THE ACTIVITIES OF THE OFFICE OF THE REVELS: 1547-1558

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ABSTRACT

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by Robert G. Skinner

Shortly before the death of Henry VIII in 1547, the Office of the Revels was established as a department of the royal household, and was charged with the responsibility of making the costumes, properties, and scenery necessary to most court entertainments, principally the masques held during Christmas. Sir Thomas Cawarden, a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, was made Master of the Revels, and three lesser Officers were appointed to keep accounts of expenses and to supervise the work of tailors and other craftsmen. For three-quarters of a century the Office flourished as a costume and property workshop in the Crown's service.

During the nineteenth century, a few short studies of the Revels Office were made, but a major work on Revels activity did not appear until 1908. In that year, Albert Feuillerat, a French scholar of the Elizabethan age, published in facsimile all the extant expense accounts of the Office under Elizabeth I, and in 1914 published a similar volume of the accounts made during the reigns of Edward VI and Mary I. Feuillerat's publications were, however, sources for others to work from. His notes and glossaries, while valuable, were brief and incomplete, and, because it was not his purpose, he had made little attempt to interpret the sixteenth-century accounts. Although the Office of the

Revels is mentioned in almost every history book of English theatre, no major study of its work has appeared to date. This analytical interpretation of the accounts of the Revels Office under Edward VI and Mary I, as edited by Feuillerat, is designed to add to our present knowledge of pre-Shakespearean dramatic production and stagecraft.

Several facets of the Office are studied: its origins and history prior to official establishment; the Officers, craftsmen, and tradesmen who served the Office; and its location and operating practices. Of principal concern are the properties and costumes which were made, the materials and fabrics used in them, and the construction methods and techniques employed. From this foundation, several conclusions are proposed regarding the nature of mid-sixteenth century masques and plays, and a chronological reconstruction of court entertainment is presented.

Such objectives have required a complete study of life in London and the English court in the first half of the sixteenth century. Innes' England Under the Tudors, and Stow's A Survey of London have been particularly excellent sources for this material. For defining hundreds of unfamiliar terms, several lexicons have been necessary, the most valuable of which has been Halliwell-Phillipps' Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words. Collier's History of English Dramatic Poetry to the Time of Shakespeare and Annals of the Stage to the Restoration, and

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Chambers' Notes on the History of the Revels Office under the Tudors have supplied much of the material for a history of the Office. Linthicum's Costume in the Drama of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries and Strutt's Dress and Habits of the People of England have both proved to be excellent sources for the descriptions of cloth and costumes.

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By

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Office of the Revels was the first organized workshop of designers, costumers, propertymakers, and painters devoted exclusively to serving the theatre in England. Their function was akin to that of any stage workshop or costume loft today: to design, make, and deliver on time the scenery, costumes, and properties necessary to a dramatic performance. To the Revels, the season generally ran from Christmas to Ash Wednesday; the producer was the royal court; the actors were members of the court; the audience consisted of other courtiers; the theatre was the great banqueting hall of the royal palace; and the performance was almost always a masque, a fancy promenade and dance by disguised courtiers costumed in rich and strange attire.

Conceived early in the sixteenth century and officially established during the last years of Henry VIII, the Revels Office flourished throughout the reigns of Edward VI, Mary I, Elizabeth I, and James I providing the furnishings for masques, plays, and other courtly entertainment. But, as the public theatre grew during the last quarter of the century, the Office assumed the responsibility of licensing plays and gradually declined

as a scenery and costume shop.

Even before its establishment as a permanent department of the royal household, accounts were kept of expenditures for goods and services used in entertainments. Those made by the Office during the reigns of Edward VI and Mary I were first brought to light in the early part of the nineteenth century when a muniment room in the manor of Loseley was opened. In it was a treasury of Tudor history: manuscripts and documents bearing signatures of every English ruler from Henry VIII to James I and dealing with every conceivable matter of state in the Tudor period. To scholars of English history the discovery was one of the most important of the nineteenth century.

Loseley (or Lothesly, as it is sometimes spelled) was an ancient manor dating from the Saxons and lay near the borough of Guildford in Surrey County. Early in the sixteenth century it came into the hands of Christopher More, grandson of Thomas More, Lord Chancellor under Henry VIII. In 1549, it became the property of his son, William More, who, ten years later, was Executor of the Will of Sir Thomas Cawarden, first official Master of the Revels. As he left no heirs other than More, all of Cawarden's papers were locked in the muniment room at Loseley. The bulk of this material was the accounts of the Revels Office under Cawarden's tenure.

Alfred Kempe was the first to publish the findings at Loseley. In 1835, The Loseley Manuscripts[1] appeared, and in typical nineteenth-

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[1] Alfred John Kempe, The Loseley Manuscripts (London: John Murray, 1835).

century fashion he had included only what he felt was interesting or curious, had paraphrased and corrected misspellings in the accounts, and had made little attempt at chronological arrangement. His volume was, however, stimulus for further research on the Revels.

Abstracts of the Revels accounts and copies of much of the material were found in the State Paper Office, the Harleian MSS., the Cottonian MSS., and in other collections of ancient documents. The prolific historian of London, Peter Cunningham, published some of this material in 1842,[2] but it, too, was sketchy and incomplete. In 1879, John Payne Collier included interesting aspects of Revels activity in the second edition of his three-volume work, History of English Dramatic Poetry . . . and Annals of the Stage . . .,[3] but such a large undertaking could only include a cursory glance.

Sir Edmund K. Chambers added considerably to the history of the Office in 1906 when he published Tudor Revels.[4] The work covered only the history of the Office, however, and the accounts of Revels activity were not included.

Two years later the full story of Revels activity was started.

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[2]Peter Cunningham, Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1842).

[3]John Payne Collier, The History of English Dramatic Poetry to the Time of Shakespeare and Annals of the Stage to the Restoration (3 vols., 2nd ed. rev.; London: George Bell and Sons, 1879).

[4]Sir Edmund K. Chambers, Notes on the History of the Revels Office Under the Tudors (London: A. H. Bullen, 1906).

Albert Feuillerat, an Elizabethan scholar, published the Revels accounts made during the reign of Elizabeth I,[5] and followed this volume in 1914 with another which covered the reigns of Edward VI and Mary I.[6] Both volumes included every important extant document relating to the Revels work. In truly scientific fashion Feuillerat translated the Middle English script into Modern English type, made no corrections of misspellings or omissions, annotated and indexed each volume, added glossaries of unfamiliar terms, and printed the accounts as close to facsimile as possible. Although he recognized the earlier works of Kempe, Cunningham, Collier, and Chambers, Feuillerat's purpose was different from those of his predecessors: he wished to bring together all the scattered material pertinent to each particular period, thus making available to scholars everywhere single source books covering the activities of the Revels Office, sources hitherto available only in locked English archives and accessible only to the most proven scholars.

Feuillerat's second volume, the primary source for this present study, consisted largely of the Loseley MSS. from which he transcribed two ledgers made by a clerk around 1560 of all the accounts between 1550 and 1558. For the years 1547 to 1549, he printed the most perfect copies

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[5] Albert Feuillerat, ed., Documents Relating to the Office of the Revels in the Time of Queen Elizabeth (London: David Nutt, 1908).

[6] Albert Feuillerat, ed., Documents Relating to the Revels at Court in the Time of King Edward VI and Queen Mary I (London: David Nutt, 1914). Although volumes were planned to cover the reigns of Henry VIII and James I, they were never published.

of accounts available and noted their variants with other copies. His service to theatre historians is obvious; his name is found in the bibliography of every major work of English theatre history published in the last half-century. While valuable, Feuillerat's work was not a history of the Revels Office, however. His notes and glossary were brief and incomplete; little was included about the Officers, the location of the workrooms, or the nature of scores of materials and services used in making costumes and properties. Subsequent historians have included the most important and interesting elements of Revels activity in broader studies, but to date no work has been published which deals exclusively with the Office of the Revels and covers all of their activities. This comprehensive study of the first eleven years of the Revels Office is designed to fill that need.

Three general areas appear: (1) the story of the Office itself, its history, function, personnel, and location; (2) the operation of the Office, its conduct and practices, materials and tools used, the kinds of cloth and trimmings which were used in the costumes, and the costumes themselves; (3) a chronological reconstruction of the masques, plays, and other entertainments which the Revels served. In the first area, Collier's Annals of the Stage and Chambers' Tudor Revels have been particularly helpful for the history of the Office. Tudor Revels also supplied much material for biographies of the Officers; the accounts themselves yielded most of the material for the chapter on personnel; for locating the

workrooms at the Blackfriars, I have relied primarily on Blackfriars Records.[7] In the area covering Office operation, the chapter on Office conduct has come mainly from the Revels accounts. Although several lexicons have been used to define hundreds of unfamiliar terms encountered throughout the accounts, Halliwell-Phillipps' Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words[8] has been most useful. Linthicum's Costume in the Drama of Shakespeare[9] and Strutt's Dress of England[10] have both proved to be excellent sources for descriptions of cloth and costumes. For reconstructing the court entertainments and the reigns of the Lord of Misrule, I have depended largely on the Revels accounts as well as Innes' England Under the Tudors,[11] Stow's Survey of London,[12] and excerpts from Machyn's Diary.[13]

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[7]Albert Feuillerat, ed., Blackfriars Records, Vol. II, Pt. I of Malone Society Collections (2 vols.; Oxford: The Malone Society, 1911-31).

[8]J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps, ed., Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words from the Fourteenth Century (London: J. R. Smith, 1887).

[9]M. Channing Linthicum, Costume in the Drama of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936).

[10]Joseph Strutt, Dress and Habits of the People of England (2 vols.; London: J. Nichols, 1799).

[11]Arthur D. Innes, England Under the Tudors (London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1911).

[12]John Stow, A Survey of London, ed. Charles L. Kingsford (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908).

[13]Feuillerat, Revels at Court, 276 and 281.

I have sought to maintain Feuillerat's adherence to sixteenth-century spelling and phraseology, for frequently the lack of punctuation allows diverse interpretation. Two exceptions to this are: (1) personal names, where the modern or most common spelling is used, and (2) numbers, where I have used Arabic, rather than the Roman numerals of the accounts. Where Roman numerals do occur in this study, it will be noticed that in numbers ending with the digit one, "j" was substituted for Roman numeral "i". This was a sixteenth-century practice designed to terminate the number and discourage its alteration.

The reader should remember that a pound sterling (£) was, and still is, equal to twenty shillings (s.), and a shilling equal to twelve pence (d.). Obolos, used in Middle English for the Half-penny,[14] was shortened in the accounts to "ob", and dimidius, meaning half,[15] to "di".

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[14]Joseph T. Shipley, Dictionary of Early English (New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1955). p. 465.

[15]Ibid., 216.

CHAPTER II

ENGLAND AT MID-CENTURY

The National Scene

Between the reign of Henry VIII, which ushered out the Middle Ages, and the reign of Elizabeth I, which introduced the Golden Age of England, lie the reigns of Edward VI and Mary I. Embracing first six years of figurehead rule by a sickly boy, more a tool of his vain-glorious protecters than a king, then five years' reign of a tragic woman whose noble efforts brought only scorn to herself and despair to her subjects, the years 1547 to 1558 were certainly the weakest of the Tudor sovereignty,

Upon the death of Henry VIII in January of 1547, the leader of his Council of Regency, Edward Seymour, was made Lord Protector, Duke of Somerset. In his hands was placed the trust of the ten-year-old Edward, his blood nephew, and the responsibility of the realm. With barely any dissention he was given the right to act without consulting other members of the Council: virtually all the powers of the king. Had his skill in promoting his aims been as great as the aims themselves, the reign of Edward might have been a much more noble one for England.

The Reformation, born in the reign of Henry, grew rapidly during the tenure of Somerset. He was a liberal reformer and together with only one other member of the Council had the right to grant licenses to preach, a right which he used extravagantly to favor Protestantism. Further harrassment of Catholicism came in 1549 when Parliament adopted the Prayerbook of 1549 and forced its uniform use by clergy of the realm.

Somerset's brother, Lord Seymour of Sudeley, and Admiral of the Fleet, was extremely jealous of his brother's guardianship of Edward. His principal ally, Sharington, Master of the Mint at Bristol, abused his office by debasing the coinage and sharing the profits with Seymour. Thus supported, Seymour established an armed following and early in 1549 was discovered in a scheme to unseat Somerset. Although given a chance to plead, he was denied an open trial and in March of 1549 was executed, a significant example of the chaos into which English justice had fallen.

Throughout that year Somerset's troubles mounted. Introduction of the new Prayerbook met with violent opposition, particularly in the west. Insurrections swelled in rural areas, growing both from Somerset's agricultural reforms and the innovations in religion. Both of these grievances were associated with further dissolution of the monasteries, an act of the Reformation which affected the entire population. Former wealthy monastic houses were being turned over to titled persons, men who, in the eyes of the lower classes, were wealthy already and consequently

considered enemies of the old ecclesiastical system. But as the Poor Man's Friend (the image he had tried to adopt for himself), Somerset openly sympathized with the farmers and peasants and publicly admonished the new monastic landlords. This only served to infuriate the nobility, leading them, too, to turn against him. In the words of Innes,

> He was driving the country faster than it was prepared to go in the direction of religious innovations; he was attacking the privileges which the new landowners had usurped; . . . he was further alienating all but a few of the nobility by his increasing arrogance of demeanour and disregard of advice, as well as by an assumption of powers which had no precedent; he was giving a handle to his enemies by the profusion of his household, his appropriations of clerical lands and even of the fabric of consecrated buildings to his own use; and finally his conduct of foreign affairs had been so incompetent that . . . by the end of September war was declared with France.[1]

The Council decided the protectorate should end, and, though Somerset fled to Windsor with the ailing Edward in October, 1549, he surrendered to the Council a few weeks later upon promise of his life. He was sent to the Tower for a few months and was released in February, 1550, having been relieved of most of his holdings and all of his political power.

The deposition of the Lord Protector had come none too soon, for at the beginning of the second half of the century, England was at the brink of disaster. Debasement of coinage had continued, and the economic situation was growing worse with the fall of silver throughout Europe as a result of the wealth pouring into Spain from the Americas.

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[1] Innes, 200

The treasury was nearly empty and was maintained only by borrowing from foreign bankers. The ruling class, instead of turning their spoils of the Church to the public need, rewarded themselves. The lesser nobility, landowners, merchants, and manufacturers, taking their cue from their peers, were engaged in rapid money-making at the expense of their traditional integrity. Religious factions, while not openly clashing, were still wrangling. The country had lost its moral balance.

French efforts to reclaim Boulogne on the English Channel the preceding autumn had failed, and, though the city was held, the hostility of France had been rekindled. Scotland allied with France, and border disputes seemed imminent. The Council realized that reconciliation with France could only be accomplished by the evacuation of Boulogne, but with France holding the whip their concessions would be small. Accordingly a treaty of peace was signed in March, 1550; England withdrew from Boulogne and from forts still held in Scotland and cancelled most of the money claims held against France.

In February of 1550, John Dudley, then Earl of Warwick, was made President of the Council and Lord Great Master of the Household to succeed Somerset. No events of great magnitude mark his first eighteen months as President, and no serious attempts were made to deal with any of the existing causes of disorder and uneasiness. Warwick's primary concern was his own aggrandizement, and in the summer of 1551, the deposed Somerset began to worry him. Although he lacked the capacity to organize an opposition to Warwick, his well-meant efforts

among the commoners had made him popular, and with these people behind him he could become a threat. In October of 1551, Somerset was arrested on the trumped-up charge of plotting the deaths of several members of the Council and a subsequent armed revolt. During the autumn he was tried, found guilty, and in January of 1552 executed with only token demonstrations in his favor made by the populace, who refused to believe that the sentence would actually be carried out.

With the advancement of Lutheranism and other ultraprotestant movements on the continent, the Reformation continued to grow in England. Warwick's anti-clerical attitudes were even greater than Somerset's had been, and in a 1551 meeting of Parliament an act was passed for the removal of Images which the Protestants had long claimed were being used not as symbols of faith but as idols of worship. Early in 1552, another revision of the Prayerbook was sanctioned which involved a change of the terms priest to minister, and altar to table, with complete elimination of the doctrine of Transubstantiation. An unsuccessful attempt was made to eliminate the instruction that the Sacrament was to be received in a kneeling position, a position, the Protestants felt, which implied an act of adoration. With the revision of the Prayerbook, Parliament passed a second Act of Uniformity, this time imposing penalties on laymen for non-compliance.

Warwick, now Duke of Northumberland, while not a beloved President of the Council, was considered effective by his fellow Councilors, and, with Somerset gone, no schemes for his replacement were

threatening. He enjoyed his power, found no dissentions from Edward, and was troubled by only one factor which might disturb his position: the probable early death of the King. Edward's health had continued to fail during the winter of 1552-53, and by March the end looked near. Northumberland had one recourse: to see that the succession to the throne laid down in Henry's will was not carried out, and that Edward's successor would be someone over whom he could hold a firm hand.

First in line according to the will was Mary, Henry's daughter by Catherine of Aragon, and second was Elizabeth, his daughter by Anne Boleyn. Both had been declared illegitemate by the courts, a stroke of good fortune for Northumberland who felt they would be passed over if their illegitemacy was contested strongly enough. Next in line was Mary Stuart whom he knew the country would not take. Finally there was Lady Jane Grey, granddaughter of Henry's second sister, Mary. By marrying her to his son, Guildford Dudley, Northumberland would secure his dominating influence over her and thus retain his superior office.

Several factors stood in the way of his scheme. First, the entire realm from the Council down had unhesitatingly pledged its adherence to Henry's will. Mary, a fervent Catholic, had proved herself a dignified and courageous person, and the treatment dealt her by Northumberland had made her the object of popular sympathy. Lady Jane, on the other hand, had no organized following. The only way that his aim could be achieved, he felt, was to persuade the King to declare his own successor, just as his father had done, gain approval of this cabal from the Council,

and thus secure his post.

In May, 1553, the marriage of Lady Jane Grey to Guildford Dudley was accomplished and the King's approval of her as his successor obtained. In June, Northumberland presented the proposal to the Council, with which it found little favor, but, out of fear for their lives, the Councilors granted approval subject to approval of Parliament. The Judges unanimously declared it unconstitutional without Parliamentary authority, but finally gave way under the dying King's persuasion. Sanction to the new letters patent was given, although the entire affair was kept secret, and by the end of June preparations were being made to support the coup d' etat by arms if necessary. On the 6th of July, Edward died, and on the 10th Lady Jane was proclaimed Queen.

Within nine days the plot had collapsed completely. Mary, on her way to London on the 6th, was told of her half-brother's death and warned of the plot. She fled for her life, barely escaping Northumberland's party sent to secure her. Jane Grey, sixteen-year-old bride of a few days, astonished the Council by defying its right to proclaim her Queen and refusing completely the notion that her husband should be crowned King. Two of the Duke's sons, pursuing Mary, fled when their entire force acclaimed her Queen. Northumberland himself decided to go for her. With a force he mistrusted and through a country almost in arms, he set out only to receive news that the entire fleet had declared for Mary; his force followed suit. With Northumberland away, the Council quickly released several of its members from the Tower and reinstated William

Paget, who declared for Mary and demanded Northumberland's arrest as a traitor.

The sweeping acclaim for a Catholic Queen by a large Protestant populace can only be explained as the country's unswerving devotion to Henry VIII and obedience to his will. Edward had been but a weak figurehead bending to the whims of his protectors, more to be pitied than loved. Lady Jane was unknown and had been the central figure in an outrageous conspiracy, however innocently. But Mary had been a persecuted martyr to a cause, and her courage was admirable.

Two pressing issues were foremost in the minds of the people and the peerage when Mary took the throne in early October: her dedication to Catholicism, and a probable marriage. Her attitudes and actions on these points could make her either an extremely popular figure or one who would cause more unrest. Had she been a woman more politic and less conscientious, she might have become the figure her sister, Elizabeth, was to become a few years later.

The majority of the population wanted toleration of Protestantism within reasonable limits; its growth in the past six years had been too swift for wholehearted acceptance. Mary frankly professed her desire that reconciliation be made with Rome and religion returned to its position at her father's death. This she wanted only with Parliamentary sanction, and in its first meeting in November, 1553, all ecclesiastical legislation of the preceding reign was repealed and the religious position at Henry's death restored.

National sentiment demanded Mary's union with an Englishman, preferably one of two representatives of the House of York: Edward Courtenay or Cardinal Reginald Pole, the latter being eligible to marry since he had never taken priest's orders despite his cardinalship. Mary, however, inclined toward Philip of Spain, son of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, King of Spain. Against strong opposition in Parliament and even stronger opposition of the populace, a marriage treaty was signed in January, 1554. Almost immediately there was an uprising in Devon, the Courtenay country. This forced prematurely the hand of Sir Thomas Wyatt who was planning a larger-scaled attempt to dethrone Mary, marry Elizabeth to Courtenay, and proclaim her Queen. Forced now to play out his embryo scheme, Wyatt marched to London where his weak force was quickly captured and the rebellion thwarted. The lenience which had been shown toward Mary's declaimers the summer before could not be repeated. Lady Jane Grey, still a possible center for plots, was executed together with her husband and his father Northumberland. Wyatt was beheaded, and a hundred of his rebels hanged. Both Courtenay and Elizabeth, suspected of having knowledge of Wyatt's scheme, were committed to the Tower but were released two months later. Despite continued opposition to the Spanish marriage, the treaty was ratified in April. Philip, however, did not feel it safe enough to enter England immediately, and it was not until July that the marriage was completed.

In November, 1554, Cardinal Pole, named by Mary a year before as legate to Rome, returned to England, and Parliament hastily restored

the nation to communion with the Church. Large numbers of the population confessed their sins and declared their loyalty and repentance to the Church; since loyalty and repentance did not involve restitution of Church property, such declarations were not difficult to make.

One word defines the last four years of Mary's reign: persecution. With the reconciliation made with Rome, Parliament also restored the Acts of Heresey which had been restricted under Henry VIII and abolished under Somerset. With this restoration began the burning of over three hundred martyrs who would not recant their beliefs in Protestantism to save their lives. The immediate practical effect was that every martyrdom brought fresh adherents to Protestantism and intensified Protestant sentiment while extending the conviction that persecution was part and parcel of the Roman creed, the last result that Mary or the Church wanted. That Mary herself was the chief instigator of the persecutions is only conjecture, but she was morally convinced that it was her duty to stamp out heresy and almost fanatically believed that only Catholicism could save the souls of England.

It became apparent in 1555 that Mary was not going to bear an heir to the throne and, in fact, that her life would not be long. With this conviction, Philip left the country in August to ponder how he might best secure his influence with Elizabeth, whose ultimate accession he regarded as inevitable. In January of 1556, Charles V abdicated, and Philip became King of Spain. Later in the year, argument with the new violent-tempered Pope, Paul IV, involved him in war with Rome, and France took up the

Papal cause. In the spring of 1557, Philip paid a final brief visit to his wife to obtain her aid in war with France. Within a few months, Mary had her own problems with France when a French-encouraged rebellion in Yorkshire led to war.

Meanwhile, with a considerable contingent of English troops, Philip routed the French in Italy, and the Pope, thus deserted, was forced to a reconciliation. Philip's use of English troops, and Mary's failure to force Parliament to restore more property to the Church, enraged the Pope. Cardinal Pole was deprived of his legatine authority, to the great grief of Mary, and the Pope's attitude served only to intensify English animosity toward the Papacy. When Mary and Pole bled the already impoverished treasury to pacify him in what they deemed a pious and supreme duty, the sentiment of the country toward Rome reached the breaking point.

To make matters worse, Calais fell to the French in January, 1558, the result of a weakened garrison made so by the depletion of the exchequer to the pacification of Rome. Calais had been a point of military honor with the English for centuries, and the loss was a deep and bitter wound to national pride. For Mary herself it was the bitterest portion of a cup filled with little but bitterness.

The last months of her life dragged out in a country filled with despair and gloom. In November she died and was followed in a few hours by her one trusted friend, Cardinal Pole. Her failure was a disastrous example of one who, with conscientious and destructive persistence,

aimed at an ideal which her own methods made impossible of attainment. The trials of her sad life have been summarized by Innes in a short paragraph:

> From the time of her childhood she was exposed to unceasing harshness; a princess born, she was treated as a bastard; despite it all her natural generosity survived. Royally courageous, loyal and straightforward; to her personal enemies almost magnanimous; to the poor and afflicted pitiful; loving her country passionately: she was blind to the forces at work in the world, obsessed with the idea of one supreme duty, and she set herself, as she deemed, to do battle with Antichrist by the only methods she knew, though they were alien to her natural disposition, facing hatred and obloquy. She whose life was one long martyrdom, for conscience' sake offered up a whole holocaust of martyrs: she who thirsted for love died clothed with a nation's hate. Where in all history is a tragedy more piteous than that of Mary Tudor?[2]

London and the People

London grew rapidly during the first half of the sixteenth century and, with the purchase from the Crown of the borough of Southwark in 1550, was the largest city in Europe, with a population estimated at a quarter-million. Because of her size and proximity to Westminster, she was invariably the first to feel the effects of government action. Continued suppression of the religious houses during Edward's reign was filling the city with men lacking either trade or craft and forced to beg, a situation which brought widespread suffering to all. The influx of foreigners and rustics during the early years of the century was

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[2] Ibid., 242

now swelling the guilds and companies. Threatening unionism, which would have made large numbers of skilled men idle, was thwarted in 1547 by Parliamentary abolition of all the craft guilds in England (except the London companies and a few in the larger towns) and provision that artisans might work where they pleased.[3] London, more so than the rest of the country, was feeling the effects of rapid growth.

The city was divided into twenty-six wards (including Southwark),[4] each governed by a freely elected Alderman. The Lord Mayor, elected each year from among the Aldermen, began his term in late October, assisted by forty immediate subordinates and two Sheriffs, each of whom maintained law and order throughout the city with a staff of Sergeants, Yeomen, and Clerks.

The backbone of the city in both men and money was the city companies. Well over 125 were recognized in London although the most powerful were limited in number to twelve, the Great Livery Companies of Mercers, Grocers, Drapers, Goldsmiths, Fishmongers, Salters, Vintners, Skinners, Haberdashers, Merchant Tailors, Clothworkers, and Ironmongers. Like the rest of England, most were continually in a state of change, absorbing smaller or allied guilds, founding new companies as fashions and styles dictated, and fluctuating to increasing import, swelling ranks of journeymen, and the favor shown them by the Crown.

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[3]Sir Walter Besant, London in the Time of the Tudors (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1904), p. 219

[4]See Map of London, Pl. II, p.163. Southwark was later called Bridge Ward Without.

Roughly, the companies were divided into three groups: the Merchants, who were the wealthiest; the Craftsmen, who were the most numerous, and, in effect, the great middle class; and the Laborers, the lowest in both numbers and wealth.[5]

As the companies grew, so did their recognition by, and responsibilities to, the city and the Crown. The Lord Mayor gained greater authority over the companies as the need grew for new forms of regulation, easier governing for revenue and police purposes, and outside judgement in company disputes. Assessments likewise grew, primarily as loans which were never repaid. By mid-century most companies maintained their own armories as the burden of supplying militiamen fell more and more to them. In 1547, many companies were put in difficult circumstances as chantries and endowments for memorial services made to parish churches were seized by Edward, for in many cases the funds were invested in lands and properties. But, despite increased government demands, the guilds and companies came through the Reformation with better organizations, more beneficial regulations, and greater wealth than they had ever known.

Suppression of the religious houses had a doubly harsh effect on the city: it threw unskilled men into the streets with neither trade

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[5]George Unwin, The Gilds and Companies of London (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), pp. 352-53. Ironically, the last group included the Watermen, the oldest and largest company, and the most loosely organized until 1555 when eight overseers were selected from their number by the Mayor, and their fares set by the city. (Ibid.)

nor craft, and did away with many refuges for the poor and the sick. The sweating sickness appeared in 1550, and thousands died before it subsided six months later.[6] Of ten hospitals for the poor and sick before Edward's accession, seven were suppressed before his death, and it was only by shaming the government into generosity that the city was left in 1553 with five foundations: St. Bartholomew's for the sick, St. Thomas' for the permanently infirm, Christ's Hospital for the maintenance and education of children, Bridewell for the vagabonds and unemployed, and Bedlam for the mad.[7]

Education likewise suffered as a result of the Reformation, though unintentionally. The impoverished government could no longer endow the secular high schools and colleges as heavily as the overzealous Henry had done; the grammar schools could expect nothing, and the dissolution of chantries and guilds outside London in 1547 had overthrown a large number of schools maintained by them.[8] In London and Westminster, however, four survived: St. Paul's, St. Peter's, St. Thomas', and St. Anthony's; a fifth was added at Christ's Hospital in 1553.[9]

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[6] Besant, 47

[7] A. L. Rowse, The England of Elizabeth (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1950), p. 198

[8] Ibid., 489

[9] Stow, I, 74-75. Of these, Stow recalled, the boys of St. Anthony's were the most frequent winners of the yearly debates for which they received silver bows and arrows donated by the Goldsmith's Company. (Ibid.).

These were schools for the children of Gentlemen, however, who had to be able to read and write Latin before admission; the great majority of children were educated at home or went uneducated until old enough to work.

Although the times were difficult, both nobility and the common man found time for sport and play. It is perhaps by watching the Londoner in his frivolous hours that we see him best. John Stow, in his twenties during the reigns of Edward and Mary, left memorable accounts:

> Cockes of the game are yet cherished by diuerse men for their pleasures, much money being laide on their heades, when they fight in pits whereof some be costly made for that purpose. The Ball is vsed by noble men and gentlemen in Tennis courts, and by the people of meaner sort in the open fields and streets. . . . I haue also in the Sommer season seene some vpon the riuer of Thames rowed in whirries, with staues in their hands, flat at the fore end, running one against another, and for the most part, one, or both ouerthrowne, and well dowked.
>
> On the Holy dayes in Sommer, the youthes of this Citie, haue in the field exercised themselues, in leaping, dauncing, shooting, wrestling, casting of the stone or ball, etc.
>
> And for defence and vse of the weapon, there is a speciall profession of men that teach it.
>
> The youthes of this Citie also haue vsed on holy dayes after Euening prayer, at their Maisters doores, to exercise their Wasters and Bucklers: and the Maidens, one of them playing on a Timbrell, in sight of their Maisters and Dames, to daunce for garlandes hanged thwart the streetes, . . . as for the bayting of Bulles and Bears, they are till this day much frequented, namely in Bearegardens of the Banks side, wherein be prepared Scaffolds for beholders to stand vpon. Sliding vpon the Ice is now but childrens play: but in hawking and hunting many graue Citizens at this present haue great delight, and doe rather want leysure then good will to follow it.[10]

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[10] Ibid., 93-95.

Games of chance were forbidden in London; in 1550 and 1553 the Mayor and Sheriffs broke up bowling alleys and dicing tables in Aldgate Ward and at Paul's Wharf.[11] Brothels were rampant in Southwark, and, though Parliamentary regulation suppressed many in 1546, they continued into the reign of Elizabeth.

From very early days, Londoners were fond of spectacles and processions, and by the mid-sixteenth century were highly skilled in pageantry. Decorated land floats carrying several people and fire-barges lighting up the Thames had been common a hundred years before.[12] These were primarily the responsibility of the city companies which built and stored their pageant wagons in Leaden Hall, a great stone building in Limestreet Ward owned by the city.[13] The workmanship and decorative detail of these floats was probably somewhat better than that of the Revels, for the companies were able to spend much more time and money on them. But techniques and materials were probably just the same, and it is not unlikely that several of the artisans employed by the Revels during the Christmas season worked on the company pageants earlier in the year.

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[11] Ibid., II, 294.

[12] Unwin, 273. One of the most common processions dating from the thirteenth century was the Midsummer Watch, a muster and parade of mounted and marching militiamen, morris dancers, jugglers, tumblers, and giants. Usually held on the eves of St. John's Day (June 24) and St. Paul's Day (June 30), the last authentic Watch was seen in 1548. (Stow, I, 103).

[13] Ibid., 159-60.

One of the principal processions for which these floats were built was the Lord Mayor's progress to Westminster for his installation ceremony each October. Although these had not reached the zenith of magnificance seen in the seventeenth century, they were quite colorful; the diarist, Henry Machyn, described the parade of 1553:

> First were two tall men bearing two great streamers of the Merchant Taylor's arms, then came one with a drum and a flute playing, and another with a great fife, all they in blue silk, and then came two great 'wodyn' armed with two great clubs all in green and with squibs burning, and with great beards and side hair, and two targets upon their backs, and then came sixteen trumpeters blowing, and then came men in blue gowns and caps and hose and blue silk sleeves, and every man having a target and a javelin to the number of seventy, and then came a devil, and after that came the bachelors all in livery and scarlet hoods, and then came the pageant of St. John Baptist gorgeously with goodly speeches, and then came all the king's trumpetours [sic] blowing and every trumpeter having scarlet caps, and then the crafts, and then the waits playing, and then my Lord Mayor's officers, and then my Lord Mayor and two good henchmen.[14]

Such was London in the mid-sixteenth century; an overcrowded and bustling metropolis beset with many problems common to modern society - insufficient housing, lack of educational facilities, unemployment problems, corruption in the national government, disease, poverty, and intolerance - but in the midst of times out of which would bloom the Golden Age of England.

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[14]Quoted by Unwin, 274-75. The 'wodyn' were probably woodmen, i. e., lunatics. (Shipley, 732).

CHAPTER III

HISTORY AND FUNCTION OF THE REVELS OFFICE

In August, 1538, John Farlyon, Sergeant of Pavilions and Tents, received a patent from King Henry VIII as "Yeoman or Keeper of the King's vestures or apparel of masks, revels and disguisings, and of apparel of the trappers of horses, for jousts and tourneys."[1] His wage was fixed at 6d. a day and he was given a livery coat of the Household yeomanry. With this appointment the Office of the Revels technically came into existence as an independant office of the Royal Household. It had been almost fifty years in the making, and, although the Yeoman Tailor was always an important figure in Revels activity, his superior, the Master of the Revels, held the principal position.

During the reign of Henry VII and the greater part of the reign of Henry VIII, the appointment of a Master of the Revels was one of temporary tenure. At first he was probably chosen from among minor officials of the Household, but when Henry VIII came to the throne he

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[1] Chambers, 7.

was more often a member of the court and of noble birth. As his title suggests - and later documents show - it was the obligation of this Master to organize and supervise the Christmas entertainment and other court festivities. Such entertainment included, from time to time, plays, interludes, masques, triumphs, and pageantry, but disguisings seem to have been his most frequent responsibility.[2]

The first mention of a Master of the Revels appeared in an Order for Sitting in the King's Great Chamber, dated December 31, 1494, in which it was stated that "if the master of the revells be there, he may sitt with the chapelyn or with the esquires or gentlemen ushers,"[3] surely not a position of very great rank. Possibly during these early years the Master was, in fact, a chief tailor to the King, someone familiar with the materials and costumes necessary to a disguising or play.

In 1492, Walter Alwyn received £14.13s.4d. "in full payment for the disguysing made at Xmas," and in 1493, £13.6s.8d. "f or the Revelles at Cristmas,"[4] extraordinary fees for the time considering that two groups of players who performed those same years were given

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[2] Collier, I, 50-54, n. 1. Interludes were short plays or dialogues presented between other, longer performances. A triumph was usually a mute dramatization, often of a Greek or Roman myth, in which one god triumphed over another. (Enid Welsford, The Court Masque [Cambridge, England: University Press, 1927], p. 147). (The word also meant a tournament of jousts; see Chap. XII, p.133). A disguising was an early form of the masque. (See Chap. I, p. 1; Chap. X, p.104: and App. I, pp.223-24 for more complete definitions).

[3] Chambers, 4.

[4] Collier, 50, n. 1.

only £1. each. Such payment suggests, that, as in later years, the fee included the cost of materials used and wages of other workmen whom Alwyn supervised and paid. In the following two years, Jakes Haute was paid about the same for disguisings,[5] then, with Alwyn, disappeared from the records until 1511, when he was appointed, with William Pawne, to assist in the preparations of "disguisings and some Moriscos" (or Moorish dances) for the court, "whereof they shall have warning by the Lord Chamberlain."[6]

The person whom they assisted was Henry Guildford, and the "Moriscos" which they prepared were for the first of several years of revelry of which Guildford was to be Master. The preceding year, 1510, the Mastership had been held by Edward Guildford, Earl of Essex, and Henry's half-brother.[7] Together with nine other men dressed like Robin Hood's band in Kendal green coats, and a woman representing Maid Marion, the Guildford brothers surprised the Queen in her chamber to her great amusement.[8] Undoubtedly Henry Guildford was well-known in court to be so familiar with the Queen, and since he was then twenty-one, just two years older than the King, they were probably good friends. In his first year as Master, Guildford devised for Twelfth-

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[5] Ibid., 51, n. 1.

[6] Ibid., 66, n. 1.

[7] Chambers, 5.

[8] Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee, eds., Dictionary of National Biography (63 vols.; London: Oxford University Press, 1921-22), VIII, p. 767.

night a glistening mountain which moved the length of the hall toward the King, at which point it opened to reveal morris dancers who danced around the hall as the mountain retreated.[9] A year later the masque was introduced in England,[10] and Guildford probably had much to do with its introduction. He was knighted that year for his fighting with Dorset in Spain, and in 1513 was created Knight Banneret after the winning of Tournay in France.[11] In 1515, he was made Master of the Horse and, at a later date, Comptroller of the Household.[12] His final activity came in 1526, when, with Sir Thomas Wyatt, he superintended the building of a magnificent and costly banqueting house at Greenwich for the entertainment of the French Ambassadors then visiting England.[13] Four Italian painters decorated it, and a "Maister Hans" painted a representation of the siege of Terouenne. Whether "Maister Hans" was Hans Holbein or not is uncertain, but, from the fact that he painted portraits of Sir and Lady Guildford the following year,[14] it seems likely.

An extant list of materials and costs of the "Triumph of Love and Beauty," presented in 1514, was in the handwriting of one Richard

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[9]See App. II, pp. 225-26.

[10]Collier, 67-68. (See Chap. X, p.104 , for details).

[11]Stephen and Lee, 767-70.

[12]Chambers, 5.

