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1863

ENGLISH CHURCH ALES

With a Note on Church Fairs

LAWRENCE BLAIR

YALE
DISSERTATION



ENGLISH CHURCH ALES

As Seen in English Churchwardens' Accounts
and Other Archival Sources of the
Fifteenth and Sixteenth
Centuries

With a Note on Church Fairs

By

LAWRENCE BLAIR

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FOREWORD

The accompanying study is a chapter from my unpublished Yale dissertation, Dramatic Activity of the Church(1933).¹ Material for the study has been drawn primarily from churchwardens' accounts, in print and in manuscript, of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; but some use has been made of other archival sources: medieval wills, episcopal registers, and accounts of religious houses. Ordinarily I have limited my findings to the two centuries named, but occasionally I have used material antedating and postdating those periods.

In order to illustrate specific phases of the Church Ale, I have often in the text been compelled to separate accounts belonging to individual churches. In the appendix, however, I have presented all the accounts alphabetically arranged by county, town, and church. If the name of the church is a repetition of the name of the town, the parish church is intended.

In the appendix, I sometimes cite accounts not enclosed in quotation marks. These records are to be taken as my own summary of material from the sources. The ordinary use of quotation marks needs no explanation, but when I wish to indicate that several consecutive items are to be considered as a whole, I use quotation marks before the first item and after the last. For an example of this practice, see the accounts for 1506 from St. Lawrence, Reading, Berkshire.

Records without footnotes in the text will be found properly documented in the appendix. The single names in capital letters used in the footnotes are explained in the partial bibliography printed after the appendix.

Lawrence Blair

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1. For references to the churchwardens' accounts used in this dissertation, as well as to many others, see my "List of Churchwardens' Accounts" (Edwards Brothers: Ann Arbor), 1939.

ENGLISH CHURCH ALES

The Church Ale¹ was a convivial feast at which, under the auspices of a church, food and drink (the drink being usually some form of beer or ale) were sold to parishioners or to visitors from other parishes, for the benefit of the church. This feast was held sometimes in the churchyard, and even on occasions in the church itself; but ordinarily it took place in the church-house.²

The beginning of the custom of the Church Ale in England is of unknown date. Peacock suggests that the Church Ale of the Middle Ages was a direct descendant of the drinking bouts of our Saxon and Scandinavian ancestors.³ But whatever its origin, it was, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, used as a means of raising money for religious purposes. Before the Reformation, it was one of the chief sources of church revenue.⁴

The term "Church Ale" was apparently a generic one for this drinking feast held under ecclesiastical patronage. But there were many kinds of Church Ales, most of which were named after the specific date of their appearance in the Church-year. Others were named after a special event in the life of the church or village with which they were linked. I have found, besides many references to plain "Church" Ales, records of May Ales, Whitsun Ales, Robin Hood Ales, King Ales, Christmas Lord Ales, Midsummer Ales, Easter Ales, Hallowmas Ales, and Hocktide Ales, as well as items for Ales held at Corpus Christi, on the dedication day of certain churches,⁵ and on certain saints' days. There are others of an even more specialized nature, and these, with the ones listed above, I shall point out in due time.

As some records show, large quantities of food and drink were provided for certain Church Ales, and, although the majority of Ale records do not indicate the amount of food and drink consumed, it is fair to suppose that these refreshments were usually

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1. In my introductory remarks, I draw heavily on PEACOCK. Church Ales are also treated in COULTON; GASQUET, *Parish*; STRUTT; COX, *Accounts*; WEBB, 11-16; and WARE, 70-75.
 2. See PEACOCK, 10. The church-house stood near the churchyard wall, sometimes forming a part of it, sometimes within or without that enclosure. See Peacock, *op. cit.*, 8. For more about the church-house, see HOBHOUSE, *xxi-xxii*.
 3. See Peacock, *op. cit.*, 3. In turn, I venture to suggest that the modern "church-supper" is a somewhat emasculated descendant of the ancient Church Ale.
 4. See COULTON, 152.
 5. In PEACOCK, 10, it is asserted that there was almost always an Ale on the Feast of the Dedication of the Church. My records do not bear witness to the accuracy of this statement. But it is possible that the many references to mere "Church" Ales may, by the use of this broad term, refer to the Ale held at the time of the Dedication Feast.

offered in abundance. There would have been, then, normally, always a chance that at a Church Ale some persons might imbibe too much of the drink on sale. Church Ales must have been, therefore, on many occasions, sources of public disorder and somewhat riotous conduct. Although Philip Stubs' tendency toward exaggeration must be considered in accepting his account of these festivities, in which he says that those who attend drink until they "be as dronke as Rattes, and as blockishe as beastes,"⁶ there is little reason to suppose that Church Ales were the most decorous of gatherings. Yet they seem to have drawn forth hardly any remonstrance until the rise of Puritanism.⁷ Archbishop Grindal's injunctions for the province of York, in 1571, evidently include them, but it will be noticed that the order is not against Church Ales in general, but against the holding of them in churches:⁸ "Item, that the churchwardens shall from time to time see....that there be no feasts, dinners, common drinkings kept in the church...." Church Ales continued well into the seventeenth century,⁹ and survivals in a modified form have been noted even as late as the nineteenth.¹⁰

From the records in wardens' accounts, it appears that there was no ecclesiastical limit set to the number of Ales that might be given by individual churches during the year. At Bassingbourn, Cambs, for example, there were held during the year 1497-98 no less than ten Church Ales.¹¹ Apparently, the number given by a certain church was regulated by the desire for parochial conviviality and the necessity for procuring money for church expenses. Furthermore, Church Ales lasted various lengths of time. Ordinarily, the records point to festivities of a day's duration, but certain accounts indicate Ales extending over periods of from five days to a week or more.¹²

Many records of Church Ales are so fragmentary that it is impossible to say that the Ale was, as an entertainment, always something more than a drinking-feast. But it is highly probable that there was nearly always some additional form of diversion provided for those who attended Ales. Fairly often, the items for Ales show payments to minstrels, and, on occasions, to "fools" and to morris dancers. There is, furthermore, no doubt that Ales were sometimes held in combination with plays.

The entries for Church Ales in wardens' accounts I have divided into two main classes. In the first, I shall group and discuss the records of various kinds of Church Ales; and in the second, the records of details of Ales. This done, I shall

6. STUBS, 95.

7. See PEACOCK, 13. Since I am not dealing with the opposition of the Church and civic communities to Church Ales, I have made no attempts to gather information showing such an opposition, but have accepted Peacock's statement.

8. FRERE, 111, 285.

9. See Bishop Piers' defense (1633) of the Church Ale, in HOBHOUSE, 245-46.

10. See Peacock, *op. cit.*, 14.

11. These accounts, as well as others without documentation, are to be found in the appendix.

12. For examples, see the records of Ales from Morebath, Devon; Bramley, Hants; and Seal, Surrey.

point out the connection of Ales with actual drama.

1. Various Kinds of Church Ales

The first records of Ales to be listed here are those that mention mere "Ales" or "Church" Ales. Many times, of course, these may have reference to specific Ales, such as those for May or Whitsuntide, but speculations as to this would be, at present, entirely futile. These records, presented without further comment, follow:

CORNWALL

1513-14(Stratton). Ales brought in 37 s. and 38 s.

DEVON

1561(Chudleigh). For brewing of y^e alle, 2 s.

1553-58(St. Mary Steps, Exeter). Et de xliij s. receptis pro seruicia hoc anno vendita.

1529(St. George, Morebath). It. we made frely of our ale all coste quytte x li. xliij s. v d.

(The Ale for 1530 made 3 li. 7 s. for the wardens, and that for 1532 brought in 3 li. 2 s. 4 d. Entries for the Ale occur almost yearly until 1573)

DORSET

1475(Wimborne Minster). Received from the profit of one "taberne cerevisiae,"¹³ called "churche ale," 6 li.

(Profits of the Church Ale are recorded annually until 1580)

ESSEX

1441(Notre Dame, Walden). Itm rec' de collect'one in ecc^a de vno cherch ale....
iiiij marc'.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE

1555(Minchinhampton). We mayd off ovr ale & ester monye 3 li. 12 d.

(Ales recorded at intervals until 1589)

HANTS

1542(Stoke Charity). Item Rec. for a Churche ale xx s.

(Similar entry for 1556)

LEICESTERSHIRE

1495(St. Mary-de-Castro, Leicester). Recd. of the church ale clearly 19 s.

NORFOLK

1540(North Elmham). It. rec of y^e drynkyn x s.

1515(Shipdam). Item ye chyrchrevys have Receyvyd of on Drynkyn y^t they made 15 s.

1551 " Profit of drinkings held by the churchwardens, 36 s. 4 d.

OXON

1553(Marston). Forst for the gaynes of the churche ale xx s.

1557 " Item made of the churche ale all charge deducted viij s. iij d.

1443-44(St. Peter-in-the-East, Oxford). Et de xiiij s. ij d. de cervisia ecclesie.

1559-60(Pyrton). Item mayed of the cheyrche ale xliij s. viij d.

1601 " Item unto goodwife Widowes for helping about the Ale ij s.

SOMERSET

1443(Tintinhull). An Ale brought in a profit of only 2 s.

1462-82 " Received for Church Ale vij s.

SUFFOLK

30 Hen. VIII(Dennington). Resayvyd of ou^r cherche aell x s. viij d.

13. "Taberna cerevisa" in churchwardens' Latin means a Church Ale. See COX, *Accounts*, 287. Mayo's definition of "taberna cerevisa" is "the sale of beer in a shop, for the benefit of the church." See MAYO, 87. This is not wholly accurate, for sometimes "tavern ales" were held in the church-house. See the 1464 entry from Yatton, Somersetshire.

SURREY

17 Hen. VIII(Kingston-on-Thames). A church ale brought in 7 li. 15 s.

SUSSEX

1537-38(Bolney). A church ale nets 5 s. 2 d.

1546(Stevington). A church ale brought in 29 s. 5 d.

(Ales recorded for 1547, when the receipts were 31 s. 3 d., and for 1549)

WILTS

1528(Calne). A church ale brought in 47 s. 4 d.

1557(Mere). Inpmis the sayd Churchewardeyns do yelde Accompte of the pfyte of the Church Ale thies yere. Above all chargs xij li. vj d.

1558 " Recd. of the increase & profit of the Church Ale this year 7 li. 1 s. 1 d.

1579 " The ale was superseded by a definite collection for the church and for the payment of the clerks' wages; it amounted that year to 16 li. 18 s. 4 d.

1588 " The "collection" gave way to the old church-ale, the profits from which amounted to 14 li. 2 s. 6 d.

1593 " In 1593, "there was not Church ale made nor other collection for the repayre of the Church."

1558(Steeple Ashton). Item made clerely of the church ale, 37 s. 2 d.
(Similar entry for 1559)

WORCESTERSHIRE

1533-34(Badsey). It. resevyd of ye Church ale xxij d.

(Similar entries for 1534-35, 1537-38, 1554-55)

1554(South Littleton). It'm Recevyd for ow^r chwrche ale thys yere ij s. ij d.

1518(Worcester Priory). Item "for rewards at Stoke 6 s. 5 d. with ye church ale."

1533 " norton ale. Item to the church Ale at kyngs Norton 7 s. 6 d.

Churchwardens' records of May Ales demonstrate the fact that such Ales were held on occasions in conjunction with the appearance of Robin Hood, and with the morris dance, and give reasons for the assumption that the terms "a May" and "May Ale" were probably, in wardens' accounts, used inclusively; that is, the "May" would imply often the presence of the "May Ale," and the "May Ale" the presence of other features of the May celebration. They illustrate, furthermore, the statement that May celebrations were not restricted to May Day alone.¹⁴

The records of May Ales are the following:

BUCKS

1529(Wing). Made at a May ale, 30 s.

1530 " recd. of hover mayale at Whitsontyde clear 27 s.

1562 " pd. to a minstrel at Whitsontide 3 s. 4 d.¹⁵

1565 " Item received of the Maye ale all thynges thereto belonging discharged ij li. xiiij s. viij d.

CAMBS

1497-98(Bassingbourn). Rec' att the Fyrste may ale and all charges borne xvij s. ij d.

14. The "May" or "May Game" might occur in June. See CHILD, iii, 44.

15. The minstrel was probably employed for the Ale.

Rec' att an Ale next after the seid may ale vij s. xj d. ob.
 Rec' att the laste maye ale with the towne and heynes obitt, as
 with bred and ale xxvj s. viij d.
 In losse off evyll money taken at the may ale viij s.

ESSEX

1439(Notre Dame, Walden). p^r gryndyng de malt p^r le may en le glyz [l'église]
 iij d.

HERTS

1489(St. Michael's, Bishop's Stortford). From two drinkings called May Ales, 4 li.
 6 s. 8 d.

Expenses at "Sabbisford May et lytill
 Hadham May," 3 s.

1496 " Expenses at "Thorleigh May," 6 d.
 Received of the Bachelors of the said
 town [Bury St. Edmunds] of the profit of a certain drinking called the
 May Ale 35 s. 4 d.

1515 " Item pd. for brede and ale the same day
 that Sabbysford may was when they of Sabysford did come rydyng to the
 towne to sett ther may ix d.

1517 " Cleared by the May ale, xl s.
 Item pd. for brede wyne and ale at the
 comyng of Sabrichesworth may x d.
 1523 " Item pd to the schot ["short"?] of hat-
 field may xij d.

LONDON

1509-11(Allhallows, London Wall). Itm ress' on mayday for owre drynkyng & all
 charges borōn of a kylldirken [a small barrel] ale ij s. x d.

OXON

1501(Church of the Virgin Mary, Thame).¹⁶ Itm. rec' of the may ale and of the
 gaderyng of Robyn Hodde in New Thame att Whitsontyed clere xx s.
 1557 " It'm pay^d for xiiij yards of grene for
 mens cotts xiiij s.
 xx d.
 for ij yards and halfe of yalow cotton
 for v pear of say iij s. iij d.
 for colorred threed iij d.
 for makynge of the cotts vj s. vj d.
 for ix dorsn daunchyng Bells iij s. vj d.
 for makynge of the lord byways and for
 pap' iij s. vj d.
 for playing cords v d.
 to ye lord of the Maye ale v s.
 to the Mynstrells for their wags xx s.

SUFFOLK

1453(Walberswick). 6 Die Māii at a Cherche Ale 13 s. 4 d.

As I have already indicated,¹⁷ some of these entries apparently show that the
 terms "May" and "May Ale" were used inclusively by churchwardens. The 1501 "May Ale"
 at Thame was connected with a "Robyn Hodde gaderyng," as was the one at the same town
 in 1557, if I interpret correctly the entry for "grene for mens cotts." At this latter
 Ale there was also morris dancing.¹⁸ The "May Ale" at Thame, then, falls clearly under

16. See appendix for the item for 1501; for the others, see LEE, 73.

17. See p. 4.

18. And possibly sports of some sort. The item "for playing cords" is too vague for accurate interpre-
 tation.

the definition of a "May."¹⁹ Now a "Maye" held at Dunmow, Essex, in 1543, evidently included, as I judge from the provisions and drink recorded for it, an Ale.²⁰ I assume, therefore, that it is impossible always to say that a "May Ale" consisted only of the actual ale-feast, or that a "May" (even though there are no records specifically indicating an Ale held at the same time) did not include among its entertainments a "May Ale." I hold, in fact, the very opposite opinion: I believe that a "May Ale" would ordinarily imply the presence of other forms of entertainment, and that a "May" would usually include, as an important feature of the occasion, an Ale.

