of drama.

1584

Thomas Appleyard, Lord Mayor

Introduction

There were sixty one meetings this year, ranging from nine recorded in July to only one in August. Most matters related to the running of the city, its property and poor relief, and there were few external commands coming from the Council in the North. Some effort was spent this year in finding another preacher for the city, and collecting money for his salary. This year also marked an attempt to find a substitute for the religious drama, retaining the old method of presentation.

February

(five meetings; B 28, ff 127-131)

Apart from general matters - the duties of the Esquires at Mace and Sword, and the payment of fines, poor money and contributions for the preacher - the main preoccupation of this month was with the recusant

prisoners. Many of them were held in the Sheriffs' kidcotes or prisons which clustered on Ouse Bridge along with the Mayor's kidcote, several shops and the major building of St William's Chapel, which housed the city council chamber and other offices⁴¹. Reference to the lower part of the kidcotes meant rooms built into the lower part of the bridge structure, close to the water and consequently damp and unhealthy. Access to the prisoners, at least those in the upper chambers, seems to have been easy, and prisoners there could either beg for food or have it brought in by friends. On viewing the prisoners 'comitted for not commyng to Churche', the Sheriffs found that more than food had been taken in: mass books, beads, vestments, candles and unlawful books were being kept,

wherfor it is supposed that some seminary preist did resort and frequent the companie of the said prisoners, in the said gaoles, and there did saie masse, perswading the said ~~pre~~ prisoners to remane in their disobedience

(YCA: B 28, f 129, 14 February 1583/4)

Two children of one of the prisoners, William Hutton, had been allowed to roam around the prisons, and had taken the opportunity to carry letters and messages. It was decided to move all the recusant prisoners into the Mayor's kidcote, and the debtors into the Sheriffs' kidcotes. Whereas the prisoners in the Sheriffs' kidcotes did not have to be locked in permanently, the recusants from this time were. Food could only be brought to them at fixed hours, and passed on to the

41 Some of the prisons were part of the chapel complex, and in 1604, at the time of the plague, recusant prisoners were allowed to go in and out of the council chamber to prevent them passing through the Sheriffs' Court Room (YCA: B 32, f 335v).

prisoners by the officers. Hutton's children were to stay with their mother in the prison, unless their father could find other provision for them. None of these prisoners in the Mayor's kidcote were to be allowed 'to come vp to the grate or hooles of the said kidcotes, but to be kept by lowe' (f 129-129v).

March

(four meetings; B 28, ff 131v-134v)

Routine matters occupied the councillors: the poor in the city were viewed, and lead badges made for those officially allowed to beg, whilst orders were taken for viewing roads, and repairing Walmegate Bar. On 20 March, it was reported that some rogues with no livelihood and wandering without licence had been detected at William Willowbye's house in Dringhouses: Arthur Rawdon, his son Thomas, and Anne Balne 'all three in one bedd, verie disorderlie'. They were sentenced to be carted through the city (f 134v).

April

(three meetings; B 28, ff 135-136v)

A letter from the Privy Council asked for donations for the relief of Nantwich in Cheshire, destroyed by fire the previous December 'to the number of 800 houses'; collectors were duly named on 28 April. Assessment was also to be made for money towards the preacher, now a permanent obligation. Gyles Howland of London was given licence to make and sell soap, if he paid four marks (53s 4d) a year.

May

(six meetings; B 28, ff 137-141v)

On 4 May, George Cowper of Ipswich was appointed

to be one of the waits of the city (f 137v; R:Y, p 405). Attempts were initiated to obtain the former chantry lands, which the city leased from the crown. Other land in question had belonged to the Corpus Christi Guild, and the city claimed this through the St Thomas Hospital which it now administered. Alderman Robert Maskewe, a grocer and apothecary, was to be paid by the city for curing 'fond Katheren' and Blakey's wife (f 137). The Ainsty was assessed for its contribution to the Queen's Purveyor, and the city was assessed for the preacher's money. The city's beadles were to be paid 4d for every person they whipped (f 140v); these payments were recorded in the Chamberlains' Books each year, and can be found under the section 'Expenses necessarye'. At the end of the month, £30 collected for the relief of Nantwich was handed over.

June

(four meetings; B 28, ff 142v-144v)

Mr Maskewe was appointed to cure another sick woman at the city's cost (f 143), and the assessment for the preacher's money continued. One of the Mayor's officers, Oswald Chambers, complained that he had not received his last wages: it was ordered that the other three should pay him 2s 6d each, as they were supposed to have it in their hands (f 144).

The Show of Armour had become an annual event since 1580, when it had taken place on 24 August. It had then been decided that it should normally be held on May Day and Midsummer Day (YCA: B 27, f 246; R:Y, p 393), but subsequent entries show only one each year, usually around Midsummer. There is evidence for it taking place in 1581, 1582 and 1583. In 1584, there was an innovation, for on 3 June John Grafton (here for the only time called Thomas), a schoolmaster, appeared

before the city council and requested that he be allowed to present 'certane compiled speaches' to further the Midsummer Show, and to have one 'pageant frame'. The Sheriffs, in charge of the Show⁴², were told to consider this; they must have approved, for on 19 June it was agreed that the Show would last from four or five in the morning to eleven o'clock on Midsummer Eve, and the 'play' would start at one o'clock in the afternoon. The arrangements made for this play - and a similar event the next year - follow the organisation of the earlier religious drama in the use of pageant waggons, with places along a regular route where the play should be heard⁴³.

July

(nine meetings; B 28, ff 145-149v)

Various matters following the Show came up during this month. John Grafton and his associates were allowed expenses (f 145), whilst those who had not attended the Show were presented and fined. These included Robert Paycock, who was fined a second time when he declared he would never attend a Show again (f 146v). Other items dealt with poor relief, and it was decided that Fishergate Bar would be used as a house of correction for the able poor who refused to work. Mr Colthirst (whose Chamber had been used by the Mayor and

42 For a summary of the development of the Sheriffs' Riding and the Show, see my Dissertation, Sett forthe the Shew, pp 30-38. For the Shows of 1581 to 1583, see YCA: B 28, ff 12, 53, 54v, 55, 99v and 103; REED:YORK, pp 396, 399-400 and 403.

43 My Dissertation (op.cit.) is a discussion of Grafton's plays or interludes in 1584 and 1585, and their relationship to earlier performances in the city. See REED:YORK, pp 405-425 for entries concerning those two years.

councillors on the day of Mr Grafton's play), was called in because he had allowed his servants and guests to have access from his tenement at the Common Hall Gates to the Common Hall, where they had misused the Chamber and damaged the leads. This prompted an order for the whole of the Common Hall to be viewed (f 148v).

August

(one meeting; B 28, ff 150-150v, 152)

The meeting, on 31 August, first arranged for the Commoners to come in and say whether they would allow the city council to deal on behalf of all individuals with Sir James Croft's deputies, who were investigating concealed lands (those lands held on behalf of churches and other charitable bodies). It also made orders on matters of debt, the repair of the river bank by St George Close, a suit by one freeman against another, and relief.

September

(five meetings; B 28, ff 151-154v)

The Commons agreed that the city should deal as a whole with the commissioners for concealed lands (f 151). The council exercised its right to take the goods of Nicholas Rabie, who had hanged himself in St Lawrence Churchyard, where he lived (f 152v). As usual, on 21 September the new Sheriffs were elected (f 153v). A lane leading from the Flesh Shambles to Peter Lane Little was viewed (f 154): this matter eventually took up a lot of council time, for it was decided to close off the lane and rent portions to those people whose property backed on to it: many of them city councillors⁴⁴.

⁴⁴ For further information on this lane, see below, pp 292-6.

Edward Vavasour was fined for sueing another freeman in a 'foreign court' - a court not under the jurisdiction of the Mayor or Sheriffs who had the right to deal with complaints in the city (f 154v).

October

(five meetings; B 28, ff 155-159v)

Mr Holden was appointed preacher for that year at a fee of £40 (f 155). Evidence for the chantry lands was to be searched, so the Recorder could examine it: presumably relating to the lease the city hoped to make from the crown. The Mayor received a letter from Sir James Croft (dated 10 October, and entered later on f 174), rejecting his deputies who had been negotiating about the concealed lands, and ordering them to deal directly with him: five representatives for this purpose were chosen on 31 October. One of the waits, George Cowper, who had only been appointed in May, was discharged on 23 October: he and another man were accused of converting apparel, wool and money wrongfully to their own use. On 31 October, the two other waits, John Clerk and John Balderstone, were also discharged, because they went into the country in untidy apparel (to the disgrace of the city's reputation), and were common drunkards and so could not play as well as they ought. New waits would be appointed in their place (ff 157, 158v and 159; R:Y, p 408). This meeting also took order between Aldermen Christopher Beckwith and William Robinson, concerning words alleged to have been spoken between them during the Riding of the city's Boundaries on 19 October (an event not otherwise recorded) (f 159). Meanwhile, on 28 October, William Robinson and Robert Brooke had been chosen as Burgesses for the city at the forthcoming Parliament (ff 157v-158).

November

(eight meetings; B 28, ff 160-171)

The most notable event this month was the signing of the Instrument of the Association for Preservation of the Queen⁴⁵, which was declared before the city councillors and Commoners in the Common Hall on 6 November (f 161v). Many of those present then signed it, and more people assembled on 18 November to add their signatures. The council wrote to the Lord President, asking how they could be received into the Association, and declared 'the same beinge knowne shalbe terror' to both foreign enemies and traitors (ff 165v-168). One thousand three hundred people were said to have taken the oath in York.

The declarations of support from around the country were to be taken up to London by the members assembling for Parliament, and various matters for the York Burgesses were noted throughout this month, including the attempt to get a lease of the chantry lands from the crown. Also in this month, representatives from York went to Naburn and made a formal entry into the former Corpus Christi lands there, to state the city's claim through the St Thomas Hospital: a memorandum was made of this entry, which took place on 16 November (f 164).

On 24 November, Mr Colthirst was duly allowed 6s 8d for the use of his rooms by the councillors at the Show on Midsummer Eve (f 169; R.Y, p 409).

45 The Bond of Association was devised by the Privy Council after the assassination of William of Orange in July 1584. See Neville Williams, Elizabeth I, pp 264-266.

December

(two meetings; B 28, f 171v-174)

A new method of collecting the city rents was initiated, to begin the following year: a single paid overseer of public works was to take the place of the two Bridgemasters who had been elected every year⁴⁶. Mr Browne, a preacher, was paid five marks (66s 8d) for his services in the period that the city had been without a regular preacher (f 172).

Various letters from the Burgesses were noted at the end of the month. One dated 9 December informed the city of a bill passed in Parliament for keeping Sabbath days more reverently; another of 14 December said they could not come to an agreement with Sir James Croft over concealed lands: he would only allow them to deal for land held by the city, or craft guilds, and not by individuals or churches (ff 172v and 173v).

January

(seven meetings; B 28, ff 174v-181)

Alderman Robinson was ordered to prove his claim to property he held at Walmeigate Bar, and part of the lane from the Shambles to Peter Lane Little: on 13 January it was agreed that he should pay rent for these (ff 174 and 175v)⁴⁷.

46 This experiment lasted until 1591, and the unpaid Bridgemasters returned in 1592 (YCA: B 30, ff 165v and 211). The office of Bridgemaster was finally abolished after 1626, and a single Receiver appointed at a fee of £5 (YCA: B 35, f 29v, 19 January 1626/7): the remaining Receiver's Rolls (1627-c.1692) list the same property as the earlier Bridgemasters' Rolls.

47 See further below, pp 290-292.

The Common Hall was finally surveyed on 18 January, and certificate made on 25 January (it is included in the House Book on ff 180-181). It was advised that keys of both chambers in the hall itself should be kept by the Mayor's officer, and entry only allowed for common assemblies. Mr Colthirst, however, was to have access to the Common Hall and the cellar under it.

February

(two meetings; B 28, ff 181v-183v)

A number of matters were seen to in a final meeting on 1 February, and on 3 February Thomas Appleyard handed over to his successor, Andrew Trewe.

The Instrument or Bond of Association brought York into contact with the doings of the rest of the country: otherwise, apart from the collection of relief for Nantwich, most of the business recorded in the House Book was concerned with the everyday running of the city. There was a General Muster of able men and their armour, taken on 2 October, but this is not mentioned in the House Book; however, the Muster Roll remains (YCA: E 41a), together with a reference in the Chamberlains' Book for the year recording payment to the drummer, Archer, who went with his drum at the muster both in the city and the Ainsty (YCA: CB 5 (3, 1584), f 66). This, like the Bond, could have been part of the precautions taken for the defence of the Queen and the Realm after the assassination of the Prince of Orange brought fears of a similar attempt on the Queen.

Action was still being taken against Catholics. The persistence of Catholic belief, despite the growing pressures from the authorities, could cause division even within one family, as the example of John and

Margaret Clitherow reveals⁴⁸. This religious division in society would not encourage the creation of a new religious drama to replace the old. The alternative found in York, the Show of Armour, with the two pageants provided by John Grafton of a somewhat academic nature, in 1584 and 1585, reflected more the place of the city in the state than in the Kingdom of Heaven.

1592

Thomas Harrison, Lord Mayor

Introduction

The number of meetings throughout this decade was about the same as during the 1580s, but more matters were dealt with each time. In particular, orders concerned with poor relief and setting the able poor to work increased.

February

(three meetings; B 30, ff 304-306v)

From February 1588/9, when the Constables had been ordered to see that householders kept their shops shut in sermon and service time, that everyone attended services, and that no unlawful games or idle behaviour took place, one of the first acts of each Mayoral year was to appoint honest men in each ward to see these Articles for attending church were carried out: it was done this year on 16 February (f 305v).

48 See End Note 5.

March

(four meetings; B 30, ff 308-315)

Mr Cole, secretary to the Lord President, who had married Thomas Colthirst's widow Katherine, was given a lease of the tenement at the Common Hall Gates: he was to keep the old covenants, including that allowing use of the Chamber by the Mayor and councillors for 'hearing plaies & seinge showes' (f 310-310v). There is no indication that the Mayor needed to make use of this provision; it is more likely that the city was preserving a right over the property, rather than expecting the councillors to continue hearing plays and seeing shows in the old manner. The city's recorded dramatic entertainment came from professional players, and they performed in such places as the Common Hall or St Anthony's Hall, as will be seen.

During the month, the Wardens of Bootham Ward had viewed a little house or coal hole which stood on the south side of the Common Hall (the former Buttery). On 31 March this building was declared to be 'rather needlesse then convenient to be reedified' (f 314): it does not seem to have been an important part of the stone structure of the Hall.

On 29 March, two men from Ripon, taken as vagrants, were to be delivered over to their fathers, and they were to attend their parish church and take communion (f 313-313v).

April

(five meetings; B 30, ff 315-319)

Many items relate to the internal running of the city - property, a view of the poor, and the Wardmote Courts. John Watson was appointed one of the city waits

on 7 April, and was to have the silver chain and scutcheon of that office delivered to him (f 315v; R:Y, p 449). On 15 April, it was ordered that the Mayor and Aldermen should wear their scarlet gowns, the Sheriffs and Twenty Four their crimson gowns, at 'the great Comunion' the following day in the Minster: there is no information on the reason for this (f 317v). A letter was sent to William Paycock in London for him to get back the armour provided when the city sent soldiers to France⁴⁹: he was to see what condition it was in and what was worth using again, 'for it weare better take something then to lose all' (f 319v).

May

(five meetings; B 30, ff 320-326v)

Several matters discussed in the meetings were concerned with money: arrears owing on dues, loans and the money paid to Hull towards the cost of ships in the Armada year. Collection and distribution of poor money continued; Richard Wate complained he had been appointed a Collector 'more of Mallice then of Justice', and was committed to ward for his presumption (f 322).

Some interesting points come out of letters written in this month. One was sent on 24 May to Sir Roger Manwood, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, on behalf of Richard Whittington, against whom an attachment had been procured by William Shutt. The matter between them had been heard within the city last December⁵⁰, but Shutt,

49 Nineteen footsoldiers were sent from York to serve in France in July 1591. One at least had returned by December 1591, another the following February (YCA: B 30, ff 248-249, 252-255, 292v and 302v).

50 YCA: B 30, f 294v-295. William Shutt's poor relief had been stopped, and he was in ward because he could find no sureties for a bond to keep the peace: Percival Brooke of the Twenty Four spoke on his

'beinge of late fallen from Laboringe to loytring & begginge and to an Idle Rogishe kynde of life in bodye able to Labour', seemed to be set on making trouble simply out of malice. The letter from the city council asked for a commission to deal with the matter themselves (ff 322v-323). The authorities did not take kindly to those who gave up an occupation to turn to an apparent idle life.

A second letter, of the same date, was sent to one of the Judges of the Queen's Bench and one of the Court of Common Pleas: it complained that the Council of the North, established 'within time of memorye', was taking suits from the Sheriffs' Court on Ouse Bridge, established 'without memorye of man'; the Council had also over the years freed people arrested by the Sheriffs to answer complaints and actions. A letter was also sent to Sir John Fortescue of the Privy Council, who represented their interests, explaining that 'This matter greatlye concerneth our Libertyes' (ff 323v-325v).

June

(six meetings; B 30, ff 327-337)

An agreement was made during the month for payment of £200 due to Hull for the Armada ships: this would be lent by the councillors and Commons, and gradually repaid as the city built up its treasury, with the Commons being repaid first. Assessments for loans were made on 14 June (ff 328, 331-334v). Organisation of poor relief continued. It did not just go on weekly payments, such as 2d a week to John Bovell, who was

behalf. A William Shutt was later franchised as a butcher in 1608 (Freemen of York II, p 55).

lame, but to help people help themselves. Anne Dereham was given 5 shillings to go south to live with friends, and Emot Holmes 6s 8d to go south likewise and look for her husband (ff 327v-328). No doubt it was considered a form of investment, for such people would no longer be a burden on the city.

The Midsummer Show of Armour was held again, this time on 28 June, St Peter's Eve (f 329v)⁵¹. Afterwards, John Wait, glover, was fined 12d for not using the gunpowder he was given for that day, and Christopher Walton's man was whipped for selling his gunpowder for 5d. Thomas Ketland was fined 12d for not taking part (30 June, f 336v).

July

(four meetings; B 30, ff 337-341v)

Another glover, John Jackson, was fined 3s 4d for selling the gunpowder he had been given to use in the Show: his offence seemed more serious, for he was committed to ward (12 July, f 338v).

The Common Hall had suffered from people attending plays there, who had damaged doors, locks, windows and benches. This could have been when the Queen's Players performed: the same meeting of 24 July allowed the payment to them of £3 6s 8d (ff 339v and 340; R:Y, p 449). It was ordered that no plays would be allowed in future in the Common Hall or St Anthony's Hall. The Chamberlains' Book for this year has not survived to list any other players who may have performed there. The ban must have been lifted by 1596, because the favoured Queen's Players were again in the Common Hall (YCA: CB 8 (2, 1596), f 58; R:Y, p 471).

51 The Feast of SS Peter and Paul was on 29 June.

August

(four meetings; B 30, ff 342v-345v)

The latest scheme for setting the poor on work included a Knitting School, and John Cheseman and Francis Newby were appointed to teach children. A meeting at the Knitters house in St Saviourgate on 4 August of the Overseers - five Aldermen, three of the Twenty Four and three Commoners - set out articles for the running of the school (f 343v). Also noted this month was the negligence of those appointed to execute the articles for attending church, and they had to come in and make answer (f 344).

September

(six meetings; B 30, ff 346-352v)

Whenever some essential repair work had to be done in the city that would otherwise prove expensive, a 'common day work' was ordered. Citizens either had to turn up themselves to help, or pay another to go in their place. The whole was done under the supervision of the wardens of the city, and more immediately through the parishes, in the persons of the Constables. Thomas Spraggon, one of the Constables, had been on duty during a common day work of repairs at the Staith, the chief jetty for ships, just below Ouse Bridge⁵². He noticed James Ambler throw a clod at a poor girl which knocked her over, and chastised him by beating him with his rod of office. Ambler had consequently sued Spraggon in the Peter Court (in the jurisdiction of the Minster). This was thought to be a bad example against the authority of of the city, and it was ordered on 1 September that

52 Repairs to the jetties at Skeldergate Postern, St George Close and the Staith were initiated on 14 June (YCA: B 30, f 330).

James Ambler should never be franchised, and his master, Bell, responsible for his actions, should pay Spraggon's charges at law (f 346-346v). The councillors also looked this month at the state of the other river, the Foss, into which people were throwing their rubbish. It was thought it would all collect in the dam at Castle Mills when the water rose higher (f 347v).

The visit of the Queen's Men earlier in the year may have been prompted by an outbreak of the plague in London. It was now reported to be 'verye hote', and serious enough for York to make some attempt to prevent it reaching York by putting restrictions on trade with Londoners. On 10 September it was ordered that no-one was to go to Howden Fair (in the East Riding of Yorkshire), and anyone who had been there was to shut up their house for a period of quarantine. A specific order was made a week later to John Bateson, who had just returned from Howden, to do this. However, on 20 September, letters were read reporting that the Londoners at the Fair, and Howden itself, were clear of the plague, and so trade was allowed (ff 347v-348, 349 and 349v).

October

(three meetings; B 30, ff 352v-357)

There were several calls on the councillors to defend the liberties of the city, from one freeman suing another in a foreign court instead of a court in the city's jurisdiction, to the claim of the Lord Admiral to control, through his office of Water Bailiff, the price of goods handled on the Staith. The right to set prices was something the Lord Mayor always claimed as Clerk of the Markets (ff 354 and 356). A case against the Mayor and Aldermen before the Council in the North, sued by Thomas Leget, was to be defended at the city's

cost; and the city was also to take action against inhabitants of Bridlington for false imprisonment of three fishermen from York (ff 354-354v, 355-355v and 356v). Concerning national security, the Lord President asked them to view common and private armour. He should have asked them earlier, but had forgotten, and as he had already informed the Privy Council he had done so, he hoped they would make the view.

A letter on the claim of the Lord Admiral to jurisdiction of the Staith in York was sent to Dr Caesar in London on 1 November (ff 357-359).

November

(five meetings; B 30, ff 359v-364v)

On 3 November, it was agreed to pay 20 nobles to Captain Ellis, who had conducted the view of armour. Also this month, the Sheriffs were given custody of a seminary priest, Anthony Maior, and on the orders of the Council in the North this was to be close custody, so he could not beg for food. In order to relieve the cost to the Sheriffs of feeding him, the Council asked that the Mayor and Aldermen contribute to his upkeep; this they finally agreed to do on 15 November, although they maintained it was the duty of the Sheriffs (ff 360v-361 and 362).

December

(four meetings; B 30, f 365-370v)

Dr Caesar wrote to the Mayor about the matter of the office of Water Bailiff, saying that because of the plague in London, a meeting could not yet be arranged. However, he suggested that Mr Matthew Dodsworth, Judge of the Admiralty in the North, should be allowed to examine the case, and on 8 December it was agreed to

see him. In the same meeting, it was also agreed that William Allyn, former Alderman, should continue to receive his pension from the city on his good behaviour (f 367v)⁵³.

January

(four meetings; B 30, ff 370v-379)

Most of the matters discussed this month concerned the running of the city: poor relief, leases and property orders, arrears, franchises, and the election of officers - from the new Mayor, and two Burgesses for the next Parliament (Aldermen Andrew Trewe and James Birkby), to new Common Councillors, Chamberlains and Bridgemasters. Members of the city council acting on behalf of the Privy Council examined a York merchant, Percival Brooke, in a case brought by Anthony Atkinson, the unpopular Searcher in the docks at Hull. Thomas Harrison handed over to the new Mayor on 3 February (f 379v).

The dramatic entertainment of the citizens, as revealed in the records, was by now served by the professional travelling players, although there is a hint that there were performers of some kind within York, for 'the Citties players' were given 20 shillings in February 1596/7 (YCA: CB 9 (1, 1597), f 59; R:Y, p 476). Street pageantry was represented by the Show of Armour, by the formal entries of the Lord President (one is recorded in 1599) and processions by the Mayor and Council from the Council Chamber on Ouse Bridge to the

53 William Allyn, Mayor in 1572, gradually attended less council meetings after 1576, and was living outside York by 1580 (YCA: B 27, f 229v). He resigned in 1581. See also below, pp 300-302.

Common Hall on the days of the election and swearing in of the new Mayor, and the election of the Sheriffs. The Show of Armour, developed in 1580, was the only event demanding participation by ordinary citizens. It should not be confused with the various views of armour and Musters, which were done on the order of the Lord President and Council, and called either to test the readiness of the citizens for active service, or with the specific intention of choosing soldiers to serve, originally on the Scottish borders and increasingly in Ireland or the Low Countries. The Show, although making the same demands on those who by statute should possess weapons and armour, clearly seems to have been a civic affair. The various orders for the event through the 1590s give the greatest evidence for the form it took.

In 1592, the Show was ordered for St Peter's Eve, 28 June. It would begin at Knavesmire at seven o'clock in the morning, when all householders in decent apparel and wearing as much of their armour 'as shalbe convenient' were to attend on the Sheriffs. Those of the Twenty Four and higher degree would presumably, following orders in other years, find others to wear their armour. Some gunpowder would be provided by the city, and the Sheriffs were bound to provide more. The whole Show processed through the city from Knavesmire, but there is no indication where or when the gunpowder was used (YCA: B 30, f 329v)⁵⁴. The parishes also sent their common armour, so some expenses for the day can be found in Churchwardens' accounts: for example, the

54 This entry has not been included in REED:YORK, and neither has the Show of 1597 (YCA: B 31, ff 278v-279). However, the Shows of 1590, 1591, 1593, 1594, 1595, 1596 and 1598 are included. The entries for 1593 and 1598 (REED:YORK, pp 452-453 and 480-481) are particularly full.

accounts of All Hallows Pavement (BI: PR Y/ASP F 14/2, f 49v, for the year 1595), when three labourers were paid 1s 6d for wearing the church's three corslets on Midsummer Day; there are also several entries in the accounts of St Martin Coney Street (BI: PR Y/MCS 17)⁵⁵.

There was also a more 'professional' aspect to the day. From 1577, thirty men were chosen to be trained in the use of the harquebus and callever (muskets). They met usually twice a year for instruction, for which they and their instructors were paid (see YCA: B 27, ff 17v-18v, 20-21 and 21v-22). This trained band must have taken part in a Show in 1577 (predating the major development of the Show from 1580), for in a reference to Richard Yate who was to take charge of the guns and armour of this band, there is an agreement that the guns which were broken at the Show on May Day should be repaired at the city's costs (YCA: B 27, f 28). The trained soldiers took part in the Midsummer Show in 1582, for they were paid 4d extra (YCA: B 28, f 54v). In 1586, there was to be a larger permanent band of three hundred men ready to serve if the need arose (YCA: B 29, ff 126-128). They had a mixture of pikes, bills, callevers and bows: in 1595 the bows were to be replaced by muskets and callevers (YCA: B 31, f 133).

From 1593, Gawin Dent, a York tailor who had served as a professional soldier, was paid for assisting at the Show and leading the citizens (YCA: CB 7 (2, 1593), f 55). He had already been associated with the three hundred trained men, in 1586 (YCA: B 29, f 168v). Further payments were made to him in 1594, 1596, 1597 and 1598 (YCA: B 31, f 74v; CB - 8 (1, 1594), f 53v;

55 There are various other examples in REED:YORK for this decade.

(2, 1596), f 52; 9 (1, 1597), f 54; (2, 1598), f 122). By the end of this period, however, he can have had less immediate involvement: on 28 May 1596, it was agreed that he should have 2 shillings a week from the fund collected for relief of soldiers, as he was enfeebled from service on the Scottish borders since 1588, and was now blind; he had a certificate to this effect from Captain Ellis (YCA: B 31, f 188). That year, he was paid his fee of 10 shillings for leading the citizens at the Show 'which was ledd this yere by William Sonley at his appointment' (YCA: CB 8 (2, 1596), f 52).

Other assistants at the Show are known. In 1588, Mr Atkinson, lieutenant, was given 10 shillings for helping the Sheriffs on Midsummer Day, and Mr Blanchard was given 6s 8d (YCA: B 30, f 45v)⁵⁶. A regular participant was Edmund Archer, a drummer. There are a few references to him in the House Book minutes, but mostly he is known from payments made to him and noted in the Chamberlains' Books between 1584 and 1602⁵⁷. He was paid for attending at the Shows of 1584, 1585, 1593, 1594, 1596, 1597 and 1598; but he also helped to keep the watch, attended common days work and went with his drum on Muster days.

One other account adds to the picture of the Show in York. In 1600 the Sheriff, Thomas Wilson, gave a

56 See End Note 6.

57 See also REED:YORK, pp 444 (1590) and 474 (1596/7), two extracts from the Churchwardens' accounts of St Martin Coney Street. Archer also appears in REED:YORK mistranscribed as 'Arthur' (pp 410 and 419, in 1584 and 1585): in all these entries he is associated with the drum. See also YCA: B 28, ff 17v, 32v, 99 and 100 for entries between July 1581 and May 1583; and the Chamberlains' Books volumes 5 to 10, under 'Expenses Necessary'.

drum to a boy, John Binkes, to be used during the Show. As he was in the street with it, William Huthwate of Trinity parish Goodramgate 'came to him & cast him downe & lugged & pulled him & toke the drome from him' - another witness described the 'souse on the eare' given by Huthwate to the unfortunate boy. Huthwate was then seen to take a dagger from the Constable and hold it up, and he also cut holes in the drumhead. He took the drum into his house - or his mother-in-law's house - and was followed by the angry Sheriff and the Constable. The Sheriff was reported to have said 'Wear it not that I ame in office I promyse the thow should repent this', and Huthwate replied 'In dede Mr Wilson yor office is an honeste Mans office but you are not fit for yt'. On examination of the affair later, Huthwate claimed that the drum, formerly belonging to Robert Bargman of his own parish, was his by right of money Bargman owed him, and the Sheriff had long before the Show taken it into his own custody. Although Huthwate denied any abuse or disorder, or any wish to interrupt or disgrace the Show, the council on 11 July decided he should be committed to ward for his evil example (YCA: B 32, ff 104-104v).

The commandment given to the Constables for the Show refer to each parish having a drum and a fife, and that the Constables should bring their parishioners, and with their Constables' staffs act as officers to order the people. There was first an assembly on Knavesmire - in 1598 the Mayor and Aldermen were specifically to see the citizens set in order there before they entered the city (YCA: B 31, f 361v; R:Y, p 480) - but the route of the parade then taken through the city is unclear. The only reference is in 1595, when the armed men were to attend on the Sheriffs as directed, and to go 'from thence in the show with Mr sheriffes thorowe this Citty to St mariegat' (YCA: B 31, f 121; R:Y, pp 463-4). The logical way through the city

would go from Micklegate Bar, across Ouse Bridge, perhaps follow the route of the Plays and Entries along Coney Street and Stonegate, and then turn left along High Petergate to Bootham Bar and out to St Marygate. It does not therefore take in Goodramgate, and perhaps the incident of 1600 took place when the parishioners were first assembling to go to Knavesmire, when Huthwate would first see the drum in John Binkes' possession.

A high degree of participation was expected - it seems to have been an event in which taking part was predominant, rather than something which was primarily intended to be viewed. All householders were to provide their armour, either carried in person or on the backs of others: and those who chose substitutes still had to attend on the Sheriffs in their best apparel. The common armour held by the parishes was also to be worn by able persons. Although not specified every year, the Aldermen and Twenty Four provided two or three men each⁵⁸. The Sheriffs and the city provided gunpowder: some at least went to individuals, and it has been noted already that various people were punished for wasting it. Presumably the guns were fired in the open at Knavesmire, and not in the narrow streets of the city; it is likely that some special display occurred on Knavesmire, if the trained bands and experienced soldiers were involved. There is evidence that not everyone enjoyed the civic demonstration, and there were presentations of those who did not take part as they should have done on several years between 1582 and 1606 (the last recorded Show in the House Books).

It seems also as though more parochial Shows

58 See for example in 1581: YCA: B 28, f 12; R:Y, p 396.

occurred: there are two references to one in Walmegate. On 30 May 1600, John Hoggill, 'late hurt at the showe in Walmgat', was to have 5 shillings as he had a great hurt on his leg (YCA: B 32, f 93v). On 16 June 1609, the inhabitants of Walmegate Ward were given £3 6s 8d towards their charges 'in the settinge forth of A showe' (YCA: B 33, f 165). No mention is made whether other wards did anything similar: these two entries suggest however that events could be held in York without having a mention in the House Books unless for some reason the city council had to intervene or donate money. There is no indication of the form of the Walmegate Show, but throughout the York city records 'Show' refers only to a Show of Armour or the rarer 'show' or 'sight' to greet a visiting monarch⁵⁹.

The Show of Armour seems to have been developed as civic pageantry at the very time reference to the Corpus Christi Play ceases. Dramatic performances from this time are mostly offered by the professional touring players. Even these were not permitted at times - as when the use of the Common Hall was denied them - although often it can be seen that fear of plague prompted the refusal to allow the players in. But gradually, on the evidence of the remaining Chamberlains' Books of the early seventeenth century, the visits grew more infrequent; and as far as dramatic activity initiated in York is concerned, our knowledge of it comes to an end, as it does with Shows, in 1609.

59 See my MA Dissertation, Sett forthe the Shew, pp 35, 37-39 and 80-86

1609

Christopher Consett, Lord Mayor

Introduction

The great dividing line in York is not so much between the sixteenth century and the seventeenth, or the Elizabethan age and the Jacobean, but before the great plague of 1604 and after. When plague had been as far away as London, the city councillors had taken action, not only against travelling players, but against merchants, confiscating suspected merchandise and fining those otherwise respectable merchants who had tried to bring in goods from infected places. If sickness came nearer the city, the gates were literally shut against it, and entry restricted. The reign of Queen Mary ended in York with a particularly bad visitation, but throughout the reign of Elizabeth the city was free of dangerous infection, which may partly have been due to the strict precautions of the council. However, from the beginning of James' reign, the plague crept closer: it was in London, Newcastle and Hull by August 1603, and in the Ainsty by October. Despite orders to the contrary, citizens brought in goods or harboured people from infected areas. On 2 December, it was certified that a man of Foss Bridge had died of the plague, and another suspected death had occurred in Gillygate. By April 1604, the councillors had to accept that the sickness was in the city; in May they were ordering the killing of cats and stray dogs, although at the beginning of June they minimised the danger when they wrote to their Burgesses attending the Parliament (YCA: B 32, f 332v). By July, the extent of the danger was realised, and one of the Sheriffs and most of the Chamberlains and Constables had fled the city: on 16 July these were ordered to return or pay fines, for they

were the men who should have been keeping order. After that, there were no more meetings recorded until 21 September, when only the Mayor, four Aldermen and three of the Common Councillors attended for the election of the new Sheriffs (YCA: B 32, f 341). There were only two other meetings that year, and two the following January. This, and the entries in the parish registers of the city churches, bear witness to the devastation of the infection. Whole households were wiped out, and the long lists of dead recorded in the parish registers, in comparison to the average number in each year, indicate most clearly the loss of life⁶⁰. At least one parish register, that of St Olave's, had to admit to giving up the attempt to enter the names of all the dead, and the city does not seem to have been clear of infection until August 1605. However, remarkably few of the city council died - not surprising, if many of them had left the city and were not at hand to assist in relief work. Christopher Consett, who had not attended a meeting since 9 March 1603/4, was ordered to return in August 1605 (YCA: B 32, f 369-369v); he appeared on 12 October 1605, but came to only six meetings from then until 16 September 1607, when he began to attend regularly once more. Alderman Thomas Harrison died during the period of plague, in November 1604, but he had not attended any meetings for well over a year and was already sick. The other Alderman to die in the same month was Andrew Trewe, who had been one of the few to attend the meeting during the previous September. One member of the Twenty Four died at this time, and the Sheriff Richard Binkes did not take up his place on the Twenty Four⁶¹. It has

60 York parish registers are housed in the Borthwick Institute, and several have been published by The Yorkshire Parish Register Society.

61 This compares with the deaths of three Aldermen and between four to nine of the Twenty Four in the

been calculated that about 2,950 people died in the 1604 plague, with an upper level of 3,512: in other words, 30% of the population⁶². It cannot be estimated what effect this had on the minds of the survivors, but measures were taken to replace the loss to business: over the next few years a large number of new freemen were admitted.

The early seventeenth century saw a drop in the number of council meetings held each year. In 1609, there were forty three, and fewer items were discussed than at any time since the 1550s⁶³. Matters concerning poor relief now took up more time than property matters.

February

(three meetings; B 33, ff 154-155v)

As usual, one of the first actions of the year was to appoint overseers to execute the Articles for attending church and against unlawful games; also, Mr Grainger and Mr Sadler were to be paid for preaching the last year (f 154v). The Archbishop asked that Skeldergate Postern be widened so his coach, coming in

plague of 1558-9. See D.M. Palliser, Some aspects of the Social and Economic History of York in the Sixteenth Century (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Oxford University, New College, 1968), p 89. His Tudor York (Oxford University Press, 1979) is based on this thesis.

62 Palliser, Thesis, pp 94-96.

63 This, of course, can only be based on what is entered in the House Books. During the seventeenth century, various sub-committees were appointed to deal with specific matters, such as leases of civic property, and little of their records remain. Their deliberations would not necessarily have been recorded in the House Books. Nor were items entered unless a decision had been taken and was to be acted on.

from his palace at Bishopthorpe, could get through, presumably to save the detour round to Micklegate Bar (f 155).

March and April

(five and two meetings; B 33, ff 156-160v)

Most of the business in March related to the new leases of city property, and it was agreed that the entry payment made for them - called either a 'fine' or 'consideration' - should be shown in the deeds (f 156). Mr Francis Metcalf asked if he could buy the city property alongside his own land, and the councillors arranged to view it (f 159v). In a meeting on 29 April, it was agreed to defer discussion on the petition from the Common Council until a later time, as only three Aldermen and five of the Twenty Four had joined the Mayor for the assembly that day (f 160v).

May

(two meetings; B 33, ff 161-164)

It was ordered on 15 May that the city preacher, Mr Harwood, should preach at St Denis church every Sunday for the next quarter; and also agreed that Mr Metcalf could buy a close, part of an orchard and two garths from the city (f 161).

June

(three meetings; B 33, ff 164-166)

On 16 June, the meeting agreed to give the inhabitants of Walmegate Ward £3 6s 8d towards their charges in 'setting forth of A showe' (f 165; see above p 118). Richard Wilde was examined on 21 June, charged with not attending services and sermons; he said that he did, but had not received communion for a year. To

prove his conformity, he took the oath of loyalty to the Parliament (f 165). Various tenants were refusing to pay the fines demanded for their new leases, and on 23 June it was decided to make the leases in the name of the officers of each ward, in order to evict the sitting tenants; no further mention was made of the results of this tactic.

July

(five meetings; B 33, ff 166-169)

On 5 July Simon Hakyn was committed to ward, and was to be bound not to keep a tippling house, after he had allowed two servants to play cards in his house one Sunday: an example of many such convictions over the last five decades, and perhaps indicative of the futility of the attempt to regulate how men took their pleasure (f 166v). Amongst several people franchised this month was Stephen Brittain, organ-maker, on 14 July: it was noted that there was none other of his occupation in the city⁶⁴.

August and September

(two and three meetings; B 33, ff 169v-175)

These two months were concerned mainly with poor relief, leasing of city tenements, and arbitration between various citizens. However, on 22 September the council had an unusual request from Richard Middleton and others, for permission to erect a theatre or playhouse, which would occupy those living in the city, and perhaps restrain the visits of travelling players. The petitioners offered to give £10 a year to the corporation for the privilege, which may have swayed

64 See End Note 7.

the council to agree to the request, subject to conditions which would be devised and made in due course (f 173v; R:Y, p 530)⁶⁵.

October

(four meetings; B 33, ff 175v-179v)

James Birkby, an Alderman since 1585 and Clerk to the Sheriffs' Court for even longer, put in a complaint on 4 and 10 October, saying the Sheriffs were not allowing him to exercise his office. They argued in return that it was their right to elect their clerk, but the Recorder ruled that as the Court had been held in the city since before the time the city had the right to elect Sheriffs, then the Mayor had the right to choose the clerk, and Mr Birkby was to be allowed to exercise his office (ff 175v-176; 177-178v)⁶⁶.

On 4 October, it was ordered that a view of artillery should be held on 13 October (f 176v): by this was meant a check that everyone possessed the bows and arrows they should have by statute. Although in 1595 it had been ordered by the Council in the North that in the trained band all bills and bows were to be replaced by pikes and muskets, it is clear that ordinary citizens retained bows as their basic weapon.

Other matters of this month again relate to property matters and relief of the poor; one of the recipients of relief was Lady Cripling, widow of the former Alderman Robert Cripling (f 179).

65 For further discussion of this request, see below, pp 440-441.

66 See also below, pp 352 and 353-4.

November

(six meetings; B 33, ff 180-186)

Various matters arising from earlier meetings were considered this month. It was finally agreed on 15 November that Skeldergate Postern would be enlarged, at the request of the Archbishop (f 181). Easier access there was to prove a liability, however: in 1611, it was realised that heavy carts were taking the opportunity to use this new entry into the city to the detriment of the road. It was then ordered that the door was to be made in two parts, and both sides would only be opened when the Archbishop wanted to come through (YCA: B 33, f 277v). Simon Hakyn, debarred from keeping an alehouse in July, was still in business: on 29 November it was agreed that he should be presented at the next Sessions (f 186).

The corporation was taken to task by the Privy Council in London during this month for not having licensed alehouses as they had been commanded. The city's Recorder, Richard Hutton, in London, had already excused himself from any action the city may or may not have taken; the full force of the Privy Council's anger fell on the Recorder's deputy Christopher Brooke⁶⁷, also in London. After the ordeal, because 'great hast is inioyned me by great men', he wrote 'a hastye and gallopinge letter, omittinge many Circumstances', and reported the tirade he had received: 'These were the verie wordes as I remember, hervpon I thought it was past tyme to fall into particular excuses'. A reply was made by the Mayor, protesting that they had in fact done all they could concerning the original command the previous year, and a letter asking for further guidance

67 See End Note 8.

had been written on 24 May and delivered by Aldermen Harbert, Grenebery and Harrison when they went to London, but nothing further had been heard (ff 182-184v).

December

(three meetings; B 33, ff 186v-188)

Amongst the usual administration of poor relief and freemen, a decision was taken against the activities of Richard Middleton and his unnamed associates. Encouraged by the favourable reception of their petition, they had started to make their playhouse without coming in for further directions, and had attracted strangers from outside the city as well as encouraged York craftsmen to think of giving up their useful occupations to take to 'an idle course of life'. Consequently, on 11 December they were ordered to leave off their activities and not to keep a playhouse. Perhaps the councillors felt justified in their action, but the silence in the House Book minutes suggests that they had not bothered to devise any regulations, and perhaps they were glad of the opportunity to stop such a frivolous occupation (f 187; R:Y, p 531).

January

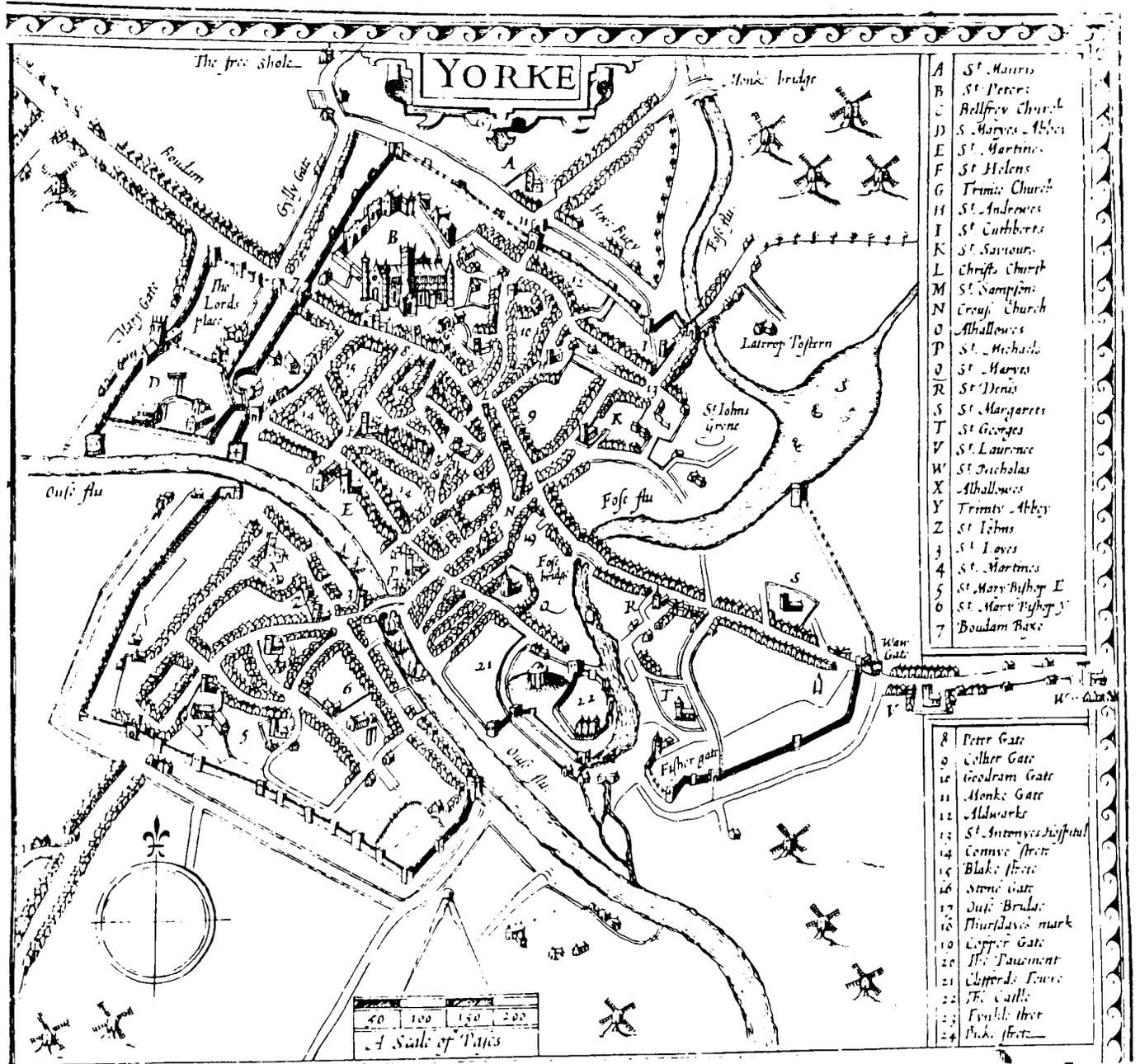
(four meetings; B 33, ff 188v-191v)

The main business, as usual, was electing the new Mayor, Chamberlains and Bridgemasters, but the council also had to deal with the Millers, who were accused of conspiring to increase the price of malt. Christopher Consett handed over to the new Mayor on 3 February (ff 192-194).

It is not suggested that the prohibition of Richard Middleton's playhouse marked the end of drama in York. A few more travelling players are recorded, and the city itself had players of some kind for they are referred to when plans were made to greet King James in 1617 (YCA: B 34, f 118; R:Y, p 549). But a comparison between civic encouragement of plays and processions in 1554, or even in the 1580s, and the civic condemnation of an idle course of life in 1609, forms a useful framework to study the range of dramatic activity in York.

The above summary of events during a number of years, showing this activity in the context of other concerns, also demonstrates how these concerns led to the abandonment of the traditional dramatic presentations. It cannot be coincidence that each year surveyed for its example of drama also contains events or decisions that affected this drama. The most obvious was the Rising of the Northern Earls at the end of the year that saw the last performance of the Corpus Christi Play; and the subsequent imposition of religious uniformity, through the work of the High Commission and the appointment of the puritan Earl of Huntingdon as Lord President, meant that not only the religious plays but the Riding of Yule and Yule's wife and celebrations like Rushbearing or morris dancing could no longer be accepted by the church. This is only emphasised by the fact that William Allyn and Robert Cripling, who tried to revive the performance of religious plays, both had Catholic sympathies which brought them before the ecclesiastical authorities. On the evidence of convictions and punishments, moral standards were being enforced, work was seen as a virtue and idleness - being non-productive - a vice. Viewed in this context, the course of drama in York between 1554 and 1609 is not surprising.

II THE ROUTE OF THE PLAYS



Map 1: York, 1610: John Speed

This chapter presents information about the people before whose houses the Corpus Christi Play, Pater Noster Play and Grafton's plays were performed. The evidence for these people and the places along the pageant route helps to explain why the processional method of staging was so suitable for the city of York, which had few open spaces within the walls. The idea of searching out such information is developed from the original article by Meg Twycross (see pp 12 and 38 above). It is not possible to arrive at a definitive description of the method of performance, but it can be possible to test theories against the topographical evidence for York as well as the dramatic evidence. Research into people and where they lived inevitably led to consideration of places in York that are now changed, in particular the former appearance of Ouse Bridge, Ousegate, Spurriergate and the Pavement. As a prelude, a section on Pageant Green has been included, which suggests where some of the pageant houses were located, and considers evidence beyond the scope of REED:YORK.

1. PAGEANT GREEN



Illustration 3: Inside of the City Walls:
J. Halfpenny, 1807
This view looks south-west
towards Toft Green

Introduction

Toft Green lay inside the walls of York, to the left of the entrance through Micklegate Bar, and alongside the House of the Blackfriars. The earliest dramatic records show that pageant waggons were kept in buildings here, and pageant houses on the site survived well into the seventeenth century; consequently, the Green was called interchangeably Toft Green or Pageant Green. It is assumed that on Corpus Christi Day the waggons assembled here before processing through the city. Not all the craft guilds who put forth a pageant waggon can be proved to have had a house here. However, some, for at least a few years, are known to have rented space in the house of another craft; and a few rented their house on Toft Green throughout the recorded history of the Corpus Christi Play: the Skinners, Tanners, Mercers or Merchants, Tapiters (tapestry weavers), Carpenters, Cordwainers and Bakers. In due course the Walkers (Fullers) and the Coopers both rented a cheaper 'outshot' (or lean-to), which can be seen to have been used as pageant houses, and other crafts appear briefly in a survey of over two hundred years of evidence. Mostly this evidence comes from civic records, which deal with the leasing of the city's property. Obviously Toft Green was the prime site for waggons, for even the wealthiest craft guild, that of the Mercers or Merchants, rented here although it had property of its own in the vicinity. The Merchant Tailors owned the nearby land on which it built a pageant house¹, and the loss of the accounts of

1 Land on Barker Row: see REED:YORK, p 547.

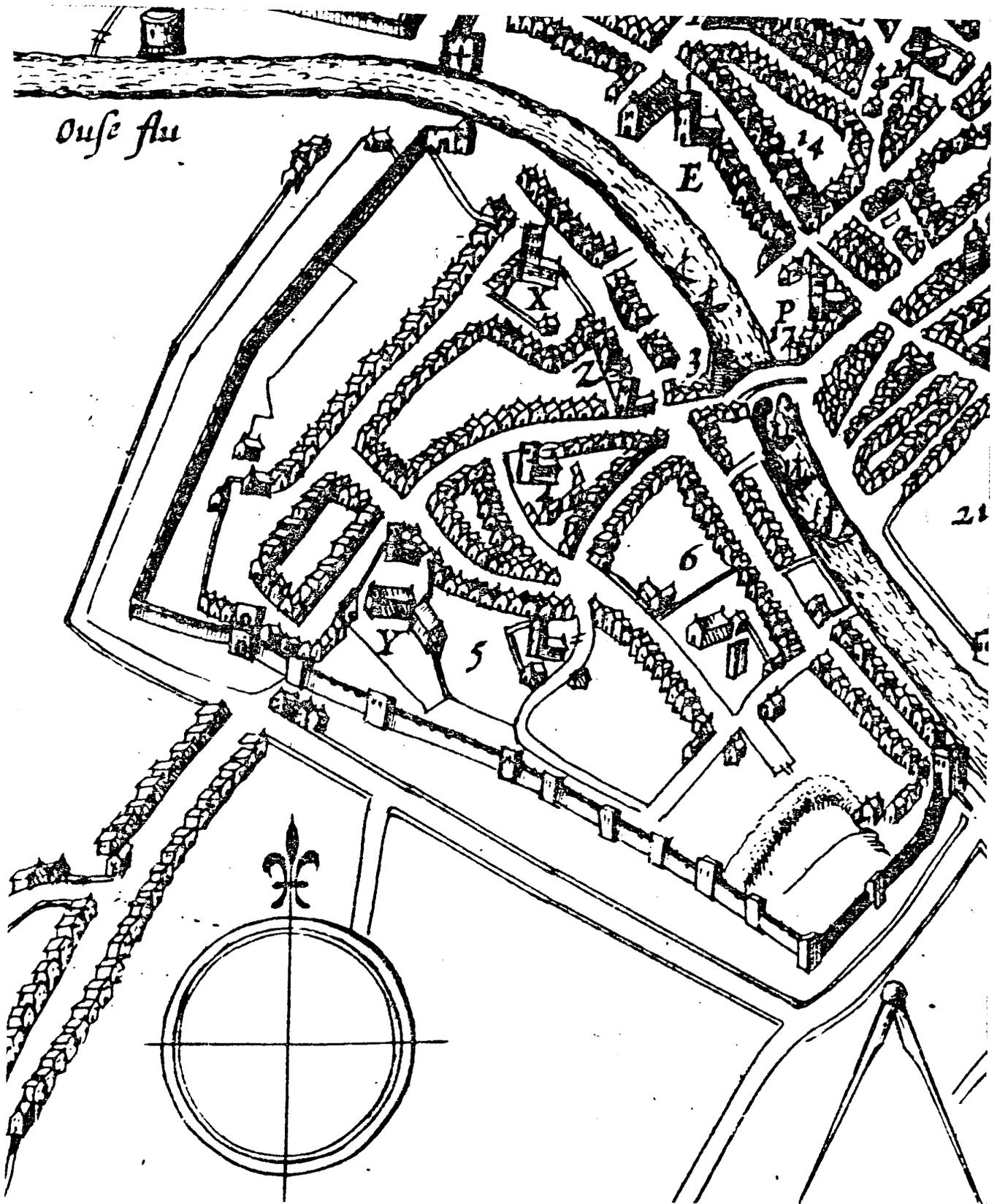
the majority of the crafts denies us the opportunity of knowing the arrangements for their pageant waggons. The nine crafts mentioned above held the site of their houses on long term leases; although one or two of these are known from the fifteenth century records, by the seventeenth century the leases were customary and no original could be quoted: in a Rental of 1626, the pageant houses of the Skinners, Tapiters, Tanners, Carpenters, Bakers and Cordwainers, and the outshots of the Walkers and Coopers are listed as 'ffree rentes ... & other ~~small~~ rent for which their are no leases' (YCA: E 76 (third section), pp 51 and 55). The rents paid are exactly the same as those recorded in 1424.

The Site

The road leading out of Micklegate to Toft Green² still bears the name of Ratton Row (interpreted as coming from 'ratoun' - rat, rat-infested - and 'raw', a row of houses³). This row is shown on Speed's map of York of 1610 (Map 2, p 133). No degree of accuracy - beyond the general pattern of the streets - can be expected from this plan. The main road leading to the city from the south apparently comes up to a blank wall instead of Micklegate Bar, drawn too much to the left. Micklegate continues down from the Bar, curving slightly to the right to reach Ouse Bridge. Immediately inside the Bar is a road to the left that represents Ratton Row, with houses on both sides. This road widens to an open area bounded by a wall, and then narrows into

2 'Toft' means 'messuage' or 'homestead': D.M. Palliser, 'The Medieval street names of York', in York Historian 2:1978, p 16.

3 Ibid, p 14.

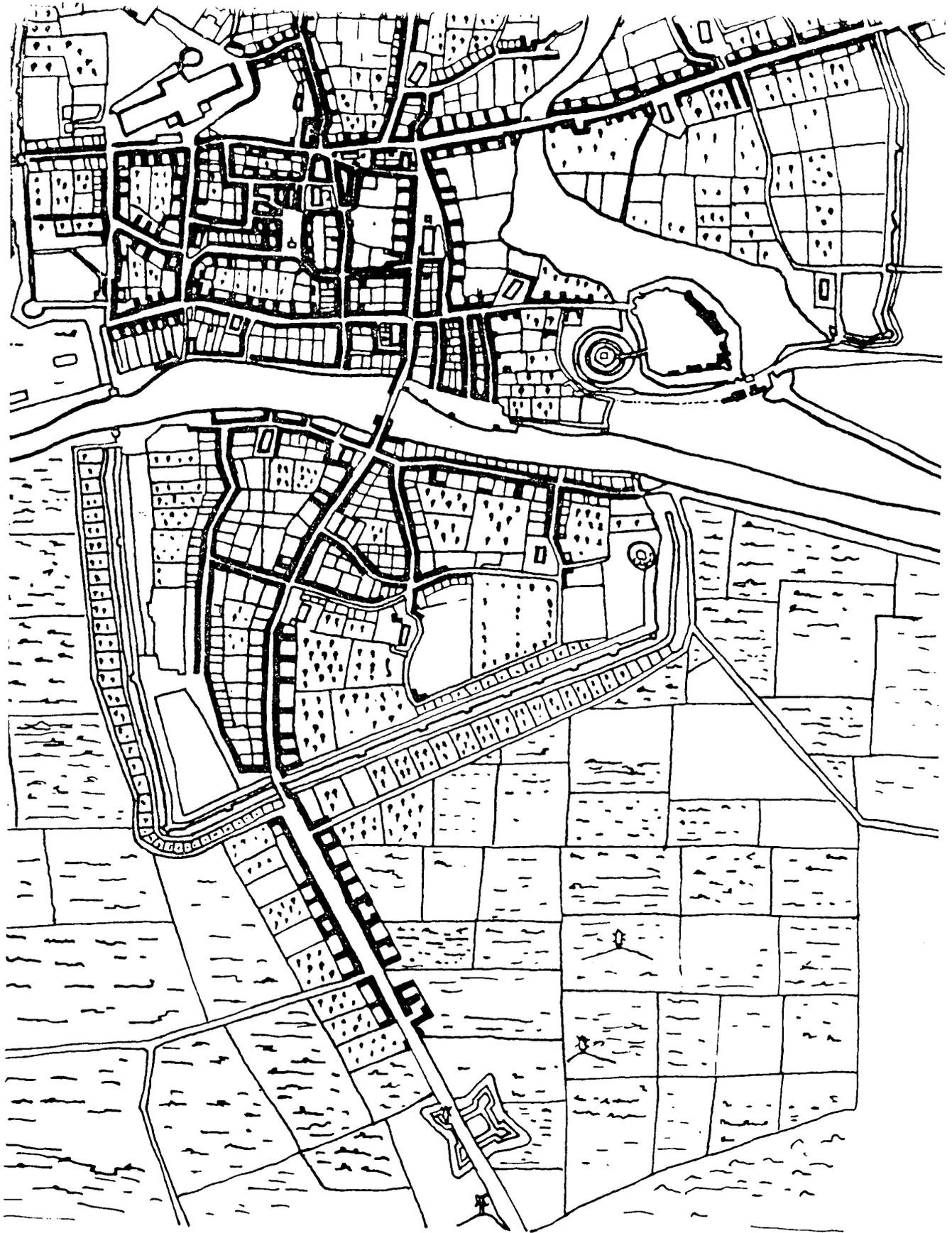


Map 2: A detail from John Speed's map of York, 1610, showing the Micklegate Ward area of York

Barker Row (or Tanner Row)⁴, which runs down to the Church of All Hallows North Street (marked 'X' on Speed's plan). Toft Green lay in the corner of the walls, and the Friary was further down Barker Row, near Gregory Lane which joins Micklegate and Barker Row. Captain Archer's plan of c 1673, made well over a hundred years after the dissolution of the Toft Green Friary, shows an open area in the corner of the walls, also depicted in Jacob Richard's version of 1685 (Map 3, p 135)⁵. A path runs around the inside of the walls, along the interior moat, and this was later illustrated by Joseph Halfpenny (Illustration 3, p 130).

The earliest known map of York, preserved in two parts in the Public Record Office (PRO: MPB 49 and 51), is very damaged, and the part showing the top of Micklegate and the Bar itself has been lost. Only major roads are marked, and no buildings except the Castle, Minster and a few churches in the centre of the city which seem to be the reason for the map⁶ (Maps 4 and 5, pp 136 and 197; see especially the note on p 136).

- 4 Originally this road was seen as an extension of North Street, and the name Barker or Tanner Row dates from the early sixteenth century. A number of tanners rented parts of the inside moat there, and the name Tanners Moat is still preserved as a street name in the area.
- 5 Captain Archer's original map is in the North Yorkshire County Library, Museum Street, York, and is illustrated in RCHM: City of York, volume II, The Defences (HMSO, 1972), Plate 60, opposite p 165. The related map by Jacob Richards is Plate 61, opposite p 176.
- 6 See RCHM: York III, pp xxviii and xxxiv. A mid-sixteenth century date is suggested, perhaps 1541, and a diagram of the map is given.



Map 3: Toft Green and Micklegate: a detail based on the map by Captain Archer (c 1673) and the copy by Jacob Richard (1685)

Property on Toft Green

The Bridgemasters' Rolls, which record the receipt of the pageant house and other rents, were set out very clearly by area⁷. The first area of the Ouse Bridgemasters was made up of the property outside and inside Micklegate Bar, and along Ratton Row, Toft Green and Micklegate. There seems to have been an attempt to follow a logical route in listing the rents within each area, but over the years additions and changes broke the continuity. In 1554, the order of receipts was as follows:

(Property outside the Bar)

John Thomson for a tenement on Ratton Row - 3s

The Skinners for their pageant house - 12d

Robert Bradley for a tenement on Ratton Row - 2s

Agnes Dogeshon for a tenement there - 2s

The Walkers for an outshot - 4d

Thomas Wilson for a close and moat on Toft Green
- 12s

Mrs Plewman for a tenement there - 8d

The Merchants for their pageant house - 12d

The Tapiters for their pageant house - 12d

The Girdlers for their pageant house - 8d

The Wrights and Cordwainers for their pageant
house - 2s

Sir William Gryme⁸ for a garth near the Bar - 2s

The Tanners for their pageant house - 12d

The Bakers for their pageant house - 12d

The Coopers for an outshot - 4d

7 See my article, 'The Girdlers pageant house in York', in REED: Newsletter volume 8, No 1 (1983), pp 1-8.

8 William Gryme was curate of Holy Trinity church, Micklegate (see his will of 22 July 1556, BI: Pr Reg 15A, ff 64v-65).

Miles Middleton for a laith on Toft Green - 5s
 (two tenements in Micklegate, a moat outside
 the walls, and a garth in Martin Lane)
 Mr Hutchinson for a garth on Toft Green - 4d
 (YCA: Bridgemasters' Rolls, C 90:2)

Apart from the return to William Gryme's garth near the Bar, and the intrusion of property in Micklegate, it looks as though there had originally been an order in the rents, proceeding down Ratton Row to Toft Green. This order was also apparent in the earliest rentals for the site.

The first entry noted in REED:YORK concerning the presentation of the Corpus Christi Play comes from 1376: under the Ouse Bridge rents is 2 shillings for a tenement in which three Corpus Christi pageants were housed (YCA: E 20 - A/Y Memorandum Book - f 4-4v; R:Y, pp 3 and 689; YMB I, p 10). The preceding nine rents listed are all for property in Micklegate, which suggests this tenement was in the Toft Green area⁹. The idea of having three pageants to a house is repeated eleven years later, in a dispute between Robert de Waghen carpenter and representatives of the Skinners, Bakers and Dyers in 1387. A note in the A/Y Memorandum Book reports on the agreement made for Robert to build and then repair a house for the pageants of the three crafts (YCA: E 20, f 163v; R:Y, pp 5 and 691). Thirty years later, the Bakers had broken this alliance, for they took a lease from the Mayor and Commonalty of land

9 Although most entries show pageant houses in the Toft Green area, note should be taken of the recently published evidence for pageant waggons at the Archbishop's Palace in the Minster precincts: 'York pageant house: new evidence' by Alexandra F. Johnston, REED: Newsletter 1982:2, pp 24-25.

on Toft Green, dated 6 May 1418. It was for a piece of waste land next to the wall of the Friary, stretching six yards to the south from the postern in that wall, and five and a half yards to the west. It was a long lease, for eighty years, and the Bakers were to pay 12d a year (YCA: E 20A - B/Y Memorandum Book - f 40; YMB III, p 56). The Bridgemasters' Rolls, when they begin, show the result, for in 1424 the Skinners and Dyers were recorded together, paying 2 shillings for a pageant house, whilst the Bakers paid 12d for land; by 1428, the Bakers were also recorded as paying this rent for their pageant house (YCA: BR C 82:2 and 3; R:Y, pp 40 and 46). Although it is not originally stated that this land leased to the Bakers was for a pageant house, the two Rolls referred to make the connection. Also, the Bakers' lease is very similar to one made between the city and the Goldsmiths on 3 November 1420¹⁰. In this case the land, also against the Friary wall, was four yards by five and three quarter yards, and was specifically to have a pageant house built on it. The lease was again for eighty years, but they were only to pay 8d a year. The Goldsmiths were to build the house and repair it at their own cost, and surrender the house at the end of the period along with the land (YCA: E 20A, f 42; R:Y, pp 35-6 and 721-2; YMB III, p 58).

Not every pageant house was against the Friary wall. It has already been noted that in the Bridgemasters' Rolls the Skinners' pageant house was listed first, and separated from the others by entries for property on Ratton Row. Other evidence confirms that their pageant house was along this road from

10 These deeds are summarised in York Memorandum Book: BY, edited by Joyce W. Percy (Surtees Society, volume Clxxxvi, 1973), pp 56 and 58.

Micklegate rather than on Toft Green near the Friary walls. A lease dated 1 February 1420/1 gave John Yoman a garden lying between tenements on Ratton Row and the city walls, which is described as a garden lying between the tenements of Ratton Row in the tenure of Christiane Heb, John Kyrkeby and John Mason, and the stone walls of the city of York, with the entrance lying between the pageant house of the Skinners on the north and the tenement in the tenure of John Mason on the south; the garden stretched from Richard Cuke's garden on the north to the garden of Richard Brewster on the south (YCA: E 20A, ff 42v-43; YMB III, p 59; my summary from the Latin). A schematic plan can be made based on this description (Figure 1, p 141); the compass point is derived from the deed¹¹.

All the people mentioned in this lease are named in the 1424 Bridgemasters' Roll, renting property north of Micklegate Bar (YCA: BR C 82:2). The entries here may indeed represent a walk from Micklegate around Toft Green, and a suggested arrangement of the property there (albeit speculative) is given in Figure 2 (p 142; see also the Notes to Figures). In this 1424 Roll, the Skinners paid rent along with the Dyers: two shillings between them as opposed to one shilling from the Bakers and other crafts. However, when they renewed their lease for forty years in 1484, they rented for only one shilling, and the Dyers disappeared from the Rolls. The lease, recorded in the House Book on 23 September 1484, makes no mention of the Dyers, saying only that the Skinners agreed to rent one tenement in Ratton Row called the pageant house for forty years at an annual rent of 12d, with the usual conditions for repair and repossession by the city if the rent were in arrears

¹¹ See the note to Map 4, p 136.

Figure 1: Schematic plan of property on Ratton Row in 1421

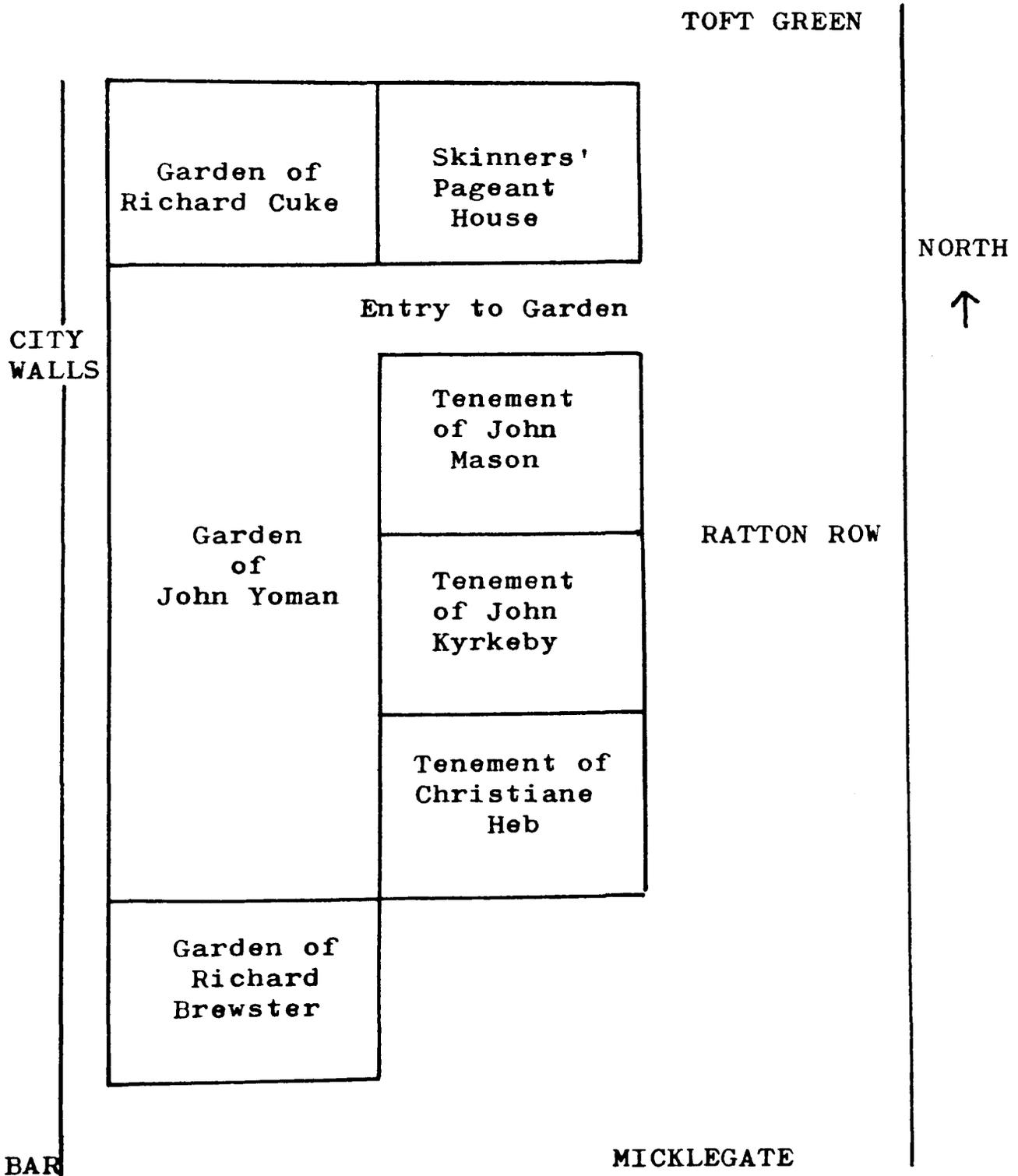


Figure 2: A speculative arrangement of the rents at Toft Green, based on the Bridgemasters' Roll of 1424 (YCA: C 82:2)

Land in the corner: William Lyghtfote
 4 Land: Alan de Saxton, cartwright
 A garden: Robert Ketyll
 Land: Robert Ketyll and other
 5 tailors
 Land on the Tofts under Alan Cartwright's
 8 garden: William Brandesby
 Land: Richard Frers
 T O F T G R E E N

7 Land there: Goldsmiths
 Land there: Bakers
 Land there: Carpenters and Cordwainers
 Land there: Tapiters
 Land there: Mercers
 Land on the Tofts: Tanners

2 A fifth cottage formerly held by Alison Halstan
 A fourth cottage: Richard Cuke
 A third cottage formerly held by William
 Lyghtfote: vacant
 A cottage formerly held by Richard Cuke - vacant

The house of the Skinners and Dyers

Land held by John Yoman

A fourth cottage: John Mason
 A third cottage: John Kirkeby
 A second cottage: Margaret Ceszay
 A small cottage: Christiana Hebbs

A sixth shop: Richard Brewster
 A fifth shop: William Dawson labourer
 A fourth shop: John Syggeston
 A third shop: John Hay's wife
 Two shops on the north side: William Lyghtfote

R
A
F
E
L
O
N
R
O
W

3 A little cottage at the end of the said tenement
 A tenement formerly of John Watson tiler

A sixth tenement: John Bakester tapiter
 A fifth tenement: Richard Vseworth tiler
 A fourth tenement: John Grynders
 Tenement: Hugh Hamerton
 Tenement: Alice Harryngton
 Tenement formerly of Thomas Houeden: Robert Collyng

142

Land in
 Plogheswaynsgate:
 Thomas Rypon

6 A little
 shop on the
 road outside
 Micklegate:
 Robert Leds

A house
 over
 the gate:
 John
 Hauke
 clerk

W
A
L
L
S

1 'Herbage' inside
 the gate: Hugh Gill

c Three cottages on
 the south side: no
 tenants named

M I C K L E G A T E

NORTH



(YCA: B 2-4, f 135; R:Y, pp 134 and 787)¹². As the Skinners were still in Ratton Row as opposed to Toft Green, it can perhaps be assumed that they were keeping their original site.

Copies do not survive of every lease or sale of Toft Green property, and those that have do not always give the boundaries of the land. Although the Goldsmiths' and Bakers' pageant houses were against the Friary wall, their position in relation to each other is not known, except that the Bakers' was near the postern. Most information on land at Toft Green comes from the sixteenth century, when the Friary site had been sold by the crown, and the city too sold most land not immediately adjacent to the walls. One later tenant was Lawrence Grene. In 1562 he took a 21-year lease of a little close on Pageant Green (YCA: B 23, f 69), and on 20 March 1562/3, in the general sale by the city of its property, he bought a tenement and garden in Ratton Row standing to the south of a pageant house (YCA: E 22, f 3). On 11 June 1563 he bought the site of the Blackfriars' house itself from William Blithman of Whixley, and six tenants are named in the deed: Robert Middleton, Lawrence Grene himself, Thomas Henryson (ie Harrison) Innkeeper, John Skaife, William Farley and Thomas Waller; it also included a piece of ground occupied by Reginald Fawkes, lying between the city walls and the Friary (YCA: E 23, ff 96v-97). Other sales of land and buildings on Pageant Green or Ratton Row in 1562/3 were to Edward Gilpyn, Thomas Mason, John Bean and John Skaife (YCA: E 22, ff 5, 13v-14, 23-23v and 25). John Bean's property, two tenements with gardens, faced on Micklegate but backed on 'Toft green

12 This lease was also extracted by Darcy Preston into Volume 3 of his 'Liber Miscellanea' at the end of the seventeenth century (YCA: E 34, p 675).

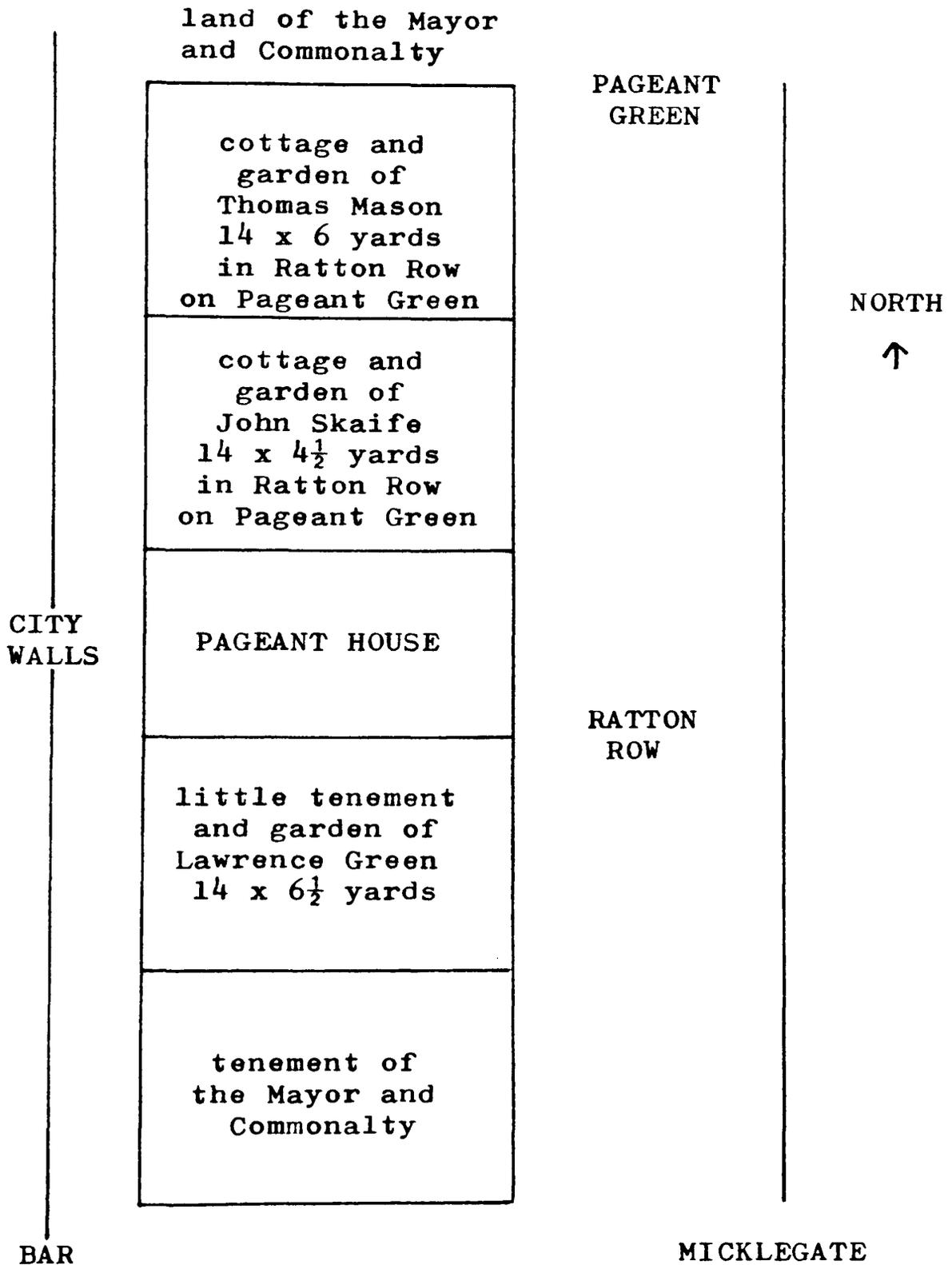
Lane', and was to the east of a tenement of Lawrence Grene. Another later occupier in the area was Simon Rundall, who bought a little house at the east end of Pageant Green on 7 October 1589 (YCA: E 26, f 83v). He was probably the Simon Runder who on 12 January 1592/3 was given a lease of a tenement where he lived on Micklegate, and the outshot he had built onto Pageant Green which was ten by three yards (YCA: B 30, f 373v). Simon Runder was of the parish of St Martin Micklegate, which places him at or below Gregory Lane; the area called Pageant Green would therefore seem to include the site of the former Friary.

The lay-out of property in Ratton Row is easier to determine than that on Toft Green proper, and it is possible to arrive at another schematic plan (Figure 3, p 145) for the sixteenth century, based on the deeds of 20 March 1562/3 selling property to Thomas Mason joiner, John Skaife and Lawrence Grene (YCA: E 22, ff 13v-14, 25 and 3). If this schematic plan can be matched with Figure 1, Lawrence Grene's garden may be that earlier leased to John Yoman. In any case, it confirms the existence of one pageant house standing separate in Ratton Row, away from others known to be on Toft Green itself.

The pageant houses

The pattern of rents for pageant houses can be derived from the entries given throughout REED:YORK, and it can be summarised to point out the variations over the years (pp 146-7 below).

Figure 3: Schematic plan of property on Ratton Row in 1563



Summary of pageant houses on Toft Green

See REED:YORK: extracts from the Ouse
Bridgemasters' Rolls, 1424-1586

1424-1468: Skinners and Dyers - 2s
Tanners - 12d
Mercers - 12d
Tapiters - 12d
Carpenters and Cordwainers - 2s
Bakers - 12d
Goldsmiths - 8d

1484: Skinners renewed their lease
1488: Dyers have disappeared
1499: Order for Weavers
Tapiters not included
1501: Tapiters entered
1501-1543: payment by Weavers and
unnamed crafts
1514-1523: payments for pageant houses
noted as a group, including
rent for a tenement on John
Allen's land (later
Alderman Hall's land)

1533-1543: Skinners - 12d
Weavers - 16d
Mercers, Bakers (wrongly appearing as
Fishers in the first English Rolls),
Tapiters, Carpenters and Tanners
Diverse pageants

from 1544: Skinners - 12d
Walkers for an outshot - 4d
(not in REED:YORK)
Merchants - 12d
Tapiters - 12d
Wrights and Cordwainers - 2s
Bakers - 12d
Tanners - 12d
Coopers - 4d for 'an owtshote to the
pagyant at the laith end' (R:Y, p 284)

1548-1554: the Girdlers paid 8d for a pageant
house, but this was in decay and
the rent unpaid in 1552 and 1554
(see footnote 7, p 137 above)

1586: Skinners - 12d
 Walkers' outshot - 4d
 Merchants - 12d
 Tapiters - 12d
 Tanners - 12d
 Wrights - 12d
 Bakers - 12d
 Cordwainers - 12d
 Coopers' outshot - 4d

For the storing of more than one craft's waggon in a pageant house, note the arrangement of Bakers, Skinners and Dyers in 1387 (p 138 above); also the accounts of the Merchants in 1487-1492 and 1547-1590, and the Bakers in 1503 and 1547-1587, as extracted in REED:YORK

The end of the pageant houses

Starting from the 1586 Bridgemasters' Roll (YCA: C 94:6; R:Y, pp 427-8), it is possible to trace the decline and loss of the pageant houses. Some waggons at least continued to be stored, for the Skinners, Tailors, Cooks, Innholders, Dyers and Bakers all lent them for Grafton's Interlude in 1585 (YCA: CB 6 (1, 1585), f 70v; R:Y, pp 419-420). However, even though the Bakers had completely rebuilt their house in 1574 (R:Y, pp 376-7), the crafts must have gradually become aware that there was to be no further call for their pageant waggons.

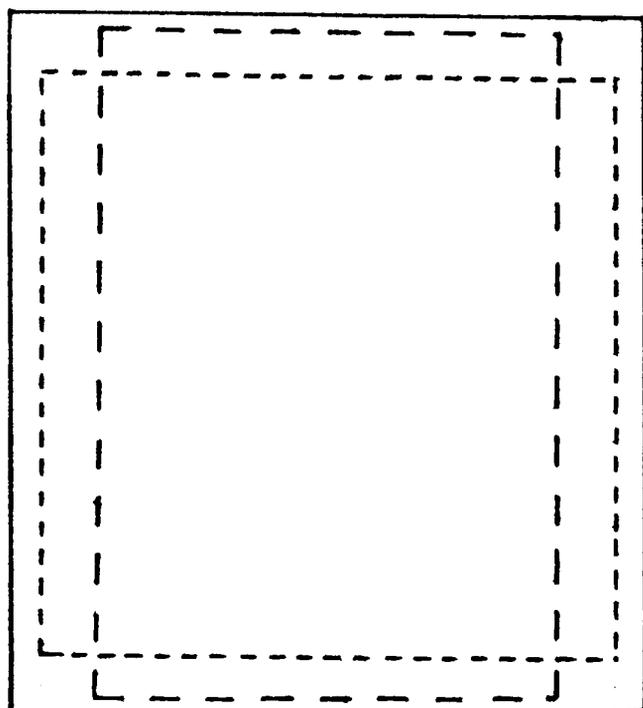
The first to realise this, from the evidence of the discarding of their pageant house, were the Merchants. They are last recorded paying their pageant house rent in 1586 (YCA: BR C 94:6), but although there is a similar entry in the next surviving roll of 1591, it was not in fact paid, as the reverse of the roll shows. Under 'certen Rentes allowed for dyuers considerations'

is included 12d for the Merchants' pageant house now in the occupation of Alderman Moseley, which he had refused to pay (YCA: BR C 94:7). The 1592 Roll apparently records a receipt of 12d from him 'for a pece of ground where the merchantes pagiant hous stod', but again this is cancelled on the reverse side, under 'Certen Rentes allowed for dyvers consideracons & others which Refuse to pay' (YCA: BR C 94:8). This pair of entries is repeated on the 1593 Roll (YCA: C 95:1)¹³.

On 22 April 1594, the city's rents were viewed, and it was noted that Mr Moseley paid no rent for the ground on Toft Green where the Merchants' pageant house stood. An added note, crammed into the margin, adds that he would pay no rent but that anyone could take it that willed; the ground was only fifteen feet on each side, and he would give 4d a year or buy it for 6s 8d. The Aldermen who were wardens of Micklegate, with two others, were ordered to view it (YCA: E 76 (first section), f 2). This gives us the dimensions of the ground to set beside that of the Bakers and the Goldsmiths, known from the previous century: they are remarkably similar, the Bakers' being the largest (Figure 4, p 149). Mr Moseley may have been deliberately belittling the land, for at the end of the year he bought it for 13s 4d, more than he had suggested; the agreement for the sale, of 19 November 1594, says that he had already enclosed the ground into his own property (YCA: B 31, f 88v; R:Y, p 459). The rent does not appear in the 1595 Bridgemasters' Roll (YCA: C 95:2).

13 None of these allowances in the Bridgemasters' Rolls have been noted in REED:YORK, but the receipts can be found under the appropriate year.

Figure 4: The area of three
pageant houses



Bakers, 1418 ———
 Goldsmiths, 1420 — — —
 Merchants, 1594 - - - - -

1 yard



The Bakers, on the contrary, kept up their pageant house even after the waggon must have gone, and sub-let to one of their craft. Perhaps they had already considered this possibility when they rebuilt in 1574. They agreed in 1579 that those who had the 'padione howse' were to pay 2s 6d for the rent (R:Y, p 392), and from 1585 the receipt of 2s 6d from a baker is established. James Allanbye paid between 1587 and 1600 (R:Y, between pp 431 and 493). In 1602, the rent was increased to 6 shillings, although the rent paid to the city continued at 12d. From 1606, William Wright paid 6 shillings, and he continued doing so until 1643. In the accounts of 1626-7, the rent was returned to him for charges he had bestowed on the pageant house¹⁴.

