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[2.1] *My Gossip lohson 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] Beare &c. By the way thether wee met with the Shake-ragg errant, and his two doxes etc.

From thence to Waltam, where my Lady Wroth came to my Gossip etc. with Mr Ed Kerry Mr Harbert and Mr Powell, etc, There also came to vs two Cambridge men. One [c] fellow of Q Colledge called Homes, and Blitheman Master of Arte who etc./

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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 replace with ‘a new one built of brickes’, 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).


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

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, where a lunaticke woman met vs by the way, and went dancing before vs and a humorous Tincker of whom wee could not be ridd etc. There also three minstreells thrust them selues vpon vs asking whether wee would heare a merry song. Which proved to be the life and death of my Lord of Essex. This forenoone it thundred and raigned, which stop’d vs from setting forwards till towards the evening. Then wee came to Ware, to Mr Crosses, where Sir Robert Mansell [2.1v] Sir Arnold Harbert, and Mr Rice, 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 Gwenllian 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 Ditty’ bears a 1603 imprint (STC 6791). Other possibilities include the tetrameter verses beginning ‘O England now lament in tears’ (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\textsuperscript{16} [sic] subscribed 10 pieces./\textsuperscript{17} etc Here my fatt Hostesse commended mee with [a.] a token\textsuperscript{18} Thence to Puckridge to the Faulken, where wee dined, where [my,] myne host Holland\textsuperscript{19} gave my Gossip a forrest Bill\textsuperscript{20} etc. That night wee came to Dick of Buntingfoords\textsuperscript{21} to bedd.

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

\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{16} Thomas as 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).

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{20} forest Bill a woodman’s bill-hook (OED, Forest n. C2).

\textsuperscript{21} Dick of Buntingfoords A ‘Richard Hanlter’ 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).

\textsuperscript{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, lxii, 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).

\textsuperscript{23} Marginal addition; no insertion point in the text.

\textsuperscript{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 ‘genere’, 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 means of Mr Strange\textsuperscript{25} the

minister etc./

The next day myne host would needes bring vs out of towne towards [sic] Roistow,\textsuperscript{26} but left

vs not till hee brought vs thorough, where wee lay at Mr Atkinsons\textsuperscript{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 household, vide, his two sonne in lawes and his

sonne, (brought vs on the way, first to Erthington,\textsuperscript{28} where wee bayted,\textsuperscript{29} and after [the] to

Cackstone the Kings Armes,\textsuperscript{30} where wee mett with oyes,\textsuperscript{31} and I fell out with myne Hostesse

eetc. 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 towne\textsuperscript{32} by

the way./ Where wee lay at Mr Patricks\textsuperscript{33} at the George where wee stayed all the next day,

The Bailieff\textsuperscript{34} and the cheife of the Towne keeping vs continewal company.

\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{26} Roistow 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).

\textsuperscript{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).

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

\textsuperscript{29} bayed rested briefly, took refreshments (OED, Bait v.\textsuperscript{1} 7a).

\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{31} oyes ‘oyez’, a clamour; here, of acclamation (OED, Oyez n. A).

\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{33} Patricks The George is a long-established Huntingdon inn, part of the current building dating from the early seventeenth century; in 1599 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).

\textsuperscript{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 wee [sic] were two myles out of town, frecd\textsuperscript{35} by rayne, wee were fayne to take an Alehouse At a place called Stukly, where the minister came to vs whose name was Seborne\textsuperscript{36} where wee were warned of Stangate\textsuperscript{37} in the hole, wee came to Stilton to Smiths at the Angell\textsuperscript{38} to bedd./

Thence wee passed thorough a towne where Sir John Whitbrook\textsuperscript{39} hadd a house where wee mett with one Pavy\textsuperscript{40} sometyme a citizen in London, And one Mr Hanger\textsuperscript{41} that hadd beene minister in the blacce Friers, who brought vs to wandsworth bridge\textsuperscript{42} where wee bayted.

That night wee came to Stamford [.o] to the maydenhead to my plesante host Bates\textsuperscript{43} etc./

All sonday we stayed there. In the morning Mr Fawlingham\textsuperscript{44} of the bell sent my Gossip a

\textsuperscript{35} frecd Freckled, sprinkled.

\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{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 (7Skinner, 1604, sig. D4; Anon., A True and Perfect Relation, 1606, sig. ii1v; Anon., Ratseis Ghost, 1605, sig. D4v; Alch., 1.1.99).

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{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 eulogised by Jonson after his death in 1602 (Epigr. 120).

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{44} Fawlingham 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
fustian\textsuperscript{45} lette. Mr Barker\textsuperscript{46} the minister there and preacher, with his brother in law Mr Dillworth,\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{48}

‘Postmaster’ I eight myles off where wee lay. Where the gentlewoman woulde giue no reckoninge, but the bounty of my Gossip made it deeer then an Inne etc./

Thence to Bever castle to my Lord of Rutlands\textsuperscript{49} where was then my Lord Willowy,\textsuperscript{50} and where I was very ill. \textit{There my gossip gaue} to the lowest scullion in the house half a

\textsuperscript{45} Fustian inaptaingly high-sounding or bombastic (\textit{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.’

\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{47} Dillworth John Dillworth (b. 1584) of Lancashire became rector of Hargrave, Northamptonshire in 1610 and vicar of Briggstock, Northamptonshire, in 1616; Hargrave is 10 miles, and Briggstock 15 miles, south of Stamford. Alice, daughter of John Dillworth, 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).

\textsuperscript{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 1/1592/20, f.3; CSPD 1637, 331, 418-19).

\textsuperscript{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 impresa from ‘Mr Shakespeare’ 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).

\textsuperscript{50} Willowy 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 \textit{Hymenoai} and its Barriers, and \textit{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-
crowne\footnote{51} There the Erle subscribed 30 pieces and my Lord Willowby i0. Captain Stratford\footnote{52} fetcht mee vp to the castle etc./

From thence wee were brought by Captain Stratford, Mr Markes\footnote{53} and an other gentleman of My Lords to Botsfoord, three myles of Bever where lye all the Erles of Rutland

entombed\footnote{54} But by the way, The Erle, my Lord Willowby,\footnote{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,\footnote{56} gaue vs great entertaynment. And an honest parson ^ (Surcot)\footnote{57} beneficed hard by would not part from

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9, 496, 500, 510, 514, 522; Chambers, 1923, 3.378-9; Masque Archive, Masquers and Tilters; Lincolnshire Archives, 10ANC/4Lot 355/1; Lincolnshire Archives, Spalding Sewers, 449/1).

\footnote{51} Marginal addition; no insertion point in the text.

\footnote{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).

\footnote{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).

\footnote{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).

\footnote{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).

\footnote{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 (OONB, 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).

