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[2.1] *My Gossip Iohson his foot voyage and myne into Scotland./*

Wee set out of London on Wensday the eight of Iuly and reach'd that night to *Totnam high* crosse, where wee lodgd at the [be] Beare¹ &c. By the way thether wee met with the Shake-
ragg errant,² and his two doxes³ etc.

From thence to Waltam, where my Lady Wroth⁴ came to my Gossip etc. with Mr *Ed Kerry*

- 5 Mr *Harbert*⁵ and Mr *Powell*,⁶ etc, There also came to vs two *Cambridge* men. One [c] fellow
of Q Colledge called Homes,⁷ and Blitheman⁸ *Master of Arte* who etc./

¹ **Totnam ... the Beare** Tottenham 'was often known as Tottenham High Cross, from the medieval wayside cross in High Road' (Baker and Pugh, 1976); the 'decayed and rotten' wooden cross was replaced with 'a new one built of bricks', around 1600 (Bedwell, 1631, sig. D3). No record of a Bear inn, tavern or alehouse has been found: a 1619 survey of the manor of Tottenham recorded premises called the Bullhead, the Three Conies, the Angel and the Swan, but this list is unlikely to be exhaustive (London Metropolitan Archives, MS ACC/0695/009, 38, 40, 43, 76).

² **Shake-ragg errant** 'a ragged, disreputable person', rogue or beggar (*OED*, Shake-rag *n.*; Wilkins, 1668, 264 and 'Alphabetical Dictionary'); 'errant' suggests both vagrancy and wickedness. Cf. Richard Brome, *A Jovial Crew*: 'stark, errant, downright beggars' (2.1.165).

³ **doxes** variant of 'doxy', 'Vagabonds' Cant for the unmarried mistress of a beggar or rogue' (*OED*, Doxy *n.*¹).

⁴ **Wroth** Mary (c.1587-1651/3), daughter of Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester; highly accomplished writer, performer in court entertainments, and patron to some of her most distinguished contemporaries. Jonson addressed several poems to her (*Epigr.* 103, 105; *Und.* 28), and she was the dedicatee of *The Alchemist* in both the 1612 quarto and the 1616 folio. She was married to Sir Robert Wroth in 1604, and widowed ten years later. She lived principally at Loughton Hall, some 6 miles across Epping Forest from Waltham Cross, while her kinsman Lord Edward Denny, later a sharp critic of her romance *Urania*, resided at Waltham Abbey, 2 miles from the main north road (*ODNB*; Powell, 1966).

⁵ **Kerry ... Harbert** The Sidney and Herbert families were extensively intertwined, and Mary Wroth was romantically involved with her cousin, William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, so 'Mr Harbert' is probably another kinsman. Candidates include two notable brothers of Jonson's friend, Sir Edward Herbert, subsequently Baron of Cherbury, who were recipients of Pembroke's patronage. George Herbert (1593-1633) was then a Fellow of Trinity college, Cambridge, and could have been in Waltham Cross on July 7, as could Henry Herbert, if he was not then in France, where he spent at least some of this year. Henry (c.1594-1673) was to take over the duties of Master of the Revels from Sir John Astley in 1623; his country residence was at Woodford, 4 miles from Loughton (*ODNB*, William Herbert; Herbert, 1941, 364-9; Brennan, 1988; Hannay, 2010, 252-3). It is harder to identify a plausible Mr Edward or Edmund Carey/Cary/Carew: this might be a relative of Sir Edward Cary of Aldenham, Hertfordshire, who died in London on 18 July 1618 (Hasler, 1981). He was the father of Henry Cary, first Viscount Falkland; Jonson addressed poems to both Henry and his son Lucius, the second Viscount (*Epigr.* 66; *Und.* 70). Aldenham is about 14 miles west of Waltham Cross, but Sir Edward's family, too were related to Lord Denny, so a Cary presence in eastern Hertfordshire is not implausible. A son named Edward was born to Sir Henry and Lady Elizabeth Cary in 1616 but appears to have been shortlived; no other family members of this name are known, although the Aldenham parish register records the burial of a 'Mr. Edward Carey Gent.' in 1639 (*ODNB*, Elizabeth Cary; Brigg, 1902, 133,

Thence to Hogsdon,⁹ where a lunaticke woman met vs by the way, and went dancing before vs and a humorous¹⁰ Tincker of whom wee could not be ridd etc. There also three minstrells thrust them selues vpon vs asking whether wee would heare a merry song. Which proved to
 10 be the life and death of my Lord of Essex.¹¹ This forenoone it thundred and raignd, which stop'd vs from setting forwards till towards the evening. Then wee came to Ware, to Mr Crosses.¹² where *Sir Robert Mansell*¹³ [2.1v] *Sir Arnold Harbert*,¹⁴ and Mr Rice,¹⁵ came to vs

149). The first name could be an error, however, in which case this might be another member of Sir Edward's family; a further possibility is Thomas Carew (1594/5-1640), who entered the service of Sir Edward Herbert before travelling with him to Paris in 1619 and was himself related to Lord Denny through his grandmother, Martha Denny (*ODNB*, Thomas Carew, Sir Matthew Carew, Martha Carew). The surname is not uncommon, and other candidates might be found in the ample family of Henry Carey, Baron Hunsdon, and elsewhere.

⁶ **Powell** Mary Wroth's maternal grandmother was Gwennlian Powell, so 'Mr Powell' is probably a relation – perhaps the poet, writer and lawyer Thomas Powell (d. c.1635), whose first work, *Loves Leprosie*, was published with a dedication to Robert Sidney in 1598, or the John Powell, of Oriel College, Oxford, who was awarded his MA on 4 July 1618 and is the addressee of an epigram in William Gamage's *Linsi-Woolsie*, first published in 1613 (*ODNB*, Thomas Powell; Foster, 1891–2). Powell wrote a commendatory verse for Gamage's volume, which also contains epigrams to Mary Wroth, her husband, her sister, members of the Herbert family and Jonson himself. The minor poet and translator John Polwhele, who was influenced by Jonson and wrote in praise of Herbert, is a further possibility, though he was in all likelihood too young in 1618 (Bod. MS Eng. Poet. f.16, f.10-11; Moul, 2010, 199).

⁷ **Homes** William Holmes (d. 1653) matriculated from Queen's, Cambridge, in 1607; he took his BA in 1611, his MA in 1614, and was elected fellow in 1617. Later vicar of Meldreth, Cambridgeshire, and Raunds in Northamptonshire; sequestered 'for several great misdemeanours' during the civil war (Venn and Venn, 1922-7; Clergy of the Church of England Database, Person ID 28126; Walker, 1948, 280).

⁸ **Blitheman**: John Blitheman or Blythman (b. c.1592), probably of Royston; matriculated from Queen's in 1608, took his BA in 1612 and his MA in 1615 (Venn and Venn, 1922-7).

⁹ **Hogsdon** variant for Hoddesdon, 5 miles north of Waltham Cross.

¹⁰ **humorous** capricious, fantastic, odd; alternatively, peevish, ill-humoured (*OED*, Humorous *adj.* 3a, 3b).

¹¹ **song ... Essex** probably either 'A lamentable new Ballad vpon the Earle of Essex his death' (English Broadside Ballads Archive, 20044, 30130) or 'A lamentable Ditty composed upon the death of Robert Lo[rd Devereux] / late Earle of Essex' (English Broadside Ballads Archive, 30124, 32221, 32617), which were printed together as a broadside in the early seventeenth century; a surviving edition of the 'lamentable Dittie' bears a 1603 imprint (STC 6791). Other possibilities include the tetrameter verses beginning 'O England now lament in teares' (BL Tanner MS 306, f.192; Morfill and Furnivall, 1873, 2.245-9).

¹² **Crosses** John Cross (d. c.1635) is recorded as an 'innholder' at Ware, and as possessing a wine licence, during this period. His will is dated 1635, and in 1636 John Taylor mentions that 'Wil: Cross' keeps the Crown at Ware, an inn mentioned in a source of 1603 (Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, DE/Cm/38061; Essex Record Office, D/ABW 53/28; NA, E 163/17/22; Taylor, 1636, 42; Page, 1912).

¹³ **Mansell** Sir Robert Mansell (c.1570-1652) began his rise as an officer in the navy during the 1590s, and subsequently became a naval administrator and an assured and long-standing operator at the Jacobean court. Although he prospered through his office he also harboured commercial ambitions, and by 1615 was a member of Lord Zouche's glassmaking syndicate. He sold the treasurership of the navy in the spring of this year, and was appointed vice-admiral of England – a high-ranking sinecure – in May. Mansell also tilted in the Barriers for *Hymenaei* (Thrush and Ferris, 2010; *ODNB*; Masque Archive, Masquers and Tilters).

¹⁴ **Harbert** Sir Arnold Harbert or Herbert (by 1574-c.1649) was a gentleman pensioner of James VI and I, knighted at St Andrews in July 1617 during the King's visit to Scotland. A servant of George Home, Earl of Dunbar (see line 444), until his patron's death in 1611, he transferred his allegiance thereafter to Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, whose son and heir Theophilus held the post of lieutenant of the band of gentlemen pensioners and married Dunbar's daughter in 1612. (BL MS Add 34,122 B; Shaw, 1906; *ODNB*; Thrush and Ferris, 2010).

and Sir *Thomas*¹⁶ [sic] subscribed 10 pieces./¹⁷ etc Here my fatt *Hostesse* commended mee
 with [a.] a token¹⁸ Thence to Puckridge to the Faulken, where wee dined, where [my,] myne
 15 host Holland¹⁹ gave my *Gossip* a forrest Bill²⁰ etc. That night wee came to Dick of
 Buntingfoords²¹ to bedd.

The next day wee went to the church, where Sir *John Skynner*²² met vs, offering vs the
 entertaynement of his house etc. ¶ Here wee met with *Gin*^{23,24} There My *Gossip* contributed

¹⁵ **Rice** probably Henry Rice (c.1590-c.1651), Mansell's nephew via his sister Elizabeth. She had married Walter Rice of Newton, Carmarthenshire, an Elizabethan gentleman pensioner retained and knighted in 1603, but whose family estates had been dispersed following a number of attainders during the sixteenth century. In 1612 Sir Walter transferred his estates in Pembrokeshire to Henry, his eldest son, whose court connections helped him to an agreement with his father's creditors in 1617; a few years later, Mansell attempted to secure an advantageous marriage for his nephew (Hasler, 1981; Thrush and Ferris, 2010; Meyrick, 1846, 1.210-11).

¹⁶ **Thomas** a slip – Sir Thomas was Mansell's elder brother, the heir to the family's estates and a baronet from 1611; he was a bearer of the canopy at Prince Henry's funeral in 1612 (Thrush and Ferris, 2010).

¹⁷ **subscribed ... pieces** 'subscribed' here suggests that the enterprise of the walk had a commercial dimension, as George Gerrard had suggested in 1617 (Donaldson, 1993, 14); a 'piece' is a gold 'Unite' worth twenty two shillings.

¹⁸ **token** a copper tavern token, issued by the innkeeper and redeemable in their establishments; worth a farthing or halfpenny, and usually given as change (*OED*, *Token* n. 11a, *Tavern* n. C4; Williamson, 1889, xxii). Cf. *EMI* (Q), 1.3.34, (F), 1.4.38.

¹⁹ **Faulken ... Holland** Thomas Holland kept The Falcon, one of several inns in Puckeridge and still in business; Taylor describes him as 'mine old acquaintance ... and my loving and auncient hoste' (Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, HAT/SR/84, 141; Taylor, 1618, sig. G2).

²⁰ **forrest Bill** a woodman's bill-hook (*OED*, *Forest* n. C2).

²¹ **Dick of Buntingfoords** A 'Richard Hantler' of Buntingford is described as 'inholder' in the Layston parish memorandum book in 1621, and was a prominent figure in the administration of the town. He was listed as the previous owner of some of the estate of one Samuel Harris in 1661, which included the George Inn at Buntingford. (Falvey and Hindle, 2003, 45-6, 53, 55-6, 60, 117-18).

²² **Skynner** Buntingford benefited from a charity established by one Henry Skynner in the mid-sixteenth century, but his son John died in the early 1570s without heirs. A John Skinner (c.1579-1669) was a prominent figure in Hitchin, 10 miles west of Buntingford, but was never knighted (Chauncy, 1826, 2.173; Metcalfe, 1886, 93; NA, PROB 11/330/68; Falvey and Hindle, 2003, lxxii, 82-5, 104-5 107). This may, therefore, be an error for Sir John Caesar (1597-1647), younger son of Sir Julius Caesar, Master of the Rolls, and former Chancellor of the Exchequer, ally and client of the Earl of Salisbury. Sir Julius had purchased the estates of Hyde Hall and Reed, north of Buntingford, in 1612 and was to settle them on Sir John in 1625. Both properties would have been relatively convenient stopping places for anyone travelling between Buntingford and Royston. Sir John had been knighted in Edinburgh during James's 1617 visit (Page, 1912; *ODNB*, Julius Caesar; Granger, 1824, 5. 83-4; Shaw, 1906).

²³ Marginal addition; no insertion point in the text.

²⁴ **Gin** If a proper noun, as the use of an initial majuscule 'G' and italic in the manuscript might indicate, then possibly a member of the Gynne family resident in the parish of Anstey, 3 miles north east of Buntingford (King, 1996, 164); also occasionally encountered as a diminutive name for a woman: cf. Shakespeare, *Err.*, 3.1.31. However, if an unusual common noun, for which both an initial majuscule letter and italic script are also used, this is perhaps a reference to the juniper-flavoured distilled spirit 'genever', which was well enough known in England by the early seventeenth century to be mentioned punningly in the *Merry Devil of Edmonton* (printed in 1608; sig. C2) and Massinger's *The Duke of Milan* (1623; sig. B1; 1.1.11). The distilling of spirits was a growing industry, and 200 London households were dependent on the trade by the 1620s (Clark, 1983, 95). The abbreviated name has not hitherto been recorded this early.

two pieces, to the newly erected chappell wrought by the meanes of Mr Strange²⁵ the
 20 minister etc./

The next day myne host would needes bring vs out of towne twards [sic] *Roiston*,²⁶ but left
 vs not till hee brought vs thorough, where wee lay at Mr *Atkinsons*²⁷ at the Talbot. Here the
 maydes and young men came out of Towne to meet vs etc./

The next day, My father Atkinson with his househould, vide, his two sonne in lawes and his
 25 sonne, (brought vs on the way, first to Erthington,²⁸ where wee bayted,²⁹ and after [the] to
 Cackstone the Kings Armes,³⁰ where wee mett with oyes,³¹ and I fell out with myne *Hostesse*
 etc. And brought vs the next day two myles of the way.

[2.2] The next day wee came weary to Huntington to bedd, but bayted at a little towne³² by
 the way./ Where wee lay at Mr *Patricks*³³ at the George where wee stayed all the next day,
 30 The Bailieff³⁴ and the cheife of the Towne keeping vs continewal company.

²⁵ **chappell ... Strange** Alexander Strange (c.1570-1650) was vicar of Layston, the parish containing Buntingford, between 1604 and 1650. He is especially notable for his schemes for the relief and employment of the poor, and for his construction of a new chapel of ease to replace the inconvenient parish church of St Bartholomew. Dedicated to St Peter, the chapel was begun in 1614 and completed, after many years of fundraising, in 1628. It cost £420 to build (Falvey and Hindle, 2003, xv, 13, 344).

²⁶ **Roiston** Royston, 7 miles north of Buntingford; a market town which was home to lodgings built for James VI and I in the early years of his English reign, and frequently used by the monarch (Page, 1912).

²⁷ **Atkinsons** Nicholas Atkinson held a wine licence for Royston between 1616 and 1620, and is described as 'innholder' in contemporary recognizances (NA, E 163/17/22; Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, HAT/SR/141). A part of the 'King's Lodgings' was built on a garden formerly belonging to the Talbot (Page, 1912).

²⁸ **Erthington** Arrington, also known as Ermington, 6 miles north of Royston on Ermine Street, where there were a number of inns (Elrington, 1973).

²⁹ **bayted** rested briefly, took refreshments (*OED*, Bait v.¹ 7a).

³⁰ **Kings Armes** In 1619, John Layer of Shepreth described Caxton as 'a small village, but well known for that it is a post town and hath Innes for the receipt of travellers'. Hostelries in this period include the Crown, White Hind, Red Lion and George at Caxton, but this list is not exhaustive (Palmer, 1927, 37-8, 46, 49, 51; Elrington, 1973; NA, E 163/17/22).

³¹ **oyes** 'oyez', a clamour; here, of acclamation (*OED*, Oyez n. A).

³² **towne** 'by the way' suggests Papworth Everard, half way between Caxton and Huntingdon; 'towne' need not suggest a settlement of any size (*OED*, Town n. 3).

³³ **Patricks** The George is a long-established Huntingdon inn, part of the current building dating from the early seventeenth century; in 1598 it was in the possession of Sir Henry Cromwell. A William Patrick lived in the parish of All Saints, in which the George was located, in the 1620s and 30s, and a man of the same name is listed as alderman in a new charter of 1630 (Page, Proby and Ladds, 1932; Cambridgeshire County Record Office, Huntingdon, H26/27, 7; Cambridgeshire County Record Office, Huntingdon, AH28/46/1).

³⁴ **Bailieff** The borough of Huntingdon was governed by bailiffs and twenty four burgesses until the 1630 charter created the offices of mayor and aldermen (Cambridgeshire County Record Office, Huntingdon, H26/17).

From thence in the morning, before wee wee [sic] were two myles out of towne, frecd³⁵ by rayne, wee were fayne to take an Alehouse At a place called Stukly, where the minister came to vs whose name was Seborne³⁶ where wee were warned of Stangate³⁷ in the hole, wee came to Stilton to Smiths at the Angell³⁸ to bedd./

35 Thence wee passed thorough a towne where *Sir Iohn Whitbrook*³⁹ hadd a house where wee mett with one *Pauy*⁴⁰ sometyme a citizen in London, And one Mr *Hanger*⁴¹ that hadd beene minister in the blacke Friers, who brought vs to wandsworth bridge⁴² where wee bayted. That night wee came to Stamford [.o] to the maydenhead to my plesante host Bates⁴³ etc./ All sonday we stayed there. In the morning Mr *Fawldingham*⁴⁴ of the bell sent my Gossip a

³⁵ **frec'd** Freckled, sprinkled.

³⁶ **Seborne** James Seabourne, ordained priest in 1617 and appointed as vicar of Great Stukeley in January 1618 (Clergy of the Church of England Database, Person ID 102406).

³⁷ **Stangate** Stangate Hole, 4 miles north of Great Stukeley; with Shooter's Hill in Kent proverbially notorious for 'robberies that are committed daily', and a haunt of the highwayman Gamaliel Ratsey. He was executed in 1605, but sufficiently well known to be recalled in *The Alchemist* (?Skinner, 1604, sig. D4; Anon., *A True and Perfect Relation*, 1606, sig. li1v; Anon., *Ratseis Ghost*, 1605, sig. D4v; *Alch.*, 1.1.99).

³⁸ **Angell** The Angel, a prominent inn on Ermine Street in Stilton, owned in 1618 by Robert Apreece (Page, Proby and Ladds, 1936); 'Smith' was presumably his tenant, though the name is not recorded.

³⁹ **Whitbrook** Sir John Whitbrook (d. 1619) was knighted in 1604, and acquired the manor and advowson of Water Newton, the 'towne' mentioned here, in 1610. Cited in 1612 as a recusant, and held in the Fleet prison from May 1617 at the latest; subsequently involved in a prison riot by 'elite recusants'. He was stabbed and killed by a fellow prisoner at the Fleet in September or October 1619 (Nichols 1828, 1.439; Page, Proby and Ladds, 1936; *CSPD 1611-18*, 120; Harris, 1879, 29-42; *ODNB* Alexander Harris; Chamberlain, 1939, 2. 267).

⁴⁰ **Pavy** unidentified, but plausibly a relation of Salomon Pavy, the boy actor included in the printed cast list for *Cynthia's Revels* and *Poetaster* and movingly elegised by Jonson after his death in 1602 (*Epigr.* 120).

⁴¹ **Hanger** John Hanger (1579-1638) studied at Trinity and Corpus Christi before his ordination in 1604; he was rector of Water Newton from 1606-29, and of the adjacent parish of Stibbington from 1613. He married his wife Mary in 1611, but she died in November 1618, the same month as their infant son; in 1619 he married Jane, widow of Peter Edwards, and presumably lived with her at Stibbington Hall, which features a plaque with the initials I. E. and I. H. and the date 1624. A 'Mr Handser' was mentioned as the minister of St Anne's, Blackfriars, in Jonson's citation for recusancy in 1606, and charged with certifying his and his wife's 'diligent & ordinarie' church attendance. This Mr Handser has been identified with a 'John Handclir' appointed to St Anne's in 1605 (Cambridgeshire County Record Office, Huntingdon, HP76/1/1/1; Clergy of the Church of England Database, Person ID 69995; Venn and Venn, 1922-7; Page, Proby and Ladds, 1936; H&S, 1.221, 223); it is likely that these are both references to Hanger.

⁴² **wandsworth bridge** Wansford Bridge, 2 ½ miles from Water Newton on the old north road; a stone bridge was constructed in the final decades of the sixteenth century, to replace an earlier wooden structure.

⁴³ **Bates** Taylor stayed with Mr Bates at 'the signe of the Virginitie (or the Maydenhead)' at Stamford on his southwards journey from Scotland in October 1618. The will of John Bate, innholder of Stamford, was proved on November 8 1630 (Taylor, 1618, sig. G2; NA, PROB 11/158/419).

⁴⁴ **Fawldingham** William Folkingham (b. 1575) took on the lease of the George, one of the grandest and most important inns in Stamford, in 1616, and became the town's postmaster in January 1618. He was also the author of *Brachigraphy, Post-Writ, or, the Art of Short-writing*, entered in the Stationers' Register on 10 July 1620; the first edition was probably published later that year, with an 'Address to the Reader' amply demonstrating its author's literary style. In *Pan's Anniversary*, performed for Twelfth Night 1621, Jonson perhaps recalls him in referring to 'a great clerk, who (they say) can

- 40 fustian⁴⁵ *lettre*. Mr Barker⁴⁶ the minister there and preacher, with his brother in law Mr *Dillwoorth*,⁴⁷ *dined with vs who kept vs company till wee came out of towne*
 [2.2v] They with Mr *Faulkingham* brought vs to Witham to Mr *Arthur Croppers*⁴⁸
 ¶Postmaster¶ eight myles off where wee lay. Where the gentlewoman woulde giue no
 reckoninge, but the bounty of my Gossip made it deerer then an Inne etc./
- 45 Thence to Bever castle to my Lord of Rutlands⁴⁹ where was then my Lord Willowby,⁵⁰ and
 where I was very ill. ¶*Here my gossip gaue* to the lowest scullion in the house half a

write, and it is shrewdly suspected that he can read too; and he is to take the whole dances from the foot by brachygraphy, and so make a memorial, if not a map of the business' (*Pan's Ann.*, 106-9). The Bell on Butcher Row is mentioned in a source of 1728, but no corroboration of Folkingham's involvement with an inn of this name has been found; it is perhaps an understandable slip, since the equivalent inn at Stilton, where the travellers had spent the previous night, was (and is) called the Bell (Butler, 1951, 160; Wiltshire and Swindon Archives, 9/30/23; NA, Pipe Rolls, AO 1/1952/20, f.3; Rogers, 1983, 77; Page, Proby and Ladds, 1936).

⁴⁵ **Fustian** inaptly high-sounding or bombastic (*OED*, *Fustian* *adj.* 2a); cf. *EMO*, 3.1.131-2: 'Prithee let's talk fustian a little and gull 'em, make 'em believe we are great scholars.'

⁴⁶ **Barker** Thomas Barker (b. 1572) of Hambleton, in Rutland, was appointed perpetual vicar of All Saints and rector of St Peter's, Stamford, in 1601. He matriculated from Trinity, Cambridge, in 1589 (Clergy of the Church of England Database, Record ID 98900, 98901; Venn and Venn, 1922-7; Foster, 1891-2).

⁴⁷ **Dillwoorth** John Dilworth (b. 1584) of Lancashire became rector of Hargrave, Northamptonshire in 1610 and vicar of Brigstock, Northamptonshire, in 1616; Hargrave is 10 miles, and Brigstock 15 miles, south of Stamford. Alice, daughter of John Dilworth, was baptised at All Saints in December 1618 (Foster, 1891-2; Clergy of the Church of England Database, Person ID 133939; Lincolnshire Archives, PAR/1/1).

⁴⁸ **Croppers** Arthur Cropper was the postmaster at South Witham. In 1637 his son James is recorded as having inherited the role from his widowed mother some 4 or 5 years previously (NA, Pipe Rolls, AO 1/1952/20, f.3; *CSPD 1637*, 331, 418-19).

⁴⁹ **Bever ... Rutlands** Belvoir Castle, in Leicestershire, the seat of the earls of Rutland, about 12 miles north east of South Witham. Belvoir was the favourite property of Francis Manners (1578–1632), the sixth earl, who had succeeded to the title on the death of his brother Roger in 1612, and it was visited frequently by James VI and I; *Gypsies Metamorphosed*, commissioned by the Marquis of Buckingham to celebrate his marriage to Rutland's daughter Catherine, received its second performance there on 5 August 1621. The fifth earl's wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Philip Sidney, had been a regular performer in court masques, Jonson's patron and the addressee of several of his poems (*Epigr.* 79, *For.* 12, *Und.* 50); to Drummond Jonson described her as 'nothing inferior to her father ... in poesy' (*Informations*, 159-60), detailing too her sometimes difficult relationship with her husband (*Informations*, 277-9). She died less than a fortnight after him in 1612. With his brother, the sixth earl had been involved in the Essex rebellion of 1601. He became a Catholic after his second marriage in 1608 to the recusant Cicely Hungerford, but was nevertheless appointed a privy councillor in 1617 and accompanied the King on his return to Scotland that year. The sixth earl commissioned an *impres*a from 'Mr Shakspeare' and Richard Burbage in 1613, for use in that year's accession day tilt, also tilted in *A Challenge at Tilt*, and possibly danced in *The Irish Masque at Court* (*ODNB*, Roger Manners, Francis Manners; HMC Rutland 4.494; Masque Archive, Masquers and Tilters).

⁵⁰ **Willowby** probably Robert Bertie (1582–1642), Lord Willoughby, later first Earl of Lindsey, whose family seat of Grimsthorpe castle is 15 miles south east of Belvoir. Peregrine Bertie, Willoughby's father, had in his later years been an associate and supporter of the Earl of Essex. Willoughby was a 'close friend' of Rutland, and they were both made Knights of the Bath together at the creation of Prince Charles as Duke of York in January 1605; gifts and resources were often exchanged between them, and Willoughby was a regular visitor to Belvoir. Like his friend, Willoughby danced or tilted in Jacobean entertainments including *Hymenaei* and its Barriers, and *Prince Henry's Barriers*. In the spring and summer of 1618, the pair were cooperating as Lieutenant and Deputy Lieutenant in arrangements for militia musters and as Commissioners of Sewers for Lincolnshire (Hammer, 1999, 286-7; Honeybone, 2008, 170; Shaw, 1906; HMC Rutland 4.478-

crowne⁵¹ There the Erle subscribed 30 pieces and my Lord Willowby i0. Captain Stratford⁵²
 fetcht mee vp to the castle etc./

From thence wee were brought by Captain Stratford, Mr Markes⁵³ and an other gentleman
 50 of My Lords to Botsfoord, three myles of Bever where lye all the Erles of Rutland
 entombed⁵⁴ But by the way, The Erle, my Lord Willowby,⁵⁵ and Sir Robert Willowby being a
 hunting and spying vs on our iorney galloped over to vs and the Erle bydd God send vs well
 on our Pilgrimage.

Att Botsfoord, a grave and reverent man called doctor Flemming,⁵⁶ gaue vs great
 55 entertayment. And an honest parson ^ fSurcot⁵⁷ beneficed hard by would not part from

9, 496, 500, 510, 514, 522; Chambers, 1923, 3.378-9; Masque Archive, Masquers and Tilters; Lincolnshire Archives, 10ANC/*Lot 355/1; Lincolnshire Archives, Spalding Sewers, 449/1).

⁵¹ Marginal addition; no insertion point in the text.

⁵² **Stratford** Captain Stratford is listed among the household at Belvoir at the time of the fifth earl's funeral in 1612, and as acting for or accompanying the sixth earl in subsequent years (HMC Rutland 1.444, 4. 487, 505-6).

⁵³ **Markes** Andrew Marks was a musician, and a member of the household of both the fifth and sixth earl. He is mentioned in Rutland accounts in connection with the acquisition and repair of instruments. (HMC Rutland 4.470, 487, 507, 513, 518-9).

⁵⁴ **Botsfoord ... entombed** The choir of St Mary the Virgin in Bottesford, a little more than 3 miles north of Belvoir, houses elaborate funeral monuments to the earls of Rutland. That of the first earl and his countess was erected in 1543, with memorials to the second, third and fourth earls and their consorts following over the next fifty years; a payment of £100 'in full payment for the finishinge of the monument erected at Botesforth for the late Earle Roger of Rutland' was made in 1619 to the sculptor Nicholas Johnson or Janssen. Payment for indentures for the making of the tomb and an advance of £50 to the sculptor feature in the previous year's accounts, while the sixth earl is recorded as discussing it with the rector of the church in 1615, so it is likely that it was under construction when Jonson visited (Mowl, 1993, 28-36; HMC Rutland 4.504, 512, 517).

⁵⁵ **Willowby** The only 'Sir Robert Willoughby' known to be living in 1618 was not knighted until December; he would appear to have come from a junior branch of the family, very distantly related to the Berties, with lands at Turner's Puddle in Dorset (*CSPD 1580-1625 Add.*, 533; Shaw, 1906). Given that Lord Willoughby's first name was Robert, it is possible that the account here is mistaken, in which case this could be another Willoughby knight – perhaps Sir Percival, of Wollaton, 18 miles west of Belvoir, or his son, Sir Francis. Sir Percival appears to have had a cousin and brother called Robert (his paternal grandfather's name), but there is no evidence that either of these men was knighted (HMC Middleton, 562, 609; Hasler, 1981; Thrush and Ferris, 2010; Foster, 1891-2).

⁵⁶ **Flemming** Samuel Fleming (1548-1620), admitted to Cambridge as a King's scholar in October 1565, having previously attended Eton; ordained in 1576, he attained his BD in 1580, and was appointed rector of Bottesford the following year. From the 1590s, he was described as 'Doctor Fleming', though no record of a doctoral degree survives. At Cambridge he was tutor to the future Sir John Harington, who later recalled his defence of 'humane learning', specifically the study and use of rhetorical ornament, against the criticisms of 'the precise sort, that would have the word and church and all goe naked' (Venn and Venn, 1922-7; Clergy of the Church of England Database, Person ID 24186; Miller, 1959, 67; Harington, 1804, 2.207). He served the third Earl of Rutland as chaplain from at least 1586, and performed the same role for the three earls following. His brother Abraham was a prolific writer and the editor-in-chief for the 1587 edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles*; Samuel himself may have written an unpublished history of the reign of Queen Mary (*ODNB*, Abraham Fleming; Painting Stubbs, 2011, 91-126; Miller, 1959, 57, 79). In March 1619, in his capacity as a Justice of the Peace for Leicestershire, Fleming joined Rutland and Lord Willoughby in examining the 'Belvoir witches' convicted of bringing about the death of two of the earl's children (Anon., *The Wonderful Discoverie*, 1619).

⁵⁷ **Surcot** John Surcot (d. 1633), rector of Muston from the late sixteenth century (Nichols, 1971, 2.288-9).

vs, till hee hadd made vs tast of all the Ale⁵⁸ thereabouts, and not contented so way layd vs at the townes end with a paile full of Ale, *which* when hee hadd emptied, wee made flow^l curtesie⁵⁹ to his redd nose, and parted *etc./*

[2.3] Thence wee came to a towne two myles of called Stanton to one Mr Astons who
 60 married Mr Stantons widdow,⁶⁰ and who held his land by Tower guard That is, was bound vpon any occason when the Erle should call him to mayntayne that tower *which* was called by his name Stantons tower,⁶¹ In *which* tower my Gossip and I lay./ There my Gossip gave to the gentlewoman of the house a piece to hir daughter half a piece, and to euery servant in the house two shillings. From thence one Draper⁶² would needes goe a long with vs to
 65 Newarke⁶³ *etc* where wee hadd purposed to lye at Mr Atkinsons⁶⁴ the Poastmasters, But Wamble⁶⁵ of the hart subtelly anticipated vs *etc./*

⁵⁸ **Ale** traditionally, brewed without hops and flavoured with herbs or spices; already identified as a country drink by the early seventeenth century ('Gallobelgicus', 1629, sig. C2; Clark, 1983, 96).

⁵⁹ **Curtesie** courtesy, curtsy: 'the customary expression of respect by action or gesture', especially to a superior; a bow (*OED*, Courtesy *n.* 8).

⁶⁰ **Astons ... widdow** Elizabeth Disney (c.1566-1634) was the widow of William Staunton (c.1563-1602); as her second husband she took Thomas Aston, who had been her 'menial servant', and by him had a daughter, Faith – presumably the recipient of Jonson's generosity here. They lived a mile north west of the church of Staunton in the Vale at Staunton Grange, a property in which she had a life interest. In 1619, Aston was cited for non-attendance at church and failure to take communion at Easter. After his death, Elizabeth married a third time (Nichols, 1971, 3.704; Staunton and Stenton, 1911, 42-3; Borthwick Institute, V.1619/CB, f.339v).