[13]Collier, 99-103.

[14]Stephen and Lee, IX, 1000-1004.

Gibson who named himself as their purchaser.[15] Obviously he was Guildford's right-hand man: the foreman who carried out Guildford's plans, kept accounts of expenditures, and supervised the tailors, painters, carpenters, and embroiderers who worked on the costumes and properties of the entertainments. Early in the reign he had been appointed "Yeoman Tailor" to the King, and his detailed lists of expenses accounted for several years up to 1527.[16]

Gibson's dual position as "Serjant . . . of the reyvells, and of the Kynges tents" was a practice which continued among all officers of the Revels at least until the reign of Elizabeth. The ancient Office of the Tents, dating from the twelfth century, was charged with maintenance of the King's tents, pavilions, banqueting houses, and horse regalia, all equipment for outdoor entertainment.[17] Since jousts and tournaments were primarily summer sports, and plays and masques indoor, winter activity, the Officers could be kept busy throughout the year attending first to one, then to the other. In Gibson's time, the Office of the Tents was at Warwick Inn, north of St. Paul's Cathedral, and the masqueing costumes were kept in the Great Wardrobe near

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[15]Collier, 70-71. (See App. III, pp.227-28, for details of the "Triumph of Love and Beauty").

[16]Ibid. In an unrelated document of 1512-13 he was "Serjant Gybsun, Serjant of armes, and of the reyvells, and of the Kynges tents." (Ibid., 68). Collier frequently mentioned, but never printed, these lists. They would doubtless yield considerable information about the early Revels, and were, probably, materials which Feuillerat had planned to publish.

[17]Chambers, 6.

Baynard Castle, but, under Farlyon in 1538, they were stored with the tents at Warwick Inn.[18]

Christmas revelry during Henry's reign grew to such an extent that he finally considered it worth the appointment of permanent officials. An idea of the extent of his last entertainments can be gathered from the first inventory recorded by the Revels after his death: among masqueing garments for men and women were costumes for Almains (Germans), Egyptians, Turks, Moors, Italians, pilgrims, friars, falconers, and men of arms, most of them in sets of eight, as well as forty pairs of footwear, twenty-four dozen visors or face masks, with and without beards, and over six hundred yards of various fabrics.[19] Such a vast wardrobe was undoubtedly outgrowing the care it could be given in the Great Wardrobe, hence in 1538 the duty fell to Farlyon to assure its preservation.[20]

Farlyon was succeeded by John Bridges, who received a patent on October 27, 1539, appointing him Yeoman Tailor of the Revels,[21] and

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[18] Ibid., 13. Chambers believed the Tents were moved at least twice before being reunited with the Revels at the Blackfriars in 1546-47.

[19] Feuillerat, Revels at Court, 9-21.

[20] Chambers, 7. Collier believed Farlyon was appointed Yeoman at a much earlier date and spoke of "a Booke of the Kings Revell stuff, being in the charge of John Farlyon" dated in the early part of the reign of Henry VIII. (Collier, 79-80). Boas believed he was appointed on November 20, 1534. (Frederick Boas, Queen Elizabeth in Drama [London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1950], p. 38).

[21] Feuillerat, 259.

on March 11, 1545, two patents were granted to Sir Thomas Cawarden of the King's Privy Chamber; one appointed him Master of the Revels and the other Master of the Tents.[22] On the same day, John Bernard was granted a single patent as Clerk-Comptroller of both the Tents and the Revels.[23] Fourteen months later, on May 7, 1546, Thomas Philipps, likewise under a single patent, was named Clerk of the Tents and Revels,[24] and the offices of the Revels were filled.

Establishment of the Office probably evolved from several needs. In Italy and France, masqueing among nobility had been very fashionable for many years,[25] and with many foreign visitors Henry doubtlessly wanted impressive entertainments presented. Also, as the wardrobe of costly properties and costumes grew, so did their need for safekeeping and protection from pilferage and spoilage. But certainly behind these factors was the fun-loving King himself, whose early fondness for spectacle and gay, good times continued throughout life. An Office of the Revels could not have been created in a court of austerity; it is entirely appropriate that it should develop, as it did, under Henry VIII.

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[22] Chambers, 9. The full title of the office was Magister Iocorum Revelorum et Mascorum omnium et singularium nostrorum vulgariter nuncupatorum Revells and Masks, and the annual fee was £10. According to a report of the Office made in 1573, one Travers was "Sergeant" of the Revels prior to the appointment of Cawarden. (See App. IV, p.230). I have been unable to find any details of him or his office.

[23] Feuillerat, 256.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Welsford, 137-38.

CHAPTER IV

OFFICERS

Thomas Cawarden was originally a mercer, having been apprenticed in 1528. Somehow he came to the attention of the court, and throughout the next decade gained the favor of Henry VIII who, in the early forties, granted to Cawarden and his wife, Elizabeth, the manors of Ullicote and Loxley in Warwick County.[1] In June, 1543, he was appointed Keeper of Donington Castle, and two months later was pardoned for aiding a heretic. This was a minor incident, however, for in December he was made a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, and was appointed with others to take inventory of the masqueing garments stored at Warwick Inn.[2] In March, 1544, he became Keeper of Nonsuch, the fantastic Gothic-Renaissance palace in Surrey started by Henry in 1539 and finished just prior to Elizabeth's accession twenty years later.[3] In September that year, he was knighted at Boulogne,[4]

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[1] Collier, 133.

[2] Feuillerat, 256.

[3] Alfred W. Clapham and Walter H. Godfrey, Some Famous Buildings and Their Story (Westminster: Technical Journals, Ltd., 1914), pp. 3-5.

[4] Chambers, 9.

and the following spring took on his new duties as Master of the Revels.

When the Revels masqueing garments were moved from Warwick Inn to the Blackfriars in 1546-47, Cawarden acquired an official lodging for himself in the precinct and, a year later, property of his own, by taking a lease for twenty-one years of a house or kitchen with a yard and gallery. He undoubtedly retained his favor with the new court, for in the spring of 1550 he obtained a considerable grant in free burgage from the Crown, which included not only his own leasehold but also all that area of the Blackfriars not in the use of the Tents and Revels.[5]

As a Protestant, Cawarden found less favor from Mary and the new Council. His adherence to Mary was mistrusted, and when the news of Wyatt's uprising reached the court on January 26, 1554, Cawarden was arrested. After interrogation by the Council, he was set free with an order to arm himself and men in his service to march against Wyatt. Preparing himself and riding the next day, he was apprehended again, by Lord William Howard, who held him until January 29th then restricted him to the precinct of the Blackfriars for a month. While under arrest, Cawarden's armory was seized at Blechingly, another of his properties, and eight horses and seventeen cart-loads of armor and munitions were carried away "to the Queen's use." On his return to Blechingly, Cawarden requested restitution of his property, but only four cart-loads of weapons were returned, and his horses, he claimed, were

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[5]See Chap. VI, pp.53-55.

so spoiled as to be good for nothing but husbandry, draught, or burden. Further requests for his property apparently went unanswered.[6]

Cawarden was again harassed in July, 1555, when he was summoned before the Council on the charge that he was indebted to the Queen for £1000, an accusation probably of politico-religious origin.[7]

In 1557, Nonsuch Palace was granted to the Earl of Arundel, although Cawarden, still as Keeper, was living there. In August, he was given three weeks to move by Lord Lumley, son-in-law of Arundel, and, apparently not doing so, was evicted. He charged the Earl with unjustly invading his rights by forcibly ejecting his servants from the mansion house and driving his cattle out of pasture.[8] Apparently his charges were upheld, or at least satisfied, for it was at Nonsuch that Cawarden died, just two years later on August 29, 1559, having lived long enough to superintend the festivities at Elizabeth's coronation the winter before.[9] Lady Cawarden died a half-year later, and their estate was left to William More, who, thirty-six years later, sold part of his inherited property at the Blackfriars to James Burbage for his famous theatre.[10]

Sir Thomas Cawarden was no better nor worse than his contemporaries. Undoubtedly a shrewd man, he was clever enough to make his

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[6] Kempe, 133-44.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid., 146-48.

[9] Chambers. 18.

[10] Ibid.

way from mercer to Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, although his rise was under an easily-pleased King. As Master of the Revels he seems to have been capable: he was skillful, and delighted "in matters of devise,"[11] and his origin as a mercer no doubt stood him in good stead in the purchase and use of fabrics. His penchant, however, seems to have been for amassing a sizeable estate; Cawarden was, if anything, an opportunist.

The Yeoman of the Revels was second in command and importance in the Office. John Bridges was succeeded in April, 1547, by John Holt,[12] who acted as deputy until receipt of a patent in July, 1550.[13] Both before and after joining the Revels, Holt was tailor to King Edward, and remained with the Office well into the reign of Elizabeth.[14] As foreman and "yeoman cutter" he laid out work for the tailors, often probably tailoring himself, bought supplies and materials, occasionally paid and hired workers, and, at least by William Paget, Mary's champion, was held in high regard.[15] Holt was apparently illiterate, however; where signatures of the other Officers appeared in the accounts, John Holt's "mark" appeared as a simple "X."

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[11] Ibid., 2. (See App. IV, p. 229).

[12] Feuillerat, 9. The stock of the inventory made at this time was "delyueryd owte of the Custody of Iohn Briges late yoman of the same into the Tuycion & Saff keping of Iohn holte nowe yoman." (Ibid.).

[13] Ibid., 256.

[14] Feuillerat, Revels . . . Elizabeth, 5.

[15] Paget directed at least one letter to Cawarden, "and in his absence to Mr. Holt." (Feuillerat, Revels at Court, 250).

The first Clerk-Comptroller of the Revels was John Bernard, who was granted the office in both the Tents and the Revels at the same time that Cawarden was appointed. He died in September, 1550,[16] but had been succeeded earlier that year by Richard Leys, who was granted a patent on March 17th.[17] As well as keeping the paybooks (as Bernard had done), Leys occasionally accompanied the masqueing stuff to the court.

Thomas Philipps, whose patent was dated May 7, 1546,[18] was the first official Clerk of the Revels. His signature as Clerk appeared in the accounts throughout the reigns of Edward and Mary, yet from the inventory of May, 1547, until the inventory of March, 1555, the name of Thomas Blagrave appeared frequently along with that of Philipps as performing many services for the Office.[19] He was apparently a personal servant to Cawarden,[20] who probably used him as an office boy and messenger when the Officers were busy or another hand was needed.

From December, 1550, to March, 1555, Philipps' name appeared as the last in all but one of the lists of tailors for each work period, and Holt's, often as Yeoman Cutter, as the first. During these years,

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[16] Ibid., 274.

[17] Ibid., 301.

[18] Ibid., 256. He was also Clerk of the Tents.

[19] Both Feuillerat (259), and Chambers (11), referred to Blagrave as Clerk of the Revels, but neither accounted for his service simultaneously with that of Philipps. Blagrave became Clerk after Elizabeth's accession, however, in which office he remained until 1603. (Ibid., 60).

[20] Feuillerat, Blackfriars Records, 52.

Philipps, although he was Clerk, may have worked as a tailor while receiving payment as Clerk according to his patent.[21]

Some notion of the duties of the Officers may be obtained from the following document, drawn up at some time between 1545 and 1553:

> Constitucions howe the King's Revells ought to be usyd:
>
> Fyrst, An Invyntory to be made by the Clarke controwler and the Clarke, by the Survey and apowentinge of the mastyr of the Revells, Aswell of all and singular masking garments with all thear furnyture, as allso of all bards for horsis, coveryng of bards and bassis of all kynds, with all and singular the appurtenances, which Invytory, subscribyd by the yoman and clarke, ought to remayne in the custody of the Master of the Offyces and the goodes for the saeffe kepyng.
>
> Item, that no kynd of stuff be bowght, but at the apowyentment of the Master or his depute Clarke controwler, being counsell therin, and that he make mencion therof, in his booke of receot which ought to be subscribyd as afforsyd by the Master.
>
> Item, that the Clarke be privey to the cutting of all kynds of garments, and that he make mencion in his booke of thyssuing owt howe moche it takyth of all kynds to every maske, revelle, or tryumph, which boke ought to be subscrybyd as afforseyd by the Master.
>
> Item, that the Clarke kepe check of all daye man working on the premisses, and to make two lyger boks of all wags and provisions of all kynd whate so ever, the one for the paye master and the other for the Master.
>
> Item, that no garments forseyd, bards, coveryng of bards, bassis, or suche lyck, be lent to no man without a specyall comaundment, warrant, or tokyn, from the Kyng's Maiestie, but that all be leyd up in feyr stonderds or pressis, and every presse or stonderd to have two locks a pece, with severall wards, with two keys, the one for the Master or Clarke, and the other for the yoman, so that non of them cum to the stuff without the other.[22]

As Master, Cawarden received an annual fee of £10, and 4s.

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[21] This might also be borne out by the Constitution above, which states that "the Clarke be privey to the cutting of all kynds of garments."

[22] Chambers, 12. (Found among Cawarden's papers).

a day as "dieting Charges allowed allweys to thofficers during suche Busynesis."[23] Holt's fee as Yeoman was £9.2s.6d., and 2s. per diem. The other Officers were paid only dieting charges: the Clerk-Comptroller received 2s. a day, and the Clerk, 18d. a day until November, 1554, when it was raised to 2s. a day.

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[23]Feuillerat, Revels at Court, 30. Chambers (7) claimed incorrectly that his dieting wages were one pound per day.

CHAPTER V

PERSONNEL

Thirty-eight trades were represented by over four hundred and fifty persons who sold goods or services to the Revels between February, 1547, and June, 1558.

Tailors were by far the most numerous employees of the Office; over two hundred worked at some time over the eleven-year period, but only twenty-one of these men worked during more than three periods of activity. One tailor, Thomas Claterbocke, worked almost every season over the years,[1] and another, Robert Batersbe, probably second in command to Claterbocke or Holt, almost always worked the maximum number of days that the Office was active.[2]

Some effort seems to have been made to use particular talents. Peter Fleming and Leonard Mascal,[3] apparently better tailors of head-

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[1] During Christmas, 1549 and 1550, he served as "foreman" at 10d. a day, but for several years thereafter, received only 8d. a day, the standard tailor's wage. With the exception of two periods, he worked the maximum time that the Office was active.

[2] His last season was Shrovetide, 1555.

[3] Although Mascal worked during only three seasons, he received an annuity of £6.13s. 4d. from Cawarden for several years after 1555. (Feuillerat, 290).

pieces, frequently worked on these when they were needed. Two other tailors, Henry Roulande and Reynold Salamson, served occasionally in other capacities; Roulande often accompanied costumes and properties to the court, and Salamson held some little authority during the removal from Warwick Inn to the Blackfriars.

Until Shrovetide, 1555, tailors were paid 8d. a day and 8d. a night for their work.[4] On two occasions this wage was changed: during Christmas, 1549, the night wage went down to 4d., and during Christmas, 1551, when the tradition of the Lord of Misrule was being revived, the day wage was raised to 12d. The latter increase may have been made in order to find tailors for this particularly busy season, but it was more likely made in an effort to balance a severe devaluation of money that had taken place the summer before.[5]

In June, 1555, both the day and night wage was increased to 12d., and an interesting change of tailoring personnel took place. Five tailors who had worked rather steadily were not hired again, and five who had never worked for the Revels before were hired. Together with three tailors who were carried on, they worked almost every period thereafter. Whether the wage increase was the cause or the effect of the

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[4]Wages for night work actually represented "double time," for it is assumed that, as in 1573, a day of work consisted of ten hours and a night of work, six hours. (Chambers, 38).

[5]Stow, I, 56-57.

personnel change is not apparent, but it meant more steady employment for fewer men.[6]

Fourteen hosiers, including Hugh Eston, "the kynges hosyer," were hired by the Revels during four work periods. Specially made gloves were ordered from three glovers on three occasions, and three buskinmakers worked several times. A cordwainer[7] was hired once, as was a capper or hatmaker.

The Revels traded with many merchants in purchasing the dozens of varieties of goods and fabrics needed for making and trimming costumes. Ten mercers supplied them with satins and sarcenets, taffetas and velvets, visors and girdles. Two drapers supplied the cheaper kersey, cotton, and friseado. Three milliners sold them caps, gloves, visors, felts, rolls, flax, tow, ribbon, cotton, lace, feathers, and thread. One, Christopher Milliner, apparently specialized in masqueing attire, having on one occasion sold the Revels partial costumes, and, on another, rented them six complete masqueing garments. The only women merchants to the Revels were the silkwomen, three of whom supplied trimmings such as filoselle, fringe, tassels, buttons, lace, ribbon, and flowers of silk. Haberdashers[8] carried an extensive

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[6]See Table I, pp.43-44 which shows the relation of the number of tailors hired to the amount of time they worked in each period over the eleven years.

[7]A shoemaker.

[8]One haberdasher, Christopher Harbottell, was the husband of Margaret Harbottell, a silkwoman.

Table I - Comparative man-days[a] worked by tailors in each period of activity - Edward VI

Activity		Period	No. of Days Worked	No. of Men Hired	Man-Days Worked
Coronation	1547	Feb 1 - Feb 28	28	46	277+
Christmas	1547	(Details Omitted)			
Shrovetide	1548	Feb 5 - Feb 15	11	31	210
Christmas	1548	Sep 26 - Oct 5(?)	10	13	69+
Shrovetide	1549	(Dates Omitted)	4	8	26
Christmas	1549	(Dates Omitted)	12	21	190
Shrovetide	1550	(Apparently no entertainment)			
Christmas	1550	Dec 24 - Jan 7	15	15	104
Shrovetide	1551	Feb 3 - Feb 11	9	9	63
Airing	1551	Jun 3 - Jun 9	7	7	42
Christmas	1551	Dec 12 - Jan 7	27	46	519
Shrovetide	1552	(Apparently no entertainment)			
Airing	1552	Jun 1 - Jun 7	7	7	35
Christmas	1552	Dec 17 - Jan 7	22	45	605
Shrovetide	1553	Jan 8 - Feb 16	40	12	207+
Easter	1553	Feb 28 - Apr 1	33	9	139
Airing	1553	May 31 - Jun 7	8	6	24

[a]The sum of each tailor's number of working days. A night, six hours, is figured here as a half-day.

Table I - Comparative man-days worked by tailors in each period of activity - Mary I

Activity		Period	No. of Days Worked	No. of Men Hired	Man-Days Worked
Coronation	1553	Sep 22 - Sep 28	7	8	40
Christmas	1553	Dec 21 - Jan 6	4	4	16
Shrovetide	1554	(Apparently no entertainment)			
Airing	1554	May 31 - Jun 6	7	6	24
Hallowmas	1554	Oct 17 - Oct 21	5	8	28
Michaelmas	1554	Nov 23 - Nov 30	8	6	24
Christmas	1554	Dec 13 - Jan 6	25	19	147+
Shrovetide	1555	Jan 26 - Feb 26	32	20	111
Airing	1555	Mar 9 - Mar 26	18	7	70
Airing	1555	Jun 18 - Jun 28	11	7	70
Christmas	1555	Dec 11 - Jan 8	29	7	182
Candlemas	1556	Jan 9 - Feb 2	25	7	111
Shrovetide	1556	Feb 3 - Feb 25	23	7	120+
Airing	1556	May 31 - Jun 12	13	7	70
Christmas	1556	Dec 11 - Jan 8	29	10	227+
Candlemas	1557	Jan 9 - Feb 2	25	7	112
Shrovetide	1557	Feb 3 - Feb 15	13	9	116+
St. Mark's Tide	1557	Apr 9 - Apr 26	18	19	245
Airing	1557	May 31 - Jun 12	13	7	70
Christmas	1557	Dec 11 - Jan 10	31	7	217
Candlemas	1558	Jan 11 - Feb 3	24	7	112
Shrovetide	1558	Feb 4 - Mar 4	29	7	143
Airing	1558	May 31 - Jun 12	13	7	70

stock of harder goods; eleven supplied the Revels with linen, canvas, lockeram, lawn, tags and points, pins, needles, bodkins, thimbles, tape and thread, paper and paste board, inkhorns, dustboxes, counters, standishes, scissors, shears, knives, brushes and shoe horns, wax and cering candles, felts, handkerchiefs, silk flowers, mirrors, enameled jewelry, buttons, feathers, bells, tennis balls, and leather bags. Merchants were often also "makers," such as feltmakers, feathermakers, and skinners.

Until Christmas, 1551, only three painters had worked for the Revels, but with the revival of the Lord of Misrule that year, thirty painters were hired at 12d. a day and 8d. a night. The following Christmas twenty-eight were again hired: twenty-three at 12d. the day or night, four paint grinders at 8d. the day or night, and a "Warden," Godfrey Johnson, at 2s. the day. Preparations for Shrovetide began immediately after Christmas, and thirty painters worked under Johnson again, at the same wage distribution. Several painters worked "by great," i.e., by piecework, during these terms, and a few were hired during the winter of 1554-55. Thereafter only three painters were hired: Richard Bossom as Warden, at 20d. day or night, his brother, George, at 12d. day or night, and John Radvyrge at 8d. After March, 1557, no painters were hired again until the accession of Elizabeth.

Probably the most notable person who worked with the Revels was Anthony Toto, Sergeant-Painter to the King. Toto was the son of Toto de Nunziata of Florence, an artist and sculptor of some note.

Anthony was a student of the painter Ghirlandajo until 1531, when he was engaged by the sculptor Pietro Torrigiano to come to England to work on a proposed tomb for Henry VIII. The tomb was never executed, but he entered the service of the King as a painter and received letters of naturalization in 1538. He is believed to have been one of the principal architects of Nonsuch Palace, and, in 1543, succeeded Andrew Wright as Sergeant-Painter. By 1546, he was a member of the Painters' Company and was probably the "Mr. Anthony, the kynge's servaunte of Grenewich" mentioned in the will of Hans Holbein.[9]

In the Revels accounts his name first appeared during Shrovetide, 1551, and in every paybook thereafter until Shrovetide, 1553. Although he occasionally painted or gilded particular properties and costumes, he was most often credited with preparing the painters' work by "tracynge and setting owt woorkes and patrons to them."[10] During Shrovetide, 1553, he was paid for drawing paper patterns or sketches of costumes and properties "for syte & shewe of the forme in colours before the woorkemanshipp began."[11]

In all, sixty-seven painters or grinders worked for the Revels at one time or another, painting, making patterns, buying painters' supplies,

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[9]Stephen and Lee, XIX, 1001. Unfortunately, none of Toto's work exists.

[10]Feuillerat, 132.

[11]Ibid.

or working in other capacities.

Carpenters were first employed by the Revels Office in the summer of 1550, when two banqueting houses were built near Hampton Court for the entertainment of foreign dignitaries.[12] In 1551, a carpenter supplied the materials and built several properties for the Lord of Misrule, and the following Christmas five carpenters were hired, again for the Lord of Misrule's properties. Like those of the painters, their wages were 12d., 10d., and 8d. Four turners supplied the Revels with globes, bowls, staves, wooden buttons, clubs, and wooden weapons over the years. Two sawyers worked only once, during the preparations for Edward's coronation at 12d. a day. Twenty-nine joiners were employed during the same period at 6d., 7d., 8d., 9d., and 12d. the day, but only one worked again for the Office. Jasper Arnold, a basketmaker, worked several times at 12d. a day, and five other basketmakers worked occasionally. Carvers (or plaster molders) worked on two occasions early in Edward's reign.[13] Bricklayers and plasterers were employed in building the banqueting houses at Hampton Court in 1550, at 12d. and 11d. the day, respectively.

Thomas, a blacksmith, supplied the Revels with various ironware several times before 1550 and may have been identical with Thomas Blage, a smith, who made many pieces of iron hardware for the Office

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[12]See Chap. XI, pp. 127-28.

[13]In December, 1552, "karvers" were credited with cutting cloth; here the word was a synonym for cutter.

thereafter. John Sturgion was a haberdasher in 1547, when he sold glue and nails to the Revels, but was called iron monger in 1548 and 1550, when he made similar sales. A coppersmith served the Revels once, as did a wireman. A wire drawer, perhaps the same as a wireman, sold them various iron and wooden ware on two occasions, three coopers supplied hoops, and a goldbeater sold imitation gold and silver to the Office several times between 1553 and 1555. The wares of wax-chandlers, a coffermaker, and a horner were purchased over the years, and John Lyon, a grocer and London Alderman, who became Lord Mayor in 1554,[14] sold pigments and painters' supplies to the Office at least twice. Various other merchants, whose trades were not recorded, were credited with many sales of goods to the Revels.[15]

At least three men served the Revels as laborers and extra hands around the Office. Nicholas Germaine, who worked several times between 1550 and 1555, was apparently a tailor by trade, but also made wigs, built properties, and ran errands. Another man-of-all-work was Thomas Bocher, who bought supplies for the Office, took masqueing stuff to Greenwich, sewed, painted, and fetched painters' tools. Certainly the most faithful person to the Revels was Humfrey Horsenaile, who worked almost every time the Office was active, from Christmas, 1551, to the end of Mary's reign, as a painter, tailor, and porter, and made many trips

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[14] Feuillerat, 285.

[15] It is often difficult to determine whether certain things were bought or sold by those named.

between the Office and the court. When working as a painter or tailor, he received the standard wage, but when running errands it is doubtful that he was paid little more than a token fee and the gratitude of Cawarden.

The most interesting work at the Revels Office was that done by the propertymakers, John Carowe and Robert Trunkwell. Carowe came to work for the Revels in February, 1547, as a joiner, at 9d. a day. During the winter of 1550-51, he made and mended masqueing weapons and armor, and in the following two Christmas seasons, cut cloth for tailors, painted, and made many properties for the Lord of Misrule and the masques. During Shrovetide, 1553, as "Karver or propertymaker," and with his own materials, he made most of the armor and weapons for one masque, patterns for the properties, costumes, and headpieces of three other masques, and tools for the Office. In the winter of 1554-55, he made headpieces, weapons, and armor, but the amount of work indicated that he had helpers. The following Christmas he was assisted in making weapons by "his boy," (receiving 18d. a day for both himself and his boy) and two months later was paid 18d. a day himself, "George his mann" receiving 14d. a day. He worked for the last time during Christmas, 1556, again at 18d. daily. Apparently Carowe lived in Southwark where he did most of the work, for he traveled across the Thames several times, "as well with properties redy made as nott fynisshed to shewe the state therof."[16]

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[16] Feuillerat, 140.

Robert Trunkwell (alias Aras) first appeared in the Revels Office during Christmas, 1551, when, for working on properties "from time to time as he was called," he received 6s. 8d. The following Christmas he was made Warden to four joiners at 2s. a day. During Shrovetide, 1553, he set out work for four basketmakers, but, as their Warden, was paid only 12d. a day. In November, 1554, he made wooden weapons and, during the winter of 1555-56, acted as Warden to joiners and carvers at 20d. a day. During the same winter he was rewarded for a pattern of a device for a masque and parts to the same, and for two patterns or sketches of masques. In 1557, Trunkwell made properties which he leased to the Revels and, in the following December, worked at his home in Westminster with his own men on some of the Master's devices. Like Carowe, he sometimes came to the Office and did "certen Iobbes of woorke concerninge the Revells" during the Christmas season of 1557.[17]

Over fifty trips up and down the Thames were made to the various courts and back, over the eleven-year period, but the names of only three watermen or bargemen were recorded, that of William Cleye most frequently.

Of more than four hundred and fifty men who worked for or served the Revels, only half did so more than once, and, of those, almost one hundred and fifty were employed fewer than three times. There

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[17] Trunkwell worked for several years during Elizabeth's reign as a patternmaker. (Ibid., 235).

is no indication that the Officers even thought very much of returning to the same merchants or hiring the same men a second or third time; fewer than a dozen men worked or sold goods repeatedly over the eleven-year period. Certainly the seasonal nature of the work accounted primarily for this sporadic employment, and the increased activity during Christmas, 1551 and 1552, when the Lord of Misrule appeared, accounted partly for it. Perhaps, too, wages or conditions in the Office were below common standards (payments were not always prompt we will find); perhaps few men could satisfy Cawarden; perhaps the situation was not unnatural to London and the hectic times.[18] Only a more thorough study of the reigns of Edward VI and Mary I might reveal the reason.

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[18] I have found no hint, in the accounts or elsewhere, as to how workmen were hired or merchants selected.

Equally vague is the relationship of the Revels and the city companies. Most company charters embraced the twenty-six wards of London and the suburbs, but there were large areas exempted, among them the Blackfriars, according to Unwin (244-45). He did not explain the nature or time of these exemptions however.

CHAPTER VI

THE BLACKFRIARS

At some time before 1539, the costumes and properties of the Revels were moved from the Great Wardrobe north of Baynard Castle to Warwick Inn, a royal "mansion or hospice" north of St. Paul's Cathedral. Here they remained until 1546-47 when, together with the Tents, they were moved to the Blackfriars, where they stayed until the accession of Elizabeth.[1] The monastery of the Blackfriars, or Preaching Friars,[2] a particularly fine religious hospice in the southwest corner of walled London, was suppressed by Henry VIII in 1538 and the property taken to the Crown's use. Tenements were granted to various persons of rank, and the conventual church was demolished, but a chapel was left standing to serve the parish of St. Anne.[3]

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[1] Chambers, 13.

[2] The Blackfriars were monks of the Dominican order who had begun the monastery in 1279. According to a long passage in the fourteenth-century Pierce the Ploughman's Creed, believed to allude to the Blackfriars, their buildings were exceptionally beautiful. (Clapham and Godfrey, 255). The monastery was fine enough at least to house meetings of the Council in the reign of Henry VI, Parliament in 1450, 1523-24, and 1529, and Emperor Charles V in 1522, as well as divorce proceedings of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon in 1529. (Ibid., 256).

[3] Chambers, 14.

Part of the precinct must have been used for royal storage, for in July, August, and December, 1545, Hugh Losse, Surveyor of the King's Works, made "reparaciouns of the kinges store howsis at the late Black Fryers in London,"[4] probably in preparation for the Tents and Revels. Cawarden turned out the parishioners of St. Anne's Chapel on the plea that it was required "to laye in his Maties pavylyons, tentes, maskes, and reuels,"[5] and used the Frater, south of the Cloister, as a storehouse.[6]

In April, 1548, Cawarden himself leased much of the south-west area of the precinct, and within two years was granted, in free burgage from the Crown, all the area he had leased as well as much of the rest of the monastery; he now owned the Upper Frater, the Duchy Chamber, St. Anne's Chapel, the kitchen yard, the kitchen and buttery,

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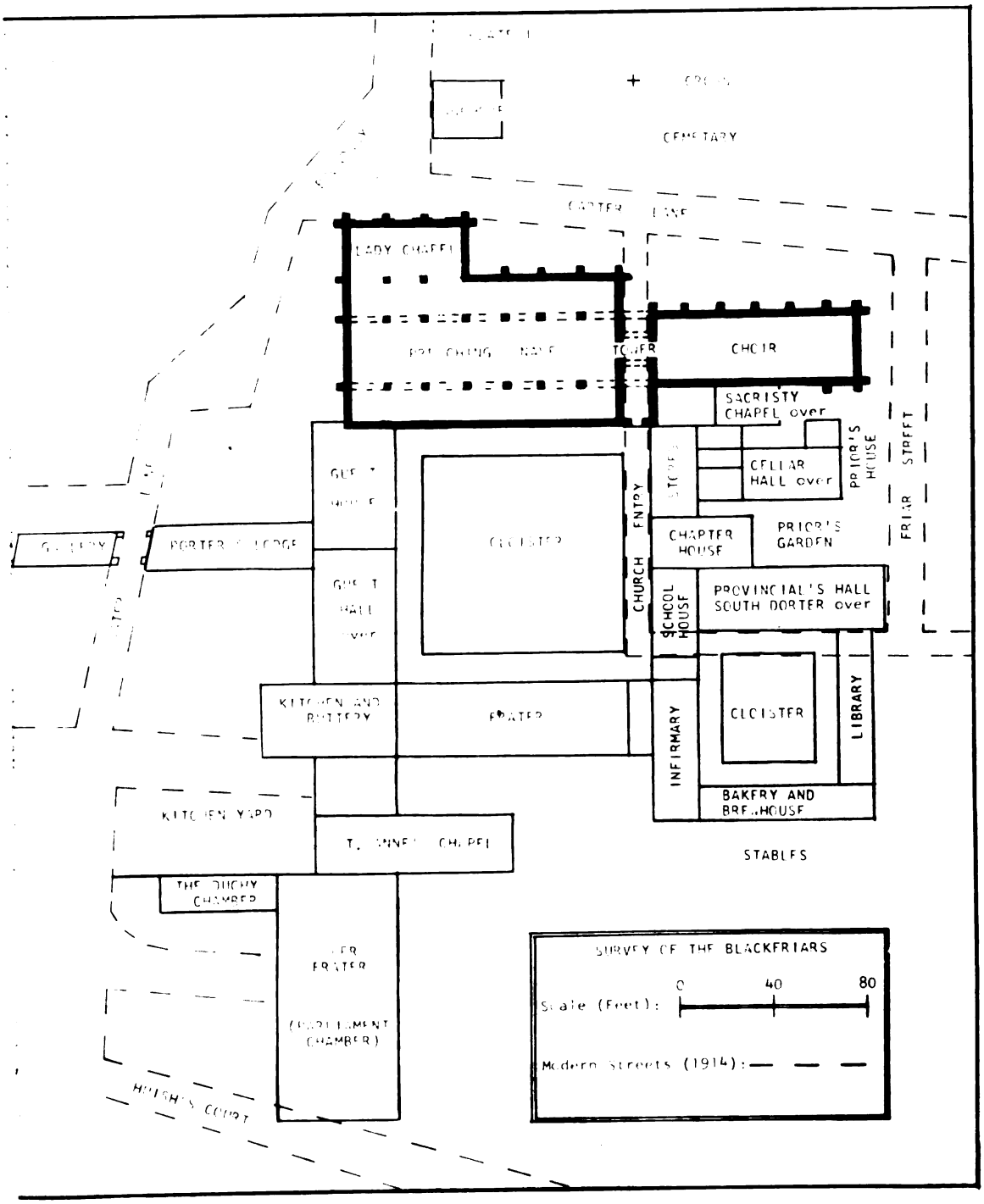
[4]Ibid. In 1914, Alfred Clapham published a reconstructed plan of the Blackfriars (Pl. I) based primarily on the same surveys edited by Feuillerat in Blackfriars Records, and partly on general plans of monasteries of the Middle Ages, discovered ruins, and foundations upon which modern streets and buildings have been laid. (Clapham and Godfrey, 254, Fig. 105).

[5]Chambers, 14. If Clapham's plan is correct, this would seem to be borne out by a survey taken by Losse in March, 1548, in which he described "a howse called the vpper frater . . . [abutting] . . . Northe to a hall where the kinges revells lyes at this p'sente." (Feuillerat, Blackfriars Records, 7).

[6]Part of the stock in the inventory of May, 1547, was listed as being "in the greate stonderd in the ffrayterys," (Feuillerat, Revels at Court, 260) and more "in the Lesser blake cheste in the said store howse." (Ibid., 19). The workrooms, perhaps, were in the chapel; a second survey made by Losse in 1549-50 (almost identical to the one of 1548) again placed the Revels north of the Upper Frater. (Feuillerat, Blackfriars Records, 12).


CEMETERY
CARTER LANE
LADY CHAPEL
CHOIR
SACRISTY
CHAPEL over
CELLAR
HALL over
PRIOR'S HOUSE
FRIAR STREET
CHURCH ENTRY
CHAPTER HOUSE
PRIOR'S GARDEN
SCHOOL HOUSE
PROVINCIAL'S HALL
SOUTH DORTER over
CLOISTER
LIBRARY
INFIRMARY
BAKERY AND
BREWHOUSE
KITCHEN AND
BUTTERY
FRATER
KITCHEN YARD
THE DUCHY
CHAMBER
(PARLIAMENT
CHAMBER)
STABLES
SURVEY OF THE BLACKFRIARS
Scale (Feet): 0 40 80
Modern Streets (1914):

a gallery, the Guest House and Hall, the Porter's Lodge and Gallery, the Cloister, the ruins of the Preaching Nave and Lady Chapel, part of the Choir, the Tower, the Cemetary or Churchyard, the rent or "ferme" of the Anchoress, and the gardens of two other tenants.[7] The Frater, being used as a storehouse, was not included in this huge grant.

Sometime between 1550 and 1552, Cawarden, on the strength of his grant, defaced St. Anne's Chapel and pulled down the roof,[8] after apparently establishing a work area for the Revels in the Frater. It was here that most of the Revels work was done until 1560, although

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[7] Ibid., 8-12. Cawarden's large grant and his subsequent action can only be understood in today's terms as political shrewdness. The grant, Chambers (15) suggested, was probably obtained through the good offices of his neighbor at Baynard Castle, Sir William Herbert, and most likely did not include any part of the precinct occupied by the Revels and Tents, although Cawarden tended to regard it all as his own.

[8] Feuillerat, 2-5. In a document drawn in 1555-56 in answer to the parishioners' petition for construction of a new church, the plea was so much in Cawarden's favor that abject poverty was implied. After its destruction, Cawarden had apparently begun building a church for the parishioners which, for some reason dissatisfied them, for they made him "leave his good purpose & stand to thanswering of there slawnderous reportes before the queenes most honorable Cowncell." (Ibid., 5). The Council declared in Cawarden's favor and offered the parishioners land and material if they would see the work done, but nothing was accomplished. Cawarden, again "being forced to find a church to the inhabitants, allowed them a lodging chamber above a stair, which since that time, to wit in the year 1597, fell down." (Peter Cunningham, Handbook of London, Past and Present [London: J. Murray, 1850], p. 13). Chambers' statement that Cawarden "pulled down the walls of the church, built tennis courts on the site, put a carpenter's yard and sawpit and other tenements in the churchyard," (Chambers, 15) is somewhat exaggerated, for, although he did build tenements, he only rented to a tenant who built a tennis court, and to another who was a carpenter. (Feuillerat, 110).