The fact that May Ales--and, therefore, I would say, the May celebrations in general--were not restricted to May Day itself is seen in the entry for 1530 from Wing, Bucks, where the May Ale was held at Whitsuntide.²¹ At Thame, Oxon, the May Ale in 1501 was held at the same time. Further proof is found in the entries from Bassingbourn, Cambs, and from Bishop's Stortford, Herts, where in each town more than one May Ale is recorded for a given year.²²

A few other items deserve brief comment. The 1439 entry from Notre Dame, Walden, indicates, I believe, not that the entire May was held within the church--surely an incongruous suggestion--but that the ale-element of the celebration took place there. And the accounts from Bishop's Stortford show clearly that it was sometimes the custom for the Mays of one village to be given in another. Although there are definite records for visits from one village only (Sawbridgeworth)²³ to Bishop's Stortford, it seems possible that Mays from Little Hadham, Thorley, and Hatfield were also shown there, and that the expenses entered in the Bishop's Stortford accounts in connection with these villages indicate the hospitality of the local church to the visitors.²⁴ Or these expenses may, of course, be illustrations of the contributions of a church to

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19. The term "May" (or "May Game") may be conveniently used to designate an occasion on which there took place, in various combinations, depending on circumstances, the following forms of entertainment: singing and dancing around a Maypole, the parading of a garland through the streets, pageantry, morris dances, the "hobby-horse" dance, plays, various sports--such as archery, jousting, and wrestling--and May Ales. A quête or "gathering," which could easily have been a part of any of the amusements mentioned, seems to have been one of the essential features of the day's sport. Often connected with May Day celebrations there were a Lord and Lady, or King and Queen, who presumably presided over the entertainment as a whole. For the various parts of this description (exclusive of that portion given in my text), see CHAMBERS, 1, 117, 173, 176-77; CHILD, 111, 44; STRUTT, 353-55.
20. For this and similar records, see Essex Review, xix (1910), 189-98.
21. The date for Whitsunday swings from May 10 to June 13.
22. The proof that May celebrations were not restricted to May Day may be seen in such accounts as those of Machyn from 1555 to 1559 (see MACHYN, 89, 137, 201). I have here merely wished to emphasize my findings in wardens' accounts.
23. See entries for 1515 and 1517 from Bishop's Stortford.
24. See also the following record from Chamberlains' Accounts, Lydd, Kent, for 17-18 Hen. VI: "Itm in expenses incurred over the men of the town of Romney coming and riding hither with 'le May' to be shewn here, 4 s," in FINN, 75.

entertainments in neighboring parishes.²⁵

Whitsun Ales were, as their name implies, held at or near Whitsuntide. Beside Whitsun Ales recorded for that season, there are specific ones called King Ales. Now the natural supposition would be that the King Ale was the feast and drinking held in connection with the ludus known as the King Play; that it was, in fact, one of the three elements probably making up the entire festivity: a representation of some sort of the Three Kings of Cologne, various sports under the supervision of a King and Queen, and an Ale.²⁶ This hypothesis, which I find it impossible to prove or disprove, I shall discuss later.²⁷

With the records of Whitsun Ales, I include here those of King Ales at Whitsuntide:

BERKS

- 1557(St. Lawrence, Reading). Itm. the saide churchwardens gatheringe at y^e Kyngale in the Whytsontyde at the church ale suppars xlviij s.
 1554(Stanford-in-the-Vale). It. ye encrays of Whitson ale 43 s. 4 d.
 1566(Thatcham). Rd. at Whytsuntyde ale 4 li.
 1569-70 " Pd. att Whytsontyde Kyng ale for bells and poynts ij s. vij d.

BUCKS

- 1603(Great Marlow). gayned by the Whyssonale 11 li. 7 s. 2 d.
 (In 1609 the Whitsun Ale brought in 16 li.)
 1530(Wing). recd. of hower mayale at Whitsontyde clear 27 s.

HANTS

- 1531-32(Bramley).²⁸ King Ale recorded for Whitsuntide.

NORTHANTS

- Time of Hen. VIII(Culworth). Itm. for bred & chese att Whytson ale.
 1533(St. Lawrence, Towchester). From a will: To the church ale at Whitsontyde haulf a quarter of malt.

OXON

- 1547(Marston). Item at theire Witsondays ale thei encessid xxvj s.
 1548 " Item the gaynes of one ale at Witsontide xxvij s.
 (Similar items for 1550, 1556)
 1530-31(St. Michael, Oxford). item rec' at Whitson ale and all charges born, xxxvij s.
 (Similar entries at intervals until 1562)
 1444-45(St. Peter-in-the-East, Oxford). Et de ij s. in cervisia ecclesie ad festum Pentecostes.
 1461-62 " Et de iij s. ij ob. receptis inter parochianos in festo pentecostes pro cervisia ecclesia.
 (Similar entries at intervals until 1488)
 1526 " Item recevyd for Whytson ale and al thyng payd for ij li.
 1596-97 " Item for the Whitsun ale brought in by y^e children of y^e parish vij s.

25. For this interchange of parochial courtesy, see WARE, 74.

26. See the author's Dramatic Activity of the Church (unpublished Yale dissertation, 1933), 1, 341.

27. See below, under King Ales.

28. This record is given in extenso below, under King Ales.

- 1598-99(St. Peter-in-the-East, Oxford). Item for our Whytson Ale xxx s.
 1554(Pyrton). Item that Edmund Yeats and Thomas Holande mayd of the ale at
 Wytsonyd and all costs and chargs borne xxxix s. iij d.
 1559-60 " Made of the Whytson ale xij s. ij d.
 1474(Church of the Virgin Mary, Thame). It' we payde for brewyng of the Ale at
 Wyt Sondy xij d.
 1501 " Itm. rec' of the may ale and of the
 gaderyng of Robyn Hodde in New Thame att Whitsontyed clere xx s.
 1620(Yarnton). Received for the Whitsonale ll s. 4 d.
 1641. " Pd. J. Saunders for 12 bushels of malt for Whitsuntide.

SHROPSHIRE

- 1505-06(Worfield). Receipts "de cervisia in festo pentecostes."
 (Similar yearly entries extend into the 17th century)

SOMERSET

- 1555(North Cadbury). From a will: To the church of Northcadbury a bushel of wheat
 against Whitsunday to the church ale.
 16-19 Hen. VII(Stoke Courcy). The sale of ale at Pentecost, 54 s. 7 d.
 (Similar entries at intervals to 38 Hen. VIII)
 1446(Yatton). Received of the Wardenys of the ale making at Whytteson day iijj
 li. xx d.
 1447 " Received of the Wardenys of the making of Ale at Wyttsondey to the
 cherche iijj li.
 1451 " Pro taberna servicie in festo Pentecoste iij li.
 1537-38 " Received of "our taverne Ale at Wysontyde viij li. xv s. ix d."
 1546-47 " For our taverne Ale at Whytsondey iijj li. xiiij s. iijj d.
 1547 " Our taverne Ale at Wysontyde v li. xx d.

SUFFOLK

- 1493(Cratfield). An ale recorded for Pentecost Sunday.
 (Similar entry for 1494)

WORCESTERSHIRE

- 1571-72(Badsey). Item, receayved at the churche aell at Whitsontyd x d.
 1543(St. Michael's in Bedwardine, Worcester). Rcd. at Whitsontyde for the church
 ale 8 s.

On these items I make little comment. There is scant reason to believe that
 the Whitsun Ale proper differed greatly in general character from the ordinary Church
 Ale. One distinctive feature of the Whitsun Ale, however, was that it was presided
 over at times, if not always, by the Whitsun Lord and Lady.²⁹

With the records of Whitsun Ales above, I included one³⁰ of the four references
 I have found in wardens' accounts to Robin Hood's association with Church Ales:

BERKS

- 1503-04(St. Lawrence, Reading). It. rec. of the gaderyng of Robin Hod x busshells
 malt³¹....v s.

OXON

- 1501(Church of the Virgin Mary, Thame). Itm. rec' of the may ale and of the
 gaderyng of Robyn Hodde in New Thame att Whitsontyed clere xx s.

SOMERSET

- 1512-13(Tintinhull). It. off Robine Hood All only this once xj s.

29. See BRAND (ed. 1841), 1, 157ff.; and for records including some that I think refer to Whitsun Lords
 and Ladies, see those of Melton Mowbray, Leicestershire, from 1546 to 1563, in KELLY, 63-67.

30. See below, the item from Thame.

31. The malt was a contribution toward an Ale.

SURREY

16 Hen. VIII (Kingston-on-Thames). Rec. at the church-ale & Robynhode all things deducted 3 l. 10 s. 6 d.

Wardens' accounts do not often give definite dates for the appearance of Robin Hood,³² but it is clear that he was sometimes a part of the May and Whitsuntide activities. Furthermore, it is improbable that he appeared ordinarily in months other than May and June,³³ the months of the May and Whitsuntide celebrations. And since he was, so far as I know, only one of the features of these festivities, it is not strange, I think, that I have found in church accounts only one Ale specifically called after him.³⁴

Also connected with Whitsuntide was the King Ale. According to wardens' records containing a definite time for its celebration, it came at or near Whitsuntide.³⁵ But since about one-half the King Ale entries are for no given occasion, it is impossible to say that the King Ale was always a summer amusement.

The term "King Ale" is difficult to explain. One definition is advanced by Cox, in a discussion of Church Ales at St. Edmund's, Salisbury:³⁶

Ales were held on three occasions, namely, the week before and the week after Whitsunday, and at the translation of St. Edmund (9th June). They were called King Ales, because a man and a woman were chosen to preside (regnare) over them; anyone failing when appointed was fined 8d.

This may be all that is meant by "King Ale"; for the logical assumption that the King Ale was a feast and drinking held in connection with the King Play³⁷ is not proved by items in churchwardens' accounts. The King Play was, it is true, ordinarily a Whitsuntide event.³⁸ The King Ale--whenever a time for its appearance is specified--came also at Whitsuntide. The two would, then, appear to be connected. I had hoped to find records of individual churches that would establish, beyond any doubt, such a connection. But entries for King Plays and King Ales are common to two churches only:

32. For my collection of Robin Hood accounts, see Dramatic Activity of the Church (cit. sup.) 1, 315-22.

33. See BASKERVILL, 45.

34. Nor do I overlook the possibility that the "All" of the Tintinhull item may mean something other than "Ale."

35. In 1575, a King Ale at All Saints, Winterslow, Wilts, was held apparently on at least three days: May Day, Whitsunday, and Trinity Sunday. And at Wootton, Hants, in 1600, a King Ale is recorded for two successive Sundays, June 29 and July 6. For these Ales, see below, in the group of King Ales.

36. COX, Accounts, 62.

37. See above, p. 7. For the King Play or the King Game (my reasons for considering the two terms synonymous are to be found in Dramatic Activity of the Church, 1, 342), see CHAMBERS, 1, 173; KERRY, 234; COX, Accounts, 284; Dramatic Activity of the Church, 1, 335-43.

38. See Dramatic Activity of the Church, 1, 343.

St. Lawrence, Reading, and St. Edmund's, Salisbury. At St. Lawrence, the last record for the King Play or King Game is for 1540-41;³⁹ the one record for a King Ale is some years later, in 1557. At St. Edmund's, although for the year 1469-70 there are items for a King Play⁴⁰ and for King Ales, the difficulty is this: only one King Play is recorded, whereas there are four King Ales.

The four King Ales (servisia regali) at St. Edmund's would seem to indicate, then, that the King Ale was entirely independent of the King Play, since most of the entries for King Plays⁴¹ mention only one a year. Yet at St. Edmund's there is an item for King Plays in 1489-90, and a similar one, although of doubtful authenticity, for the year 1490-91.⁴² And so the records from the two churches under consideration neither prove nor disprove the supposed connection between the Play and the Ale.

As I have said before, it appears logical to assume that the term "King Play" was used to designate a three-part entertainment: a representation of the Three Kings of Cologne, some form or forms of sport, and an Ale.⁴³ If this were true, it is possible that the King Ale, originally one of the three constituents of the King Play, later established its own particular identity, and was held as a special entertainment when the King Play did not occur.⁴⁴ Now one of the records of the King Play or King Game mentions a "King" and "Queen,"⁴⁵ and it is likely that these personages were in charge of the sports and the Ale. When, then, the Ale became detached from the King Play, as I have supposed, it is reasonable that it should have carried with it the name "King," as well as the "King" and "Queen." In that event, these two persons would be the man and woman who, according to the definition given by Cox,⁴⁶ "reigned" over the King Ale.

No clearer reasons for the name of the King Ale are to be found in the records relating to it:

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39. 1540-41 (St. Lawrence, Reading). "Rec. of the Kyng game this yere, iiij li. viij s." KERRY, 236.
 40. 1469-70 (St. Edmund's, Salisbury). "Et in den' sol' Thome Shute pro ocupacione cuiusdam pannii lanei vocat' Shrvd' conducti pro le Kyngplay iiij d." SWAYNE, 13.
 41. For these entries, see Dramatic Activity of the Church, 1, 335ff.
 42. 1489-90 (St. Edmund's, Salisbury). Received: "of Kyng playes that yere in the somertyme as it apperet" by a bill thereof made and "vpon this accompt examyned and shewed 12 li."
 1490-91 (St. Edmund's, Salisbury). "Also receyved of Alys [Alys inserted, and Kyng erased] Plaies that yere in the somertyme as it apperyd in oure qweyer for our remembrans made and vpon this accompt examyned & shewed iiij li. xj s. xj d." SWAYNE, 370 and 35.
 43. See Dramatic Activity of the Church, 1, 341, as well as p. 7, above.
 44. T. Medland (in Sussex Arch., viii, 134) says that the King Ale "does not appear to have been connected with the king-play, but to have been brewed for the feast of the Epiphany." Churchwardens' accounts do not offer proof of the accuracy of the latter part of this assertion. I have seen no records connecting the King Ale with the feast of the Epiphany.
 45. 21 Hen. VII (Kingston-on-Thames). "Mem. That the 27 day of Joun a^o 21 Kyng H. 7, that we Adam Bakhous & Harry Nycol hath made account for the Kenggam that same tym don Wylm Kempe, Kenge, & Joan Whytebrede quen, & all costs 4 li. 5 s." See LYSONS, 1, 225.
 46. See above, p. 9.

BERKS

- 1557(St. Lawrence, Reading). Itm. the saide churchwardens gatheringe at y^e Kyngale
in the Whytsontyde at the church ale suppars xlviij s.
1566(Thatcham). Rd. at Whytsuntyde Kyngale 4 li.
1569-70 " Pd. att Whytsontyde Kyngale for bells and poynts ij s. viij d.

HANTS

1531-32(Bramley).

Receipts.

- Kyngale on White Sunday, 10 s. 9 d. ---at soppar, 20 s. 7 d.
On Monday at dinner, 2 s. ---at suppar, 10 s. 7 d.
On Tuesday at dinner, 6 s. 9 d.
On the said Tuesday of the parish of Pamber, 4 s.
On the said Tuesday of the parish of Strathfieldsay, 9 s.
On the said Tuesday at supper, 10 s. 6 d.
On the Wednesday at dinner, 13 s. 6 d.
Received for calf and sheep skin, 21 d.
At supper on Trinity Sunday, 12 s. 6 d.
For tapping money, 7 s. 6 d.

[Payments.]

- Towards the Kyngale to Alys Carter 6 bushells whete, 6 s. 4 d.
To Mr. Vycar for 3 bushells whete, 3 s.
8 barrells of bere, 13 s. 8 d.
To John Redyng for 2 calves, 6 s. 8 d.
To Richard Tyrry for 1 calf, 2 s. 8 d.
To William Littlework for 2 wethers, 5 s. 5 d.
To Henry Whyte for a barren ewe and 3 lambs, 7 s.
For geese and pyg with hare, 17 d.
To Hugh Carter's wife for chekyns, 6 d.
Anne Acre for butter and eggs, 6 d.
For woode, 21 d.
For mynstrell, 20 d.
For rushes and making clene the barn, 3 d.
For spices, 4 d.
To Symon Redyng and his wife (and his moder above), 12 d.
1564(Stoke Charity). Item Received for the increase of y^e Kyngale and all
thynges deducted xiij s.
1580 " Recyved in Claere gaynes by keeping of a Kyngale xxvj s.
x d.
1554(St. John Baptist, Winchester). Recd. of Kingale money all things Paid, x s.
xj d.
1557-59 " Recd. at the Kingale and drinking afore and after for wheat
and malt sold as appereth by a Book of the Particulars 2 li. 17 s. 1 d.
1600(Wootton). Receipts for the Kingale as followeth for the Sunday after Mid-
somer Day, Junii xxix.
Rec. at the first table xv s.
" " " seconde ij s. viij d.
" " " thirde xj s. ij d.
" " " fowerth x s. ij d.
" " " fifte viij s. iij d.
" " " sixth xj s.
" the same day at the tronke ij s. x d.
" for pewter the same day x s. viij d.
" out of the Churchowse for drink thear xij d.
" for the felles xvj d.
" more out of the Churchowse viij d.
Summe ij li. xiij s. ix d.

Receipt for the Sounday next after, vj Julii.

Rec. at the first receipt xxiiij s. vj d.
 " " " seconde vij s. x d.
 " " " thirde x s. viij d.
 " " " foureth v s.
 " " " fift xj s.
 " " " sixth iij s.
 " for the tronke vj s. x d.
 " " pewter ix s. x d.
 " of Mrs. Kingsmill the same day xij d.
 " for lambe skinnes xij d.
 Summe iij li. ij s.

Payments for the said Kingale as followeth.

To the minstrills for minstrelsie xxiij s. x d.
 Pd. to the dl. back againe xij s.
 Pd. for a caulf to Tho. Hardinge x s.
 Pd. for another to Jo. Palmer xj s.
 Pd. for two lambes fatte to Mr. Dorpthwait viij s. viiij d.
 Pd. for a couple of chicken vj d.
 Pd. for a caulf to Tho. Lee viij s.
 Pd. for haulf a lambe to him ij s. vj d.
 Pd. for a barraine ewe to Ric. Freme vj s. viij d.
 Pd. for a lambe bought of the same v s. iij d.
 Pd. for a lambe to Jo. Towne vj s.
 Pd. to Symon Cuttle for a fatt shepe vij s.
 Pd. for a ling and haulf xx d.
 Pd. for fresh fishe xvij d.
 Pd. for eggs and butter ij s. xj d.
 Pd. for fruit and spice ix s.
 Pd. for Pewter xij s. j d.
 Pd. for the Ladyes lyveries iij s. vj d.
 Pd. for the Lordes lyveries v s.
 Pd. to Whitburne for his play ij s.
 Pd. for a lb. of suett iij d.
 Pd. to Ric. Alliff for five bush. of mault xj s. viij d.
 Pd. to Ric. Wyther for two pecks of mault xiiij d.
 Pd. for hoppes xvij d.
 Pd. for moe hoppes vj d.
 Pd. for D hundred of faggotts xvij d.
 Pd. to Jo. Towne for his labour xij d.