\footnote{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 Ale 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 I lowl curtesie 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 married Mr Stantons widdow, and who held his land by Tower guard That is, was bound upon any occasion when the Erle should call him to mayntayne that tower which was called by his name Stantons tower, 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 Draper would needes goe a long with vs to Newarke etc where wee hadd purposd to lye at Mr Atkinsons the Postmasters, But Wamble of the hart subtelly anticipated vs etc. /

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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; Botrichwick 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 Belvoire, against any assault or invasion: which Tower to this day, is called Staunt Tower’. Staunt Tower, ‘the most important portion’ of Belvoir castle, was rebuilt by the Manners family in the sixteenth century (Burton, 1622, 9; Eler, 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 Kings 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 hansome Creatures well furnish’d, such as were able to refresh weary Travellers’ (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 Doctor\textsuperscript{66} Hunton, and Webster\textsuperscript{67} his Apothecary, to conferre [etc/ abut] about an infirmitie I was troubled with etc. Wee stayed here from friday till tewesday Here Mr Mun

Mason\textsuperscript{68} the preacher, and the Aldermen\textsuperscript{69} with other gentlemen of the cuntrey especially the Markhams\textsuperscript{70} still kept vs company

\textsuperscript{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, \textit{Worthy Treatise of the Eyes}, first published in 1587 or 1588 when he was a \textit{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).

\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{68} Mr Mun Mason Edmund Mason (d. 1635), of Egmonton, 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 \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{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; Kellihier, 2000; Nelson, 1989, 530, 955; Corbett, 1955, 39; Mason, 1915, 154-5).

\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{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 man\textsuperscript{71} of the Sarazens head and Peet quint\textsuperscript{72} made good sporte. Mr Iames Stewart\textsuperscript{73} and Sir Dauy Wood\textsuperscript{74} lighted as wee came thare Here were fire woorkes and bull bayting.\textsuperscript{75}

\textsuperscript{71} twenty man John Twentymman 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 excurs[i]ons' 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).

\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{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 Ludovic 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, Ludovic Stuart).

\textsuperscript{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.
[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 Mason\(^{78}\) 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 Rufford\(^{81}\) where the Countesse\(^{82}\) gave vs extraordinary grace and entertaignment. Where the next day was hunting and a Stagg 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 Candishe\(^{84}\) now Lord Mansfield to stay for him and attend him to Wellbecke. All my

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\(^{76}\) 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 Egmanston, 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; Masteroris, 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, Poulit 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 Cookson⁸⁵ hir solliciter Mr Wright⁸⁶
gentleman visher, Mr Selby⁸⁷ gentleman of the house, Mr Washendon⁸⁸ hir chaplin, all which
brought vs to Edenston,⁸⁹ where Pilkinton⁹⁰ etc./
From thence to Wellbeck⁹¹ where My Gossip made fat harry Ogle⁹² his Mistress./⁹³
Here besides all other open entertainments Sir William Candish shewed vs all his house
with the pleasures, and commodities thereof.

[2.4] ^ΓAmong| 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).

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).

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).

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.

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).

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

Pilkinton unidentified.

Welbeck 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).

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; Kellihier, 1993, 159).

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 evidences\textsuperscript{94} in handsomnes equall to the other with boxes all about it, where were all the spoyles \textit{Sir Charles} had brought away from \textit{Sir John} Stanhop.\textsuperscript{95} Who with thirteene well appointed armd with [F] Pistolls, swords, and staves, two of them being Fencers which had tooke\textsuperscript{96} the Sacrament to kill him, [A] Set vpon him, having but Mr \textit{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 wound\textsuperscript{97} 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./

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.\textsuperscript{98} And there was the cudgell which \textit{Sir Charles} had bastinadoed\textsuperscript{99} \textit{Sir John} with before, and vpon it written the staffe that \textit{Sir John} Stanhop was beaten with.

\textsuperscript{94} \textit{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).

\textsuperscript{95} \textit{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’ (\textit{OED}, Fencer n. 1b; University of Nottingham Library, MS Pw 1/424).

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

\textsuperscript{97} \textit{wound} Sir Charles’s injuries were still the topic of medical correspondence in December 1599 (Lambeth Palace, Talbot MS 709, f.33).

\textsuperscript{98} \textit{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).

\textsuperscript{99} \textit{bastinadoed} beaten with an implement such as a cane or stick (\textit{OED}, Bastinado v. 1).
[2.4v] Here Mr Lukenell\textsuperscript{100} who hadd bin Tutor to Sir William and now read the mathematicke to his brother Mr Charles\textsuperscript{101} gave my Gossip a little wheele of his owne invencion,\textsuperscript{102} which driveing it before you, would shew how many myles, poles\textsuperscript{103} 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,\textsuperscript{104} and his owne Lady\textsuperscript{105} went to Rufford, and resignd the whole house to my Gossip etc / Commaundng his Steward and all the rest of the officers to obey my Gossip in all things, which authority hee did as freely put in execution; For that afternoone hee commaundd a bucke\textsuperscript{106} to be kyll’d. And made Mr George Markham his wodman\textsuperscript{107} who with the two twynnes\textsuperscript{108} were come of purpose to meet vs, hee gaue the keeper\textsuperscript{109} his fee and sent half a booke to Sir Thomas

\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{102} wheele ... invencion a surveyor’s wheel.

\textsuperscript{103} poles a measure of distance: standardized at five and a half yards, but varying between regions (Zukko, 1985, 309-10).

\textsuperscript{104} ould Lady Candish Catherine Cavendish (c.1569-1654), 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).

\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{107} wodman woodman, a huntsman or forester, evoking the legal and political offices of forest government.

\textsuperscript{108} George ... twynnes George Markham of Ollerton and his brothers Thomas and Charles. Ollerton is 7 miles south east of Welbeck.

\textsuperscript{109} keeper an officer responsible for a forest or park.
Mr Richardson,111 Mr Carnaby,112 m. & n.113 etc.114

On sondaie my Gossip raigned wholy and gauie enterntayment [sic] to all comers. The officers came to know his pleasure and what hee would commaund [Mr S] Divers gentemen dyned with him Mr Steward115 with other gentlemen would not be perswaded to sitt but wayght./

Whilst wee were at dinner Mr Carnaby1 comes from Rufford [etc]/ with comendacons [3.1] 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 Brudnellorum', 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 his 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 for 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 Shrewsby’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 had then in hand stayd
him) My gossip prepar’d to walke to Worthinghop alias Worso\(^{116}\) accompanied with Mr
Lukenell with his weelee, 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 buncke next morning
Also pigg face\(^{117}\) 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 Brud nell stood ready ^\text{†} to entertayne vs\} and Mrs Markham\(^{118}\)

135 [the] mother of the twynnes gave vs a very harty welcome, and very wittily (for some
former rude offence of his) pinchd Pigs-face\(^{119}\)