⁶¹ **Stantons tower** According to William Burton, the Stauntons 'held [their] lands ... by the tenure of *Castle gard*, by keeping and defending a Tower in the Castle of *Beluoire*, against any assault or invasion: which Tower to this day, is called *Staunton Tower*'. Staunton Tower, 'the most important portion' of Belvoir castle, was rebuilt by the Manners family in the sixteenth century (Burton, 1622, 9; Eller, 1841, 325).

⁶² **Draper** A William Draper of Bottesford was coadjutor of Newark between 1606 and 1614, but does not appear in the records after that date (HMC Rutland 4.469; Nottinghamshire Archives, DC/NW/3/1/1, ff.123, 125, 131v, 133, 136v). Possibly the occupation rather than the name of this fellow traveller, in which case see line 66 below.

⁶³ **Newark** In 1609 Newark was said to be 'a great thoroughfare towne and a post town, and the Kinges Majesties subjects doe usually travell from the north parts into the south parts through the said town, and lykewyse back again'. The 'neat Market place' at the heart of the town was described in a 1634 account as 'in a manner 4. Square, euery way ascending to the Crosse standing in the midst: the Buildings round about are fayre, and straight, exchange like, both walkes, and shops, with Trading well stor'd, and with handsome Creatures well furnish'd, such as were able to refresh weary Trauellers' (Samuels, Charles, Henstock and Siddall, 1996, 22; Legg, 1904, 11).

⁶⁴ **Atkinsons** The Atkinsons were a substantial Newark family, with tombs in the choir of the parish church. Taylor's 'George Atkinson' is an error for Gilbert Atkinson, postmaster in 1617 and 1618; he was later an Alderman and, by 1627, kept the White Hart inn (Brown, 1879, 302; Taylor 1618, sig. G1v; NA, Pipe Rolls, AO 1/1952/20, f.3; Samuels, Charles, Henstock and Siddall, 1996, 24).

⁶⁵ **Wamble** The White Hart was one of the grandest and oldest inns in Newark, located in the south west corner of the market square and distinguished by its ornately decorated fifteenth-century front range. This building is now the office of

Here my Gossip discovered his love and care of mee. For hee would not eate till hee hadd sent for Doctor⁶⁶ *Hunton*, and Webster⁶⁷ his Apothecary, to conferre [etc/ abut] about an infirmitie I was troubled with etc. Wee stayed here from friday till tewsday Here Mr Mun Mason⁶⁸ the preacher, and the Aldermen⁶⁹ with other gentlemen of the cuntrey especially the Markhams⁷⁰ still kept vs company

the Nottingham Building Society, but wall decoration dating from the early seventeenth century is still visible on its interior timbers. In 1618, it was leased and kept by a draper, William Wombwell, who also served as a coadjutor in the town between 1615 and 1624 (Samuels, Charles, Henstock and Siddall, 1996, 24; Nottinghamshire Archives, DC/NW/3/1/1, ff.139v-160).

⁶⁶ **Doctor** Anthony Hunton (d. 1624), B.A. at Christ's, Cambridge 1578/9, M.A. 1582; licensed to practise medicine, 1589; he was also preacher at Newark, where he was buried. He translated Jacques Guillemeau's, *Worthy Treatise of the Eyes*, first published in 1587 or 1588 when he was a 'Student in Physicke'; the second edition of 1622 has a dedication to Francis, sixth Earl of Rutland, and additions by Richard Banister of Stamford. Hunton attended on the families of both the fifth and sixth earls (Borthwick Institute, Probate Register, 38, ff.343-4; Venn and Venn, 1922-7; Poynter, 1947, 174-5; HMC Rutland 4.409, 461, 478, 522).

⁶⁷ **Webster** A Henry Webster was an Assistant on the Corporation of Newark council from at least 1603, Alderman in 1603-04 and 1613-14, and in 1618 was both an Assistant and a Justice of the Peace. 'Henry Webster, of Newark, poticarie' is mentioned in Rutland accounts for 1588, and was among the retainers attending the funeral of the fifth earl in 1612; in 1595, 'Mr Docter Hunton and Mr Harrye Webster' received 30 shillings for 'commynge to Belvoyre to her Ladyship' (Nottinghamshire Archives, DC/NW/3/1/1, ff.107v, 109, 111, 125, 133, 141v-142, 143; HMC Rutland 4.394, 409).

⁶⁸ **Mr Mun Mason** Edmund Mason (d. 1635), of Egmanton, Nottinghamshire, 10 miles from Newark, who received his BA from Clare College, Cambridge, in 1594/5, proceeded MA in 1598, and then took up a fellowship at Pembroke. He was ordained in 1608, and subsequently held a number of livings in the midlands including Ordsall, near Retford, which was then in royal patronage, and the parish church of St Mary, Newark, to which he was appointed in 1618. By 1604, he counted Nathan Field and Francis Beaumont among his associates; in 1615, he played several parts in the performance of George Ruggle's neo-Latin satire *Ignoramus* before the king and Prince Charles, a production for which Clare College was the sponsor. Mason was tutor to the prince, probably prior to his appointment at Ordsall in 1614, and from at least 1621 a chaplain-in-ordinary at court: his *Sermon Preached at Oatlands* was published in 1622 by royal command. His fellow royal chaplain Richard Corbett celebrates Mason as 'a man whose Tongue and Life is eloquent' in his account of a visit to Newark in *Iter Boreale*, a commendation that also stresses his conformity. Mason's ecclesiastical advancement (he eventually became Dean of Salisbury) led to his resignation as vicar of Newark in 1628; he presented a 'black wand' to the Corporation which was still in its possession three centuries later (*ODNB*; Clergy of the Church of England Database, Person ID 30908, Record ID 77092; Kelliher, 2000; Nelson, 1989, 530, 955; Corbett, 1955, 39; Mason, 1915, 154-5).

⁶⁹ **Aldermen** Under the charter granted to Newark in 1549, a corporation of one alderman and twelve assistants was created. This was formally changed only 1625, when King Charles issued a new charter naming the 'alderman' as 'mayor', and the 'assistants' as 'aldermen'. The use of the plural here may indicate that the terminology of the new charter was in use prior to its issuance; an additional charter of 1604, which appears to speak of 'aldermen', may account for or reflect the uncertainty (Brown, 1879, 65, 87, 100).

⁷⁰ **Markhams** The principal branch of the Markham family had their seat at Cotham, Nottinghamshire, 4 miles south of Newark, and were an important presence in the town: the early sixteenth-century Markham chantry chapel is prominently situated on the south side of the high altar in St Mary's. The children of Robert Markham (1536-1606) included Gervase (c.1568-1637), the writer, and Francis (1565-1627), both author and soldier. Sir Robert Markham (1563-1609), the eldest son, inherited a declining estate, and managed only to hasten the process. The family's principal seat and some of the rest of their lands were acquired by Sir Charles Cavendish of Welbeck by 1616. Three of Sir Robert's sons, John (b. 1590), Robert (b. 1596) and Alexander (b. 1601), are described as 'of Newark upon Trent' in papers dated 1618, perhaps suggesting that they were prominent among the Markhams mentioned – given Gervase Markham's subsequent undertaking of a foot voyage of his own, walking from London to Berwick in 1622, it is possible that he too was of the company here and took his inspiration from a direct encounter with Jonson's progress (*ODNB*, Gervase Markham; Markham, 1854, 44; Nottinghamshire Archives, DD/P/8/105, DD/P/8/108, DD/P/8/111). However, the reference may be to the Ollerton branch of the family, founded by Thomas Markham (c.1523-1607), uncle to Robert – Ollerton is 12 miles north-west of Newark, in the direction Jonson was to travel, and members of this family were to provide hospitality and company in the days to come. Thomas Markham was a longtime servant of Queen Elizabeth, and for many years an associate of Gilbert Talbot,

Here twenty man⁷¹ of the Sarazens head and Peet quint⁷² made good sporte. Mr *Iames*
 Stewart⁷³ and Sir Dauy Wood⁷⁴ lighted as wee came there Here were fire woorkes and bull
 bayting./⁷⁵

seventh Earl of Shrewsbury, and his wife, Mary Cavendish. His wife Mary (see below, line 133), whom he married around 1567, was daughter and heir of Rice Griffin of Northamptonshire. Through his sister Isabel or Isabella he was uncle to Sir John Harington, who not only addressed him in the 'Apologie' appended to *The Metamorphosis of Ajax* in 1596 but presented him with a large paper copy of the work. Harington was known to Jonson, and a kinsman of the latter's patron, Lucy Russell, countess of Bedford; Bedford's circle also included her aunt, Lady Bridget Markham (d. 1609), wife of Sir Anthony Markham (d. 1604) of Sedgebrook, head of a junior branch of the family. Sedgebrook is 10 miles south of Newark, so it is just possible that some members of this family were among the company at Newark (*Informations*, 26-8; *ODNB*, Lucy Russell; Markham, 1913, 1.148-50). Thomas Markham's daughter, Elizabeth, married Edward, son of Ralph Sheldon of Beoley, who may also have been known to Jonson: a man of this name is the addressee of *Epigr.* 119 (though there credited with a knighthood, which Sheldon of Beoley did not possess; the addressee of this poem is more probably Sir Ralph Shelton, of Norfolk). A 'Shelton' is also named as one of the protagonists of 'The Famous Voyage', and has sometimes been identified as a member of the Beoley family (Hasler, 1981; *Epigr.* 119 and 133, Blomefield, 1806, 269; Shaw, 1906). In the 1590s, the Ollerton and Cotham branches of the Markham family found themselves on different sides in a county feud between the Earl of Shrewsbury's adherents and the family of Sir Thomas Stanhope. The fortunes of the Ollerton Markhams took a turn for the worse when Thomas's heir, Sir Griffin (c.1565-c.1644), was exiled and disinherited as a result of his participation in the 1603 'Bye Plot', an affair in which two of his younger sons, the twins, Charles and Thomas, were also implicated. Thomas was succeeded by his third son, George. Many members of this branch of the family, including Sir Griffin, George and the younger Thomas, were recusants; their brother Robert left for the English College in Rome in 1594, though he appears to have been providing intelligence for Essex within the year, while another Catholic sibling, William, was a protagonist in the attempted flight of Arabella Stuart in 1611. In a letter to his nephew of 1600, their father mentions that he has been meeting with friends 'twice or thrice a week' at the Mermaid in Bread Street, London – the party included 'my brother, Sheldon his sonne' and a Mr Catesby, who may be the Gunpowder plotter with whom Jonson was recorded as dining in 1605 (*ODNB*, Griffin Markham; Markham, 1913; Copnall, 1915, 149, 153, 156; Harington, 1962, 23-4, 58; Tighe, 1986; Lambeth Palace, MS 708, f.43; Hammer, 1999, 181-2; Steggle, 2012).

⁷¹ **twenty man** John Twentyman owned and kept the Saracen's Head, the second of Newark's principal inns. He shared his forename both with his father (d. 1593) and with his eldest son (b. 1587). In 1603 he delivered a scholarly Latin address to the King on his journey south, so pleasing James that Twentyman 'became a great favourite, and was always near his Royal person in his numerous hunting excursions' in the area. A coadjutor from at least 1596, he was elected Assistant in 1605 and Alderman in 1609. The following year he served as Coroner, and continued as an Assistant until 1622 (Nottinghamshire Archives, DD/1440/74/2-3; Nichols, 1828, 1.88-9; Nottinghamshire Archives, DC/NW/3/1/1, ff.86, 114, 123, 152v).

⁷² **Peet quint** something of a puzzle, though clearly a name. 'Quint' is found as a surname, while 'Peet' and 'Pete' are recorded, but only rarely, as an abbreviation for Peter at this period. 'Peter Quint' and close variants are just as uncommon, Shakespeare and Henry James notwithstanding. But while 'Peet' is encountered as a surname in the Newark area, the addition of 'Quint' would then make little sense unless used in an analogous fashion to 'Charles Quint' to indicate the fifth in a series of holders of this name. Most simply, this is perhaps an error for Peter Key, Assistant to Twentyman in 1609 (Nottinghamshire Archives, DC/NW/3/1/1, f.125).

⁷³ **Stewart** A James Stewart is recorded as receiving money from the King 'for service' in 1605 and 1608, and a man of the same name was a member of the royal household in 1617 (NA, E 101/627/14, f.24; BL MS Add 58,833, f.22; NA, LS 13/168, 359).

⁷⁴ **Wood** Sir David Wood was knighted in 1604, and later caught up in the Overbury case when it was alleged that Frances Howard, while countess of Essex, had sought to induce him to murder Sir Thomas Overbury, with whom he was at odds. He has been identified as a member of the Queen's household, and as servant to the Earl of Richmond, a title conferred in 1613 on Ludovick Stuart, Duke of Lennox, the son of the young James's favourite Esmé Stuart and elder brother to Jonson's patron of the same name, who succeeded him to the dukedom; Lennox was an important courtier over many decades, spanning James's Scottish and British reigns. Wood was the addressee of a 'Dogrell' poem written by William Fowler (Shaw, 1906; *CSPD 1611-18*, 319; *ODNB*, Thomas Overbury; *Journal of the House of Lords*, 30/5/1614; Fowler, 1914, 320; *ODNB*, Ludovick Stuart).

⁷⁵ **bull bayting** a nineteenth-century bullring or bear-baiting post can be found on the north eastern side of the market place, presumably a replacement for an earlier structure.

75 [2.3v] From Newarke, [and] Mr Markham with the cheife of the towne brought vs to
 Canton,⁷⁶ where a dynner was provided for vs.
 From thence wee went to knights hall,⁷⁷ where Mr Thomas Mason⁷⁸ over tooke vs. And with
 the rest of the company brought vs to his brother in lawes house Mr *Hartopes*,⁷⁹ where wee
 hadd a little banckett,⁸⁰ and from thence went to Rufford⁸¹ where the Countesse⁸² gave vs
 80 extrordinary grace and entertayment. Where the next day was hunting and a Stagge kylled,
 and hawking at the Powlt,⁸³ by Mr *Thomas Westby* of Anfield. Wee stayd all day the next
 day. My Lady gaue the charge of My Gossip to Mr young who was sent thether by Sir
 William Candishe⁸⁴ now Lord Mansfield to stay for him and attend him to Wellbecke. All my

⁷⁶ **Canton** Caunton, across the Trent, 5 miles north of Newark, and west of the main north-south road.

⁷⁷ **knights hall** an error for Kneesall, 4 miles north west of Caunton. At the western end of the village is Old Hall Farm, a substantial, and unusual, sixteenth-century brick-built hunting lodge with terracotta newel staircase and window and door surrounds. Its striking presence may account for the mistake (Summers, 1972).

⁷⁸ **Mason** the elder brother of Edmund Mason, and heir to the family property at Egmanon, 3 ½ miles north of Kneesall. He was admitted to Gray's Inn in 1598, and was probably the Thomas Mason who matriculated from Clare College, Cambridge, around 1590, and received his MA from Pembroke in 1598 (Foster, 1889, 94; Venn and Venn, 1922-7).

⁷⁹ **Hartopes** Bridget Mason married Samuel Hartopp (d. 1636), of Burton Lazars, Leicestershire, who also held leases in Kneesall – he is mentioned as one of the chief 'owners' of the village in 1612. A Mr Hartopp sent a buck to the funeral of the fifth Earl of Rutland in 1612, and was given 12s, 6d (NA, PROB 11/171; Trollope, 1890, 168; Thoroton, 1790, 3.136; HMC Rutland 4.487).

⁸⁰ **banckett** more probably 'a slight repast' or a course of sweetmeats than a feast (*OED*, Banquet *n.*¹ 2, 3a).

⁸¹ **Rufford** Rufford Abbey, a former Cistercian monastery and substantial estate just within the north eastern boundary of Sherwood Forest, as that was established in the sixteenth century. The manor and liberty of Rufford were acquired by the earls of Shrewsbury after the dissolution, and remained with the family until the 1620s. During its occupation by Gilbert and Mary Talbot it was described by Sir John Holles as an 'asylum' for 'obstinate recusants' (BL MS Add 74,291; Mastoris, 1998, 81, 91; HMC Portland 9.47-9).

⁸² **Countesse** Lady Jane Ogle (1566-1625), the eldest daughter and heir of Cuthbert, seventh Lord Ogle, of Bothal, in Northumberland. She married Edward Talbot (1561-1618) in 1583; her younger sister Lady Catherine married Sir Charles Cavendish of Welbeck, further cementing the relationship between their respective families. Counted as a Protestant in a 1606 report on the religious affiliations of the Northumbrian gentry, Jane Talbot became Countess of Shrewsbury in 1616, when her husband succeeded his brother Gilbert – with whom he had long quarrelled – as the eighth earl. After Edward's death in February 1618, and despite a legal dispute over the property with his brother's heirs, she remained in residence at Rufford (HMC Portland 19.3; Nottinghamshire Archives, DD/SR/225/157-64). She also continued to oversee her husband's estates around Pontefract, in Yorkshire, and her own Ogle inheritance at Bothal. Jonson wrote an epitaph on her death ('To the Memory of That Most Honoured Lady Jane ... Ogle'). Richard Andrews praised her generous provision of 'Almes' in a poem of the early 1620s, and the charity and hospitality 'which she at *Rufford* every day did show' were commemorated by William Sampson in *Virtus Post Funera Vivit* (BL MS Harl. 4955, f.67v; Sampson, 1636, 12).

⁸³ **Powlt** game birds (*OED*, Poultr *n.*¹ 1).

⁸⁴ **Candishe** William Cavendish (1593-1676), son of Sir Charles Cavendish of Welbeck and his wife, Lady Catherine Ogle. Entered St John's, Cambridge, in 1608; created Knight of the Bath in June 1610, ahead of the investiture of Henry, Prince of Wales, and tilted in *Barriers* earlier that year and *Challenge* in 1613/14. He travelled with Sir Henry Wotton's embassy of 1612, and sat as MP for East Retford in the 1614 Parliament. Sir Charles Cavendish – stepbrother to Gilbert Talbot – was widely suspected of sharing the Catholicism of his sister, Mary, who was Gilbert's wife. He died in April 1617, and William married for the first time in 1618. According to the biography written by his second wife, Margaret Cavendish, he then

ladyes gentlemen were wholly attendant on vs. Mr *Cookson*⁸⁵ hir solliciter Mr *Wright*⁸⁶

85 gentleman vsher, Mr *Selby*⁸⁷ *gentleman* of the house, Mr *Washendon*⁸⁸ hir chaplin, all which brought vs to Edenston,⁸⁹ where *Pilkinton*⁹⁰ etc./

From thence to *Wellbeck*⁹¹ where My Gossip made fat herry Ogle⁹² his *Mistress*.⁹³

Here besides all other open entertaynmentes *Sir William Cavendish* shewed vs all his house with the pleasures, and comodities thereof.

90 [2.4] ^ [Among] The rest hee shewed vs his fathers library which besides the neatnesse and curiosity of the place, the books were many and of especiall choice Then hee brought vs to

'lived, for the most part, in the Country, and pleased Himself and his neighbours with Hospitality, and such delights as the Country afforded'. His position as executor for Gilbert Talbot's will helped him to achieve ennoblement as Viscount Mansfield in 1620; he was made Earl of Newcastle in 1628. A keen horseman, poet and dramatist, he was addressed by Jonson in two epigrams (*Und.* 53, 59), and described as his 'best patron' aside from the king. For him Jonson also wrote a christening entertainment and two masques, *The King's Entertainment at Welbeck* (1633) and *Love's Welcome at Bolsover* (1634). Cavendish preserved some of their correspondence from the early 1630s (Letters 16-19). Jonson's late plays were shaped by Cavendish's views and preoccupations; Cavendish's own writing, in turn, was heavily influenced by Jonson (*ODNB*; Cavendish, 1667, 4; University of Nottingham Library, MS Pw 1/570-91; Thrush and Ferris, 2010; Rowe, 1994).

⁸⁵ **Cookson** Henry Cookson acted for the countess for a number of years, and looked after her interests in the flurry of property suits following the deaths of Gilbert and Edward Talbot (Nottinghamshire Archives, SR/207/112, DD/P/25/1 and SR/207/112; Cooper, 1973, 109-12).

⁸⁶ **Wright** A Mr Wright is mentioned in contemporary accounts relating to the Shrewsbury estates, but without further identifying detail (University of Nottingham Library, MS Pw 1/572, 575, 578).

⁸⁷ **Selby** The countess made a particular mention of a 'Marie Selby' in a memorandum to her will of 1625 (Borthwick Institute, Probate Register, 39, f.187), who may have been a relation to the Mr Selby here.

⁸⁸ **Washendon** possibly a member of the Washington family of Adwick, near Doncaster, of whom both Bartholomew and Phillip were clerics (Clergy of the Church of England Database, Person IDs 128139, 16009; Venn and Venn, 1922-7; Foster, 1891-2).

⁸⁹ **Edenston** an archaic variant for Edwinstowe, a village in Sherwood Forest, nearly 2 miles north of Rufford.

⁹⁰ **Pilkinton** unidentified.

⁹¹ **Wellbeck** former abbey and chief seat of Sir Charles Cavendish. It was acquired by the Shrewsbury Talbots in 1584 from Richard Whalley, whose family who had held it since the Dissolution, in favour of Gilbert Talbot, subsequently seventh Earl of Shrewsbury. In 1597, the earl obtained a second lease of Welbeck and immediately made it over to his brother-in-law, Sir Charles Cavendish, and Lady Catherine Ogle, and it was bought outright for them in 1607. Improvements were planned following this purchase, but only partially implemented. Welbeck was again the focus of expansion and development in the early 1620s, when William Cavendish oversaw the construction of a substantial Riding House (Turberville, 1938, 1.14-16, 37; Worsley, 2001, 2.122-4).

⁹² **Harry Ogle** 'Henry Ogle of Welbeck, gent' (c.1559-1635) was described as 'servant and cousin' in elegies William Cavendish wrote for him. Ogle was an important figure in the retinue of both Sir Charles and William, a trusted retainer and receiver of lands. He was possibly also the author of verses in the Newcastle manuscript signed 'H. O.' and addressed to Richard Andrews, a physician and poet with connections to both branches of the Cavendish family and to Donne (Nottinghamshire Archives, DD/P/8/128; University of Nottingham Library, MS PwV25, ff.32, 34; Worsley, 2007, 10, 15; BL MS Harl. 4955, f.163; Kelliher, 1993, 159).

⁹³ **Mistress** possibly a suggestion that Jonson bestowed the role of mistress of the house on Ogle when Sir William left Welbeck in his guest's hands (see below line 108). Given its privileged position some way ahead of the narrative of Jonson's temporary reign, the identification of Ogle as Jonson's mistress may imply a more intimate relationship between the two men.

his roome of evidences⁹⁴ in handsomnes equall to the other with boxes all about it, where were all the spoyles *Sir Charles* had brought away from *Sir Iohn Stanhop*.⁹⁵ Who with thirteene well appointed armd with [F] Pistolls, swords, and staves, two of them being

95 Fencers which hadd tooke⁹⁶ the Sacrament to kill him, [A] Set vpon him, having but Mr *Harry Ogle*, his Grome and Page in his company, Being first shott as he lighted of his horse thorough the groyne and into the buttocke, After which wound⁹⁷ hee slew those two that hadd sworne his death, and made him self *Master* of their weapons, another left dead and all the rest hurt and put to flight./

100 The weapons that hee brought away were these. Two pistolls a staffe with two pikes in it, a rapier that reach'd to my nose, and a basket hilt sword as long as that an other sword with a great baskett hilt dagger.⁹⁸ And there was the cudgell which *Sir Charles* had bastinadoed⁹⁹ *Sir Iohn* with before, and vpon it written the staffe that *Sir Iohn Stanhop* was beaten with.

⁹⁴ **room of evidences** The 'evidence house' or 'evidence room' at Welbeck contained important deeds and papers, and also functioned as a treasury to keep money and other valuable items. Surviving John Smithson drawings for closets or business rooms, possibly drawn for Welbeck, may give an indication of the layout for a room such as this (Nottinghamshire Archives, DD/2P/24/73 f.2; University of Nottingham Library, MS PwK 2893; Worsley, 2001, 1.86-7; Woodhouse, 1999).

⁹⁵ **spoyles ... Stanhop** On June 18 1599, Sir Charles Cavendish was ambushed at Kirkby-in-Ashfield, Nottinghamshire, by a group of armed men led by Sir John Stanhope. This was the last, and one of the most violent, episodes in a long-running feud initiated by Gilbert Talbot and Stanhope's father, Sir Thomas, which had drawn in many of the parties' clients and relations; Cavendish and Sir John had been sharply at odds since a Nottinghamshire election of 1593 (MacCaffrey, 1960). A 'declaration' of this 'fowle outrage' written two days later from the Cavendish perspective, and surviving in two slightly varying versions, largely accords with the narrative here in factual details, but lacks any mention of the vengeful 'Fencers', 'hired or professional swordsman' (*OED*, Fencer n. 1b; University of Nottingham Library, MS Pw 1/424).

⁹⁶ **took the Sacrament** took communion together to solemnize their intention – in this context, the resort of evil or treasonous conspirators: cf. *CSPD 1591-4*, 551; Shakespeare, *R2*, 4.1.328, 5.2.97-9.

⁹⁷ **wound** Sir Charles's injuries were still the topic of medical correspondence in December 1599 (Lambeth Palace, Talbot MS 709, f.33).

⁹⁸ **weapons ... dagger** The version of the 'declaration' acquired by Chamberlain lists 'two rapiers, two pistolls, one sword and dagger, all which are safely kept by Sir Charles'; the other, in the Portland Collection, omits the sword and dagger. The 'staffe with two pikes in it' may be that mentioned in the 1599 accounts as belonging to an unfortunate keeper, 'whom Stanhope that morning tooke with him as he found him in his parke without bootes or weapon but a pike staffe which he had' (Chamberlain, 1939, 1. 77; University of Nottingham Library, MS Pw 1/424).

⁹⁹ **bastinadoed** beaten with an implement such as a cane or stick (*OED*, Bastinado v. 1).

[2.4v] Here Mr *Lukenell*¹⁰⁰ who hadd bin Tutor to *Sir William* and now read the
 105 mathematicke to his brother Mr *Charles*,¹⁰¹ gave my Gossip a little wheele of his owne
 invencion,¹⁰² *which* drivinge it before you, would shew how many myles, poles¹⁰³ or yards
 you went, and the iust distance from towne to towne according to *our* measurd myles./
 The next day after dinner, *Sir William* with my ould Lady *Candish*,¹⁰⁴ and his owne Lady¹⁰⁵
 went to Rufford, and resignd the whole house to my Gossip etc / Commaunding his Steward
 110 and all the rest of the officers to obey my Gossip in all thinges, *which* authority hee did as
 freely put in execution; For that afternoone hee commaunded a bucke¹⁰⁶ to be kyll'd. And
 made Mr George Markham his wodman¹⁰⁷ who with the two twynnes¹⁰⁸ were come of
 purpose to meet vs, hee gaue the keeper¹⁰⁹ his fee and sent half a booke to *Sir Thomas*

¹⁰⁰ **Lukenell** Henry Lukin (1586-1630) an important servant in the Cavendish household involved not only in tuition but also in architecture and surveying; eventually given the tenancy of a family property. The evidence here of his role as a teacher of mathematics and his acquaintance with Jonson suggests that he might be portrayed in the figure of the 'Mathematician' who features in the *Cavendish Christening Entertainment*, as Herford and Simpson speculated (Worsley, 2001, 1.72-3; H&S, 10.700).

¹⁰¹ **brother Mr Charles** Charles Cavendish (c.1595-1654), younger brother of Sir William; a 'great master' of mathematics, he became a noted collector of mathematical works and a patron or correspondent of philosophers and mathematicians including Thomas Hobbes, Walter Warner, William Oughtred and Marin Mersenne. He was knighted during the King's visit to Welbeck on August 10 1619 (*ODNB*; Aubrey, 1898, 1.153).

¹⁰² **wheele ... invencion** a surveyor's wheel.

¹⁰³ **poles** a measure of distance: standardized at five and a half yards, but varying between regions (Zupko, 1985, 309-10).

¹⁰⁴ **ould Lady Candish** Catherine Cavendish (c.1569-1629), Sir William's mother. Following the death of her sister Jane, Countess of Shrewsbury in 1625, she successfully petitioned the king for her right to the title Baroness Ogle. She was the subject of an epitaph by Jonson ('Epitaph on Lady Katherine Ogle') incorporated into a design for a funeral placard or more permanent memorial preserved in the Newcastle manuscript. She may have inspired the character of Lady Loadstone in *The Magnetic Lady* (BL MS Harl. 4955, f.55; *Mag. Lady*, Introduction).

¹⁰⁵ **his owne Lady** William Cavendish's marriage to Elizabeth Bassett (d. 1643), the widow of Henry Howard, third son of the Earl of Suffolk, is unlikely to have taken place prior to June 1618; it is noted, as news, by Chamberlain in a letter of October 24 that year, in which she is rightly described as 'a great heyre' (Chamberlain, 1939, 2.174; Worsley, 2001, 1.127). A mention by Chamberlain in a letter dated October 25 1617 of 'Sir William Cavendish' having a son might seem to suggest an earlier date for the marriage, but this is a reference to William's cousin and namesake, the heir to the Earl of Devonshire, whose own eldest boy was born on October 10 that year (*ODNB*). Despite being styled 'Lord Cavendish' from around this time, the Devonshire heir is referred to as 'Sir William' here, and again in a letter of January 31 1618 (Chamberlain, 1939, 2.107, 133; on both occasions, McClure's gloss is in error).

¹⁰⁶ **bucke** a mature male fallow-deer, at least five years old; a stag (see line 79 above) is a red deer (Gascoigne, 1575, 235-6).

¹⁰⁷ **wodman** woodman, a huntsman or forester, evoking the legal and political offices of forest government.

¹⁰⁸ **George ... twynnes** George Markham of Ollerton and his brothers Thomas and Charles. Ollerton is 7 miles south east of Welbeck.

¹⁰⁹ **keeper** an officer responsible for a forest or park.

Brudnell.¹¹⁰ That night hee commaunded the wyne seller to bee throwne open, And carryed
 115 down the Markhams etc. Mr Richardson,¹¹¹ Mr Carnaby;¹¹² m. & n.¹¹³ etc.¹¹⁴

On sonday my Gossip raigned wholly and gaue entertayment [sic] to all comers. The officers
 came to know his pleasure and what hee would comaund [Mr S] Divers gent/*lemen* dyned
 with him Mr Steward¹¹⁵ with other gentlemen would not be perswaded to sitt but wayght./

Whilst wee were at dinner Mr Carnaby comes from Rufford [etc]/ with comendacons [3.1]
 120 to my gossip from all the ladies and *Sir William Candish*, and with a comission to lay all the
 dores open to Mr *Johnson*, and that my lady resigned all power and authority to him to do
 what he pleas'd. The house was his, And withall to entreat him they might have as good
 cheere as hee could make them when they came home./

¹¹⁰ **Brudnell** Sir Thomas Brudenell (1578-1683) was born into an uncompromisingly Catholic family, and maintained this religious allegiance throughout his life. In 1593 he enrolled at Caius, Cambridge; his father died six years later. According to a marginal note in the 'Liber Brudenellorum', a compilation of family information made by Thomas himself, he married Mary Tresham on October 12 1605, a month and a day after the death of her father, Sir Thomas, and two days prior to the induction of her brother, Francis, into the Gunpowder Plot. His wife was a niece to Ralph Sheldon; Brudenell himself was a friend of the recusant Mary Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury. Following the death of his uncle in 1606 Brudenell took up residence the family estates at Deene Park in Northamptonshire, 10 miles south-west of Stamford. He angled unsuccessfully for a knighthood of the bath in 1610, but became one of the first baronets the following year, was knighted in 1612, and was made Baron Brudenell in 1628; the title Earl of Cardigan was conferred on him in 1661, in recognition of his loyalty to the crown during the civil wars. He had strong antiquarian interests, counting Sir Robert Cotton among his friends, and built up a great and still extant library on foundations laid by his father-in-law; the collection includes a presentation copy of *The Elements of Armorie* by Edmund Bolton, also a friend and commender of Jonson. Brudenell does not feature among the addressees of any of Jonson's works, but the 'Catholic supper party' attended by Francis Tresham and Jonson, among others, on or around October 9 1605, might have had some connection to the Brudenell-Tresham wedding, and thus testify to their obviously warm relationship (Barker and Quentin, 2006, 44-137; Wake, 1954; *ODNB*, Francis Tresham; Croft, 2000, 264, 275-7; HMC Portland 9.49; H&S, 11.578).

¹¹¹ **Richardson** Edward Richardson (d. 1637), agent for William Cavendish in his negotiations as executor of the seventh Earl of Shrewsbury's will and on other business. He was the stepbrother of Sir Ralph Winwood, who served as secretary of state from 1614 until his death in October 1617, and was co-executor for Gilbert Talbot's will with Sir William Cavendish. Richardson was knighted at Welbeck alongside Charles Cavendish on August 10 1619 (Nottinghamshire Archives, DD4P/46/6; Chamberlain, 1939, 2.260; *ODNB*, Ralph Winwood; NA, PROB 11/175).