14 Dorrell II, p 420. REED:YORK only takes extracts

After the disappearance of the Merchants, the other crafts, along with the Bakers, continued to pay for pageant houses:

Skinners
Walkers for an outshot
Tapiters
Tanners
Carpenters
Bakers
Cordwainers
Coopers for an outshot

A closer examination of the Rolls, however, especially of the allowances at the end of the accounts, along with some other evidence, gives a clearer idea of the end of their pageant houses.

They all paid their rents regularly with only a few exceptions until 1632. The first was in 1604, when the allowances show that rents from the Skinners, Walkers, Tapiters, Carpenters and Coopers were not paid (YCA: C 96:4), but it should be remembered that 1604-5 was the period of the great plague in York. From 1602 to 1604 the Coopers' outshot is called a pageant house in the Rolls, but in 1607 it is an outshot again. A paper, now stuck into the 1605 Chamberlains' Book, notes that 4d for the Coopers' pageant house was due to the Bridgemasters for that year (YCA: CB 12 (1, 1605), p 178). After this, the rents were apparently received, apart from 4d not paid by the Walkers in 1607 and 1610 (YCA: C 96:5 and 7)¹⁵. In 1620, the rents of

from the Bakers' accounts up to 1613. Later information is taken from the extracts given in Margaret Dorrell's Ph.D. thesis The Corpus Christi Play at York (Leeds University, 1973), Volume II.

15 YCA: BR C 96:6, the Roll for 1609, is badly faded and almost illegible.

the Walkers and Coopers for their outshots had not been collected, and in 1621 apparently only the Skinners paid (C 97:3 and 4), but from then until 1626, the last Bridgemasters' Roll (C 98:3), all the rents were received.

After 1626, the Bridgemasters were replaced by a salaried 'City Husband', who was to see to repairs of property as well as collect rents. The subsequent Receiver's Rolls repeat the entries familiar from the Bridgemasters' Rolls, and continue until the 1690s¹⁶. The Walkers, although entered regularly, appear amongst the list of arrearages in every Roll until 1665, and they can last be assumed to have paid in 1626. The Tapiters also paid for the last time in 1626; on 13 February 1627/8 they were removed from the Rental because their pageant house had been taken down (YCA: B 35, f 57; R:Y, p 576)¹⁷. The Coopers, according to a note of arrears not collected (YCA: K, Parcel 43) were in arrears in 1629, but were recorded by the Receiver's Roll to have paid again in 1634.

The difficulty in dating some of the Receiver's Rolls makes the survey of the gradual disappearance of the pageant houses less accurate, but the pattern is clear. In 1631, all the seven remaining crafts are listed, but the Walkers are as usual cancelled out in

16 REED:YORK has not taken any extracts from these Rolls. They have been badly affected by damp, some are further damaged and torn, and many of them are difficult or impossible to read even under ultra-violet light. In some cases the date or name of the Mayor is not legible, and when I have not been able to confirm the suggested date, I have prefaced it with a question mark. YCA: C 66:1 to C 79:5.

17 REED:YORK, p 576, gives the date as 8 February; it is in fact 13 February.

the arrearages (YCA: C 66:8). That year is also the last certain date of payment from the Skinners, but the arrearages of 1632, which are partly obliterated, refer to a pageant house which is probably the Skinners (C 66:9). The following chart shows more clearly the payments or non-payments of the crafts for their pageant houses between 1634 and 1649 (this omits the Rolls where the arrears are unreadable¹⁸).

Figure 5: Payment of pageant
house rent, 1634
to 1649

/ = paid A = cancelled by arrearages

	1634	?? 1637	? 1638	1644	1645	1646	1647	1648	1649
Skinners	A	/	/	A	A	A	A	A	A
Walkers	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Tanners	/	/	/	A	A	A	A	A	A
Carpenters	/	A	/	/	/	/	A	A	A
Bakers	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	A
Cordwainers	/	/	/	/	/	A	A	A	A
Coopers	/	A	/	A	A	A	A	A	A
YCA:C	67:1	67:3	67:4	68:3	69:1	69:2	69:3	70:1	70:2

The Wrights or Carpenters were in arrears from 1647, but other evidence modifies this conclusion. On 28 July 1645 the city council noted that the Wrights had pulled down their 'padion howse' that was leased from

18 The Roll of ??1637 is so placed because of its reference number, and ?1638 (C 67:4) has been dated by a later hand but I could not confirm the date from the Roll itself. The entries on the Rolls for 1636, ?1641 and ?1642 (C 67:2, 68:1 and 2) have been disregarded as the arrearages are not legible.

the corporation, and had kept the tile, brick and timber: they were to be sued in the Sheriffs' court for its return (YCA: B 36, f 142v). It must be assumed that they had a similar long term lease to those given to the Bakers and Goldsmiths over two hundred years before: at the end of the lease of the land, the building was to go to the corporation, even though the craft had built and maintained it at their own cost. The Carpenters may have kept some right by paying for the now bare ground in 1647, but they did not continue after that, and in February 1647/8 the city withheld payment to one of their members who had done some work for the city until the materials of the pageant house were handed over. It was ordered on 14 March 1647/8 that the matter should be discussed further, but nothing more is recorded (YCA: B 36, f 215 and 215v)¹⁹.

The Bakers, whose association with Pageant Green began in 1387, became the last craft to relinquish occupation. According to the Receiver's Rolls, they last paid their rent in 1648 (YCA: C 70:1), and from 1649 they are in arrears like all the others. The Bakers' own records slightly predate this end. William Wright, who had been subrenting the house since 1606 for 6 shillings a year, paid only 3 shillings in 1642-3. The following account of 1643-4 records 'it was taken from him' (Dorrell II, p 426). The last reference to the one shilling rent for the pageant house paid by the Bakers to the corporation is in 1644-5 (Dorrell II, p 427).

One very important event marks the end of the pageant houses: the Siege of York in 1644. When the

19 No similar problem accompanied the pulling down of the Merchants' house, so perhaps the material had been given to the city.

Parliamentary forces finally bombarded the royalist city into surrender, they ordered various defensive measures. On 28 March 1645 a platform to carry ordnance and a guard house five by three yards (just a little smaller than the pageant houses) were ordered to be built on Toft Green, and the walls near the tower in that corner were also to be repaired (YCA: B 36, f 131 and 135v). It was at this time that the Wrights demolished their pageant house, and William Wright baker had his building taken from him.

Despite this, the Receiver's Rolls continued to record the pageant house rents until 1665. From 1649, when the Bakers joined the other six remaining crafts, the arrearages noted at the end of the Rolls cancel out the apparent payments. They are noted as a group in various terms:

Item for one yeares rent for the seuerall
 Pagent houses on Toft greene - v^s viij^d
 (C 71:2, 1652)

Of the Skinners & other Trades for there
 Pagant house - 0 - 05 - 8
 (C 71:4, 1654)

for seauen Pagant houses this yeare - 0 - 05 - 8
 (C 72:2, 1656)

ffor Pageant farmes of diuerse occupacons
 - 00 - 07 - 00 [sic]
 (C 73:3, 1662)

The Roll of ?1661, which is damaged and faded, has a margin note against the list of rents at Toft Green: 'Thes pageant houses are pulled down longe since' (YCA: C 73:2); but even so the entries are repeated for a few more years. Not until the 1665 Roll - again now faded and difficult to read - is a firm decision noted: the list of pageant houses at Toft Green are bracketed

together with the comment 'order[ed] that these be esp[-ed of] rental by reason ye pageantes are demolished' (YCA: C 74:3, 1665). The arrears cancel each entry, the Skinners, Bakers, Carpenters, Cordwainers, Walkers, Tanners and Coopers, and after that the redundant and vanished pageant houses disappear from the records: nearly a hundred years after the last performance of the Corpus Christi Play.

Summary of the end
of the pageant houses

Merchants:	pulled down 1591/2 site sold 1594
Tapiters:	last recorded payment 1626 rent cancelled 1627/8 as the pageant house had been demolished
Walkers:	outshot; last recorded payment 1626
Skinners:	last payment ?1638 (last precise date 1631) out by 1644
Coopers:	outshot/pageant house last payment ?1638 (last precise date 1634) out by 1644
Tanners:	last payment ?1638 (last precise date 1634) out by 1644
Cordwainers:	last payment 1645
Wrights:	pulled down 1645 last payment 1646
Bakers:	last payment 1648 (their records 1645)

Use of Toft Green

In 1841 the original York railway station was built on the site of the old Friary, and when the present station was opened outside the walls, British Rail made use of the former site for a particularly ugly set of office buildings. It is difficult to envisage now what Toft Green must have looked like, although the area is still approached from Micklegate down Ratton Row.

Due to the chance survival of some records - the Wardmote Court Books, for example, which remain only for the period 1575-1586 - most entries concerning Toft Green come from after the end of the performances when the waggons were needed. They do, however, give some impression of the use of the site. Despite the apparent cluster of buildings, like the pageant houses, there was sufficient space to gather a number of people together. Although large musters for soldiers usually took place on Knavesmire or Heworth Moor, there are several examples of assembly being made on Toft Green. A special muster was ordered on 1 March 1557/8, to ensure that every man had his weapons kept in readiness as the statute demanded, 'for the Citie on monedy next on the old baylly And on Tewysday for the Aynsty on the Pageant greene' (YCA: B 22, f 117). The muster of all able-bodied men between sixteen and sixty years old, in February 1563/4, was again for the city men at the Old Bailey and the Ainsty on Pageant Green (YCA: B 23, f 130). In February 1569/70, a hundred soldiers were to be appointed ready for service; the Mayor ordered the others named in the Commission and the Constables and honest men of the Ainsty to come before him on Toft Green (B 24, f 188).

Toft Green was obviously large enough to take all the able men from the Ainsty, and presumably the open

ground and the road could hold all the pageant waggons on the morning of the performance of the Corpus Christi Play. It also served to keep cattle. Thomas Nikkolson was presented at the Micklegate Wardmote Court in May 1579 for impounding cattle left for the night on Toft Green, and then taking money for their release, but he was exonerated at the hearing (YCA: E 31 (second section), p 3).

The items in the Wardmote Books mostly refer to the attempts to keep the city clean and tidy, before the days of public drainage and sanitation, and when individual householders were responsible for the upkeep of the road before their houses and the disposal of their rubbish. The natural temptation to dump rubbish into the river or next to someone else's door was often succumbed to, and on occasions even the Aldermen were presented at these courts for not being more responsible. The size of Toft Green made it liable to be used as a storage place or site for indiscriminate dumping. Thomas Appleyard (probably the son of the Alderman) and Robert Askwith of the Twenty Four were ordered to remove their timber lying on Toft Green in April 1575. In 1577 Alderman Appleyard himself, George Tyrry, John Brockett and others were ordered to remove their timber (YCA: E 31 (first section), ff 2 and 45). In 1581 it was Alderman May and Alderman Richardson who were at fault for laying their timber on 'pagiant grene to the hurt of mens Cattell': they and others who had timber there were to remove it (E 31 (second section), p 116). A note of Wardmote Court fines in May 1596, bound in the Chamberlains' Book of that year, shows the problem remained; Anthony Robinson joiner, Alderman Robinson, Robert Hueson, Thomas Askwith; William Woodward and William Yeward were all fined for leaving timber on Toft Green, along with three men who had not removed their dunghills (YCA: CB 8 (2, 1596), between ff 21 and 22).

The dungheaps had also been a nuisance in the period covered by the Wardmote Court records. The Micklegate Ward Court of 21 April 1578 gave specific warnings:

A paine is laid that William Hall ~~do~~ av
 Rycherd Sedull & William Todd Smythe do
 avoide ther seuerall dong heapes frome
 the paggens housses dores viz/ the
 ffurryors [sic] bakers & couerlet weavers
 [Tapiters] padgeon housses & Lye none
 ther heareafter nor against any other
 house on the padgeon grene ~~vpon~~ before
 trynitie sonday vpon paine of euerye of
 them - iijs iiijd

(YCA: E 31 (first section), f 77v)

This is followed by a warning against laying dung anywhere from Gregory Lane to Pageant Green, except on 'the ould accustomed place against Mrs Skafe backdore vpon padgeon grene': anyone who wished to take manure from this dungheap could, and those who wished to have their private supply should make their dungheaps on their own land (E 31 (first section), f 77v). In 1582, the order against laying dung 'betwixt St gregorye layne ende and the Comon ffowld on pagyon grene' was repeated, with the penalty raised to 10 shillings, and further examples can be found in 1583 and 1584 (E 31 (second section), pp 126, 167 and 231). Later examples from the House Books show things had not improved: Robert Cook had to remove his dung from Pageant Green in March 1594/5 (YCA: B 31, f 112), and Ainsty men were laying manure and dung on Pageant Green in February 1615/6 (B 34, f 87-87v). The owners or occupiers of houses or gardens around the Green were supposed to keep it clean; Alderman Moseley (who had recently bought the ground where the Merchants' pageant house had been) and Thomas Tyrry were presented at the Wardmote Court in April 1597 for not cleaning before their garths near

Toft Green, and were fined 6s 8d (YCA: CB 9 (1, 1597): note of fines bound between ff 21 and 22).

One of the men fined in 1596, Anthony Robinson, was a joiner, and various other people connected with this area at the top of Micklegate were joiners or carpenters - for example, Thomas Mason, who had bought a cottage in March 1562/3²⁰: this could be one explanation of all the timber recorded. There was probably other industry, quite apart from that of the tanners nearby who gave their name to Barker or Tanner Row and Tanners Moat. When the Churchwardens of St Michael Ousebridge End had their church bell recast in 1612, they first went to see the workmen 'att the toft green'. The bell was weighed at the Crane near Skeldergate Postern, and then 4 shillings was spent taking it 'to the tofte greene from the Crane' and from the Crane - presumably it was weighed again after the work - to the church. The only reference to casting the bell is in a payment of 12d for bread and ale when it was taken up from the furnace, and it seems the only reason for the difficult journey up the hill to Toft Green was that the furnace was there (BI: PR Y/MS 2, ff 76-77).

Another feature of Pageant Green was a well. On 4 December 1565 it had been ordered that the stone well on Pageant Green should be taken up, the materials sold and the hole filled (YCA: B 24, f 31); but it seems as though this was not done. In March 1601/2 the council ordered the inhabitants of Trinity parish Micklegate to repair the well, otherwise the stones would be taken away and the well stopped up (YCA: B 32, f 195). In

20 See pp 144 and 145 above, and the footnote on p 418 below.

October 1613 the parishioners were ordered to open it up and clean it (B 34, f 17v).

Despite the timber, cattle and dungheaps, it was the presence of the pageant houses and the assembly of the pageant waggons on Corpus Christi Day that remained in men's minds and gave Toft Green its alternative name.

2. SUCH AS WILL HAVE PAGEANTS
PLAYED BEFORE THEIR DOORS

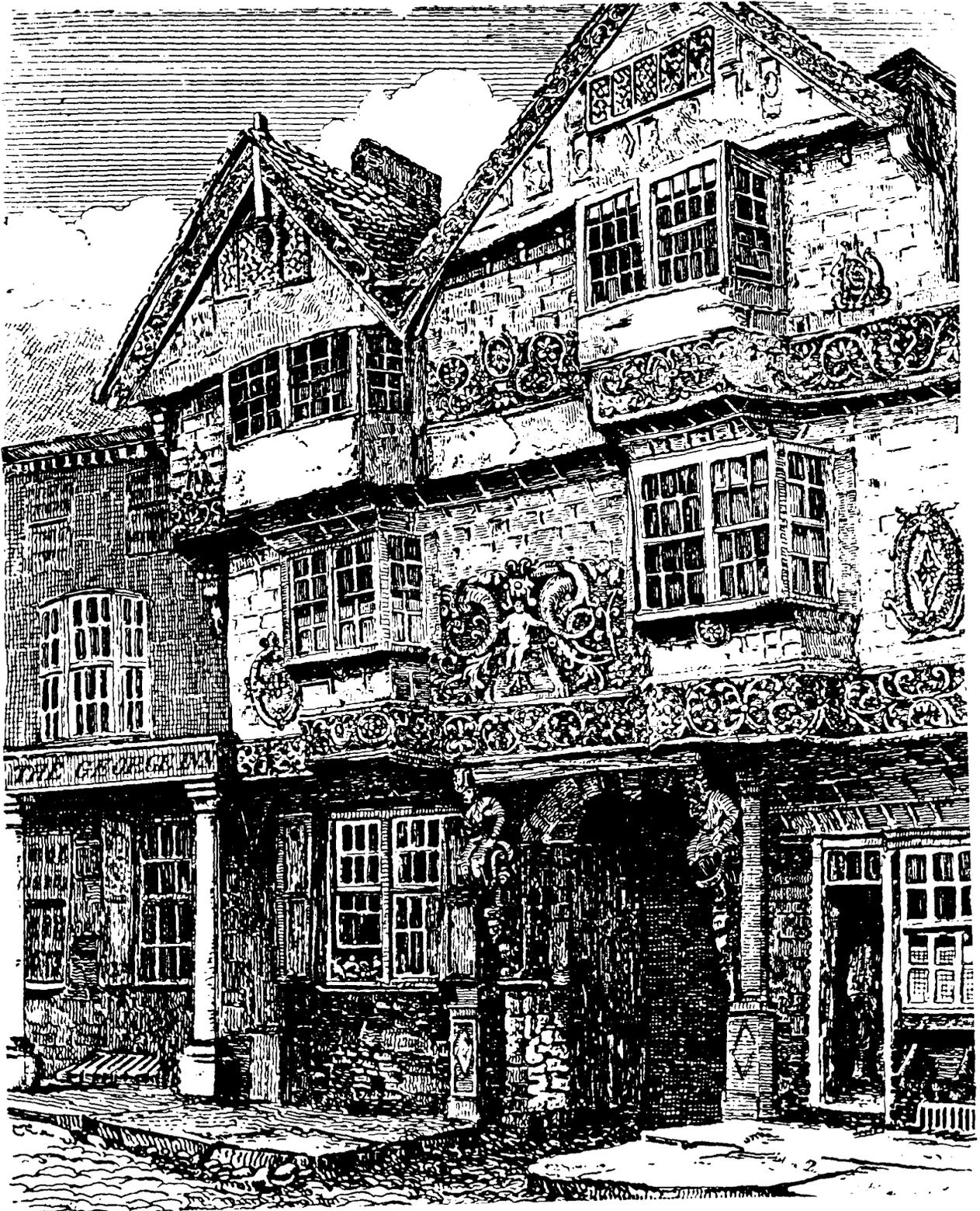


Illustration 4: Part of the Front to the George
Inn, in Coney-Street: Henry Cave,
1813

Introduction

The following examination attempts to identify and locate in more detail those people who were assigned places for hearing the plays between 1554 and 1585. The Corpus Christi Play was performed in 1554, 1555, 1556, 1557, 1561, 1562, 1563, 1567 and 1569, and the Pater Noster Play in 1558 and 1572. However, the House Books only list the places in 1569 and 1572, and after 1554 the Chamberlains' Books survive in this period only for 1559, when there was no performance¹, and 1565, when there could be no performance because Ouse Bridge had fallen down in the winter of 1564/5². Places for the first of Grafton's plays, in 1584, were announced in the House Book, and apparently no-one was to pay for them as the Chamberlains' Book has no receipts. 1585 is the only time during the period of this study that the places are listed in the House Book with corresponding entries in the Chamberlains' Book, and comparison of the entries suggests that evidence from only one source should not be taken as conclusive. Out of a total of thirteen performances, the list of places has only survived for five years: 1554, 1569, 1572, 1584 and 1585.

- 1 Under the heading 'Lease of places to here the play this yere' is entered 'nihill': Chamberlains' Book 5 (1, 1559), f 26v.
- 2 The new bridge was not opened until November 1566. See YCA: B 24, f 1, for the first reference to the fallen bridge (16 February 1564/5), and f 57v for the order to take up the temporary bridge, and to use some of the wood towards making the buildings and shops on the new bridge (7 November 1566).

In order to preserve the relationship of each station during a particular presentation, the following study is grouped into years rather than around places, but in order to create some grounds for comparison, the sections are sub-divided, where feasible, under places: Micklegate, Ousegate with Ouse Bridge, Coney Street, Stonegate and Minster Gates, Petergate and Colliergate, Hosier Lane and Pavement.

A plan of York to accompany the following account will be found in the end pocket; a comparative chart of the lists of places is at p 358; and a summary list of those who had pageants played before their door is on pp 359-369. Three plans to illustrate the suggested locations of playing places are included in the text, on pp 186, 249 and 327.

LEASES FOR CORPUS CHRISTI PLAY: 1554

Places for the Corpus Christi Play on Thursday 24 May were offered only two weeks before the event, on 11 May:

Item that thofficers of euery warde gyve warnyng that suche as woll haue pageantz played before their doores shall come in and agree for them before Trynyte Sondag next/ or elles to haue none And the places to be appoynted by discreson of my Lord Maior accustomed

(YCA: House Book, B 21, f 44; REED:YORK, p 311)

Most people arranged to pay 3s 4d. On the previous occasion for which the receipts are known, in 1542, only one place, at the Minster Gates, paid that amount; the others paid between 16d and 2 shillings. In the sixteenth century, the total receipts ranged from 50s 8d in 1501 to 16s 8d in 1538, and none of these amounts can be compared to the highest recorded receipt of £6 2s 4d in 1454 (R:Y, pp 84-5, 187, 263-4, 278-9). The uniformity of the payments made in 1554 - unknown before this date - suggests that on this occasion the city council set a basic rate; it is notable that those people who paid less were all Aldermen. Four places were free, including the first.

Quotations are from the receipts from 'Leases for corpus crysty play this yere', recorded in the Chamberlains' Book (YCA: CB 4 (2, 1554), p 59; R.Y, pp 313-4).

i. Micklegate

The ffirst place at the Trinitie yaites where
the Clerke kepys the Regyster

Trinity Gates

Trinity Gates, the entry to Holy Trinity Priory at the top of Micklegate, was one of the fixed places on the pageant route from 1399 onwards: it is mentioned by name as the first place in eleven of the twenty nine surviving lists, and by extension from the eventual custom that the Clerk kept the Register there it was the location for eight more³. The Gates can be seen in Speed's map (p 133) lying a little below Ratton Row on the opposite side of Micklegate. They were demolished in 1854 (RCHM: York III, p 12), and the site is now marked by Priory Street. Henry Cave included an illustration of the Portal in Antiquities of York, published in 1813 (Illustration 5, p 166).

In 1501, the first place was taken by William Catterton and others, and it was described as beyond the place of the Common Clerk - 'ultra locum Communis Clerici' (R:Y, p 187), which is the earliest indication that the city Clerk attended there. The holder of the first place was left blank in 1516⁴, but from 1520 the first place, whether stated to be at Trinity Gates or not, was given over to the Common Clerk or his assistant. Thomas Clerke deputised in 1527 (R:Y, p

3 For all references to the station holders from 1399, see Meg Twycross (op.cit.), pp 28-33; and the chart in Appendix 11 of my MA Dissertation, Sett fforth the Shew.

4 So are other places in this damaged Chamberlains' Roll: REED:YORK, pp 213, 815 and 876.



Illustration 5: Portal of St Trinity,
Micklegate: Henry Cave,
1813

244); the Common Clerk's servant was there in 1542, and in 1554, when he was named as John Clerke⁵.

Trinity Gates would be the biggest landmark at the top of Micklegate to identify the site of the first station; it would also mark a useful first place, below the turning out of Ratton Row, so allowing the next waggon to be manipulated into Micklegate, and leaving enough space for a second station before the road began to slope down to the river.

The Second place at harraysons
& ffareweddrs - iij^s iiij^d

Thomas Harrison

When the number of places had been limited to ten in 1551, the first was in Micklegate 'ageynst Heryson doore' (YCA: B 20, f 57; R:Y, p 298). It is logical to suppose that this same Harrison shared with Fairweather in 1554, and is the Mr Henryson and Alderman Harryson of the 1569, 1572 and 1584 lists, also located at the top of Micklegate. Other entries relating to Thomas Harrison in Micklegate also indicate it is the same man throughout.

The man who was elected Sheriff on 21 September 1562 and Alderman on 15 December 1568 was described as

5 The Common Clerks at this time were Miles Newton (d 1550) and Thomas Fale (d 1571), and John Clerke was the assistant to both these men. He was the son of Thomas Clerke. For further details of John Clerke and his annotations whilst he kept the Register, see Peter Meredith, 'John Clerke's hand in the York Register' in Leeds Studies in English, New Series, Volume XII (Leeds University, 1981), pp 245-271. See also End Note 9.

an Innholder, but there is no-one of that occupation listed in the Freeman's Rolls. Skaife⁶ suggested he was the tanner, franchised in 1554, but he will most probably be the cordwainer, franchised in 1547 and Chamberlain in 1561⁷. He is not alone amongst innkeepers in being apprenticed into another craft, for the Innkeeping profession was not recognised as such⁸. Although some Innkeepers were probably little better than alehouse keepers, others like John Bean and Thomas Harrison himself were wealthy enough to become Aldermen, and Mayors in their turn.

When he first took a place for the Play, in 1551 and 1554, Thomas Harrison had not yet earned the title 'Mr', attained by the ordinary citizen once he had taken office in the city as Chamberlain and then Sheriff. 'Heryson', 'Haryson', 'Mr Henryson' and 'Mr Harryson Alderman' - who took places for the plays

- 6 R.H. Skaife, who compiled a list of Civic Officials of York and Parliamentary Representatives (unpublished three-volume manuscript, North Yorkshire County Library, York).
- 7 Freemen of York I, p 267, and II, p 2; YCA: C 7:1; B 24, ff 119v and 120. Thomas Harrison the tanner was born in Westmorland (YCA: CB 4 (2, 1554), p 171); he lived in St Margaret's parish Walmegate, and all the references to him as a tanner clearly associate him with this area of the city. He never held any civic office, but undertook responsible parochial duties, being a juror for the Sessions, and a Searcher of great hose in Walmegate Ward.
- 8 In 1600, John Bartlay, servant of Hugh Oldcorne Innholder, asked to be admitted a f̄reeman as an apprentice, having served for seven years. It was decided that he could only be admitted as a stranger, paying the full fee, for neither the brewers nor the Innkeepers were a company (YCA: B 32, f 109). He was eventually franchised as an Innholder in 1603, paying 20 marks (£13 6s 8d), but £10 was in fact rebated (YCA: B 32, f 293; Freemen of York II, p 48).

between 1551 and 1584 - can quite easily be variations of the name and title of the same Thomas Harrison.

The entries concerning his lease of a place for the Play in 1551 and 1554 are amongst the earliest references to him, apart from his franchise in 1547. He was associated with the parish of St Martin Micklegate (which reached up Micklegate as far as Gregory Lane); Thomas 'Herryson' was a witness to the will of Nicholas Testis of that parish on 13 May 1555 (BI: Pr Reg 14, f 81-81v), and in 1556 he was one of the Churchwardens (BI: PR Y/MG 1, p 21). In January 1555/6 he was assessed for tax under St Martin Micklegate, at 10 shillings on goods of £10, and the same amount was levied for the second payment in March 1556/7 (YCA: E 50, pp 135, 167 and 174). He had, however, some links with Trinity parish at the top of Micklegate, and as Thomas 'herrison' cordwainer he was a witness of the will of William Gryme, curate of that church, made on 22 July 1556 (BI: Pr Reg 15A, ff 64v-65). There was in fact another Thomas Herrison of Holy Trinity parish, Micklegate, who made his will on 2 April 1557, with probate granted on 27 April (BI: Pr Reg 15A, f 209). Thomas 'herrison' (profession not noted) was a supervisor and witness. Later in the year, during July and September 1557, Thomas 'Henrison' was a Collector for money towards the repair of Kexby Lane, listed under St Nicholas parish (the original name of Holy Trinity parish before the remains of the Priory church were converted into the parish church) (YCA: E 51, p 302; B 22, ff 71 and 84). If this Collector was the same Thomas Harrison, he was back in St Martin Micklegate parish when he paid tax in April 1558, again on £10 goods (YCA: E 50, p 211). He continued to be assessed there in 1559 and 1559/60, and he was witness to the will of William Fairweather of that parish, made on 16 September 1560 (YCA: E 50, pp 244, 258 and 276;

BI: Pr Reg 16, f 120).

At this time, from 1560, he made a gradual change from being a cordwainer to being an innkeeper, and he held office as Chamberlain and Sheriff. That it is the same man in both occupations can be demonstrated from entries in the Bridgemasters' Rolls. Thomas Harrison cordwainer took a lease of part of Hagg Close outside the city with Peter Hudelesse, and they paid £3 6s 8d rent in 1561; after he had become Sheriff (described as an Innholder), he was called Mr Harrison in the Roll of 1564; in due course, part of this close was leased to Alderman Harrison alone, in 1580 (YCA: C 90:4, 91:1 and 93:3). As a cordwainer he was elected Chamberlain for 1561 (YCA: CR C 7:1; FY II, p 2)⁹. He was called a cordwainer in January 1561/2, when he was amongst those presented at the Sessions of the Peace for forestalling (YCA: F 2, pp 58-9), but he was already associated with the Innkeeping profession by being allowed a brewer (YCA: B 23, f 50v: 10 April 1562). This entry placed him in Trinity parish Micklegate, and he seems to have lived there for a period at this time: he was taxed here on £10 goods in 1563 and 1564 (YCA: E 51, pp 22 and 59).

He was called an Innholder when he was elected Sheriff on 21 September 1562 (YCA: B 23, f 64), and perhaps that year marked the period that he made the transition; he had obviously become established enough to be given an office that demanded certain expenses from the holder. After his year as Sheriff, he became a member of the Twenty Four, part of the city council, and was now always known as an Innholder.

9 The House Book including entries for 15 January 1560/1, when he would have been elected, is missing.

The period of his sojourn in Trinity parish was between 1562 and 1566, and there is no mention of any Thomas Harrison in St Martin's parish during this time. By February 1566/7 he was back in St Martin's, paying tax on goods worth £13; he was one of the Collectors for the city on this occasion (YCA: E 51, pp 74 and 97). He was also by now wealthy enough to be considered as an Alderman: he was a candidate in elections on four occasions, from December 1565 to November 1568, but Thomas Harper, William Allyn, Christopher Harbert and Robert Maskewe were elected before him. He was finally chosen on 15 December 1568 in place of Robert Hekylton, and made warden of Micklegate Ward (YCA: B 24, ff 25v, 96v, 105, 119, 119v and 120). From this time, he assumed various duties, which included handing over the city's soldiers at the time of the 1569 Rising (YCA: B 24, f 168v), viewing the state of Ouse Bridge in 1571 (B 24, f 238), going in deputation to the Archbishop in 1574 to see what he would contribute to poor relief (B 25, f 116), making his account for St Thomas Hospital and St Anthony's Hospital in the time he was Mayor in 1575 (YCA: E 66, pp 127-146), welcoming the Lord President on his return to the city in 1576 (B 26, f 101v), auditing accounts (for example, those of 1578 - B 27, f 137; CR C 8:1), being concerned in drawing up the Deed for the Uniting of the Parishes in 1581 and signing the Deed in January 1585/6 (B 28, f 13v, and G 7), collecting relief for the town of Nantwich in 1584 (B 28, f 136), fixing the site of a dunghill in St George Close in January 1590/1 (B 30, f 212v), committing a man for burning his wife through the leg with a hot iron in 1575 (B 31, f 115), and viewing the Common Crane, by the river at the end of Skeldergate, in 1600 (B 32, f 121v). He was Mayor in two occasions, as his turn came, in 1575 and 1592. As such, he would bring civic ceremony into Micklegate, for he would be attended by the city officers. The city's silver would

have been kept at his house that year, for he was expected to entertain there. One duty was to provide a venison feast; when writing an official letter in August 1592 to Mrs Aske, who owed money to the city, he also wrote as a friend, asking her to supply him with a buck for his feast the next week (YCA: B 30, f 345-345v). From 1595, after the resignation of Alderman Maskewe, he was the senior Alderman.

His wife was buried on 6 October 1595, in the choir of St Martin Micklegate (BI: PR Y/MG 1, p 58 and PR Y/MG 19, p 99). Assuming Thomas Harrison was no younger than 20 when he was franchised in 1547, he would have been about 77 in February 1603/4 when it was stated that he 'is and hath bene visited with sicknes' and could not carry out his duties as warden of Micklegate Ward (YCA: B 32, f 310). The later part of that year saw the plague epidemic; Alderman Harrison was buried in St Martin Micklegate on 13 January 1604/5. He may have died from the plague being already in poor health, or he may have died of his original ailment, but the Churchwardens could take no chances, and they paid 3d for 'smokinge' the church at his burial. They had earlier paid 20d 'for franckingsens, piche and Rossell' with torches, and were no doubt fumigating the church at every gathering (BI: PR Y/MG 1, p 65; PR Y/MG 19, p 129).

His will had been made on 22 December 1603. He referred to his son Thomas who had already died and daughter-in-law Joan, with their children Thomas, Mary, Margaret and Joan. His other sons were Robert, who had married the daughter of Alderman William Robinson¹⁰, and who lived in St Martin's parish, and John, who lived in

10 Both Aldermen stood as sureties when Robert was elected Sheriff in 1601 (YCA: B 32, f 163v and 169).

Holy Trinity parish. One daughter had married Alderman Thomas Harbert, and he joined Robert and John as executors of the will. Probate was granted on 28 January 1604/5 (BI: Pr Reg 29B, ff 492v-493v). Thomas Harrison, his son, had been baptised in 1549; John in 1551, and Robert in 1553 (BI: PR Y/MG 1, pp 9, 14 and 17). It was the youngest son, Robert, Sheriff in 1601, who was elected Alderman in place of his father on 15 January 1604/5 (YCA: B 32, f 341a).

Thomas Harrison gradually accumulated wealth over the years. In the tax assessment of January 1555/6 he had goods of £10; in February 1566/7 it rose to £13; in 1572, £20; in 1589, £28; in 1594, £30; and finally in 1599, £31¹¹. He was always assessed on goods rather than lands, but nevertheless he had various properties, both rented and bought. He originally rather modestly rented a garth in Hammerton Lane for a few years in the 1550s, at 16d a year. From 1561, he rented a much larger tract, a third part of Hagg Close and laith, for £3 6s 8d, at first with Peter Hudelesse, and from 1580 alone; the rent became £4 from 1584. Other parts of the close were taken at different times by Thomas Pickering, 'uxor ffayrwedder', John Bean, William Barker and John Farrington (most of them Innholders or Brewers). Thomas Harrison also rented, in company with others, a close beyond St James' Chapel, at first at 49s 4d from 1573, and then at £4 from 1584. A third rent was of a moat behind the Toft Green Friary, for which he paid 8 shillings in 1580 and 20 shillings from 1585 (YCA: B 29, f 33; CB 6 (1, 1585), f 46). In 1579 he was presented twice at the Wardmote Court for not cutting the ivy and brambles from the city wall by this stretch of moat, and fined 3s 4d (YCA: E 31 (second section), pp 6 and

11 YCA: E 50, p 135; E 51, pp 97 and 187; E 59a, ff 89, 164v and 212.

33). Thomas Grene, son of Lawrence Grene who had bought the Friary site there, claimed this moat in the same year; Mr Harrison was discharged against the claim in January 1579/80, and the Recorder was called on to examine the matter. Thomas Grene made a lease for part of the moat, which was laid up in the council chamber in May 1581 (YCA: B 27, f 176v, 210v, 214v; B 28, f 12). Thomas Harrison had been a tenant of part of the Friary lands on Toft Green when they were sold to Lawrence Grene in 1563 (p 143 above). He was still tenant when Lawrence Grene died, and is mentioned in the Inquisition Post Mortem of March 1577/8 (YCA: E 22, f 305). After Thomas Harrison's death, his sons Robert and John continued the leases (survey based on YCA: Bridgemasters' Rolls, 1552-1610: C 90:1 to C 96:7).

In September 1562, just before he was elected Sheriff as an Innkeeper, he bought the Three Kings in Micklegate for £73; the deed described him as a Cordwainer (YCA: E 23, f 94v-95). It suggests that he acquired his new profession by becoming the owner of an inn. This building at the time of purchase had been 'now or latly in the severall tenures or occupacon' of Thomas Pickering (a franchised butcher also licensed to brew - YCA: B 23, f 50v) and William Wynterburne. Thomas Harrison also had another tenement in Coney Street, which stood to the south of one bought by John Robson in March 1562/3 (YCA: E 22, f 16v). In June 1563, described as an Innholder, he bought three messuages in Petergate and Stonegate from George Cooke, which were in the occupation of Anthony Dycconson, Christopher Smythson and William Drynkell (YCA: E 23, f 79). This property in Petergate, Stonegate and Coney Street - four tenements are mentioned there - is referred to in the Inquisition Post Mortem on his property, 29 January 1604/5 (YCA: E 27, f 24-24v: the Register Book is damaged and difficult to read).

Thomas Harrison also owned land outside York, to the west in the Ainsty, and so was liable to make repairs to the adjoining lanes. He was presented at the Quarter Sessions on several occasions for not repairing Skipbridge Lane between 1576 and 1585. In March 1599/1600 he was amongst those responsible for the repair of Holgate Lane¹². His property in the Ainsty also made him liable for other payments, and a contribution to the Queen's Purveyor was due from him in February 1593/4 (YCA: B 31, f 60). Inside York, he also had property in North Street, and was ordered to sweep and clean before it by the Wardmote Court of 15 October 1576 (YCA: E 31, f 39v). In October 1582 he was told to remove 'the great donghill' he had laid in North Street, and was presented at a later Court, on 30 October 1584, for laying dung in the broad Common Lane there, presumably one leading to the river, because it was a nuisance to those who fetched water (YCA: E 31 (second section), pp 142 and 227. He obviously used this property for storing and cutting timber, and the December Wardmote Court of 1585 ordered him to fill up a hole he had made at North Street Postern which he had made to saw his trees. The Court of the following April ordered him to remove his timber from near the Postern - the entry is crossed through, so perhaps he complied (E 31, (second section), pp 292 and 310). He was liable for dues from this property to the church of All Hallows North Street, and the Court Book of the Archbishop's Visitation of November 1590 ordered him to pay them (BI: V 1590, Court Book 1, f 92v).

The Wardmore Court also ordered him to pave before his doors on several occasions, but he often neglected

12 YCA: F 3, pp 244, 471, 480, 510, 550, 575, 630, 710 and 713; F 4, f 104; E 126, f 2v; F 6, ff 351-2.

to do so and paid a fine. This could have been his property in Micklegate, but occasionally there is a specific reference to a close and tenement outside Micklegate Bar, in 1579 and 1580. In 1582, he forfeited money for not paving before his house¹³.

In April 1588 he bought a tenement in Micklegate from Richard Dighton, which was occupied by Nicholas Haxup and his wife Elizabeth (YCA: E 26, f 75; note also ff 22-22v). This transaction was made after the last performance of any play, and does not affect the placing of Mr Harrison's house on these occasions¹⁴.

The period 1562 to 1564, when Thomas Harrison became Sheriff, stopped being known as a Cordwainer and began to be called an Innholder, and bought property including the Three Kings, is also the time he is known to have lived in Holy Trinity parish Micklegate; he was back in St Martin's by 1567. When he returned, did he live in his original house, where the Play had been performed in 1551 and 1554, at the Three Kings, or in new property? I think the evidence shows that in every year he took a station for the performance, he was living at the higher part of Micklegate just inside St Martin's parish boundary, and that the Three Kings was at the lower end.

There is little information for him in 1551 and

13 YCA: E 31 (first section), ff 21v, 43, 60 and 77; (second section), pp 1a, 30, 46, 85 and 127.

14 In September 1587, Nicholas Haxup (or Haxope) paid tax in St John Ousebridge End parish, and in September 1588 he paid in St Martin Micklegate (YCA: E 59a, ff 53v, 66v and 72). Had he moved from St John's parish after April 1588, when the house was sold, into another house in St Martin's parish, or is this second house the one bought by Thomas Harrison?

1554. He can be placed at the top of Micklegate by his position in the station list, and associated with St Martin Micklegate parish through his link with Fairweather, who was certainly of that parish by 1554 (see below). Later evidence confirms his parish, and the position of his house at the time of the performance of Grafton's plays may be suggested in various entries concerning dungheaps which have already been noted on Pageant Green. It was ordered in the Wardmote Court of 14 April 1583 that no-one should lay dung between the common pinfold and Alderman Harrison's back side, but to carry it to the usual place on Pageant Green; and the following year, on 30 October, these limits were given as being between his back door and the south side of Toft Green (YCA: E 31 (second section), pp 167 and 231). In the earlier order of 1582 (see above, p 158), the limits were St Gregory Lane End and the common fold on Pageant Green. Does this mean that Mr Harrison at this time lived close to Gregory Lane? In relation to William Fairweather, and the probable playing places in Micklegate, this seems a likely assumption.

William Fairweather

'ffareweddre' can be identified with William Fairweather Innkeeper because he is the only one with the right name appearing at the right place at the right time. Like Thomas Harrison, he was apprenticed in another trade, and William 'Farewedder' pewterer was franchised in 1548 (FY I, p 267), a year after his associate. In that year, as a bowman, he was one of the soldiers appointed when the city was asked for an extra hundred soldiers to be sent north towards Scotland; he belonged to the parish of St Martin with St Gregory (YCA: B 19, f 26). He was licensed as an Innholder on

17 March 1552/3, in Micklegate Ward, and of St Gregory's rather than St Martin's parish (YCA: E 44, p 127).

Although the parishes had been united earlier, and the church of St Gregory (which gave its name to Gregory Lane) had been demolished, the parishioners were still at this time listed under one or the other; in William Fairweather's case it is a useful distinction, because the St Gregory parish was around the site of the church on the left side of the pageant route, and touched only a few houses on Micklegate each side of Gregory Lane (see Plan 1, p 186 below and Map 17 in the end pocket).

He attained civic office before Thomas Harrison, being elected a muremaster in January 1554/5; however, he chose to pay £8 to bypass the office, and he was made a Chamberlain instead, noted as William Fairweather pewterer (YCA: B 21, ff 70 and 71v). Unlike Thomas Harrison, he proceeded no further. In the tax of January 1555/6, William Fairweather of St Martin's parish paid on £8 goods, in comparison to Thomas Harrison's £10. He stayed at £8 until 1558, and then dropped to £5 in 1559 and 1559/60 (YCA: E 50, pp 135, 167, 211, 244 and 276). He made his will on 16 September 1560, with Thomas Harrison one of the witnesses, and was buried the same day at St Martin Micklegate church; probate was granted on 5 October. He gave the house where he lived to his wife Alice, to pass eventually to his son George (BI: Pr Reg 16, f 120; PR Y/MG 1, p 24). His wife was probably the 'uxor ffayrwedder' who rented part of Hagg Close in 1561 (YCA: C 90:4), but she did not long survive her husband. She made her will on 10 November 1561 (BI: Pr Reg 17A, ff 9v-10) and was buried on 30 January 1561/2¹⁵. She left the house where she lived to

15 There is some confusion in the Parish Register, which suggests she was buried in January 1560/1 (BI: PR Y/MG 1, p 24). There are several such

her son George, who was put to the governance of John Bean, Alderman and also an Innkeeper in Micklegate.

In due course, George too became an Innholder in St Martin Micklegate parish, franchised in 1580 (FY II, p 21). He passed the house where he lived first to his wife and then to his son William. In the Inquisition Post Mortem of 4 November 1589, the property is described as a messuage or tenement and a garden lying in Micklegate, but no further definition is provided (BI: Pr Reg 23B, ff 953v-954; YCA: E 26, ff 86v-87).

The thyrd place at the thre kinges
in Mykkylgate - iij^s iiij^d

The Three Kings

The Three Kings was the site for a performance of the Play in 1551 and 1554. Meg Twycross (op.cit., pp 12 and 19) has already linked the property with John Ellys senior, who leased a place for the Play between 1499 and 1508, and John Ellys merchant, leasing in 1523 and 1525; in every case it comes at the third place in the list.

John Ellys senior was of Holy Trinity parish Micklegate, and his will of 20 December 1510 (BI: Pr Reg 8, ff 63v-64) mentions two sons, Christopher and John. He left to his wife Joan the Three Kings on the main street (Micklegate) in front and reaching to Morth Street behind. This puts it on the left hand side of

discrepancies to be found in this Register, perhaps due to faults in the copying up from original notes, and in this case the year 1561 seems to have been merged between 1560 and 1562.

the pageant route. In 1511, John Ellys 'litteratus', son of John Ellys Innholder, was franchised (FY I, p 234); there is no reference to the other son, Christopher, in the Freeman's Rolls. John Ellys (the litteratus?) was pageant master of the Merchants in 1514-5 (R:Y, p 652), and John Ellys of St Martin Micklegate parish was assessed on goods of £10 in the 1524 tax (PRO: E 179/217/92)¹⁶. In 1538, John Ellys Innholder was bound before the Mayor John North in a sum of £40, concerning Michael Thomson (YCA: F 86, f 108v). There was an archer of this name at St Michael Ousebridge End in the Muster Roll of 1539¹⁷, but the John Ellys of the Three Kings in Micklegate must be the merchant of St Martin Micklegate, who was a horsed and harnessed billman that same year (YCA: E 64, ff 46 and 55). He was one of the honest men of the parish to assess the 1540 tax (YCA: E 48/49, f 5 and PRO: E.179/217/99).

A payment out of the property had been made to the Abbey of St Mary and was included in a Grant of rents and services from dissolved monasteries and chantries made to Sir Richard Gresham, Alderman of London, on 7 June 1545¹⁸: the rent came from a tenement called the Three Kings in St Martin parish Micklegate belonging to John Ellys. There was another free rent from the same property due to the Frost Chantry in St Saviour church, which appears in the Chantry Survey of 1546: the yearly

16 This has been printed, in the Yorkshire Archaeological Society Journal, IV (1877), pp 170-201; see p 189.

17 This may be the man who took a place at Ousegate End in 1542, a site unconnected with the Three Kings (REED:YORK, p 278).

18 Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, volume 20, Part 1, 1545 (HMSO, 1905), p 521 (Item 1081 (19)).

rent from a tenement in Micklegate called the Three Kings 'now or late beyng the land of John Gilyls' [sic] had been unpaid for eighteen years¹⁹.

John Ellys merchant was dead by the time his son Thomas, described as a gentleman, was franchised in 1551 (FY I, p 271). The son need not have been living in the property when the Play was performed before it in 1551 and 1554, for when Thomas Harrison made his purchase in 1562 it was in the occupation of Thomas Pickering and William Wynterburn, and Mr Ellys was living in Croft. He was evidently breaking his connections with York, for in 1564 he sold another tenement, in High Ousegate, to Alderman William Beckwith, when he was described as son and heir of John Ellys late of York, merchant, deceased (YCA: E 23, ff 94v-95 and 99v-100).

Playing places in Micklegate

The evidence for both the places in Micklegate in 1554, that taken by Harrison and Fairweather and that at the Three Kings, indicates that they are on the left hand side of the pageant route. It is more difficult to place them along Micklegate. Both of them must be in the parish of St Martin and St Gregory, for all the people concerned belonged to that parish. In theory, to obtain even spacing of the places, they would have to be towards the opposite ends of the parish; as this stretch of road down to the river was also the steepest along the whole route, these two ends provide the most level ground, and so the most practical places for performance.

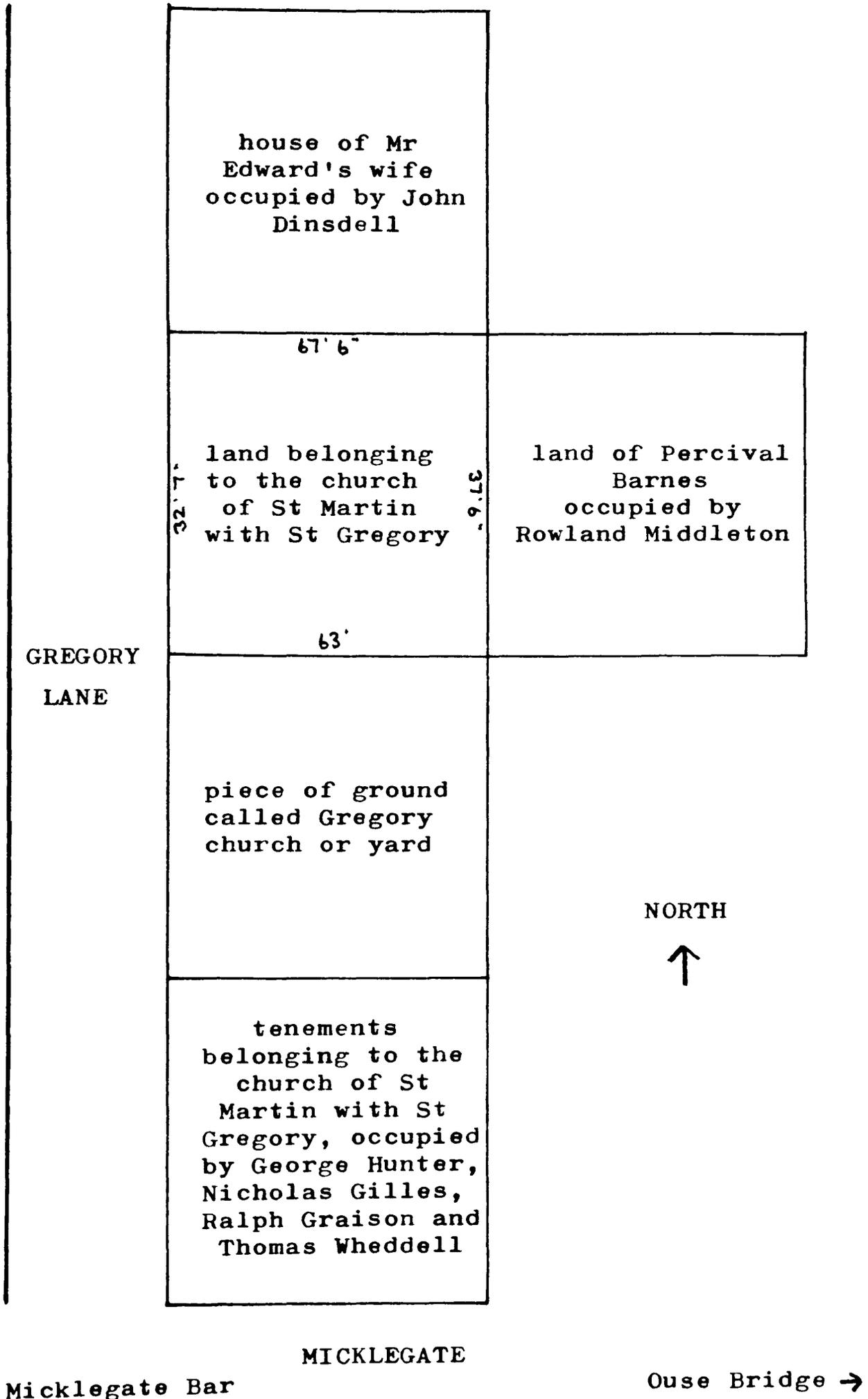
19 Yorkshire Chantry Certificates, volume I, edited by William Page (Surtees Society, volume 91, 1892), p 66. This also appears in the note of chantry property, YML: M2(4)a, f 58, but the owner is not named.

William Fairweather, as a parishioner of St Gregory's, must have lived very close to Gregory Lane. Only the buildings on the immediate upper side of this lane were included in the parish of St Martin with St Gregory; and if indeed Thomas Harrison can be placed near Gregory Lane because of the comparison of entries banning the laying of dunghills in Pageant Green, he must have lived on this upper side. The lower side of the lane marked the site of the demolished Gregory churchyard, and a piece of land there was bounded by the parishioners, including Thomas Harrison, in about 1595 (BI: PR Y/MG 19, f 102). A schematic diagram can be made of their description, which shows that he did not live on the east, or lower, side (Figure 6, p 183).

Attempting to locate Thomas Harrison precisely is made difficult by his move into Trinity parish Micklegate at the time he bought the Three Kings in 1562, and his house in 1584 (the year of the order on the dunghills behind and the performance of Grafton's first play in front) need not have been the same as the one in which he lived in 1551. And was this first house next to or opposite Fairweather's, who shared the place with him in 1554? If he became an Innkeeper from the time he purchased the Three Kings, did he carry on that business in his new property, but live in a separate house which was not an inn, or did he have two establishments? It seems certain, however, that he did not move into the Three Kings, as he was probably living by Gregory Lane in 1584, and the Three Kings should be located at the foot of the hill. It is more likely that the tenants remained in this second property.

The description of the Three Kings from the conveyance to Thomas Harrison, together with the description of the neighbouring building called The Cressand (known from a conveyance of 1550 - YCA: E 23,

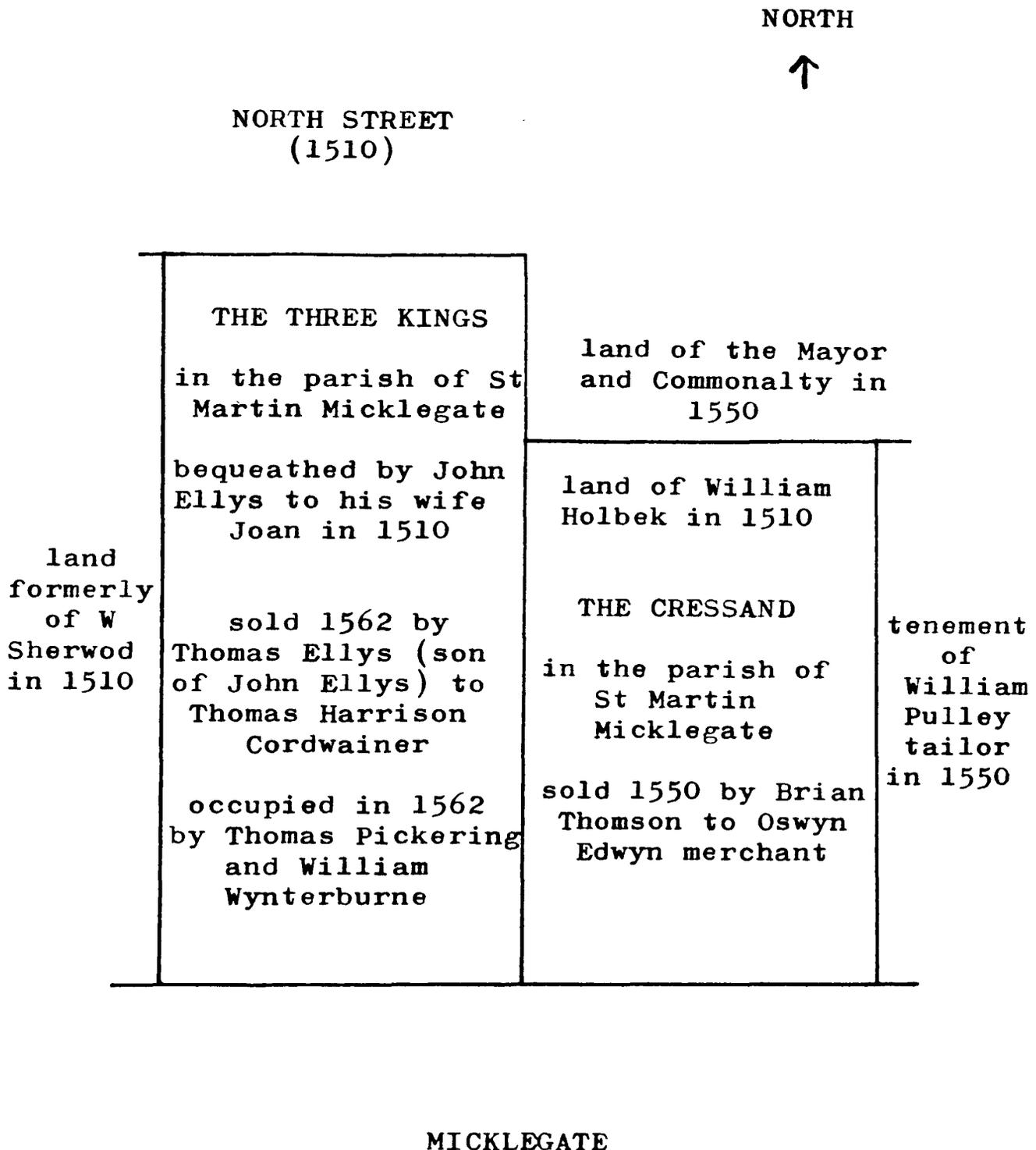
Figure 6: Schematic plan of property on the east side of Gregory Lane, c. 1595



f 94), may in due course provide clues for the location of this site (see Figure 7, p 185). A further piece of evidence which may relate to the Three Kings is considered later, in the evidence for William Cowper in 1569. A plan of Micklegate (p 186) indicates the possible sites of all those people who took places between Trinity Gates and Ouse Bridge between 1554 and 1585.

The main link between the people at these places is that they were all innkeepers. Micklegate was one of the broadest streets in York, and was a main entry for travellers, including royal visitors, and no doubt for this reason was a suitable site for good quality inns; but it is probably no accident that innkeepers were quick to put in a bid for a playing place outside their doors, especially if scaffolds were still put up to accommodate an audience, upper rooms were utilised for extra spectators, and the day was given to drinking and gossiping (see R:Y under the years 1417 and 1426). By 1569, Thomas Harrison was an Alderman, and would be able to see the performance with his fellow councillors from the Chamber at the Common Hall Gates, but he continued to apply for a place, which indicates some benefit, no doubt in prestige but also professional, from having the performance outside his house.

Figure 7: Schematic plan of the
Three Kings, Micklegate



ii. Ousegate

The th place at George Whytes enenst
 St John Churche - ^s ^d

George White

George White, son of John White gentleman, was franchised in 1533 (FY I, p 252), and paid tax in St John Ousebridge End parish in 1545 and 1546, first on goods of £13 and then on £7 (PRO: E.179/217/108, 110 and 112). The description of his place suggests at first that he lived next to the church, which means he would have lived on its west side, for the other is bounded by North Street. However, perhaps 'against' could mean across the street, at the other corner of North Street. But once we consider crossing streets, there is no reason why we should not cross Micklegate itself, because this is where George White bequeathed property. His will, made 10 January 1561/2, locates him in the parish of St John Ousebridge End, and he divided his house, literally, between his two sons:

Also I bequyethe to my sonne John Whyte the one halffe of my housse that is to say the hall the parlor the Taverne and seates wythe the backe chamber and longe housse that joynethe to felter layne ... Also I bequyethe to my sonne Leonarde Whyte the other halffe of my housse that is to say the shoppe the parlor and the oter kytchyn wythe the Courte garthe and backe housse nowe in the occupacon of henrye Smythe .

(BI: Probate Register 17A, f 215v).

Felter or Fetter Lane is parallel to Micklegate, leading from the end of St Martin's Lane behind the church to Skeldergate, and so this house was on the right hand side of the road (see the Plan on p 186). This house included a tavern, which creates a link with the

preceding stations at inns. George White had earlier owned a tenement on the other side of the road, near Ouse Bridge, which had been sold to William Whyttyngham in April 1544 (YCA: E 23, ff 65v-66).

The vth place at Gregory pacokes at owse
 bryg end at the Staith head - ij^s
 taken by Mr Watson Alderman at his request

Gregory Paycock

For the fifth place, the pageant waggons would have crossed Ouse Bridge, as the Staith lay on the east bank of the river, and in the parish of St Michael Ousebridge End where Gregory Paycock lived. The reference to Mr Watson was inserted into the list after the next entry had been written, and the wording is obscure: did Gregory Paycock ask Mr Watson to lease the place, or did Mr Watson ask if he could use Gregory Paycock's house? The advantage of Alderman Watson making the lease seems to be that, like the other Aldermen taking places in 1554, he was given a lower rate than the 3s 4d paid by the rest. The two men were brothers-in-law (see the will of William Watson, BI: Pr Reg 18, f 88v).

Gregory Paycock had been apprenticed to Robert Paycock merchant and Alderman, of All Hallows Pavement parish, and was noted there as an archer without horse or harness in the Muster of 1539 (YCA: E 64, f 57v; PRO: E 36/32, p 45). Robert Paycock, in his will of 10 July 1569, called Gregory his cousin, and made him a supervisor (BI: Pr Reg 19A, f 118v-119). In 1545 Gregory was a pageant master of the Merchants but was not actually franchised until 1547 (R:Y, p 653; FY I, p 266). Once set up as a merchant, he was immediately

drawn into civic affairs, and in 1548 he was elected a Chamberlain, without having taken the office of Bridgemaster first; Robert Paycock was Mayor that year, and may have brought him forward (FY I, p 267). From that time he lived in the parish of St Michael Ousebridge End, where he paid 20 shillings on goods of £20 in the tax of 1548, and was a beacon watcher for the parish the same year, when fears of trouble from Scotland were high (YCA: E 48/49 (second section), f 11; B 19, f 17)²⁰.

By 1558, he was included among the 'most honest of the commoners' in a Certificate made for the Lord Lieutenant (YCA: B 22, f 110), and began to take his turn as an auditor of the city accounts. He was considered for the office of Sheriff in 1564 and 1565, and chosen in September 1566 (YCA: B 23, f 156; B 24, ff 23 and 54). Unusually, whilst he was still in his year as Sheriff, he was elected Alderman, and so did not spend any time as a member of the Twenty Four (YCA: B 24, f 85v). He was therefore an Alderman when the Play was next performed before his house, in 1569. As Alderman, like Thomas Harrison, he had many duties; the two men went together to hand over the city's contingent of soldiers to aid defence during the Rising of 1569 (YCA: B 24, f 168v).

His tax assessments show the rise in his assets: in 1548 he was assessed at £20; in 1563 on £10 goods; in February 1566/7 on £15; and by 1571, when he was Mayor, it was £20²¹. This marked the summit of his achievement,

20 The Beacon at Bilbrough in the Ainsty had only just been set up, on the orders of the King in 1546: YCA: B 18, f 22.

21 YCA: E 48/49 (second section), f 11; E 51, pp 10, 48, 86 and 160.

for after this year things began to go wrong for him. Perhaps he was affected by the double burden of being Mayor and Master of the Merchants, for he had to take half of the low quality cloth produced by the city's weaving project for the poor, and was bound for payment for it to the city (YCA: B 24, f 245v). In April 1572, he was elected one of the Burgesses for the next Parliament, and the enforced absence from the city may have meant he could not oversee his business as he should have done (YCA: B 25, f 6v). The £20 tax assessment in his Mayoral year was made under the parish of St John Ousebridge End and not St Michael as before, and again this move across the river may be indicative of his changed circumstances. At the next assessment, he had goods of £15, and the payment of 15 shillings in 1572 was the last he made (YCA: E 51, p 187). He obviously had difficulty in paying the cloth money, for his successor as Mayor, William Allyn, made a new obligation for him without informing the other councillors, and was sued for his pains: the two men together then became liable for the debt. Gregory Paycock was at the council meeting on 17 January 1572/3, just before the case against William Allyn was brought up, but then his attendance lapsed. During the consequent discussion, the city council received a letter from no less a person than the Archbishop, in favour of Gregory Paycock, and when the Council in the North gave judgment on the matter, reference was made to his decay. He made a brief appearance at only one other meeting that year, on 4 May, when a new obligation was made for repayment of the cloth money (YCA: B 25, ff 48, 71v, 77v and 82v-83).

In 1576, he attempted to return to his civic duties, and began to attend meetings from 25 January 1575/6. It may have been prompted by the recall of the Parliament to which he had been elected; perhaps taking

note of his reduced circumstances, the city council suggested only his fellow Burgess, Hugh Graves, should attend, but he assured them that he would be going to London on business in any case. On his return, he was eventually granted reimbursement for his charges (YCA: B 26, ff 51, 52, 63 and 73). The effort had been too much, however, and after 16 January 1576/7 he attended no more meetings, and sent word that he was willing to resign his office. He was discharged on 13 March 1576/7, but awarded an annuity of £6 13s 4d, perhaps in recognition that his losses were incurred whilst serving the city (YCA: B 26, f 110v; B 27, ff 12 and 14). The Chamberlains' Books from then on record the payment of the annuity until 1588, and his original receipts have been incorporated into one of them (YCA: CB 6 (1, 1585), f 53; (2, 1587), f 52; and (3, 1588), ff 54 and 96).

He apparently never bought property as Thomas Harrison did, but he rented in various places. He held a 91 year lease of a messuage in Ousegate for 26s 8d from the Sandforth Chantry of St John the Baptist in St John Ousebridge End, and a garden in Ousegate from the Chantry of St William on Ouse Bridge (YML: M2(4)a, ff 45v and 47²²). Perhaps the messuage was the one near Ouse Bridge, at the Staith head, where the Play was performed.

He also rented from the city, and the earliest rent he paid is for a 'ding' or cellar on the east side of Ouse Bridge, which he rented for 8d from 1548 to at

22 This was amongst the rents and issues granted to Matthew White and Edward Bury on 7 July 1547, for which they paid a total of £1,294 4s 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. See Cal.Pat.Rolls Edward VI, 1549-1551, pp 152-3.

least 1573 (YCA: BR C 89:5-C 93:1)²³. From 1575, the lease was taken over by George Aslaby (C 93:2). All the other leases are of property west of the river; one was of garths outside Skeldergate postern, which he first took in 1552, and he added another garden there in 1573. This lease also passed to George Aslaby in 1580 (C 90:1-C 93:3).

His other rents were inherited from his brother-in-law William Watson, who had made him the sole executor of his will dated 18 October 1568 (BI: Pr Reg 18, f 88v). The major acquisition was Mr Watson's 21-year lease of the Old Bailey, in the corner of the city walls near Skeldergate Postern. Gregory Paycock took over the lease and kept this even after he had relinquished the others, from 1573 to 1586 (C 93:1-C 94:6). In January 1585/6 Alderman Brooke was promised the lease after the original lease to William Watson expired in two years time (YCA: B 29, f 69v).

Family relationships determined the passing of these leases, for George Aslaby had married Margaret Paycock, Gregory's daughter, at St John's church on 29 January 1571/2, during the last few days of Mr Paycock's Mayoralty, at the point when his finances began to fail (BI: PR Y/J 1, f 20).

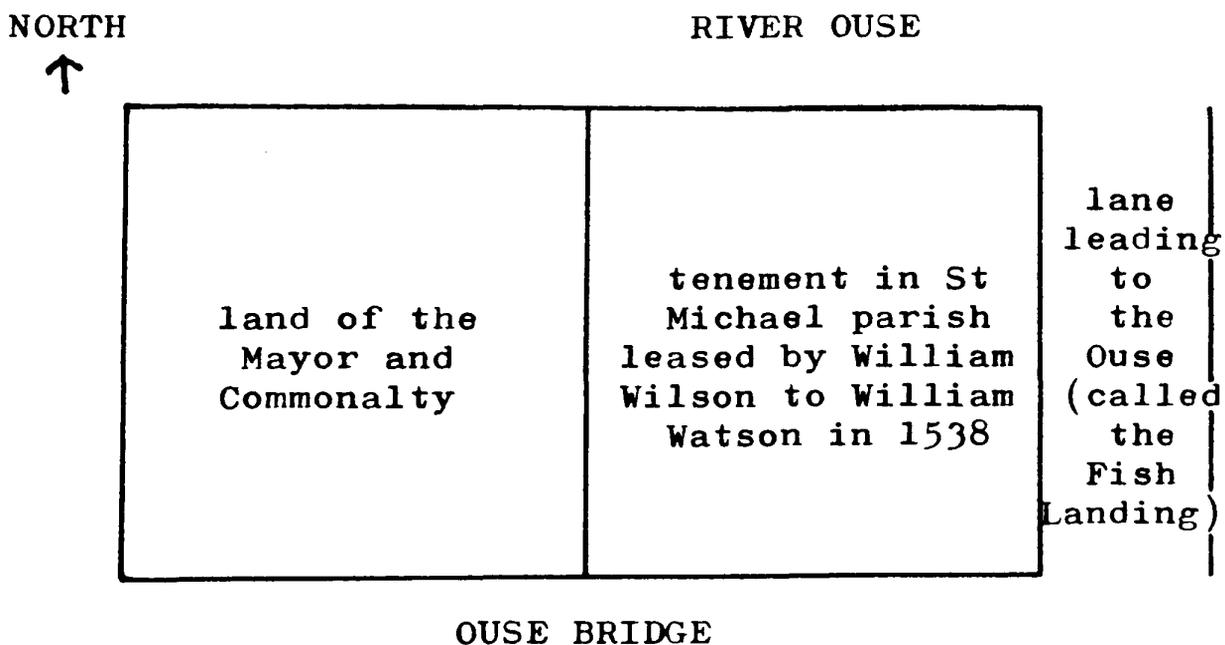
23 Tracing this rent back in the Bridgemasters' Rolls, I noted the cellar was called 'the Jewe hole' in 1544 (YCA: C 89:1 - rents East side of the Bridge). It was also described in 1585 as being at Salt Head Greases by the Staith Head (YCA: B 29, f 52v), a name dignified as 'Graecian Steps' by the end of the eighteenth century (see Dr White's map of the Bridge, p 205 below).

William Watson

Gregory Paycock's brother-in-law, William Watson, had been franchised in 1533, was Chamberlain in 1536 and lived in St Michael parish Ousebridge End by 1539, when he was noted as a mounted archer. He was Sheriff in 1541, elected an Alderman in March 1542/3, and represented the city in Parliament in 1553, 1559 and 1563. Like Gregory Paycock, he moved to St John parish, and from 1563 he is found in the tax assessments under that parish²⁴.

In July 1538 he took a lease from William Wilson of a tenement on Ousebridge End in St Michael's parish (YCA: E 24, ff 38v-39); the rent included a payment of 8 shillings to the city chamber, which was noted in the Bridgemasters' Rolls. The description of the property gives the following plan:

Figure 8: Schematic plan of
property on Ouse Bridge



24 Freemen of York I, pp 252 and 255; PRO: E 36/32, p 39; Skaife; YCA: E 64, f 55; B 22, ff 146-7; E 51, pp 21 and 315; B 23, f 96v.

The tenement seems to have been at the very end of the Bridge, built over the river, or at least the banks. It must have been close to where Gregory Paycock lived, but Alderman Watson himself did not live there. Before his move across the river he had a house in High Ousegate, and he sub-let the Ouse Bridge property to Robert Smyth, who appears in the Bridgemasters' Rolls paying the 8 shillings rent between 1546 and 1558 (YCA: BR C 89:3 - C 90:3). The property was once again paid for by Alderman Watson in 1561 (C 90:4), when it was in the tenure of Andrew Trewe, and this was the position at the time of Alderman Watson's will. Andrew Trewe appears in the Bridgemasters' Roll of 1573 (C 93:1) paying 8 shillings rent of the tenement where he lived at Ousebridge End, on the north side of the Bridge. Even if William Watson had the occupation of this house in 1554, as it was on the edge of the Bridge itself it may not have been a suitable stopping place for waggons. Consequently, he made an arrangement with his brother-in-law.

William Watson also rented a garden from the chantry of St William on Ouse Bridge (YML: M2(4)a, f 47), and from the city he rented a garth in Blossomgate and the Old Bailey (YCA: C 91:3). In March 1562/3 he bought a tenement in High Ousegate (YCA: E 22, f 1), which may be the one he had previously rented from the city since 1546, described as being both behind his house (C 89:3) and in Coppergate (C 90:4). However, by the time of this purchase he was already living on the other side of the river, in St John's parish. In his will of 18 October 1568 he made Gregory Paycock sole executor, with the right to sell all the bequeathed property if necessary to pay debts (BI: Pr Reg 18, f 88v). He gave the house where he lived with a stable and orchard in North Street to his brother's son William Watson; his nephew Robert Paycock had the house at Ousebridge End

that Andrew Trewe now lived in, with other property.

Gregory Paycock and William Watson break the pattern of innkeepers, but are the first in a group of merchants. Many of the merchants were Aldermen, who in 1554 were given reduced rates. Why should these Aldermen have taken places, when they themselves were at the Common Hall Gates, and their wives with the Lady Mayoress, in 1554 at Mr Beckwith's house? One explanation - which cannot be proved - is that these houses were used to entertain distinguished visitors. On earlier occasions in the fifteenth century, the cost of providing bread, wine and fruits to distinguished visitors for the honour of the city was noted in the Chamberlains' Books (see REED:YORK under the years 1433, 1442, 1445 and 1446), but there is no evidence that such visitors were included in the feast provided for the councillors in 1554. It would have been a token of the city's regard to provide some places for the local gentry, and others whose goodwill the city cultivated, to congregate during the performance of the Play.

The vj place at Conygstrete end enenst
Castelgate to Robert Smyth - iij^s iiij^d

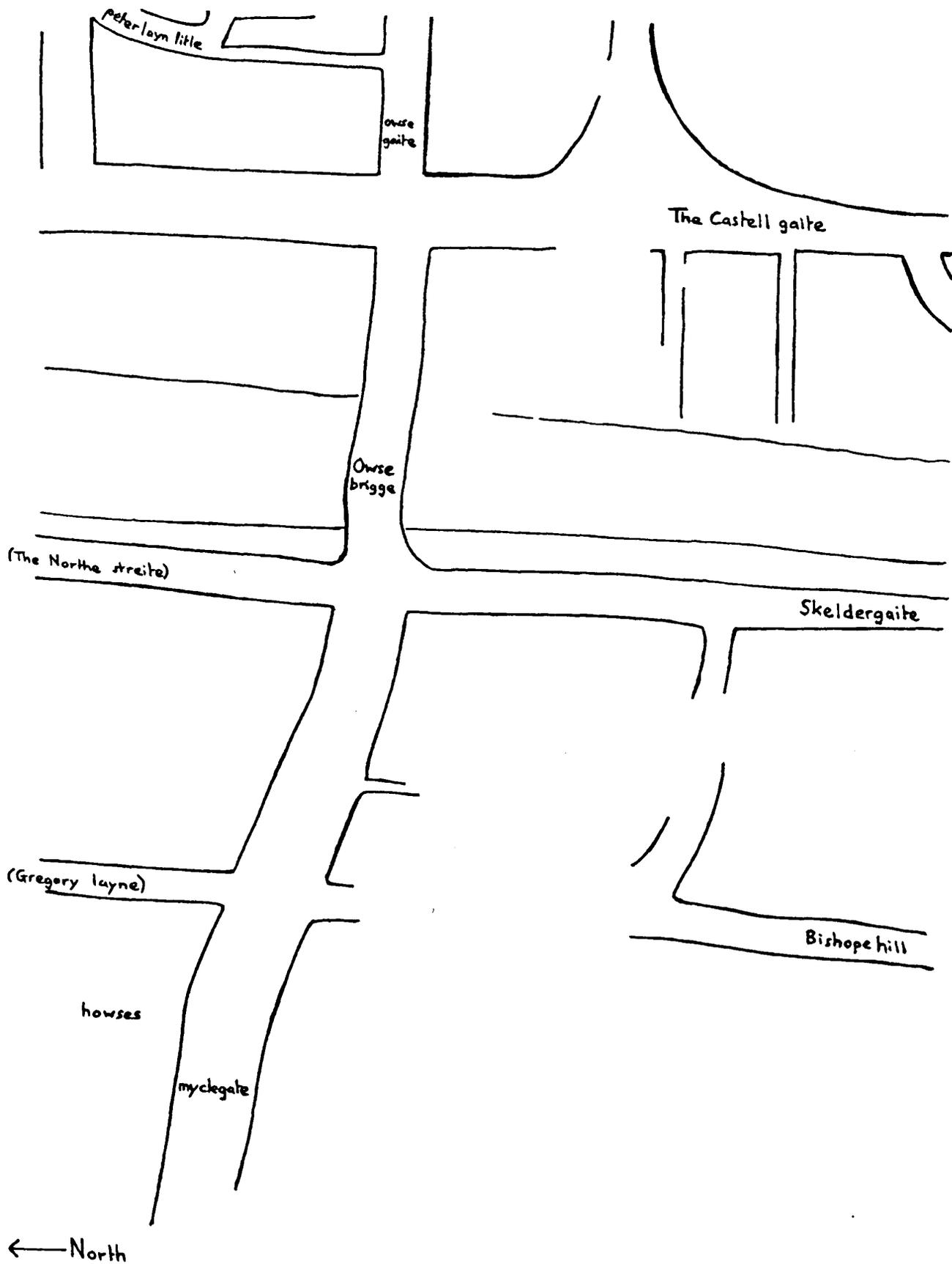
Robert Smyth

Robert Smyth was Pageant Master of the Merchants in 1536 (R:Y, p 653) and franchised the following year. He too belonged to St Michael Ousebridge End parish, where he was one of the honest men to assess tax in 1545 (YCA: E 48/49 (last section), p 2). In 1547 he was a Chamberlain (FY I, pp 256 and 266).

In 1546, eight years after William Watson took a lease of the tenement at Ousebridge End, William Wilson

made a Quitclaim to the benefit of Robert Smyth, concerning the same property (YCA: E 23, f 76v). From this year, Robert Smyth appears in the Bridgemasters Rolls paying 8s to the city for the rent (YCA: C 89:3) and continued to do so until 1558 (C 90:3). However, when he arranged to have the Play before his door, Robert Smyth also had a house at the junction of Ousegate and Castlegate (at the end called Nessgate). He rented a tenement from the city which was listed in the Castlegate section of the Rental: in 1544 it was 'in castelgait'; in 1552 it was described as a tenement 'behynd his howse' and in 1554 'beyond his howse in Castlegate end'. He paid this rent in 1561 when he no longer held the Ousebridge property, but it was not mentioned in the 1564 Roll (YCA: C 89:1 to C 91:1). Robert Brooke bought a house in Nessgate from the city in the general sale of property in March 1562/3, which may have been near the corner of High Ousegate and Nessgate (see Figure 13, p 343 below); he was already living there by the end of 1562, so if this is Robert Smyth's original lease, the latter must have given up his tenancy after his 1561 payment. There is no definite proof to show on which side of Nessgate Robert Smyth lived. Note should also be taken of the description 'against Castlegate', for in George White's case the place was 'against' St John's church whilst his house was on the opposite side of Micklegate.

Robert Smyth paid tax in St Michael Ousebridge End parish, on £10 goods in 1550 and 1557, and £6 goods in 1558; by 1559 and 1560 he was assessed on lands worth 40 shillings. He had been Constable of the parish in 1559 (YCA: E 50, pp 19, 154, 198, 228, 234 and 266). The Parish Register of St Michael's church has not survived for this period, and I have not found the date of his death.



Map 5: Micklegate area of York, based on the Tudor map (PRO: MPB 49)



Illustration 6: A view through the
north side of Ouse
Bridge: Francis Place

Ousegate

The whole of the Ouse Bridge and Ousegate area just examined has changed completely since the sixteenth century. Something of the original appearance of the Bridge, with shops and houses built on to it, can be guessed from a sketch made by Francis Place (1647-1728), looking through the north side, with St William's Chapel on the right (Illustration 6, p198). The Bridge of this illustration had carried only two processions of waggons for the Corpus Christi Play, in 1567 and 1569, being the replacement of the medieval Bridge which had collapsed as a result of neglected repairs followed by high water and ice in the winter of 1564/5 (D.M. Palliser, Tudor York (OUP, 1979), p 2). However, the new Bridge was about the same width as the old, although with a single main arch, and St William's Chapel against the west bank, which housed the city's council chamber, had survived unharmed.

An idea of old Ousegate can be gained from Henry Cave's two illustrations of 1813, one looking back towards Ouse Bridge (with the houses on it now demolished) and the other forwards to High Ousegate (Illustrations 7 and 8, pp 200 and 201). The butcher's shop, with its projecting stall, gives an alignment for the two views. There is also a scale map of the whole of this section of the route, from St John's church to St Michael's church, with the added advantage that the dimensions of the present Bridge and its approaches are superimposed. It was made c. 1808 by the architect and city engineer Peter Atkinson, and shows the intended demolition and alteration that would take place when the new bridge was constructed. Houses numbers 4 and 5 belonged to Robert Hick, butcher (Map 6, p 203).

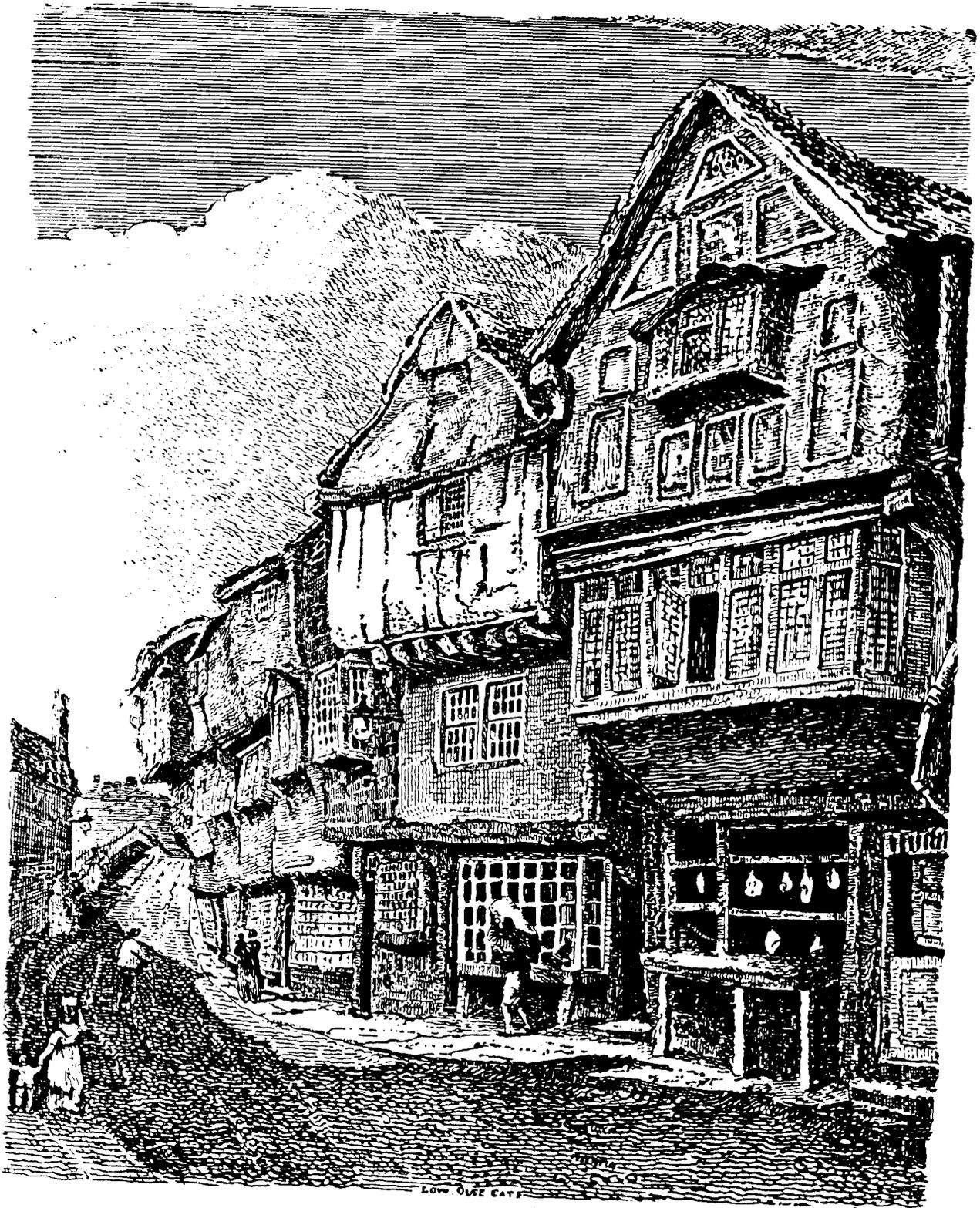


Illustration 7: Part of Low Ousegate:
Henry Cave, 1813

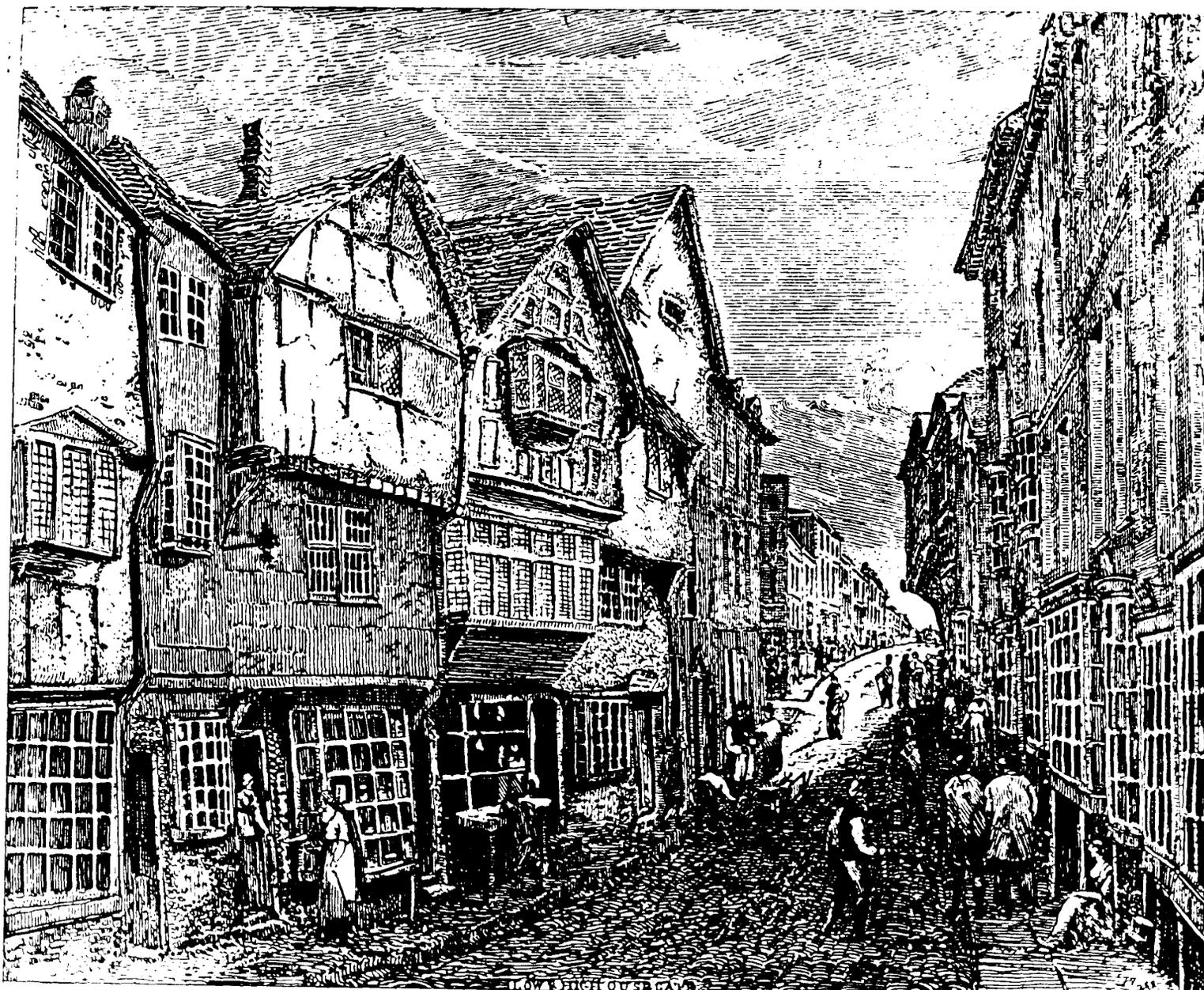
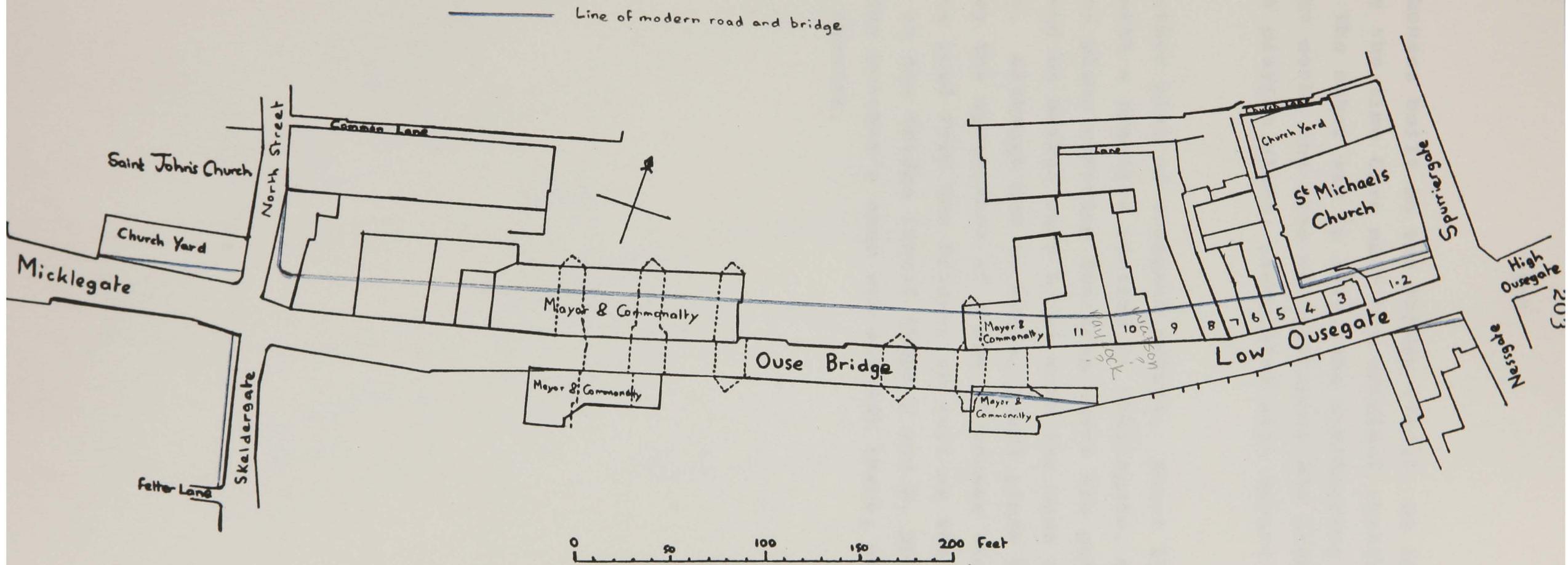


Illustration 8: Low and High Ouse Gate:
Henry Cave, 1813

It will be seen that the former Bridge and road, from the corner of North Street and Skeldergate to the corner of Spurriergate and Nessgate were no more than half the width of the present road. Micklegate has always been wide, as its name implies, but for a traveller entering York from Micklegate Bar, the initial impression of spaciousness gave way to cramped streets more typical of York, and the route of the pageant waggons. Ousegate before St Michael's church seems narrow enough now, crowded with traffic and pedestrians, even without the houses that used to stand before the south wall of the church. The imagination has to recreate the site of the station at Coneystreet End against Castlegate, and Cave's etchings help. The narrow exit between Low and High Ousegate (p 201) represents Spurriergate, and St Michael's church is hidden behind the houses on the left.