Cawarden rented parts of the Frater to private tenants in 1553 and 1554.[9]

Cawarden's own residence in the Blackfriars was probably in the guest buildings west of the Cloister.[10] Philipps also lived in an apartment in these buildings until 1552, when Cawarden moved him to the Anchoress and let the space to Blagrave, who found it too small and took other quarters in the precinct.[11] John Bernard, until his death in 1550, lived in the "square Tower," and, though there is no supporting evidence, Leys, his successor, may have taken over these quarters.[12] John Holt lived north of the Churchyard by 1549-50.[13]

At some prompting in May, 1556, Cawarden began charging the Crown rent for "the woorke and store howses of the revells and

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[9]At some time during 1553, Cawarden let out the eastern part of the Frater to Sir John Cheeke, who vacated his quarters in September, 1554, to travel abroad, though he had paid his rent until 1557. (Ibid., 116). Revels stuff was probably moved into his quarters, for about the same time the area over the kitchen and buttery was let to another tenant. (Ibid., 15).

[10]In a suit of 1572, involving the location of a fencing school, Blagrave testified that Cawarden, in 1546, had the "whole vse of the said howse now the scole of ffence," and further stated that Philipps dwelt there until 1552. (Ibid., 52-53). From another document (Ibid., 115), we know that in 1552, Philipps lived in the western area of the Nave, the only indication that the fencing school had been the Guest House, and Cawarden's quarters, for at least a few years. Another tenant in the Blackfriars, Mr. John Portinary, also testified at the same proceeding that Cawarden had lived at the present fencing school and had invited himself and others there to see a play. (Ibid., 52).

[11]Ibid.

[12]Ibid., 107.

[13]Ibid., 11.

lodginges and Mansion howses of Thofficers."[14] In a "Declaration of the Tents and Revels," rents of each of the houses of Leys, Philipps, and Holt were £3.6s.8d. per year, Cawarden's was £6.13s.4d., and the Revels Office,[15] £6.13s.4d. These, it was declared, were overdue since November, 1549, four months before Cawarden's grant.[16] Apparently Cawarden collected, for the rents continued to be entered in the last paybook of each year until the end of Mary's reign. They were raised, however, with that for the houses of the minor Officers increasing to five pounds yearly, and that for Cawarden's house to ten pounds.[17] Since Philipps, Leys, and Cawarden held the same positions in the Office of the Tents, their rents were divided between the two Offices. In addition, Cawarden charged the Crown 26s.8d. a year for

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[14]Feuillerat, Revels at Court, 210.

[15]The Office for which Cawarden asked rent consisted of "fyve greate roomes within the blackfryers for the woorke and Store howses of the Revells." (Ibid.). These were the chambers let to Cheeke; in 1560, William More (Cawarden's heir) leased to Sir Henry Neville, "fforre Romes lately called or knowen by the name of Mr Cheks lodginge & sythence vsed by Sr Thoms Cawarden knight Deceased for the office of the Quenes Maties Revells." (Feuillerat, Blackfriars Records, 19-20). The fifth room, Feuillerat believed, was a large cellar also leased to Neville "vndr the said house & lodginge called Mr Cheks lodginge above." (Ibid.). Although the total length of the four rooms (158 feet) compares favorably with Clapham's plan (total length of the Frater, kitchen, and buttery is 156 feet), the breadth and direction do not; in the lease it was given as over 21 feet in the south end and over 24 feet in the north end. In Clapham's plan the building is 32 feet broad on an east-west axis.

[16]Feuillerat, Revels at Court, 300-301.

[17]Ibid., 210, 230, and 242.

Leys' livery, overdue since November, 1550 (when Leys succeeded Bernard), because, he implied, he had not yet seen Leys' patent, and had been supplying the livery himself.[18] Today, such action would be considered flagrant graft, but in sixteenth-century England it was morally legitimate.

Situated just 200 yards from a docking place on the Thames, the Blackfriars was located most conveniently for traveling to the Royal residences. Probably, too, the rooms which housed the Revels Office were as fine as any in the seventy-five-year history of the Office. Though it is beyond the scope of this study, in 1560 the Revels were moved for some reason. It is not inconceivable that Cawarden himself initiated the move by slowly crowding the Office on all sides with paying tenants.

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[18] Ibid., 210.

CHAPTER VII

CONDUCT AND PRACTICES

The Office of the Revels was a department of the Chamber, presided over by the Lord Chamberlain from whom Cawarden took his orders.[1] These were almost always given verbally, for, as a member of the Council, Cawarden was in close touch with the court and needed only a simple directive to put dozens of men to work. Occasionally, however, such directives were in the form of letters or warrants from the Council when great expense was foreseen or the entertainment was to be unusual.[2]

The Master seems to have been responsible for devising or planning most of the masques,[3] though he no doubt received suggestions from all sides. In costuming plays and interludes, however, he was probably advised by their authors, to whom he gave suggestions when such were needed. Frequently the entire matter of outfitting was left to his dis-

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[1] Chambers, 52.

[2] Several were sent for the revival of the Lord of Misrule in 1551 and 1552. They may have been demanded by Cawarden as a kind of contract.

[3] Sketches were often made by Toto, Carowe, or Trunkwell "after the Masters device." (Feuillerat, 132).

cretion.[4] Although patterns or sketches were often made, this was not yet an established procedure as in later years.[5] For the most part, Cawarden probably described to his Officers and Wardens what he had in mind, then followed the progress of the work as the costumes and properties were made. Tailors may have copied a model costume made by Holt or Claterbocke, and undoubtedly simple properties were left to the discretion of their makers.

Cawarden seldom bought more materials than were needed; excess would only have taken space and encouraged spoilage and theft.[6] Several artisans, such as basketmakers, glovers, and skinners, frequently supplied their own materials and were paid only for the finished goods or work. Cawarden reused much stuff by recutting, repairing, and altering old garments and properties to fit new needs; almost every paybook prefaced the accounts with "charges aswell for the translating of sondry masking garmentes as also making of . . . new maskes." At least twice Cawarden was given many yards of fabrics from the Great Wardrobe,[7] and at other times he rented masqueing garments from a haberdasher which he altered to his own purposes. Although the Office was apparently not restricted to a budget, Cawarden was obviously fru-

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[4]See Chap. XII, p. 158, n. 147.

[5]Chambers, 30-42.

[6]During several work periods, extra materials had to be sent for to finish costumes or properties.

[7]Feuillerat, 289 and 302.

gal and some economy measures may have been taken after 1554.[8]

Costumes and properties were kept in hampers, chests, and standards (or large chests), several of which were refitted with hinges, hasps, and locks in 1549, 1551, and 1553. In December, 1551, four great hampers were bought for carrying masqueing gear to and from the court, and a year later four more, as well as a basket, were bought for the same purpose. Two months later, three more hampers and a "cloce" hand-basket were purchased for carrying apparel and fetching supplies. Early in 1553, much hardware and several locks were bought for the chests and hampers, as well as for two doors and a window in the store-house, perhaps the result of recent thefts.[9]

Heat and light were necessary for cold winter nights, as well as for drying painted and molded properties. Coal was frequently used; a sack of "horse" coal cost 8d., and a "Iurney" (journey?[10]) of horse coal, 8s. A load of "busshe small cole" cost 10s.8d., a load of coal, 15s., and a load of "great" or "carte" coal, 18s. "Tallwood" was also burned, a load of which cost 4s., as well as faggots, at 3s.4d. and

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[8]See p. 68, below.

[9]Feuillerat, 139. These purchases, along with the Clerk's unique purchase of two almanacs at the same time, might have coincided with the adoption of the Master's Constitution, which required security of the stored costumes and the Clerk's maintenance of two ledgers. See pp.

[10]In the Middle Ages, a journey was a day's travel or twenty miles. (John P. Bethel, ed., Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary [Springfield, Massachusetts: G. and C. Merriam Co., 1949], p. 456).

3s.8d. the hundred, and on one occasion fifers, or kindling, was purchased. For light, the Revels most often used candles which cost between 2s. and 3s. the dozen, or "cotton" candles at 2d. the pound. Wooden candlesticks were a shilling a dozen, later 1s.6d. Links, that is torches made of tow and pitch,[11] frequently served for illumination but were slightly more expensive than candles: 3s.4d., 4s., and 5s. a dozen. Sizes, that is bougies or wax candles,[12] were bought a few times for 10d. and 12d., and a dozen staff torches at 2s. apiece were bought once. There was a single purchase of two pairs of snuffers at 6d. a pair.

Rushes and billets were purchased several times "to Strowe the office ffor woorkemen to sytt on & to throwe garmentes abrode." Rushes cost 3d. the "burden" and a little less by the bundle; billets were 8s. a thousand.

When the costumes and properties were finished and packed in the hampers, they were carried to the Blackfriars Stairs, the dock on the Thames. There, Holt, or another Officer hired a wherry,[13] boat, or barge for the trip down to Greenwich or up to Westminster. Until

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[11] Bethel, 489.

[12] Halliwell-Phillipps, 745.

[13] Wherries, i.e., long, light rowboats, were the most common vessels on the Thames; some 2000 were in use at this time. (Stow, 12).

1555, few standard fares were in effect,[14] and trips often involved waiting at the court until late at night to return the stuff to the Blackfriars, as well as often loading and unloading the vessel.[15] Beginning in October, 1554, the hire of a barge with eight oars became consistent practice,[16] but fourteen months later an agreement was made with William Cleye, a bargeman, "to wayte and carry stuffe and menn from the blacke fryers stayre to the courte and whome ageane . . . when soeuer he were called."[17] He continued to serve the Revels during Christmas and Shrovetide for at least two years and probably until the end of Mary's reign. There was a single instance of land carriage by "Care" (probably cart) to Westminster,[18] and several occasions of horse hire.

Usually one or more of the Officers accompanied the costumes to the court. After February, 1555, a boat was always hired especially

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[14] See p.21 n. 5, above. Boat hire for a round trip between the Office and Greenwich ranged between 11d. and 20d. The same trip by wherry cost between 20d. and 3s., and by barge, around 9s. A round trip between the Office and Westminster by boat ranged between 8d. and 20d.; by wherry, the trip cost 10d. The only consistent fare was that for a trip across the river to Southwark; 1d.

[15] On only one occasion were porters hired specifically to carry costumes and properties from the Office to the boat and then from the boat to the great hall. They were paid 2d. (Feuillerat, 76).

[16] Ibid., 162. A round trip to Westminster by this type of barge cost between 6s. and 10s.

[17] Ibid., 202. His fee was set at 33s.4d. for any number of trips made during the twelve days of Christmas, and 20s. for the three or four days of Shrovetide.

[18] Ibid., 43.

to carry "thofficers and dyvers others," the latter probably tailors who went along to assist in dressing and fitting the masquers. During Shrovetide, 1553, six dozen pairs of gloves were bought for the masquers as well as the "mynisters that attyre and make them redye,"[19] and there were frequent instances in 1554-55 of tailors "workinge and attendinge vpon thappereling of the garmentes & dressing of the maskers." Three shoe horns bought in December, 1552, would have been useful only to persons dressing, and as early as Shrovetide, 1548, 3000 pins were used in "making Redy maskers."

From 1551 on, the final activity of each year was the airing, conducted during the first few days in June. The costumes were taken from their chests and hampers and spread in the warm sunshine of the kitchen yard or the Cloister to air out. They were sponged, wiped, and brushed off, holes and tears were mended, and the garments folded and layed again in the chests of the storehouse. Until 1555, an airing lasted five or six days, with the Officers and six or seven tailors in attendance; thereafter it lasted ten days, always with seven tailors working with the Officers. To prepare for an inventory held in March, 1555, a special airing took place, as well as the regular airing just three months later. During each airing, rubbing brushes, hand brushes, thread, and needles were often bought.

Artisans who did special work for the Revels no doubt presented

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[19] Ibid., 136.

a bill when the work was delivered, but only two instances of such practice were recorded in the accounts. Early in 1547, Nicholas Modena, representing twenty-two carvers or molders, presented a bill for £13 for their wages, his own, and many materials.[20] In December, 1552, Robert Rolf, "beinge page of honour to the said lorde of misrule was appointed to make his gear abrode and [was] paid vpon his bill," 8s. 1d.[21]

Rewards, or bonuses, were occasionally given for particular work or services. A basketmaker, for acting as Warden to others, received 10s. in 1553, which was "agreed therfore with him by great as in Reward."[22] Bossum, the painter, and Trunkwell, the propertymaker, often received rewards for making patterns for masques or for "doinge certen Iobbes of woorke." During Christmas, 1549, five drummers and fifers were given 10s. each "for that thye Restored theyr garmentes the [two] nightes that the maskes [were presented]."[23]

Working for the Office of the Revels in the sixteenth century was not easy; days and nights were long, and while work was in progress

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[20] Ibid., 8. Listed as "Nycholas modena stranger," he was probably an Italian sculptor (the job was molding a large property), and represented other Italian sculptors who could not speak or write English. He worked the following year making wigs and visors, and was again styled "straynger."

[21] Ibid., 98. This was the cost of the materials; he was apparently not paid for his time.

[22] Ibid., 103.

[23] Ibid., 43.

there were no holidays.[24] Probably one reason for the large labor turnover during Edward's reign was the difficulty workmen encountered in collecting their pay. The expenses of Edward's coronation and of moving from Warwick Inn to the Blackfriars were apparently met immediately, but no payments were made again until January, 1550, when debts had accrued to almost £215.[25] The expenses for Shrovetide, 1551, amounted to £33.11s.2d., but this debt was not paid until late December, 1552, twenty-two months later.[26] Christmas work started in mid-December that year, and very likely Cawarden had difficulty in finding workmen and getting credit for goods.[27]

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[24]According to a memorandum of the Office drawn in 1573 (Chambers, 31-42), and perhaps in effect at this time, one of the Clerk's duties was to enter in his books "all the woorkemans names, to call theym moornynge and eveninge and other tymes of the daye by name, to note their absence, to make the Clerke Comptroller privie to their defaultes, whereby he maye checke theym of their wages accordinge to their desertes." (Ibid., 35).

[25]Feuillerat, 270. An unsigned warrant from Westminster dated January 6, 1550, ordered payment of £214.18s.6d. to Cawarden for the five preceding work periods; a duplicate of the document dated two days later gave the amount as £218.18s.6d.; an abstract of the five periods gave a total of £215.18s.6d. for the first four periods. Actually the sum of the five periods totals £214.18s.6d., but mistakes in addition or translation are frequent throughout the accounts.

[26]Ibid., 274.

[27]At least one workman was determined to be paid. In a letter to Cawarden during Christmas, 1551, the busy Lord of Misrule wrote: "and touching the stafmaker to avoyd exclamacion I wyll see hym contented so that I may be allowed agayn of the same." (Ibid., 61). He kept his word, though not immediately, for a letter to Cawarden in March, 1552, stated: "Sr I praie you see this bearer caulled Richard Rogers to be contented and paied for Lx. staves which wer deliverred and spent at the Iustes of the hobihorses on newyeres daie last after xx^{d} the staffe the sum of - v^{li}" (Ibid., 94). The letter was endorsed, "pd the xxij^{ti} daye of marche in the presens of toto."

The total costs of outfitting the Lord of Misrule and other entertainments during Christmas, 1551, was £469.16s.6d.[28] Part of this must have been paid or written off, for when the festivities were over Cawarden wrote to the Council begging for a warrant authorizing payment of £328.6s. to the creditors.[29] On January 18, a warrant came from Greenwich directing payment of this amount, and a second warrant was sent to the Exchequer two days later authorizing the same payment.[30] Despite these warrants the bill was not paid. A year later Christmas costs reached £389.4s.9d. ob., which was added to the debt of the previous year (£328.6s.) for a total of £717.10s.9d. ob., "the hole dette dewe to be paid by ye kinges maiestie to the creditours and workemen of theis charges this yer & the laste."[31] An undated warrant was sent to Sir John Williams, Treasurer of the Court of Augmentations, ordering him to pay Cawarden "for the charges of the Lorde of Mysrule at Christmas last, the summe of £377.,"[32] an amount somewhat short of that year's debt, which must have been final. The debt of the preceding year must also have been paid that January, 1553, for work was

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[28] Ibid., 76. In the accounts the sum was £509.9d.

[29] The sum recorded was "ix^{c} xxviij^{li} vj^{s}" or £928.6s. (Ibid., 279), certainly a mistake for £328.6s.

[30] Ibid., 287. Probably the first was from the King, and the second from Thomas Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, who, the day before, had been made Lord Chancellor. (Stephen and Lee, VIII, 135).

[31] Feuillerat, 125.

[32] Ibid., 287.

started immediately on five strange masques for Shrovetide and Easter. Costs of court entertainment during Mary's reign did not decrease,[33] but workmen and merchants were apparently paid more promptly.

Several operational changes occurred throughout 1555, with no discernible cause. In June, the length of the annual airing was extended to ten days, and five new tailors were hired at an increased wage. Thereafter, they, together with three tailors (who had worked many times before), three painters, two propertymakers, and a porter were almost always the only artisans hired. Beginning in the Christmas season, materials were frequently bought for "reddy monye,"[34] perhaps indicative of the establishment of a petty cash fund. Arrangement was made with Cleye for the hire of his barge at a fixed rate during the same season, and his services were retained for several years. Even the format of the paybooks changed; names of the masques were no longer entered, nor were descriptions of materials used or work accomplished.[35]

Primarily these changes suggest considerable reorganization within the Office for more efficient operation and/or greater economy,

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[33]See Table II, pp. 70-71.

[34]Feuillerat, 201. Likewise, lists of purchases from January, 1555, onward were often noted: "by this Accomptaunt bought & prouided"; Cawarden's Constitution held that "no kynd of stuff be bowght, but at the apowyentment of the Master or his depute Clarke controwler, being counsell therin, and that he make mencion therof, in his booke of receot." (See p.

[35]After 1558, the old format was resumed, with all particulars recorded.

rather than a decline in Revels activity.[36] Although the last three years of Mary's reign were the leanest of the sixteenth century, court entertainment continued.

[36]Expenses during seventy-seven months of Edward's reign were £506.8s.10d. (not including those of the Lord of Misrule, over £700), while those during sixty-three months of Mary's rule were £528.6s.

Table II - Comparative cost
of each work period - Edward VI

Period		Item	Cost	Yearly Totals	
			£. s. d.		£. s. d.
February	1547	Masques/Moving	65.18. 8	1547	65.18. 8
Christmas	1547	Masques	79.16. 6		
Shrovetide	1548	Masques	77.16.	1548	157.12. 6
Christmas	1548	Masques	11. .14		
Shrovetide	1549	Plays	8. 2. 1	1549	19. 3. 3
Christmas	1549	Masques & Plays	34. . 2		
Shrovetide	1550	(No entertainment)		1550	34. . 2
Christmas	1550	Masques & Plays	45. 6. 6		
Shrovetide	1551	Masques & Plays	33.11. 2		
June	1551	Airing	4. 6.	1551	83. 3. 8
Christmas	1551	Lord of Misrule	299. 5. 5		
		Triumph	89.13. 9		
		Masques	81.17. 4		
Shrovetide	1552	(No entertainment)			
June	1552	Airing	4. . 4	1552	474.16.10
Christmas	1552	Lord of Misrule	342. 2. 4		
		Triumph	47. 2. 5		
		Masques	47. 5. 5		
Shrovetide	1553	Masques & Plays	138.10. 6		
Easter	1553	Masques & Plays	23.15. 8		
June	1553	Airing	2.13. 6	1553	601. 9.10

Table II - Comparative cost of each work period - Mary I

Period		Item	Cost	Yearly Totals
			£. s. d.	£. s. d.
September	1553	Play (Started)	4. 3. 3	
Christmas	1553	Play (Completed)	6.12.	
Shrovetide	1554	(No entertainment)		
June	1554	Airing	13.18. 9	1554 24.14.
Hallowmas	1554	Masque	8.19. 1	
Michaelmas	1554	Masque	15.19. 7	
Christmas	1554	Masques & Plays	44. 4.11	
Shrovetide	1555	Masques	49.14. 2	
March	1555	Airing	7. 6. 8	
June	1555	Airing	9.11. 7	1555 135.16.
Christmas	1555	Masques & Plays	45. 6. 9	
Candlemas	1556	Masques & Plays?	25. 7. 1	
Shrovetide	1556	Masques & Plays ?	28. . 3	
June	1556	Airing	9.14.10	1556 108. 8.11
Christmas	1556	Masques & Plays	40.17. 3	
Candlemas	1557	Masques & Plays?	20. 6.10	
Shrovetide	1557	Masques & Plays ?	16. .13	
St. Mark's Tide	1557	Masque	42.11.	
June	1557	Airing	9.14. 9	1557 129.10.11
Christmas	1557	Masques & Plays	36. 4.	
Candlemas	1558	Masques & Plays ?	19.12. 7	
Shrovetide	1558	Masques & Plays ?	25. 8.10	
June	1558	Airing	9.14. 3	1558 90.19. 8

CHAPTER VIII

MATERIALS, TOOLS, AND PROCESSES

Cloth was the principal material of the Revels who were, primarily, costumers, but many harder goods were also necessary for hand properties and scenic elements. Such materials were not new to the art of stagecraft, for the guilds and companies had led the way for two hundred years in costuming and outfitting their mystery and miracle plays.[1] Innovations and new techniques must have appeared in the Revels work, however, for the subject matter of court masques required costumes and properties quite different from those used in religious presentations.[2]

Wicker, because it was pliable, lightweight, and cheap, was frequently used to form a mesh frame for large properties. Wooden barrel hoops were first bent and tied together with cord or packthread to form a basic framework, then wicker, twigs, and osiers were woven

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[1] Hardin Craig, English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), pp. 124-25.

[2] It is an interesting comment on the development of stagecraft to note that nearly all of the Revels materials are to be found as basic materials in today's stage workshop.

over this structure to support canvas or other cloth with which the piece was covered. Wicker was also used for making chains, shackles, baskets, and hampers. "Asshen hoopewood" was used once for the frames of headpieces, and "pynaple bowes" (boughs?) may have been properties themselves.

Several large purchases of nails would indicate the use of much wood for properties, yet only one board,[3] three planks, and five square pieces of wainscot[4] were bought over the eleven year period. Finished lumber was expensive, however, and "tymber," probably smooth, dry saplings, served just as well. "Tymber" was frequently used for making weapons, as was "tree," of which buttons were often made. On two occasions shields were made of "shellboard."

The Revels used a few of several metals common to sixteenth-century England. Four dozen (sheets?) of tin foil were bought once at three for a penny for an unstated use, and on other occasions, four latten chains,[5] "flaggen fasshyon," and another, of copper, were purchased. Iron was the most common metal of the age and many ready-made iron products were available in London. In 1547, the Revels purchased over 9000 nails, including: 2000 one-penny nails at 10d. the

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[3]A one-inch elm board eighteen feet long was bought for 16d. in 1552. (Feuillerat, 108).

[4]Three planks and a square piece of wainscot cost 11s. in 1558. (Ibid., 236). Wainscot originally meant a fine imported oak. (Shipley, 714).

[5]An inferior brass or tin alloy beaten into sheets or wire. (Halliwell-Phillipps, 507).

thousand, 2200 two-penny nails at 14d. the thousand, 2200 three-penny nails at 20d. the thousand, 1500 four-penny nails at 2s. the thousand, 700 six-penny nails at 4s.2d. the thousand, and 600 "single" ten-penny nails at 6s.8d. the thousand. A year later, 100 six-penny nails were bought, and in 1551, more than 1200 nails of different sizes were used on the large properties of the Lord of Misrule. The following year, 1000 two-penny nails, 500 five-penny nails, and 500 "garnishing" nails were used in constructing his properties. Six-inch staples were used to hold axletrees to the body of one pageant wagon built by the Revels,[6] and smaller staples were used on various properties several times. "Englyshe" tacks were bought once.

Four pounds of iron wire at 5d. the pound, and five pounds of latten wire at 6d. the pound were used on one occasion for making headpieces. Fourteen yards of large English wire at 2d. the yard were used on a large property in 1552, and pieces of small wire were used a few times for making flowers. Long, square, and "single white" plate-iron was used in properties a few times. Iron hooks were used in some manner on weapons twice, and for a pageant wagon an ironmonger supplied axletrees and "plates for the whelis."

For making headpieces and crowns, several qualities of paper were used. Colored paper, available in red, green, gray, "syniper" (red ochre), gold, and silver, cost about 2d. a sheet and was generally

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[6]See Chap. XI, pp. 113-15 for details.

bought in quantities of one to three dozen sheets. Flock paper was purchased twice at a slightly higher cost. Paste board and paste paper was often bought in white, and sometimes "gyldyd with ffyne golde," at 3d. and 4d. a sheet.[7] Paper bought by the ream or quire was most likely for the Clerk's use.[8] A ream of "ryall" or "great" paper cost between 8d. and 12d. the quire, and "small" paper was 4d. the quire. Brown paper and "bace" (or low grade) paper cost 1d. and 2d. the quire, respectively.

Several purchases of painting materials, which were always bought in small quantities as they were needed, lend some enlightenment to early scene-painting techniques.

Size was the most common binder used by the Revels and by the wall and mural painters of France and England.[9] Parchment cuttings or scrapings were soaked in water until soft, then boiled in fresh water until they dissolved into a gelatinous solution.[10] The Revels bought it ready-made, however; a pan of size from the grocer cost a penny until late 1554, when the price doubled. On one occasion, the

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[7]Paste board was a common foundation for everyday hats, some of which were called "pastes." (Shipley, 284).

[8]From December, 1555, on, the Clerk frequently bought such paper. (Feuillerat, 201-42).

[9]Daniel V. Thompson, The Materials and Techniques of Medieval Painting (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1956), p. 73. It resembled in working properties the mixtures used by painters of stage scenery today. (Ibid.).

[10]Ibid., 59.

Revels borrowed size from Toto "for the paynters woorkes."

Glue was frequently purchased from grocers but apparently had nothing to do with size as it does today. It cost 3d. a pound in 1547, but 6d. a pound thereafter.

Gum arabic was purchased a few times, particularly when Anthony Toto was in attendance. Dissolved in water to which sugar or honey was later added, it produced a flexible, gelatinous binder for water colors well known in the Middle Ages. With an excess of the gum, a rich, dark, and often shiny color was attained.[11] Toto used it with saffron pigment "to dropp cloth of silver," that is, to spot the cloth with shiny yellow drops.[12]

For painting names and mottoes on garments the Revels apparently made their own iron ink, a common writing material of painters in the Middle Ages. On one occasion, fine black pigment, gum arabic, galls, and swanquill pens were bought "to write vpon sylver & sylk names poses & tracynges."[13] Galls, the nut-like swellings on oak trees, were soaked in water to produce acids which, when mixed with a solution of iron salt, produced a black ink to which gum arabic was added for a binder.[14] Earlier, the Revels purchased "colours whighte and blacke with gomme

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[11] Ibid., 56-57.

[12] The cloth was used in women's garments, later described as "stayned with droppes of gowlde." (Feuillerat, 186).

[13] Ibid., 138.

[14] Thompson, 81.

and lyke necessaries for the payntinge of the posies written in the skertes [of horse regalia] ."[15]

Paste and cement were almost always used for molding weapons and armor. Paste was made in the Office of flour and vinegar,[16] or flour and white wine, and sized flour was purchased once to cover properties, probably as a better ground for painting. Eggs, also bought once, may have been used for egg tempera, an almost waterproof and very durable medium.[17] On one occasion, clay, plaster of Paris, cement, flour, glue, wax, and hair were used (in an unexplained process) for molding a large property.[18]

Oil mediums were seldom used. A pound of ground white lead was bought once for 8d., and seven pounds of ceruse,[19] at the same rate, at other times. A penny's worth of red lead, and a quart of "oyle" which cost 7d., were each bought once. "Rosen" (sometimes "roset"), frequently bought at 8d. a pound, was probably resin, a basic ingredient of oil varnishes used in the sixteenth century.[20]

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[15] Feuillerat, 83.

[16] Vinegar was used as a preservative in egg tempera, and, no doubt, for the same purpose in paste. (Thompson, 64).

[17] Ibid., 63. The eggs were bought with pans of size, flour for paste, and vinegar. (Feuillerat, 110).

[18] See Chap. XI, pp. 113-15 for details.

[19] An early name for white lead. (Halliwell-Phullipps, 238).

[20] Thompson, 67.

Colors were bought a few times in small quantities and were comparatively expensive. Like other painting materials, these pigments were supplied by grocers, who sold them by weight as powders, although some, perhaps, were sold unground.[21]

Among the reds, vermillion was bought twice at 2s. a pound. A total of two quarts of pink was bought a few times at 4d. a quart. An unstated amount of "sanguis draconis," literally, dragon's blood,[22] was bought once for 14d. Sinoper, a red ochre,[23] was purchased once, as was camphire, a reddish-orange dye,[24] one of the most expensive of all colors, at 5s. the quarter-pound.

Even more expensive was saffron, bought twice, at 4s.6d. for three ounces. Toto's use of it on garments has already been noted; it may have been used a second time to imitate gold, its primary medieval use.[25] A pound of "oker decrowse" (undoubtedly an ochre) was bought for 12d., and an unstated amount of yellow ochre for 6d. Massicot (sometimes spelled "masticote") was bought several times at 3s.4d. a pound. This was most likely a pale, fairly intense yellow pigment also

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[21]Paint grinders were hired twice, but the amount of pigment bought did not seem to warrant their special employment; they were more likely paint "mixers."

[22]Ibid., 125. This was another name for cinnabar, the red resin used in the Middle Ages for improving the color of gold, or for glazing metals to imitate told.

[23]Ibid., 98. Originally, a choice red earth from Sinope, Italy. It was not related to cinnabar.

[24]Camphire was a name for henna. (Bethel, 385).

[25]Thompson, 184.

called giallorino.[26] Sape green, an olive color still found as a water paint, was bought once, and verdigris, literally, the green of Greece, was bought several times at 2s. the pound.

Florey[27] was the most common blue pigment used by the Revels painters and was rather expensive at 6s. 8d. a pound. Turnesole, a brilliant blue, was purchased three times, twice at 6d. the "quarterne" (or quarter pound), and once as "ffyne turnesall" at 12d. the half-dozen.[28] Blue bice, a bright blue, was bought a few times at prices ranging from 4s. to 8s. a pound. Litmus was purchased twice in unstated forms and quantities.[29]

Black was bought very frequently in various qualities. Spanish black, the most commonly purchased, was a pigment obtained by burning cork,[30] and sold for both 1d. and 10d. a pound. Black chalk was bought once for 2d. a pound and may have been actually carbon, the universal black in medieval painting.[31] Carbon, or charcoal in stick form, pro-

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[26] Ibid., 180.

[27] This was a dye made from woad, an herb of the mustard family, similar in color to indigo. (Ibid., 138).

[28] This may have been bought in the form of limed linen cloths dipped in the vegetable juices known as turnsole, then dried until needed, a common method of preservation among medieval painters. (Ibid., 141).

[29] Two other colors were mentioned in the accounts but not as pigments. Arrows were "garnysshed with asure," i.e., blue, and a chain "overgylded and newe burnyshed with cytrene colour," i.e. citron or lemon color.

[30] Johann Beckmann, History of Inventions (London: G. and W. B. Whittaker, 1823), p. 292.

[31] Thompson, 75.

bably accounts for black once having been bought by the dozen, three dozen (sticks) of which cost 3s. Spanish white was purchased as frequently as Spanish black, and also cost 1d. and 10d. the pound. On one occasion, simply "white" was bought at 6d. the pound.

"Paynters tooles of diverse sortes" were bought on five separate occasions for less than 2s. Large and small painters' pots were also bought five times, and once, a dozen bladders, the common medieval vessels for mixed paints, were purchased.[32]

Illuminators and panel painters of the Middle Ages were preoccupied with the use of gold,[33] a practice which continued in the crafts of the Revels. Although they did no gilding, several imitative materials were used for embellishing costumes and properties. Among these was parti-gold, bought a few times before 1553 from a grocer, and several times thereafter from Sothewood, the goldbeater. No unit of measure or weight was given; it was bought as 1000 "of partye gowlde," and in other multiples of 250, always at a rate of 26s.8d. the thousand. Probably it was sold in small leaves or pieces, but despite the high price, it is doubtful that it was actually part gold. Silver was purchased the same way, that is, without a unit of measure, at first from a grocer, later

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[32]Two items among mediums and colors in the accounts cannot be defined: "mouthe glewe," bought once with size and flour for 4d., and six "canes," also bought once with the same goods for 20d.

[33]Ibid., 174-84. Thompson gave many names and recipes for gold and silver substitutes used in the Middle Ages, none of which corresponded to those of the Revels.

from a goldbeater, and always along with parti-gold. It cost 10s. the thousand, and the Revels bought more of it than of parti-gold. Both materials appeared most often among painters' colors, and were used "for the sylveringe [and] gylding" of properties and costumes. Several headpieces and weapons listed in the inventory of 1555, which were described as "gylte & sylvered with lease gowlde and sylver," had probably been decorated with parti-gold and silver.[34]

Gold and silver in other forms occured infrequently. Six dozen (sheets?) of gold foil (along with green foil and tin foil) were bought once at two for a penny. This was probably very similar to gold and silver paper, which was bought many times for trimming girdles, headpieces, and crowns, at from 1d. to 3d. a sheet. Gold "skynnes" were bought once (with gold and silver paper) for trimming costumes at a total cost of 7s. 8d.[35] Coifs and headpieces were occasionally trimmed with Venice gold, a very expensive gold lace, at 4s. the half ounce. Probably Cologne gold and Cologne silver were very similar; these materials were used for trimming costumes but were less expensive than Venice gold, Cologne gold cost 12d. an ounce, and Cologne silver, 15d. an ounce.

One of the most interesting materials used by the Revels was

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[34]Feuillerat supposed "lease gold" was gold lace (Ibid., 311), but "lease" meant "to lie," from the Old English "lēas," meaning "false," (Walter W. Skeat, A Glossary of Tudor and Stuart Words [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914], p. 227). It seems more likely, therefore, that lease gold was simply false gold.

[35]Considering the price, the skins may have been pieces of gilded parchment.

arsedue (also spelled horseydie, horsedew, horsdew, and orsedewe). It was bought several times from grocers for 3s. and 3s. 4d. the pound, generally in two-pound lots, and along with painters' colors. Used once for garnishing arrows, it was probably similar to, if not the same as, orpiment, a sulphide of arsenic (hence the name), "a regular ingredient in most of the many compound colours elaborated in the Middle Ages for painting, and especially for writing, in imitation of gold."[36] In its natural state as a stone, it had a mica-like sparkle similar to the lustre of metallic gold, and it was probably in some granular stage between the stone and ground powder that the Revels used arsedue to sprinkle on surfaces made sticky with glue, where it would sparkle and richly glitter.

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[36]Thompson, 117. Feuillerat defined it as an alloy of copper and zinc (Ibid., 311), and as an inferior kind of gold leaf. (Feuillerat, Revels . . . Elizabeth, 479). The lexicographer, Wright, defined several things which may have been akin to arsedue: arsedine, assady, and assidue. The first (also spelled assaden, assady, orsady, and orsden), was a kind of ornamental tinsel. (Thomas Wright, Dictionary of Obsolete and Provincial English [London: Bell and Daldy, 1869], p. 102). Assady was gold tinsel, and the word frequently occured in fifteenth-century accounts of expenses for decorations; it was bought with colored papers and as a paper itself. (Ibid., 110). Assidue was defined as " a word used in Hallamshire, . . . in the county of York, to describe a species of yellow tinsel much used by the mummers at Christmas, and by the rustics . . . as part of their fantastic decoration." (Ibid., 113).

CHAPTER IX

CLOTH, TRIMMINGS, AND SEWING TECHNIQUES

By the middle of the sixteenth century, scores of different cloth materials were available in England, many of which were imported from the continent.

> Of Dutch and Germain Merchants they buy Fustians, Linnen cloth; of Italians - all kinde of silke weares, velvettes, wrought and unwrought, Satins, Damaskes, Sarsenettes, Milan fustians, clothe of gold and silver, Grograines, Chamlettes, Satin and sowing silke, orgazine; of Low Countrie Merchantes - handwork not made in Englande, Tapestrie, Buckrams, white thread, incle, Linnen clothe of all sortes, Cambrickes, Lawnes.[1]

But of the many available, the Revels used comparatively few. Several hundred yards of cloth of gold, cloth of silver, tinsel, velvet, satin, damask, sarcenet, and lawn were left from the reign of Henry VIII,[2] but when this stock was depleted they had to buy more, frequently the richest that could be had. Throughout the eleven-year period, the most commonly used materials of the Revels cost more per

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[1] Linthicum, 60.

[2] Feuillerat, Revels at Court, 18-21.

yard than a tailor working on them could earn in a week.[3]

Baldachin (spelled "bawdkyn" in the accounts) was a rich, embroidered cloth, the warp of gold thread and the woof of colored silk thread.[4] It was used occasionally for hose, capes, and sleeves, and very extensively in December, 1552, for robes, coats, footwear, and other garments for the Lord of Misrule and his band. Colors included red, crimson, white, and blue, and it was described once as "damaske bawdkyn." It sold generally for 16s. a yard, but a particular length of red cost 20s. a yard.

In the sixteenth century, buckram was a coarse linen (or cotton) material resembling canvas, and used principally for lining rich materials.[5] The Revels used red, yellow, and black, at 8d. a yard, for lining coats, and a coarse, stiff buckram (probably starched) for the foundation of a crown.

Canvas was used quite frequently for properties which were then painted; probably, like today's canvas, it received paint well. It was also used for doublets, hose, breeches, and footwear, the last made of "carnacion" canvas, possibly an allusion to the color. The price of

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[3]Cloth was measured by the thirty-six-inch yard or fractions thereof, and sometimes by the English ell of forty-five inches. Costs were recorded often enough in some cases to establish definite prices, but in other cases were so infrequent that a mistake by the scribe or editor could present a false estimate.

[4]Shipley, 87.

[5]Linthicum, 103-04.

canvas, recorded once, was 11d. an ell.

Cloth of gold, the rich fabric of medieval royalty, was the finest fabric available in the sixteenth century, but is unknown today. Scholars disagree to its exact nature, but it is generally believed to have been tissue-like, with a warp of colored silk and a woof of gold thread.[6] Its cost, listed once for plain yellow cloth of gold, was £1. 13s. 4d. per yard.[7] It was used extensively by the Revels in almost every kind and part of garment, and occurred in many forms and patterns; flat, plain, raised, embroidered, with works, with chevrons, and with "churche woorke." It was probably often woven into or upon other cloths, for it was described as "damaske," "dornyxe," "vppon satten venice," "antique," and as "pannus Adauratus glaucus damaske." Various colors included red, crimson, yellow, green, blue, purple, tawny, and black.