¹¹² **Carnaby** William Carnaby was born around 1593, and was a cousin of Sir William Cavendish through his maternal grandmother; his family estates were in Northumberland, including property at Bothal, and he served as Justice of the Peace after 1621 and MP for seats in the county. He was witness to Cavendish deeds and indentures between 1617 and 1619, and knighted at Welbeck on the same day as Edward Richardson and Charles Cavendish (Thrush and Ferris, 2010; Nottinghamshire Archives, DD/P/8/111, 114, 170; Nichols, 1828, 3.560).

¹¹³ **m & n** an opaque abbreviation.

¹¹⁴ 'Mr Richardson, Mr Carnaby; m. & n. etc' added in the space of the line remaining after the end of the paragraph, but in the same hand and probably the same ink.

¹¹⁵ **Mr Steward** probably the 'steward' of line 108.

- After dinner by the entreaty of the Markhams And a desire my gossip had to see *Sir Thomas*
 125 *Brudnell*, (who had come over to him but that some businesse hee hadd then in hand stayd
 him) My gossip prepar'd to walke to Worthingsop alias Worsop¹¹⁶ accompanied with Mr
Lukenell with his wheele, which hee drave before him to shew vs the secreat and vse
 thereof, and Mr young and Mr *Thomas Markham* who gaue his man his horse and went him
 self on foote with vs./
- 130 In the meane tyme my gossip gave order to the keeper to kyll a bucke next morning
 Also pigg face¹¹⁷ put one, but for some privat reason against my gossips will
 As wee passed thorough Welbecke a heard of huge growne staggs made towards vs as if
 they came to entertayne vs
- [3.1v] At Worsop *Sir Thomas Brudnell* stood ready ^Γto entertayne vs] and Mrs Markham¹¹⁸
- 135 [the] mother of the twynnes gave vs a very hartly welcome, and very wittily (for some
 former rude offence of his) pinchd Pigg's-face¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ **Worsop** Worksop, a small market town nearly 4 miles north of Welbeck; the name is sometimes given a trisyllabic form, such as 'Workensop' (Camden, 1610, 550-1). Worksop Manor stands a mile to the west of the town; in the late 1570s or early 1580s the sixth Earl of Shrewsbury instigated an extensive remodelling and enlargement of an existing hunting lodge on the site, under the direction and to the designs of Robert Smythson. The resulting building was strikingly tall and extensively glazed, a 'lantern and skyscraper of a house' (Girouard, 1983, 110). William Cavendish spent some of his childhood here, in the care of Gilbert Talbot, and in 1604 formally welcomed Prince Charles to the house during the Prince's journey south. The Manor was settled on the earl's daughters in 1604, though he and Mary, his countess, retained the title during their lifetimes. In 1617, the Worksop properties were conveyed to Sir William Cavendish, presumably in his capacity as executor of Gilbert's will. The imprisonment in June 1618 and subsequent punishment of Mary Talbot – a consequence of her entanglement in the fate of Arabella Stuart – led eventually to the confiscation of the estate (Turberville, 1938, 1.44; HMC Portland 2.118; Sheffield Archives, ACM/SD/411, 887, ACM/W/151; Nottinghamshire Archives, DD/P/36/1). In a poem from the first half of the 1620s, Richard Andrews describes the Cavendish/Talbot era at Worksop as 'past', and identifies its current owner as Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, the husband of Aletheia, the seventh Earl of Shrewsbury's youngest daughter (BL MS Harl. 4955, f.67v; *ODNB*, Thomas Howard).

¹¹⁷ **pigg face** a pig's head; the elliptical syntax is unhelpful, but this and line 135 suggest a joke either at Jonson's expense, or, just possibly, set up by him (see *OED*, Against *prep.* A 14).

¹¹⁸ **Mrs Markham** Mary Griffin (c.1540-1633) married Thomas Markham of Ollerton by 1565. The marriage joined the Markhams to the Brudenells: Robert Brudenell, Thomas's father, was an uncle on her mother's side, though born within a few years of her; hence Mary Markham and Thomas Brudenell were cousins, and he had passed some of his childhood at the Markhams' property in Kirby Bellars, Leicestershire (Markham, 1873; Markham, 1913; Wake, 1954, 104; Barker and Quentin, 2006, 44-5). Gervase Markham's brother, Francis, described her as 'a great inheritrix, wise, virtuous and very religious (in her religion which is Popish)'; in 1592 she was said to be 'a great perswader of weake women to popery', though Queen Elizabeth's loyalty to Thomas Markham ensured that neither he nor his wife were penalised for her Catholicism (Tighe, 1986, 41, 34). She and her husband were long-time servants and associates of the seventh Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury, and Mary Markham was in charge at Rufford when it was searched by Sir John Holles in 1611 (HMC Portland 9.47-9).

Wee were first brought vp to the great chamber¹²⁰ the flower whereof fell downe when the king was there, a wonderfull faire roome, Then to the kyngs chamber,¹²¹ farre beyond that, and after to the gallery,¹²² who for the bignesse and beauty thereof exceedeth most that I
 140 have seene. It is fourscore and fifteene of my paces long. There as [sic] some eight large wyndowes, in *which* are set the coates and armes of all the Dukes, Earles and Barons of England.

The house is as goodly as I have seeene [sic] both for the height, scituation and forme of buylding. It stands in a parke *which* is eight myles abo<..> furnish'd with the talest,
 145 straightest and largest oakes that ere I sawe, And hath hadd in it at one tyme i500 deere, eleuen hundred died in the great snow¹²³

One Monday wee made ready to depart in the morning, but the importunity of Mrs Markham the knight¹²⁴ and hir sonnes (my gossip *withall* hearing that *Sir William* would not come home till night) [3.2] stayd vs till after dinner. In the meane tyme wee all walked over
 150 to Worsop towne where wee vizited the ould and ruynous Abby founded by *Lord Louetoft*

¹¹⁹ **Piggs-face** It is unclear who is pinched – perhaps the head prepared in line 130, but the mention of a ‘former rude offence’ suggests that the epithet has transferred to Jonson or another member of the party.

¹²⁰ **great chamber** on the first floor of the house, 63 feet long by 33 feet wide.

¹²¹ **flower** i.e. floor; a mishap affecting James’s visit in either April 1603 or April 1617; here probably defective ceiling plaster rather than anything structural, hence insufficiently consequential to warrant a mention in surviving accounts of those occasions (*OED*, Floor *n.*¹ 2b; Nichols, 1828, 1. 84-8; 3. 268).

¹²² **gallery** The second floor gallery at Worksop was ‘famous all over England’ for its size and position in the house, though no other record of its armorial glazing survives. It measured 212 by 36 feet; hence, the writer’s pace was about 27 inches (68.5 cm) (Girouard, 1983, 113).

¹²³ **parke ... great snow** In his 1636 ‘Survey of Worksop’ John Harrison noted that ‘this Parke is well adorned with timber, & not meanelly furnished with Fallowdeare, the number of them at this present is about eight hundred’ (Sheffield Archives, ACM/W/26; White, 1904, 132). The hard winter of 1614/15 was described as the ‘great snow’ in *The Cold Yeare* (1615) – though this pamphlet recycles some of the contents of *The Great Frost* (1608), which recounts earlier tribulations – and Tobie Matthew, Archbishop of York, recorded in his diary for early 1615 that there was ‘Wonderful Frost and Snow above Seven Weeks together, never the like Seen in England, with exceeding great Fluddes of Water by the Thawe’; the Belvoir accounts for this year include payments to two men on April 27 ‘for chardges brozeing (*i.e.* browsing) wood for his Lordshipp’s dearre at Belvoire, donne in the greatte snowe’ (York Minster Library, MS Add. 18,111; HMC Rutland 4.503).

¹²⁴ **the knight** Sir Thomas Brudenell.

who lyeth in the church with Lord Furnivall and Nevell. And in the chappell¹²⁵ wee found kyne.¹²⁶ Here stuck the arrow¹²⁷ etc./

There (because my gossip hadd seene some fine cannes¹²⁸ at Bever) would needes seeke out the Welch gould-smith¹²⁹ that made them, meaning to by some of them among *which*
 155 wee mett with one of a yard longe, *which* wee measured [w] out in licquor with London measure¹³⁰ to those that lighted¹³¹ in our company.

After dinner wee tooke *our* leave, and the knight and Mr *Thomas* Markham, brought vs more then half way to Wellbecke

Presently vpon *our* returne the ladies came whome Mr *Iohnson* wellcomed to his house, and
 160 at supper bydd them want nothing, for if they did it was not his fault. Chafed¹³² at the table

¹²⁵ **Abby ... chappell** Worksop Abbey or Priory was at the centre of the town in the early modern period; it was associated especially with its founder, William de Lovetot, and his descendants; the church also housed monuments to Gerard de Furnival and later members of his family, including Sir Thomas Nevill, Lord High Treasurer, who died in 1407. After the Reformation the parts of the church not in parish use, including the Lady Chapel in its south eastern corner, fell into disrepair, but Camden records that 'the West part of the Church standeth still passing faire to be seene with two towre steeples' (Eddison, 1854, 26-45; White, 1875, 20-33; Camden, 1610, 551). The church and its gatehouse were substantially restored in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

¹²⁶ **kyne** cows, cattle (*OED*, Cow *n.*¹ 1b).

¹²⁷ **arrow** Perhaps a reference to otherwise unrecorded folklore relating to Robin Hood – monastic foundations play a prominent part in many stories, though Worksop Priory is not mentioned in any known versions. Robin's selection of his burial place by firing an arrow from a priory gatehouse, which might be recalled here, does not feature in an extant narrative of his death from earlier than the eighteenth century; Kirklees Priory in the West Riding has been identified as the grave site since the early sixteenth century. Nonetheless, Worksop sits at the northern tip of Sherwood Forest and to the south of the Barnsdale where the early 'Gest of Robyn Hode' – with which Jonson is likely to have been familiar – is located, and many places in the vicinity have relevant associations; Cavendish, too, had a strong interest in the subject (Dobson and Taylor, 1976, 22, 302-3; Knight 2005, 140-2; Raylor, 1999a, 425). A piece of a human skull from the medieval period distinguished by an embedded arrowhead is still preserved in the church, and sometimes said to be that of a Sherwood forester; it may not have been displayed here, however, until the nineteenth century (Harris, 2006, 434).

¹²⁸ **cannes** drinking vessels (*OED*, Can *n.*¹ 1a); cf. *EMI* (Q), 2.2.47: 'two cans of beer'.

¹²⁹ **gould-smith** unidentified; the goldsmiths named in the calendared Rutland accounts for this period worked out of London.

¹³⁰ **London measure** Weights and measures varied considerably across the Stuart kingdoms, and attempts at standardisation were only systematically pursued after 1660; 'London measure' was proverbially generous (Hoppit, 1993, 92-4; Tilley, M798). Cf. William Cavendish, *The Triumphant Widow*: 'here's a Boule of Sack to you, here give me the Can that measures Ale by the Yard, *Derby* measure, Sir, here's this Can of Sack to you, Sir' (Cavendish, 1677, 26-7).

¹³¹ **lighted in** chanced into (*OED*, Light *v.*¹, 10e).

¹³² **chafed** fumed, showed irritation (*OED*, Chafe *v.* 10a).

for lightes, and checked¹³³ the wayters because there was no more new bread, *which*
 freedome of his mingled with a great deale of myrth Much [des] delighted the ladies./
 [3.2v] The next day *Sir William Candish* carryed my gossip to see *Boleouer* [sic]¹³⁴, alias
Bozers castle¹³⁵ one *which* *Sir Charles* had buylt a delicate little house etc./ As also to meet
 165 on *Smithson*¹³⁶ an excellent Architect, who was to consult with *Mr Johnson* about the
 erection of a *Tomb* for *Sir Williams* father, For *which* my gossip was to make an *Epitaph*.¹³⁷
 The next morning *Sir William* ridd his great horse *which* hee did with that readines and
 steadinesse, as my gossip say they were both one piece.¹³⁸
 That day *Sir George Che<.>r*, and his mother and his lady,¹³⁹ doctor *Waterhouse* and his
 170 wife,¹⁴⁰ and *Mrs Purpoint*¹⁴¹ came to *Wellbecke*. And my gossip at dinner began the kings
 health.¹⁴² The cobwebb could not be pissed./ downe.¹⁴³¹⁴⁴

¹³³ **checked** reprov'd, reprimanded (*OED*, Check v.¹, 11).

¹³⁴ The first 'e' here is most likely a scribal error for an authorial 'z'.

¹³⁵ **castle** The Little Castle at Bolsover was under construction from late 1612, on land acquired by Sir Charles Cavendish from his brother-in-law, Gilbert Talbot; the building and an initial fitting out of the interior had been completed by the time of Sir Charles's death, and it is possible that Jonson's 1618 masque, *Pleasure Reconci'd to Virtue*, helped to shape its decorative scheme (Girouard, 1983, 234-42; Hughes, 2010, 2; Worsley, 2001, 1.125-6).

¹³⁶ **Smithson** Building work on the Little Castle was directed by John Smithson (d. 1634), son of Robert, who was both an architect and an important figure in the management of the estates of both Sir Charles and his son, though he lived outwith the household from 1615. In the autumn of 1618 he travelled to London on Sir William's business and possibly in his company, and made a series of architectural studies which influenced his subsequent practice (Girouard, 1983, 234-42, 248-51; Worsley, 2001, 1.57-9, 72-3, 125-6).

¹³⁷ **Tomb ... Epitaph** The 'epitaph' is 'Charles Cavendish to his Posterity'; it is inscribed on the monument erected in the Cavendish chapel at St Mary's, Bolsover, itself constructed in 1618 (Worsley, 2001, 1.59-60). There, and in BL MS Harl. 4955, f.54v, the poem prefaces a tabulation of Sir Charles's virtues by Henry Lukin; this is in turn followed by a further prose epitaph attributed, in the manuscript, to Jonson.

¹³⁸ **horse ... one piece** cf. *Und.* 53, probably written after the construction of the Riding House at Welbeck in 1622-3, and prior to Cavendish's elevation to the earldom of Newcastle in 1628: 'When first, my lord, I saw you back your horse, / Provoke his mettle, and command his force / To all the uses of the field and race, / Methought I read the ancient art of Thrace, / And saw a centaur, past those tales of Greece; / So seemed your horse and you both of a piece!' (1-6).

¹³⁹ **George Che<.>r ... lady** The name is unclear. Possibly Sir George Chute (1586-1649), his mother Elizabeth and Anne Barnham (d. 1655/6), his second wife. Sir George was a son of George Chute, of Bethersden in Kent, and St Giles, Cripplegate, whose will was proved on 18 May 1618. The younger George pursued a military career, like his eldest brother Sir Walter (c.1574-1617), and was knighted in 1608; by 1617 he was a gentleman pensioner and courtier, again following in his brother's footsteps (NA, PROB 11/131/345, PROB 11/257/462; Thrush and Ferris, 2010; BL MS Add 34,122 B; Pearman, 1889, 61-2). In the 1614 parliament Sir Walter Chute sat for East Retford, a Nottinghamshire constituency, probably as a result of the patronage of Sir John Holles, whose family seat was Haughton Hall near Bothamsall, 7 miles east of Welbeck. Holles counted the elder George as his 'antient ould frend', and interceded with him on his sons' behalf in 1616 (Thrush and Ferris, 2010; Seddon, 1975, 1. 111). Jonson's epitaph on Elizabeth, daughter of Sir George and Lady Anne (*Und.* 35), who was baptised at St Giles on 18 December 1623 and died on May 18 1627, is inscribed on a brass plate in the church of St Andrew at Sonning, in Berkshire (London Metropolitan Archives, P69/GIS/A/002/MS06419/002). Another possibility is

That night Mr Bates¹⁴⁵ (a good scholler, and the plesante tell-tale ledd with the fame of my gossip came thether to see him; who the next morning promised to bring him to Hodsocke to *Sir Geruas* Cliftons,¹⁴⁶ but wee rose so early [that] wee left him behind vs. There wee

Sir George Chaworth (c.1569-1639), his wife Mary (d. 1646) – the daughter of Sir Thomas Kniveton and Jane Leche, half-sister and gentlewoman to Bess of Hardwick – and his mother, Jane. George attended Trinity, Oxford in 1586, and entered Gray's Inn in 1605 after receiving his Oxford MA. A kinsman of Roger Manners, fifth Earl of Rutland, he was a servant to Lady Arabella Stuart by 1603, and a courtier to King James soon after; his main seat in Nottinghamshire was at Annesley, nearly 14 miles south of Welbeck. Around 1616, John Smithson drew up plans for alterations to another Chaworth property, Wiverton Hall. Chaworth was prominent enough at court to carry the banner of the union in the funeral of Queen Anne in 1619, and another at the funeral of King James in 1625. He sat in the parliaments of 1621 and 1624, before purchasing a viscountcy in 1628 (Hasler, 1981; Thrush and Ferris, 2010; Pevsner, 1979, 383; Nichols 1828, 4.1046; NA, LC 2/6, f.62).

¹⁴⁰ **Waterhouse ... wife** Tobias or Toby Waterhouse (d. c.1646), son of Gregory, of Siddal near Halifax; took his BA from Trinity, Cambridge, in 1596/7, and an MA in 1600, the year after he was appointed to a fellowship. He gained a BD in 1607 and his doctorate in 1612. By 1618, his livings included the rectories of Kirkby-in-Ashfield, a Cavendish manor 12 miles south of Welbeck, and Whitwell, Derbyshire, only 3 miles to the west of the Cavendish home; he was sequestered for delinquency during the civil war (Venn and Venn, 1922-7; Clergy of the Church of England Database, Person ID 29937; Clay, 1895, 849; Walker, 1948, 294-5). He married Elizabeth Copley of Southill, Bedfordshire at All Saints, Hertford, in April 1612, the same month that he was presented to the rectory of St Lawrence, Whitwell; a memorial plaque in the church for their young son, Toby, suggests that he was born in December 1618. In 1619, Waterhouse was cited for 'seldome preaching and neuer catechising on the saboath dayes' at Kirkby (Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, DP48/1/1; HMC Salisbury 21.360; Borthwick Institute, V/1619/CB, f.353v). Waterhouse's prosperous cousin, Robert, of Shibden Hall, near Halifax, served as lawyer to the sixth and seventh earls of Shrewsbury (Hasler, 1981; Lister, 1917, 285, 288; Lambeth Palace, MS 701, ff.41, 65, 91).

¹⁴¹ **Purpoint** Gertrude Pierrepont or Pierrepont (c.1588-1649) was the daughter of Henry Talbot, younger brother of the seventh and eighth earls of Shrewsbury. In January 1601 she married Robert Pierrepont (1584-1643), son of Sir Henry Pierrepont, whose family was strongly Catholic, and related to the Cavendishes; Robert served in that year's parliament as a Shrewsbury nominee at the very young age of 17, and subsequently held various county offices. In addition to their seat at Holme Pierrepont, near Nottingham, the family had a secondary residence at Hodsock, 7 miles north east of Welbeck. Some sources credit Robert Pierrepont with a knighthood, but he in fact remained 'Esquire' until created Viscount Newark in 1627; he became Earl of Kingston-upon-Hull the following year. He was a cousin of Francis and Sir John Beaumont, and had been the former's contemporary at Oxford and the Inns of Court. The design for Sir Henry Pierrepont's tomb at Holme Pierrepont was undertaken by John Smithson around 1615 (Hasler, 1981; *ODNB*; Copnall, 1915, 4, 8, 13, 110, 133; Kelliher, 2000, 12; Girouard, 1962, 52).

¹⁴² **began ... health** a toast or a grace; perhaps the lines Jonson composed between 1617 and 1619 (dated 1618 in Bod. MS Rawl. poet. 26, f.1v) surviving in a number of manuscript versions ('A Grace by Ben Jonson... Extempore before King James').

¹⁴³ **cobwebb ... downe** in the absence of other explanations, perhaps a contest conducted by the men in the party.

¹⁴⁴ 'downe' added in similar ink but with different pen.

¹⁴⁵ **Bates** Henry Bates (d. 1636), matriculated from Trinity, Cambridge, in 1611; took his BA in 1614/15, and his MA in 1618. A friend and client of Sir William Cavendish and his namesake cousin, the Earl of Devonshire, and chaplain-in-ordinary to King James and King Charles; called 'Mr Bates of the North' in a 1625 list of James's chaplains. The jocular and gossipy tone of his correspondence suggests that he might aptly be described as a 'plesante tell-tale' (Venn and Venn, 1922-7; NA, LC 2/6, f.43; BL MS Add 70,499, ff.118, 139, 141v, 162).

¹⁴⁶ **Hodsock ... Cliftons** Sir Gervase Clifton (1587-1666) inherited estates at Clifton, near Nottingham, and Hodsock while still an infant. Long a ward, he was taken under the wing of the seventh Earl of Shrewsbury – who commended his 'rare and excellent wit' – and entered St John's, Cambridge, in 1603. He acquired a baronetcy in 1611, and sat for Nottinghamshire in the parliament of 1614, probably as Shrewsbury's nominee – he helped to carry the canopy at the earl's funeral in 1616. In 1612 he married Penelope Rich, daughter of the Earl of Warwick and the first of his seven wives, but she died the following year. The hospitality he offered to everyone from 'the king to the poorest beggar' was celebrated by his friend, the antiquary Robert Thoroton. An occasional poet himself, Clifton was also a friend and patron of artists and writers including John Marston, Francis Beaumont, John Smithson and Thomas Hobbes; Michael Drayton wrote an elegy on his first wife. He also played a role in Marston's Castle Ashby entertainment of 1607 and may have performed in *Gypsies* in 1621 (Thrush and Ferris, 2010; Hobbes, 1997, 820-3; Girouard, 1962, 50-1; Tricomi, 1977, 203; Burke and Coolahan, 2005, 125; Seddon, 1980, 33-4; Orgel, *Sel. Masques*, 330-1). The Clifton house at Hodsock was Hodsock Priory –

175 found my Lady Wentwoorth¹⁴⁷ and hir three brothers,¹⁴⁸ Mr *John, William* and *Robert*. Wee stayed only dinner [3.3] And after manie curtesies¹⁴⁹ done to my gossip by *Sir Ieruas* at his departure hee offered him a bucke.

That night wee came to Batry¹⁵⁰ where Mr Richardson¹⁵¹ cheife and commauder of all the towne was prepared¹⁵² to entertayne vs.

180 Hee hath the impost for wynes¹⁵³ and waighing of the lead. In this place is the greatest trade of lead¹⁵⁴ in christendome or the world. It is brought hether by waynes¹⁵⁵ every wayne carryeth a fodde[d]r,¹⁵⁶ And eight piggs¹⁵⁷ makes a fodder, every pigg weighing 24 pounds.

There hath beene taken five pounds a day for meere waighing, and [a] 100000 pounds a

never in fact the home of a religious order, but a moated manor house with a large brick sixteenth-century gatehouse (Pevsner, 1979, 144).

¹⁴⁷ **Wentwoorth** Lady Margaret Clifford (d. 1622), daughter of Francis Clifford, fourth Earl of Cumberland, who married Sir Thomas Wentwoorth, later Earl of Strafford, in 1611; elder sister to Frances (d. 1627), who married Clifton as his second wife in September 1615 (Thrush and Ferris, 2010; *ODNB*, Thomas Wentwoorth).

¹⁴⁸ **brothers** here, probably, brothers-in-law: William Wentwoorth (c.1595-1644), entered the Inner Temple with his eldest brother Thomas in 1607, and matriculated from St John's Cambridge in 1609, resident at the Inner Temple in 1619 and called to the bar in 1620; John (d. 1625), admitted to the Inner Temple in 1611, and matriculated from St John's a year later; Robert, admitted to the Inner Temple in 1616 (Venn and Venn, 1922-7; Cooke, 1868, 110, 124, 139; Cooper, 1973, 120-1).

¹⁴⁹ **courtesies** presumably, hospitable and respectful treatment, but if qualified by 'at his departure', perhaps see note to line 58 above.

¹⁵⁰ **Batry** Bawtry, a market town on the great north road, and a significant port at the furthest navigable point on the River Idle. This river linked the mining industries of the midland counties, by way of the Trent and Humber, to the port of Hull and beyond (Allison, 1969). Part of the manor of Bawtry was leased from the crown by Jane, Countess of Shrewsbury and her kinswoman Catherine Widdrington (Sheffield Archives, CM 1680, 1696).

¹⁵¹ **Richardson** Richard Richardson (d. 1623), prosperous gentleman, merchant and Shrewsbury bailiff. His two surviving sons were Lindley, his heir, and Gilbert – the latter's name demonstrating the family's Talbot connections (Sheffield Archives, CM 1679, 1758; Borthwick Institute, Probate Register, 37, ff. 511-512).

¹⁵² **was prepared** i.e., had made preparations.

¹⁵³ **waynes** large, open, usually four-wheeled carts, especially useful for carrying heavy loads; wagons (*OED*, Wain *n.*¹ 1a).

¹⁵⁴ **impost ... lead** Weighing was an essential stage in lead transactions, and Bawtry was 'the main internal market for Peak lead'. The town's preeminence in this area had been established by the sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, whose own operation – 'stretching as it did from his ore purchases in the Peak to the sale of lead at Rouen' – was unmatched by any of his Derbyshire competitors (Kiernan, 1989, 237, 255). The Bawtry trade was controlled by a succession of Shrewsbury servants, including Richardson; around 1617 he built a new weigh-house, and his assertion of a monopoly over lead-weighing at 8d or 9d a fother (see l.181 below) caused some dispute with other Bawtry merchants (Kiernan, 1989, 235-7).

¹⁵⁵ **waynes** large, open, usually four-wheeled carts, especially useful for carrying heavy loads; wagons (*OED*, Wain *n.*¹ 1a).

¹⁵⁶ **fodder** also 'fother': in general use, 'a cartload', but 'relates properly to Lead, and signifies a certain weight, Viz, 8 piggs or 1600l [i.e. pounds]' (Ray, 1674, 19); elsewhere given as equivalent to 19.5 cwt, or 2184 lbs (Zupko, 1985, 151-3; *OED*, Fother *n.* 2a).

¹⁵⁷ **piggs** a measure of weight for lead or iron; of no standardised dimension, but usually around ten times greater than 24 lbs; Ray's definition would give 200 lbs (Zupko, 1985, 299).

185 yeare for lead These are conveyed by catches¹⁵⁸ to Stockwith,¹⁵⁹ and there taken into
 keeles,¹⁶⁰ and so carried to [h] Hull and all places. The waynes that bringes these to Batre
 carries all other commodities backe into Darby shiere, for this towne serves them with
 wyne flax¹⁶¹ and other commodities back into Darby shiere, and Nottingham shier, [For this
 towne serves them with wyne flax, and other comodities,] having warehouses for the laying
 in of such commodities. [Here wee had great entertayment]¹⁶² [3.3v] Here wee hadd great
 190 entertayment where wee stayed all the next day being friday./ Here Mr *Baldwin*¹⁶³ that
 keepes the Countesses house at Pomfret,¹⁶⁴ and Mr Babthrop¹⁶⁵ that keepes the Parke mett
 vs. Here foure Deanes¹⁶⁶ hearing of my gossips being there, came to see him

¹⁵⁸ **catches** sturdy, shallow or flat-bottomed vessels suitable for navigating inland waters (*OED*, *Catch n.*²)

¹⁵⁹ **Stockwith** East and West Stockwith face each other across the Trent at its confluence with the Idle.

¹⁶⁰ **keeles** larger river-going or coasting vessels (*OED*, *Keel, n.*² 1a).

¹⁶¹ **wyne flax** two of the most common commodities imported through Hull, in increasing volumes, from the Low Countries, France, Spain and the Baltic (Allison, 1969).

¹⁶² Erroneous catchword: 'Where'.

¹⁶³ **Baldwin** John Baldwin, servant to Edward Talbot, eighth Earl of Shrewsbury, and subsequently to his widow. His father, Thomas, of Diddlebury, Shropshire, had been for many years servant to George Talbot, the sixth earl, who died in 1590. John was left £50 in the Edward Talbot's will (Grazebrook and Rylands, 1889, 23; Sheffield Archives, WWM/Str P/20/216; Nottinghamshire Archives, DD/4P/46/21; Borthwick Institute, Probate Register, 40, f.262).

¹⁶⁴ **house ... Pomfret** The sixth Earl of Shrewsbury settled his lands at Pontefract on Edward Talbot in the 1560s; the New Hall, dated 1591 over the porch, was built to a Smythson design, and visited by King James in April 1617 (White, 1904, 339-40; Girouard, 1983, 172-5; Nichols 1828, 3.270; Taylor, 1998, 2.18).

¹⁶⁵ **Babthrop** Brian Babthorpe (d. 1621), who was left £100 in Edward Talbot's will; his own records a bequest to 'my honorable Ladie and Mistress Jane Countesse of Shrewsbury' (Nottinghamshire Archives, DD/4P/46/21; Borthwick Institute, Probate Register, 36, f.600).

¹⁶⁶ **foure Deanes** probably acting for the archdeaconries of Pontefract and Doncaster, rather than Ainsty or Craven. Lawrence Wilson (b. c.1553), dean of Pontefract, was curate of Horbury, in the parish of Wakefield (Clergy of the Church of England Database, Person ID, 123048, Record ID, 183018; Borthwick Institute, Archbishop's Court, Com.Bk. 1, ff.50, 51v, 54). Thomas Pullein (d. 1627), also dean of Pontefract, was born in York, matriculated from Christ's, Cambridge, in 1583, and took his BA and MA from Oxford in 1587 and 1589/90, respectively; he was vicar of Pontefract from 1597, and of nearby Darrington from 1610, and served as chaplain to Tobie Matthew, Archbishop of York. The plague sermon he delivered at York Minster in 1604 was printed four years later, with a dedicatory epistle to the city's Mayor and Aldermen (Pullein, 1915, 182-4; Venn and Venn, 1922-7; Foster, 1891-2; Clergy of the Church of England Database, Person ID: 121656; Borthwick Institute, Institution Act Book 3, f.497 insert; Pullein, 1608; Borthwick Institute, Archbishop's Court, Com. Bk. 1, ff. 43, 54v). William Wilkinson (?1578-1623), dean of Doncaster, was rector of High Hoyland from 1604 until his death. He may have matriculated at Oxford in 1595, receiving his MA in 1601 (Clergy of the Church of England Database, Person ID 135497; Foster, 1891-2; Borthwick Institute, Archbishop's Court, Com. Bk. 1, ff. 51v-52). Richard Winter (d. 1632), dean of Doncaster, matriculated from Trinity, Cambridge, in 1588, took his BA in 1591/2, and his MA in 1595. He was schoolmaster at Doncaster before being ordained and appointed to the rectory of Sprotborough in 1596 (Venn and Venn, 1922-7; Clergy of the Church of England Database, Person ID 122928; Borthwick Institute, Archbishop's Court, Com. Bk. 1, f. 53).

That night after supper wee sett one towards Donckester,¹⁶⁷ conducted thether by Mr
Richardson and his two sonnes, Mr *Wright*¹⁶⁸ that married his kinswoman, and the Master
 195 of the Crowne¹⁶⁹ with a bagpipe playing before vs.

Wee came at one of the clock at night to the Hind to Mr *Caruers*,¹⁷⁰ an Alderman and a
 lustice of peace, which Mrs *Louet*¹⁷¹ his neighbour tooke very greivously, because shee
 lookd to have hadd, having beene by other gentlemen spoaken to before and will^Γd¹⁷² to
 prepare for our entertayment.

200 The next morning one *Sir Thomas Blan*¹⁷³ hearing of my gossips being there desired his
 acquayntance whom my gossip invited to dinner with an other gentleman with him.

After dinner my gossip went to vizeit *Sir William Anstrudder*¹⁷⁴ who had invited him to dinner
 etc [3.4] There wee found a long table full of gentlemen¹⁷⁵ and Ladies, and came tyme

¹⁶⁷ **Donckester** Doncaster, a market town and staging post on the great north road.

¹⁶⁸ **Wright** Possibilities include the John Wright who is listed among 'my good friends' in Richard Richardson's will, or Henry, who occupied lands at Austerfield, just north-west of Bawtry (Sheffield Archives, CM 1680, 1688, 1692; Borthwick Institute, Probate Register, 37, ff. 511-512).

¹⁶⁹ **Crowne** The Crown, one of Bawtry's main inns, already known as such by the 1550s (NA, C 1/1474/54-55). The 'Master' is unidentified.

¹⁷⁰ **Caruers** William Carver (d. by 1640), 'inhoulder', a burgess and alderman from 1610, including in 1618-19; mayor in 1613 and 1622; listed as a Justice of the Peace as late as 1631. The 'White Hind' was leased from Emanuel, Lord Scrope. Doncaster already had at least five inns in the mid-sixteenth century, and their number increased with the development of road traffic; the inns' busiest day was Saturday, when the market was held – Jonson arrived at one o'clock on Saturday morning (Brent and Martin, 1994, 1.193, 200-5, 234; Doncaster Archives, AB6/2/16, f.2v; Barber, 1994, 72-3; NA, E 163/17/22).

¹⁷¹ **Louet** Elizabeth Levett was the widow of Richard, alderman, postmaster and holder of a wine licence. He died on 11 February 1618, leaving her 'all my goods lands tenements and hereditance' in Doncaster (Brent and Martin, 1994, 1.220, 247; NA, E 163/17/22; Borthwick Institute, Probate Register, 35, f.95).

¹⁷² 'd' and caret added in as 'downe' above.