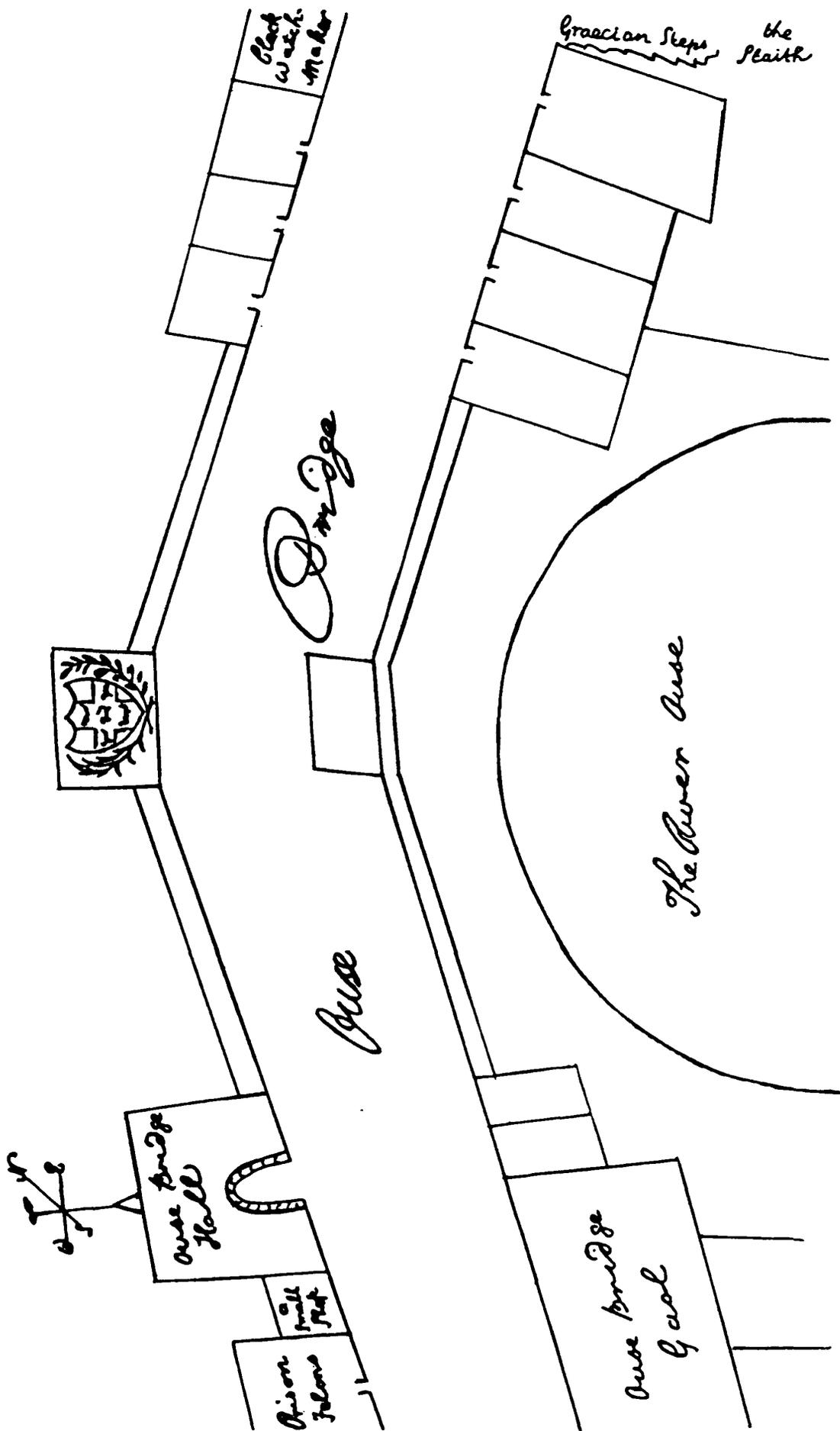
It is possible that William Watson's leased tenement on Ouse Bridge was around the site of House 11 on Peter Atkinson's plan (p 203), as it stood next to property belonging to the Mayor and Commonalty. Taking the butcher's shop as House 5, then House 11 must be the last one visible in the centre in Cave's etching (p 200), immediately at the foot of the steep descent from the top of Ouse Bridge. Gregory Paycock's house may have been around the site of House 10, and the woman carrying a child in Cave's etching could almost be walking to the place of performance (although the side of the road on which he lived is unknown). A pageant waggon would have taken up at least half of the street, and if it were enclosed on three sides (as the Merchants' 1433 Indenture suggests for their waggon - p 23 above), not many people could have congregated in the remaining space in front, especially if some kind of seating had been erected outside Mr Paycock's house. The narrowness of the street would have been emphasised



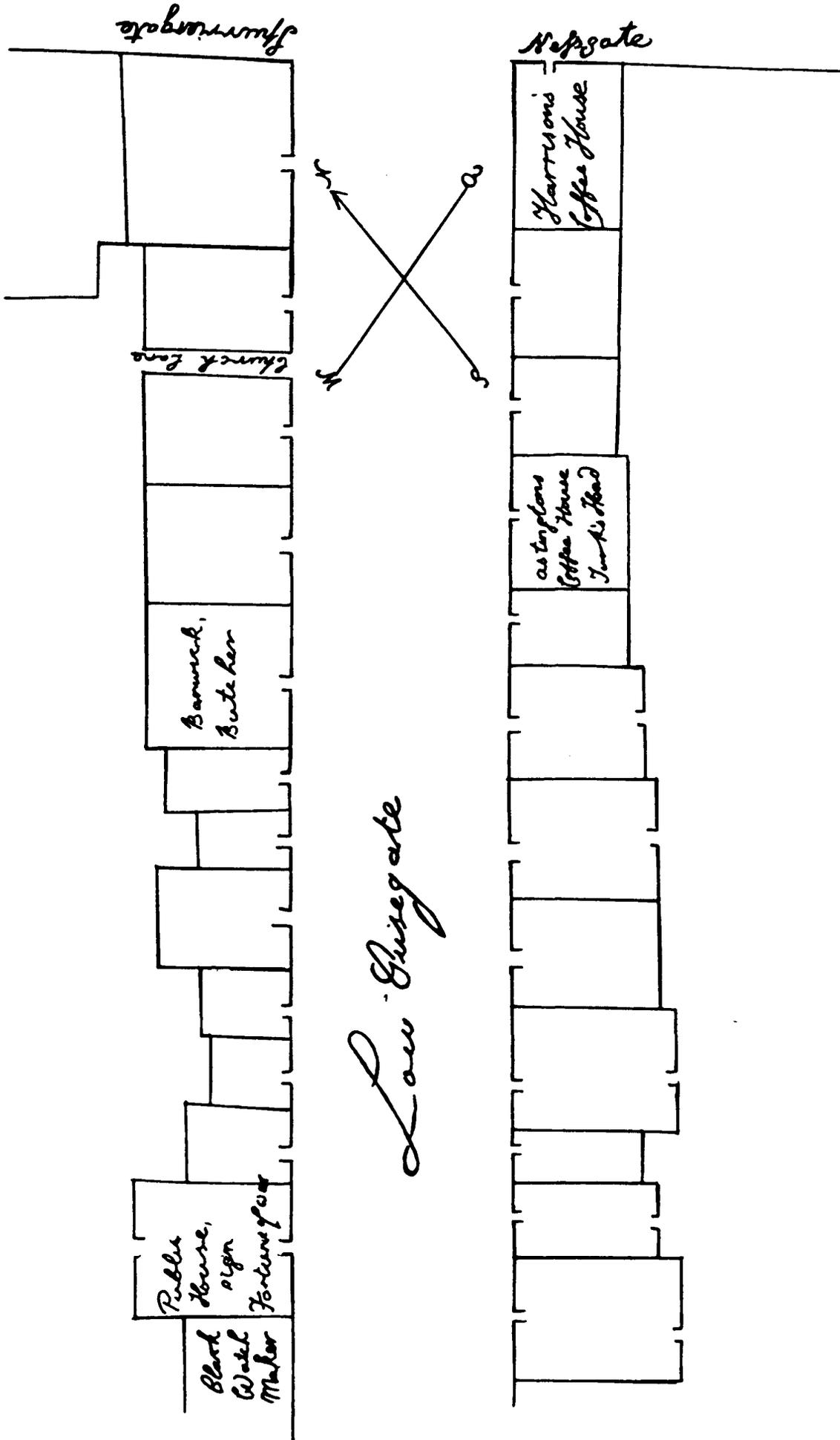
Map 6: Plan of Ouse Bridge, c. 1808
 based on a plan by P. Atkinson

by the houses built on the Bridge itself, no longer there by the time Cave made his original sketch. Looking the other way (p 201), the overhanging house on the right marks the site of Castlegate End (Nessgate), the next playing place, associated with Robert Smyth in 1554.

Another plan of Ousegate exists. About 1785, Dr White, with a practice centred on Castlegate, made a series of plans covering the area where his patients lived, and he marked each house with the name of its occupant. Although not to scale, these plans do help to convey the appearance of a row of houses crowding along the road from the Bridge, as well as the shops perched on the Bridge itself (Maps 7 and 8, pp 205 and 206). The butcher's shop was already there, under the name of Barwick.



Map 7: Plan of Ouse Bridge based on the map by Dr White, c. 1785



Map 8: Plan of Low Ousegate
 based on the map by Dr White, c. 1785

iii. Coney Street

Having negotiated the corner from Ousegate, the pageant waggons proceeded down Spurriergate, or 'Little Coney Street', before reaching Coney Street proper. As the name implied, this too was once a narrow place; it was widened on the east side to double its width in 1770, and in 1841 the road was further widened on the west by reducing the length of St Michael's church itself, and cutting back the other buildings on that side; the present houses all date from this time²⁵.

The vij place at Mr Appleyerdes Alderman - xvj^d

Thomas Appleyard

Thomas Appleyard took this place in 1551, 1554 and 1569; and in due course his son Thomas took a place for Grafton's two plays in 1584 and 1585. The father was always associated with the church of St Michael Ousebridge End, where he was Churchwarden in 1539 and 1540 (BI: PR Y/MS 4, ff151v and 160v). All his tax assessments were made under that parish; he paid on £20 goods in 1540, and this went up to £60 in 1547. All the tax assessments show a drop in the 1550s and he was no exception; by 1563 he was paying on £30 goods. From February 1566/7 he was assessed on lands rather than goods, when the value was put at £20, which rose to £40 in 1576²⁶.

He was franchised as a merchant in 1529, was a

25 See RCHM: York V, The Central Area, p 220.

26 YCA: E 48/49, f 14; PRO: E.179/217/111; YCA: E 51, pp 10, 86 and 207.

Chamberlain in 1536 (FY I, pp 249 and 255), and became Sheriff in 1542 (YCA: B 16, ff 25 and 40v). He was elected Alderman in 1548 (B 19, f 35), and served as Mayor in 1563; by the end of 1565 he was the senior Alderman, after the death of Robert Hall. He made his will on 4 June 1572 (BI: Pr Reg 21B, ff 441-2), but continued his active life until 1577, when he attended only seven meetings. His last appearance with the council was on 21 September 1578, but he was considered eligible to contribute 13s 4d towards light horsemen in December 1579 (YCA: B 27, f 202). His son Thomas was elected Alderman in his place on 23 April 1580 (YCA: B 27, f 233), and probate on his will was granted on 26 April 1580.

The first house Thomas Appleyard the elder is known to have occupied in St Michael's parish was one belonging to the church, which he leased in 1529, the year of his franchise. He paid 3s 4d 'godes penns' as an entrance fee, and Mr Brax, the previous tenant, paid the same to be released from the lease. The Churchwardens also recorded 16d spent on malmsey when the Indenture and obligation for the house 'yat thos Applyerd dwelles in' were made (BI: PR Y/MS 4, f 81 and 81v). He paid his rent of 40 shillings each year, and the accounts regularly noted repairs made at the expense of the church for nearly twenty years. In 1545, he almost bought it, and went as far as making obligations (BI: PR Y/MS 4, f 203). Under this understanding, he paid no rent in 1546, although repairs were made in both years. However, at the end of 1546, when there was reference in the Churchwardens' accounts to the parish selling various houses, his name (here in the not unusual variation of Mr Applegarth) was crossed out. The following year, he paid his 40 shillings rent as usual, and also another 40 shillings old debt, the unpaid rent of 1546 (BI: PY Y/MS 4, ff 208, 209v, 211v,

212 and 212v). At this point the volume of accounts finishes and the sequel is lost. He probably gave up his tenancy, for instead of this house, on 23 January 1547/8 he bought a house in the same parish from John North and his wife, at a price of £70. The property is described as stretching from Coney Street to the river, and it was in the occupation of Stephen Skelton (YCA: E 23, ff 83v-84). It is probable that he bought this house as his own residence, especially as he had given up the idea of buying his first house just before this purchase, but it is not always clear which house a man with several properties might live in²⁷.

Thomas Appleyard also had property in Jubbergate, partly defined by neighbouring property described in deeds of September 1565 and March 1562/3 (YCA: E 23, f 59v-60; E 22, f 22-22v); in High Ousegate, which owed dues to a chantry in St Michael's in the 1540s (YML: M2(4)a, f 47v); more property there north of two tenements sold by John Lewes to Robert Maskewe in 1559 (YCA: E 23, f 69); in Castlegate, a property belonging to a chantry in St Mary Castlegate (YML: M2(4)a, f 53v);

27 A conveyance of a piece of land called Calome Hall on the banks of the river was made by the city to Edward Barker in March 1562/3: it was bounded on the south by a tenement of Stephen Skelton, which suggests that he was still living in the same area (YCA: E 22, f 23v-24). The will of Stephen Skelton cook of the parish of St Michael Ousebridge End was made on 6 October 1567. He bequeathed his property to his wife: his mansion house where he lived, with a little piece of ground he bought from Andrew Trewe; a tenement in Ousegate; another tenement occupied by Richard Rates who had married his daughter Ann; and a house and garth joined to St Michael's; they were to go to his sons William and Stephen in due course. Alderman Gregory Paycock and Andrew Trewe were among the supervisors. Probate was granted on 1 December 1567 (BI: Pr Reg 17B, f 748-748v). This does not suggest he had remained a tenant in property owned by Thomas Appleyard.

and in Mid Water Lane, east of stables bought by John Williamson in March 1562/3 (YCA: E 22, f 4). From the city, he rented two tenements in the Spurriergate part of Coney Street by 1558; in 1559 he bought them (YCA: C 90:3; CB 5 (1, 1559), f 46). The tenement he had bought in Coney Street from John North had been bounded on the south by land of the Mayor and Commonalty, and perhaps it was this adjoining property he bought. He also held part of Hagg Close in 1577 (Alderman Harrison was still there at the time), which had backed on to Thomas Tyrry's house in Trinity Micklegate parish (BI: Pr Reg 21, f 47-47v). Like Alderman Harrison, he had property just outside York, and was continually presented at the Quarter Sessions for not keeping Sandwith Lane and Skipbridge Lane repaired²⁸.

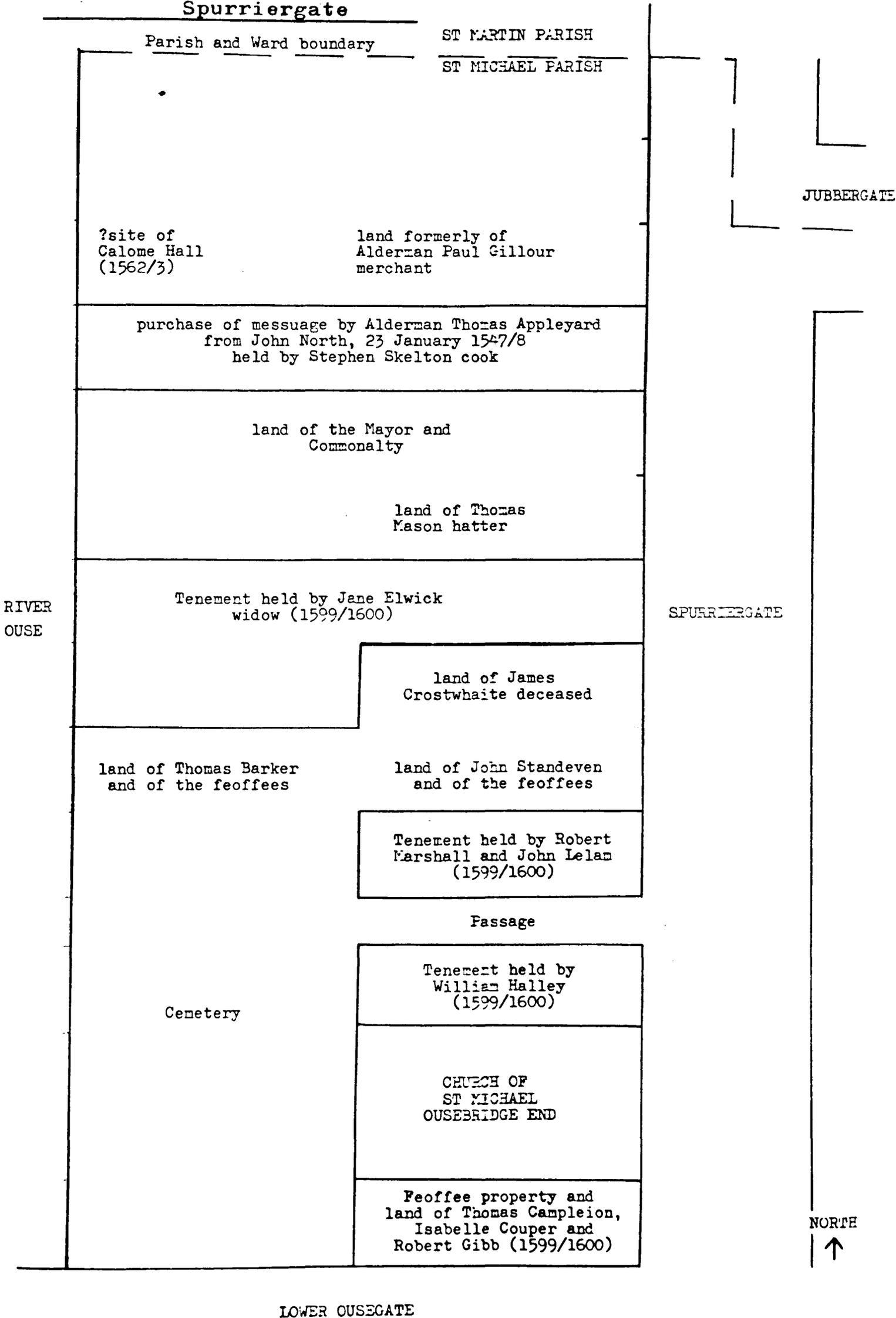
The Inquest Post Mortem on his property, made four years after his death, lists a capital messuage (a large house) in Coney Street, two cottages and a garden in Jubbergate, an orchard in Bishophill, a house in Coney Street occupied by Thomas Mason hatter, three houses in Castlegate and a close in Fishergate (YCA: E 26, f 26-26v). His will also referred to a lease of the parsonage of Gevendale, a close in Baggergate, and a house in High Ousegate that his son Thomas was living in and which was to go to his younger son Peter. Thomas was to have his capital messuage in Coney Street, and he ordered that the portals and wainscots should remain in each house as heirlooms together with some of the furniture (BI: Pr Reg 21B, f 441-442).

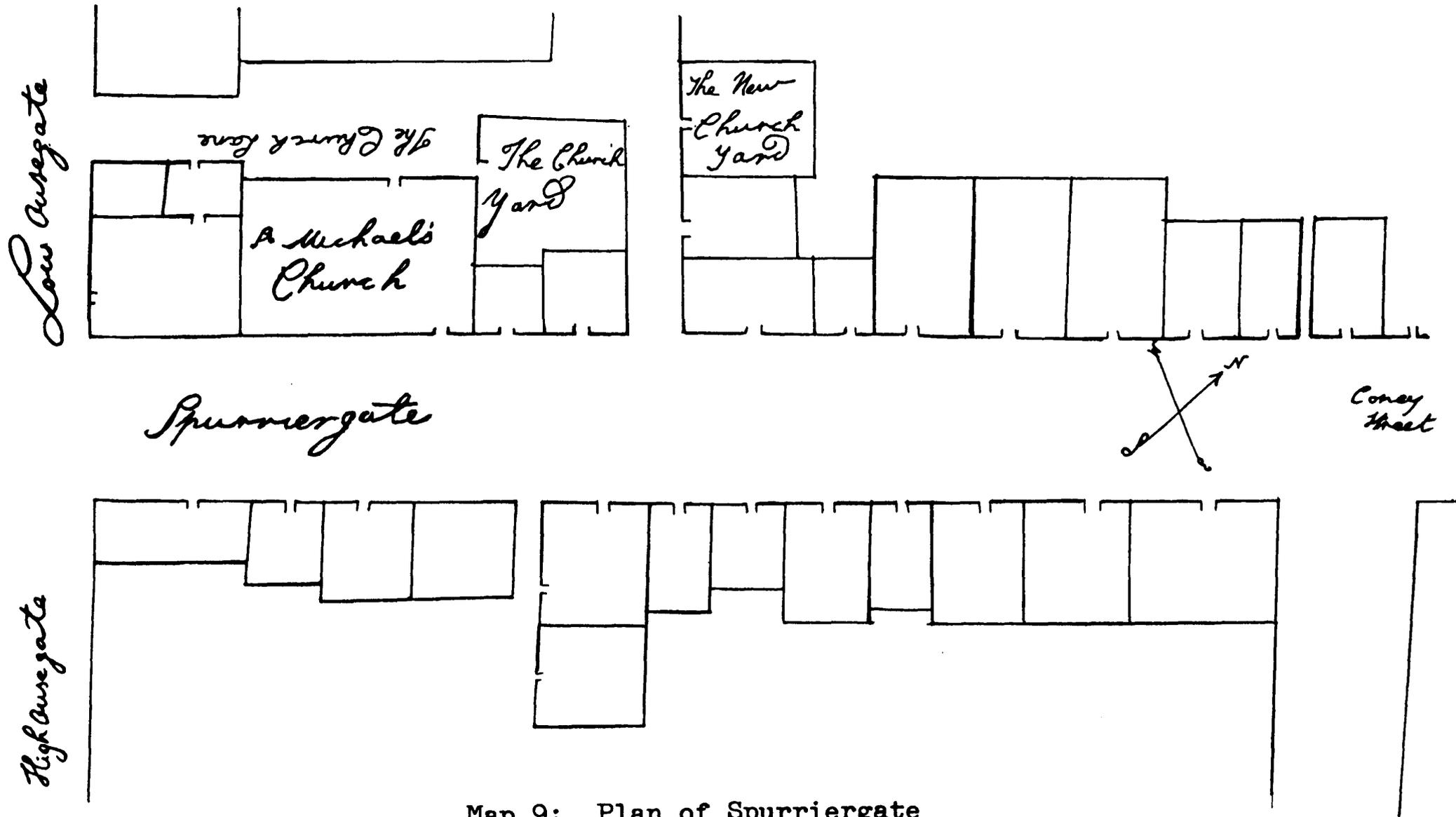
His house in Coney Street was in the parish of St

28 Quarter Session records between 1575 and 1580: YCA: F 3, pp 165, 190, 212; B 26, f 69a; F 3, pp 244, 280, 480, 534, 550 and 558.

Michael, which extended as far north as Jubbergate. According to the large-scale Ordnance Survey map of York of 1852, in that year there were eleven separate houses or plots and one covered passage way along the left hand side of Spurriergate between the church and the boundary with St Martin Coney Street parish. These do not have to correspond exactly to the buildings of Thomas Appleyard's day - there had been several alterations to the street front since - but they probably suggest the likely number of holdings. The ninth and tenth are directly opposite the end of Jubbergate. St Michael's church itself owned various properties in the area, and listed them all in a Feoffees' deed of 21 January 1599/1600: Thomas Appleyard the younger was the feoffee at this time (BI: PR Y/MS 20). Beginning with property to the south of the church (demolished when the road was widened), it is possible to fix some of the tenements immediately around the church in 1600 (Figure 9, p 212). The Inquisition Post Mortem on Thomas Appleyard describes a house in Coney Street occupied by Thomas Mason hatter, and the same man is found in a house north of that occupied by Jane Elwick in the feoffee list. Making the assumption that the two tenements Mr Appleyard had bought from the city were part of the city's land bounding his property on the south in the 1547/8 deed of his purchase of the house, then his house must have been at least the eighth house up from the church, which makes it almost opposite the end of Jubbergate. This conveniently places Mr Appleyard's station in a location mentioned as the area of a station in 1399 (p 28 above). His house cannot have been much further one way or the other, because of the feoffee property known to be near the church, and because the house was inside St Michael's parish. The suggested plan corresponds remarkably closely to Dr White's map of Spurriergate (Map 9, p 213). There are the same number of houses between the passage from the churchyard to the

Figure 9: Schematic plan of Spurriergate





Map 9: Plan of Spurriergate
 based on the map by
 Dr White, c. 1785

house opposite the end of Jubbergate in both Dr White's plan and the 1852 Ordnance Survey Map. Dr White also indicates a lane leading from the road down the side of the house in the position I have assigned to Thomas Appleyard. This was Blanchard's Lane in 1702, which was later replaced by a lane to the north west (RCHM: York V, p 122).

The suggested location of Thomas Appleyard's house, the traditional site at Jubbergate for the performance of the Play, was perhaps chosen because it was at the place where the road widened again after the restriction of Ousegate and Spurriergate.

The viijth place at Martyn Metcalfes
in Conyngstrete - iij^s iiij^d

Martin Metcalf

After the merchants, Martin Metcalf was another Innholder, though also described as a gentleman. In 1567 he was a witness in a case heard in the Archbishop's Court, between Thomas Grayson, the vicar of St Martin Coney Street, and John Robson, concerning tithes and oblations (BI: CP G 1331). He stated that he had lived in the parish all his life, and his age was given at about sixty years; he had kept house there for forty years. His wife Margaret was about seventy years, and had lived there thirty years. He was therefore about thirty three in 1540, when he was franchised as an Innholder, and had already kept house in the parish for over ten years (FY I, p 259). He was comparatively well off at the beginning of his life, and less so at the end. In 1539, in a Muster Roll, he was wealthy enough to be listed as a horsed and harnessed billman, and in 1540 and 1541 he paid tax on goods of £20. In 1545 his

goods were assessed at £15, and the next year £12. By 1556 he was being assessed on £5²⁹. In the General Sessions of January 1561/2 he was accused of breaking the statute on tippling houses, along with Christopher Willoughby, William Gilmyrn junior, Reginald Fawkes, Thomas Glasyn and others - all these names appear in the station lists at some time (YCA: F 2, pp 55-6). Martin Metcalf himself first appeared in the lists in 1542, when he had the eighth place, and next in 1551, when it was the fourth place (there were fewer places because the plague was in the city); finally he took a place in 1554³⁰. Despite having offended against the statutes, he was one of the brewers of St Martin Coney Street parish allowed in April 1562 (YCA: B 23, f 51). He made his will on 6 May 1569, and probate was granted on 18 April 1570; little of his property was mentioned because it was all to go to his wife Margaret and daughter Isabell Meltonby (BI: Pr Reg 18, f 177).

Some men, like Thomas Harrison, and especially if they took office and bought or rented property, appear regularly in the records, and others leave little trace. I have found few references to Martin Metcalf's property; one is in a deed made after his death, between William and Anna Langton and Oswald Metcalf of Wydon Grange gentleman. On 11 October 1570, The Swan, together with two gardens in Thomas Metcalf's occupation, were conveyed to Oswald Metcalf: this property was south of a tenement formerly belonging to Martin Metcalf deceased. It was on the right hand side

29 YCA: E 64, f 84; PRO: E 36/32, p 15. Tax: YCA: E 48/49, ff 17 and 44; E 50, pp 130 and 164; PRO: E.179/217/99, 102, 108 and 110.

30 YCA: Chamberlains' Book 4 (1, 1542), f 37; B 20, f 56; Chamberlains' Book 4 (2, 1554), p 59; REED: YORK, pp 278, 298 and 314.

of the pageant route, in Coney Street. The deed also conveyed individual rooms built into the tenement to the south of The Swan, still in the possession of the Langtons. Whether Martin Metcalf had lived in the tenement belonging to him is impossible to tell (YCA: E 23, f 35). There is also a reference to a messuage in Coney Street in his occupation which was excluded from the sale of several properties by William Hill gentleman to Robert Bate gentleman on 4 July 1562 (YCA: E 23, f 93v), but no further description is given.

The ixth place at the Common hall to my
Lord Maior and his bredren - nihil

The Common Hall

The Common Hall - now called the Guildhall - is next to the river Ouse, and screened from the road: since 1725 by the Mansion House, and before that by the tenements at the Common Hall Gates, once the property of the St Christopher and St George Guild of York and acquired by the city in 1549³¹. The only way for the pageant waggons to reach the front of the Hall itself would have been for them to turn left through the Common Hall Gates and down an eight foot wide passage that led between the two tenements to the courtyard before the Hall. It seems obvious that in this case the term 'at the Common Hall' meant, more precisely, at the Common Hall Gates, a phrase used in 1551, 1569,

31 For further details of this site and division between the two tenants, see my article 'The tenements at the Common Hall gates: the mayor's station for the Corpus Christi Play in York', in REED: Newsletter 1982:2, pp 14-24. Points made in this article are not elaborated here.

1572 and 1584. The earliest station list, of 1399, placed a station next to the Common Hall, and the 1417 version, confirming the places, said before the Common Hall (R:Y, pp 11 and 28, 698 and 713). The Mayor was first located at the Common Hall in 1538 and he was also there in 1542. In 1551, the location was for the first time 'at Common Hall Gates': this may reflect the fact that the corporation had now acquired the property, and as landlord the Mayor could more easily arrange to make use of the chamber there. The impression is that the Mayor's party was not fully settled until these tenements were acquired. After 1549, Richard Aynley, and then his son-in-law Thomas Colthirst, took the role of host: a role acknowledged by a payment of 6s 8d to Richard Aynley in 1554 'for easement of his howses and Chambres' (YCA: CB 4 (2, 1554), p 107; R:Y, p 315).

Entries concerning Richard Aynley and Thomas Colthirst contribute to the information on the tenement at the Common Hall Gates used by the Mayor.

Richard Aynley

Richard Aynley did not take a place for the Play himself, but his profession of vintner links him to the Innkeepers who preceded him on the route. He may have provided the six gallons of claret, two and a quarter gallons of white wine and a pottle of sack included in the Mayor's feast in 1554, which cost six shillings. He had been franchised as a vintner in 1549 (FY I, p 269) and was a leading member of the Vintners by 1552, when he was one of the Complainants in a petition to the Mayor, concerning the payment of pageant money and other dues by Vintners. Not only were there few franchised vintners, but others who were drawing and retailing wine refused to enter the company and bear charges as they

ought. The Petition asked that either a small number of vintners should be licensed to occupy that profession and pay their dues, whilst the others were to be ordered not to practise; or that the whole occupation be annulled and anyone could practise as they wanted (YCA: end of B 20, after f 134; R:Y, pp 296-7; the Petition is endorsed 12 March 1550/1). The same year, on 2 June 1552, Richard Aynley was licensed to keep an alehouse or tippling house in Bootham Ward (YCA: E 44, p 37). Perhaps as a belated response to the Petition, the city council agreed in December 1553 that there should be only eight licensed tavern keepers, in order to avoid high prices and excess of wine: Richard Aynley of Bootham Ward was one of these (YCA: B 21, f 18 and 18v). The licence was renewed between January and March 1564/5 (YCA: B 23, f 170; B 24, f 3v). There are several examples of payments to Richard Aynley for wine, including providing sack for the Justices during the Lent and Lammas Assizes (YCA: CB 5 (1, 1559), f 74v; and (2, 1565), p 136), and several from his parish church of St Martin Coney Street when he provided the communion wine (BI: PR Y/MCS 16, pp 35, 43, 46 and 47). His wife was also a licensed brewer (YCA: CB 4 (2, 1554), p 53; and 5 (1, 1559), f 21v).

He was one of the leading parishioners of his church, being Churchwarden in 1555-7 and 1564-6, and auditor of the accounts in 1554, 1561, 1572 and 1575³². The Parish Register notes the baptism of his children from 1559, but he obviously had other children born before the surviving Register begins. He had married Margaret, daughter of Alderman Thomas Standeven, and in

32 BI: PR Y/MCS 16, pp 10, 13, 24, 37, 51, 96, 111 and 113. Some of these accounts and auditor's notes may be in his own hand.

the will of Thomas Standeven, dated 30 December 1566, the couple were the major inheritors after Mrs Standeven; Alderman Standeven also gave £20 for the marriage portion of their daughter Katherine, and all his books and a ring to Richard Aynley (BI: Pr Reg 17B, f 705-705v). From Richard Aynley's will of 7 April 1575 (BI: Pr Reg 19B, ff 802v-803) we know that he had another daughter, Margaret, and a son Richard who was buried at St Martin Coney Street church on 28 October 1565: Richard Aynley wished to be buried by him in his turn. Other children recorded in the Parish Register are Elizabeth (1559, d 1561), Alice (1560), John (baptised and buried March 1562/3), Mary (1564), Thomas (1565) and Henry (1566) (printed Parish Register, pp 1, 2, 3 and 72). Katherine married Thomas Colthirst in St Michael le Belfray church on 6 October 1567 (printed Parish Register, p 4, where her name is spelt Heanelay). The first entry to link father and son-in-law is in the Quarter Sessions Book for December 1568, when Robert Cripling was bound to keep the peace against Richard Aynley vintner and Thomas Colthirst gentleman, and they were similarly bound to keep the peace against him (YCA: F 2, p 199). The dispute, which is not detailed, continued into 1569, when Robert Cripling brought a Bill of Complaint against Richard Aynley and he made reply: the matter was heard before the Aldermen (YCA: B 24, f 157, 3 September 1569).

Although he was mostly associated with St Martin Coney Street, Richard Aynley made a brief move into another parish. In February 1566/7 he was one of the honest men to assess the tax for St Martin's parish; he himself paid 5 shillings on goods worth £5 (YCA: E 51, pp 78 and 94). However, for the second payment of the tax, in February 1567/8, he was assessed in St Wilfrid's parish (E 51, p 126). In December 1569, Mr Aynley of St Michael le Belfray - to which the parish of St

Wilfrid's had been united - was assessed at 50 shillings towards the loan to pay off the Queen's army after the Rising (YCA: B 24, f 182). He was listed as an honest man of St Wilfrid's on 22 April 1570, to help oversee the carrying out of Articles for attending church, for poor relief, and against spreaders of rumours, valiant beggars, forestallers and regrators (YCA: B 24, f 202v). Meanwhile, in assessments made for contributions to St Martin Coney Street parish on 3 February 1569/70, Mr Colthirst was assessed at 5d, but 'Aynlay' is written above, as though one stands in for the other. In similar parish assessments of January 1570/1, Richard Aynley was now one of the assessors, and was himself assessed at 5d, and there is no Mr Colthirst in this list (BI: PR Y/MCS F 1/3, ff 1, 2 and 3). In April 1571, Richard Aynley was again an overseer for the Articles, but for St Martin's parish, and was assessed for tax there in August (YCA: B 24, f 236; E 51, pp 146 and 158). No other Richard Aynley appeared at St Wilfrid's parish after this³³. A probable explanation is that after the death of his father-in-law Alderman Standeven (who was buried at St Michael le Belfray on 18 August 1567 - printed Parish Register, p 5), Richard Aynley and his wife moved into the Standeven home whilst he administered the estate. The newly married Thomas and Katherine Colthirst lived in the tenement on Coney Street. Mrs Standeven was buried on 18 October 1568 (printed Parish Register, p 7), but it was about two years before Richard Aynley returned to Coney Street.

33 That is, not until the 1580s and 1590s, when there is a Richard Aynley and his sister Jane at St Michael le Belfray, in the care of William Hebden cordwainer and his wife: see their wills (BI: D/C Pr Reg 5, ff 127v and 128). This Richard became a cordwainer and made his own will on 20 September 1599 (BI: D/C Pr Reg 5, f 155).

Not long after this return to Coney Street, his wife Margaret died: she was buried at St Martin's church on 19 April 1571 (printed Parish Register, p 74). In due course, he married again, for his second wife Christiane is provided for in his will; but there is no record of any children of this marriage.

Richard Aynley was Chamberlain in 1559, and he had to pay the higher exoneration fee of £6 13s 4d, because he had not previously held the junior position of Bridgemaster or muremaster³⁴. He had responsible parochial duties, and also became a member of the Common Council for the Vintners (see YCA: B 23, f 63v). He made arrangements for buying or hiring the boats over which a temporary wooden bridge was constructed after Ouse Bridge collapsed in the winter of 1564/5 (B 24, f 6). In August 1567 he was a tax collector for Bootham Ward (B 25, ff 85, 86, 116v and 133v). He was assessed for tax on goods of £5, which remained constant until February 1567/8, after Alderman Standeven's death, when it rose to £8, at which level it remained (YCA: E 51, pp 19, 126 and 186).

In 1567, like Martin Metcalf, he was a witness in the case Thomas Grayson, vicar of St Martin's, brought against John Robson; he was said to be about thirty nine³⁵, and he had been a parishioner about fifteen years (BI: CP G 1331). He himself was brought before the High Commission between February and October 1570/1,

34 Freemen of York II, p 279; for his election, see YCA: B 22, ff 147v and 151; and Chamberlains' Book 5 (1, 1559), ff 2 and 41. He was placed second in order of precedence.

35 A smudge in the writing makes it difficult to tell if this is an accurate reading.

in a matter concerning undefaced copes or vestments from the 'tyme of superstition' belonging to St Martin's church said to be in his custody, which he denied³⁶. In the Churchwardens' accounts for 1570, it was noted that he owed £16 for stuff he bought from the parish; this was still owing in 1572, and was not fully paid off when he died in 1575. Perhaps the High Commission case referred to this³⁷.

Richard Aynley's will was made on 7 April 1575 (BI: Pr Reg 19B, ff 802v-803), and begins with a lengthy prayer for forgiveness and final rest in the Kingdom of Heaven. Reference to property is vague, and some was to go to his wife Christiane and then to his sons Thomas and Henry. There are bequests to his daughter Margaret (unmarried), Katherine Colthirst, Alice and Mary, and bequests to his father, also called Richard, and brothers John, Robert and Michael; he also mentioned his sisters. Thomas Colthirst his son-in-law had his halberd and dagge (a gun), with a jerkin and cap. His father and brother John were associated with a tenement called Knoll House in 'Old Lyaly', and neither they nor his other brothers seem to have lived in York. There is no specific reference to the tenement at the Common Hall Gates.

The will does not give Richard Aynley's profession,

36 His appearances are recorded in BI: High Commission Act Book 5, between ff 202v and 237v; and Book 6, between ff 3 and 94.

37 BI: PR Y/MCS 16, pp 79, 81, 97 and 114. The case before the High Commission is noted by Hugh Aveling in Catholic Recusancy in the City of York 1558-1791 (Catholic Record Society, 1970), p 171, who relates the incident to Catholic sympathies and the attempt to preserve the trappings of the old religion. The entries in the Churchwardens' accounts may mean his offence was financial.

but when he was buried the Parish Register described him as 'notary' (BI: PR Y/MCS 1, f 83)³⁸. The Richard Aynley so far encountered, when a profession was given, was a vintner, and he was described as a vintner of St Martin Coney Street when he gave evidence for Thomas Grayson in 1567. If there had been a separate person of the same name in the same parish who was a notary, then the records would differentiate them; there is no indication of more than one man. When his son Henry was franchised in 1594, he was called the son of Richard Aynley gentleman (FY II, p 37). None of this is incompatible. It may have been for his legal knowledge that he had joined Thomas Fale the Common Clerk as attorney for the city in its claim in the Forest of Galtres (YCA: E 30, f 51; and Deed A 39). Later tenants in the seventeenth century at the Common Hall Gates show this mixture of tavern-keeping and legal practice.

In the 1567 hearing concerning Thomas Grayson, Richard Aynley, at thirty nine years, claimed to have been a parishioner for about fifteen years, which would have taken him back to 1552, and an age of twenty four. The first entry in the Bridgemasters' Rolls to record his lease of the tenement at the Common Hall Gates is of 1552 (YCA: C 90:1), the first Roll to survive after the city bought the property in 1549. I have already suggested³⁹, however, that the Richard Aveley found in the Rental of the St Christopher and St George Guild property and in the Grant of lands of the Guild to the

38 It also says he was buried on 9 March. As the entry is the first under 1575 (which began on 25 March) and as his will was dated 7 April, it should probably read 9 April. The entry has been repeated in the copy of the Register, BI: PR Y/MCS 3, f 142v. See the printed Parish Register, p 75.

39 In my article 'The tenements at the Common Hall gates', op.cit., p 19.

city on 4 August 1549⁴⁰ is the same man as Richard Aynley of the Bridgemasters' Rolls. This means that he must have been a tenant no later than 1549 and in possession of a long term lease that the city had to take over, for he paid the same rent of 20 shillings before and after the sale. This theory does make him very young to take a lease (if I have read his age correctly in 1567); and it would have been better if he had said that he had lived in the parish for about twenty years rather than fifteen. He was franchised in 1549, the year that his tenement was bought by the city, and it will be seen that Thomas Colthirst was later expected to become a freeman as a condition of his lease of the same property. This strengthens the argument that he was the tenant from 1549. He paid the rent of 20 shillings to the Bridgemasters every year, and is even credited with payment in 1575, the year of his death (YCA: C 93:2).

His tenement stood at the south side of the central gateway that led through to the Common Hall⁴¹, on the left hand side to anyone standing in Coney Street and facing the buildings. A survey of this tenement after his death noted that there was $26\frac{3}{4}$ yards of wainscot in the hall and $45\frac{3}{4}$ yards in the Chamber over the hall, and 104 feet of glass, which had all been put in by Richard Aynley (YCA: B 26, f 28). This estimate makes the upstairs Chamber larger than the hall, and the most likely place for the Mayor's feast.

40 YML: M2(4)a, f 61v; PRO: E.318/2116; YCA: G 15; and Cal.Pat.Rolls Edward VI, 1549-1551, p 31.

41 'The tenements at the Common Hall gates', op.cit., pp 19-20.

iv. Stonegate and Minster Gates

The xth plaice at Robert Bylbowes
in Staynegate - iij^s iiij^d

Robert Bylbowe

Robert Bylbowe was called an Innholder when his son John, also an Innholder, was franchised in 1579; and he was probably the Robert 'Belbowe' franchised as a tailor in 1543 (FY I, p 263; II, p 20). In November 1545 Robert was living in St Martin Coney Street parish and was assessed for tax on goods of 40 shillings (YCA: E 48/49 (third section), p 32; PRO: E.179/217/109), but on 3 June 1552 he was licensed to keep a common alehouse or tippling house in St Helen Stonegate parish (YCA: E 44, p 52): he was described then as a tailor. In the year he took a place in Stonegate, 1554, his wife was also a licensed brewer of Bootham Ward (YCA: CB 4 (2, 1554), p 53), so like many other station holders, he had good reason to encourage the congregation of an audience. In 1559, he was one of the honest parishioners of St Helen parish (YCA: E 50, p 223), and he was still there in April 1562 when he was licensed as a brewer (YCA: B 23, f 51), but he was buried at St Martin Coney Street church on 22 April 1563, and Mrs Bylbowe paid 3s 4d for his grave (printed Parish Register, p 72; BI: PR Y/MCS 16, p 39). Despite his association with Stonegate between 1552 and 1562, there is more information about his property in St Martin Coney Street parish, especially through his son John, who very clearly lived on the south side of the Common Hall. In 1576 there was a suit between John Bylbowe and Thomas Colthirst, occupying the Common Hall tenement, over Mr Colthirst's claim of access to the river through John Bylbowe's land. John Bylbowe claimed this property as heir of his father who owned the ground, including the lane in

question (YCA: B 26, ff 75v-76). The location of Robert Bylbowe's house in Stonegate is not known.

The xjth place at the Mynster yaite to Antony
 dyconson & Robert Staynburne - iij^s iiij^d

Anthony Dycconson

Stonegate was an area for tailors, and Anthony Dycconson was franchised as a tailor in 1545 (FY I, p 264), and already associated with St Michael le Belfray, being assessed at ld on goods worth 20 shillings in that year (YCA: E 49/50 (third section), p 28). He also rented a tenement in Petergate from the Bedern, and his payment of 5 shillings was noted in one of the Chantry Surveys of this time (YML: M2(4)_a, f 17v).

In 1554, when he shared the eleventh place with Robert Staynburne, he was a Chamberlain, having first been offered the lesser office of muremaster: he preferred to pay a higher exoneration fee and take office as Chamberlain (YCA: B 21, f 25; CB 4 (2, 1554), p 90). Later that year, in October, described as a draper, he was a surety with George Cooke for Cooke's servant Gawin Dent to keep the peace (YCA: E 44, p 286). In various tax assessments between March 1556/7 and January 1559/60, he was assessed on goods of £7, all under St Michael le Belfray parish (YCA: E 50, pp 163 and 272). From January 1561/2 he was a member of the Common Council for the tailors, replacing Matthew Hartlay⁴².

42 Matthew Hartlay tailor had himself leased a station in Stonegate, probably the 'Mathew Tayllour' of 1523, and certainly between 1524 and 1551 (REED:YORK under those dates). The tax assessments for the period locate him in St Helen's parish, Stonegate.

In 1565 Dame Joan Ogle alias Malleverey brought a case of Defamation against Anthony Dycconson before the Dean and Chapter Court. Alderman Percival Crawforth deposed that when he was in the hall of his house in Petergate near the Minster he heard Anthony Dycconson call her a whore, and Dick Malleverey a knave and a lackey. Other witnesses in the house included Christopher Smythson, another tailor (BI: D/C CP, 1565/5).

Some notes concerning assessments in St Michael le Belfray parish at the end of the century (BI: PR Y/MB 33) show that the custom of the parish was to note people in the streets where they lived. This custom must have been used earlier, for when the parish assessment for tax was copied into the city records in January 1555/6, the city clerk entered the names under Petergate or Stonegate. Anthony Dycconson was noted under the Stonegate section (YCA: E 50, p 129). Thomas Harrison's purchase of three tenements in Petergate and Stonegate from George Cooke in 1563 has already been noted, and one of these was occupied by Anthony Dycconson. This transaction proves a useful link when examining the occupants of places at the Minster Gates, as will be seen in the discussion of places in 1585.

Robert Staynburne

Robert Staynburne was franchised as a merchant in 1540, and was Pageant Master of the Merchants in 1542 (FY I, p 259; R:Y, p 653). He was also associated with St Michael le Belfray parish, paying tax there in 1545, and poor relief in January 1572/3 (YCA: E 49/50 (third section), p 27; B 25, f 52). He took a rent from the Bedern at the time of the Chantry Surveys, paying 26s 8d for property in Stonegate and Swinegate (YML: M2(4)a, f 12; and Page I, p 26); payment of this rent is recorded

in the Vicars Choral Chamberlains' Rolls (see YML: VC 6/2/91-94, 1554-1575). He had some property in Bootham, outside Bootham Bar, and was assessed at 4d for a house, barn and garden there in St Olave's parish on 3 November 1563⁴³. This may have been the site of his bowling alley in Bootham, for which he was presented to the Wardmote Court in 1565 as it caused a nuisance and was against the Act on unlawful games; however, he was exonerated (YCA: CB 5 (2, 1565), p 54).

On 3 June 1552 he was licensed to keep a common alehouse or tippling house in St Michael le Belfray parish (YCA: E 44, pp 47 and 390). There is a suggestion that he had connections with the Minster Close, for in January 1573/4 he was deputy to the Bailiff there (the Peter Bailiff), and had served a warrant of peace on Nicholas Marre; the city made a grant towards the latter's costs in the suit because it touched on the liberty of the city in relation to that of the Minster Garth (YCA: B 25, f 106v).

He was buried on 15 November 1581, and was said to be about 74 (printed Parish Register, p 37). After his death, uxor Staynburne and others at the Minster Gates were ordered in the Wardmote Court of May 1585 to pave before their stables in Swinegate (YCA: E 31 (second section), p 281).

The Minster Gates

The place taken by Anthony Dycconson and Robert Staynburne is at another place established by 1399.

43 This assessment was recorded in the House Book of November 1572, after a dispute over the tax in that parish (YCA: B 25, f 28).

Overlooking the junction of Stonegate and Petergate, the Minster Gates marked the boundary of the Minster Garth or Yard, an area out of the jurisdiction of the city. There was a similar gateway near the west door of the Minster. The Tudor map of York shows both gates and the surrounding streets very clearly (Map 10, p 229).

There are records to show that on a few occasions at least the Dean and Chapter paid for the use of a chamber above the Gates of the Minster Close in order to see the Play. In 1483, when both the Corpus Christi Play and the Creed Play were performed, they paid 3s 4d each time to an unspecified recipient, and in 1484 they paid 5 shillings to see (or rather, to hear) the Corpus Christi Play. The wording suggests that they were paying for the use of the chamber, not paying the city for the right to have the waggons stop before the Gates. In 1546, the accounts show a payment to John Gachet of 3s 4d for use of his room 'super portas Clausi', above the doors of the Close (R:Y, pp 132, 135, 289, 786, 788 and 839). The Dean and Chapter may have been treating John Gachet as the Mayor and Commonalty treated Richard Aynley, for the Chamber over the Minster Gates was in their possession. In 1570, it was leased to Thomas Hutton, brother of the Dean (YML: H(4), Chapter Acts, f 63-63v). The list of receipts by the city from station holders has not survived from 1546 to show whether John Gachet in his turn had taken a place from the city, but the pattern of the existing receipts does not favour him. In 1542, Tristram Lytster was at the Minster Gates with Lawrence Thomlinson, following a long association with the place by his father, John Lytster, recorded between 1520 and 1538. John and Tristram Lytster provide a useful beginning for examining this station.

John Lytster, franchised as a tailor in 1507 (FY I,

p 230), was of St Michael le Belfray parish by 1524, when he was assessed there on £16 goods, and still there at the end of his life, when he was assessed on £10 in 1540 (PRO: E.179/217/92 and YCA: E 48/49, ff 3 and 16). In 1536 the city gave him a fifty year lease on ground in Coppergate, on which he was to build a house; in December 1540, this lease was repeated (YCA: B 13, f 35; B 14, f 18v). Meanwhile, his son Tristram, also a draper, had been franchised in 1539 (FY I, p 259). John's will was made on 29 April 1541, with probate granted on 13 October (YML: D/C Pr Reg 2, ff 199-200). Three tenements in the parish of All Hallows Pavement - presumably those he built in Coppergate - went to his wife and son. She died in Belfray parish at the end of 1545 (YML: D/C Pr Reg 3, f 12-12v). Tristram continued to live in St Michael le Belfray parish, where he paid tax in 1545 and 1547 (PRO: E.179/217/108 and 111), until 1548. In that year he was assessed for the first time in the parish of All Hallows Pavement, and in the same month, May, his name was crossed out from a list of beacon watchers for St Michael le Belfray parish (YCA: E 48/49 (second section), f 12; B 19, f 18v). From that time, he remained in All Hallows parish, where he was licensed to keep an alehouse in 1552 and was a brewer in 1562; his wife was an allowed brewer in 1554 and 1559 (YCA: E 44, p 101; CB 4 (2, 1554), p 54a; 5 (1, 1559), f 21; B 23, f 51). He had died by 13 January 1562/3, when another tailor was chosen to take his place on the Common Council (YCA: B 23, f 79v).

In the 1546 Chantry Survey, Tristram Lytster was recorded as holding a tenement in Stonegate from the Chantry of St Andrew in the Minster (Page I, p 23), paying a rent of 38s 4d. The survey preserved in York Minster Library states that this was held on a 21-year lease made in 1537, and also refers to another payment of 18 shillings from him for two tenements (YML: M2(4)a,

ff 31v and 32). This latter payment is mentioned too in the Grant of lands from the crown to Matthew White and Edward Bury on 7 July 1549, which included 18 shillings issuing from the tenement in the tenure of Tristram Lytster to the prebendary of Yevendale⁴⁴, although by this time, Tristram Lytster had moved to All Hallows Pavement parish. The St Andrew Chantry property has been identified as the building on the north corner of Stonegate opposite Minster Gates, on the left hand side of the pageant route (RCHM: York V, p 225; houses nos 54-60 Stonegate; see Plan 2, p 249 below).

The three tenements in Petergate and Stonegate which George Cooke hosier and his wife sold to Thomas Harrison Innholder for £52 on 8 June 1563 were traced back in the deed to the Grant to Matthew White and Edward Bury, and described as being formerly in the occupation of Thomas Scot, Tristram Lytster and James Steele, and now in the occupation of Anthony Dycconson, Christopher Smythson, William Drynkell and Anthony Tesymond. Tristram Lytster's tenement was probably at the top of Stonegate, on the evidence of the Chantry payments. Anthony Dycconson may first have lived in Petergate, according to his rent of a tenement there from the Bedern in the 1540s, and may then have moved to Stonegate, according to the Subsidy assessment of 1555/6. The same building may have been the site of performances over a number of years, and the evidence suggests that a station 'at the Minster Gates' could be before a house in Stonegate rather than Petergate next to the Gates.

This site will be further discussed under the station list of 1585.

44 Cal.Pat.Rolls, Edward VI, 1549-1551, pp 152-4.

v. Petergate and Colliergate

The xij place at Mr Gaylls Alderman - xvj^d

George Gale

Like the earlier Aldermen, Mr Gale paid a lower fee, which may seem unfair as he was the richest of the councillors. In 1540, his tax was assessed on £80 goods and £20 lands; in 1548 it reached its height, when he was rated at £300 goods; and in 1551 it was £100. In January 1555/6 he had lands worth £50⁴⁵. No other Alderman was assessed on this amount, and when the city wanted to buy the lands of the dissolved St Christopher and St George Guild in 1549, he was able to put down the £308 6s 8d needed; he was repaid in cash for the property in York, and given assurances for the property in Stamford Bridge and elsewhere, with a grant of the church of St Helen on the Walls, one of the churches in York abandoned and sold off when the parishes were united in 1549 (YCA: B 19, ff 77, 95v-96v).

He was a goldsmith, franchised in 1514 (FY I, p 236), and also Treasurer of the Mint in York in 1545 and a Burgess at Parliament in 1533 and 1541 (Skaife). He belonged to Trinity parish Goodramgate, and was included in assessments in the earliest Churchwardens' accounts surviving there, paying 4 shillings towards church expenses and the clerk's wages (BI: PR Y/HTG 12, f 33). He made his will on 11 June 1556, and probate was granted on 26 August following. One of his sons, Thomas, did not long survive him, making a will on 3 December 1556; and his widow made her will on 24

45 YCA: E 48/49, p 10; and (second section), f 9; E 50, pp 72 and 123.

September 1557 (BI: Pr Reg 15A, ff 62-62v and 292-292v; and Pr Reg 15B, ff 124v-125).

Alderman Gale lived in the parish of Holy Trinity Goodramgate, and his house had to be somewhere along Petergate to be eligible as a station. Only a small portion of central Petergate is in the parish, eight houses according to the 1852 Ordnance Survey Map, four on each side of the lane leading to the church (Hornpot Lane). George Gale paid a rent to the Vicars Choral of the Minster in 1554 for tenements in 'Hornepotlayne' itself; the rent was continued by Francis Gale in 1557/8 and then paid by Alderman Ralph Hall by 1567 (YML: VC 6/2/91 to 93). This lane may, therefore, locate the site of the twelfth station. Another entry linking him with property in Petergate is the memorandum added to the 1554 Ouse Bridgemasters' Roll (YCA: C 90:2), noting that Alderman Gale had bought a tenement in Petergate Lane and three more there from the city. A memory of his occupation in the area is retained in a series of carved wooden panels, one including his coat of arms, now incorporated into a door in the Girls' School in Petergate (see Illustration 13, p 373, and the Note to Illustration 13).

The xiiij place at the Gotheromgate hed
to Edward Rayncoke & Kytchynman - iij^s iiij^d

Edward Rayncoke

The station held by Edward Rayncoke and Kytchynman was located at the junction of Goodramgate, Girdlergate and Petergate, part of Christ's parish; the church is now demolished, and the site at the top of the Shambles has become King's Square.

Edward Rayncoke was a merchant, son of John Rayncoke cordwainer and nephew of Alderman Robert Hall⁴⁶; he was franchised in 1544 and Pageant Master of the Merchants that same year (FY I, p 264; R:Y, p 653). Although his father was of St Michael le Belfray parish (see his will, YML: D/C Pr Reg 2, f 183), Edward was associated with Christ's parish, at the other end of Petergate. He was assessed for tax there in 1546 and 1547 on goods of £10 (PRO: E.179/217/111 and 112). He also rented property from this church, and the 1546 Chantry Survey noted 7 shillings from him for a tenement belonging to the Chantry of St John the Baptist there (Page I, p 78). The similar Rental in the York Minster archives also noted 5s 4d rent for a tenement in Christ's parish due for an obit in Crux parish, and 4 shillings free rent from a tenement (its location unstated) belonging to the Chantry of St John and St James in Christ's parish, paid by Edward Rayncoke (YML: M2(4)a, ff 41 and 55). His brother John, a notary, died in 1551, making his will on 16 May; Edward was executor and residuary beneficiary. Edward Rayncoke was still in Christ's parish in 1555/6 and 1556/7 when he was assessed on £6 goods, and 1558 when he had £5 (YCA: E 50, pp 123, 160 and 204).

Much later, Edward himself had moved to Belfray parish. He was there by 1576, when his son Robert died: the Administration pf 21 August 1576 (BI: D/C Pr Reg 5, f 82v) noted that Robert died in Edward Rayncoke's house, situated on the south side of Petergate,

⁴⁶ See the will of John Rayncoke (Edward's brother: YML: D/C Pr Reg 3, f 34-34v), and the will of Alderman Robert Hall, dated 23 October 1564 (BI: Pr Reg 17B, ff 477-478). Alderman Hall left 10 shillings to his godson Robert Rayncoke, and forgave Edward Rayncoke the money he owed.

'against' the lane leading to the church of St Trinity Goodramgate (Hornpot Lane). 'South' according to the directions on the Tudor map is misleading, as Petergate is shown running from north to south. Perhaps, being a Dean and Chapter record, this entry relates to the alignment of the Minster, making Petergate run from west to east; that means he would have been living opposite the lane, on the other side of Petergate, just inside the boundary of Belfray parish. 'Against', as in the case of George White and St John's church, apparently means 'opposite'.

After 1576, Edward Rayncoke was noted for assessment in Belfray parish, being recorded in the book of notes and Churchwardens' accounts; he gave 4d poor relief in 1584, and 4d tax in 1589, when he was said to be in Petergate (BI: PR Y/MB 33, ff 7 and 10v). His wife died in 1579, being about 40 years old, and he was buried on 2 November 1589 (called Edward 'Raynwik'; printed Parish Register, pp 29 and 63).

William Kytchynman

The likely candidate for the second partner at the Goodramgate site is William Kytchynman, a cordwainer franchised in 1549 (FY I, p 268): the occupation of Edward Rayncoke's father gives a link between the two men. In the tax collections of 1555/6 to 1558, he was assessed on £5 goods in Christ's parish (YCA: E 50, pp 123, 160 and 204). On 19 July 1589 a deed between Thomas Norcliff and William Grenebery described a tenement in St Andrewgate on the south side of the churchyard of St Andrew, held by William Kytchynman or his assigns. In August 1590 another deed said this property was now held by John Mansell (YCA: E 26, ff 93v-94 and 95-96). St Andrewgate was parallel to

Goodramgate, and came out on to Colliergate, but the church is about 400 feet from Colliergate and a tenement there does not help to locate the playing place. Nor is there any explanation why the two men found it convenient to share a place. Only the general area of their station can be assessed, which is at one of the places first set down in 1399. Perhaps there was some significance in Edward Rayncoke's relationship to Alderman Robert Hall, who had property at the end of Goodramgate (which will be noted in the examination of the place held by James Birkby in 1585.

Goodramgate Head

'Goodramgate Head' might be taken to designate the top of Goodramgate itself, where it joined Petergate, so that people who took stations lived on one corner or the other on the left of the pageant route. However, the term is also found to refer to the width of Petergate itself, where the road divided to go down either Colliergate or King's Court (Coneygarth) and the Shambles. In the Bridgemasters' Rolls of 1554, 1558 and 1561, John Jackson girdler and then Joan Jackson widow paid rent for a tenement at Goodramgate Head (YCA: C 90:2 to 4). When this tenement was sold by the city to Thomas Morton girdler on 20 March 1562/3, it was described as a cottage in Christ's parish, occupied by Joan Jackson widow, which lay between Colliergate on the east and Coneygarth on the west, with Petergate to the north and the cemetery of Christ's church to the south (YCA: E 22, f 20v). This means that the cottage 'at Goodramgate Head' in fact looked down Petergate to the Minster, and also that Christ's church, like many other churches in York, had small houses built before it. The whole area where several roads met before the church was apparently known as Goodramgate Head.

There is a view of the end of the church which faced down Petergate, made before nineteenth century alterations - although without the houses before it - which helps to give an impression of the area of the playing place (Illustration 9, below). Colliergate curves away on the left, King's Court to the right, and the figure carrying a bag is emerging from Girdlergate.

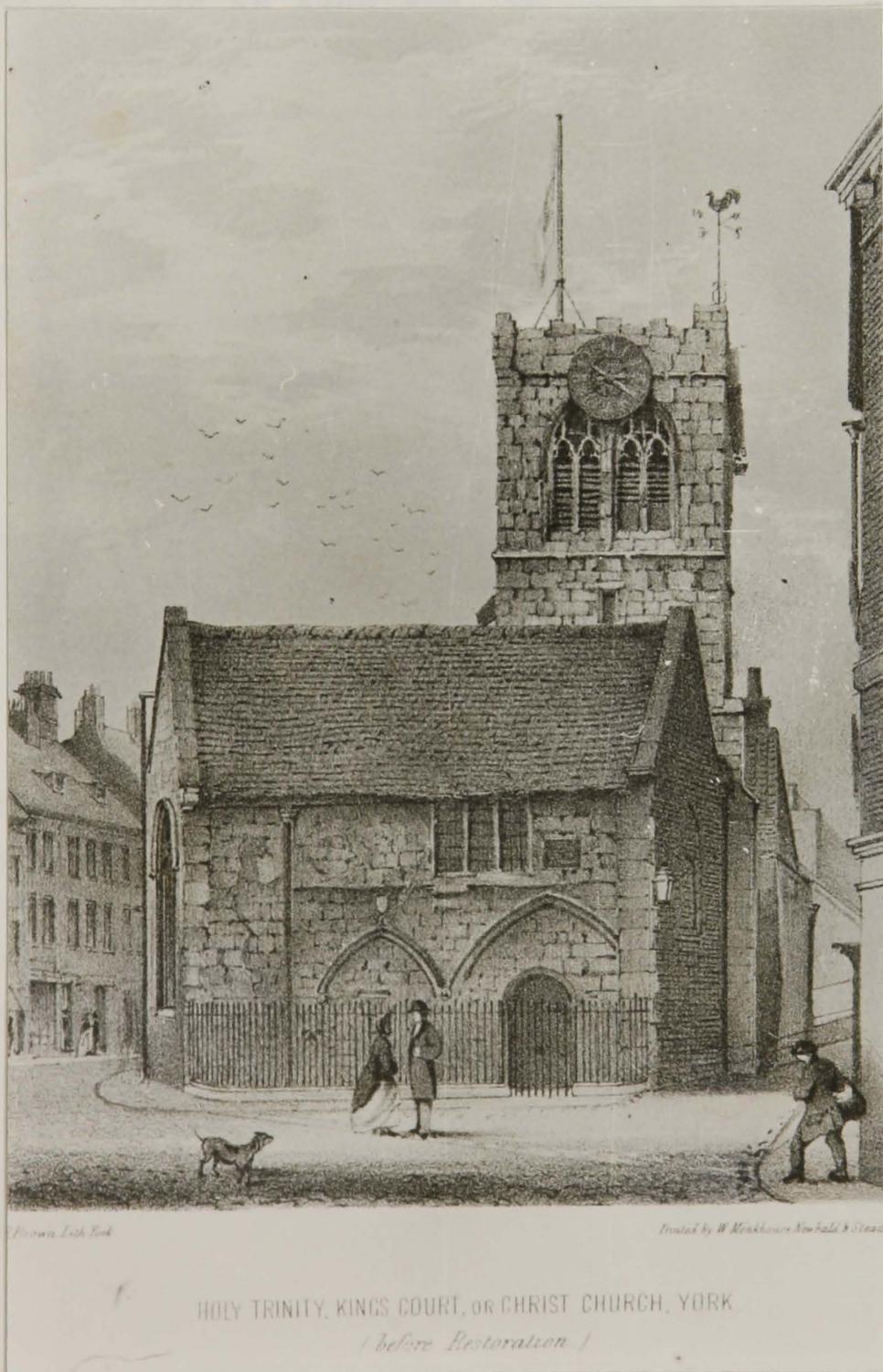


Illustration 9: Christ Church (Holy Trinity, King's Court) at Goodramgate Head

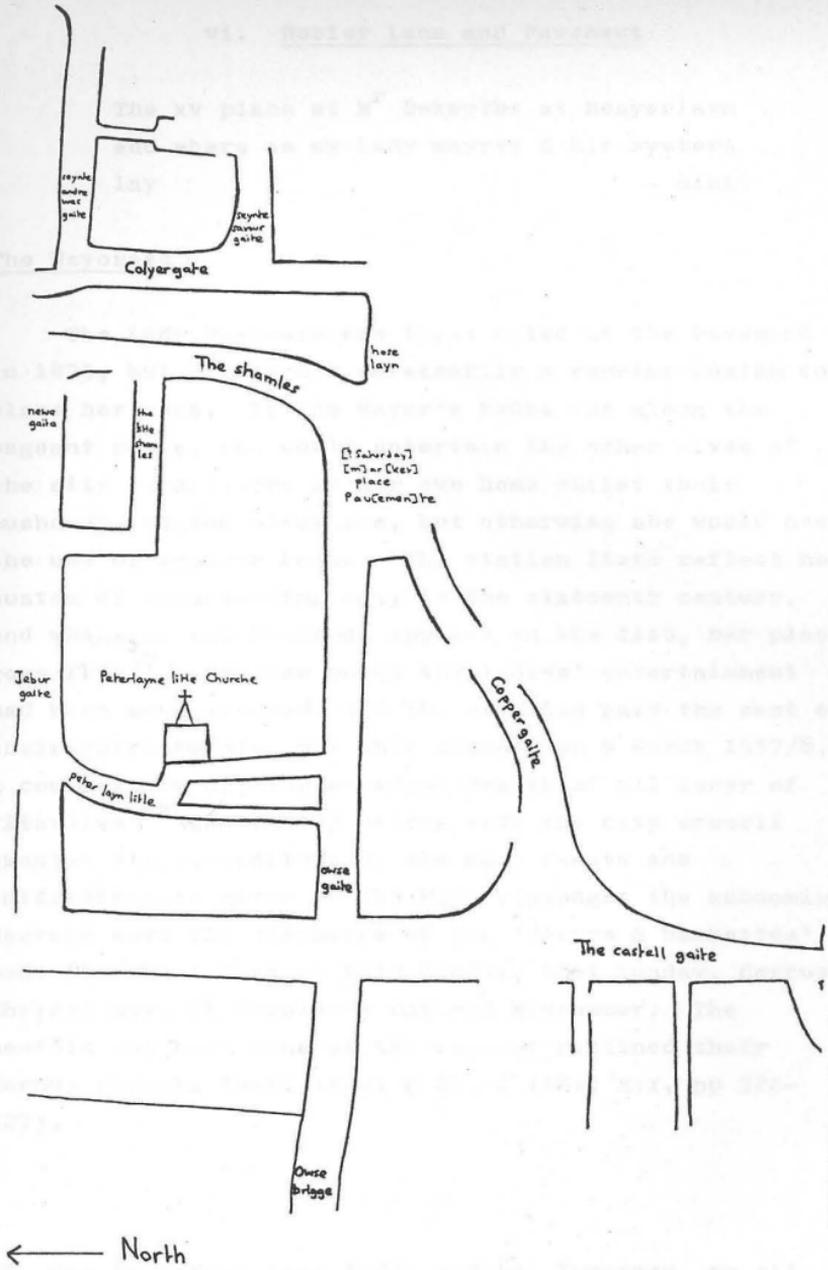
The xiiij place at William Marstons
 in Collyergate - iij^s iiij^d

William Marston

William Marston was a saddler, franchised in 1537, and twenty four years later, in 1561, he was a Chamberlain. His sons Peter and William were franchised, also as saddlers, in 1563 and 1568 (FY I, p 256, and II, pp 2, 5 and 9). He belonged to Crux parish where he was Constable in 1548 (YCA: E 48/49 (second section), f 2), and was one of the assessors for the tax in January 1550/1 and January 1559/60; in that last assessment, he paid 5 shillings on £5 goods (YCA: E 50, pp 50, 260 and 268). He made a will on 4 May 1567 (BI: Pr Reg 17B, f 756-756v).

I have found no evidence for where he lived, but as he belonged to Crux parish he must have been at the lower end of Colliergate; the 1852 map shows only four houses on the west side of the street and three on the east included in that parish.

As a saddler, he introduces a new craft into the list, that of leatherworkers. The area at the bottom of Colliergate must have retained this occupation, for Dr White's plan of the area, c 1785 (p 256 below), reaches to 'Whipmawhomagate or Cobblers' Market'. Like other station holders, William Marston supplemented his income by keeping an alehouse, and he was licensed under Crux parish in March 1552/3, and also in 1562 (YCA: E 44, p 92; B 23, f 5).



Map 11: The Pavement area of York, based on the Tudor map (PRO: MPB 49)

vi. Hosier Lane and Pavement

The xv place at M^r Bekwyths at hosyerlayn
 end where as my Lady mayres & hir systers
 lay - nihil

The Mayoress

The Lady Mayoress was first noted at the Pavement in 1475, but it was not necessarily a regular custom to place her here. If the Mayor's house was along the pageant route, she could entertain the other wives of the city councillors in her own home whilst their husbands feasted elsewhere, but otherwise she would need the use of another house. The station lists reflect her custom of entertaining only in the sixteenth century, and whenever the Mayoress appears in the list, her place goes free⁴⁷. At some point the ladies' entertainment had been acknowledged, and the city had paid the cost of their refreshments, but this changed on 9 March 1557/8. A combination of 'the excedyng dearth of all maner of vitaylles'⁴⁸ and rising prices made the city council examine its expenditure on the many feasts and entertainments given by the Mayor; amongst the economies decreed were the discharge of the 'dynars & bankettes' made for the ladies on Palm Sunday, Whit Sunday, Corpus Christi Day, St Stephen's Day and Midsummer. The menfolk cut back some of theirs, but retained their Corpus Christi feast (YCA: B 22, f 118v; R:Y, pp 325-327).

47 See REED:YORK from 1521; and Meg Twycross, *op.cit.*, especially pp 23-4 for the Mayoress, and pp 28-33 for the Table of Leases.

48 Cf REED:YORK p 326, which has transcribed 'the excedyng dearly of all maner of vitaylles'.

The Mayor of 1554, John North, lived in Walmegate, in St Margaret's parish (see the tax assessment of 1551/2, YCA: E 50, p 91); so his wife had to be offered the use of another house. She entertained in Alderman Beckwith's house.

William Beckwith

The Beckwith family - along with the Paycocks and Harberts - was one of the largest families of note in York, and several representatives were prominent in civic affairs. Their number, and the habit of giving children in different branches of the family the same name, meant that they had to be clearly defined in the records: they belonged to a certain parish, or were differentiated by their occupation or title or context. In this case, 'Mr Bekwyth' who entertained the Mayoress was Alderman William Beckwith, franchised as a merchant in 1530, the same year that he was Pageant Master (FY I, p 250; R:Y, p 652). He was first a parishioner of St Michael le Belfray, where he was noted as an archer horsed and harnessed in 1539 (YCA: E 64, f 78v; PRO: E 36/32, p 6). In 1540 he was a Chamberlain (FY I, p 259) and assessed on goods of £20 (YCA: E 48/49, f 16; PRO: E.179/217/99). Ralph Beckwith goldsmith, of St Michael le Belfray, in his will of 18 March 1540/1 left his brother William his lease of the house of the dissolved Whitefriars, or Carmelite Friars (YML: D/C Pr Reg 2, ff 192-3): this Friary had been between Stonebow and the Foss, with a gateway in Fossgate near the Pavement⁴⁹. At this time, William

⁴⁹ Victoria County History, City of York (1961), p 361. It had been surrendered in 1538 and passed first to John Thorpe. Ralph Beckwith took a 21-year lease, and it remained in the family until the death of Leonard Beckwith in 1614.

Beckwith was still living in Belfray parish, and he was a sub-collector for the tax in 1541, when he was assessed on goods of £40. He was there the following year, 1542, according to the Muster Roll⁵⁰.

On 21 September 1543 he was elected Sheriff (YCA: B 17, f 22v) and some time after this period of office he appeared in Crux parish; he was assessed for tax there in the early part of 1545 on £50 goods (PRO: E.179/217/108). His move was probably linked to his inheritance of the Whitefriars lease, and he remained here for the rest of his life. He married Alice Race at Crux church on 7 December 1548 (printed Parish Register, p 114). On 20 May 1552 he obtained a licence to grant the Carmelite Friary to Thomas Fale and Marmaduke Beckwith, in order to have it regranted in the name of himself and his wife (Cal.Pat.Rolls, Edward VI, 1550-1553, p 239). His 1545 tax assessment on £50 goods was the highest he achieved; in 1547 it was £30, and between 1550 and 1567 it was £40. Later it dropped to £30 in 1568, then to £25 in 1571. From 1576 until his death it was £20⁵¹.

He was elected Alderman on 7 August 1553 (YCA: B 21, f 5), and so was the junior Alderman at the time of the Corpus Christi Play when his house was first included in the station list in 1554. He was Lord Mayor in 1555, and again in 1569, at the time of the final performance of the Corpus Christi Play when he also had a station. By 1584 and 1585, when Grafton's plays were performed outside his house, he was the senior Alderman, but he

50 YCA: E 48/49, ff 30 and 50; PRO: E.179/217/102;
YCA: E 41, f 43v.

51 PRO: E.170/217/111; YCA: E 50, pp 20, 69, 119, 155 and 200; E 51, pp 11, 49, 87, 119, 153a, 181, 206, 230, 253 and 279; E 59, f 1; E 59a, f 11.

had not attended a council meeting since 7 February 1578/9. This was presumably due to bad health; he was not decayed in goods like Gregory Paycock, and there is no indication at this time of a quarrel with the other Aldermen. Earlier, in 1566, he had been in dispute with the Mayor William Watson, and did not attend any meetings until September (YCA: B 24, ff 36, 52 and 53-53v). In 1572, he and Alderman Harbert disobeyed the Mayor at the Pater Noster Play, which resulted in him losing his franchise until he submitted on 15 January 1572/3 (pp 77-8 and 84 above). If bad health prevented him attending meetings after 1579, he may have watched Grafton's plays from his own home rather than have joined the other Aldermen at the Common Hall station. Christopher Beckwith paid the 3s 4d fee in 1585 on his behalf, which reinforces the idea that he was not mobile (YCA: B 29, f 23v; CB 6 (1, 1585), f 51; R:Y, pp 414 and 418). William Beckwith had made his will on 17 November 1584, and he was buried on 1 August 1586 at Crux church; probate on the will was granted on 7 December that year (BI: Pr Reg 23A, ff 326-7; printed Parish Register, p 67).

The earliest reference to his property is from 1539, when he appears in a Bailiff's Account Roll from York Minster, renting a tenement in the general area of Hungate and Monkgate (YML: F 3/19), at the time he still belonged to Belfray parish. Other references to his property can be related to that still in his possession at his death and mentioned in the Inquisition Post Mortem made on 1 May 1587 (YCA: E 26, ff 58v-60v). This lists:

the former Carmelite Friary, including houses,
 buildings, stables, gardens etc.
 three tenements occupied by Janet Garland,
 Richard Sanderson and Richard Smith

messuage and orchard with two gardens in St
 Andrewgate held by Leonard Belt and William
 Smithbaine
 three tenements in Whitney Whatney Gate held
 by George Holmes , William Garnet and
 Edward Ewarley
 a tenement in Hosier Lane held by Janet Iles
 and Thomas Daltrye
 three tenements with gardens in Fossgate held
 by John Fell, John Thompson and William Gill
 cottage and garden in Haver Lane and Hungate
 held by Leonard Beckwith and Robert Hudson
 messuage and garden outside Walmegate Bar held
 by Edward Freeman
 the Tile Pits, a close outside Walmegate Bar,
 in his occupation
 a pasture called the Northfield in his occupation
 a little close outside Walmegate Bar
 St Edward churchyard, occupied by him and Leonard
 Belt

Most of this property can be further identified from
 other entries. Some was bought from the city in the
 general sale of property in March 1562/3. The three
 tenements in Whitney Whatney Gate were at the time of
 purchase occupied by John Brown, William Saynt and
 William Bowman; the combined block was on the south side
 of the end of St Saviourgate, with Whitney Whatney Gate
 on the west at their front, and the Rectory of St Crux
 behind⁵². (YCA: E 22, ff 19v-20). At the same time he
 bought a cottage in Hosier Lane which was held by Joan

52 The Rectory is still marked on the 1852 Ordnance
 Survey Map of York, the third building along the
 southern side of St Saviourgate from the corner with
 Colliergate. There is a block of three buildings on
 that corner.

Iles widow, between Whitney Whatney Gate on the east and a tenement belonging to the city on the west, and between Hosier Lane on the south and the cemetery of Crux church behind. The city's tenement on the west may have been that sold at the same time to William Beckwith draper (a different man), said to be in his occupation and bounded on the east by Alderman Beckwith's tenement (YCA: E 22, ff 6v and 19). These deeds, and others made at this time and a little later, give a plan of the north side of Hosier Lane (figure 10, p 247). The reconstruction reveals that a row of cottages or shops, about three and a half yards deep, stood in front of Crux church, with probably a strip of churchyard between them and the church. The cottages were built in the fourteenth century and were demolished in 1769 (RCHM: York V, pp 174-175). The area of Hosier Lane and the Pavement will be examined shortly, but it is clear that Hosier Lane was once much narrower than its present width.

Sections of William Beckwith's property in the area between St Saviourgate and the Foss were the subject of various orders to him from the Wardmote Courts. He was fined in October 1577 for not paving in Hungate, and again exactly two years later, when he had not paved before his orchard in Hungate and the lane to the Foss side (YCA: E 31, ff 62; and (second section) p 39). He was ordered to pave in Hungate in 1583 and 1586. His tenement in Haver Lane is mentioned in 1580, again because he had not paved there. There is also a reference in May 1585 to his close alongside the Foss, and he had to scour that part of the bank; he does not seem to have done so, for he was presented in December for not attending to his garth end (YCA: E 31, (second section), pp 74, 183, 269, 303 and 319).

During 1578 (the period immediately after his last

FISH SHAMBLES

tenement of the Mayor and Commonalty

6
sale by the city to Thomas Watson butcher tenement in his occupation

NORTH
↑

- 1 20 March 1562/3 YCA: E 22, f 19v-20
- 2 f 6v
- 3 f 19
- 4 f 17-17v
- 6 f 17v-18
- 5 20/21 March 1565/6 YCA: H 54, 1 & 2

Cemetery of St Crux

5
tenement of St Crux

5
sale by Sir Thomas Danby to Robert Askwith draper three tenements in Hosier Lane occupied by Robert Askwith and Henry Fawthrop

Church Lane

4
sale by the city to Edward Johnson
---12 1/4 yards--- approx

3
sale by the city to William Beckwith draper a cottage in his occupation
---6 1/4 yards--- approx

2
sale by the city to Alderman William Beckwith cottage occupied by Joan Iles
---6 1/8 yards---

---3 1/2 yards approx---

HOSIER LANE

COLLIERGEATE



SAVIOURGATE

WILKINSHAMTEGATE

1
three tenements bought from the city by Alderman William Beckwith occupied by John Brown, William Saynt and William Bowman

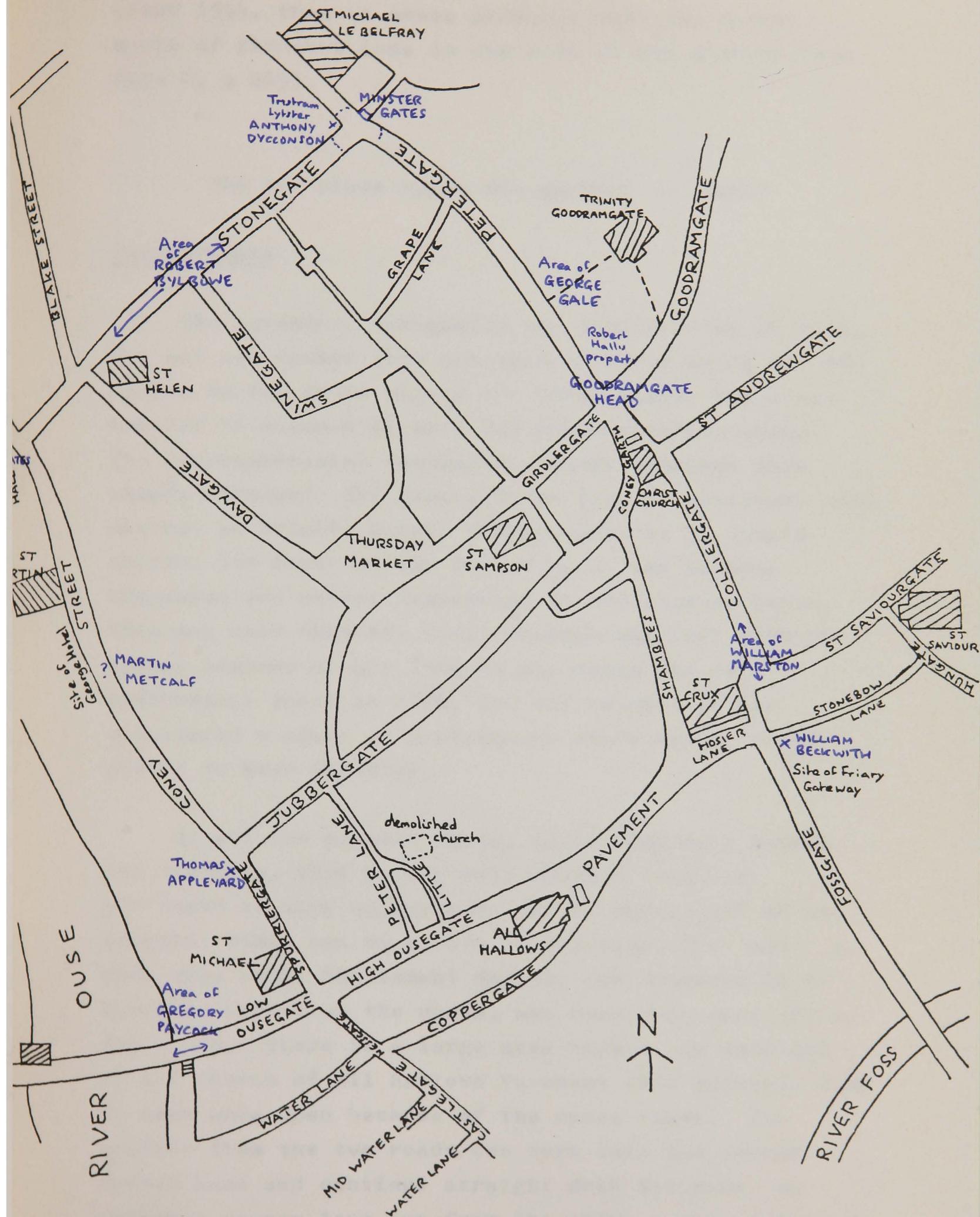
Manse of the Rector of St Crux

1
tenement of the Vicars of the Bedern

Figure 10: Schematic plan of tenements in Hosier Lane, c 1563

attendance at council meetings) the Monk Ward Wardmote Courts took order against the laying of dung in Hungate, which was at the 'back door' or 'back side' of Mr Beckwith's property⁵³. On 21 April, it was ordered that no one should put any dung 'on this syde the brod gaites at Mr Bekwith bakedore', but should put it towards the Foss. In October, the Court ordered that 'no person shall lye behynd Mr Bekwith baksyde in hundgaite no Gravell donge hills nor stones nor other ffilthye Swepinges' (YCA: E 31, ff 75v and 87). About the same time, the Walmegate Court ordered Alderman Beckwith and Richard Burdon to keep Whitefriars Lane clean, which must have been along the front of his property towards Fossgate, in Crux parish and Walmegate Ward. These entries help to define his Carmelite Friary property, which covered a large area, and included various houses, buildings, stables and gardens. The Friary gateway had been a little down Fossgate, on the east side (its site is marked on the 1852 map in the position of the second and third buildings down). Stonebow Lane, once a very narrow way according to the 1852 map, ran at one part alongside some old walls which may have been part of the Friary; this lane came out into Hungate to the east. If William Beckwith lived in one of the former Friary-owned buildings near to the Gateway and against Stonebow Lane, he would have been at the angle where the pageant waggons turned from Colliergate/Whitney Whatney Gate into Hosier Lane and Pavement. The description of this station in 1554 is 'at hosyerlayn end', and as there is no evidence from existing deed registers that William Beckwith owned any property on the south side of Hosier Lane, and he did not buy his other property there until

53 Hungate, forming the eastern boundary to the Carmelite Friary site, was in Monk Ward - St Saviour parish - although Mr Beckwith in the western end of the Friary land belonged to Crux parish.