\(^{116}\) Worso 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 Brudnells: Robert Brudnell, Thomas’s father, was an uncle on her mother’s side, though born within a few years of her; hence Mary Markham and Thomas Brudnell 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 inheretrix, 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 chamber the flower whereof fell downe when the king was there, a wonderfull faire roome, Then to the kyngs chamber, farre beyond that, and after to the gallery, who for the bignesse and beauty thereof exceedeth most that I have seene. It is fourscore and fiftene 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 seene [sic] both for the height, scituation and forme of buylding. It stands in a parke which is eight myles abo<..> furnish’d with the taliest, straightest and largest oakes that ere I sawe, And hath hadd in it at one tyme i500 deere, eleuen hundred died in the great snow

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

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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 epiteth 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. 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 meaneely 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 Fluides 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 greate 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 chappell\textsuperscript{125} wee found kyne. \textsuperscript{126}Here stuck the arrow\textsuperscript{127} etc./

There (because my gossip hadd seene some fine cannes\textsuperscript{128} at Bever) would needes seeke out the Welch gould-smith\textsuperscript{129} that made them, meaning to by some of them among which wee mett with one of a yard longe, which wee measured [w] out in licquor with London measure\textsuperscript{130} to those that lighted\textsuperscript{131} in our company.

After dinner wee tooke our leave, and the knight and Mr \textit{Thomas} Markham, brought ys more then half way to Wellbecke

Presently vpon our returne the ladies came whome Mr \textit{Johnson} wellcomed to his house, and at supper bydd them want nothing, for if they did it was not his fault. Chafed\textsuperscript{132} at the table

\footnotesize

\textsuperscript{125}\textit{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.

\textsuperscript{126}kyne cows, cattle (\textit{OED}, Cow n.\textsuperscript{1} 1b).

\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{128}cannes drinking vessels (\textit{OED}, Can n.\textsuperscript{1} 1a); cf. \textit{EMI} (Q), 2.2.47: ‘two cans of beer’.

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

\textsuperscript{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, \textit{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).

\textsuperscript{131}lighted in chanced into (\textit{OED}, Light v.\textsuperscript{1} , 10e).

\textsuperscript{132}chafed fumed, showed irritation (\textit{OED}, Chafe v. 10a).
for lightes, and checked\textsuperscript{133} 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 \textit{Sir William Candish} carred my gossip to see \textit{Boleouer} [sic]\textsuperscript{134}, alias \textit{Bozers castle}\textsuperscript{135} one which Sir Charles had buylt a delicate little house etc.\textsuperscript{/} As also to meet on Smithson\textsuperscript{136} an excellent Architect, who was to consult with \textit{Mr Johnson} about the erection of a \textit{Tomb} for Sir Williams father, For which my gossip was to make an \textit{Epitaph}.

The next morning \textit{Sir William} ridd his great horse which hee did with that readines and steadinesse, as my gossip say they were both one piece.\textsuperscript{138}

That day \textit{Sir George Che<r>}, and his mother and his lady,\textsuperscript{139} doctor Waterhouse and his wife,\textsuperscript{140} and Mrs Purpoint\textsuperscript{141} came to Wellbecke. And my gossip at dinner began the kings health.\textsuperscript{142} The cobwebb could not be pissed./ downe.\textsuperscript{143144}

\textsuperscript{133} \textit{checked} reproved, reprimanded (\textit{OED}, Check v.: 1, 11).
\textsuperscript{134} The first ‘e’ here is most likely a scribal error for an authorial ‘z’.
\textsuperscript{135} \textit{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, \textit{Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue}, helped to shape its decorative scheme (Girouard, 1983, 234-42; Hughes, 2010, 2; Worsley, 2001, 1.125-6).
\textsuperscript{136} \textit{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).
\textsuperscript{137} \textit{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.
\textsuperscript{138} \textit{horse ... one piece} cf. \textit{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, / Provoketh my 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).
\textsuperscript{139} \textit{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 Welbecke. 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 (\textit{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 Bates (a good scholler, and the plesante tell-tale ledd with the fame of my gossip came thither to see him; who the next morning promised to bring him to Hodsock to Sir Gerusas Cliftons, but wee rose so early [that] wee left him behind vs. There wee
found my Lady Wentwoorth and hir three brothers, Mr John, William and Robert. Wee stayed only dinner [3.3] And after manie curtesies done to my gossip by Sir Ierusas at his departure hee offered him a bucke.

That night wee came to Batry where Mr Richardson cheife and commandeer of all the towne was prepared to entertayne vs.

Hee hath the impost for wynes and waighing of the lead. In this place is the greatest trade of lead in christendome or the world. It is brought hether by waynes every wayne carryeth a fodde[d]r, And eight pigg 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).

Lady Margaret Clifford (d. 1622), daughter of Francis Clifford, fourth Earl of Cumberland, who married Sir Thomas Wentworth, 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 Wentworth).

brothers here, probably, brothers-in-law: William Wentworth (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).

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

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).

Richardson Richard Richardson (d. 1623), prosperous gentleman, merchant and Shrewsburys 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).

was prepared i.e., had made preparations.

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

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).

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

fodder also ‘fother’, in general use, ‘a cartload’, but ‘relates properly to Lead, and signifies a certain weight, Viz, 8 pigg 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).

pigg 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, 259).
yeare for lead These are conveyed by catches\textsuperscript{158} to Stockwith,\textsuperscript{159} and there taken into

keeles,\textsuperscript{160} and so carried to [h] Hull and all places. The waynes that brings these to Batree carryes all other commodities backe into Darby shiere, for this towne serves them with wyne flax\textsuperscript{161} and other commodities backe into Darby shiere, and Notingham shier, [For this towne serves them with wyne flax, and other commodities,] having warehouses for the laying in of such commodities. [Here wee had great entertainment]\textsuperscript{162} [3.3v] Here wee hadd great entertainment where wee stayed all the next day being friday./ Here Mr Baldwin\textsuperscript{163} that keepes the Countesses house at Pomfret,\textsuperscript{164} and Mr Babthrop\textsuperscript{165} that keepes the Parke mett vs. Here foure Deanes\textsuperscript{166} hearing of my gossips being there, came to see him

\textsuperscript{158} catches sturdy, shallow or flat-bottomed vessels suitable for navigating inland waters (OED, Catch n.7)
\textsuperscript{159} Stockwith East and West Stockwith face each other across the Trent at its confluence with the Idle.
\textsuperscript{160} keeles larger river-going or coasting vessels (OED, Keel, n.2 1a).
\textsuperscript{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).
\textsuperscript{162} Erroneous catchword: 'Where'.
\textsuperscript{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).
\textsuperscript{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).
\textsuperscript{165} Babthrop Brian Babthrop (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 Shrewsburie’ (Nottinghamshire Archives, DD/4P/46/21; Borthwick Institute, Probate Register, 36, f.600).
\textsuperscript{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 1587/90, 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 Donkester,\textsuperscript{167} conducted thether by Mr Richardson and his two sonnes, Mr Wright\textsuperscript{168} that marryed his kinswoman, and the Master of the Crowne\textsuperscript{169} with a bagpipe playing before vs.