¹⁷³ **Blan** Sir Thomas Bland, of Kippax Park, just north of Castleford, a manor purchased by his father in 1595. Knighted in 1604, Sir Thomas was married to Catherine, daughter of Sir John Savile, later Baron Savile of Pontefract; he succeeded his father in December 1612. Philip Massinger dedicated the 1632 quarto of *The Maid of Honour* to 'my most honour'd friends' Sir Thomas Bland and Sir Francis Foljambe, acknowledging 'that you have beene, and continued so for many yeeres (since you vouchsafed to owne me) Patrons to me and my despised studies' (Carlisle, 1826, 31-6; Yorkshire Archaeological Society, MD335/13/2/1; Massinger, 1632, sig. B2).

¹⁷⁴ **Anstrudder** William Anstruther of Anstruther, Fife (d. 1649); a courtier to James in Scotland, he followed his master to England, was knighted at the coronation in 1603, and served in the bedchamber and privy chamber. He helped to carry the canopy at the Queen's funeral in 1619. His younger and better known brother Sir Robert (1578-c.1644) was a noted courtier and diplomat; Robert married Mary, daughter of Sir Robert Swift of Yorkshire, and Taylor records meeting him at his father-in-law's house at Wheatley, 1 ½ miles from the centre of Doncaster, in October 1618. Wheatley eventually descended to Sir Robert Anstruther, and is presumably where Sir William entertained Jonson (Shaw, 1906; NA, SP 14/90/118; NA, LC 2/5, LC 2/6, f.40; ODNB, Robert Anstruther; Burke, 1859, 52).

enenough [sic] to the banckett In the meane tyme came riding in coach my Lord of
 205 Buckleugh,¹⁷⁶ who made very much of my Gossipp Among the rest there was a lustice of
 peace with whom my *gossip* made good sporte./¹⁷⁷
 That night with much adoe to get away wee came to Skelbrooke to Mrs *Copleys*¹⁷⁸ where
 shee and the gentleman hir sonne gave vs great wellcome, being sent to before by the
 Countesse of Shrewsberry to that purpose
 210 ¶Here we dranck at Robin Hoods well./¹⁷⁹¹⁸⁰
 One Sunday after dinner Mr *Copley* and his man came one foote with vs ouer Barnsdale to
 Wentbrigge.¹⁸¹ And the next day came againe and mett vs at Pomfret¹⁸² where my gossip

¹⁷⁵ **Gentlemen** Possibly including John Craven (d. 1646), a member of a Doncaster family who matriculated from St John's, Cambridge, in 1588, before moving as a scholar to Trinity; he took his BA in 1593/4 and his MA in 1597, before appointment in 1604 as vicar of Harworth in Nottinghamshire, 7½ miles south of Doncaster. In 1616 he married Dorothy, widow of Anthony Armitage; both Anthony and his elder brother, William, featured prominently in Doncaster's governing gentry. 'Mr Craven' held property in Doncaster itself, and also had a lease by 1618 on Hexthorpe Hall, about a mile to the west (Venn and Venn, 1922-7; Train, 1961, 90-1; Blagg, 1914-15, 3.42; Clay, 1895, 894; Brent and Martin, 1994, 1.216-17, 256; Doncaster Archives, AB6/2/16, ff.4v, 12v; Clergy of the Church of England Database, Person ID 116252). He was probably the writer of the verse address 'To Master Ben Jonson in his Journey By Master Craven', to which Jonson composed an extempore response ('This was Master Ben Jonsons's Answer of the Sudden') – the poems are known only from the Newcastle Manuscript, a compilation of poetry associated with or of interest to William Cavendish and his family; Harworth was a Shrewsbury living, close to Bawtry and Worksop, and Craven had been chaplain to Gilbert Talbot, Cavendish's uncle. He was also a friend of Richard Richardson of Bawtry, another Shrewsbury client, and supervisor of his will (BL MS Harl. 4955, f.47v; Lambeth Palace, MS 3201, f.237; Borthwick Institute, Probate Register 37, ff.511-12).

¹⁷⁶ **Buckleugh** Walter Scott (d. 1633), second lord Buccleuch and head of the Scott kindred; his landholdings covered a large part of the central Scottish Borders. He was noted for his military career in the Low Countries and his suppression of crime in the Borders; Jonson alludes to his reputation in the Windsor text of *Gypsies*, where his fortune is told (431-45). Created first Earl of Buccleuch in 1619, 'his profusion and hospitality embarrassed his estate' (Balfour, 1904-14, 2.234); he also amassed a significant library, with over 850 volumes listed by Sir John Scot of Scotstarvit in 1634. By October 1618 he was at Branxholme, near Hawick, and planning to spend the winter at Crichton castle, 11 miles south of Edinburgh (National Records of Scotland, GD224/935/22, GD224/906/58, no. 1; Knowles, 2006, 270-1).

¹⁷⁷ **good sporte** If John Craven was also a Justice of the Peace this might refer to his poetic exchange with Jonson, but no evidence of him acting in this capacity has been found; other possibilities include Sir Robert Swift, owner of the house in which the 'banquet' may well have occurred (NA, C181/2, f.255v; Doncaster Archives, DZ/MZ/63).

¹⁷⁸ **Copleys** Jane Copley (c.1572-1626), widow of John (d. 1615), whom she married in 1588. Her eldest son Godfrey (c.1589-1648), matriculated from Magdalen, Oxford, in 1606; after entering Lincoln's Inn he became a barrister in 1614, and served eventually as Recorder for Doncaster and Pontefract; his brother Thomas (1597-1628) emigrated to Connecticut. Members of the family had served the Talbots, and their interests, for many years (Foster, 1891-2; Hunter, 1828-31, 1.22, 2.458; Bod. MS Eng.misc.c.275; Borthwick Institute, Probate Register, 39, ff.15v-16; Lambeth Palace, MS 701, f.109).

¹⁷⁹ Marginal addition; no insertion point in the text.

¹⁸⁰ **Robin Hoods well** at the side of the north road near Skelbrooke; later graced with a stone cover by Vanbrugh (Hey, 1981, 140-2). In the 1630s, and probably earlier, the well was overseen by a keeper, and travellers were able to make use of a dish on a chain when drinking (Brathwaite, 1638, sig. S1). 'Being thirsty, we tasted a Cup at Robin Hood's Well, and there according to the vsuall, and ancient custome of Trauelers, were in his rocky Chaire of Ceremoney, dignify'd with the Order of knighthood, and sworne to obserue his Lawes: After our Oath we had not time to stay to heare our Charge, butt discharg'd our due Fealtie Fee, 4d. a peece to the Lady of the Fountaine, on we spur'd with our new dignitie to Pomfret' (Legg, 1904, 13).

hadd by the the [sic] Countesse of Shrewsberry a bucke given him a side of *which* hee sent
to Mrs *Copley*, and the rest hee eat with the Aldermen of the Towne, among *which* was Mr
215 Pellen¹⁸³ the minister and preacher and an other gentleman¹⁸⁴ of that name. And Mr
Wakefeild,¹⁸⁵ an Alderman, and a good Scholler. Wee lay at Mr *Tatehams*¹⁸⁶ an Alderman, to
whose house wee cam the backe way because all the towne was vp in throngs to see vs,
And there was dancing of *Giantes*,¹⁸⁷ and musicke preparad to meete vs¹⁸⁸ [3.4v] And
notwithstanding [my goss] wee tooke a by way to escape the crowd and staring of the
220 people yet a swarme of boyes and others crossd over to overtake vs, and pressed so vpon
vs, that wee were fayne to present *our* pistolls vpon them to keepe them backe, and made
them believe wee would shoot them to get passage./ etc

¹⁸¹ **Barnsdale ... Wentbrigge** Barnsdale was previously a forest; the name, and area, were for a long time as strongly associated with Robin Hood as Sherwood (Phillips, 2000, 203-7). The north road descended from Barnsdale to cross the Went at Wentbridge, halfway between Skelbrooke and Pontefract; 'Wentbrigg' is the northern form of the name.

¹⁸² **Pomfret** Pontefract, 'an ancient corporation' and the largest market town in the area. Notable also for its imposing castle, to which substantial repairs were made in 1618-20; a lease of the park was held by the earls of Shrewsbury from 1585, though the castle and honour of Pontefract were included in the jointure of Queen Anne in 1603. Edward Talbot and Jane Ogle maintained the Shrewsbury interest in the town from the 1590s, with the New Hall one of their chief residences (Legg, 1904, 13; Roberts, 1990, 24; Sheffield Archives, ACM/SD/275; Fox, 1827, 162; Nottinghamshire Archives, DD/4P/28/82, DD/P/6/1/5/5).

¹⁸³ **Pellen** see note to line 190.

¹⁸⁴ **an other gentleman** perhaps Edward (d. 1619), also of York, whose father's will was witnessed by Thomas Pullein in 1605 (Pullein, 1915, 182-4).

¹⁸⁵ **Wakefeild** Joshua Wakefield (c.1570-1651), matriculated from St John's Cambridge in 1587. Served as mayor of Pontefract in 1604 and 1613. Both Wakefield and his father, Edward, who sat for Hull in the 1586 Parliament, had dealings with Edward Talbot and Jane Ogle (Venn and Venn, 1922-7; Fox, 1827, 57; Hasler, 1981; Nottinghamshire Archives, DD/4P/28/82, DD/P/6/1/5/5; Lambeth Palace, MS 706, f.156).

¹⁸⁶ **Tatehams** William Tatham, mayor of Pontefract in 1608, 1615, 1616 and 1632; holder of a wine licence throughout this period (Fox, 1827, 57, 81; NA, E 163/17/22).

¹⁸⁷ **Giantes** processional giants, of the kind used in towns and cities across England in midsummer and other festivities. Though the practice was widely suppressed after the Reformation, the ceremonial use of these effigies continued for several decades in cities including Newcastle and Chester (Anderson, 1982, xv, 26-7, 92, 99, 113; Clopper, 1979, liii, 162, 198-9, 299). The Pontefract giants may have been housed in the castle in the early seventeenth century: 'we view'd the spacious Hall, which the Gyants kept' (Legg, 1904, 14).

¹⁸⁸ 'vs' included as catchword on 3.4; omitted as first word on 3.4v.

The next day wee vizited the castle and whatsoeuer tasted of antiquity¹⁸⁹ in the towne.

There wee saw the chamber where *Richard* the third was mured¹⁹⁰ and where *H* the

225 *8th*¹⁹¹ was c by Culpeper.¹⁹²

Then wee were brought to Mr *Franc*¹⁹³ an Alderman whose wife hadd hadd three children at a birth his wife then being nyne and fourty, and him self above three score when they were gotten, *which* all three were then living. And in the same yeere hee had a mare brought

foorth three foles. And an otherwoman was brought a bedd of five children within three
230 quarters of an yeere. And hee at whose house wee lay sayd his mother was brought a bedd of him when shee was fourty nyne, and his wives mother of his wife when shee was threescore

This night my Gossip invited the whole towne to his venison, and the wyne came to 41s, *which* my gossip payed./

235 [4.1] The next morning Mr *Tateham*, Mr *Wakefield* Mr *Thwaytes*, Mr *Wilkinson*, Mr *Warde* Aldermen and Mr *Wamble* of *Wamble*,¹⁹⁴ And Mr *Baldwin* keeper of the new house in the

¹⁸⁹ **antiquity** perhaps including the parish church of All Saints, begun around 1300, with its distinctive double staircase, and the ruins of the Cluniac Priory of St John, adjacent to the castle – though much of the stone from its buildings had been reused in the construction of New Hall, and Camden remarked that ‘there is scarce any rubbish now remaining’ of its buildings (Bellamy, 1965, xxii, 49; Camden, 1610, 696).

¹⁹⁰ **Richard ... mured** Correctly, Richard II, who was imprisoned in Pontefract castle in December 1399 and had died by 17 February 1400. The account of his murder by Exton is common to familiar sources, including Holinshed and Shakespeare. The writer’s confusion perhaps arises from Richard III’s association with Pontefract, as recalled by Camden: ‘heere King Richard the Third caused Antonie Earle *Rivers*, King Edward the Fifth his Vnkle by the mothers side, and Sir *Richard Grey* Knight, halfe brother to the same King by the mothers side, both innocent persons, to loose their heads’ (Camden, 1610, 696).

¹⁹¹ **H the 8th** Henry VIII.

¹⁹² **c by Culpeper** According to a standard interpretation, Henry VIII was ‘cuckolded’ at Pontefract castle in August 1541, when his Queen, Catherine Howard, admitted Thomas Culpepper into her chamber.

¹⁹³ **Franc** John Frank (d. 1622), mayor in 1600 and 1614; married to Dorothy Balne, of Balne, North Yorkshire, about 9 miles east of Pontefract. Four sons and six daughters survived infancy; their daughter Anne married William Wakefield, the son of Joshua. In 1617 Frank bought a very substantial house in the ‘Naute market’ or cattlemarket, now the Cornmarket, an area in which a number of aldermen had their principal dwellings (Fox, 1827, 57; Burke, 1835-8, 2.576; Dugdale, 1854, 3, 218; Heslop, 1993, 7-8, 11-15).

¹⁹⁴ **Thwaytes ... Wamble** Richard Thwaites (d. 1620), mayor on four occasions between 1585 and 1611; William Wilkinson (c.1560-c.1635), mayor in 1619, married to Mary Ward, daughter of Robert; therefore in all probability related by marriage to Leonard Ward, mayor in 1618 and 1634 (the mayoral election took place in September; hence, Ward is correctly styled alderman here); William Wombwell (1565-1622) of Wombwell, 12 miles south of Pontefract, ‘a man of great extravagance with a taste for litigation’ (Cox, 1827, 39, 56-7; Dugdale, 1854, 52, 180; Foster, 1875, 365; Cliffe, 1969, 378).

parke, and a great lover of antiquities, who with the fatt keeper¹⁹⁵ brought vs to Ferry
 brigge,¹⁹⁶ where wee mett with *Captain Robert Hazell*¹⁹⁷ and *Captain Jaques*¹⁹⁸ etc. Who
 rydd fayre and soft¹⁹⁹ with vs till wee came to Sherburne, where all the pinnes are made,
 240 and is called the great cherry towne, for here wee hadd cherries²⁰⁰ in the myddest of
 August./

Here was at the same tyme a great match at Bowles where *Sir Robert Hengate*,²⁰¹
Fulgiam,²⁰² *Darcie*²⁰³ and divers other knightes and gentlemen mett.

Here Mr *Wentfoord*,²⁰⁴ *Garlington*,²⁰⁵ and *Witham*²⁰⁶ hearing of my Gossipps passing along
 245 crossed of purpose to meet him, Gentlemen dwelling thereabouts

¹⁹⁵ **fatt keeper** either Brian Babthorpe, keeper of the park, who with John Baldwin had joined the travellers at Bawtry, or perhaps the Robert Wilson identified as 'keeper of the castle' accompanying Baldwin at York (see line 256 below).

¹⁹⁶ **Ferry brigge** Ferrybridge, 2½ miles beyond Pontefract, where the north road towards York crossed the River Aire.

¹⁹⁷ **Hazell** Captain Robert Hasell is identified as 'the first Inventor and profeser' of a plan, originally proposed in 1620, to build and operate an amphitheatre in London capable of staging a wide range of public spectacles; nothing more is known of him (Hotson, 1949, 34).

¹⁹⁸ **Jaques** 'Captain Jaques' is a name given to Jacomo di Francisci, who played a shadowy role in Ireland and the Low Countries in the 1580s and 1590s, apparently working for Sir Christopher Hatton and serving in Sir William Stanley's regiment; he has even been proposed as the model for Jaques in *As You Like It* (Nicholls, 1992, 230, 245; Enos, 2004, 137-9). As the man met here is later styled 'Mr' (line 265 below) it is possible that the military title is an error: the name was not uncommon in Yorkshire and elsewhere, and given the context a connection to Francis Jaques, author of the Caroline play *The Queen of Corsica*, might be plausible (Dugdale, 1854, 162; Jaques, 1990; Leech, 1947).

¹⁹⁹ **fayre and soft** proverbial: gently, slowly (Tilley, S601).

²⁰⁰ **Sherburne ... cherries** Sherburn-in-Elmet, nearly 6 miles beyond Ferrybridge. Cf. *Barnabee's Journal*: 'Thence to Sherburn, dearly loved, / And for pinners well approved, / Cherry tenths the pastor aimeth / More than souls which he reclaimeth...' (Brathwaite, 1638, sig. [S5]).

²⁰¹ **Hengate** Robert Hungate (d. 1619), of Sand Hutton, 7 miles north east of York; his family resided at Saxton, 2 miles north of Sherburn; admitted to Lincoln's Inn in 1567, and became a counsellor-at-law. Though from an often Catholic family, Hungate was distinctly Protestant. His bequests included money to establish a hospital and free school at Sherburn, and to support a preaching minister in Saxton and Sand Hutton (Lincoln's Inn, 1896, 75; Borthwick Institute, Probate Register, 36, ff.255v-60).

²⁰² **Fulgiam** probably Francis Foljambe (1590-1640) heir to substantial estates at Aldwark, near Sheffield, and Walton, in Derbyshire following the death of his elder brother in 1612. He also possessed the manor and hall at Steeton, just south of Sherburn, and is described as 'of Steeton' in a conveyance made between 1617 and 1622. An associate of Sir Thomas Wentworth, he became a baronet in 1622 and was elected to Parliament for Pontefract in 1626; he was also a patron of Massinger, a relationship attested both by a surviving autograph poem and by Massinger's dedication of his *Maid of Honour* to Foljambe alongside Sir Thomas Bland. The latter's Kippax estate was only 4 miles west of Steeton (Thrush and Ferris, 2010; Johnston, 1835, 79; Nottinghamshire Archives, DD/FJ/1/276/7; *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts*, MsP 9; Massinger, 1632, sig. B2).

²⁰³ **Darcie** perhaps John Darcy (c.1602-24), son of John, third Baron Darcy of Aston, near Sheffield, the stepson of Isabel Darcy; Godfrey Foljambe, Francis's cousin, had been her first husband. Described by Chamberlain as 'a very proper and hopefull yonge gentleman', and a supporter of Sir Thomas Wentworth; returned to Parliament for East Retford in 1624 shortly before his death from smallpox (Thrush and Ferris, 2010; Chamberlain, 1939, 2.555; *ODNB*, Isabel Wray). Possibly, however, an error for Henry Darley (1595/6-1671), of Buttercrambe, 2 miles east of Sand Hutton, who in 1619 married Ralph Hungate's daughter and heir, Margery; the Darleys were 'one of the leading Puritan families in Yorkshire' (Thrush and Ferris, 2010; Cliffe, 1969, 272).

That night wee came to Tadcaster to Mr *Ba[^]Γr^lkers* at the George,²⁰⁷ where my Gossip was prevented²⁰⁸ for the charge by Sir *Thomas Blane* etc.

That night came my gossip in law Mr *Richardson*²⁰⁹ who gaue vs a gallon of burnd wyne.²¹⁰

For by reason of some difference betweene the Taverne and the house wee lay wee could
250 gett no wyne [4.1v] at supper for money, but my gossip *Richardsons* power prevayled at
mydnight.

One Wensday by six of the clocke wee sett foorth from Todcaster. And *our* two frends
errant still keeping vs compa[y]ny, who although they rydd wee could not bee rydd of them.

²⁰⁴ **Wentfoord** possibly Christopher Wandesford (1592-1640), or his brother John (1593-1665), of Kirklington, north Yorkshire, though the family seat is 30 miles north of Sherburn. Schooled with Thomas Wentworth, Christopher became his lifelong friend and political associate. He attended Clare College, Cambridge, 1607-11, was admitted to Gray's Inn in 1612, and first entered Parliament in 1621, on Wentworth's patronage. John entered Gray's Inn in 1613 and was called to the bar only four years later; a good friend of John Selden, he sat for Richmond in the parliament of 1624 (Thrush and Ferris, 2010; *ODNB*; Toomer, 2009, 584-5). Their brother Michael (1597-1637) was admitted to Gray's Inn on 10 August 1618, so is unlikely to have been at Sherburn the following day (Venn and Venn, 1922-7; Foster, 1889, 152). Alternatively, one of the younger brothers of Sir Thomas Wentworth (see. line 174, note).

²⁰⁵ **Garlington** perhaps Nicholas Girlington (c.1591-?1637) of South Cave, 26 miles east of Sherburn. He was doubly related to Francis Foljambe: his great aunt, Anne Girlington, was the mother of Isabel Darcy, while Francis Foljambe's aunt, Troth Foljambe, was the daughter of William Tyrwhitt and Isabel Girlington. In the 1620s, he was suspected of recusancy (Hall, 1892, 22; Maddison, 2. 404; *ODNB*, Isabel Wray; Hasler, 1981; Foster, 1875, 284; Cliffe, 1969, 243).

²⁰⁶ **Witham** possibly a member of the family who lived at Ledston Hall, in the parish of Ledsham, 4 miles south west of Sherburn, until the 1620s. Henry Witham (1581-1625) was another associate of Sir Thomas Wentworth, the latter playing a part in the management of the family's property and eventually acquiring Ledston Hall for himself. In 1617 Witham obtained permission to travel to France for three years; if he was abroad in 1618, the Mr Witham at Sherburn may have been one of his younger brothers, Edward (b. 1585) or Thomas (b. 1586), both of whom were living in 1617; alternatively, he might be their cousin, Cuthbert Witham (d. 1655) of Garforth, 3 miles west of Ledston (Foster, 1875, 310, 593; Sheffield Archives, WWM/Str P/2/20, 15; Parsons, 1834, 276-7; Cliffe, 1969, 77; Brigg, 1917, 86; Clay, 1906, 26, 35; NA, PROB 11/251/262).

²⁰⁷ **Tadcaster ... George** Tadcaster, a market town 6 miles north of Sherburn well known for its the brewing industry, and the site of a well-known bridge crossing the River Wharfe on the way to York. The Barkers were a long established local family; The George had been a Tadcaster inn since the early sixteenth century at the latest (Tadcaster Historical Society, 2005, 101-6, 122-5, 128-31, 138; Bogg, 1904, 33-4).

²⁰⁸ **prevented** anticipated (*OED*, Prevent v. I 1a).

²⁰⁹ **gossip in law Mr Richardson** an unusual formulation. 'In-law' denotes forms of kinship created by marriage rather than consanguinity; in the early modern period, this included the relationships now indicated by 'step-' (*OED*, -in-law *comb. form*); 'gossip', used strictly, denotes spiritual kinship, so this conjoins the legal and the spiritual: a 'gossip-in-law' would thus be a relation by marriage to the writer's gossip, or a gossip to the writer's legal relation. A similar formative process can be seen in the phrase 'master-in-law', used by Richard Brome in *The New Academy* and by William Rowley (or a possible co-author) in *A New Wonder, a Woman Never Vexed* to denote the husband of a character's mistress (Brome, 1659, sig. [K8]; Rowley, 1632, 40); cf., too, Brome's coinage of the phrase 'beggars in law' to mean the wives of importunate or beggarly courtiers (*A Jovial Crew*, 1.1.53). If the 'Foot Voyage' here follows this pattern, then Mr Richardson would be the husband of another of the writer's gossips. Given that the term 'gossip' could be used less strictly, however, the phrase may simply indicate a relation by marriage to the writer's friend, or friend to the writer's legal relation.

²¹⁰ **burnd wyne** either wine heated and flavoured, such as 'muld Sacke', or a distilled drink akin to brandy (from the Dutch 'brandewijn', burnt or distilled wine) (*OED*, *Burnt adj.* 5, *Brandy n.* a; Dekker, 1615, sig. A2v; Coles, 1677, sig. E2v).

And by nyne wee reachd york,²¹¹ where wee tooke Mr Keis at the Georg in Cunny streete,²¹²
 255 the famous ordinary./²¹³ Where wee were no sooner housd but divers [to] came to see and
 wellcom vs. Among whome was Mr *Haynes*²¹⁴ the minister and Mr *Bartholomew*
*Chaworth*²¹⁵. Before wee went to dinner, *Sir Arthur Ingram*²¹⁶ sent to my Gossip telling him
 hee hop'd hee would take none other house but his whilst hee was in towne. etc./
 The next morning Mr *Baldwyn of Pomfret* and Mr *Wilson keeper of the castle*²¹⁷ came over
 260 of purpose to see vs.

²¹¹ **york** 9 miles east of Tadcaster, 'the second City of England, the fairest in all this Country, and a singular safegard and ornament both, to all the North-parts. A pleasant place, large, and stately, well fortified, beautifully adorned as well with private as publike buildings, rich, populous, and to the greater dignity thereto it hath an Archiepiscopall See' (Camden, 1610, 701); also, the seat of government for the north of England.

²¹² **Keis ... streete** Thomas Kay (d. 1624), merchant and innholder, was one of the Chamberlains of York in 1605, and sheriff in 1613; he succeeded John Bilbowe as host of The George on Coney Street around 1606 (Borthwick Institute, Probate Register, 39, ff.338-9; Cook, 1909, 92; Drake, 1736, 365; NA, E 163/17/22; Davies, 1880, 64). One of the best known inns in the city, the George had a 'wide gateway and spacious inner quadrangle'; above the gateway, there was a decorated plaster front featuring 'a grotesque figure of a seated Bacchus, grasping an overflowing cornucopia in each hand'. Kay was also commemorated in John Taylor's account of his voyage to York in an old wherry, buying the poet's boat prior to Taylor's return, by road, to London: 'He entertain'd me well, for which I thanke him, / And gratefully, amongst my friends I'le ranke him' (Tillot, 1961; Davies, 1880, 67; Taylor 1622, sig.[B7v]).

²¹³ **ordinary** an inn with meals provided at a fixed price (*OED*, Ordinary *n.* 12c).

²¹⁴ **Haynes** Thomas Haynes (d. 1620), vicar of St Martin's Coney Street from 1614 (Clergy of the Church of England Database, Person ID 118173; Cook, 1909, vii, 90).

²¹⁵ **Chaworth** Bartholomew Chaworth (d. 1635) was brother to Sir George (see above, line 168), and entered Gray's Inn in 1601; it is likely that he matriculated as a pensioner from Trinity, Cambridge, in 1598, though he may then have been in his mid- to late twenties. The address 'To Mr B. Chaworth' was added to James Howell's poem 'On my Valentine Mrs *Francis Metcalf* (now Lady *Robinson*) at York' in the second edition of *Epistolae Ho-Eliaanae*; the poem probably dates from 1629 (Marshall, 1871, 128; Cook, 1909, 95; Foster, 1889, 102; Ball and Venn, 1911-16, 2.205; Howell, 1650, 158).

²¹⁶ **Ingram** Sir Arthur Ingram (c.1565-1642) was the son of a London tallowchandler with Yorkshire roots and connections. He studied civil law at Cambridge, and rose to prominence both as a merchant and as a manager of the commercial affairs of the Earl of Suffolk and the Earl of Nottingham, two of the most prominent members of the Howard family. His well-developed court connections and sharp business practices ensured his own enrichment, though his speculative ventures almost resulted in his ruin on at least one occasion. From 1609, he represented a succession of different constituencies in the early Stuart parliaments. He is named among the company of wits who met regularly at the Mitre tavern, and which included John Donne, Christopher Brooke, John Hoskyns, Richard Martin and Lionel Cranfield. Rebuffed in his attempts to secure court office in 1615, he concentrated on the estates in Yorkshire he had begun to build up in 1607: he had acquired the position of secretary to the Council of the North in 1613, and subsequently purchased a lease of the crown's rights in the alum industry. His prosperity survived the Howards' fall from favour, and he built himself an impressive house in York while continuing to accumulate land, office and influence in the county; by 1625, his estates yielded between £4,000 and £5,000 per year (*ODNB*; Thrush and Ferris, 2010; O'Callaghan, 2007, 3; Upton, 1961; Cliffe, 1969, 95).

²¹⁷ **keeper of the castle** presumably Pontefract castle, rather than York, given the company. In July 1618, Robert Wilson, 'Keeper of Pontefract Castle', was granted £3,000, and timber, from the Duchy of Lancaster for repairs (*CSPD 1611-1618*, 554). He was possibly related to the Dionis Wilson who witnessed Brian Babthorpe's will, while John Baldwin later bequeathed his watch to Martha, wife of 'Diunis' or 'Dinnis' Wilson of Pegsworth in Northumberland, and perhaps Babthorpe's widow (Borthwick Institute, Probate Register, vols 36, f.600, and 40, f.262). Pegsworth or Pegswood was part of the barony of Bothal, and therefore the property of Jane, Countess of Shrewsbury (Nottinghamshire Archives, DD/P/6/4/2/1; NA, E 41/43/ii). 'Dionisius Wilson of Bottle, yeoman' was identified as one of the 'deputies of Edward Talbot, esquire' in a presentment of 1602. (Northumberland Record Office, QSI/1, f.25 (145)).

This day Mr *Walter*²¹⁸ my Lord President Steward shewed me the new manner,²¹⁹ which the king hath new buylt, where St Maryes Monastery stood and carryed mee downe into the seller, which is the fayrest, largest, and fullest of light that I have seene. Two springes of excellent sweete water rising in the myddest thereof. [4.2] The next day being friday Sir

265 Arthur *Ingram* carryed my gossip in coach to my Lords grace²²⁰ accompanied with a scotch gentleman on Mr *Lumsdale*.²²¹

One munday the 17th of August wee parted early out of Yorke, accompanied with *Captain Hazell* and his frend Mr *Iaques*, who would needes bring vs as farr as the forrest,²²² our

²¹⁸ **Walter** most probably a kinsman of Sir Robert Watter (d. 1612), twice lord mayor of York and posthumous benefactor of the city; his will mentions a brother, William, and a nephew, Christopher. Mr Walter was steward to Edmund, third Baron Sheffield and later Earl of Mulgrave (1565-1646), who was President of the Council of the North from 1603 until he sold the office to Emanuel, Lord Scrope in 1619 (Hargrove, 1818, 2.301-8; *ODNB*).

²¹⁹ **new manner** the former St Mary's Monastery, retained by the crown after the Dissolution and rebuilt as the residence of the President of the Council; James VI and I stayed there on his southwards journey in 1603, and is reported to have ordered its renovation; work began under Lord Sheffield after 1611, and by 1616 had already cost more than £1,000. This phase of construction continued into the 1620s. The 'noble stone vaults ... which may be compared with anything of that kind in Britain' were known as the 'King's Cellar', and formed part of a range constructed to accommodate Henry VIII on his visit to York in 1542; they were subsequently incorporated into the later buildings (Nichols 1828, 3.271; Tillot, 1961; *CSPD 1611-18*, 379; Davies, 1883, 2, 5; Drake, 1736, 577; Colvin, 1982, 355-64).

²²⁰ **my Lords grace** Tobie Matthew (1544-1628), archbishop of York from 1606. He attended Christ Church, Oxford, in the 1560s, became a canon in 1570, and was appointed dean six years later. He was an orthodox Calvinist in his convictions, and associated politically with the Earl of Leicester. As dean of Durham from 1583, and bishop from 1594, he gained a reputation as an indefatigable preacher and an effective administrator, overseeing a border commission and taking action to suppress Catholicism. His political involvements continued after his promotion to York, and he cooperated closely with the gentry and magnates active in the Council of the North. He preached the sermon at the funeral of Gilbert Talbot, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury, in 1616, and granted a lease of the site of the archbishop's residence to Sir Arthur Ingram in October 1618 (*ODNB*). In the summer of that year, Matthew was resident at his palace at Bishopthorpe, 2½ miles south of the city; on Sunday 16 August, during Jonson's visit, he preached at Bilbrough, just over 4 miles west of Bishopthorpe (York Minster Library, MS Add. 18,122). His monument in York Minster noted that 'his house was a perpetual scene of entertainment for the rich, and of charity for the poor' (Murray and Pattison, 2000, 49).

²²¹ **Lumsdale** Thomas Lumsden (d. c.1625), gentleman of the privy chamber and pensioner until the end of James's reign; caught up in the Overbury affair in October 1615 when Sir Edward Coke was angered by a critical account of the proceedings against Richard Weston that Lumsden sent to the King – he was denounced in Star Chamber by Francis Bacon for this 'false, odious, and libellous relation', fined and imprisoned (NA, LC 2/6, f.39v; *CSPD 1611-18*, 168, 218-9, 321 and 326; Bacon, 1824, 453). In 1613 he was granted a reversion of the stewardship of Galtres (see line 265 below) with his fellow courtier William Ramsay (see line 419 below), and he later also held a foot forestership and the office of Master of the Game; with James Heatley (see lines 432-3 below), he acquired the stewardship of Sheriff Hutton. By 1619, he may have been the possessor of a brick-built hunting lodge near Sutton on the Forest, 7 miles north of York. He was, however, 'a man with chronic financial difficulties' (Cowling, 1968, 178); at his death Sir Arthur Ingram was his principal creditor, and acquired his forest offices (*CSPD 1611-18*, 210; NA, E 214/1503; West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds, WYL100/SH/A1/8A, WYL100/SH/A1/12; Cowling, 1968, 178-9, 189).