Cloth of silver was very similar to cloth of gold. It was recorded as being "counterfett," flat, plain, brocaded, with works, and as "pannus Argentatus Albus damaske," and appeared in many garments as the basic cloth, or as trimming for other rich fabrics. It was used less often than cloth of gold, and the only colors recorded were white,

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[6]Ibid., 114-15. Strutt (II, 253) called it "cloth of gold or of tissue," and in Antony and Cleopatra it was called "cloth-of-gold of tissue." (William Shakespeare, Antony and Cleopatra, ed. George Lyman Kittredge [Boston: Ginn and Co., 1941], p. 150). In the wardrobe of Henry VIII was a doublet of "cloth of gold of baudkyn." (Strutt, 351). Linthicum (115) believed baldachin, tissue, and tinsel were all varieties of cloth of gold.

[7]It was seldom purchased because over 150 yards were left from the reign of Henry VIII. (Feuillerat, 18).

green, and purple. Both cloth of gold and cloth of silver were once painted.

Very little cotton was used by the Revels, but it was bought occasionally for linings. An undescribed variety cost 7d. a pound, white and red were 12d. a yard, and Welsh cotton, bought once, cost 6d. a yard.

Sixteenth-century damask was probably very similar to modern damask, a rich silk of floral or geometric pattern. Until Elizabeth's reign, it was found only in the wardrobes of royalty, nobility, and clergy; a statute of 1533 forbade its use by persons of estates under the value of 100 pounds.[8] The Revels, however, used it for doublets, hose, sleeves, gowns, footwear, caps, coats, headpieces, and in masqueing costumes for Italians, Irish bagpipers, hunters, and a fool. Colors included white, red, green, tawny, crane color, russet, and yellow. White damask cost 8s. a yard, and russet, 5s. a yard, but at this time, damask ranged in price from 3s. to 16s. a yard.[9]

Dornix was a coarse kind of damask, made in Tournay, France, the Dutch name for which was Dorneck.[10] It was used only a few times by the Revels for coats, caps, footwear, and headpieces, in the colors red, crimson, and blue-gold.

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[8] Linthicum, 119-20.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Feuillerat, Revels . . . Elizabeth, 480. It was made in Norfolk by 1552, however. (Linthicum, 93).

Kersey was one of the more common fabrics of the Revels; a light-weight, narrow, wool cloth named for the town of its origin in Suffolk.[11] In the fifteenth century it was a fabric of royalty, but by 1550 had lost its prestige, and was used by the Revels as the basic cloth of the liveries of the Lord of Misrule in 1551, and at other times for hose, coats, friars' garments, lining, and trimming. Prices varied considerably; gray kersey was 1s.8d. a yard in 1547, and 2s.8d. a yard in 1553. Watchet (blue) and white cost 2s.6d. a yard, red narrow, white narrow, and yellow narrow cost 3s.4d. a yard, and green narrow cost 4s. a yard.[12]

Lawn, possibly named for Laon, a French city, was a linen of such fineness that it was often called "cobweb" lawn.[13] It was used occasionally during this period for headpieces and visible linings, and had been used extensively in other masqueing garments before 1547.[14] As plain lawn, it was colored white, gold, silver, and "incarnation," but was also striped (with gold, orange, red, and blue), "rewed" (rayed?[15] with gold, orange, red, and white silk), checkered (with raised silk and with white silk), and was recorded once as "changeable

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[11] Ibid., 79.

[12] Broad kersey, in white, red, yellow, and green, cost twice as much.

[13] Ibid., 98-99.

[14] Feuillerat, Revels at Court, 9-17.

[15] See p. 100 below.

golde Lawne prest & narowe." "Coper golde" lawn cost 2s. a yard in 1547; gold and silver lawn was 8s. an ell in 1552.

Sarcenet was the most commonly used fabric of the Revels Office; a fine, thin, soft, silk material which was made both "light" and "heavy."[16] It was used in almost every type of garment made, although it cost between 5s. and 6s.8d. an ell in colors, and 8s. a yard in gold and silver. Despite this cost and its fineness, it was used in costumes for all classes; frauen, torchbearers, Irish women, mythological gods and goddesses. It was available in red, crimson, incarnadine, orange, yellow, green, blue, purple, russet, tawny, white, black, gold, silver, and changeable. Occasionally, it was described as corded (that is ribbed or twilled), as tinsel sarcenet, and as from Tours, France. That from Tours may have been of poor quality however, for "redd tower sarsenett coorce" cost only 2s.8d. an ell, about half the price of regular red sarcenet.

Satin was also used extensively for all types of garments. It was purchased in the same colors (with the exception of purple, russet, gold, and silver), and was described as with a birds-eye pattern, with figures, from Tours, from Bruges, Belgium, and from Nimeguen,[17] in the Netherlands. The cost of satin ranged from 4s.6d. to 16s. a yard.

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[16] Linthicum, 121.

[17] A town famous for its silk. (Kempe, 152). In the accounts, the name was spelled "newe making." (Feuillerat, 16 and 23).

Taffeta, too, was used by the Revels for many garments. Price was apparently determined by color; narrow changeable was 2s. a yard, narrow blue was 2s.8d. a yard, broad changeable was 11s. a yard, crimson was 12s. an ell, broad blue was 12s.6d. an ell, and white was 14s. an ell. Yellow taffeta was also used.

Like baldachin, tinsel was probably a variety of cloth of gold; a silk interwoven with gold or silver threads.[18] It was used a great deal during the reign of Henry VIII,[19] but after 1547 was seldom used for anything but trimming. Gold tinsel cost 20s. a yard, and blue, 25s. a yard. It was also colored crimson, yellow, green,purple, tawny, white, and black, and was described as brocaded, antique, and "venice."

Before 1547, velvet gowns and footwear were made for masqueing costumes, but thereafter was used in hose, gloves, breeches, coats, and for trimming and lining. Colors included red, yellow, green, blue, purple, russet, and black, and frequently it was "wrought" in some way; striped with silver (threads?), purled, checkered, and figured. It was purchased just once, at 30s. a yard.

Many other fabrics were used infrequently in the Office. Bombast, a cotton-wool material, was carded once by the Revels, but its use was not recorded. Falconers' bags of white "bustian," a coarse cloth,[20] were found in the inventories of 1547 and 1555, although they were not used in

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[18] Linthicum, 116-17.

[19] Feuillerat, 9-17.

[20] Halliwell-Phillipps, 222.

masques during this period. A shirt of cambric, a fine, expensive linen,[21] was also in the storeroom in 1547. Chamlet thrum was used with red feathers to make a "fur" for a cap in 1552: chamlet was originally a soft, fine fabric made in the Near East of the hair of chamois,[22] and a thrum was the fringe at the end of a length of cloth,[23] in this case, the end of a length of chamlet. Flax was used several times for hair (or wigs) and headpieces. Irish frieze, used once for an Irishman's costume, was a woolen cloth with a heavy nap on one side;[24] it cost 16d. a yard. Friseado, a product of Holland at this time, was similar to, but somewhat better than frieze,[25] and was used twice by the Revels for linings and Irish garments, at costs of 3s. 4d. to 4s. the yard. Holland cloth was a fine linen named for its country of origin;[26] it was used by the Revels for priests' surplices and head cloths. A cheap grade of linen which cost 10d. a yard was used once for Irishmen's hose. Lockeram, another cheap grade of linen[27] which cost 12d. an ell, was used occasionally for garments. Popinjay green, the blue-green of a parrot,

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[21] Linthicum, 95

[22] Ibid., 73.

[23] Skeat, 408.

[24] Linthicum, 76.

[25] Ibid., 76-77.

[26] Strutt, 208.

[27] Halliwell-Phillipps, 525.

may have been as much a cloth as a color. It was very fashionable during the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth,[28] and was used once by the Revels; two pieces cost £2.9s. Russel, possibly named for the sound made by its wearer, was a kind of satin,[29] and cost 2s. a yard when it was once used by the Revels for hoods. Silk was used very seldom for garments, but fringes, flowers, and twisted lace of silk were sometimes bought.[30] Tissue, used twice by the Revels, was a variety of cloth of gold. Its threads, in both warp and woof, were twisted, whereas those in cloth of gold were not.[31] Tow, that is, flax in a coarse state,[32] was used twice, probably in the same manner as flax. Wedmole, a coarse, hairy, woolen fabric,[33] was used once to make hose. Six yards of red and white cost 12d. a yard.

Inexpensive furs, skins,[34] and feathers were frequently used by the Revels for trimming costumes. Black goatskins, at 10d. each, were bought for making hose and gloves for Moors in 1547, and later, small lambskins, at 5d. each, were used in the same way. In 1552, thirty-two

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[28] Linthicum, 33.

[29] Shipley, 268.

[30] See pp.

[31] Linthicum, 117.

[32] Bethel, 899.

[33] Ibid., 959.

[34] The term leather was used once to mean skin; the name of the animal from which a skin came was usual.

lambskins, at 2d. each, were bought to make caps and "furred heades"; probably these were used with the wool dressed outward, that is, as "budge."[35] Budge had been used earlier this way to make caps for Moors and shave crowns for priests, in both cases undoubtedly in an attempt to imitate hair. Twelve sheepskins, which cost 8d. each, were bought in 1550 to make six pairs of boots, and six dozen grey conyskins, at 16d. a dozen, were used in 1553 to cover paste figures in imitation of apes. Ermine was probably never used, although there was an instance of trimming skirts with "whyte Sarcenet armyn," and another of furred velvet[36] resembling "powdred ermyns." In the inventory of 1547 was a frock with edges furred with genets[37] and cats, and a garment was made for King Edward furred with leopards' tails.

Feathers were often used for trimming headpieces and for making plumes. White and black capon feathers, at 6s.8d. and 13s.4d. the dozen, were used with red feathers on hats, headpieces, and "sett in great brode plumes shellwise,"[38] For one masque, eight "double white fethers very faier and large" were bought for 12d. each, and eight "tuftes of blacke fethers" were bought for 8d. the tuft. Plumes of pheasant and

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[35]Halliwell-Phillipps, 216.

[36]Any material which resembled animal hair was called fur. In addition to furred velvet was a fur of "drakes neckes," and "redd fethers & chamlet throm."

[37]Small animals allied to civet cats. (Bethel, 345).

[38]Feuillerat, 135.

capon tails once cost 12d. each, and plumes of crane feathers trimmed with spangles were 20d. each. Probably the most elaborate plume made during this period was one for the Lord of Misrule in 1552; it was of capon and peacock feathers trimmed with spangles and cost 5s. At least seven pairs of wings of white feathers were made for Cupids at different times. White feathers used in helmet plumes cost 20s. to 30s. a dozen in 1549.

All but the meanest clothing was decorated in some way during the sixteenth century. The Revels used several kinds of trimmings and ornaments on the elaborate masqueing costumes for the court.

Bells, anciently associated with the costumes of fools[39] and the trappings of jousting horses, were used in other ways as well. Twelve dozen bells bought to "hange at the skyrtes" of Moors' garments in 1548 were probably quite small for they cost only 5d. a dozen.[40] Twenty-four dozen bells were bought in 1552 to decorate the trappings of hobbyhorses; somewhat larger, they cost 10d. a dozen, and two "great" bells for the same hobbyhorses were 20d. each. Among stuff bought for the costumes of William Sommers[41] the year before were six dozen bells at 2s. a dozen, and for a canopy made the same year, the Office bought

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[39]See Chap. XIV, Pl. IV, p. 202.

[40]There were eight Moors in this particular masque, i.e., eighteen bells per skirt. (Feuillerat, 31).

[41]Sommers was the favorite fool of Henry VIII (Stephen and Lee, XVIII, 667-68), and cavorted with the Lord of Misrule in 1551.

four dozen "fox" bells at 2s. a dozen, and three dozen "chyme" bells at 6s. a dozen. Twenty "symball" bells, at 4d. each, were used on properties for an interlude in 1553.

Although Edward VI was credited with establishing the mode of the button and buttonhole,[42] the Revels used buttons more for headpiece decoration than for fastening purposes. Round and long wooden buttons were bought at prices ranging from 12d. the hundred to 14d. the dozen, then foiled or painted in the Office. Silk buttons were often sold to the Revels (together with fringe and tassels) at 12d. and 18d. the ounce. A particular variety "garnyshed with gowlde" cost 5s. the ounce.

Fringe was used several times for trimming costumes and headpieces. Red silk fringe cost 10d. and 12d. an ounce, silver fringe, 2s.6d. an ounce, purple satin fringe, 2s.4d. an ounce, blue and green silk fringe, 2s.8d. an ounce, and Paris silk fringe, 8d. an ounce. Cologne gold fringe, at 3s. an ounce, and Venice gold fringe, at 4s. an ounce, were probably varieties of flat lace.

The openwork fabric type of lace was used often by the Revels, for it was, at this time, very popular on all dress. Two varieties were predominantly used: purled lace and passement lace. The former was a narrow, needle-made lace of silk, silver, or gold threads, with deep scallops or "peakes."[43] The Revels bought it in several varieties of silk and gold at about 2s. an ounce. Passement lace, also an openwork

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[42] Linthicum, 278-79.

[43] Ibid., 141.

fabric of silk or metallic threads, often had a core of parchment,[44] and was used for edging coats and girdles. It generally cost 2s. a yard, but was sometimes sold by the ounce. "Round" lace was purchased twice; Cologne silver, at 1s. an ounce, and black and white, at 2s.6d. an ounce. A half ounce of "gold" lace, bought once, cost 4s.

Lacings, that is, lengths of braid or cord, were an essential part of male hose in the sixteenth century. A row of short lacings was sewn around the waistline of the hose, and a corresponding row of eyelets or holes were made in the waistline of the doublet. Once the garments were put on, the lacings were drawn through the eyelets and tied, thus holding the hose and doublet together.[45] Originally, the points of the lacings were simply the metal collars on the ends,[46] but around this time, the term "point" began to encompass the lacings as well. Many gross of fine and coarse "threden" points, as well as simple "points," were bought over the years by the Revels, at from 1s.8d. to 2s.8d. the gross.

Imitation pearls of wood were occasionally bought from a haberdasher then painted or covered with false silver by the Revels and used to adorn visors and headpieces. These cost 2s.8d. per hundred; wooden "roundes to be foyled & sylvered lyke countefet pearles" cost 1s.

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[44]Feuillerat, Revels . . . Elizabeth, 481.

[45]Linthicum, 282.

[46]There was one purchase of eight "laces tagged," i.e., with metal collars. (Feuillerat, Revels at Court, 110).

a dozen, and were apparently somewhat better.

Spangles were used several times during this period for trimming headpieces, plumes, visors, and other garments. On one occasion, 12,000 were purchased at 18d. the thousand.[47]

Tassels were very commonly used on costumes, headpieces, and horse trappings. Made of strings and crewel,[48] or Cologne gold and silver, they cost between 12d. and 18d. an ounce. Labells were similar. They were made of sarcenet, lawn, satin, and cloth of silver, and were hung from the shoulders, skirts, or sleeves of garments, and were sometimes used on coifs and headpieces.

Several other ornaments were used at various times. Aiguillettes were any small ornaments attached to laces or fringes; those used by the Revels were "counterfect like mother of pearle."[49] Eight thousand "amells" (that is, enamels),[50] at 2s. per thousand, were bought for the costumes of one masque, and were "of glas and stone holowe counterfett lyke bace stones." For friars' garments, almost two hundred "greate beades stones coloread" were supplied by a turner, and

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[47]In 1514, the Revels used spangles "of Flanders makyng, called setters [and] hyngers, of latten and coper." (Collier, I, 70).

[48]Linthicum, 74.

[49]Ibid., 282.

[50]Halliwell-Phillipps, 54.

were undoubtedly of wood. Bullions (or metal studs),[51] at 2d. each, were once used to decorate headpieces; clasps "sett with lytell garnetes" enhanced neckpieces at another time. Glasses, or little round mirrors, were sometimes used to ornament garments, and cost a penny each. Caddis fringe was used to trim shirts once, and netting was used to dress visors. On a few occasions, flowers made of silk shreds were bought for decorating headpieces, and small wire, "to make flowers of," was also used.

Black thread was the most frequently used, and was almost always bought by the bolt, at from 2s.4d. to 4s.6d.; on one occasion a pound cost 2s. White thread was always bought by the pound, "fine" at 1s.8d., and "coarse" at 1s.4d. and 2s.4d. Gray thread cost 2s.10d. a bolt; later, 4s. a bolt. Brown thread ranged in price from 3s. to 4s.6d. a bolt, red, from 3s.4d. to 4s. a pound. Yellow was 3s.4d. a pound, and blue, 2s.8d. "Pecing" thread, bought twice in red, tawny, blue, green, yellow, black, and white, was 2s.4d. and 2s.6d. "Grete" thread, "byndinge" thread, and "sealinge" thread each cost 4s. a pound, "pack" thread was 6d. and 8d. a pound, and coarse "paris" thread was 6d. an ounce. Wax and cering candles, bought concurrently with thread on three occasions, were probably for waxing thread.

Inkle, the most common kind of tape used in the costumes, was a cheap linen variety,[52] and was purchased several times at 20d. a pound.

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[51] Ibid., 217.

[52] Linthicum, 99.

Caddis, a worsted tape,[53] was used once. An unnamed kind of tape, at from 3d. to 12d. the "piece," was available in red, white, and narrow, and was frequently used. White and blue ribbon was used twice.

Needles were of various sorts and prices. Small needles cost 6d. per hundred, and large needles, 8d. per hundred. Packneedles were bought for 4d. a dozen and 16d. per hundred. Fine packneedles cost 6d. a dozen, and square packneedles, 12d. a dozen. Bodkins and ring thimbles were a penny each, and pins, seldom purchased, were 7d. the thousand.

Scissors were bought on two occasions. At one time three pairs were bought at 6d. a pair, later seven pairs of "barbors sysars" cost 6d. a pair, six pairs of scissors "for cappers" cost 8d. a pair, and two pairs of "large forcepps sheares" cost a shilling a pair. In 1551, four "payer of knyves" (possibly scissors) were bought at 6d. the pair, and six "penknyves to cutt & to pinck" were bought for a penny each. A year later, five "paire" of "cuttinge and paring knives," and two penknives cost 4s.10d. A month later, three more penknives were bought for 4d. each.

Brushes were bought several times at 6d. and 8d. "Rubbyng" brushes cost a penny or two, and "hand" brushes, 10d.

In 1552, John Carowe, the carver and propertymaker, made or bought two "rowlinge gynnes [at a shilling each] to wynde packthrede vpon

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[53] Ibid., 71.

for the ready vsage of the woorkemen & occupiers of the same as well abowte thattyre of maskeheddes as for dyvers and soondry nedefull behofes of that office."[54] At about the same time, a turner made three headblocks to fashion and trim hats upon. They cost 8d. each, and three years later, a "moldinge blocke" was turned for 16d., probably for the same purpose.

Cutting and sewing techniques of sixteenth-century tailors were probably no different from those employed today despite the change in style and terminology. Some terms persist, but many were taken from heraldry, a long forgotten art.

Probably more attention was given to the borders and edges of garments than to any other area. The most common method of treating the edges of masqueing costumes was with guards, that is, bands or borders of a material different in texture and color than that of the costume, and sewn around the edges of the skirt and/or sleeves.[55] In the accounts they were found in several styles; cut, scalloped, embroidered, and "engrede" (or engrailed, ornamented with a pattern indented on the edge).[56] Guards were horizontal and vertical, narrow and wide, of many types of materials, and on several kinds of garments. Frequently they

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[54]Feuillerat, 138.

[55]Linthicum, 150-52. At this time, many large guards on one's clothing were a mark of wealth and station among nobility. (Ibid.).

[56]Feuillerat, 310.

involved little more than sewing a strip of cloth of one color onto a garment of the same cloth but of another color. Such occurred in 1551, when ninety-three yards of red and white kersey were cut into almost eight hundred yards of "guarding" for white and red liveries for the Lord of Misrule's men.[57]

Not all garments were trimmed with guards, however. There were girdles "edgyd" with gold passement lace, a cape "perfylde abowte" (that is, purfled, embroidered along the edge),[58] garments with "tuffing Rownde aboute the bordures" (that is, tufted or gathered?), and garments "welted aboute" (or sewn with a cord or fold in the border).

Sewing stripes, wide or narrow, into or onto the basic material of garments was a common practice, both among the fashionable and in the Revels Office. Usually the stripes were of another color and a finer material, and several heraldic terms were used to describe their direction. In the inventory of April, 1547, were garments guarded "bendwyse," that is, with diagonal stripes,[59] "palywise," or with vertical stripes,[60] and "barrwyse," or with horizontal stripes.[61] Several garments were "rewed" (that is, "rayed," or "rowed")[62] with gold, and some

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[57] Ibid., 67.

[58] Skeat, 313.

[59] J. R. Planche, History of British Costume (London: George Bell and Sons, 1881), p. 165, n. 1.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Strutt, 213, n. 2.

were guarded with cloth of gold "wavyd wyse," or in waves. Occasionally, chevrons, lozenges, or leaves, cut of one cloth were sewn onto garments of another.

Other terms are more difficult to understand. Costumes of cloth of silver were once "skayled ouer" with black velvet on the breasts and backs. At another time a skirt of blue satin was "fflamyd vpon" with cloth of silver. "Shadowed" probably meant shaded or painted; there was an instance of coats with "flowers of yolowe damaske at the Skyrtes Shadowed," and another of bodices "shadowed harnes wyse on the Brestes for men of Armes," that is, painted like armor. There were also horse trappings "emboderyd with the ffaucon & ffettyrlock imbossid with Rosis of clothe of Syluer imbossid"; since all embroidery is embossed, the word probably meant embellished. In contrast to its meaning today, raised fabric was formerly that with the pile cut close.[63] There were several instances in the accounts of cloth "reysed" with silk; "rayed" was probably intended inasmuch as silk has no pile.

Panes were popular at this time, particularly in sleeves and hose. These were

> long ribbon-like strips of material set close and parallel [and] produced (1) by slashing the material for the whole length, leaving only the top and bottom joined, or (2) by separate strips, joined above and below . . . through the gaps the shirt or a bright lining was 'drawn out.'[64]

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[63] Feuillerat, Revels . . . Elizabeth, 481.

[64] C. W. and P. Cunnington, Handbook of English Costume in the Sixteenth Century (London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1954), p. 13.

In the accounts there were sleeves "paned vpon" with cloth of gold, twenty-three "panes of Reade clothe golde . . . Ioyned to [twenty-five] panes of blew cloth golde," sleeves "cutt & drawen with Sarcenet," garments "paned drawen owte with whyte Sarcenet," and sleeves "pulled owte with white sarsnett." Vents were probably the same as panes; there was a cape with "the ventes lyned with whyte Sarcenet" and coats "puffyd with whyte Sarcenet & ventyd with the same." Several "puffed" garments simply had linings pulled out through the panes or vents in puffs. Sleeves of tinsel "all brokyn lyned with whyte Sarcenet" were most likely paned, and several garments with "party panes" had linings of two colors.

Many times one cloth was "cut upon" another. This may have been similar to an instance of gowns of cloth of silver "chekeryd vpon with Red Sarcenet with Squares of grene Satten in the same." Garments were also often pinked, or perforated with small slits.

Occasionally the cutting of garments was recorded. Suits and capes were sometimes scalloped, a coat was made "with greate Compas quarters," and a material cut "compas wyse," or round. Two garments were "paned clock wyse" (like a cloak?), and a coat was made with "greate and longe pleyghtes." There were also skirts, sleeves, and collars "overthwarte with clothe of golde," long "pendente" sleeves and long sleeves "hanging by," sleeves "endentyd lyned with grene Satten," and hats "withe longe Endentyd flappes to euery syde," (that is,

indented, fixed in).[65]

The sixteenth century was predominantly the age of embroidered costume in England although it was not until Elizabeth's reign that the mode reached full flower.[66] Many embroidered garments, or garments with "works" were recorded in the accounts, but the Revels did no embroidering; the short work periods did not permit anything so time-consuming. Garments with "works," or embroidered figures, recorded in inventories of 1547 had probably come from the Great Wardrobe; such works included stolework, callwork, churchwork, chequerwork, "moryke" work (also called "moryskewoorke"), and materials with "clocks," Simple needlework which would have appeared very ornate to spectators was limited to guards and borders which were quickly worked. Cloth of gold was the most frequent basic material.

Powderings were "small pieces of fur powdered or sprinkled on others, resembling the spots on ermins."[67] The Lord of Misrule's robe, of "furred vellet like powdred ermyns," has already been noted. In 1548, painters were credited with "powdring of viij Roobes lynynges."

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[65]Halliwell-Phillipps, 334.

[66]Linthicum, 146.

[67]Halliwell-Phillipps, 641.

CHAPTER X

MASQUES AND PLAYS

On twelfth-night, 1513, King Henry VIII and eleven gentlemen of the court were

> disguised after the manner of Italie, called a maske, a thing not sene afore in England: thei were apparelled in garmentes long and brode, wrought all with golde, with visers and cappes of gold; and after the banket doen these Maskers came in with the sixe gentlemen disguised in silke, berying staffetorches, and desired the ladies to daunce: some were content, and some that knew the fashion of it refused, because it was not a thing commonly seen. And after thei daunced and commoned together, as the fashion of the maskes is, thei toke their leave and departed; and so did the Quene and all the ladies.[1]

The masque was not a great deal different from the older disguising;[2] it simply added the innovation of social intercourse with the spectators.

> The object of the masquers was to choose each a lady out of the assembled company, and to entertain her with dancing and gallant conversation. . . The real novelty lay in the introduction of a new element of gallantry and intrigue. The masque, in fact, was the notorious masquerie, which became fashionable first in Modena and Ferrara, then spread to the whole of Italy and France, and finally reached England in 1512. [sic].[3]

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[1] Collier, 67-68. (From Hall's Chronicles).

[2] See App. I, pp.

[3] Welsford, 135-38.

Sir Edmund Chambers believed the difference was a matter of costume, particularly the use of face-masks and, perhaps, make-up.[4] However, the use of face-masks or vizors in disguisings and mummeries was at least two centuries old at this time,[5] and the term "maskers" descriptive of those who wore them. It is extremely doubtful that the new masque in 1513 had anything to do with an innovation of face-masks, make-up, or fancy costumes.

By 1547, the masque, as a promenade and dance in which spectators participated, had apparently reverted to an entertainment more like the old disguising, though it retained the name of masque. Several costumes and properties made by the Revels seem to have been too cumbersome to have even permitted their wearers to walk, much less dance, and it is unlikely that gracious courtiers would have danced

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[4]Sir Edmund K. Chambers, The Medieval Stage (2nd ed. rev.; London: Oxford University Press, 1948), I, p. 407. He examined the word etymologically: "Skeat derives through the French masque, masquer, masquerer, and the Spanish mascara, mascarado (Ital, mascherata) from the Arabic maskharat, a buffoon or droll (root sakhira, 'he ridiculed'). The original sense would thus be 'entertainment' and that of 'face-mask' (larva, 'vizard,' 'viser') only derivative. But late Latin has already masca, talamasca in this sense; . . . And the French masque is always the face-mask and never the performance; while se masquier, masquillier, maschurer, are twelfth- to thirteenth-century words for 'blacken,' 'dirty.' I therefore prefer the derivation of Brotanek, 120, from a Germanic root represented by the M. E. maskel, 'stain'; and this has the further advantage of explaining 'maskeler,' 'maskeling,' which appears, variously spelt, in documents of 1519-26. Both terms signify the performance, and 'maskeler' the performer also. . . . Face-masks were de rigueur in the mask to a late date." (Ibid., 402, n. 2).

[5]Among costumes used for the Christmas festival of Edward III in 1348 were forty-two vizors; fourteen for women, fourteen with beards for men, and fourteen heads for angels. (Strutt, II, 305).

with such figures of Edward's masques as medioxes, satyrs, or baboons, or even Irishmen, hermits, or Moors! These were, however, peculiar only to Edward's reign, and probably just for his amusement; those of Mary's years were a more noble and beautiful sort, as were those thereafter. If audience participation declined, it did so only for a few years.

To the Revels, the word "masque" was a broad term which encompassed the entertainment at court, the garments and properties used for the entertainment, and the masquers themselves.[6] Although Edward's masques were more similar to disguisings, the mid-century masque may be described as a promenade of six or eight courtiers dressed: (1) as foreigners or mythological figures in elaborate costumes, (2) as allegorical characters representing religious or military figures, or (3) as grotesques representing real or mythological animals or beings. The masquers were accompanied by six or eight torch bearers and generally a drummer and fifer (or other musicians) all dressed in less elaborate, though often similar, costumes. Dancing was almost always involved, both among the masquers and with the spectators, but was not a requisite.

The performance of a masque probably lasted less than an hour, and there were several evenings when two, three, and even four

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[6]The word was used only twice to mean face-mask; both times in conjunction with "vizors." (Feuillerat, 14 and 30).

masques were presented.[7] Costumes and properties were loaded aboard wherries or barges in the afternoon and often were not unloaded again at the Blackfriars after the performance until very late at night.[8] Certainly dressing the masquers must have taken as long as the performance, for the costumes had to be fitted and, in some cases, sewn on the masquers. Brief rehearsals may have been held, and the masquers were probably ready long before the audience had assembled.[9] Staff torches were apparently provided for the torchbearers at the court; none were bought or made by the Revels. The masquers kept the gloves they wore as souvenirs of the evening.[10] Often during the reigns of Henry and Edward a masquer's costume was given to him after the performance as a reward for his services. This practice was apparently stopped during Mary's reign.[11]

Certainly many more interludes, dialogues, and plays were presented during this period than were recorded in the Revels accounts. These entertainments were the concern of special groups, such as the

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[7] On Twelfth-night, 1552, there was a play, a dialogue, two masques, and a banquet. (Ibid., 278).

[8] Ibid., 162, 165, 170, and 177.

[9] On one occasion, the entire evening's entertainment of masques and plays was cancelled after the barge arrived at the court. (Ibid., 170-71).

[10] Of over two hundred and fifty pairs bought by the Revels during this period, none appeared in the inventories.

[11] The word "fees" occurred before several garments in the 1547 inventories, but before no garments in the 1555 inventory which had been used in the masques of Mary's reign. (Ibid., 261).

King's Players, who were on salary from the court,[12] and the Children of the Chapel, or of St. Paul's, who were rewarded with a fee when they performed.[13] The actors generally provided their own simple costumes and properties, but the Revels made a few pieces for them occasionally.

William Baldwin, John Heywood, and Nicholas Udall were each served by the Revels on occasion. Baldwin, "parson of St. Michael at Paul's Gate,"[14] and Heywood, at this time singing-master of the boys of St. Paul's,[15] both presented plays before King Edward which were outfitted by the Revels.[16] Udall, whose plays had been seen in court before 1554, was extended full use of the Office by Queen Mary herself for plays which he presented in December that year.[17]

Sir Thomas Chaloner, diplomat and author under Edward VI,[18]

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[12] Ibid., 280. John Birch and John Brown were two of at least six players in Edward's service. Many had been discharged by Somerset early in the reign. (Collier, 136). Mary employed eight players of interludes and over one hundred musicians and minstrels at a cost of over £2233 during the first year of her reign. (Ibid., 162).

[13] Feuillerat, 288.

[14] Stow, I, x. He was to have helped Stow write his Survey of London, but died before working on it. The synopsis and dramatis personae of another play by Baldwin, possibly produced during Christmas, 1556, is in App. VI, pp. 236-40.

[15] John Gassner, Masters of the Drama (New York: Random House, 1940), p. 158.

[16] Feuillerat, 288.

[17] Ibid., 159.

[18] Stephen and Lee, III, 1366-67.

was probably the author of the Dialogue of Riches and Youth presented early in 1552.[19] The only "dialogue" in the accounts, it was described as "a talk betwen one that was called Riches, and th'other Youth, wither of them was better."[20] A mock joust and apparently some allegory was involved. The dialogue was probably a variation of the interlude, a short play presented between other, longer entertainments.[21] Only one interlude was recorded in the accounts as being costumed by the Revels during this period;[22] the primary entertainment of the courts of Edward and Mary was the masque.[23]

Almost nothing remains of the banqueting houses and great halls of the Plantagenets and Tudors. These magnificent buildings, usually the largest in the palace complex, were scenes of hundreds of banquets and festivals, royal receptions and entertainments, Christmas revelry, and indoor jousting. Great halls were two to three times greater in length than width with a dais at one end for royalty, and two wide portals at the other for entrances. Usually these portals were in

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[19] Feuillerat, 60.

[20] Ibid., 278. See p. 143 for details.

[21] The Dialogue of Riches and Youth was presented between a play and masques. (Ibid.).

[22] Performed by John Birch and John Brown in 1552. No details of it were noted in the accounts. The dramatis personae of another interlude, possibly presented during Christmas, 1549, were printed by Feuillerat, 245.

[23] The reign of the Lord of Misrule, and one triumph, are discussed below; Chap. XII.

a "screen" or false wall, behind and above which was the musicians' gallery. In one side wall there was often a huge fireplace flanked by doorways to a kitchen and other chambers. The walls were hung with tapestries and antlers.[24]

The old palace of Placentia at Greenwich, and Westminster Palace were the favorite residences of Edward VI, at least during the Christmas season. Of the former, situated on the Thames a few miles east of London, almost nothing is known.[25] At Westminster, the great hall of the palace, though rebuilt several times, had been used for festivals and banquets for almost five hundred years when Edward came to the throne.[26] It was rebuilt in 1397-99 and measured inside, at that time, sixty-eight feet wide by two hundred and thirty-eight feet long. The entire building was ninety feet high.[27]

Whitehall Palace, the "new palace" acquired by Henry VIII from Cardinal Wolsey in 1529 (when it was called York House),[28] was

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[24]Sir Banister Fletcher, A History of Architecture (London: B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 1946), p. 413.

[25]Two aerial views (wash drawings, ca. 1500-20) appear in John Harvey, An Introduction to Tudor Architecture (New York: Pellegrini and Cudahy, n.d.), p. 80.

[26]Stow, II, 113-17.

[27]Fletcher, 449.

[28]Stow, 89. This was an "intermediate" Whitehall. Fire consumed another Whitehall, the "old palace," in 1512. Inigo Jones' Whitehall, a banqueting house, was not built until 1619-21. (Fletcher, 799).

in the city of Westminster. Masques and entertainments were held here several times during these eleven years, although Mary preferred the palace of St. James in the Fields nearby.[29]

Edward spent his first Christmas as King at Hampton Court Palace in Middlesex, the only residence mentioned in the accounts which stands today. Started by Wolsey, many buildings were added by Henry VIII, including the great hall, which is forty by one hundred and six feet inside and sixty feet high.[30]

Probably both Edward and Mary saw masques and plays presented in the great halls of their other royal residences, but to the Revels (at least to the scribe) such places were most often simply "the court." Their concern was to get the costumes done on time.

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[29]Stow, 374.

[30]Fletcher, 414.

CHAPTER XI

THE EARLY YEARS: FEBRUARY, 1547 TO JUNE, 1551

On Friday, January 28, 1547, the great Henry VIII died. The death of England's colorful and vigorous monarch for thirty-eight years was made public on Monday,[1] and the following day, February 1, the Revels began preparing for the coronation.

On the tenth of February several garments were lent to the city of London for characters in the tableaux which Edward was to see on the nineteenth when he rode through the city.[2] Among these were two coats for henchmen, and a "spyre"[3] for Astronomy who, as one of the seven liberal sciences with Grammar, Logic, Arithmetic, Rhetoric, Geometry, and Music, stood under Sapience (wisdom) at the fountain in Cheap.[4] Four women's garments may have been for Grace, Nature,

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[1] Innes, 187.

[2] Feuillerat, 304.

[3] This was either a "sphere" or globe of the earth, or a "spyer," i.e., a telescope, both appropriate symbols of Astronomy.

[4] Ibid., 305.

Fortune, and Charity, who pronounced a benediction upon the King at the conduit in Cheap.[5]

On the day after the royal procession, Shrove Sunday, February 20, young Edward was crowned in Westminster Abbey, and the coronation festivities began.[6] That afternoon, jousts were held[7] and several noblemen were titled.[8] But the principal entertainments were the masques and plays presented Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday nights, for which a hundred men had worked at the Revels Office during the previous three weeks.

The most important project in the Office was the "mount," a large pageant wagon used in at least two entertainments.[9] The fact that it was the only large pageant wagon built during the eleven-year period, and that it was built in fewer than twenty days, suggests that it may have been planned for Henry's entertainment and thus started earlier.

The chassis was of "tymber worke" to which seven axletrees were fixed with six-inch staples. Six and a half bundles of green hoops and bows were woven into a dome or mountain shape and the ends glued,

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[5]Ibid.

[6]Ibid., 255.

[7]Collier, 139.

[8]Stephen and Lee, VII, 942.

[9]Feuillerat, 7-8.

bound, and nailed to the chassis. Over this network, clay, plaster of Paris, cement, white paper, flour, glue, wax, and hair were used to mold a finished mountain. Coal fires were burned to aid in drying this molded work and, once dry, it was painted. Four poles with cross pieces were used to pull the mount, probably two in front and two in back; once rolled the length of the hall it had to be rolled back, and it is doubtful that the axletrees were mounted so as to permit turning corners.

The incompatibility of such materials as cement and wax, and the fact that it was assembled and disassembled three times within a few days,[10] suggests that the entire wagon was built in sections. Wax spread over a plaster or cement surface would have prevented the addition of any other material[11] and kept adjacent sections separated while the mount was being built, but it might just have possibly been used for waterproofing the finished piece. Certainly if the Revels had been forewarned that the mount was to be used in different places on successive nights, as they must have been, careful assembly and disassembly procedures would have been planned.

Over fifty men worked specifically on the mount (including, apparently, Italian sculptors),[12] and it was probably somewhat more complex and elaborate than the accounts indicated. Almost 9000 nails

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[10] Ibid., 6.

[11] A common practice of medieval painters. (Thompson, 47).