Wee came at one of the clock at night to the Hind to Mr Caruers,\textsuperscript{170} an Alderman and a Justice of peace, which Mrs Louet\textsuperscript{171} his neighbour tooke very greivously, because shee lookd to have hadd, having beene by other gentlemen spooken to before and will\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{172}} to prepare for our entertainement.

The next morning one Sir Thomas Blan\textsuperscript{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 vizit Sir William Anstrudder\textsuperscript{174} who had invited him to dinner etc [3.4] There wee found a long table full of gentlemen\textsuperscript{175} and Ladies, and came tyme

\begin{footnotes}
\item[167] Donkester Doncaster, a market town and staging post on the great north road.
\item[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).
\item[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.
\item[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).
\item[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 good 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).
\item[172] ‘d’ and caret added in as ‘downe’ above.
\item[173] Blan Sir Thomas Bland, of Kippax Park, just north of Castleford, a mansion 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).
\item[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).
\end{footnotes}
enough [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 Justice 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./\(^{179}\)\(^{180}\)

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 Pomfret\(^{182}\) where my gossip

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176 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, AB8/2/16, 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 Jonson’s Answer of the Sudden’) – the poems are known only from the Newcasle 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).

177 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 embraced 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 Bramsholme, 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).

178 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).

179 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).

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 usual, and ancient custome of Travellers, were in his rocky Chaire of Ceremony, dignify’d with the Order of knighthood, and sworn to observe his Lawes: After our Oath we had not time to stay to heare our Charge, butt discharg’d our due Fealtie Fee, 4d. a piece 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 Pellen the minister and preacher and an other gentleman of that name. And Mr Wakefeild, an Alderman, and a good Scholler. Wee lay at Mr Tatehams 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; and musicke prepar’d to meete vs [3.4v] And notwithstanding [my goss] wee tooke a by way to escape the crowd and staring of the people yet a swarne of boyes and others cros’d over to overtake vs, and pressed so vpon vs, that wee wereayne 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 and Pontefract; ‘Wentbrigge’ 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 Wakefield 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, xx, 26–7, 92, 99, 113; Clopper, 1979, lii, 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 vizi ted the castle and whatsoeuer tasted of antiquity\textsuperscript{189} in the towne.

There wee saw the chamber where Richard the third was murdred\textsuperscript{190} and where H the 8th\textsuperscript{191} was c by Culpeper.\textsuperscript{192}

Then wee were brought to Mr Franc\textsuperscript{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 forth three foles. And an otherwoman was brought a bedd of five children within three 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.\

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

\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{190} Richard ... murdred 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 Fift 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).

\textsuperscript{191} H the 8th Henry VIII.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{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 antiquityes, who with the fatt keeper brought vs to Ferry brigge, where wee mett with Captain Robert Hazeli and Captain Jaques etc. Who rydd fayre and soft with vs till wee came to Sherburne, where all the pinnes are made, and is called the great cherry towne, for here wee hadd cherries in the myddest of August./

Here was at the same tyme a great match at Bowles where Sir Robert Hengate, Fulgiam, Darcie and divers other knightes and gentlemanes mett.

Here Mr Wentfoord, Garlington, and Witham hearing of my Gossipps passing along crossed of purpose to meet him, Gentlemen dwelling thereaboutes

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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 Hazeli Captain Robert Hasell is identified as ‘the first Inventor and profesor’ 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 known 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 tenseth 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/FI/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 Tadkaster to Mr Ba^Trkers at the George, where my Gossip was prevented for the charge by Sir Thomas Blane etc.

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

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

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

\footnote{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).}

\footnote{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, Trot 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).}

\footnote{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).}

\footnote{Tadkaster ... 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).}

\footnote{prevented anticipated (OED, Prevent v. I 1a).}

\footnote{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, -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.}

\footnote{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, where wee tooke Mr Keis at the Georg in Cunny streete, the famous ordinary. Where wee were no sooner housd but divers [to] came to see and wellcom vs. Among whome was Mr Haynes the minister and Mr Bartholomew Chaworth. Before wee went to dinner, Sir Arthur Ingram 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 came over of purpose to see vs.

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211 york 9 miles east of Tadcaster, ‘the second City of England, the fairest in all this Country, and a singular safeguard 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’ (Tilott, 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-Elianeae; 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 ‘Dionis’ 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 Pegswod 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/i). ‘Dionisius Wilson of Bottle, yeoman’ was identified as one of the ‘deputies of Edward Talbot, esquire’ in a presentment of 1602. (Northumberland Record Office, QS/s/1, f.25 [145]).
This day Mr Walter218 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 springs of excellent sweete water rising in the myydest thereof. [4.2] The next day being friday Sir Arthur Ingram carried my gossip in coach to my Lords grace220 accompanied with a scotch gentleman on Mr Lumsdale.221

One monuday 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 far as the forrest,222 our

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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 stewart 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, 78); 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\textsuperscript{223} where Sir Edward Stanhop\textsuperscript{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 goe one, and so bayted at Tollerton, where Parson Rogers\textsuperscript{225} hearing of our passing by rydd after vs and recoverd vs at Tollerton, [where] at myne host Thortons, \textsuperscript{226} where my gissip dischargd two borrachoe bottles\textsuperscript{227} 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 gissip hee fell of his horse and after ran leaping and dancing before vs half way to Topliffe,\textsuperscript{228} where wee went to Mrs Warcups \textsuperscript{229}the famous good Hostesse, where wee stayed till Wensday being shut vp with rayne

\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{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; Osburn, 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 Gaithes (Cowling, 1968, 178; Thrush and Ferris, 2010).

\textsuperscript{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 rike of corne to bee putto 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).

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

\textsuperscript{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 Gipsy, 1.1.6.; likewise ?John Heath, ‘In Borachium’: ‘Borachio sayd, Wine made his head too light, / And therfore would not drinke it: yt last night / Carowysng healths, so heauy was his head, / He fell asleepe, and there was left for dead...’ (?Heath 1619: sig. (B5v)).

\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{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 Seagerson231 hir 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 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 Toplef

Friday wee stayd all day at Darneton

On Saturday the 22th239 of August wee tooke our lorney towards durham, betweene that and ferry on the hill240 my gossip mett Sir Robert Mansell, and Sir Arnell [sic] Harbert,241 who
had expected a month his coming to new castell. Wee bayted att Ferry hill at the blynd womans, where our host of Darnton mett vs. Here a great gate was blown upon mee.