WILTS

- 1528(Calne). King Ale brought in 102 s.
 1591(Lacock). the increase of the gathering the kinges hale & the box money cometh to xxvj s. viij d.
 1469-70(St. Edmund's, Salisbury). Et de xliij s. vi d. rec' de denar' hoc anno collect' per Willm Smythe et Aliciam uxorem Roberti South de servisia regali viz. in Septimana proxima ante festum Pentecoste. Et de xx s. rec' de denar' collect' per Johannem Payne Vever (weaver) et Johannem Noke Vever de servisia regali viz. in Septi'a Pentecoste. Et de lx s. rec' per Johannem Chapman et uxorem Radulfi Hayne de servisia regali viz. in Septi'a profine post festum Pentecoste. Et de lxxv s. rec' per Willm Harrys et ux'm Willi Pole de servisia regali viz. in Septi'a qua accidit festum translacionis Sei Edmundi.
 1542(All Saints, Winterslow). It'm freye clere by the kynge ale the yere above sayd xxiij s.

It'm a vyrkyn of bere xj d.
 It'm to the mynstrell viij d.
 It'm for saforne to the kyng ale ij d.
 (King Ales are recorded at intervals until 1610)

1575(All Saints, Winterslow). Costs for the Kyngale
 It' for a lood of wod xvj d.
 It' for the caryage of a lood of wod from buckold & for caryage of
 hedgwod owt of m^r gylls drove xvij d.
 It' for fellyng and haulyng of the same wode ij d.
 It' payed to the mynsterells for may day ij s.
 It' for half a quarter of mault v s. vj d.
 It' for foure buschells of wheat and a pecke xij s. j d.
 It' for a calffe x s.
 It' for too scheppe xij s. vj d.
 It' for a quarter of mutton xvij d.
 It' for peper & safron xj d.
 It' for otmeell & salt vj d.
 It' for corants & Resons xvij d.
 It' payed to the mynstrells for wytsonday & trynyte sonday ix s.
 payed to the drum player ij s. x d.
 It' payed for a garnysch of vessell x d.
 It' payed to hugh pryce for makyng cleane the Kyng-house ix d.
 It' for chesse ij s. vj d.
 It' for hoppes & butter xiiij d.
 It' for vynyger ij d.
 It' payed to the mynstrells at wynterborne ij s.
 s^m ij li. x s. ix d.
 R' at the kyngale of the paryche of wynterstlo xliiij s. x d.
 R' of wynterborne xxiij s.
 R' of porton xxj s.
 R' of edmuston xiiij s. ij d.
 R' of Bcscombe vj s. viij d.
 R' of the parych of deane iij s. ix d.
 R' of salsbery men ij s.
 R' for too schepe skynnes & a calfe skynne ij s. x d.
 R' of more straungers x d. ob.
 R' of alyxsander Webe for throwyng at kokes ij d.
 s^m vj li. v d. ob.

At the Wootton King Ale, held on two successive Sundays, June 29 and July 6, a Lord and a Lady⁴⁷ evidently presided, and for them "lyveries"⁴⁸ were provided. The "tronke" mentioned in the accounts for both Sundays, I presume to have been a box placed in an advantageous position for the purpose of receiving the voluntary offerings of those attending the feast. The reference to "the dl.⁴⁹ back againe," I am at a loss to explain. The only other Wootton entry worthy of comment, outside the rather full items for food and drink, is the one for what may possibly have been a drama: "Pd. to

47. These seem to be examples of the personages chosen to preside over King Ales, as described by Cox (see above, p. 9).

48. These may have been badges or decorations to be given the parishioners at the hands of the Lord and the Lady; or perhaps costumes for the leading personages of the Ale.

49. If "dl." is an abbreviation for the word "devil," as would seem possible, this is the only entry I have seen for a representation of the "devil" at a Church Ale.

Whitburne for his play."

The King Ale at Bramley was similar to the one described for Wootton, except that, in addition to being recorded for two successive Sundays, Whitsunday and Trinity Sunday, it was seemingly continuous between those two dates. There were dinners and suppers almost daily, with receipts recorded from visitors from other parishes. A minstrel was paid 20 d. for his services, and a large amount of food and drink was consumed. This Ale, unlike any other that I know of, was apparently held in a barn, as indicated by the following item: "For rushes and making clene the barn, 3 d."

Of the King Ale at All Saints, Winterslow, held at intervals from 1542 to 1610, a very full account is given for 1575. From the payments made to minstrels, it is to be assumed that the Ale was kept on at least three days--May Day, Whitsunday, and Trinity Sunday. There are numerous items for the food and drink provided for the Ale, and receipts from at least six neighboring parishes. One interesting entry is that recording money received from the sport of throwing at the cock.⁵⁰

Christmas Lord Ales were evidently held in connection with the Lord of Misrule.⁵¹ Midsummer, Easter, and Hallowmas Ales define themselves. The few references in wardens' accounts to these Ales, I group below:

BUCKS

1595(Great Marlow). Item, received of the profytt of the mydsemer ale laste paste 6 li. 3 s. 4 d.

NORFOLK

1528(St. Mary, Great Witchingham). Rec^d of Ester drynkyng vij s.
(There were also, at dates not given, Hallowmas drinkings and Christmas Lord drinkings)
1494(Harling). Rec^d. of a Chirchale, made the Sunday before Medsomer, when Keningale and Lopham came hither xviiij s. ij d.
1539(North Elmnam). It. att y^e rekenyng att hallowmes for y^e drynkyng...
1540 " It. rec. att hallowmes drynkyng iijij s. iij d. ob.
(Hallowmas Ales recorded in 1544, 1545, 1547)

SOMERSET

1537-38(Yatton). Received: for the taverne Ale at Mydsomer lvij s. iijij d.

SUFFOLK

1519(Bardwell). Recd. of a church ale made the Sunday before "halowmesse day," 31 s. 3 d.
1493(Cratfield). An ale recorded for All Souls Day.
1494 " An ale on the "Monday after Ester."
1453(Walberswick). Item in uno Cherche Ale in Festo omnium Sanctorum 16 s.

WORCESTERSHIRE

1567(St. Michael's in Bedwardine, Worcester). For the parish drinking upon Easter day in the afternoon, 3 s. 9 d.
Paid for the parish drinking at Easter "at Mr. Di'ghton's," 3 s. 2 d.

50. For this sport, see DYER, 66; BRAND (ed. 1841), 1, 39; STRUTT, 283.

51. For the Lord of Misrule, or the Christmas Lord, see CHAMBERS, 1, 403ff.; CHAMBERS, Elizabethan, 1v, 55; BRAND, 1, 499-502; STRUTT, 340.

(Items for "drinkings at Easter" recorded from 1580 to 1584)

Records of other miscellaneous Ales will illustrate the wide appeal of such entertainments to the medieval Church. Besides items for Ales kept on or during such occasions as Lent, Corpus Christi, Palm Sunday, Hocktide,⁵² the Feast of the Dedication of the Church, and various festivals and saints' days, there are references at Harling, Norfolk, to the "Furlode," and at St. Edmund's, Salisbury, to the Scotale. These last two I shall discuss at the end of the following entries for miscellaneous Ales:

CAMBS

- 1497-98(Bassingbourn). Rec' att one other Ale in the Feste of the transfiguracion off our Lord ihesu criste x s. ij d. ob.
 Rec' att an ale next sondaye after the Assumpcion of our blyssid ladye vj s. ij d.
 Rec' att an Ale the next Sunday after Mich'daye vij s. viij d.
 Rec' att an ale that day xiiijth next after v s. viij d.
 Rec' atte one othir ale on the next Sunday aftyr the Feste of seynt Kataryn the virgin and martyr vj s. viij d.
 Rec' att an ale on Rogacion sondaye vj s. x d.
 Rec' att an ale on Mydlenton sonday vj s.

CORNWALL

- 1512(Stratton). rec. for the hye crosse ale yn our tyme xxx s. iij d.

DEVON

- Time of Hen. VIII(St. Andrew's, Plymouth). Ales held yearly in the churchyard at the feast of Corpus Christi.

DORSET

- 1564-65(Wimborne Minster). for the Church-ale in Lent vj li. xiiij s. iv d.

ESSEX

- Year unknown(Ardleygh). It. we resauyt on Saynt margarets day at the dry'kyng iij s. viij d.

HERTS

- 1485-86(St. Michael's, Bishop's Stortford). For ix bs. malte to the hoke-ale vj s. viij d.
 For iijj bs. whete to the hoke-ale iij s. iijj d.
 For brewyng of the hokyng ale xvi bs. xvj d.

- 1489(?) (St. Michael's, Bishop's Stortford). Profit from the "Hokyng Ale," 15 s.

LEICESTERSHIRE

- 1498(St. Martin's, Leicester). Received from ale: Item, on our Lady's Assumption, 2 s. 7 d. ob.
 Received of the church ale holden of St. Bartholomew's even, 38 s. 1 d.

52. The Hocktide festivities were held on the Monday and Tuesday of the week following Easter week, and collections were then made by men and women for the benefit of the Church. From COX, Accounts, 261: "On the Monday the men, and on the Tuesday the women, intersected the public roads with ropes, impounding, respectively, after a merry fashion, the opposite sex, and only releasing the captives on their paying a fine to the church." For Hocktide, see also CHAMBERS, 1, 154ff. and 187.

1495(St. Mary-de-Castro, Leicester). Recd. clearly of the church ale at St. Laurent-tide 4 nobles.
Recd. of the church-ale on Holy-rood day
5 s. 4 d.

NORFOLK

1450(Harling). For a Chirch ale made on Fastyng gange Sunday, by J. Keys and his neighbors 6 s. 8 d.
1456 " For a Chirchale made on Sunday next, after xij day for ye Furlode iv s.
1457 " For a Chirche ale, made and given by the Ld. xxxiij s. x d.
1459 " For washing of ye Wessell on Furlode night...
Recd. of ye Ld. on ye Furlode day, in money iij s. iv d.
Item. Recd. on ye Furlode night, for divers things viij d.

OXON

1530-31(St. Michael, Oxford). item rec' at Octide for the ale xvj s. x d.
(Similar entries at intervals until 1562)

SOMERSET

1522-23(Groscombe). An ale of St. George, the "crysse" of which amounted to 13 s. 7 d.
1587(St. John's, Glastonbury). Item that the sayd (~~Chur~~ erased) condyt wardens do kepe an alle for the comodetie of the condytts in the sayd towne (Glastonbury) to be kept about the tyme of Shrofftyde.
38 Hen. VIII(Stoke Courcy). An order taken by the 24 present of the hole parryshe in appoyntinge of the ale by the wardens of our Lady always to be taken the Sunday sevynnyght after the Assumption of our Lady and to contyne no longer but a month, & every man to geve his devocyon at the begynnyng of the yere.
1447-48(Tintinhull). An ale on St. Margaret's Day, 12 s. 1 d.
An ale on the feast of SS. Philip and James, 13 s. 4 d.
1509(Yatton). Receyvd of Saynt Jamys Ale iij mark iij s.

SUFFOLK

1558(Holy Trinity, Bungay). Itm. Rec. of the church ale money w^{ch} was gatheryd on trynit' Sondaye v li. ix s. ix d.
1493(Cratfield). Church ales recorded for Passion Sunday and in harvest.
1494 " An ale in harvest; one for "ye schetyng"; and one on the Dedicacion Day of the church.
1499 " An ale for Palm Sunday.

SUSSEX

6 Hen. VII(Tarring). Rec' on trynnye sonday for the chyrch ale, xxvij s. x d.

WILTS

1612(St. Mary, Donhead). The jury of the Hundred of Dunworth present that on St. Peter's Day, and on the Sabbath Day next following, after "yevening" prayer there was an ale kept for the benefit of the Church of Donhead St. Mary.
1461-62(St. Edmund's, Salisbury). Scotale--Et de xxij li. viij s. x d. Rec' de diuersis jocalibus regibus & reginis hoc anno prout patet per indenturam inter ipsos & predictos computantes. S'ma xvij li. viij s. x d.
1469-70 " Et de lxxv s. rec' per Willm Harrys et ux'm Willi Pole de servisia regali viz. in Septi'a qua accidit festum translationis Sei Edmundi.
1474-75 " Scotalis with Gifts to the grete Belle.

The Harling Church Ale "for ye Furlode" has been explained to me as follows:⁵³

53. In a personal communication from Ernest A. Kent, F.S.A., Honorary Treasurer of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society.

The "Furlode Light" was kept burning before a Saint's image in the Church for the benefit of the souls of members of a Gild (not a trade Gild, but what might now be called a benefit or friendly Society) in East Harling. "Furlode"⁵⁴ I cannot trace, but I should consider it as being some district or hamlet in the parish. The Gild had meetings certainly once a year, not as a rule in the Church, for collection of subscriptions, and such were often called "Ales" or "Drinkings"--the ale being brewed by one member of the Gild, he or she being excused from payment, the rest paying. Sometimes they had entertainments or games--generally called Interludes.

The meeting of the "Furlode" was possibly held annually near the time of the Epiphany, as in 1456 ("after xij day for ye Furlode"). The 1459 entries for "washing ye Wessell on Furlode night" and for the money received of the "Lord"⁵⁵ on "ye Furlode day" point to a day's entertainment ending with an Ale. A possible reference to the "interludes" sometimes held on these occasions⁵⁶ may be seen in "items for making grand stands and scaffolds, and for procuring dresses and wigs for the players, for a paper to write down the chief parts of the play, for a Vyce or Buffoon for his pastyme before and after the play, together with numerous entires."⁵⁷

The Scotale⁵⁸ entries from St. Edmund's, Salisbury, are the only ones I have found in wardens' accounts. And it is surprising to find even these, for Scotales were secular drinkings, not intimately connected with Church Ales in later times.⁵⁹ Semi-ecclesiastical associations, however, of the Scotale and the Church are found in thirteenth century records of the estates of Glastonbury Abbey.⁶⁰ By the thirteenth century,⁶¹ the Scotale, an entertainment given by the Lord of the manor-house to his tenants and lower dependents, which their fealty bound them to attend, each with his "scot" or set contribution in hand, had become a universal custom on manorial tenures in England.⁶² As such, it was practiced on the Glastonbury estates. Elton has

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54. "Furlode" I have not found in N.E.D.; A. S. Palmer's Folk-Etymology; F. H. Stratmann's Middle-English Dictionary (ed. Henry Bradley); Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia; W. W. Skeat's Etymological Dictionary of the English Language; Joseph Wright's English Dialect Dictionary; J. O. Halliwell's Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words; Jamieson's Dictionary of the Scottish Language.
55. Perhaps the Lord of Misrule, for which see above, p. 14.
56. See the communication from E. A. Kent, above.
57. ANDREWS, 269. Dated as these entries are, from 1452-1493, it is impossible to state that they are definitely for the "Furlode."
58. The primary sense of the word Scotale is probably that of an Ale at which a scot or tax is raised. See Ducange, Glossarium (s.v. Scotallum), and CHAMBERS, 1, 179, note. It has been suggested that the Scotale, a prehistoric institution among the Anglo-Saxons, became the Church Ale of the later Middle Ages. See COULTON, Village, 28.
59. See PEACOCK, 6.
60. The Glastonbury Rentalia (Somerset Record Soc., v), passim.
61. I make no attempt to give the history of the Scotale previous to the thirteenth century. For information leading to its earlier history, see COULTON, Village, 28, note.
62. See the Glastonbury Rentalia, cit. sup., 259.

summarized effectively the Glastonbury Scotale:⁶³

Robert Palmer⁶⁴....was entitled to attend three of these entertainments every year. Each feast lasted for two days, for which Robert and his wife paid 3 d. There was a further charge of $\frac{1}{2}$ d., if they chose to bring a man or maid, or one of their "undersettes" or sub-tenants, to join the revel for one day. Robert was one of the upper tenants and might drink ale "plenè," as much as ever he pleased; the small holders....were restrained to half-drinks and moderate draughts. There is a very full return as to the holding of the ale-clubs at Longbridge. The jury say that the lord may hold three "scot-ales" in the year after this fashion: on Saturday, the married men and youths come after dinner, and are served three times with ale; on Sunday, the husbands and wives come, with their pennies, and they can come back again the next day, if they will; the young men must pay a penny a head if they come on the Sunday, but on the Monday, they can come and drink for nothing, provided they do not sit on the bench; any one of them caught sitting down must pay his penny as before. These rights, they say, belong to the natives of the manor and their offspring; but a stranger who serves anyone in the manor, or is abiding there, shall have no share in the right.