[12] See Chap. VII, p. 65, n. 20.

were used for building and rebuilding it, and costs reached £35.[13]

By Shrove Sunday or Monday the mount was finished, disassembled at the Blackfriars, and carried in three cart-loads to the Sanctuary at Westminster.[14] There it was reassembled and used either Sunday or Monday night in a masque. The next day it was taken apart again and carried by the King's watermen to Whitehall where it was used on Tuesday night for the story of Orpheus.[15] On Wednesday it was returned to the Office by the watermen and reassembled for storage and possible reuse.[16] It was not used again, however, and was probably soon dismantled.

Almost fifty tailors worked on the costumes for the masques and plays, but scant information was recorded in the accounts regarding the entertainments they served. The Gentlemen or Children of the Chapel probably presented the story of Orpheus and were perhaps in other plays.[17] The dramatis personae included a doctor, a prophet or king, friars, priests, cardinals, the pope or a bishop of Rome, and an Ital-

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[13]Feuillerat, 8.

[14]Ibid., 255. Despite the unlikelihood that it was used in the sacred precinct of Westminster Abbey, this seems to have been the case. However, St. Peter's Sanctuary, a square chapel 75' X 75' very near the Abbey may have been meant. (Besant, 136).

[15]Feuillerat, 255. In the story of Orpheus, the inside of the mount may have been used for the infernal regions and the outside for Mount Olympus.

[16]Ibid., 6-8.

[17]Ibid., 256.

ian.[18] Three garments seem to have been made for King Edward himself, one of which was a priest's vestment.[19] Mr. Robert Stone, a Gentleman of the Chapel, was also a priest or cardinal,[20] and other players included Edward's friends, Henry Brandon and Henry Stanley.[21]

The strangest costume made for a play during Shrovetide was a coat, cap, and "skabart" of white and green checkered velvet trimmed with scallop shells, crossed keys, and eyes, tongues, and ears.[22] White and green were the Tudor colors,[23] scallop shells were the symbol of pilgrims who had traveled to the Holy Land,[24] crossed keys were the keys of Rome, a symbol of the Papacy,[25] and eyes, tongues, and ears were the symbol of Lady Fame, the medieval goddess of report

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[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid., 12 and 259-60.

[21] Ibid., 256. Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, was twelve years old and being tutored with Edward. He died in 1551. (Stephen and Lee, II, 1130). Stanley, called "Lord Strange," was sixteen years old and was knighted at the jousts on Sunday. He became a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Edward, and later, Philip. (Ibid., XVIII, 957).

[22] Feuillerat, 262.

[23] Sir Samuel Meyrick, Critical Inquiry Into Ancient Armor (London: Henry Bohn, 1842), III, p. 10.

[24] Strutt, 319.

[25] Ibid.

and rumor.[26] How a costume with such contradictory symbols was used is not apparent. Certainly none of the symbols was vague, and they would not have been mistaken by sixteenth-century spectators. Yet they could only be displayed by a person representing allegiance to many diverse elements, perhaps by the King himself.

Three wherries were hired on each of the three nights to carry the costumes to and from the court. Officers and workmen were in attendance at the Revels Office for twenty-eight days, and a total of £65.18s.8d. was spent on the coronation entertainments, a rather small amount considering subsequent expenses.[27]

During April, 1547, John Holt succeeded John Bridges as Yeoman of the Revels, and an inventory was necessary.[28] Started on March 26, when Holt received many masqueing garments from Philipps, the Clerk,[29] it continued into April when the remainder was turned

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[26]William Shakespeare, Much Ado About Nothing, ed. George Lyman Kittredge (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1941), p. 102. Cf. also Titus Andronicus, II, 1,: "The Emperor's court is like the House of Fame, The palace full of tongues, of eyes and ears."

[27]See Table II, pp. 70-71. Part of this amount was spent in moving from Warwick Inn to Blackfriars though probably not much since the places were close. Part, too, was spent for gilding and repairing the "Roopes & braunchis in the hall." (Feuillerat, 6-7). (One document has "Roopes for the branchis." Ibid., 258). These were probably the chandeliers hung by ropes and pulleys in Whitehall. (Bethel, 102).

[28]Feuillerat, 9-17.

[29]Ibid., 258.

over to the new Yeoman by Cawarden and Bernard, the Clerk-Comptroller. These were the masqueing costumes of Henry's last few years, and included male and female garments for Germans, Egyptians, Turks, Moors, Italians, friars, pilgrims, falconers, and men of arms, as well as rich coverings for jousting horses.[30]

The following month, Sir Walter Mildmay, newly-created knight and Revenue Commissioner,[31] took another very detailed inventory of the cloth and odd garments in the standards and chests stored in the frater.[32] This included 175 yards of sarcenet, 152 yards of cloth of gold, 120 yards of tinsel, 110 yards of lawn, and several yards of cloth of silver, satin, velvet, and damask.[33]

Edward's first Christmas as King was spent at Hampton Court, where he saw masques and plays (the latter probably performed by the Children of the Chapel).[34] A tower resembling the "Tower of

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[30]Descriptions of most of these costumes are included in Chapter XIV.

[31]Feuillerat, 261.

[32]Ibid., 18-21.

[33]A second list was found by Feuillerat which was a rough draft of a rear account, probably made in anticipation of the May inventory. It included the same kinds of cloth and quantities which remained in the Office at the time of the last inventory taken under Henry VIII. Marginal notes indicated that part of the material was used in garments for Edward's coronation. (Ibid., 22-24 and 263). Another inventory was taken by Mildmay in September, 1547, of small objets d'art in the Jewelhouse at Hampton Court in Cawarden's care. None of the items concerned the Revels or the masques. (Ibid., 25).

[34]Ibid., 26 and 266. The only extant document concerning this Christmas was an abstract of the accounts.

of babylon" was made for a play given at some date during this season, possibly a play of the building of the Tower of Babel by the children of men, a structure which reached to the heavens.[35] A masque of Prester John may also have been presented,[36] as well as a masque of friars. Costs for Christmas entertainment were almost £80.[37]

For Shrovetide, 1548, the court moved to Greenwich. There, on Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, February 12-14, were

> great justs and warlike feates done in the parke.... . where was a castle or fort of turnes, besieged and assaulted, to shew the king the manner of Warres, wherein hee had great pleasure.[38]

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[35]Gen. 11.

[36]Feuillerat, 266. Prester John (John the Presbyter) was a fabulous legendary monarch of Asia who united the offices of King and Christian priest. He figured in Ariosto's Orlando Furioso, written 1515-1533, and was mentioned in Shakespeare's Much Ado About Nothing, II, 1. William Rose Benet (ed.), The Reader's Encyclopedia (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1948), p. 877.

[37]The Protector Somerset and Sir William Paget, Comptroller, apparently presented masques in their own households this Christmas. From the Revels, Somerset borrowed complete costumes for eight masquers and six torchbearers. Paget borrowed six Turkish costumes for masquers and four friars' costumes for torchbearers. All were taken from the storehouse. Although they were probably for their personal use, the gentlemen may have used the strength of their offices to borrow for friends.

[38]John Stow, Annales of England (London: Richard Meighan, 1631), p. 595. Also from Edward's Journal: "2 yere. A triumph was wher six gentilmen did chaleng al commers at Barriers iustes and tornay and also that thei wold kepe a fortresse with thirty with them against an hundred or under wich was don at Grenwich." (Feuillerat, 267). Pikes, lances, and other necessaries were obtained for this triumph through Sir Thomas Darcy, Master of the Armory, on January 28. (Ibid.).

Part of this daytime entertainment included a band of tumblers who performed in the park, "his grace loking out vpon them."[39]

The Revels work for Shrovetide involved the outfitting of four masques, one of Young Moors, one of Men, and two of Women.[40] The first, presented on Shrove Sunday night, included the King as one of the masquers.[41] Beginning just seven days before, the Revels made eight long, black, velvet gloves which extended to above the elbow, six pairs of black goatskin gloves, and fourteen pairs of black goatskin hose. This endeavor to achieve realism was applied in their caps, which were made of coarse budge,[42] in imitation of tight curly hair. Visors were trimmed, colored, and lined, wooden darts (or long spears)[43] with broad heads and silver feathers were made, and twelve dozen bells were bought to hang at the skirts of their costumes. What the costumes themselves were like was not recorded, which suggests that they may have been taken from the storehouse and refurbished.

Of the other masques less is known. Masquers in the Masque of Men apparently wore robes with powdered linings and carried painted swords.[44] Each of the Masques of Women included six masquers and

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[39] Ibid. They were given 40s. in gratuities.

[40] Ibid., 29-32.

[41] Ibid., 33.

[42] Lambskin with the wool dressed outward. (Halliwell-Phillipps, 216).

[43] See Chap. XIV, p. 211.

[44] Feuillerat, 31.

six torchbearers. Six headpieces for women were made of hair and flax and lined with black sarcenet; six more wigs were bought; six felts, together with flax and tow, were bought for headpieces; and rolls[45] were made for six other headpieces. The wigs of a "hole maske" of women were colored or dyed, and twenty-four bodices or neckcoverings were made. Fifty ells of white, blue, and yellow sarcenet were used for lining, tufting, and guarding their garments, and gloves were bought for all the masquers except the Young Moors.

The King's Players called on the Revels for an oven which was used in a play given during this Shrovetide. This unique property was made of a wood frame over which canvas was stretched and held with 500 tacks,[46] the only description in the accounts of construction methods similar to those of today. Ten days were spent working on the masques by the Officers, thirty-one tailors, and two painters, but costs were only £78.

Only two masques seem to have been presented during Christmas, 1548.[47] For one, unnamed, nine ells of red, white, yellow, and purple sarcenet were bought for bordering the masquers' tissue garments and the torchbearers' red satin garments, all of which were taken from the storehouse. For the other masque, six yards of red

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[45]See Chap. XIV, p. 205.

[46]Feuillerat, 31.

[47]Ibid., 34-35.

and white wedmole was used to make five pairs of hose for Germans. Probably much more masqueing stuff was used unaltered from the storehouse, for two wherries were engaged to carry one of these masques, and two wherries and a barge used to carry the other. Both were presented at Westminster Palace where, on New Year's day, the Children of the Chapel received a reward for their play or plays.[48] Thirteen tailors and the Officers worked on the costumes over a period of ten days at a total cost of only eleven and a half pounds.

During Shrovetide, 1549, at Westminster, the King's Players presented a play, apparently of the Apocalyptic Dragon.[49] John Holt made a dragon with seven heads and "all necessaries to it" for thirty shillings. Part of these necessaries may have been a dozen "heares and beardes." Other pieces bought and made included a king's crown, a "terypped"[50] crown, six priests' caps or wigs made like shave crowns of hair and budge, albs, surplices, and headcloths of Holland cloth for priests, and seven hermits' heads.[51] Such strange properties

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[48] Ibid., 268.

[49] Rev. xiii.

[50] Possibly "tripled" was intended, i.e., the triple crown of the Pope. (Feuillerat, 269).

[51] Ibid., 39-40. Hermits, anchorites, or beadsmen were "poor dependants supported by a patron for whom they were bound to pray for bounties received." (Shakespeare, Macbeth, ed. Kittredge, 119). In Pl. V, p.209 , the left figure is possibly a hermit and the bottom figure is an anchoress, or female anchorite.

and garments strongly suggest an allegory concerning the State, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Antichrist.[52]

The Christmas festivities of 1549 were again held at Westminster Palace.[53] Both plays and masques were presented, the latter on two nights, and, although parts of costumes were made for five different groups of masquers or players, no complete costumes were newly made for any of them. Garments and properties were made for Germans, Lance-knights, Friars, Pilgrims (or Palmers),[54] and Hermits, some of which may have been identical.

For the Germans, four pairs of "showes" were bought, and for the Lance-knights, eight feathers, presumably for plumes. Twelve falchions (or broad-bladed swords)[55] and twelve "holmaces" which were made and painted were probably for one of these two groups. For the Friars, nine girdles (or sashes)[56] were colored, the only record of this group in the accounts. Eight staffs with iron hilts were made for

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[52]It also seems more than coincidental that at this time there was a painting in Westminster Palace of Henry VIII with a sword in his hand, standing upon a mitre with three crowns, out of which came a seven-headed dragon. (Feuillerat, 269).

[53]Ibid., 41-43.

[54]Properly, a pilgrim who had visited the Holy Land. (Halliwell-Phillipps, 600).

[55]See Pl. VI, p. 213.

[56]See Chap. XIV, p. 197.

the Pilgrims, and ten were painted; probably two were taken from the storehouse.[57] One hundred and eighty "greate beades stones coloread" were probably for the Pilgrims.[58] Nine felts were bought and covered, apparently with russel cloth, for the Hermits' hoods. These seem to have been decorated with tassels and buttons; whip cord and paste were bought for their "eares" (hairs, that is, wigs?). The Hermits carried lanterns and straw-filled bags on which pieces of canvas were sewn bearing someword or motto. The assignment of other properties and garments can only be surmised. Nine globes were made and painted; nine and a half ("ix di.") little bowlles" were bought and twenty-two gilded; gold and silver paper, as well as four and a half ells of sarcenet, were bought for girdles. Three of the masquers and a drummer and fifer were given 10s. each because they "restored theyr garmentes" the second night of the masques.

The cost of the entire Christmas entertainment was only £34. This fact, and the scanty record of costumes that were made, seems to indicate that Cawarden was drawing more and more from the storehouse in an attempt to maintain the elaborate pageantry which he, and the court, had known under Henry VIII. Masques and plays were becoming less important in the royal household, due in part certainly to

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[57] Pilgrims' staffs, javelin staffs, and sheephooks were included in the inventory of April, 1547.

[58] See Pl. V, p. 209 . The Pilgrims and Hermits may have been identical.

the change in rule of a strong, fun-loving monarch to that of a weak, boy king, but due even more so to the tight rein which Somerset held on the Exchequer. He had made a considerable reduction in the services of musicians and players,[59] and had probably kept a check on the expenses of the Office of the Revels. At this time the debts of the Office had not been paid for three years,[60] and no doubt Cawarden was having trouble finding tailors and tradesmen who would extend credit.

The year 1549 was particularly troublesome for Somerset with insurrections throughout the spring and summer and war with France in September. In mid-October he was sent to the Tower for his arrogations and, when released in February, 1550, divested of his power and properties.[61] It was probably for this reason that there were no Shrovetide entertainments at court.[62]

Just before Christmas, 1550, the court moved from Greenwich,[63] where at least two masques were presented, one of Moors and one of Irishmen.[64] The first, in which the King and his young lords may have participated, included six masquers and six torchbearers who

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[59]Collier, 136.

[60]Feuillerat, 269-70.

[61]Innes, 200-201.

[62]Feuillerat, 270.

[63]Ibid., 274.

[64]Ibid., 47-49.

wore long black gloves made of small lambskins, lambskin caps (probably made like those in 1547, with the wool dressed outward), and sheepskin buskins or soft boots.[65] Twelve falchions and holmaces were taken from the storehouse and repaired for their use.[66]

An Irish bagpiper was hired for Twelfth-night, and it was probably then that the Masque of Irishmen was presented. A single canvas doublet[67] and pair of hose were no doubt for the bagpiper. Sixteen wigs (eight of flax and eight of horsehair) were made for the masquers and torchbearers over which they wore headpieces of pasteboard. Their hose was of linen, and they carried Irish swords and shields. A garment was painted for the fool, William Sommers, who apparently had a part in the entertainments.[68] The expenses surpassed £45.

Shrovetide entertainments were presented at Westminster for

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[65]See Chap. XIV, p.194 . Only six pairs of buskins were made, these probably for the masquers.

[66]Twelve falchions and holmaces made during Christmas, 1549, were probably reused at this time. See p. 123.

[67]See Chap. XIV, p. 184.

[68]Several other items mentioned in the accounts are not attributable to either of these masques and were probably for a play or plays presented: two women's wigs, thirty-eight felts (for hats?), six copintank hats (see Chap. XIV, p.200), four yellow handkerchiefs, and twenty yards of lockeram painted flesh-color, which may have been for the Moors' or Irishmens' garments. Thirty-two Irish swords were made; the Irishmens' Masque may have been twice as large. Eight gads, or spears, and one halberd were also made. (See Chap. XIV).

four nights.[69] These may have included another masque or play of Irishmen, a masque or play of Irishwomen, and the antics of William Somers. These entertainments, however, may have taken place in July, 1551, at Hampton Court, where the Marechal de France, Jacques D'Albon de St. Andre, and members of the French Embassy were visiting King Edward.[70] There, on July 16, they "dined with [the King], and talked after Diner, and saw some pastime and so went home againe."[71] For the visit, and probably for this "pastime," the Revels, together with the Surveyor of the King's Works, built two banqueting houses, one in Marybone Park and one in Hyde Park.[72] Construction began on June 27, and they were demolished by August 2.

The house in Marybone Park was forty feet long, and that in Hyde Park fifty-seven feet long by twenty-one wide with a dais or

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[69] Feuillerat, 54-55. Little can be established about the Shrovetide entertainments: in the accounts, costumes and properties made for them were indiscriminately entered with those made for the entertainments in July (see above), and particular assignment is impossible. For both periods the Revels made Irishwomens' smocks, girdles, and rolls of forty-five yards of yellow sarcenet, forty-eight pairs of buskins of lockeram and satin, fifty-eight Irish darts which were painted, gloves and hose for Somers, and whips of cord. They bought: thirty felts, eighteen visors, six dozen bells. They painted: twenty-five targets or shields, twenty falchions, twelve gads, sixteen holmaces, and eight Irish swords. A reward was given to a bagpiper. For particular definitions of these items, see Chap. XIV.

[70] Feuillerat, 274.

[71] Ibid.

[72] Details of these were recorded by Kempe (96-97), but not by Feuillerat.

gallery over which a "type"[73] or turret was erected.[74] The walls of both were "framed, made and wrought of tymber, brick, and lyme."[75] Near each of the buildings were three "standings" (tableaux?), eight by ten feet, trimmed with boughs and flowers. Payments were made to: basketmakers for working upon windows, tailors for sewing roofs and borders, painters for painting furniture, Anthony Toto for molding "antique heads" (busts?), and to a turner for turning six great bases for pillars. Two loads of scaffold poles were required, and boughs, rushes, flags, and ivy were cut in the Hyde Park woods. Construction took twenty-two days, and the total cost of the houses was £169.7s.8d.

Between June 3 and 9, 1551, the first recorded airing took place at the Blackfriars.[76] Seven tailors, together with the Officers, worked six days at a cost of £4.6s.

These early entertainments of Edward, with the frequent inclusion of religious figures or themes, were probably more for Somerset's moralizing purposes than for the young boy's pleasure. Certainly

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[73]A canopy. George R. Kernodle, From Art to Theatre (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944), p. 95.

[74]Kempe reads: "with a halpace staier (a step for the dais or haut-pas) conteyninge in bredth the one way 60 foote, and the other way 30 foote, and over the same a type or turret garnished." (96). This suggests that the entire house was built on a large platform, and that the type, turret, or canopy was, in fact, the roof, probably made of canvas.

[75]Ibid.

[76]Feuillerat, 53. See Chap. VII, p. 64.

masques and plays would have been excellent media for establishing his doctrines in the minds of his nephew and his Council. When contrasted with court entertainment of Edward's final two years, which Somerset had nothing to do with, it is safe to assume that he had had much to say about what was presented during these early years.

CHAPTER XII

THE LORD OF MISRULE: DECEMBER, 1551 TO JUNE, 1553

In October, 1551, Somerset was sent to the Tower charged with a plot to murder several members of the Council. In December he was condemned for felony, and in January, beheaded.[1] Before Christmas it was decided that

> to recreat and refresh the troubled spirits of the yoong king, who . . . seemed to take the trouble of his Uncle somewhat heavilie, it was devised that the feast of [Christmas] . . . should be solemnlie kept at Greenwich, with open household and franke resort to Court (which is called keeping of the hall) what time, of old ordinarie course, there is alwaies one appointed to make sporte in the Court, called commonly Lord of Misrule: whose office is not unknowne to such as have been brought up in noble mens houses, & among great housekeepers which use liberall feasting in that season. There was therefore, by order of the Councill, a wise gentleman and learned, named George Ferrers, appointed to that office for this yeare; . . . Which gentleman so well supplied his office, both in shew of sundrie sights, and devises of rare inventions, and in act of diverse interludes, and matters of pastime, plaied by persons, as not onlie satisfied the common sort, but also were well liked and allowed by the Councill, and other of skill in the like pastimes; but best of all by the yoong king himself, as appered by his princelie liberalitie in rewarding that service.[2]

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[1] Stephen and Lee, XVII, 1247-48.

[2] Collier, 146. (From Holinshed's Chronicles).

Although the tradition may have been older, the first mock king of sport and pastime seems to have been one Ringley, called Abbot of Misrule in the Household Book of Henry VII, who was given £5 in late October, 1491, probably to defray the expense of his costume. Ringley appeared again in 1494, and thereafter an unnamed Abbot, later Lord, of Misrule was engaged in 1502, 1504, 1505, 1506, and 1507. During the final Christmas of Henry VII, in 1508, William Wynnesbury was Lord of Misrule. Throughout the reign the fee was never more than £6.13s.4d.[3]

During the first twelve years of Henry VIII, a Lord of Misrule served the court every Christmas but one, that of 1517, when pestilence was prevailing. Wynnesbury held the position for six or eight of these years,[4] and the fee was riased to £13.6s.8d., with a reward of £2 generally given him on New Year's day.[5] Thereafter the tradition apparently fell off until its revival in 1551.

George Ferrers was about fifty years old at this time. He was a lawyer of Lincoln's Inn, a Member of Parliament in 1542 and 1545, and as a part-time historian had published an English version of the Magna Charta of 1215 in 1534. As a poet he was to share with

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[3] Ibid., 50-55, n. 1. A Lord of Misrule may have appeared in 1500 and received £1 from the Queen.

[4] Richard Pole hald the post in 1516, Edmund Trevor in 1518, and William Tolly in 1520. (Ibid., 76-79, n. 1).

[5] Ibid. Princess Mary apparently had her own Lord of Misrule in 1522. (Ibid., 90-92).

William Baldwin the honor of writing the Mirror for Magistrates, published in 1559.[6]

On November 24, Cawarden received a warrant from the King at Westminster directing him to prepare horse trappings for four challengers who were to joust before His Majesty during the Christmas holidays.[7] On the twelfth of December, the Officers, three saddlers, and ten tailors began work which was to go on every day and many nights before the Christmas festivities were over on January 7.[8]

Cawarden was probably warned of the revival of the Lord of Misrule tradition early in December although the first official warrant did not come to him until December 21. From the President of the Council, Warwick (now Duke of Northumberland), it advised him to confer with Ferrers regarding his needs, and to prepare such accordingly.[9]

The Christmas festivities were held at Greenwich where,

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[6]Stephen and Lee, VI, 1247-49.

[7]Feuillerat, 62.

[8]In all, forty-three tailors, eleven hosiers, thirty painters, three saddlers, a carver, a joiner, a basketmaker, and probably many others were employed by the Revels over the Christmas season. (Ibid., 62-86).

[9]Ibid., 56. Most subsequent warrants and letters from Ferrers or the Council were sent to Cawarden less than twenty-four hours before the costumes or properties were needed. (Ibid., 56-63). In some cases it seems highly improbable that the things could have been made on such short notice. It is more likely that Cawarden prepared most of Ferrers' needs after their conference but required a warrant from the Council before he would deliver them.

on December 25, the King's players presented a play outfitted by the Revels from costumes in the storehouse.[10] Eight days later, on Saturday, January 2, there was a "dronken" masque given by the Lord of Misrule at night for which the Revels furnished eight visors and eight wooden swords and daggers.[11]

The next day the challenge that had been made six weeks before was fulfilled. The Earl of Warwick (John Dudley, son of Northumberland),[12] Sir Harry Sidney, Sir Henry Nevel, and Sir Henry Gates challenged all comers at tilt, the exercise in which two riders attempted to unhorse each other.[13] Eighteen defendants met the challenge and ran six courses each.[14] For this joust, termed a "triumph," the Revels made complete sets of trappings for twelve light and twelve heavy horses, three of each for each of the four challengers. The heavy or "great" horses were equipped with bards, that is, leather breastplates,[15] and the light horses with caparisons, lighter ornamental trappings.[16] Coverings for the bards and coverings

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[10] Ibid., 57.

[11] Ibid., 59.

[12] Stephen and Lee, VI, 109.

[13] Bethel, 889.

[14] Feuillerat, 279.

[15] Meyrick, II, 202. In the accounts "bards" and "barbs" were used interchangeably and were synonymous.

[16] Bethel, 122.

for the caparisons (called baces)[17] were made of what could be found. Six bard coverings and six baces of cloth of gold with borders inscribed with the "kinges woorde"[18] were taken from among several in the storehouse which had been inventoried in April, 1547. The remainder, in red and blue cloth of gold, were taken from hangings also in the storehouse which had been used in the banqueting houses of Henry VIII. Apparently in an effort to simulate the embroidered borders of the other twelve coverings, black and white paint was used to inscribe the motto. Saddles and poitrals[19] were decorated and plumes provided for the bridles. Anthony Toto painted twelve pieces of cloth of gold and twelve pieces of cloth of silver for "bandes,"[20] and the challenge was accomplished. The costs were almost £90.[21]

According to his letter sent the previous day, the Lord of Misrule planned to attend the triumph and to follow it with a joust of his own, on hobbyhorses.[22] This mock joust was to be part of a Midsummer Night, probably a parody of the ancient celebration held

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[17] Meyrick, 214.

[18] Probably Dieu et mon droit, the royal motto.

[19] Part of the bard. Ibid., 202.

[20] These "bandes" may have been part of the trappings but were more likely banners or streamers for lances, from the Latin bandum, or the Italian banderuola or bandiera. (Shipley, 77).

[21] Feuillerat, 66-67 and 82-84.

[22] Ibid., 59.

usually on the eve of June 23, the Vigil of St. John the Baptist.[23] Ferrers asked for, and apparently got, six hobbyhorses with harnesses and weapons although these were not recorded in the Revels accounts.[24] Hobbyhorses were generally made of a light wicker frame which was fastened to the waist of the "rider" whose legs were concealed by long baces and trappings.[25] Probably this joust was a mimicry of the triumph held that afternoon, and may have had some relation to "a devise by the kinge for a combat to be fought with William Somer." A harness of paper boards and three masqueing garments were made for this "devise,"[26] and its similarity to "a momery made of white paper"[27] the following year suggests a mock battle on hobby-

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[23]The Midsummer Night had many forms. Kittredge (A Midsummer Night's Dream, ix) regarded it as a magic time, "when spirits might well appear and mislead." Stow (Survey of London, I, 101-103) described one in London during the reign of Henry VIII which involved a great marching watch at night of militiamen, liverymen, pageants, and grotesques. The last one of the sixteenth century, he stated, was held in June, 1548.

[24]The only indication that they were furnished was contained in a letter which Ferrers sent Cawarden in March, 1552, to settle a final payment to a staffmaker. The man was paid £5 for sixty staves "deliverred and spent at the Iustes of the hobihorses on newyeres daie last." (Feuillerat, 94). Despite the incorrect date, the jousts of hobbyhorses were held.

[25]Halliwell-Phillipps, 452. An excellent picture of a hobbyhorse of this type appeared in Francis Douce, Illustrations to Shakspeare (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, 1807), II, Pl. IX.

[26]Feuillerat, 73. Another document had: "one harniss bordes & iij other harnesses of paper made for William Somer to fyghte in." (Ibid., 279).

[27]Ibid., 106. Another document had: "a harnes of white paper made for the shewe of a midsomer sight." (Ibid., 285).

horses between the fool, Somers, and the Lord of Misrule, with the former attired in paper armor.

The principal event of the Lord's reign was his ride through London on Monday, January 4.[28] Early that morning a great scaffold was built near the cross in Cheap,[29] and by eight o'clock the Lord's barge had docked at Tower Wharf.[30] There he was met by two Footmen or Gentlemen Ushers in yellow satin coats and caps lined with purple sarcenet,[31] fifty or more mounted liverymen in green coats trimmed with yellow[32] over which hung baldrics, or shoulder sashes[33] of green and yellow, another fifty or more mounted Tallmen of the Guard in red and white coats and hoods,[34] and his eight Councilors in

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[28] Ibid., 59.

[29] Ibid., 276. (From Machyn's Diary). Although this scaffold was not mentioned in the accounts, an undated letter of the period sent to Cawarden by Ferrers asked that: "Imedia[tely] apoun the sight hierof you send vnto vs so many carpenters and paynters as you maye spaire / ffor of very necessitie, and as tyme requireth, we moste have theame." (Ibid.). This hasty plea strongly suggests that the forgotten scaffold, perhaps an afterthought, was built by the Revels: (1) none of the Lord's other activities would have required these workmen outside the Office, and (2) the Revels did build the scaffold the following year.

[30] Ibid., 59. See Pl. II, p. 163 for route.

[31] Supplied from the Revels storehouse. (Ibid., 78).

[32] Ibid., 64.

[33] See Chap. XIV, p. 197.

[34] Feuillerat, 80.

gowns and caps of blue and changeable taffeta.[35] There the Lord mounted his palfrey (outfitted by the Revels with a saddle and caparison trimmed with buttons, four rows of fringe, and fifty-two long and short tassels),[36] and the entourage made its way up Tower Hill, 300 yards from the river. A standard of yellow and green silk bearing the figure of St. George[37] was ordered, and was greeted by the crowd with a salute of guns and squibs,[38] trumpets, and bagpipes, drones and flutes. After many declarations of the greatness of the Lord of Misrule, the party moved out in parade to the cross in Cheap Street. First came

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[35] Ibid., 69. Cawarden had to make a second livery for the Councilors. Two days before, Ferrers saw or heard about the costumes which had been sent to the men who were to be his Councilors. Somewhat disturbed, he wrote: "it seemeth vnto vs that as towching the Apparel of our Counseilloures you have mistaken ye persons that sholde were them as Sir Robert Stafforde & Thomas Wyndeham with other gentlemen that stande also apon their reputacion and wolde not be seen in London so torchebererlyke disgysed for asmoche as they ar worthe or hope to be worthe. Therfore we referre to your discrecion the better ordre of ye matter, which was not of our device but of ye Counseills appoyntement." (Ibid., 59). In a warrant from the real Council, Cawarden had merely been directed to furnish silk apparel for eight Councilors "in suche sorte as you thinke mete" (Ibid., 58), and had probably taken old masqueing garments from the storehouse which he considered suitable. They were returned, however, and a warrant arrived from the Council upholding Ferrers' wishes, and Cawarden was obliged to make new costumes.

[36] Ibid., 80.

[37] Ibid., 276. (From Machyn's Diary). No mention of this standard was in the accounts.

[38] The Revels made a hollow club in which to burn squibs. (Ibid., 67). These powder-filled paper balls were stuffed into the club and burned, often exploding with a crack. They are still known today. (Bethel, 822).

morris dancers[39] dancing to a taboret (a small, single-headed drum) and probably many pipes and flutes. Following the dancers were his Councilors, "lyke sage men" in their blue and changeable taffeta gowns. Next came the Lord of Misrule himself. He wore a suit of cloth of gold and green velvet trimmed with silver and green velvet. Around his waist was a girdle or sash of sarcenet and crimson velvet decorated with gold rings. Over this he wore a coat or gown of cloth of gold and green velvet trimmed at the border with a double fringe of red silk, and faced with a fur of drakes' necks and tails. Around his shoulders was a cape of drakes' tails and on his feet a pair of buskins.[40] A copper chain which had been "dubble gylded" hung from his neck probably bearing the badge of his office,[41] and he carried a mace bristling with spikes.[42] At his side hung a sword or falchion.[43]

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[39]Three sarcenet garments were made for dancers of the trenchmore, a boisterous dance to a lively tune in triple time. (Halliwell-Phillipps, 887).

[40]Feuillerat, 77.

[41]Ibid., 73. The badge was not recorded in the accounts.

[42]Ibid. See Chap. XIV, p. 214. Two maces were made.

[43]The Lord's "Amurye" consisted of a "sklavoy blade fawchon," probably a mistake for Slavonian bladed falchion, i.e., a curved sword made in Slavonia, and a "bilboe bronde," literally, a Bilboa sword from Spain, a thin, fine-tempered sword used by "bilbo-men" (later, billmen) in the sixteenth century. (Halliwell-Phillipps, 175). The scabbards of both weapons were painted and gilded, and the total cost of weapons and work was only 6s., which suggests that they were not real. (Feuillerat, 80).

Attending the Lord, probably walking beside his horse, were three Pages in coats of white birds-eye satin paned with crimson satin,[44] a Tumbler in a tight garment,[45] a Juggler in a coat of green and yellow satin with sleeves of cloth of gold and a pair of slops (or baggy breeches)[46] of cloth of gold trimmed with black chevrons,[47] and possibly a Minstrel or Irish bagpiper in a garment of russet damask.[48] Certainly close by the Lord was his Fool, William Somers. Of four costumes made for him, he probably wore a suit of crimson satin and silver sarcenet fringed with red silk, and a multi-colored cap of silk.[49] Around his neck was a copper chain like the Lord's which probably displayed a comical badge or escutcheon. He carried a gilded mace, and at his waist wore a "vyces dagger."[50] Also made for him, and pro-

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[44] Ibid., 78.

[45] Such a garment was requested but not mentioned in the accounts. (Ibid., 56). It was probably taken from the storehouse.

[46] See Chap. XIV, p..193.

[47] Feuillerat, 79.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Another document (Ibid., 279) had: "One poyneado of wood turned," i.e., a wooden poniard, or slender dagger with a square or triangular blade. (Bethel, 656). It cost about 1s.6d. to make and was probably somewhat fancier than the "dagger of lath" found often in the hands of Shakespeare's fools and players.

bably carried in this parade, was a ladle with a hanging bauble.[51]

Following the Lord of Misrule was his Master of Ordnance (or Artillery) in a suit of crimson satin trimmed with cloth of silver[52] and undoubtedly mounted. With him were fifty Tallmen of the Guard in red and white coats and hoods, and thirty Harquebusiers[53] dressed in canvas coats painted to resemble mail armor and canvas helmets which resembled morions.[54]

Behind this company of guards was a cart or carts carrying a pillory, gibbet, heading-axe and block, stocks, and a "little-ease,"[55] all complete with "prisoners." The pillory was a frame with holes

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[51] Ibid., 73. This was a combined form of two older elements. The bauble, an inflated bladder or eel-skin, was an ancient toy of the fool, often attached to the end of a stick or comic mace and used for belaboring himself or his tormentors. (Douce, 318). The ladle was simply a large wooden spoon used in the morris dance to collect money from spectators. Usually it was fixed in the mouth of the hobbyhorse, a principal figure in morris dancing. By this time, however, the fool had taken over the duty of the hobbyhorse and attached his bauble to the opposite end of the ladle, probably to use on uncharitable spectators. (Ibid., 468-70). Somers most likely used his ladle for collecting coins for himself or the Lord of Misrule.

[52] Feuillerat, 78.

[53] Foot soldiers armed with harquebuses, firearms similar to muskets. (Bethel, 377). See Pl. VI, Fig. 13, p. 213. The Revels did not supply these weapons.

[54] Feuillerat, 67 and 279. The morion was a narrow-brimmed and conical helmet, the standard head-armor of the time. (Planche, 296). See Pl. VI, Fig. 2, p. 213.

[55] Feuillerat, 81.

which held the head and hands of a prisoner in an uncomfortable position.[56] The gibbet was somewhat more uncomfortable, consisting of an upright post with a projecting arm from which the prisoner was hung in chains.[57] Stocks were similar to the pillory but held the feet as well as the hands.[58] The "little-ease" was, as the name implies, a small cage in which the occupant could have very little ease.[59] One prisoner wore a pair of iron manacles and gyves, chained shackles on his wrists and ankles,[60] and a Jailor with two dozen keys of various sizes accompanied this rather gruesome band.[61]

When the Lord and his train arrived at the scaffold in Cheap Street, his Herald and Trumpeter, dressed in garments of blue and

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[56]Bethel, 639. This was built by a carpenter for the Revels at a cost of 4s. and was, perhaps, rather complex; whereas a standard pillory would require one hinge, one hasp, and one lock, this required three pairs of hinges, four hasps, four staples, four pins, and two locks. (Feuillerat, 72).

[57]Shipley, 300. The same carpenter was paid 20d. for the gibbet in which he used two long plates and two "squiers" (square plates?). (Feuillerat, 72).

[58]Bethel, 833. Apparently two pairs of stocks were made, one by Carowe, the propertymaker, which was foiled and for some antic of the Lord of Misrule himself. It cost 6s. A second, simpler one was made by a carpenter for 4s.10d. (Feuillerat, 72).

[59]Halliwell-Phillipps, 524. The heading-axe and block cost 20d. to make, but no construction details of these or the little-ease were recorded. (Feuillerat, 73).

[60]Shipley, 319. These, together with a hanging lock for them, cost 30s.10d. (Feuillerat, 73).

[61]Ibid., 72.

yellow satin lined with red sarcenet,[62] announced his obvious presence, and a "doctur of ye law" (probably one of his Councilors) proclaimed his dignity, progeny, and great household, certainly all in a comical vein. The Lord and his Councilors drank a toast from a hogshead of wine which had been provided, perhaps through the Revels Office,[63] and was then tapped so that his entire party and the public might drink.[64]

It was probably at this time, from the scaffold, that the Lord's Cofferer or Treasurer cast some 9000 counters, in imitation of coins, to the crowd.[65] These included 3000 white counters, 3000 red counters, and 3000 "lyon" counters in three leather bags.[66]

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[62] Ibid., 78.

[63] A Cooper was paid 2s.8d. for an unstated item, perhaps a hogshead (Ibid., 81). The following year the Revels did provide hogsheads for wine. (Ibid., 107).

[64] Ibid., 276. (From Machyn's Diary).

[65] This event was copied from the Boy Bishops of France, who, throughout the fifteenth century, minted coins or tokens to be given away as souveniers of their reigns. (Chambers, Med. Stage, I, 407).