By the way I lost my Gossip, and came muck wett to Mr Dirrhams at the kyngs armes where I found my gossip accompanied with Mr Richardson, and other gentlemen [4.3] ready to bring him to my Lord of Durhams 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 vs 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 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.

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240 ferry on the hill Ferryhill, 11 miles north of Darlington, which ‘commaundd 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 standaradly 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-quot [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 Coniers, Mr Arch deacon, Mr Chancellour, Mr Robson and others. All my Lords gentlemen Mr Robson the younger, Steward to my Lord Mr Stephenson [sic] gentleman vs her Mr Legat, Mr Pelen, gentleman sewer, shewing them selues rather attendantes then otherwise to my Gossip, brought him home euery night to his lodging, and staying with him till twelue or one a clocke. My lords chaplens Mr Perne and Mr Clerke doing the lyke. After dyner Mr Ithon Richardson brought vs to

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247 Coniers Sir George Conyers of Stockburn, from a family often sheriffs of the palatinate of Durham, was deputy 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 Stephenson 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, 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, 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.\(^{259}\) Vavasor\(^{260}\) [4.3v] Where wee mett with things 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 answeard not might better commaund him then his Lordship, who hadd bound him by so manie favours to be at his service This day dyned there, Sir Charles Wren\(^{262}\) of Nottingham, a most violent Puritane\(^{263}\) with whom my gossip had a pleausaunt encounter, at which my Lord laughed hartely. Here my gossip entreated [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

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\(^{259}\) Could be a contraction for Eleanor or Elizabeth, but as both are incorrect the intended name cannot be inferred.  
\(^{260}\) El: Vavasor 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 8/21/29; 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 bellowes' as another notable Puritan, probably Gilbert Freville 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 priuledge gien to Poetrie’ (Harington, 1591, sig. ¶4)  
\(^{265}\) 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, and St Cuthberd Bishop of the holy Ile, where wee heard the manner of his translating thether with the discourse of the cow which stands in the side of the church. The towne taking the name of Dunholmes therevpon

One tewsdaw morning, the weigtes and cornetes [4.4] came to our lodging. Myne host brought vs to chester where Mr Tibalds a Phisition and an other townsman 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 host was druncken disordered fellow, but shee a good wife.

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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 bodye of the church and lyeth now over against the estmost Toumbe of the Neiveill' (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 Cuthberd ... 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 trett of the Nine Altars' of the new cathedral, which though 'defaced by the weather ... to this day is there to be seen'; 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 Tebad (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 full\ sight of that stately and well seated castle of Lomley.

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

Wallices My gossip was invited the next day to Mr Maddeson the Maior to dinner. And was most lovingly usd by Mr Boyd, that is in suit with the towne for an impost vpon cole.

My gossip went to the free schoole and gave the Master a piece to buy a booke with.

One thursday wee were invited by Sir [John] George Selby, where was at dinner.

Captayne Poore And after dinner Sir John Fenneck came.

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275 Lomley Lomley 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 Riuwer 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 Wallices 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, cupbears 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 Bonner²⁸⁷ 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 Chapman²⁹⁰ [4.4v] One friday my gossip being ill kept his chamber all day. Mr Maier sent to speake with him next morning, and Sir George Selby, Sir Thomas Ruddall²⁹¹ with Mr Shereif presented him with a present of ten pieces for his Viaticum²⁹²

²⁸⁷ 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).
²⁸⁸ 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-lyingutenant 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).
²⁸⁹ 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).
²⁹⁰ musieke The aldermen of Newcastle regularly accompanied the drinking of wine by musical entertainment; for instance, in 1622 the Barber Surgeons’ Guild spent £5 on music during their head meeting at Leonard Carr’s inn, and another £4 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).
²⁹¹ hullock a Spanish red wine advised for the entertainment of ‘persons of credite’ (OED, Hollock n.; Perceval, 1599, 243; Hakluyt, 1599, 440-1).
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 of 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. And touch’d at three myle brig at 

Thom Robinsons, called Thom the Fencer, who served Sir Harry Withrington, and brought vs [to Mr] to Mr Inglebyes by Harford, by reason wee were taken with rayne by 

the way. And brought his greihounds and begles with him, and to give vs sport hunted all the way.

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

292 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 ‘pittle’ buildings, with ‘faire gardenges and orchetches wharin growes all kind of hearbes and flowres, and fine appiles, plumbs of all kynde, peers, damsells, nuttes, cherries’ (Ogle, 1902, 333). The spelling of Bothal here reflects its local pronunciation (Hodgson, 1832, 144).

294 three myle brig 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 (Thrusd. 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 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 ‘entrie 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 beeene 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 elder\textsuperscript{300} and Mr Johnson\textsuperscript{301} the countesse of

Shrewsberries chaplin doing the like and Mr Randell Fenneck\textsuperscript{302} doing the lyke

My Ladye Withrington [havin] I being sent for to hir only sister, my lady Lampton, wife to Sir William Lampton of Lampton\textsuperscript{303} by Lumley castle, lying [5.1] then extreame sicke, notwithstanding my Lady hearing my gossip Johnson was a coming would not stirre till she saw him, differing hir going two dayes only to give my gossip entertainment One tewsdadays the first of September wee were steyd by Sir Harry who carreyd 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.\textsuperscript{304} But overtaken with thunder and rayne, wee were faine to take east Chevington, which Mr Edwards hath taken of Sir Raph Gray\textsuperscript{305} who is one of the kings huntsmen\textsuperscript{306} 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).

\textsuperscript{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 in 1617/18, and was a JP by 1629 (Northumberland Record Office, QSI/1, ff.174, 184).

\textsuperscript{301}Johnson 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).

\textsuperscript{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 (Ormsby, 1877, 69-70, 99-100, 423-5).

\textsuperscript{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 (Thrust and Ferris, 2010; Borthwick Institute, Probate Register, 39, f.187; Sheffield Archives, CM/1680, 1696).

\textsuperscript{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 (Thrust 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 (Ormsby, 1877, 5, 27).

\textsuperscript{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 ΓMr1 Francis Carnaby³⁰⁷ hath houses, and all most to

Workwith where my Lord of North thumberland hath an ancient castle,³⁰⁸ and where

Cocket³⁰⁹ 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 great And here was the straunge

Hermitage.³¹¹ Here were wee stroaken in with rayne, [and] where wee were fayne to stay to dry ourselues. From thence wee came to Alemovth³¹² where wee drancke ΓdrinckeΓ not made of ma^Γf^ulte.³¹³ And thence [5.1v] to Boomer³¹⁴ where the fishermen dwell in little

Bothes³¹⁵

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/PS0/6, 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).

³⁰⁴ 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).

³⁰⁵ 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).

³⁰⁶ 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 seemed to grove at the waste of it, everie one of them commendinge it for the best sight that every they had seen’ 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).