²²² **forrest** the Forest of Galtres, to the north of York, which had once extended as far as the city walls; by the early seventeenth century considerably diminished, though still with a stock of over 800 deer and covering around 7,600 acres. Full disafforestation took place in the 1630s (Cowling, 1968, 174-89).

purpose being that night to goe no further then Sir *Henry Francklins*²²³ where *Sir Edward Stanhop*²²⁴ promised to meet my gissip [sic]./ But as we travayled hearing it was out of our way, and desyring to take advantage of the fairnesse of the weather wee resolu'd to go one, and so bayted at Tollerton, where Parson Rogers²²⁵ hearing of our passing by rydd after vs and recoverd vs at Tollerton, [where] at myne host *Thortons*,²²⁶ where my gossip dischargd two borrachoe bottles²²⁷ vpon [the] myne host and the parson, to the downfall of the one, and soe elevating the other that Mr Parson would needs bring vs one the way, where to shew his love to my gossip hee fell of his horse and after ran leaping and dancing before vs half way to *Topliffe*,²²⁸ where wee went to Mrs *Warcups*²²⁹ the famous good *Hostesse*, where wee stayed till Wensday being shut vp with rayne

²²³ **Francklins** Sir Henry Frankland (d. 1622), of Aldwark, who may have matriculated from Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1582; he was knighted in 1607, and married to Jane, daughter of Sir Charles Wren (see below, line 309). Aldwark is by the River Ouse, 11 miles north of York, 3 miles to the west of the village of Tollerton, and 9 miles south of the travellers' revised destination (Foster, 1891-2; Shaw, 1906; Page, 1914-23).

²²⁴ **Stanhop** Sir Edward Stanhope (c.1579-1646) owned property at Grimston, just south of Tadcaster, and at Edlington, near Doncaster; he entered Gray's Inn in 1593, and was returned as MP for the constituency of Scarborough in 1601. He inherited his estates on the death of his father in August 1603, shortly after he had been knighted, and served as sheriff of Yorkshire in 1615-16. He was cousin both to Sir John Stanhope, Sir Charles Cavendish's 1599 assailant, and Charles, Baron Stanhope, whose extravagantly annotated copy of the second folio of Jonson's *Works* contains the claim that he met the poet at Lyon during his journey to France with Wat Raleigh in 1612-13 (Hasler, 1981; Thrush and Ferris, 2010; Donaldson, 2011, 302; Osborn, 1957, 16). Sir Edward Stanhope's wife, Margaret Constable, was the daughter of strongly Catholic parents, and her brother, Henry Constable (1588–1645), was the 'most substantial Catholic layman in the East Riding' (*ODNB*, Henry Constable, Viscount Dunbar; Cliffe, 1969, 290). Both Stanhope and Constable held forest offices in Galtres (Cowling, 1968, 178; Thrush and Ferris, 2010).

²²⁵ **Rogers** Henry Rogers (?1584-c.1657), graduated BA from St Edmund Hall, Oxford by 1610 and MA by 1614; Rector of St Denys with St George, York, from 1612, and of St Mary, Bishophill Senior, York, from 1614; ejected for scandal by the protectoral commissioners for the West Riding in February 1655, he then confessing himself old and 'readie as a ricke of corne to bee putt into the barne' (Foster, 1891-2; Clergy of the Church of England Database, Person ID, 12451; NA, PROB 11/271/43; Walker, 1948, 398; Cross, 1967, 138).

²²⁶ **Thortons** William Thornton was granted a licence for an alehouse in Tollerton in 1615 (NA, DL 41/863, f.7).

²²⁷ **borrachoe bottles** large wine-skins, associated with both Spain and excessive drinking. Cf. *Devil*, 2.1.71 and Ford, Dekker, Middleton and Rowley, *The Spanish Gypsy*, 1.1.6.; likewise ?John Heath, 'In Borachium': '*Borachio* sayd, Wine made his head too light, / And therefore would not drinke it: yet last night / Carowsing healths, so heauy was his head, / He fell asleepe, and there was left for dead...' (?Heath 1619: sig. [B5v]).

²²⁸ **Topliffe** more commonly called Topcliffe, a common staging post for travellers heading north from, or south to, York: indeed, in 1615 this small town had thirteen licensed alehouse keepers (NA, DL 41/863, f.11v).

²²⁹ **Warcups** Elizabeth Warcopp (d. 1622), holder of a wine licence for Topcliffe, and widow of Jasper Kettlewell (d. 1590), yeoman, and George Warcopp (d. 1599), gentleman. Both her husbands were reasonably wealthy, and her own will shows her to have held substantial property in and around the town (NA, E 163/17/22; Borthwick Institute, Probate Register, 37, f.341).

[4.2v] One Wensday three of the wyddowes sonnes²³⁰ The Kettlewells, and Seageron²³¹ hir
 280 nephew with two others brought vs to Sandhewton,²³² where wee shift<.>d by reason of a
 huge shower overtooke vs.

That night wee came to Northallerton, where wee lay at Scarlettes²³³ the Postmaster.
 One thursday wee passed lowsie hill Smitham²³⁴ and bayted at Croft. Wee passed Croft
 brydge going two myles about because wee would not passe Nysam Ferry.²³⁵ Then wee
 285 passed Skyrne brigge²³⁶ Teze runnes vnder Croft brigg, And wee came thorough wett to
 Darnton²³⁷ where wee lay at Glouers²³⁸ the Postmasters sonne in law to the good woman of
Topleif

Friday wee stayd all day at Darneton

On Saterdag the 22th²³⁹ of August wee tooke our lorney towards durham, betweene that
 290 and ferry on the hill²⁴⁰ my gossip mett *Sir Robert Mansell*, and *Sir Arnoll* [sic] *Harbert*,²⁴¹ who

²³⁰ **sonnes** Elizabeth Warcopp's sons were John Kettlewell (d. c.1654), the eldest, Jasper (d. c.1653) and William (NA, PROB 11/243/141, PROB 11/226/52).

²³¹ **Seageron** No one of that name is mentioned in surviving family wills. A John Seager of York died in 1614 or 1615; this might just possibly be a reference to one of his kinsmen. 'Nephew' can also mean 'neice' or 'grandson' (NA, C 142/344/28; *OED*, Nephew *n.* 2a, 2b).

²³² **Sandhewton** Sandhutton, a village 4 miles north of Topcliffe.

²³³ **Scarlette** Thomas Scarlett or Skarlett succeeded Christopher Skarlett as the postmaster at Northallerton in 1618; in 1615, members of the family held three of this substantial market town's 52 alehouse licences (NA, Pipe Rolls AO 1/1952/20, f.3v; NA, DL 41/863, f.40). It is 11 miles north of Topcliffe.

²³⁴ **lowsie ... Smitham** variant name for Lovesome Hill, 4 miles north of Northallerton and 3 miles south of Great Smeaton (cf. Ogilby, 1675, 5).

²³⁵ **Croft brydge ... Nysam Ferry** described in the mid-sixteenth century as 'the grete Bridge at Crofte', and consisting 'of sixe myghtye large pillars, and of seven arches of stone worke'; an alternative to the most direct route, which took travellers down Breakhorse Bank and across the Tees via the ferry at Nysam or Neasham 2 miles to the east. As its name suggests, the gradient of Breakhorse Bank made it unsuitable for coaches and wagons (Page, 1914-23; Ogilby, 1675, 5).

²³⁶ **Skyrne brigge** a crossing over the River Skerne, either at the point where it joins the Tees just north of Croft, now Oxneyfield Bridge, or 2 miles further north on the eastern edge of Darlington.

²³⁷ **Darnton** Darlington '*vulgo* [commonly known as] *Darnton*', 'large and well frequented, being a Post-Town, well Accommodated for Entertainment' (Ogilby, 1675, 16).

²³⁸ **Glouers** Peter Glover (d. 1625), postmaster, also held a wine licence between 1616-22. He occupied a house known as the Post House or Talbot Inn at the north-eastern corner of Post House Wynd (NA, Pipe Rolls, AO 1/1952/20, f.3; E 163/17/22; Atkinson, 1993, 35). He appointed his 'right trustie and deere beloved' brothers-in-law John and Jasper Kettlewell as supervisors to his will, leaving them each a gold Jacobus (Borthwick Institute, Probate Register, 38. ff.586v-587).

²³⁹ **22th** 'two and twentieth'.

had expected a month his coming to new castell. Wee bayted att Ferry hill at the blynd womans,²⁴² where our host of Darnton mett vs. Here a great gate was blown ^[downe] vpon mee./

By the way I lost my Gossip, and came muck wett to Mr Dirrhams²⁴³ at the kyngs armes
 295 where I found my gossip accompanied with Mr Richardson,²⁴⁴ and other gentlemen²⁴⁵ [4.3]
 ready to bring him to my Lord of Durhams²⁴⁶ where hee supp'd. My Lord vsing him with all
 the loue and respect that could bee, entreating to bring all his company next day to dynner,
 and to vse noe other house but his. Whether wee all came the next day being sonnday.
 Where the plenty of meat, variety of dishes and state of service was such as I saw not the
 300 like since our coming foorth But that which exceeded all the rest was my Lords
 extraordinary, and strange freedome, and familiarity, with my Gossip, and his grace and
 fauour for his sake to vs.

²⁴⁰ **ferry on the hill** Ferryhill, 11 miles north of Darlington, which 'commaunds a great part of the Country, and though soe wondrous high, yet there on the top thereof wee ... borrowed a cup of refreshing leath, from a sweet and most pleasant spring' (Legg, 1904, 24).

²⁴¹ **Mansell ... Harbert** previously encountered at Ware (see line 12). Both had northern interests: Mansell had acquired a monopoly for the manufacture of glass, developing a site for its production near Newcastle which was probably operational by April 1618 (*ODNB*; Thrush and Ferris, 2010); Harbert's patron, Theophilus Howard, Lord Walden, was lord lieutenant in the north, and held lands there through his marriage, while Harbert himself had a lease in 1615 of lands in North Tynedale. His connections undoubtedly led to his election as MP for Morpeth in the parliaments of 1614 and 1625, a seat standardly in the gift of Lord William Howard of Naworth (*ODNB*, Theophilus Howard; NA, E 367/1306; Thrush and Ferris, 2010).

²⁴² **blynd womans** unidentified.

²⁴³ **Dirrhams** possibly Robert Dearham of Durham, coroner of Darlington for the bishop of Durham (NA, DURH 30/121/12, 14). No record of the King's Arms has been found.

²⁴⁴ **Richardson** perhaps the Mr Richardson of Tadcaster, suggesting either that he had travelled alongside Jonson, or was re-encountering him here. The author appears to distinguish between this man and John Richardson of Durham (see line 302).

²⁴⁵ 'gentlemen' included as catchword on 4.2v; omitted as first word on 4.3.

²⁴⁶ **Lord of Durhams** Richard Neile (1562-1640), bishop of Durham from 1617 to 1628, lived in a grand residence in Durham castle by the cathedral. Neile was a native of Westminster, educated at the college, and served as dean of the abbey between 1605 and 1608; Robert Cecil's patronage helped him to become royal chaplain and clerk of the closet from 1603, with privileged access to the king and control over preaching rotas at court. Neile was a leading figure in what became known as Arminianism, the clerical movement promulgating an increasingly controversial set of doctrinal, liturgical and ecclesiological positions which, with royal support, became dominant in the Anglican church during the later 1620s and 30s – Neile himself became Archbishop of York in 1632. According to Peter Smart, a hostile witness, Neile's 'principall care and study was to enrich himself, and his kindred, Chaplains, creatures, and favourites, which he made non-Residents, and Tot-quots [holders of multiple livings], heaping upon them all manner of preferments'. A circle of high church men who formed the focal point for emergent Arminian thinking became known as the Durham House group, after the bishop's residence on the Strand in London (*ODNB*, Richard Neile and Durham House group; Foster, 2000, 162; Smart, 1643, sig. *2).

At dinner was *Sir George Conniers*,²⁴⁷ Mr Arch deacon,²⁴⁸ Mr *Chancellour*²⁴⁹ Mr *Robson*²⁵⁰ and others. All my Lords gentlemen Mr *Robson the younger*,²⁵¹ Steward²⁵² to my Lord Mr
 305 Stephnson²⁵³ [sic] gentleman vsher Mr *Legat*,²⁵⁴ Mr *Pelen*,²⁵⁵ gentleman sewer, shewing them selues rather attendantes then otherwise to my Gossip, brought him home euey night to his lodging, and staying with him till twelue or one a clocke. My lords chaplens Mr *Perne*²⁵⁶ and Mr *Clerke*²⁵⁷ doing the lyke. After dynner Mr *Ihon Richardson*²⁵⁸ brought vs to

²⁴⁷ **Conniers** Sir George Conyers of Sockburn, from a family often sheriffs of the palatinate of Durham, was deputy lieutenant under Bishop Neile; listed as a Catholic and cited or convicted for recusancy several times between the 1590s and the 1620s (NA, DURH20/42-57, 84-98; Durham University Library, MSP 2, pt 2, f.275; Forster, 1960, 149-50; Calthrop, 1916, 87, 97). His sister Elizabeth was married to Sir Thomas Riddell of Northumberland (see line 331 below).

²⁴⁸ **Archdeacon** William Morton (d. 1620), Justice of the Peace, vicar of St Nicholas, Newcastle from 1596 and archdeacon of Durham from 1603 (Clergy of the Church of England Database, Location ID 232853; Fraser, 1988, 345).

²⁴⁹ **Chancellor** Durham bishopric had two chancellors. The Chancellor of the Palatinate, with secular jurisdiction, was Sir Richard Hutton (d. 1639), Receiver General of the bishopric's revenues. He was also a member of the Council of the North until 1619, recorder of York since 1608, knighted in York in 1617, and king's justice in the Court of Common Pleas from 1617-39, these occupations keeping him from Durham much of the time (Fraser, 1988, 343). The Chancellor of the spiritual courts was Clement Colmore (d. 1619), who was admitted to Oxford in 1566 and became a Fellow of Brasenose in 1578. He held various rectories in the bishopric from 1584, and was a JP since at least 1601, sitting at the Quarter Sessions held in Durham on 8 July 1618 (Borthwick Institute, Probate Register 34, ff.435-40; Fraser, 1988, 293-4, 340). The appellation 'Mr' here points to Colmore.

²⁵⁰ **Robson** John Robson (c.1581-1645), rector of Morpeth, 1610-43, and subsequently member of the Durham High Commission, appointed by Neile to the sixth Prebendary of Durham cathedral in 1623. He was a chaplain to James I by 1620, and his eldest son was the first to be baptised in the new ornamented font that Neile installed at Durham (Thrush and Ferris, 2010; Tillbrook, 1987, 208; Durham University Library, DDR/EA/ACT/1/4, 56).

²⁵¹ **Robson the younger** Probably Mr Robert Robson, under-sheriff of Durham by 1621, sheriff from 1624 (Durham University Library, MSP 92, f.25; CCB B/16/46).

²⁵² **Steward** The steward listed for 1616-18 is Robert Cooper; the sentence may suggest that the younger in fact Robson fulfilled this office (Durham University Library, Handlist of Officeholders).

²⁵³ **Stephnson** John Stephenson was appointed escheator of Durham and clerk of the assize in September 1619; on 15 August 1618 he was paid £105 from the bishopric revenues (Durham University Library, DCD/B/AA/2, ff.1v, 2; CCB/B/16/47, f.3).

²⁵⁴ **Legat** Mr Thomas Posthumous Legatt of Hornchurch in Essex, who in October 1619 was granted a lease by the dean and chapter of Durham of Powter Close on the river Tyne; one of his guarantors was the bishop's auditor, suggesting his closeness to the bishop's household. He may have been involved with the Tyneside coal trade (Durham University Library, DCD/B/BA/9, f.613).

²⁵⁵ **Pelen** unidentified.

²⁵⁶ **Perne** Andrew Perne (d. 1640), one of Neile's chaplains, came with him from his previous bishopric of Lincoln. He took his BA from Peterhouse, Cambridge in 1596/7, and his MA in 1600; he was a fellow of the college from 1598 to 1621, and was made vicar of Norton and rector of Washington in co. Durham in 1621; a member of the Durham House group, he instituted ceremonial changes in northern churches (Venn and Venn, 1922-7; *ODNB*, Durham House group; Durham University Library, DDR/EA/ACT/1/4, 46, 47). Not to be confused with his younger, godly namesake.

²⁵⁷ **Clerke** Gabriel Clarke (1589-1662), another member of the Durham House group and a Neile protégé, marrying his patron's niece. He was appointed archdeacon of Northumberland in 1619, and then translated to Durham on Morton's death in 1620; in 1619 he was granted the rectory of Howick, and in 1620 that of Elwick; in 1624 he was given the mastership of Greatham Hospital for poor people in co. Durham, succeeding to increasingly senior prebendaries in Durham cathedral. He was also a member of Durham's High Commission, and a JP (*ODNB*, Durham House group; Foster, 1976, 44-6; Durham University Library, DDR/EA/ACT/1/4, 18, 29, 30, 37, 55; Add MS 226, 170).

²⁵⁸ **Richardson** Mr John Richardson, elder (d. 1640) and younger (d. 1623), were both lawyers, admitted to Gray's Inn in 1598 and 1605 respectively (Prest, 1986, 149-50, 337; Foster, 1889, 93, 110). Richardson senior was appointed the bishop's

his fathers who hath married with Mrs *El*:²⁵⁹ *Vavator*²⁶⁰ [4.3v] Where wee mett with things
 310 worth the seeinge Mr *Richardson* entreated my Lord for Mr *Johnsons* company to supper,
 but my Lord by no meanes would spare him.

My Lord spake to me to entreat my gossip to stay the next day being *Barthelmew day*²⁶¹
 saying I might prevayle with him etc./ I answered not might better commaund him then his
 Lordship, who hadd bound him by so manie favours to be at his service This day dyed
 315 there, *Sir Charles Wren*²⁶² of *Nottingham*, a most violent Puritane²⁶³ with whom my gossip
 had a pleasaunt encounter, at which my Lord laughed hartely.

Here my gossip etreated [sic] that *poetica licentia*²⁶⁴ hee might propose a health,²⁶⁵ which
 which [sic] was the kings etc, my Lord did the like at supper etc. In the afternoone wee

remembrancer and solicitor in all courts in 1607, later becoming clerk of the chancery and escheator for the palatinate of Durham. One of the previous bishop's men, he fell foul of Neile's new administration and was sacked shortly after Jonson's visit (Fraser, 1988, 346; Durham University Library, MSP 33 and 71; Tillbrook 1987, 222-3, n. 41; Foster 1987, 189-90). After Neile's translation to Winchester in 1628, however, he recovered his position, becoming escheator for Northhamshire in 1636 (Durham University Library, MSP 25, f.10). He lived comfortably in a house on the North Bailey of Durham (Longstaffe, 1858, 89). His son may have been the John Richardson employed to carry letters between Durham and York (Borthwick Institute, ABP 3/4-9).

²⁵⁹ Could be a contraction for Eleanor or Elizabeth, but as both are incorrect the intended name cannot be inferred.

²⁶⁰ **El: Vavator** correctly, Anne, daughter of Henry Vavasour of Copmanthorpe, Yorkshire, and a gentlewoman in Queen Elizabeth's bedchamber. She is known to have married a John Richardson by 1618, when she was sued by the heir of her deceased lover, Sir Henry Lee, for bigamy, being married already to John Finch – her impending legal trouble was reported by Chamberlain in a letter of 8 August. The memory of her 1580 liaison with Edward de Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford, was sustained through her association with the lyric 'Sitting alone upon my thought in melancholy mood', sometimes attributed to Oxford; she was also credited with verses that accompany the lyric in one manuscript (*ODNB*; Chamberlain, 1939, 2. 164; Folger MS V.a.89, 8-9; May, 1980, 79-81; Marotti, 1995, 57-8).

²⁶¹ **Barthelmew day** St Bartholomew's Day, celebrated on 24 August, was a traditional time for markets and fairs, and the celebrated fair at Smithfield was the setting for *Bartholomew Fair*, first staged in 1614. It also marked the anniversary of the massacre of thousands of Protestant Huguenots in France in 1572.

²⁶² **Wren** Sir Charles Wren of Binchester (d. 1621), knighted in 1607, was the constable of Durham castle from 1606, steward of Raby and Brancepeth castles, and a JP from at least 1606-17. His wife was the daughter of John Thornhaugh, of Fenton, Nottinghamshire (Fraser, 1988, 348-9; Durham University Library, CCB B/21/29; ACC Add MS 924/5, 3; ACC Add MS 924/3; Wood, 1929, 147-9). He was pardoned for the killing of one Robert Ratcliff in a duel in 1589; in 1608, the Earl of Shrewsbury's agent Henry Sanderson wrote that Wren 'bloweth the same bellows' as another notable Puritan, probably Gilbert Frevile of Bishop Middleham (Durham University Library, MS 924/2; Lambeth Palace, MS 702, f.63).

²⁶³ **violent Puritane** cf. *Disc.* 43-6.

²⁶⁴ **poetica licentia** poetic licence, 'a priuiledge giuen to Poetrie' (Harington, 1591, sig. ¶14)

²⁶⁵ **health** as at line 169, perhaps the verses composed between 1617 and 1619 ('A Grace by Ben Jonson ... Extempore before King James').

vizited the monumentes especialy that of venerable *Bede*,²⁶⁶ and St *Cutberd* Bishop of the
 320 holy *Ile*,²⁶⁷ where wee heard the manner of his translating thether with the discourse of the
 cow²⁶⁸ which stands in the side of the church. The towne taking the name of Dunholmes
 therevpon
 One tewsdai morning, the weigtes²⁶⁹ and cornetes²⁷⁰ [4.4] came to our lodging. Myne
 host²⁷¹ brought vs to chester²⁷² where Mr *Tibalds*²⁷³ a *Phisitjon* and an other townsman
 325 came to vs, and from thence kept vs company to new castle. By the way my gossip bought a
 Salmon, and a Salmon trout etc. Myne host²⁷⁴ was druncken disordered fellow, but shee a
 good wife.

²⁶⁶ **Bede** The Venerable Bede (c.673-735) was a monk and historian in the monastery at Jarrow, whose *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (c.731) was first printed in Strasbourg after 1474, and then in numerous sixteenth- and seventeenth-century editions. Bede was initially buried at Jarrow, but subsequently re-interred in the Galilee chapel of Durham cathedral in a blue marble tomb; this was dismantled following the Reformation, and the remains buried more simply under two of the original marble stones in 'ye bodey of the church and lyeth now over against the estmost Toumbe of the Neivell' (*ODNB*; Fowler, 1903, 44-6, 103-4, 225, 233-5, 286-7). Bede's reputation was much associated with the Northumbrian saint Cuthbert, who he commemorated in his *Life of Cuthbert*.

²⁶⁷ **Cutberd ... Ile** St Cuthbert (635-687) was the prior of the monastery on Lindisfarne, 'the holy *Ile*', a small island joined to the Northumbrian coast. He spent many years as a hermit on the more remote island of Inner Farne, in later life becoming a bishop in Northumbria, before returning to Inner Farne where he died. Following Viking attacks, his body was carried to Chester-le-Street in about 875, where it remained for a century; after further travels, he was eventually interred east of the High Altar in Durham cathedral in 1104. The much-visited shrine was dismantled after the Reformation and the body reburied in a plain grave behind the altar, reputedly still uncorrupted. Despite the Reformation, St Cuthbert remained important to the secular and ecclesiastical communities of Durham and to the regional identity of England's north-east. During his period in office, Richard Neile made efforts to 'restor[e] many of [Durham's] traditions and customs' (Newton, 2013, 440, 447-53; Fowler, 1903, 69-75, 286).

²⁶⁸ **discourse ... cow** Cuthbert's final resting place was reputedly chosen when the monks searching for a suitable site followed two milkmaids looking for a dun or brown cow to Dun Holm, a rocky peninsula in the River Dee, where the cathedral was then built. An account of 1593 described how 'a monument of a milke maide milkinge hir koue' was erected 'on the outside of the north-west turrett of the Nine Altars' of the new cathedral, which though 'defaced by the weather ... to this day is there to be seene'; it was replaced by the current monument around 1775 (Fowler, 1903, xiv-xv, 66, 71, 74, 254).

²⁶⁹ **weigtes** here, both wait-pipes or shawms and the waits, 'a small body of wind instrumentalists maintained by a city or town at the public charge' (*OED*, Wait n. 8a). The earliest surviving record for the Durham waits dates from March 1618 (George, 1991, 178).

²⁷⁰ **cornets** horns; metonymically, their players.

²⁷¹ **Myne host** presumably Robert Dearham of the King's Arms.

²⁷² **chester** Chester-le-Street, nearly 6 miles north of Durham; 'chiefly one streate of very meane building' (Leland, 1906-10, 1.74).

²⁷³ **Tibalds** Mr Anthony Theobald, *alias* Tebald (1587-1635), graduated from Emanuel College, Cambridge, in 1591, and lived in St Mary-le-Bow, Durham (Venn and Venn, 1922-7).

²⁷⁴ **Myne host** possibly Richard Fletcher, who had a wine licence for Chester-le-Street in 1616-22 for £2 (NA, E163/17/22); given that Dearham appears to have accompanied the travellers to Chester, perhaps a reference to him.

Wee hadd by the way [the] ^Γa full̄ sight of that stately and well seated castle of Lomley.²⁷⁵

Wee came that night to new castle²⁷⁶ where my gossip lay at Carres,²⁷⁷ and I at widdow

330 *Wallese*²⁷⁸ My gossip was invited the next day to Mr *Maddeson*²⁷⁹ the *Maio*r to dinner. And
was most lovingly vsed by Mr Boyd,²⁸⁰ that is in suit²⁸¹ with the towne for an impost vpon
cole.

My gossip went to the free schoole²⁸² and gave the *Master*²⁸³ a piece to buy a booke with.

One thursday wee were invited by *Sir [Iohn] ΓGeorge] Selby*,²⁸⁴ where was at dinner

335 *Captayne Poore*²⁸⁵ And after dinner *Sir Iohn Fenneck*²⁸⁶ came.

²⁷⁵ **Lomley** Lumley castle, ancestral home of the ancient Northumbrian family of that name, 'a stately pile of Building, and a Parke, sweetly situated vpon a fine ascent of the Riuer Were' (Camden, 1610, 742; Legg, 1904, 30-1).

²⁷⁶ **new castle** Newcastle, situated on the north bank of the river Tyne; approached from the south across a bridge of eight arches, on 'the left hand whereof standeth the Castle: after that, a steepe and upright pitch of an hill risith: on the right hand you have the Mercat place, and the better part of the City in regard of faire buildings... It is adorned with foure churches, and fortified with most strong walls that have eight gates in them, with many towres' (Brereton, 1844, 85; Camden, 1610, 809-10).

²⁷⁷ **Carres** Leonard Carr owned the Nag's Head, an inn in Sandhill described by travellers in the 1630s as 'the fairest built inn that I have seen', and a 'stately, prince-like, freeston inn'. Carr was a prosperous wine-merchant, and member of the Merchant Adventurers and Hostmen Guilds in Newcastle (Brereton, 1844, 89; Legg, 1904, 32; Boyle and Dendy, 1895-9, 2.225; Welford, 1884-7, 3.34, 325).

²⁷⁸ **widdow Wallese** Unidentified; in 1600 Hugh and James Wallace rented houses in Sandgate near Sandhill (Welford, 1887, 3.135-6).

²⁷⁹ **Maddeson** Lionel Maddison (c.1530-1624) was an affluent Merchant Adventurer and Hostman, with interests in the coal trade. He held a number of civic offices, and although then in his late eighties was elected mayor for the third time in 1617. There is an elaborate monument to him and his immediate descendants in the church of St Nicholas, now Newcastle Cathedral (Mackenzie, 1827, 1.262; Boyle and Dendy, 1895-9, 2.207).

²⁸⁰ **Boyd** Andrew Boyd, knighted in 1620, cupbearer to James VI and I. He was given £1,000 by the king in 1615; in 1623, James 'particularly desire[d]' his pension to be paid. His place at court led to a grant of the office of Surveyor of Coals at Newcastle in 1616; it was re-granted for life in 1619, with an annuity of £500 given to him in 1621 (NA, LC 2/6, f.40v; Nichols, 1828, 4.611; *CSPD 1611-18*, 277; *CSPD 1619-23*, 624). It was a contentious office, his powers disputed by the corporation of Newcastle, and from 1616 onwards Boyd instigated enquiries by the crown into alleged abuses of the coal trade by Newcastle merchants (*CSPD 1611-18*, 351, 556; *CSPD 1619-23*, 58, 235, 406, 443; Dendy, 1901, 62-3). He danced in *The Irish Masque at Court*, and was the addressee of an admiring epigram by John Dunbar (*Masque Archive, Irish Masque*, 10; Dunbar, 2013, Century 5, Epigram 33).

²⁸¹ **in suit** engaged in a lawsuit.

²⁸² **free schoole** Newcastle enjoyed high levels of literacy, with several schoolmasters employed in the 1500s. In 1600 Newcastle's 'Great Charter' formally founded the grammar school, though it continued to be known as the 'Free School', to which all freemen of Newcastle were entitled to send their sons. It was initially housed in St Nicholas's churchyard, but moved to St Mary's Hospital in 1607 (Tuck, 1986, 3, 5, 11, 16).

²⁸³ **Master** Robert Fowberry (d. 1622), the school's master since 1615; 'a learned and painfull man to indoctrinate youth in Greek and Latin' (Gray, 1649, 20). His inventory included a substantial library of 150 books (Tuck, 1986, 19-20; Tyne and Wear Record Office, MD/NC/FN/1/1/10, f.303; Welford, 1884-7, 3. 247).

²⁸⁴ **Selby** Sir George Selby (1556/7-1625), alderman, mayor of Newcastle four times between 1600 and 1623; another Merchant Adventurer and Hostman with substantial interests in the coal trade (Thrush and Ferris, 2010; Welford 1884-7, 3.426), and was MP for Newcastle in 1601 and 1604, for Northumberland in 1614, and served as a JP on the Northumbrian commission; he held office in Durham too, both as JP and as sheriff from 1608 to 1625, and hosted King James at Newcastle in 1617 (Northumberland Record Office, QSI/1, f.161; Thrush and Ferris, 2010; Fraser, 1988, 347; NA,

Mr *Bonner*²⁸⁷ Sherief carried vs from thence to his house where wee heard all kynd of musicke,²⁸⁸ and gaue vs hullock²⁸⁹ of 40tie yeere ould. And brought my gossip to his lodging, accompanied with an other Alderman, and Mr *Chapman*²⁹⁰

[4.4v] One friday my gossip being ill kept his chamber all day. Mr Maior sent to speake with
 340 him next morning, and *Sir George Selby, Sir Thomas Ruddall*²⁹¹ with Mr Shereif presented him with a present of ten pieces for his Viaticum²⁹²

DURH20/103). The family was suspected of Catholicism: his sister, a reported recusant, was the second wife of Sir William Fenwick of Wallington, and her children were 'brought up in papistry', while in 1619 Selby's daughter Isabel married Sir Patrick Curwen, son of another recusant, Sir Henry Curwen (see line 348). (HMC Salisbury, 19.3-5; *ODNB*, Selby family). He lived in a mansion in Oatmarket, also – and today – known as Bigg Market (Thrush and Ferris, 2010; Gray, 1649, 68; Baillie, 1801, 119).

²⁸⁵ **Captayne Poore** unidentified. Henry Poor served as captain on the continent and in Ireland in the later years of Elizabeth's reign; he was, however, a knight by 1599, and no connection to Selby or Newcastle has been found (Lambeth Palace, MS 615, 58, 90, 179, 534; Lambeth Palace, MS 624, 233; Wernham, 1984, 312).

²⁸⁶ **Fenneck** Sir John Fenwick (c.1580-c.1658), the son of Sir William Fenwick and his first wife; Sir George Selby, with whom he apparently maintained a close relationship, was thus his step-uncle. He was brought up a Protestant, but in 1617 was bracketed with known recusants in a report on the poor state of the Northumbrian ministry. Despite this, in 1618 he was named a recusancy commissioner pursuing Northumbrian Catholics. He was a prominent member of Northumberland's gentry, whose wealth lay in his estates at Fenwick, Wallington and Cambo; he served as JP and deputy-lieutenant for the county. He was also a member of the Middle Shires commission, helping to suppress crime in the Anglo-Scottish Borders, and sat as MP for Northumberland in the parliaments of 1624 to 1628. He held no civic office, but had inherited a house in Newcastle's 'Noutte-Market' (Welford, 1884-7, 3.199, 213; Thrush and Ferris, 2010; NRO, QSI/1, ff.145, 146, 161).

²⁸⁷ **Bonner** William Bonner (d. 1627), the sheriff in 1617-18, was another of the busy Merchant Adventurers, and a Hostman of long standing, apprenticed in 1589, and appointed as steward of the guild in 1616. Originally, one of the Hostmen's principal obligations was to look after important visitors, principally merchants, to the city (Welford 1884-7, 3.213, 220, 426; Tyen and Wear Record Office, GU.HO/1/1, 144, 150).

²⁸⁸ **musicke** The aldermen of Newcastle regularly accompanied the drinking of wine by musical entertainment; for instance, in 1622 the Barber Surgeons' Guild spent 5s on music during their head meeting at Leonard Carr's inn, and another 14s on music, wine and tobacco on a separate occasion there. In July 1623, the Masters and Mariners spent £2 at St Peters eve on wine and music, and a similar sum the following year (Anderson, 1982, 151).

²⁸⁹ **hullock** a Spanish red wine advised for the entertainment of 'persons of credite' (*OED*, Hollock *n.*; Percevel, 1599, 243; Hakluyt, 1599, 440-1).