[66] Feuillerat, 71. Elsewhere in the accounts (Ibid., 81) the white counters were called silver "half groses"; the red were called gold "crusadoes"; and the "lyon" counters were called gold "lyons." By "half groses" perhaps half groschen was intended, an early silver German coin of little value. (Bethel, 365). "Crusadoes" were Portuguese coins, also of little value. (Halliwell-Phillipps, 284). Gold "lyons" may have been in imitation of Scottish coins. (Feuillerat, 312). These 9000 counters cost £5.4s.2d. and weighed forty-five pounds. Probably, for their weight, they were not carried by the Cofferer through the parade, but were taken directly to the scaffold from the Revels Office in the Lord's "Jewelhouse" (most likely a small chest or coffer) for which a great "flagon" chain was made and gilded. (Ibid., 81).

Following this event, the Lord with all his men rode to the home of the Lord Mayor for dinner, then to the Lord Treasurer's at the Priory of the Austin Friars, and finally to the Tower Wharf where he boarded a barge for Greenwich.[67] The visit to London undoubtedly required the entire day, certainly an exhausting one for all concerned. No entertainment took place the following day.

The final day of the Lord of Misrule's reign, January 6, 1552, began with a tournament to determine the winners of the jousts held three days before.[68] That night, there was

> first a play, after a talk betwen one that was called Riches, and th'other Youth, wither of them was better. After some prety reasoning ther cam in six champions of either side . . . Al thes fought tow to tow at barriers in the hall. Then came in tow apparelled like almaines, . . . and tow cam in like friers. but the almaines wold not suffer them to pase til they had fought . . . After this folowed tow maskes on of men another of women. Then a banket of 120 dishes. This was th'end of Christmas.[69]

The play was apparently an interlude presented by John Birch and John Brown, two of the King's Players, and three of their compan-

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The Cofferer wore a coat and cap of yellow satin lined with purple sarcenet. (Ibid., 78).

[67] Ibid., 276. (From Machyn's Diary).

[68] Ibid., 278.

[69] Ibid., The "almaines," or Germans, were played by the Earl of Ormand and Jacques Granado; the friars by Mr. Drury and Thomas Cobham.

ions, whom the Revels outfitted from the storehouse.[70] For the Dialogue of Riches and Youth, the Revels supplied at least one costume, a frock of crimson satin with green velvet and tinsel undersleeves, and a loose cape.[71] Probably they also outfitted the "almaines" and the friars from the storehouse.

At least three masques were presented during the twelve days of Christmas.[72] A Masque of Argus, the hundred-eyed-monster of Greek mythology,[73] was the only men's masque. The two women's masques included a Masque of Amazons, "women of warre," and a Masque of Moors, "with black skalloppes vpon tynsell," only one of which was presented on Twelfth-night.[74]

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[70] Ibid., 86. Cawarden was given a warrant to furnish their garments, none of which were recorded.

[71] Ibid., 278. The Revels probably also supplied the other costumes; a warrant was issued for them. (Ibid., 60). Holder of the warrant was Sir Thomas Chaloner, a diplomat and author who, in 1549, translated into English The Praise of Folly by Erasmus. (Stephen and Lee, III, 1366-67).

[72] Feuillerat, 85.

[73] Benet, 63. Fourteen dozen glasses, or mirrors, bought at this time, were perhaps for the monster's eyes.

[74] Feuillerat, 85. Little was recorded in the accounts regarding the costumes of these masques. Twenty-four headpieces were made by a capper of which eight were for men, eight for women, and eight decorated with serpents. Eight of the first sixteen were of yellow gold sarcenet painted with faces. Those with serpents were for a "momery" (see p. 135) as were 200 buttons used on the "white garmentes." Six molds were made for the serpents and eleven were wired, apparently to the headpieces. Six bullions or ornaments for the headpieces of the momery were bought. Other materials bought or made included ninety-nine visors, twenty-four gloves, seven lawn partlets, six suits of lawn

The Lord of Misrule's entry into court and presentation to the King probably took place on December 25, the first day of his reign. He pretended to have come from the moon,[75] and entered with an Ambassador dressed in a costume of red dornix and an Interpreter dressed in yellow satin.[76] The Lord himself wore a suit of carnation-colored satin striped with silver and trimmed with a double fringe of red silk, a yellow sarcenet girdle, and a cap of crimson satin and silk.[77] He was probably also wearing a visor which had been gilded for him.[78] The Lord came into court under a canopy[79] which may have been part of a chariot, or open sedan chair, carried by four of his men, which was also built for him. The canopy was probably a simple cloth-covered dome which was trimmed with three dozen "chyme" bells and four dozen "fox" bells.[80] The chariot, which included a "seate," was decorated with three silver knobs.[81]

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partlets with sleeves, and two ells of red and black sarcenet for the linings, tyings, and headbands of the visors. (Ibid., 66-73).

[75] Ibid., 89. (From a letter of the following year).

[76] Ibid., 79.

[77] Ibid., 77.

[78] Ibid., 66.

[79] Ibid., 89.

[80] Made by a carpenter, of a hoop, timber, and nails. (Ibid., 70-72).

[81] It, also, was made of hoops, timber, and nails. (Ibid.).

The Lord was attended on this first introduction to the court by his Pages, Footmen, Herald, and Trumpeter, and possibly his Minstrel, Tumbler, and Juggler. Certainly his Fool was there in one of the four costumes made for him: a white and blue baudkin suit trimmed with red satin, with a frock of tawny silk striped with gold and trimmed with fur at the neck; a suit of silver scalloped and fringed with green silk, with labels of crimson satin and gold, and a hood; and a suit of red, yellow, green, black, and white velvet with a cap of green velvet and red sarcenet.[82]

Expenses for the twelve days of Christmas were staggering. The revival of the Lord of Misrule cost just under £300. The Triumph of January third and sixth was almost £90. The three masques cost over £80. Some £470 were spent,[83] probably more than had ever been spent on an English King's Christmas entertainment before. Yet the court apparently considered the fun worth the money, for Ferrers was engaged again the following year to play the Lord of Misrule.[84]

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[82] Ibid., 79. The fourth costume was worn during the ride through London. (See p. 139, above).

[83] Ibid., 76. The accounts had: Lord of Misrule - £299.5s.5d., Triumphs - £89.13s.9d., Masques - £80.17s.4d., with a "Summa Totalis" of £509.9d. However, the first three figures add to only £469. 16s.6d.

[84] According to Stephen and Lee (VI, 1248), Northumberland paid Ferrers £50 in March, 1552, for his services as Lord of Misrule. (This payment may have been made the following year however; many facts in their account of Ferrers as the Lord of Misrule do not agree with the Revels accounts).

Both Chambers (Med. Stage, I, 405) and Welsford (145) be-

Between June 1 and June 7, 1552, an airing took place with four Officers and seven tailors attending.[85]

Late in November, 1552, the Privy Council sent a warrant to Sir John Williams, Treasurer of the Court of Augmentations,[86] directing him to pay George Ferrers £100 towards the necessary charges of his appointment as Lord of the King's Pastimes.[87] Shortly thereafter, Ferrers sent Cawarden a detailed letter outlining his wishes,[88] and on December 17 the Revels began their work.[89]

On Christmas Day, the Lord sent an embassy to the King consisting of a Herald, a Trumpeter, an Orator, and an Interpreter. The first two arrived in identical costumes: ruffed-sleeved coats of

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lieved friction existed between Cawarden and Ferrers, and that Cawarden put every possible difficulty in the way of Ferrers, which necessitated the warrants from the Council. They both mentioned Ferrers signing one letter "the lorde Myserabell" during his second reign. (Feuillerat, 93). They may have been right, although Cawarden probably required the warrants as contracts against the trouble he was having in collecting wages and debts from the Crown. Despite the warrants, however, the debts of this Christmas were not paid until after the following Christmas. (See pp. 67-68, above).

[85] Feuillerat, 115.

[86] Stephens and Lee, XXI, 413.

[87] Feuillerat, 280.

[88] Ibid., 89-90. See App. V. pp. 233-35.

[89] Over a twenty-two day period, forty-six tailors, eleven hosiers, thirty painters, six joiners, five carpenters, five basket-makers, three cloth-cutters ("carvers"), a buskinmaker, the four Officers, and nine others worked days and nights on the costumes and properties for the Christmas entertainment. (Ibid., 89-125).

red sarcenet, trimmed with gold sarcenet, tufted with white sarcenet, and lined with red buckram. Their buskins were of green satin and their caps of red satin. Costumes worn by the Orator and Interpreter were very similar: the former was dressed in a long-sleeved garment of crimson sarcenet guarded with gold sarcenet and tufted with white sarcenet; his headpiece was of white damask fringed with Venice gold and lined with buckram. The Interpreter wore a red sarcenet coat trimmed with yellow gold sarcenet, tufted with white sarcenet, and lined with red buckram. His cap was of yellow satin.[90]

Apparently the Lord's court entry was somewhat grander this year. The Revels sent a bargeman to decorate the King's brigantine[91] with forty-two yards of watchet (pale blue) and white kersey, the Lord's colors. On St. Stephen's Day, December 26,[92] he was received "beneth the bridge"[93] by his Admiral, Thomas Windham, Master of the Ordnance of the King's Ships.[94] With other vessels in attendance they sailed down to Greenwich where, upon landing, the Lord

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[90] Ibid., 121-23.

[91] A two-masted, square-rigged ship. (Bethel, 105).

[92] Benet, 977.

[93] Apparently London Bridge, the only bridge over the Thames until the eighteenth century. George Wharton Edwards, London (Philadelphia: The Penn Publishing Co., 1922), p. 22.

[94] Feuillerat, 281.

was received by Sir George Howard, his Master of the Horse,[95] and four Pages of Honor dressed in cloaks of blue taffeta, breeches of white tinsel and silver sarcenet, and caps of white taffeta trimmed with wreaths of blue taffeta and silver fringe.[96] One Page carried his headpiece, a cap of maintenance, or office,[97] of red feathers and chamlet thrum with a plume. A second Page carried his shield[98] probably painted with Hydra, the nine-headed monster slain by Hercules, which was the chief beast of the Lord's heraldic arms.[99] The shield may also have borne his motto, Semper Ferians, "alwaies feasting or keping holie daie."[100] The third Page carried his sword,[101] and the fourth his axe, a painted wooden property.

For this court entry the Lord asked for garments for, and may have had with him, six Councilors, a Divine, a Poet, a Philosopher, an Astronomer, a Physician, an Apothecary, a Master of Re-

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[95] In reality, Howard was Master of the Henchmen and brother to former Queen Katherine Howard. (Ibid.).

[96] Ibid., 120. One of the Pages, Robert Rolf, was probably a tailor by trade for he made his own costume and was paid by the Revels for the material. (Ibid., 98).

[97] See Chap. XIV, pp. 198-99. This may have been decorated with holly leaves, the device of the Lord's crest.

[98] Not recorded in the accounts.

[99] Ibid. Ferrers mistakenly called it "the serpente with sevin heddes cauled hidra."

[100] Ibid.

[101] Not recorded in the accounts.

quests, a Dizard or Fool (John Smith), friars, drummers, and a Tumbler. The Councilors wore wide-sleeved robes and hats of blue taffeta.[102] Cloth gowns were made for a Poet, an Advocate (probably the Philosopher), an Astronomer, a Physician, and an Apothecary.[103] For the Fool, the Revels made three costumes, the first of which may have been worn at this time: a long coat and hood of white and red baldachin trimmed with black passement lace, and crimson baldachin buskins;[104] a vice's coat of white and red damask figured with gold "churchwork" and trimmed with passement lace of black silk and gold, and hood of cloth of gold;[105] a long coat, hood, and buskins of cloth of gold figured with white, red, and green velvet, together with a yellow sarcenet girdle.[106] Four friars wore hooded garments of tinsel,[107] three drummers wore cloth gowns,[108] and a jerkin and pair of paned slops of yellow and blue satin were worn by the Tumbler.[109] The

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[102] Ibid., 120.

[103] Ibid., 97.

[104] Ibid., 119.

[105] Ibid., 98.

[106] Ibid., 119.

[107] Ibid., 98. Two other cloth gowns for friars were apparently used at another event. (Ibid.).

[108] Ibid. Ferrers had sent Cawarden patterns for Turkish garments for a kettle drummer, his boy, another drummer, and a fifer, but only three garments were made. (See App. V, p. 235).

[109] Ibid., 123. Clarence, his Juggler, may have appeared with

Herald and Trumpeter who had appeared before the King the previous day wore great coats of blue satin with ruffed sleeves and waists and trimmed with passement lace; their caps of blue satin were trimmed with white sarcenet.[110]

The Lord entered the court[111] wearing a robe of white baldachin trimmed with knots of cloth of gold. Over the robe he wore a coat of fine, flat cloth of silver with embroidery and borders of leaves of gold and colored silks. His cloth-of-gold breeches were embroidered and paned with silver sarcenet, and, over buskins of white baldachin, he wore mule-like slippers of Bruges satin. A plumed cap of maintenance completed his costume.[112]

The Lord spent one of the twelve days in hunting and hawking with his Councilors. His attire included a coat of cloth of gold with undersleeves of white baldachin, and figured with red and green velvet "checkerwork." His hat was of plain cloth of gold trimmed with green satin leaves, and a green silk baldric was slung over his shoulder to

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the Tumbler; his costume was of the same material and colors. (Ibid.). (See App. V, p. 235.)

[110] Ibid., 122.

[111] Just how he entered the court is not clear. He had given Cawarden his choice of "under a Canepie as the last yeare, or in a chare triumphall, or vppon some straunge beast." (Ibid., 89). The accounts revealed only that a joined chair was made for his seat. (Ibid., 102).

[112] Ibid., 117. Ferrers had asked that, on the first day, all his apparel be blue, similar to a piece of velvet which he sent to Cawarden. Garments matching his sample were made, but were used later in his reign.

hold a hunting horn.[113] The Councilors wore coats of russet damask lined with red buckram, and with sleeves of crimson taffeta.[114] Their hats, also of russet damask, were lined with yellow sarcenet and trimmed with green satin leaves.[115] They carried "mene" hunting horns.[116]

On the night of January first, the Lord of Misrule judged a joust of hobbyhorses held at Greenwich. Six challengers with horses in black and yellow trappings met six defendants with horses trimmed in blue and white trappings; each horse wore a plume and two dozen bells.[117] A toil, a low net normally used for trapping small game,[118] was borrowed from the Office of the Tents, and together with chairs, was set up at Greenwich as a barrier or fence. The jousters fought with truncheons, that is, broken spear shafts,[119] the right comic element for a joust of hobbyhorses. The Lord wore a robe and coat of red

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[113] Ibid., 106 and 118.

[114] Ibid., 123.

[115] Ibid., 97.

[116] Ibid., 106. Either mean (of poor quality), or mene (moaning), (Halliwell-Phillipps, 549) was meant.

Ferrers ordered his hunting attire in a letter of December 27, in which he twice assured Cawarden that it would be returned later. This is a fair indication that the other costumes made for his party would not be returned, but would probably be given to their wearers for their services. None of the costumes made during Christmas 1551 or 1552 appeared in the 1555 inventory.

[117] The hobbyhorses were made by Carowe (called "karver") at 13s.4d. each; the Lord's horse had three heads and cost 3s. more. (Ibid., 107).

[118] Bethel, 893.

[119] Skeat, 422.

baldachin trimmed with an embroidered guard of purple and silver cloth and fur. His breeches and hose were of cloth of gold figured with red and green velvet, and with a cut guard of cloth of gold.[120] His buskins were of red baldachin.[121]

A "momery" was again held, perhaps on this night, the costumes for which were made of white paper, white thread, ribbon, tow, and cotton.[122] It was perhaps identical to "the combat of the lorde of misrule," for which six great wooden "squertes" were turned "lyke vnto dragons."[123]

The Lord's ride through London took place on the fourth of January. He landed at Tower Wharf in the morning where he was met by a Sergeant Vawce, Lord of Misrule to John Mainard, one of the sheriffs of London, who spent the entire day in his attendance.[124]

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[120] These breeches were of the same cloth, color, and trimming as his hunting coat, and were probably of that ensemble. (See p. 152).

[121] No costumes for the jousters were recorded in the accounts, but garments were ordered for the Lord's Almoner, Marshall, Treasurer, and Master of Ordnance, who may have had parts in the joust. (Feuillerat, 91-92). The Revels made a cloth gown for the Almoner, and blue taffeta gowns for the last three. (Ibid., 97-98).

[122] Ibid., 106. Another document had: "Armure - harnes of white paper made for the shewe of a midsomer sight - viij^{s}." (Ibid., 285).

[123] Ibid., 107. Another document had: "Squertes of wood turned . . . in steade of gonnes." (Ibid., 285). They cost 2s. each, and may have been water guns fitted with bladders which, when pressed, would squirt.

[124] Stow, Annales, 608-09. Ferrers may have arrived in the decorated brigantine which had been used nine days before. (See p. 148).

Vawce saluted the Lord with his sword, and the procession got under way. Vawce led the parade followed by his men, each with a blue and white ribbon around his neck, and probably in simple but identical costumes.[125] The Lord followed in a robe, coat, headpiece, and scapler of purple velvet ornamented and furred. The coat was lined with a material resembling powdered ermine, and all his garments were welted with blue and gold tinsel. His hat was trimmed with purple velvet striped with threads of silver. His breeches, of purple cloth of silver, were welted with purple tinsel and gold, and his buskins were, like the hat, of purple velvet striped with silver threads.[126] Around him were morris dancers, singers, pipers, and drummers, as well as two Footmen in jerkins and breeches of blue satin trimmed with white satin.[127] On the Lord's shoulder, or with one of his attendants, was an ape dressed in the colors of his livery.[128] Following the Lord were his four "children," John Smith and three other Fools, dressed in long coats and hoods of crimson taffeta and white sarcenet which were lined with gold and silver lawn, and trimmed with gold tinsel and yellow satin.[129]

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[125] Feuillerat, 281. (From Machyn's Diary). Machyn's account of this procession gave more details of the route taken but fewer of the order of march, than his account of the previous year.

[126] Ibid., 119.

[127] Ibid., 121.

[128] Ibid., 99.

[129] Ibid., 119-20.

His Councilors, in blue taffeta gowns, came next and were followed by at least ninety Liverymen in coats, jerkins, and hose of pale blue and white kersey.[130]

Following the Liverymen may have been an Irishman and Irishwoman. The former was dressed in a long blue satin garment paned with red satin and lined with black buckram. On his head was a wig of black flax and a dornix headpiece, and on his feet, buskins of Bruges satin; he carried an Irish sword.[131] The Irishwoman wore a yellow buckram smock and a girdle of red sarcenet. A mantle, or cape, of red satin was paned with blue satin and lined with red buckram. She, too, wore a wig of flax.[132]

At the end of this procession was the Lord's "prisons," probably attended by his Provost Marshall,[133] his Under Marshall, his Master of Ordnance, and a Jailor's boy. The Provost Marshall wore a large coat of white baldachin with great ruffs trimmed with blue satin lozenges. His cap of blue satin was tufted with yellow sarcenet and fringed with blue fringe. The Under Marshall and Master of Ordnance wore short coats of crimson satin trimmed with yellow satin,

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[130] Ibid., 99-104.

[131] See Pl. VI, Fig. 3, p. 213.

[132] Ibid., 123.

[133] A Provost Marshall was formerly a prison keeper or jailor. (Bethel, 681).

and hats of yellow satin with rolls of black gold sarcenet.[134] His prisons included only a pillory and stocks this year.[135]

The parade[136] moved through Tower Street, Mart Lane, Grace Church Street, and Cornhill to the cross in Cheap Street.[137] There the Revels had erected a scaffold with a canopy[138] and equipped it with ten tuns, or hogsheads[139] and a cupboard, which probably held drinking cups. In a mock ceremony the Lord of Misrule knighted the Sheriff's Lord, Sergeant Vawce, and many toasts were drunk while the Cofferer threw coins to the crowd.[140]

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[134]Feuillerat, 121.

[135]The gibbet and little-ease may have been brought from storage and used again although there is no mention of either in the Revels accounts or Machyn's Diary.

[136]Certainly other attendants who had served the Lord during the previous ten days must have also appeared in the parade. These included his Herald, Trumpeter, Orator, Interpreter, Master of the Horse, four Pages of Honor, Almoner, Physician, Apothecary, Astronomer, Poet, Advocate, four Friars, Juggler, Tumbler, two Gentlemen Ushers, two Sergeants at Arms, Messenger, and Cofferer.

[137]See Pl. II, p. 163.

[138]Feuillerat, 107. The accounts had: "a Skaffold . . . and a tilte for him." The latter was a canopy of a cart or stall. (Bethel, 889).

[139]Feuillerat, 107. The accounts had: "x tonne of hogges heades." Since tuns were hogsheads (Bethel, 916), "of" is probably a mistake for "or."

[140]Feuillerat, 281. (From Machyn's Diary). Only six pounds of white counters were bought for the event this year; fewer than 1500 "coins." (Ibid., 108).

Following the ceremony the Lord and his Councilors rode to the home of the Lord Mayor, Sir George Barnes, where they dined; the remainder of his company dined at the homes of various Aldermen and Sheriffs. The Lord was given a silver standing cup by the Mayor, and a hogshead of wine and a barrel of beer set at the Mayor's gate for the Lord's company.[141] After dinner, the Lord paid his respects to the Sheriff in Wood Street, then with his train rode through Old Jewry and Lothbury Streets to the Lord Treasurer's at the Priory of the Austin Friars, where another banquet was held.[142] From the Priory they rode down through Bishopsgate Street, past the Leaden Hall, and through Fenchurch Street to the Tower Wharf. With the Sheriff's Lord still in attendance and providing torch lights, the Lord of Misrule boarded his pinnace,[143] and with a salute of guns and much dancing and singing, took leave of London for the final time.[144]

On December 31, the Privy Council sent a warrant to Cawarden directing him to provide costumes from the storehouse for a "Triumph of Cupid" which was to be presented before the King on Twelfth Night.[145] This had been written by Sir George Howard[146] who was to

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[141] Stow, Survey of London, II, 608-09.

[142] Feuillerat, 281. (From Machyn's Diary).

[143] A light sailing vessel. (Bethel, 641).

[144] Feuillerat, 281. (From Machyn's Diary).

[145] Ibid., 95.

[146] The same gentleman who served Ferrers as Master of the Horse.

provide Cawarden with a drawing of what he had in mind.[147] Thus, in less than six days, the Revels had to prepare properties and costumes for another entertainment.

The chief characters of the Triumph[148] were Venus, the Roman Goddess of Love and Beauty; Mars, the Roman God of War; Cupid, the Roman Boy-God of Love; an "herault cuoeur ardant";[149] and, apparently, the Lord of Misrule and some of his men.[150]

For Venus, the Revels made a triumphal chair[151] over which stood an image of Cupid. Mars' chair was in the form of a dragon with a head and mouth of iron plate "with stoppes to burne like fier," and aqua vitae was used as fuel.[152] Both chairs were trimmed with tennis

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[147]He never did, however. In his letter that followed the warrant he stated that, not being an artist, he could only describe the Triumph, "levenge the hole Device of the thinge to your Desskression." (Ibid., 93).

[148]"An imitation of the Italian Trionfi, with their triumphall chariots full of Greek gods and goddesses." (Welsford, 147).

[149]That is, Messenger of Love?

[150]Another letter (apparently from Howard) regarding the Triumph began: "My lordes persone [,] Chauncellour, Treasorer, Comptroller, Vizchamberlaine [,] my lordes Counsaillours arayed in aparel accustomed [;] The Marshall and his bande [,] Those persones be alredy furnyshed." (Feuillerat, 94). "My lordes persone" was probably the Lord of Misrule, and "Counsaillours" probably his Councilors. "The Marshall and his bande" probably included the Provost Marshall, Under Marshall, and Master of Ordnance. (See p. 155).

[151]Chairs for both Venus and Mars were called "pageants" in the accounts.

[152]Although the "stoppes" may have been jets through which the aqua vitae was burned, they were more likely "stupes"; pieces of tow or flannel dipped in the liquor and used as wicks. (Skeat, 394).

balls and "cimbal" bells.[153]

Venus entered the hall first, preceded by her Herald and Trumpeter, each dressed in gold sarcenet garments and headpieces trimmed with black purled lace and black gold sarcenet. Her chair was borne by four men who also acted as torchbearers. Attending her were two ladies, "Ydelnes and Dalyance," and two fools in white and orange-paned coats of satin guarded with green and yellow satin, and hoods of orange satin. Mars followed, borne in his dragon-like chair by four torchbearers and attended by three gentlemen armed with shields and swords. Mars himself wore armor covered with hair, and carried a shield and bared sword. At this point, the messenger of love, in a short garment and coat armor painted with burning hearts pierced with darts, was probably sent by Venus to Mars with a request to aid her in the rescue of Cupid, who was being held by the Marshall. A "Maske of ladies" rescued Cupid (clad in canvas,hose, a silver doublet with wings of white feathers, carrying a bow and arrows, and blind-folded) while Mars and his men no doubt battled with the Marshall and his band who wore their own armor and carried shields.[154]

Busy as the Revels were with costumes for the Lord of Misrule and the Triumph of Cupid, they also had to prepare three masques which

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[153]Feuillerat, 110.

[154]Much of this action is conjecture. Howard's descriptions were somewhat confused, and the accounts reveal only the costumes and properties made. Although Mars and Venus were once husband and wife, and Cupid the son of Venus by Vulcan, no parallel story involving these three characters can be found.

were presented during the Christmas season.[155] One was a Masque of Covetous Men "with longe noses"[156] for which the Revels made canvas breeches stuffed with hair, caps, and "showes."[157] Torchbearers to the Covetous Men were Baboons[158] who wore black and tawny face-masks of tinsel, "furred heades," and furred gloves on their hands and feet which were probably long enough to cover their arms and legs.

For a Masque of Graziers[159] the Revels made six "corner" caps trimmed with two dozen aiguillettes which resembled mother of pearl. Their torchbearers were Soldiers for whom six masqueing swords were made.

A Masque of "women of Diana hunting" had "matrons" as torchbearers, and their garments were of cloth of silver trimmed with flowers of silk and gold.[160] This may have been the "Maske of

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[155]Because the other activities took precedence in the accounts, very little can be determined of the nature of these masques.

[156]Also called "maske of satires" in the accounts. There were eight masquers and eight torchbearers.

[157]Thirty-two lambskins for these costumes were probably used in the caps which were made by a skinner. The nature or use of eight "fette of pipes" bought at 1s. each and used in this masque is not apparent.

[158]Also called "savage men" in the accounts.

[159]A "maske of pollenders," also mentioned in the accounts, was probably identical to this one; the verb "to poll" meant to clip or shear the hair or horns of animals (Shipley, 518), a task related to grazing.

[160]Nothing else concerning this masque occurred in the accounts.

ladies" involved in the Triumph of Cupid.

Cawarden relied heavily on costumes and properties in the storehouse to outfit the various entertainments this Christmas season; he estimated the value of these garments at over £262.[161] Besides this, the masques cost over £47; the Triumph of Cupid cost the same; and the expenses of the Lord of Misrule were over £342.

The King had not been well for some time, and it was decided, apparently even while the Lord of Misrule was cavorting, that entertainment would be presented on Candlemas (February 2) and during Shrovetide in an effort to raise the spirits of the young boy. The Revels went to work on January 7, but by February the King was considerably worse and Candlemas entertainment was postponed until Shrovetide. Work at the Office continued but Shrovetide entertainment was likewise cancelled, and the Office closed on February 16. Edward's health improved somewhat toward the end of February, and the Revels worked through the entire month of March to prepare five masques and two plays which were presented over Easter and May Day.[165]

The Masque of Greek Worthies involved the six mythological heroes, Hercules, Jason, Perseus, Pirithous, Archilles, and Theseus.[166]

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[161] Feuillerat, 124.

[165] Ibid., 140-41.

[166] They all may have been Argonauts, if any common characteristic was intended. Oskar Seyffert, A Dictionary of Classical Antiquities, ed. Henry Nettleship and J. E. Sandys (2nd ed. rev.; New York: Meridian Books, 1956), p. 62.

MAP OF LONDON - CIRCA 1600[162]

Warwick Inn, Old Office of the Revels . . . . . White

The Blackfriars, Office of the Revels, 1547-1559 . . . . . Black

Stopping Places of the Lord of Misrule,
January 4, 1552[163] . . . . . Red

Route and Stopping Places of the
Lord of Misrule, January 4, 1553[164] . . . . . Green

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[162] Stow, Survey of London, II, Back Cover.

[163] According to Machyn's Diary. (Feuillerat, 276).

[164] According to Machyn's Diary. (Ibid., 281).


THE CITY OF LONDON
showing the Wards and Liberties
as described by Stow
c. 1600
Ward boundaries
Area apparently built upon
Boundaries of Liberties and Extra Parochial
Bunhill Fields
Finsbury Fields
Moor Fields
Holywell Priory [site of]
Holy Well [site of]
The Curtain Theatre
Liberty of Norton Folgate
Spital field (Loleswortn)
Tasel Close (Artillery Yard)
Perillous Pond [site of]
Spring of Dame Annis the clear [site of]
Pardon Churchyard
Charterhouse
The Green
Liberty of Glasshouse Street
Clerkenwell Priory [site of]
Priory of S. John [site of]
Liberty of Ely Place
Garden of Ely Place
Saffron Hill
Holborn Bridge
Fleet Street
Ludgate Hill
Liberty of the Rolls
The Temple
Precinct of Whitefriars
Priory of Austin Friars [site of]
Bethlehem Churchyard
Goodmans Fields
Crosby Place
Nevill House
Great Tower Hill
Scaffold & Gallows
Liberty of the Tower
Precinct of Old Tower
Little Tower Hill
New Abbey (S. Mary Graces) [site of]
Victualling Office
S. Katherines Hospital [site of]
Bread Street
Cordwainer Street
Walbrook
Vintry
Queenhithe
Billingsgate
London Bridge
River Thames
Paris Garden
Old Bear Garden
New Bear Garden (The Hope)
Rose Theatre
The Bear Garden
The Pike Garden
Globe Theatre
Liberty of the Clink
Bridge Ward Without
0 100 200 300 400 500 yards
R.G.S., del.
Emery Walker sc.

These masquers appeared in long garments of white cloth of silver stained with colors which had short sleeves paned with red satin. The garments were trimmed with cloth leaves, and each character was identified by his name "wrytten" on his breast and back. Pouldrons, or shoulder plates,[167] and shinguards on their buskins were made of paste and cement in the form of lion heads which were trimmed with hair and given tongues of red sarcenet. Each headpiece, also in the form of a lion head, covered the head but exposed the masquer's face through the lion's mouth, and was trimmed with spangles and shell-shaped plumes. Each masquer carried a gilded shield and a falchion, the latter with a handle shaped like the neck and head of a griffin. Hercules also carried a great club. Their torchbearers were Satyrs who wore upper garments of changeable taffeta and leg coverings of "oxens legges & counterfette ffeete."[168] They carried gilded halberds.

Probably the most grotesque masque presented over the eleven-year period was the Masque of Deaths, "being medyoxs half man half death." Six masquers appeared in doublets and hose painted(?)[169] like living men in the front and like skeletons in the back. Their head-

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[167] Skeat, 304.

[168] Feuillerat, 133-35. Such costumes suggest figures more like Pan, whose legs and feet were those of a goat (Seyffert, 453), than Satyrs, who were wholly men. (Ibid., 560).

[169] Anthony Toto bought gum arabic, saffron, and other colors at this time, and possibly used them for painting these cloth garment.

pieces, which perhaps covered the entire head, were likewise "doble vizaged," and they carried long spears and shields, each fitted in the center with the head of a dead beast. Their torchbearers were wholly "deaths" dressed in canvas frocks painted like skeletons, and a "tabretter," or drummer, dressed likewise, was engaged to lead the macabre procession.[170]

Certainly the most unusual, and probably quite comical, entertainment was the Masque of Bagpipes. Six large, hollow bagpipes were fashioned of barrel hoops, wickers, osiers, and rods, and covered with canvas. False pipes were fixed on the bags and the pieces then gilded and painted. Six apes were molded of paste and cement, then each covered with a dozen grey conyskins and mounted in a sitting position on top of each bagpipe with the false pipes in its mouth. Four minstrels with loud pipes and two with soft pipes went inside the bagpipes, and by moving about, causing the apes to move, undoubtedly presented a very amusing sight. When the fun was over, the minstrels appeared from the bagpipes in yellow kersey coats, breeches, and hose.[171]

In the Masque of Cats, six masquers appeared, apparently wearing cat-like costumes. Their tails of wicker were covered with thirty dozen catskins[172] and their headpieces trimmed with "amells of

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[170]Feuillerat, 130-33.

[171]Ibid., 130-36.

[172]The accounts had: "great tayles of wycker made for a maske of Cattes all couered over with cattes tayles." (Ibid., 131).

glas and stone holowe counterfett lyk bace stones," and wooden balls and buttons foiled and silvered to resemble pearls.

For the Masque of Tumblers "goinge vpon theyre handes with theyre feete vpward" eight costumes of paste and cement were made, the coverings for the legs and feet resembling sleeves and hands, and vice versa. Headpieces, undoubtedly with painted faces, were also of molded work, and "the tumbler thus attired, his arms made to resemble legs, and his legs like arms, a mask on his breech, by alternately turning his face to and from the spectators, made his real position laughably equivocal."[173]

These entertainments were not "masques" in the strict sense of the word, but pastimes designed to cheer the obviously dying King. They were grotesque and at the same time funny, good examples of the late medieval sense of humor.

William Baldwin's Irish Play of the State of Ireland was to have been presented on Candlemas[174] but, like the masques, had to be postponed until the spring. Most of the costumes were taken from those on hand in the storehouse and are consequently not known, but other pieces which were newly made give a good idea of the dramatis personae. It appears to have been a play of politico-religious nature which included a king (for whom a crown was made of gold paper and buckram), a re-

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[173]Kempe, 88. Such heavy and stiff attire seems, however, particularly cumbersome for tumblers.

[174]Feuillerat, 288.

ligious character (who wore another headpiece of gold paper), a devil (whose apparel was hired), Lady Fame (in a cap and coat painted with eyes, tongues, and ears),[175] and at least two Irishmen (for whom were made a headpiece and gown of Irish frieze, a grey kersey coat lined with cotton and cut with long pleats, a dagger, a halberd, sword, and spear). Wigs and beards were also rented.[176]

John Heywood, Singing-Master at St. Paul's,[177] presented his boys in a play, probably at Eastertime. Twelve coats of lockeram were made for it by the Revels, the only extant detail.[178]

While Northumberland schemed to maintain his dominating influence over a successive ruler,[179] the King's health declined. On July 6, 1553, he died,[180] and by September the Revels were busy again, preparing for the coronation of Mary.

After the fall of Somerset in October, 1551, court entertain-

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[175] See p. 117, n. 26.

[176] Feuillerat, 141-43.

[177] Gassner, 158.

[178] Feuillerat, 142.

[179] It is interesting to note that the Revels were involved in the marriage of Lady Jane Grey to Northumberland's son, Guildford Dudley. On May 20, he wrote to Cawarden requesting the loan of enough garments for a masque of men and a masque of women to be used at their wedding a few days later. (Feuillerat, 306). Undoubtedly Cawarden complied.

[180] Innes, 216. The now-annual airing was conducted between May 31 and June 7 with six tailors and the Officers in attendance. (Feuillerat, 144).

ment became lighter and more colorful. Certainly the revival of the Lord of Misrule was largely responsible for this brighter attitude, but the masques, too, were presented more as gay spectacles than solemn ceremonies. Even classical themes, such as the Triumph of Cupid and the Masque of Greek Worthies, had elements of humor and fantasy. Just who was responsible for this subtle change is not clear. Possibly it was Cawarden who, once Somerset lost his influence, saw his chance to express his own ideas. Possibly it was an imaginative member of the Council in a position superior to Cawarden's. It may have been the King himself, however, who told the Lord Chamberlain his wishes which were passed on to the creative Revels.

CHAPTER XIII

THE YEARS OF MARY: SEPTEMBER, 1553 TO NOVEMBER, 1558

Late in September, 1553, the Office of the Revels opened with eight tailors and the Officers in attendance to prepare two dozen costumes for a play that was to be presented during Mary's coronation on October first. Almost 150 yards of satins and damasks had been sent to the Revels from the Great Wardrobe on Mary's directive, and garments were to be made for Genus Humanum, five Virgins, Reason, Verity, Plenty, Self Love, Care, Scarcity, Deceit, Sickness, Febbleness, Deformity, The Epilogue, The End, The Good Angel, and the Bad Angel.[1] Just before the coronation the play was postponed until Christmas, when it was presented by the Gentlemen of the Chapel, apparently the only entertainment of the season.[2] Shrovetide passed without the Revels being called to work.

Mary was wed to Philip of Spain in July, 1554,[3] and in Novem-

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[1] Feuillerat, 289. The order of the characters, presented here as it was on the warrant, strongly suggests a play on mankind's life.

[2] Ibid., 152-53.

[3] Innes, 225.

ber there began a full season of court masques. On Hallowmas (November 1) a Masque of Mariners was presented with eight masquers in jerkins of purple cloth of gold horizontally striped with green cloth of silver. Their breeches were "party sorted," that is, made with one leg of blue cloth of gold and the other of green cloth of silver. Headpieces of red satin were striped with gold and white cloth of silver, and trimmed with Cologne gold tassels and white feathers. Their torchbearers, also Mariners, appeared in hoods of blue cloth of gold edged with red silk lace, and other garments of red and white sarcenet.[4]

On November 28, at Whitehall, Cardinal Pole proposed that the country should be returned to obedience to the Pope, and on St. Andrew's Day (November 30) England was officially reconciled to the Church of Rome after twenty-five years of broken relations.[5] That night a Masque of Hercules "or men of war comynge from the sea" was presented at Whitehall. Actually prepared to celebrate the end of Michaelmas Term on November 28,[6] the costumes were partially made up of pieces that had been used in the Masque of Greek Worthies nearly two years before. Six masquers appeared in breast- and back-plate armor molded of paste and cement in the form of lion heads. Pouldrons, also with lion heads, covered their shoulders, and on their heads they wore morion helmets

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[4]Feuillerat, 180.

[5]Ibid., 292.