³⁰⁷ 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.

³⁰⁸ xijd ... vjd twelve pence ... six pence.

³¹⁰ 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 heauen hollow, wrought without beames, rafters, or any pecies 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).

³¹¹ Alemovth 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 inhabittants 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).

³¹² drinccke ... maulte malted grain is the key fermentable ingredient in beer or ale.

³¹³ Boomer Boulmer, another fishing village in the Northumberland estates, 2 miles up the coast from Alnmouth; the spelling here follows the still-current pronunciation.

³¹⁴ Bothes A bothes 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\textsuperscript{316} mett [my] vs with beare.\textsuperscript{317} And \textit{fatt\i} Boomer Mr Henry Whitehead.\textsuperscript{318} By the way wee saw the ile of Cocket \textit{which} one Blackman a marchant\textsuperscript{319} had taken etc

By the way wee saw Dunstenborough\textsuperscript{320} castle \textit{which} hadd beene one of the good\^\text{\textit{i}}\textit{t}est in that cuntrey. And long \textit{Houghton}\textsuperscript{321} and little \textit{Houghton} where Mr Raddam\textsuperscript{322} dwells between whome \& Sir Henry Withrington, was irreconciliable bate.\textsuperscript{323} Which Branlyn\textsuperscript{324} was extreamly hated of all [sic] the cuntry

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

\textsuperscript{316}Armar\textsuperscript{316} Ephraim Armorer rented a croft in Alnmouth called the Chinnies from the Earl of Northumberland, with a dovecoot, and 117 acres of arable land in the commons (Bateson \textit{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/PS0/6, 7; Northumberland Record Office, QSI/1, f.136).

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

\textsuperscript{318}Whitehead\textsuperscript{318} 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 \textit{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 violencie 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 \textit{et al}, 1893-1940, 2.381-2, 386-7, 482-3).

\textsuperscript{319} Cocket ... marchant\textsuperscript{319} 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 wayne of se coles, and at the ebbbe 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 \textit{et al}, 1893-1940, 5.322-4). Mr Blackman is unidentified – perhaps one of the lessees.

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

\textsuperscript{321} long Houghton\textsuperscript{321} 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 \textit{et al}, 1893-1940, 2.370, 386-7).

\textsuperscript{322} little ... Raddam\textsuperscript{322} 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 \textit{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 University Library, GRE/X/PS0/7).

\textsuperscript{323} bate\textsuperscript{323} ‘contention, strife, discord’ (\textit{OED}, Bate n.\textsuperscript{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 Withridding; a dispute perhaps arose from this, though see note following (Bateson \textit{et al}, 1893-1940, 2.354).

\textsuperscript{324} Branlyn\textsuperscript{324} 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 (\textit{OED}, Branling n.).
That night wee came to Mr Randee Fennecks\(^{325}\) and stayd there thursday and friday

One saterday the Sth 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 lone\(^{328}\) where hir kyne fedd to giue vs a merrybub\(^{329}\) for our farewell

From Fenneck\(^{330}\) Mr Roger Withrington\(^{331}\) vndertooke the guiding of vs, and Mr Randee Fenneck Mr Strange,\(^{332}\) Godfrey,\(^{333}\) and an other of the [5.2] Witheringtons, brought vs thourough to Eathertonne to Sir Mathew Foster.\(^{334}\) 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, DPR/1/1618/G9; DPR/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 Deancham (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 of both maid and kine, probably a ‘merrybowk’ or ‘merrybawk’, 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/O/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 library’, and he bought books for Howard of Naworth, who was himself connected to Sir Robert Cotton. His will included books and ‘certaine Mathematical 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.

\(^{334}\) Esthertonne ... Foster correctly, Adderstone, which is around 10 miles north of Howick; Sir Matthew Forster had sizeable landholdings in the area, including Beadhall Tower. Described by Leland as a ‘towre apon 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 rogushe 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,\textsuperscript{335} and came by Preston tower\textsuperscript{336} where Mr Harbottle dwells, and by Mr Mathew Fosters\textsuperscript{337} whose sonnes kylled Mr Swyner, a justice of peace whom they had ticed\textsuperscript{338} out of his house for a wrong receaved from his sonne.\textsuperscript{339}

Wee saw Bamborough castle where Sir Claudius Foster\textsuperscript{340} dwells

At Sir Mathew Fosters wee mett with Mr Crastor of Craster,\textsuperscript{341} where wee sup’d and dined there the next day, being Sunday 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

Fenham by Mr Roger Withrington & an other of the Fosters, to Mr Redes who with his

\textsuperscript{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 \textit{et al}, 1893-1940, 2. 107-9, 112). John Forster was himself descended from the Tughal Hall line of Forsters, a junior branch (Bateson \textit{et al}, 1893-1940, 1.275-6).

\textsuperscript{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 5s 4d a year rent for a ‘mancon howse’ and 361 acres there; he had inherited from Ralph Harbottle by 1596 (Bateson \textit{et al}, 1893-1940, 2.322, 324-5).

\textsuperscript{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 \textit{et al}, 1893-1940, 1.288).

\textsuperscript{338} Ticed enticed.

\textsuperscript{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 Crooklet was accused in 1606 of a clandestine marriage with Swinhoe’s daughter (Bateson \textit{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; \textit{CSPD} 1611-18, 590; Bateson \textit{et al}, 1893-1940, 1.190).

\textsuperscript{340} Bamborough ... Forster Sir Claudia 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. Claudia was knighted at Newmarket in 1615; he served as sheriff of Northumberland in 1612, and occasionally as JP (Bateson \textit{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 fortressse’ (Leland, 1906-10, 5.64; Camden, 1610, 814). Later restored, it remains very prominent in the landscape.

\textsuperscript{341} Craster 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 Wooler to Sir Ralph Gray of Chillingham (Bateson \textit{et al}, 1893-1940, 2.175, 354; Durham University Library, \textit{GRE/X/P94/11}).
brother\textsuperscript{342} met vs by the way. Wee came thorough \textit{Isington\textsuperscript{343} grange, and thorough}

\textit{Clerke\textsuperscript{344}} wee saw Bellfoord.

\textit{Mr Thomas Carre} the Lord of Foord\textsuperscript{345} came to meete [my] \textit{\Gamma vs\i} Monday the 7th wee parted from Fenham brought one the way by \textit{Mr Read} and his brother. Wee sent [fro] for dincke from the myll. Wee were overtaken with a \textit{sharp} shower, a myle, and more on this side Barwicke.\textsuperscript{346} \textit{Sir William Boyers}\textsuperscript{347} [5.2v] man was sent from his Master who mett vs two myles of, telling my gossip his \textit{Master} entreated him to take none other house for his entertainmente but his. And him self then being rydden to sitt on commission\textsuperscript{348} with \textit{Mr Sayer}\textsuperscript{349} and \textit{Mr Atkinson}\textsuperscript{350} left order that three culverings\textsuperscript{351} should be mounted\textsuperscript{352} and the bells rung vpon my gossips approach.