Unfortunately, one is unable, from the Scotale entry of 1461-62 at St. Edmund's, to estimate the exact nature of the entertainment. One authority evidently thinks the whole entry refers to the Scotale:⁶⁵ "In 1461 the scotale, diversis jocalibus regibus et reginis, produced 23 li. 8 s. 10 d., equal to nearly 300 li. at the present time." But I believe the entry to be a composite one, of which the first part alone refers to the Scotale mentioned: "Scotale--Et de xxij li. viij s. x d." The portion containing "diuersis jocalibus regibus & reginis," followed by the sum received, records, I think, a King Play or a King Ale, or some other festivity accompanied by a "king" and "queen." Interpreting the entry in this manner, one might conclude that the item for the Scotale merely listed a gift to the church from a purely secular Scotale. Yet such a conclusion would be invalidated by the 1474-75 entry for repairs "pro domo scotali," an entry which indicates a close connection between Scotales and St. Edmund's, Salisbury.

2. Details of Church Ales

The basis of the Church Ale was, as I have pointed out, the sale of food and drink⁶⁶ for the benefit of a church. Other features of entertainment at Ales must necessarily have been varied in different localities, and at different seasons of the

63. Glastonbury Rentalia, 244; COULTON, Village, 29. A shorter version of this same account is found in GASQUET, 198. As opposed to this description of the Scotale on the Glastonbury estates--which I call, as I have said, a semi-ecclesiastical account of Scotales--see PEACOCK, 6-7. As a purely secular affair, the Scotale was apparently under the direction of the sheriff, to whom the payments collected at Scotales were turned over. Attendance on them was evidently compulsory, for those not attending were heavily fined.

64. Of a certain Glastonbury manor.

65. SWAYNE, xvii.

66. It is splitting hairs to suggest that the accounts I have seen do not all necessarily include provisions for food at Church Ales. It is, of course, possible that some Ales were given for the consumption of drink alone. But all the records that are not extremely brief indicate the presence of both food and drink.

year. But the description following seems to be a fitting one for the conduct of Ales in general:⁶⁷

The Church-Ale of our ancestors was an important method of raising funds for church expenses. In some parishes it was the habit to resort to one or more of these entertainments every year....but it was also usual to bring them into operation when certain extra-ordinary funds were required for church repair. Two men were chosen by the parish to act as wardens and masters of the feast. It was their duty to collect malt for brewing, corn for baking, and anything for the purpose of entertainment that they could persuade the householders to furnish. When the ale was brewed and the cakes baked, arrangements were made to provide mystery-plays, morris-dancing, cudgel-playing, shooting at the butts, and other such like sports that pertained to medieval fairs.

The material used in the remainder of this study will illustrate, to a great extent, the various phases of Ales here outlined. But I must mention two exceptions: I have seen no accounts including cudgel-playing or shooting at the butts at Church Ales.

Elsewhere I have noted Ales in connection with plays at Heybridge, Bungay, Bishop's Stortford, and Bassingbourn,⁶⁸ and to this group there should be added the following entries for "Play Ales":

DEVON

1487-88(Ashburton). Receipts for the play ale xx s. xj $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
 1490-91 " Also from the profit of ale called the playeryn ale xxxiij s.
 111j d.
 For making players' gowns x d.

WORCESTERSHIRE

1530(Worcester Priory). ye church Ale at grymley & a play. Item to ye church Ale at grymley 7 s. 6 d.

The word "play" is not always to be understood as meaning a drama.⁶⁹ But the Ashburton entry for "players' gowns," combined with an entry of the same year for the "playeryn ale," makes it appear possible that a play and an Ale were held together. The item from Worcester Priory is too much isolated to be determinate.

A few wardens' accounts contain items for the food and drink consumed at Church Ales, as well as occasional entries for other features of entertainment at such times. The entries for food and drink for the Ale accompanying the interludes at Holy Trinity, Bungay, in 1568,⁷⁰ have been condensed as follows:⁷¹

67. COX, Churches, iv, 83.

68. Dramatic Activity of the Church, 1, 268-77. For these records see also (Heybridge) NICHOLS, Illustrations, 179-81, CHAMBERS, 11, 370, and W. A. Mepham, "A XVI Century Village Play at Heybridge, Essex," Notes and Queries, clxvii (Aug. 4, 1934), 75-79; (Bungay) East Anglian, 1, 291-92, 304-35, BOLINGBROKE, 338, and CHAMBERS, 11, 343; (Bishop's Stortford) GLASSCOCK, 21-43, 131; (Bassingbourn) COX, Accounts, 270-74, East Anglian, iv, 22, and CHAMBERS, 11, 338.

69. In medieval accounts, the words ludus and ludentibus, with their English equivalents "play" and "playing," are not necessarily to be taken as evidence of actual drama. They may refer to nothing more than some form of sport, or to festivities and revels in general. See CHAMBERS, 1, 392ff. and 11, 104.

70. See above, footnote 68.

71. Gray B. Baker, in East Anglian, 1, 291-92.

The bill of fare embraces in the aggregate 5 calves, $11\frac{3}{4}$ lambs, $\frac{3}{4}$ of veal, 4 stone of beef, $4\frac{1}{2}$ coombs of wheat, 3 gallons and 7 pints of butter, $29\frac{1}{2}$ gallons of cream, $13\frac{1}{2}$ barrels and 2 firkins of beer, 9 pints of honey, 10 pounds of raisins, 5 pounds of currants, and 200 eggs, besides a few minor articles, and an abundance of "gustards and pastys"; the beer being equal to 4032 pints, and the meat (assuming the calves to have averaged 8 stones each, and the lambs 32 pounds) to 1076 pounds, exclusive of bread stuffs, puddings, etc.... It is singular that neither sheep, mutton, or pork are named in the bill of fare; the price of beef per stone is 1 s. 6 d., and the average price of calves, 7 s. 4 d. each; lambs, 2 s. $8\frac{1}{2}$ d.; wheat, 7 s. 5 d. a coomb; butter, $2\frac{3}{4}$ d. a pint; cream, $7\frac{2}{3}$ d. a gallon; beer, 6 s. 6 l/7 d. a barrel; honey, 4 d. a pint; raisins, 2 d.; and currants, 4 d. a pound; eggs, 1 s. 7 d. a hundred. The whole amount gathered for the game, etc., for this year, was 20 li. 13 s. 4 d.; the cost of provisions was 12 li. 1 s. 6 d., and the incidental expenses 1 li. 13 s. 10 d., leaving a balance of 6 li. 18 s. for the funds of the church.

For the Church Ale of 1592 at Seal, Surrey, there are among the expenses items for 3 bushels of wheat, for 9 barrels of beer, for "veal and lamb," for spices and fruits, and for butter, cream, and milk. Gunpowder used for the celebration cost 4 s. A drummer received 2 s., and a "musition" 20 s. for "5 days play." A similar Ale at Seal in 1611 lasted about the same number of days. The expense account for this Ale includes payments for 10 barrels of beer, 2 quarters of malt, 1 quarter of wheat, 3 calves, 11 lambs, and "one fatt sheepe." A drum player and "musitions" were employed. There were also the "Vice, otherwise the Foole," pewter for rifling, and silk points and laces, the latter presumably for decorations. Various persons were paid for work done on the occasion.

The accounts of certain Hampshire churches give further details of Church Ales. Those for the King Ale at Wootton (1600) contain rather full entries for the food consumed: calves, lambs, chickens, fish, eggs, butter, fruit, and spices. The ingredients for the beer are naturally mentioned. One of the entries--"for the felles"--is somewhat difficult to interpret. "Fells" may mean the skins of animals, sold after the slaughter, or it may mean "veal."⁷² Likewise, the accounts of the King Ale held at Bramley (1531-32) show payments for wheat, beer, calves, sheep, chickens, butter and eggs. Less pretentious in size than these two was the King Ale at Stoke Charity (1564), where the bill of fare included a sheep, one and a half calves, a lamb, 2 cheeses, "bruens and spyses," flour and "wote mele." "Comens wyfe" was paid 4 d. for her assistance at the Ale, and "ye mynstrell" received 6 s. 3 d.

Of the King Ale at Winterslow, Wilts, which seems to have been an annual event from 1542 until 1610, a fair description is given in entries for 1555. Wheat, malt,

72. See SCOTT, 44, where "felle" is taken to mean "veal." The fact that the word is plural in the Wootton account would be no hindrance to such an interpretation here. The scribes of churchwardens' accounts were often oblivious of the number of nouns.

sheep, a calf, a loin of mutton and one of veal, cheese, butter, spices, and flour were provided; the minstrel received 2 s. 8 d. In 1563, morris dancing was an added feature at the Ale, and in 1574, in addition to morris dancers and a minstrel, there were a drum player and a "taberer" among the entertainers.⁷³

Brief details of Church Ales are given in the following items:

BERKS

1506(St. Lawrence, Reading). To Macrell for makyng clene of the Church agaynst the day of drynking in the seid Church iij d.

For flesh spyce and bakying agaynst the said drynkyng

ij s. ix d. ob.

For ale at the same drynkyng xvij d.

For mete and drynke to the Taberer ix d.

1569-70(Thatcham). Pd. att Whytsontyde Kyng ale for bells and poynts ij s. vij d.

DEVON

1594(Chudleigh). Pd. to one man that played with a pyck at the younge mens ale by consent, 2 s.

LEICESTERSHIRE

1498(St. Martin's, Leicester). Paid for bread to the church ale, and flesh, 4 s.

1499 " In 1499, they had at the Church ale powdered beef

2 s., and cheese 10 d.

WILTS

1562(Mere). Itm for a Cote for the vyse or ffole at the Churche-ale iij s. vj d.

In connection with the Church Ales at Mere, there was, according to accounts beginning in 1566 and continuing almost yearly until 1578, the annual election of a "Cuckoo King and Prince," the "King" being for the current year, and the "Prince" for the one following. The custom⁷⁴ was not new in 1566, as may be seen in the entry for that year, when "Thomas Sheppard" was "Cuckowe King this yeare for that he was Prince the last yeare According to the Custome." The connection of the "Cuckoo King and Prince" with the Church Ale is manifest from the item for 1567: "John Watts the sonne of Thomas Watts is appointed to be Cuckowe King this next yeare according to the old order, because hee was Prince the last yeare. And Thomas Barnerd thunger is elected Prince for this next yeare. And because John Watts hath been long sick hit is agreed that if hee be not able to srve at the tyme of the Church ale. That then John Coward the sonne of Rob^{te} Coward shall srve and be king in his place for this yeare."

Although wardens' accounts do not always specify the place where Church Ales were held, it would seem that such entertainments were ordinarily conducted in the

73. For the King Ale at All Saints, Winterslow (1575), see above, p. 14.

74. The custom of the "Cuckoo Ale," to which, I take it, the Mere accounts have reference, was in existence in Shropshire as late as 1821. Brand quotes the following from a newspaper of May 17, 1821: "A singular custom prevails in Shropshire at this period of the year, which is peculiar to that county. As soon as the first Cuckoo has been heard, all the labouring classes leave work, if in the middle of the day, and the time is devoted to mirth and jollity over what is called the Cuckoo Ale." BRAND (ed. 1841), 11, 124.

parish church-house.⁷⁵ Occasionally, Ales were kept in churchyards or within the church itself. Entries relating to the places for the holding of Ales are the following:

BERKS

1506(St. Lawrence, Reading). To Macrell for makyng clene of the Church agaynst the day of drynking in the seid Church iijj d.

DEVON

1489-90(Ashburton). Received for sale of ale & brewing in the house of the church xxj d.

1539(Morebath). Recd. of John Walschmen for selling of syder in the churche howsse iijj weekis...

Time of Hen. VIII(St. Andrew's, Plymouth). Ales held yearly in the churchyard at the feast of Corpus Christi.

ESSEX

1439(Notre Dame, Walden). p^r gryndyng de malt p^r le may en le glyz⁷⁶ iij d.

HANTS

1521(Bramley). In wardens' accounts beginning in 1521, there are many references to the Whitsun ales held in the church-house.

1600(Wootton). The account of a King Ale contains two entries referring to the church-house: "Rec. out of the Churchowse for drink thear, xij d." and "Rec. more out of the Churchowse viij d."

HERTS

1490(?)(St. Michael's, Bishop's Stortford). Of the issue of a drinking made in the church here on Sunday last after the day of the aforesaid Play 6 s. 1½ d.

SOMERSET

1516-1603(Banwell). The parish had its Church-house and ales, the house being called both bakehouse and brewhouse, in evidence of being fitted for divers entertainments.

1588(St. John's, Glastonbury). William Stibbs for sellinge of ale in the churche house vj d.

1464(Yatton). For vij tavernys⁷⁷ made at the Churche house ix s. iijj d.

SUFFOLK

24 Hen. VII(Fressingfield). Two pieces of land conveyed "for the more rev'ence of God & in avoydyng of etyng & drynkyng & other abusions in the chirch of ffresyngfeld aforeseid shall suffice the chirch wardeyns of the seid chirch of ffresyngfeld & eny of the p'ishons of ffresyngfeld aforeseid co'venyently to use & occupye the seid two pecs of lond & all housis thereupon bylded in to and for the keypyng of all churchallis gildis yerdayes & other drynkyngs necessary to the p'fyte of the seid chirch or p'isshe and that the seid housis nor any other of the p'miss be not letyd to ony p'son yerly soo that therby the keypyng of the seid chirch allis yerdayes thurty dayes viith dayes or buriells myght be lettid or abusid.

The Scotale house at St. Edmund's, Salisbury, for which there is an entry for

75. "In most parishes, a House was formerly held by the Parish, usually called the 'Church-House.' In and around this house, festive gatherings and public games were periodically held...These Festive meetings were called Wakes, Revels, but most commonly 'Ales'--as 'Church-ales,' 'Whitsontyde-ale,' 'Hocking-ale,' etc." SMITH, 496. And see p. 1 of this study for another mention of the church-house.

76. L'église.

77. See above, footnote 13.

repairs in 1474-75,⁷⁸ was probably a church-house,⁷⁹ as was the "Kynghouse" at Winter-slow, for which there is the following entry (1575): "It' payed to hugh price for makynge cleane the Kynghouse ix d."

The church-house was sometimes fitted with utensils for the preparation of Ales and suppers,⁸⁰ but in certain parishes it was customary to rent this equipment, as may be seen in such items as the following:

BERKS

1583(Standford-in-the-Vale). There was brought to the churche this yeere fowre neue platters and too neue potyngers the wch were of the collection and provision of the young youthes of this Toun such as were betwyxt x years of age and xiij haveing one bushell of the churche whayte towards theyre charges.

SOMERSET

1492(Yatton). This be perselles that longyth to the Cherche howse the yere A. D. mccccclxxxij delyveryd to the Wardens that yere. Imprmis a chettyll, ij grett crocke, ij lyttl crocks, iij pannys, a botum for a panne, a brandyre, v tun vats, ij kyve vats, ij trowys (troughs), ix stands, barellys, xxj trendyllys (trendles), vj borde clothis.

1527 " For ij dosyn and a half drynkyng bowls and a dosyn and a halfe of mate dysses and iij dosyn trenchers and a ladyle xvj s.

WILTS

1559(Mere). Itm for the hyre of certeyn pewter vessell at the Church ale and for one platter wch was lost there xx d.

1566 " For Tynnen spoones and trenchers and potts bought to thuse of the Church vij s.

1569 " For the hire of too Dozen vessells at the Church Ale 8 d.

Wardens' accounts do not often specify those in charge of Church Ales, although it is not to be doubted that ordinarily they were conducted by the church-wardens themselves, or by ale-wardens. But sometimes it appears evident that parishioners, with the consent of the church, made Ales, and gave a part or all of the proceeds to church funds. Items relating to these matters I give, in part, below:

DEVON

1482-83(Ashburton). Received for ale of the aforesaid parishioners sold by William Halewyll, John Ferreys, John Ollysbrome & Thomas Perry this year.... v li. xiij s. iij d.

1539(Morebath). Recd. of John Walschmen for selling of syder in the churche howsse iij weekis.....

78. The Scotale house was kept constantly in repair. See SWAYNE, xvi.

79. An interesting reference to Ales in church-houses is that from Sampford Courtenay (1668): "The church house was leased to one Roger Heathman, tailor, but the use of the rooms was reserved to the parishioners 'during such time as they shall keep their Church Ale, so as the same continue not above the space of six weeks at any one time.'" Ethel Lega-Weekes, in *Devon Reports*, xli, 365-66.