[6]Ibid., 163.

of paste and cement, each surmounted with a griffin head and the figure of Cerberus, the three-headed dog of Hades.[7] They carried shields of oak, great "double" halberds,[8] and wooden falchions, all of which were gilded with gold and silver. Their torchbearers appeared as Mariners in blue and white sarcenet slops with girdles and neck-pieces of yellow and green sarcenet.[9]

In mid-December, Queen Mary sent a warrant to Cawarden advising him to prepare to furnish Nicholas Udall with "soche apperell for his Auctors as he shall thinke necessarye,"[10] and although the Christmas paybook alluded to the charges of "plaies set owte by vdall with alteracion of garmentes for his Actours from time to tyme," no specific garments were mentioned.[11]

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[7]Seyffert, 125.

[8]These were probably partizans. See Pl. VI, Fig. 5, p.

[9]Feuillerat, 164 and 169.

[10]Ibid., 159. She spoke of Udall as "our welbelovid Nicholas vdall [who] haith at sondry seasons convenient hertofore shewid and myndeth herafter to shewe his diligence in settinge forthe of dialogwes and Entreludes before vs for our Regall disport and recreacion." (Ibid.).

[11]Possibly Udall was responsible for the revival of the traditional Boy Bishop, who appeared sometime during Mary's reign; in 1554 at the earliest. A Hugh Rhodes wrote the poem, "The Song of the Chyldbysshop [which was] songe before the queenes maiestie in her privie chamber at her manour of saynt James in the Feelde on saynt Nicholas day [December 6] and Innocents day [December 28] this yeare nowe present, by the chylde bysshope of Paules Churche with his company." (Ibid., 292).

At Christmastide two masques were given: the Masque of Patrons of Galleys "like venetian Senatours,"[12] and the Masque of Venuses "or amorous ladies." The eight masquers of the first were attired in long, straight gowns of plain raised cloth of gold and cloth of silver which buttoned in front through loops of red tinsel, and had long, hanging sleeves trimmed with red velvet. They wore caps of gold cloth of tissue and red velvet, and buskins of red baldachin; their girdles and neckpieces were of red sarcenet. They carried daggers of wood and molded work, the handles of which were gilt. Six Galley Slaves, torchbearers to the Patrons, wore loose coats of blue cloth of gold with straight, wide, hanging sleeves of black and white cloth of gold. Their headpieces were of blue and red satin tufted with yellow sarcenet, lined with buckram, and trimmed with yellow and black feathers. Buskins were of several colors, and the Slaves were shackled and chained together with fetters of gold-painted wicker.[13]

The Masque of Venuses was one of rather pastoral nature which involved six Venuses, six Nymphs as torchbearers,[14] and six

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[12] Patron de Gallee was used in a general sense in reference to any superior person, but specifically, and perhaps here, it meant the captain of a long, low, single-decked vessel propelled by both oars and sails. (Halliwell-Phillipps, 608).

[13] Feuillerat, 166-69 and 181-83.

[14] In the paybook they were called simply torchbearers to the Venuses, but in the Inventory of 1555, six costumes for "Mymphes" followed directly the costumes for the Venuses. (Ibid., 186). In the Inventory the Nymphs' headpieces were of wicker trimmed with silk flowers, while in the paybook the torchbearers' headpieces were made by a basket-

Cupids. The masquers wore bodices and skirts of red cloth of gold trimmed with wide borders of crimson satin which were embroidered with cloth of gold. Crimson satin sleeves were paned with white sarcenet, and the undersleeves were of white cloth of silver and purple velvet. Their headpieces, made on wicker bases, were of purple and gold sarcenet, and were trimmed with gold-covered wire, silk flowers, needlework, pearls of silver- and gold-covered wood, and tassels of Cologne gold and Cologne silver; crowning the headpieces were whole lion heads molded of paste and cement. Their girdles and neckpieces were of white sarcenet, and their visors were trimmed with hair, spangles, and netting.

The Nymphs' costumes were equally elaborate. Their bodices, of black cloth of gold, were paned, or pulled out, with flat white-gold sarcenet, lined with buckram, and trimmed with ruffs which were also of black cloth of gold. Their foresleeves, of green cloth of gold, were pulled out with white sarcenet and "pointed" with yellow sarcenet. The skirts were of yellow cloth of gold fringed with blue silk and tufted with white sarcenet, with a broad border of cloth of gold embroidered on crimson satin with threads of gold and silver. Over these garments they wore capes and shorter skirts of white cloth of silver trimmed with little wreaths of blue and yellow sarcenet. Their headpieces were of wicker covered with orange-gold lawn and trimmed with flowers of silk,

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maker, and flowers of silk were bought for their trimming. (Ibid., 168-69). Almost certainly the two were identical.

spangles, and green satin. Like those of the Venuses, their girdles and neckpieces were of white sarcenet, and their visors were trimmed with hair, spangles, and netting. They carried fruit baskets of wicker.[15]

The Cupids in this masque were dressed in shirts and girdles of white sarcenet, and wore wings made of colored feathers. They carried quivers, each holding three arrows, and gilt bows, the strings of which were made of twisted silk lace. These were fitted with "arrowes fastened in them and goinge thwrowe the bowes with a clapp." This device consisted of an arrow with a shoulder cut midway on the shaft, held to the bowstring, and passing through a hole in the center of the bow. When pulled back and released, the arrow was stopped by the shoulder and produced a snapping noise.[16]

During Shrovetide, 1555, two more masques of great splendor and cost were presented. The Masque of Turkish Magistrates included eight masquers in long, straight gowns of red cloth of gold with roses and scallop shells "stripped downe," and trimmed with wide borders of red dornix embroidered with cloth of gold and silver thread, and edged with black silk lace. These were lined with red buckram, and long sleeves, also of red buckram, were "buttoned" with pinked purple velvet striped with silver thread. Cloth of gold undersleeves were figured with red, white, and green velvet. The Magistrates wore headpieces made of

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[15] Ibid., 166-69 and 185-86.

[16] Douce, II, 470. This device, primarily used for keeping time in the morris dance, may have been used the same way in this masque. (Ibid.).

ash hoops covered with white sarcenet which were topped and wreathed with red-gold sarcenet and trimmed with tassels of Cologne gold. Their n eck cloths were of red sarcenet, and their girdles, of the same material, had "depe & large hanginges." Their buskins were of blue cloth of gold "churche woorke." The masquers carried wooden falchions, the handles and scabbards of which were molded of paste and cement. The scabbards were covered with green velvet and studded with copper ornaments.[17]

Turkish Archers served the Magistrates as torchbearers, and wore crimson satin gowns rayed with gold thread which buttoned over loops of cloth of silver. The gowns were lined with red buckram and had collars of orange cloth of silver which were turned down. Long, red satin sleeves were paned, and trimmed with cloth of gold embroidered onto orange satin. The undersleeves were of red damask paned with white baldachin. Like the masquers, their headpieces were of white sarcenet over ash hoops, but were decorated with pointed wooden tops covered with blue-gold sarcenet, and were trimmed with small tassels of Cologne gold. Their buskins were of crimson satin, and they carried wooden falchions with handles carved with men's heads and scabbards trimmed with imitation gold. They also carried bows and quivers of arrows trimmed with foil and imitation gold and silver.[18]

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[17] Feuillerat, 173-75 and 181.

[18] Ibid., 174 and 182.

The Masque of Goddess-Huntresses was also presented during Shrovetide. Eight masquers wore bodices of red tinsel and purple cloth of silver cut in scallops with ruffed collars lined with yellow buckram and cotton. Under short skirts of red cloth of silver were longer skirts of black and tawny tinsel trimmed with wide borders of red cloth of gold embroidered on red satin with silver thread. Their sleeves were also of black and tawny tinsel. Their headpieces of red-gold sarcenet were trimmed with spangles, imitation pearls, tufts, and wreaths of red, white, and black-gold sarcenet, and were crowned with gilded lion heads with tongues of lawn. They wore white sarcenet girdles and neckpieces, and visors trimmed with spangles, pearls, hair, and colored silk knots. They carried silver bows with strings of twisted silk lace, and gilded triangular quivers, each holding five blue and gold arrows.[19]

Their torchbearers were costumed as Turkish Women in bodices of cloth of silver stained with drops of gold and tufted with yellow sarcenet. Their sleeves and skirts, of blue cloth of gold, were trimmed with wide borders of cloth of gold embroidered on crimson satin. Their headpieces were high, conical copintanks[20] of felt covered with silver lawn and trimmed with spangles and tufts of black-gold sarcenet; the fronts were "turned vp" with blue satin, fringed with Cologne silver, and

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[19] Ibid., 173-75 and 185.

[20] See Chap. XIV, p. 200.

tufted with yellow sarcenet. Small tassels of Cologne silver and long pieces of colored lawn were "flamynge" from the tops. Their visors were trimmed like those of the masquers and their girdles and neck-pieces were also of white sarcenet. They carried gilded wooden darts.[21]

Such ornate and frothy spectacles were obviously those of a feminine court. Except for minor details the costumes seem to have changed only in material and color, and the masques only in name. They were neither instructional nor humorous like those of Edward's time, but purely visual delights for genteel and gracious courtiers.

On March 9, 1555, Cawarden received a letter from the Lord Chamberlain, Sir John Gage, directing him to prepare his paybooks for audit and the costumes for an inventory to be taken by Gage himself, Sir Robert Rochester (Comptroller of the Household),[22] Sir Francis Englefield (Master of the Court of Wards and Liveries),[23] and others of the Privy Council.[24] Cawarden, together with the other Officers and seven tailors, immediately began an airing which lasted ten days. On the eleventh of March the books were audited, and on the twenty-sixth the inventory was completed. The recorded inventory included Masques of Men, Masques of Women, Coverings of Bards and Baces, and Hang-

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[21] Feuillerat, 185-86.

[22] Ibid., 293.

[23] Stephen and Lee, VI, 790-92.

[24] Feuillerat, 178.

ings which had been taken from the temporary banqueting houses of Henry VIII. The masqueing garments, with one exception,[25] were the complete costumes for each of the masques presented during the previous five months, as well as six complete costumes for Irish Kerns, "Albonyes" Warriers, Turkish Commoners, Palmers, and Falconers.[26]

Garments of crimson cloth of gold fringed with green silk had been made for the Irish Kerns,[27] as well as yellow sarcenet shirts fringed with white and green caddis fringe, headpieces of yellow cloth of gold fringed and tufted with Cologne gold, buskins of carnation canvas, and wooden swords and darts painted gold.[28]

The "Albonyes" Warriers[29] had worn straight gowns of cloth of

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[25]Costumes for the Masque of Hercules were not included, but those for the Masque of Greek Worthies were. (Ibid., 181).

[26]Ibid., 180-89.

[27]The Irish Kern was "a kinde of footeman, sleightly armed with a sworde, a targett of woode, or a bow and sheafe of arrows with barbed heads, or els 3 dartes, which they cast with wonderfull facillity and nearness." (Shakespeare, Macbeth, 90).

Feuillerat believed these costumes may have been used during Christmas, 1550, or Shrovetide, 1551, for players rather than masquers. (Ibid., 295). See pp. 125-127, above.

[28]Ibid., 183.

[29]Feuillerat suggested (315), incorrectly I believe, that the "Albonyes" Warriers were men of Jacques D'Albon de Saint-Andre, Marechal de France, who visited King Edward in July, 1551. They were more likely soldiers or chieftans of Scotland, anciently called Albany or Albainn. (Walter Miller, ed. Standard American Encyclopedia [Chicago: Consolidated Book Publishers, 1941], Vol. I. n. p.). Still other possibilities include soldiers of Albania, or of Albion, an ancient name for Britain. (Ibid.).

gold and blue velvet raised with roses of gold. Their straight, hanging sleeves of the same material covered undersleeves of cloth of silver and purple velvet; capes which matched these undersleeves were lined with blue cloth of silver. Their headpieces of red-gold sarcenet were trimmed with green paper oak leaves and small tassels of Cologne gold. Blue satin buskins, and broad, silver-handled daggers of wood completed their costumes.[30]

The Turkish Commoners, torchbearers to a Masque of Venetians,[31] had been outfitted with plain gowns of crimson cloth of gold upon which the word "LOYAL" was sewn in blue velvet. Hanging sleeves, also of crimson cloth of gold, were edged with black lace and "buttered" (buttoned?) with brocaded black tinsel, which was also used for the undersleeves and for "turning down" the capes. Headpieces of yellow tinsel were decorated with round rolls of red, white, and yellow sarcenet in front, and red sarcenet knots at the tops.[32]

For six Palmers, the Revels had made jerkins of changeable taffeta with sleeves and skirts trimmed with gold and green silk oak leaves "wyndinge lyke a wrethe" and embroidered on red silk. Long, straight slops of cloth of gold, and felt headpieces covered and lined

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[30] Feuillerat, 182.

[31] They were neither torchbearers to the Patrons of Galleys ("like venetian Senatours"), who were Galley Slaves, nor to the Turkish Magistrates, whose torchbearers were Turkish Archers. Cf. costume descriptions, pp. 172, and 175, above.

[32] Ibid., 184.

with red sarcenet, edged with green and white sarcenet wreaths, and banded with yellow sarcenet had also been made. Palmers' staves accompanied the costumes.[33]

The Falconers had worn blue coats of cloth of tissue with turned-down collars, and skirts trimmed with wide crimson satin borders on which cloth of gold was embroidered in a checkered pattern with silver thread. The hanging sleeves were of crimson satin and the undersleeves were of red tinsel and yellow cloth of gold. Felt headpieces had also been made which were covered with changeable sarcenet and trimmed with fringe and Cologne silver. White bustian falconers' bags, and silk and gold lures completed their ensembles.[34]

Despite the airing which had been conducted in March, the usual spring airing was held again in late June, 1555.[35] In attendance for the ten days were the Officers and seven tailors, at the new rate of 12d. per day which had been instituted in February.

King Philip left England in August, 1555, not to return until more than eighteen months had passed.[36] Court entertainment continued to be favored by Mary, however, and during Christmas, 1555, the

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[33]Ibid.

[34]Ibid., 183-84. That all of these masqueing costumes were complete and in the style of others made during the previous five months suggests that they had been made for masques which were never presented.

[35]Ibid., 195-96.

[36]Innes, 238.

Officers, seven tailors, four propertymakers, three painters, a turner, and a buskinmaker worked for almost a month preparing costumes and properties for masques and plays at a total cost of over forty-five pounds.[37] But, for some reason, details of the entertainments were no longer recorded in the accounts.[38] Names of the workmen were entered, as were dates of the work periods and the costs, but (with a few exceptions) nothing else.[39]

The Revels continued to work through January and February, 1556, preparing entertainment for Candlemas and Shrovetide,[40] and in June the annual airing was conducted. The following Christmas, masques and plays were presented including, apparently, a comedy by William Baldwin.[41] The Office remained open again through January and half of February, 1557, although no entertainment seems to have been presented.[42]

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[37] Feuillerat, 199-200.

[38] This may have been the fault of the scribe who, around 1560, made copies of the accounts; lacking the originals, Feuillerat used these copies. See p. 5, above.

[39] For periods of activity and comparative costs of entertainments from Christmas, 1555, to Shrovetide, 1558, see Table I (p. 44), and Table II (p. 71), respectively.

[40] Ibid., 203-11. The Office was active for seventy-six consecutive days; from December 11, 1555 through February 24, 1556.

[41] See App. VI, p. 236.

[42] The total expenses approximately balanced the wages of the Officers and tailors hired during this period. (Feuillerat, 221-24).

On March 18, 1557, King Philip returned to England for what was to be his last visit.[43] The Revels began work on April 9 preparing a "Greate Maske of Allmaynes pylgryms and Irysshmen" which was given at Whitehall on St. Mark's Day (April 25).[44] Cawarden, having used all of the uncut material left to the Revels by Henry VIII, and apparently now on a strict budget, advised the Vice Chamberlain, Sir Henry Jerningham,[45] that he could not prepare a new masque to equal those which King Philip had probably seen on the continent. Jerningham took the matter to the Queen, and more than 160 yards of sarcenets and velvets were promptly delivered to the Blackfriars for his use from the Great Wardrobe in Westminster.[46] Even with this dole the Revels had to repair used hose and visors, and because of lack of time were forced to rent six masqueing costumes.[47]

In June the airing was conducted. Masques and plays were presented during Christmas, 1557, but again there seems to have been no entertainment at Candlemas and Shrovetide, although tailors and propertymakers were hired and the Officers were in attendance every day

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[43] Ibid., 303.

[44] Ibid., 225.

[45] Ibid., 304.

[46] Ibid., 245 and 302. The cost of this "great" masque was only a little more than forty-two pounds.

[47] Ibid., 227. These garments were altered for Pilgrims, an indication that the Palmers' costumes in the Inventory of 1555 had been used.

from December 11 until March 4, 1558.[48] The final airing of Mary's reign was held in early June.[49] In mid-November she died,[50] and was followed in August, 1559, by Thomas Cawarden.[51]

The masques of her reign restored to the court the pomp and splendor which had been known under Henry VIII, and which was to be seen in future years under Elizabeth the First. Despite an increasing national debt and a country-wide pall of despair, court entertainment went on, probably as much for diversion from troubles as for a semblance of prosperity. The Office of the Revels was maintained by at least two large gifts of cloth from the Great Wardrobe, the refurbishing and reuse of old garments, and probably by forced adherence to a smaller budget. But a new age was at hand, an age which saw a new ruler, a new Master of the Revels, and the emergence of the court masque as a principal element of sixteenth century drama.

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[48] Ibid., 235-40.

[49] Ibid., 241-42.

[50] Innes, 243.

[51] Chambers, Tudor Revels, 18.

CHAPTER XIV

THE WORK OF THE REVELS

With the exception of a few special items, most of the costumes made by the Revels throughout this period were very similar to the fashionable dress of the times. Some degree of historical accuracy was achieved in costumes and properties made for masques with classical themes, but even these garments seem to have generally followed sixteenth-century patterns. By studying contemporary fashions, the mid-century court masque can be better imagined.

The doublet was the basic upper garment of both men and women at this time. It was a close-fitting vest with points at the waist for attaching hose or skirts, and points around the armholes to which matching sleeves were tied although sleeves were sometimes sewn directly to the doublet. Wings at the armholes hid the points. During the years of Henry VIII, doublets were straight-bodied and long-skirted, and were fastened up the front to the top of the collar with buttons or hooks and eyes. From the forties the doublet was slashed or pinked, braided or embroidered, and lace-trimmed. Hose which often accompanied the doublet was usually

made of the same material,[1] and it was in this form that they were usually found in the accounts. Many were included in the inventory of April, 1547, of cloth of gold; later they were made of damask and canvas.[2]

The jerkin, also, was a common article of dress among the middle class and would be called a short coat or jacket today. Usually it had a collar and attached sleeves and was worn over the doublet or without it. Buff jerkins, worn by military men, were very plain, and those worn by nobility were, of course, very rich.[3] Like doublets, jerkins could be embroidered, trimmed with lace, pinked, or paned.[4] Several very elaborate jerkins were in the inventory of May, 1547, but most of those made thereafter were plainer, being for tumblers, for the Lord of Misrule's yeomen, for mariners (made with hoods), and for harquebusiers (painted like armor).[5]

Shirts were more undergarments than outer. Linthicum described them as "with high necks and long sleeves, made of linen and silk . . . and about a yard long."[6] They were mentioned just twice in

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[1] Linthicum, 197-99.

[2] In Pl. III, p. 186, the center figure wears a doublet with a pattern of slits, the upper left figure wears a short doublet with wings at the armholes, the upper right figure is wearing a long doublet with pleats and puffed sleeves.

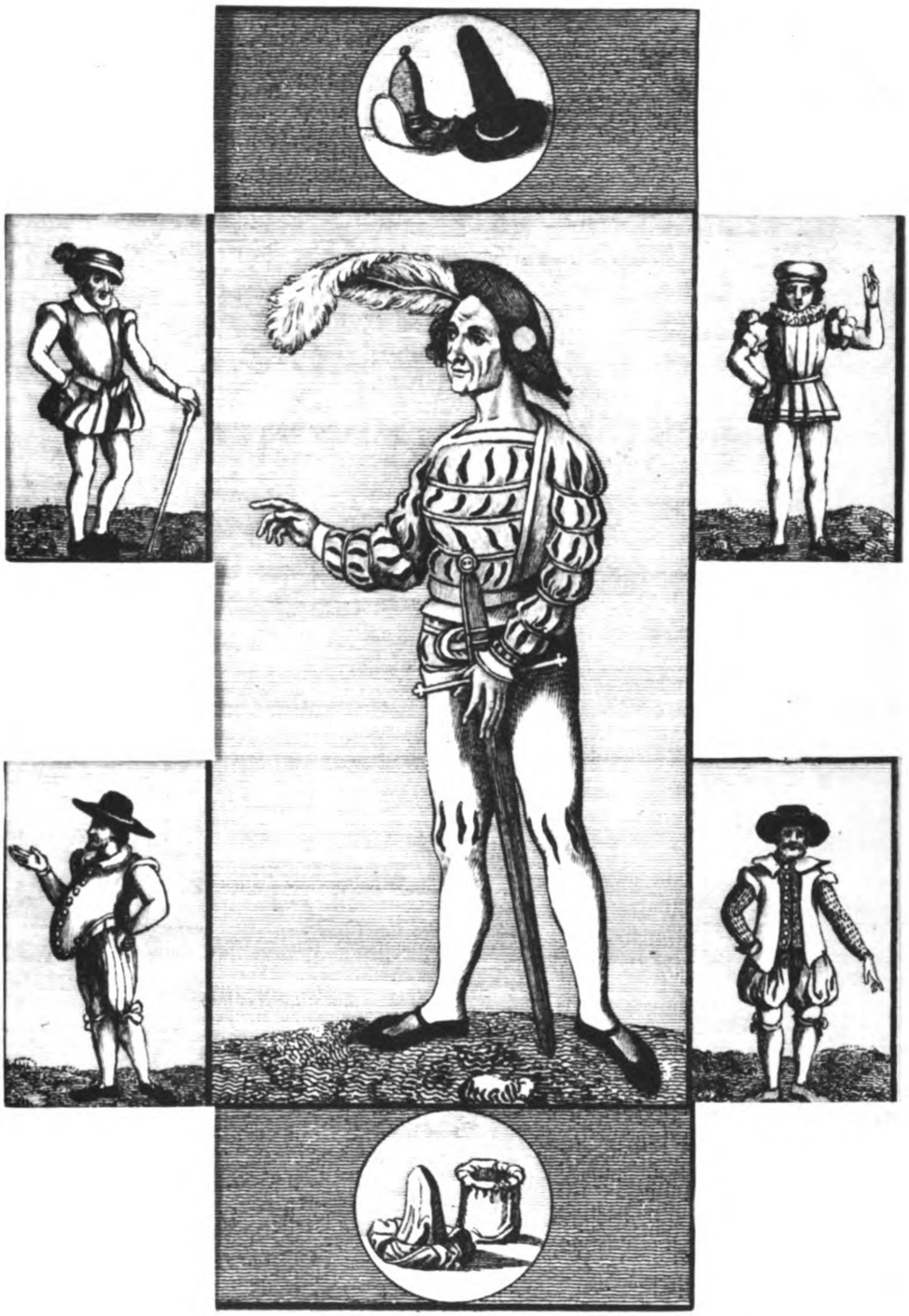
[3] Strutt, 353.

[4] Linthicum, 202.

[5] The lower right figure in Pl. III is wearing a sleeveless jerkin with a wide collar.

[6] Linthicum, 213.

PLATE III



MALE DRESS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

the accounts; one of cambric was in the inventory of May, 1547, and six were made of sarcenet for Cupids in a masque.

Sleeves, as has been mentioned, were very often separate parts of dress, and many were found in the early inventories as parts to kirtles, gowns, frocks, jerkins, and cassocks. There were several styles and fashions including: wide, long, "hangyng & Cutt," "paned vpon with clothe of golde," trunked to the coat, guarded horizontally, hanging by, "with workes Cutt & drawen with Sarcenet," "sewed Rounde with labelles," and "great wyde sleves opyn." An example of a common fashion at the time is found in those made for short garments: "longe Small Sleves hanging & wyde greate under Sleves or Ruffes." These double sleeves were often worn; one under or fore sleeve from the shoulder to the wrist, and an outer sleeve from the shoulder to the elbow, generally hanging down.[7] Also in the inventory were seven pairs of sleeves "wyng fasshion of Blewe Satten lyned with whyte Sarcenet powderyd." These were probably large bell-shaped sleeves in which the lining was visible.

In the sixteenth century, the term, skirt, was used in reference to the lower part of any garment; although clothing which fastened at, and hung from the waist was called the skirt, it was part of an ensemble, not a separate piece of clothing. The term was used several times in the accounts to signify a garment's extremities, but two instances occurred

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[7] Ibid., 171.

of women's garments with skirts of material different from that of the garment proper. With "Italyon" gowns were skirts or "the nether Basse . . . of purple vellet vpon Syluer." Other garments for women were made with "thupper skyrtes of Crymsyn clothe of golde with workes."

Smocks, also for women, were simple shirt-like garments, usually worn next to the skin as underwear.[8] Among the poorer classes, however, the smock was equivalent to an "everyday" dress. It is significant that on the three occasions when smocks were made by the Revels they were for Irishwomen, were yellow, and of sarcenet and buckram; obviously they were degrading garments, thought of as typical of the lowest class people. A smock required six yards of material.

The sixteenth-century kirtle worn by women was a proper outside dress although a gown or cloak was usually worn over it. It consisted of a bodice with a front and back part (tied or laced together at the shoulders and ribs), an accompanying skirt, and detachable sleeves.[9] Although the Revels apparently made no kirtles, several were included in the April, 1547, inventory as "Maskyng Garmentes for women"; most appeared again in the inventory of 1555. They were very elaborate, as the description of one will show:

One kyrtell conteyning fore parte & backe parte of blewe

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[8]Ibid., 189-91.

[9]Ibid., 185-86.

> velvett stryped with golde freenge with silke and lyned with sarcenett with one payere of foresleves of crymesen Satten rewed and Raysed with gowlde.[10]

Gowns, coats, capes, and robes were all basically the same: elaborately trimmed, indoor-outdoor garments, usually with attached sleeves, open in front, and equivalent to (and just as varied as) the modern top-coat. These were the most frequent products of the Revels tailors, along with matching headpieces, and it is almost certain that the masquers supplied their own undergarments, shirts, and petticoats to accompany these coats when it was possible.

Linthicum described the gown as a long garment, open in front, somewhat resembling the modern top-coat. It was worn over most other garments, but often under the cloak. Sixteenth-century gowns, which required six to twelve yards of material in addition to linings, were very expensive; not only were they made of costly cloths, but were guarded, embroidered, trimmed with lace, jagged, and pinked. The chief fashions were the Dutch, a round gown without a train; the Flanders, which had a fitted bodice and stiff collar; the Italian, usually trainless, which had double bodices, of which the outer was slashed; and the much-admired French, which had full skirts, wings at the armholes with hanging sleeves, and was much welted or pinked.[11] In the Revels accounts were gowns for young boys, priests, Irishmen, the Lord

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[10] Feuillerat, 187.

[11] Linthicum, 182-83.

of Misrule and his Councilors, and Italian gowns for women. Sleeves were made long, wide, ruffed, cut and drawn, and with undersleeves. Many costly fabrics were used, and a cape almost always accompanied a gown. They were not, however, a common garment of the Revels.

Strutt best described the coats of the day, those in the wardrobe of Henry VIII:

> Long coats, demi-coats, short coats, riding coats, coats with bases or skirts, stalking coats, tenice coats, and coats of leather. These were sometimes lined, faced with fur, and other ways ornamented, in a vast variety of fashions. Sometimes also they had straight sleeves; sometimes large loose sleeves, generally of a different consistency from the bodies; and sometimes they had no sleeves at all.[12]

Such could describe the coats made by the Revels. They were long, short, large, and great. They were made for soldiers, and in 1551 and 1552 for the Lord of Misrule's Messenger, Herald, Trumpeter, Interpreter, Jugglers, Fools, Marshals, and Hunters. Coats were made of dornix, damask, canvas, velvet, satin, taffeta, baldachin, cloth of gold, sarcenet, kersey, and lockeram. Frequently they were lined, either with cheap buckram or cotton which would not be seen, or sarcenet or lawn, probably visible. Undersleeves were often made with the coat, of the same material in a different color. The outer sleeves, when recorded, were described as trunked to the coat, ruffed, wide, open, long, or great. Occasionally the coat itself was described: with great compass quarters, with great ruffs, with great and long pleats, ruffed in the waist,

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[12]Strutt, 354.

paned, and "sewed Rounde with labelles aboutes the skyrts of Red Tylsent hanging on of Buttons & tasselles." Almost always they were trimmed in some manner; guarded, embroidered, figured, tufted, fringed, or painted. Very often matching caps or hats were made of the same material; hoods were always made with coats for fools. The amount of material required varied between four and nine yards.

Occasionally the Revels made cassocks: loose, wide-sleeved coats of knee or thigh length.[13] These were elaborately trimmed and used by both men and women, particularly by attendants to the Lord of Misrule in 1552. Frocks were similar. Originally clerical garments,[14] they were made of silk for William Somers, the Fool, and of canvas for torchbearers.

Costumes simply called "garments" were entered many times in the accounts and their similarity to coats places them in this category. Here follows one particularly complete description of twelve garments in the inventory of April, 1547, rewritten in modern English with punctuation for clarity.

> Twelve long garments of plain cloth of silver with great wide sleeves; the backs and breasts scaled over with black velvet; the collars, outer and under skirts, and undersleeves of cloth of gold paned vertically with crimson satin; the under skirts and undersleeves lined with white sarcenet; the middle skirts and labels over the shoulders of plain cloth of silver and black velvet guarded vertically with small guards of cloth of gold; the outer skirts guarded with cloth of silver set between

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[13] Linthicum, 195-96.

[14] Strutt, 373.

> the cloth of gold and the crimson satin; eight pairs of the sleeves lined with black-gold sarcenet, and four pairs lined with changeable sarcenet; all edges fringed with Cologne gold and Cologne silver fringe.[15]

Capes, mantles, and cloaks were synonymous terms for sleeveless shawls worn over the shoulders and tied at the neck. They were different in length, however; mantles covered only the shoulders, capes came to the waist, and cloaks fell to any length below the waist. Although the Revels occasionally made these garments, most were found in the inventories of 1547, where they were called "large Coopes or mantelles" or "clokes and skalpers," They were of cloth of silver, satin, sarcenet, taffeta, baldachin, tissue, and buckram (used in linings). They were described as sharp, great, loose, lined, compass (round), paned, furred, powdered, fringed, and guarded; they served as companion pieces to many garments including gowns, cassocks, frocks, jerkins, smocks, and even cloaks.

The term, robe, was generally reserved for the gown or coat worn by nobility or royalty as official insignia.[16] Eight, made with powdered linings in 1547, were probably for the Masque of Young Moors, in which King Edward took part. Several with wide sleeves were made for the Lord of Misrule's Councilors in 1552, and three, for the Lord himself, were particularly rich. The first required nine yards of white baldachin and was trimmed with fourteen yards of embroidered cloth of gold.

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[15]Feuillerat, 10.

[16]Linthicum, 213.

The second was of red baldachin trimmed with fur and a large embroidered guard of purple and silver thread. The third was of "wrought puple furred vellet" with a powdered ermine lining, and a coat, hat, and mantle were part of the ensemble.

Much confusion often exists in the nomenclature of sixteenth-century hose. Hose, or hosen (the terms were synonymous), consisted of two parts: upper stocks (also called trunk hose, trunks, or breeches), which covered the body from the waist to above the knee, and lower stocks (also called long hose, stocks, stockings, or nether stocks), which covered the foot and leg to above the knee.[17]

During the reigns of Edward and Mary two varieties of upper stocks were popular; breeches, which were paned and puffed out like pumpkins to a mid-thigh length, and slops, a slightly longer kind which were wide, bagging, and only sometimes paned.[18]

Long hose and nether stocks were made of several materials by the Revels including satin, taffeta, baldachin, linen, canvas, kersey, and once, black goatskins. Hose may have been worn without other foot-

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[17] Ibid., 204.

[18] Ibid., 209. A third variety, the form-fitting "devil's breeches," were comparable to modern tights, and were worn with a thigh-length doublet. (Ibid., 204).

In Pl. III, p. 186, the upper left figure is wearing paned breeches and long hose, the lower right figure is wearing unpaned breeches, the lower left figure is wearing unpaned slops, and the center and upper right figures are both wearing devil's breeches or long hose.

wear by the masquers, for there was an instance of "newe solinge" eight pairs of hose.

Slops were much more often worn by masquers than were breeches; over one hundred and sixty individual pairs appeared in the accounts as against only thirty-eight pairs of breeches. Slops were short, or large, and were made of sarcenet, satin, silk, taffeta, cloth of gold, cloth of silver, and kersey. Occasionally they were paned, guarded, or otherwise trimmed, and cost between 6d. and 3s. 4d. a pair to make.

Although fewer breeches were made, they were better described, ans somewhat better made. They were of the same materials as slops but were frequently lined and almost always paned and elaborately trimmed. Eight pairs made for the Masque of Covetous Men were of canvas stuffed with hair and quilted.

Buskins were the primary footwear of the masquers. Almost two hundred pairs of these soft, calf-length boots[19] were made or used by the Revels during this period. Frequently they were soled with thin leather, and the uppers were made of satin, damask, dornix, baldachin, velvet, and lockeram, a pair requiring one and a half yards of material. Buskinmakers generally charged 12d. a pair for their making and included the cost of the soles in the price. Occasionally they were trimmed with sheepskin or fur, and at one time with lions' heads which had been

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[19]Linthicum, 247.

molded and covered with fur.

Other footwear was used at various times. For the activities of the Lord of Misrule in 1552, the Revels bought eight pairs of pattens, elevated overshoes of wood designed to keep the wearer above the wet and dirty streets.[20] Almost certainly these were used by the Lord of Misrule's Councilors, for at about the same time, one pair of "pantacles" (that is, pantofles) were bought, probably for the Lord himself. These, too, were for outdoor wear, but were fancier and costlier; they resembled modern mules, and were worn over other footwear. This particular pair, which cost 3s. 4d., were of Bruges satin and probably were worn over the Lord's rich baldachin and velvet buskins when he visited London.

Two pairs of slippers were recorded in the accounts. They were of crimson satin and were worn by women in Italian gowns. Shoes were purchased a few times, at from 15d. to 2s. the pair; in one instance they were of gold baldachin, and in another, of tissue.

The most common neckwear used in the costumes was the partlet, an elaborate covering for the upper chest and neck sometimes worn with matching sleeves by both men and women.[21] Several were in the inventories of 1547, made, trimmed, and lined with sarcenet, satin, velvet, lawn, and silk, and ornamented with embroidery, stolework,

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[20] Ibid., 257-58.

[21] Ibid., 162-63.

Venice gold and silver, knots of pearls, and rich guards. Some had collars and others, sleeves. Neckerchers (neckerchiefs?) were apparently very similar; two in the same inventories were of white silk lace with collars of Venice gold and pearls, and trimmed with clasps of gold and little garnets. For four masques in the 1554-55 season, articles of dress called simply neck coverings and neck pieces were made, each of them of sarcenet. Collars of different material or color were made for many costumes, and were high, quilted, turned down, and guarded. Ruffs, just coming into use as neckwear during Edward's reign,[22] were apparently never used in this manner by the Revels, although they sometimes appeared on sleeves of coats and gowns.

Gloves were a necessary part of every masqueing habit just as they were for street dress. Well over two hundred and fifty pairs were bought by the Revels and worn by the masquers, torchbearers, musicians, and the "mynisters that attyre and make them redye." Several times they were specially-made for specific purposes; those of black goatskin for Moors have already been mentioned. Most of the time they were purchased from milliners, however. Ten and a half dozen pairs of plain gloves, probably white, were bought at different times at from 3d. to 6d. a pair. A total of eight and a half dozen pairs of "Spanish" gloves cost between 6d. and 8d. a pair on three occasions, and eighteen pairs of "melane" (that is, Milan) gloves, bought once, cost a shilling a pair.

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[22] Ibid., 158.

No gloves were listed in the inventories nor were any ever repaired; probably they were kept by the masquers as souvenirs--gloves were one part of the costume which could be worn on the street.

The girdle was a fitted belt fastened in front, used by women to confine their garments at the waist, and by men to support the sword hanger.[23] As part of the masqueing costume they were probably just decorative sashes. Those made by the Revels were almost always of sarcenet, although some in the early inventories were of velvet, lawn, and cloth of gold over rope. Less than half a yard of material was required for their making.

With several of the doublets listed in the April, 1547, inventory were placards. Originally the placard was a plate of armor covering the abdomen,[24] but by this time it had become merely an ornamental covering for the area of the stomach and was worn by both sexes.

According to Machyn's account of the Lord of Misrule's ride through London in 1552, his yeomen wore "balderykes a bowt ther nekes whytt & blue sarsenetes & chynes of gold."[25] These baldrics, or shoulder sashes, were not entered in the Revels accounts, and though the colors of one of the liveries were white and blue, the material was kersey, not sarcenet. During the same season, the Lord's hunting cos-

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[23] Ibid., 265.

[24] Planche, 202.

[25] Feuillerat, 281.

tume included a horn hung from his shoulder with a green silk baldric.

The headdress was the most important part of a masquer's ensemble. To the Revels, it was a challenge to their ingenuity, and to the spectators, it was a clue to the nature of the masque, or the masquer.

Although headdress was described only in the most general terms throughout the accounts, several types appeared which may be classified as caps, hats, hoods, helmets, crowns, hair nets, and headpieces; the last embracing those fantastic creations which could not have been worn seriously in real life.

Caps were as they are today, close-fitting head-coverings of soft material, with or without a small base or inside band, and lined only when the lining would show. Satin was by far the most common material for caps, but velvet, damask, tinsel, tissue, taffeta, dornix, and silk were also used. Sarcenet was often used for tufting, wreathing, and garnishing. Caps were lined just twice, with sarcenet and with taffeta. Double "turff" caps were made once; the turfe was the turned-up edge of a cap.[26] Buttoned caps were made for the Lord of Misrule's Gentlemen Ushers in 1552, and were probably "round, with a slight brim turned up and fastened by buttons, [a style] fashionable during the twenties to fifties."[27] For the Lord himself a cap of maintenance or office was made of red feathers, chamlet thrum, and a plume. The cap of

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[26]Skeat, 423.