Plan 2: Possible locations of playing places in the central area, 1554

after 1554, then it seems probable that the corner south of Stonebow Lane is the site of his station (see Plan 2, p 249).

The xvj place vppon the payment - nihil

The Pavement

The Pavement, designated the last station in 1554, was not associated with any person, alone among all the places on the route except the Three Kings, which can however be assumed to have had someone living there. The non-residential landmarks already examined have people attached: the Common Clerk (or his assistant John Clerke) at Trinity Gates, George White at St John's church, the Mayor at the Common Hall, and Anthony Dyeconson and Robert Staynburne at the Minster Gates. This may mean that the final station was left with no income because no-one took it and there was no performance there in 1554, and not because it was considered a place of performance where anyone could gather to hear the Play.

Of all the pageant route, apart from Ouse Bridge and Ousegate, this is the most changed from its sixteenth century appearance, and no impression of its original state can be gained by standing there now. A very wide road, Parliament Street, now connects it to Thursday Market on the north, and Piccadilly goes off to the south. There is a large area before the east end of the church of All Hallows Pavement (All Saints), made to seem more open because of the cross roads. The traffic from the two roads can turn into the former Hosier Lane and continue straight down Stonebow, no longer a narrow lane but from the 1950s a road favoured by buses and heavy transport. The sense of openness is

new. Parliament Street was created to form a market place in 1835, and Piccadilly did not break through from the south until 1912⁵⁴; before that, the emphasis was on streets or lanes in a west-east direction between Coney Street and the Shambles and Colliergate, the largest being Ousegate/Pavement and Jubbergate.

The churches at each end, All Hallows Pavement on the west and Crux on the east, have also been altered. All Hallows originally had a narrow church yard around it, and in front of the east end was a little row of houses built in the fourteenth century. The changes began in the seventeenth century. Negotiations were begun in April 1638 to buy Mr Leonard Scott's house on the Pavement in order to pull it down and enlarge the area - the inhabitants of both Coppergate and Ousegate were asked to contribute as it was to their benefit. Arrangements for the purchase were finally made in February 1638/9⁵⁵. In his will of 19 June 1665, Marmaduke Rawdon, a merchant of London, made bequests to the city of York, including £400

for the buying those houses belonge to Mr Scott next Allhallowes for them all to be pulled Downe to enlarge the pauement and what the materialls of the old houses may come to towards making a crosse or shelter for the Markett People that sell Meate and Corne

Provision for providing this money was made in a series of deeds between the city and the executor, Marmaduke Rawdon of Hodsden in Hartford, and the one of 4 June

54 The 1852 Ordnance Survey Map shows Parliament Street, but the future Picadilly is a narrow lane marking the ward boundary and a coach lane behind the White Swan.

55 YCA: B 36, ff 7v, 11v, 16 and 19v.

1670 quoted the will (YCA: G 37:3). The row of houses at the east end of the church was finally pulled down in 1671, and replaced by the Market Cross, which remained until 1813. The chancel and chancel aisles of All Hallows were demolished in 1782, and the site given to the city to enlarge the market still further. The strips of churchyard on the north and south sides of the church were also added to the streets in the seventeenth century. Apart from the site of the chancel, thirteen feet from east to west and ten feet from north to south of the churchyard were added to the Pavement⁵⁶. What is now the widest part of the Pavement, where High Ousegate and Coppergate enter the market, was therefore built upon at the time of the performances of the Corpus Christi Play, and the junction of Coppergate and the Pavement would have been very narrow.

At the other end of the Pavement, the road narrowed, and the cottages to the south of Crux church have already been noted. They were demolished in 1769, and the usual illustration of this church shows the road in its wider form. The 1813 engraving by Henry Cave, looking from Crux towards All Hallows, depicts the Market Cross just before it was demolished (Illustration 10, p 253). Crux church was partly dismantled in 1884, and demolished by 1887⁵⁷. A view from All Hallows church towards Crux would have shown a T-shaped junction beyond it, with Fossgate going off to the right and

56 RCHM: York V, pp 2 and 175. For the arrangements between the Churchwardens of All Saints Church and the Mayor and Commonalty of York, both in transferring the land to enlarge the Pavement and in enlarging the churchyard of All Saints by taking in the site of the Herb Market, in 1781 and 1792, see YCA: B 45, pp 49 and 99; and BI: FAC 1781/2 and 1792/4.

57 RCHM: York V, pp 11 and 174-5.



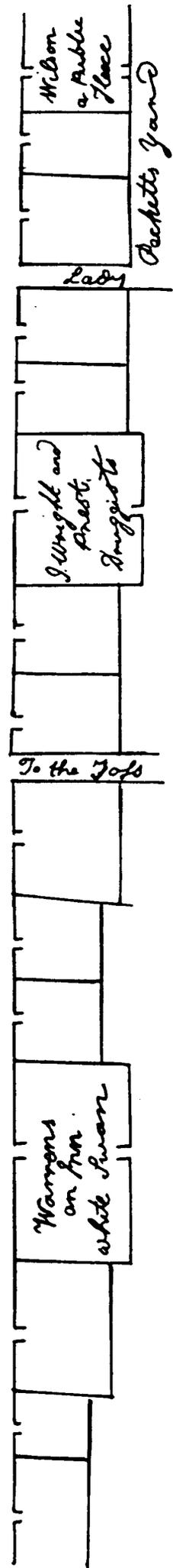
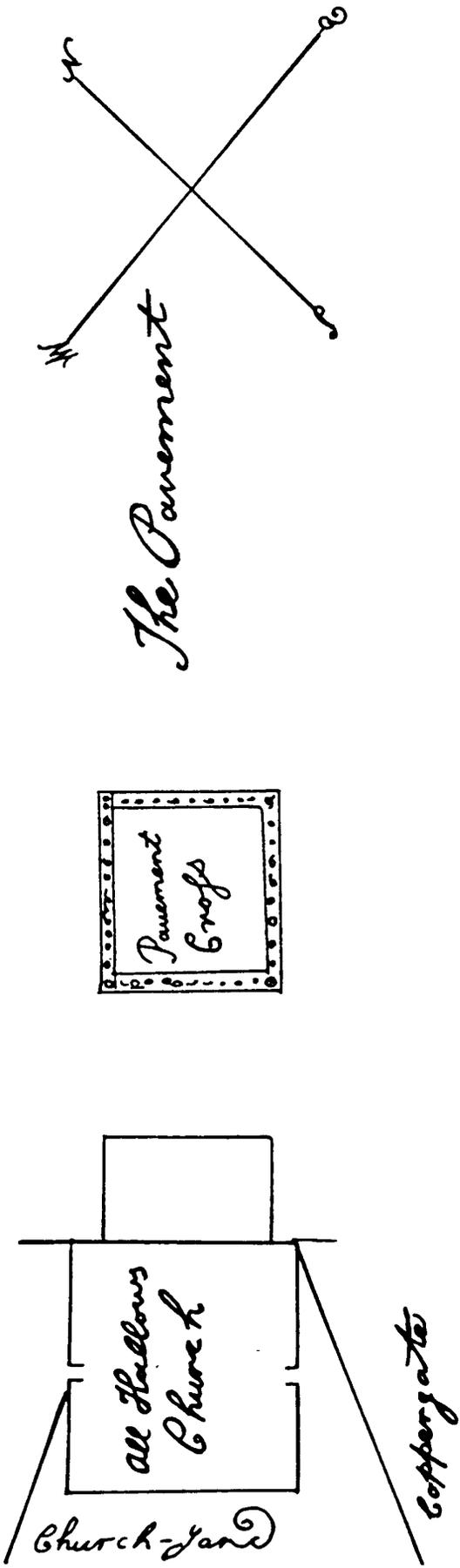
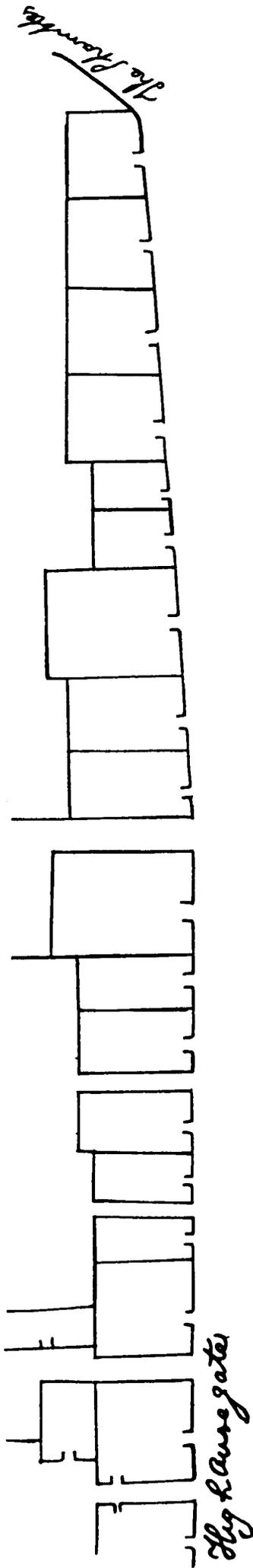
Illustration 10: The Churches of St Crux and
All Saints, in the Pavement:
Henry Cave, 1813

Whitney Whatney Gate leading left to Colliergate behind Crux church (see Illustration 11, p 298).

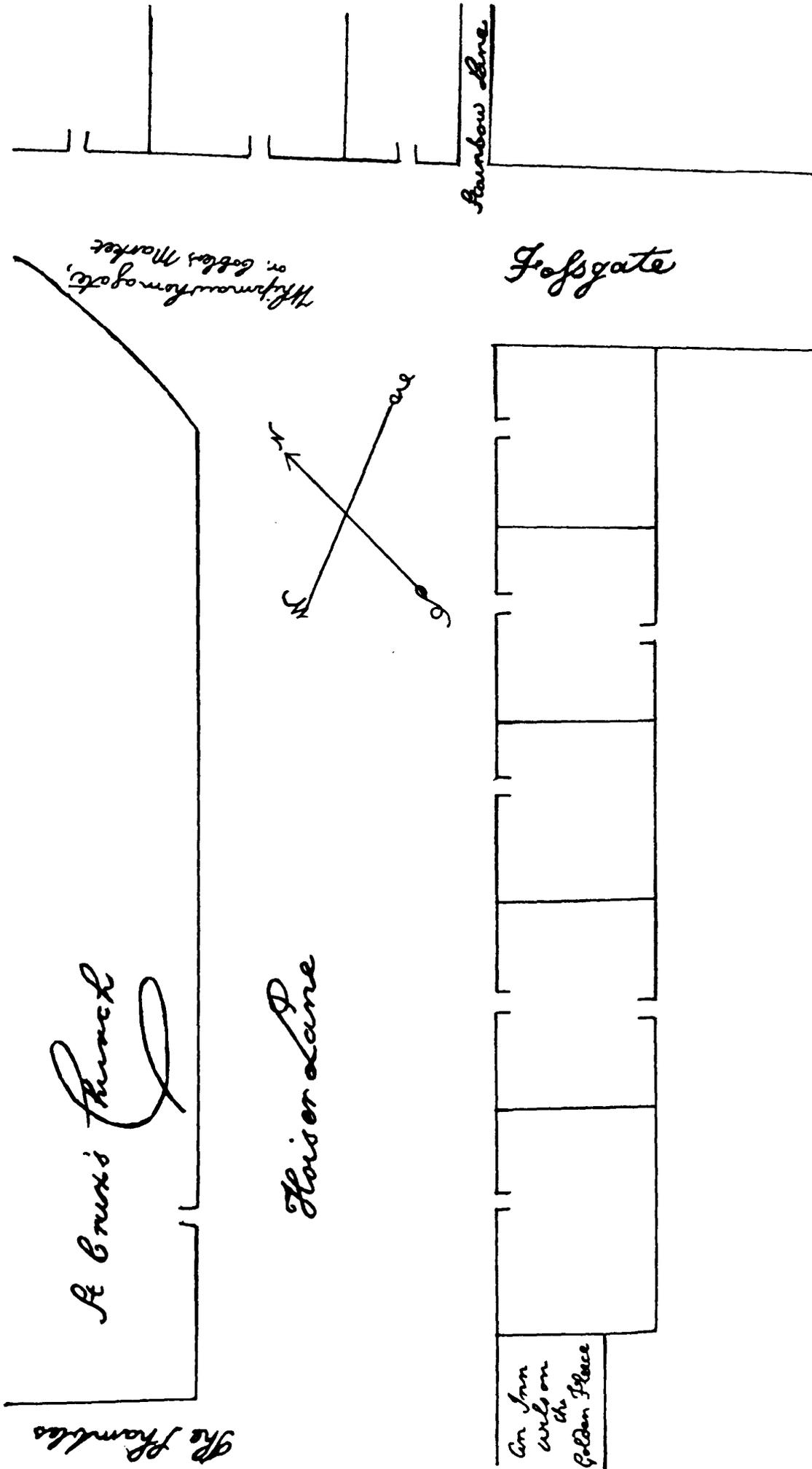
Plans of the Pavement before these alterations do exist. Dr White again provides us with a view of both the Pavement and Hosier Lane. These are on separate sheets, broken at the Shambles on the north and the Golden Fleece Public House on the south, and not to identical scales. He did not try to show the exact dimensions, with the road narrowing towards Hosier Lane, but his maps give the impression of the unbroken line of houses along both sides from Crux to All Hallows. Stonebow Lane, which I have taken to be the northern boundary of William Beckwith's house, can be seen at the top of Fossgate (Maps 12 and 13, pp 255 and 256).

Fortunately, more accurate surveys were made at the time the new market street was being considered. There is a plan of the area between Pavement and Thursday Market that would be demolished to create Parliament Street, which was used by George Benson to make his map of the old markets of York⁵⁸. Peter Atkinson, the city surveyor who made the Ouse Bridge plan, produced another when the extension for a market was first being considered on the south, in the area leading down to the Foss (YCA: Acc 191/PH 590/No 2215). The plan reaches from All Hallows church to the passage leading to Lady Peckett's Yard (west of the Harbert house), and conveniently gives the measurements of the diminishing width of the street. The position of the White Swan, a passage to the Foss and Prest's shop allows comparison between Dr White's plan and Peter Atkinson's survey (Map 14, p 257).

58 George Benson, Later Medieval York (York, 1919), between pp 40 and 41. See also the note to Map 14.



Map 12: The Pavement, based on the map by Dr White, c. 1785



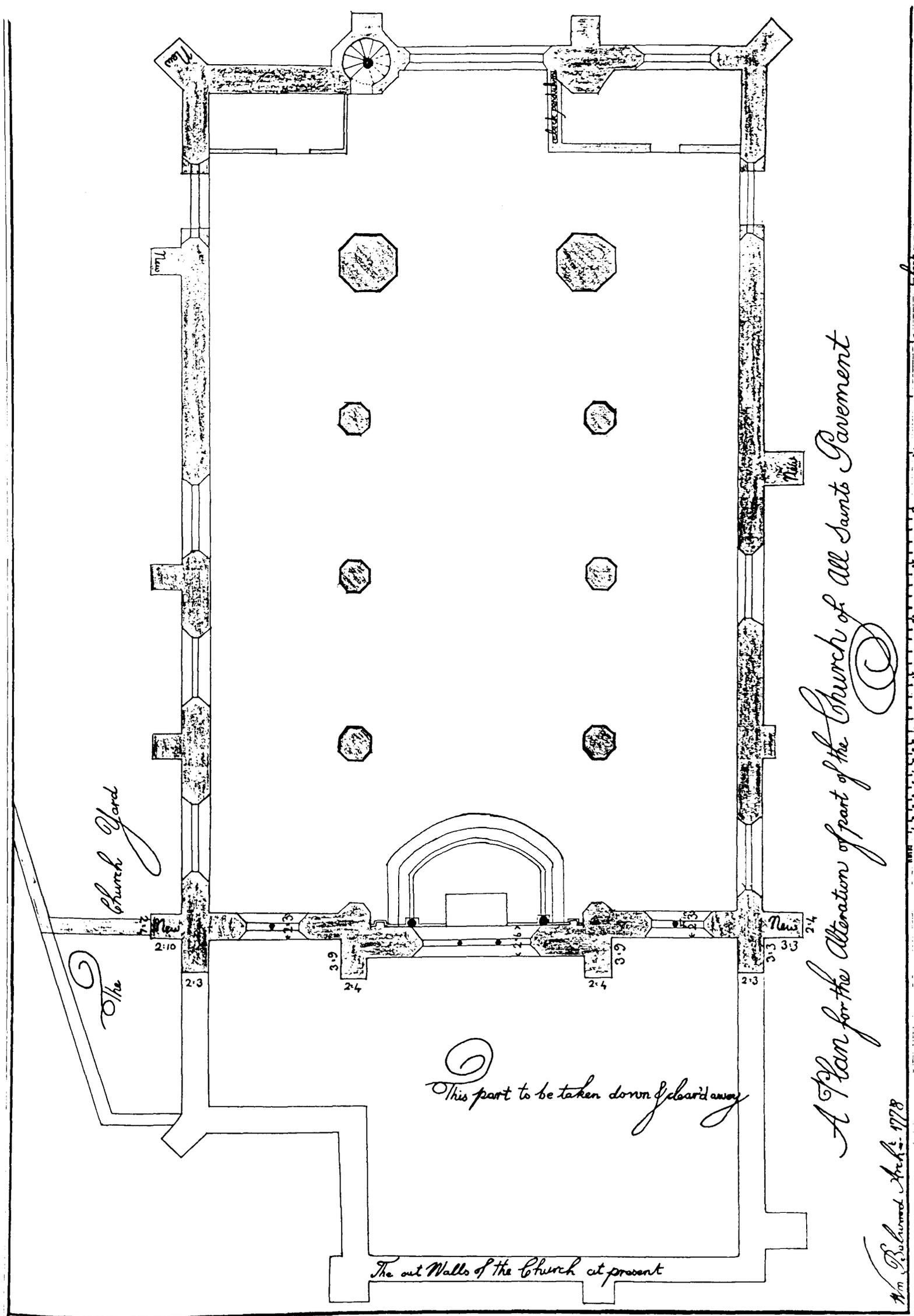
Map 13: Hosier Lane, based on the map by Dr White, c. 1785

A further plan to show the proposed alterations to All Saints church was made by the architect William Belwood in 1778 (BI: PR Y/ASP F 17.7), and this gives the dimensions of the chancel that was to be demolished. (Map 15, p 259). The church was originally about 30 feet longer than it is now, with buildings in front. Those before Crux church were about ten feet deep (p 247 above); assuming the All Hallows houses to be the same, and not allowing anything for a strip of churchyard between the houses and the east end of the chancel, the Pavement was at least 40 feet shorter at the Ousegate end. Imposing this on Atkinson's map (p 257), the church property projected as far forward as the line of the carriage road by the White Swan Hotel.

The Pavement was, however, with Thursday Market and Toft Green, one of the largest open areas in the city, and as a market a focus for assemblies. Proclamations were generally made in the two market places. On market days, wrongdoers could be displayed or pilloried, and occasionally other offenders appeared here. The High Commission Court ordered several people found to have Catholic books and images in their possession to burn them on the Pavement, and, more dramatically, the Earl of Northumberland was beheaded here in 1572⁵⁹.

The Pavement was used again for some kind of display much later, when the city paid Mr Durden £6 on 31 January 1706/7 'for setting vpp the Illumination in the Pavement in the last Thanksgiving Day' (YCA: B 41, f 9).

59 Such an event was not normal there. Criminals were usually executed on Knavesmire or at the Castle. See also above, pp 81-2; and End Note 3 for examples of burning books.



Map 15: The alterations to All Saints Church, Pavement, based on the plan by William Belwood, 1778

A Plan for the Alteration of part of the Church of All Saints Pavement

Wm Belwood Arch^t 1778

The Pavement was a particularly good place to end the procession of pageant waggons. The route had taken them through every ward of the city and along the major streets. Once the pageant had been played, the waggon could be moved down Upper Ousegate or perhaps Coppergate (although the entrance there was narrow), ready to go back to Castlegate End, Ouse Bridge, Micklegate and Toft Green.

PLACES FOR HEARING CORPUS CHRISTI PLAY: 1569

For this year, there is no record of the places being offered, but they were appointed on 26 May (the performance was to take place on 31 May). Fourteen places were decided on, and it was agreed that if anyone refused to pay the price given by the Mayor and Chamberlains, then further order would be made. On 27 May three more sites were designated; but as these fit conveniently into gaps in the first list, in theory there is no reason why they could not all have been taken (YCA: B 24, f 140 and 140v; R:Y, pp 356-7). The following survey examines every place mentioned, a total of seventeen, but as there is no Chamberlains' Book for this year to record the receipt of rents, it should not be assumed every place was taken. The fifteenth century lists kept within twelve places, as decided in 1399. From 1506, the number fluctuated; in 1525 fifteen places were noted in the Chamberlains' Book, but only nine receipts entered. In 1542, there were sixteen, and in 1551 the number was limited to ten because of the plague¹. As the 1399 limitation of twelve places was to keep the total playing time contained to one day, it might be questioned whether the proposition to play at fifteen or sixteen places suggests that for some reason not all the individual pageants were being played. It cannot be explained by the loss of the pageants concerning the Virgin Mary, as these were not forbidden until 1548 (YCA: B 19, f 16v; R:Y).

Quotations are from the House Book entries of 26 and 27 May 1569 (YCA: B 24, f 140 and 140v; R:Y, pp 356-7).

1 See REED:YORK between pp 187 and 298 for the station lists between 1501 and 1551; and see p 471 below.

i. Micklegate

The first at Trynitie gate

Trinity Gates

There is no evidence that John Clerke or anyone else kept the Register here for the last performance of the Corpus Christi Play; neither is there any reason to believe that even the most cautious member of the city council knew that this was the last performance, and that there should be any reason for changing the custom.

ij^{de} ageynst Mr henrison's hows

Mr Harrison

In 1554, with William Fairweather sharing the place with Harrison, it seemed possible to locate Thomas Harrison at the top end of St Martin's parish. I also assumed that he was there in 1584; and so in the intervening years it is equally likely that he remained in this area.

furthermore ... the Cowper in Myklegate

William Cowper

The Cowper in Micklegate was added later to the list, and so could precede or follow Mr Harrison in the route; having placed Mr Harrison at Gregory Lane, I am assuming this extra place stood lower down Micklegate, perhaps in the vicinity of the Three Kings, on the more level ground after St Martin's church. I have not found a tenement called 'The Cooper', but there was an

Innholder called William Cowper, franchised in 1562 (FY II, p 3), who belonged to St Martin's parish. His will was made on 10 May 1571 (BI: Pr Reg 19A, f 454): the clerk who copied it up either made a mistake in copying or transcribed an existing fault, for he was said to be of 'St Michaelles in Mikelgate'. That St Martin's was meant seems certain from the names of the witnesses, who include Richard Nyxson and George Tyrry, known parishioners of that church². Amongst other besquests, he passed on to George Fairweather the £20 due from his father William Fairweather. This must have been entrusted to William Cowper by some other executor of William Fairweather's will, for William Cowper was not mentioned in it. There is no reason to suppose William Cowper held in trust any of the property bequeathed by William Fairweather.

According to the parish register of St Martin's, William Cowper was buried on 11 May 1571. Probate on the will was granted on 17 October 1571, and about five weeks later, on 26 November, his widow Anne married John Farryngton, a gentleman from Lancashire, at St Martin's church (BI: PR Y/MG 1, pp 33 and 34). William Cowper's son William was franchised as a cordwainer in 1592 (FY II, p 35).

Associating William Cowper with the supposed area of the Three Kings may not be pure speculation. Numbers 16 and 18 Micklegate (demolished in 1964, and on the site of the present Co-operative store) were originally built as one structure about 1600, and there 'were few contemporary buildings in York of such large scale'. In 1565 the freehold of the previous messuage on the site

2 See, for example, the Churchwardens' Book (BI: PR Y/MG 19, pp 5 and 6): Richard Nyxson was Churchwarden in 1564 and George Tyrry in 1565.

had been sold to William Wynterburne armourer (already noted in 1562 as an occupant of the Three Kings); in 1602 his widow sold the house to William Cowper of York, Innholder, who was already the occupant (RCHM: York III, p 72). This Cowper may have been the son of the William Cowper examined, returning to his father's occupation. The building was apparently just inside the parish of St John Ousebridge End (according to the Royal Commission map) and cannot be the Three Kings itself, which was clearly in St Martin's parish; but the coincidence of names in this area encourages the idea that the Three Kings and the Cowper were below St Martin's church, near the modern Hudson Street and Co-operative store, and close to the parish boundary between St Martin's and St John's (see Plan 1, p 186 above).

ii. Ousegate

iiij^{de} about St John kirkstile

iiiijth at Mr pacok doore

vth at Ousegate cornar

Once again, the fourth place (after the insertion of 'the cowper') was at St John's church, but with no indication of who was to take it. 'About' might suggest that anyone in that general area was given the chance to offer for it. Also, it was again followed by a station outside Mr Paycock's door, who was still in the parish of St Michael Ousebridge End in 1569. No-one is named for the Ousegate Corner station, and Robert Smyth, the holder in 1554, had disappeared from the records: he does not appear in the tax assessments from 1563 (YCA: E 51).

Apart from Trinity Gates and Minster Gates, the stations at St John's and Ousegate Corner are the only ones where a person is not named; perhaps they were not taken, giving scope for the three extra places offered on the next day.

iii. Coney Street

vjth at Mr Appleyardes

Alderman Thomas Appleyard again had a station outside his house, near the end of Jubbergate; but a new name appeared in the area of Micklegate formerly taken by Martin Metcalf.

furthermore ... Mr ffawkes in Conystreet

Reginald Fawkes

Although there were several people with this surname in York at the time³, the only Mr Fawkes in Coney Street was Reginald Fawkes, the city's Swordbearer. His father, Henry Fawkes, had been the Swordbearer before him, and on 13 March 1548/9 the father surrendered his patent of office so that a new joint patent could be issued to both father and son. In the same year, 1549, Reginald Fawkes, described as a gentleman and son of Henry Fawkes gentleman, was franchised (YCA: B 19, f 61; FY I, p 269). The ensuing

3 One family was associated with St Michael le Belfray, including Anthony Fawkes gentleman (will made 1551) and Edward Fawkes notary (died at the end of 1578). Guy Fawkes belonged to this family.

Chamberlains' Books record the annual fee paid to him for his position - £3 13s 4d in 1554, rising to £6 by 1588 (YCA: CB 4 (2, 1554), pp 106-109; 6 (3, 1588), between pp 5lv and 68v). He also received 3s 4d each year for keeping the outer chamber door during council meetings (the Macebearer kept the inner door), 6s 8d for clothing, and 12d for keeping the closet in the Minster where the councillors occasionally assembled.

Reginald Fawkes was a witness in an undated Matrimonial case heard before the Archbishop's Court, when he was said to be about 28 years old, and a witness again in a Defamation case of 1560, when he was about 33 (BI: CP G 881 and 784), which puts his date of birth about 1527. He was always associated with St Martin Coney Street parish; in 1552 he was one of the feoffees for church property (BI: PR Y/MCS F 5/46), and he was churchwarden during the periods 1558-1560 and 1574 (BI: PR Y/MCS 16, pp 24, 25 and 107). His wife Alice was buried at the church on 5 August 1570, and he paid 3s 4d for her burial (printed Parish Register, p 73; BI: PR Y/MCS 16, p 83). Very quickly he married again, on 22 October 1570, another Alice, daughter of Robert Bylbowe and sister of John. They had three children, Henry (1574), Thomas (1576) and Anne (1583) (printed Parish Register, pp 5,6, 8 and 50).

Apart from attending during council meetings, Reginald Fawkes as Swordbearer had other ceremonial duties, such as when in September 1586 he handed the sword to the Earl of Huntingdon, Lord President of the Council in the North, on his appointment as Lord Lieutenant (YCA: B 29, f 125). At other times, he was employed to carry formal messages or gifts from the city. He took wine to the Lord President (at that time the Earl of Sussex) in April 1569, and a few months later conveyed the city's regret to the Earl of

Northumberland that they could not afford at that time to buy some land he had offered them (YCA: B 24, ff 134 and 144). He accompanied Alderman Dyneley when a Certificate was returned to the Council in the North in 1571 (B 24, f 241v). He also received in money due to the city - Alice Spynks paid him her fine for engrossing in June 1574 (B 25, f 137v), and the poor relief contribution of £10 from the Archbishop was given to him in 1574 (YCA: E 69, p 6).

However, this office was not his sole occupation, and like other gentlemen, he kept an inn. With Martin Metcalf and others, in January 1561/2 he was accused of breaking the statute on tippling houses (YCA: F 2, p 55). As a vintner, he was amongst those who paid for a patent in August 1571 (YCA: B 24, f 252v). He was described as an Innholder when he acted as surety for Bartholomew Appleby to be licensed at the Quarter Sessions (undated: c. 1584), and he himself was licensed at that time (YCA: F 3, pp 411 and 412). In 1591, he was amongst the Innholders and victuallers bound not to sell meat in Lent (YCA: E 45, p 286).

All the tax assessments made between 1563 and 1576 show him in St Martin Coney Street parish, and he was always assessed on lands worth 20 shillings (YCA: E 51, pp 57, 94, 126, 158, 186 and 211). He made his will on 25 April 1591, in which he was described as an Innholder (BI: Pr Reg 24B, f 739v), with his brother-in-law John Bylbowe. He was buried on 3 May 1591, at St Martin Coney Street church (printed Parish Register, p 78), and probate on his will was granted on 9 November. His widow married, on 21 August 1592, Walter Furnes of Menston, gentleman (printed Parish Register, p 53), and on 10 November the city council agreed that Mr Furnes could be franchised for £6 13s 4d; the Freeman's Roll noted him as an Innkeeper (YCA: B 30, f 361v; FY II, p

34). Robert Pearson was chosen Esquire of the Sword in place of Reginald Fawkes on 10 May 1591 (YCA: B 30, f 237v), and after a long interval, John Pulleyn replaced him as one of the eight licensed vintners in September 1594 (B 31, f 80).

Reginald Fawkes rented various property in the city. He leased a moat from the city at Lomlyth (in the Bishophill area), recorded in the Bridgemasters' Rolls between 1554 and 1586 (C 90:2 and 94:6); the Micklegate Wardmote Court ordered him to clear the ivy from the walls here in May 1579 (YCA: E 31 (second section), p 5). He rented an orchard in Baggergate from the St Thomas Hospital from 1559 (YCA: E 66, pp 28 and C 104:2); in his will he passed the lease to his son Thomas. The city council (as trustees of the Hospital) agreed that Mrs Fawkes should stay as tenant at will (YCA: B 30, f 262); the Hospital accounts show the rent in Mr Fawkes' name even after his death, until 1605 when it was in the name of Walter Furnes (YCA: C 104:4-6). Reginald Fawkes also occupied a piece of ground between the city walls and the Toft Friary, part of the property there bought by Lawrence Grene in 1563 (YCA: E 23, ff 96v-97).

In February 1558/9, he made a deal with the St Thomas Hospital to have two stables with garths in Davygate, which he already occupied, in return for an orchard or garden at Layerthorpe Postern (YCA: E 66, p 28). These stables presumably were next to or near his own house, for when he was a witness in the Archbishop's Court for an action of Defamation in 1560 (BI: CP G 784) he deposed that as he was coming from the Lord Mayor's house and 'going in at his backe side of his house openinge into davye gait', he overheard Margaret Lane and Isabell Wetherell quarrelling in the street outside his back door and Isabell Wetherell's house. Davygate was parallel to Coney Street, leading from St Helen's

church; and if Reginald Fawkes still lived in the same house in 1569, his property must have stretched through to Coney Street for the Play to be performed before it. His house must, therefore, have been on the right hand side of the pageant route (see Plan 3, p 327).

vijth at the common hall gat

With the loss of the Chamberlains' Book for 1569, we do not know details of the Mayor's feast for this year; I assume that they saw the Play once again from the tenement at the Common Hall Gates. At this time, Richard Aynley was in St Wilfrid's parish, and Thomas Colthirst the following year was to be assessed for parish dues in his place (p 220 above); so perhaps the son-in-law on this occasion acted as host.

iv. Stonegate and Minster Gates

the viijth about christofer Willughbies hows

Christopher Willoughby

Robert Bylbowe was living in St Helen's parish when he took a place in 1554; Christopher Willoughby also lived there, from at least 1557, when he was Constable (YCA: E 50, p 152), until he was buried in 1580 (BI: PR Y/HEL 1, f 74).

He had married Jennet Hill, daughter of the city wait William Hill, who bequeathed them his house in Stonegate in 1558. William Hill had lived in St Helen's parish from at least 1539, when he was included as a billman in the Muster Roll (YCA: E 64, f 88); he was a

wait by 1541, when he acted as surety for Robert Ellerker gentleman to keep the peace (YCA: F 86, f 157). In the Chantry Survey of 1546, he is noted to have the tenure of a property belonging to the Chantry of St William in the Minster worth 20 shillings, and Margaret 'Usthuayte' had some worth 4 shillings (Page I, p 18). This long-term lease is also noted in the Chantry Survey in York Minster, where it is described as three tenements with gardens in Stonegate in St Helen's parish, held by William Hill and Margaret 'Hustwayt' (YML: M2 (4)a, f 30). These rents were granted to Matthew White and Edward Bury with other property in 1549 (Cal.Pat. Rolls, Edward VI, 1549-1551, p 148). William Hill may in turn have bought this property, for he bequeathed two neighbouring tenements in his will (BI: Pr Reg 15B, ff 290v-291). One of his fellow waits was Robert Husthwait, who may have been connected with Margaret who held the third tenement; William Hill in his will of 29 May 1558 bequeathed him his 'Lowde trible pipe with the blacke ende that the said Robert hathe plaide the morne watches withe' (f 291).

If Christopher Willoughby had not lived in St Helen's parish before, then he would have come there after his marriage, for at the time of William Hill's death he was living with his wife in one of her father's two tenements. Christopher and Jennet inherited the house where William Hill had lived, and Jennet's sister Margaret and her husband Peter Dawson were to have the house they vacated. The words of the bequest are interesting, showing something of the organisation of tenements at that time:

Item I will giue and bequeathe to my daughter
 Jennet willoughbye wyffe of christofer
 willoughbye all that my Capitall and cheiffe
 house or mesuaige wherein I do inhabite and
 dwell with all sellers solars shopps
 buyldinges stables chambers yardes and gardynes

with all and singler ther appurtenances belonginge to the same accordinge to the auncyent and knowen bounders and Lymyttes therof excepte only one seller behinde the shopp and a litle buttrie behinde the same seller ... Also I will gyve and bequeathe vnto my said doughter margaret dawson all that my Tenement or mesuaige wherin the said christofer willoughbye nowe or lately did inhabite and dwell adioynynge upon the southwest parte of my said capitall mesuaige also one chambre ouer the same called paradise chambre and also one celler behinde the shopp and one buttry behynde the same shopp belonginge thafforesaid Capitall mesuaige, And also one mesuaige or Tenemente adioynynge to my said Capitall mesuaige of the northeast parte therof nowe in tholdinge of margaret hustwaite accordinge to the aunciente bounders therof withall Cellers solers shoppes chambers, buyldinges and all other appurtenances to the said two seuerall tenementes or other of them in any wyse appertaynynge or belonginge accordinge to the aunciente bounders and Lymyttes therof ... Also I will and desyre my son in lawe christofer willoughbye to permitt and suffer my said sonne in lawe peter dawson to haue and enioye all the paynted clothes and hanginges wherwithe the parlour of the said tenemente appoynted to my said doughter margaret ys honge and furnyshed

(BI: Pr Reg 15B, f 290v; 29 May 1558)

He also bequeathed to Margaret his 'lymbeke and a stillinge brasse pot', which is a reminder that his wife had been licensed as a brewer in 1535 and 1542 (YCA: CB 3 (4, 1535), p 46; and 4 (1, 1542), f 34).

Christopher Willoughby, in disposing of his father-in-law's effects, sold a bass shawm to one of the waits, Nicholas Wright, for 11 shillings, and the city in turn reimbursed the money in May 1561 (YCA: B 23, f 19; R:Y, p 333; YCA: CR C 7:1)⁴.

⁴ This shawm now belonged to the city, and had to be handed back by the waits when they were all sacked in 1566 (YCA: B 24, f 57; REED:YORK, p 348).

Christopher Willoughby himself was a joiner, franchised in 1546⁵. Coming between the gentlemen innkeepers of Coney Street and the drapers and tailors of Stonegate and Minster Gates, he gives us a glimpse of the artists of York. Through his father-in-law he had links with musicians. Thomas Willeby (a relation?) was franchised as a painter in 1540 (FY I, p 259). Thomas Annyson or Annetson⁶, a painter, also of St Helen's parish, had been a witness of William Hill's will. In February 1572/3, Christopher Willoughby acted as a surety for both Robert Hewet and William Thomson musicians to keep the peace (YCA: F 3, f 72). In 1577 he was a surety for Elizabeth, the wife of Thomas Lamb painter. In such company, it would be interesting to know of his creative skills - did he, for example, ever make musical instruments? The only things I have found described are more mundane, and the York Minster Fabric Rolls for 1569 show a payment to him of 8d for a sconce (a shaded lantern or candlestick) (YML: E 3/51). That same year he had made shafts for a hundred bills (or halberds), as a survey of recent sales of weapons at the time of the Rising showed (YCA: B 24, f 162v).

His application for a station, however, was probably not prompted by artistic associations, but because he too was an innholder. His mother-in-law had been a licensed brewer, and perhaps Jennet too had learned the skill. Christopher Willoughby was one of those accused of

- 5 I am assuming that he is the Christopher Willyke in the Freeman's Roll that year, for otherwise there is no entry: Freemen of York I, p 265.
- 6 This name has been transcribed as 'Ametson' in REED: YORK, p 328, but the reading of the entry (YCA: B 22, f 129) is more probably 'Annetson'. Davies, in Extracts from the Municipal Records of the City of York, p 266(n) has 'Armetson'. In various entries, he appears as Annyson or Annetson.

breaking the statute concerning tippling houses in January 1561/2, and in April 1562 he was one of the allowed brewers in St Helen's parish (YCA: F 2, p 55; B 23, f 51). He also obtained a licence for selling wine, which he had to produce in 1579; that same year he was listed as a Searcher for the Innholders (YCA: B 27, ff 152v and 162). He was still working as a joiner, and became one of the Common Council for them on 31 August 1580 (YCA: B 27, f 249), but he did not hold this position long. He made his will on 12 September (BI: Pr Reg 21B, f 462v-463), and was buried at St Helen's on 18 September 1580 (BI: PR Y/HEL 1, f 74). A new joiner, Leonard Wilson, was elected to the Common Council on 21 September (YCA: B 27, f 251).

The Parish Register of St Helen's (BI: PR Y/HEL 1) begins in 1568, but the entries between 1571 and 1576 are missing. This must be why the death of his wife Jennet is not recorded, nor his remarriage. The will of John Haul of St Helen's, dated 30 November 1577, bequeathed 5 shillings to Margaret Willoughby and 3s 4d to Christopher (BI: Pr Reg 21A, f 90); and on 27 November 1580, just after Christopher's death, Edward Turner's will left bequests to his daughter Margaret Willoughby (BI: Pr Reg 21B, ff 416-417v). Perhaps this marriage had taken place by 1572, for on 14 April Christopher Willoughby was a surety for Lancelot Turner (son of Edward) to keep the peace (YCA: F 3, f 25). His surviving son, Thomas, was franchised as a vintner in 1614 (FY II, p 63).

Like most other station holders who were not on the city council, Christopher Willoughby had parochial duties and was given responsible tasks. He was one of the honest or substantial men of St Helen's parish on several occasions between 1563 and 1576 for assessing the tax payments (YCA: E 51, pp 4 and 199); an overseer for

the execution of the Queen's Articles between 1570 and 1578 (YCA: B 24, f 202v, and B 27, f 102); and he served on the jury for Sessions of the Peace from 1566 to 1577 (YCA: F 2, p 156; F 3, p 278). Before he had (briefly) been a member of the Common Council for the Joiners, he had attended various meetings as an honest Commoner (YCA: B 27, f 191v). He began paying tax on an assessment of £3 goods in 1563, which rose to £4 in 1571; then, like several other people at this time, he invested in lands, and in 1576 paid on lands of 20 shillings value (YCA: E 51, pp 20. 158, 211 and 228).

His house may have been about half way down Stonegate, for Isabell Bellingham of St Michael le Belfray parish in her will of 13 February 1574/5 called both him and Robert Beckwith of Belfray parish her neighbours, and made them both supervisors (BI: Pr Reg 19B, f 778v-779). The parish boundary is nearly opposite Little Stonegate (formerly Swinegate) on the northern side of Stonegate, but on the south (or right hand, on the pageant route) there are about six houses from Little Stonegate in the direction of the Minster still in St Helen's parish. Little Stonegate (see Map 10, p 229 above) started at right angles to Stonegate and then took a left hand turn in the direction of Grape Lane and Petergate. In October 1579, Christopher Willoughby was ordered by the Bootham Wardmote Court to pave before his door in Swinegate (YCA: E 31 (second section), p 25). This might mean that he had a separate building, for example a stable, there, or it could mean that his house lay between Stonegate and Swinegate. Another link with Swinegate comes from a Bill of Complaint which was put into the Sheriffs' Court in December 1579 by Christopher Hunton against Christopher Willoughby (YCA: papers included in K, Parcels 6 and 7). This concerned a lease of a house and chamber which had been passed to Christopher Willoughby by John Watson of

Ulskelf, husband of Margaret the daughter of Martin Sosa who used to live in Stonegate. This case continued into January 1579/80, when the city council ordered Christopher Willoughby to bring in the Indenture (YCA: B 27, f 216v). There is no description of the position of this property, and it may not have adjoined Christopher Willoughby's property. However, when Robert Beckwith had bought two stables in Swinegate from the city in March 1562/3, they were bounded on the west by his own garden, and on the North by the tenement of John Watson (YCA: E 22, f 2v). Do these links mean that Christopher Willoughby's house was on the right hand side of Stonegate, from the point of view of the pageant route, a little past the entrance of Swinegate and on the boundary between St Helen's and Belfray parishes?

the ixth at the mynstar gates

No name has been allocated to the place this year.

v. Petergate and Colliergate

xth at Mr Birnand hows

William Birnand

Mr Birnand, the successor of Mr Gale in Petergate, also belonged to Trinity parish Goodramgate, and similarly can only have lived along a short stretch of Petergate. At the time he took the place, he was the assistant to the city's Recorder, or legal adviser, William Tankard. In 1568, Mr Tankard had become a member of the Council in the North and could not give as much time to the city's affairs. Mr William Birnand,

'skilled in the temporall lawe', was appointed to give the city legal counsel, at a fee of £5 a year; he was admitted as a freeman without having to pay a fee, and he would not be expected to take any office below that of Sheriff, Alderman or Mayor (YCA: B 24, ff 110 and 111).

He was by this time already a parishioner of Trinity Goodramgate, and had paid tax there on £10 goods from 1563 (YCA: E 51, pp 14, 52, 90 and 122). From 1571 he was assessed on £15 goods, and from 1576 on £16; but by 1581 he had converted his goods to lands, which were worth £10 (E 51, pp 155, 208 and 257). He was also assessed for parish dues by the Churchwardens of Trinity parish Goodramgate (BI: PR Y/HTG 12, between pp 47 and 83: 1570-1580).

On Mr Tankard's death in 1573, William Birnand was elected Recorder (YCA: B 25, f 92-92v). This position did not exempt him from the mundane tasks of a property holder in the city, and he was presented several times in the Monkward Wardmote Court for not paving or keeping clean the area around his house. On 9 May 1576, he was ordered to clean in the lane from Petergate (YCA: E 31, f 30). The Court on 21 April 1578 fined him 3s 4d, along with others, for not keeping clean the lane from Petergate to Trinity Church (E 31, f 76). In 1579 he was fined for not paving before his door, and in 1580 and 1581 he was amongst those ordered to clean Trinity or Trinity Church Lane (E 31 (second section), pp 15, 40, 68 and 104). This suggests that he lived in a house at one side of Hornpot Lane, which still provides access from Petergate to Trinity church, and so he was very close to the site of George Gale's house. He also had a close at Pepper Lane, a garden in Peaseholme, and a close at Monk Bridge (YCA: F 3, p 532; E 31 (second section), pp 68 and 104). He died in January 1581/2 (YCA: B 28, f 36).

xj at huttons

Richard Hutton

Although there were several Huttons in York⁷, the likeliest person to have taken the station between Mr Birnand in Petergate and John Chamber in Colliergate was Richard Hutton apothecary who lived in Christ's parish. He was the son of Richard Hutton tapiter, of St Denis parish in Walmeigate, who paid tax between 1549 and 1552 (PRO: E.179/217/119 and YCA: E 50, p 91), and who made his will on 4 October 1553 (BI: Pr Reg 14, ff156-157); probate was granted on 7 April 1554. His children were named as Richard, John, William, Christopher, Jennet and Margaret. Richard Hutton grocer and apothecary, son of the tapiter, was franchised in 1561 (FY II, p 3). From 1563 until 1593, he was taxed in Christ's parish, starting with £3 goods in 1563, and £7 from 1581 (YCA: E 51, pp 53 and 258; E 59a, f 151). Of his brothers, William was franchised as a draper in 1568, and Christopher as a grocer much later, in 1586 (FY II, pp 9 and 28). Christopher was associated with Belfray parish, appearing in the book of Churchwardens' notes from 1589 (BI: PR Y/MB 33, f 10).

Richard Hutton was given several responsibilities within his parish and ward. He was one of the Collectors of tax in Monk Ward in 1568 (YCA: B 24, f 112v), and a harbinger and a collector of loan money at the end of 1569, when soldiers coming to the city at the time of the Rising had to be billeted and fed and then paid (B 24, f 167). He was a member of the Common Council by 26 January 1569/70, but not actually elected as representative of the grocers and apothecaries until

7 See End Note 10.

September 1574 (YCA: B 24, f 185v; B 25, f 147v). In 1571, 1572 and 1581 he was Constable of Christ's parish (B 24, f 235v; B 25, f 38; E 31, p 102; E 51, p 247), and also one of the assessors of tax in 1577 (E 51, p 222). He was active as a member of the Common Council up to November 1593, when he viewed Elbow Lane which someone wanted to enclose (YCA: B 31, f 41v). He made his will on 2 December 1593, and probate was granted on 13 December (BI: Pr Reg 25B, f 1487-1487v).

There is little to identify the exact position of his house in 1569. The will of Alderman Robert Hall⁸, made on 23 October 1564, refers to a tenement in Petergate and Patrick Pool held by Richard Hutton apothecary (BI: Pr Reg 17B, ff 477-478). In 1587, proclamation was made on waste ground in Petergate occupied and belonging to Richard Hutton, which meant he was expected to make it good (YCA: B 29, f 208). In his will of December 1593 he asked to be buried at St Denis church (perhaps to be by the graves of his parents) but that does not mean he had left Christ's parish; his wife Anne was to have his dwelling house, whilst his son William had his new built house in Christ's parish, between King's Court on the south and Thomas Thompson's tenement on the north. This may have been the house built following the proclamation, and it would be on the right hand side of the pageant route, for King's Court (Coneygarth) was the road leading off Petergate towards the Shambles. His son Matthew was bequeathed a tenement in Girdlergate (opposite the end of Goodramgate and leading to Patrick Pool), and this may relate to the tenement of Alderman Hall's will; it again associates Richard Hutton with property in Christ's parish on the

8 Alderman Hall lived at the corner of Goodramgate: see below, in the discussion on Alderman James Birkby, who took a place in 1585.

right side of Petergate according to the pageant route (see Map 10, p 229; and Plan 3, p 327). However, none of the two located buildings were his own dwelling house. His widow continued to pay tax in Christ's parish between 1594 and 1596 (YCA: E 59a, ff 165(ii) and 188).

There are one or two entries that colour his decision to take a place. At the end of his life, on 24 March 1592/3, he borrowed the book of the Creed Play from the city - a note was made at the back of the Chamberlains' Book for 1593 (YCA: CB 7 (2, 1593), f 73): unlike similar notes on the page, this has not been crossed out, which suggests it was not returned, and of course he died at the end of that year⁹. Two decades after the final performance of the Corpus Christi Play, he still had an interest in the city's religious drama. There was probably a strong sympathy for Catholicism in his family. William Hutton, also of Christ's parish (probably Richard's brother, franchised in 1568), had a distress taken in 1576 because he did not attend church, and again in March 1578/9 his wife was noted as an absentee (YCA: B 26, f 84v; B 27, f 144v); both he and his wife were in prison at the time the Catholic prisoners were surveyed in 1584 (see pp 95-6 above). Christopher Hutton of Belfray parish, who lived in Petergate, had been ordered to bring up his son in the established religion: after an enquiry from the Lord Mayor, the Churchwardens reported in February 1602/3 that he was conforming and his son was being properly educated (BI: PR Y/MB 33, ff 61-62). Unlike other station holders, who were Aldermen, or Innholders,

9 See my article 'The disappearance of the York Play texts - new evidence for the Creed Play' in Medieval English Theatre 5:2 (1983), pp 103-9.

vintners or brewers, Richard Hutton may have been prompted to have the Play outside his house in 1569 because of his interest in this drama as part of the old religion.

furthermore ... John Chambre in Coliargat

John Chamber

His is one of the extra places added to the original list, and like 'the Cowper' and Mr Fawkes, he is clearly identified by street and so can be inserted into the route. He matches William Marston of Colliergate in the 1554 list, but unlike him belonged to Christ's parish rather than Crux. Christ's parish reaches nearly all the way down Colliergate, and as Richard Hutton had associations with Girdlergate (opposite Goodramgate) there is no reason why John Chamber of the same parish, if he lived further down Colliergate, should not have held a place at the same time.

John Chamber merchant was a Chamberlain in 1562, but there is no note of his franchise FY II, p 3). It was the merchant who was a parishioner of Christ's parish in April 1566: he was a witness in the matrimonial case Robert Paycock junior brought against Katherine Hall, daughter of Robert Hall, in the Archbishop's Court, and was said to be about 34 years old: he could not then have been the parchment maker franchised in 1543¹⁰ (BI: CP G 1246). He was originally

10 The parchment maker was franchised in 1543 (Freemen of York I, p 263. John Chambre tailor was franchised in 1562 (Freemen of York II, p 4), but he is clearly identified renting a shop on the north side of Ouse Bridge (see YCA: Bridgemasters' Roll, C 93:1, for 1573; he may have been the parishioner of St John

of St Andrew's parish, where he was first taxed on £3 goods in 1563, and was one of the substantial men there both for the tax and for the Muster of 1564 (YCA: E 51, pp 3, 16 and 330). He paid rent to the Bridgemasters for enclosing a Common Lane in St Andrewgate in 1564 (YCA: C 91:1 and 2). By the next year, he was in Christ's parish - at the time of the matrimonial case - but still leased the enclosed lane (C 91:3). He was assessed on £3 in Christ's parish for the tax of February 1567/8 (YCA: E 51, p 122), and a witness to the will of Richard Grave joiner of that parish in October 1569 (BI: Pr Reg 18, f 130). As a merchant, he sold wine and in March and August 1565 he was amongst others accused of breaking the statute on wine (YCA: F 2, p 121 and 131). He was called an Innkeeper in 1575, when William Fyllskyrke of Colliergate was ordered by the Wardmote Court in April that year to remove a privy adjoining John Chamber's house which was a nuisance to his guests and neighbours (YCA: E 31, f 9v).

The last reference to John Chamber of Christ's parish also calls him an Innholder: in November 1576 he and his wife Agnes were named for not attending church; it was noted that at that time they were both on the way to Newcastle, and that he was worth little or nothing (YCA: B 26, f 97v). He had not paid any tax after 1568, and at the end of 1574 he had not paid his rent for the common lane in St Andrewgate (YCA: B 25, ff 156v and 162)¹¹.

Ousebridge End in the Muster of March 1563/4 (YCA: E 51, p 336) and later of Bishophill, in the Muster of October 1584 (YCA: E 41a, p 17). The name in the various entries can be Chambre, Chamber or Chambers.

¹¹ A later entry in the Quarter Sessions records of January 1588/9, when John Chamber and his wife were presented for not attending church, relates to Micklegate ward, west of the Ouse (YCA: F 5, f 113):

vi. Hosier Lane and Pavement

xijth at the lord mayor place

The Lord Mayor in 1569 was William Beckwith, who has already been located at the end of Hosier Lane near Stonebow Lane. For this performance, two further stations were nominated on the Pavement, which suggests it is correct to put Mr Beckwith's place at the Stonebow end of Hosier Lane, giving maximum space for these two. Ideally, the last should be as near the end of All Hallows church as possible, and the penultimate place somewhere equally between, and this seems to have been the case.

xiiijth one the pavement betwene Mr harbertes
& Mr Shirefes howsez

For the first time in this investigation there are stations that are described as being between two houses. The first is between Mr Harbert's and a Sheriff's house. At the time of the performance in May 1569, the two Sheriffs were William Robinson and Andrew Trewe, both merchants¹². Mr Robinson is always found in the records as a parishioner of Crux church; he was assessed for tax there from 1559, and was eventually buried there in 1616. Christopher Harbert similarly belonged to Crux parish, and it seems safe to assume that Mr Robinson was the Sheriff meant. Andrew Trewe at this time was living in the parish of St Michael Ousebridge End, although he did

this may not be the merchant/innkeeper but the tailor of the same name.

12 They had been elected on 21 September 1568 (YCA: B 24, f 116).

eventually move to the neighbouring parish of All Hallows Pavement¹³.

Christopher Harbert

'Herbert House'¹⁴ still stands on the Pavement in York, a double fronted house between the lane leading to Lady Peckett's Yard and the Golden Fleece public house, on the left hand side of the pageant route, and nearly opposite the end of the Shambles. It is not quite the building that existed at the time of the 1569 performance: the present structure was rebuilt after 1614, and the Royal Commission suggests it was done by one of the tenants at the time, John Jaques. Richard Harbert had bought the original house he rented from the Merchant Adventurers, and his son Christopher had bought other tenements next to and behind it (RCHM York V, pp 176-7). This house comes exactly half way between the suggested site of Mr Beckwith's house, at the head of Stonebow Lane, and the site of the old Market Cross (as located by the 1852 Ordnance Survey map), supposedly standing where the houses by All Hallows church once stood.

Christopher Harbert was Pageant Master of the Merchants in 1550 (R:Y, p 654) and franchised as a merchant the following year (FY I, p 271). He became a Chamberlain in 1558 (YCA: B 22, ff 103 and 104), and in the same year he was one of the honest men of Crux parish to assess tax contributions (YCA: E 50, p 190).

13 See End Note 11.

14 So called today. All the sixteenth century references to the family have Harbert, which I have followed.

He first paid tax himself in 1559, being assessed on £5 goods; this rose to £8 by February 1566/7, £16 in 1571 and £20 in 1576. Between 1587 and 1589 he paid first on £23 and then on £26, so that unlike others he had not become poorer at the end of his life (YCA: E 50, p 236; E 51, pp 87, 153a and 206; E 59a, ff 57 and 86). He was classed as one of the responsible Commoners even before being elected to the Common Council, and as such he carried out various duties between 1561 and 1565; in January 1565/6 he replaced Miles Cook on the Common Council for the Merchants (YCA: B 24, f 34). The following year, on 21 September 1567, he was chosen to be Sheriff (YCA: B 24, f 91). Then, unusually - and like Gregory Paycock - he was elected an Alderman whilst he was still Sheriff, on 27 February 1567/8 (B 24, f 105). As Alderman, he carried out many duties similar to those undertaken by Alderman Harrison, concerning the running of the city. It is worth noting a few events in his life that relate to the performance outside his house.

Later in 1569, after the performance of the Corpus Christi Play, he was in dispute with Alderman Allyn about the true bounds of the Bull Ring on the Pavement. Mr Allyn's house marked the place of the final performance along the route this year, so it does not seem that they were arguing about a site between their contiguous property. The dispute was sufficient for the other councillors to bind them both to good behaviour at £100 each on 15 July 1569, and this was not cancelled until February 1569/70 (YCA: B 24, f 151). This suggests some ill feeling between the two men, but they were both chosen to speak on behalf of the city to Mr Arthur Dakin's man in a matter of chantry land in April 1571 (B 24, f 239).

In 1572 he was allocated the final station for the

performance of the Pater Noster Play, places for which were decided on only three days before the performance, and he was specifically told to pay 3s 4d for it. It has already been noted that the Aldermen in 1554 all paid less than this, and Mr Beckwith, at whose house the ladies were entertained, had paid nothing. In 1572, Mr Allyn was Mayor, but he did not take a station this year, and there is no indication where the ladies were: in any case, their entertainment was no longer at the city's cost (see p 241 above). Whatever the reason for the order, on the day of the performance itself, some quarrel flared up between the Mayor, Alderman Harbert and Alderman Beckwith, and the Aldermen refused to associate themselves with Mr Allyn. As they had sworn to assist the Mayor at the beginning of his year, this was a serious offence against the authority of the city government, and in the very room where the councillors were assembled to watch the performance on 5 June they agreed that the two men should be committed to ward (YCA: B 25, f 15v). Two days later it was decided that they should be disfranchised, which would mean they would not have full rights to practise their trade in the city. Christopher Harbert submitted himself on 23 June, and was refranchised after payment of a fine of 40 shillings, and was readmitted to his place as Alderman (B 25, ff 16 and 16v). Mr Beckwith, as already noted, did not submit until the beginning of the next Mayoral year. The new Mayor, in fact, was Christopher Harbert, who as the Alderman next in precedence to William Allyn succeeded him as Mayor. He took the first opportunity to make reply to Alderman Allyn, and brought a charge against him for renewing Gregory Paycock's bond (see also pp 78, 86 and 300).

A few years later, on 23 December 1576, Christopher Harbert had a quarrel with William Robinson. The two men were bound to good behaviour on forfeit of £100 each 'for

certayne opprobriouse and vnsemely woordes given by thone to thother as well at the last assemble of this hows as elles where syns', but the cause of their disagreement was not revealed. The bond was not cancelled until September 1578 (YCA: B 26, f 104v). All these disputes concerned men who lived along the length of the Pavement.

In 1585, Grafton's Interlude was given its final performance on the Pavement before his house: he was to pay nothing because the ladies were to be there. This was the last known performance of outdoor drama in York done in the traditional manner established from the end of the fourteenth century.

Alderman Christopher Harbert made his will on 9 June 1590 (BI: Pr Reg 24A, f 365-365v), and he was buried on 26 June at Crux church. His widow Elizabeth, 'Old Lady Harbert', was buried on 9 August 1618 (printed Parish Register, pp 68 and 80). In his will, he referred to the house he lived in and the house his son Thomas lived in¹⁵, as well as a house, garden and orchard in Peaseholme Green, another house, stable and garth there, and a close and orchard in Jewbury (outside Monk Bar). He had bought a tenement and garden in Peaseholme Green in the general sale of city property in March 1562/3, which stood to the north of a garden already in his possession (YCA: E 22, ff 21v-22). Both he and Thomas had closes alongside the River Foss, north

15 Thomas Harbert was living in his separate house on the Pavement by 1579, when George Jackson brought a case of defamation against James Jackson before the Archbishop's Court; Robert Pearson and John Sharpe deposed that the quarrel had taken place 'in the pavement nere vnto one James Leppington his dore' and Trinian Fawcet said he had heard them 'att the markt vpon the pavement ... in the pavement nere to Thomas harbatt his house' (BI: CP G 1955).

of the bridge, and they were ordered by the Wardmote Court in 1585 to scour the banks, and again in 1587 after a view by the city council (YCA: E 31 (second section), p 270; B 29, f 196). He also rented a close at Goose Lane outside the city from 1575 until at least 1586 (YCA: C 93:2 to 94:6), and had property outside Micklegate Bar which he had not paved in 1579 (YCA: E 31 (second section), p 1a). In August 1586 he bought land at Heworth adjoining land he already held (E 26, ff 51v-52v).

His merchandise included wine, for in 1561 he was amongst the vintners and Innholders who had sold sack and wine without licence (YCA: F 2, p 46). He chose wine to be a gift to the Lord Lieutenant after the Rising, in January 1569/70 (B 24, f 186), and in 1587 was paid for wine given to the Recorder (YCA: CB 6 (2, 1587), f 64v).

William Robinson

William Robinson, Sheriff in 1569, lived in Crux parish¹⁶. The future Alderman of Crux parish can be easily traced through the records. He was franchised as a merchant in 1558 (FY I, p 278) and paid 13s 4d to be released from being Pageant Master of the Merchants in 1561 (R:Y, p 339). In 1563 he was a Chamberlain (YCA: B 23, f 80v). As far as tax assessments are concerned,

16 There was also a man of the same name in the 1550s and 1560s associated with the parish of Peter Lane Little, which was united with All Hallows Pavement: he was on one occasion described as a wright (YCA: E 44, p 97). There were also others: a tailor, a porter, a tiler and an innholder, and one lived in St Michael parish Ousebridge End. In due course there was a William Robinson junior.

he was always noted under Crux parish, and in due course he was one of the richest Aldermen. From being assessed on £5 in 1559, he rose to £8 in February 1566/7, and £19 by 1576. From 1582, his assets were noted in lands, and he went from £20 to £26 in 1587, £27 in 1599 and £28 from 1609¹⁷. In 1596, when York had to contribute heavily to a ship for the Cadiz Expedition, he was assessed to lend £40, and then contribute £30 to the eventual payment (YCA: B 31, f 155; E 86, p 9). In 1603, he gave £100 towards the unconditional loan the city was encouraged to make to the new King James (B 32, f 252v).

He and Andrew Trewe were elected Sheriffs on 21 September 1568 (YCA: B 24, f 116). By the following March, neither of them had bought the crimson gowns that the Sheriffs should wear on official occasions, and they were told to do so or be disfranchised (B 24, ff 130v-131). On 26 May, one of the places for the performance of the Corpus Christi Play was fixed between his and Mr Harbert's houses (B 24, f 140). After this year, he became a member of the Twenty Four, attending the meetings frequently, and it was as one of the Twenty Four that he quarrelled with Alderman Harbert in December 1576 (pp 285-6 above). He was elected Alderman in January 1577/8 (YCA: B 27, f 70v). Between 1578 and 1580 he was Master of the Merchants, and paid their rent for a building in the Crane Garth to the city Chamberlains (YCA: C 8:1 and 2). In February 1578/9 a slanderous bill (contents undescribed) was set up on his door (YCA: B 27, f 142v). He was Mayor in 1581, and at the end of his term of office Miles Gray, a glasier, spoke slanderous words against him, and had to apologise later in the year (B 28, f 52-52v). His next quarrel

17 YCA: E 50, p 236; E 51, pp 87, 206 and 279; E 59a, ff 57 and 210v; PRO: E.179/218/161 and 180.

was with Christopher Beckwith, when they were riding the bounds of the city on 19 October 1584, and order had to be taken between them: again, the details are not recorded (B 28, f 159-159v). At the end of that year he went to London as one of the city's Burgesses at Parliament (B 28, ff 157v, 158, 162 and 171).

When Grafton's Interlude was performed in 1585, there was no mention of his name when the places were fixed or the money paid, but in November it was agreed that he was not to pay for the play at Midsummer before his door (B 29, f 53). As Alderman Harbert had entertained the ladies at his house that day, perhaps a similar arrangement to that they had in 1569 was agreed.

He was again elected Burgess in 1588 (B 30, ff 64-65), and Mayor in 1594 (B 31, f 49v). In 1604, he was one of the few Aldermen who attended meetings when the plague was at its worst. After the death of Thomas Harrison in 1604 he became 'the auncientest Alderman', but Alderman Robert Watter, who happened to be Mayor at the time of King James' visit, had consequently been knighted, and so had been given precedence in the meetings; however, William Robinson's position was acknowledged (B 32, f 391), and in March 1606/7 it was agreed that the senior Aldermen should again take precedence over Sir Robert Watter except during the Assize week (B 33, f 60-60v).

William Robinson made his will on 17 December 1614 (BI: Pr Reg 34, f 170), and was buried at Crux church on 2 August 1616 (printed Parish Register, p 79). William Robinson junior, franchised in 1596 (FY II, p 39) and Sheriff in 1607 (YCA: B 33, f 89v), was elected Alderman in his father's place (B 34, f 98). His son-in-law Robert Harrison had already become an Alderman, in

January 1604/5 (B 32, f 341a).

William Robinson held various properties around York. He bought an inn, the Sign of the Panyers in Walmeigate, in March 1568/9 (YCA: E 23, ff 28-9), and he also held property in the St Saviourgate and Hungate area. Maud Conyers in her will of October 1570 bequeathed the lease of a tenement to Alderman William Allyn in St Saviourgate which was occupied by William Robinson (BI: Pr Reg 19A, f 16). Later, in January 1576/7, it was agreed that he could buy the lane in Hungate now enclosed into his land, which had lately been held by Mr Allyn, and a Deed of purchase was made at the end of the year (YCA: B 26, f 110v; E 22, f 27v). In 1579, he had to pave before his orchard and the lane to the Foss, and in 1583 the Wardmote Court ordered him to pave before his orchard in Aldwark, the corner of his orchard in Hungate, and his warehouse by St Saviour's church. He was again ordered to pave before the property in Hungate in 1586 (YCA: E 31 (second section), pp 39, 201 and 319). He also had some land at Bootham Common, for in 1584 he agreed to amend the wall he had encroached on to a common lane there (YCA: B 28, f 161). In 1602, he complained that James Hutchinson had not made a fence between their closes outside Skeldergate Postern (B 32, f 196v).

By far the most problems were caused by his lands around Walmeigate Bar, which he rented from the city but which he attempted to claim as his own. In 1582, he was renting a moat at the Tile Pits, a moat within the Bar, the Red Tower, and a stone wall on a moat within the Bar (YCA: BR C 94:1). The following year, in January 1582/3, the land at Walmeigate Bar was to be viewed (B 28, f 84), and it was noted that he refused to pay the 5 shillings rent due for the wall (YCA: BR C 94:2). Throughout 1585, this land was being investigated,

especially that adjoining his tenement at Walmeigate Bar; he was to produce his Evidences for ownership, and to pay his arrears. Finally, in November, the Recorder was ordered to draw a bill against him in the Lord President's court. At some point, witnesses were questioned in Walmeigate, for Mr Fawkes the Swordbearer was paid his charges in this matter. On 29 November, during the examination, he spoke 'certaine wordes' of contempt, and was fined £6 13s 4d, and it seems that his claim was overturned, for he consequently paid the arrears of rent due from 1583. Most of this matter must be reconstructed, because the entry of 29 November was officially cut out of the House Book on 31 January 1594/5, as a note on the remaining stub of the page testified (YCA: B 29, f 56). Another entry, of 3 December 1585, was erased, but it is possible to read some of it, which records the payment of his fine of £6 13s 4d, and an agreement that part would be returned to him. It is significant that the entries were removed at the end of his second term as Mayor, at the same time as he was given £3 6s 8d as a gift for 'certain considerations' - in other words, the remainder of the fine he had paid in 1585; the first £3 6s 8d had already been returned to him. At the end of 1586 he was given a new 21 year lease of the land at Walmeigate Bar and the Red Tower; again, part of this entry, referring to his offence and the fine, was erased in January 1594/5. Payment of the rent is noted by the Bridgemasters up to 1610¹⁸.

This controversy was also linked with his non-

18 YCA: B 28, ff 174v, 175v; B 29, ff 17, 33, 49, 53-53v, 55-56, 57-57v; Chamberlains' Book 6 (1, 1585), ff 46, 46v, 66; C 94:5; B 31, f 103; B 29, ff 159v-160v; C 94:6; Chamberlains' Book 6 (3, 1588), f 70; C 94:7 and C 96:7.

payment of a rent for part of a lane behind his house, but this is independent of his land at Walmegate Bar. The lane in question went from the Flesh Shambles to Peter Lane Little, and was usually described in these terms every time the matter came up. Only occasionally is it given a name, Haymonger Lane¹⁹, once as a margin heading in the House Book of 2 September 1575 (YCA: B 26, f 34) and again in an investigation at the Sessions in March 1575/6 into an affray there in March 1570/1 (YCA: F 3, p 220). This name has therefore been adopted for the lane, which helps to locate both William Robinson's house and William Allyn's. As they both backed on to this lane, they were on the right hand side of the pageant route, on the north side of the Pavement. It means that the two houses of Mr Harbert and Mr Robinson were opposite each other, on either side of the road, not that the station came between two adjacent houses.

Haymonger Lane

The lane from the Shambles to Peter Lane Little ran parallel with the Pavement, and the houses of people who lived on the north side of the Pavement, like William

19 D.M. Palliser, in 'The Medieval Street Names of York', gives Haymongergate as an early name for the Shambles or Flesh Shambles, and Haymonger Lane as the lane leading from it. He took the reference from Raine's Medieval York, but was not able to verify it in his article (York Historian 2:1978, pp 11 and 14-15). The above references I have quoted do so. The name is also mentioned in a feoffment of 28 August 1487, when Sir Martin de See gave two messuages and three tenements 'in heyemongerstrete & schamulles ex opposito ecclie parochie sancte Crucis' to the church of All Hallows Pavement (BI: PR Y/ASP F.3/3).

Robinson, bordered on this lane. It would have been typical of most lanes in the city, scarcely more than pedestrian footpaths between the houses, and no doubt even more dirty than the roads²⁰. There were constant attempts, mostly recorded in the Wardmote Court books, to make people clean them, and to maintain them as a right of way. In this particular case, the authorities were coming to the conclusion that the inhabitants along Haymonger Lane might as well build out over the lane, as long as they paid a rent to the city. Successive building means that the lane is no longer discernible on the map made when Parliament Street was being planned (see the note to Map 14), nor in the 1852 Ordnance Survey map, made after the street was created.

Matters concerning the lane involved both William Allyn and William Robinson. The Quarter Sessions of 23 March 1575/6 inquired into an affray which concerned Alderman Allyn in Haymonger Lane in the combined parish of All Hallows and Peter Lane Little, that had occurred several years before on 1 March 1570/1 (YCA: F 3, p 220). Another inquiry into an affray in the lane was made on 9 November 1572, which involved Henry Sysson merchant with his wife, John Hawton, Constable of All Hallows Pavement, and others, and concerned posts on the land behind the Mayor William Allyn's tenement. The Sessions jury also presented various inhabitants of the lane for enclosing parts of it (F 3, pp 56-7). They first defined the common lane, beginning at the Shambles, between the tenement of John Weddell, occupied by Cuthbert Dawson, on the north side, and the tenement of Richard Noble on the south, and which ought to pass

20 For an ingenious tour round York's many lanes and passages, see A Walk around the Snickelways of York by Mark W. Jones (William Sessions Ltd, York, 1983). 'Snickleway' is the author's compound description of Snickets, Ginnels and Alleyways.

directly to Peter Lane Little; and then they noted the encroachments.

On 5 January 1572/3, John Hawton Constable was ordered to break down the gate and wall in Peter Lane Little and a partition on the common ground at the back of the Mayor William Allyn's house (YCA: B 25, f 46v). Later in 1573, all the inhabitants along the lane were ordered to appear on 30 October. It was then agreed that the Recorder and others (including Richard Hutton) were to be appointed to view the lane and its boundaries; on 20 November they were given extra time to make their report (B 25, ff 98, 99v and 101v). The House Book for 18 January 1573/4 referred back to the Sessions report of November 1572, but it was decided that as the lane was not used as a right of way it could be closed off 'to the benefyte and ease of theym that have their howses ioynnyng therunto' (B 25, f 106). On 29 January 1573/4, order was taken for portions of the lane to be allocated to the inhabitants; but if any individual made any suit to keep the lane open, then the inhabitants were to defend it at their own cost. They all had to keep the lane clean, ensure drainage, and allow access for repairs (B 25, ff 108v-110v).

The Sessions inquiry of 1572, and the allocations of 1573/4, list the occupants of the lane, starting from the Shambles, and enable a plan to be made (Figure 11, p 295). It is not possible to relate these individual holdings to the premises marked on Dr White's map (Map 12, p 255), because by then the original property could have been subdivided or rebuilt; nor are there sufficient measurements along the lane given to relate distances to Atkinson's map of the Pavement (p 257). However, it does show that William Robinson, at the Shambles end of the lane, and close to the parish boundary, would have been directly opposite Mr Harbert's house next to Lady

Figure 11: Schematic plan of property on the north side of the Pavement, 1573

- + mentioned in the Sessions report only (F 3, p 57)
- * mentioned in the House Book report only (B 25, ff 108v-110v)

N
↑

Cuthbert Dawson
(John Weddell)

HAYMONGER LANE

14 yards 9 yards 4½ yards 6½ yards

+ Henry Sysson	* Hugh Graves	* Andrew Trewe	James Beckwith	Alderman William Allyn	Anthony Pullay	* Percival Brooke	William Scott merc (newly built tenement of William Allyn)	John Wright apothecary (tenement of the inheritance of William Robinson)	William Robinson	Richard Noble
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PARISH OF
ALL HALLOWS
PAVEMENT

THE PAVEMENT

parish boundary

PARISH OF
CRUX
CHURCH

SHAMBLES

Peckett's Yard²¹, and Alderman Allyn was close to the site of the Pavement Cross, the original head of the Pavement. Further orders were made for this lane over the next twenty years²².

the xiiijth betwene Mr pacok & Mr Allen places

Robert Paycock

Robert Paycock was franchised as a merchant in 1533, and was Chamberlain in 1537 (FY I, pp 252 and 255). He became Sheriff in 1540, and Alderman in July 1543 (YCA: B 17, f 17), and was Mayor in 1548 and 1567. He was always associated with the parish of All Hallows on the Pavement, being noted there as an archer horsed and harnessed in the Muster of 1539 (YCA: E 64, f 57). He was assessed on goods ranging from £40 to £35 between 1545 and March 1556/7; after 1563, like several other Aldermen, he invested in lands, and paid on £16 lands at the end of his life (PRO: E.179/217/108; YCA: E 50, p 155; E 51, p 119). He married Anne, the daughter of George Gale, and Dame Mary Gale in her will of 24 September 1557 left five marks to his nine children (BI: Pr Reg 15B, ff 124v-125).

He made his will on 10 July 1569 (BI: Pr Reg 19A, f 118v-119), but he was still able at the end of the year to be assessed at a £20 loan towards paying off the army after the Rising (YCA: B 24, ff 179v and 181). He was buried at All Hallows Pavement on 15 June 1570

21 In the 1852 Ordnance Survey map, the second house on the Pavement east of the parish boundary is opposite the known site of the Harbert house.

22 See End Note 12.

(printed Parish Register, p 104) and probate on his will was granted on 20 June. In his will, he bequeathed 'my nowe dwellinge howse in coppergate end with the gardinge' for life to his wife Anne; it was then to be sold and the money given to his sons James, Christopher and Richard and his daughters Agnes and Dorothy. Apart from various property bequests to his other children, he gave his son Robert 'my howse of the pament with all the Implementes in yt' which had already been given to him. Not long afterwards Robert Paycock the younger appeared in the records under Crux parish, whilst Lady Paycock remained in All Hallows parish: this can be seen in the poor relief assessments made in January 1572/3 (YCA: B 25, f 53). Robert, the son, was still in Crux in September 1588, but the next subsidy assessment of 1 September 1589 saw him back in All Hallows (YCA: E 59a, ff 73 and 86).

Only a few weeks after the performance in 1569, then, Alderman Paycock was living at the end of Coppergate, and as he was of All Hallows parish it would have been the east end, immediately opposite the church, where Coppergate merged into the Pavement. He would have faced William Allyn's house over the widest part of the Pavement. Taking into account the extra length of the church and the row of houses built before it, his house was probably to the east of the site of the later White Swan Inn (see Maps 12 and 14, pp 255 and 257 above), beyond the carriage road. It may even have been the house later called Parliament House, or at least the house on its west side, which was occupied by the York Herald office at the turn of this century (Illustration 11, p 298). These buildings were demolished when the new street Piccadilly was created in 1911.



**Illustration 11: The Pavement before 1911,
looking east towards Crux
church**

A horse and cart is driving past Parliament House, and the double-gabled house lower down on the right is Harbert House. This photograph shows the length along which the last three stations of 1569 were situated.

William Allyn

William Allyn²³ has already been mentioned in relation to the performance of the Pater Noster Play and to Gregory Paycock's debt. He was franchised in 1552 as a grocer (although later he was known as a merchant), and was a Chamberlain in 1558 (FY I, pp 271 and 278). He was considered trustworthy enough to borrow £100 of the city's money in 1564 (YCA: B 24, f 29v), and as a former Chamberlain was attached to the Common Council, being an auditor for the city accounts of 1565 (YCA: CB 5 (1, 1565), p 146). He was elected Sheriff on 21 September 1566, along with Gregory Paycock (YCA: B 24, ff 54 and 55), and very soon after his year of office he was elected Alderman, in December 1567, in place of Thomas Harper (B 24, f 96v). He succeeded also as husband to Mr Harper's widow Isabelle, whom he married on 27 April 1568 (All Hallows Pavement, printed Parish Register, p 83). He too must have been married before, as the Parish Register of All Hallows had recorded the baptism of his children Robert (February 1556/7) and Barbara (1562), with the burial of his son John in 1563 (printed Parish Register, pp 19, 20 and 103).

All his tax payments were made in this parish, on assessments from £8 goods in March 1556/7 to £10 in February 1566/7, and £30 in 1571 and also 1572 (the year of his Mayoralty). In 1576 and 1577 he had £10 in lands, but then, like Gregory Paycock, he fell into difficulties, and made no further payments (YCA: E 50, p 155; E 51, pp 87, 153, 180, 205 and 229).

23 His name was spelt in variations of Aleyn, Allyn and Allen. There was also a clearly separate man of the same name, a tailor who belonged to the parish of St Michael le Belfray. See also above, pp 86-8.

In 1569, when the final place for the performance of the Corpus Christi Play was between his house and Mr Paycock's, he was in dispute with Alderman Harbert about the situation of the Bull Ring on the Pavement. He would not agree that the matter be examined by the city council, and was bound over for good behaviour on 15 July 1569 (see above, p 284). His appearances before the High Commission in December and March 1570/1 have already been noted (pp 87-8), when he spoke against a sermon in the Minster, and for making the sign of the cross. Later, in December and January 1580/1, the High Commission ordered him to bring his wife before them for not attending church (BI: HC AB 10, ff 66 and 87v). In 1573, when Christopher Harbert was Mayor, William Allyn found himself under attack, and for an apparent act of kindness to Gregory Paycock who was unable to pay a debt. He had, in 1572, made a new bond for repayment of debts to Gregory Paycock and Andrew Trewe without consulting the other Aldermen; apart from the high handedness of this action, it seems to have been thought that Gregory Paycock's original sureties for repayment may have become liable for the debt in his place. Mr Allyn was asked several times throughout February 1572/3 to bring in the old obligation, but he only brought in the new one: when he refused to answer the bill against him he was disfranchised. The matter went before the Archbishop and the Council in the North, which ordered in May 1572 that Mr Allyn should become responsible for the repayment of Gregory Paycock's debt to a total of £194. Although Mr Allyn was refranchised without a fine, the penalty he faced was heavy. The Council had been swayed by the consideration that by giving Mr Paycock the opportunity to default on his repayment of city money, for which Mr Allyn as Mayor had been responsible, he had shown a neglect of his office; but if Aldermen Harbert and Beckwith had wanted to take revenge for his treatment of them in 1572, they could have done no

better²⁴. He paid £15 each year in 1574, 1575 and 1576, and was ordered to make a bond for further payment in January 1576/7 (YCA: B 25, f 123v; B 26, ff 21v and 102). Despite this, he still carried on his duties as Alderman, and he was one of the deputation sent to the Archbishop to ask for the return of the city's play books in July 1575: probably the books of the Pater Noster Play which the Archbishop had demanded to see after the 1572 performance (B 26, f 27; R:Y, p 378). In 1579 he was assessed to pay 10 shillings towards the city's light horse, but it was noted that he had not paid (B 27, ff 201v and 203v). He left the city and was neither fulfilling his obligations as Alderman - he last attended a council meeting on 21 September 1580 (YCA: B 27, f 251v) - nor paying his debts; he was ordered to return, and at the end of 1580 he promised to do so. In January 1580/1, he was in arrears to the Bridgemasters for his rent of city property, but again promised to pay (B 27, ff 229v, 261, 264v and 265-265v). He was assessed in All Hallows parish in May 1581 to pay tax on £10 goods, but the entry was crossed out (YCA: E 59, f 1v), and on 4 July 1581, it was recorded that he had sent a letter resigning his Aldermanship; the original letter has been bound into the House Book (YCA: B 28, ff 18-18v and 18a).

The following year, in April 1582, Lady Allyn was lent 10 shillings, 'being in necessitie' (B 28, f 46v). She made her will on 31 January 1584/5, describing herself as the wife of William Allyn of Gaitefurth, sometime Mayor of York, but noting that her marriage settlement allowed her to make her own will. One of

²⁴ For the case against Mr Allyn, see YCA: B 25, ff 63, 63v, 64, 64v, 65, 67v, 70-70v, 71v, 75, 77v, 82-83v, and 86. He also owed £10 13s 10d himself for cloth money - see B 24, f 278v and B 25, f 79.

the supervisors was her brother-in-law Ralph Richardson - who had in fact been elected Alderman in William Allyn's place (BI: Pr Reg 24A, ff 49v-50). Probate on her will was granted on 7 May 1589. After that, William Allyn felt the full effect of his poverty, and in February 1589/90 he petitioned the city council for relief (YCA: B 30, f 167v). He was granted £5 a year, and all references to him from this time concern the payment of this annuity. In June 1597, for example, he was given an extra 10 shillings because of the rise in prices (B 31, f 277). The last record of payment to him is from 1603 (YCA: CB 11 (2, 1603), f 52).

Apart from his house on the Pavement, he rented a lane in Hungate which he had enclosed in 1562 (YCA: B 23, f 50); payments are recorded in the Bridgemasters' Rolls between 1564 and 1573 (YCA: C 91:1 to 93:1). In 1570, Maud Conyers had bequeathed him the lease of a tenement and garth at Fishergate Postern and the lease of a tenement in St Saviourgate held by William Robinson (see p 290 above), and part of his debt to the Bridgemasters in 1580 was for Fishergate Postern and garth (YCA: C 93:3). This and other Rolls also note payments for his part of Haymonger Lane. References to the lane behind his house have already been noted²⁵. An incident outside his house in November 1566, when he was Sheriff, was described by several witnesses to the Archbishop's Court, when Ellen Modie insulted Isabell Willie. One witness was in the house of Isabell's husband Robert Willie in All Hallows parish, in a chamber looking on to a courtyard of Mr Allyn; another witness was going between a stable and Robert Willie's kitchen and saw Ellen Modie in the lane or entry of Mr Allyn's house. The examiners noted down the questions

25 See pp 292-6 and End Note 12.

to be answered, relating to the narrow yard or entry two yards broad, and the stable with the stairs which were the only way to the room in Robert Willie's house where the witness was (BI: CP G 1314 and 1329).

By the time of the order on Haymonger Lane in January 1573/4, he had built a coal hole and a house of ease on part of the lane, apparently near to the tenement occupied by Percival Brooke: it was decided that these could be rented by Percival Brooke, or if he refused, Alderman Allyn could rent the portion of the lane, but had to pull down the house of ease. He had also to pull down the buttery which encroached over a yard in length on the lane against James Beckwith's tenement; but he was to have the lease of part of the lane between Anthony Pulley's tenement and the broad door adjoining Mr Beckwith's tenement (YCA: B 25, f 109-109v; see Figure 11, p 295 above). The rent for this was fixed at 3 shillings, but in 1577 his and other rents there were altered (B 27, f 30). His rent for part of this lane is noted in the Bridgemasters' Rolls to 1583 (YCA: C 94:2) although he was in arrears by 1581 (B 27, f 264v). As already noted, despite promises to return, he seems to have lived outside York from 1580.