80. Such utensils appear in an account for 1630 from Lacock, Wilts: "The Accompt of John Crue & Rich: Vizer Concerning the Bells the repacons of the Church for three years last past & sale of such Implem^{ts} of household wch did belonge to the Church house viz.: a brasse ffurnace xxv dishes of pewter a paire of Iron Racks. 2 spitts one old gridiron a fireforke a flesh hooke. Three old table Clothes a towell & one old Coffe, etc." From HINTON.

NORFOLK

- 1450(Harling). For a Chirch ale made on Fastyng gange Sunday, by J. Keys and his neighbors 6 s. 8 d.
 1515(Shipdam). Item ye chyrchrevys have Receyvyd of on Drynkyn y^t they made 15 s. Item they Receyved of ye Drynkyn y^t Thos. Hawlyg & John Tennet made 13 s. 4 d.
 Item they Recyvyd of ye Drynkyn y^t John Newell made 10 s.

OXON

- 1554(Pyrton). Item that Edmund Yeats and Thomas Holande mayd of the ale at Wytsonyde and all costs and chargs borne xxxix s. iij d.

SOMERSET

- 9 Hen. VIII(St. Michael's, Bath). 8 s. receiptis de servisia facta per Wm. Wodewarde, ad proficium dicte ecclesie hoc anno.
 1587(St. John's, Glastonbury). It is agreed by the parishioners that the churchwardens shall yearly keape ale to the comodeti of the parishe upon payne of xx s. a yere.
 1588 " William Stibbs for sellinge of ale in the churchhouse vj d.
 38 Hen. VIII(Stoke Courcy). An order taken by the 24 present of the hole parryshe in appoyntyng of the ale by the wardens for our Lady always to be taken the Sunday sevynnyght after the Assumption of our Lady and to contyne no longer but a month, & every man to geve his devocyon at the begynnyng of the yere.
 1446(Yatton). Received of the Wardenys of the ale making at Whytteson day iijj li. xx d.
 1447 " Received of the Wardenys of making of Ale at Wyttsunday to the cherche iijj li.

SUFFOLK

- 1529(Boxford). It. ressd. off a Chyrche alle made be us John Gren & Symond bokyng x s. iijj d.

In this connection, there are a few references to Ales conducted by, or for, special groups of parishioners:

DEVON

- 1594(Chudleigh). Pd. to one man that played with a pyck at the younge mens ale by consent, 2 s.

OXON

- 1553(Marston). Item for the youngmans ale v s. iijj d.
 1556 " Item John Ewen brought in for the yongmens ale which he made this yere iijj s. iijj d.

SUFFOLK

- 35 Hen. VIII(Blythburgh). Recd. for men's chirch ale xxx s.

Church Ales were on occasions given in collaboration with other parishes, and, at times, seemingly were combined with civic Ales:

CAMBS

- 1497-98(Bassingbourn). Rec' att the laste maye ale with the towne and heyne obitt, as with bred and ale xxvj s. viij d.

HERTS

- 1496(St. Michael's, Bishop's Stortford). Received of the Bachelors of the said town [Bury St. Edmunds] of the profit of a certain drinking called the May Ale 35 s. 4 d.

OXON

- 1551(Marston). Receyvid at the townes ale xxj s.
 1552 " Receyvid at the townes ale xxij s. viij d.

SOMERSET

13 Hen. VII (Wells Cathedral). From Corporation Books: An order giving Nicholas Trappe the power to inquire in whose hands the money of the church and the Commonalty of Wells is unjustly detained; money coming from, among other sources, the common church ale.

WILTS

1562 (Winterslow). In 1562 the principle of association was successfully adopted with other parishes⁸¹ with a clear profit of 6l 1l. 17 s. 2 d....

An entry of about 1520 from Bardwell, Suffolk, "receptum de Johanne Seffrey pro le churchale v s.," indicates, I think, the generosity of an individual towards a Church Ale, as do bequests in wills, such as the following:

NORTHANTS

- 1539 (Dodford). Richard Master bequeathed a strike of malt to the church for the church ale.
 1528 (Helmdon). From the will of T. Browks: To the church ayll j stryke of whete.
 1535 (Norton by Daventry). J. Fawcer bequeathed a strike of malt for the church ale at Norton by Daventry.
 1533 (St. Lawrence, Towchester). From the will of T. Synkyn: To the church ale at Whitsontyde haulf a quarter of malt.

SOMERSET

1555 (North Cadbury). From the will of John Barne: To the church of Northcadbury a bushel of wheat against Whitsunday to the church ale.

SUFFOLK

1509 (Letheringham). From a will: I bequeath to the pour town of Letheringham, toward a Church Ale, to the use and advantage of the Church there, a comb of wheat.

The support of Church Ales by the parishioners of Plymouth (Devon) and Lacock (Wilts) was obligatory. From the Corporation Book of Plymouth, there is the following order, dated for the time of Henry VIII:⁸²

For the honour of God and for thencreasing of the benefittes of the churche of Seynt Andrew of Plymouthe. It is agreed...that in the feaste of corporis christi euery warde of the said burghe [Plymouth] shall fro hensforthe this xth daye of June make an hale yn the parishe churche yarde of Seynt Andrewe aforesaid, and euery person of the saide warde to bring with theym except brede and drinke such vytale as they like best, and have there such and as many persons straungers as they think best of theyr frendes and aquaynted men and women for thencreasing of the said ale paing for brede and ale as it commeth thereto for their dyners and sopers the same day.

And on this occasion, every tavern selling wine and ale was to be closed, so as to favor the Church Ale.

The following Lacock order is dated 1586, and is signed by the vicar and "dyvers others of the parishe":

It is agreed upon by Thomas Forrest vicar and the parrishio^s assembled this xxviii of December 1586 for the better mayntenance of the Church if the dearnesse of the year suffer them not to keep Churche Ale in good an honest order that then every housholder and others here

81. For names of the other parishes, see this Winterslow record in the appendix.

82. Hist. MSS. Comm., ix (part 1), 273.

underwritten shall paye towards the mayntenance of the Church as they are here ceased, as also that every one here under ceased that shall refuse to spend there mony in honest order when Church Ale is kept shall paye although he be absent according to the rate whereunto he is ceased. Also it is Agreed that hereafter the Church Ale shall be kept as the waye Ale hath byn.

From wardens' accounts, it appears that ordinarily the Church Ale was of a day's duration, but entries such as those from Morebath (Devon), Bramley (Hants), Stoke Courcy (Somerset) and Seal (Surrey), show that these entertainments were not always restricted to so short a time. At Morebath, cider was sold in the church-house for four weeks. Since the Morebath entry reads "Recd. of John Walschmen," this may not, of course, have been a standard Church Ale, but an instance of an occasion when the church-house was let to a private individual, for a private business venture. But accounts of Ales from the three other towns mentioned are conclusive. The King Ale at Bramley undoubtedly lasted throughout the major portion of Whitsun week, and was continued on Trinity Sunday.⁸³ At Stoke Courcy, the Church Ale was to continue "no longer but a month," and the Ale at Seal was in progress for at least four days.

3. Relation of Church Ales to Plays

Churchwardens' accounts contain few records of Ales and plays given on the same occasion, but enough, I think, to prove that there did exist a definite connection between the two forms of entertainment. In seeking to establish such a relationship, one must discard several entries which, on the surface, apparently indicate the combination of play and Ale, but which, containing the word "play" without corroborative items, may not refer to a drama, but rather to some form of sport.⁸⁴

One bona fide example of a play and an Ale together may be taken, I believe, from the accounts of Ashburton, Devon.⁸⁵ In 1487-88, there are receipts for the "Play Ale." If this entry stood alone, I should not use it here, but would assume that a "Play Ale" might mean nothing more than an Ale accompanied by games. In the second year following, however, there is recorded a "profit of ale called the playern ale," in conjunction with the item for "making players' gowns." This seems to me fair evidence of an Ale combined with some kind of drama.

Three other examples may be found in records I have mentioned previously: from 1558 to 1591, interludes and Church Ales were held on Trinity Sundays at Bungay, Suffolk; in 1532, on the Sunday before Whitsunday, a play and a "drinking" were held at Heybridge, Essex; and the St. George play at Bassingbourn (Cams), in the year 1511,

83. In the Church calendar, Trinity Sunday follows Whitsunday.

84. For examples, see the King Ale at Wootton, p. 13 above; and the "churche Ale at grymley & a pley," p. 19 above.

85. See above, p. 19.

was accompanied by an Ale.⁸⁶

Furthermore, it seems credible that the plays at Tewkesbury Abbey (Gloucestershire), in Whitsun week of the year 1600, were not only the occasion of a Church Fair,⁸⁷ but also of an Ale. The records of these plays, it is true, make no direct allusion to an Ale, but the items for "ij buttes of beare and brewing our malte" and for "wayters in the seller and c...ppes" suggest strongly the probability of an Ale in association with the plays.

The instances here cited establish, then, at least an occasional combination of Church Ales and plays. But it is impossible, from the records I have seen, to say which called forth the other. In the case of the Tewkesbury plays, it is evident that if there were an Ale, as I have suggested, it was subsidiary to the dramas performed. But aside from the Tewkesbury records, the evidence is not conclusive. It appears that at Bassingbourn the Ale was held because of the play, and that at Heybridge the play was called forth by an Ale. But to make definite statements to that effect would be inexcusable guessing.

A NOTE ON CHURCH FAIRS

The holding of fairs⁸⁸ and markets in churchyards was forbidden in the thirteenth century.⁸⁹ But church accounts prove that the custom was continued, although seemingly in isolated instances, during the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries.

Fairs and markets held under the patronage and sanction of the Church were associated, in the accounts I have seen of them in churchwardens' records and other archival sources, with the observance of some Church festival or Holy Day.⁹⁰ Since on holidays the Church customarily provided amusements for its parishioners,⁹¹ it was to be expected that the accounts of Church fairs would show the presence of such

86. Included previously with this group (see above, p. 19) there was the play and Ale at Bishop's Stortford. Here that record is omitted, as being less well established as a play and Ale in combination than the three I have retained.

87. For Church Fairs, see below.

88. For short accounts of the origin of fairs, and their connection with the Church, see STEVENS, 189; and WALFORD.

89. See COX, *Fittings*, 25.

90. At Bethersden, Kent, in 1530-31 and the following year, the wardens received money for the renting on fair day of booths in shops belonging to the church. See *Kent Records*, v (part 3), p. xi. Such records I do not take as an indication of the direct connection of the Church with fairs. I exclude also records showing money spent at fairs and markets by churchwardens, such as the following: "In primis for the auterclothys and the corporall and the clerke hys surplesse, and expenses yn beyng therof at the feyr." HOBHOUSE, 92.

91. See HOBHOUSE, xiii-xix.

entertainments as, for instance, Church Ales or plays.⁹² But in this respect my records are, with one exception, disappointing. In Whitsun week of 1600, a fair and plays were held jointly at Tewkesbury Abbey, and were accompanied, I believe, by a Church Ale.⁹³ From other accounts of fairs and markets held by churches or religious houses, little is to be learned save the location of the fair (in or near the churchyard), the occasion on which it was sponsored, and the sums of money received from it by the churchwardens.

The records for Church fairs and markets follow:⁹⁴

CAMBS

- 1449-50(St. Radegund's Priory). Et de v. s. ij d. perceptis de profucius nundinarum die Assumpcionis Beate Marie infra tempus compoti hoc anno.
 1450-51 " Et de v s. perceptis de profucius et provenientibus nundinarum die Assumpcionis Beate Marie infra tempus compoti.
 1577-78 " for ledling ij payns in the south wyndowe there (i.e., in the chapel) next to the garlicke fayre close, &c. ij s. vj d. (Profits of the fair are mentioned regularly in the 16th century and in the earlier part of the 17th)

DORSET

- 1475(Wimborne Minster). Tolls of the fair within the churchyard on Sunday next after the feast of Saint Cuthberga the Virgin, 7 s.
 1496 " The profits of the fair 23 s. 6½ d.
 1510 " Received of the Fayr, with the markette, xxxij s. iv d. ob.
 1518 " Received from the foist fair in Pympe-Hylle viij s. ij d. ob.; from the second, vij s. ob. (Similar entry for 1524)
 1526 " to the Sheriff for the Fairs of Pymphill, vj s. viij d.
 1527 " to the Sheriff of Dorset for rent of ij fairs of Pymphill, vj s. viij d.
 1571 " Profits of "standinges" at "Cuthberte" fairs... Profits of the fairs at Pamphill at the feast of "St. Thomas Beckett and Sancte Lucke's day."

GLOUCESTERSHIRE

- 1600(Tewkesbury Abbey). A fair in conjunction with plays and possibly a Church Ale.⁹⁵

LONDON

- 1557(St. Margaret's, Westminster). The xxix day of June, was sent Peters day, was a smalle fare kept in sant Margatt cherche-yerde, as wolle and odur smalle thynges, as tornars and odur.

NORFOLK

- 1331-32(Creak Abbey). Of the annual fairs held in the churchyard, Sir Robert, the Cellarer, accounts for 14 s. for the fair of St. Nicholas; for 8 s. 7 d. for the fair of the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary; for 13 s. for the fair of St. Thomas; and for 8 s. 6 d. for the fair of St. Bartholomew. Total, 2 li. 4 s.

92. Ale was sold at fairs not under the patronage of the Church. For an example in 1548, see WALFORD, 79. And for the reasonable supposition that some form of drama might be expected at Church fairs, see the history of amusements at Bartholomew Fair, once connected with the Church, in MORLEY.

93. See above, p. 27.

94. I have not included here a few records of Church fairs, most of them prior to the three centuries in which I am interested, to be found in BROWN, 1, 274.

95. For the full account, see the appendix.

WILTS

- 1474-75(St. Edmund's, Salisbury). It. of the Gift of the Bochers for grounds for
ther Stallys without the letton ij s.
- 1477-78 " Et de iij d. rec' de quadam stacione iuxta
murum eccl'ie tempore Nundinarum hoc anno.
- 1490-91 " Rec. of dyverse men chese sellers which stode
at the Church Walle xvij d.
(Similar entries at intervals until 1576)
- 1495-96 " The "Perquis' Nundine" amounted to 16 d., re-
ceived of those who had stalls within the cemetery.
(Similar entries at intervals through 1500)
- 1510-11 " Rec "de perquis" nundinarum Sci Edmund's pew
stallis et stationibus diversis frimatutoribus et aliis Artificiariis
traditis et dimissis infra interiorem partem et exteriorem muri lapidis
Cimiterii ecclesie predictae tempore nundinarum predictarum iij s. viij
d. ob.

WORCESTERSHIRE

- 1519-20(St. Helen, Worcester). Of money recd. at the Fayre ij s. ix d.
Standing afore the church of money receyved at the
fayre dais ij s.

YORKS

- 1303(Kirkburton). Fairs and markets in the churchyard are indicated for some years
previous to 1303.

The fair held at St. Radegund's Priory on the festival of the Assumption of
the Virgin Mary was granted to the nuns by charter of King Stephen.⁹⁶ It came to be
known in its last days as "Garlick Fair," first being mentioned under this name in the
entry for 1577-78.⁹⁷

Fairs and markets in the churchyard at Kirkburton are established in a mandate
of 1303 from Archbishop Thomas of Corbridge to the dean of Pontefract,⁹⁸ in which the
latter was ordered to cause these fairs and markets to cease, as they gave rise to
quarrels which ended in bloodshed, so that divine service was often hindered.

96. The charter is not now extant, but the fact is recorded in the Hundred Rolls (H. R. 11, p. 359):
"Item predictae Priorissa et Moniales habent quandam feriam ad festum Assumpcionis Beate Marie
Virginis duraturam per duos dies. sc. in vigilia Assumpcionis Beate Marie cum die sequenti quam
quidem feriam habent ex concessione Stephani quondam Regis Anglie per cartam quam habent de Rege
predictae." See GRAY, 49.

97. See GRAY, 49.

98. See CORBRIDGE, 86.

APPENDIX

RECORDS OF CHURCH ALES AND CHURCH FAIRS

BERKSHIRE

READING

- St. Lawrence¹
1503-04 "It. rec. of the gaderyng of Robin Hod x bussells malt....v s."²
"It. rec. of the gaderyng of the same Robyn Hod l bz of whete....xij d."
1506 "To Macrell for makyng clene of the Church agaynst the day of drynking
in the seid Church iij d.
For flesh spyce and bakynge agaynst the said drynkyng ij s. ix d. ob.
For ale at the same drynkyng xvij d.
For mete and drynke to the Taberer ix d."
1557 "Itm. the saide churchwardens gatheringe at y^e Kyngale in the Whytson-
tyde at the church ale suppars xlviij s."

STANFORD-IN-THE-VALE

- Stanford-in-the-Vale³
1554 "It. ye encrays of Whitson ale 43 s. 4 d.
1583 "There was brought to the churche this yeere fowre newe platters and
too newe potyngers the w^{ch} were of the colection and provision of
the young youthes of this Toune such as were betwyxt x years of age
and xij haveing one bushell of the churche whayte towards theyre
charges."