\textsuperscript{342} Redes \textit{... 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 stire 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).

\textsuperscript{343} \textit{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 \textit{et al}, 1893-1940, 1. 232, 413).

\textsuperscript{344} \textit{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, \textit{DDR/EA/ACT/1/4, 30; ADD MS 244, 204-6}).

\textsuperscript{345} \textit{Bellfoord} Belford, a tower and village 1 mile south-west of Elwick.

\textsuperscript{346} \textit{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).

\textsuperscript{347} \textit{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).

\textsuperscript{348} \textit{commission} unidentified; possibly a meeting of the commission of the peace, or a meeting of the Middle Shires commissioners.

\textsuperscript{349} \textit{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 Fortificacions\(^{353}\)

One tewsdowy wee went with Sir William to the chappell, where Mr John Jackson,\(^{354}\) brother to Sir George Jackson,\(^{355}\) and Mr Stephen Jackson\(^{356}\) the Maior preached. Mr Maior, Sir John Jackson Mr Perkinson,\(^{357}\) Mr Edwards\(^{358}\) and his sonne in law Mr Marrott,\(^{359}\) Sir John Selby\(^{360}\) with young Strudder\(^{361}\) came to meete my gossip.

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\(^{350}\) 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 Breerton 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 (Breerton, 1844, 95).

\(^{354}\) John Jackson 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).

\(^{355}\) Sir George Jackson 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 Jackson 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).

\(^{358}\) Edwards 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 John 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 Jackson to supper, where my lady made wonderfull much of vs. The next day being Wensday wee were invited by Sir John Selby, who feasted vs\(^{362}\) [5.3] 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 burnt\(^ {365}\) sake and claret for his wellcome.

Wee dyned with the Lord of Carre\(^ {366}\) 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 towne\(^ {368}\) 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 Eton\(^ {369}\) to George Humes,\(^ {370}\) where Valentine West\(^ {371}\) played his prancke in drincke On friday wee hired a guyde,\(^ {372}\) having also Sir William’s man with vs and the king\(^ {373}\) [./] 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. companyes & some old pensioners’ (Bod. MS Rawl. D696), and the captain may have been among this remnant.

\(^{365}\) burnt sake 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 difficile 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.
Saterday the twelf wee came to Mr James Bayly of the loghend.  

Mr [5.3v] Achesons provost of Dunbarre.  

Wee saw Tantallon the Erle of Anguishes castle by Addam.  

Lord of Lotherdale that hath the faire house.

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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, C596/1/149; 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 **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 S8908; Brereton, 1844, 96; Nichols, 1828, 3.300-5)

377 **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, CC8/57, ff.590-8; Taylor, 1618, sig. F4);

378 *‘A’ also included on final line of 5.3, with ‘chesons’ as catchword.

379 **Newton Iyes ... Dunbarre** John Aitcheson of Newtonlee, next to Lochend, was provost of the royal burgh of Dunbar by 1613; in 1617 he was the burgess’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 ‘general of oure Coynehouse’ (the Mint) in 1615, when he claimed £10,000 was owed to his late father (National Records of Scotland, E171/1, f.13).

380 **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).

381 **Addam** Auldhame, near Tantallon, where Taylor ‘found both Cheere and Welcome not inferior to any that I had had’ (Taylor, 1618, sig. F4); the spelling here reflects local pronunciation. The home of the Auchmyty family, whose most notable member was John Auchmyty of Scougal (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, Auchmyty 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 Auchmyty 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).

382 **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.

Tewsdie in the afternoone wee parted, and came that night to north Barwicke brought on the way by Mr Alexander and Mr James Ackmuty, and meery Mr Fenton. That night came Mr William Ramsey and two gentlemen more from Edenburrough of purpose to meet my gossip etc./

Wensday, Sir John Humes tould my gossip that his shearers, had 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

about him

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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 Auldhame, 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 Comptrellor since 1582, the ‘comptroller 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.clxvi, 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 Meirse (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 Newwork 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, G0110/208).

390 shearers reapers, harvesters, especially in northern usage (OED, Shearer n. 1; EDD, Shear sb. II 3 (2)).
Sir John 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 waylayd vs, and staid vs at Seton394 where wee met my Lord Bothwell.395

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

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

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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 honors 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 Muscleborough 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 Craiginven 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 Collège of Edinburgh, with [a] little 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 52159).
Ramsey Mr Hetely, Mr Alexander Stewart, and Mr Alexander Donseere* mett vs and brought vs to Mr James Dowayes where we lay. The women in thronges ran to see vs etc. some bringing sack and sugare, others aquavitae and sugare, etc./

One friday all these gentlemen with others of the towne brought my gossip to the heigh crosse, and there on their knees drancke the kings health, testifying in that place that hee hadd performed his iorney. My Gossip alio dranck to the Bailief and Aldermen* and the 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 hole lyke a head out of a pillory.

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* 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 Sherif Hutton, his interest in which he assigned to Sir Arthur Ingram (NA, 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).

* 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).

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

* 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).

* 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).

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

* 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.

* 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 councilors, 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).

* 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
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 subtelt of the Lord of Dunbarre\(^{411}\) etc.]

On saterday my gossip with the former gentlemen and my [sic] ridd to Culrose called
Curos\(^{412}\) 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
mot.\(^{416}\) The most straunge and rmarkeable thing that euer I saw or read of.

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\(^{409}\) **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 evil disposed persons’ 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 salt pans, and burgess of Culross. He owned the lands and barony of Carnock, 5 miles north-east of Culross towards Dunfermline. In 1621 his ‘monie worthie and profitable works’ 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 salt pans around Culross from the 1590s; in 1610 he had a task 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 visited by visitors: the king, Lord Walden, and John Taylor had all recently admired ‘this unfellowed and vmmatchable 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. 1c; Scots, ‘ee’. A shaft rather than the inclined entrance to a drift mine, an ‘ingaunee’ (ODS 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\textsuperscript{417} in the fore noone and Mr James Edmundstone\textsuperscript{418} in the after noone. Wee saw my Lords faire house\textsuperscript{419} but not finished One monday wee rode to Kingcarron\textsuperscript{420} to see Sir George his salt pans, of which he hath two and twenty\textsuperscript{421} and finds above 500 poore people\textsuperscript{422} at worke, and payes every saterday in the yeere 100 sterling for wages. There wee saw a rare waterworke.\textsuperscript{423} Hee spends three hundred load of coles a week in making of his salt, and makes an hundred, and ten tun\textsuperscript{424} a weeke