PLACES FOR HEARING PATER NOSTER PLAY: 1572i. Micklegate

The first at Trynitie gate

The secunde at Mr henryson hows

For this performance, there were thirteen places appointed, and the lower station in Micklegate was not used. The pageant waggons passed straight from Mr Harrison's house to John White's.

The quotations are from the House Book entry of 2 June 1572 (YCA: B 25, f 15; R:Y, p 366).

ii. Ousegate

The thirde at John White hows

John White

If John White occupied the half of his father's house bequeathed to him, then he would be opposite St John's church, with a hall, parlour and tavern, and a long house stretching to Felter Lane at the back (p 187 above). He had been franchised as a vintner in 1561 (FY II, p 3); most entries referring to him are concerned with this occupation, and like several others he was presented for breaking the statute on the price of wine, in 1562 and 1565 (YCA: F 2, pp 46, 121 and 131). He was one of the licensed vintners, with

Richard Aynley, who had prosecuted a suit in London without the knowledge of the Mayor, and it was ordered that his licence should not be renewed (YCA: B 24, f 106 and 106v). However, he continued to practise, and in 1569 he was amongst the Vintners who petitioned that only those who had been apprenticed to the trade should be allowed to practise. (B 24, f 155). In 1571 he paid the requisite fee to the deputy of the Patent holder who came to York to examine those who had sold wine contrary to statute (B 24, ff 251v and 252v).

All his tax payments between 1563 and 1572 were made in the parish of St John Ousebridge End, and all assessed on 20 shillings lands (YCA: E 51, p 21; PRO: E.179/218/133). He was buried at that church on 27 March 1576 (BI: PR Y/J 1, f 27).

The iiiijth at the East end of Ousebridge at
George Aslaby dore

George Aslaby

George Aslaby has already been noted as Gregory Paycock's son-in-law, and the inheritor of some of his leases from the city (see p 192 above). A year after Mr Paycock's move into the parish of St John Ousebridge End, and in the first year of his marriage to Mr Paycock's daughter, George Aslaby took a station at the east end of Ouse Bridge - that is, by the Staith Head - which could suggest either that he had moved into Mr Paycock's old house, or that he had been a close neighbour.

At the time of taking a place for the performance, he was at the beginning of his career; he had been franchised as a merchant in 1569 (FY II, p 10), and was

Pageant Master in 1573 (R:Y, pp 372 and 655). As a substantial member of the parish of St Michael Ousebridge End, he was Constable in 1576 (YCA: E 31, f 22v), and a feoffee for church property in 1579 (BI: PR Y/MS 15). In the latter year he was also the eldest Searcher for the Merchants (YCA: B 27, f 161v). He continued to lease various properties from the city - he had taken over from Mr Paycock the cellar or ding at Salt Head Greases by the Staith Head, and two garths in Skeldergate - until 1585, when Ralph Richardson took over the garths and Andrew Trew took a 21 year lease of the cellar (YCA: C 94:5 and B 29, f 52v). In January 1587/8, he took a 21 year lease of a little garden in Bishophill Elder (B 29, f 252), but after this time he disappears from city records for over ten years. He had obviously moved out of the city, and by 1603 he was living in Whitwell on the Hill, for the city council wrote to him there on 31 August to say that they considered him still eligible for the office of Sheriff (B 32, f 283-283v). He was elected on 21 September 1605 (B 32, f 375v), but attended only five meetings during the following year - by comparison, his fellow Sheriff Ellis Micklethwaite attended nineteen. After that, he attended even less - only two in 1608 and one in 1609: obviously he did not feel involved with the affairs of the city.

A 'Mr Aisleybie' was buried at St Martin Coney Street on 11 August 1620 (printed Parish Register, p 90), but I have not been able to determine whether this was the same man.

The vth betwene Thomas Parker and Robert Brooke howses

Thomas Parker

There was a cordwainer called Thomas Parker, franchised in 1562 (FY II, p 4), who is found in the records associated with St John parish Ousebridge End (and one was licensed to keep an alehouse in Bishophill Elder parish, further down Skeldergate, in 1571), but there was another who lived in St Michael parish Ousebridge End. He was Constable in 1572 (YCA: E 51, p 170) and assessed there in the Muster of 1573 (YCA: E 47, f 6). In 1576 and 1577 he paid tax on £4 and £3 goods in that parish (E 51, pp 207 and 229). After this, there are no more entries for him under this parish, but Thomas Parker appears in St Michael le Belfray parish, as in the subsidy of 1581, when he was assessed on £4 goods (YCA: E 59, f 5). The parish notes of the Belfray Churchwardens between 1589 and 1591 also name him (BI: PR Y/MB 33, ff 10, 13v and 17). If this is the same man, and he can be identified with the tailor or draper, franchised in 1564 (FY II, p 5), then Belfray parish would represent a suitable move because several of this occupation congregated at the top of Stonegate.

Thomas Parker draper did have a connection with the Ousegate area of the city, for he claimed two tenements in Castlegate which were leased by the city: he claimed 'by a wrong title' the council thought in August 1589, and the tenants were ordered to continue paying rent to the city (YCA: B 30, f 127v). If this is the same man who shared a station with Robert Brooke in 1572, then perhaps, like Robert Smyth, he can be associated with Castlegate End (Nessgate). The property in question is not itself the likely site of the station. In 1589, it was occupied by Leonard Allely and Ubancke's wife, and in 1597 arrangements were made for the tenement they had held to be conveyed to Thomas Rogerson via William Halley (YCA: B 31, f 271v): the deed of June 1597 shows it was not on the end of the street - it stood on the east side of Castlegate, with tenements on the north and

south (YCA: E 22, f 29v-30).

Robert Brooke

Robert Brooke had been born in Hunslaite (Hunslet, in Leeds?) (YCA: CB 5 (1, 1559), f 85v; and also mentioned in his will), but he had come to York where he was franchised as a merchant in 1559 (FY I, p 279); his brother Percival Brooke, also a merchant, was franchised in 1565 (FY II, p 6). He was Chamberlain in 1565 (YCA: B 23, f 168), and from this time is found in the tax rolls, starting with an assessment of £7 in February 1566/7, which rose to £9 by 1572 (YCA: E 51, pp 86 and 182). In this period, he was living in St Michael's parish Ousebridge End, where in 1570 and 1571 he was one of the honest or substantial men chosen to see the Queen's statutes carried out (YCA: B 24, ff 202 and 235). He became representative of the Merchants on the Common Council in January 1571/2, in place of Thomas Dawson (B 24, f 274v).

On 21 September 1574 he was elected Sheriff (B 25, f 147v), and this also marked his move into the parish of All Hallows Pavement. He had been named as one of the honest men of St Michael's in March 1573/4 (B 25, f 118v), but his son Samuel was baptised in All Hallows church on 31 August 1574 (printed Parish Register, p 23). He was assessed to contribute towards the city's light horse in that parish in May 1575 (B 26, f 15), and stayed there for the rest of his life. He now had property encroaching on Haymonger Lane¹ and so lived near his brother Percival. In 1576, he was a candidate for Alderman, having as many votes as Robert Cripling

1 See End Note 12.

who was eventually chosen; he finally was elected in March 1578/9 (YCA: B 26, f 90-90v; B 27, f 147).

Meanwhile, he had been Governor of the Merchants during 1577, and would be again in 1587 (B 27, f 64; B 29, f 187v). In due course he was Mayor, in 1582 and 1595, and also a Burgess for York at the Parliament of 1584 (B 28, ff 157v-158 and 162).

After his removal to All Hallows Pavement, the tax assessments rated him from £12 goods in 1576 to £16 in 1581, £20 in 1587 and £25 goods between 1594 and 1598 (YCA: E 51, pp 205 and 253; E 59a, ff 57v, 161 and 202).

Most entries in the records concern his duties as a member of the Common Council, as Sheriff, one of the Twenty Four and Alderman. As Sheriff, in 1575 he was one of the deputation which went to the Archbishop to ask for the return of the city's play books (YCA: B 26, f 27; R:Y, p 378). He was one of the Commissioners appointed to seek out popish priests in 1578 (YCA: B 27, f 112v), and later he was to survey the religious prisoners every month (BI: HC AB, volume 10, January to May 1581, f 89). In February 1583/4, he was to peruse the customs and duties of Esquires at Mace and Sword (YCA: B 28, f 127v); he was arbitrator in the dispute with Alderman Robinson about his property in Walmeigate in 1585 (B 29, f 55); and over the years he viewed various properties in York, including Haymonger Lane and the Common Hall. One of his final duties was to assess the Waits' book, which recorded the payments due to them from householders (B 32, f 4v: 22 February 1598/9).

He was buried on 1 June 1599 at All Hallows Pavement church (printed Parish Register, p 108). His will had been made the previous year, on 19 January 1597/8 (BI: Pr Reg 27B, ff 596-597v). In it, he referred to his eldest son Christopher (see End Note 8), and other

children, Arthur, Henry, Robert, John, Samuel, Sara, Susanna, Mary, Elizabeth and Jane. The All Hallows register also adds the birth of Stephen (who died young) and Margaret. His brothers were Percival and John, and sisters had married into established York families.

Of the various property he owned or rented, his first recorded house was the one that he occupied at the time of the general sale of city property in March 1562/3, and which he bought. It was in Nessgate, and it may even have been the one originally rented by Robert Smyth (p 196 above). Unfortunately no compass directions are given in the description. It was 13 yards in length, between the house in the corner ('inter quondam domum angularem') of Thomas Dawson senior and that of Thomas Dawson junior, and 11 yards more or less in breadth from Nessgate in front to the tenement of John Preston and Alderman William Watson behind (YCA: E 22, f 7). The property of Alderman Watson in Ousegate has already been noted (p 194 above), and this suggests that Robert Brooke was therefore on the east side of Nessgate. The description of his house next to that of Thomas Dawson's in a corner suggests that he may have been close to the corner site at the cross roads. Both he and Thomas Parker were associated with the Castlegate End area. The evidence for Robert Brooke's house does not place them next door; perhaps, like Mr Harbert and Mr Robinson, they faced each other across the street. A suggested site of Robert Brooke's house is given below, in the section on the 1585 route (p 343). Robert Brooke kept possession of this house after his move, for he was still liable for dues in St Michael Ousebridge End parish in 1598 and 1599 at the end of his life, when the Churchwardens described it as the house Robert Burnet lived in. He bequeathed it in his will to his wife and then his son John, describing it as the house where William 'ffrysbie' and Robert Burnet lived. In 1600 and

1601, his widow Lady Jane Brooke was charged by the St Michael Churchwardens with the dues from this house (BI: PR Y/MS 2, ff 20v, 24, 28 and 29v).

He took the lease of the Old Bailey from Gregory Paycock in 1586 (p 192 above), and this in turn passed to his widow. He also leased land in Fishergate between 1591 and 1598, when it was taken by Thomas Marshall - the husband of his daughter Susanna (YCA: C 94:7 and C 95:5). He was a tenant of property at the site of the old Franciscan Friary by the river between the Staith and St George Close; as such he had an obligation to pave the lane from Castlegate to Castle Mills Postern, and was ordered to do so in 1590 (YCA: B 30, f 202-202v). He shared the duty with Alderman Trewe in February 1597/8 and was assessed to contribute 20 shillings towards the cost (B 31, f 326). He was involved in a dispute over his closes with the Walmegate Pasture Masters in 1591 (B 30, ff 265v-267v), and a case in the Archbishop's Court in 1598 reveals his claim to the Tithe of Gate Fulford (BI: CP G 3018; see also 3038. 3204, 3205 and 3206). This and other property is reflected in his will, with major estates outside York going to Christopher as the chief heir. The house where he lived was to go to John, but his son Christopher, by then living in London, bequeathed it in his own will of 1627 to his son, calling it 'the greate howse at yorke wherein my father sometimes dwelt'².

2 Christopher Brooke had also bought his uncle Percival Brooke's house on the Pavement, and bequeathed that to his own nephew William Brooke: Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies Library, volume IV, edited by A. Grosart (1872), pp 15-16.

iii. Coney Street

The vjth at henry pulleyn hows

Henry Pulleyn

Henry Pulleyn was a scrivener, franchised in 1566 (FY II, p 7). He had married Jane Clerke, daughter of John Clerke the city's scrivener, in 1563, in the church of St Martin Coney Street (printed Parish Register, p 49). 'Scrivener' meant someone who copied documents, and also someone who could draw them up, and had some legal expertise; when his younger children were baptised in the church, he was described as a notary (in February 1572/3) and Attorney (in 1575 and 1576/7) (printed Parish Register, pp 5 and 6). There are some later references to him as a scrivener, first as a feoffee for church property in 1581 (BI: PR Y/MCS F 5/50) and then as a surety for Thomas Fewler's franchise money (CB 6 (1, 1585), f 75). He was also another of the gentlemen Innholders familiar in Coney Street. As a vintner, he provided wine for communion at St Martin's church, for example in 1572 (BI: PR Y/MCS 16, pp 93 and 94). The first reference to him as an Innholder comes when he was surety for William and Joan Thompson to keep the peace in 1578 (YCA: F 3, p 487). As an Innholder, he was a Chamberlain during 1579, and in March that year he was chosen to be one of the Common Council for the Vintners. The following month, he produced his licence for selling wine (YCA: B 27, ff 130v, 146v and 152v). The Quarter Session records (undated, but for the period between 1583 and 1585) show him licensed as an Innholder (YCA: F 3, p 412), and in August 1583 he appeared before the deputies of Sir Walter Raleigh, who held the wine monopoly, to receive a licence to retail wine (YCA: B 28, f 107). Other references to him as an Innholder continue to the end of his life. In 1584, Nicholas

Marre was presented at the Quarter Sessions for making an affray at Henry Pulleyn's house (YCA: F 4, f 37v), and in March 1586/7 Henry Pulleyn himself appeared before the Sessions because he had not been bound as an Innholder (F 5, f 31). In January 1591/2, he was bound not to sell meat in Lent (YCA: E 45, p 305), and in 1594 again licensed as an Innholder, when he was listed under St Martin Coney Street parish (E 45, p 124). That year his son John was franchised as a vintner, described as the son of Henry Pulleyn gentleman (FY II, p 37). As Henry Pulleyn gentleman he was bound as usual not to sell meat in Lent in January 1596/7 (E 46, p 95).

He need not have been personally involved in the innkeeping business, apart from being a licensee. In Letters Patent of 29 September 1589 he had appointed Peter Hogeson to keep a tavern or wine cellar for an annual payment of £8 to Henry Pulleyn: this may have been a common kind of arrangement, and is only revealed because Peter Hogeson brought a complaint against him in the Sheriffs' Court in 1603. Although the new King, James I, had revoked all such grants, Henry Pulleyn was still demanding the £8 payment (YCA: K 7, Sheriffs' Court papers).

He remained active in St Martin's church all his life, and paid all his tax assessments under that parish. These were always assessed on his lands, beginning with 20 shillings value in February 1567/8, rising to 40 shillings in 1581, and remaining at £3 from 1587 to 1600 (YCA: E 51, p 126; E 59, f 5; E 59a, ff 55v and 223). He was several times auditor of the Churchwardens' accounts, which he signed (and may have entered some of the auditors' notes) in 1575, 1582, 1592, 1596, 1597. 1602 and 1604. He was Churchwarden himself in 1577 and 1599 (BI: PR Y/MCS 16, between pp 111 and 163; Y/MCS 17, between ff 25 and 53v).

His will was made on 8 January 1604/5, at a period when there was still plague in York. His wife Jane died first and was buried on 25 January 1604/5; Henry Pulleyn himself was not buried until 6 December 1605, and probate on the will was granted on 2 May 1606 (BI: Pr Reg 30A, f 181-181v; printed Parish Register of St Martin Coney Street, pp 84 and 85). Of eleven children born to them between 1564 and March 1577/8, only two are known to have died as infants (with another unnamed burial in 1578). Five children, Thomas, Edward, John, Anne and Elizabeth were named in the will. Thomas was left a tenement in Dringhouses, and also family property in North Street. Edward was to have the tenement and garden where Henry Pulleyn had lived, but John was to retain the cellars and other parts he occupied for his life - as a vintner, he probably carried on his business there. John also received a tenement in Walmeigate.

Henry Pulleyn had some land in Bootham in 1575, where he had put a hedge across a path and had not scoured a water sewer (YCA: E 31, f 3v). Between 1591 and 1600 he leased Fishergate Postern and a garth there from the city (YCA: BR, C 94:7 and E 96:1). He may also have been the Henry Pulleyn gentleman who had leased the Abbey Mills beyond Monkgate: he was presented in 1593 for working as a miller without being free of the Millers' occupation (YCA: CB 7 (2, 1593), f 29). This mill was part of the crown lands acquired at the Dissolution, and when the city eventually acquired the lease of this and Castle Mills, the council spent a lot of money refurbishing them in the hope of recouping the money from sub-tenants. When the city negotiated its lease from the crown, the previous tenants had been persuaded to surrender their leases, but in 1598 it was reported that Henry Pulleyn gentleman, the former tenant of Abbey Mills, was trying to get a new lease himself direct from the crown, now that the city had

made repairs: the city described him as 'suche a vaine fellowe' when the councillors wrote in July to Sir John Fortescue, their representative on the Privy Council (YCA: B 31, ff 374-5). They wrote again in October, stating that his claim was 'but frivelous', although Pulleyn had already ridden to London to press his case (B 31, f 383 and 383v). He must have had some substance to his claim, for in April 1600 an arrangement was made for him to relinquish his claim to the lease on a payment of £45 to him (B 32, f 84-84v). In fact, the person who deprived the city of the lease was the very man sent as its representative in the negotiations, William Paycock, who was unable to obtain the lease of Castle Mills for the city, and then took the lease for Abbey Mills in his own name rather than that of the city. He became liable to pay £25 due to Henry Pulleyn in February 1601/2, although Henry Pulleyn had to petition in June and September because he had not received anything (B 32, ff 191v, 208 and 217).

Further property associated with Henry Pulleyn brings back his father-in-law John Clerke, who bequeathed him the lease of his own tenement in Coney Street after the death of Mrs Clerke, and his law books and precedent books. John Clerke's father, Thomas Clerke, had lived in North Street, where the family had property; John Clerke bequeathed in his will of 20 March 1579/80 a tenement and orchard there first to his wife (who in fact died soon after), then to his daughter Jane Pulleyn, and then to his granddaughter Jane (BI: Pr Reg 22B, f 495-495v). Henry Pulleyn as executor of the will took over responsibility for this property, and also in 1580 began to lease a moat in North Street from the city that had previously been taken by John Clerke (YCA: BR C 93:3). He also paid for John Clerke's burial, and owed the fee for the burial of Mrs Clerke (BI: PR Y/MCS 16, pp 156 and 159).

He continued the lease of the moat in North Street until his death, and his son John then took it over (YCA: BR C 96:4 and 5).

Apart from his tenement in Coney Street, John Clerke had a shop which he leased from the church of St Martin. Between 1552 and 1558, he is recorded by the Churchwardens as paying 20d a year for a shop (see BI: PR Y/MCS 16, pp 1, 2, 3, 13 and 27). From Martinmas 1558 he had two shops, and paid an annual rent of 40d (p 28), and this continued until Whit 1576, when he paid 20d, only the half year's rent (p 127). A margin note states that these and three other shops had been sold; and amongst the Lammas receipts is entered a payment by Henry Pulleyn of £10 for the shops under his house (BI: PR Y/MCS 16, p 128). An earlier feoffee deed from St Martin Coney Street church, of 13 August 1552, concerns four shops under a house called The Red Harte in Coney Street, and three other tenements, which had been the gift of Richard Plasket and Richard Howe to the church (BI: PR Y/MCS F 5/46). Henry Pulleyn remained in this house, The Red Harte, until his death. Although in his will the bequest of this property to his son Edward is vague, the Inquisition Post Mortem on his property, on 23 December 1606, confirms that he lived in The Red Harte (YCA: E 27, ff 68v-69v). It mentions his capital messuage (The Red Harte³) and after listing other property, confirms the identification of the house:

3 The parchment volume containing this entry has been badly damaged by damp, and many words are illegible, even under ultra-violet light. The first part, containing the description of his property, is difficult to read, but the quotation from his will is clear.

And the said capitall Messuage or Tenemente called Read hart with thappurtenances in the said cite of yorke he give and bequeithe in thes wordes followinge, Also I give and bequeathe [a] Tenemente with the gardene and appurtenances therto belonginge wherein I dwell to my sonne Edward Pulleyn and his heires of his bodie Lawfullye begotten with all the sealinges sett vp in the same and all the buildinges therof (excepte sellers and the parlors and seates now in the occupacon of my sonne John Pulleye so longe as he liveth, and convenyent agresse and regresse for him to and from the same

(YCA: E 27, f 69)

Unfortunately, none of the deeds precisely locate the shops or The Red Harte. A few deeds for other property in Coney Street may indicate his house was on the west side of the street (the left side of the pageant route). John Robson bought a tenement in Coney Street from the city in March 1562/3 which stood between the river and the street, with one of Thomas Harrison's tenements to the south, and one belonging to Sir Christopher Danby on the north (YCA: E 22, f 16v). A feoffee deed of St Martin Coney Street church property in May 1581 refers to its property in Coney Street, which was between land belonging to Sir Thomas Danby on both north and south, although the direction of Coney Street was not given (BI: PR Y/MCS F 5/49). The property to the north was said to be in the tenure of John Clerke (who had however died by this time). A later deed of the same property was made in September 1620 (BI: PR Y/MCS F 5/53): the property on the north was by that time owned by John Pulleyn and occupied by George Pulleyn, but the deed noted it had formerly been occupied by John Clerke. Further property included in the 1581 feoffee deed was six tenements in the cemetery of St Martin Coney Street church, also on the west side of the street, but it is not possible to state that all the church property described was close together.

This evidence is circumstantial; it relates more to John Clerke's tenement than to the Red Harte, and relies on the link with Danby family land to locate it on the west side of Coney Street. If the property in these deeds was on the left hand side of the route, it was probably south of St Martin's church⁴, which puts the area of this station near to the site of the George Inn, which was about half way between Jubbergate End and the Common Hall (it is marked on the 1852 Ordnance Survey Map, and is now represented by the recently remodelled Leak & Thorpe premises⁵; see Plan 3, p 327 and Illustration 4, p 161 above).

The vijth at the Common hall gates

Richard Aynley had returned to St Martin Coney Street parish by this time, and would have been host when the councillors were in the chamber at the Common Hall Gates on 5 June for the performance, where they had to take order for the mason Walmesley to make repairs to Ouse Bridge, and to condemn Aldermen Beckwith and Harbert for their disobedience.

iv. Stonegate and Minster Gates

The viijth at William Gilmyn hows

William Gilmyn

4 The property immediately to the north of the church belonged to George Cooke in 1562 (YCA: E 22, ff 25v-26).

5 See Hugh Murray, Dr Evelyn's York, pp 70-1.

William Gilmyn draper was franchised in 1549, the son of William Gilmyn merchant (FY I, p 269). The father lived in St Michael le Belfray parish, and died in April 1574 at the age of eighty (printed Parish Register, p 17), and the records are usually very clear in defining the Elder and the Younger. It was the father who was Clerk of the Crane, and the House Book records his death in 1574 (YCA: B 25, f 127v). William Gilmyn the younger eventually settled in St Helen's parish Stonegate, where he might be expected from his position in the station list of 1572. He follows the pattern of this area, for although being franchised as a draper, he appears more often as a vintner and Innholder. In 1553, only four years after his franchise as a draper, he was appointed one of the eight vintners (YCA: B 21, f 18 and 18v).

The earliest references put him in St Martin Coney Street parish. Anne Gilmyn was christened in that church in 1558 and buried in 1559 (printed Parish Register, pp 1 and 71), and he was paid for a communion book and a psalter by the Churchwardens in 1558 (BI: PR Y/MCS 16, p 35). He already had other children, Robert and Elizabeth, who were bequeathed 20 shillings each in the will of Sybbell Shotsonne in 1557 (BI: Pr Reg 15B, f 131). Several other children were born, Margaret in St Martin's parish, and others after William Gilmyn moved to St Helen's parish. In January 1559/60 he was one of the honest men of St Martin Coney Street parish to assess the tax (YCA: E 50, p 257), but Martin Sosa goldsmith, in his will of 10 September 1560, referred to his house in Stonegate occupied by William Gilmyn, which he bequeathed to his daughter Margaret Clerk (BI: D/C Pr Reg 5, f 34-34v). From that year, all references are to William Gilmyn in St Helen's parish. His tax payments were all there, when he began paying on £5 goods in 1563. From 1576 he was assessed on lands, worth 20 shillings in 1576 and finally 40 shillings from 1587 (YCA: E 51, pp

20 and 210; E 59a, f 56v).

In August 1561, William Gilmyr Innholder was amongst several Innholders bound and fined after allowing unlawful games to be played in their houses (YCA: B 23, ff 30v and 32); his father acted as a surety for him. He was again fined for allowing unlawful games on 16 December 1562 (B 23, f 75). Soon after, in January 1562/3, he was imprisoned in the kidcote for speaking unsuitable words to the council whilst petitioning to have John Stok released from there (B 23, f 87). The following year, in July 1564, he was ordered by the Archbishop's Court to kneel before Alderman Lawson and apologise for calling him a miser and a wretch (B 23, f 147). Despite such lapses, he was considered suitable for minor offices, and was Chamberlain in 1566 (B 24, f 34v), described under his official occupation of draper. He was on several occasions one of the substantial or honest men of St Helen's parish, either for assessing tax, or seeing the Queen's Articles carried out. He still continued at times to show little respect for authority. He refused to repair his property in Coney Street when ordered, and was committed to ward in September 1568, with the full assent of the council; he later refused to seal an obligation to rebuild the house (B 24, ff 115v, 116, 124 and 125). In 1576, he was a Churchwarden of St Helen's (B 26, f 80v), and from 1578 he appeared on the juries for the Quarter Sessions (see, for example, 1583: YCA: F 3, p 739, and F 4, f 1). He was elected to represent the Vintners on the Common Council in September 1580 (YCA: B 27, f 251), and the following year he was Constable of St Helen's Stonegate (YCA: E 31 (second section), p 121).

He was licensed as an Innholder about 1583, and was one of the first members when the new Fellowship of

Brewers of ale and beer was established in 1586 (YCA: F 3, p 406; B 29, f 91v); however, he considered himself a Vintner, and so called himself in his will. As a former Chamberlain and a member of the Common Council, he was entitled to call himself 'Mr', and as Mr Gilmyrn he was assessed in St Helen's Stonegate to lend 40 shillings towards paying off the army at the end of 1569 (YCA: B 24, f 181v).

In March 1572/3, he sold a tenement in Coney Street to John Lanuder, already occupied by the purchaser: this was probably one he had bought in March 1562/3, and which he had later refused to repair (YCA: E 22, f 7-7v; E 23, f 53v). He also had a garth in St Andrewgate, and was responsible for paving before it: the Monk Ward Wardmote Court ordered him to do so in 1583, 1584 and 1586 (YCA: E 31 (second section), pp 202, 247 and 320). There was also one reference to a stable in Micklegate Ward, when he was ordered to sweep before it in 1576 (E 31, f 39).

The first reference to him in Stonegate is of his occupation of the tenement bequeathed by Martin Sosa to his daughter Margaret Clerk in September 1560. Margaret later married John Watson of Ulskelf, and in 1569/70 they sold this tenement with its shops and other appurtenances, still held by William Gilmyrn junior, Vintner, to Michael Gill⁶ (YCA: E 23, f 30v-31). I have suggested in discussing Christopher Willoughby's

⁶ Michael Gill gentleman was Bailiff of the Liberty of St Peter (Minster Garth), appointed in March 1565/6 (YML: H (4), ff 4v-5). His will was made on 13 March 1576/7, with probate granted on 24 May 1577 (BI: D/C Pr Reg 5, f 86-86v). There was no specific bequest of property, only money bequests, and the residue went to his executor and friend William Allyn - the draper, not the Alderman.

property, which had a link with John Watson's, that it may have been about half way down Stonegate on the right hand side (see above, pp 274-5), so perhaps William Gilmyn can be assumed to have been in the same area. In 1587, William Gilmyn was actually the owner of two properties in Stonegate, which he sold to William Morehouse in October (YCA: E 26, ff 67-8): one was already occupied by William Morehouse and the other by William Gilmyn himself. There are no compass directions to place these on any side of Stonegate, and I have found no other conveyances to property to or from William Gilmyn in Stonegate.

He made his will on 28 January 1590/1, and was buried on 2 February at St Helen's (BI: Pr Reg 24B, ff 579v-580; BI: PR Y/HEL 1, f 78v).

The ixth at the Mynster gates

Once more, no name has been allocated to this place.

v. Petergate and Colliergate

The xth at Mr Birnand hows

The xjth at Goodromegate Corner

No people are credited at either the Minster Gates or Goodramgate, both accustomed places for playing. Mr Birnand's house has already been discussed.

The xijth at John Wightman Corner

John Wightman

In the earlier part of the century, until the 1550s, there was a John Wightman in Belfray parish; at this time there was a cobbler (franchise unknown) and a tapiter, son of Michael Wightman roper, who was franchised in 1584. The man here, however, was probably the yeoman, franchised in 1570 for £4 (YCA: B 24, f 210v; FY II, p 11). He too practised as an Innholder, and William Gilmyrn was a surety when he was licensed in March 1570/1 (YCA: F 2, p 257). In his turn, about a year later, John Wightman Innholder was a surety for a particularly quarrelsome Scot living in Stonegate, John Harper, to keep the peace against Christopher Willoughby (F 3, p 9)⁷.

John Wightman⁸ lived in Christ's parish for a few years, paying tax there between 1572 and 1577, on £3 goods (PRO: E.179/218/133 and YCA: E 51, p 233). He owned property in both Goodramgate and Colliergate in October 1576, for the Monk Ward Wardmote Court ordered him then to pave before his doors in both these streets (YCA: E 31, ff 35v and 37). In 1581 he paid tax in Trinity Goodramgate parish, still on £3, and was also assessed for a General Muster there in 1584 (YCA: E 51, p 257; E 59, f 4; and E 41a, p 24).

Some time in 1572 he called Frances, the wife of James Hall, a 'Balde hoore', and added that 'she was so

7 William Gilmyrn's family also had dealings with the Harper family, and when the Gilmyrn's servant was sent to collect money for beer Alice Kell had delivered to them, Harper's wife slandered Alice Kell, who sued her for defamation before the Archbishop's Court (BI: CP G 1803).

8 This is the correct transcription of his name. REED: YORK (p 366) has him as John Wrightman.

Rotten with the pockes that he cold take her by the here and shake hir in peces'. Frances Hall caused a citation to be sued on him from the Archbishop's Court for defamation, and various witnesses were questioned in December 1572, not so much about the defamation but whether the citation had been delivered to John Wightman the previous May; Richard Hutton apothecary was one of the witnesses. The question to the witnesses asked whether the curate had read the citation in Christ's church, his parish church, whether John Wightman was present at the time, and whether the premises were 'true manifest & notorious' in the parish and elsewhere. The curate himself, John Johnson, said he had read the citation, but John Wightman was not present at the time; he came in immediately after, but left the moment the service ended. The curate took the citation to John Wightman's house, where the servants told him their master had gone to the Minster, and the curate finally managed to serve the summons on him there. In his reply at a later hearing in April 1573, John Wightman denied the charge of defamation (BI: CP G 1648). This confirms that he was living in Christ's parish at the time of the performance in 1572; and an event in 1573 also places him in Colliergate where he would be expected to be, according to his place in the list. On 22 November 1573, Peter Blaket from County Durham caused an affray in the house of John Wightman Innholder 'in quodam vicu ibidem vocat Colyergat'. The affair was heard at the Quarter Sessions in March 1573/4 (YCAL F 3, p 135).

In March 1575/6 another affray in his house was investigated; at the same time John Harper, described as a common 'barrator' and disturber of the peace, was presented, and in April John Wightman Innholder was bound to keep the peace against John Harper - perhaps the original causer of the trouble (YCA: F 3, pp 220 and 228).

In 1581 he was in Trinity parish Goodramgate. First, in April the Wardmote Court ordered him, along with Mr Birnand and Mr Fawcet, to clean Trinity Lane, and also to scour the dike at the back of his house (YCA: E 31 (second section), p 104). In May, he was assessed for tax there, and for the first time the Trinity churchwardens assessed him towards contributing to the clerk's fees (BI: PR Y/HTG 12, p 86). The exhortations for him to clean in Trinity Lane continued to 1584. In 1582, there was reference to his garden beside Trinity church, and in 1583 he was to clean his hay windows in the lane (YCA: E 31 (second section), pp 135 and 201). However, he must have retained his Colliergate property, for the Wardmote Court ordered him in April 1583 to make a door over his ding or cellar in Colliergate, which he had not done by October. This oversight was remarked on at the next Court in May 1584; he had still not covered the ding, which was full of water and dangerous 'for people and children' (a nice distinction); he was fined 10 shillings. At this hearing, he was also ordered again to keep Trinity Lane clean (YCA: E 31 (second section), pp 183, 204 and 225).

From October 1584, it was John Wightman's wife who was presented to keep Trinity Lane clean, and she is listed in the tax assessment of 1585, for 20 shillings lands (YCA: E 59a, f 12v). John Wightman made his will on 28 November 1584 and probate was granted on 16 December (BI: Pr Reg 22B, ff 626v-627). He referred to the lease of his house in Colliergate where Edmond Heuton lived, and the house in Petergate where he now lived which he had lately bought.

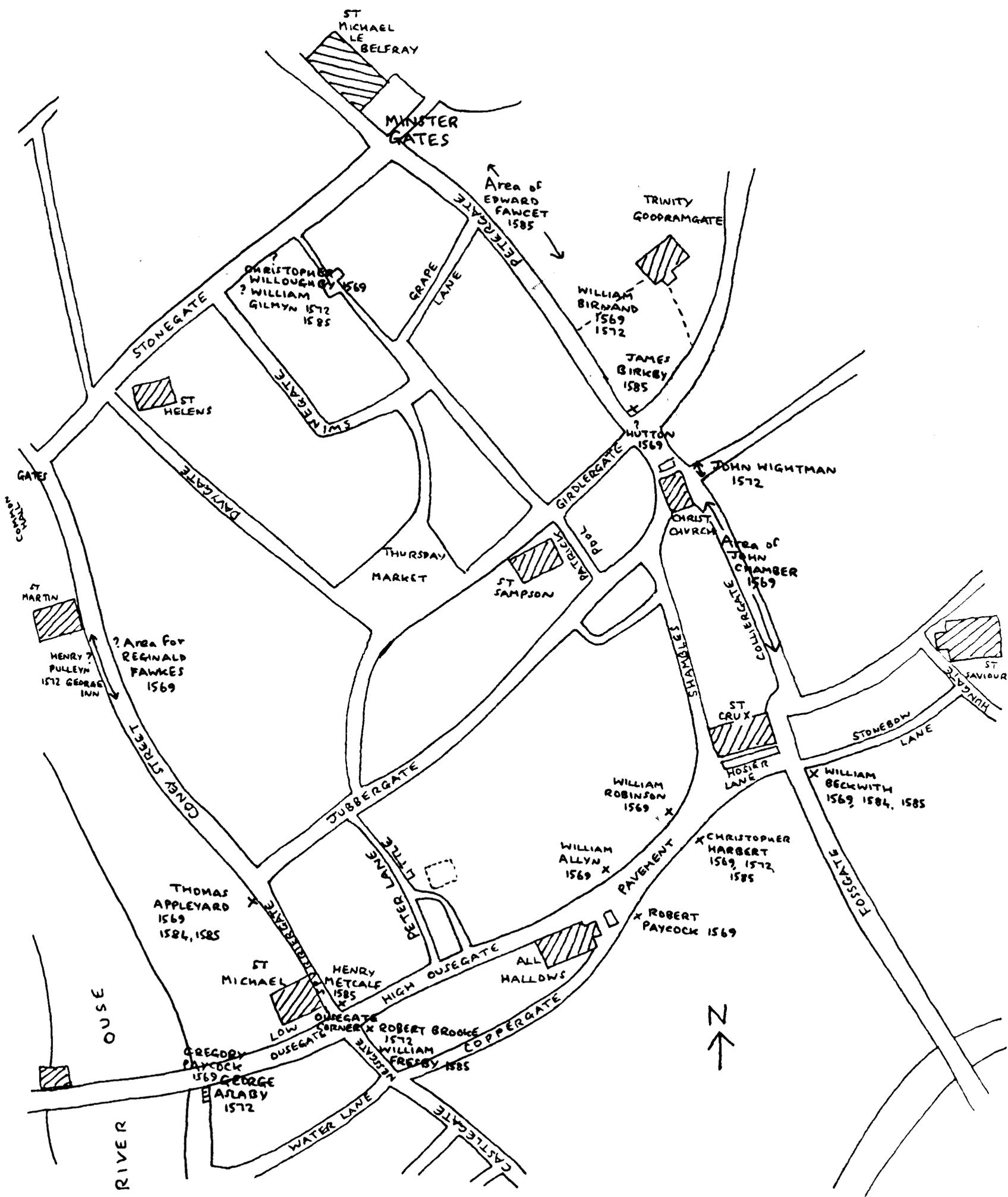
As the previous place designated for the Pater Noster Play in 1572 had been at Goodramgate Corner, the only other corner for John Wightman in Colliergate would have been where St Andrewgate reached Colliergate,

opposite Christ's church. John Wightman is known later to have had a chamber in St Andrewgate, where he kept hay: he had to move the hay in 1579, and clean away the filth in the street, and pave before his stable. He had not done so by the time of the next Wardmote Court, so he was fined 6s 8d. The following year he was presented for keeping swine in the stable (YCA: E 31 (second section), pp 15, 40 and 66). The stable would have been convenient for his guests' horses if his house stood at the top of St Andrewgate. The corners of Goodramgate and St Andrewgate are only about 135 feet apart, but the presence of Christ's church and the houses before it would define playing areas in a way not discernible now.

vi. Pavement

The xiiijth at Mr harbert doore, and he to pay therfor
 iij^s iiiij^d

With no Chamberlains' Book for this year, this is the only entry to suggest that, as in 1554, 3s 4d was the amount paid for each station. Unlike 1554, when the Aldermen had reduced rates, Alderman Harbert is the only one specifically ordered to pay anything. For the one time in this survey, there was no place outside Mr Beckwith's house. Whether these two facts caused the quarrel in the chamber at the Common Hall Gates cannot be proved.



Plan 3: Possible locations of playing places in the central area, 1569-1585

PLACES APPOINTED TO HEAR THE PLAY: 1584

The two performances initiated by John Grafton in 1584 and 1585 may have been an attempt to create a new civic drama, twelve years after the final performance of a religious drama. Certainly the method of presentation followed that of the Corpus Christi Play¹. The Chamberlains' Book for 1584 survives to show that no charges were made for the stations this year, and except for three houses belonging to Aldermen (and already known from previous years), the places are marked only by their street locations. No performance took place at Trinity Gates, for there was no longer the need to check the Play against the Register, and the first place was outside Mr Harrison's house. It was in this year that order was made against laying dung between Alderman Harrison's back door and Toft Green, which caused me to place him at Gregory Lane. The Lord Mayor in 1584 was Thomas Appleyard the younger, who had inherited his father's house on Coney Street.

And nowe places ar appoynted to heare the playe
as followeth viz first place at Mr harryson
Alderman doore second place at Conestreet end
iiij^d place at my lord maiors doore the iiiijth
place at the common hall yates the vth place at
the Mynster gates the vjth place at Goodromegate
head, the vijth place at Mr Alderman Beckwith
doore and the viijth & last place at the bull
Rynge vpon the payvement

(YCA: House Book, B 28, f 144v: 19 June 1584;
REED:YORK, p 406)

1 See my MA Dissertaion, Sett forthe the Shew, for a full discussion of these two performances.

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Thomas Appleyard the younger

Thomas Appleyard, son of Thomas Appleyard Alderman, was franchised as a merchant in 1560 (FY II, p 1), and the following year he paid 13s 4d to the Merchants' fraternity to avoid being Pageant Master (R:Y, p 339). In 1563, the year of his father's Mayoralty, he was a Chamberlain (YCA: B 23, f 80v); in 1568 he became a member of the Common Council for the Merchants (B 24, f 119), and in 1575 he was Sheriff (B 26, f 36). He replaced his father as Alderman in April 1580 (B 27, f 233), and was Mayor in 1584, the year of Grafton's first play. The following year, when Mr Pullen's play² was performed in the Common Hall, he paid 16d for torches, and was reimbursed by the Chamberlains (YCA: CB 6 (1, 1585), f 65a). Unlike his father, Thomas Appleyard the younger gradually disassociated himself from the city, despite his duties as Alderman. He settled at nearby Heslington (where he was to be buried) and was not paying his poor contributions or other charges still imposed on him for his supposed residence in the family house in Coney Street. Part of these arrears were rebated in May 1590 (YCA: B 30, f 179v) and further order was taken in January and February 1593/4 (B 31, ff 50v and 58v). His early tax payments had been on goods ranging from £6 in 1563 to £8 in 1577. After the death of his father, he counted his assets in lands, which were worth £10 in 1581 and £12 in 1587; but this dropped to £6 in 1591. He was last taxed as a resident of St Michael Ousebridge End parish in 1592 (YCA: E 51, pp 10, 229 and 254; E 59a, ff 58v, 116 and 133).

In June 1596 he asked to be dispensed with as an Alderman because he was old, could not bear the charges

2 See further below, pp 432-5.

of being Mayor (he was due for re-election), and he had let his city house. Such applications, as in the case of William Allyn, were usually received sympathetically, but perhaps the other councillors did not think his case was so genuine. He was obviously persuaded into a decision to continue as Alderman, and he found himself another house in the city (YCA: B 31, ff 190, 193 and 196v). After a break of about three years, he was again recorded fulfilling city business, but only for a short time. In 1599, he was again ordered to live in York and attend to his duties as Alderman and warden (B 32, f 4). He made his will on 12 September 1600, desiring to be buried in Heslington church, and he died in the same month (BI: Pr Reg 28A, ff 339-341; YCA: B 32, f 111v).

He had property at Skipbridge Lane, and closes near Holgate Lane and Baggergate, which must have been part of the property inherited from his father. Before the death of his father, he already had a garth in Jubbergate, and he had not paved before it in 1578; in 1587 Proclamation was read against his waste ground in Jubbergate and a decayed tenement in the Middle Water Lane (YCA: E 31, f 80; B 29, ff 207v and 208v). A house in Colliergate was leased by him to Richard Womersley, who bequeathed the lease to his son in 1587 (BI: Pr Reg 23A, f 491).

He left no children, and he made bequests of property to his brother Peter, who had already inherited the Ousegate house, and Peter's daughter Margery was given

my house in Conistrete within the Cyttie of Yorke where now dwelleth Mr Rowland ffawcett Inholder beinge of the yearley valewe of x^{li} ... with all such implementes as are contained in one schedull and yet remaininge in the said house.

Thomas Colthirst

After Thomas Appleyard's house, where the councillors' wives were entertained by the Lady Mayoress (YCA: B 28, f 144v; R:Y, p 406), Grafton's pageant waggon moved on to the Common Hall, where the councillors themselves were assembled for a banquet - something less lavish than their earlier Corpus Christi feasts. The two parties between them spent £3 5s 4d for apples, carraways and 'bisket' and other sweets, wine, sack and ale (YCA: CB 5 (3, 1584), f 74; R:Y, pp 410-411). This amount included 6s 8d to Thomas Colthirst for the use of rooms in his house, according to the conditions of his lease.

It has already been noted that Thomas Colthirst was Richard Aynley's son-in-law, and he apparently lived in the tenement whilst Richard Aynley was in St Wilfrid's parish (see pp 219-221 above). After Richard Aynley's return, Mr and Mrs Colthirst moved themselves to St Michael le Belfray parish: they paid tax there in 1572, attended communion in the church at Christmas both in 1572 and 1574, and were assessed for poor relief payments (YCA: B 25, f 52; St Michael le Belfray printed Parish Register, pp 103 and 104). Richard Aynley was buried on 9 April 1575, and Thomas Colthirst negotiated to have the lease of the tenement at the Common Hall Gates; this was agreed on 22 July 1575 on condition that he became a freeman of the city. Arrangements were made for the wainscot and glass inserted in the tenement by Richard Aynley to remain in place, and Thomas Colthirst had to compensate Richard Aynley's children for any loss to their inheritance. Finally, a clause was included allowing the Mayor and council use of the tenement 'whan anie play Interlude or other Geastes of pleasoure shal be playd shewed or publisht in the streates of this Cittie' (YCA: B 26, f 28-28v). As far as the records

are concerned, this was only needed for Grafton's plays of 1584 and 1585.

Mr Colthirst had been described as a gentleman before he took office in the city, in the tax assessment of 1568 (YCA: E 51, p 126). Unlike some other gentlemen encountered, he did not seem to have any other occupation, such as law or innkeeping, and there is no suggestion that he followed his father-in-law as a vintner. His means were modest compared with some men already examined, but similar to others encountered along the pageant route. He started with £3 goods in 1568, and moved up to £4 or £5 from 1572, and £6 goods in 1587 (PRO: E.179/218/133; YCA: E 51, f 185; E 59a, f 55v). After his death, his widow continued to be assessed on £6 goods: the absence of children probably prevented the break-up of assets.

In St Martin's church Coney Street, Thomas Colthirst was a feoffee and Churchwarden in 1578 (BI: PR Y/MCS 16, pp 124 and 139; Y/MCS F 5/51), but his enforced franchise also made him liable for office in the city. He was the senior Chamberlain for 1580 (YCA: B 27, f 212v; CR C 8:2), and had to pay the full fee of £6 13s 4d as he had not previously held any office. He and his fellows during their year had been fined 'for settinge ther names in the glasse wyndow in the chequer chamber' on Ouse Bridge: this fine was still unpaid in 1584 (YCA: CB 5 (3, 1584), f 107v). At the beginning of his year as Chamberlain, he was one of the representatives of the Common Council who were to discuss with the Aldermen and Twenty Four the contents of their petition presented, as was usual, at the swearing in of the new Mayor on 3 February 1579/80. One of the items was an earnest request for a performance of the Corpus Christi Play, but the subsequent discussions with the Common Council are not

recorded (YCA: B 27, ff 219 and 222; R:Y, pp 392-3).

Thomas Colthirst was considered a suitable candidate for Sheriff, but on 15 January 1580/1 it was agreed that he should be dispensed from taking this office for seven years, as he had put money into the repair of his tenement which was to the benefit of the city (YCA: B 27, f 265). Access to the tenement also gave access to the Common Hall, and he was to be called in by the council in July 1584, because his servants and guests misused the Common Hall and chambers to which they had access, and had damaged the leads (YCA: B 28, f 148v; R:Y, p 408). Perhaps because of this, his property at the Common Hall was viewed in 1585 (B 28, f 177v). The tenement was used by the Mayor's party in both 1584 and 1585 to see Grafton's plays at Midsummer. The formal decision to pay him 6s 8d each year was not taken until later, in November 1584 and August 1585. The 1585 Chamberlains' Book also noted a payment of 6d to take down and set up the glass in his house, which presumably meant that the glass in the windows (put in by Richard Aynley) was removed to allow a better view of the play in the street (B 28, f 169; B 29, f 30; CB 5 (3, 1584), f 74; CB 6 (1, 1585), f 71; R:Y, pp 409, 411, 415 and 420).

Apart from the tenement at the Common Hall Gates, Thomas Colthirst rented a cottage and two garths in Baggergate, formerly held by Richard Aynley, from the St Thomas Hospital (YCA: C 104:2), and he also took over Richard Aynley's rent from the city of property at Bootham Bar and St Leonard's (YCA: C 93:3 - 1580 - and C 94:6 - 1586).

He made his will on 18 June 1588, with monetary bequests to the families of his sisters and cousin Henry Colthirst, together with gifts to his servants and

friends. No property is mentioned, but the residue went to his wife Katherine, who continued to pay tax on the same assets as her husband had enjoyed. Amongst his books a few were detailed in the will, such as both volumes of Holinshed's Chronicles, which went to Mr Parker, and a copy of Plutarch for Alexander Grenacre, but the rest, undescribed, went to his servant Christopher Sowden (BI: Pr Reg 23B, f 799-799v). He was buried at St Martin Coney Street church on 18 June 1588 (printed Parish Register, p 78).

Katherine Colthirst remained in the tenement at the Common Hall Gates. The city council offered her a new lease at the end of 1591 at the old rent but for an initial payment of £20 which did not please her; she solved the problem when she married Richard Cole, secretary to the Lord President, for the council granted a new lease to them without expecting any further payment, in expectation of his good services for the city before the Lord President (YCA: B 30, ff 285, 289, 295v, 310-310v and 316). The tenement remained in the tenure of members of her family until about 1636.

The Bull Ring

Other places for Grafton's play in 1584 were designated by place, except for Alderman Beckwith's house, and are not difficult to locate. The final station was at the Bull Ring on the Pavement. Presumably its location had been fixed after the contention between Aldermen Allyn and Harbert in 1569, perhaps after consultation with 'certayne Auncient men', which had been called for in May 1569 (YCA: B 24, f 140), although the site was still not clear in 1570. In December that year it was agreed that all proclamations should be made in the Pavement from the Bull Ring in Crux parish, and

if it were wrongly placed at the moment it was to be reformed (B 24, f 219). There are only about two tenements west of Harbert House before the parish boundary, so the Bull Ring must have been quite close to his house, somewhere in the centre of the Pavement.

A permanent structure would not have been practical as there were regular markets there. Something flimsy, and certainly removeable, is suggested by the fact that in 1607 a new Bull Ring had to be made, the last one 'beinge of late stolne'; Thomas Jordan was then paid 7s 10d for repairing and making a new one (YCA: B 33, f 74; CB 13 (1, 1607), p 124). Nor can the bulls have been allowed any freedom; if baiting did indeed take place on the Pavement, the limited space and lack of protection would have made it far too dangerous. Dogs would have baited a tethered animal, and what now seems a barbaric amusement was actually encouraged by the city council, who added a new article to the Butchers' Ordinances in August 1589. No butcher was to kill any bull until it had been first baited with dogs 'accordinge as hath bene accustomed', and a 6s 8d fine was the penalty (YCA: B 30, f 132). It may have been no accident that the site of the Bull Ring was close to the Shambles, associated with butchers. York citizens could also see bears baited, and payments to bearwards were made under the same headings as those to travelling players. In 1575, the Queen's Bearward was appointed to bait his bear on Peaseholme Green near St Anthony's Hall 'so that the pastyme be in full prospecte of the L. Mayor & his Brethren' (YCA: B 26, f 34v; R:Y, p 378). The Corpus Christi Play, the Pater Noster Play and Grafton's Interludes were only part of a range of open air entertainment available to the citizens of York.

THE PLAY SHALL BE PLAYED: 1585

The places for this final presentation of an open-air play in the traditional manner are noted both in the House Book and the Chamberlains' Book, with later comment on who had not paid and who need not pay. After apparently charging nothing the year before, the council must have thought the experiment successful, and that it was worth returning to the custom of offering the stations outside suitable houses on the route to those prepared (or expected) to pay. The evidence shows that when other information is not available, the initial list in the House Book may not have reflected the final pattern of where the plays were performed. A summary of the evidence for the stations in 1585 is set out (Figure 12, p 337), to show where I believe those who paid fitted into the route. From this it can be seen that although at first eight places were offered, nine were eventually taken; Micklegate was apparently not used, but stations in Stonegate and Petergate added. It was agreed on 22 June that the ladies would be placed at Mr Harbert's house, and that each place would pay 3s 4d except Mr Harbert (YCA: B 29, f 23v; R:Y, p 414).

Figure 12: Comparison of entries concerning the stations for Grafton's Interlude, 1585

<u>The original list</u> House Book 29, f 23v 22 June 1585 (R:Y p 414)	<u>Later decisions</u> House Book 29, f 53 23 November 1585 (R:Y p 416)	<u>Payments recorded</u> Chamberlains' Book 6 (1, 1585) f 51 (R:Y p 418)
	Alderman Robinson* and Mr Thomas Moseley ⁺ to pay nothing for the play before their doors	
1. Micklegate		
2. Ousegate Head	Distresses to be taken from William Freesleye and Henry Metcalf	+ William Fresby and Henry Metcalf - 3s 4d
3. Alderman Appleyard's door		Alderman Appleyard - 3s 4d
4. The Common Hall		(Thomas Colthirst paid for the use of his Chamber)
(Stonegate)		Mr Gilmyn - 3s 4d
5. The Minster Gates		William Dawson and John Busfield at the Minster Gates - 3s 4d
(Petergate)		Edward Fawcet - 3s 4d
6. Alderman Birkby's door		Alderman Birkby - 3s 4d
7. Mr Beckwith's door		Christopher Beckwith - 3s 4d
8. On the Pavement		* Alderman Harbert - 20d

i. Micklegate

Apart from Christopher Beckwith, whose name appears at the top of the list of those who paid, the order of the names in the Chamberlains' Book follows the order of places to which they can be assigned. Of the original eight in the list, there is no evidence for payment being made for a place in Micklegate. Thomas Harrison was present at the meeting that fixed these places, but for the first time in this study, there was apparently no performance outside his house, and no-one else from Micklegate paid for a station.

ii. Ousegate

'Ousegate Head' or 'Ousegate End' is the cross roads at Nessgate and Spurriergate. In 1542, when Henry VIII visited the city, the Merchants' pageant waggon was positioned 'at Ousegate end as the kynges maiestie shall enter into Connyngstreyt' (R:Y, p 272). William Fresby or Freesley and Henry Metcalf, as well as Thomas Moseley, can be associated with this area.

Henry Metcalf

Henry Metcalf draper was franchised in 1577 (FY II, p 18), and was always associated with the parish of St Michael Ousebridge End. He was assessed to provide a bill (halberd) in the general Muster of October 1584 (YCA: E 41a, p 2), and two years later, in the Certificate of Arms, he was to have a caliver (musket) (YCA: B 29, f 138). He was a Chamberlain in 1590 (B 30, f 153). Between 1590 and 1600, he was assessed for tax at £4 and then £5 goods (YCA: E 59a, ff 99 and 225v).

He rented some ground from the city outside Castlegate Postern, and appears in the Bridgemasters' Rolls between 1591 and 1600 (YCA: C 94:7 and C 96:1).

He was one of the feoffees for St Michael Ousebridge End church property, and the Deed appointing new feoffees on 21 January 1599/1600 lists amongst the church property a tenement in High Ousegate next to his (BI: PR Y/MS 20). This evidence suggests that he may have been on the corner of High Ousegate and Spurriergate (see Figure 13, p 343 below).

William Fresby

The man who, with Henry Metcalf, refused at first to pay for a place was William 'Freesleye', whilst the man who paid was William 'Fresby'. In the Freeman's Roll, William 'Frysby' merchant was franchised in 1576 (FY II, p 17)¹. William 'Fresbie' was an honest man of St Michael's parish in the tax of August 1582, and was assessed for a bow and a sheaf of arrows in the Muster of 1584 (YCA: E 51, p 271; E 41a, p 1). Robert Brooke left his former house in Nessgate first to his wife and then to his son John (p 310 above), and it was said to be 'the house or tenement wherein William ffrysbie and Robert Burnet did dwell' (BI: Pr Reg 27B, f 597). William Fresby could therefore have lived at the end of Nessgate (see Figure 13, p 343 below). The identification of this house as a station on two

1 Earlier, William Fressell carpenter had been franchised in 1573; his sons John and William - said to be the sons of William Fresley carpenter - were franchised in 1600 and 1612 (Freemen of York II, pp 13, 44 and 60). The likely man here, however, is William Fresby the merchant.

occasions, in 1572 and 1585, suggests that despite the description of its being between two tenements in 1562/3, it did in fact overlook the corner.

Thomas Moseley

Thomas Moseley merchant was franchised in 1574, and was the senior Chamberlain in 1578 (FY II, pp 15 and 19; YCA: B 27, f 72v). In September 1583 he was elected Sheriff (YCA: B 28, f 110v). All his tax assessments in the period here under review show him in St Michael parish Ousebridge End. In 1581 he paid on £6 goods, in 1585 on £13, 1587 on £20, and from 1594 on £26 goods (YCA: E 59, f 1v; E 59a ff 11v, 58v and 161v). By the time of Grafton's Interlude, in 1585, when he did not have to pay for the play before his door, he was a member of the Twenty Four; in March 1588/9 he became Alderman in place of Laurence Robinson deceased (YCA: B 30, f 95).

He had land on Toft Green, next to the Merchants' pageant house; when the merchants' pageant was no longer needed, he took over the site but refused to pay the 12d rent to the city. He eventually acquired the land on which the house had been built in 1594 (see pp 147-8 above). He and Alderman Birkby were elected Burgesses in September 1597 for the forthcoming Parliament (YCA: B 31, ff 297v-298v), and he spent the end of that year out of York. He was Mayor in 1590 and 1602. He was still at Ousebridge End in 1607, when he was an auditor of the St Michael's Churchwardens' account (BI: PR Y/MS 2, p 58v), and a feoffee in a Grant of church property in November 1609 (BI: PR Y/MS 21), but in the tax assessment of March 1609/10 and 1610/11 he was assessed under St John's parish Ousebridge End (PRO: E.179/218/181 and 190). He died on 2 July 1624, and was buried at

St John's church (BI: PR Y/J 1, f 34v).

He bought or rented property around the city. His first reported property was in one of the Water Lanes (three Water Lanes ran from Castlegate to the river), and he was fined in 1579 for not paving before it (YCA: E 31 (second section), pp 10 and 35). In 1584, his cousin Ralph Micklethwait merchant bequeathed him a stable and garden in Water Lane which had been bought from Gregory Paycock (BI: Pr Reg 22B, f 603). This property may have been liable to dues in St Mary Castlegate parish, for in April 1592 he was ordered to pay arrears there (YCA: B 30, f 319). Throughout 1596 he was in dispute with Mr Mountney about some houses in Castlegate, and witnesses were examined and legal advice sought by the city (B 31, ff 171, 174v and 235v). In 1585, he bought a tenement in Micklegate and an orchard in North Street (YCA: E 26, ff 19-20v). He was tenant of property at Askham Bryan in the Ainsty, referred to in 1598 (YCA: B 31, f 382v). He also had land outside Bootham Bar, next to a garden belonging to the church of St Michael Ousebridge End, mentioned in the feoffee Deed of January 1599/1600. This Deed also refers to a tenement in High Ousegate formerly held by Robert Maskewe, and next to the land of Thomas Moseley (BI: PR Y/MS 20). This seems to match the deed of sixteen years earlier, when Thomas Moseley bought a house in Ousegate in October 1584 (YCA: E 26, ff 5-7). He already owned property to the east and south which probably stretched as far as Coppergate; at any rate, he was fined by the Wardmote Court in April 1599 for not paving against his back door in Coppergate (YCA: E 31, unnumbered sheet at the end of the volume, 27 April 1599).

These various deeds suggest the locations not only of Mr Moseley's tenement but of Robert Brooke's and Henry Metcalf's. As they are of dates from 1562/3 to

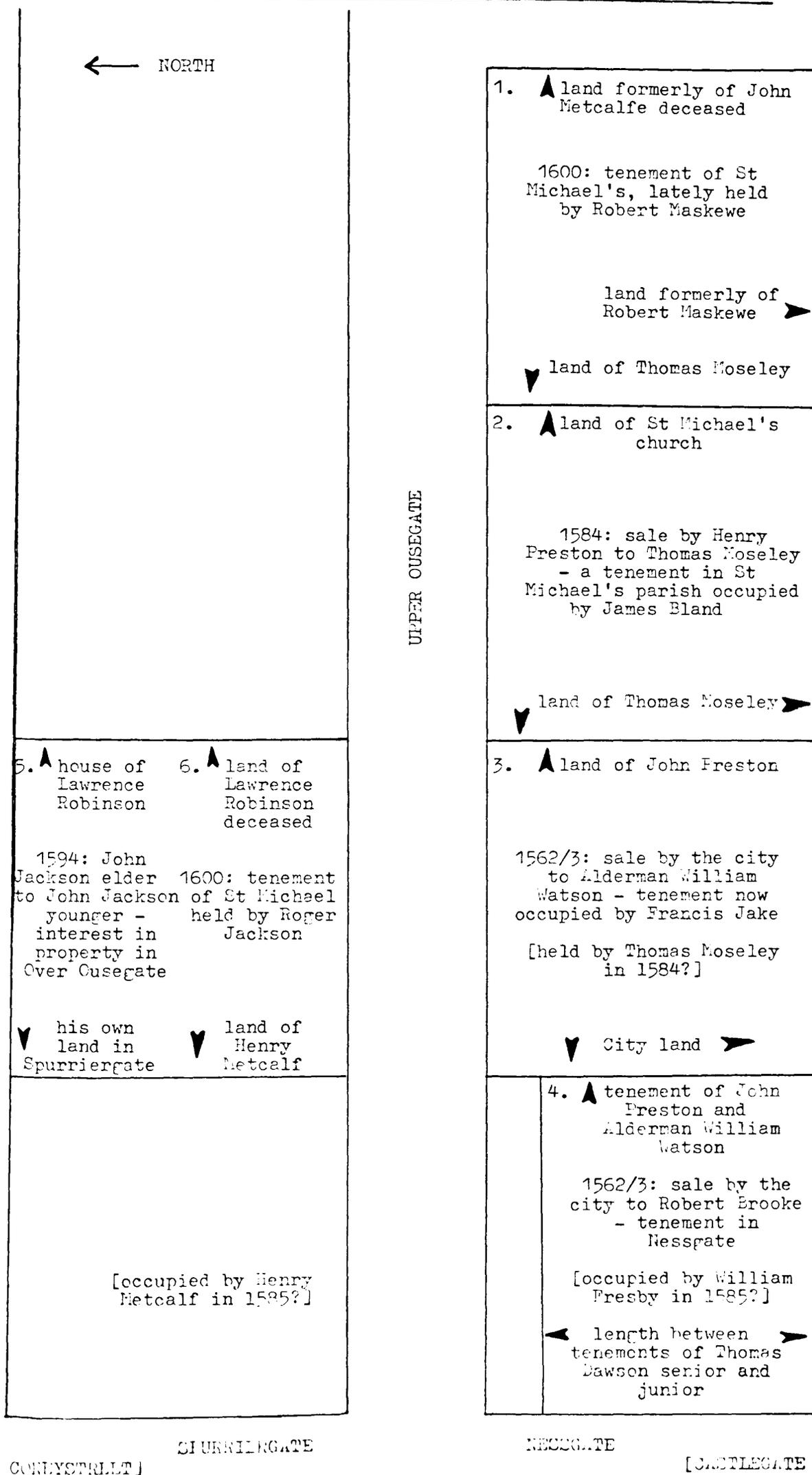
1599/1600, the resulting diagram (Figure 13, p 343) must be tentative; the deeds used are listed in the Note to Figure 13. Some boundary descriptions suggest a complicated interlocking of tenements and backhouses (especially with property belonging to St Michael's church and occupied by John Jackson senior and junior). The diagram may help, however, in the consideration of the relationship of property at Ousegate End occupied by those men who appear in the station lists. It does not suggest that Thomas Moseley was actually on the route of the pageant waggons as they turned into Spurriergate, and it seems as though it was considered that he did not have the same advantage as Henry Metcalf and William Fresby, for it was finally decided that he need not contribute towards the station in 1585.

iii. Stonegate and Minster Gates

Coney Street, with a station before Alderman Appleyard's house and Thomas Colthirst's tenement at the Common Hall Gates, presents nothing new in 1585.

Although the original list on 22 June did not mention Stonegate, William Gilmyn paid for a place. I have already suggested he may have been about half way down Stonegate. At the Minster Gates, William Dawson and John Busfield provide more information about the property there. They also show that when only a general location is given in the original list (like 'The Minster Gates') it should not be assumed that the station was at that precise building, but that the landmark designated the area in which the eventual station holder would belong.

Figure 13: Schematic plan of property
at Ousegate Corner, 1563-1600



William Dawson and the Minster Gates

William Dawson was a haberdasher, franchised in 1582 (FY II, p 23). His children Joan, Roger, Jane and William were baptised in St Michael le Belfray church between 1583 and 1590 (printed Parish Register, between pp 44 and 64), and he was assessed there for a halberd in the Muster of October 1584 (YCA: E 41a, p 29). Other references in this period come from the Churchwardens' notes from Belfray parish. The Churchwardens were in the habit of making assessments for the parishioners under the area in which they lived, which were: from Bootham Bar to the upper Minster Gates (at Stonegate); Stonegate; Petergate; the Minster Yard; and Grape Lane. Names under these headings occur in a repeated order, which may indicate the order in the street in which the people lived. William Dawson is first in Petergate in entries in 1589 and 1590, but in later entries he is replaced by widow Smythson, who is described as being at the Minster Gates. Can it be assumed that William Dawson was also next to the Gates themselves?

Summary of inhabitants in Petergate
near the Minster Gates

BI: PR Y/MB 33	parishioners assessed in Petergate
f 10 29 August 1589	William Dawson for his house and shop - Thomas Killingbeck ...
f 13v January 1589/90	William Dawson - Michael Todd - widow Smythson - Thomas Killingbeck ...
f 17 19 July 1591	Thomas Killingbeck - George Watson - uxor Smythson ...
f 19 7 October 1591	(the order of names is reversed) ... Michael Todd for his shop - Thomas Killingbeck - Anne Smythson widow

f 32v 1593	'uxor Smythson in the mynster gate' - Mr Killingbeck - George Watson for his house and shop in Stonegate - Michael Todd for his house and shop - John Wyldman - uxor Smythson ...
ff 36v-37 1594	'uxor Smythson house at the Mynster yat': herself and the tenant of the shop - Michael Todd and his tenant - Thomas Killingbeck - George Watson's house now occupied by John Hudles and the tenant of his shop - William Smythson's house ...
f 60 1602	widow Smythson (12d, and Mr Calverd to pay 6d) - Mr Calverd's house ...
f 66v 1604	widow Smythson - Ed Calverd ...

It seems as though these people lived close together, widow Smythson actually 'at' the Minster Gates, with a separate building further away apparently also in her name or belonging to another member of the Smythson family. George Watson was in Stonegate, but at the Petergate corner, for he is noted with the Petergate residents.

When Thomas Harrison bought three tenements in Patergate and Stonegate in 1563, they were occupied by Anthony Dyconson, Christopher Smythson, William Drynkell and Anthony Tesymond (YCA: E 23, ff 78v-79; and see p 232 above). In the Inquisition Post Mortem of his property in January 1604/5, the three houses in Petergate and Stonegate were said to be occupied by George Watson, William (illegible)² draper and Edward

² As already mentioned, many of the pages in this volume, E 27, have been badly damaged by damp, and

Calverd haberdasher (YCA: E 27, f 24-24v).

Anne Hutton, widow of Thomas Hutton goldsmith, married Thomas Smythson in Belfray church on 12 February 1576/7, and is likely to be the uxor Smythson noted above. Thomas Smythson, about 36 years old, was buried on 19 November 1581. Mrs Anne Smythson herself was buried in February 1612/3 (St Michael le Belfray printed Parish Register, pp 22, 37 and 122)³. Thomas Hutton had leased the chamber over the Minster Gates from the Dean and Chapter (see p 230 and End Note 10), which gives Mrs Smythson another link with the area. In 1594, she paid 2 shillings parish dues on her house and her tenant in the shop paid 12d; in 1602, she paid 12d and Mr Calverd (who was also assessed on his own house), paid 6d. Perhaps his house was next to hers.

Another picture of Anne Smythson's house at the Minster Gates, and the little world of the residents of the Minster Garth, can be gained from a Defamation case before the Dean and Chapter Court, brought in 1592 by Christiana wife of John Baiteson against Alice wife of John Blanchard. Thomas Marshe stationer said that Alice Blanchard, who lived in the Minster Garth, had 'bene abroad within the Cittie of Yorke' and was returning home, and 'made staye att the shope wyndowe of one Mrs Anne Smithson wydow scytuate within the mynster gaitte'; during the conversation of the two ladies, Alice Blanchard said that Christiana Baiteson was a whore, and

are difficult or impossible to read even under ultra violet light. I guess that William Dawson draper is meant to be one of the tenants, but it can only be a guess.

3 There were other Smythsons in the parish, mostly belonging to the family of Christopher Smythson (see for example in the printed Parish Register, pp 1 and 44).

she had been staying in their house. Thomas Marshe, who worked in Anthony Foster's stationery shop 'over against the shopp of the said Mrs Anne Smithson' joined in the conversation, saying it was a shame they had kept Christiana Baiteson in their house, 'for all the mynster garthe had thought that you had kept a house of honestie and not of bauderye'. Mrs Smythson herself, said to be about 54 years old, deposed that Alice Blanchard had just quarrelled with Christiana Baiteson at a house in Petergate, and had 'made stay' at her shop window 'scytuate within the minster gaitte within the parish of St Mychael of the Belfraie' (BI: D/C CP 1592/1).

William Dawson, who may have been a former tenant of Mrs Smythson's house next to the Minster Gates, or at least very close to it, disappears from the Belfray assessments and Parish Register after 1590, although it seems that he was still remembered as one of the tenants of Thomas Harrison's property. The other tenants, George Watson (who was in Stonegate) and Edward Calverd (who may have been next to Mrs Smythson) both appear in the assessments made in Belfray parish. It seems, from the evidence connected with those who had a station at the Minster Gates in 1554 and 1585, that there were a few houses in the immediate vicinity of the Gates, and including the end of Stonegate, who could take a lease for a station said to be 'at the Minster Gates'.

John Busfield

Typical of the major profession in the Minster Gates area, John Busfield was a draper, franchised in 1582 (FY II, p 23). He took the place at the Minster Gates with William Dawson when he was at the beginning of his career, so references to him are found after this date. The Churchwardens' notes of St Michael le Belfray

church put him in the area from Bootham Bar to the Minster Gates (examples from January 1589/90 and 1604: BI: PR Y/MB 33, ff 13 and 66v). He first paid tax on goods worth £4 in 1587; by 1593 it was £6, and in 1600 it reached £7. A later assessment, in March 1609/10, put him at £5 goods (YCA: E 59a, ff 56, 149v and 222v; PRO: E.179/218/181).

He was a Chamberlain in 1589 (YCA: B 30, f 75v), but after that most of his duties were within the parish, where he was Churchwarden in 1591 (BI: PR Y/MB 33, f 16) and Constable in 1592 (YCA: E 59a, f 128). He was elected Sheriff in 1600 (YCA: B 32, f 111v). In 1602 he was a captain of the hundred private soldiers raised in the city (B 32, f 214v), and this military concern continued over the next few years when he was Collector of the money for disabled soldiers: several Churchwardens' accounts note payments to him (for example, the St Martin Coney Street Churchwardens in 1603: BI: PR Y/MCS 17, ff 50v and 51). As a draper, he provided cloth for the Waits' coats in 1598, and for the Esquires at Mace and Sword in 1601 (YCA: CB 9 (2, 1598), p 110; CB 10 (2. 1601), f 56v). He apparently lived to a good age, for there is no record of his death until Mr John Busfield was buried at Belfray church in January 1640/1 (printed Parish Register, p 203).

Apart from the fact that he lived in the area between Bootham Bar and the Minster Gates (he would have to be at the Minster Gates end), I noted no reference to his property, and cannot suggest whether he lived next to William Dawson or opposite him.

iv. PetergateEdward Fawcet

Another payment was recorded in the Chamberlains' Book for a place which had not originally been included in the route, from Edward Fawcet. He appears in the list of receipts between the Minster Gates and Alderman Birkby, and so should be somewhere in Petergate.

The earliest references to Edward Fawcet come from the High Commission Court and the Archbishop's Court. Once in 1561/2 he was the subject of an order, when he was told not to be in the company of Elizabeth White until a matrimonial cause was determined (BI: HC AB 1, ff 9v-10), but normally he was present as a notary, and put his signature to the examination of witnesses (for example, BI: HC AB 3, ff 1, 50, 59 and 163v: 1566-1567; and BI: CP G 1023: of 1561). He was franchised as a notary in 1564, and so enters the York city records; he was a Chamberlain in 1572 (FY II, pp 5 and 12). At first he lived in St Helen Stonegate parish, and was assessed there for tax, poor relief and arms. His tax assessments between 1568 and 1576 were on £3 and then £4 (YCA: E 51, pp 127 and 211). During this period, he bought a tenement in Petergate, but he did not move to St Michael le Belfray parish until 1577. In June 1576, he paid tax in St Helen's parish (Bootham Ward), but in April 1577 the Monk Ward Wardmote Court fined him for not scouring the water sewer at the back of his house, which had been ordered at the previous Court (YCA: E 31, p 52v). From this time, his assets rose, and he paid tax - now in Belfray parish - on goods of £8 in 1581, £13 in 1587 and finally £14 in 1596 (YCA: E 51, p 259; E 59a, ff 56 and 191v). He was elected Sheriff in 1579 (YCA: B 27, f 186v), and was a member of the Twenty Four at the time of the 1585 performance. Eventually, in

July 1596, he was elected Alderman (B 31, f 199-199v), and was Mayor in 1598. He was buried in the Minster in April 1602; his wife Emot was buried there in August 1604 (St Michael le Belfray printed Parish Register, pp 90 and 94).

Although a notary, he was also one of the gentlemen Innholders, first being noted as such when he was licensed at the Quarter Sessions in the period 1583-5 (undated entry, YCA: F 3, p 408). Another Recognisance is noted in January 1586/7, and there are several others for him not to sell meat in Lent, all in Belfray parish YCA: E 45, pp 1, 259, 223 and 287). George Fawcet Innholder, son of Edward Fawcet Alderman, was franchised in 1605 (FY II, p 50).

Apart from his Petergate property, he had land at Goose Lane, outside the city walls (in the area between Monk Bar and Bootham Bar), which he had fenced and so stopped access to the lane in 1582 and 1583 (YCA: F 3, p 630; E 31 (second section), p 204); and in the same area, he had a stable in Gillygate (CB 9 (1, 1597), f 86). Although he did not belong to Trinity Goodramgate parish, he had property there; the Monk Ward Court of October 1583 ordered him and John Wightman to clean their hay windows in Trinity Lane and clear away their filth, so perhaps he had a stable in that area for the use of his guests' horses (YCA: E 31 (second section), p 201). This may suggest that his Petergate property was close to the boundary with Trinity parish. His house was on the left hand side of the road, from the evidence of the various entries ordering him to clean a water sewer, called the King's Dike, at the back of his property between 1577 and 1595. In 1581, he shared this duty with Mr Deane (does this mean the Dean of York, who held adjoining property?), John Wightman and Gregory Bargh (YCA: E 31 (second section), p 104). In 1585, the

dike - called here the Queen's ditch - was said to go behind their tenements into Goodramgate (E 31 (second section), p 280).

The tenement which he bought in 1568 had originally belonged to the city, who sold it to Gregory Bargh in March 1562/3 (YCA: E 22, f 18v). The description of the surrounding property is the same in this and in the deed of sale by Gregory Bargh to Edward Fawcet gentleman and his wife Emot on 11 November 1568 (YCA: E 23, f 22). The front was in Petergate which was on the west; to the north and east was property of the Dean and Chapter; and to the south the tenement of John Diconson, son and heir of George Diconson. The Churchwardens of Belfray parish assessed Edward Fawcet for two houses in Petergate between 1589 and 1595; in 1594, in particular, they defined his contribution as being 3s 6d on a house 'lat one dickonsons' and 2s 6d on another 'lat G Barghes' (BI: Y/MB 33, f 37v). This suggests that he had also bought the property to the south of his original house, and that the second house was the larger.

James Birkby

Like Edward Fawcet, James Birkby was a lawyer who became an Alderman of York. He was franchised in 1561 after he had become Sheriffs' Clerk (FY II, p 2; the House Books for 1559 and 1560 are missing, which would have noted his appointment), and ten years later when he became Sheriff he had to make arrangements for a deputy to occupy his office for that year (YCA: B 24, f 260). In 1572 he was living in St Michael le Belfray parish, where two of his children had been baptised (printed Parish Register, pp 2 and 9), and where he paid tax on goods of £12 in 1572 (PRO: E.179/218/133). In October that year, he bought a large house further

along Petergate, and although he and his wife were noted as taking communion in Belfray parish in May 1573 (printed Parish Register, p 104), by August he had moved to Christ's parish, where he was assessed for weapons in a general Muster (YCA: E 47, f 20).

Although he held the office of Sheriffs' Clerk for the rest of his life, some of the Sheriffs questioned his position. A controversy arose in 1578 concerning the Sheriffs' Riding and the Proclamation of the King's Peace, which took place at the beginning of the new Sheriffs' term of office. The dispute was about whether the Proclamation should be read that year by James Birkby or William Vavasour gentleman. The new Sheriffs were Laurence Robinson and Edward Vavasour, who were opposing their Clerk. On 1 December, an old practice was remembered, that the Recorder also used to ride with the Sheriffs, and Mr Birnand was ordered to ride between the two Sheriffs the next day; and neither James Birkby nor William Vavasour were to take part in the Riding at all on that occasion. Edward Fale, deputy to the Common Clerk⁴, 'as a persone indiferent' was to read the Proclamation (YCA: B 27, ff 123v-124). The next year, in October 1579, James Birkby's patent as Sheriffs' Clerk was thought perhaps not to be good in law; there was a feeling that the Sheriffs should be able to appoint their own Clerk each year. James Birkby sought the support of the Lord President's Court, and the matter continued until the end of the year, when he was ordered to bring in the key to the Sheriffs' records. These were returned to him in February 1579/80, so the problem must have been resolved in his favour (B 27, ff 189v-190; 190v; 192, 209a and 223).

⁴ He had succeeded John Clerke by June 1574 (YCA: B 25, f 138).

In January 1580/1 he was elected Alderman, but he refused to take the oath and was committed to ward; eventually he was dispensed from holding the office for three years on a payment of £100, which was reduced to £40 in November (B 27, ff 264-264v and 267; B 28, ff 26v and 32v-33). The problem was an old decree that Attorneys elected to be Aldermen could not practise; this act was repealed on 28 March 1585, and James Birkby became an Alderman two days later (B 29, ff 7 and 9). He was Mayor in 1588, when he again had to exercise his office of Sheriffs' Clerk through a deputy (B 29, f 255v). He was the city's Burgess on two occasions, first for the Parliament of 1593 (B 30, ff 378v-379) and then again in 1597. On the second occasion he was allowed expenses for an extra servant to help him because he was 'ould & unweildy' (B 31, ff 297v-298v).

After moving to Christ's parish, the tax assessments made on his goods show him to have been one of the most affluent of the station holders considered here. From £12 goods recorded in 1572, he moved to £20 in 1587 and £26 in 1599 (YCA: E 59a, ff 54v and 212v).

He made his will originally on 26 November 1599, and added a codicil on 27 January 1605/6 (BI: Pr Reg 31A, f 267v-268v). From the end of 1605, he attended few council meetings: five in 1606, and only one in 1607, on 29 April; any complaints he had were brought before the council by deputies. His son Aveye came in on 27 July to complain against a privy someone had built against his father's garden (YCA: B 33, f 129). More seriously, in October 1609 both Aveye Birkby and his father's servant John Vause, on behalf of James Birkby, now 'verie aged and infirme', complained against the current Sheriffs who were preventing him from exercising his office of Sheriffs' Clerk - which in any case by now he carried out through a deputy. The

Recorder solved the old dilemma by advising that the Mayor, rather than the Sheriffs each year, had the right to appoint the Clerk, because the office of Clerk had been established before the city had the right to elect its own Sheriffs (B 33, ff 175v-176 and 177-178v). However, as a token, Alderman Birkby was to pay £10 to the Sheriffs for his office.

His will was reopened on 5 March 1609/10, at the time of his death, and probate was granted on 9 April 1610. In an assessment for tax on 8 March 1609/10, his son Aveye and widow Elizabeth were already being assessed in Christ's parish in his place (PRO: E.179/218/181). The Inquisition Post Mortem on his property was made in January 1610/11 (YCA: E 27, f 138-138v). This lists his house in Petergate and property in Goodramgate and St Andrewgate, Patrick Pool and Grape Lane, Colliergate and elsewhere in Petergate, with gardens, orchards and closes inside and outside the city, and land at Acaster Selbye. Much of this can be traced in the records during his life time.

His first known purchase was of a house in Colliergate, part of the sale of city property in 1562/3 (YCA: E 22, ff 10v-11). It had Colliergate on its east side, another city property on the north (sold to the occupant Isabelle Addenell - f 11), the cemetery of St Crux on the west, and a tenement belonging to All Saints North Street on the south. The proximity to Crux church places this tenement at the lower end of Colliergate.

His property in Goodramgate and St Andrewgate is largely known from the Churchwardens' accounts in Trinity parish Goodramgate where he owed parish dues from 1574, and also from the repeated orders from the Monk Ward Wardmote Court from 1575 for him to pave before it (see BI: PF Y/HTG 12, p 69; YCA: E 31, ff 9v

and 28v). The Goodramgate property was held on a lease from the city, being monastery and chantry property which the city had managed to lease from the crown (see YCA: B 31, ff 230 and 243; B 32, f 277v). In Aldwark, he bought in January 1585/6 an orchard next to the Merchant Tailors' Hall, originally owned by the city and the former site of the church of St Helen upon the Walls (YCA: BR C 94:5; B 29, f 69). He kept possession of his original house in Petergate, in St Michael le Belfray parish, for the Belfray Churchwardens assessed him for it in 1589 and 1591. In 1593, assessment was made in the name of Aveye Birkby, his son (BI: PR Y/MB 33, ff 10v, 19, 29 and 32v).

The tenement in which Alderman Birkby was living in 1585 was the one he had bought in October 1572, and which caused his move into Christ's parish. It was a large house, a 'mesuage, tenement or Mansion hows', and it had been created by Alderman Robert Hall, for according to the conveyance to Mr Birkby, all the houses, buildings, stables, chambers, kitchens, backhouses and other edifices and easements 'before the tyme of the said Robert Hall Alderman weare in severall tenements and by hym made one and his owne dwellyng howes' (YCA: E 23, f 21-21v). This indenture says the property was in Petergate and Goodramgate, lying both in Christ's parish and Trinity parish Goodramgate⁵. Some of the deeds selling the various components of this house to Alderman Hall are recorded. He had bought a shop on the east side of Petergate from Sir Thomas Danby in January 1552/3: this shop was already surrounded by Mr Hall's property on three sides, that on the east and

5 Christ's parish stretched nearly 100 feet down Goodramgate on the east side (the same side as Trinity church) and about 50 feet down the side nearest to St Andrewgate.

south having been acquired from the Mayor and Commonalty of York (YCA: E 23, f 93v). Later, in February 1557/8, he had bought a capital messuage and an adjoining tenement from John Granger and his wife, also on the east side of Petergate and stretching back to the cemetery of Trinity church; on the north it was bounded by property belonging to the Bedern and Brian Tesymond, and on the south side it adjoined Robert Hall's existing property (E 23, f 86v). This part of Alderman Hall's property probably kept its separate existence, for Robert Hall, son of the Alderman, who had sold the 'mansion' to James Birkby, also made, along with others, a Release of property in Petergate to George Thwaites in 1577, which was bounded on the north by a tenement of the Bedern and Roland Ellys, and on the south by James Birkby's messuage (E 22, f 170-170v). These deeds place James Birkby's house on the corner of Goodramgate, and its combined houses and backhouses reached about 130 feet down to the churchyard of Trinity Goodramgate (see Plan 3, p 327). Apart from the 'mansion house', Mr Birkby acquired two beds with their fringes and curtains, and all the fixtures and fittings, such as wainscots, glass, doors, locks, keys, buckets, chains, shelves, racks and mangers. For all this he paid £326, a large amount considering that other property deals were well under £100.

The locations of the final two stations in 1585, the houses of Aldermen Beckwith and Harbert, have already been discussed. It would seem that, as in 1569, Alderman Robinson opposite Mr Harbert's house, was somehow involved in the lease of the station, but that it was eventually decided that he was not obliged to pay anything.

The assembling of information on people before whose houses the plays were performed has made it possible to locate many of the playing places, and to hazard a guess at the location of others. From this information, more informed speculation can be made on the nature of processional staging in York. Similarly, information can be found on those people who were actually involved in the performances themselves.