THATCHAM

- Thatcham⁴
1566 "Rd. at Whytsuntyde Kyng ale 4 li."
1569-70 "Pd. att Whytsontyde Kyng ale for bells and poynts ij s. vij d."

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

GREAT MARLOW

- Great Marlow⁵
1595 "Item, received of the profytt of the mydsemer ale laste paste 6 li.
3 s. 4 d."
1603 "gayned by the Whyssonale 11 li. 7 s. 2 d."
(In 1609, the Whitsun ale brought in 16 li.)

WING.

- Wing⁶
1529 Made at a May ale, 30 s.

-
1. KERRY, 227-36; COX, Accounts, 287.
 2. According to Kerry (loc. cit.), the malt was for the brewing of a Church Ale.
 3. Antiquary, xvii, 118; COX, Accounts, 288.
 4. BARFIELD, ii, 93-96.
 5. NICHOLS, Illustrations, 135.
 6. Archaeologia, xxxvi, 224-25; COX, Accounts, 285.

- 1530 "recd. of hower mayale at Whitsontyde clear 27 s."
(Entries for May and Whitsun ales run through 1600)
- 1562 "Pd. to a minstrel at Whitsontide 3 s. 4 d."⁷
- 1563 "Received of the May ale 1j s. vj d."⁸
- 1564 "Item, Resavyd of the Maye ale 11j li. 1x s. vij d."⁹
- 1565 "Item received of the Maye ale all thynges thereto belonging discharged 11j li. xiiij s. viij d."⁹

CAMBRIDGESHIRE

BASSINGBOURN

Bassingbourn⁸

- 1497-98 "Rec' att the Fyrste may ale and all charges borne xviiij s. 1j d."
"Rec' att an Ale next after the seid may ale vij s. xj d. ob."
"Rec' att one other Ale in the Feste of the transfiguracion off our lord ihesu criste x s. 1j d. ob."
"Rec' att an ale next sondaye after the Assumpcion of our blyssid ladye vj s. 1j d."
"Rec' att an Ale the next Sunday after Mich'daye vij s. viij d."
"Rec' att an ale that day xiiijth next after v s. viij d."
"Rec' atte one othir ale on the next Sunday aftyr the Feste of seynt Kataryn the virgin and martyr vj s. viij d."
"Rec' att an ale on Rogacion sondaye vj s. x d."
"Rec' att the laste maye ale with the towne and heyne obitt, as with bred and ale xxvj s. viij d."
"Rec' att an ale on Mydlenton sonday vj s. xj d. ob."
"In losse off evyll money taken at the may ale viij s."⁹

CAMBRIDGE

St. Radegund's Priory¹⁰

- 1449-50 "Et de v s. 1j d. perceptis de profucius nundinarum die Assumpcionis Beate Marie infra tempus compoti hoc anno."
1450-51 "Et de v s. perceptis de profucius et provenientibus nundinarum die Assumpcionis Beate Marie infra tempus compoti."
1577-78 "for leding 1j payns in the south wyndowe there (i.e., in the chapel) next to the garlicke fayre closse, &c. 11j s. vj d."
(Profits of the fair are mentioned regularly in the 16th century, and in the earlier part of the 17th)

CORNWALL

STRATTON

Stratton¹¹

- 1512 "rec. for the hye crosse ale yn our tyme xxx s. 11j d."
1513-14 Ales brought in 37 s. and 38 s.
1517 "The church house rented for 11j d."
1530 "Rec. off the baylee the towne for occupying off the chyrch house for 1j ferrys (fairs)...."

7. The minstrel was probably employed for the Ale.
8. COX, *Accounts*, 290; CONYBEARE, 179.
9. Conybeare, quoting evidently from the same source as Cox (see footnote 8), gives the loss as 4 d.
10. GRAY, 49-162.
11. *Archaeologia*, xlv1 (part 1), 201-11.

DERBYSHIRE

AMBASTON

Ambaston¹²

Year unknown Yearly ales recorded for the churches of Ambaston, Elvaston, and Ockbrook.

DEVONSHIRE

ASHBURTON

Ashburton¹³

1482-83

"Received for ale of the aforesaid parishioners sold by William Halewyll, John Ferreys, John Ollysbrome & Thomas Perry this year... v li. xiiij s. iiij d."

1487-88

"Receipts for the play ale xx s. xj¹ d."

1489-90

"Received for sale of ale & brewing in the house of the church xxj d."
(The profits from the sale of ale for 1558-59 were 6 li., and for 1563-64, 3 li. 8 s.)

1490-91

"Also from the profit of ale called the playeryn ale xxxiiij s. iiij d."

"For making players' gowns x d."

CHAGFORD

Chagford¹⁴

Year unknown

Many parish ales recorded. "The parish wardens were sometimes called ale-wardens."

CHUDLEIGH

Chudleigh¹⁵

1561

"For brewing of y^e alle, 2 s."

1594

"Pd. to one man that played with a pyck at the younge mens ale by consent, 2 s."

EXETER

St. Mary Steps¹⁶

1553-58

"Et de xliij s. receptis pro seruicia hoc anno vendita."

MOREBATH

St. George¹⁷

1529

"It. we made frely of our ale all coste quytte x li. xiiij s. v d."

(The ale for 1530 made 3 li. 7 s. for the wardens, and that for 1532 brought in 3 li. 2 s. 4 d.)

Entries for the ale occur almost yearly until 1573)

1539

"Recd. of John Walschmen for selling of syder in the churche howsse iiij weekis...."

PLYMOUTH

St. Andrew¹⁸

Time of Hen. VIII Ales held yearly in the churchyard at the feast of Corpus Christi.

12. COX, Churches, iv, 206.

13. BUTCHER, 3-40; COX, Accounts, 39.

14. Devon Reports, viii (1876), 74.

15. JONES, 18-25.

16. Devon Notes, v (part 2--1908), 209.

17. Devon Notes (1903-04), 11-249; Devon Reports, xli, 365-66.

18. Hist. MSS. Comm., ix (part 1), 273.

SOUTH TAWTON

South Tawton¹⁹ Church ales recorded at intervals from 1555 to 1571.

DORSETSHIRE

WIMBORNE MINSTER

Wimborne Minster²⁰

- 1475- Received from the profit of one "taberne cerevisiae," called "churche ale," 6 li.
(Profits of the church ale are recorded annually until 1580)
"Tolls of the fair within the churchyard on Sunday next after the feast of Saint Cuthberga the Virgin, 7 s."
- 1495 Profits of beer sold, 4 li. 16 s. 8 d.
1496 The profits of the fair 23 s. 6½ d.
Profits of beer sold, 4 li. 6 s. 8 d.
- 1510 "Received of the Fayr, with the markette, xxxij s. iv d. ob."
1518 "Received from the foist fair in Pympe-Hylle viij s. ij d. ob.;
from the second, vij s. ob."
- 1524 Received for the fairs of Pymphyll, 9 s. 10½ d.
1526 "to the Sheriff for the Fairs of Pymphill, vj s. viij d."
1527 "to the Sheriff of Dorset for rent of ij fairs of Pymphill, vj s. viij d."
- 1564-65 "for the Church-ale in Lent vj li. xij s. iv d."
1571 Profits of "standinges" at "Cuthberte" fairs...
Profits of the fairs at Pamphill at the feast of "St. Thomas Beckett and Sancte Lucke's day."
1590 Profits of the ale, 9 li. 4 s. 5 d.

ESSEX

ARDLEYGH

Ardleygh²¹

- Year unknown "It. we resauyt on Saynt margarets day at the dry'kyng iij s. viij d."

WALDEN

Notre Dame de Walden²²

- 1439 "p^r gryndyng de malt p^r le may en le glyz iij d."
1441 "Itm rec' de collect'one in ecc^a de vno cherch ale....iiij marc'."

GLOUCESTERSHIRE

MINCHINHAMPTON

Minchinhampton²³

- 1555 "We mayd off ovr ale & ester moneye 3 li. 12 d."
(Ales recorded at intervals until 1589, when receipts were 4 li. 15 s., and entries for ales ceased)

Tewkesbury Abbey²⁴

- 1600 Also these churchwardens undertooke to sett a battlement of stone vpon the topp of the tower as nove it standeth where before was none, but stode

19. *Devon Reports*, xxxviii, 524-28.

20. MAYO, 87-104; HUTCHINS, 111, 256-62.

21. *Essex Arch.*, N.S., 1 (1878), 6.

22. BRAYBROOKE, 219-20.

23. *Archaeologia*, xxxv, 423-33.

24. F. S. Boas, "Play in Ancient Abbey," *London Observer*, Jan. 15, 1933, p. 8, col. 4. See also the same author's "Tewkesbury Abbey Theatrical Gear," *TLS*, Mar. 16, 1933, p. 184.

as it was at the fall of the spier of leade, which happened on Easter deye in the first yeare of the Quenes Maiesties raigne, on which was a beautifull wooden battlement. This battlement of stone they adventured vpon themselves by makinge of martes with such as would take of them, only was licensed them for that yeere, to some meetinges to be had within the towne for their helpe therein, which they after practised by settinge furthe ij severall stage playes within the abbey on the ij first deyes of whitsonweeke anno Dni 1600, havinge begun that woerck in lent before, of which charge they acquainte the bailiffes and parishe as followeth IMPRIMIS they accompt to have gotten by gifte within the towne and countrey neere aboute in wheate and malte, sc. wheate xvj bushels at ij s. iv d. a bushel, and of malte xxxj bushels at ij s. vj d. rated.... vj li. x s. x d.

of which they gained by utteraunce of the same at their playes so mucche as made the same a mounte to.....xij li. ij s. x d.

Item received for the gaine of the ij playes...xij li. vi s. ij d.
 Item received of free gifts above martes....xv s.
 Item received for lead that was spared from the topp of the tower....
 xvij li. xv.
 Item receivid for spare tymbre....xxij s.
 Summa....xlv li. ij s.

After a list of items spent upon the battlements there follows one of the details "laide out aboute the playes":

Imprimis for the place to playe in...xiiij s. iij d.
 Item for attendantes and other thinges...xj s. x d.
 Item to T. B. for his charges....xxx s.
 Item for hier of apparel....xx s.
 Item for ij trumpeters....xv s.
 Item for musicions all the tyme...xxiij s. iij d.
 Item for ij buttes of beare and brewing our malte...xl s.
 Item for fruites and spices....xvij s.
 Item for cockery...xij s. viij d.
 Item for meate for the players....xxx s. vj d.
 Item for wayters in the seller and c...ppes.....ix s.
 All the receiptes towards the makinge of the battlements...xlvj li.
 ij s.
 The whole charges vpon the battlements and playes...lxvij li.
 vj s. iij d.

By which accompt appeareth that the Churche wardens have in this woercke expended more then they gained by their playes the sum of....xxj li. iij s.

HAMPSHIRE

BRAMLEY Many mentions of the Whitsun ale being held in the church house.

Bramley^{24a}

Receipts.

1531-32 "Kyng ale on White Sunday, 10 s. 9 d.--at soppar, 20 s. 7 d.
 On Monday at dinner, 2 s.---at suppar, 10 s. 7 d.
 On Tuesday at dinner, 6 s. 9 d.
 On the said Tuesday of the parish of Pamber, 4 s.
 On the said Tuesday of the parish of Strathfieldsay, 9 s.
 On the said Tuesday at supper, 10 s. 6 d.
 On the Wednesday at dinner, 13 s. 6 d.

24a. Vic. Hist. Hants, iv, 144; CASQUET, Parish, 240.

Received for calf and sheep skin, 21 d.
 At supper on Trinity Sunday, 12 s. 6 d.
 For tapping money, 7 s. 6 d.

Payments

Towards the Kyng ale to Alys Carter 6 bushells whete, 6 s. 4 d.
 To Mr. Vycar for 3 bushells whete, 3 s.
 8 barrells of bere, 13 s. 8 d.
 To John Redyng for 2 calves, 6 s. 8 d.
 To Richard Tyrry for 1 calf, 2 s. 8 d.
 To William Littlework for 2 wethers, 5 s. 5 d.
 To Henry Whyte for a barren ewe and 3 lambs, 7 s.
 For geese and pyg with hare, 17 d.
 To Hugh Carter's wife for chekyns, 6 d.
 Anne Acre for butter and eggs, 6 d.
 For woode, 21 d.
 For mynstrell, 20 d.
 For rushes and making clene the barn, 3 d.
 For spices, 4 d.
 To Symon Redyng and his wife (and his moder above), 12 d."

PORTSMOUTH

Portsmouth²⁵

1567 Church ale held.

STOKE CHARITY

Stoke Charity²⁶

1542 "Item Rec. for a Churche ale xx s."
 (Similar entry for 1556)

1558 Items for a church ale, including "Item paid unto ye mynstell and
 ..."²⁷

1564 "Item Received for the increase of y^e Kyng ale and all thynges de-
 ducted xiiij s."
 "1564. Charges²⁸ of y^e Churche ale
 Item paid for one fatt shepe vij s. viij d.
 Item paid for j Calfe and halfe a Calffe x s.
 Item paid for j lambe ij s. viij d.
 Item paid for ij Cheses ij s.
 Item paid for bruens and spyses xvij d.
 Item paid for honey j d.
 Item paid...flower vote mele and salt xvij d.
 Item paid to Comens wyfe for hir labor iij d.
 Item paid to Nowell y^e mynstrell vj s. iij d."

1580 "Recyved in Claere gaynes by keeping of a Kyng ale xxvj s. x d."

WINCHESTER

St. John Baptist²⁹

1554 "Recd. of Kingale money all things Paid, x s. xj d."
 1557-59 "Recd. at the Kingale and drinking afore and after and for wheat and
 malt sold as appereth by a Book of the Particulars 2 li. 17 s.
 1 d."

25. EAST, 449.

26. Churchwardens' accounts of Stoke Charity, Hants, 1541-1728. Manuscript in possession of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

27. A portion of this item is torn from the manuscript.

28. The charges following are crossed out in the manuscript.

29. Hamp. Notes, vi(1892), 111-13.

WOOTTON

Wootton³⁰
1600

"Receipts for the Kingale as followeth for the Sunday after MidsomerDay, Junii xxix.

Rec. at the first table xv s.
 " " " seconde ij s. viij d.
 " " " thirde xj s. ij d.
 " " " fowerth x s. iij d.
 " " " fifte viij s. iij d.
 " " " sixth xj s.
 Rec. the same day at the tronke ij s. x d.
 " for pewter the same day x s. viij d.
 " out of the Churchowse for drink thear xij d.
 " for the felles xvj d.
 " more out of the Churchowse viij d.
 Summe iij li. xij s. ix d.

Receipt for the Souday next after, vj Julii.

Rec. at the first receipt xxiiij s. vj d.
 " " " seconde vij s. x d.
 " " " thirde x s. viij d.
 " " " foureth v s.
 " " " fift xj s.
 " " " sixth iij s.
 " for the tronke vj s. x d.
 " " pewter ix s. x d.
 " of Mrs. Kingsmill the same day xij d.
 " for lambe skinnes xij d.
 Summe iij li. ij s.

Payments for the said Kingale as followeth.

To the ministrills for minstrelsie xxiiij s. x d.
 Pd. to the dl. back againe xij s.
 Pd. for a caulf to Tho. Hardinge x s.
 Pd. for another to Jo. Palmer xj s.
 Pd. for two lambs fatte to Mr. Dorpthwait viij s. viij d.
 Pd. for a couple of chicken vj d.
 Pd. for a caulf to Tho. Lee viij s.
 Pd. for haulf a lambe to him ij s. vj d.
 Pd. for a barraine ewe to Ric. Freme vj s. viij d.
 Pd. for a lambe bought of the same v s. iij d.
 Pd. for a lambe to Jo. Towne vj s.
 Pd. to Symon Cuttle for a fatt shepe vij s.
 Pd. for a ling and haulf xx d.
 Pd. for fresh fishe xvij d.
 Pd. for egges and butter ij s. xj d.
 Pd. for fruit and spice ix s.
 Pd. for the Pewter xij s. j d.
 Pd. for the Ladyes lyveries iij s. vj d.
 Pd. for the Lordes lyveries v s.
 Pd. to Whitburne for his play ij s.
 Pd. for a lb. of suett iij d.
 Pd. to Ric. Ailiff for five bush. of mault xj s. viij d.
 Pd. to Ric. Wyther for two pecks of mault xiiij d.

30. KITCHIN, 171-73; COX, Accounts, 281.

Pd. for hoppes xviiij d.
 Pd. for moe hoppes vj d.
 Pd. for D hundred of faggotts xviiij d.
 Pd. to Jo. Towne for his labour xij d."

HERTFORDSHIRE

BISHOP'S STORTFORD

St. Michael's³¹

1485-86

"For ix bs. malte to the hoke-ale vj s. viij d.
 For iijj bs. whete to the hoke-ale iij s. iijj d.
 For brewyng of the hokyng ale xvi bs. xvj d."

1489(?)