After that wee entred the myne etc./

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{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 \textit{Ane Godlie Dreame}, was a great admirer, writing of his plain and powerful preaching, and lamenting his death as 'a soir strok to this congregation' (Reid Baxter, 2006, 525-8).
\item \textsuperscript{418}Edmundstone 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).
\item \textsuperscript{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).
\item \textsuperscript{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).
\item \textsuperscript{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).
\item \textsuperscript{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).
\item \textsuperscript{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 downward many fadomes, with thirty sixe buckets' (Taylor, 1619, sig. E2v); perhaps, though, the system of channels created to supply seawater to the salt pans at Kincardine (Whatley, 1984, 16).
\item \textsuperscript{424}hundred, and ten tun cf. Taylor: 'he doth make every weeke ninety or an hundred Tuns of salt'. This figure has been described as 'grossly over-estimated' (Taylor, 1618, sig. E3; Adamson, 2008, 186).
\end{itemize}
At Sir George’s was Mr Heskins, Sir George his sonne in law, Sir John Preston, Mr Galeard of maw. etc.

Wee went by Blare, and Sands two gentlemens houses Sir George Bruse brought vs to Dunfarlin, the [6.1] Queens [the] towne. Where my gossip was with all grace receaved by my Lord Chancellour, and my Lady with his brother. Wee found my Lady shooting at buttes, Here wee drancke hard, with some six more, and were made Burgesses.

425 Heskins John Erskine of Balgownie, married to Bruce’s daughter Madgalden; 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 Sandynknow, 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 herauldrie’, 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
Wee lay at Mr Biggs,\textsuperscript{434} who vs’d my Gossip and his company with all freedome and full entertainment Wee stayed with him all tuesday

Wensday Mr Gibbs with his two sonnes Barnaby and William,\textsuperscript{435} with his sonne in law Mr James Creeton\textsuperscript{436} brought vs to brunt Iland,\textsuperscript{437} and so to the well\textsuperscript{438} at Peticure, a myle beyond Brunt Island\textsuperscript{439} and some two furlonges on this side king gorne.\textsuperscript{440} Wee passed by St Com which stands upon an inch\textsuperscript{441} as they call it, that is a little Iland. Wee also passed by Aberdore\textsuperscript{442} a house of my Lord Murtons, successour of that Douglasse which fought with

\textsuperscript{434}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).

\textsuperscript{435}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 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 offices 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 burgess 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).

\textsuperscript{436}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).

\textsuperscript{437}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, 1889, 39; Masque Archive, Haddington Masque and (Masque of Beauty), 1; Paton, 1911, 157; Taylor, 1619, sig. E1).

\textsuperscript{438}well 'this latellie found, and newlie-knowne, and too-too long unknowne Well' or spring at the coastal town of Pettycur, beside Kinghorn (Barclay, 1518, sig. A4v). Taylor tells of the water’s 'rare operation to expell or kill divers 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).

\textsuperscript{439}Colon after ‘Brunt’ indicates an intended contraction.

\textsuperscript{440}king gorne Kinghorn, the most easterly of these three firth harbours.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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 lake\(^{444}\) of ten myles long, & eight myles broad, in the mynddest whereof stands [his ca] a castell, and his new house upon the lake

One Wensday night wee came to Leeth to Mr ^\(\text{John}\)l Stewarts\(^{445}\) 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./

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\(^{443}\) **Chevet chace** Chevy Chase. Morton’s ancestor, James, second Earl of Douglas, had beaten the forces of Sir Harry ‘Hotspr’ 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 upon the vnhappy hunting in Chevy Chase, beweene the Earle / Peary of England, and Earle Douglass of Scotland’ (English Broadside Ballad Archive, 20279). The earliest recorded notice of the ballad, as ‘the hunttis of cheuet’, is in The Complanyt of Scotlant (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 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 (OND\(\text{B}\); 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 Foirman. Foirman was water bailie in 1617 and 1618 but died by June 1619; a Robert Stevensoun was ‘water baillie officer’ in Leith in October 1618 when he was deprived for neglect of his office (Buron 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 Comendator 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 Epiciene 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 Lievingston’ 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 Scotstarvett 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, 118; Scot, 1872, 117).

\(^{446}\) **Drummon** 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 ginning in his face, / From falsehood 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 stasarmash 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
One Thursday Mr John Stewarte with his wife went in coach with Mr Davy

Drumman to Cobersmith, where he was to meet Mr Robert Hayes, and so to go to London.

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. /

The same night my gossip arrived at Leeth the Towne of Edenborough sent to Mr Stewart
to entreat him to bring Mr Ihonson 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
them.

In the meane tyme Mr James Haynsley one of the Bayliefes, and landlord to Mr Stewarte
([6.2] Mr Etsby being the other) came him self in person to invite my gossip, and with
all solemnity, in the name of all the towne offerd him the honour of Burgesse And his house
to remayne in as long as hee pleasd My Lady Sampleton widdow and a Hamelton

\[\text{dyn[ing]}\]d with my lord\(^{454}\) and my gossip. And after dynner\(^{455}\) 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 \textit{John Stewart}, and his wife, Mr W. R.\(^{456}\) Mr Hetely and Mr Alexander
Stewart. Where my Gossip was with all ceremony made Burgesse\(^{457}\)

I lay at Effy Willsons, hir husband is called \textit{Thomas Robinson},\(^{458}\) from Saterday till the
monday seavnight\(^{459}\) after, which was the fift of \textit{Novembe}\(^{460}\) at what tyme I parted from
Edenborough, and at leeth tooke boat for Brunt Iland, where I mett with a Shipp bound for

\(^{452}\) \textit{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’.

\(^{453}\) \textit{Sampleton} ... \textit{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, CCB/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, 3.383-8; 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).

\(^{454}\) \textit{my lord} Bothwell.

\(^{455}\) \textit{dynner} On 16 October 1618, the burgh’s treasurer was ordered to pay James Ainslie £221 6s 4d spent by him ‘upone
the dennir maid to Benjamin Jonsoun’ at his admission as burgess (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 Unials from 1564 to 1689, 597).

\(^{456}\) W. R. William Ramsay.

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

\(^{458}\) \textit{Effy} ... \textit{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, CCB/8/62, f.731).

\(^{459}\) \textit{seavnight} seven-night or sennight; a week.

\(^{460}\) \textit{Novembe} a slip – October is meant.
England, The Master whereof was John Gadd, and his brother mate. I lay at Robert Clerkes.


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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 Clerk, 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, W03B/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 Anstruther, which is divided into 'Easter Anstrudder' and 'West Anster' on Gordon's map; 'Wymbs' 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 'Whytecoaue', near Cockburnspath, Dunbar, North Berwick, Aberlady, Prestonpans, Musselburgh, Fisherrrow, Leith, Cramond, Queensferry and Abercorn.