²⁹⁰ **Chapman** The elder Henry Chapman (by 1556-1623) was another of Newcastle's civic elite, an alderman, and former mayor; he was one of the original Hostmen owning rights in the coal trade, a wealthy merchant who left £1,600 in jewels to his wife (Welford 1884-7, 3. 139, 142, 250). He was elected an MP for Newcastle in 1597 and 1604. His brother Matthew's son was also Henry (d. 1633); this latter was the chief beneficiary of his uncle's will and 'had taken over the bulk of the family business' by 1617 (Thrush and Ferris, 2010). Matthew Chapman's daughter, Mary, married William Bonner in 1597, and in 1612 their son was apprenticed to the elder Henry (Greenwell, 1860, 2.7-8; Boyle and Dendy, 1895-9, 2.234).

²⁹¹ **Ruddall** Sir Thomas Riddell (c. 1568-1650) had substantial interests in Newcastle's coal trade, his share valued at £1,000 a year in 1620. An alderman, he was knighted in 1616, and elected MP for Newcastle in 1621, 1625, 1628 and 1640. In 1615, he and Sir George Selby were tasked with defending the Hostmen's interests at the privy council against the patent for the Surveyorship of the Coals granted to Andrew Boyd. He remained a vociferous opponent of Boyd in the 1621 parliament. He also held office in Northumberland, sitting regularly as a JP. His wife Elizabeth, sister of Sir George Conyers (see line 297), was convicted of recusancy in 1615; Riddell himself was cited as a recusant office holder during the 1620s (Thrush and Ferris, 2010; TWRO, GU.HO/1/1, 138; NRO, QSI/1, ff.145, 161, 168, 173).

²⁹² **Viaticum** travelling expenses; cf. *EMI* (F), 1.2.75; also, the final communion received by the dying, 'the viage provision of Christen men departing oute off this world' (*OED*, Viaticum *n.* 2a); if this latter sense is also aimed at, perhaps a somewhat Scotophobic gesture.

One sunday wee made on towards Bottle castle.²⁹³ And toutchd at three myle brigg²⁹⁴ at Thom *Robinsons*, called Thom the Fencer,²⁹⁵ who serued *Sir Harry Withrington*,²⁹⁶ and brought vs [to Mr] to Mr *Inglebyes*²⁹⁷ by *Harford*,²⁹⁸ by reason wee were taken with rayne by
 345 the way. And brought his greihounds and begles with him, and to give vs sport hunted all the way

One sonday wee stayd att Bottle. One [sonday] Monday *Sir Harry Withrington*, came himself to fetch my gossip to his house,²⁹⁹ and young Mr *Carnaby* with him, and quit his horses and

²⁹³ **Bottle castle** Bothal castle, a central element in the Northumbrian inheritance acquired by Jane, Countess of Shrewsbury. Jane and her husband Edward Talbot resided at Bothal prior to his elevation to the earldom; Talbot was on the Northumbrian commission for the peace, and *custos rotulorum* for the county (Northumberland Record Office, QSI/1, f.18, 146). On the countess's death in 1625, Bothal passed to her sister Catherine Cavendish, and thus became part of the rapidly expanding Cavendish estates. Bothal was a substantial castle, described in 1576 as having a great chamber, seven bedrooms, a gallery, a prison, two towers, a chapel and other 'prittie' buildings, with 'faire gardinges and orchetts wharin growes all kind of hearbes and flowres, and fine appiles, plumbes of all kynde, peers, damsellis, nuttes, cherries' (Ogle, 1902, 333). The spelling of Bothal here reflects its local pronunciation (Hodgson, 1832, 144).

²⁹⁴ **three myle brigg** Three-mile Bridge, where the road north from Newcastle to Morpeth crosses the Ouseburn.

²⁹⁵ **Robinsons ... Fencer** possibly the Thomas Robinson who appears in a 1637 list of Newcastle brewers, though the name is not uncommon; a professional swordsman (Welford, 1884-7, 3.349). The area immediately to the north of the bridge is called Fencer Hill.

²⁹⁶ **Withrington** Sir Henry Widdrington (c.1567-1623) was a prominent Northumbrian landowner, educated at Gray's Inn from 1590, knighted in 1603, subsequently holding various county offices, including that of JP, sheriff, and deputy lieutenant; elected MP for Northumberland in 1604, he was a member of the commission drawing up proposals for Union; he was returned again in 1614 and 1621 (Thrush and Ferris, 2010, 6. 774-9; Northumberland Record Office, QSI/1, f.161). Widdrington's mother was Ursula Carnaby, whose sister Catherine (d. 1623) had married Cuthbert, seventh Lord Ogle (c.1540-97); he was thus first cousin to Jane Talbot and Catherine Cavendish, and kinsman to Sir William Cavendish. After Sir Henry's death, his heir William became Cavendish's ward; William – who was knighted in March 1632 – is probably the 'Mr Withrington' mentioned in Jonson's 1631 letter to Cavendish (BL Harl. MS 4955, f.202v; Letter 15; *ODNB*, William, first Baron Widdrington). Sir Henry was accused of recusancy, allegations made credible by his marriage to Mary Curwen, from a notoriously Catholic family, and by his brother Roger's known faith (see line 369; HMC Salisbury 19. 3-5; *CSPD 1611-18*, 355, 362, 406). Widdrington was connected to many of the major Northumbrian families: in his will, he named Sir John Fenwick, Sir Henry Curwen, Sir William Lambton (see line 342), his brother Roger and his son-in-law William Riddell, son of Sir Thomas (see line 331) as supervisors (Wood, 1929, 4.165-9). He was thus able to call on a sizeable armed retinue, it being claimed that 'the great thieves of the county are supported by Lord Howard of Walden and under him by Sir Henry and Roger Wodrington and Sir John Fenwick', 'all of whom are dependents or servants' of the Widdringtons; there was, a correspondent complained, an 'entire want of justice, because these men support each other' (*CSPD 1611-18*, 456, 465). In the middle of August 1618, Widdrington was at Burntisland in Scotland, where he exchanged memories of the 1597 Azores campaign with John Taylor; he was probably then visiting the renowned well at nearby Pettycur (see line 465; Taylor, 1618, sig. D4).

²⁹⁷ **Inglebyes** Mr Ingleby was probably related to the Inglebys of Ripley, Yorkshire: David, son of Sir William Ingleby, was known to have been in Northumberland in the 1590s with his niece, the wife of Sir Ralph Grey of Chillingham (see line 350); his daughter Ursula married Robert Widdrington, of Plessey, next to Hartford (*CSPD Add. 1580-1625*, 191-2, 365; Hodgson, 1832, 297-8; *CBP*, 2.452).

²⁹⁸ **Harford** There had been an ancient religious establishment at Hartford or Herford Bridge, 11 miles north of the Tyne on lands subsequently acquired by the Widdringtons (Hodgson, 1832, 267-8, 297, 302-3).

²⁹⁹ **his house** Widdrington Castle, 6 miles north of Bothal: 'an ancient Castle, which gave the name unto the *Withringtons*, Gentlemen of good birth, and Knights, whose valour in the warre hath beene from time to time remarqueable' (Camden, 1610, 812). The castle had been in Widdrington hands since at least 1341; 'its battlements were built on corbules, and it had round projecting turrets at each corner', with a fine tower that was reputedly 'one of the richest and handsomest' in

went one foote with vs, Mr *Carnaby* the elder³⁰⁰ and Mr *Iohnson*³⁰¹ the countesse of
 350 Shrewsberries chaplin doing the like and Mr *Randell Fenneck*³⁰² doing the lyke
 My Ladye *Withrington* [havin] [being] sent for to hir only sister, my lady *Lampton*, wife to
 Sir *William Lampton* of *Lampton*³⁰³ by *Lumley* castle, lying [5.1] then extreame sicke,
 notwithstanding my Lady hearing my *gossip Iohnson* was a coming would not stirre till she
 saw him, differing hir going two dayes only to giue my gossip entertaynment One tewsdays
 355 the first of September wee were stayd by *Sir Harry* who carryed vs one hunting where wee
 kylld a bucke
 One Wensday the second of September, wee parted from *Withrington* *Sir Harry*
 accompanying vs with Mr *Randee Fenneck* and *Harry Kerbon*.³⁰⁴ But overtaken with thunder
 and rayne, wee were faine to take east Chevington, which Mr Edwards hath taken of *Sir*
 360 *Raph Gray*³⁰⁵ who is one of the kings huntsmen³⁰⁶ and who kyndly brought vs beyond

the north. On his journey south in 1603, James VI and I 'was most royally feasted and banketted' there, 'delighting himselfe with the pleasure of the parke' and conferring knighthood on its owner (Hodgson, 1832, 241-2; Nichols, 1828, 1.67-8).

³⁰⁰ **Carnaby ... elder** Ursula, Sir Henry Widdrington's mother, was the daughter of Sir Reynold Carnaby of Halton, near Hexham; the families were also connected by the marriage of Ursula's brother, John Carnaby of Langley, to Jane, daughter of Sir John Widdrington. This marriage produced William Carnaby (d. c.1623), presumably the elder Carnaby here, who was therefore first cousin to Sir Henry Widdrington and the Ogle sisters; he served on juries at Quarter Sessions held at Hexham, and at Morpeth (Bateson *et al*, 1893-1940, 10.408; NRO, QSI/1, ff.130v, 145, 146, 153v). 'Young Mr Carnaby' is probably his son, William Carnaby of Farnham and Bothal, whom Jonson had met at Welbeck. The younger William also served on the jury at Morpeth in 1617/18, and was a JP by 1629 (Northumberland Record Office, QSI/1, ff.174, 184).

³⁰¹ **Iohnson** Mr Henry Johnson (d. 1648), rector of Bothal from 1609; cited by the House of Commons in 1646 for officiating after his sequestration (Walker, 1948, 290).

³⁰² **Fenneck** Randall Fenwick (d. c.1640), originally of Deanham, eldest son of Marmaduke Fenwick of Kirkharle. Fenwick was suspected of recusancy and, with Roger Widdrington, accused of complicity in the Gunpowder Plot (*CSPD 1611-18*, 406; Forster, 1972, 198-9). He may also have been associated with Lord William Howard of Naworth, a wealthy recusant of north-east Cumbria, overseeing Howard's land and mill at Morpeth (Ornsby, 1877, 69-70, 99-100, 423-5).

³⁰³ **Ladye Withrington ... Lampton** Mary (d. 1622), daughter of Nicholas Curwen of Workington in Cumbria, married Sir Henry Widdrington by 1607, whilst her sister Jane married Sir William Lambton of Lambton, co. Durham. Jane died by 1625, and Sir William later married Widdrington's daughter Catherine (Thrush and Ferris, 2010; Borthwick Institute, Probate Register, 39, f.187; Sheffield Archives, CM/1680, 1696).

³⁰⁴ **Kerbon** Sir Henry Curwen (c.1581-1623) was the Curwen sisters' half-brother by their father's second marriage. They were a notoriously recusant family: in 1606 it was reported that Curwen was 'a papist, who has lately married the widow of Christopher Wright the traitor'; his mother too was suspected (HMC Salisbury 19.3-5). Despite this he was MP for Cumberland in 1621 (Thrush and Ferris, 2010). Around 1613, Curwen sold Thornthwaite in Westmorland to Lord William Howard of Naworth, and appears to have been part of a Howard network with the recusant Roger Widdrington and Randall Fenwick (Ornsby, 1877, 5, 27).

³⁰⁵ **Chevington ... Gray** East and West Chevington, 2 miles north of Widdrington, were the jointure lands settled in 1608 on the wife of Sir Ralph Grey (c.1552-1623) of Chillingham; the Greys were intricately connected with many northern Northumbrian families. Despite accusations of recusancy against him, his wife and several members of his family, Sir Ralph,

Hadsdon, and *Doydsdon*, where ΓMrΓ *Francis Carnaby*³⁰⁷ hath houses, and all most to
Warkwith where my Lord of North thumberland hath an ancient castle,³⁰⁸ and where
*Cocket*³⁰⁹ runnes about it, where you shall have a Salmon for xijd and a Salmon trout for
 vjd,³¹⁰ and a Gilse which is like a Salmon for a groat And here was the straunge

365 *Hermitage*.³¹¹ Here were wee stroaken in with rayne, [and] where wee were fayne to stay to
 dry ourselues. From thence wee came to *Alemovth*³¹² where wee drancke ΓdrinckeΓ not
 made of ma^ΓuΓlte.³¹³ And thence [5.1v] to *Boomer*³¹⁴ where the fishermen dwell in little
*Bothes*³¹⁵

who was knighted in 1603, served as a JP, as MP for Northumberland in 1604, and was a member of the Union commission alongside Sir Henry Widdrington (Northumberland Record Office, QSI/1, f.161; Thrush and Ferris, 2010; HMC Salisbury 19. 3-5). In 1629 his son, William, Lord Grey applied to enclose a substantial area of Chevington into a park (Durham University Library, GRE/X/P50/6, 9; Bateson *et al*, 1893-1940, 5.376, 392). 'Edwards' is an error, the tenant of East Chevington being Edward Dodsworth (d. 1630), of Barton, in Yorkshire; 'several members of [of the family] seem to have served the Greys of Chillingham in the management of their estates' (Bateson *et al*, 1893-1940, 5.402).

³⁰⁶ **huntsmen** The syntax here is misleading: the reference is to Dodsworth, who held his office until the end of the reign. 'Huntsman to King James' was engraved on his tombstone in Warkworth churchyard, the lettering visible as late as 1899 (NA, LC 9/97, f.97v; LC 9/98, f.30v; LC 2/6, f.48; Bateson *et al*, 1893-1940, 5.402-3).

³⁰⁷ **Hadsdon ... Carnaby** Francis Carnaby (d. 1645) was the younger son of William Carnaby the elder; he acquired Togston, just to the north of Chevington, through the inheritance of his grandmother Jane Widdrington; his brother William owned the neighbouring Hadston. Togston was also known as Dogston, which would account for the spelling here (Bateson *et al*, 1893-1940, 5. 332-3, 10.408).

³⁰⁸ **Warkwith ... castle** Warkworth castle, on the river Coquet 6 miles north of Widdrington, a property of the earls of Northumberland. Henry Percy, the ninth earl (1564-1632), was incarcerated in the Tower of London from 1605 until 1621, accused of complicity in the Gunpowder Plot (*ODNB*). The castle had fallen into disrepair: when James and his entourage visited it in 1617, accompanied by Sir Henry Widdrington, 'they seamed to greve at the waste of it, everie one of them commendinge it for the best sight that every they had sene' despite the 'goates and sheepe in everie chamber'; of the lion carved in a crest on the tower the king joked, 'this lyone houldes upe this castle'. It was leased to Sir Ralph Grey, though the earl's anger over his neglect led to its return to the custody of the earl's servants in November 1618 (Bateson *et al*, 1893-1940, 5.71-3).

³⁰⁹ **Cocket** the river Coquet, which loops round Warkworth castle and flows into the North Sea at Amble. The spelling here reflects aspects of its pronunciation.

³¹⁰ **xijd ... vjd** twelve pence ... six pence.

³¹¹ **Hermitage** The Hermitage of the Holy Trinity lies to the west of the castle in the cliff above the river Coquet, 'wonderfully built out of a rocke heaven hollow, wrought without beames, rafters, or any peeces of timber' (Camden, 1610, 813); it consists of a fourteenth-century outer chapel and an older inner chapel with an adjacent dormitory lying above a kitchen, and is ornamented with a number of figures chiselled out of the stone in niches. Until the Reformation the earls of Northumberland had employed a chaplain to hold weekly services there (Bateson *et al*, 1893-1940, 5.124-35).

³¹² **Alemouth** Alnmouth, a fishing village owned by the earls of Northumberland, 3 miles north of Warkworth. Previously a prosperous haven with burghal privileges, but by 1614 'in great ruine and decay', 'the inhabitants there very poore', and absorbed into the earl's hegemony. In 1567, thirty-two out of the sixty adults resident in Alnmouth were involved in illicit brewing and baking (Bateson *et al*, 1893-1940, 2.479, 481-2).

³¹³ **drincke ... maulte** malted grain is the key fermentable ingredient in beer or ale.

³¹⁴ **Boomer** Boulmer, another fishing village in the Northumberland estates, 2 miles up the coast from Alnmouth; the spelling here follows the still-current pronunciation.

³¹⁵ **Bothes** A bothy was a temporary or permanent building used to house workmen, including buildings 'near the fishings used by salmon fishers' (*DSL SND1*, Bothy *n.* 1 (2)). In his 'Description of Scotland' William Harrison suggested that 'Bothe'

At Alemouth Mr *Ephraim Armar*³¹⁶ mett [my] vs with beare.³¹⁷ And fattl Boomer Mr *Henry*
 370 *Whitehead*.³¹⁸ By the way wee saw the ile of Cocket *which* one Blackman a marchant³¹⁹ had
 taken etc

By the way wee saw Dunstenborough³²⁰ castle *which* hadd beene one of the goodl[^]fi^lest in
 that cuntrey. And long *Houghton*³²¹ and little *Houghton* where Mr *Raddam*³²² dwells
 between whome & *Sir Henry Withrington*, was irreconciliable bate.³²³ *Which Branlyn*³²⁴ was
 375 extremely hated of all all [sic] the cuntry

was an antique and widely used term for ‘a little cottage’ (Holinshed, 1577, 2.12). ‘Salmon bothies’ are found in coastal locations around Scotland.

³¹⁶ **Armar** Ephraim Armorer rented a croft in Alnmouth called the Chinnies from the Earl of Northumberland, with a dovecoat, and 117 acres of arable land in the commons (Bateson *et al*, 1893-1940, 2.485). He was from a north Northumbrian family; in 1618, his kinsmen Alexander and Thomas were the postmasters at Alnwick and Belford respectively (NA, Pipe Rolls, AO 1/1952/20, f.4). He was associated with the Greys of Chillingham, witnessing a number of family agreements in the early 1600s; he appeared on the Grand Jury of the session at Morpeth in 1615 (Durham University Library, GRE/X/P50/6, 7; Northumberland Record Office, QSI/1, f.136).

³¹⁷ **beare** brewed with hops, unlike ale; becoming the more popular drink at this time (Clark, 1983, 96-7).

³¹⁸ **Whitehead** Henry Whitehead lived at Boulmer on lands leased from the Earl of Northumberland’s estates by his brother George, the earl’s unpopular agent. Henry had interests in a coalmine, and in 1616, thanks to his brother, was leasing 352 acres of valuable oak-filled parkland from the earl at Acklington, west of Warkworth (Bateson *et al*, 1893-1940, 2.402-4; 5.71-2, 373n, 379-80). In 1613, Ephraim Armorer petitioned the earl on behalf of the Alnmouth burgesses against George Whitehead’s enclosure of common land at Longhoughton, claiming that they had ‘in peaceable manner entered into the same ground, and with their feete cast downe’ a hedge, ‘without vyolence to anye person whatsoever’. Whitehead countered with two Star Chamber suits; to the earl he complained, ‘howe much I am abused by these contry people’ (Bateson *et al*, 1893-1940, 2.381-2, 386-7, 482-3).

³¹⁹ **Cocket ... marchant** Coquet island, lying in the mouth of the river Coquet east of Warkworth and Amble, was previously owned by the priory of Tynemouth, the medieval chapel still standing in 1609 when James VI and I granted the island to London speculators. Leland observed that the island ‘standith apon a very good vayne of se coles, and at the ebbe men digge in the shore by the clives, and find very good [coal]’ (Leland, 1906-10, 4.123, 5.140). In 1611 the island’s owner, Sir William Bowes, leased it for 21 years to Francis Jessop and others with the right to extract at least 500 tons of good white building stone a year (Bateson *et al*, 1893-1940, 5. 322-4). Mr Blackman is unidentified – perhaps one of the lessees.

³²⁰ **Dunstenborough** Dunstanburgh castle, 5 miles north of Boulmer; an impressive fourteenth-century edifice, already substantially ruined by the sixteenth century.

³²¹ **long Houghton** Longhoughton was another of the Earl of Northumberland domains, a mile and a half west of Boulmer; ‘a very long towne’ with many tenants (Bateson *et al*, 1893-1940, 2.370, 386-7).

³²² **little ... Raddam** Little Houghton, a mile north west of Longhoughton, was the seat of Mr Edward Roddam. Its substantial medieval tower was enlarged in the seventeenth century, perhaps by Roddam (Bateson *et al*, 1893-1940, 2. 404-8). He was married to Margaret, one of Sir Ralph Grey’s daughters. He was also connected to the notoriously unruly Forster family, his grandmother Barbara being one of the Forsters of Adderstone. In 1611 the settlement on Roddam’s marriage to Margaret was made with Matthew Forster of Adderstone (see line 371), and Sir Ralph Grey; Ephraim Armorer and another Forster, Mark, were witnesses (Durham Universtiy Library, GRE/X/P50/7).

³²³ **bate** ‘contention, strife, discord’ (*OED*, Bate *n.*¹ 1a); in 1607 there was an arbitration of the boundary between the lands of Craster and Howick, which may have adversely affected Roddam. The arbiters included Ephraim and Roger Widdrington; a dispute perhaps arose from this, though see note following (Bateson *et al*, 1893-1940, 2. 354).

³²⁴ **Branlyn** probably an abbreviated note referring to Robert Brandling of North Gosforth and Alnwick Abbey, ‘a volatile individual’ who ‘constantly picked quarrels with rivals, neighbours and even his own family’ (Thrush and Ferris). There was a violent altercation involving Brandling and the Widdringtons around 1613 (NA, STAC 8/55/2). Just possibly, though, the unusual noun ‘branling’, agitation or disturbance, referring to the apparent feud between Widdrington and Roddam (*OED*, Branling *n.*).

That night wee came to Mr *Randee Fennecks*³²⁵ and stayd there thursday and friday
 One saterday the 5th of *September* wee came away accompanied with Mrs *Fenneck*,³²⁶ Mrs
*Gray*³²⁷ and hir mayd who brought vs two myles on the way to a lone³²⁸ where hir kyne fedd
 to giue vs a merrybub³²⁹ for our farewell
 380 From *Fenneck*³³⁰ Mr *Roger Withrington*³³¹ vnderooke the guiding of vs, and Mr *Randee*
Fenneck Mr *Strange*,³³² *Godfrey*,³³³ and an other of the [5.2] *Withringtons*, brought vs
 thorough to Eathertonne to Sir Mathew *Fosters*.³³⁴ By the way wee drancke at *Thomas*

³²⁵ **Fennecks** Howick, about a mile north east of Little Houghton; the property of his father-in-law, Sir Edward Grey of Morpeth, younger brother of Sir Ralph, and 'reputed a church papist' (HMC Salisbury 19. 3). Randall Fenwick's brother-in-law was Philip Grey, Sir Edward's heir, for whom Jonson wrote an epitaph (*Und.* 16). Philip, who appears to have served Lord Howard of Naworth, lived at Howick until his death in late 1615: the administration of his will is dated February 1616, and in 1619 his estate paid £32 owing to Randall (Durham University Library, DPRI/1/1618/G9; DPRI/4/11, ff.82v, 289v, 293; HMC Salisbury 19. 3; Wood, 1929, 4. 215-16, Bateson *et al.*, 1893-1940, 2.355n.). Recent editors have relied on the date of 1626 for the administration of his will given in H&S; however, this is not found in Joseph Hunter's *Chorus Vatum*, their cited source (H&S, 11.59-60; BL MS Add 24,491, f.18v). When Sir Edward died in 1627 he left ownership of Howick to Philip's son, but Randall continued to live there (Wood, 1929, 4. 216).

³²⁶ **Fenneck** Randall's wife, Catherine, daughter of Sir Edward Grey.

³²⁷ **Gray** either Margaret, Philip Grey's widow, or Catherine's unmarried sister Elizabeth, who ultimately gained ownership of Randall's lands at Deanham (Bateson *et al.*, 1893-1940, 2. 354-5; Northumberland Record Office, ZSW/173/3, 8).

³²⁸ **lone** Scots and Northern English, 'before the enclosing of fields, a strip of grass of varying breadth running through the arable part of a farm and frequently linking it with the common grazing ground of the community, serving as a pasture, a driving road and a milking place for the cattle of the farm or village' (*DSL SND1*, Loan *n.* 1; *EDD*, Loan *sb.*² 4).

³²⁹ **merrybub** given the location and the presence of both maid and kine, probably a 'merrybowk' or 'merrybauk', a 'cold Posset' or syllabub, identified as a Derbyshire word by John Ray, but clearly in wider Northern use; cf. 'sillibouk' for the variant ending (*OED*, Merrybowk *n.*, Sillibouk *n.*; Ray, 1674, 32). See *Sad Shep.* 1.7.26-7, where ewes' milk and cider syllabubs join a list of rustic foodstuffs.

³³⁰ **Fenneck** a slip for Howick; the village of Fenwick is 18 miles further north.

³³¹ **Roger Withrington** Roger Widdrington of Cartington (c.1572-1642), Sir Henry's younger brother, a noted recusant suspected of involvement in the Gunpowder Plot and associated with Lord William Howard of Naworth, for whom he acted as agent in Northumberland (Bidwell and Jansson, 1992, 207; Ornsby, 1877, 203, 318, 335, 337). In 1616 William Morton, archdeacon of Northumberland, accused him of directing Thomas Percy's treason and of being 'a patron of al theeves and murderers' (Parliamentary Archives, HL/PO/JO/10/13/3; Ornsby, 1877, 427-30). He was married to Mary, daughter of the recusant Francis Radcliffe of Dilston. In 1619 Roger and Mary were convicted of recusancy and fined £280; parliament heard a petition alleging many 'popish' offences in 1626 (NA, E 377/25; Bidwell and Jansson, 1992, 207). The Benedictine monk Thomas Preston used 'Roger Widdrington' as his *nom de plume* for works written in defence of the oath of allegiance (Forster, 1972, 196-205). In 1593 Widdrington's uncle left him £20 a year 'for the better maintenance of his studie and librarrye', and he bought books for Howard of Naworth, who was himself connected to Sir Robert Cotton. His will included books and 'certaine Mathamatical Instruments' (Greenwell, 1860, 2.225-6, Wood, 1929, 4.287-90).

³³² **Mr Strange** The mother of Catherine and Elizabeth Grey was Catherine Strange, daughter of Roger le Strange of Hunstanton, so presumably one of their cousins.

³³³ **Godfrey** unidentified.

³³⁴ **Eathertonne ... Fosters** correctly, Adderstone, which is around 10 miles north of Howick; Sir Matthew Forster had sizeable landholdings in the area, including Beadnell Tower. Described by Leland as a 'towre upon the south syde of Lindis ryver' (Leland, 1906-10, 5.64), Adderstone had been held by the Forsters since at least 1427, this line being the senior branch of the prolific and papist Forster family. Sir Matthew's great-uncle was Sir John Forster (d. 1602), the roguish warden of the Middle March. His wife was Catherine Grey, a daughter of Sir Ralph, and sister of Edward Roddam's wife, Margaret. He was connected too to the Ogles, through his great-grandmother Dorothy Ogle's marriage to Sir Thomas

Fo[r]sters at Brunton, and *John* Fosters at *Newhame*,³³⁵ and came by Preston tower³³⁶ where
 Mr *Harbottle* dwells, and by Mr Mathew Fosters³³⁷ whose sonnes kylled Mr *Swyner*, a *Iustice*
 385 of peace whom they had ticed³³⁸ out of his house for a wrong receaved from his sonne.³³⁹
 Wee saw Bamborough castle where *Sir Claudius* Foster³⁴⁰ dwells
 At *Sir* Mathew Fosters wee mett with Mr *Crastor* of *Crastor*,³⁴¹ where wee sup'd and dined
 there the next day, being Sondag where *Sir Harry Withrington* had stayd for vs. And in the
 after noone we set forward brought on the way by *Sir* Mathew Foster, and thorough to
 390 Fenham by Mr *Roger Withrington* & an other of the Fosters, to Mr *Redes* who with his

Forster of Adderstone. Sir Matthew was knighted by James in 1617 in Durham, and appointed as sheriff of Northumberland in 1620 (Bateson *et al*, 1893-1940, 1.221, 223-4, 228-9, 232; Greenwell, 1860, 2.302-4).

³³⁵ **Thomas ... Newhame** Thomas Forster (d. c.1648) of Brunton, 5 miles north of Howick, was the son of Cuthbert Forster, Sir Matthew Forster's brother. His first wife was Margaret, sister of John Forster of Newham, 4 miles to the north of Brunton; John was married to Thomas's sister Grace. Thomas Forster's second wife was Jane, daughter of William Carr of Ford, whose sister Margaret married John Craster of Craster (see line 376). Thomas's provisions for his funeral, stipulating plenty of wine, ten pounds of spices and sugar, with tobacco and two dozen pipes, suggest he was a generous host (Bateson *et al*, 1893-1940, 2. 107-9, 112). John Forster was himself descended from the Tughal Hall line of Forsters, a junior branch (Bateson *et al*, 1893-1940, 1.275-6).

³³⁶ **Preston tower** a medieval pele tower 1½ miles from Brunton, to the west of the route towards Newham. Preston had been in Harbottle hands since the early fifteenth century; in 1621 Nicholas Harbottle, the crown lessee, was paying £8 52s 4d a year rent for a 'mancon howse' and 361 acres there; he had inherited from Ralph Harbottle by 1596 (Bateson *et al*, 1893-1940, 2.322, 324-5).

³³⁷ **Fosters** This Matthew Forster lived at Fleetham, around 2 miles north of Preston, and west of Newham; his wife Elizabeth was probably the aunt of John Forster of Newham (Bateson *et al*, 1893-1940, 1.288).

³³⁸ **Ticed** enticed.

³³⁹ **sonnes ... sonne** Thomas Swinhoe (1554-1616) of Goswick, near Lindisfarne. He sat regularly as a JP for the county, the last recorded occasion being 6 June 1616 (Northumberland Record Office, QSI/1, f.153v). The origins of the feud are unknown, though a Thomas Forster of Crookleth was accused in 1606 of a clandestine marriage with Swinhoe's daughter (Bateson *et al*, 1893-1940, 1. 232). Swinhoe had a son William, but he had died by 1607, so this may have been the settlement of a very old score. His own will was registered on 29 June 1616 at Berwick, and his alleged murderers indicted on the same day; the seven men charged included at least two of Matthew Forster's sons, Ralph and John. The indictment read that Ralph, 'with a sword worth 2s., gave [Swinhoe] a fatal wound near the right knee six inches long and three inches deep and another fatal wound above the left knee which severed his leg'; the victim languished until midnight before dying. Ralph received a pardon for the murder in November 1618; two years later, however, a Nicholas Forster was hanged for his part in the crime (Berwick Record Office, ZHG/III/3; Northumberland Record Office, QSI/1, f.158; *CSPD 1611-18*, 590; Bateson *et al*, 1893-1940, 1.190).

³⁴⁰ **Bamborough ... Forster** Sir Claudius Forster (1578-1623), one of Sir John Forster's illegitimate children, and married to Sir John Fenwick's half-sister Elizabeth. He was made Keeper of Bamburgh castle in 1603, as his father had been, and granted ownership of the castle and its lordship in 1610. Claudius was knighted at Newmarket in 1615; he served as sheriff of Northumberland in 1612, and occasionally as JP (Bateson *et al*, 1893-1940, 1.53-5, 2, pt 2., 17; Northumberland Record Office, QSI/1, f.153v). 'Bamborow, sometyme a huge and great castle, one of the strongest in thos partes', had seen better days; 'it hath beene sore beaten with time, and the windes together, which have blowne by drifts an incredible deale of sand of the sea into the fortresses' (Leland, 1906-10, 5.64; Camden, 1610, 814). Later restored, it remains very prominent in the landscape.

³⁴¹ **Crastor** John Craster of Craster, a fishing harbour just to the north of Howick; the supper and dinner mentioned were held at Adderstone. Craster was married to Margaret Carr, sister of Jane, wife of Thomas Forster of Brunton (see lines 371-2). In 1607 the demarcation between his lands and those of the Greys at Howick was adjudicated, with Matthew Forster as one of the arbiters; Craster was a co-witness with Forster too in April 1618 of the sale of Wooller to Sir Ralph Gray of Chillingham (Bateson *et al*, 1893-1940, 2.175, 354; Durham University Library, GRE/X/P34/11).

brother³⁴² mett vs by the way. Wee came thorough *Isington*³⁴³ grange, and thorough
*Clerke*³⁴⁴ wee saw Bellfoord.

Mr *Thomas Carre* the Lord of Foord³⁴⁵ came to meete [my] [vs] Monday the 7th wee parted
 from Fenham brought one the way by Mr *Read* and his brother. Wee sent [fro] for drincke
 395 from the myll. Wee were overtaken with a *sharp* shower, a myle, and more on this side
 Barwicke.³⁴⁶ Sir William Boyers³⁴⁷ [5.2v] man was sent from his Master who mett vs two
 myles of, telling my gossip his Master entreated him to take none other house for his
 entertayment but his. And him self then being rydden to sitt on comission³⁴⁸ with Mr
 Sayer³⁴⁹ and Mr *Atkinson*³⁵⁰ left order that three culverings³⁵¹ should be mounted³⁵² and the
 400 bells rung vppon my gossips approach.

³⁴² **Redes ... brother** sons of Captain Sir William Read of Fenham, who had died in 1616; those living in 1618 included William (b. 1592), Lancelot (b. 1603), and Robert (b. 1606). Sir William was the illegitimate son of the first Capt Sir William Read (d. 1604), a renowned soldier who had served with his son in the Netherlands; Sir William the younger was probably knighted in 1586 by Leicester during the campaign. His aged father had hosted James VI and I on his southwards journey in 1603; the king's 'gracious speeches' had so pleased the old soldier that Read claimed to 'feele the warmth of youth stirre in his frost-nipt blood' (Bain, 1894-6, 1.272, 2.776; Nichols 1828, 1.67). Fenham, 7 miles north of Adderstone, was a well-appointed house (Raine, 1852, 176-9).