[27]Linthicum, 222.

maintenance had a soft cone and rolled brim or band powdered with the insignia of office; it was very similar to the modern "Santa Claus" cap.[28] Six "corner" caps, trimmed with aiguillettes, were made for the Masque of Grasiers in 1553. A white satin night cap was bought in 1548 to use as a pattern, and in the April, 1547, inventory were satin "vnder Cappes or nyght Cappes" which were used as bases for hats.

Over fifty hats were made by the Revels during the eleven years, far fewer than the number of caps; undoubtedly they took longer to make and were more expensive. However, many of the "felts" that were frequently bought actually may have been hats, for the word meant both hat and the base of a hat.[29] Almost 350 of these felts were purchased, most at 8d. each; long felts were 6d. to 9d. each, and broad felts were 10d. each. Two of the headblocks bought in 1552 were "for the feltmakers to mowlde hattes vpon"; probably most felts were bought as flat sheets and shaped in the workrooms. Taffeta was the favorite material of hats for street wear,[30] but only nine of those made by the Revels were of taffeta; the rest were of cloth of gold, baldachin, satin, damask, tinsel, and sarcenet.

Several "coopyd" hats were included in the first inventory of 1547. Probably "copped" was intended, a term meaning sharp or high

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[28]Franz Sales Meyer, Handbook of Ornament (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1957), pp. 514-15.

[29]Halliwell-Phillipps, 352.

[30]Linthicum, 231.

from which the name for another hat derived, the "copintank" or "copatain."[31] According to the lexicographer, Halliwell-Phillipps, "a hat with a high crown [was] called a copped crown hat."[32] Eight of these copped hats were of yellow tinsel with silver lawn rolls at the turfe; eight were long, of quilted cloth of gold with long indented flaps on all sides lined with sarcenet and fringed with Cologne silver; eight were of crimson satin, their turfes fringed with Cologne silver and hung with labels of silver lawn; eight were long and fringed with Venice gold; and two were long and of cloth of silver tufted with purple-gold sarcenet.

Copintanks, which were high, conical, or "sugarloaf" hats,[33] were used a few times. Six, undescribed, were bought in 1550 at 8d. each, and were probably only undecorated felt cones. Eight which had been used by "turky woomen" were described in the 1555 inventory as of felt, covered with silver lawn, spangled and tufted with black-gold sarcenet, the fronts turned up with blue satin, fringed with Cologne silver and tufted with yellow sarcenet, with long lawns "flamynge" and hanging from the tops which were also trimmed with small tassels of Cologne silver.

Five "huffkyn" hats were used on one occasion. A huffkin was

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[31] Ibid., 228.

[32] Halliwell-Phillipps, 269.

[33] Linthicum, 228.

a sort of muffin,[34] and most likely the hats were muffin-shaped. They were of crane color and russet damask with bands of red-gold sarcenet, and were part of costumes for Germans.

Thrummed hats were used once, and were simply felt hats with a pile or nap.[35] Other hats were made with the tops falling to one side, with turfes of wire covered with cloth of gold, and were trimmed with stripes of cloth, buttons, leaves, and wreaths.[36]

For the Fools and Dizards of the Lord of Misrule in 1551 and 1552, hoods were made as part of their coats.[37] Over one hundred "cappes & hodes" were also made in 1551 for the Lord's yeomen, and seven hoods for friars, and eight "huddes or hedpeces . . . aftyr tholde ffasshion & ffringid abowtes" were included in the April inventory of 1547. For the Masque of Mariners in 1554, the Revels made jerkins with attached hoods.

Helmets were made on two occasions, both times in the style of the morion, a narrow-brimmed, conical helmet of the mid-sixteenth-century foot soldier.[38] Those made for thirty of the Lord of Misrule's

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[34]Wright, 585.

[35]Linthicum, 232.

[36]Several styles of hats and caps appear in Pl. III, p. 186, none of which can be definitely named.

[37]Hoods were commonly the headdress of Fools, as seen in Pl. IV, p. 202.

[38]Planche, 296. See Pl. VI, Fig. 2, p. 213.

PLATE IV

EARLY FOOL'S ATTIRE

harquebusiers in 1551 were of painted canvas. Eight made for the Masque of Hercules in 1554 were more elaborate; they were of paste and cement with the three-headed Cerberus standing over griffin's heads in the front.

Gold paper or paste board was almost always used for making crowns and miters which were required occasionally. Buckram, probably stiffened for a base, was used with gold paper once.

Cauls and coifs were both similar to modern hair nets although they were usually lined with rich cloth. Neckerchers of white silk "Cawle woorke" were in the inventory of May, 1547, but only one caul was bought in the eleven year period: a caul of silk garnished with silver for the Lord of Misrule in 1551. It weighed four ounces and cost over ten shillings. Coifs were actually small caps which fit close to the back and sides of the head.[39] Over twenty-five were included in the early inventories, most of Venice gold with "theyer perukes of here [that is, periwigs] hanging to them."

Primarily, headpieces were fancy costumes for the head, but the word was used synonymously with all other headdresses that have been mentioned. They were fantastic or allegorical, elaborate or grotesque. Some sat on top of the head and others entirely covered the head and neck. All kinds of materials were used in their making, and more time was given to them than any other single part of the costume.

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[39]Linthicum, 223.

Bases of headpieces were made of iron and latten wire, felts stuffed with tow and flax, pasteboard, paper, paste and cement, wicker, and "asshen hoopewood." These were then covered with lawn, satin, sarcenet, damask, velvet, dornix, Irish frieze, or tinsel. Frequently they were painted; twenty-four were painted "for Sonne beamys" for Mary's coronation festivities, seven were painted "with Maske faces" by Toto in 1551, and sixteen for the Masque of Deaths were painted "doble vizaged," one side like a living face and the other like the face of death. Twelve "furred heades" were made for savage men in 1552, probably for the Masque of Baboons. Molded heads were decorated with snakes made of wire in 1551, and those for the Greek Worthies were "mowlded lyke Lyons heddes the Mowthe devowringe the mannes hed helmetwise." Such were some of the grotesque and allegorical headpieces.

Elaborate headpieces were made at various times throughout this period, but the richest (and best described) appeared during the winter of 1554-55. Those made for the Masque of Venuses,[40] the Masque of Goddess-Huntresses,[41] and the Masque of Turkish Magistrates[42] were particularly handsome.

A headpiece found in the inventory of May, 1547, was of green

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[39] Linthicum, 223.

[40] See pp. 172-73, above.

[41] See p. 176, above.

[42] See pp. 174-75, above.

satin and white-gold sarcenet "with eres," and had probably been made for a fool.[43] Several found in the inventory taken a month earlier were for falconers, and had been made in the style of falconers' lures of red-gold sarcenet trimmed with white sarcenet ribbon and capon feathers.

Rolls[44] appeared several times as parts of headpieces, and flocks were once bought to stuff rolls. In at least one instance, however, the word was spelled "raile" and may have meant a veil worn over the back of the head which was bowed out with wire at the shoulders, a headdress also popular at this time.[45] Still other rolls were bought with girdles and were, perhaps, akin to the French-type farthingale which was "a roll resembling an automobile tire, stiffened with wire or stuffed with cotton"[46] and worn at the hips under a kirtle.

It is doubtful that the masquers of this period used make-up as we know it. Ceruse (white lead) was used by fashionable ladies for painting their faces and bosoms,[47] but the ceruse and white lead bought by the Revels was almost certainly for property painting.[48]

Beards and wigs were used several times. Coifs with "perukes"

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[43]See left and center figures, Pl. IV, p. 202.

[44]These were probably similar to those shown on the hats at the bottom of Pl. III, p. 186.

[45]Linthicum, 166.

[46]Ibid., 181.

[47]Halliwell-Phillipps, 238.

[48]See p. 77, above.

or periwigs hanging to them have already been mentioned. For Shrovetide, 1548, six "heddes of here" were bought for women masquers and six were made in the Office of hair and flax; all of these were "colored" by painters. The following year a dozen "heares and beardes" were bought at 12d. each. In December, 1550, two women's wigs were bought at 2s. 4d. each and seven men's wigs of horsehair at 2s. each. Eight wigs of flax cost 3s. 4d. each and had to be colored or dyed by the painters. Among the characters of the Lord of Misrule's entourage in 1552 was an Irishman and Irishwoman wearing wigs of black flax, and for the Irish play of Easter, 1553, the Revels hired "heers beardes & develles apparell."[49] Visors for the Masque of Venuses were dressed with hair, undoubtedly periwigs, and visors with beards appeared in the April, 1547, inventory. Part of this lot was for Germans and the beards were of gold damask, probably not in imitation of hair but rather as face-masks. In 1548, Moors' caps were made of wooly lambskin to simulate tight, curly hair, and a year later, priests' caps were made with hair, and shave crowns for friars or monks, with lambskin.

Masks, or visors, simple oblong pieces of velvet or silk with eye-holes, were common street wear at mid-century.[50] Almost fifty

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[49]"To make him both frightful and ridiculous, the Devil was most commonly introduced on the stage wearing a vizard with an immense beard." (Collier, 56-57, n. 1).

[50]Linthicum, 272. In the inventory of April, 1547, twenty-four dozen new and serviceable masks for men and women were recorded. Yet over the next five years another nineteen dozen masks were bought, a total of forty-three dozen which could have been used over the five-

dozen were used during this period at prices ranging from 10s. to 40s. the dozen. The latter price was paid for those for the Lord of Misrule's band in 1551, and must have been particularly fine (or overpriced) for the Revels had to put in the linings, tyings, and headbands (of red and black sarcenet) themselves. Frequently masks were altered to match costumes; they were trimmed, colored, lined, and gilded, and those for the Masque of Venuses were dressed with "hear spangle countrefet pearle & slived silke in knottes and colours." The use of masks may have fallen out of favor with Mary, for none appear to have been used during her reign with the exception of those for the Venuses and six old visors which were lined and repaired in 1557 for the Great Masque.

Allegory was apparently intended in the costumes of some masques, and certainly in the costumes of some plays. Most abused were religious characters, as they were in real life at this time. Garments for friars in the early inventory were of velvet, in white, green, orange, and russet purled with gold lace, hardly appropriate materials for poor preachers. Four friars who attended the Lord of Misrule in 1552 wore garments of tinsel, again a very rich and inappropriate mater-

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year period. Fourteen dozen were bought specifically for the Lord of Misrule's band in 1551. If each participant in every masque and play presented during this period wore a mask, seventeen dozen would have been used. This represents the use of over thirty-one dozen masks in five years, with a surplus of twelve dozen still remaining in the storeroom. But in December, 1550, two men spent an entire day mending masks. The need for so many new masks or the necessity of mending old ones is not apparent.

ial. Those in a play during Edward's coronation, however, were more correctly attired in grey kersey and beads.[51]

During Christmas, 1549, a masque or play was presented which involved nine hermits.[52] Their garments were not recorded, but they wore hoods of russel decoreated with buttons, and carried lanterns, beads, staves, little bowls,[53] and straw-filled canvas bags inscribed with a word or motto.

The Irish were considered to be little more than savages at this time,[54] and although Irishwomen's garments made by the Revels appear to have been degrading,[55] those made for Irishmen were somewhat finer. Linen was used for their hose on one occasion, and the Irishman with the Lord of Misrule in 1552 wore a long paned garment of red and blue satin lined with black buckram, a headpiece of dornix, and buskins of Bruges satin. He may have been made to look ludicrous, however, with his wig of black flax. The garments for Irish Kerns, included in the inventory of 1555, were certainly not the rags of wild men.[56]

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[51] Probably they were similar to those pictured in Pl. V., p. 209.

[52] See pp. 123-24, above. An anchoress, i.e., a female anchorite or hermit, is pictured at the bottom of Pl. V, p. 209.

[53] These may have been clack-dishes, or clap-dishes, beggars' wooden cups which they clacked on pavement or walls as an appeal. (Shipley, 153).

[54] Innes, 311.

[55] See p. 188, above.

[56] See p. 178, above.

PLATE V

RELIGIOUS HABITS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Costumes of several other national groups were made at different times, but it cannot be asserted that they were in the national style. Costumes were made for Moors, Egyptians, Italians, Germans, Turks, Venetians, Amazons, Ancient Greeks, and "Albonyes" Warriers. In keeping with the diplomatic relations of the period, there were no masques, costumes, or even mention of the French or the Scots.

Several horse trappings included in the inventories bore decorative heraldic devices, many of which were symbols used by members of the House of York, but their brief descriptions make assignment impossible. Wall hangings were also recorded which had borders bearing the royal motto and "letters and pellicans of goolde vppon eares of wheate enbossed vpon the same"; these may have symbolized the Roman Catholic Church.[57] Properties in the early inventory "bering the half-mone" had probably been for Turkish masquers; the half-moon or crescent had been adopted as a symbol of the Turkish Empire about a century before.[58] The "herault cuoeur ardant" in the Triumph of Cupid wore a coat painted with burning hearts pierced with darts, still the universal symbol of love.

Finally to be considered are the hand properties which masquers almost always wore or carried as a token of their identity or nature. Weapons were the most common symbol, and several kinds appeared.

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[57] Feuillerat, 296.

[58] Bethel, 196.

The falchion[59] was the most frequent hand weapon made or bought by the Revels. This broad, slightly curved sword[60] was almost always made in the Office of wood with an elaborately carved or molded hilt and pommel in the form of a man's head or the head and neck of a griffin. They were painted, gilded, or foiled, and occasionally furnished with scabbards, Daggers were made infrequently, and swords, particularly Irish swords,[61] were made several times.

Several varieties of spear-like weapons were used. Darts, the long-shafted spears which were principal weapons of the Irish Kerns,[62] were made for Irishmen on several occasions and were also made for the medioxes, goddesses, and Moors, those for the latter with broad heads and silver feathers. An Irishman was once provided with a prage, a particular kind of spear,[63] for the Irish play of 1553, and lances and pikes were used in the mock triumph of 1548.[64] Javelin staffs, which may have been similar to lances, were carried by participants in Edward's coronation.

Halberds were long wooden spears similar to pikes but with

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[59]"Fachelles," also recorded in the accounts a few times, were apparently the same as falchions.

[60]See Pl. VI, Fig. 1, p. 213.

[61]See Pl. VI, Fig. 3.

[62]See p. 178, n. 27, above, and Pl. VI, Fig. 7.

[63]Skeat, 305.

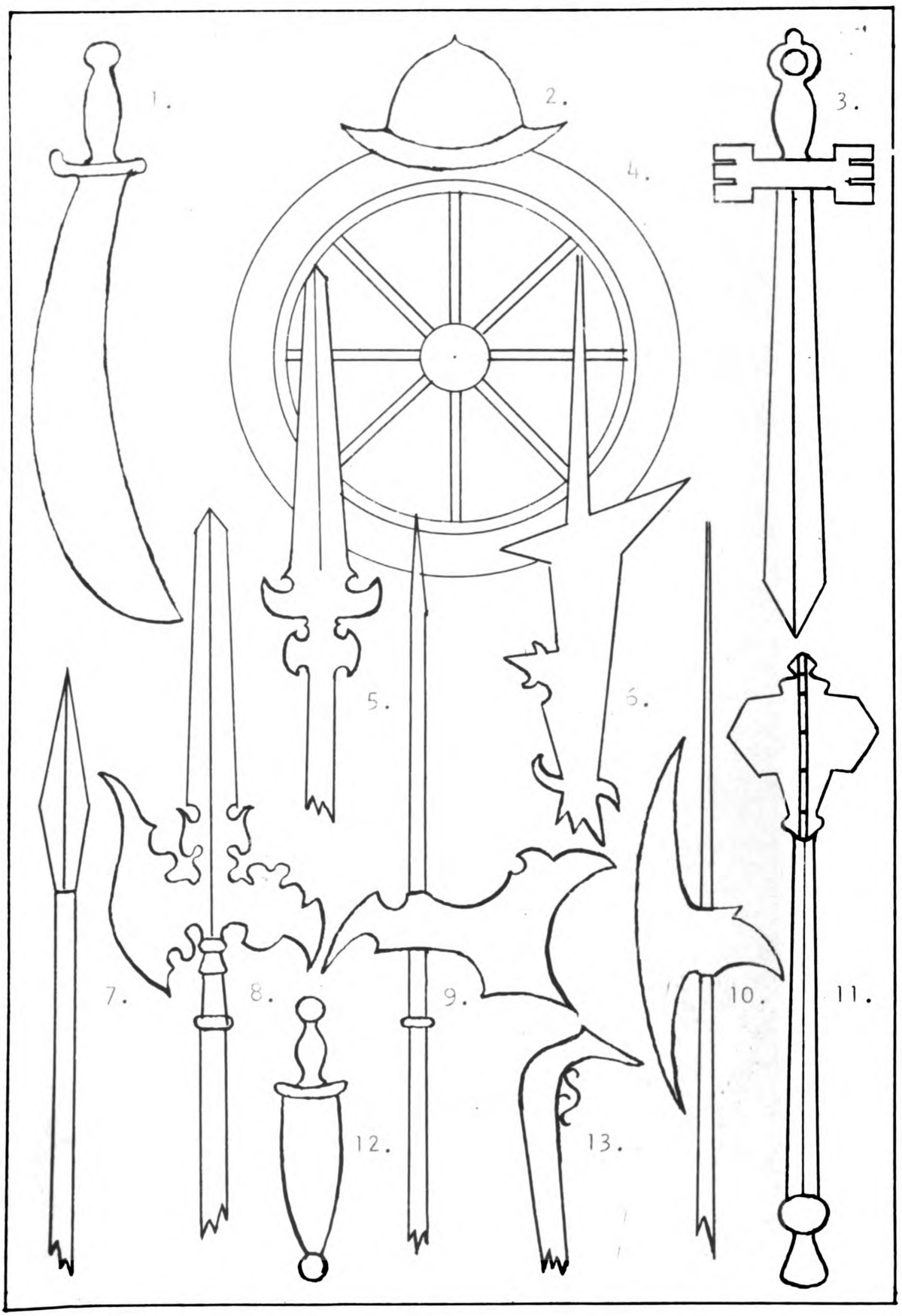
[64]See Pl. VI, Fig. 6.

WEAPONS AND ARMOR OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

(Relative sizes are approximate. Shafts of Figs. 5. through 10., and Barrel of Fig. 13. are not shown.)

Figure

1. Falchion. (Planche, 119).
2. Morion Helmet, 1558. (Ibid., 296).
3. Irish Sword. (Ibid., 405).
4. Target. (Ibid., 295).
5. Partizan. (Meyer, 397).
6. Pike-head of Complicate Shape. (Ibid.).
7. Dart. (Planche, 396).
8. Halberd. (Meyer, 397).
9. Halberd. (Ibid.).
10. Halberd. (Ibid.).
11. Mace with Four Radial Blades. (Ibid.).
12. Dagger in Sheath. (Ibid., 395).
13. Harquebus. (Planche, 298).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battle-axe heads. In the militia they were carried by halberdiers, "guards unto captains and ensigns, which be most times chosen gentlemen of experience or cavaliers of the squadron."[65] They were made or bought on several occasions by the Revels; double halberds, used once, were probably similar to partizans, which had symmetrical heads.[66]

Short goading spears called gads[67] were used at least once, and truncheons, the broken shafts of spears or lances,[68] were ordered for the jousts of hobbyhorses in 1552, certainly the right comic element for such an activity.

Maces and clubs were often made by the Revels who used the words interchangeably; either was a short cudgel for breaking armor or a short decorated staff used as an ensign of authority.[69] Those made for the Lord of Misrule and his men in 1551 and 1552 were more likely the latter. Two made for his first reign were "turned & full of pykes" (that is, spikes),[70] and were probably similar to "morning-stars"[71] or "Holy

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[65]Allardyce Nicoll, The Elizabethans (Cambridge, Eng.: University Press, 1957), p. 134.

[66]See Pl. VI, Fig. 5.

[67]Halliwell-Phillipps, 388.

[68]Skeat, 422.

[69]Bethel, 503.

[70]Halliwell-Phillipps, 620.

[71]Meyer, 396.

water sprinkles";[72] maces with radiating spikes in the ends. The cost of these varied from 4d. to 7s. and was no doubt reflected in their ornamentation. In 1551, seven "greate Colbrande Clubbes" were turned and painted at 1s. each, and the following year two of the same, with spikes, cost 2s. each, but the nature of these particular weapons is unknown. A hollow club, made in 1551 "to burne squibbes in" has already been mentioned.[73]

On a few occasions "holms" or "holmaces" were bought, painted, or mended,[74] along with falchions. The words suggest a combination of "halberd" and "mace," but their cost of 1d. each (and 6d. and 8d. for painting) indicates they were probably quite different.

The acceptance of firearms was only beginning at this time,[75] and two references to them appeared in the accounts. Although the Lord of Misrule had thirty harquebusiers in his train in 1551, they apparently supplied their own weapons.[76]

The common defensive shield at mid-century was the target, a light-weight, round buckler with two straps on the back for the arm and

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[72]Meyrick, III, 4.

[73]See p. 137, n. 38, above.

[74]Feuillerat, 6, 14, 42, 49, and 55.

[75]Meyrick, 4.

[76]See Pl. VI, Fig. 13.

hand.[77] Real targets were often of wood[78] and frequently, so were those made by the Revels; they were described as of "shelbord and fyne Ioynes woorke," "of bord Ioyned," and "of tree shelboard of waynscot ioyned." At other times, however, targets were made of paste, paper, and cloth. Such broad, flat areas gave ample reason for decoration, and they were on occasion covered with red sarcenet, fringed at the edge with Cologne silver and gold, painted, gilded, embossed, and trimmed with the heads of dead animals. Targets were relatively expensive properties, costing between 19d. and 4s. to make.

Besides the canvas mail and morion helmets already discussed, armor was made on only two other occasions; for the Greek Worthies in 1553,[79] and for the Hercules in 1554.[80]

Such were the activities of the Office of the Revels during the reigns of Edward VI and Mary I. Built on the incongruous foundations of simple medieval stagecraft used in religious plays and the ornate costume design of the secular court, their techniques were highly developed by the time the Office was officially established. But ahead were another sixty years of costume, property, and scenery making for the stage-conscious courts of Elizabeth and James which saw the birth of the great age of

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[77]Skeat, 402. See Pl. VI, Fig. 4.

[78]See p. 178, n. 27, above.

[79]See pp. 163-64, above.

[80]See pp. 170-71, above.

English drama. The Office of the Revels was to become one of the most influential forces in the art of stagecraft.

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APPENDIX I

PROCEDURE OF A DISGUISING

[The following order was copied by Collier from The Book of All Manner of Orders Concerning an Earl's House, some part of which was dated 1501.[1] It provided that the "disguising" should not come into the hall until the "interlude, comedy, or tragedy" was ended.]

The Disguisars to come in aftir this manour following, with iij torcheis to be borne before theim at their riding into the Hall, with iij yomen waiters, suche as shalbe appointed by the Marshallis to do it.

Furst iij yoman waiters to beir iij torcheis to light them into the hall, and when the saide Disguisars ar comyn into the hall, than the saide parsonnes that berith the saide lightes to make their obeysaunce and departe, or ellis to stand on side, and the iiij minstrallis, suche as the Lord haith at that tyme, there to stonde in the hall before the saide disguisars com, and assoon as they be comyn into the hall, the minstrallis to stand aside and play. And than the disguisars to make their obeysaunce altogeder and daunce suche daunces as they be appointed. And

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[1] Collier, I, 24-26.

when the saide disguisars hath doon their saide daunces, than halfe of them to stand uppon the oon side and halfe uppon the outher side, if there be no women. Provided alwaies that if there be women disguised, then they to come in first. And if there be women disguised, then half of the minstrallis afforesaid to fet in the outhir disguisars with the lightes after they have browght in the women, and they have daunced and their obeysaunce made, and stande aside. And they to do as the outhir did before, ande than they to stande uppon the outher side. Alwaies the men gevinge to the women the prehemynence of their standinge. Alwaies provided that the minstrallis shall bring theym in, playing before thaym such daunces as they shall daunce. Ande when they have doon, in like case the Morris to come in incontinent as is apointed, yf any be ordeynid. Ane when the saide Morris arrive in the midist of the hall, than the said minstrallis to play the daunces that is appointed for theim. And when they here the said minsrallis play, than to come out oon aftir an outhir, as they be appointed. And when they have doon to go forthe in like case as they came into the said towre, or thing devised for theim. Always reservid to the maister of the disguisinges to order it as he shall think best and convenient; and when the said Moris is doone, than the gentillmen to com unto the women and make their obeisaunce, and every of them to taike oon by thand, and daunce suche rounds as shall be appointed them to daunce togeder by the maister of the revills; and that doon, to bring the women to their places agayne and make their obeysances, and then departe to their owne places where they stood before.

APPENDIX II

A DISGUISING WITH A PAGEANT WAGON, 1511

[The following account from Hall's Chronicle, copied by Collier,[1] gives some idea of the procedure of a royal disguising as well as an excellent description of a pageant wagon.]

Against the 12 daye or the daie of the Epiphane at nyghte, before the banket in the hall at Rychemound, was a pageaunt devised like a mountayne, glisteryng by nyght, as though it had bene all of golde and set with stones; on the top of the whiche mountayne was a tree of golde, the braunches and the bowes frysed with gold, spreding on every side over the mountayne with roses and pomegranetts: the which mountayn was with vices[2] brought up towards the kyng, and out of the same came a ladye appareiled in clothe of golde, and the children of honour, called the Henchemen, which were freshly disguysed and

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[1] Collier, 66-67.

[2] A vice was an engine of wood "wherewith such things as are done within out of sight, are shewed to the beholders by the turning about of wheeles." (Wright, 999-1000). The word also applied to anything in a spiral or winding form (Halliwell-Phillipps, 910), which suggests the use of a windlass or winch inside the pageant wagon.

daunced a Morice before the kyng; and that done reentred the mountayne, and then it was drawen backe, and then was the Wassail or banket brought in, and so brake up Christmas.

APPENDIX III

THE INTERLUDE OF THE TRIUMPH OF LOVE AND BEAUTY

[This account, found by Collier,[1] relates to the Christmas festivities at Richmond in 1514, and describes typical triumphs.]

For to do pleser [to] the Kynges grace, and for to pas the tyme of Chrestmas, by Sir Harry Gyllfurth, Master of the Revells, was devysed an Interluit, in the wheche conteyned a moresk of vj persons and ij ladys: wherfor by commandement of our soveraine lord the Kyng, and at apoyntment of Sir Harry Gylforth, was preparyd, had and wrought dyvers and sundry garments.

. . . . . .

The Interlud was callyd the tryumpe of Love and Bewte, and yt was wryten and presentyd by Mayster Cornyshe and oothers of the Chappell of our soverayne lorde the Kyng, and the chyldern of the sayd Chapell. In the same Venus and Bewte dyd tryumpe over al ther enemys, and tamyd a salvadge man and a lyon, that was made very rare and naturall, so as the kyng was gretly plesyd therwyth, and gracyously gaf Mayster

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[1] Collier, 68-70.

Cornysshe a ryche rewarde owt of his owne hand, to be dyvydyd with the rest of his felows. Venus dyd synge a songe with Beawte, which was lykyd of al that harde yt, every staffe endyng after this sortte:

'Bowe you downe, and doo your dutye
To Venus and the goddes Bewty:
We tryumpe hye over all,
Kyngs attend when we doo call.'

Inglyshe, and the oothers of the Kynges pleyers, after pleyed an Interluyt, whiche was wryten by Mayster Midwell, but yt was so long yt was not lyked: yt was of the fyndyng of Troth, who was caryed away by ygnoraunce & ypocresy. The foolys part was the best, but the kyng departyd befor the end to hys chambre.

APPENDIX IV

ARTICLES AND ORDINANCES OF THE OFFICE OF THE REVELS

[This document, dated 1573, is an anonymous report upon the working of the Office, drawn up in view of a possible reorganization, and was printed by Chambers.[1] Only that part concerning the establishment of the Office is included here.]

In what state the office of the Revelles is reported to haue bene in.

The Office of the Revelles, as it shoulde seeme by reporte, hath in tymes past bene in that order, That the prince beinge disposed to pastyme would at one tyme appoynte one persone, at sometyme an other, suche as for creditte pleasaunte witte and habilitye in learnynge he thought meete to be the master of the Revelles for that tyme, to sett fourthe suche devises as might be most agreeable to the princes expectacion. The workes beinge fynyshed, It is thought that the princes Tayler havinge the oversight of the Workemanshippe brought in

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[1] Chambers, Tudor Revels, 2-3.

the Bill of charges and was payed for it, whereupon is gathered that John Houlte yeoman of the Revelles vsed to say Concerninge allowaunce of charges in the office of the Revelles 'it hath bene but a Taylers Bill.'

The Revelles Tentes and Toyles made an Office.

It is alledged by some that afterwardes The Revelles together with the Tents and Toylles was made an office and certen of the kinges householde servauntes appoynted by patent to have care thereof, Off whiche office there was a Seriaunt yeoman groomes etc., some of theym by the king speciallye appoynted as it shoulde seeme, for that they hadde letteres patentes of the same office, where commonlye others of their callinge in office in the Courte have their offices without patent. And some thinke that the Revelles was kept and wrought within owne pallace.

The first master of that office by patent.

After the deathe of Travers[2] Seriaunt of the said office, Sir Thomas Carden knight, beinge of the kinges maiesties pryvie Chamber, being skilfull and delightinge in matters of devise, preferred to that office, did mislyke to be tearmed a Seriaunt because of his better countenaunce of roome and place beinge of the kinges maisties privye Chamber. And so became he by patent the first master of the Revelles.

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[2]No other references to this man have been found.

Afterwardes Sir Thomas Carden, havinge by all likelihoode mistrust of loose and negligent dealinges by Inferiour officers or others in that office, and because hymselfe coulde not be alwayes there present to oversee the charge of the office, procured at the kinges handes

The first Clerke Comptroller by patent.

That there shoulde be also a Clerke Comptroller of the said office, who beinge the princes sworne man and carying that name might with some countenaunce or authoritye stande hym in good steede for the better governement and direction of the said office and for the amendment of the loose dealinges both to his owne ease and the princes good service, whiche Clerke Comptroller was John Barnard who was the first Clerke Comptroller of the said office for the Revelles and Tentes by patent.

It might seeme that in tymes past the same office beinge kept in the kinges house The Clerk Comptrollers of the kinges household or one of theym hadde eye vpon the princes charges in that behalfe, whiche might enduce a president for the establishement of a Clerke Comptroller in the said office.

The first Clerke by Patent.

Sir Thomas Carden after that, beinge driven as it should seeme from tyme to tyme to have his bookes of accompte made vp by the Clerke of the kinges Woorkes as the office might be vsed when it was kepte in the princes

Courte, thought it expedient by reason of the same office To have some necessarye person, who beinge the princes sworne servaunte and having office and wages or fee by patent therefore might register and enter the charges anye waye growen by reason of the said office from tyme to tyme, who also might be a good witnes of the vpright service both of the masters and other dealinges in the said office, and to make vppe and perfitt the bookes reconynges and accomptes of the said office with more readye vnderstandinge by reason of attendaunce then the Clerke of the workes being a straunger thervnto coulde doe, procured Thomas Philippes to be Clerke of the said office who was the first Clerke by patent of the said office.

APPENDIX V

LETTER FROM THE LORD OF MISRULE, 1552

[Upon appointment as Lord of Misrule for the twelve days of Christmas, 1552-53, George Ferrers sent the following letter to Cawarden.[1] Since it includes some details not mentioned in the text, it is printed here.]

. . . this yeare I Imagin to cum oute of a place caulled vastum vacuum. I. the great waste / asmoche to saie as a place voyde or emptie withoute the worlde where is neither fier ayre water nor earth / and that I have bene remayning there sins the Laste yeare Ande bicause of Certaine devises whiche I have towching this matter / I wolde yf it were possyble have all myne apparrell blewe the first daie that I present my self to the kinges Maiestie and even as I shewe my self that daie, so my mynd is in like order & in like suetes to shew my self at my commyng into London after the halowed daies / Againe how I shall cum into the courte whether under a Canepie as the last yeare, or in a chare triumphall, or vppon some straunge beast that I reserve to you / But the

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[1] Feuillerat, 89-90.

serpente with sevin heddes cauled hidra is the chief beast of myne armes. / and the wholie bushe is the devise of my Crest / my worde is semper ferians .I. alwaies feasting or keping holie daie / Vppon Christmas daie I send a solempe ambassade to the kinges Maiestie by an herrald trumpet an orator speaking in a straunge language an / Interpreter or a truchman with hym, to which persons thre were requiset to have convenient furnyture which I referre to you / I have provided one to plaie vppon a kettell drom with his boye and a nother drome with a fyffe whiche must be apparelled like turkes garmentes according to the patrons I send you herwith on St Stephens daie[2] / I wolde yf it were possyble be with the kinges Maiestie before dynner Mr windham being my admyrall as appointed to receive me beneth the bridge withe the kinges Brigandyne andother vesselles apointed for the same purpose / his desire is to have the poope of his vessell covered with white and blew like as I signifie to you by a nother lettre / Sir george howard being my Master of the horsis receiveth me at my Landing at grenwiche with a spare horse and iiij pages of honour one carieng my hedpece a nother my Shelde / the thirde my sword and the fourth my axe / As for their furniture I know nothing as yet provided either for my pages or other wise save a hedpece that I caused to be made / My counsailours with suche other necessarie persons yt attend vppon me that daie must also be con-

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[2]St. Stephen's Day, i.e., December 26. (Benet, 977). I believe a period should follow "herwith" in the preceding line, and a semicolon should follow "dynner" in the following line.

sydered / There maie be no fewer then sixe counsailours at the least /
I must also have a divine a philosopher an astronomer a poet a phisi-
Iohn Smyth
cian / a potecarie / a Mr of requestes / a sivilian / a disard / two
gentlemen vshers besides Iuglers / tomblers / fooles / friers and suche
other / The residue of the wholie daies I will spend other devises / as
one daie in feates of armes & then wolde I have a challeng performed
with hobbie horsis where I purpose to be in person a nother daie in
honting & hawking / the residue of the tyme Shalbe spent in other devises
whiche I will declare to you by mouth to have your ayde and advice therin /
Sir I know not howe ye be provided to furnish me but suer methinkes I
Sholde have nolesse then five suetes of apparell / the first for the daie I
come in which shall also serve me in London and two other suetes for the
two halowed daies following / the fourth for newe yeares daie / and the
fifte for xijth daie Towching my suet of blew I have sent you a pece of vel-
vet which hath a kinde of powdred ermaines in it vearie fytt for my wering
yf you so thinke good / All other matters I referre tyll I shall speake
with you. George fferrers.

Item bagges for money Item for ye greatt seale another bagge.

Letter frome the Lorde mysrull. The order of a warraunt ffor the Revylls.

APPENDIX VI

A PLAY BY WILLIAM BALDWIN

[The following synopsis was sent to Cawarden by William Baldwin on the day before Christmas, 1555, although the play was not presented until the following Christmas, if it was presented at all.[1] Inasmuch as it contains several details of a court play of the mid-sixteenth century it is included here.]

love and lyve

You shall vnderstande syr that I have made a Comodie concernyng the way to lyfe, mete as it is supposed to be played before the Quene, and there be of the Innes of court that desyer to have the setting furth therof, but because your mastership now thre yeres passed offered in a sort to set furth sum of my rude devises, I thought it good to know your mynde herein, before I gave answer to any other / The settyng furth wil be chargeable because the matter is stately, comprehending a discourse of the hole worlde / There be in it of sundry personages .lxij. and the play is iij. houres long, it is now in learnyng and well be ready within

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[1] Feuillerat, 215-17 and 301-02.

these .x. dayes / The matter is this, I bring in a yong man whome I name Lamuel who hath a seruant called Lob, these two will attempt the worlde to sake theyr fortune, the mete with Lust lucke and love, Lust promiseth them lecherie, Lucke lordship, Love lyf, they folow lvst and through lechery be lost, than through Lucke they recover, Luck bringeth them to lordship from whiche through Larges and larracine[2] they cum to Lacke / Than through Love, the go to Light & therby attayne Lyfe / All the players names beginne with .L. And be such as ensue.

Lamech an husbandman

Lamuel his sonne

Lob his servant

Lust
Lucke } ladyes
Love

naturall {
- Layies Lechery a sumtuous hore
- Laughing, Lokyng } her maydens
- Lothyng, Lowting } her men
- Lantidum Sterves an here
- Lymping Cure a colmanhedge
- Lusty Libberne a lowtysh ruffian

---

[2]That is, larceny. (Bethel, 473).

naturall
- Light feete his lacky
- Leonard Lustyguts an Epicure
- Syr lewes lewdlyfe a chaplayn
- Lubberdy lazy
- Liberall laucher } Lustiguts men
- Lame lazar a spittleman
- Laurens littleskyll a surgeon
- Lither wyll his boy

Lordship borne in a chare by these fower
- Linage
- Landes
- leadall coyne
- Lawe

naturall
- Liegerdemayn an olde courtier
- Lammarkin a Lanceknight
- Lodovico de .S. Lukerseco, an Italian horseman
- Lamphadirizumph a drowerslate
- Linage Linker an harolde
- Lawde
- lewdnes } Ladies

naturall
- Lothly Luchre an huswyfe
- Lucres Lockfast her mayd
- Large conscience
- Lying } men servauntes
- Lymefinger

naturall { Lieger de pied, Lyver white } french men

naturall { Landgrave van Luxenburgh Lieutenant of an army

Light accompaned in a throne with these iiij { line & levell Justice, lenitie mercy, learnyng, Labor

naturall { Larracine an extorcioner, Lavish a Stuarde

Lot, Lyvelode, Leannes, Lyking } vertues

Let a vice

Lamenting, longyng } states

naturall { Littleleft a poore suter

Libertie a ladye

Last yeres an aged man

Little loktfor death

Lyfe a tabernacle

This is the proporcion wherein I pray you as shortly as you can to let me

know your myne, I pray God kepe you & youres, Amen.

At london this tuisday Christmas eve

Yours to do you pleasure

Wyliam Baldwyn

To the right wurshipfull

Syr Thomas Cawerden..dd.