Profit from the "Hokkyng Ale," 15 s.
 From two drinkings called May Ales, 4 li. 6 s. 8 d.
 Expenses at "Sabbisford May et lytill Hadham May," 3 s.
 Expenses at "Thorleigh May," 6 d.

1490(?)

"Of the issue of a drinking made in the church here on Sunday last
 after the day of the aforesaid Play 6 s. 1½ d."³²

1496

"Received of the Bachelors of the said town [Bury St. Edmunds] of the
 profit of a certain drinking called the May Ale 35 s. 4 d."

1515

"Item pd. for brede and ale the same day that Sabbysford may was
 whan they of Sabysford did come rydyng to the towne to sett ther
 may ix d."

1517

Cleared by the May ale, xl s.
 "Item pd. for brede wyne and ale at the comyng of Sabrichesworth may
 x d."

1523

"Item pd to the schot of hatfeld may xij d."

HUNTINGDONSHIRE

St. Mary in Huntingdon, Priory of³³

1517-18

"Item, gyven to the wyves of Herford, to the making of there May 12 d."

KENT

BETHERSDEN

Bethersden³⁴

1530-31

"It. rec. of dyverys persons for ocupyng of the shopps uppon-feyer
 daye 11 d. ob."

1531-32

"It. rec. of men for standyng in the shopps at ffeyer daye 11 d."

LEICESTERSHIRE

LEICESTER

St. Martin's³⁵

1498

"Received of the church ale the first day, i.e., on Sunday next after
 the Assumption, 17 s. 5 d."

31. GLASSCOCK, 20-39; CUSSANS, 1(part 1), 128.

32. In SMITH, 502, the author includes the item for 1496 (see below) with that for the year 1490, calling the "drinking" a Maryale. This is, I think, a mistake for May-ale. Smith furthermore includes under the year 1490 items for an Ale called "Luntis-yield." This term I have encountered in no other records. Smith takes the "Luntis-yield" to be an Ale held at the time of paying the "smoke-farthing" or "wax-silver."

33. NICHOLS, Illustrations, 294.

34. Kent Records, v(part 3--1928), 24, 26.

35. NICHOLS, Leicester, 1(part 2), 569. These accounts are practically identical with those for Ales for the same year from the records of St. Margaret's, Leicester. See Nichols (op. cit.), 560.

"Item, [received for ale] on our Lady's Assumption, 2 s. 7 d. ob."

"Paid for bread to the church ale, and flesh, 4 s."

"Item, bread on our Lady day Assumption, 2 d."

"Received of the church ale holden of St. Bartholomew's even, 38 s. 1 d."

1499 "In 1499, they had at the Church ale powdered beef 2 s., and cheese 10 d."

St. Mary-de-Castro³⁶

1495 "Recd. of the church ale clearly 19 s."

"Recd. clearly of the church ale at St. Laurent-tide 4 nobles."

"Recd. of the church-ale on Holy-rood day 5 s. 4 d."

THURLASTON

Thurlaston³⁷

Year unknown Yearly ales recorded.

LONDON

LONDON

Allhallows, London Wall³⁸

1509-11 "Itm ress' on mayday for owre drynkyng & all chargs borōn of a kylldirken ale ij s. x d."

St. Andrew, Holborn³⁹

19, 21, 22 Hen. VIII Ales held.

St. Margaret's, Westminster⁴⁰

1557 "The xxix day of June, was sent Peters day, was a smalle fare kept in sant Margatt cherche-yerde, as wolle and odur smalle thynges, as tornars and odur."

NORFOLK

Creak Abbey⁴¹

1331-32 From accounts of Sir Robert, the Cellarer: "Rents paid...to our sacrist, for church land, and the annual fairs in the churchyard, 26 s. 8 d."

"He [Sir Robert] accounts for 14 s. for the fair of St. Nicholas; for 8 s. 7 d. for the fair of the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary; for 13 s. for the fair of St. Thomas; and for 8 s. 6 d. for the fair of St. Bartholomew. Total, 2 li. 4 s."

GREAT WITCHINGHAM

St. Mary⁴²

1528 "Recd of Ester drynkyng vij s."
(There were also, at dates not given, Hallowmas drinkings and Christmas Lord drinkings)

36. NICHOLS, *Leicester*, i(part 2), 309.

37. COX, *Churches*, iv, 206.

38. WELCH, 48.

39. MALCOLM, 11, 188.

40. MACHYN, 141.

41. *Norf. Arch.*, vi(1864), 322-26.

42. *Ibid.*, x111(1898), 201.

HARLING

Harling⁴³

- 1450 "For a Chirch ale made on Fastyng gange Sunday, by J. Keys and his neighbors 6 s. 8 d."
- 1456 "For a Chirchale made on Sunday next, after xij day for ye Furlode iv s."
- 1457 "For a Chirche ale, made and given by the Ld. xxxiij s. x d."
- 1459 "For washing of ye Wessell on Furlode night...
Recd. of ye Ld. on ye Furlode day, in money ij s. iv d.
Item. Recd. on ye Furlode night, for divers things viij d."
- 1494 "Recd. of a Chirchale, made the Sunday before Medsomer, when Keninghale and Lopham came hither xvij s. ij d."

NORTH ELMHAM

North Elmham⁴⁴

- 1539 "It. att y^e rekenyng att hallowmes for y^e drynkyng..."
- 1540 "It. rec. of y^e drynkyn x s."
"It. rec. att hallowmes drynkyng iij s. ij d. ob."
(Hallowmas ales recorded in 1544, 1545, 1547)

SHIPDAM

Shipdam⁴⁵

- 1515 "Item ye chyrchrevys have Receyvyd of on Drynkyn y^t they made 15 s."
"Item they Receyved of ye Drynkyn y^t Thos. Hawlyg & John Tennet made 13 s. 4 d."
"Item they Recyvyd of ye Drynkyn y^t John Newell made 10 s."
Profit of drinkings held by the churchwardens, 36 s. 4 d.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

CULWORTH

Culworth⁴⁶

- Time of Hen. VIII "Itm. for bred & chese att Whytson ale.
Itm to ye mynstrell att ye same tyme."

43. East Anglian, 1, 383.

44. LEGGE, 7-39.

45. Brit. Museum Add. MSS. 23,009, f. 25; COX, Accounts, 289. The 1515 entries are taken from "Extracts from Shipdham Town Books, 1511-1626," in the manuscript indicated. Other entries there for ales may or may not refer to Church Ales. The following condensed account is taken from the manuscript, f. 3b: "There was money received for a drinking (6 s. 8 d.) every year in which the accounts are entered up to 1558, in which year Queen Mary died, but none subsequently. It is sometimes said a drinking that the Churchwards made & sometimes other individuals. The receipts from the Drinkings & the Solmes-night-holders (Hallowmass) constituted a large portion of the parish income. In 1524 5 li. 18 s. was received from these sources. In the years immediately preceding 1558 the receipts declined in amount & are generally classed together, as in 1556 Recd of the Solmes Drinking 4 s. 8. Itm. recd of John Hacolle for hallowmes neyte 20 d."

46. ELLIS, March 29, 1902. Ellis gives two other items that he thinks have reference to the Whitsuntide feast, or "Ale-drinking": Time of Hen. VIII "It. Res. in the towne house at Whytson-tyde 13 s. 8 d." and "It. Res. of the yonge Men at Whytson-tyde 16 s."

DODFORD

Dodford⁴⁷

1539 Richard Master bequeathed a strike of malt to the church for the church ale.

HELMDON

Helmdon⁴⁸

1528 From the will of T. Browks: "To the church ayll j stryke of whete."

NORTON BY DAVENTRY

Norton by Daventry⁴⁹

J. Fawcer bequeathed a strike of malt for the church ale at Norton by Daventry.

TOWCHESTER

St. Lawrence⁵⁰

1533 From the will of T. Synkyn: "To the church ale at Whitsontyde haulff a quarter of malt."

OXFORDSHIRE

MARSTON

Marston⁵¹

1547 "Item at there Witsondays ale thei [the wardens] encessid xxvj s."
 1548 "Item the gaynes of one ale at Witsontide xxvij s."
 1550 "Item the gaynes of the ale at Witsontyde receyving but half the corne xix s."
 1551 "Receyvid at the townes ale xxj s."
 1552 "Receyvid at the townes ale xxij s. viij d."
 1553 "Forst for the gaynes of the churche ale xx s."
 "Item for the youngmans ale v s. iij d."
 1556 "Item John Ewen brought in for the yongmens ale which he made this yere iij s. iij d."
 "Item we made of the churche ale at Witsontide xx s."
 1557 "Item made of the churche ale all charge deducted viij s. iij d."

OXFORD

St. Michael⁵²

1530-31 "item rec' at Octide for the ale xvj s. x d.; item rec' at Whitson ale and all charges born, xxxvij s."
 1531-32 "item res' at Hoctyde for the ale xvj s. x d.; item res' at Whitson ale and all charges boren, xxxvj s."
 (Similar items appear at intervals until 1562)

St. Peter-in-the-East⁵³

1443-44 "Et de xij s. ij d. de cervisia ecclesie."
 1444-45 "Et de ij s. in cervisia ecclesie ad festum Pentecostes."

47. *Arch. Jour.*, lxx (1913), 257.

48. *Ibid.*, 340.

49. " 257.

50. " 420.

51. *Oxfordshire Record Soc.* (1925), 13-20.

52. *SALTER*, 192-231.

53. Churchwardens' accounts of St. Peter-in-the-East, Oxford, 1443-1600. In one large volume, kept in the room over the porch. Many years missing, and some mutilated and illegible.

- 1461-62 "Et de iij s. ij ob. receptis inter parochianos in festo pentecostes pro cervisia ecclesia."
(Similar items at intervals until 1488)
- 1526 "Item recevyd for Whytson ale and al thyng payd for ij li."
- 1596-97 "Item for the Whitsun ale brought in by y^e children of y^e parish vij s."
- 1598-99 "Item for our Whytson Ale xxx s."

PYRTON

- Pyrton⁵⁴
- 1554 "Item that Edmund Yeats and Thomas Holande mayd of the ale at Wytson tyd and all costs and chargs borne xxxix s. ij d."
- 1559-60 "Item mayed of the cheyrche ale xliij s. viij d."
"Made of the Whytson ale xij s. ij d."
- 1569 "Item makynge a churche alle the encrease of it xxxiiij s. iij d."
- 1601 "Item unto goodwife Widowes for helpinge about the Ale ij s."

THAME

- Church of the Virgin Mary⁵⁵
- 1474 "It' we payde for brewyng of the Ale at Wyt Sondy xij d."
- 1501 "Itm. rec'. of the may ale and of the gaderyng of Robyn Hodde in New Thame att Whytson tyd clere xx s."

YARNTON

- Yarnton⁵⁶
- 1620 "Received for the Whitsonale 11 s. 4 d."
- 1641 "Pd. J. Saunders for 12 bushels of malt for Whitsuntide."

SHROPSHIRE

WORFIELD

- Worfield⁵⁷
- 1505-06 Receipts "de cervisia in festo pentecostes."
(Similar entries appear yearly on into the 17th century)

SOMERSETSHIRE

BANWELL

- Banwell⁵⁸
- 1516-1603 "The parish had its Church-house and ales, the house being called both bakehouse and brewhouse, in evidence of being fitted for divers entertainments."

BATH

- St. Michael's⁵⁹
- 9 Hen. VIII "8 s. receptis de servisia facta per Wm. Wodewarde, ad proficium dicte ecclesie hoc anno."

54. Oxfordshire Record Soc. (1925), 71-90.

55. LEE, 26-48.

56. STAPLETON, 252-53.

57. Salop Arch., 3rd ser., 111 (1903) through 4th ser., 11, passim.

58. ROBHOUSE, 229.

59. Royal Hist. Soc., vii (1878), 314.

CROSCOMBE

Croscombe⁶⁰

1522-23 An ale of St. George, the "crysse" of which amcunted to 13 s. 7 d.

GLASTONBURY

St. John's⁶¹

1428 "Et de liij s. v d. receptis de Waltero Wilcokes de una bracina cerevisie."

1587 "Item that the sayd (Chur erased) condyt wardens to kepe an alle for the comodetie of the condytts in the sayd towne (Glastonbury) to be kept about the tyme of Shrofftyde."

"It is agreed by the parishioners that the churchwardens shall yearly keape ale to the comodeti of the parishe upon payne of xx s. a yere."

1588 "William Stibbs for sellinge of ale in the churche house vj d."

NORTH CADBURY

North Cadbury⁶²1555 From the will of John Barne: "To the church of Northcadbury a bushel of wheat against Whitsunday to the church ale."

STOKE COURCY

Stoke Courcy⁶³

16-19 Hen. VII

The sale of ale at Pentecost, 54 s. 7 d.

(Similar items occur at intervals up to 38 Hen. VIII)

38 Hen. VIII "An order taken by the 24 present of the hole parryshe in appoyntinge of the ale by the wardens for our Lady always to be taken the Sunday sevyntyght after the Assumption of our Lady and to contyne no longer but a month, & every man to geve his devocyon at the begynnyng of the yere."

TINTINHULL

Tintinhull⁶⁴

1443 An ale brought in a profit of only 2 s.

1447-48 Ale on St. Margaret's Day, 12 s. 1 d.

Ale on the feast of SS. Philip and James, 13 s. 4 d.

1462-82 "Received for Church ale vij s."

1512-13 "It. off Robine Hood All only this once xj s."

WELLS

Wells Cathedral⁶⁵13 Hen. VII From Corporation Books: "Et insuper in eadem convocacione omnes et singuli burgenses unanimi assensu ad tunc et ibidem dederunt Magistro Nicolao Trappe potestatem generalem ad inquirendum in quorum manibus pecunie ecclesie ac Communitatis Wellie sunt injuste detentae; videlicet, provenientes ante hoc tempus de Robynhode, puellis tripudiantibus, communi cervisia ecclesie, et hujusmodi."60. COX, Accounts, 146.61. Somerset and Dorset Notes & Queries, iv, 141; v, 48.62. Somerset Record Soc., xl (1925), 230.63. Hist. MSS. Comm., vi, 348-50.64. COX, Accounts, 289; Somerset Arch., N.S., xi-xii (1885-86), 82; Somerset Record Soc., iv, 200.65. Hist. MSS. Comm., i, 107.

YATTON

Yatton⁶⁶

- 1446 "Received of the Wardenys of the ale making at Whytteson day 111j li.
xx d."
- 1447 "Received of the Wardenys of making of Ale at Wyttsunday to the
cherche 111j li."
- 1448 "For a tavernne that ys made of y^e Church Ale v marcs xj d."
- 1451 "Pro taberna servicie in festo Pentecoste 11j li."
- 1464 "For vij tavernys made at the Churche house ix s. 111j d."
- 1492 "This be perselles that longyth to the Cherche howse the yere A.D.
mcccc~~lxxx~~ij delyveryd to the Wardens that yere.
Imprmis a chettyll
It. 1j grett crocks
" 1j lyttl crocks
" 111j pannys
" a botum for a panne
" a brandyre
" v tun vats
" 1j kyve vates
" 1j trowys (troughs)
" ix stands
" barrelys
" xxj trendyllys (trendles)
" vj borde clothis"
- 1509 "Receyvd of Saynt Jamys Ale 11j mark 111j s."
- 1524-25 Three ales brought in 23 li.
- 1527 "For 1j dosyn and a halfe drynkyng bowls and a dosyn and a halfe of
mate dysses and 111j dosyn trenchers and a ladyle xvj s."
- 1537-38 "[Received of] our tavernne Ale at Wysontyde viij li. xv s. ix d."
"[Received] for the tavernne Ale at Mydsomer lvij s. 111j d."
- 1546-47 "For our tavernne Ale at Whytsondey 111j li. xiiij s. 111j d."
- 1547 "Our tavernne Ale at Wysontyde v li. xx d."
- 1548-49 Three ales brought in 24 li. 2 s.

SUFFOLK

BARDWELL

Bardwell⁶⁷

- 1519 Received of a church ale made the Sunday before "halowmesse day,"
31 s. 3 d.
- c.1520 "Item receptum de Johanne Seffrey pro le churchale v s."
(An Ale is recorded for 1531)

BLYTHBURGH

Blythburgh⁶⁸

- 35 Hen. VIII "Recd. for men's chirch ale xxx s."

BOXFORD

Boxford⁶⁹

- 1529 "It. ressd^d. off a Chyrche alle made be us John Gren & Symond bokyng
x s. 111j d."
(Four more ales are recorded for the same year. Entries for ales
continue throughout the reign of Henry VIII)

66. COX, *Accounts*, 288-89; *Somerset Record Soc.*, iv, 119, 158.

67. *Suffolk Inst.*, xi (1903), 111-12.

68. SUCKLING, 11, 156.

69. *Cambridge Antiquarian Society (Proceedings)*, 1, 265.

BUNGAY

Holy Trinity⁷⁰
1558

"Itm. Rec. of the church ale monye w^{ch} was gatheryd on trynit' Sondaye v li. ix s. ix d."