³⁴³ **Isington** Easington Grange, 4 miles south of Fenham, was built in the sixteenth century on the site of a medieval tower. It was given to Nicholas Forster, another of Sir John's illegitimate sons, by his father's widow in 1606; by 1637 it had been inherited by another Forster, Thomas (Bateson *et al*, 1893-1940, 1. 232, 413).

³⁴⁴ **Clerke** This is possibly a scribal error for Elwick, just north of Easington Grange; the manor of Elwick was also given by Sir John Forster's widow to Nicholas Forster of Fenham. However, Gabriel Clarke, Bishop Neile's favourite, was confirmed in the rectories of Elwick and Easington in 1620, so the error is perhaps the result of transposition or compression (Durham University Library, DDR/EA/ACT/1/4, 30; ADD MS 244, 204-6).

³⁴⁵ **Bellfoord** Belford, a tower and village 1 mile south-west of Elwick.

³⁴⁶ **Barwicke** Berwick-upon-Tweed, on the Scottish side of the Tweed, in English hands since 1482. Its burghal privileges were confirmed in a new charter of 1604, transferring the town from military to civic command (Scott, 1888, 257; Raine, 1852, 145-54). The Tweed had long been spanned by a wooden bridge; a project to build a new stone bridge of 15 arches was begun in 1611 and largely completed by 1624 (Brereton, 1844, 94; Scott, 1888, 411-15; Colvin, 1982, 4.769-78).

³⁴⁷ **Boyers** Sir William Bowyer (d. 1628), the well-travelled captain of Berwick's garrison since at least 1591, skilled in fortifications, and 'a man ready with his pen, and knowledge to make a pound go as far as any'; Taylor called him a 'worthy old Soldier and ancient Knight' (Bain, 1894-6, 1.443-4, 520; Taylor, 1619, sig. G1; Scott, 1888, 198-9). In 1605 he was knighted at Edinburgh, and given a house in Berwick by the Earl of Dunbar (see line 444), lieutenant of the Middle Shires, before 1611. Though the garrison was largely disbanded that year, he had a substantial pension of 10s a day (HMC Muncaster 244; Cumbria Record Office, D PEN/216, f.58; National Records of Scotland, RH15/19/80; *CSPD 1611-18*, 64, 76). He was one of the Elected Guild Brethren in 1618, and mayor of Berwick in 1620-3, and 1625; James took particular care that annual fees of £1,200 were paid to him between 1618 and 1620, when payment was delayed because Bowyer was English (Berwick Record Office, B1/8, 1, 42; National Records of Scotland, GD124/15/29/11, GD124/10/141/2, GD124/10/175).

³⁴⁸ **commission** unidentified; possibly a meeting of the commission of the peace, or a meeting of the Middle Shires commissioners.

³⁴⁹ **Sayer** perhaps Edmund Sawyer, knighted in 1625, MP for Berwick in 1628, an official in the Exchequer, and auditor from 1621. His only known connection with the town by 1618 was through Berwick's submission of accounts to the Exchequer

Sir William found vs at supper, and ran to my Gossip and kyssed him, with the greatest ioy
for his company that could be expressed

As soone as wee came wee went about the walles to vew the Fortificacions³⁵³

405 One tewsdays wee went with Sir William to the chappell, where Mr Iohn Iackson,³⁵⁴ brother
to Sir George Iackson,³⁵⁵ and Mr Stephen Iackson³⁵⁶ the Maier preached. Mr Maier, Sir Iohn
Iackson Mr Perkinson,³⁵⁷ Mr Edwardes³⁵⁸ and his sonne in law Mr Marrott,³⁵⁹ Sir Iohn
Selby³⁶⁰ with young Strudder³⁶¹ came to meete my gossip.

for the bridge (Thrush and Ferris, 2010). In 1623, however, he was granted a lease of a fishery in the Tweed, which he co-held with Sir John Selby (see line 395), and by 1628 was involved in a dispute over the Manor of Ellington, near Bothal, suggesting he held lands there (NA, E 367/1474; Scott, 1888, 430; NA, E134/3Chas1/Mich42).

³⁵⁰ **Atkinson** No Atkinsons are named among the Guild Brethren of Berwick, though there are several Atchinsons in the Parish Registers; possibly the James Atchesone whose case was heard in the Court of Pleas, Berwick, January 1618/19 (Dodds and Wood, 1905-7, 1.56; Berwick Record Office, C2/1, 116).

³⁵¹ **culverings** culverins, either relatively small weapons capable of being handled by one person, or cannons of around ten feet in length and five inches in bore (*OED*, Culverin *n.* a, b).

³⁵² **mounted** of cannon or guns, set up ready for use (*OED*, Mount *v.* 22a, b).

³⁵³ **Fortificacions** Brereton described them as 'the strongest fortifications I have met with in England, double-walled, and out-works of earth', with a broad moat and 'inner walls of invincible strength, stone wall within, and without lined with earth about twenty yards thick'; 'something in decay' by 1635 (Brereton, 1844, 95).

³⁵⁴ **Iohn Iackson** probably the Sir John Jackson of Berwick who was father of Mary, Lady Carey (*ODNB*; Bod. MS Rawl. D. 1308). Little is known of him; he would seem to be distinct from the Sir John Jackson (d. 1623), of Hickleton and Womersley, near Pontefract, who served as King's attorney of the Council of York between 1603 and 1608 and was recorder of Newcastle in 1607, but for whom there is no evidence of a connection with Berwick; he advised Jane, Countess of Shrewsbury, in her dispute over Rufford in 1618-19 with Lady Grace Cavendish (Tyne and Wear Record Office, MD.NC/D/4/4/1, GU.MS/14; Hasler, 1981; Cooper, 1973, 109, 201).

³⁵⁵ **Iohn ... George Iackson** The Jacksons were a prominent Berwick family of merchants. Sir George is perhaps a mistake for Sir Robert, who was mayor five times between 1605 and 1640, and custom-master in 1617 (Scott, 1888, 479; Berwick Record Office, B1/8, 1; BL MS Add 58,833, f.34v). His brother John (d. 1627) was an assistant preacher, whose annual salary paid by the Corporation of Berwick was raised by £10 in 1616, to around £20. The chapel was in some disrepair, with 'a great necessitie of seats' in February 1619 (Scott, 1888, 354, 396; Dodds and Wood, 1905, 85).

³⁵⁶ **Stephen Iackson** born in 1578, mayor from October 1617 to October 1618 (Dodds and Wood, 1905, 1.9; Berwick Record Office, B1/8, 1, 42, 62).

³⁵⁷ **Perkinson** Thomas Parkinson, an alderman since at least 1591, was a merchant of substance, agent for Lord Walden, and mayor four times between 1591 and 1619 (Bain, 1894-6, 1.433, 438; Berwick Record Office, B1/8, 1, 7, 65-72; Cumbria Record Office, D PEN/216, f.16).

³⁵⁸ **Edwardes** William Edwards was one of the Elected Guild Brethren in 1618 (Berwick Record Office, B1/8, 9, 42, 66).

³⁵⁹ **Mr Marrott** Gregory Marriott, who married Edwards' daughter Elizabeth in 1609. Marriott was on the Guild Roll in 1618 (Dodds and Wood, 1905, 2.20; Berwick Record Office, B1/8, 41, 65).

³⁶⁰ **Sir Iohn Selby** of Twizell castle, knighted 1604, ex-soldier, local landowner, on the Guild Roll in 1618; Middle Shires commissioner, MP for Berwick in 1614, 1621, and 1625, and a JP, 1616-36 (Northumberland Record Office, SANT/DEE/1/25/4/1; BRO, B1/8, 42, 65; Thrush and Ferris, 2010).

³⁶¹ **young Strudder** The Selbys and the Strothers were interconnected through marriage; 'young strudder' could be John Strother, admitted to Gray's Inn in 1614, or William Strother (b. 1599), one of the Guild Brethren, and town clerk in 1618 (Dodds and Wood, 1905-7, 1.51; BRO, B1/8, 66, 70); a Sir John Selby and another John Strother of Alnwick were joined in an indenture over Elwick in 1635 (Durham University Library, GRE/X/P43).

Wee were invited by *Sir George Iackson* to supper, where my lady made wonderfull much of vs. The next day being Wensday wee were invited by *Sir Iohn Selby*, who feasted vs³⁶² [5.3]
 410 royally at Anne Millers.³⁶³ Wee supped all att *Sir William Boyers*. I brought *Sir Ihon* to his lodging where I stayed, all night, and where *Captain Hoord*,³⁶⁴ with other gentlemen and I dranck hard.

The next day being thursday in the morning the Maior with the Aldermen brought my gossip burnt³⁶⁵ sacke and claret for his wellcome.

415 Wee dynd with the Lord of Carre³⁶⁶ at steeles.³⁶⁷ After dinner wee tooke our lorney brought out of towne with all the knightes, gentlemen Maior and Aldermen, two myles out of towne³⁶⁸ was wyne ready, where *Sir William* hadd sent a company of musketers who gaue us a volly of shot. *Sir William* could not contayne him self from teares, when hee tooke his leave. *Sir Ihon Selby* brought vs to Eton³⁶⁹ to *George Humes*,³⁷⁰ where *Valentine West*³⁷¹
 420 played his prancke in drincke On friday wee hired a guyde,³⁷² having also *Sir William's* man with vs and the king³⁷³ [./] etc./ Who brought vs to *Cobersmith*³⁷⁴ to Mr *Arnot*.³⁷⁵ They grew

³⁶² 'vs' included as catchword with 'royally' on 5.2v ; omitted as first word on 5.3.

³⁶³ **Anne Millers** Probably the wife or widow of Gregory Miller, whose daughter Anna was baptized in 1601 (Dodds and Wood, 1905-7, 1.54).

³⁶⁴ **Hoord** unidentified. Following the union of the crowns Berwick was substantially disgarrisoned; by 1616 it contained only '2. companies & some old pencioners' (Bod. MS Rawl. D696), and the captain may have been among this remnant.

³⁶⁵ **burnt sacke and claret** see note at line 246.

³⁶⁶ **Lord of Carre** a slip for Thomas Carr, 'Lord of Ford' (see line 382).

³⁶⁷ **steeles** possibly Mr Lawrence Steele, bailiff in 1609, one of the Elected Guild Brethren in 1615, and on the Guild Roll in 1618; was pursued for non-attendance at church in 1617 (Berwick Record Office, C2/1, 51; B1/8, 9, 30, 41, 65).

³⁶⁸ **Two myles out of town** the Anglo-Scottish border; the ceremonies here presumably mark its crossing.

³⁶⁹ **Eton** Ayton, 'a pretty castle placed on the side of a hill' (Brereton, 1844, 96).

³⁷⁰ **Humes** George Home, laird of Ayton, was a member of the large and powerful Home kindred that proliferated throughout Berwickshire; it included Lord Home, and George Home, Earl of Dunbar.

³⁷¹ **West** the prolific father of at least eleven children baptized between 1607 and 1626 at Berwick. He was the brother of John West, the London-based client of the correspondent John Chamberlain (Dodds and Wood, 1905-7, 1. 67-98, Chamberlain, 1939, 2. 166, 171).

³⁷² **guyde** The road between Ayton and Cockburnspath was notoriously in need of repair, crossing 'the largest and vastest moors I have ever seen', and 'made difficle by haggis [hags, overhanging banks of peat resulting from water erosion] ... and mony louse stanes lyand in the way' (Brereton, 1844, 96; Buron and Masson, 1877-98, 11.92-3).

³⁷³ **the king** perhaps a truncated reference either to James's journey along this road in 1617 or to an unidentifiable royal servant in the travellers' company here.

cozens,³⁷⁶ This was the tediousst dayes iorney in the whole voyage for I had not slept two nightes before, etc./ Wee passed by Dunglasse.³⁷⁷

Saterday the twelf wee came to Mr *Iames Bayly* of the loghend.³⁷⁸ Wee came by Newton

425 Iyes Mr [5.3v] Achesons³⁷⁹ provost of Dunbarre.³⁸⁰ Wee saw Tantallon the Erle of

Anguishes³⁸¹ castle by Addam.³⁸² Lord of Lotherdale³⁸³ that hath the faire house³⁸⁴

³⁷⁴ **Cobersmith** Cockburnspath, 12 miles north west of Ayton. The highly unusual spelling 'Cobersmith' is also found in another early seventeenth-century English source (though inaccurately glossed by its modern editor as Cambuskenneth): see *CSPD* 1640, 208.

³⁷⁵ **Arnot** William Arnot (d. by 1627), postmaster of Cockburnspath, son of the former provost of Edinburgh, Sir John Arnot of Berswick (d. 1616), and brother of the merchant burgess James (National Records of Scotland, CS96/1/149; Thomson *et al.*, 1892-1914, 7, nos. 1235, 1428). Criticised in 1617 by the privy council for his failure to repair the road between Cockburnspath and Dunglass in preparation for King James's journey; in 1619, he was charged with mismanaging his office, being unfit for the post and overburdened with debt – perhaps partly a result of the bountiful hospitality 'this plaine home-spunne fellow' afforded to travellers including Taylor. This was despite receiving a healthy £800 for the year 1617-18 (Buron and Masson, 1877-98, 11.92-3, 12.69, 82-3, 365, 369; Taylor, 1618, sig. F4v; National Records of Scotland, GD124/10/148/2).

³⁷⁶ **grew cozens** became familiar (*OED*, Cousin *n.* 5).

³⁷⁷ **Dunglasse** Dunglass, the 'pleasantly seated' castle of Alexander, Earl of Home, a mile north of Cockburnspath; damaged by English attack in 1548 and rebuilt by 1603; James stayed here on 13 May 1617 (Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, Canmore ID 58908; Brereton, 1844, 96; Nichols, 1828, 3.300-5)

³⁷⁸ **Bayly ... loghend** Lochend lies just to the west of Dunbar; 'fragments' now remain of a seventeenth century house (Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, Canmore ID 57615). James Baillie (c.1585-1636), was one of the Receivers of Crown Rents, a client of the Treasurer, the Earl of Mar, and substantially responsible for the logistical arrangements for James's visit in 1617; knighted in 1621. He bought the lands of Lochend in 1614, and increased his landholdings in Dunbar in 1618, his pension between 1617 and 1620 being £1,500 per annum. He briefly hosted Taylor on the latter's southwards journey (Thomson *et al.*, 1892-1914, 7, nos 1051, 1808; National Records of Scotland, E/24/35, ff.29v, 36v; E24/36, f.27v; E24/38, f.27v; GD124/10/148; will, CC8/8/57, ff.590-8; Taylor, 1618, sig. F4).

³⁷⁹ 'A' also included on final line of 5.3, with 'chesons' as catchword.

³⁸⁰ **Newton Iyes ... Dunbarre** John Aitcheson of Newtonlees, next to Lochend, was provost of the royal burgh of Dunbar by 1613; in 1617 he was the burgh's representative at the June parliament (Thomson *et al.*, 1892-1914, 7. no 841; Buron and Masson, 1877-98, 10. 573, 11. 156n., 207n.) A John Achesone was 'generall of oure Coynehouse' (the Mint) in 1615, when he claimed £10,000 was owed to his late father (National Records of Scotland, E17/1, f.13).

³⁸¹ **Tantallon ... Anguishes** William Douglas, eleventh Earl of Angus, and first marquess of Douglas (1589-1660), was granted a licence to travel on the continent in 1616 for up to three years, his fortunes clouded by persistent accusations of recusancy and his father's known Catholicism. He lived both at Douglas castle in Lanarkshire and Tantallon castle, an imposing stronghold on the sea-cliffs about 7 miles north west of Dunbar (*ODNB*).

³⁸² **Addam** Auldhame, near Tantallon, where Taylor 'found both Cheere and Welcome not inferiour to any that I had had' (Taylor, 1618, sig. F4); the spelling here reflects local pronunciation. The home of the Auchmuty family, whose most notable member was John Auchmuty of Scougall (by Auldhame), a groom of James's bedchamber; described by Chamberlain as one of 'the high dancers' appearing in Jonson's *The Irish Masque* of 1613; he danced in *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* in early 1618, and was named in *For the Honour of Wales* (line 140). In July 1618, Auchmuty was paid his pension for the Whitsunday term of £333 by the Scottish treasury (Chamberlain, 1939, 1. 496; Masque Archive, *Irish Masque*, 10; National Records of Scotland, GD124/10/148/2). A year later, Jonson gave him a book in gratitude for 'the hospitable favours / I received of him in Scotland / and elsewhere'; as Master of the King's Wardrobe in Scotland from 1611 Auchmuty was responsible for Queen Mary's bedhangings, about which Drummond wrote to Jonson in July 1619 (*CELM*, JnB 758; Knowles, 2006, 267; Buron and Masson, 1877-98 10. 624-5, 12.501; Letter (f); Bath and Craig, 2010, 282-7).

³⁸³ **Lord of Lotherdale** John Maitland, second Lord Thirlestane, created Viscount of Lauderdale in 1616, and Earl of Lauderdale in 1624 (d. 1645); a privy councillor, though not present between 23 July and 3 November 1618. His sister Anna married Robert Seton, second Earl of Winton (Paul, 1904-14, 5.301-3; Buron and Masson, 1877-98, 11.412, 460).

Monday wee stayed at Addam.

Tewsday in the afternoone wee parted, and came that night to north Barwicke³⁸⁵ brought
on the way by Mr Alexander and Mr *Iames* Ackmuty,³⁸⁶ and meery Mr *Fenton*.³⁸⁷ That night
430 came Mr *William Ramsey*³⁸⁸ and two gentlemen more from Edenburrough of purpose to
meet my gossip etc./

Wensday, *Sir Iohn Humes*³⁸⁹ tould my gossip that his sheerers,³⁹⁰ hadd made a great sute to
him to haue a sight of him. So hee walked vp into the fieldes where was a number of them
with a bagpipe, who no sooner saw my gossip, but they circled him and daunc'd round
435 about him

³⁸⁴ **faire house** Lethington, now Lennoxlove, by Haddington; altered and augmented many times over the centuries (Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, Canmore ID 56512). A fragmentary note: the house would not have been visible from the route of the walk.

³⁸⁵ **north Barwicke** the royal burgh of North Berwick, 3 miles west of Auldham, incorporated by a charter of 1568; associated with a notorious witch-hunt, trials and convictions, between 1590 and 1597.

³⁸⁶ **Alexander ... Ackmuty** Alexander and James Auchmuty, John's brothers. They too were members of the royal household: Alexander was a gentlemen pensioner, made an honorary burgess of Edinburgh at the king's banquet in June 1617, subsequently knighted, and a gentleman of the privy chamber by the end of James's reign (Taylor, 1618, sig. F4; BL MS Add 34,122 B; ECA, SL141/1/3; NA, LC 2/6, f.39v). James became a groom of the bedchamber, and was knighted during Charles I's visit to Scotland in 1633 (BL MS Add 28,844, f.17; NA, LC 2/6, f.40; Shaw, 1906).

³⁸⁷ **Fenton** probably John Fenton, the 'worthy Gentleman' who guided Taylor to Dunfermline; Clerk of the Green Cloth for Scotland, Keeper of the Register of the Comptrollery since 1582, the 'comptrollar clerk' at Holyroodhouse; acted as the king's commissioner in June 1619 when he was instructed to inquire into North Sea fishing (Taylor, 1619, sig. E1; NA, LC 2/6, f.34; Buron and Masson, 1877-98, 10. 311; 11.clxvii, 387, 605-7; National Records of Scotland, E23/17/12;). Jonson's letter of 10 May 1619 to Drummond sending salutations to several including 'the beloved Fentons' (Letter 14).

³⁸⁸ **Ramsey** probably William Ramsay, a groom of the bedchamber from at least 1605; he was a kinsman – perhaps even a brother – of John Ramsay (c.1580-1626), a royal favourite who was created Viscount Haddington in 1606 and Earl of Holderness in 1621, and for whose wedding in 1609 Jonson wrote the *Haddington Masque*. John Ramsay's lands were in what is now East Lothian, between Edinburgh and Dunbar; between 1610 and 1623 he was appointed to several commissions for the peace in the constabulary of Haddington (Paul, 1904-14, 4.300; DNB, John Ramsay). William Ramsay was given £600 by the king in 1612 and £1000 two years later; 1612 was also the year in which he had a notorious altercation with Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery during a period of high tension between English and Scots courtiers. A bill for his naturalization alongside Sir Francis Stewart, one of Jonson's patrons, was supported by the earls of Nottingham and Pembroke in the Lords in 1614 (though Stewart was not in fact naturalized until 1624), and he was made an honorary burgess of Edinburgh with other courtiers during James's 1617 visit. He was in Edinburgh on 1 September 1618, when he acted as witness for a transaction between Haddington and his kinsman Sir George Ramsay of Dalhousie by which the latter became Lord of Melrose (NA, LC 5/50, 36; BL MS Add 58,833, f.23; Chamberlain, 1939, 1. 340, 342; Thrush and Ferris, 2010; *Journal of the House of Lords*, 9/5/14; National Records of Scotland, GD124/10/124; ECA, SL141/1/3; Senning, 1983, 206; National Records of Scotland, GD 224/308/19). Other candidates include several relations of Ramsay of Dalhousie, or even his heir: this William (c.1595-1672) succeeded his father in 1629, and was created first Earl of Dalhousie at Charles I's coronation visit in 1633 (*SP*, 3. 95-100, 9.63; *ODNB*; Thomson *et al*, 1892-1914, 7, no. 704).

³⁸⁹ **Humes** Sir John Home (d. 1639), a prominent member of the numerous Home kindred, the fourth son of Patrick Home of Polwarth; he inherited the barony of North Berwick in 1597 from his uncle Alexander Home, a provost of Edinburgh in the 1590s. This included the 'mansion called Neuwark with the dovecot', where the travellers probably stayed, the meadows of Heugh, North Berwick Law, and the 'public way from Northberwick to Balgone' (National Records of Scotland, GD110/28, 180-1, 671, 1217; Lithgow, 1618, sig. E4v; National Records of Scotland, GD110/208).

³⁹⁰ **shearers** reapers, harvesters, especially in northern usage (*OED*, *Shearer* n. 1; *EDD*, *Shear sb.*² II 3 (2)).

Sir Iohn Humes with his two sonnes³⁹¹ brought vs on the way. Wee purposed to go that night to Preston³⁹² where Mr *Ramsey* was to meet vs. But the Erle of Winton³⁹³ waylaid vs, and staid vs at *Seton*³⁹⁴ where wee met my Lord Bothwell.³⁹⁵

Thursday the two Erles brought my Gossip on the way, And other [get] gentlemen brought
440 him through to Preston. Where wee parted at hameltons³⁹⁶ with a cup of sacke./

[5.4] Wee passed thorough Muscleeborough.³⁹⁷ Where my *Gossip* grew exceeding sicke. One this side Edenburrough Mr Nesbicke³⁹⁸ going to his house meeting my gossip wellcomed [him] [vs], and would needes goe backe with him. And at the townsend³⁹⁹ Mr *William*

³⁹¹ **two sonnes** Sir John had three sons Alexander, George, and Patrick. George inherited, replacing his older brother Alexander, who had died by 1633 (Paul, 1904-14, 6.8-9; National Records of Scotland, GD110/795).

³⁹² **Preston** An inland village 13 miles west of North Berwick; then distinct from Prestonpans, the coastal settlement just to its north (National Library of Scotland, EMS.s.676).

³⁹³ **Winton** George Seton, third Earl of Winton (1584-1650); inherited the earldom when his brother Robert surrendered it in 1607 on the grounds of insanity, and lived at Seton with his mother, Margaret Montgomerie. A diligent privy councillor, ally and nephew of Alexander Seton, Earl of Dunfermline, the chancellor of Scotland (see lines 442-3); Winton was with his uncle when Dunfermline died in 1622, taking charge of the great seal (*ODNB*, Alexander Seton; Buron and Masson, 1877-98, vols 11 and 12; National Library of Scotland, Adv MS 33.1.1, vol. 9, f.9; 33.1.1, vol. 10, f.50).

³⁹⁴ **Seton** Seton Palace, a late sixteenth-century building with a tall square tower, 2 miles east of Preston; James was the Earl of Winton's guest here in 1617. The palace was demolished in the late eighteenth century (Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, Canmore ID 54940; Nichols 1828, 3. 306).

³⁹⁵ **Bothwell** Francis Stewart (1584-1639), styled Lord Bothwell, brother-in-law to Winton through his sister, Isobel; the son of Francis, first Earl of Bothwell, a cousin of James VI and I whose honours and lands were forfeited as a result of his repeated rebellions. He subsequently went into exile. The younger Francis was rehabilitated in 1614, but not restored to his father's former title or estates. He fought a lengthy battle to regain lands from the earls of Roxburgh and Buccleuch, with only limited success (*SP*, 2.172-3; Thomson *et al*, 1892-1914, 7, no. 1099; National Library of Scotland, Adv MS, vol. 5, ff. 19, 45, 54; National Records of Scotland, GD224/175/17-19).

³⁹⁶ **hameltons** Sir John Hamilton of Preston lived in Preston Tower, a fifteenth-century tower house, to which he added two upper Renaissance style storeys in 1626; two years later he built another house nearby incorporating an older structure; both buildings survive (Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, Canmore ID 53671, 53682). The absence of a title here, though, perhaps suggests premises owned or occupied by another person of that name.

³⁹⁷ **Muscleeborough** Musselburgh, a harbour town 3 miles west of Preston at the mouth of the Esk.

³⁹⁸ **Nesbicke** probably James Nisbet (d. by 1622); his estate at Restalrig and Craigentenny was then just to the east of Edinburgh, and is now in its suburbs. Nisbet was a merchant burgess, elected bailie in 1617-18, and again in 1619-20; married to Marion Arnot, sister of William the Cockburnspath postmaster. The Nisbets were a prominent Edinburgh family, to whom Jonson sent greetings via William Drummond in May 1619. Sir Henry, James's father, had been provost several times; his brother William, provost between 1616 and 1618, and again in 1622, was knighted by James in 1617 – he later installed decorative emblematic panels treating the Five Senses at his house in Edinburgh, a topic also handled by Jonson in the Windsor text of *Gypsies*. Patrick, a third brother, presented the king with a finely bound 'book of verses from the Colledge of *Edinburgh*, with [a] litle speach in their name' at Holyroodhouse during his 1617 royal entry into the city (Geddie, 1908; Wood, 1931, 182; Letter 14; Bath 2003, 4, 23, 242-3; Adamson, 1618: 43; Nichols, 1828, 3.323; BL General Reference Collection C.24.a.19).

³⁹⁹ **townsend** the Netherbow Port at the foot of the High Street, an ornate stone gatehouse, rebuilt in 1571, separating the burgh of Edinburgh from that of Canongate; demolished in 1764, but its position is still marked on the road (Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, Canmore ID 52153).

Ramsey Mr *Hetely*,⁴⁰⁰ Mr *Alexander Stewart*,⁴⁰¹ and Mr *Alexander Donseere*⁴⁰² mett vs and
 445 brought vs to Mr *Iames Dowayes*⁴⁰³ where wee lay. The women in thronges ran to see vs
 etc. some bringing sack and sugare,⁴⁰⁴ others aquavitæ⁴⁰⁵ and sugare, etc./

One friday all these gentlemen with others of the towne brought my gossip to the heigh
 crosse,⁴⁰⁶ and there on their knees drancke the kings health, testifying in that place that hee
 hadd performed his iorney. My Gossip allso dranck to the Bailief and Aldermen⁴⁰⁷ and the
 450 whole People their health they being so thicke in the street, that wee could scarce passe by
 them they ran in such thronges to have a sight of my gossip. The wyndowes also being full
 every one peeping out of a round hole⁴⁰⁸ lyke a head out of a pillory.

⁴⁰⁰ **Hetely** A Mr Heatley was listed as a gentleman of Prince Charles's privy chamber in 1619 and 1625; probably the James Heatley involved with Thomas Lumsden (see line 263) as Steward and Keeper of Sheriff Hutton, his interest in which he assigned to Sir Arthur Ingram (NA, LC 2/5, LC 2/6, f.71; West Yorkshire Archives, Leeds, WYL100/SH/A1, ff.12, 14, 14A; WYL100/PO/9/15). A James Heatley graduated from Edinburgh in 1614; described as 'Master of artes and fellowe of the Kings Majesties Colledge at Eddenburgh' in 1626, when he was admitted as a deacon by Richard Neile (Laing, 1858; Borthwick Institute, Subscription Book 2, f.92).

⁴⁰¹ **Stewart** Alexander Stewart, carver to King James; given a grant of forfeitures totalling £800 in July 1625 'in accomplishment of the late King's intention' (NA, LC 2/6, f.40v; CSPD 1625-6, 59, 544).

⁴⁰² **Donseere** Alexander Dunsire, gentleman usher quarter waiter for Prince Charles at his accession; as 'the King's servant', granted denization in February 1628 (NA, LC 2/6, f.72; CSPD 1627-1628, 578; CSPD 1629-31, 67).

⁴⁰³ **Dowayes** James Dowie (d. 1631), burgess and guild brother (Wood, 1931, 147); described as a 'writer [lawyer] in Edinburgh', in a transaction with Robert Hay (see line 475) in 1624. His domestic goods and silverwork were estimated at £400 in 1639 (National Records of Scotland, GD30/1198; CC8/8/59, f.160).

⁴⁰⁴ **Sack ... sugar** In common with other wines, sack was often sweetened with sugar, and was a customary welcome given by both English and Scottish civic authorities to honoured guests (for instance at Doncaster in 1617: Doncaster Archives, AB6/2/159, 15).

⁴⁰⁵ **aquavitæ** 'water of life', a distilled spirit; also known by its Gaelic name, *uisge beatha*, 'whisky', of which this may have been an early form (DSL DOST, Aquavite n.; DSL DOST, Usquebay n.).

⁴⁰⁶ **heigh crosse** the mercat cross; by the kirk of St Giles on the High Street, described by Taylor as 'the goodliest Street that euer mine eyes beheld', with buildings 'of squared stone, fiue, sixe, seauen Storyes high' (Taylor, 1618, sig. D2v). The cross is clearly visible on James Gordon of Rothiemay's panoramic map of Edinburgh, 1647.

⁴⁰⁷ **Bailief and Aldermen** English terms. The burgh council was headed by a provost, with four bailies, and twelve other members, who were only ever referred to as burgesses, burgh councillors, or magistrates. The bailies in September 1618 were James Ainslie (see lines 486, 492), James Dalzell, Alexander Pierson, and David Richardson; there was also a dean of guild, David Aikenhead, and a treasurer, William Rea, with other council members including James Nisbet and his brother-in-law James Arnot. Edinburgh's population was around 20,000-25,000, of whom 6,000-8,000 were from burgess families; the burgh council was usually drawn from an even smaller number of merchant burgesses (Edinburgh City Archives, SL1/1/13, 2; Stewart, 2006, 23-58, 341).

⁴⁰⁸ **round hole** Buildings on the High Street did not have 'fair glass windows'; they were instead faced with boards 'wherein are round holes shaped to the proportion of men's heads' (Brereton, 1844, 102).

From thence wee went vp to the castle where wee saw the great cannon,⁴⁰⁹ the bore
 whereof was so bigg that one gott a woman with child in it. Wee also saw the Erle of
 455 *Craford*⁴¹⁰ of *Lynsey*, where there have byn thirteene Erles of the name. Hee lyeth presoner
 [5.4v] there overthrowne as it is sayed by the subtely of the *Lord* of Dunbarre⁴¹¹ etc./
 On saterday my *gossip* with the former *gentlemen* and my [sic] ridd to Culrose called
 Curos⁴¹² to *Sir George Bruse*⁴¹³ who hath wrought that famous colemyne into the sea,⁴¹⁴ the
 mouth where is [sic] first sancke it is call the eye,⁴¹⁵ and where it opens vp into the Sea the
 460 mot.⁴¹⁶ The most straunge and rmarkeable thing that euer I saw or read of.

⁴⁰⁹ **great cannon** the giant siege cannon known as ‘Mons Meg’, capable of firing 330lb gunshot over 2 miles, given to James II in 1457. It is still on display at Edinburgh castle; Taylor recounts the same legend about its 20 inch (50 cm) calibre (Taylor, 1618, sig. D2v).

⁴¹⁰ **Erle of Craford** David Lindsay, twelfth Earl of Crawford (1576-1620), a violent and spendthrift man, initially warded in 1610 for debt, but allegations of his violence in the Crawford-Edzell feud led to his continued imprisonment. In 1612 it was advised that ‘he is too much subject to the counsell of young and evill disposed persones’ to be released. Though occasionally let out on surety of 20,000 marks, he remained imprisoned in the castle until his death (*ODNB*; Paul, 1904-14, 3.31-2; National Library of Scotland, Adv MS 33.1.1, vol. 3, f.43, vol. 4, f.2; Buron and Masson, 1877-98, 9.68, 74, 629, 662).

⁴¹¹ **Lord of Dunbarre** George Home, Earl of Dunbar (d. 1611), treasurer of Scotland, lieutenant of the Middle Shires, and the king’s chief enforcer in Scotland. He was part of the powerful Home kindred in Berwickshire and East Lothian, and connected to Home of North Berwick (see line 421).