Figure 14: A comparative chart
of the places of
performance between
1554 and 1585

	1554 CORPUS CHRISTI PLAY Chamberlains' Book 4 (2, 1554) p 59	1569 CORPUS CHRISTI PLAY House Book 24, f 140, 141	1572 FATER NOSTER PLAY House Book 25, f 15	1584 GRAFTON'S PLAY House Book 28, f 144v	1585 GRAFTON'S INTERLUDE House Book 29, ff 23v, 53 Chamberlains' Book 6 (1, 1585), f 51
HOLY TRINITY GATES	Trinity Gates where the clerk keeps the Register (John Clerke paid for this)	Trinity Gate	Trinity Gate		
MICKLEGATE I	Harrison and Fairweather - 3s 4d	Mr Harrison's house	Mr Harrison's house	Alderman Harrison's door	Micklegate (but no payment made)
MICKLEGATE II	The Three Kings - 3s 4d	furthermore ... the Cowper in Micklegate			
ST JOHN OUSEBRIDGE END	George White against St John church - 3s 4d	about St John kirkstile	John White's house		
OUSEBRIDGE EAST END	Gregory Paycock at the Staith Head taken by Alderman Watson - 3s 4d	Mr Paycock's door	George Aslaby's door - east end of Ousebridge		
OUSEGATE CORNER	Robert Smyth Coneystreet End against Castlegate - 3s 4d	Ousegate Corner	between Thomas Parker and Robert Brooke	Coneystreet End	Ousegate Head (William Fresby and Henry Metcalf - 3s 4d; Thomas Moseley not to pay)
CONEYSTREET I	Alderman Appleyard - 16d	Mr Appleyard's		The Lord Mayor's door (Mr Appleyard the younger)	Alderman Appleyard's door (paid 3s 4d)
CONEYSTREET II	Martin Metcalfe - 3s 4d	furthermore ... Mr Fawkes in Coneystreet	Henry Pulleyn's house		
COMMON HALL	The Common Hall - Lord Mayor	The Common Hall Gate	The Common Hall Gates	The Common Hall Gates	The Common Hall
STONEGATE	Robert Bylbowe - 3s 4d	about Christopher Willoughby's house	William Gilmyrn's house		(Mr Gilmyrn paid 3s 4d)
MINSTER GATES	Anthony Dicconson and Robert Staynburne - 3s 4d	The Minster Gates	The Minster Gates	The Minster Gates	The Minster Gates (William Dawson and John Busfield paid 3s 4d)
PETERGATE	Alderman Gayle - 16d	Mr Birnand's house	Mr Birnand's house		(Mr Edward Fawcett paid 3s 4d)
GOODRAMGATE HEAD	Edward Rayncoke and Kytchynman - 3s 4d	Hutton's	Goodramgate Corner	Goodramgate Head	Alderman Birkby's door (paid 3s 4d)
COLLIERGATE	William Marston - 3s 4d	furthermore ... John Chamber in Colliergate	John Wightman's Corner		
HOSIER LANE	Alderman Beckwith - Lady Mayoress	The Lord Mayor's place (Mr Beckwith)		Alderman Beckwith's door	Alderman Beckwith's door (Christopher Beckwith paid 3s 4d)
PAVEMENT I		On the Pavement between Mr Harbert and the Sheriff (Mr Robinson)	Mr Harbert's door - to pay 3s 4d	The Bull Ring on the Pavement	On the Pavement - the Lady Mayoress (Alderman Harbert paid 20d) (Alderman Robinson not to pay)
PAVEMENT II	The Pavement	between Mr Paycock and Mr Allyn			

open out for

Summary list of those who would
have pageants played before
their doors, 1554-1585

1	Micklegate	p 360
2	Ouse Bridge	p 361
3	Ousegate Corner	p 362
4	Coney Street	p 363
5	Stonegate	p 364
6	Minster Gates	p 365
7	Petergate	p 366
8	Goodramgate End	p 367
9	Colliergate	p 368
10	Pavement	p 369

1. M I C K L E G A T E

Name	THOMAS HARRISON	WILLIAM FAIRWEATHER	THE THREE KINGS	WILLIAM COWPER
date of franchise	1547	1548		1562
Occupation(s)	Cordiner Innholder	Pewterer Innholder		Innholder
Offices	1561 - Chamberlain 1562-3 - Sheriff 1568 - Alderman 1575 - Mayor 1592	1555 - bypassed Muremaster; Chamberlain		
Tax (in goods)	1555/6 - £10 1599 - £31	1555/6 - £8 1559 - £5		
date(s) of station	1554 1569 1572 1584	1554	1554	1569
Parish	1554, 1558, 1567: St Martin Micklegate 1557, 1562-1566: Trinity Micklegate	St Martin Micklegate with St Gregory	St Martin Micklegate	St Martin Micklegate
Site of station (and house)	Micklegate I (?Gregory Lane)	Micklegate I (?Gregory Lane)	Micklegate II	Micklegate II
Left or Right along the route	Left	Left	Left	?Left
death	January 1604/5	1560		1571

2. OUSEBRIDGE
West and East

Name	GEORGE WHITE	GREGORY PAYCOCK	JOHN WHITE	GEORGE ASLABY
date of franchise	1533	1547	1561	1569
Occupation(s)	Gentleman	Merchant	Vintner	Merchant
Offices		1548 - Chamberlain 1566 - Sheriff 1567 - Alderman 1571 - Mayor 1572 - Burgess 1576 - resigned		1605 - Sheriff
Tax (in goods)	1545 - £13 1546 - £7	1548 - £20 1563 - £10 1571 - £20	1563) - 20s 1572) in lands	
date(s) of station	1554	1554 1569	1572	1572
Parish	St John Ousebridge End	St Michael Ousebridge End 1571 - St John Ousebridge End	St John Ousebridge End	St Michael Ousebridge End
Site of station (and house)	St John Church Ousebridge End (opposite the church)	Ousebridge east end at the Staith Head	St John Church Ousebridge End (opposite the church)	Ousebridge east end
Left or Right along the route	Right	?	Right	?
death	1562		1576	

3. OUSEGATE CORNER

Name	ROBERT SMYTH	THOMAS PARKER	ROBERT BROOKE	HENRY METCALF	WILLIAM FRESBY	THOMAS MOSELEY
date of franchise	1537	?1564	1559	1577	1576	1574
Occupation(s)	Merchant	?Tailor	Merchant	Draper	Merchant	Merchant
Offices	1547 - Chamberlain		1565 - Chamberlain 1574-5 - Sheriff 1579 - Alderman 1582 - Mayor 1595 - Mayor 1584 - Burgess	1590 - Chamberlain		1578 - Chamberlain 1583-4 - Sheriff 1588/9 - Alderman 1590 - Mayor 1602 - Mayor 1597 - Burgess
Tax (in goods)	1550 - £10 1560 - 40s lands	1576 - £4	1556/7 - £7 1572 - £9 1579 - £12 1587 - £20 1594 - £25	1590 - £4 1600 - £5		1581 - £6 1585 - £13 1587 - £20 1594 - £26
date(s) of station	1554	1572	1572	1585	1585	(1585)
Parish	St Michael Ousebridge End	St Michael Ousebridge End 1581 - ?St Michael le Belfray	St Michael Ousebridge End 1574 - All Hallows Pavement	St Michael Ousebridge End	St Michael Ousebridge End	St Michael Ousebridge End 1610 - St John Ousebridge End
Site of station (and house) Left or Right along the route	Ousegate Corner (Castlegate End) Right	Ousegate Corner (?Castlegate End) Right	Ousegate Corner (Nessgate) Right	Ousegate Corner (Spurriergate) Right	Ousegate Corner (Nessgate) Right	Ousegate Corner (Upper Ousegate) Right
death			1599			1624

4. C O N E Y S T R E E T

Name	THOMAS APPELYARD the elder	MARTIN METCALF	REGINALD FAWKES	HENRY PULLEYN	THOMAS APPELYARD the younger
date of franchise	1529	1540	1549	1566	1560
Occupation(s)	Merchant	Gentleman Innholder	Gentleman Vintner Innholder	Scrivener Gentleman ?Attorney Vintner Innholder	Merchant
Offices	1536 - Chamberlain 1542-3 - Sheriff 1548 - Alderman 1563 - Mayor		Swordbearer	1579 - Chamberlain Common Council (for Vintners)	1563 - Chamberlain 1575-6 - Sheriff 1580 - Alderman 1584 - Mayor
Tax (in goods)	1540 - £20 1547 - £60 1563 - £30 1566/7 - £20 lands 1576 - £40 lands	1540 - £20 1546 - £12 1556 - £5	1563) 1578) - 20s in land	1567/8 - 20s in lands 1587 - £3 in lands	1563 - £6 1577 - £8 1581 - £10 in lands 1587 - £12 in lands 1591 - £6 in lands 1592 - £2 in lands
date(s) of station	1554 1569	1554	1569	1572	1584 1585
Parish	St Michael Ousebridge End	St Martin Coneystreet	St Martin Coneystreet	St Martin Coneystreet	St Michael Ousebridge End
Site of station (and house) Left or Right along the route	Coneystreet I (Spurriergate opposite Jubbergate) Left	Coneystreet II ?Right	Coneystreet II Right (1560)	Coneystreet II (The Red Hart) ?	Coneystreet I (opposite Jubbergate) Left
death	1580	1570	1591	1605	1600

5. S T O N E G A T E

Name	ROBERT BYLBOWE	CHRISTOPHER WILLOUGHBY	WILLIAM GILMYN
date of franchise	?1543	1546	1549
Occupation(s)	?Tailor Innholder	Joiner Innholder	Draper Vintner Innholder
Offices		1580 - Common Council (for Joiners)	1566 - Chamberlain 1580 - Common Council (for Vintners)
Tax (in goods)	1545 - 40s	1563 - £3 1571 - £4 1576 - 20s lands	1563 - £5 1576 - 20s lands 1587 - 40s lands
date(s) of station	1554	1569	1572 1585
Parish	1545) St Martin 1563) Coneystreet 1552) St Helen -1559) Stonegate	St Helen Stonegate	1558 - St Martin Coneystreet 1560 - St Helen Stonegate
Site of station (and house)	Stonegate	Stonegate	Stonegate
Left or Right along the route	?	?Right	?Right
death	1563	1580	1590/1

6. MINSTER GATES

Name	ANTHONY DYCONSON	ROBERT STAYNBURNE	WILLIAM DAWSON	JOHN BUSFIELD
date of franchise	1545	1540	1582	1582
Occupation(s)	Tailor	Merchant Alehouse keeper	Haberdasher	Draper
Offices	1554 - bypassed Muremaster Chamberlain 1562 - Common Council (for Tailors)			1589 - Chamberlain 1600-1 - Sheriff
Tax (in goods)	1545 - 20s 1556/7 - £7			1587 - £4 1593 - £6 1609/10 - £5
date(s) of station	1554	1554	1585	1585
Parish	St Michael le Belfray	St Michael le Belfray	St Michael le Belfray	St Michael le Belfray
Site of station (and house)	Minster Gates (?Petergate or Stonegate)	Minster Gates (?Petergate or Stonegate)	Minster Gates (?by the Gates)	Minster Gates (?top of Stonegate)
Left or Right along the route	?Left	?Left	?Left	Left
death		1581		?1640/1

7. P E T E R G A T E

Name	GEORGE GALE	WILLIAM BIRNAND	EDWARD FAWCETT
date of franchise	1514	1568	1564
Occupation(s)	Goldsmith	Lawyer	Notary Gentleman Innholder
Offices	- Alderman 1533) 1541) - Burgess	1573 - Recorder	1572 - Chamberlain 1579/80 - Sheriff 1596 - Alderman 1598 - Mayor
Tax (in goods)	1540 - £80 goods £20 lands 1548 - £300 goods 1551 - £100 1555/6 - £50 lands	1563 - £10 1576 - £16 1581 - £10 lands	1568 - £3 1581 - £8 1585 - £10 1596 - £14
date(s) of station	1554	1569	1585
Parish	Trinity Goodramgate	Trinity Goodramgate	St Helen Stonegate 1577 - St Michael le Belfray
Site of station (and house)	Petergate (near Trinity Lane)	Petergate (near Trinity Lane)	Petergate
Left or Right along the route	Left	Left	Left
death	1556	1581/2	1602

8. GOODRAMGATE END

Name	EDWARD RAYNCOKE	WILLIAM KYTCHYNMAN	RICHARD HUTTON	JAMES BIRKBY
date of franchise	1544	1549	1561	1561
Occupation(s)	Merchant	Cordiner	Apothecary	Sheriffs' Clerk
Offices			1574 - Common Council (for Grocers and Apothecaries)	1571-2 - Sheriff 1585 - Alderman 1588 - Mayor 1593 - Burgess 1597
Tax (in goods)	1546 - £10 1558 - £5	1555/6 - £5	1563 - £3 1581 - £7	1572 - £12 1587 - £20 1587 - £26
date(s) of station	1554	1554	1569	1585
Parish	1546 - Christ's 1558 - Christ's 1576 - St Michael le Belfray	Christ's	Christ's	1572 - St Michael le Belfray 1574 - Christ's
Site of station (and house) Left or Right along the route	Goodramgate Head ?Left	Goodramgate Head ?Left	(Goodramgate/Girdlergate area) ?Right	Goodramgate Head (Goodramgate Corner) Left
death	1589		1593	1610

9. COLLIERGATE

Name	WILLIAM MARSTON	JOHN CHAMBER	JOHN WIGHTMAN
date of franchise	1537		1570
Occupation(s)	Sadler Alehouse keeper	Merchant Innholder	Yeoman Innholder
Offices	1561 - Chamberlain	1562 - Chamberlain	
Tax (in goods)	1559/60 - £5	1563 - £3	1572 - £3
date(s) of station	1554	1569	1572
Parish	Crux	1563 - St Andrew's 1565 - Christ's	Christ's 1581 - Trinity Goodramgate
Site of station (and house)	Colliergate (lower end)	Colliergate	Colliergate (St Andrewgate corner)
Left or Right along the route	?	?	Left
death	1567		1584

10. P A V E M E N T

Name	WILLIAM BECKWITH	CHRISTOPHER HARBERT	WILLIAM ROBINSON	ROBERT PAYCOCK	WILLIAM ALLYN
date of franchise	1530	1551	1558	1533	1552
Occupation(s)	Merchant	Merchant (sold wine)	Merchant	Merchant	Grocer Merchant
Offices	1540 - Chamberlain 1543-4 - Sheriff 1553 - Alderman 1569 - Mayor	1558 - Chamberlain 1567-8 - Sheriff 1568 - Alderman 1573 - Mayor	1563 - Chamberlain 1569-70 - Sheriff 1577/8 - Alderman 1581 - Mayor 1594 - Mayor 1584 - Burgess 1588 - Burgess	1537 - Chamberlain 1540-1 - Sheriff 1543 - Alderman 1548 - Mayor 1567 - Mayor	1558 - Chamberlain 1566-7 - Sheriff 1567 - Alderman 1572 - Mayor 1581 - resigned
Tax (in goods)	1540 - £20 1541 - £40 1545 - £50 1550 - £40 1568 - £30 1571 - £25 1576 - £20	1559 - £5 1566/7 - £8 1571 - £16 1576 - £20 1589 - £26	1559 - £5 1566/7 - £8 1576 - £19 1582 - £20 lands 1587 - £26 lands 1609 - £28 lands	1545 - £40 1558 - £20 1563 - £35 1566/7 - £16 lands	1556/7 - £8 1566/7 - £10 1571 - £30 1576 - £10 lands
date(s) of station	1554 1569 1584 1585	1569 1572 1585	1569 (1585)	1569	1569
Parish	1539 - St Michael le Belfray 1545 - Crux	Crux	Crux	All Hallows Pavement	All Hallows Pavement
Site of station (and house) Left or Right along the route	Hosier Lane (Whitefriars at Stonebow) Left	Pavement I (Harbert House) Left	Pavement I (opposite Harbert House) Right	Pavement II (end of Coppergate) Left	Pavement II Right
death	1586	1590	1616	1570	

III SETTING FORTH PAGEANTS



Illustration 12: The Pageant waggon of Noah's Flood, 1966

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Not many names of men directly concerned, or even associated, with presenting drama in York emerge from two centuries of records. In the fifteenth century there were Robert Clerk and Robert Leche, playing in The Coronation of the Virgin in 1449 and 1462, then presented by the city council, and Wrangle and William Clark playing the Merchants' Doomsday pageant (R:Y, pp 75, 82, 92, 94, 99-100, 752 and 769). The Merchants also made an agreement with Robert Hewyk of Leeds, parish clerk, and Thomas Fit tapiter and Henry Clayton weaver of York, to present their pageant in 1454 (R:Y, pp 87 and 763-4). In the sixteenth century, the city paid over money to John Meltynby, in 1551 and 1554, because he had no help in bringing forth the Scriverners' pageant of Doubting Thomas, and in 1569 gave 20 shillings to Leonard Temple to go towards the 43 shillings he had spent on the Ironmongers' pageant of Simon the Leper for two years. John Stamper was paid 3s 4d for playing St George in 1554. The Bakers paid John Huntington in connection with the Play several times between 1549 and 1554 (R:Y, pp 293-357).

Perhaps the main thing to note is that these names can be found amongst the York citizens listed in the Freemen's Roll (see FY I¹): in the fifteenth century

- 1 William Wrangell clerk, son of John Wrangell fishmonger, was franchised in 1429; John Wranghill chaplain, son of William Wranghill parish clerk, was franchised in 1466 (Freemen of York I, pp 142 and 186). Robert Leche clerk appears in the list of 1449 (p 169). William Clerk is not so easily identified; there was a merchant in 1412, and from then until 1471 another merchant, a miller, a chapman, a weaver and a sledman were franchised.

they were often scribes, like Robert Clerk (franchised 1434 - FY I, p 148), or clerks like William Wrangle and Robert Leche. The sixteenth century craftsmen can be found entered in the appropriate occupations of merchant or baker. In other words, the plays were being produced by York men, not by imported players.

Of all these men, few are definitely known to have been actors: Robert Leche, Wrangle, probably William Clark, together with an unnamed 'klarke' in the fifteenth century, and John Stamper in the sixteenth century. The others are paid 'for the play', 'bringing forth the play', or for being in charge of the actors. Acting skills would not be the primary reason for choosing a merchant like Leonard Temple to bring forth the Ironmongers' pageant: it would be because he could lay out money when the pageant silver was found wanting.

In seeking for further information on those people concerned with dramatic presentations in York between 1554 and 1609, the difference between the dramatic opportunities open to a man like John Stamper at the beginning and Richard Middleton at the end of the period became obvious. This chapter deals first with people involved in the presentation of the traditional religious plays of York; then those concerned with new dramatic presentations accompanying the Midsummer Show of Armour; and finally with those involved when drama was no longer a civic function in York.

1. THE PLAYER OF OUR PAGEANT



Illustration 13: St George panel from the Gale door, mid sixteenth century

John Stamper

Item to John Stamper for playng St George
- iij^s iiij^d
(YCA: Chamberlains' Book 4 (2, 1554),
p 162; R:Y, p 319)

John Stamper is the only actor clearly identified as such in sixteenth century York. He was not concerned with the Corpus Christi Play, but it is known exactly which part he played: St George, in the Riding of 23 April 1554. There is no difficulty in identifying him, because there is only one man of this name in York at the time: he was a tiler, and lived in the parish of St Martin Micklegate.

There is no John Stamper recorded as being franchised in the Freeman's Roll; however, in 1529 John Stamfurth tiler was made free, and perhaps this is the man (FY I, p 249). Apart from this possible date of his franchise, the earliest reference to John Stamper is when he was noted in the Muster Roll of April 1539, as a Billman without horse or harness in St Martin Micklegate parish (YCA: E 64, f 46v; PRO: E 36/32, p 80)². The

2 The city's copy is not dated, but can be placed by the reference to Robert Elwald Mayor and John Bean Sheriff. The copy in the PRO bears the dates 24 and 25 April. It is written up by John Clerke, an early example of his writing. See also Letters and Papers of Henry VIII volume 14, Parl 1, p 264, Item 652. In the PRO version, there is an entry on p 79, 'John Stamper tyller a swerd', which has been crossed out, and the description as a billman has been added after the others in his parish listed on p 80. There is only the second entry copied in the York version, where he is again last in the list.

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House Book for this year has not survived, so there is no record who, if any, of these men were sent for service. The border with Scotland was always a danger area at this time, and was the place to which York soldiers were sent. John Stamper does not figure in the Muster Roll of 1542 (YCA: E 41), although several other names are recorded in both. He appears in a list of a larger force, hurriedly assembled in July 1547. Sixteen 'galleys or great Shippes of warre' had been seen off Flamborough, and in preparation for the defence of the coast men were ordered to gather on Heworth Moor. A letter from the King's Council on 12 July, marked 'In hast, hast for thy lyef', ordered a force to be ready to go to Flamborough, and the city appointed John North to be its captain. John Stamper was noted as a billman on foot (YCA: B 18, ff 98v-105v). It is not clear whether this force ever left York: John North was in York for the next meeting of the city council on 24 July, and at the end of the year he was given 20 shillings for his costs about the soldiers of the city and Ainsty 'mayd in a redynesse vppon the viewe of certen Galleyes at fflambrugh' (B 18, ff 106 and 137). This does not suggest they set off to the coast, or saw active service. The other contribution by John Stamper to defence was to act as a Beacon watcher at Bilbrough (see p 189, footnote 20 above), and he was listed to go there on 22 July 1549 (B 19, f 81). There is no evidence, then, that John Stamper was chosen to play St George because of his known skills as an active mounted soldier.

The second time he came to notice in the city records was in September 1543, when Ninian Blytheman, another tiler, was imprisoned for slander against the Mayor and council on the report of members of his occupation: Nicholas Cowper, John Stamper, Thomas Yaites and William Tayllor. He was bound for his future

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appearance concerning this matter, and his sureties were John Stamper and other tilers, William Mowbray, William Robinson, Christopher Thomson and Thomas Nottyngham; the bond was cancelled in due course, and the entry crossed through. In January 1543/4, Blytheman on his knees asked the councillors' forgiveness 'for callyng them fals harlottes in his drunkenes at Kingeston appon hull' (YCA: B 17, ff 21, 21v, 22, 27v and 29).

There are sporadic receipts recorded from John Stamper in the Bridgemasters' Rolls³, showing that he rented land from the city; and although he does not appear to have kept the same plot for long, all his tenancies were of ground outside the city walls surrounding Micklegate Ward and inside the Ward itself. The first entry comes in 1543, when a distress or pawn to the value of 4 shillings was taken for rent of a moat, as he had only paid 8 shillings of 12 shillings due (YCA: C 88:4). The entry comes at the end of the roll, among several distresses for property in the area of Bishophill, Skeldergate and Hammerton Lane. The payments credited at the beginning of the Roll do not include John Stamper's part payment of 8 shillings for a moat: the only moat was one 'withoute Skeldergate postron somtyme in the holding of Thomas Glasyn and others', for which 14 shillings had been received⁴. In

3 YCA: Ouse Bridgemasters' Rolls. See in particular C 88:4 (1543); C 89:1-5 (1544, 1545, 1546, 1547 and 1548; and C 90:4 (1561).

4 In previous years (C 88:1 and 2) these others were Henry Mores and Robert Fairby. Perhaps by 1543 John Stamper held a share in this moat, for which the full receipt was still noted under its old tenants. There was another moat mentioned at a consistently lower rent, situated near Lomlyth at the Old Bailey end (C 88:1 and 3), but identification with John Stamper's moat cannot be made. Lomlyth marked a former postern in the city walls. For Thomas Glasyn, see below, pp 403 and 405, n 35.

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the following year, 1544, John Stamper did hold a part of the moat outside the Postern for the same amount he had paid the previous year, and receipt of this was noted under the entries for the Bishophill and Skeldergate area (C 89:1). After this, he seems to have given up the moat, and in 1545 took less expensive ground outside Micklegate Bar, paying 16d for a garth in Baggergate. He retained this garth in 1546, but does not appear in the 1547 Roll. Instead, John Huntington paid 16d for a garth in 1547 and 1548, which may be the same one (C 89:4 and 5). John Stamper made a final appearance in the Bridgemasters' Rolls in 1561, again in the Micklegate area but within the walls, when he rented 'a garth on Martyn layne' (near his church) for 2 shillings (C 90:4).

The Parish Register of St Martin Micklegate⁵ reveals that John Stamper served as a Churchwarden in several years: 1541, 1545, 1551, 1552 and 1555 (BI: PR Y/MG 1, pp 3, 5, 14, 16 and 20). He was also parish Constable in 1558 (YCA: E 50, p 194).

5 The outside edges of this Register are badly worn. It begins in 1539, but the uniformity of appearance in the entries to p 35 (1572) suggests these entries were copied up later from an original. Several puzzling omissions (for example, the burial of John Stamper) may mean parts of the original had been lost. This Register was transcribed and privately published, and does not form part of the Yorkshire Parish Register Society Series: The Parish Register of St Martin-cum-Gregory in the City of York, edited by Edward Bulmer (York, 1897). References here are to the original now in the Borthwick Institute. The parish normally had three Churchwardens, and these were named in precedence. In 1541, John Stamper was the third named; in 1545 he was second; in 1551 and 1552 he was the first. In 1555 he came second, but in that year there were four Churchwardens; the first was Oswyn Edwyn, a merchant.

The 1540s and 1550s would have been an unsettling time to be a Churchwarden, as the changes of Henry VIII escalated into reforms under Edward VI, were reversed under Queen Mary, and restored with Queen Elizabeth. It would have been the responsibility of the Churchwardens to take down the rood screens and dismantle the altars, and then restore them during Mary's reign. It is likely that the first orders to remove these substantial sections of the interior of churches were obeyed only half heartedly, or the beams and the other portions of rood lofts had been stored away, so they were easily reassembled during Mary's revival. The injunctions of Elizabeth's reign explicitly ordered the complete destruction of rood lofts and the sale of the wood, suggesting that this had not happened in Edward's reign (BI: AR 30, ff 95v and 128v, Item 5). In addition, in York several parishes were united after 1548 because of the drop in number of inhabitants and the lack of money to pay sufficient priests, and at this time the parish of St Gregory was merged with that of St Martin Micklegate⁶.

A preliminary Commission to enquire into church goods was initiated at the very end of Henry's reign, and another Commission was issued in February 1548/9 to the sheriffs and Justices of the peace. The Commissioners were ordered to make inventories of church goods, but those for York at this time have not survived. However, new Commissions were issued in 1552 (a year when John Stamper was Churchwarden) and 1553. The surviving indenture with St Martin Micklegate church was made in 1553; the Commission left a silver chalice in the church to be used for communion, two bells and a little bell (Page: Church Goods, pp xiv and 89).

⁶ YCA: B 18, ff 138-9 - undated, c. January 1547/8. See also B 19, ff 47v-48, and Note to Map 17).

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John Stamper must have seen drastic changes in his church as he served his periods as Churchwarden, and have been responsible for carrying out many of the orders imposed by the state.

In 1549, John Stamper married:

Maryages in a^o 1549/

John Stamper dyd marye & take to wyf Margaret
Wyllson videw this xxviij day of Julye anno
predicto/

(BI: PR Y/MG 1, p 10)

There is nothing to say whether he, like his wife, had been married before, or whether he had any children⁷. On 6 December 1550, Catherynge Stamper was buried at St Martin's (BI: PR Y/MG 1, p 13), but there is no indication of her relationship to John, although he is the only one of this surname I have found in York at this period. Shortly afterwards, John and Margaret Stamper had a daughter, who was christened Katharyne on 6 February 1550/1; but she did not live long, for 'Catheryne Stamper was buryed' on 27 September 1551 (BI: PR Y/MG 1, pp 11 and 14). This particular year, when John Stamper was a Churchwarden, was a time of plague in York, which particularly affected the Micklegate Ward. There are no other christenings of Stampers, and it can

7 I have not identified Margaret Stamper's first husband, although several Wilsons were connected with St Martin's church. She had a daughter, Jennet Wilson, who married Michael Bell tailor on 30 September 1554 (BI: PR Y/MG 1, p 19), and who was granted administration on Mrs Stamper's death (see below). Jennet had four children of this marriage, the last one, Joan, born two months after Michael Bell's death in 1575 and buried in 1576. In 1578 Jennet had an illegitimate son, called Matthew, but no father was named (BI: PR Y/MG 1, pp 20, 30, 31, 33, 39, 41, 43 and 47).

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be assumed that John and Margaret remained childless. Margaret was godmother to Richard Pearson in August 1557, and in 1560 John became godfather to Isabelle Whittyngton, baptised 9 October (pp 22 and 23). He witnessed the will of John Wilkinson in September 1551 and that of Alice Fairweather widow in November 1561 (BI: Pr Reg 13B, f 777; 17A, ff 9v-10).

On 4 June 1552, John Stamper was licensed to keep an alehouse (YCA: E 44, p 124). This was probably a result of his marriage, for Margaret Stamper was a brewer. The two surviving Chamberlains' Books in the period after their marriage include a reference to her under the general heading of 'Brewster fines in Miklith ward' (YCA: CB 4 (2, 1554), p 56; 5 (1, 1559), f 20). In 1565, Stamper's widow was noted (5 (2, 1565), p 37). These 'fines' are payments for the right to brew; most of the brewers named are women, wives or widows usually identified through their husbands; only two or three in any year are men. Many of the men licensed in the Register Books to brew or keep alehouses are listed under other occupations, which shows that the Stampers were not alone in having two incomes.

In 1562 the council tried to control the numbers, and ordained that only authorised 'Inholdares brewares & honest Citizens' were to brew ale 'to sell or typple' from St George Day that year: John Stamper was one of those allowed in Micklegate Ward (YCA: B 23, f 50v). This limitation did not seem to work, because in May authority was given to the individual Wardens to allow brewers at their discretion (f 53).

John Stamper working as a tiler is documented. In the accounts for repairs to the Common Hall and its council chamber in 1554 are two separate payments to John Stamper and his servant, 3d for mending two 'great

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holles in the hall' and another 5d for mending the floor, with the cost of lime and boards (YCA: CB 4 (2, 1554), p 122). It is obvious from other entries at this point that the rate paid by the Chamberlains for tilers and similar craftsmen was 6d a day; servants received 4d. John Stamper and his servant therefore spent half a day on the chamber floor (3d for Stamper, 2d for his servant) and less than that time mending the holes in the Common Hall. This rate had been fixed in June 1552 (YCA: B 20, f 105). The craftsmen in York objected, and in July 1552 some of them were in prison for not agreeing to work at this rate (f 109). Ten years later the rate was slightly higher; the 1563 wage for Tilers was 8d a day (YCA: B 23, f 101v). Even so, various joiners, carpenters, tilers - including John Stamper - and other labourers were not content to accept this rate in January 1561/2 (YCA: F 2, Sessions of the Peace, p 39).

The 1559 Chamberlains' Book also records work he did for the city; as he was Chamberlain himself in this year, he had earned the title 'Mr' Stamper, and was often noted as such. He worked on the Staith, and in the Minster, 'dressyng and Reparyng' the place where the Mayor and his brethren congregated, and held impromptu meetings if necessary. He repaired the Sheriffs' kidcote, and also the 'masendew' on Ouse Bridge, a poor house run by the city and occupied by several poor women. He was paid for lead at the kidcote and ridge tiles at the masendew, so perhaps he did work on the roof (YCA: CB 5 (1, 1559), ff 61v, 63, 63v and 64). He had worked on the floor of the Common Hall, and in 1554 Thomas Yaites tiler worked on the walls of the Chapel on Ouse Bridge; two other tilers paved the market area of the Pavement (YCA: CB 4 (2, 1554), pp 124 and 129). Many of the timber-framed buildings in York were infilled with a thin brick-like tile, which

no doubt explains the ubiquitous nature of tilers' work⁸. Another series of entries in the House Books shows John Stamper concerned with roof tiles. The work at St Saviour's church had been reported unsatisfactory in October 1551, and the Searchers of the Wrights and Tilers examined it; an undated report is bound into the back of House Book 20. It blames the decay partly on the wrights who failed to ensure the inclusion of a strengthening beam in the roof, but also the parishioners who made a larger window covered with tile instead of lead, which proved too heavy and broke part of the beams; also, insufficient tiling caused damp to rot some of the beams (YCA: B 20, ff 77v and 134). Whether things were left as they were, or whether new work was undertaken at this point, nothing is said. However, in April 1557 the parson of the church and his parishioners complained again to the council about the decay of their church, and the Searchers of the Tilers and Carpenters were again sent to view the roof 'And to note whether the default therof be in the Tyler that latly tyled the same ... or elles with the carpenter' (YCA: B 22, f 60v). On 17 May the council ordered that the church should be repaired in both carpenter and tiler work,

And the same to be done in the name of John Stamper tyller by whose defalt the sayd Church decayde & the expences to be dysbursed of the Chambre money And after that order to be taken with Stamper what parte therof he shall beare/

(YCA: House Book, B 22, f 62v)

8 D.M. Palliser, Some Aspects of the Social and Economic History of York in the Sixteenth Century (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Oxford University, 1968), pp 339 and 356-364; and his Tudor York (Oxford, 1979), pp 32-3. See also RCHM York III, p lxxi, and V, pp lxii, lxiii and xcvi.

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The new repairs must have been carried out through the summer, for on 27 October John Stamper appeared before the city council concerning the work:

the decay wherof for the most part was probably layd to the charge of the sayd Stamper/ whoo not hable nowe ffully to clere hym of some defalt therin hath here willyngly submytted hymself to abyde the ordre & iugement of this hows for his recompense & amendes to be made for his negligens in this behalf

(YCA: House Book, B 22, f 92v)

The repairs had cost the council over £17, but as the fault 'was lyke to be by other myshapp' and because he was honest and poor, John Stamper was ordered to pay only £4 to the Chamber before Christmas⁹.

He was able to redeem himself in the records a few years later, when the city of York was partly responsible, with the county of Yorkshire, for repairs to Tadcaster Bridge in 1561. On May 30 'one of the Chambrelaynes & Stamper' were ordered to go and examine the fallen arch (YCA: B 23, f 19v). The rebuilding of Tadcaster Bridge was a matter of some concern to the city authorities, not only because they had to levy a charge on the citizens of York and the adjoining Ainsty to pay their costs, but also because they were not happy at the proportion they were expected to pay relative to the County of Yorkshire: the river marked the boundary of York's jurisdiction over the Ainsty. Nevertheless, they went ahead with their repairs¹⁰.

9 Unfortunately, part of the ink on this page has been washed away, and the complete entry is not decipherable.

10 See House Book 23, ff 20v, 21-21v, 24-25, 42v and 47v.

On 6 June 1562, it was agreed that John Stamper should have 20 shillings 'for his paynes and diligenes' over the last year in repairing the Bridge (YCA: B 23, f 57). The city needed all its skill in bridge building when Ouse Bridge collapsed in the winter of 1564/5, but John Stamper had died by this time and any expertise he had gained at Tadcaster was lost.

John Stamper obviously was established in his craft, despite his faulty work at St Saviour's church, and active at his parish church. He was his own master, had at least one servant in his business, and reached the lower rungs of the ladder of prestige in York that led to membership of the city council.

In the tax collections of 1540/1 and 1548/9 John Stamper's name does not appear¹¹. In the 1550-1 assessments, after his marriage, he was one of the two men appointed to certify the value of the inhabitants of St Gregory's parish, by now included with St Martin's (YCA: E 50, pp 10 and 55). He was first assessed for tax in February 1551/2 when he had goods valued at £10; in January 1555/6 it had fallen to £8, and between 1558 and January 1559/60 he paid on goods of £5¹².

11 The end of YCA: E 48/49 has an undated and incomplete set of entries with tax assessments for people with a lower rate of goods; but Monk Ward and Micklegate Ward entries are missing. It is repeated in a roll in the PRO (E.179/217/109), dated 4 November 1545. The roll is damaged, and although John Stamper was entered under St Martin Micklegate parish, the amounts are lost. Some assessments were made on as much as £8; the lowest amount is 20 shillings, which is rated for a tax of 1d.

12 He was an assessor for his parish between March 1556/7 and January 1559/60. YCA: E 50, pp 102, 135, 167, 174, 194, 211, 224, 244, 258 and 276. See also PRO: E.179/218/142 for the assessment of February 1551/2.

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His affluence from 1551 may have been due to his marriage, including the subsequent second income from brewing. That he began to be recognised as moderately well-off from 1550 can be illustrated by his appointment to the office of Ouse Bridgemaster in that year. The Bridgemasters, two for Ouse Bridge and two for Foss Bridge, were chosen by the city council each year. Their duty was to collect the rents of city properties, and at the end of their year in office they presented their roll of account, drawn up by their clerk who was a permanent servant¹³. A fixed amount was paid to the city Chamber at Midsummer, regardless of the amount so far collected: see, for example, the Roll of 1548 (the last extant Roll before John Stamper's tenure of the office - YCA: C 89:5), when £26 was handed over on Midsummer Eve, and the balance of £22 7s 6½d at the end of the year. It is with the Midsummer payment that John Stamper took up the office.

1550 was a year of plague in York, and regulations that attempted to keep the victims segregated from the rest of the population were issued in January 1549/50 (YCA: B 19, f 101v). Perhaps a victim of the plague, one of the original Bridgemasters appointed in January, George Northend, had died by May, and the council began to look for a replacement on 12 May. They chose several men in turn, but each preferred to pay a fine of £4 to bypass the office: George Hall merchant, George Cooke hosier, Bryan Thomson merchant, William Mason merchant, Thomas Middleton tanner, and then Richard Gowthorpe gentleman (YCA: B 20, ff 14v, 15 and 15v-16). The

13 For example, John Clerke, also servant to the Common Clerk, was to be paid for keeping the Bridgemasters' accounts in 1535 (YCA: B 13, f 14v), and payments to him for this are noted in the Foss Bridgemasters' accounts for 1549 and 1558 (YCA: C 81:5 and 10).

problem was solved on 18 May:

John Stamper tyler was elect & chosyn to be brygmaster of ousebryg in the liew & place of Rychard Gowthorpe gentyلمان who laitely paid hys ffyne ~~yerfore~~ of iiiij^{li} yerfore by force of whiche eleccon the seyd John Stamper personally came before the sayd presens & tuyk his oyth of the aoffyce of brygmayster of ousebryg to exersyse & occupye the sayd offyce with Robert Vawce hys fello for this yere

(YCA: House Book, B 20, f 16v)

A note of the same date on f 43, an otherwise blank page at the end of the year's entries, shows how the final election went:

Johes Stamper	++++
Thomas lawson gen	++
Jakson Girdler	+++
William lowrence tyler	+
Rolland Ellys tyller	++

The total of fourteen votes is the number of councillors present that day. They considered the £24 that had been received from the other six citizens who had refused the office, some of which had already been allocated for plague relief;

& in consyderacon yat none wold tayke vppon theym the seyd offyce by reason yat the visytacon of god of the playg of pestylence at the present ys in dyuerse places within the sayd city/ & Also in consideracon yat the sayd Stamper ys supposyd to be but a pooreman & this yere so far spent & also it ys consydered yat the seyd ~~the seyd~~ Stamper ~~hath~~ at the present ys not in store of money to dysburse & pay with hys fello vnto the common Chambre of the sayd city of Mydsomer evyn next the rentes & ffermes then vsed & accustomed to be payde/ ... the sayd John Stamper shall haue by way of lone x^{li} parcell of the seyd ffynes

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(YCA: House Book, B 20, ff 16v-17)

Following this, the Bridgemasters' clerks were asked to make perfect Rentals of all the city's property, including the recently acquired St Christopher and St St George Guild lands, so that the Bridgemasters' could know their responsibility, 'consideryng the seid visitacon of the playg aforesayd'. The meeting then went on to cancel the scheduled performance of the Corpus Christi Play because of the plague. Finally, the six men who had refused the office of Bridgemaster were listed, together with their fines.

John Stamper, therefore, achieved his first public office after six others had rejected it, and perhaps he did not have the £4 needed to bypass the office. His description as 'but a pooreman' must, however, be relative to the worth of the Aldermen, and the fact that he did not possess a large amount of ready money. It is recorded that, as Bridgemaster, he collected the rent of the Merchants' pageant house on Toft Green that year (R:Y, p 295).

In 1559 he became Chamberlain. He had, however, taken nine years to reach this next office, and some of his fellow Chamberlains had not even been franchised in 1550¹⁴. Both this, and the fact that he comes last in the order of precedence, suggests his humbler position. His office did not protect him, for the very accounts for which he was responsible show that he was fined 2s 6d at the Sheriffs' Court for an unspecified offence

14 John Dyneley, franchised 1545 (Freemen of York I, p 264); Robert Maskewe and Robert Beckwith, 1547 (p 267); Thomas Symson and Richard Aynley, 1549 (pp 268 and 269); Christopher Hunton, 1552 (p 272); and Edward Turner, 1554 (p 274).

that year (YCA: CB 5 (1, 1559), f 18¹⁵).

Former Chamberlains continued to have some status in the city. After his year as Chamberlain, John Stamper would have been one of the 'honourable' or 'honest' men who attended larger meetings along with the Common Council and Searchers¹⁶. When, at the beginning of February 1560/1, the Common Council were anxious to keep the lease of Tanghall Fields in the hands of York citizens, they presented the names of those freemen 'that offeryd to be bound for the ffarme for the close belongyng to Tanghall': John Stamper was one of the three named for Micklegate Ward. On 14 February an arrangement was agreed, and an obligation was to have been written up into the House Book, but the page, apart from the heading, remained blank, and John Stamper's place in the scheme is unknown (YCA: B 23, ff 2, 2v-3, 4, 6v and 8v). Like several other men of his standing, he served on the jury of the regular Sessions of Peace, in his case on the west side of the Ouse. He is recorded on the jury in July 1562 (YCA: F 2, p 65).

He was prepared to act as surety for new freemen who were paying their franchise money in instalments. In the 1554 Chamberlains' Book he is recorded as surety for Thomas Gyles tiler, franchised in 1552, Robert Tyrry smith, 1553, and Michael Bell of Nunmonkton tailor (his son-in-law), 1554 (YCA: CB 5 (2, 1554), pp 21, 14, 17 and 172). He was also an arbitrator in 1554

15 Entries in the Chamberlains' Book for 1559 referring to John Stamper as Chamberlain are also on ff 2, 41 and 51.

16 See the meeting of 21 September 1547 (YCA: B 18, ff 120v-121), when members of the Common Council and 'other honest men that hath beyn Chamberleyne' presented a petition.

with John Watson and Ninian Blytheman tilers and three carpenters, in a dispute over a fence between two tenements outside Micklegate Bar (p 190). Other [example] examples can be found¹⁷.

This is the background of the man who took the part of St George in 1554, and it helps to establish the traditional drama in York as something involving the craftsmen and freemen of the city. Why he was chosen to be St George is difficult to assess. For example, how old was he? He may have been franchised in 1529, he was included in the Muster Roll of 1539, and was a Churchwarden in 1541. Of his fellow tilers who presented Ninian Blytheman in 1543 and stood surety then, William Robinson had been franchised in 1516 and Thomas Yaites in 1538 (FY I, pp 238 and 257). Yaites, the youngest in this group, was said to have been about 68 in January 1572/3 (miscellaneous entries at the back of YCA: E 51, p 300), which means he was about 34 when he was franchised. If John Stamfurth, franchised in 1529, was John Stamper, and he too was not franchised until he was at least thirty, then his date of birth could be put back to the beginning of the century. If this identification is not correct, the date for his birth could have been no later than about 1520, for he had to be old enough to be mustered in 1539 (at least 16), and to be Churchwarden in 1541. A mid-way date of birth of about 1510 would make him 44 at the time he played St George. The account of his faulty work at St Saviour's church in 1557 suggests a date of birth nearer 1500 may be more accurate. This entry comes on a page in the House Book partly obliterated by damp, which makes the interpretation difficult;

17 See End Note 13.

Yet considering part of the seyde default was
 lyke to be by other myshapp And that also
 the seyde Stamper is an old honest poore
 -----e therfor agreed that he shall
 -----ution of his seyde default in the
 -----mbre vse foure poundes befor christemas
 ----- owne workmanship of the same
 -----ges

(YCA: House Book, B 22, f 92v)

The description 'old' in 1557 does not suit a suggested age of 44 in 1554. He must have been agile, for he continued to work as a tiler, but the actor who played St George does not seem to have been a young man.

If the evidence does not show him to have been offered the part because he was young, nor because he was used to active service as a soldier, how did he become involved? Although in 1554 the city council paid for the St George celebrations, there is no evidence that they organised it. The St Christopher and St George Guild which had been responsible for the event had gone, but the former members remained, several of them (like John North, Mayor in 1554) members of the city council¹⁸. Both the effigies carried in the Riding, of the dragon and of St Christopher, were already in existence and only needed repairing. The council did not have to supervise the performance, and only gave official permission for the event to take place three days before St George's Day (p 47 above). This may mean that the people who had organised the last performance of the St George Play¹⁹ were available to

18 Alderman John Bean had been a Master of the Guild; unusually, he held the office for two years, in 1537 and 1538. By this time, the city council in fact ordered the Guild's affairs (YCA: B 13, f 102).

19 This could have been in 1547 or 1548, or perhaps 1545. See pp 33-4 above.

bring forth St George again in 1554. Alderman John Bean and John Stamper both belonged to the parish of St Martin Micklegate and were amongst its wealthiest inhabitants²⁰, which creates one link between a former Master of the Guild and the actor of St George. However, it may be that John Stamper himself was the link between the last performance and the 1554 revival.

In 1546 and 1548, leading up to the dissolution of chantries and religious guilds, there were two surveys of chantry property. The 1546 Survey included a Memorandum on the foundation and purpose of the St Christopher and St George Guild (Page I, p 82). The rentals of guild and chantry property made in 1546 may have formed the basis of another survey, apparently made at the beginning of Queen Mary's reign and now in York Minster Library (M 2(4)a). Apart from listing property belonging to the two St Christopher chantries in the Minster itself (ff 27v-28v), it includes a Rental of the St Christopher and St George Guild's property (ff 60v-62). A similar Rental accompanied the petition by Miles Newton²¹ for the city's purchase of the Guild's lands in July 1549, which is preserved in the Public Record Office (E.318/2116). After listing the property and value of the rents, both versions note the expenditure. Apart from payments to two clerks, Thomas Slater and

20 See, for example, the tax assessment of February 1551/2 in St Martin Micklegate parish, when John Bean paid 20 shillings on £20 goods, and John Stamper 10 shillings on £10 (YCA: E 50, p 102).

21 Miles Newton was the Common Clerk of York up to his death in 1550, and during the dispute between the city council and certain members of the Guild in 1533 he had been for a short while Master himself. See Yorkshire Star Chamber Proceedings volume II, edited by H.B. McCall (Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, volume 45 for 1910, 1911), pp 13-36.

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William Cawton, and Henry Mason the accounting clerk of the Guild, together with pensions for two poor men and three poor women, the Guild paid an annuity of £3 6s 8d to Sir Ralph Sadler²², and another of 20 shillings to John Stamper. Despite the fact that the annuities were said to be for life, all the amounts are crossed out in the account attached to Miles Newton's petition, and the city in buying the property would not be expected to use the profits to honour the demised Guild's commitments. Sir Ralph Sadler would probably have been rewarded for his patronage and the payments to the clerks would have been salaries. The reason for the annuity to John Stamper is not stated. However, in view of his prominent position in the revival of the St George Play in 1554, it seems probable that he would have been involved in the presentation of this event before the end of the Guild. He may have been repeating a role he had played before, and been both actor and organiser of the event. His fee of 3s 4d from the city council - representing a week's wage of a tiler, and equal to the payment made to the preacher on that day - may reflect his standing with the former Guild as much as his acting ability (YCA: CB 4 (2, 1554), p 162). Whether this experience also gave him a part in his or any other craft's pageant in the Corpus Christi Play cannot be proved. The other actors who performed that day - the

22 Sir Ralph Sadler had been Gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber and one of the two Principal Secretaries of State under Henry VIII, and was one of the Council helping to govern the Realm for the young King Edward (DNB volume L (London, 1897), p 109). A draft agreement of an annuity of £6 13s 4d by the Dean and Canons of Henry VIII's College at Oxford to him was made over a copy of the Grant of the annuity to him by Thomas Thornton whilst Master of the Guild of St Christopher and St George, in February 1533/4 (PRO: SP 2/P, ff 156 and 157).

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King and Queen, and the 'May' - were paid anonymously, so perhaps John Stamper was being named as the 'director' of the play in the way the Bakers named John Huntington when the players were always anonymous.

John Stamper's will is dated 19 January 1562/3, although probate was not granted until 11 February 1563/4 (BI: Pr Reg 17A, ff 314v-315). An earlier course for childless people, the endowing of an obit or chantry, for example, was no longer open to him. Instead, he established a yearly payment of 3s 4d to the Churchwardens on the anniversary of his death - 12d for the parson, 4d to the clerk, 1d to each of sixteen poor people in the parish, and 2d to each Churchwarden; the Churchwardens were empowered to take out a distress for non-payment. His wife Margaret was to have their house for her widowhood, and then it was to go to William Furnysse, a glazier. Margaret also had 'the house called hornebye house with orcharde gardyne and all appertenance and that house wherein Rauf maghame doth dwell in'. There were smaller bequests to William Furnysse and his wife, John Walker and his sister, and to Thomas, son of Michael Bell²³. The residue went to his wife.

The Parish Register of St Martin's records for 1563 - in a rather cramped entry squashed with the 1562 entries at the bottom of the 1560 page - 'nether chrystenynge, Maryages nor buryalles' (BI: PR Y/MG 1,

23 William Fornes glazier was franchised in 1552 (Freemen of York I, p 272). Ralph Maghame, as Constable of St Martin Micklegate, paid for the drum at the Midsummer Show in 1587 (BI: PR Y/MG 19, p 74; R:Y, pp 439-440). I have not noted the baptism of Thomas Bell. Roger Bell was baptised on 26 February 1555/6 (BI: PR Y/MG 1, p 20).

p 24). The Churchwardens' Book²⁴, begun in 1569, but including a summary of the accounts from 1560, includes under the receipts of 1563 payment for several graves, including 3s 4d for John Stamper's grave (BI: PR Y/MG 19, p 4). It may be that the scribe who copied up the early pages of the Parish Register (see footnote 5 above) meant that there were no christenings, marriages nor burials for 1563 because the original page was lost and he could not enter them, rather than meaning no-one was born, married or died for a whole year in the parish. Apart from the payment for John Stamper's grave, there is other evidence for his death in the first half of 1563. In February 1558/9 he had taken a lease of an orchard in Baggergate from the St Thomas Hospital, and on 3 May 1563 it was agreed that the lease of the orchard 'latly in occupacon of John Stampard' should go to Richard Aynley, as long as he did not put forth the widow without her agreement (YCA: E 66, pp 28 and 44). Later the same month, the tax assessment put Stamper widow (her first name was left blank) at 2s 8d on lands of 20 shillings, in St Martin Micklegate parish (YCA: E 51, p 22).

She also paid 16d on 20 shillings lands in the tax of January 1563/4; her first name was again omitted, and at a later time 'Alyce' (rather than Margaret) was entered in the space (E 51, p 59(ii)). The Chamberlains of 1565 avoided the problem by calling her uxor Stamper widow when they recorded the payment of her brewster fine (YCA: CB 5 (2, 1565), p 37). According to the Parish Register of St Martin Micklegate, Mrs Stamper was buried on 16 June 1566 (BI: PR Y/MG 1, p 27), but

24 St Martin Micklegate Churchwardens' Book (BI: PR Y/MG 19). The numbering begins as folio numbering, but reverts to page numbers after f 3; p 4 is therefore f 3v.

Administration had already been granted to her daughter Joanne Bell alias Wilson, wife of Michael Bell, on 21 May 1566 (BI: Admin. Act Book, York City, 1558-1568, f 13v)²⁵. The Churchwardens recorded the receipt of 3s 4d for her grave in the 1567 accounts (BI: PR Y/MG 19, p 8).

The records provide a great deal of information about John Stamper, and he can be taken as an example of the many craftsmen involved in dramatic presentations in York.

John Huntington

Item payd to John Huntyngton ffor hys payns
 takyng ffor hys plaers - xij^d
 (Bakers' accounts, 1550; REED:YORK, p 295)

The other craftsman known to have been associated with players - and the players of the Corpus Christi Play - was John Huntington of the Bakers. In 1554, of 14s 6d pageant money collected by the Bakers' Pageant Masters, 10s 8d was passed on to John Huntington. In the same accounts, a later entry of 10s 8d 'paid for the plaie' was cancelled, which may mean that the amount passed to John Hungtington represented this payment. The players on Corpus Christi Day had their dinner at his house, which cost the Bakers 16d (R:Y, p 320). It is not that John Huntington was the Pageant Master for that year, because he was associated with both the

25 Note Index of Wills in the York Registry 1554-1568, edited by F. Collins (Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, volume 14, 1893) which puts the date as 21 February 1565.

pageant house and the players in other years. In 1549, a year the Bakers spent over 19s 8d on their pageant house, 10d of this was spent 'yat day yat we ffest the pagend hows comend at John Huntynghons' (R:Y, pp 293-4). The following year they paid him 12d for his pains with the players. Although the Corpus Christi Play had been intended to be performed that year, it was cancelled on 18 May due to the danger of plague, which had been building up since the beginning of the year (YCA: B 19, f 99; B 20, f 17; R:Y, p 295). Corpus Christi Day was on 5 June, and it seems that the actors of the Bakers' pageant were being rehearsed at least three weeks in advance. Payments to John Huntington refute the concept of 'professional' players, for a share in a total of 10s 8d (and no other payment is recorded) would not be enough for a reasonable fee to a professional actor working three or four weeks, assuming that only the part of Christ was taken by a professional. John Huntington, who was involved with the players for at least five years, was himself a baker, and the payment of 12d was to him for his efforts rather than for all the actors.

He had been franchised as a baker in 1514 (FY I, p 236), and he was assessed at 4d on 20 shillings in the Subsidy of 1524 (PRO: E.179/217/92). At this time he was of St Gregory parish, and he remained in Micklegate all his life, in the combined parish of St Martin with St Gregory. It would have been convenient to use his house for feeding the actors on Corpus Christi Day, when he lived so close to Toft Green; the players would have been waiting until late morning before it was time for their pageant of The Last Supper to set off²⁶.

26 They would have set off about 11 o'clock in the morning, according to Margaret Dorrell: 'Performance in Procession', Leeds Studies in English New Series, volume 6 (University of Leeds, 1972), p 105.

In the Muster of 1539 John Huntington was listed as an archer with 'half a shaif of arros' in St Martin Micklegate parish, he was again an archer in the 1542 Muster, and in 1547 he took his turn as a Beacon watcher (YCA: E 64, f 46; E 41, f 14; B 18, f 112v). He had taken part in riots by the citizens on the enclosure of Knavesmire in 1536 (B 13, f 39); his interest would have been in the right of grazing there, and he paid a surcharge of 2d for extra grazing on the common pasture in 1542 (YCA: CB 4 (1, 1542), f 55). At the end of his life he had a different association, for a short time after making his will in July 1556, he took a 21 year lease of land near St James Chapel, for the burial of those executed on Knavesmire. The rent was 8d a year, but the Bridgemasters recorded a block payment of one pound in 1558 (YCA: B 22, f 24; BR, C 90:3)

He was a witness, supervisor or executor of several wills, mostly of parishioners in St Martin Micklegate, between 1536 (Christopher Banke baker, 2 December) and 1558 (Edmond Walkynton, 23 January 1557/8: BI: Pr Reg 11, f 214v; 15B, f 147). In 1550, he was one of the executors named on 22 April by Thomas Clyntter 'otherwise called Staveley', Bachelor of Divinity and late monk of St Mary's (BI: Pr Reg 13B, f 683)²⁷. In the Archbishop's Court in 1539, he was a witness to the character of Margaret Farebain in a matrimonial case against John Preston (BI: CP G 268), but his age is not stated. Franchised in 1514, he would have been older

27 It should be noted that in William Pulley's will of 1 December 1554, John Huntington clerk was a witness, and was to write the will (BI: Pr Reg 14, f 245-245v). Other wills of St Martin Micklegate referring to John Huntington are of Richard Goodyere in 1551 and Nicholas Testis in 1555 (BI: Pr Reg 13B, f 804v; 14, f 81-81v).

than John Stamper, probably in his 60s at the time of his recorded involvement with the players.

He may not have been concerned with the Bakers' pageant after 1554; in 1555 they paid the 10s 8d to 'the plaer off oure pagand' rather than to any named baker, and in 1556 it went to the players of the pageant (R:Y, pp 322 and 323). He made his will on 18 July 1556 (BI: Pr Reg 15B, f 324v), although probate was not granted until 12 July 1558. In 1557, the player was paid 10s 8d by the Bakers, and 2 shillings went on the players' breakfast on Corpus Christi Day. An extra 4d was spent on Robert Walton's dinner on Corpus Christi Day - he was a baker, franchised in 1540 (R:Y, p 325; FY I, p 260): was he the successor of John Huntington? Typically, the Parish Register of St Martin Micklegate does not mention the burial of John Huntington.

Despite his age, did John Huntington, like John Stamper, actually perform in the pageant he helped to present? At the least, he may have been a former actor coaching his successors when he was paid for his pains in 1550. However, the possibility of older men performing should be kept in mind when considering the acting of the pageants and performing style.

In 1551, the Bakers spent 15d 'at Robert Herresons at hys pagand In wyne'; he was also a baker, franchised in 1548 (FY I, p 268). He was licensed to keep an alehouse in Bootham Ward in 1552 (YCA: E 44, p 46). The original inventory of his goods, made after his death in January 1558/9 still survives (BI: D/C Original Wills, Box 1558-1559). As an inhabitant of Bootham Ward, he need not be considered as the 'Herrison' who took a place in Micklegate for the performance in 1551 and 1554.

John Meltynby

The other men actively involved in the performance of the Corpus Christi Play were more associated with the pageants in general than with actors in particular. They were more than Pageant Masters, for in some cases they were associated with performances in more than one year. The office of Pageant Master was a junior office in the craft guild (note in the previous chapter how many of the merchants had been Pageant Masters soon after - or even before - they had been franchised), and as with city offices, candidates could 'buy' their way past the obligation. The Pageant Masters were subservient to the Searchers (see the Innholders' Ordinances in 1528 and the Locksmiths' Ordinances of 1572: R:Y, pp 246 and 368), and they collected the pageant money only to hand it over to someone like John Huntington, who organised the performance for several years. Occasionally, however, the burden fell on someone who had no choice in the matter, and who did not receive sufficient contributions and had to supply his own money. Sometimes, it would appear that men from other crafts had to be detailed to take charge.

It. to John meltonby for pageant) viij^s iiiij^d after
 money towards his chardges) iiiij^d to ye grote
 (YCA: B 20, f 132v; R:Y, p 304; 1551)

John Meltynby bookbinder, son of William Meltynby 'wollledryver', was franchised in 1537 (FY I, p 256). He apparently moved about the city: in the 1539 Muster he was an archer at St Michael Ousebridge End (YCA: E 64, f 55v; PRO: E.36/32, p 41); by 1545 he was Constable of St John Ousebridge End (YCA: E 48/49 (third section), p 6); and he paid 3s 4d on £5 goods there in February 1545/6 (PRO: E.179/217/110 and 112). By 1551 he had settled in Walmeigate, and was Constable of St Denis, where he paid

tax on £5 goods in January 1555/6 (YCA: E 50, pp 49 and 120). John Meltyby stationer was one of the Foss Bridgemasters in 1551 (YCA: C 81:6), and described as a scrivener he was licensed to keep an alehouse in Walmegate Ward in 1552 (YCA: E 44, p 79); his wife was one of the allowed brewsters in 1554 (YCA: CB 4 (2, 1554), p 54a). At the end of 1556, the city made a lease to Robert Barker of ground in Monkbridge 'latly in the holdyng of John meltonby' (YCA: B 22, f 36v). He had certainly died by 1558, when there was an order to exhibit the inventory of John Meltyby alias Cony on 30 September (BI: Admin. Act Book, York City). In 1570, Christopher Meltyby cordiner, son of John Meltyby bookbinder, was franchised (FY II, p 11).

John Meltyby was first given assistance towards the pageant in 1551, when the Lord Mayor Thomas Appleyard reallocated the pageant money of those crafts whose Marian pageants were not being played (YCA: B 20, ff 52v and 132v; R:Y, pp 297 and 304²⁸). The agreement for this allocation was taken in April, so John Meltyby may have received his 8s 4d at the time of expenditure; the note at the back of the House Book marked each sum after the rate of 4d or 2d the groat, as the groat had been devalued in July 1551 (B 20, f 67), and he was paid at the former value.

In 1554 he received help from an unsuspected source, half the fine of 10 shillings imposed on the Girdlers for holding up the other pageants during the Corpus Christi Play: he was given 5 shillings 'for bryngyng furth of the play of Saynt Thomas Avynde for the Scryveners and Textwryters who hath none to bere

28 This entry is undated (and wrongly placed in REED: YORK, p 304), but Thomas Appleyard was Mayor in 1551.

with hym in the said Charges' (YCA: CB 4 (2, 1554), p 69; B 21, f 46v; R:Y, pp 312 and 314). A survey of the Freeman's Roll from 1530 demonstrates the small number of stationers, scriveners and bookbinders franchised over the years:

1530 John Warwick stationer
 1533 Thomas Richardson stationer
 1537 John Meltynby bookbinder
 1538 John Clerke scrivener
 1541 Richard Eslyngton scrivener
 1543 John Typlady stationer
 1549 Brian Watter scrivener
 1550 Thomas Whexlay stationer
 1551 William Gatchet stationer
 1552 John Skofeld stationer
 1554 Edward Turner scrivener
 1557 John Gowthwaite bookbinder
 Thomas Wraith stationer

Traditionally, stationers and booksellers were associated with the Minster Garth (the ecclesiastical inhabitants would have provided the most customers)²⁹, and consequently they would not have to be franchised. The same applied to scriveners attached to the ecclesiastical courts³⁰.

29 Note Anthony and John Foster in the Minster Yard at the beginning of the seventeenth century (note pp 346-7 above). The Inventory of the goods of John Foster offers a unique view of the contents of a book shop (YML: L1/17:38; printed by Robert Davies in A Memoir of the York Press (1868), pp 342-374.

30 John Clerke, the city's scrivener, was accustomed to keep the Register during the performance, and would not have been available to help during the performance; but did he contribute pageant money to the occupation? John Meltynby claimed he had 'none to bere with hym in the said charges'.

Both the entries refer to John Meltynby's charges rather than work with actors, and without further information he may perhaps be seen as someone providing the finance for performers rather than directing the actors himself. Indeed, if the occupation was so small that he had no help, there may have been no formal appointment of Pageant Masters. There are no Searchers for his occupation included in the list in the Chamberlains' Book for 1554 (YCA: CB 4 (2, 1554), pp 178-181).

The separate script of the Doubting Thomas pageant of the Scriveners is the only one to have survived, and it is not as beautifully written as might be expected. It is now in the York City Archives (Acc. 104: G/1)³¹.

Thomas Glasyn

A man included in the dramatic records because of his association with his occupation's script or 'Reginall' is Thomas Glasyn. Amongst various notes and memoranda at the end of the Chamberlains' Book of 1559 is entered:

Memorandum Thomas Glasen promysed before my
Lord Mayor to bring in the Regynall of the
Inholdres pagyant that it may be Regestred/
before mydsomer next/
he apperyd the xx of
July & haith further day
geve to the xxvij of
June/

31 See A.C. Cawley, 'The Sykes MS of the York Scriveners' Play' in Leeds Studies in English and kindred Languages, Nos. 7 and 8 (University of Leeds, 1952), pp 45-80.

(YCA: Chamberlains' Book 5 (1, 1559), f 97v;
 REED:YORK, pp 330-331)

Although this entry is undated, in relation to the other entries on the page, the original memorandum would have been made between 6 and 30 May; perhaps the added note should have the dates or at least months reversed. The Innholders' pageant of the Coronation of the Virgin was not missing from the Register, where it had been copied by the main scribe³². A later hand (perhaps John Clerke's) has written 'caret' at the beginning of the pageant: might this relate to the fragment included in the Register after the Merchants' pageant, or was it a note of changes that prompted the order to Thomas Glasyn in 1559? Had there been changes in an attempt to prevent it being prohibited by the Protestant authorities? However, no further changes were made in the Register.

Thomas Glasyn was franchised as an Innholder in 1544 (FY I, p 264), the son of Thomas Glasyn capper who had died in 1531 (NI: Pr Reg 11, f 9). Both father and son belonged to St Michael Ousebridge End parish, and after the elder man's death his widow Isabelle is often mentioned. It seems as though she too kept an inn - she was fined in 1535 for not having the requisite 'bottles' of hay made up when the Searchers of Innholders examined her premises (YCA: CB 3 (2, 1535), p 63). She employed a servant, John Webster, who was noted as a

32 See The York Play facsimile, introduced by Richard Beadle and Peter Meredith (University of Leeds, 1983), p xx. 'The Osteleres' pageant is on ff 257-259v, and John Clerke added 'Alias Inholderes' to the heading. A later fragment was added (f 267) in a hand characteristic of the first quarter of the sixteenth century (p xxi), a hand distinct from that of the other sixteenth century scribe, John Clerke.

billman for St Michael Ousebridge End in 1539; perhaps at this time her son Thomas was too young (under 16) to be included in this Muster (YCA: E 64, f 56; PRO: E. 36/32, p 42), although he was noted as an archer in the list of soldiers sent to Newcastle in 1542 (YCA: B 16, f 28; E 41, f 1v). He may, then, have been about 20 or 21 when he was franchised, joining his mother in the family business. There were three other sons, Henry, who was left his father's tools but who does not appear in the Freeman's Roll; Simon, franchised as a cornmerchant in 1541; and John, a chaplain³³, franchised in 1546 (FY I, pp 261 and 266).

Widow Glasyn took the seventh place for the Corpus Christi Play in 1542, which was the next place along from Ousegate Corner (YCA: CB 4 (1, 1542), f 37; R:Y, p 278). In 1543, she rented a tenement from the city in Coney Street³⁴, and in 1544 this tenement was called Calome Hall (YCA: C 88:4 and 89:1). In 1558, the rent was paid in the name of Thomas Glasyn, and Calome Hall was 'now taken downe' (C 90:3). Calome Hall was on the banks of the river, near the site I have proposed for Thomas Appleyard's house (Figure 9, p 212), so perhaps Widow Glasyn's station was opposite the end of Jubbergate in 1542. In 1549, Isabelle Glasyn widow also held land on the other side of Coney Street, which was owned by William Hungate, and which was next to some waste ground which the city leased to George Cooke in

33 Sir John Glasyn, Vicar Choral in the Minster, made his will on 3 February 1548/9 (YML: D/C Pr Reg 3, f 24).

34 The membranes of the preceding Bridgemasters' Rolls have come apart (YCA: C 88:2 and 3, for 1534 and 1538), though some fragments may be amongst those now in Box C 92:1. It is therefore difficult to determine whether she was renting the Coney Street property when she took a station.

1549 (YCA: B 19, f 74-74v). Between 1549 and 1556, she rented a moat, close and ground at the Bean Hills near Walmeigate, which like her Calome Hall rent passed to Thomas in 1558 (YCA: Foss BR C 81:5 to 81:10)³⁵. Thomas Glasyn still rented the site of Calome Hall in 1561, but it was sold to Edward Barker Innholder in March 1562/3 (YCA: C 90:4; E 22, f 23v-24).

Had Thomas Glasyn organised the play for the Innholders as John Huntington did for the Bakers, and so happened to hold the script? He is known to have been a performer in his parish church. The Churchwardens' accounts there have several entries recording the payment to someone, often a clerk, for singing. The first I have noted is from 1534, when 4d was spent 'for ij pair of gloves for syngyng A mynd of me' (BI: PR Y/MS 4, f 110). A summary of entries in the Churchwardens' accounts (both BI: PR Y/MS 4 and the draft version BI: PR Y/MS 3)³⁶, comparing the entries from 1534 to 1548, helps to clarify the various entries. The last reference is included in notes written vertically in the margin of f 89 of the draft version; it is undated, but may relate to 1547/8; it is not in the main copy.

- 35 The joint rent of a moat outside Skeldergate Postern, which may have involved John Stamper, was probably to the father Thomas Glasyn, as it was 'lately' held by him, Henry Mores and Robert Fairby in 1538 (C 88:2).
- 36 BI: PR Y/MS 4 covers the period 1518 to 1547. REED: YORK takes its extracts from the draft accounts for 1537 to 1548, PR Y/MS 3. In comparing the accounting year in the two Books, 3 gives a date a year earlier than 4: does this imply an accounting year running from mid-year to mid-year, with the draft stating the year the accounts began and the finished version the year they were completed? REED:YORK quotes entries under 1538, 1539-40, 1541-2, 1543-4 and 1545-6.

Summary of entries of payments for
singing 'A mynd of me' at St
Michael Ousebridge End

1534	two pairs of gloves for 'syngyng A mynd of me' - 4d (Y/MS 4, f 110)
1538-9	a pair of gloves for the underclerks for 'syngyng of ye carrell of A mynd of me' - 2d (Y/MS 3, f 35; REED:YORK, p 266)
1539	a pair of gloves to the underclerks for 'syngyng off Amynd of me' - 2d (Y/MS 4, f 154v)
1539-40	a pair of gloves to the underclerk for 'syngyng Amynd off me' - 2d (Y/MS 3, f 41v; REED:YORK, pp 268, 878)
1541	a pair of gloves to the underclerk for 'playng of Amynd off me' - 2d (Y/MS 4, f 170v)
1541-2	a pair of gloves to the underclerk for 'syngyng of Amynd off me' - 2d (Y/MS 3, f 54; REED:YORK, pp 278, 878)
1543-4	a pair of gloves to the underclerk for 'syngyng of Amynd off me' - 2d (Y/MS 3, f 64; REED:YORK, pp 282-283)
1544-5	'Itm to thomas glasyng for playng Amynd of me - ij ^d ' (Y/MS 3, f 70v; REED:YORK, p 285)
1545	'Itm to thomas glasyng for playng of Amynd of me - ij ^d ' (Y/MS 4, f 203)
1545-6	a pair of gloves to the underclerk for 'syngyng Amynd of me' - 2d (Y/MS 3, f 75; REED:YORK, p 287)
1546	a pair of gloves to the underclerk for 'syngyng of Amynd off me of twolte day in crisyngmes' - 2d (Y/MS 4, f 208)
1547-8?	'Item to thomas glasyng for syngyng Amynd of me' - 2d (Y/MS 3, f 89)

The final entry is accompanied by another, 'Item of A stacioner for makyng of yem in A bok - iiiij^d' (BI: PR Y/MS 3, f 89), which may not relate to the carol, but does not obviously connect with any other item on the page. The complete entries show that 'Amynd of me' was a carol sung on Twelfth Night during the Christmas celebrations. Mostly it was sung; but on two occasions it was played. Thomas Glasyn did both; does 'playng' mean playing an instrument, or adding actions to the words? I have found nothing to suggest that Thomas Glasyn was the underclerk at the church or whether he only played or sang on the two occasions when he was named. Singing was a family talent, for his brother John was a Vicar Choral (see footnote 33 above). The Churchwardens' accounts are lost between 1548 and 1594, so the end of the tradition cannot be traced.

There is a specific instruction that the angels sing in the Innholders' pageant of the Coronation of the Virgin (The York Play, f 258), so it is possible that Thomas Glasyn's talents could have been put to use in his occupation's pageant. In that case, perhaps he can be compared to John Huntington, and held the script because he helped to organise the performance. If he had been about 20 when he was franchised in 1544, then at this time he would have been about 35, younger than John Stamper and John Huntington at the time of their known involvement with performances. The Corpus Christi Play was not performed in 1559, when order was given to him to bring in the script: receipts from places to hear the Play were nil (YCA: CB 5 (1, 1559), f 26v). In 1562 the Innholders' pageant was one of the Marian pageants not to be played (YCA: B 23, f 10), and if Thomas Glasyn was a performer he would have had to offer his services to another pageant.

He was still alive in March 1562/3 when the site of

Calome Hall was sold to Edward Barker; later in the year he stood surety for William Harryson before the High Commission (BI: HC AB 1, f 68), and in the General Muster of 8 March 1563/4, he was noted as a substantial man of St Michael Ousebridge End (YCA: E 51, p 328). This is the last reference I noted for him. The earliest surviving Parish Register of St Michael Ousebridge End does not begin until 1598, so his death is not recorded.

John Granger

John Granger Marchaunt shall be paygant maister for thyernmongars and to bryng furth the play therof this yere

(YCA: B 23, f 50; REED:YORK, p 340; 1562)

The two other men to be considered for presenting pageants are John Granger and Leonard Temple, both merchants but assigned to the Ironmongers' pageant.

John Granger had been Pageant Master for the Merchants in 1554, and was franchised in 1555, yet another example of the junior nature of the office in the Merchants' company (R:Y, p 654; FY I, p 275). He had married Anne Jackson in 1552 in Crux church, and his sons were baptised there (printed Parish Register, pp 5, 6 and 115). A deed for property in Colliergate, of March 1584/5, shows that he lived at the lower part of Colliergate close to the church, behind the tenement of Isabell Addenell and close to one owned by James Birkby (YCA: E 26, f 12v-14v). He also rented ground from the city in nearby Hungate between 1564 and 1583 (YCA: C 91:1 and 2 to 94:2). In February 1557/8 he and his wife sold a messuage in Petergate to Alderman Robert Hall, next to the one that James Birkby was to acquire at

Goodramgate corner (YCA: E 23, f 86v; E 22, f 170-170v). He never reached city office, but was a substantial or honest man of Crux parish, appointed to see the Queen's Commission carried out in 1567 and 1578 (YCA: B 24, f 76v; B 27, f 101v). He was also one of the honest Commoners who attended a council meeting in October 1579, and was on the jury for the Quarter Sessions in January 1580/1 (B 27, f 192; F 3, p 593). He paid tax on goods of £3 in 1563 and 1567 (YCA: E 51, pp 11 and 88). On 4 November 1581, Administration was granted for the estate of John Granger (BI: Admin. Act Book, York City).

He may have had some dealing with iron work, for there was a suit between him and Katheryne Ellys, the widow of John Ellys armourer, over swordblades: she eventually paid him 8 shillings her husband had owed (YCA: CB 5 (1, 1559), ff 95v and 98). The city council ordered that he should be Pageant Master for the Ironmongers on 6 April 1562, after it had been agreed to have a performance on the accustomed Corpus Christi Day (28 May) instead of St Barnabas Day (11 June) which had been considered (YCA: B 23, f 50; R:Y, p 340). Those whose work impinged on the Ironmongers' craft were expected to contribute pageant money to the Ironmongers, for in 1420 it had been decreed that anyone selling English iron-ware which he had not made himself should pay pageant money as the craftsmen did (R:Y, pp 34-5 and 720). This may be why John Granger merchant was called on to assist the Ironmongers; but whether he did any more than see to the finances of the pageant cannot be known.

At the same time that the order was given to John Granger, Christopher Grason of the Pinners was told to bring forth the pageant with the Painters as it had been agreed the previous year. That agreement of 1561 had

been in reply to the petition of the Painters, who had been providing the greater part of the cost of the joint pageant of The Crucifixion: in future, both crafts were to pay like charges (YCA: B 23, f 13; R:Y, p 332). The 1562 order to Christopher Grason might have been a formal reminder to him of the expected contribution from his craft, and he need not be seen as particularly involved in the production of the pageant.

Leonard Temple

Aggreed that Mr Leonard Temple shall haue xx^s of the Chamber towards payment of xliiij^s which allegeth to have layd forth for bryngyng forth of the yrenmongers pageant for ij yeres And renewyng the pageant. And xxiiij^s residew to be gathered of suche as occupyeth buyeng ~~se~~ & sellyng of nayles within the Citie & to haue furtherans of the officers for gathrynge the same

(YCA: B 24, f 157v; REED:YORK, p 357:
16 September 1569)

The other merchant involved with the Ironmongers' pageant was Leonard Temple, who brought it forth on two occasions. He can more clearly be seen to have links with the craft, and to have been a man used to dealing with finances. There are many references to him in the city records, including his name written upside down on an otherwise blank page in the House Book (YCA: B 21, f 26v). In 1559 there was some dispute between him and Edmund Grenebery, which on 30 May was put to the arbitration of Thomas Harper and the Chamberlains Richard Aynley, Edward Turner and John Stamper (YCA: CB 5 (1, 1559), f 97v). Of all the close participants in dramatic events in York, he held the highest office, first as Sheriff and then as a member of the Twenty Four.

He had been franchised as a merchant in 1538 (FY I, p 257) and was always associated with Crux parish. He was assessed there in the Musters of 1542 as an archer without horse or harness, and as a Beacon watcher in 1546 (YCA: E 41, f 25v; B 18, f 39v). In the tax of 1545 he was noted on goods of £4, and in November 1547 he was one of the assessors for the tax in his parish (YCA: E 48/49 (second section), f 2 and last section, p 18; PRO: E.179/217/109). In the general alert in July 1547, when ships had been seen off Flambrough, he was noted as an archer on foot (YCA: B 18, f 101v). He began his service for the city as Bridgemaster in 1548 and he was a Chamberlain the next year (YCA: C 89:5 and FY I, p 268). In February 1554/5 he was one of the tax Collectors appointed, and business from this duty continued even as late as 1559, when two men were ordered to pay him 12s 8d they owed to him as late Collector of the tax. He himself was assessed on goods of £17 in 1555/6, £10 in 1558, £7 in 1563 and £12 in 1567³⁷. However, in 1569 he and Adam Bynkes were the only members of the Twenty Four not asked for a loan towards paying off the Queen's army at the end of the Rising, and in March 1569/70 he owed 40 shillings to the cloth-making scheme which was secured by a gage of a bed-covering and a goblet (YCA: B 24, ff 179v and 192v). He had been elected Sheriff on 19 October 1562, after the death of William Harrison soon after the original election, and he was given £10 towards his charges when it was realised that he was not as rich as was thought³⁸

37 YCA: B 21, ff 78v, 83-4 and 117; B 22, f 3; CB 5 (1, 1559), f 97; E 50, pp 119 and 200; E 51, pp 11 and 87.

38 The other candidate was Edward Turner gentleman (probably the scrivener), but Mr Eymes, Secretary to the Council in the North, came himself 'in all hast' before the city council to explain that Mr Turner's clerical duties with the Council were too important for him to give time to the city's affairs.

(YCA: B 23, f 66-66v).

So although relatively wealthy, on the evidence of his tax assessments, he was not amongst the most influential in the city's affairs. He does seem, though, to have been competent in financial matters. He had been Chamberlain and tax Collector, as an office holder he was an auditor of the city accounts for 1563 (he signed the Foss Bridgemasters' accounts of that year: YCA: C 81:11), and he was one of the Collectors of a special assessment for repairing Kexby Lane in 1559 (YCA: E 51, p 302). He was also Beadle of St Thomas Hospital, in receipt of a fee in 1552 (YCA: B 20, f 102), and the Register of the Hospital (YCA: E 66) has several references to him between 1554 and 1571. In 1557, as Beadle, he brought in a note of the Hospital's lands in Stamford Bridge which he had recently viewed (E 66, p 23); and a Survey made the following year by two Aldermen, the Common Clerk and others had been set out and bounded 'by certayne metes markes & diuisiones by the knowlege and instruction of Leonard Temple Bedell of the said hospitall John Grene and John Atkynson twoo of the honest auncient tenants and inhabitantes' (pp 23 and 147-9). From 1564, he was given a loan of £10, which was renewed each year; in return, he was to pay for the Accounting Breakfasts (p 46). He also laid up the accounts of the Mayors, who were appointed Master of the Guild during their term of office. In 1565 he held the account of Thomas Appleyard (Mayor 1563), and the next year that of Mr James Symson (Mayor in 1564³⁹)

39 In February 1564/5, the St Thomas Hospital Register recorded that Mr Symson brought in the ancient Register of the Creed Play to be safely kept with the other Evidences 'as it was before' (YCA: E 66, p 48; REED:YORK, p 348). He had just finished his year as Mayor and Master of the Hospital, and his possession of the Register need not mean that he had been involved in a performance. Note, however, the later loan of the Creed Play to Richard Hutton (p 279 above).

(pp 49 and 52). On 20 September 1570, a special meeting elected Matthew Calome to be the new Beadle, after Leonard Temple's death, and the following year the loan of £10 was paid back to the Hospital (pp 67 and 69). He had made his will on 5 August 1570 (BI: Pr Reg 19B, f 596).

When, in September 1569, he was awarded 20 shillings towards his costs in bringing forth the Ironmongers' pageant, he was also given official sanction to collect the contributions from those who, as mentioned in the 1420 Ordinance, sold ironwork but who were not of the Ironmongers' craft. The Merchants would be obvious sellers of such ware, which would explain the assistance they gave to this pageant. Indeed, Leonard Temple himself came under the description of those buying and selling nails, for the Chamberlains recorded that they bought nails from him at the time of repairs to the masendew on Ouse Bridge in 1559 (YCA: CB 5 (1, 1559), f 64v), and also during the repair of Bootham Bar in 1565 (YCA: CB 5 (2, 1565), p 123). The link between Leonard Temple and the Ironmongers was close, and his son Robert was in fact franchised as an Ironmonger in 1568 (FY II, p 9). Leonard Temple had been Pageant Master of the Merchants in 1546, eight years after his franchise, so not following the pattern already observed of the office going to new members⁴⁰; it may reflect his not being amongst the wealthiest of his profession. It would appear in the case of both John Granger and Leonard Temple that they were not being chosen for their interest in the dramatic presentation, but to fulfil a duty they owed to the Ironmongers' craft.

⁴⁰ REED:YORK, p 653. Two of the other Pageant Masters that year were franchised in 1546 and 1547, which confirms the usual pattern.

2. THE PLAY ON MIDSUMMER EVEN

The 25th of June 1584

note of the charges laide oute for and
containinge the settinge forth, of the
Pageants and the Foreridinge Champions
in their apt and requisite manner.

more paid to willson the Joynr	6-0
for his workmanshippe	
more paid to Edward willson the	12-0
painter for his workmanshippe	
more to Cuthberte our m/stron	5-0
more paid to eight putters on of	
the pageants after 6 th man	4-0
more to our two drummers after	
12 th man paid	2-0
more to our Antient beaver paid	1-6
more for our two drummers dymers	
and our Antient beavers dymers	0-9
Days of our horse	
more paid oute for horse to ryde oute	
of towne to borowme certayne necessarys	
and for amans paymed to help to ryde	1-6
with them	
more paid for the mendinge of our	
Antient r/ out of the two hand	1-0
shoode playes and byschy rented	
more to our turnpeter	2-0
more paid to mason the Joynr for boorde,	
nagles, and other necessary reparations done	6-8
aboute the pageants, & for his travaile	
more laide oute in other necessary	
expentes from the fourth of June	
it was granted unto the 24 th daye	
of the saide moneth fully compleat and	
ended beinge 17 th daye after our Renc	10-6
	2-12-11

Bona & datus
the 6th of July 1584

Illustration 14: Grafton's bill of 1584

After the last performance of the Corpus Christi Play in 1569 and the Pater Noster Play in 1572, the required involvement of craftsmen in their pageant ceased. When the next civic drama was seen in the streets of York in 1584, the people associated with it were different. So far, the men named in the dramatic records have been easy to trace in the city; now, working less as part of the organisation of craftsmen and city councillors, they are sometimes difficult to identify.

John Grafton

It is also agreed that John Grafton John Jackson and William Pearson shall have in full satisfaccion of all suche money as they disbursed for the late pagiant or play on midsomer even last, and for their paines, iij^{li} vj^s viij^d

(YCA: House Book, B 28, f 145: 1 July 1584;
REED:YORK, p 406)

The initiator of the pageant or play which accompanied the Midsummer Show in 1584 was called first Thomas Grafton, then John Grafton, and even John Garston in the Chamberlains' record of the payment of his expenses¹ (YCA: B 28, ff 143 and 145; CB 5 (3, 1584), f 73v). In his own note of his charges in 1585 (now lost), he signed himself 'Jno. Grafton' (R:Y, pp 422-3).

1 REED:YORK, p 410. has transcribed this name as Barston. The scribe's 'B' and 'G' are written in a similar way, but I think the name should probably be read as Garston, which brings it closer to the correct name.

410

Thomas Grafton Schoolmaster petitioned on 3 June 1584 to be licensed 'to set forth certane compiled speaches' and to use a 'pageant frame' for that purpose, for the furtherance of the Show on Midsummer Eve. The matter was referred to the Sheriffs, who would be organising the Show (YCA: B 28, f 143). On 19 June, it was agreed that the Show should begin between four and five on the morning of Midsummer Eve, to be finished by 11 o'clock, and then 'the play' would begin at 1 o'clock. Places for the play were appointed (f 144v). The Mayor and his brethren heard the play from the chamber at the Common Hall Gates, and the ladies were entertained by the Lady Mayoress, Mrs Appleyard. Grafton himself did not call his entertainment 'a play'. In his original bill (Illustration 14, p 414; YCA: CB 6 (1, 1585), bound between ff 70 and 71), he noted his charges for 'the settinge forth of the Pageaunte and the fforerydinge Champions in their apte and requisite manner', and it covered the period from 4 June when he was given permission to go ahead, to 24 June, 'the daye after our showe'. He claimed a total of £2 12s 11d, and the city council agreed to pay him a total of £3 6s 8d for 'the late pagiant or play' (YCA: B 28, f 145). The agreement for this payment included John Jackson and William Pearson, and in his bill Grafton claimed in the plural, for 'our showe'. The Chamberlains recorded this payment to William Pearson, John Jackson and John 'Garston' (YCA: CB 5 (3, 1584), f 73v), for 'the setting forth of the play in the shewe'. Grafton may have talked of 'certane compiled speaches' and his 'show', probably feeling it was not a proper play; but the city had to distinguish between the entertainment and the Show of Armour, and probably used 'play' for a performance around a pageant².

2 For entries concerning both 1584 and 1585, see REED: YORK, pp 405-427.

In 1585, both the city and Grafton were more ambitious, and on 4 June he was given permission to procede with 'one Interlude' that he had submitted for approval, and which was formally accepted on 22 June (YCA: B 29, ff 20 and 23v). Once again, places for performance were designated, and this time the lessees had to pay 3s 4d. Also this year, various occupations of the city were assessed towards the charges of the performance, and a total of £6 15s 4d was received. The Bakers, for example, contributed 3s 4d, which was less than they had paid the players for their Corpus Christi pageant. Mr Grafton was given £3 6s 8d, this time above his expenses of 43s 10d (B 29, ff 25 and 26v; CB 6 (1, 1584), f 50)³. Mr Wormall was given 13s 4d 'for him self & his boyes', for Mr Grafton had not been able to persuade him to name his expenses for lending the choristers and writing out the songs. Grafton's bill of 1584 ends:

And as for the charges, I my sealf have bene at ether at my howse with my players or elsewhere, I think yt well bestowed, and yeald my sealf to your honnor and worshipps courtesyes, whom God longe preserve.

By your honors and worshippes most dutifull to commaund,

JNO. GRAFTON,
Schoolemaster

(quoted by R. Davies, Extracts from the Municipal Records of the City of York (1843), pp 275-6; REED:YORK, pp 422-3)

3 A draft list of assessments for contributions from the crafts, with alterations and in a different order from that on f 50, is included in the back of the 1585 Chamberlains' Book (f 90). The total here was given as £7 16d. It has been pointed out that this list of the crafts parallels the order of their former position in the Corpus Christi Play. See Sett forthe the Shew, op.cit., pp 5, 8, 11 and 109.

The Interlude or play of 1585 was much more ambitious than the first play, and was paid for by contributions from the crafts who used to pay for their pageants in the Corpus Christi Play. A total of six pageant waggons was used, and the crafts who contributed them - the Skinners, Tailors, Cooks, Innholders, Dyers and Bakers - were paid. These pageants had survived from the time of the last performances of 1569 and 1572 and only needed repairs, though they were extensive and may have included adaptations for Grafton's needs. Thomas Mason joiner worked for eight days, and Anthony Prest cartwright put a new axletree on the Innholders' waggon and hoops on some wheels (YCA: CB 6 (1, 1585), ff 71v and 72)⁴.