CRATFIELD

Cratfield⁷¹
1493

Church ales recorded for Passion Sunday, for Pentecost Sunday, for All Souls' Day, and in harvest time.

1494

"Item off a cherch ale ffor Galff Teyzard ix s. viij d."

An ale on the "Monday after Ester."

One on Pentecost Sunday.

One in harvest.

Church ale for "ye schetyng."

One on the Dedication Day of the church.

1495-1510

Several ales recorded yearly. In 1499, an ale for Palm Sunday.

DENNINGTON

Dennington⁷²
30 Hen. VIII

"Resayvyd of ou^r cherche aell x s. viij d."

FRESSINGFIELD

Fressingfield⁷³
24 Hen. VII

Memorandum annexed to an Indenture conveying two pieces of town land in Fressingfield, dated 20 Feb., 24 Henry VII, to a new body of feoffees: "These pieces of land were conveyed 'for the more rev'ence of God & in avoydyng of etyng & drynkyng & other abusions in the chirch of ffresyngfeld aforeseid shall suffe the chirch wardeyns of the seid chirch of ffresyngfeld & eny of the p'ishons of ffresyngfeld aforeseid co'venyently to use & occupye the seid two pecs of lond & all housis thereupon bylded in to and for the kepyng of all churchalis gildis yerdayes & other drynkynggs necessary to the p'fyte of the seid chirch or p'isshe and that the seid housis nor any other of the p'miss be not letyd to ony p'son yerly soo that therby the kepyng of the seid chirch alis yerdayes thurty dayes viith dayes or buriells myght be lettid or abusid.'"

HUNTINGFIELD

Huntingfield⁷⁴
1520-21 Ed. VI

Church ales recorded at intervals.

LEATHERINGHAM

Letheringham⁷⁵
1509

From a will: "I bequeath to the pour town of Letheringham, toward a Church Ale, to the use and advantage of the Church there, a comb of wheat."

SOUTHWOLD

See Walberswick.

70. East Anglian, 1 (1864), 304.

71. HOLLAND, 21-37.

72. Suffolk Inst., vii (1891), 121.

73. East Anglian, N. S., vi, 49.

74. Society of Antiquaries, 2nd ser., 1, 116.

75. East Anglian, 1 (1864), 383.

WALBERSWICK

Walberswick⁷⁶

- 1451 Disbursed: "apud Southwalde at a Chirche Ale 8 d."
 1453 "6 Die Maii at a Cherche Ale 13 s. 4 d."
 "Item in uno Cherche Ale in Festo omnium Sanctorum 16 s."

SURREY

KINGSTON-ON-THAMES

Kingston-on-Thames⁷⁷

- 16 Hen. VIII "Rec. at the church-ale & Robynhode all things deducted 3 li. 10 s.
 6 d."
 17 Hen. VIII "Church ale....7 li. 15 s."

SEAL

Seal⁷⁸

- 1592 "Charges Laide out concerning our Churchayle.
 3 bus. wheat 13 s.
 9 barrels beere 40 s.
 veal & lamb 22 s. 9 d.
 load of wood & the carriage 5 s. 6 d.
 spice & fruit 7 s. 1 d.
 butter, cream, milk, 4 s.
 gun powder 4 s.
 Pd. to the musition for 5 days play 20 s.
 Item to the drummer 2 s.
 for more butter & cream 2 s. 3 d.
 for more spice & frutte 4 s. 2 d.
 Item for meatt & Beere for the musitions & other helpers 8 s.
 4 d."
- 1611 "Charges laide out for the Churchale.
 In primis for tow quartrs of malte xl s.
 Item pd. the Brewer for his worke, for hopps, wood, bere, corne,
 and suche like things x s. 1j d.
 for x Barrels of Beere xl s.
 Pd. for one q^rter of wheatt 33 s. 4 d.
 Pd. for tow fatte calves 20 s. 4 d.
 Pd. for another calfe 6 s.
 Pd. for a fatt sheepe 7 s. 6 d.
 Pd. for 3 Lambes 12 s.
 Pd. for one fatte Lambe 5 s.
 Pd. for 7 fatte Lambes 38 s. 6 d.
 Pd. Mabanke for his work for that time 3 s. 6 d.
 Pd. to Turner for his worke 2 s. 4 d.
 Pd. to Mabanke wyffe 18 d.
 Pd. to Shrubbs wyffe xv d.
 Pd. to Weadowe Wilke 8 d.
 Pd. to Henrie Hathorne 12 d.
 Pd. to Hornman the Smithe for worke 13 d.
 Pd. to Richard Lowrance Lickfolds man 12 d.
 Pd. to 2 musitions the first daie 5 s.
 Pd. 2 other musitions for 11j daies 20 s.
 Pd. the last daie for musicke 4 s.

76. GARDNER, 148-49.

77. LYSONS, 1, 229-30.

78. Surrey Arch., 11, 34-36.

Pd. the Drume plaier 5 s. .
 Pd. the Vice, otherwise the Foole 5 s.
 Pd. for puter for Riflinge 14 s. 4 d.
 Pd. for silke pointes & laces 12 s.
 Pd. for earthen pottes & Godhods 12 d."

SUSSEX

BOLNEY

Bolney⁷⁹
 1537-38 Church ale nets 5 s. 2 d.

STEYNING

Steyning⁸⁰
 1546 Church ale brought in 29 s. 5 d.
 (Ales are recorded for 1547 and 1549; in the former year,
 receipts were 31 s. 3 d.)

TARRING

Tarring⁸¹
 6 Hen. VII "Rec' on trynyte sonday for the chyrch ale, xxvij s. x d."

WILTSHIRE

CALNE

Calne⁸²
 1528 King Ale brought in 102 s.
 Church ale brought in 47 s. 4 d.

DONHEAD

St. Mary⁸³
 1612 The jury of the Hundred of Dunworth present that on St. Peter's Day,
 and on the Sabbath Day next following, after "yevening" prayer
 there was an ale kept for the benefit of the Church of Donhead
 St. Mary.

LACOCK

Lacock⁸⁴
 1583 The waymen "at there entrance receaved in stocke xj s. x d. there
 increase made by there Ale was liii s. viij d."
 1586 "It is agreed upon by Thomas Forrest vicar and the parrishio^s as-
 sembled this xxviii of December 1586 for the better mayntenance
 of the Church if the dearnesse of the year suffer them not to keep
 Churche Ale in good an honest order that then every housholder and
 others here underwritten shall paye towards the mayntenance of
 the Church as they are here ceased, as also that every one here
 under ceased that shall refuse to spend there mony in honest order
 when Church Ale is kept shall paye although he be absent according
 to the rate where-unto he is ceased. Also it is Agreed that

79. *Sussex Arch.*, vi, 248.

80. *Ibid.*, viii (1856), 136-40.

81. *CARTWRIGHT*, 111, 13.

82. *Wilts Arch.*, xxiv (1889), 203.

83. *Ibid.*, xxxii (1902), 354.

84. *HINTON*. Some of these items are from Waymen's Accounts.

- hereafter the Church Ale shall be kept as the waye Ale hath byn."⁸⁵
- 1587 The churchwardens, at their entrance, received in stock xij s. viij d.
- 1590 From Waymen's Accounts: "ther encrease of ther ale was xxx s."
- 1591 The churchwardens received in stock lv s. ix d.
"the increase of the gathering the kinges hale & the box money cometh to xxvj s. viij d."
(Items for Waymen's ales and church ales appear up to 1622)

MERE

Mere⁸⁶

- 1557 "Inpmis the sayd Churchewardeyns do yelde Accompte of the pfytte of the Churche Ale thies yere. Above all chargs xij li. vj d."
- 1558 "Recd. of the increase & profit of the Church Ale this year 7 li. 1 s. 1 d."
- 1559 "Itm for the hyre of certeyn pewter vessell at the Church ale and for one platter w^{ch} was lost there xx d."
- 1562 "Itm for a Cote for the vyse or ffole at the Churcheale iij s. vj d."
- 1566 "Thomas Sheppard Rem' Cuckowe King this yeare for that he was Prince the last yeare According to the Custome. And at this daie John Watts the sonne of Thos. Watts is chosen Prynce for the next yeare.
Item for the Cuckowe lords Expences v s."
"For Tynnen spoones and trenchers and potts bought to thuse of the Church vij s."
(Profits from church ales are recorded until 1613)
- 1567 "John Watts the sonne of Thomas Watts is appointed to be Cuckowe King this next yeare according to the old order, because hee was Prince the last yeare. And Thomas Barnerd thunger is elected Prince for this next yeare. And because John Watts hath been long sick hit is agreed that if hee be not able to srve at the tyme of the Church ale. That then John Coward the sonne of Rob^{te} Coward shall srve and be king in his place for this yeare."
- 1568 "Thomas Barnard Junior is appointed King for this year because he was prince the last yeare. Roger Gyldon is appointed prince for two yeares."
(The Cuckoo King and Prince appear almost yearly until 1578)
- 1569 "For the hire of too Dozen vessells at the Church Ale 8 d."
- 1579 "In 1579 the ale was superseded by a definite collection for the church and for the payment of the clerks' wages; it amounted that year to 16 li. 18 s. 4 d."
- 1588 "In 1588, however, the 'collection' gave way to the old church-ale, the profits from which amounted to 14 li. 2 s. 6 d."
- 1593 "In 1593, 'there was not Church ale made nor other collection for the repayre of the Church.'"

SALISBURY

St. Edmund's⁸⁷

- 1461-62 "Scotale--Et de xxiiij li. viij s. x d. Rec' de diuersis jocalibus regibus & reginis hoc anno prout patet per indenturam inter ipsos & predictos computantes. S'ma xviiij li. viij s. x d."
- 1469-70 "Et de xliij s. vi d. rec' de denar' hoc anno collect' per Willm Smythe et Aliciam uxorem Roberti South de servisia regali viz. in

85. Signed by Thomas Forrest, the vicar, and "dyvers others of the parishe."

86. *Wilts Arch.*, xxix (1896-97), 268-70; xxxv (1907-08), 27-266; COX, *Accounts*, 291.

87. SWAYNE, 8 ff.; COX, *Accounts*, 61-63.

- Septimana proxima ante festum Pentecoste. Et de xx s. rec' de denar' collect' per Johannem Payne Vever (weaver) et Johannem Noke Vever de servisia regali viz. in Septi'a Pentecoste. Et de lx s. rec' per Johannem Chapman et uxorem Radulfi Hayne de servisia regali viz. in Septi'a profine post festum Pentecoste. Et de lxxv s. rec' per Willm Harrys et ux'm Willi Pole de servisia regali viz. in Septi'a qua accidit festum translacionis Sei Edmundi."
- 1474-75 Repairs "pro domo scotali."
"Scotalis with Gifts to the grete Belle."
"It. of the Gift of the Bochers for grounde for ther Stallys without the letton ij s."
- 1477-78 "Et de liij d. rec' de quadam stacione iuxta murum eccl'ie tempore Nundinarum hoc anno."
- 1490-91 "Rec. of dyverse men chese sellers which stode at the Churche Walle xviiij d."
(Similar entries at intervals until 1576)
- 1495-96 "The 'Perquis' Mundine' of 1495-96 amounted to 16 d., received of those who had stalls within the cemetery."
(Similar entries at intervals through 1500)
- 1510-11 "Rec 'de perquis' nundinarum Sci Edmund's pew stallis et stationibus diversis frimatutoribus et aliis Artificiaris traditis et dimissis infra interiorem partem et exteriorem muri lapidis Cimiterii ecclesie predicte tempore nundinarum predictarum ij s. viij d. ob."

STEEPLE ASHTON

Steeple Ashton⁸⁸

- 1558 "Item made clerely of the churche ale, 37 s. 2 d."
(Similar entry for 1559)

WINTERSLOW

All Saints⁸⁹

- 1542 "It'm freye clere by the kyng ale the yere above sayd xxij s.
It'm a vyrkyn of bere xj d.
It'm to the mynstrell viij d.
It'm for saforne to the kyng ale ij d."
- 1543 "It'm gayned clere for the churche at the kyng ale xij s."
(King Ales are recorded at intervals until 1610)
- 1555 This year the profit for the King Ale was 53 s. 2 d.
There were provided wheat, malt, a sheep, a calf, a loin of mutton, another of veal, half a sheep, cheese, butter, spices, flour, and "wood to bake and brue"; and the "mynstrell" received 2 s. 8 d.
- 1557 "It' for ye mynstrell & for the besome xij d."
- 1562 "In 1562 the principle of association was successfully adopted with other parishes with a clear profit of 61 li. 17 s. 2 d., including Idmiston 41 s. 2 d., East Titherley 20 s., Farley 26 s. 8 d., West Titherley 15 s., East Dean 5 s., Winterslow 26 s. 2 d., besides 3 s. 2 d. 'receyved after.'"
- 1563 "Morys-gere" was hired as an additional attraction for the King Ale.
- 1564 A King Ale at Winterslow and at Pitton.
- 1573 Morris dancers and minstrels were attractions at the King Ale.

88. *Wilts Notes & Queries*, vi (1908-10), 371-72.

89. *Wilts Arch.*, xxxvi (1910), 29-33.

- 1574 In addition to the morris dancers and the minstrel, a drum-player and a "taberer" were engaged for the King Ale.
- 1575 "Costs for the Kyngale
 It' for a lood of wod xvj d.
 It' for the caryage of a lood of wod from buckold & for caryage of hedgwod owt of m^r gylls drove xvijj d.
 It' for fellyng and haulyng of the same wode ij d.
 It' payed to the mynsterells for may day ij s.
 It' for half a quarter of mault v s. vj d.
 It' for foure buschells of wheat and a pecke xij s. j d.
 It' for a calffe x s.
 It' for too sचेपे xij s. vj d.
 It' for a quarter of mutton xvij d.
 It' for peper & safron xj d.
 It' for otmeel & salt vj d.
 It' for corants & Resons xvij d.
 It' payed to the mynstrells for wytsonday & trynhte sonday ix s.
 payed to the drum player ij s. x d.
 It' payed for a garnysch of vessell x d.
 It' payed to hugh pryce for makyng cleane the Kynghouse ix d.
 It' for cheese ij s. vj d.
 It' for hoppes & butter xiiij d.
 It' for vynyger ij d.
 It' payed to the mynstrells at wynterborne ij s.
 sm ij l. x s. ix d.
 R' at the kyngale of the paryche of wynterstlo xliij s. x d.
 R' of wynterborne xxij s.
 R' of porton xxj s.
 R' of edmuston xij s. ij d.
 R' of Boscombe vj s. viij d.
 R' of the parych of deane liij s. ix d.
 R' of salsbery men ij s.
 R' for too schepe skynnes & a calfe skynne ij s. x d.
 R' of more straungers x d. ob.
 R' of alyxsander Webe for throwyng at kokes ij d.
 sm vj l. v d. ob."
- 1610 "Gayned clearlie by the kingale vij s. vij d."⁹⁰

WORCESTERSHIRE

BADSEY

Badsey⁹¹

1533-34

"It. resevyd of ye Churche ale xxij d."

(Similar entries for 1534-35, 1537-38)

1554-55

"It. resevyd of ye churche ale xxv s. ij d."

1571-72

"Item, receayved at the churche aell at Whitsontyd x d."

SOUTH LITTLETON

South Littleton⁹²

1554

"It'm Recevyd for ow^r chwrche ale thys yere ij s. ij d."

WORCESTER

St. Helen⁹³

1519-20

"Of money recd. at the Fayre ij s. ix d."

90. In 1562, the Ale is called the "church ale," whereas on all other occasions it is referred to as the "King Ale."

91. PRICE, 17-52.

92. *Midland Antiquary*, 1 (1882), 105.

93. *Worcestershire Hist. Soc.* (1896), 1-5.

"Standing afore the church of money receyved at the fayre dais ij s."

St. Michael's in Bedwardine⁹⁴

- 1543 "Rcd. at Whitsontyde for the church ale 8 s."
 1567 For the parish drinking upon Easter day in the afternoon, 3 s. 9 d.
 1573 Paid for the parish drinking at Easter "at Mr. Di'ghton's," 3 s. 2 d.
 (Items for "drinkings at Easter" recorded from 1580 to 1584)

Worcester Priory⁹⁵

- 1518 Item "for rewards at Stoke 6 s. 5 d. with ye churche ale."
 1530 "ye churche Ale at grymley & a pley. Item to ye churche Ale at
 grymley 7 s. 6 d."
 1533 "norton ale. Item to the churche Ale at kyngs Norton 7 s. 6 d."

YORKSHIRE

KIRKBURTON

Kirkburton⁹⁶

- 1303 A mandate to the dean of Pontefract to cause the fairs and market
 held in Kirkburton churchyard to cease, as they gave rise to
 quarrels which ended in bloodshed so that divine service was
 often hindered.

94. Worcestershire Hist. Soc. (1896), 12-94.

95. MORE, 85-371.

96. CORBRIDGE, 86.

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