⁴¹² **Culrose called Curos** Culross, ‘a Towne called the *Cooras*’, on the north coast of the Firth of Forth, about 20 miles from Edinburgh (Taylor, 1619, sig. E1). Made a royal burgh under a charter of 1592; a thriving settlement based around the complementary industries of coalmining, salt production and ironworking (Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, Canmore ID 48027; Adamson, 2008).

⁴¹³ **Bruse** Sir George Bruce of Carnock, or Culross (c.1550-1625), son of Sir Edward Bruce of Blairhall; an entrepreneur, ingenious developer of coalmines and saltpans, and burgess of Culross. He owned the lands and barony of Carnock, 5 miles north-east of Culross towards Dunfermline. In 1621 his ‘mony worthie and proffitable workis’ were recognised by the privy council, the king ordering them to reward him (*ODNB*; National Library of Scotland Adv MS 33.1.1, vol. 10, no. 34). His house at Culross, known as the ‘Palace’ as a result of James VI’s visit to it in 1617, was built in two stages, in 1597 and 1611; it features extensive decorative painting, including a chamber of ‘iconographically sophisticated’ emblems (Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, Canmore ID 48021; Bath, 2003, 57-77).

⁴¹⁴ **colemyne ... sea** Sir George Bruce had amassed coalmines and saltpans around Culross from the 1590s; in 1610 he had a tack of the customs of all imports and exports of salt and coal out of Culross and Torryburn in Fife, while in 1614, he received a royal charter confirming his monopoly of the extraction of sea-coal, with the right to make salt (Thomson *et al*, 1892-1914, 7. no. 1038; National Records of Scotland, GD236/2/4). The mine ran a mile under the firth of Forth, and was without any contemporary equivalents in England or Wales. It was frequently viewed by visitors: the king, Lord Walden, and John Taylor had all recently admired ‘this vnfellowed and vnmachable work’ (Taylor, 1618, sigs. E1-E3; Adamson, 2008). It was inundated during a great storm in 1625, but Bruce’s heir continued his mining interests.

⁴¹⁵ **mouth ... eye** see *OED*, *Eye* *n.*¹ 20c; *Scots*, ‘ee’. A shaft rather than the inclined entrance to a drift mine, an ‘ingaunee’ (*DSL SND1*, *Ee n.* 1 (2) b; Adamson, 2008, 170).

⁴¹⁶ **mot** the circular wall or ‘moat’, 15.5 metres in diameter, built around the entrance to the mine 400 metres offshore, which prevented inundation at high tide; the mine as a whole was known as the Moat Pit (Adamson, 2008, 161, 174-7).

Wee stayed there all Sunday there preached Mr *Robert Caluin*⁴¹⁷ in the fore noone and Mr *James Edmudstone*⁴¹⁸ in the after noone. Wee saw my Lords faire house⁴¹⁹ but not finished
 One monday wee rode to Kingcarron⁴²⁰ to see *Sir George* his salt pans, of *which* he hath two
 and twenty⁴²¹ and finds above 500 poore people⁴²² at worke, and payes every saterday in
 465 the yeere 100 sterling for wages. There wee saw a rare waterworke.⁴²³ Hee spends three
 hundred load of coles a week in making of his salt, and makes an hundred, and ten tun⁴²⁴
 aweeke
 After that wee entred the myne etc./

⁴¹⁷ **Caluin** Robert Colville (c.1560-1631), minister of Culross since 1593; a presbyterian, he was a signatory of the 1617 protestation to parliament against the king's attempts to introduce 'high-church' reforms (Scott, 1915-81, 5.14). The Colvilles were intermarried with the Bruces, and in October 1618, Colville witnessed a number of Bruce deeds at Culross (see below; National Records of Scotland, GD15/536-40, 638). His sister-in-law Elizabeth Melville, Lady Culross, the author of *Ane Godlie Dreame*, was a great admirer, writing of his plain and powerful preaching, and lamenting his death as 'a soir strok to this congregatioun' (Reid Baxter, 2006, 525-8).

⁴¹⁸ **Edmudstone** Mr James Edmonstone (d. by 1665), master of the Grammar School, Stirling, and presented to St Ninian's in Stirling in 1624 by the king. Three of his sons also became ministers (Scott, 1915-81, 4. 313-14), one of them, Robert, holding the second charge of Culross from 1649. James is not listed as a minister for Culross. The sermons were presumably preached in Culross Abbey, remodelled for use as the parish church; officially designated as such in 1633. An aisle containing a grand monument to Bruce and his wife was later built here (Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, Canmore ID 48040; Hallen, 1878, 252).

⁴¹⁹ **my Lords faire house** Edward Bruce, Lord Kinloss (1548/9-1611), Sir George's older brother, began the construction of a Renaissance mansion next to the church in 1608, though only two sides of the planned four were completed. Kinloss was a lawyer for the crown, and both an English and Scottish privy councillor. His death in 1611 probably slowed building; his second son, and heir, Edward, was killed in a 1613 duel with Sir Edward Sackville, the future fourth Earl of Dorset. His third son Thomas succeeded his brother as Lord Kinloss, and would have been in possession of the unfinished house in 1618. (Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, Canmore ID 48054; Beveridge, 1885, 1.111; *ODNB*).

⁴²⁰ **Kingcarron** Kincardine, 2 miles west of Culross on the firth of Forth, and long known primarily for salt production. From 1597 Sir George Bruce had been acquiring the coalmines of Kincardine, which provided the fuel for the process of salt extraction. (Whatley, 1984, 7; National Records of Scotland, GD15/248-59, 345, GD236/2/4).

⁴²¹ **two and twenty** At his death, Bruce owned a 'veritable empire' of forty four salt pans, including those at Kincardine, along the coast of the Forth (Whatley, 1984, 26).

⁴²² **poore people** cf. Taylor: 'Many poore people are there set on worke, which otherwise through the want of imployment would perish' (Taylor, 1618, sig. E2).

⁴²³ **waterworke** possibly the 'Egyptian wheel' by which sea-water was drained from the coalmine, 'a devise like a horsemill' with 'a great chaine of Iron, going downeward many fadomes, with thirty sixe buckets' (Taylor, 1619, sig. E2v); perhaps, though, the system of channels created to supply seawater to the saltpans at Kincardine (Whatley, 1984, 16).

⁴²⁴ **hundred, and ten tun** cf. Taylor: 'he doth make euery weeke ninety or an hundred Tuns of salt'. This figure has been described as 'grossly over-estimated' (Taylor, 1618, sig. E3; Adamson, 2008, 186).

At *Sir George's* was *Mr Heskins*,⁴²⁵ *Sir George* his sonne in law, *Sir Iohn Preston*,⁴²⁶ Mr
 470 *Galeard of maw*.⁴²⁷ etc.

Wee went by *Blare*, and *Sands*⁴²⁸ two gentlemens houses *Sir George Bruse* brought vs to
Dunfarlin,⁴²⁹ the [6.1] *Queenes* [the] towne. Where my *gossip* was with all grace received
 by my *Lord Chancellour*,⁴³⁰ and my *Lady*⁴³¹ with hir brother. Wee found my *Lady* shooting at
buttes,⁴³² Here wee drancke hard, with some six more, and were made *Burgesses*.⁴³³

⁴²⁵ **Heskins** John Erskine of Balgownie, married to Bruce's daughter Magdalen; Balgownie House is at the western edge of Culross. Later knighted, Erskine established a family burial site within the Abbey church (Paul, 1904-14, 3.485; Hallen, 1878, 252-3).

⁴²⁶ **Preston** Sir John Preston of Valleyfield, 2 miles east of Culross, the father of Marie Preston; she was married to Sir George Bruce's son, also George. On 1 October 1618 Sir George granted part of the lands of the barony of Carnock to his son in fulfilment of the marriage contract between him and Sir John; witnesses included Robert Colville. Like the Bruces and Erskines, the Prestons had a family vault at Culross Abbey church (Paul, 1904-14, 3. 485; National Records of Scotland, GD15/536-40; Hallen, 1878, 252).

⁴²⁷ **Galeard of maw** an authorial or scribal error for John Gaw or Gall, laird of Maw, married to Marjorie Bruce. She was perhaps the daughter of Robert Bruce, fiar of Wester Kennet, entrusted to the care of Gaw by Bruce in 1606. Alexander Gaw, John's father, had received an act of parliament in his favour excluding his three houses and lands in Culross from the burgh's charter in 1594 (National Records of Scotland, GD11/88, GD24/7/162; *Records of the Parliament of Scotland*, 1594/4/74, 109).

⁴²⁸ **Blare, and Sands** possibly Blair House, near Carnock, 3 miles north east of Culross, or Blairhall, a mile nearer Culross, the seat of Sir George's elder brother, Robert, and Sandyknow, just north of Carnock; more likely, however, a house on the site of Blair Castle, a mile west of Culross on the road to Kincardine, and Sands, now demolished, a mile west of Blair (Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, Canmore ID, 49444, 48026; Paul, 1904-14, 3.474; National Library of Scotland, EMS.s.382; Hallen, 1878, 248; Beveridge, 1888, 198, 200).

⁴²⁹ **Dunfarlin** Dunfermline, an ancient royal burgh; the abbey there was the former burial place of Scottish kings. The regality of Dunfermline was owned by Queen Anne, and around 1594 she built a house beside the abbey, 'a delicate and princely mansion' according to Taylor, and one of her favourite residences. It was the birthplace of Princess Elizabeth in 1596, and Princes Charles in 1600, and Robert in 1602 (Taylor, 1618, sig. E1; Dennison and Stronach, 2007, 30-2). Ebenezer Henderson, the town's nineteenth-century annalist, noted that 'according to tradition, Ben Jonson visited in August 1618' (Henderson, 1879, 277).

⁴³⁰ **Lord Chancellour** Alexander Seton (1555-1622), Earl of Dunfermline from 1605, eminent lawyer and administrator; lord chancellor of Scotland from 1604 and the king's foremost adviser and agent in the country after the death of the Earl of Dunbar in 1611. Studied at the German College in Rome for several years from 1571, though outwardly conformed on his return to Scotland. 'A great humanist in prose and poecie, Greek and Latine, well versed in the mathematicks and had great skill in architecture and heraldrie', he was celebrated by John Dunbar as 'the sweet beloved of the Muse, glory of learned men, honour of peace, and darling of your nation' (Maitland, 1829, 63; Dunbar, 2013, Century 5, Epigram 41). He was heritable bailie of the regality of Dunfermline for Queen Anne, occupying a house close to the abbey, in which capacity he was expected to provide entertainment for important visitors. Dunfermline was uncle by marriage to John Auchmuty, and built a fine house at Pinkie, near Musselburgh, in 1613; Jonson later asked William Drummond for details of the emblematic decoration either of its long gallery or on Queen Mary's bedhangings, which may have been kept there after the king's return to Scotland in 1617 – Dunfermline was responsible for the logistics of the visit. James Raith, whom Jonson singled out for a particular greeting in the same letter, was Dunfermline's attendant and secretary (*ODNB*; National Records of Scotland, GD150/1976, E41/2; Letter 14; Bath, 2003, 79-103; Bath, 2007; Bath and Craig, 2010, 285-6).

⁴³¹ **my Lady** the chancellor's third and much younger wife, Margaret Hay (d. 1659), daughter of James Hay, seventh Lord Yester, who was contracted to him with a tocher, or dowry, of £20,000, or £2,000 annual rent from the lands of Yester (Harvey and Macleod, 1930, 336). She had two brothers: John Hay (c.1583-1653), eighth Lord Yester, who was to marry his brother-in-law Dunfermline's daughter Jean in 1624 and was created first Earl of Tweeddale in 1646; and Sir William Hay (c.1594-1658) of Linplum in East Lothian.

⁴³² **shooting at buttes** practising archery, probably in the 'faire Gardens, Orchards, and Medowes belonging to the palace' described by Taylor (Taylor, 1618, sig. E1). Customarily, at least, a masculine pursuit: cf. *Mag. Lady*, 1.4.13; though see also

475 Wee lay at Mr Biggs,⁴³⁴ who vs'd my Gossip and his company with all freedome and full
entertainment Wee stayed with him all tewsday
Wensday Mr *Gibbs* with his two sonnes *Barnaby* and *William*,⁴³⁵ with his sonne in law Mr
*James Creeton*⁴³⁶ brought vs to brunt lland;⁴³⁷ and so to the well⁴³⁸ at *Peticure*, a myle
beyond *Brunt Island*⁴³⁹ and some two furlonges on this side king gorne.⁴⁴⁰ Wee passed by St
480 Com *which* stands vpon an inch⁴⁴¹ as they call it, that is a little lland. Wee also passed by
*Aberdore*⁴⁴² a house of my Lord *Murtons*, successour of that *Douglasse which* fought with

Love's Labour's Lost, 4.1, for contrary evidence. The Earl of Dunfermline was a keen archer throughout his life (Seton, 1882, 130–1).

⁴³³ **made Burgesses** made honorary freemen of the town. Dunfermline's burgh records for the years 1613–19 have not survived, but this honour was bestowed on advocates, courtiers, gentlemen and the servants of the nobility in the surrounding years (Shearer, 1951, 60, 73, 163, 152, 158, 164).

⁴³⁴ **Biggs** a slip for Gibb or Gibbs. According to Taylor, John Gibb (c.1550–1628) of Carriber and Knock was 'the oldest servant the king hath', his service since James's infancy recognised in a number of grants from the 1580s onwards. These included the office of Keeper of the Palace and Yards of Dunfermline Abbey in 1585, confirmed by the queen in 1592, with the monks' portion of the Abbey, and its revenues, where he had a house. Taylor also stayed here, where he described himself 'well entertained' (Taylor, 1618, sig. E1; Gibb, 1874, 1.313–14). Gibb went south with James in 1603 as a groom of his bedchamber; in 1605 he had a grant of £3000 from recusancy forfeitures, and in 1610 the king added the revenues associated with the Chapel Royal of Stirling to the office of Master of the Chapel which he had already received. He accompanied James in 1617, and was made an honorary burghess of Edinburgh; he was knighted in 1624 (NA, LC 5/50, 7–8; BL MS Add 58,833, f.21; National Records of Scotland, GD1/1056/1/1; Edinburgh City Archives, SL141/1/3; Gibb, 1874, 2.65). One of his sons, Henry (d. 1650), was a well-rewarded groom in Prince Henry's bedchamber from 1605, and of the king's from 1613; he was also an associate of the courtiers Ramsay and Lumsden, the latter in 1623 describing Gibb as his 'very good friend' (Gibb, 1874, 2.154, 386; NA, LC 5/50, 37, 99, LC 2/6, f.40; National Records of Scotland, GD124/10/136; Seddon, 1975, 1.67–8, 215). With James, his son and heir, John Gibb witnessed a baptism in Dunfermline on 4 October 1618 (Paton, 1911, 170).

⁴³⁵ **Gibbs ... William** No Barnaby or William is recorded as a son of John Gibb; a Bernard Gibb was the father of several illegitimate children, and in 1627 co-witnessed a baptism with Sir John (Paton, 1911, 158, 178, 222).

⁴³⁶ **Creeton** probably James Crichton of Abercrombie, near St Monans, in Fife; he was brother to William Crichton, ninth Lord Sanquhar and later Earl of Dumfries, and nephew to John Crichton, eighth (sometimes styled sixth) Lord Sanquhar, who masqued in *Haddington* and was executed for murder in 1612. James married Agnes Gibb in 1615; he was perhaps the 'Master Crichton' who entertained Taylor at his house in Dunfermline in August (Warrick, 1899, 39; Masque Archive, *Haddington Masque* and *(Masque of Beauty)*, 2; Paton, 1911, 157; Taylor, 1618, sig. E1).

⁴³⁷ **brunt lland** Burntisland, a port on the firth of Forth; ferries crossed between here and Edinburgh's port, Leith.

⁴³⁸ **well** 'this latelie found, and newlie-knowne, and too-too long unknowne Well' or spring at the coastal town of Pettycur, beside Kinghorn (Barclay, 1618, sig. A4v). Taylor tells of the water's 'rare operation to expell or kill diuers maladies' and its sweet taste; William Barclay's tract outlining its 'Nature and Effectes' was prefaced by a letter to his printer, Andro Hart, dated 8 August 1618; Patrick Anderson's work on the same subject is headed by a dedication to the Earl of Mar dated 8 October (Taylor, 1618, sigs D3v–4; Barclay, 1618, sig. A2; Anderson, 1618).

⁴³⁹ Colon after 'Brunt' indicates an intended contraction.

⁴⁴⁰ **king gorne** Kinghorn, the most easterly of these three firth harbours.

⁴⁴¹ **St Com ... inch** an inch is a small island; here, St Colm's Inch or Inchcolm, with its ancient abbey; cf. *Macbeth*, 1.2.61.

⁴⁴² **Aberdore** Aberdour castle, the 'seaside villa' of William Douglas, seventh (sometimes given as eighth) Earl of Morton (1582–1648), who succeeded his grandfather in 1606 and received a licence to travel abroad with his cousin, the Earl of Angus, for up to three years in January 1617 (*ODNB*). A new east range at Aberdour, which included a long gallery and comfortable lodgings complete with painted ceilings, is usually dated to the 1630s but may have been begun significantly earlier (Macgibbon and Ross, 1887–92, 2.474–6; McKean, 2004, 129–30).

Percy, in Chevet chace.⁴⁴³ But [...] his cheif house is in *Lough Lavin*, a lake⁴⁴⁴ of ten myles long, & eight myles broad, in the myddest whereof stands [his ca] a castell, and his new house vpon the lake

485 One Wensday night wee came to Leeth to Mr *John* Stewarts⁴⁴⁵ who had appointed my Gossip his guest. Wee found there Mr *Dauy Drumman*⁴⁴⁶ with Mr *Robert Hayes*⁴⁴⁷ who came to the new well to seeke remedy etc./

⁴⁴³ **Chevet chace** Chevy Chase. Morton's ancestor, James, second Earl of Douglas, had beaten the forces of Sir Harry 'Hotspur' Percy at the battle of Otterburn in Northumberland in 1388, events recalled in the very well known ballad entered in the Stationers' Register in 1624 and printed soon after under the title 'A memorable song vpon the vnhappy hunting in Cheuy Chase, beweeene the Earle / Percy of England, and Earle Dowglas of Scotland' (*English Broadside Ballad Archive*, 20279). The earliest recorded notice of the ballad, as 'the hunttis of cheuet', is in *The Complaynt of Scotlande* (1549), and it was already in print in England by 1565. According to Joseph Addison, 'Ben. Jonson used to say that he had rather have been the author of it than of all his works' (Stewart, 1979, 51; Fox, 2000, 2-3).

⁴⁴⁴ **Lough ... lake** In 1606, Morton had inherited the Lochleven estate from his grandfather, the sixth earl, formerly Sir William Douglas of Lochleven. The sixth earl had built the 'Newhouse of Kinross', on the loch's side after 1546 to replace the island castle on Loch Leven as his principal residence (*ODNB*; National Records of Scotland, GD29/564).

⁴⁴⁵ **Stewarts** identified by Masson as the master of the ship Post of Leith, who in 1614 had been employed by the crown to ship ordnance to Orkney to suppress the rebellion there. Masson also mistakenly described him as the water bailie of Leith, conflating a 1614 entry for him with a reference to James Fairman. Fairman was water bailie in 1617 and 1618 but died by June 1619; a Robert Stevenson was 'water baillie officer' in Leith in October 1618 when he was deprived for neglect of his office (Burton and Masson, 1877-98, 10.clxviii, 344, 698, 700-1; Edinburgh City Archives, SL1/1/13, 2, 81, 84, 129). However, the John Stewart (d. c.1656) who occupied a tenement owned by James Ainslie (see line 468) near the King's Wark in Leith was in fact the last Commendator of Coldingham Priory, a younger son of Francis, former Earl of Bothwell, and therefore kinsman to the king; hence the presence in Leith of John's elder brother Francis, 'Lord Bothwell'. The brothers were also related to Sir Francis Stewart, another great grandson of James V and dedicatee of *Epicene* in the 1616 folio. With William Ramsay this John Stewart witnessed Lord Haddington's transaction with Ramsay of Dalhousie in Edinburgh on 1 September 1618. He might also be the John Stewart who with 'Hary Levingstoun' was paid by the Scottish exchequer as a royal usher during James's visit of 1617. On Ainslie's death in 1623, he appears to have owed his landlord £300; Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet wrote in the 1650s that 'he now has nothing, but lives on the charity of his friends' (Paul, 1904-14, 2.171; HMC Milne Home 203-4; Hunter, 1858, 74-5; National Records of Scotland, RS25/2, f.301v; RS25/4/254-55; Butler, 1995b; National Records of Scotland, GD224/308/19, E34/50/5, f.1, CC8/8/52, 158; Scot, 1872, 117).

⁴⁴⁶ **Drumman** David Drummond, one of James's gentlemen pensioners, who had met Taylor earlier in Burntisland; he was in James's train in 1617, when he was made honorary burgess of Edinburgh, and was party to the contract between Haddington and Ramsay of Dalhousie witnessed by William Ramsay and John Stewart on 1 September 1618 (BL MS Add 34,122 B; Taylor, 1618, sig. D4; Edinburgh City Archives, SL141/1/3; National Records of Scotland, GD224/308/19). Apparently a jovial courtier and poet – but not, as is sometimes asserted, the king's fool or jester – he was evoked in the equine figure of 'Davus Dromo' or 'Messe Davy' in George Ruggle's comedy *Ignoramus* at Cambridge in 1615 (Chamberlain, 1939, 1.587; Nelson, 1989, 540-1, 954-5, Weldon, 1650, 92). He published three volumes of neo-Latin verse, including a 1608 Epithalamion for Haddington's marriage (Green, Burton and Ford, 2012, 117). He was the addressee of poems by Alexander Montgomerie and John Dunbar; William Fowler, the Queen's secretary, described him as 'messt spreit in cariage, no girning in his face, / From falshood cleir' (Montgomerie, 2000, 1.102; Dunbar, 2013, Century 6, Epigram 85; Fowler, 1914, 325). In May 1619 he was granted the annual rent of £521 out of the lands of Spott in Berwickshire, but was no longer a pensioner. He was however still listed as a gentleman of the privy chamber in 1625 (National Records of Scotland, RS71/1, bk 2, no. 217; GD45/17/68; NA, LC 2/6, f.49).

⁴⁴⁷ **Hayes** Robert Hay, a groom of the king's bedchamber from at least 1611, and subsequently of the wardrobe; commended in an epigram by John Dunbar for his humanity and modesty; involved in a 1613 Anglo-Scots stramash at court, when William Ramsay came to his defence (*CSPD 1611-18*, 76; NA, LC 2/6, f.45; Dunbar, 2013, Century 1, Epigram 42; Chamberlain, 1939, 1.445). He was younger, and possibly half-, brother to James, Baron Hay, who was created Viscount Doncaster on 5 July 1618 and later raised to the earldom of Carlisle. James Hay was a notably extravagant Master of the Robes and, from 1613, Master of the Great Wardrobe, accumulating debts of £42,000 by the time he relinquished his

[6.1v] One thursday Mr *John Stewarte* with his wife⁴⁴⁸ went in coach with Mr *Dauy Drumman* to *Cobersmith*, where hee was to meet Mr *Robert Hayes*, and so to go to London.

490 In the meane tyme hee desired my gossip to vse his house as his house as [sic] his owne, and to bydd his frends as free to it, and to commaund his servantes as his owne. Which hee accordingly did, inviting Mr *Ramsey* Mr *Alexander Stewarte*, Mr *Hetely*, and Mr *Donsier* [a] and kept them all day. Att night my Lord Bothwell came whom my gossip welcom'd etc./

The next day hee stayd for my gossips company and Hauked. One friday night Mr *John Stewarte* returnd./

495 The same night my gossip arrived at Leeth the Towne of Edenborough⁴⁴⁹ sent to Mr Stewart to entreat him to bring Mr *Ihonso*n to the towne telling him thew [sic] would (if it pleased him to accept thereof make him Burgesse and make him amends for his no fuller entertainment when hee was there before, Excusing the same by the absence of many of

500 them.

In the meane tyme Mr *Iames Haynsley*⁴⁵⁰ one of the Bayliefes, and landlord to Mr Stewarte (⁴⁵¹[6.2] Mr *Etsby*⁴⁵² being the other) came him self in person to invite my gossip, and with

offices in 1618. He staged Jonson's *Lovers Made Men* for the French ambassador in 1617. At the king's direction, Robert Hay received £10,000 out of the impost on wine in June 1617 (Paul, 1904-14, 5.218-9; *ODNB*, James Hay; Taylor, 1618, sig. D4; National Records of Scotland, E21/84, f.74). Hay was with Drummond when Taylor met him at Burntisland; Taylor encountered them again at Newcastle on October 1, seven days after Drummond's departure from Leith (Taylor, 1618, sig. G1v).

⁴⁴⁸ **wife** John Stewart's wife was named Margaret Home (Paul, 1904-14, 2.171-2).

⁴⁴⁹ **Towne of Edenborough** The burgh council of Edinburgh.

⁴⁵⁰ **Haynsley** James Ainslie of Darnick (d. 1623), a wealthy merchant burgher of Edinburgh, burgh councillor, and elected bailie in 1617-18. In 1607 he bought the lands of Darnick for 12,000 merks, and he loaned money to several nobles. He owned lands as well as a tenement in Leith (National Records of Scotland, CC8/8/52, ff.156-61; Thomson *et al*, 1892-1914, 6, no. 1994; National Records of Scotland, GD40/1/360; GD150/671, RS71/1, bk 1, 121, bk 2, 300).

⁴⁵¹ Parenthesis included with catchword, 'Mr', on 6.1v; omitted on 6.2. 2 Totnam ... the Beare Tottenham 'was often known as Tottenham High Cross, from the medieval wayside cross in High Road' (Baker and Pugh, 1976); the 'decayed and rotten' wooden cross was replace with 'a new one built of bricke', around 1600 (Bedwell, 1631, sig. D3). No record of a Bear inn, tavern or alehouse has been found: a 1619 survey of the manor of Tottenham recorded premises called the Bullhead, the Three Conies, the Angel and the Swan, but this list is unlikely to be exhaustive (London Metropolitan Archive, MS ACC/0695/009, 38, 40, 43, 76).

all solemnity, in the name of all the towne offred him the honour of Burgesse And his house to remayne in as long as hee pleasd My Lady Sampleton widdow and a Hamelton⁴⁵³

505 dyn[ing]d with my lord⁴⁵⁴ and my gossip. And after dynner⁴⁵⁵ sent to my gossip to entreat him to see hir house etc./

On saterday, wee went to Edenborough to Mr *Hansley* to dynner. My *Gossip* being accompanied with Mr *John Stewart*, and his wife, Mr *W. R.*⁴⁵⁶ Mr *Hetely* and Mr Alexander Stewart. Where my Gossip was with all ceremony made Burgesse⁴⁵⁷

510 I lay at Effy Willsons, hir husband is called *Thomas Robinson*,⁴⁵⁸ from Saterdag till the monday seavnight⁴⁵⁹ after, which was the fift of *Nouember*,⁴⁶⁰ at what tyme I parted from Edenborough, and at leeth tooke boat for Brunt Iland, where I mett with a Shipp bound for

⁴⁵² **Etsby** The other bailies in September 1618 were Alexander Pierson, James Dalzell, and David Richardson; they were replaced on 6 October by Alexander Clark, John Byres, George Foullis and David Mitchelson (Edinburgh City Archives, SL1/1/13, 2, 80). 'Etsby' is perhaps a wayward rendering of 'Byres'.

⁴⁵³ **Sampleton ... Hamelton** probably the 'Lady Samuelstoun' who is recorded as owing James Ainslie £80 in 1623, and was presumably a member of the Hamilton of Samuelstoun family (National Records of Scotland, CC8/8/52, 158). If so, the likeliest candidates are either Jean Home of Whitelaw, niece of the late George Earl of Dunbar, widow of William Hamilton of Samuelstoun, and cousin to Elizabeth Home, wife of Theophilus, Lord Howard de Walden; or her mother-in-law Margaret Carkettill, widow of Patrick Hamilton of Samuelstoun (d. 1613). Their connection with Francis and John Stewart – several members of the Samuelstoun branch were involved in the then Earl of Bothwell's raid on Holyroodhouse in 1593, for which the family had a remission in 1613 – would support either of these identifications, though no further evidence that Jean or Margaret possessed a title has been found (Paul, 1904-14, 3.283-8; Thomson *et al*, 1892-1914, 7.920). Another possibility is Joanna, Lady Sempill (d. 1638), widow of Robert, fourth Lord Sempill (d. 1611). He was her second husband; she had previously been married to Sir John Hamilton of Lincliff, cousin to James Hamilton, second marquess of Hamilton and a royal favourite in James's later years (Paul, 1904-14, 7.552-3; *ODNB*, James Hamilton; Cuddy, 1989, 120).

⁴⁵⁴ **my lord** Bothwell.

⁴⁵⁵ **dynner** On 16 October 1618, the burgh's treasurer was ordered to pay James Ainslie £221 6s 4d spent by him 'vpone the dennir maid to Benjamin Jonsoun' at his admission as burges (Edinburgh City Archives, SL1/1/13, 85; Town Treasurer's Accounts, 1612-23, 597). Ainslie owned a tenement on the south side of Castlehill, but was perhaps resident in the north-east parish of the city (Edinburgh City Archives, Edinburgh Protocol Books, Alexander Guthrie, 1612-14, 19.109; Bailies' Accounts Extent and Unlaws from 1564 to 1689, 597).

⁴⁵⁶ **W. R.** William Ramsay.

⁴⁵⁷ **Burgesse** On 25 September the burgh council ordered the dean of guild to make 'Benjamyn Jonsoun – Inglisman burges and gildbrother', an honorary burges, a dignity conferred on James's retinue in 1617. Jonson was presented with a gilded burges ticket, for which a scribe was paid £14 6s 8d (Edinburgh City Archives, SL1/1/13, 79, SL144/3, 1618-1619, 20 January 1619).

⁴⁵⁸ **Effy ... Robinson** Euphame Wilson (d. 1645) married Thomas Robertson, a stabler, 29 December 1608. Around 1618 they are recorded as living in the south-east parish of Edinburgh; an account of 1629 says she kept her house in College Wynd, between the Cowgate and the university buildings on what is now Chambers Street. She was also a moneylender, and was owed substantial sums by various gentlemen at her death (Paton, 1905, 744; Edinburgh City Archives, Edinburgh Stent Rolls, SL35/1/2; HMC Lonsdale 80; National Records of Scotland, CC8/8/62, f.731).

⁴⁵⁹ **seavnight** seven-night or sennight; a week.

⁴⁶⁰ **Nouember** a slip – October is meant.

England, The Master whereof was *lohn Gadd*,⁴⁶¹ and his brother mate. I lay at Robert Clerkes⁴⁶²

515 The harbour townes upon the fife.⁴⁶³ St *Andros*, Catten wymb, Crill, Auster wymb, Buck, Earth haven Leuen, Easter wymb, Culrose, Largo, Wester wymb, [6.2v] Desert, Carcadhy, Kill gone Burnt [Lo] Iland, Aberdore, Anderkethen vpon Lowthen, Haymouth, Coldingham, White Cove Dunbarre, North Barwicke Abberleddy, Prestonpannes, Muscledborough, fishrach, Leeth, Cramond, Queenes ferry Abercorn./⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁶¹ **Gadd** John Ged elder, burgess, was on the burgh council in 1617-18; on October 1 1618, John Ged younger, burgess, was elected. He appears on the council on 6 October, but not again until 23 February 1619, perhaps suggesting an absence from the town (National Records of Scotland, B9/12/4, ff.25, 35v).

⁴⁶² **Clerkes** Robert Clerke, skipper and burgess of Burntisland; he apparently died in June 1618, though his will was not registered until March 1619 (National Records of Scotland, CC20/4/7, 92). No heir of the same name is known, but the reference to Clerke's premises need not imply that he was still alive, or thought to be so by the writer.

⁴⁶³ **fife** a slip for 'Forth', or possibly 'firth'; the eastern section of its northern shore is in Fife.

⁴⁶⁴ **harbour townes ... Abercorn** on both coasts of the Forth. The southern harbours are listed from south and east to north and west, the northern towns are not listed in geographical order. See Blaeu's 1654 *Atlas* of Scotland, and the 1642 manuscript map of Fife by James Gordon of Rothiemay on which Blaeu's is based (Blaeu, 1654 and 2006; National Library of Scotland, EMS.s.676; National Library of Scotland, WD3B/7 and 30; National Library of Scotland, Adv.MS.70.2.10). Among the northern settlements, St Andrews, Crail, Leven, East Wemyss, Culross, Largo, West Wemyss, Dysert, Kirkcaldy, Kinghorn, Burntisland, Aberdour, and Inverkeithing, adjacent to Letham Hill, are all readily identifiable. 'Catten wymb' is probably Pittenweem; 'Auster' is an error for Anster or Anstruther, which is divided into 'Easter Ansterrudder' and 'West Anster' on Gordon's map; 'Wymb' is most likely Wemyss, marked as a separate coastal settlement by both Gordon and Blaeu; 'Buck' and 'Earth haven' are probably the result of a confusion between Buckhaven and Earlsferry or the adjacent Elie. The writer does not appear to have visited any of these settlements east and north of Burntisland. On the south coast of the firth, the places listed are Eyemouth, Coldingham, Cove or 'Whytecoae', near Cockburnspath, Dunbar, North Berwick, Aberlady, Prestonpans, Musselburgh, Fisherrow, Leith, Cramond, Queensferry and Abercorn.