In 1585, the city seemed to have found a substitute for the religious drama, which had links with the martial theme of the Show (with 'fforerydinge Champions' and an 'Ancyant bearer' in 1584), and which used the pageant waggons and traditional performance through the streets. Grafton was paid a large fee on top of his expenses, and apart from the rain which damaged five visards in 1585 (according to his bill), the two plays seemed to have been successful. Why, then, were they

⁴ Anthony Prest wheelwright belonged to Trinity parish Micklegate (YCA: B 24, f 202v; B 25, f 40), and he rented a house outside Micklegate Bar adjoining and belonging to St Thomas Hospital (YCA: C 104:2). He was a surety with Thomas Mason joiner in 1578 for Leonard Craven in a matter at the Quarter Sessions (YCA: F 3, p 487). By 1595 he was a poor old man of Trinity parish and was granted relief (YCA: B 31, f 140). Thomas Mason also belonged to Trinity parish (YCA: B 24, f 202v), and in March 1562/3 he bought from the city a little cottage and garden in Ratton Row, against the walls (YCA: E 22, f 13v). They were obviously close at hand to make repairs to the pageants kept on Toft Green.

not repeated?

Of all the people who were connected with dramatic presentations in York, John Grafton has left the least trace of his presence. In fact, apart from his involvement in these two plays of 1584 and 1585 he might not have existed. He was a schoolmaster, and addressed as Mr Grafton, which gives him some status, but he went to neither Oxford, Cambridge nor the Inns of Court according to the published lists of graduates. My searches in the ecclesiastical records concerning York (in the Minster Library and the Borthwick Institute) have not yet revealed him although other schoolmasters are recorded⁵. He is not, for example, in the Subscription Book for clerics and schoolmasters to the Articles of 1562, which includes signatures from that time until 1679 (YML: S 3/4a), nor in any of the Act Books or Bailiffs' Accounts of the Minster and its Liberty. If he was schoolmaster at one of the Free schools, or even a free-lance teacher, there is no record of his appointment or licence. He may have been employed in some gentleman's household, and so have escaped official records in York.

There is only one possible candidate in York. In the Muster Roll of 2 October 1584, John Grafton was credited with a bill (or halberd) in Crux parish (YCA: E 41a, p 3). Also in Crux Parish Register are two entries which may be relevant to this man: on 27 July 1585 John Crafton was buried; and on 3 October John Grafton (father unnamed) was baptised (BI: PR Y/CR 1, ff 62v and 8v; printed Parish Register, pp 67 and 13). The readings are correct, although just possibly the

5 See below, pp 429-437; for other examples of licensed and unlicensed teachers, see End Note 14.

child could be John Grafton. Like the city scribes, could the Crux clerk have mistaken the name of a brief resident in his parish? If the identification of John Grafton schoolmaster with these isolated entries can be made, it would explain why there were no more plays or Interludes, for the man who wrote them and directed the efforts of his associates had died. No other similar attempt was made.

I remain certain that John Grafton, for all his contribution to drama in York, was not a York man⁶.

John Wormall

Mr Wormall, who lent his choristers and pricked songs, can be found in York. John Wormall was appointed songman at the Minster on 20 November 1576 with a £10 annual salary from the Vicars Choral (YML: H(4), Chapter Acts, f 149). His name caused some difficulty, being spelt here 'Wormewall'. He lived in the Bedern⁷, and so

6 There was a family of Graftons in the area of Follyfoot and Spofford to the west of York. John Grafton of Follyfoot made his will on 8 May 1587 (BI: Pr Reg 23A, f 489-489v); he owned a farm and mill, and had interest in other lands. This family made a connection with York, for John Grafton of Spofford married Katherine Dickinson at St John Ousebridge church in 1611 (BI: PR Y/J 1, f 22).

7 The Bedern was a liberty outside the jurisdiction of the York city council, and the especial dwelling place of the Vicars Choral of the Minster - they had an enclosed footbridge to take them over Goodramgate on the way to services in the Minster. The shell of their chapel remains, close to the entrance to the Bedern from Goodramgate, and their communal Hall has recently been rediscovered, built into warehouse buildings now demolished, and has been preserved. See RCHM York V, p 57.

does not often appear in the city records, but his parish church was St Michael le Belfray, and here he married Isabell alias Sibyl Killingbeck, the sister of Francis Killingbeck notary public, on 25 February 1583/4 (printed Parish Register, p 45). Later that same year, John Wormall gentleman was a surety for the franchise money of William Warryner haberdasher (YCA: CB 5 (3, 1584), f 94).

His position as songman confirms what could be suspected from the 1585 records of his association with Grafton's Interlude: he was providing highly trained choristers from the Minster for the performance. For the first time since the fifteenth century clerks, there is evidence of 'professional' direction of a dramatic presentation in York. The city decided that he should have 13s 4d reward, in comparison to the £3 6s 8d paid to John Grafton, which could suggest that the singing was not a major component of the Interlude. The clerk keeping the city Chamberlains' account also struggled with his name, writing 'Mr Wormemall' (YCA: CB 6 (1, 1585), f 70v; R:Y, p 420). John Wormall was later paid 20 shillings through the Minster Fabric accounts of 1587 to buy strings for the choristers' instruments (YML: E 3/61; R:Y, p 432). He remained in York for the rest of his life, and when the city began to collect and record the tax contributions from the Bedern, he is recorded assessed on £3 goods there between 1591 and 1595 (YCA: E 59a, ff 118v, 135, 151v, 165(ii)v and 180).

In 1587, he brought cases concerning tithes against both John Rawden and Robert Cotterill; the second referred to the tithes of Heworth said to be leased by Thomas Corney to Mr Wormall (BI: CP G 2300 and 3216). There may have been some disagreement between John Wormall and Thomas Corney (a clerk in the Minster). In June or July of 1593 Sibyl Wormall maliciously defamed

Thomas Corney in the Bedern, when she said

thowe art weary of thy children and Repynes
at myne but my children shall florische like
Oliue branches when thowe and thyne shall rott
like dead and stincking Carrion in your graves
... hang the for thy fleshe dothe fall from
thy face for verie envye ... what art thoue
but a stage player for thou played the Madd
foole vpon a stage ... go thy waies thou
stinckinge advlterer

(BI: D/C Cause Papers, 1593/6)

Not surprisingly, Thomas Corney sued her for defamation before the Dean and Chapter Court. Sibyl Wormall may have been speaking out of a sense of achievement, for she had just produced twins, William and an unnamed daughter, baptised in St Michael le Belfray on 4 June 1593. Her children may have flourished, but she herself died the next year after the birth of her second son. John was baptised on 26 September 1594, and she was buried two days later (St Michael le Belfray printed Parish Register, pp 70, 72 and 74).

Francis Killingbeck left two bequests to his brother-in-law, a ring and a double gilt salt, with a silver spoon to each of the children (BI: Pr Reg 29B, f 519v-520: will dated 4 August 1602, codicil 19 February 1603/4). I have found no entry for John Wormall's death. John Wormall married Ann Middleton widow as St Martin Coney Street church on 10 February 1612/3 - was this the father, or the son - by now 18? (printed Parish Register, p 57). Drake in Eboracum (p 496) said that John Wormall was buried in York Minster with the following inscription on his monument:

Musicus et logicus hic jacet ecce Johannes
Organe namque quasi fecerat ille loqui

which he translated 'Here lies John Wurnal, so well

skilled in the Art of Music and speech, that he even made the Organ speak'⁸.

John Jackson

The other two associates of John Grafton appear to have been York citizens, and the difficulty is deciding which of the several people with those names are the right ones. Between 1525 and 1583, there were eleven John Jacksons franchised, with three more by 1598. One of these was the Merchant Draper of 1552 (FY I, p 272) who had refused to pay towards the charge of bringing out the pageant in 1554 (YCA: B 21, f 63; p 54 above). John Jackson of St Michael Ousebridge End had been a brewer in 1562 (YCA: B 23, f 51), and John Jackson draper was licensed as a brewer in 1587/8⁹ (YCA: E 45, p 45). John Jackson draper had also been a surety for William Pearson tailor to keep an alehouse, both in 1563 and 1565 (YCA: E 44, p 239; F 2, p 125). The link with brewing would explain why 'Father Jackson' bestowed two drinkings on the singers in 1585, according to Grafton's bill of that year. Two John Jacksons, the draper and the brewer, were sureties for Robert Monkton of St Michael Ousebridge End in March 1585/6 (YCA: E 45, p 46). The Innholder John Jackson, franchised in January 1582/3 at the end of Robert Brooke's year (FY II, p 23; YCA: B 28, f 83v) belonged to St Margaret's parish (YCA: E 45, pp 53 and 55) and is separate from the draper/

8 I am grateful to David Griffiths of York University for making this inscription known to me.

9 The date given suggests 28 January 1586/7, but the Mayor was given as Ralph Richardson, which means a date of 1587/8, at the end of his year of office.

brewers. John Jackson draper leased a small property, the Backhouse, from St Michael Ousebridge End church in 1584 (BI: PR Y/MS 16 a-b), and he passed this on to his son John in 1594; at the same time John Jackson elder also made over the interest to John Jackson younger in property demised to William Pearson tailor (BI: PR Y/MS 17 and 53: two Grants of 8 May 1594; see Figure 13, p 343).

In 1577, John Jackson, parish clerk of St Michael Ousebridge End was bound to be of good behaviour in religious matters by the High Commission, and released from the kidcote (BI: HC AB 9, f 116). He retained his position at the church, for in 1594 the churchwardens of St Michael's paid a stipend of £5 to John Jackson clerk; this was also paid in 1595, 1597 and 1599. In 1596 and 1597, Mr Jackson 'counsellor' owed his contribution to the clerk's wage (BI: PR Y/MS 2, ff 3, 8, 13, 15v, 17 and 23v). In the plague year of 1604, John Jackson, clerk of St Martin Coney Street parish, died at Roger Jackson's house and was buried at St Michael's on 18 August (BI: PR Y/MS 1, f 7v). There was also John Jackson younger at St John Ousebridge End, whose own son John was baptised in 1600 (BI: PR Y/J 1, f 3).

This glance at John Jacksons has omitted several of that name active during the 1580s: a cutler, an officer, a tailor, a tanner, a yeoman, a glover and a feltmaker; there was one in St Martin Micklegate parish and another in the Minster Yard in the 1590s. It is impossible to identify all the entries with certainty. I have suggested two in St Michael Ousebridge End parish, both linked with brewing, an elder and a younger, which could explain the title 'Father' Jackson, and associated with property behind the corner of High Ousegate and Spurriergate. They also had a link with William Pearson, a tailor who kept an alehouse.

William Pearson

William Pearson tailor was working in Walmegate Ward by 1562, when he was one of those bound under the Ordinance not to make 'great hose' (YCA: B 23, f 56), and was probably the tailor franchised in 1547 (FY I, p 266). In 1563, he was licensed to keep an alehouse, and belonged to St Michael Ousebridge End parish (YCA: E 44, pp 239 and 390). William Harris Cantor, who made his will by word of mouth on 17 September 1575, and asked to be buried in the Minster, left the residue of his goods to 'his hoste' William Pearson tailor, who was the executor (BI: D/C Pr Reg 5, f 75).

However, at the time of Grafton's performance, there was another William Pearson, a goldsmith who lived in the parish of St Helen Stonegate, where his children were baptised between 1577 and 1596 (BI: PR Y/HEL, ff 3-12), and he was assessed there in the Muster of 1584 (YCA: E 41a, p 35). He appears regularly in the city records; for example, in 1580 he made the new mace, garnished the two swords and mended the old mace (YCA: B 27, ff 238v and 243); he made four cognisants for the Waits in 1593 (B 31, f 27v; CB 7 (2, 1593), ff 54 and 56); and in 1603 he was asked to make a cup to present to Queen Anne (B 32, f 270). He was a witness of the will of William Gilmyrn vintner in 1591 (BI: Pr Reg 24B, f 579v-580). He paid tax on £3 goods in 1593, which by 1595 was 20 shillings lands (YCA: E 59a, ff 150v and 178), and he was a Bridgemaster in 1595 (YCA: B 31, ff 151 and 154v).

William Pearson tailor disappears from St Michael Ousebridge End parish after 1575, but from 1583 there was a William Pearson in the parish of St John del Pyke, when he was one of the Collectors for the poor (YCA: B 28, f 107v) and a regular assessor for the tax (see

1586 and 1592: YCA: E 59a, ff 27 and 127v). He too was an Innkeeper, and he was bound not to sell meat in Lent in 1593, 1594 and March 1600/1; there is an example of his licence from 1594 (YCA: E 45, pp 329, 338 and 116; E 46, p 116).

There are two other references to a man of this name; one was clerk of St Anthony's Hospital, who was in dispute with Mr Holdesworth the late Master in 1589 (YCA: B 30, f 154v); another was buried at Crux church in 1596 (printed Parish Register, p 70). Administration on a William Pearson was taken out on 4 March 1604/5 (BI: Admin. Act Book, York City); this may be the Pyke parish man; the goldsmith was still alive in 1607 when he paid rent to the city for a garth in Monkgate (YCA: C 96:5).

Deciding who assisted John Grafton in his presentations must at the moment be guesswork. Because they were not associated through their crafts, as individuals they are difficult to identify.

3. RICHARD MIDDLETON AND OTHERS

EPIGRAMS and Satyres:

Made by Richard Middleton
of Yorke Gentleman.

*Veritas odium parit.
Stanti firmè, nullus lapsus.*



LONDON,
Printed by NICHOLAS OKES for IOSEPH HARRISON
dwelling at the signe of the Grey-hound in Pater
Noster-Row. 1608.

There was not a total disappearance of dramatic activity by York citizens after 1585, but it was not 'playd shewed or publisht in the streates of this cittie' in the manner of the Corpus Christi Play or Grafton's Interlude. The initiative of John Grafton, who was a schoolmaster, and the use of Mr Wormal's choristers, indicates how an experience of dramatic activity could be gained by the young in York after 1572, even though it fed off the new drama introduced by the travelling players, rather than York's traditional plays and entertainments.

Teaching through drama was not unusual¹. Latin and other languages were taught through dialogues, and oratory was an important skill, whilst Humanism also encouraged a study of Greek and Latin dramatists. Nicholas Udall's pupils gave the first performance of Ralph Roister Doister and one of his pupils, William Malim, who became Headmaster of Eton in 1560, set out his views on the use of drama:

Towards the Feast of the Divine Andrew, the Schoolmaster is accustomed to select, according to his own choice, the best and most suitable dramatic stories, which the boys perform at the following nativity festivals, sometimes in public before spectators, and always with a propriety which befits a school. The art of acting is a trifling one, but for teaching oratorical delivery and suitable gestures and movements of the body, nothing is more calculated to achieve these aims.
At times he may also present dramas composed in

1 This summary is based on Chapter IX, The Humanist Schools, in Drama and Education by P.A. Coggin (London, 1956), pp 58-70.

the English language which have subtlety and humour.

(quoted by P.A. Coggin, Drama and Education, p 63)

Such school drama was known in York.

John Fletcher

There were two important schools in York. One had been founded by Archbishop Holgate, already in existence by the end of 1546, but formally created by the Foundation Deed of 20 January 1546/7 (YCA: E 21, Foundation Deed and Articles). This school was originally housed in the Minster Close, on land adjoining the parish church of St John del Pyke. The Mayor and Aldermen had some interest in the appointing of the Masters, for according to the fifth clause of the Foundation Deed, if the Archbishop was late making the appointment, first the Dean and Chapter and finally the Mayor and Aldermen could make the appointment².

The Mayor and Aldermen exercised this right when John Fletcher was sworn Master on 13 November 1564; having been lately nominated and admitted by the Mayor and Aldermen, he took his oath before the Mayor Mr Symson, Aldermen John Bean, William Watson and Ralph Hall, the retiring schoolmaster John Nettleton, the Common Clerk, Thomas Fale, John Clerke and many others

2 Information on Archbishop Holgate's School has been taken from A History of Archbishop Holgate's Grammar School, York, 1546-1946 by E.N. Jewels, based on his thesis, University of Leeds, 1957, and published by the Foundation Governors of the School (1963).

(YCA: B 23, f 162). John Fletcher had studied at St John's College Cambridge, and at the beginning of 1564 he had been teaching in Bishophill in York: on 23 March 1563/4 he appeared before the ecclesiastical authorities in York, described as 'Schoolmaster at Bishophill in the city of York aged 24 years ... knows Latin very exactly and can translate, is well disposed concerning the principal articles of the Catholic Faith ... and freely and willingly subscribed to them'. He was authorised to teach at Bishophill, 'to profess publicly the science of grammar and to interpret and expound to youth good authors, and also to catechise boys and to teach them the pure elements' (quoted by Jewels, p 22). In 1566, there was a suit between Alderman Symson and John Fletcher schoolmaster of the 'high skole', on which the Recorder was asked to advise (YCA: B 24, f 57). There are also references to payments by the city to Mr Fletcher; in June 1566 he was to be paid £5 5s at Michaelmas and the Annunciation, and in May 1567 he was to be paid only those arrearages due to him (B 24, ff 46v and 75v).

In the 1573 Chamberlains' accounts in the Minster (known as St Peter's Part), there is a payment of 30 shillings to Mr Fletcher and his scholars 'in reward' (YML: E 2/21, f 7). The previous entry had been of a payment of 13s 4d to the choristers 'in Rewarde at Christmas 1573^o', and this may indicate that Mr Fletcher's scholars had performed a suitable dramatic story at the nativity festival, as suggested by William Malim. If so, it is the earliest reference to a performance by scholars at York.

The other free grammar school in York was set up in the former Hospital of St Mary in the Horsefair, near Gillygate outside Bootham Bar. It received a licence from Philip and Mary in 1557, and was under the

jurisdiction of the Dean and Chapter. Attempts have been made to trace this back to the Anglo-Saxon school run at York by Alcuin; evidence for the medieval school lasts until 1504³. At some time, John Fletcher changed from one school to the other, for on 11 May 1575 the Dean and Chapter appointed William James schoolmaster of the Free School in the Horsefair, on the deprivation of John Fletcher (YML: H (4), Chapter Acts, f 127v). The reason for his removal was that he had become, or was revealed to be, a Catholic (his profession of the 'Catholic' faith before the ecclesiastical authorities had signified acceptance of the established religion), and references to him are to be found in the records of recusants to the end of the century. The authorities were more strict with those recusants who held positions of responsibility or were well educated, for it was considered that they were a bad influence on the more ignorant population. They were always kept separate in the prisons at York Castle and Hull⁴. On 29 October 1575, John Fletcher, former Schoolmaster, was ordered to be removed from the Peter Prison in the Minster jurisdiction to Ripon, because of his abuse of Peter Prison, 'cawsing great access to the said place by his doinges'; he was moved on 13 November 1575 (BI: HC AB 8, ff 149 and 237). At some point, he was returned to York, for in January 1576/7 he was amongst the recusant prisoners sent from York to Hull (BI: HC AB 9, f 63). He remained a long-term prisoner, and in 1585 he was

3 Information on the history of St Peter's School (the school in the Horsefair in the Elizabethan period) has been taken from History of St Peter's School: York AD 627 to the present day by Angelo Raine (1926).

4 See the instructions to the keepers of both prisons: BI: HC AB 9, f 58v-59v (December 1576) and HC AB 10, ff 88v-89 (1581).

under house-arrest, with a condition to yield himself at Hull prison in October unless he conformed (BI: HC AB 11, ff 15v and 23). He must have made some concessions, for he seemed to be living in York in 1586; on 13 February 1585/6 Anne, daughter of John Fletcher schoolmaster, was baptised at St Helen's Stonegate church (BI: PR Y/HEL 1, f 6v)⁵. John Fletcher, sometimes a Schoolmaster, was noted as a recusant living in Monk Ward in February 1598/9 (YCA: B 31, f 400v), and on 12 October 1599, amongst the convicted and continual recusants 'to be abiured this Realme' was John Fletcher of St Cuthbert's parish, Aldwark, Schoolmaster and old recusant (YCA: B 32, f 52).

In March 1599/1600 John Fletcher gentleman and others were presented at the Quarter Sessions for not attending church (YCA: F 6, f 357v), and in February and March 1606/7 John Fletcher of York gentleman refused to take the oath of supremacy before the High Commission because he had made it before the Mayor of York (BI: HC AB 15, ff 18v, 25 and 29v); but I do not know whether he can be identified with the Schoolmaster.

John Pullen

John Fletcher's successor at the Horsefair school, William James, freely resigned after less than a year, and John Pullen was elected by the Dean and Chapter as Master in his place on 5 March 1575/6 (YML: H(4),

5 In 1588, Faythe, the daughter of Mr Fletcher, was baptised in St Michael le Belfray church (printed Parish Register, p 59), and the Chamberlains that year paid Mr Fletcher two years' arrearages of fee, 26s 8d (YCA: Chamberlains' Book 6 (3, 1588), f 71v); but I do not know whether this was the same man.

Chapter Acts, f 143v). He continued the tradition of the disgraced Mr Fletcher, and the St Peter's Part account in the Minster for 1576 shows a payment of 20 shillings to 'the Scollers of the horsfaire players' (YML: E 2/21, f 17v; R:Y, p 382). They received as much as the professional players who came that year, the Earl of Essex's Men and Lord Stafford's Men, and twice as much as 'Lancashyre men players'. Although the city Chamberlains paid £6 4s 10d the same year for the players, minstrels and other honourable men's servants (YCA: CR C 7:2), there is no Chamberlains' Book surviving to indicate whether the scholars played in the Common Hall.

John Pullen was related to a family of Pullens (or Pulleynes) in York. Peter Pulleyn, a vintner, in his will of 19 July 1578 referred to his cousin Sir Henry Pulleine clerk, a nephew Robert Pulleine and a cousin John Pullene vicar of Fuiston; John Pulleyne Schoolmaster was a supervisor along with Anthony Pulley and Henry Pulleine clerk (BI: Pr Reg 21A, f 243v-244)⁶.

None of the Chamberlains' Books have survived between 1565 and 1584, so a true assessment of a tradition of public acting by York scholars cannot be made. No payment was made to them in 1584, but the 1585 Chamberlains paid 40 shillings to 'John pullen skollers' who played in the Common Hall in January 1584/5 (this must have been one of the first payments they made that year, for they were elected on 15 January). This date agrees with the suggested period of Christmas for the performance before the Dean and Chapter in 1573, and William Malim's advice for nativity playing. The

6 I have chosen the spelling 'Pullen' from the 1585 entry in the Chamberlains' Book.

payment of 40 shillings is high, in comparison to 10 shillings given to Worcester's Men the following March, and 20 shillings to Oxford's Men in June. Some anonymous players in November were also paid 20 shillings. Alderman Appleyard was given 16d he spent for torches in the Common Hall during the performance of Mr Pullen's play (YCA: CB 6 (1, 1585), ff 65a and 68v; R:Y, p 418).

The Common Hall was the usual venue for such performances, and Mr Pullen's activities with his scholars were not being used to create the substitute civic drama which Mr Grafton was offering at the same time. Grafton's 'compiled speeches' and an Interlude were designed to accompany the Show of Armour, and the city immediately organised them in the tradition of the processional drama to which they were accustomed. John Pullen's Christmas period entertainment, and that of the travelling players, was an indoor performance on a static stage; and after the disappearance of John Grafton, Mr Pullen was not apparently called on to take his place.

The Chamberlains' Books for 1587, 1588 and 1590 survive, but include no other payments to Mr Pullen, although several to professional companies are recorded. Nor do the Minster Chamberlains record any payment to him. It should not then be assumed that Mr Pullen or his predecessor had formed a company of child actors on the lines of the children's companies in London⁷. The evidence suggests nothing more than a use of drama for educational ends, with a public demonstration in the Christmas period.

7 Angelo Raine, in his History of St Peter's School, p 80, seems to suggest this.

Administration was granted for 'John Pulleine' on 30 December 1590 (BI: Admin. Act Book, York City), which may be the Schoolmaster, for on 17 February 1590/1 the Dean and Chapter appointed John Bayles MA to be Master of the Free School in the Horsefair after the 'morte naturale' of John Pullen⁸. He was succeeded by William Thomas in January 1595/6 and John Johnson in 1614, but none of these are associated with acting ventures (YML: H(4), Chapter Acts, ff 273, 320 and 489v.

Other Schoolmasters

John Fletcher must have moved from Holgate's School to the Horsefair School by 1572 (so that his 1573 performance in the Minster Liberty was with those scholars), because in a Matrimonial case before the Archbishop's Court in 1572, one of the witnesses was Margery Clerkson, wife of William Clerkson, Schoolmaster of the Free School (BI: CP G 1555). This is obviously the Bishop Holgate School, for on 21 November 1576 the Dean and Chapter appointed Peter Stockdale MA as Master of the School in the Minster Close founded by Robert Holgate, after the resignation of William Clerkson (YML: H(4), Chapter Acts, f 149-149v). His resignation was not surprising after the events of the year. First, he was presented before the Quarter Sessions in the city: on 24 August he was bound to keep the peace against Ralph Iles, and on 14 September both he and his wife (Marion) were bound to keep the peace against William

8 Angelo Raine, in History of St Peter's School, notes a John Pullen alias 'old Master' named as a suspect Jesuit in Yorkshire in 1593, and speculates that it was the same man; I have found nothing to confirm this. Raine, History, p 84.

Hutchinson and Francis Ssynk (YCA: F 3, pp 250, 253 and 254). In both these cases he was described as a scrivener. William Clerkson Schoolmaster was presented before the High Commission Court in September and October for not exercising his office and consorting with a woman; for a time he was held in York Castle (BI: HC AB 9, between ff 37v and 42v). The former Schoolmaster was concerned in a matter before the city council in 1580; he had sublet a moat near Monk Bar to John Philipps, who had done some damage, and he was ordered to bring in his title to the property (YCA: B 27, ff 245v and 257).

Peter Stockdale, successor to William Clerkson, was occasionally mentioned in the city records when he did not pay his tax assessment (YCA: B 28, f 39v: 31 January 1581/2), or keep the water sewer at the back of his house clean (YCA: E 31 (first section), ff 29 and 73v - 1576 and 1578; and (second section), p 43 - 21 October 1579; see Jewel, pp 23-24).

It may be that someone kept on the tradition of school drama, for in 1591 the St Peter's Part account recorded a payment to Mr Foster Schoolmaster of 20 shillings (YML: E 2/21, f 40). This is the usual amount paid to players, and it may represent a performance by schoolchildren. I have not found any other references to Mr Foster.

Mr Smith was a Schoolmaster in York at the time of King James' arrival on his first journey to London after his accession; the city council asked him to provide a 'good speech and shewe' to welcome the King, and he asked for time to think about it (YCA: B 32, f 253v; R:Y, p 506). No payment to him is entered in the Chamberlains' Book, and no Show is mentioned in 'The True Narration' of King James' progress (R:Y, pp 514-5),

so perhaps he did nothing. The highlight of this particular welcome seems to have been the Conduit that ran wine all day; this cost £46 13s 2d to make, and included a carved mermaid (YCA: CB 11 (2, 1603), ff 72v-73). The elaborate Shows of the fifteenth century which greeted Richard III and Henry VII, and which occasionally used the pageant waggons, were a thing of the past.

Diverse citizens' sons

It would not be surprising if some of the children who had participated in school drama in the 1570s and 1580s, and who had also seen the travelling players, developed a passion for the more trifling art of acting itself, but there was no more civic drama in which they could participate. It would appear, however, that some were able to perform for their own pastime, for in February 1596/7 20 shillings was given 'in Reward to the Citties players' who performed in the Common Hall (YCA: CB 9 (1, 1597), f 59; R:Y, p 476).

On 16 December 1605, the House Book minutes record:

And nowe diuerse Cittizens sonnes of this
Cittye have made humble sute to thes presentes
that they might be licensed to playe in this
Cittye dureinge this tyme of christenmas next
It is agreed by thes presentes that they
shalbe licensed to playe in christenmas tyme,
so as they do not plaie on the sabaith daies
~~nor in the eveninges/~~ nor in the night/
(YCA: B 32, f 385)

It would be surprising if these sons included apprentices, or even young craftsmen, for that would mean they had been deserting their proper work to

rehearse and play, which the city council would not condone. Some things were the province of the gentry, and not considered part of the craftsman's attributes. For example, in March 1565/6, a Master of Fence currently in the city was ordered not to teach servants and apprentices of craftsmen (YCA: B 24, f 42). Entertainment for the gentry and honest men, however, was permissible and to be encouraged. 'Dyveres worshipfull gentylnen' had asked in April 1568 to have a Cockpit made in the city 'that they myght Resorte vnto, for there pastyme and to spend there money here, that they were wont to spend in other places'. The council thought it would be 'A commoditie to this Citie', and the cause of money being spent at victuallers' and other craftsmen's premises, so they agreed that some ground in the former Friary garth next to the Common Hall could be used for the purpose, either at the Chamber's cost or the cost of honest men who would take it (YCA: B 24, f 108). Such a place would hardly have been set up at the city's cost to tempt apprentices from their work; the city agreed to it because it might provide them with more work.

An extreme example of an apprentice who wasted his time is recorded in 1591, in the case of Nicholas Cripling, apprentice to Peter Wilkinson hatter since 1586. In that time, Nicholas had been absent various times without licence, and spent his master's goods 'in frequentinge hauntinge & kepinge company with noughty women and other persons'. He had been dismissed and then taken back into service, but he had again stolen goods, and 'had haunted vnto the company of one Jane ffoster & frequented the daunsinge scole & other lude company & vsed to playe at vnlawfull games'. The apprentice had been sacked after he had been well instructed and become a 'cunning' craftsman, but his former master was now left with no suitable assistant

and had been forced to pass work on to others. In sorting out the initial complaint between Peter Wilkinson and Nicholas's surety John Fell, the council decided to sentence Nicholas to stand in public view in the market place for three days, displaying a notice of his crimes, with the intention of terrifying others from committing the like offences (YCA: B 30, ff 290-291v). The dancing school was obviously not a place for learning social graces, and certainly not the place for an indentured apprentice. Nicholas Cripling, however, was franchised in due course as a haberdasher, the son of John Cripling tailor, in 1595 (FY II, p 38); he must have settled down to the business of earning a living.

The diverse young men may have been the heirs of 'dyverse the honest youngmen of this Citie' who had presented an 'honest & pleasant pastyme' on Shrove Tuesday in 1555 (p 34 above)⁹. 'Honest' in York usually went with 'substantial' or wealthy, and these were probably the sons of more well-to-do citizens who did not need to be put to a trade and so had time to indulge in pleasant pastimes. They may have been friendly with the sons of the gentry who lived in the city or in the surrounding countryside: an important section of the community, but because they did not come under the controls exercised by the city over craftsmen very little mentioned in the records. Only in rare circumstances do we learn of communal activities, such as the shooting match, again in 1555, when Francis Willestrop esquire and some of his friends arrived intending to pick a fight with Sir Thomas Metham, whose

9 1555 was a pleasurable year in York; in July, the Sheriffs were allowed to keep some fine money paid to them, because they had presented the city 'dyverse notable pleasures this yeare' (YCA: B 21, f 99v).

brother Francis was taking part in the competition. The Mayor William Beckwith wrote an account of the affair to the Lord President, assuring him that the 'varyaunce was stayed' by the gentlemen present; Sir Thomas Metham was bound to keep the peace, but Francis Willestrop refused to attend to be bound in his turn (YCA: B 21, f 100v). There may have been more such events, unmarred by any quarrelling and so unrecorded.

Despite lack of references, city players existed after 1605, and were available in 1617 when James I visited the city again. This time, instead of seeking out a schoolmaster to write a speech for his arrival, the city council determined to speak with a poet, to ask him to 'invent' a speech on the theme of making the River Ouse navigable (a scheme suggested by James himself during his first visit). This piece would be 'vttered or acted by some of the players in this Citty'. The piece was duly written, and 'A showe and speach' was made to the King on Ouse Bridge, and the text copied into the House Book with an account of the whole visit. 'Mr Penven the poett' received a total of £7 15s 4d, the 'Acter of Speach' 11 shillings, and a painter who painted the house on Ouse Bridge 5 shillings (YCA: B 34, ff 118-120v; CB 16 (1, 1617), p 119; R:Y, pp 549, 554-5 and 558).

Richard Middleton

Richard Middleton and others presented a petition to the city council in 1609,

that they might be permitted to erect A Theater or playhouse within this Citty wherin such as have bene borne and brought vpp therin should imploy ther laborious expenses for the

maintenance therof which might be A meanes to restrayne the frequent Comminge thervnto of other Stage plaiers, and they would yeild xli per annum vnto this Corporacion

(YCA: B 33, f 173v; R:Y, p 530)

On 22 September, the council agreed to their request, on the understanding that they accepted conditions which would be imposed in due course. The petitioners happily went ahead with work on a building. Noting that strangers from outside York had been included in the company, and worse still that they had been joined by 'some of manuell occupacons in this Cittie who do intend to give over ther occupacons and fall to an idle Course of life', the city council used the excuse that the petitioners had neglected to attend to hear the conditions that would be imposed, and discharged them from keeping any playhouse in the city 'as they will answeere at their own perells' (YCA: B 33, f 187; R:Y, p 531). Thus the attempt to provide a home for native drama and talent came to an abrupt end. Its demise before it even properly began makes the speculation pointless, as to whether they were creating an open-air building in the style of the Globe in London, or an indoor theatre with which the York audience was familiar through performances in the Common Hall. The refusal shows that the players of the city must be assumed to be drawn from the leisured young gentlemen, for it was the participation of manual workers in such an idle pastime that offended the city council.

Richard Middleton, the only man of the group named, represents the final stage of dramatic activity in York. There are several references to a man of this name about this time, and although there are many Middletons in York throughout the period under consideration, I have noted none called Richard until now (although there was a Richard Middleton in the first half of the century).

It is not possible to prove that all the entries in this period refer to the same man, but they present a plausible picture of one man's life.

On 11 July 1584, Richard Middleton, son of George Middleton, was baptised in the church of St Martin Coney Street (printed Parish Register, p 8)¹⁰. It is worth examining his family connections. George Middleton was a draper, franchised in 1575, the son of Thomas Middleton chandler (FY II, p 16). Thomas was buried in St Martin Coney Street church on 16 May 1567 (printed Parish Register, p 73). The family retained strong Catholic sympathies. George's brother Thomas had a son, Robert, who went to France and trained as a priest in Douay; he was arrested on his return to England in 1600 and was executed at Lancaster in 1601¹¹. George's sister Margaret married John Clitherow butcher in 1571 (printed Parish Register, p 50); after several periods in prison and several opportunities to conform, she was executed as a Catholic in 1586. On 8 September 1567, not long after Thomas Middleton's death, his widow Jane had married Henry May (printed Parish Register, p 50).

10 In her will of 11 December 1588, Jane Turner widow left 2 shillings to her godson Richard Middleton, the son of John Middleton merchant deceased (BI: Pr Reg 24B, ff 589-590). The birth of this son is not recorded in the Parish Register of All Saints Pavement where his five other children were baptised between 1555 and 1564. John was twice married, and had originally lived in St Sampson's parish until about 1551 (YCA: E 50, pp 24 and 74). He died in 1576 (BI: Admin. Act Book, York City, 10 October 1576). Apart from finding no other reference to this son, I am inclined to believe that someone born in 1584 is a more likely candidate for the aspiring drama presenter in 1609 than someone of the generation of John Middleton's children.

11 A Literary and Biographical History or Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics volume V, edited by Joseph Gillow (London, 1902), pp 12-14.

Henry May was an Innholder who had been franchised in 1567 (FY II, p 8). He became Sheriff in 1570 (YCA: B 24, f 213v) and an Alderman on 1 March 1580/1 (B 28, f 3v), and he was Mayor in the year his step-daughter was executed. His first wife died in 1585, and he married Anne Thomson in February 1585/6 whilst he was Mayor (St Martin Coney Street printed Parish Register, pp 77 and 51). They had three sons, Edward (1586), Henry (1588) and Ralph, who died as a baby (1596) (pp 9, 10, 12 and 80). Alderman May was buried on 2 July 1596 (p 80), and his widow married Gabriel Thwaites in January 1596/7 (p 53). In his will, Henry May referred to his sons-in-law George Middleton and John Clitherow, and George Middleton was a witness (BI: Pr Reg 26B, ff 382v-384)¹².

George Middleton draper¹³ had eight children; the oldest, Thomas and Jane, died as infants; the others were Arthur, Anne, Thomas, Jane and Richard, followed by Elizabeth, who may also have died young (St Martin Coney Street printed Parish Register, pp 5-9 and 75-7). George was a Chamberlain in 1580 (YCA: B 27, f 212v); he paid tax on £5 goods in 1581; by 1589 his assessment was on £3, and it remained at this level (YCA: E 51, p 261; E 59a, ff 84v and 223v). His son Thomas was franchised as an Innholder on 20 January 1606/7 (YCA: CB 13 (1, 1607), p 167; FY II, p 55), and it is possible that George already practised that profession himself,

12 Although Henry May had been Mayor at the time of the death of Margaret Clitherow, her brother and husband do not seem to have held him responsible in any way, nor held any grudge against him. In any case, the city had no jurisdiction over the court that condemned her.

13 There was another family of Middletons in North Street, all tanners, and at this time there was a George Middleton tanner, who was also licensed to keep an alehouse. There is usually no difficulty in differentiating between the two men.

although there is no mention of this until March 1608/9, when he was given a new 21 year lease by the city of land outside Skeldergate Postern, and when he was described as an Innholder (YCA: B 33, f 158; E 76 (third section), p 34). He had in fact held the close at Bowe Bridge and a garth at Skeldergate Postern since 1580, when they became free on the death of the previous tenant Alderman John Bean. He was identified as a draper in some of the entries in the Bridgemasters' Rolls (YCA: C 93:3 and 94:7). The land was held in his name until 1627 (YCA: E 76 (Section 3), p 35).

This close near Bowe Bridge outside Skeldergate was the scene for the first appearance of the adult Richard Middleton in the records. On 5 June 1605, Henry May (the younger), William Birkhead and Richard Middleton were committed for casting capstones from the stone bridge adjoining Skeldergate, and they were to be bound for good behaviour (YCA: B 32, f 36lv). It cost 9s 6d to repair the bridge on 7 and 8 June (YCA: CB 12 (1, 1605), p 169(i)). The closeness of the bridge to George Middleton's land suggests the identification with his son Richard. Richard may be exonerated by the fact that the jetty and Bowe Bridge outside Skeldergate Postern were noted to be in decay during the view of the Common Rents in 1602 (YCA: E 76 (first section), f 4). If nothing had been done, the three young men were probably only helping the falling stones on their way. It is interesting to see Richard in the company of Henry May, son of the Alderman, and to know the family association continued.

Richard Middleton's next escapade, in the same year, was more serious. On Friday 22 November 1605, William Hall (the son of George Hall of Strensall) was brought in and examined on a charge of breaking various glass windows the previous Sunday night. He confessed that the windows had been broken by Richard Middleton, William

Atkinson cordwainer, and John Porter servant of Sir Matthew Redmayne. Six householders had suffered, and the cost of repairs was estimated at 30 shillings. Atkinson was brought in, and both he and William Hall were committed to ward until they had satisfied those whose windows had been broken; Richard Middleton was to be apprehended and likewise committed. On 16 December, it was reported that William Hall had had the windows repaired, and that the culprits were 'sorriful' for their offence; if Hall and Atkinson (here called Nicholas) could find sureties for keeping the peace, they could be released, and likewise 'the saide Middleton' should be released next Friday if he found sureties, and on certificate that the windows were repaired at their charges (YCA: B 32, ff 383 and 384v). The same day, it was agreed that diverse citizens' sons could play in the city over the Christmas period: was Richard Middleton (when he was not in prison) one of their number?

On 6 February 1607/8, Richard Middleton married Isabell Losh at St Michael le Belfray church. She had been baptised there on 31 May 1579, which makes her five years older than George Middleton's son (printed Parish Register, pp 28 and 110). Also in 1608, Richard Middleton of York gentleman published two books of poems: Epigrams and Satyres and Times Metamorphosis.¹⁴

14 See Illustrations 15 and 16, pp 427 and 452. Bound as a single book, the one copy known in Britain is in Edinburgh University Library (Special Collections, Drummond Coll., De.5.103). In rebinding, some of the page numbers were lost when the pages were cut, but it was originally numbered as a single volume. At that time, books could only be printed in London, so Richard Middleton of York would have had to take his work there. He began with a tribute to his patron, William Bellasses.

The two poems cannot be said to reveal an individual and unrecognised talent, but the author himself was modest; to the Reader, he began:

Judge as thou list, I do not craue thy fauor,
To please my selfe, I haue imployd my labor.

(p 1)

and in a series of rhyming couplets he made fun of various generalised types. If the author is indeed the son of George Middleton, then his verse 'In Theofilium', on the 'seeming pietie' of some religious men, may also echo the feelings of the Catholic supporters within his family:

And whither is she fled? or in what place
Hath pure Religion coupt her selfe from men?
That now she dare not manifest her face,
But like a shadow comes and goes agen?

(p 10)

Times Metamorphosis noted the change in men's characters, and there are hints that this refers to people in York, if only we had the key. He derided a newly-whiskered would-be poet; is this a fellow versifier in York, or - perhaps - himself?:

How fare our London Poets? thou wast there,
But smallest profit came vnto thy share:
Thou couldst not frame the leuell of thy sense
To architect their verse; therefore from thence
Thou camst to Yorke, and liuest as thou was,
A selfe-conceited foole, a silly asse.
Th'art chang'd with time, & I may iudge with it,
The grauest Beardman haue not greatest wit.

(p 27)

Barbato the Poet and his associate 'Signior Collegio', who 'neuer walkes without a speciall grace', often met in the 'middle spacious walke' of the Minster to converse, 'That sense to them, no sound to vs affords'

(pp 27-8). I do not intend here to examine the poems in detail, but various interesting references to drama should be noted. Some are general images:

Our worthy poets (Inginers of wit)
 Portray these knights in colours; what for fit?
 But to be represented on a stage
 By the shanke buskind actors, who presage,
 A death of gentlemen, plentie of knights,
 Fit for the stewes, but farre vnfit for fights.

(p 24)

He also sympathised with Ridentius, another poet, who employed his 'Cambridge wits' on drama and failed:

Tut feare not man, be not discouraged,
 Had but thy seuerall plaies be managed
 With skilfull actors, they had beene thy praise,
 Where now they'r mention'd vnto thy disgrace.

(p 32)

There are two references to Christmas drama, which is a reminder of the diverse citizens sons licensed to play at Christmas in 1605, as well as the scholars of the Horsefair:

Jano is chang'd from a Christmas stage,
 Whereon he plaid a Louer that in rage
 Did stab himselfe, vnto a husband now,
 Pressing a palme, and making it to bow.

(p 30)

His final taunt is against lawyers, including one Pandulpho:

get thee hence
 Pigmey-attourney, actor, Christmas plaiier,
 I scorne to seat thee in my verses chaire.

(p 36)

Can Richard Middleton of York, gentleman, author of

these satires, be identified with Richard son of George Middleton draper? Although there were Middletons amongst the gentry outside York¹⁵ there was no family particularly noted as gentlemen in the York records. However, George Middleton could have claimed the title 'gentleman' as a former Chamberlain, and certainly in a feoffee deed for St Martin Coney Street church of 22 March 1607/8 he is described as a gentleman (BI: PR Y/MCS F 5/52). The claim to be a gentleman did not necessarily need to be substantiated by a large show of wealth: Thomas Colthirst, for example, who was franchised described as a gentleman, and had no apparent profession, paid tax on goods assessed between £3 and £6, an amount similar to George Middleton's assessments. Also, Henry and Edward, the sons of Alderman May, an Innholder, were both described as gentlemen, along with their step-father Gabriel Thwaites, when they sold Alderman May's property in Coney Street (YCA: E 27, ff 137-8). Alderman May's value seems to have dropped after his year as Mayor¹⁶. In January 1587/8 it was agreed that he would not be troubled for money he owed the city until Midsummer (YCA: B 29, f 247), and in October 1588 he was given dates for repayment. He had not repaid all he owed by September 1590 and April 1591 (B 30, ff 63v, 195v and 230v). It is doubtful whether his sons based their claim to gentility on their father's wealth. There seems no reason why Richard, son of George Middleton, could not style himself a gentleman like his relations by marriage, Henry and Edward May.

15 Including at Middleton Hall in Middleton (Edward and John): see BI: HC AB 6, ff 138v-139; 7, ff 23 and 85v-86; 13, between ff 131 and 172; and also HC CP 1597/8. They too were suspect papists.

16 In 1586, he was assessed on goods of £18, and in 1587 it was £14; from 1591 he paid on £10 (YCA: E 59a, ff 32v, 55v and 119).

The Richard Middleton who damaged the bridge at Skeldergate Postern and broke windows was obviously not an apprentice, for no master, who would have been responsible for him, was mentioned; nor was he identified with a craft. He was never franchised, so cannot have set up in business. He may instead have gone into some kind of service in a wealthy family; he had been in the company of a servant of Sir Matthew Redmayne when he broke windows in 1605, and the introduction to Epigrams and Satyres refers to his patron William Bellasses, who belonged to an eminent north Yorkshire family.

Richard Middleton does not seem to have settled immediately after his marriage. Ellinor, the daughter of Richard Middleton, was baptised on 9 February 1608/9 in the church of Holy Trinity Goodramgate (printed Parish Register, p 11). On 11 December 1609, on the same day that the city council ordered all activity at the proposed playhouse to cease, an unnamed daughter of Richard Middleton was buried at All Saints Pavement (printed Parish Register, p 133).

It is possible that his brother Thomas, the Innkeeper, had settled in that parish, from the time of his franchise; children of Thomas Middleton were baptised there from 1607, and Thomas himself was buried in January 1615/6 (printed Parish Register, pp 34, 36, 38, 40 and 117). George Middleton's wife was buried at St Martin Coney Street church in February 1619/20 (printed Parish Register, p 90), and on 2 September 1620 George Middleton gentleman again signed a feoffee deed (BI: PR Y/MCS F 5/53); but after this time he is no longer mentioned in these parish records. In May 1628, George Middleton was buried at All Saints Pavement (printed Parish Register, p 122) - might this mean that he had moved to live with his son's family after the

death of his wife?

Similarly, Richard Middleton may have moved to that parish, for there are two references to him there. In the Archdeacon's Visitation of that parish on 23 June 1613, Richard Middleton was presented for not taking communion and being excommunicate; a note, 'absolutus est' was added in this case (BI: Y.V Court Book 2, 1613, f 49). At the same time, Edward May and his wife Julian, with Henry May, all of St Martin Coney Street church, were also presented for not taking communion and for negligence in attending church (f 46v). The Archbishop's Visitation of 14 August 1615 also noted that Richard Middleton of All Saints Pavement had not communicated for three years; at St Martin's church¹⁷, Gabriel Thwaites and Henry May had not attended church for three months and did not communicate at Easter; and Edward May gentleman and his wife Julian of Trinity Micklegate parish had also not communicated at Easter (BI: V. 1615, Court Book, ff 22, 19v and 28).

With this suggestion that Richard Middleton was standing by the Catholic tradition of his family, I have left him. I have not found a date for his death, nor of his will or Administration. If he moved out of York, he could easily be confused with others of the same name: for example, an Inquisition Post Mortem made on Richard Middleton in 1642 turns out to be on Richard Middleton of Studley Rogers (PRO: C 142/704, No 146). There are no more references to him in the later House Books¹⁸.

17 This should presumably be St Martin Coney Street, but they are entered under St Martin Micklegate.

18 I did discover that Edward May, son of Alderman May, was sick and lunatic in January 1622/3, and was allocated 4 shillings a week relief until he should recover (YCA: B 34, f 259).

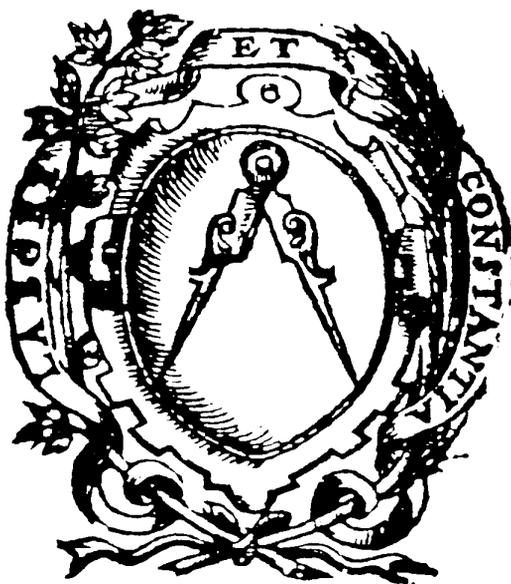
He would have needed to be in London if he wished to be part of the active artistic life of the early seventeenth century, and I have not looked for him there. 1642 makes a convenient closing point for a period of English drama; in this study of drama in York, I have taken it to be 11 December 1609, when Richard Middleton's attempt to set up a playhouse came to an end.

POSTLUDE

Times Metamorphosis;

Made by

Richard Middleton.



Imprinted at London 1608.

Illustration 16: Title page of TIMES METAMORPHOSIS by Richard Middleton, 1608

Richard Middleton, looking with humour at the metamorphosis of the hopes and ambitions of his contemporaries in 1608, could perhaps have spoken too of the changes in dramatic presentation during the half century since the accession of Queen Elizabeth. These are obvious both from looking at the information on people involved with drama over the period, and from looking at the events that conditioned these people. The brief summary of entries from the House Books in York between 1554 and 1609 (Chapter I) indicates clearly how a growth in the instructions from the central government, usually sent through the Council in the North, coincided with the final performances of the Corpus Christi Play and Pater Noster Play, and that the city council was aware of the pressure at least from 1568, when they sent the Creed Play to the Dean for his comments. After the Rising of 1569, the instructions began to contain more orders to proceed against Catholics, or to treat them with suspicion. Even in Mary's reign, some traditional festivities had been discouraged (witness the order against Summer Games, p 56 above), but by 1576 even the Corpus Christi Plays were being condemned (p 85) although their artistic merit may have been appreciated, just as Dean Hutton appreciated the Creed Play. The Commoners who asked for a performance of the Corpus Christi Play in 1580 could not be trusted to differentiate between the artistry and the now suspect doctrines embodied in the Play, and actors were not to take upon themselves the representation of God and Christ or the performance of the sacraments¹. Sermons proliferated, and the city

1 This attitude persisted for nearly four hundred

employed its own preacher, despite an initial agreement that the citizens had enough opportunity to hear them in the Minster. In this atmosphere, the traditional religious drama could not survive, and when it went the concept of a civic presentation which brought prestige to the city was lost. Acting became a useful tool for teaching children, but was a trifling art, and attending plays was not to entice apprentices and craftsmen away from their rightful work. Sermons and churchgoing were the proper occupations for free hours.

Another dominant concern that reflected the attitude to drama at the end of the sixteenth century was the problem of the idle poor, people capable of working but without a job. The city authorities had no time for the able man who did not wish to take useful work, and for a craftsman to give up his trade to indulge in an unproductive pastime was somehow incomprehensible, and not to be encouraged. By 1609, the fact that both Aldermen and craftsmen had been prepared to pay to have a play performed outside their houses may have appeared strange. Yet this processional form of staging reveals the place religious drama had held in York, and the indoor, enclosed performances that remained at the end of Elizabeth's reign are indicative of a complete change in attitude. Most space here has been given to the evidence concerning the places where plays were performed in the traditional manner for York. This evidence helps to emphasise the contrast between the experience of drama at the beginning and end of this period of study, and also enables a more informed study of the manner in which the plays were performed and the

years: when the York Corpus Christi Play was first revived in 1951, the name of the actor playing Christ was kept secret, and the Dean of York forbade the sacrament of the Last Supper to be performed, even in mime.

script of the Corpus Christi Play itself to be made.

However much can be discovered about the people before whose houses the Play was performed, little remains to explain exactly how it was performed. I believe the Corpus Christi Play was 'played through the city' (1487: R:Y, p 155), each pageant stopping to perform at each of the appointed 'places to hear the Play'. The following comments on the evidence that I have presented are based on this assumption of processional staging.

Places

People of the same profession often tended to live close together in York, and this is reflected in the station lists². There are Innholders in Micklegate, Coney Street, Stonegate and Colliergate, merchants at Ousegate Corner and the Pavement, and draper-tailors at Minster Gates. Fifteen station holders were Aldermen or became so in due course, and are concentrated at certain parts of the route: Thomas Harrison at the upper part of Micklegate; Gregory Paycock at Ouse Bridge; Robert Brooke and Thomas Moseley near Ousegate Corner; Thomas Appleyard - father and son - at the top of Coney Street; George Gale, William Birnand (the Recorder) and Edward Fawcet in Petergate, with James Birkby at the Goodramgate Corner end; and William Beckwith, Christopher Harbert, William Robinson, Robert Paycock and William Allyn on the Pavement. None of the Aldermen lived in the lower part of Micklegate, the centre of Coney Street, Stonegate,

2 See the Summary list, which gives their professions, on pp 360-369.

Minster Gates or Colliergate. Some people had two professions, especially those who were licensed as brewers or innholders, but taking what seems to be the major profession of each, there were fifteen merchants, seven innholders, a joiner who was an innholder, four vintners, five drapers (or related occupations), three lawyers, a gentleman, a goldsmith, an apothecary, a cordwainer and a saddler. Although a large number of people in York brewed or sold ale and beer as well as having another job, it cannot be a coincidence that so many Innholders and related licencees arranged to have the Play before their houses. The Aldermen, who would have been able to see the performances at the Common Hall Gates, may have taken places because of the prestige or perhaps, as I suggested, because they entertained distinguished visitors during the performance. Most of the others not here classed as Innholders are known to have had alehouse licences or dealt in wine. There are only four draper-tailors, Kytchynman (the cordwainer) and Richard Hutton (the apothecary) who apparently had no interest in making or selling ale, or retailing wine, and the number of draper-tailors is partly explained by their congregation around Minster Gates, a regular station. The evidence indicates that people mostly took a station for professional gain rather than status. It reinforces acceptance of the idea that the pageants were indeed performed in full at each of the stations, for why else should the householders make the effort of securing, and paying for, a place?

The left-hand theory

When the phrase 'before their doors' is used, and also because it is known that in the early fifteenth century people put up scaffolds before their houses from which the audience saw the performance (R:Y, pp 28-

30 and 713-5), it is reasonable to imagine that the players on their waggon played towards that particular person's house, and had their backs to the opposite house. Indeed, the description of the Merchants' pageant waggon (R:Y, pp 55-6) suggests that there were cloths hung at the back and sides of the waggon's 'stage', and in any case the machinery for the descent and ascent of God had to be operated but also masked from the audience. Meg Twycross noticed that many of the places she identified were on the left hand side of the pageant route, and a similar trend is apparent from this investigation, with some significant exceptions.

Trinity Gates, the first station, immediately contradicts the theory. Did it perhaps provide the backdrop for the first performance, or did the audience congregate there? Earlier entries have a number of vague terms: 'at' or 'beside' the Gates, and once 'opposite the building next to the gate'. I think (like Meg Twycross) that these terms are too vague to allow us to come to any decision, and in any case Trinity Gates would be an obvious marker for a place, whichever direction the pageant was performed. In the years here examined, whenever there was a performance of the Corpus Christi Play no-one took the place as it was used for the clerk keeping the Register, and there would therefore be no description of the house before which the audience congregated (I am tempted to believe that performers from the other pageants watched their fellows at this place, before playing themselves). In that case, 'at Trinity Gates' would be the best description of the area.

The following summary shows where the stations used between 1554 and 1585 can be located.

Summary of the location of
playing places, 1554-1585

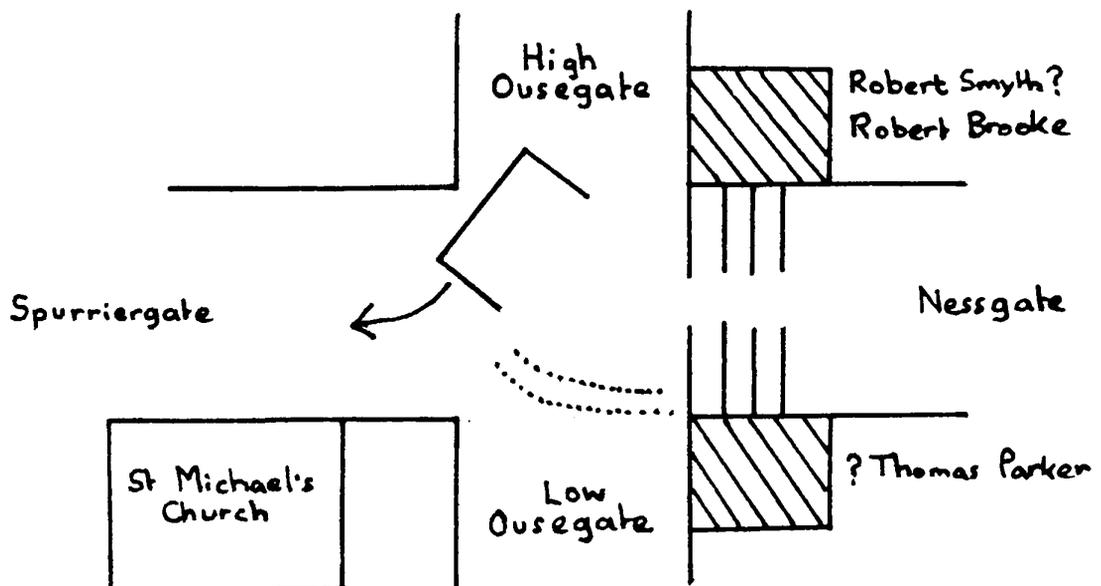
Left:	Harrison and Fairweather 1554; Mr Harrison 1569, 1572, 1584; Three Kings 1554; St John Kirkstile 1569; Thomas Appleyard 1554, 1569; Thomas Appleyard the younger 1584, 1585; Common Hall Gates 1554, 1569, 1572, 1584, 1585; Minster Gates* 1569, 1572, 1584; Edward Fawcet 1585; George Gale 1554; William Birnand 1569, 1572; Goodramgate Corner* 1572, 1584; James Birkby 1585; John Wightman's corner 1572; William Beckwith 1554, 1569, 1584, 1585; Christopher Harbert 1572, 1585
Probably left:	The Cowper in Micklegate 1569; George White against St John's 1554; John White 1572; Anthony Dycconson and Robert Staynburne 1554; William Dawson and John Busfield 1585
Possibly right:	Martin Metcalf 1554; Reginald Fawkes 1569; about Christopher Willoughby's 1569; William Gilmyrn 1572, 1585; Hutton 1569
Definitely on right:	Trinity Gates 1554, 1569, 1572; Ousegate Corner: Robert Smyth 1554 - between Thomas Parker and Robert Brooke 1572 - William Fresby and Henry Metcalf (and Thomas Moseley) 1585
Unknown:	Gregory Paycock 1554, 1569; George Aslaby 1572; Ousegate Corner 1569, 1584; Henry Pulleyn 1572 (?perhaps on left); Rayncoke and Kytchynman 1554; William Marston 1554; John Chamber 1569
also:	Micklegate 1585 (?not used); Pavement 1554 (?not used); between <u>two</u> sets of opposite houses on the Pavement 1569; the Bull Ring 1584
*	Minster Gates and Goodramgate Corner have been included here, although without information on who took the place, the exact site cannot be determined

The evidence for Micklegate suggests all the places were on the left, including 'the Cowper', if the link with William Cowper the younger can be made. The first question comes with the place 'against' St John's church, for George White and John White had property on the opposite side of the road. However, despite the vague word 'against' (which elsewhere seems to have been used to mean 'opposite'), the place is located at the church, an uninhabited building, and there is no reason why a scaffold could not be set up outside it by a man who lived opposite. This would not have been so easy if the place had been 'against' someone else's house. If the pageant could be played in any direction - and so was played towards George White's house on the right-hand side - then why are there not more people from that side to be found taking a place? Alderman John Bean, another Innholder, lived on the right-hand side of Micklegate a little below St Martin's church, where the ground levels out (RCHM: York III, p 74), and he never took a place.

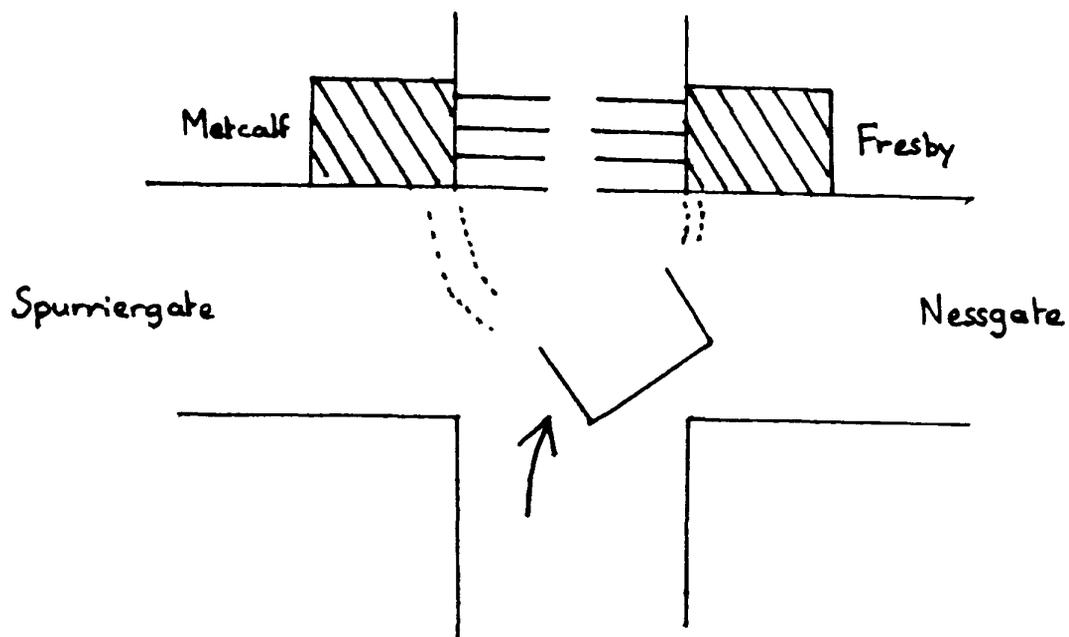
Another unlocated house is that of Gregory Paycock 'at the Staith Head'. The Staith is on the right-hand side of the east end of Ouse Bridge, reached by the steps later called 'Graecian Steps' (the Fish Landing was on the left). This does not mean that Mr Paycock's house can be located on the right-hand side of the road, for 'the Staith Head' could designate the area of the playing place along the road, but not the side of the road. Each place was marked with a banner, and when directions were given for placing these, 'at the Staith Head' would be a sufficient instruction if it were known that all pageants faced to the left. There is not enough evidence on Gregory Paycock's house to justify an argument for one side or the other.

The Ousegate Corner problem presents intriguing

possibilities, for here all the identifiable houses appear to be on the right. It seems at first to refute any attempt to establish a 'left-hand theory', but this need not be so. The obvious left-hand station would have been before the houses in front of St Michael's church, but these were very small, and the people who took places generally seemed to have lived in larger houses. This is the first corner encountered on the pageant route, and it was a narrow corner too; a certain amount of manoeuvring would be necessary to turn a heavy, and possible top-heavy, waggon round, especially in a space limited by jettied houses. By the time the waggon had been turned ready to go down Spurriergate, 'left' was no longer a limited direction. A possible arrangement for Robert Smyth's house in 1554, and Robert Brooke's in 1572, with an assumed position for Mr Brooke's partner Thomas Parker, is suggested:



This arrangement (with no attempt here to suggest scale) provides room for a standing audience, although they would have to move every time a new waggon came from Ouse Bridge. The arrangement for a station shared by Metcalf and Fresby in 1585 needs a different explanation; if the waggon faced in the direction just suggested, they would have no benefit. However, the waggon could have been moved to face towards the two houses:



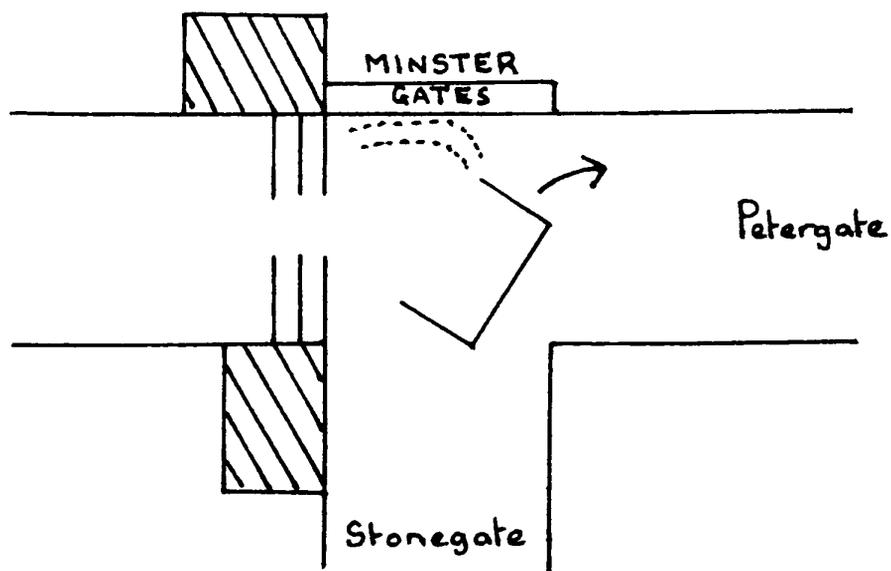
This arrangement also allows for a standing audience as well as the scaffold presumed to be set up by those who took the lease.

Thomas Appleyard's house was on the left of the pageant route, and opposite Jubbergate corner, a traditional place for performance. It is possible that his station could have been described, for easy location, as 'at Jubbergate End', and yet his house was on the opposite side of the road; any description of this place being at Jubbergate before 1554 does not mean it has to be placed at the right hand side of the road. When a station is described by a landmark as opposed to a person's house (as with Trinity Gates), it may indicate the point on the road, but not the direction in which the performance faced.

In Coney Street and Stonegate we encounter a series of playing places where the holder was apparently on the right, although in 1569 in Stonegate the station was 'about' Christopher Willoughby's house, a vague term for which no precise definition can be offered. The location of these places must be left open, but it should be noted that the identifiable place in the middle of this part of the route was before the tenement

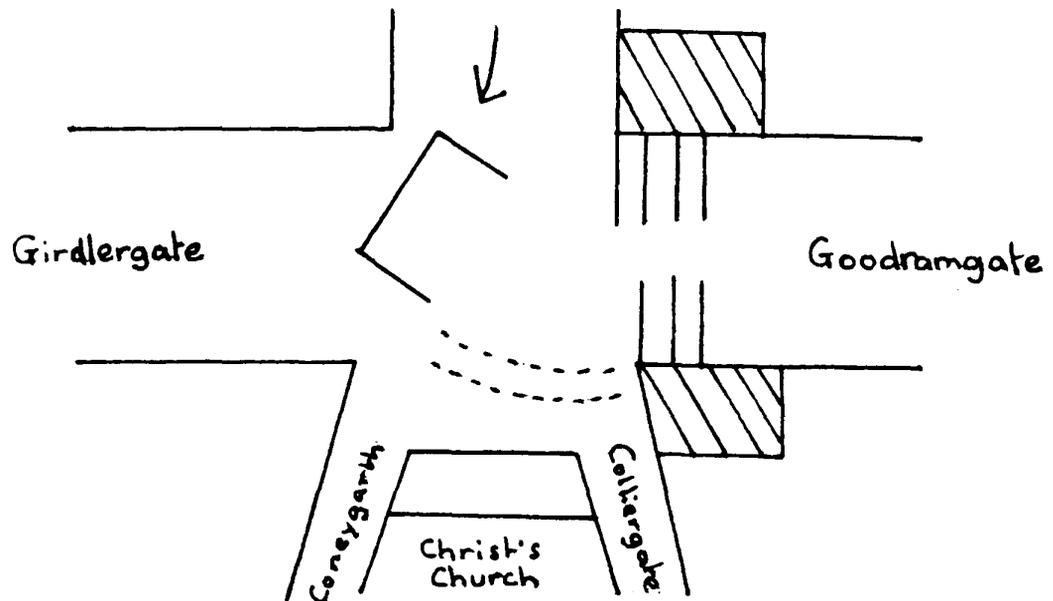
at the Common Hall Gates, where the councillors were, and which was on the left hand side of the route. The chamber here was specifically used, according to Thomas Colthirst's lease, when plays were performed in the streets of the city, and on one occasion at least the glass was removed, presumably from the windows to allow a clear view of the performance.

Minster Gates, another regular playing place, was the third corner, and so allows a variety of playing angles. It is possible that some station holders lived at the top of Stonegate on the left-hand side, and some may have lived near the Gates; and there are also a few occasions (in 1483, 1484 and 1546) when the Dean and Chapter are known to have seen - or 'heard' the Play from the chamber over the Minster Gates proper (R:Y, pp 132, 135 and 289); presumably this would have been possible in other years, and the waggon may again have been positioned to take in as wide an angle as possible on the corner:



Petergate stations were all on the left, but the next cross roads, where Goodramgate and Girdlergate joined Petergate, again present a variety of possibilities. James Birkby was certainly on the left, but Richard Hutton may have been on the right; and 'Goodramgate Corner' could also have included the area

before Christ's church facing back down Petergate. Again, the waggons may have been angled slightly to make use of the road junction:



The one identifiable place in Colliergate was on the left, and so were those on the Pavement, except in 1569 when people living opposite each other were paired: this will be examined later.

Most people can be located on the left hand of the pageant route, and those who are certainly on the right, at Ousegate Corner, can be accommodated to the pattern. The difficult stations are those in mid Coney Street and Stonegate, which appear to have been on the right. Although there is not enough evidence to confirm these locations, they should be remembered when a left-hand theory is discussed. Further practical research is needed, to see whether pageant waggons could have been moved to the positions suggested in the narrow streets, and also how the audience could have gathered to watch.

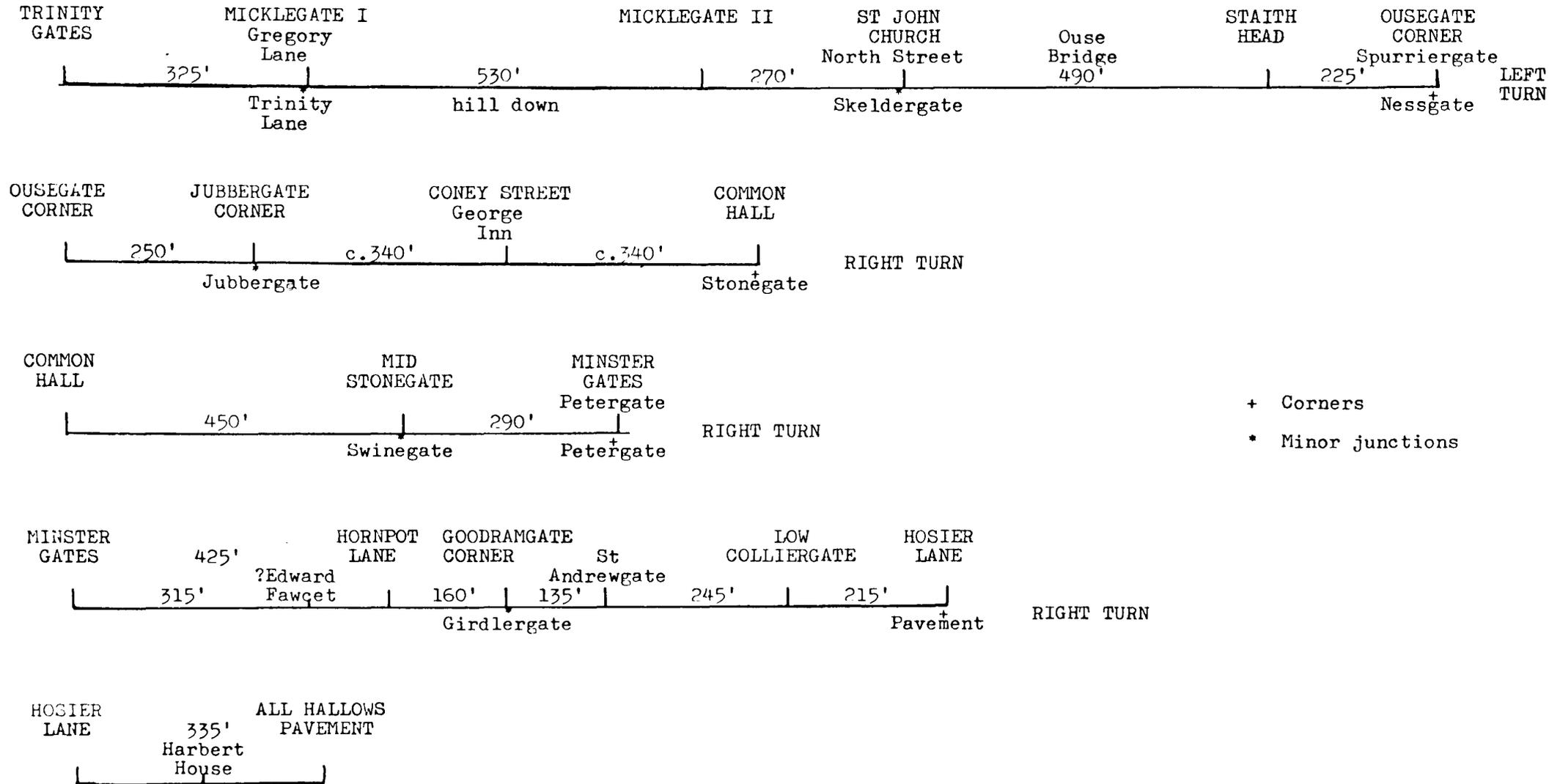
Areas of play

Despite the decision in the early fifteenth century to open the stations to the highest bidders, the 1554 to 1585 examples are remarkably close to the original places designated in 1399 (R:Y, p 11). This is obvious,

because the stations would be better evenly spaced, as far as the route allowed: for example, when three places were designated in the Pavement in 1569, Harbert House was exactly half way between the other two. Figure 15 (p 465) shows the approximate distance between each place, based on the measurements of the 1852 Ordnance Survey map. Each line represents a straight run for the pageant waggons. The longest gap, 530 feet, occurs between Gregory Lane (my suggested site for Thomas Harrison's house) and the next place (the Three Kings, which I have assumed to be below St Martin's church and just past the modern Hudson Street). Such a gap is necessary because of the hill. There were 490 feet between a playing place by St John's church and the next by the Staith Head, determined this time by the bridge. Between the Common Hall and a station half way down Stonegate there was a gap of about 450 feet; in earlier performances not examined here, there had been two playing places in Stonegate. The shortest distances are between Trinity Lane in Petergate and Goodramgate Corner, 160 feet; and Goodramgate to St Andrewgate, apparently both used in 1572, which is 135 feet. From end to end of the Pavement (in its original length) is 335 feet, and Harbert House comes half way between. I have not been able to locate the playing place in Coney Street, but exactly half way between Jubbergate and the Common Hall is the site of the former George Inn (see Illustration 4, p 161).

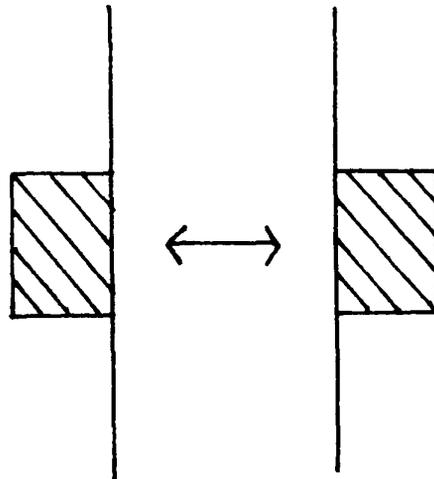
Figure 15 also shows that there were four major corners for the waggons to turn, one to the left and the others to the right. Along the rest of the route were six street junctions, which may have been used to create more space for the audience, but this is speculation. There were nine stations not at junctions (or perhaps ten, for the Common Hall came just before the turn to Stonegate). This summary shows that most performances

Figure 15: Distances between playing places



took place along the narrow streets themselves³.

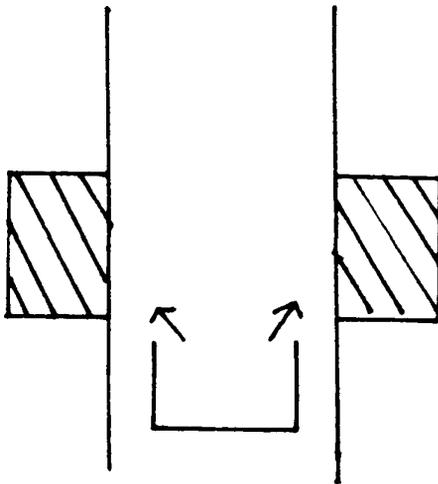
There is no indication how two people shared a station. Did Harrison and Fairweather live next door to each other in 1554, or each side of Gregory Lane, or did they simply come to an arrangement for using one house? The possible locations of people each side of High Ousegate have been noted, but the waggon may have been turned towards the space between their houses. Similarly, space at road junctions, at Minster Gates and Goodramgate Corner could have been used to make a wide radius of play which could have included the houses of both William Dawson and John Busfield, or Rayncoke and Kytchynman. The partnering of opposite houses on the Pavement in 1569 is unusual; this arrangement is so rare that a regular form of 'traverse staging' cannot be suggested:



If the pageant waggons played directly to Mr Harbert's house, why include Mr Robinson on the opposite side? Pavement, however, was one of the wider streets of the

3 Martin Stevens, in 'The York Cycle: from Procession to Play' in Leeds Studies in English, New Series, Volume 6 (Leeds University, 1972), p 39, said that 'some kind of Corpus Christi Play was indeed performed at street corners and even in front of various houses along a route through the narrow streets of medieval York'; but more performances took place before houses than at corners.

city (45 feet wide by Harbert House in Peter Atkinson's plan: Map 14, p 257 above), and it may have been easier to turn the waggon to play down the street:



Is playing down a street feasible? It would have been difficult in the narrow streets, but easier in the Pavement or the very top of Micklegate. However, if this happened, what advantage would those householders have, who paid for a place? How did acoustics differ, playing down a street rather than towards the wall of a house? There is not enough evidence for station holders living opposite each other to suggest that this was a regular practice, and it should be remembered that in 1585 Mr Robinson did not have to contribute to the station in the same place.

Meg Twycross has already suggested that the lower rates received for stations on the Pavement in the fifteenth century indicate that the complete cycle was never played there for lack of time. This may also have been the case in 1554; nothing was received from the Common Hall site because the Mayor's party was there; nothing was paid by Mr Beckwith because the ladies were at his house; but no reason is given for the lack of income from the Pavement site. The evidence does not show that it always went free, and anyone could congregate there, for there were two places specifically allocated in 1569 - when the complete performance would have been slightly shorter as the Marian pageants were

not played, but when apparently more places than ever before were designated. The Pavement should not be considered typical of the pageant route.

Playing the pageant

Due to a combination of present-day traffic, the unwillingness of shopkeepers to have people watching plays and not their shops, and other factors of modern life, even the single pageant performed on a waggon during the current York Festivals cannot be performed in the original places. However, the Noah pageant was specially photographed in 1966 (although a performance could not take place) in Stonegate. The design of Noah's Ark for this pageant waggon was very simple, and perhaps the original waggon of the Fishers and Mariners was more elaborate. In 1966 it was brought down Petergate past St Michael le Belfray (Illustration 12, p 370 above), and some idea can be gained of the space a waggon would take in the street, which could have been no wider in the sixteenth century. The jettied houses on both sides of the street between Minster Gates and Goodramgate Corner would enclose the space still more. Another photograph was taken in Stonegate (Illustration 17, p 469), and the waggon was placed across the street at the corner with Little Stonegate (the former Swinegate). The jettied first floor of the shop on the corner behind the actors (dating from the fifteenth century) would have been matched by those on the other side, now cut back (see RCHM: York V, pp 220-325 for a description of buildings in Stonegate). Although I think it unlikely that a pageant waggon was placed in this position - it would be more sensible to keep it in the direction it was moved down the street - the photograph shows the amount of space taken up by even a simple waggon in a narrow street typical of the pageant route, with some indication of how many people could



Illustration 17: The pageant wagon of Noah's Flood in Stonegate, 1966

gather before it.

I do not see the narrowness of streets like Stonegate as an argument against processional staging; it argues instead for an intimate style of performance to a small audience at each playing place. There was a limit to the amount of people who could gather in one place, although there was the possibility of expansion at corner sites, with a larger standing audience. In Stonegate, allowing for the height of waggons like the Merchants', which needed flying mechanism, and for the jettied houses, a waggon would have to stand almost to the centre of the street. Assuming some kind of scaffold or seating erected for spectators by the man who had leased the station, the space between the actor and audience would have been very small: Herod in York may not have had much scope to rage in the street. The actor would not need to project his voice far, and neither would he have to use large gestures to communicate. If more people were to see the Play, then it would have to be performed in more places. Conversely, when the city council wanted to prevent too great a congregation of audience in 1551, when the plague was still prevalent in the city, they limited the number of places: obviously they did not expect more people to gather at the remaining stations. A comparison of playing places in 1542, 1551 and 1554 shows clearly where the performances were dropped (Figure 16, p 471). 1542 and 1554 are very similar; whereas in the former year there were two places in Stonegate, the 1554 list evens the number by having one at Hosier Lane End. There were six less places in 1551, four of these taken from Micklegate and Ousegate; the others were taken off the end of the route, between Goodramgate and Pavement. The Trinity Gate performance was given up, so it seems as though the clerk did not keep the Register that year; perhaps, as the street

Figure 16: Comparison of playing places,
1542, 1551 and 1554

1542	1551	1554
Trinity Gates		Trinity Gates
Micklegate I	Harrison	Harrison and Fairweather
Micklegate II	The Three Kings	The Three Kings
Ouse Bridge west		St John's: George White
Ouse Bridge east		Gregory Paycock
Ousegate End		Castlegate End
Widow Glasyn	Thomas Appleyard	Thomas Appleyard
Martin Metcalf	Martin Metcalf	Martin Metcalf
Common Hall	Common Hall	Common Hall
Matthew Hartley	Stonegate: Matthew Hartley	Robert Bylbowe
Stonegate II		
Minster Gates: Tristram Lytster Lawrence Thomlinson	Minster Gates	Minster Gates: Anthony Dycconson Robert Staynburne
Petergate: Alderman Gale	Alderman Gale	Alderman Gale
Goodramgate: John Graves	Goodramgate Head	Goodramgate: Rayncoke and Kytchynman
Colliergate: William Adenett		Colliergate: William Marston
		Hosierlane End: Mr Beckwith
Pavement: John Jackson	Pavement	Pavement

there was wider, more spectators used to gather, which was to be avoided. A whole succession of places was lost from St John's church to Ousegate Corner. As the plague was at its worst in Micklegate Ward (special watch was later ordered on the Bridge to prevent beggars and sick people crossing: YCA: B 20, f 59-59v), it is not surprising that most performances there were cancelled; and perhaps the more open places where more people could gather - the junction of North Street and Skeldergate, and at Ousegate Corner - were deliberately abandoned. However, later corners at Minster Gates and Goodramgate were used. This order of 1551 serves to show that the width of the streets did limit audience numbers, and that fewer people were expected to see the Play when it was performed at only ten places.

By accepting that outdoor performances could also be intimate, one of the difficulties of accepting the concept of processional staging in the narrow streets of York, that of space, is overcome. The other problem is that of time; Margaret Dorrell has estimated a playing time from 4.30 in the morning to 12.29 at night⁴, which some people find difficult to accept. It was indeed a problem, and the city council encouraged the quick follow-on of waggons; in the fifteenth century several pageants were combined because the performance was getting too long (R:Y, pp 10-12 and 697-8 - 1399; pp 37-8 and 722-4 - 1422; and the Proclamation, pp 24-5). The only example of a pageant that failed to follow in quick succession comes from 1554, when the Girdlers were fined for holding up the procession for an hour, a

⁴ Margaret Dorrell, 'Performance in Procession: A Medieval Stage for the York Corpus Christi Play' in Leeds Studies in English, New Series, volume 6 (University of Leeds, 1972), pp 77-111. This article was countered by Martin Stevens in his article quoted in footnote 3 above.

disaster to such a tight schedule. There is little in the records to suggest how in fact the Play was arranged to fit the day; more facts can be discovered about the spaces in which it was performed. From these there is scope for further practical research, on how waggons can be turned on narrow corners, and on the acoustics of performing in narrow streets like Stonegate which still retain something of the dimensions of the original pageant route. More stopping places meant more people could see the Play, and the processional method of staging, which could have arisen from the association with the Corpus Christi procession, was apparently adopted in York. No use was made of the largest open spaces in York, Toft Green, the Old Bailey, or Thursday Market (more of a square than the Pavement); and although the Common Hall was eventually used for performance by travelling players, no attempt was made to use it as an indoor playing area for the Corpus Christi Play.

The evidence presented here refers only to the performance of the Corpus Christi Play, Pater Noster Play and Grafton's Interludes. By 1609 the tradition of street drama had been lost. The travelling players performed in the Common Hall, St Anthony's Hall or people's houses. These houses need not have been inns: the Dean and Chapter recorded a payment of 15 shillings in their accounting year of 1597 to 'players at Mr docter Bennittes' (YML: E 2/21, f 51; R:Y, p 484, under 1598). John Benet, doctor of law, was a member of the Council in the North, and in 1601 a Burgess for the city of York at Parliament (YCA: B 32, ff 168 and 170). He lived at this time in the parish of St Michael le Belfray, and the assessments on him in 1589 and 1590, noted by the Churchwardens, show his house was in Stonegate (BI: PR Y/MB 33, ff 11 and 13v). He was still there in 1597 and 1600, when his daughters were baptised in Belfray church (printed Parish Register, pp 79 and 85). There is

another example, when the city council in July 1601 gave permission for Lord Chandos' Players to perform in Marmaduke Gill's house; this may be in fact an example of playing at an inn, for although franchised as a tailor, there are several records of Marmaduke Gill being licensed to keep an alehouse or tippling house, and to brew, between 1589 and 1596 (YCA: E 45, p 72; CB 8 (2, 1596), f 25). He lived in Christ's parish (E 45, p 199), but I have not been able to identify his house. When in 1609 Richard Middleton presented his petition, he was intending to erect a theatre building, and whether it was for indoor playing or of the style of the Globe in London, it would no doubt have been another enclosed space, to contain a paying public.

The performance of the Corpus Christi Play was for the honour of God and the city (R:Y, p 11), and reward was incidental, in prestige gained or profit to innkeepers from custom generated. Although fifteenth century evidence indicated some people paid to have a seat on a specially built audience scaffold, they would not have been the only ones able to experience the Play. Most people in York would have been exposed to the performance, even if they did not see the whole cycle, either through the contribution of their craft guilds, or through the atmosphere generated as the waggons were taken through each ward of the city. Because the Play was attached to a religious festival, the day would have been a holiday, and even those who did not see or hear anything would have shared a sense of occasion. At the end of the period examined, the only similar communal experience would have been the Show of Armour. Drama was performed in an enclosed and indoor space, to a paying audience (however they were subsidised by further payments from the city Chamberlains), and those who did not wish to attend these performances were not exposed to any dramatic experience. From being a happening

within the community in 1554, drama changed to being something not part of everyday life, and therefore not relevant to a civic identity, in 1609. The nature of this change is also apparent when the information on people involved in dramatic presentations is considered.

People

The citizens involved with the final performances of the Corpus Christi Play have much in common. With the exception of Leonard Temple, they were assessed on goods worth £3 to £6; and they held minor offices in the city. They were often in positions of trust, and Leonard Temple in particular took on many duties connected with collecting money. Perhaps these people were prepared to assist with dramatic performances because they were established enough in their work to give time to other matters, but they were not already caught up with permanent civic duties. They can all be found in the city records. As freemen and craftsmen they were controlled by regulations imposed by the city council, and as householders they were obliged to keep their property in repair. They were licensed if they wished to brew and sell ale, were liable to be called upon when soldiers were mustered, and were expected to provide themselves with arms and armour. In their parish churches, they were Churchwardens, and helped to administer church property. All of these activities gained them entry into the city and parish records. It is more difficult, however, to find out about those involved with Grafton's plays. The method of presentation was the same, with pageant waggons performing at several places around the city, but those actively concerned are less easy to trace. Drama seems to have moved into the hands of those in professions -

teachers and musicians - and was not the concern of the craft guilds. The teachers may have inspired their pupils, but by 1609 the only citizens who indulged in drama do not seem to have been the craftsmen but the sons of gentry and the more wealthy citizens, who were not apprenticed to any trade. Drama was by that time considered by the city councillors as an entertainment, an idle pastime that was no longer set forth for the honour of the city, a trifling art that could have some educational use but was not an accepted profession. Travelling players were encouraged, and usually paid by the city for performances (unless they came from towns hit by plague, when they were paid instead to depart). but they were not to entice craftsmen from work or attendance at services and sermons.

There is a difference also in the age of those people concerned. John Stammer and John Huntington were both relatively old at the time of their recorded involvement with the St George Play and the Corpus Christi Play, but Richard Middleton (if I have the right man) was 25 when he led the petitioners for a theatre in 1609. The former were in their turn carrying on a tradition; the latter was attempting to make innovations and establish the new drama.

Craftsmen were concerned, at least financially, with their craft's pageant, and there must have been a sense of ownership; many craft Ordinances ordered the members to attend the pageant through the streets. But Grafton's plays were something only to be watched; the citizens contributed money to the 1585 performance, and some helped mend the waggons, but there is no real evidence for their participation. Finally, by 1609 drama was the activity of the leisured citizens, who were only to perform at suitable hours. There is more evidence for performances brought from elsewhere by the

travelling players. Corpus Christi Day had been a church event and a holiday (in both senses of the word), but perhaps by the early seventeenth century we can recognise a 'Protestant work ethic'; craftsmen should not take time off for entertainment, nor should entertainment prevent them from attending services and sermons. Also, instead of being 'by us, for us', drama was presented 'by them for some of us'. The great Corpus Christi cycles had been written for various cities throughout the country to be performed by the citizens; at the end of the sixteenth century, in contrast, the best drama was being provided for the professional actors based in London. The advances there were at the expense of the rest of the country, and 'provincial' in artistic terms began to mean something less good. The centralisation of government was reflected in the centralisation of opportunity; Richard Middleton had to publish his book in London, and he was aware that any talent had to be tested against the London poets.

The Corpus Christi Play and other religious plays had brought prestige to the city. After the last performances of these plays, no initiative came from the city to find a dramatic substitute, but the council welcomed Grafton's proposals. However, no-one else was able to follow him and create a new tradition. Drama became, and has on the whole remained, an experience which its audience can choose to attend, or to ignore. Instead of being a prestigious event for the city, it came to be felt that drama was something frivolous, not part of real life which meant industry: an attitude which is only now being re-examined.

END NOTES



Illustration 18: Illustrated initial 'S' from the York Minster Fabric Roll, 1535-6

I THE BACKGROUND

1. (p 49)

Evidence for the council's participation in the Whit procession is to be found in the Ouse Bridgemasters' Rolls. In 1543 the cost of food - including 'brekfaste' and white cups - was noted under 'Costes of Saynt William Chapell of Whytson Tewysday with the yerly charges of the said chapell' (YCA: C 88:4) and similar expenses are found in the rolls of 1544, 1545, 1546 and 1547 (C 89:1, 2, 3, 4). After that they cease until the revival of 1554. Then, the 'Expenses on Whytson Tewysday vppon owse bridge' came to 33s 11d, which included 'skalloppe', bread, ale and wine, with a 'brekfast accustomyd' of beef, lamb's head and bread (C 90:2, verso). The next Roll, of 1558, also includes Allowances for 'Whytson Tewsay' (C 90:3), the last entry before the custom finally ceased. Instructions to the Bridgemasters to provide for the Mayor and his brethren, the masters of the church and the ladies, with the addition of 'white cuppes as hath bene vsed aforetyme' are found in the House Book of 1555 (YCA: B 21, f 85; REED:YORK, p 321). A similar note was made in 1557, when the Bridgemasters had to prepare for the procession of Whitsun Tuesday and mass and 'drynkyng in the Chapell & Chambres apou Ousebridge accustomed' (YCA: B 22, f 63).

2. (p 54)

The drapers who refused to pay pageant money in 1554:

Edmund Grenebery

His name has been transcribed 'Edwarde Grembez'

in REED:YORK (p 313), but he is Edmund Grenebery, the Sheriff of 1550-1551 and subsequently a member of the Twenty Four: comparisons of the writing of his name in the attendance lists in the House Books show that a scribbled entry, read out of context, can look like 'Grembez'. He has a record of not fulfilling obligations. During his year as Sheriff, he and his fellow did not make the customary Riding, and they were fined (YCA: B 20, ff 67 and 87; R:Y, pp 300 and 302). He had also not provided the customary feast the outgoing Sheriffs made for the Mayor, leaving his fellow Percival Crawforth to pay all the costs; in the end, he was ordered to pay only 40 shillings, and it was agreed that the city chamber would cover the rest (YCA: B 20, f 93; B 21, f 16v). He was not a poor man, however, as his tax assessments show; he had goods of £26 in 1548, £30 in 1551/2, £20 in 1555/6, £40 in 1556/7 and £35 in 1563 (YCA: E 48/49, f 11; E 50, pp 90, 119 and 155; E 51, p 49). He died in January 1563/4, and was buried at Crux church (printed Parish Register, p 62). His son William became an Alderman in 1600 (YCA: B 32, f 111v), and helped to organise the music for the arrival of King James in 1603 (B 32, f 256; R:Y, p 507). Another son, Leonard, became Sword Bearer in 1604 (B 32, f 339).

George Diconson

He was one of the draper tailors living around Minster Gates: he lived in a tenement in Petergate, originally paying a rent to the chantry of St Lawrence in the Minster (YML: M2(4)a, f 31); his heirs still held a tenement in Petergate, south of one sold by Gregory Bargh to Edward Fawcet (YCA: E 23, f 22). He paid tax in Belfray parish, and was relatively well off, having goods of £20 in 1541 and £13 in March 1550/1 (PRO: E.179/217/102 and 121).

Thomas Broddes

He belonged to Christ's parish, and was the son of Robert and Emmot Broddes (for their wills, see BI: Pr Reg 13B, ff 959-960, and 15B, f 325). Emmot had lived in Patrick Pool, and Thomas himself lived in Girdlergate towards Thursday Market, according to the deeds of sale of neighbouring properties (YCA: E 23, ff 60v and 71-71v). In the 1555/6 tax assessment he had goods of £10, which had fallen to £5 in 1559 (YCA: E 50, pp 123 and 238).

John Jackson

There are several men of this name in York, not always identified by their professions in the records. For a possible candidate of a draper in St Michael Ousebridge End parish, see above, pp 423-4, a possible associate of John Grafton in 1584 and 1585. John Jackson tailor was punished for adultery in 1561, carted around the city along a route that followed that taken by the pageant waggons, from Trinity Gates to the Pavement, but including Bootham Bar and then Walmegate Bar where his woman was to be expelled from the city (YCA: B 33, f 13v).

There is no indication from the evidence why these men should have refused to pay their pageant money. They were not poor, and if the same John Jackson or his son was linked with Grafton's Interlude, then he for one was not averse to the presentation of drama.

3. (p 88)

High Commission orders against possessing suspect books:

See the case against William Thompson of Boroughbridge, heard on 19 June 1565. He was ordered to burn the books on the Pavement in York, as was Edward Wreykes in a similar case on 22 June

1565 (BI: HC AB 2, ff 24v, 27, 30, 30v and 35). On 6 August 1566, Thomas More gentleman was allowed to keep books mentioned in an information against him as long as he kept them secretly, and did not use them to the hurt of his soul (HC AB 3, f 31).

4. (p 92)

Robert Cripling's character must have been known before his election, which emphasises the pattern observed throughout the period under review: freemen with sufficient wealth were expected to take office whether they wished to or not; and the Aldermen in turn served as Mayor according to precedence. Robert Cripling was elected Mayor when it was his turn to serve, despite his apparent religious sympathies and individual character.

5. (p 104)

It is not intended to discuss the full story of the recusants in York. A useful source for information is J.C.H. Aveling's Catholic Recusance in the City of York 1558-1791 (Catholic Record Society, 1970). Margaret Clitherow, after several spells in prison, refused to conform, and chose to suffer death rather than compromise her faith. There was nothing her step-father Henry May, then Mayor of York (1586) could do to protect her. She was the daughter of Thomas Middleton Chandler, and so of a family with marked Catholic sympathies. In later years, John Clitherow's daughter was to cause him concern. She had left home when only about fourteen, and in July 1593 she was in Lancaster Gaol for her religion. The Mayor of York wrote on behalf of John Clitherow, stating that he was a dutiful citizen who went to church and attended sermons, and asking that he might have custody of his daughter in order to attempt to make her conform (YCA: B 31, f 20).

6. (p 115)

I have not identified Mr Atkinson from the city records. John Blanchard silkweaver held a tenement in the Minster Close in 1588, and in 1592, with his sons William and Matthew, went to arbitration over a case concerning Anthony Foster and the office of Custodian of the Gates of the Minster (YML: H(4), Chapter Acts, ff 246-246v, 290v, 296v and 299v). John Blanchard of St Michael le Belfray parish paid tax in the subsidies between 1589 and 1600 (YCA: E 59a, and PRO: E.179/218/167, 180, 181 and 190), and he contributed to the ship money of 1596 (YCA: E 86, p 15). He was to have appeared before the High Commission in April 1576 (BI: HC AB 9, f 16), but no record of any hearing was made. His wife Alice was concerned in a case of defamation before the Dean and Chapter Court in 1592 (BI: D/C CP 1592/1 and 2).

7. (p 123)

The fortunes of an organ-maker's trade must have fluctuated over the last fifty years or more, as successive forms of church service were introduced or forbidden. Under the Protestant regime of Edward VI, music had to be plain so every word could be clearly understood, and use of the organ was limited. In York Minster, the organ was not to be played during morning service, the Communion, nor Evening Prayer (BI: AR 29, f 59v, Items 24 and 25: Injunctions of Archbishop Holgate, 1552). For the same reason, many parish churches lost their organs. Francis Craven's will, dated 26 January 1557/8, asked that he might be buried in the church of St Margaret 'wythin the quere wher the organes stoode' (BI: Pr Reg 15B, f 126). In June 1553, the Churchwardens of St Martin Coney Street paid over to the King's Commissioners £3 13s 4d which they had

received for vestments, organs and other ornaments. They seem to have replaced the organ - along with altars and Rood Loft - during Mary's reign, for towards the end of 1558, they paid 9d for ale at the removing of the organs. This may be misleading, however, for in the middle of 1562, the organs were mended, and new skins provided at a cost of 3s 4d (BI: PR Y/MCS 16, pp 6, 34 and 46).

8. (p 125)

Christopher Brooke and his letters to York deserve more study. A York man, he had trained at the Inns of Court, and was assisting the city in legal matters at this time. He represented York in Parliament on several occasions, and his letters describe the various events at Court, or in Parliament - such as the debate for the Union of England and Scotland which was not going as King James wished it - as well as reporting on matters more relevant to the city. Eventually, he settled at Lincoln's Inn, and in 1615 informed the city that there he was resolved 'to settle & cloyster myself for the rest of those fewe and evill daies I have to live', and give up travelling between the two cities. However, he professed himself willing to serve the city in any way he could, and was rewarded with a fee of £5 (YCA: B 34, ff 83v-84v).

He was the eldest son of Alderman Robert Brooke, born in 1566 (according to Skaife: no reference given), and so would have been recorded in the Parish Register of St Michael Ousebridge End where his father lived at that time (see pp 308-311 above) but the Register has not survived for this period. He may have inherited his father's way with words - Alderman Brooke, sent to survey the ruins of the little buttery that stood on the south side of the Common Hall, tersely reported 'it is rather

needlesse then convenient to be reedified' (YCA: B 30, f 314; see p 105 above); certainly his own letters to the city council from London include many delightful phrases (see for example p 125 above). He aspired to poetry, writing a long poem on 'The Ghost of Richard the Third' (1614) as well as various 'panegyrics' for his friends' publications (including one for Thomas Coryat in 1611, in which he called himself 'Christopherus Brooke, Eboracensis'), and an Elegy on the death of Henry, Prince of Wales (1612-1613). He was a friend of John Donne from their time at the Inns of Court: Donne addressed his poems 'The Storm' and 'The Calm' to him; and he was a witness of Donne's secret marriage, which was performed by his own brother Samuel Brooke. Christopher Brooke obviously had a pleasing personality. In 1612 he persuaded the Earl of Northampton to take the position of Steward of the city of York, which meant representing the city's interests before the Privy Council, and in his letter of acceptance to the city the Earl referred to Mr Brooke, who 'with a kinde of bewitchinge vertue drawes the mindes of all men that converse with hym to wish well to that body which he honores' (YCA: B 33, f 301v).

A brief introduction to his life, a transcript of his will, and an edition of his poems was provided by A. Grosart in Miscellanea of the Fuller Worthies Library (volume IV, 1872). The will reveals that although he had settled in London he had hoped to make a return visit to York: he added a Codicil in January 1627/8 'for that my sicknes and infirmitie increasinge, it maie well fall out that I may die before I come to yorke'. Amongst the goods bequeathed in this codicil, he gave a picture of Mary Magdalen, a 'night shadowed picture' and one of Apollo and the Muses 'being an originall of an

Italian Masters hand as I have ben made beleeeue vnto my deere ancient and worthie freind Doctor Dunn the Deane Pawles' (Grosart, pp 22-3). He was buried in St Andrew's Holborn church on 7 February 1627/8.

II THE ROUTE OF THE PLAYS

9. (p 167)

Lucy Toulmin Smith in her Introduction to the first edition of the York Plays wrongly assumed that the reference to the clerk keeping the Register meant that the Priory of Holy Trinity in Micklegate kept the manuscript, despite the fact that the evidence she quoted - the first place for the 1554 performance - occurs after the dissolution of the Priory. She was aware that this was an unlikely resting place for a civic document, and tried to explain its possibility in a footnote. York Plays, edited by Lucy Toulmin Smith (1885), pp xi-xii.

10. (p 277)

Thomas Hutton goldsmith was the brother of Matthew Hutton Dean of York. He was franchised for only 40 shillings at his brother's request in 1569 (YCA: B 24, f 159), and was always associated with Belfray parish: see the tax assessments of 1570 and 1576 (YCA: E 51, pp 147 and 210). He made his will on 19 April 1576 (BI: D/C Pr Reg 5, f 85) and was buried in the Minster (St Michael le Belfray, printed Parish Register, p 23); he was about 42 at his death. In 1570, he was granted a lease of the Chamber over the Minster Gates (YML: H(4), Chapter Acts, f 63-63v). For his widow, see pp 346-7 above.

Other Huttons do not appear in the records until the 1570s, except for entries in the Freeman's Roll. Thomas Hutton glasier appears from about the time of

the Goldsmith's death; William Hutton (Richard Hutton's brother?) was Constable of St Lawrence parish in 1585; George Hutton (a beerbrewer franchised in 1563) lived in Monk Ward; another Thomas Hutton, son of James, was franchised as a tapiter in 1573. Of these, possibly only George could be another candidate for the station in 1569, but I have not been able to link him to Christ's parish.

11. (pp 282-3)

Andrew Trewe first lived in the parish of St Martin Micklegate, where he married Jane, the daughter of Oswyn Edwyn; he was a Churchwarden in 1558 (BI: PR Y/MG 1, pp 21 and 22). By 1563 he belonged to St Michael Ousebridge End parish, and was assessed for tax there until 1572 (YCA: E 51, pp 10 and 182). He lived in the house on the Bridge leased by William Watson (see pp 193-4 above), and in January 1572/3 he arranged to lease the waste ground at the back called the Fish Landing (YCA: B 25, f 46v). The following January he had a tenement backing onto Haymonger Lane (see further in End Note 12 below), although he seems to have kept hold of the Ouse Bridge house. The Wardmote Courts in 1576 refer both to his house at Ouse Bridge and to the fact that he was keeping tar barrels against the walls of All Hallows church Pavement (YCA: E 31, ff 24 and 42). The tax assessments show him in All Hallows parish from 1576 to 1600 (YCA: E 51, p 205; and E 59a, f 225). He died in November 1604, being one of the few councillors who remained in the city during the plague that year (All Saints Pavement printed Parish Register, p 111).

12. (p 296)

The allocation of portions of Haymonger Lane

continued to cause friction between the inhabitants. Percival Brooke and Leonard Beckwith both brought complaints against Alderman William Allyn concerning the Lane on 2 September 1575 (YCA: B 26, f 34: this is the occasion when the margin heading calls it Haymonger Lane). The order touching the boundaries was to be perused in March 1575/6, after Hugh Graves had returned from attending Parliament, but nothing more was recorded (B 26, f 59). It was again to be perused a year later, when William Robinson and John Wright were in dispute, and the rents of Percival Brooke, Robert Brooke and Alderman Allyn were to be revised (B 27, ff 28 and 30). Further order was taken in December on the holdings of Alderman Allyn and Andrew Trewe (B 27, f 68). Robert Brooke had appeared there in 1577, when the Recorder had decreed a 2s 6d rent, but he refused to pay this, and another order was made in January 1577/8 (B 27, f 71v): it was viewed in December 1578 (f 127), and agreement for the purchase of his buildings in the Lane was reached in December 1579 (f 209a). The deed of 10 June 1580 says that this part of the Lane was $12\frac{3}{4}$ yards in length and $2\frac{3}{4}$ yards in breadth (YCA: E 22, f 28). Alderman Robinson's part of the Lane was viewed in January 1582/3, at the start of the controversy centred on his property in Walmegate; he had to show his Evidences for this in January 1584/5, and to pay his arrearages (B 28, ff 84, 174v and 175v); he still had not done so by November 1585 (B 29, f 49). The Lane by William Scott's and Percival Brooke's houses was to be viewed in January 1585/6 (B 29, ff 69v and 72v). Other tenants in the Lane first mentioned in 1584 (B 28, f 154) were John North (grandson of the Alderman) and Robert Weddall, and in January 1585/6 Robert Weddall was ordered to adapt his drain so it did not annoy John North (B 29, f 77). Parts of the

Lane were to be viewed again in January 1587/8 to revalue them (B 29, f 258v). In August 1589, new leases were made to William Robinson, Robert Askwith, Percival Brooke and Andrew Trewe (B 30, ff 128v and 129v). In 1587 Robert Askwith had bought from William Robinson part of the property formerly held by John Wright; John Wright is described as still being in a little house alongside (YCA: E 26, f 71-71v).

III SETTING FORTH PAGEANTS

13. (p 389)

John Stamper was a surety for Thomas Bowes miller to keep the peace in February 1550/1 (YCA: F 86, f 166). He also acted as surety for Oswald Thomlynson of Tokwith to keep the peace in 1555 (YCA: E 44, p 299) and for Michael Bell and his wife Joan to keep the peace against Margaret, wife of Richard Henryson in 1561 (F 2, p 31). The 1559 Chamberlains' Book also shows him as an arbitrator on three different matters, a witness to the sealing and delivery of an acquittance, and again reporting words he had heard against the Lord Mayor, this time by Leonard Graves. He stood as a surety for Martin Heath who was leasing a house on Ouse Bridge, and with Richard Aynley he was pledge for John Standeven's franchise money when he became free as a vintner (YCA: CB 5 (1, 1559), ff 89v, 94, 97v, 98, 99 and 99v).

14. (p 419)

Various teachers are referred to in the records; for example:

1555: Robert Morres chaplain to teach children in
the Chapel on Ouse Bridge
(YCA: B 21, f 108v: 11 October).

- 1579: William Pinke to teach children French in the little chapel at St Anthony Hall
(YCA: B 27, f 195: 4 November).
- 1587: Edward Richardson scrivener licensed to teach reading, writing and accounting
(YCA: B 29, f 184: 28 April).
- 1594: James Granger is teaching and not known to have a licence (of St Martin le Belfray)
(BI: Visitation Court Book V.1594, f 27v: 9 July).
- 1596: John Cooke is teaching without a licence - to get one
Edward Richardson is teaching to write without a licence - case dismissed
George Ryder is teaching to write without a licence (all of St Sampson's parish)
(BI: Visitation Court Book, V.1595-6, f 20: 14 July).
- 1597: Edward Richardson committed for writing a scornful Latin verse on the printed notices set up round the town by Thomas Fowler gentleman, scrivener, advertising his teaching children to write, make accounts and cipher
(YCA: B 31, f 272: 25 May).
- 1606: Codicil to the will of Ralph Westroppe, Sergeant of Arms, of the King's Manor in York: 10 shillings to the Schoolmaster that teaches and instructs his cousin Ralph Westroppe
(BI: Pr Reg 30A, f 137v-139v: Codicil 21 June).

NOTES TO ILLUSTRATIONS, FIGURES AND MAPS



Illustration 19: Illustrated initial 'S' from the York Minster Fabric Roll, 1531-2

ILLUSTRATIONS

1 John Clerke's hand in the York city records
(p 16)

York City Archives: Chamberlains' Book 5 (1, 1559), f 48.

John Clerke, deputy to the Common Clerk, wrote entries in the House Books for over forty years from 1531 (see Peter Meredith, 'John Clerke's hand in the York Register' in Leeds Studies in English, New Series, volume 12 (Leeds University, 1981), pp 245-271). The page illustrated, the opening of the Chamberlains' expenditure for 1559, is a rare example of his decorative flair and skill. He entered the Fullers' pageant of Adam and Eve in Eden into the Register (The York Play facsimile, ff 10v-11v) and a later entry in the 1559 Chamberlains' Book (f 73) records the payment of 12d to him for this work.

Photograph by David Whiteley of York University, with the permission of the York City Archivist.

2 Ouse Bridge and St William's Chapel, looking towards the east end of the chapel: J. Halfpenny, 1807
(p 42)

From FRAGMENTA VETUSTA, OR THE REMAINS OF ANCIENT BUILDINGS IN YORK, Joseph Halfpenny (1807), Plate 22.

He noted: 'This view is taken near to the Bridge, so as to present the East end of the Chapel'. The first stone bridge had been built in the later 1230s, and collapsed in 1564; the bridge illustrated here was built over the following two years. The houses and shops on the bridge had been removed by the time this illustration was made. Apart from the chapel, the building contained the chamber where the city council held most of its meetings and kept its records; after the mid sixteenth century, the chapel itself was also adapted for the council's use. The lower part, near the water, was used as a prison.

Photograph by Leeds University, taken from the copy in my possession.

3 Inside of the City Walls: J. Halfpenny, 1807; this view looks south-west towards Toft Green
(p 130)

From FRAGMENTA VETUSTA, Plate 11.

Illustration

'This view is taken between Micklegate Bar and North-street Postern'. The area is now much changed, when first the original railway station was built on the site of the former Friary (1841) and then the road was brought in through the walls to cross the river over Lendal Bridge (finished in 1863).

Source as Illustration 2.

- 4 Part of the Front to the George Inn, in Coney-street: Henry Cave, 1813
(p 161)

From ANTIQUITIES OF YORK, drawn and etched by H. Cave (London, 1813), Plate 5 and page 4.

He wrote: 'The house adjoining the George Inn is another specimen of the style of building which Stonegate has already presented. The whimsical, unmeaning traceries, the naked figure over the gate, and its grotesque ornaments, mark the period of its erection. The George Inn was in the same style, but has, in some degree, been modernised, and adapted to an improved state of accommodation'.

The George Inn stood a little south of the church of St Martin Coney Street. Photographs of the 'improved' George Inn (complete with pillars added in 1716), its successor the Leak & Thorp building, and the fifteenth century wooden door from the original building, can be found in Dr Evelyn's York by Hugh Murray (William Sessions and YAYAS, York, 1983), pp 70-71).

Photograph by Leeds University, taken from the copy in the Brotherton Library, Leeds University.

- 5 Portal of St Trinity, Micklegate: Henry Cave, 1813
(p 166)

From ANTIQUITIES OF YORK, Plate 17 and page 11. Cave described 'this ancient gateway, now involved in, and involving, buildings': they were demolished to create Priory Street in 1854, but scale drawings were first made (RCHM: York III, p 12).

Source as Illustration 4.

- 6 A view through the north side of Ouse Bridge: Francis Place
(p 198)

York City Art Gallery, reference R. 1950. Francis Place (1647-1728) was an amateur artist and engraver who had originally been articulated as an attorney. He made plates for Drake's Eboracum. This sketch shows the houses still clustered on the bridge.

Photograph provided by York City Art Gallery.

Illustration

- 7 Part of Low Ousegate: Henry Cave, 1813
(p 200)

From ANTIQUITIES OF YORK, Plate 4 and pages 3-4. 'These houses, however, will be seen no more but in the plate which describes them, as they have been lately pulled down for the purpose of widening the approach to the new bridge now erecting after the design, and under the direction, of Mr Atkinson, an eminent architect of York'.

Source as Illustration 4.

- 8 Low and High Ouse Gate: Henry Cave, 1813
(p 201)

From ANTIQUITIES OF YORK, Plate 33 and page 18. Speaking of both this view and of Plate 24, a 'Carving in wood at the Corner of Low and High Ouse Gate', Cave commented: 'This street leads from Ouse Bridge to the pavement, but unaccompanied by any particular circumstance, except its picturesque appearance, and the curious carved fragment which these plates display'.

Source as Illustration 4.

- 9 Christ Church (Holy Trinity, King's Court) at Goodramgate Head
(p 238)

Evelyn Collection, Yorkshire Architectural and York Archaeological Society. Lithograph by E. Brown. This drawing shows the side of the church facing the area generally called Goodramgate Head, after any building before it had been demolished, but before nineteenth century alteration had inserted a large window into the bare wall and enlarged the door: see the photograph in Dr Evelyn's York, p 47.

Photograph provided by Hugh Murray.

- 10 The Churches of St Crux and All Saints, in the Pavement: Henry Cave, 1813
(p 253)

From ANTIQUITIES OF YORK, Plate 20 and page 13. This view preserves the appearance of the Pavement, especially the north side, before Parliament Street and Piccadilly were created, although All Saints church had already been shortened. The Market Cross marks the approximate site of the houses built before the chancel end. The double-gabled house on the left is Harbert House.

Source as Illustration 4.

Illustration

- 11 The Pavement before 1911, looking east towards
Crux church
(p 298)

Evelyn Collection, Yorkshire Architectural and York Archaeological Society.

Parliament Street had already been opened up after 1833, and Dove's shop on the newly created corner can be seen on the left. The gables of Harbert House can be seen near the centre in this photograph. In the centre is Parliament House and the adjoining building occupied by the Herald Offices, both demolished in 1912 to make way for Piccadilly. One of these houses may have been that belonging to Robert Paycock in 1569. With the imagined reconstruction of small houses before Crux church in the distance, an idea of the original appearance of the Pavement can begin to be formed. See also Dr Evelyn's York, pp 36 and 56.

Photograph provided by Hugh Murray.

- 12 The pageant waggon of Noah's Flood, 1966
(p 370)

Although modern performances of the York Play take place in the ruins of St Mary's Abbey, one pageant is always performed on a waggon in various parts of York, although it is not possible to do this in the original places. The 1966 waggon for the Noah pageant is being taken along Petergate past the church of St Michael le Belfray to the top of Stonegate.

Original photograph provided by Stuart Lack.

- 13 St George panel from the Gale door, mid sixteenth
century
(p 373)

This and five other companion panels, now on a door in the York College for Girls in Petergate, are identified with George Gale through his coat of arms on one of them. They are said to come from his house 'in the Bedern' (RCHM: York V, p 189 and Plate 197). However, it is more likely that the panels were removed from their original location to the Bedern, perhaps by a collector, and that they have now returned close to the house of their first owner. They are a rare example of the art of this period in York.

I am grateful to Stuart Lack for showing me the panels, for his comments on the carvings, and for drawing my attention to the Vicars Choral Chamberlains' Roll of 1554 (see p 234 above).

Original photograph provided by Hugh Murray.

Illustration

- 14 Grafton's bill of 1584
(p 414)

York City Archives: Chamberlains' Book 6 (1, 1585), between ff 70 and 71.

The bill has been wrongly bound into the 1585 Chamberlains' Book (probably at the time the records were organised and rebound by William Giles after the flood of 1892). Although the 1585 bill has been lost, it was quoted by Robert Davies in Extracts from the Municipal Records of the City of York (1843), pp 275-276. Unlike the city clerks of that time, an example of whose entries can be partly seen on the left of the illustration, Mr Grafton used Arabic numerals.

Photographed by David Whiteley of York University, with the permission of the York City Archivist.

- 15 Title page of EPIGRAMS AND SATYRES by Richard Middleton, 1608
(p 427)

Taken from the copy in the Drummond Collection, Edinburgh University Library: Special Collections, De.5.103; and reproduced by permission of the Librarian.

Photograph by the Edinburgh University Library Photographic Department.

- 16 Title page of TIMES METAMORPHOSIS by Richard Middleton, 1608
(p 452)

Edinburgh University Library: Special Collections, De.5.103, page 21.

Source as Illustration 15.

- 17 The pageant waggon of Noah's Flood in Stonegate, 1966
(p 469)

There was in fact no performance in Stonegate of this pageant in 1966, but the waggon was allowed there for the purposes of the photograph.

Original photograph provided by Stuart Lack.

- 18 Illustrated initial 'S' from York Minster Fabric Roll, 1535-6
(p 478)

York Minster Library: E 3/43.

Photograph provided by York University, with the permission of the Archivist.

Illustration

- 19 Illustrated initial 'S' from York Minster Fabric Roll, 1531-2
(p 491)
York Minster Library: E 3/42.
Source as Illustration 18.
- 20 Dragons by John Clerke, 1559
(p 510)
York City Archives: Chamberlains' Book 5 (1, 1559), f 48.
A detail from Illustration 1.
Source as Illustration 1.
- 21 York from St Marie's Gate Water Tower: Francis Place
(p 540)
York City Art Gallery, reference R. 1856a.
See note to Illustration 6.
Photograph provided by York City Art Gallery.

Figure

FIGURES

Note: None of the schematic plans are intended to be to scale, even though occasional measurements are given; they are intended to indicate the relationship of buildings to each other.

- 1 Schematic plan of property on Ratton Row in 1421
(p 141)
This plan is based on the lease given in YCA: E 20A - B/Y Memorandum Book - ff 42v-43 (YMB III, p 59).
- 2 A speculative arrangement of the rents at Toft Green, based on the Bridgemasters' Roll of 1424
(p 142)
YCA: C 82:2; the rents are given under the heading 'Mykellyth extra et infra Ratton rawe et Toftes'. The numbers against each section indicate the order in which these groups of names appear in the Roll, but the scheme of the lay-out is my own. Names should be read from bottom to top in each group to follow the order in the Roll (except for Group 1 which is ordered 'a', 'b' and 'c'): this has been done so that Group 2 echoes the arrangement derived for 1421 and 1563 (Figures 1 and 3). I have assumed

Figure

that the tenements of Group 3 are on the other side of Ratton Row to the cottages, as there is a limit to the amount of buildings that can accumulate in that corner of the walls - they may indeed represent tenements along Micklegate. Having assumed that land 'in the corner' meant in the corner of the walls, I have put the following property alongside it to the east, which in fact brings the group of pageant houses in the right position to adjoin the Friary wall. The two entries of Group 6 I must assume were interpolated out of sequence. This arrangement is purely speculative, based only on the general order in the Rolls, combined with the similarity of the arrangement of property around John Yoman's garden.

3 Schematic plan of property on Ratton Row in 1563
(p 145)

This plan is based on deeds of sale by the city, all dated 20 March 1562/3:

YCA: E 22 - ff 13v-14: to Thomas Mason joiner:
cottage and small garden in Ratton Row on Pageant Green alias Toft Green
f 25: to John Skaife messenger and his wife Johanna: a cottage with a garden in Ratton Row on Pageant Green alias Toft Green
f 3: to Lawrence Grene gentleman: a little tenement and garden in Ratton Row.

4 The area of three pageant houses
(p 149)

Bakers, 1418: YCA: E 20A - B/Y Memorandum Book - f 40: 80-year lease from the Mayor and Commonalty to the Bakers: waste land next to the wall of the Friary, 6 yards by $5\frac{1}{2}$ yards; rent 12d a year (YMB III, p 56).

Goldsmiths, 1420: YCA: E 20A, f 42: 80-year lease from the Mayor and Commonalty to the Goldsmiths: land against the Friary wall, 4 yards by $5\frac{1}{4}$ yards, on which a pageant house would be built; rent 8d a year (YMB III, p 58; R:Y, pp 35-6 and 721-2).

Merchants, 1594: YCA: E 76 (first section), f 2: view of Rents, 1594, margin note alongside an entry stating that Mr Moseley paid no rent for ground on Toft Green where the merchants' pageant house stood; it was said to be 'but 15 fot euery waye'.

Figure

5 Payment of pageant house rent, 1634-1649
(p 152)

This is based on the Receiver's Rolls: YCA: C 67:1 and 3; 67:4; 68:3; 69:1-3; 70:1 and 2. Damage to other Rolls prevents a complete survey.

6 Schematic plan of property on the east side of Gregory Lane, c. 1595
(p 183)

Based on a survey by the parishioners of St Martin Micklegate about 1595 (the entry is undated): Churchwardens' Book: BI: PR Y/MG 19, f 102.

7 Schematic plan of the Three Kings, Micklegate
(p 185)

This plan is based on the description of the property given in the will of John Ellys, 20 December 1510 (BI: Pr Reg 8, ff 63v-64), the deed selling the property to Thomas Harrison, 28 September 1562 (YCA: E 23, ff 94v-95), and the deed selling the Cressand to Oswyn Edwyn, 12 December 1550 (YCA: E 23, f 94), which puts the Three Kings on the west side of the Cressand. Thomas Pickering, one of the occupants of the Three Kings in 1562, was franchised as a butcher (FY I, p 269), but he had also been licensed to brew in 1562, in St Martin Micklegate parish (YCA: B 23, f 50v).

8 Schematic plan of property on Ouse Bridge
(p 193)

Based on the description of the lease from William Wilson to William Watson, 12 July 1538 (YCA: E 24, ff 38v-39), and the Quitclaim by William Wilson made to Robert Smyth, the actual tenant, on 17 April 1546 (YCA: E 23, f 76v).

9 Schematic plan of Spurriergate
(p 212)

This is based on various deeds over 50 years apart: YCA: E 23, f 83v - Sale, 23 January 1547/8: Alderman John North and Johanna his wife to Alderman Thomas Appleyard and Isabelle his wife: messuage and appurtenances in Coney Street, in the parish of St Michael Ousebridge End, now held by Stephen Skelton, cook. In the description of the property between Coney Street and the river, both are said to be 'west' of the property, but obviously Coney Street must be to the east.

Bridgemasters' Roll, C 90:3, 1558, Coney Street section: Thomas Appleyard rented two tenements in Spurriergate late in the tenure of William Johnson.

Figure

- Chamberlains' Book 5 (1, 1559), f 46: purchase by Thomas Appleyard of two tenements in Spurriergate, lately held by William Johnson.
- E 22, ff 23v-24 - Sale, 20 March 1562/3: the city to Edward Barker Innholder, of a piece of land called Calome Hall in the parish of St Michael, Ousebridge End, between the river and a tenement of Edward Barker; the land had formerly been occupied by Thomas Glasyn Innholder
- E 26, f 26-26v - Inquisition Post Mortem of the property of Alderman Thomas Appleyard, 23 December 1584
- BI: PR Y/MS 20 - Enfeoffment, 21 January 1599/1600: a deed listing the feoffees of the church of St Michael Ousebridge End and the property held in their name.
- Note was also taken of Dr White's map (see note to Map 7 following) and to the 1852 Ordnance Survey map of York, to the scale of 5 feet to 1 mile.

10 Schematic plan of tenements in Hosier Lane, c. 1563
(p 247)

Based on deeds of 20 March 1562/3 and 20/21 March 1565/6.

20 March 1562/3:

YCA: E 22, f 19v-20 - Sale by the city to Alderman William Beckwith: three tenements in Whitney Whatney Gate in St Crux parish, now or formerly occupied by John Bown, William Saynt and William Bowman

f 6v - Sale by the city to Alderman William Beckwith: cottage or tenement in Hosier Lane, occupied by Joan Iles widow; 6 yards $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, $3\frac{1}{2}$ yards and 3 'nayles' wide

f 19 - Sale by the city to William Beckwith draper: cottage or tenement in Hosiergate, in his occupation; $6\frac{1}{4}$ yards and 1 'nale' wide

f 17-17v - Sale by the city to Edward Johnson tailor: cottage or tenement in Hosiergate now held by him: $12\frac{1}{4}$ yards and 1 'pollices' wide

f 17v-18 - Sale by the city to Thomas Watson butcher: tenement in the Flesh Shambles held by him; $4\frac{1}{2}$ yards wide

20 and 21 March 1565/6:

YCA: H 54: 1 and 2 - Sale and Release by Thomas Danby of Farnley, knight, and his wife Mary to Robert Askwith draper: three tenements in Hosier Lane, separately occupied by Robert Askwith and Henry Fawthorp.

Figure

- 11 Schematic plan of property on the north side of the Pavement, 1573
(p 295)

Based on the Quarter Sessions inquiry of November 1572 into an affray in Haymonger Lane, and the enclosure of part of the Lane (YCA: F 3, pp 56-7), and the entry in the House Book of 29 January 1573/4 agreeing that parts of the lane could be enclosed and leased (YCA: B 25, ff 108v-110v). The parish boundary can be fixed because William Scott was a parishioner of All Hallows (printed Parish Register, pp 24-5) and one John Wright was buried at Crux in January 1579/80 and another in 1604 (printed Parish Register, pp 65 and 74).

- 12 Comparison of entries concerning the stations for Grafton's Interlude, 1585
(p 337)

The entries are arranged to match each other. In the third column, + is the suggested place for Mr Moseley, and * the place of Mr Robinson. The original list: YCA: B 29, f 23v, 22 June 1585 (R:Y, p 414). Later decisions: B 28, f 53, 23 November 1585 (R:Y, p 416). Payments recorded: YCA: CB 6 (1, 1585), f 51 (R:Y, p 418).

- 13 Schematic plan of property at Ousegate Corner, 1563-1600
(p 343)

1. Enfeoffment, 21 January 1599/1600: Thomas Appleyard and other feoffees of St Michael Ousebridge End - BI: PR Y/MS 20: (2) Messuage or tenement in Upper Ousegate, late in the tenure of Alderman Robert Maskewe deceased
2. Sale, 3 October 1584: Henry Preston saddler to Thomas Moseley merchant - YCA: E 26, ff 5-7: tenement in Ousegate in the parish of St Michael Ousebridge End occupied by James Blande
3. Sale, 20 March 1562/3: Mayor and Commonalty to Alderman William Watson - YCA: E 22, f 1: a small tenement in Over Ousegate now occupied by Francis Jake merchant
4. Sale, 20 March 1562/3: Mayor and Commonalty to Robert Brooke merchant - YCA: E 22, f 7: tenement and appurtenances in Nessgate, occupied by Robert Brooke
5. Grant, 8 May 1594: John Jackson elder to John Jackson younger - BI: PR Y/MS 53: messuage in Over Ousegate (St Michael's church property)
6. Enfeoffment, 21 January 1599/1600 (details as 1): (1) Messuage or tenement in Upper Ousegate in the tenure of Roger Jackson.

Figure

- 14 A comparative chart of the places of performance between 1554 and 1585
(p 358)

All the sources are in the York City Archives:

1554: Chamberlains' Book 4 (2, 1554), p 59 (R:Y, pp 313-4)

1569: B 24, f 140, 140v (R:Y, pp 356-7)

1572: B 25, f 15 (R:Y, p 366)

1584: B 28, f 144v (R:Y, p 406)

1585: B 29, ff 23v and 53; Chamberlains' Book 6 (1, 1585), f 51 (R:Y, pp 414, 416 and 418).

- 15 Distances between playing places
(p 465)

The approximate distances have been measured on the 1852 Ordnance Survey Map. Each line represents a straight run for the waggons, and the direction of turn at the end noted. An asterisk marks all those places at street junctions. I have not been able to locate any of the places in mid Coney Street, but the half way point is marked by the site of the former George Inn.

- 16 Comparison of playing places, 1542, 1551 and 1554
(p 471)

All the sources are in the York City Archives:

1542: Chamberlains' Book 4 (1, 1542), f 37 (R:Y, pp 278-9)

1551: B 20, f 57 (R:Y, p 298)

1554: Chamberlains' Book 4 (2, 1554), p 59 (R:Y, pp 313-4).

Map

MAPS

- 1 York, 1610: John Speed
(p 128)

A detail from his map of 'The West Ridinge of Yorkeshyre with the most famous and fayre Citie Yorke described 1610', in The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine: presenting an exact geography of the kingdomes of England, Scotland, Ireland and the Iles adioyning: with the Shires, Hundreds, Cities and Shire-townes, within ye kingdome of England, divided and described by John Speed (London: solde by John Sudbury & George Humble, 1611-12).

Photograph by Leeds University, taken from the copy in the Whittaker Collection, Brotherton Library, Leeds University.

Map

- 2 A detail from John Speed's map of York, 1610,
showing the Micklegate Ward area of York
(p 133)

See note to Map 1.

- 3 Toft Green and Micklegate: a detail based on the map
by Captain Archer (c. 1673) and the copy by Jacob
Richard (1685)
(p 135)

For a description of these maps, and a discussion of the dates, see R.M. Butler, 'A Late Seventeenth-Century Plan of York' in The Antiquaries Journal, LII, Part II (Oxford University Press, 1972), pp 320-329. For notes on early plans of York, see RCHM: York III, p xxxiv. The original Archer map is in the North Yorkshire County Library, York, and the Richard map in the Staffordshire County Record Office.

Drawing: EW

- 4 Toft Green area of York, based on the Tudor map
(PRO: MPB 51)
(p 136)

Public Record Office: MPB 49 and 51.
This large plan is extremely faded, fragments have been lost, and the whole is now in two pieces. MPB 49 shows the south section of the city, Micklegate to the Pavement, and is approximately 28 inches by 25 inches. MPB 51 shows the north section, Toft Green to the Minster, and is approximately 24 inches by 31 inches. Most of the plan is still legible, and it can be seen that the river was coloured blue and the area around the moats and walls green. A red line (not reproduced here) surrounds the area containing St Sampson's church, St Helen's church and Peter Lane Little church; within this area more detail of streets has been given, and this obviously relates to the purpose of the map, which is not now known. The Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (RCHM: York III, p xxxiv) dates it on paleographical grounds not later than the mid sixteenth century, and after the dissolution of St Mary's Abbey as that area is called the King's Manor. It is suggested that it may relate to a payment by the city corporation on 12 August 1541 to a hermit for drawing a platt of the sanctuary. A plan based on this map is given on p xxviii. On the original, the captions are written with Micklegate at the top of the page and the Minster at the bottom: I have reversed these to conform with the direction of other maps used. For the illustrations here, I worked from photographs of the two sections taken under ultra-violet light and provided by the Public

Map

Record Office (the York History Room at the North Yorkshire County Library, Museum Street, York, now has a copy of these photographs). I am unsure about only one reading, that of 'The Newe garthe' on the site of Toft Green (see p 136): I have adopted the Royal Commission's reading, but I am not convinced of its accuracy. See also the Note on p 136.

Drawing: EW

- 5 Micklegate area of York, based on the Tudor map (PRO: MPB 49) (p 197)

See previous note.

Drawing: EW

- 6 Plan of Ouse Bridge, c. 1808, based on a plan by P. Atkinson (p 203)

York City Archives: Acc.191/PH 17/295.
Peter Atkinson junior (1778-1843) was an architect and the City Surveyor. This plan of Ouse Bridge was made c. 1808 to show how the streets and buildings would be altered by the new, and much wider, Ouse Bridge, which was built in 1810. The occupants of the houses affected were named on the plan, and an accompanying manuscript notes their reactions to this scheme. A version of this plan is also given by George Benson in Later Medieval York, opposite p 88.

Drawing: EW

- 7 Plan of Ouse Bridge, based on the map by Dr White, c. 1785 (p 205)

This is based on one of a series of plans now in the York Room of the North Yorkshire County Library, York.
These plans show the area of the doctor's practice, with the names of the occupants written inside their houses, no doubt used to remind him where his patients lived. The streets illustrated are Castlegate, Nessgate and Spurriergate, and Ouse Bridge, Ousegate, Coppergate, Pavement and Hosier Lane. Dr William White ambitiously began his 'Analecta Eboracensia or Memorandum of Events at York' on 1 January 1782 (YCA: Acc. 163), and one of the first events he chronicled was the demolition of the chancel of All Hallows Pavement in February; but there are only about twenty pages of entries, up to 1785. After a gap, another hand added entries from 1820 to 1823. Most of the book is blank, but at the end are several pages giving rough sketches of the

Map

more neatly drawn plans now in the York Library. The Library plan of Ouse Bridge has the date '1789' added to the names of two inhabitants there, but it would seem that the plans relate to the period of the diary, and a mid-way date of about 1785 has been adopted for the map. In most cases in my reproductions, the names of the occupants in the streets have not been included.

Drawing: EW

- 8 Plan of Low Ousegate, based on the map by Dr White, c. 1785
(p 206)

See previous note.

Drawing: EW

- 9 Plan of Spurriergate, based on the map by Dr White, c. 1785
(p 213)

See note for Map 7.

Drawing: EW

- 10 Minster Gates area of York, based on the Tudor map (PRO: MPB 51)
(p 229)

See note for Map 4.

Drawing: EW

- 11 The Pavement area of York, based on the Tudor map (PRO: MPB 49)
(p 240)

See note for Map 4.

Drawing: EW

- 12 The Pavement, based on the map by Dr White, c 1785
(p 255)

See note for Map 7.

Drawing: EW

- 13 Hosier Lane, based on the map by Dr White, c 1785
(p 256)

See note for Map 7.

Drawing: EW

- 14 The Pavement before 1835, based on a plan by P. Atkinson
(p 257)

York City Archives: Acc.191/PH 509/2215.

Map

See also the note for Map 6. This and other plans were made before Parliament Street was created in 1836. A market area was first considered for the land between the Pavement and the Foss, and this plan - which in the original extends further to the south - was made to illustrate the area affected. In the end, a road (Piccadilly) was not created there until 1912. A plan was also made of the area to the north of Pavement, which was used by George Benson to make his map of the old markets of York (George Benson, Later Medieval York (York, 1919), between pp 40 and 41; it is not included in the two volume reprint of his original three books (SR Publishers, 1968). Benson dated the plan he worked from 1832; a tracing is in the York Room, North Yorkshire County Library, York.

Drawing: EW

- 15 The alterations to All Saints Church, Pavement, based on the plan by William Belwood, 1778
(p 259)

Borthwick Institute: PR Y/ASP F 17.7.

Various plans - not all carried out - exist for these alterations. An elevation of the new east end (BI: PR Y/ASP F 17.8) shows the final design; but another suggestion offered by the architect (F 17.9) reveals a more Flamboyant concept (in architectural terms). A colonnade was proposed along the east end, wider than the church, and in the centre a circular edifice, no doubt intended as the market cross, was to project into the street. The Flamboyance was continued in the decoration of the eastern facade. This design, however, was not used, and Cave's etching (p 253) shows the Market Cross free standing against a plainer background of the church's east end.

Drawing: EW

End pocket:

- 16 Map of York in about 1554

This is intended to illustrate Chapter II in particular. Streets are called by the names used in the later sixteenth century, rather than modern names if these are different. All the major streets are indicated, but the smaller lanes are not included unless they are referred to in the text, such as Hornpot Lane off Petergate (also called Trinity Lane) and Stonebow Lane off Fossgate. The River Foss, dammed at Castle Mills, created a marshy pool (The King's Pool or Fishpond) which formed the city's defences between the Red Tower and Layerthorpe

End pocket map

Bridge, and the shape has been based on Benson's maps in Later Medieval York (see the map of York in 1377, opposite p 25). Note was also taken of the plan of York provided by D.M. Palliser in his thesis of 1968. A moat surrounded Clifford's Tower and the Castle, and the plan in RCHM: York II, p 62, is based on the Archer/Richard maps. The representation for 1554 must be conjectural. Fishergate Bar was blocked in 1489, and Lomlyth Postern, known from medieval records, was rediscovered when the new Victoria Bar was opened in 1838 (R.M. Butler, The Bars and Walls of York, pp 10-11 and 14-15).

A general scale of feet has been provided, but for the purpose of clarification the streets are shown wider than they ought to be. The map is aligned to modern representations of the city, with North at the top of the page, but the direction of North in the more schematic Tudor plan has been indicated, as directions given in the text conform to this and corresponding sixteenth century property deeds

Drawing: EW

17 Map to show the parishes of York, c 1554

By 1554, several of the smaller parishes had been united with others, but for the purpose of administration they still kept their identity. Although a formal Deed of Union was not made until 27 January 1585/6 (YCA: G 7), most suggestions made at the beginning of 1549 had been followed through, and some of the redundant churches had been demolished and the ground sold off (YCA: B 19, ff 47v-48). The date of the first proposals entered in House Book 19, is given as Saturday 12 May 1548, but they were not entered into the House Book until January 1548/9.

The churches made redundant and demolished are indicated on the map. The proposals of 1548 were:

- St John del Pyke united to Trinity Goodramgate; the site was sold in 1553 to Archbishop Holgate for his school;
- St Mary Layerthorpe and St Helen on the Walls united to St Cuthbert (this last church was saved by a former parishioner who had become a wealthy Alderman of London, Sir Martin Bowes; he made a special gift for the upkeep of the church, and also donated a ceremonial sword to the city: YCA: B 19, ff 11v-12 and 84v; Raine, YCR 4, pp 172-4). St Mary's church was already in decay; the churchyard of St Helen's was granted to George Gale in January 1549/50 (B 19, f 96);
- St Andrew and St John in Hungate united to All Hallows Peaseholme. They were both in the end united to St Saviour's in 1586. Drake in 1736

End pocket map

said St Andrew's was a stable and a brothel. This building still stands, and is at present a Gospel Hall;

St Peter Little united to All Hallows Pavement; the yard was sold to Miles Newton in 1549 (YCA: B 19, f 46);

St Peter in the Willows united to St Margaret; the yard was bought by John North (B 19, f 46v);

All Hallows Fishergate and St Helen (in Walmegate Ward) were to be united to St Denis. Alderman Paycock bought the site of All Hallows in 1549; St Helen's was in fact united to St Lawrence in 1586;

St Wilfrid united to St Michael le Belfray; the churchyard was bought by Richard Goldthrop (B 19, f 46);

St Giles proposed to be united to St Maurice in 1548, but in fact it was united to St Olave in 1586;

St Gregory united to St Martin Micklegate; the churchyard was sold to John Bean (B 19, f 47); Clementhorpe united to St Mary Bishophill the Elder.

Other mergers considered but not carried through were St Helen Stonegate (partly demolished in 1552) to St Sampson, and St John Ousebridge End to All Hallows North Street. St Nicholas was united to St Edward (outside Walmegate) in 1586, and destroyed in the Siege of 1644. St Stephen's parish was united to St Lawrence in 1586, although the building had probably gone much earlier.

Since the sixteenth century, further churches have been demolished. The ruins of All Hallows Peaseholme were sold to Alderman Trewe in 1590. St Maurice was rebuilt in 1878, and St Lawrence was demolished in 1881-3. Crux church was demolished in 1887, Christ's church in 1937 and St Mary Bishophill the Elder in 1963. St Martin Coney Street was bombed in 1942.

Several remaining churches are redundant, and most have secular uses: St Martin Micklegate (united to Trinity Micklegate in 1953); St John Ousebridge End (an Arts Centre); St Mary Castlegate (a Heritage Centre); St Sampson (Senior Citizens' Centre); St Saviour (York Archaeological Trust storeroom); St Cuthbert (commercial offices).

See VCH: York, pp 365-403.

18 The four Wards of the City

This groups the parishes into their Wards, named after the four Bars of the city; those outside Walmegate are listed but not placed. The map also marks the former religious houses in the city:

1. St Mary's Abbey
2. Augustine Friary
3. Franciscan Friary
4. Carmelite Friary (Whitefriars)
5. St Andrew's Priory
6. St Clement's Nunnery
7. Holy Trinity Priory
8. Dominican Friary (Blackfriars)

The Liberties are the other areas not in the jurisdiction of the city council:

1. St Leonard's Hospital (later housing a Mint)
2. Davy Hall (property originally granted by the monarch to his Officer of the Larder)
3. Minster Yard or Garth
4. Bedern
5. The Castle

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY



Illustration 20: Drag ons by John
Clerke, 1559

1. ORIGINAL SOURCES

A. YORK ARCHIVES

The documents are noted in the order they appear in the catalogues available at the archives.

BORTHWICK INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH (BI)

RECORDS OF THE ARCHBISHOP

I. Records of Administration

Diocesan: General Registers

Archbishops' Rolls and Registers:

- 5A Sede Vacante Registers (includes 1554-1555)
- 29 Robert Holgate (1545-1554)
Nicholas Heath (1555-1559)
- 30 Thomas Young (1561-1568)
Sede Vacante Register (1568-1570)
Edmund Grindal (1570-1576)
- 31 Sede Vacante Register 1576
Edwin Sandys (1577-1588)
John Piers (1589-1594)
Matthew Hutton (1595-1606)
Tobias Matthew (1606-1628)

II. Records of Jurisdiction

High Commission Court:

Court Books: (HC.AB)

1 1562-1565	6 1571-1572	11 1585-1591
2 1565-1566	7 1572-1574	12 1591-1596
3 1566-1568	8 1574-1576	13 1596-1599
4 1568-1570	9 1576-1580	14 1599-1603
5 1570-1571	10 1580-1585	15 1607-1612

Cause Papers: (HC.CP)

(nine boxes; all the York cases were examined, in particular:)

1563/3	1590/5
1567/2	1596/7
1576 (formerly CP.G 552)	1597/8
1589/5	1624/2
1589/7	ND/11

Bonds:

(taken from the provisional list at the BI)
13, 27, 54, 56, 101, 107, 108, 110, 111, 114, 115, 116

The Archbishop's Court:

Cause Papers (CP, Series G - sixteenth century)
 (A summary list of Series E-J is available at the BI)

York cases examined:

CP.G 156/1-7	1036	2015	2983
204	1037	2026	3018
205	1047	2031	3032
214	1161	2035	3034
234	1200	2039	3038
241	1246	2046	3041
259	1262	2086	3052
262	1270	2204	3054
268	1278	2206	3070
272	1314	2251	3095
273	1329	2257	3101
332	1331	2259	3126
336	1333	2298	3129
341	1336	2300	3183
395	1350	2308	3189
419	1414	2309	3200
434	1420	2310	3204
621	1430	2338	3205
719	1432	2372	3206
763	1466	2385	3216
784	1478	2392	3236
785	1500	2410	3245
788	1510	2415	3246
792	1555	2476	3250
794	1565	2524	3291
796	1570	2538	3304
797	1648	2574	3305
805	1680	2621	3316
806	1682	2624	3418
815	1683	2689	3430
830	1688	2762	3439
868	1689	2771	3450
881	1715	2772	3478
937	1803	2773	3491
942	1842	2792	3548
958	1846	2800	3563
974	1857	2824	3565
981a	1897	2832	3592
985	1955	2840	3607
999	2007	2886	3622
1023	2011	2977	

III. Records of Visitation

V.1567-8: Archbishop Young's Ordinary Visitation of
 the diocese of York

Court Books: CB.1 (August-December 1567)
 CB.2 (January 1568-June 1568)

V.1571-2: Archbishop Grindal's Primary and
 Metropolitan Visitation

Court Book: CB (York)

- V.1575: Archbishop Grindal's Ordinary Visitation
 Court Books: CB.1 Detecta
 CB.2 Correction
- V.1578-9: Archbishop Sandys' Primary and
 Metropolitan Visitation
 Court Book: CB.1 York (includes also the
 Visitation of 1582)
 Visitation Papers: York presentments (1 box)
- V.1586: Archbishop Sandys Ordinary Visitation
 Court Book: CB
- V.1590-1: Archbishop Piers' Primary and
 Metropolitan Visitation
 Court Book: CB.1 York
 Visitation Papers: York presentments (1 bundle)
- V.1594: Archbishop Piers' Ordinary Visitation
 Court Book: CB
 Visitation Papers: one item (St Crux)
- V.1595-6: Archbishop Hutton's Primary and
 Metropolitan Visitation
 Court Book: CB.1 York
 CB.3 York and Chester Detecta
 Visitation Papers: York - penances
- V.1600: Archbishop Hutton's Ordinary Visitation
 Court Book: CB.1
- V.1604: Archbishop Hutton's Ordinary Visitation
 Court Book: CB
- V.1607: Archbishop Matthew's Primary and
 Metropolitan Visitation
 Court Book: CB York
 Visitation Papers: York
- V.1615: Archbishop Matthew's Ordinary Visitation
 Court Book: CB

RECORDS OF THE ARCHDEACON

Records of Visitation

- Court Books (Y.V/CB)
 1. 1598
 2. 1613

RECORDS OF PECULIAR JURISDICTION

PECULIAR JURISDICTION OF THE DEAN AND CHAPTER OF YORK
 (in York: Bedern, St Andrew, St John del Pyke, St
 John Hungate, St John Ousebridge End, St Lawrence,
 St Martin Coney Street, St Mary Bishophill Junior,
 St Mary Layerthorpe, St Maurice, St Michael le
 Belfray, St Nicholas, St Samson, St Wilfrid)

Records of Jurisdiction

Court Books (D/C.AB)

(These were only used as a reference to the Cause Papers)

4	1554-1560	7	1581-1594
5	1567-1570	8	1595-1609
6	1571-1580	9	1609-1615

Cause Papers (D/C.CP)

1545/10	1581/1	1596/7	1609/15
1546/1	1581/7	1596/8	1611/6
1554/6	1582/6	1596/9	1612/1
1555/3	1582/9	1596/10	1612/2
1556/1	1587/3	1597/2	Appendix
1562/1	1589/6	1598/3	(undated)
1563/2	1590/10	1599/2	A7
1563/3	1592/1	1605/1	A11
1563/4	1592/2	1605/7	A14
1565/5	1592/7	1605/8	A15
1572/2	1593/6	1605/9	A16
1576/1	1594/3	1608/8	A25
1579/7	1596/2	1609/14	

PROBATE RECORDS

A. Jurisdiction of the Archbishop

Exchequer and Prerogative Courts of York

Original Wills (York wills of the period 1554-1609 noted)

Probate Registers (Prob.Reg)

(York wills from the following Registers noted)

1	1389-1396	15B	1557-1558	24B	1591
2	1397-1464	C	1558-1559	25A	1591-1593
3	1398-1500	16	1559-1560	B	1592-1594
4	1465-1476	17A	1561-1564	26A	1594-1595
5	1476-1497	B	1565-1568	B	1596-1597
6	1501-1506	18	1568-1570	27A	1597-1598
7	1507-1508	19A	1570-1572	B	1598-1599
8	1509-1512	B	1572-1575	28A	1599-1601
9	1514-1530	20	1575-1576	B	1601-1602
10	1530-1531	21A	1577-1578	29A	1603-1604
11	1531-1544	B	1578-1580	B	1604-1605
12	1544	22A	1580-1582	30A	1606-1607
12a	1549	B	1582-1585	B	1607-1608
13	1545-1553	23A	1585-1587	31A	1609-1610
14	1551-1554	B	1587-1588	B	1610-1611
15A	1555-1557	24A	1589-1590		

Probate Act Books (Prob.AB)

- Administration Act Books: entered chronologically (no page references): those for York City referred to

Chancery Court of York
 Original Wills
 (York wills of the period 1554-1609 noted)

B. Jurisdiction of the Dean and Chapter of York

Court of the Dean and Chapter of York (D/C)

Original Wills (Boxes including dates 1554-1595
 noted - most of these are inventories)

Probate Registers

5 1559-1638

(Volumes 1-4 are in YML)

Probate Records during Vacancies: Original
 Wills (noted)

PARISH RECORDS

(Registers marked PRINTED have been published by the
 Yorkshire Parish Register Society: see Printed Sources.
 Only the Registers quoted for this study are noted
 below)

All Saints, North Street (All Hallows)
 PR Y/ASN 1 Parish Register, 1578-1738

All Saints, Pavement (All Hallows)
 PR Y/ASP 1 Parish Register, 1554-1690 PRINTED
 PR Y/ASP F 14.2 Churchwardens' Accounts,
 1568-1720

Feoffee Deeds:

PR Y/ASP F 2/1 2 March 1560/1
 2/7 1601
 3/3 28 August 1487
 12.2 Estate papers: volume of deeds,
 1512-1624
 17 Church fabric
 .1 25 August 1781 Licence to
 demolish the chancel
 .7 Plan for alteration of part
 of the church - William
 Belwood, 1778
 .8 Design of the east end of the
 church - William Belwood,
 1778
 .9 Plan and elevation for
 portico, 1778
 FAC 1781/2 Petition, draft Grant and design
 for the east end of the church
 FAC 1792/4 Petition from Churchwardens and
 parishioners for the enlargement
 of the cemetery

Holy Trinity, Goodramgate
 PR Y/HTG 1 Parish Register, 1573-1654 PRINTED
 PR Y/HTG 12 Churchwardens' Accounts, 1559-1712

- St Crux
PR Y/CR 1 Parish Register, 1540-1677 PRINTED
- St Denys
PR Y/DEN 1 Parish Register, 1558-1776
- St Helen, Stonegate
PR Y/HEL 1 Parish Register, 1568-1648
- St John, Ousebridge End
PR Y/J 1 Parish Register, 1570-1653
PR Y/J 17 Churchwardens' Accounts, 1558-1668,
1689-1705
- St Martin, Coney Street
PR Y/MCS 1 Parish Register, 1557-1686 PRINTED
PR Y/MCS 16 Churchwardens' Accounts, 1552-1586
17 1586-1637
Feoffee Records:
PR Y/MCS F 1/2 16 May 1553
1/3 Assessments, 1570-1572
5/45 10 August 1535
5/46 12 August 1552
5/47 and 48 16 December 1567
5/49 28 May 1581
5/50 28 May 1581
5/51 12 October 1584
5/52 22 March 1607/8
5/53 2 September 1620
- St Martin cum Gregory, Micklegate
PR Y/MG 1 Parish Register, 1539-1652 (PRINTED)
PR Y/MG 19 Churchwardens' Accounts, 1560-1669
- St Michael le Belfray
PR Y/MB 1 Parish Register, 1565-1605/6
1603-1641
1606-1653 PRINTED
PR Y/MB 33 Parish Memoranda, 1569-1651
- St Michael Spurriergate (Ousebridge End)
PR Y/MS 1 Parish Register, 1598-1763
PR Y/MS 2 Churchwardens' Accounts, 1594-1625
3 draft Account Book, 1537-1548
4 Churchwardens' Accounts, 1518-1547
Feoffee Deeds
PR Y/MS 15 3 June 1579
16a-b 1 and 2 September 1584
17 8 May 1594
18 31 October 1594
20 21 January 1599/1600
21 15 November 1609
40-42 Deeds, 1504, 1505
44 10 September, 1507
49 4 January 1531/2
50 (undated)
53 8 May 1594
54 24 January 1578/9

(A Summary List of parish records is available at the BI)

YORK CITY ARCHIVES (YCA)Class A Charters &c

(Several were noted, although not used for this study)

A 23: Incorporation of the Guild of Corpus Christi, 6 November 1459 - illuminated in gold and colours

A 39: Deed, 1 February, 1570/1 - relating to the Forest of Galtres (see E 30, f 51)

Class B Corporation House Books

Notes made from:

11	1527-1533	14	1540-1541	18	1546-1547
12	1533-1534	15	1541-1543	19	1547-1548
13	1534-1539	16	1543-1544	20	1549-1552
13a	1539-1540	17	1544-1546		

Read completely:

21	1553-1555	25	1572-1574	29	1585-1587
22	1556-1558	26	1575-1576	30	1588-1592
23	1561-1564	27	1577-1580	31	1593-1598
24	1565-1571	28	1581-1585	32	1599-1605
				33	1606-1612

Notes made from:

34	1613-1625	35	1625-1637	36	1637-1650
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Class C Books and Rolls of Account

(The dates given here sometimes differ from those assigned to Rolls in Giles' catalogue, and are usually derived from the name of the Mayor; dates I have not verified are queried, or the source of identification noted)

Chamberlains' Rolls

C 5:1	1501	C 6:11	1539 (one membrane)
2	1506	12	?1540 (R:Y) (beginning lost)
3	1508	13	?1544 (R:Y) (fragment)
C 6:1	1516 (damaged)	14	?1546 (R:Y) (fragment)
2	?date (faded)	15	?1547 (R:Y) (one membrane)
3	?1518 (R:Y) (beginning lost)	16	1552 (this is a photograph of the roll, marked 'found at Hereford in the binding of a book')
4	?1520 (R:Y) (beginning lost)		
5	?date (beginning lost)		
6	1528 (damaged)		
7	1535		
8	?date (last membrane only)		
9	1539 (fragment)		
10	?1539 (R:Y) (beginning lost; C 7:1 1561 faded)	2	1576

C 7:3	1577	C 10	1602
C 8:1	1578	C 11:1	1607
2	1580	2	1608
3	1581	C 12:1	1611
4	1582	2	1612
C 9:1	1597 (faded)	C 13:1	1617
2	1598 (faded)	2	1618
3	1599 (faded)		

Receivers' Rolls

C 66:1)	?1627/8	C 69:1	1645
2)	(separate	2	1646
3)	membranes)	3	1647
4	?1628-9	C 70:1	1648
	(illegible)	2	1649
5	?1627	3	1650
	(illegible)	C 71:1	1651
6	?1628	2	1652
	(one membrane)	3	1653
7	?1628	4	1654
	(one membrane)	C 72:1	1655
8	1631	2	1656
9	1632	3	1657
C 67:1	1634	4	1658
2	1636	5	1659 (faded
3	?1637 (faded)		and damaged)
4	?1638	C 73:1	1660
	(beginning lost)	2	1661 (faded
5	?date (faded and		and damaged)
	damaged)	3	1662
C 68:1	?1641	C 74:1	1663
2	?1642	2	1664
3	1644	3	1665

Bridgemasters' Rolls: Foss Bridge

C 81:1	?1507 (Giles)	C 81:5	1549
	(faded)	6	1551
2	?1518 (Giles)	7	1553
	(faded)	8	1555
3	1524 (faded)	9	1556
4	probably 1540	10	1558
	(beginning	11	1563
	faded)		

Bridgemasters' Rolls: Ouse Bridge

C 82:2	1424	C 88:3	1539
3	1428		(incomplete)
		4	1543
C 88:1	1534		(other membranes of
2	1538		C 88:2 and 3 may be
	(incomplete)		in Box C 92:1)

C 89:1	1544	C 90:4	1561
2	1545	C 91:1	1564
3	1546	2	1564
4	1547		(paper draft)
5	1548	3	1566
C 90:1	1552	C 92	(Box with odd
2	1554		membranes)
3	1558		

Bridgemasters' Rolls: joint Ouse and Foss

C 93:1	1573	C 96:1	1600
2	1575	2	1602
3	1580	3	1603
4	1581	4	1604
C 94:1	1582	5	1607
2	1583	6	1609 (faded)
3	1584	7	1610
4	1584	C 97:1	1615
	(paper draft)	2	1617
5	1585	3	1620
	(paper draft)	4	1621
6	1586	5	1622
7	1591	C 98:1	1624
8	1592	2	1625
C 95:1	1593	3	1626
2	1595	4	1626
3	1596		(unfinished
4	1597		copy)
5	1598		

St Thomas Hospital Accounts

C 104:1	?1558	C 104:3	1580-1581
	or 1576-1577	4	1592
	(faded; Ralph Hall	5	1597
	Mayor)	6	1605
2	1575-1576	7	1607

St Anthony's Hospital Accounts

C 105:1	and 2	C 105:3	1612-1614
	(mostly	4	(faded)
	illegible)		

Chamberlains' Books

(These books are often given the prefix 'CC', and occasionally 'CB; the latter has been adopted in this study)

CB 3	(1)	1526	
	(2)	1527	
	(3)	1528	
	(4)	1535	(from this point, the books are
			in English, and the organisation
			of entries is consistent with
			the later volumes)
	(5)	1538	

CB 4	(1) 1542	CB 10	(1) 1599
	(2) 1554		(2) 1601
5	(1) 1559	11	(1) 1602
	(2) 1565		(2) 1603
	(3) 1584	12	(1) 1605
6	(1) 1585		(2) 1606
	(2) 1587	13	(1) 1607
	(3) 1588		(2) 1608
7	(1) 1590 (faded)		(3) 1610
	(2) 1593	14	(1) 1611
8	(1) 1594		(2) 1612
	(2) 1596		(3) 1613
9	(1) 1597		
	(2) 1598		

Class D Freemen

Book 1 (C/Y) 1272-1671
 (References were taken from the printed
Freemen of York I and II: this volume
 was used only to check)

Book 12 Register of Apprentice Indentures,
 1573-1688

Class E Register Books

- E 20 A/Y Memorandum Book (c 1327-1547)
- 20A B/Y Memorandum Book (Edward III to Elizabeth)
- 21 Copy of the Foundation Deed and Articles of
 Archbishop Holgate's School, 1546
- 22 Deeds and Guild Ordinances (including sales
 of city property, March 1562/3; entries
 to the late 17th century)
- 23 Miscellaneous Deeds, Injunctions, Releases
 and Memoranda (temp. Henry VIII and
 Elizabeth); includes property deeds
- 24 Precedents, and deeds concerning property
 (temp. Henry VIII)
- 26 Deeds and Inquisitions of property, 1583-1589
- 27 - ditto - 1600-1622
 (this has been damaged by damp, and
 some parts are illegible)
- 30 Various Charters and Memoranda
 (Note: f 149 is a copy of the entry in
 B 31, f 334, 6 March 1597/8 - a View of
 the buttery at the Common Hall - where
 it is said to be entered in the Register
 called the Black Book)

- E 31 Wardmote Court Book
 Beginning: a few pages c. 1483-1497
 First section: 1575-1578 (folio numbering)
 Second section: 1579-1586 (page numbering)
 at end: folded sheet - Fines of Wardmote
 Courts, 1598 and 1599

Liber Miscellanea: Collections of precedents and
 extracts

- Volume
- E 32 1 Recognisances and Memoranda from the time
 of Edward IV, Richard III and Henry VII
- 33 2 Ouse Bridge Precedents, compiled by
 Darcy Preston, 1699: Volume 1
- 34 3 Volume 2
- 35 4 Volume 3
- 36 5 Law Courts; includes extracts from the
 House Books
- 37 6 18th century
- 38 7 Temp. James I
- 39 8 Temp. Henry IV - Henry VI
- 40 9 Collection of original documents: Military,
 Parliaments, the City's rights, Church
 matters, Miscellaneous
- 40A 10 Miscellaneous Memoranda, 1577-1758
- 40B 11 Miscellaneous Memoranda etc.
- E 41 Muster Roll, 1542 (dated 1543 by Giles; but
 cf B 16, ff 27v-35v)
- 41a Muster Rolls, 1584 and 1587
- 44 Recognisances of Brewers and others, 1552-1564
- 45 1586-1595
- 46 1596-1605
- 47 Muster Assessments, 1573
- 48/49 Royal Subsidies (bound as one book)
 48: 1540 and 1541
 49: 1548
 third section - 1545 (undated, but see
 PRO: E.179/217/109)
- 50 Royal Subsidies: 1549/50*; 1550/1; 1551/2;
 1555/6; 1556/7; 1558; 1559; 1559/60
 *cf PRO: E.179/217/120 - 31 March 1550
- 51 Royal Subsidies: 1563; 1563/4; 1566/7; 1567/8;
 1571; 1572; 1576; 1577; 1581; 1582; with
 miscellaneous notes at the end, including a
 rough draft of items in B 22, letters, a
 Muster of 1563/4, and the Collection for
 the repair of Kexby Lane
- 52 Register Book: copy of all deeds concerning
 the Corpus Christi Guild land in Naburne,
 delivered to John Palmes in 1593

- E 53 Bonds (Statute Merchant), 1584-1595
 59 Royal Subsidy, 1581
 59a Royal Subsidies: 1585; 1586; 1587; 1588; 1589;
 1590; 1591; 1592; 1593; 1594; 1595; 1596;
 1598; 1599; 1600
 64 Register of persons able to bear arms, 1539
 (cf PRO: E.36/32)
 66 Register of St Thomas Hospital, 1552-1583
 69 Poor Relief account, 1574 (Robert Maskewe,
 Mayor)
 76 City Rental:
 First section (folio numbering): (a) View
 of common rents 1594; (b) View of
 common rents 1602
 Second section (folio numbering): Late
 Chantry property
 Third section (page numbering): Rents in
 1626 and later
 86 Assessment for Ship Money, 1596
 99 Various bonds and miscellaneous entries
 (temp. Henry VIII)
 126 Session Book, 1585 and 1586 (list of
 presentments, notes of Recognisances)

Class F Sessions of the Peace

- F 2 Quarter Sessions Minute Book, 1560-1570
 3 1571-1583
 4 1583-1586
 5 1586-1590
 6 1590-1599
 F 86 Recognisances, c. 1530-1552
 F 94 Sheriffs' Court Papers (Depositions and
 Interrogatories: 1593, 1594, 1597, 1599,
 1602; undated; also early 18th century
 petitions)

Class G Various Old Documents
 (Agreements, Commissions, Awards)

- G 7 Deed of Union of the Parishes, 27 January
 1585/6 (with seals of all the signatories)
 9 The Claim of the Mayor and Citizens of York
 to the Forest of Galtres (undated)
 34:1-4 Deeds relating to the will of Samuel
 Sair: property in Stonegate
 37:3 Deed of Arrangement concerning the bequest
 of Marmaduke Rawdon, 4 June 1670

Class H Conveyances

- H 16 Indenture, 1550: Robert Ellwood to John Johnson, tenement in Petergate (damaged) (see I 159C)
- H 54: Property in Hosier Lane
- 1 Sale, 20 March 1565/6: Sir Thomas Danby to Robert Askwith
 - 2 Release, 21 March 1565/6: Sir Thomas Danby to Robert Askwith, draper
 - 3 Sale, 6 April 1571: John Holme, tailor, to Robert Askwith
 - 4 Recovery of property from Thomas Pynder, 28 November 1593: Alderman Robert Askwith
 - 5 Inquisition Post Mortem on Alderman Robert Askwith, 15 December 1597

Class I Leases

- I 90D 7 September 1371: Mayor and Commonalty to Thomas Dygett - ground at Toft Green
- I 92 8 September 1515: Mayor and Commonalty to Gilbert Walrome - tenement over Micklegate Bar
- I 159C 29 January 1550/1: Robert Elwood merchant to John Johnson: tenement in Petergate (see H 16)
- I 233 1603: Andrew Trewe to Henry Hall and others - moat adjoining the Tofts (damaged)

Class K Sundry documents

- K 6 Sheriffs' Court Papers, 1579-1683
Includes: 1579: Complaint of Christopher Hunton against Christopher Willoughby
- K 7 Sheriffs' Court Papers, 1594-1674
Includes: (1579): The Answer of Christopher Willoughby; the Replication of Christopher Hunton; the Rejoinder of Christopher Willoughby
July 1603: Complaint of Peter Hodgeson merchant against Henry Pulleyn;
Reply of Henry Pulleyn
- K 43 Arrears of Rent
Includes arrears on Toft Green, 1627-1650

Later Accessions

- Acc 104:G/1 Original copy of the Scriveners' play
- Acc 163 Dr White's Analecta or Memorandum of Events at York (begun 1782; includes sketch maps of Castlegate-Spurriergate and Ouse Bridge-Pavement areas of York)

- Acc 191/PH 17/295 Plan of Ouse Bridge, c 1808,
by Peter Atkinson
- Acc 191/PH 509/2215 Plan of the Pavement, c 1835,
by Peter Atkinson

YORK MINSTER LIBRARY (YML)

Dean and Chapter Archives

E. Accounts

E2/21 Chamberlains' Account Book: St Peter's Part
1572-1600

E3/6-61 Fabric Rolls, c 1404 to 1587

F. The Liberty of St Peter

F3/18-55 Bailiffs' Accounts, 1531-1600

H. Chapter Acts and Minutes

H(4) Chapter Acts, 1565-1634

L. Probate Records

L1/17 Inventories
(note L1/17:38 - Inventory of John
Foster's bookshop, 25 November 1616)

L2(4) Probate Register, Volume 1: 1321-1492

L2(5)a 2: 1493-1543

(5)b 3: 1543-1558

(no York wills in Volume 4;

Volume 5 is in the BI)

(identified as D/C Pr Reg 1, 2 and 3)

M. Statutes, Visitation records, Court Books
and Inventories

M1(7):1 Injunctions of Archbishop Lee, 1538

M2(4)a Chantry property of the Minster and St
William's College, c 1554 (based on
pre-dissolution rentals)

S.

S 3/4a Subscription Book, 1562-1679 - signatures
of clerics and schoolmasters to the 1562
Articles

Vicars Choral Archives

VC 3/5/1 Indenture, 8 October 1524: Release by the
Vicars Choral to the Mayor and
Commonalty of arrears of rent from the
Bull in Coney Street and a tenement in
Jubbergate

Chamberlains' Rolls:

VC 6/2/90	1539	VC 6/2/93	1567
	91 1554		94 1575
	92 1557-1558		95 1596-1597
			96 1597

B. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE (PRO)

- C 142/704 No 146 Inquisition Post Mortem at
Wetherby, 20 July 1642:
Richard Middleton 'nuper de
Studley Rogers'
- E 36/32 York Muster Book, 1539
(cf York's copy, YCA: E 64)
- E 117/10/1 Inventory of the Shrine of Corpus
Christi in York, 1546 (see REED:YORK
pp 642-644)
- E 117/10/6 Indenture, 17 May 1553: goods left by
the Commissioners at St Martin's
Micklegate

Tax Rolls

- E.179/217/90 Indenture for collecting the Subsidy,
25 December 1526; endorsed by Miles
Newton, 20 May 1527
- 92 York Subsidy Roll, 9 April 1524
- 93 York Subsidy Roll (incomplete);
Indenture attached, 25 December
1524
- 99 York Subsidy Roll, 27 September 1540
(Note: the Roll is dated 22 Henry
VIII - 1530 - but the Mayor named,
William Dogeson, was Mayor in 32
Henry VIII - 1540 - and John Bean,
called Alderman in this Roll, was
not an Alderman until after 1530)
- 102 York Subsidy Roll, 2 November 1541
(cf YCA: E 48/49 (1) ff 29v-46)
- 108 York Subsidy Roll, 1545
- 109 York Subsidy Roll, 4 November 1545
(part missing; cf YCA: E 48/49 (2)
pp 1-37)
- 110 York Subsidy Roll, 14 February 1545/6
(cf E.179/217/112)
- 111 York Subsidy Roll, 28 March 1547
(part faded)
- 112 York Subsidy Roll, 14 February 1545/6
(cf E.179/217/110)
- 116 York Subsidy Roll, 12 June 1546
(part missing)
- 119 York Subsidy Roll, 23 April 1549

- E.179/217/120 York Subsidy Roll, 31 March 1550
(part missing; cf YCA: E 50, pp 1-48)
- 121 York Subsidy Roll, 7 March 1550/1
(cf YCA: E 50, pp 64-83)
- E.179/218/133 York Subsidy Roll, 26 August 1572
(cf YCA: E 51, pp 169-194)
- 142 York Subsidy Roll, ?1 February 1551/2
(part missing; this Roll is listed as being 1584/5, but the evidence of the names suggests an earlier date; cf YCA: E 50, pp 89-112)
- 161 York Subsidy Roll, 4 September 1599
(one membrane only; cf YCA: E 59a, ff 207-217v)
- 167 York Subsidy Roll, 12 September 1598
(cf YCA: E 59a, ff 197-206v)
- 180 York Subsidy Roll, 16 March 1608/9
- 181 York Subsidy Roll, 8 March 1609/10
- 190 York Subsidy Roll, 7 March 1610/1
- 191 Contribution for the marriage of Princess Elizabeth, 10 January 1612/3 (faded and damaged)
- E.179/260/16a Book of the loan from the city of York and nearby inhabitants, ?1542/3
- E.318/2116 Rental of the St Christopher and St George Guild of York, with attached Memorandum from Miles Newton dated 12 July 1549, requesting purchase; and Acquittance dated 2 July 1549
- MPB 49 and 50 Tudor map of York (now in two parts)
- SP.2/P Draft grant of annuity to Ralph Sadler from the College of Henry VIII, Oxford: written over a similar grant to him from the Master of the St Christopher and St George Guild of York, 20 February 1533/4 (see Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, volume 7, 1534, p 172, Item 416)
- SP.46/13 f 9: printed order for the licensing of performances of Common Interludes
- SP.46/14 f 180v: 22 September 1570 - authorisation for money to complete work on the King's Manor, York
ff 189-198: Inventories of the goods of rebels, 1571 (relates to the Rising in the North)
- SP.46/30 f 240: 28 March 1576 - travel expences granted to Sir Thomas Gargrave who assessed and collected fines from the late rebels

SP.46/126 f 129: Argument for the use of a
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|-----------------|-----------|--------|
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| | 1548-1549 | |
| | 1549-1551 | (1925) |
| | 1550-1553 | (1926) |
| Philip and Mary | 1553-1554 | (1937) |
| | 1554-1555 | (1936) |
| | 1555-1557 | (1938) |
| | 1557-1558 | (1939) |
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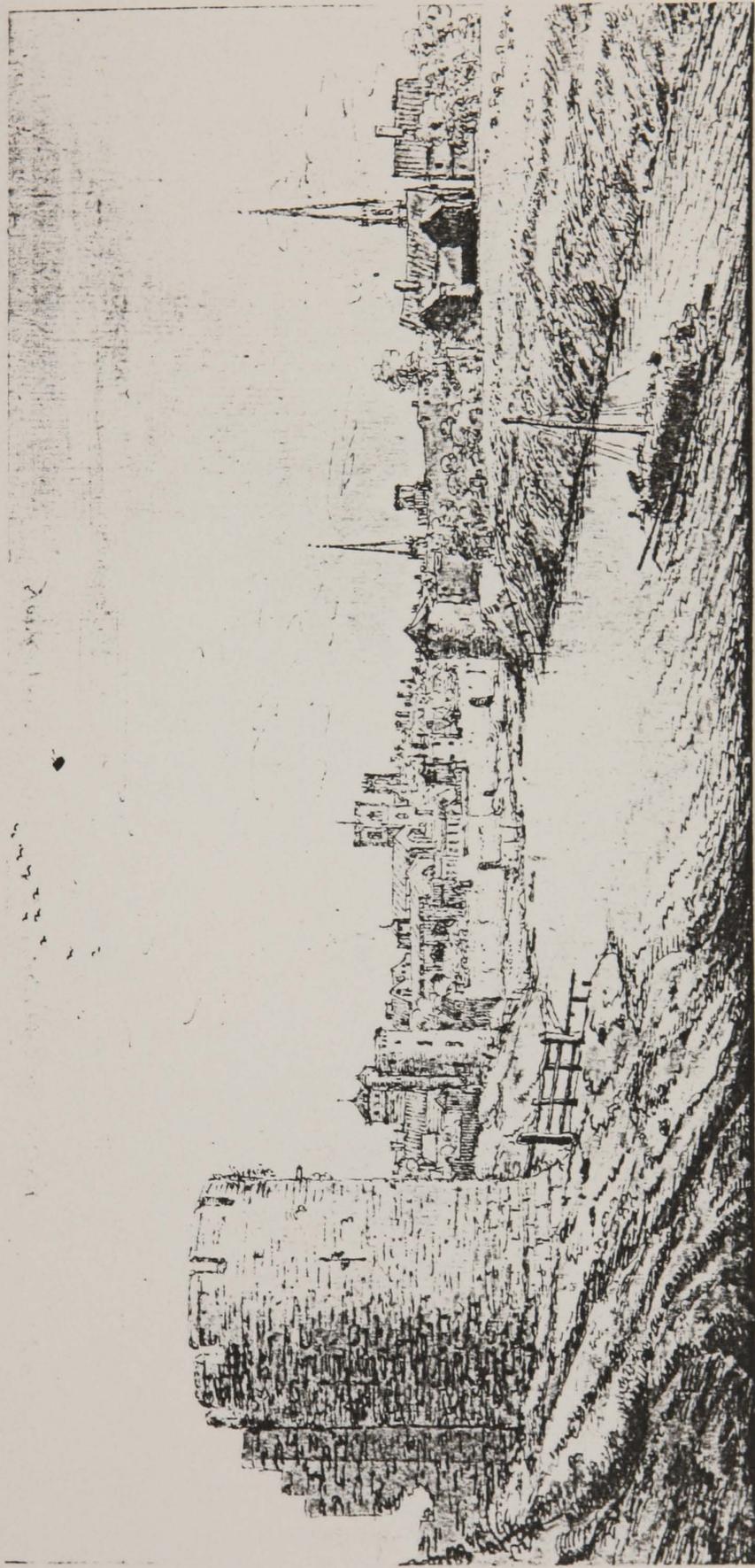
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F. Place.

York from St. Mary's Gate Water Tower.

Map 18: The four Wards of the city

YORK

Micklegate Ward
 Bootham Ward
 Walmegate Ward
 Monk Ward

