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*Leeds Studies in English*  
School of English  
University of Leeds  
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# THE MAYOR OF YORK AND THE CORONATION PAGEANT

By MARGARET DORRELL

In the *Ordo paginarum ludi Corporis Cristi* of the *A/Y Memorandum Book* of the city of York,<sup>1</sup> the pageant of the Coronation of the Virgin is assigned to the "Hostilers" (Innholders):

Hostilers { Maria Jesus coronans eam  
cum turba angelorum cantans.<sup>2</sup>

Lucy Toulmin Smith, in her edition of the York plays, noted that the name "Hostilers" was not entered in 1415 when the *Ordo* was compiled, but was written later over an erasure.<sup>3</sup> No indication remains as to the identity of those originally responsible for the pageant.

A second list of pageants and the organizations which presented them appears in *A/Y* in the same gathering as the *Ordo*.<sup>4</sup> This list was first published by Davies,<sup>5</sup> and a correction of Davies' work was subsequently made by Angelo Raine.<sup>6</sup> The Coronation entry was transcribed by Davies as follows:

Hostlers 56. Coronacio ejusdem.<sup>7</sup>

Raine's intended correction reads:

56. Taverners Coronacio ejusdem (Hostilers).  
(Hostilers is added in the margin  
... Taverners just legible.)<sup>8</sup>

But consultation of the manuscript has shown that neither transcription is accurate. The entry actually reads:

Maior etc. Coronacio eiusdem.

This second list has been drawn up in two columns; with a central margin. "Hostlers" has been scrawled once in the central margin beside the name of those originally responsible for the pageant, and a second time in the right-hand margin, following "Coronacio eiusdem." The manuscript was damaged in the 1892 flooding of the River Ouse which submerged the city muniments. Although the ink has been washed away, the words "Maior etc." can still be deciphered. Over the centuries the exposed vellum has become worn and discoloured, but the ink has acted as a protecting film for the small area of vellum underneath the writing. When the ink was washed off, the clean vellum was exposed. The outline of the letters remains in the clean vellum and stands in contrast to the surrounding discoloured surface.<sup>9</sup> When the second list was compiled about 1420, it was not, as Raine suggests, the Taverners who were responsible for the Coronation pageant, but the governing body of the city, represented by the mayor.<sup>10</sup>

That the mayor and other high-ranking officials did at one time have this responsibility is supported by entries in the Chamberlains' accounts.<sup>11</sup> In these records, the more extensive references to the Corpus Christi celebrations

fall into two categories. The first consists of the official expenses of the feast. These are usually lists of food and drink provided for the banquet attended by the mayor and his brethren and local and visiting dignitaries. The costs of preparing and renting a room in which to hold the banquet are also included. Frequently a payment to the preacher of a sermon on the day after Corpus Christi day is mentioned. The second main category includes amounts received from leases of the stations of the play.

In the Chamberlains' roll dated 1397 there is a reference to an unspecified pageant under the heading of official expenses of the Corpus Christi feast:

... pro steynyng de iiij<sup>or</sup> pannos ad  
opus pagine iiijs . . . Et viij portitoribus  
ducentibus et mouentibus paginam vs iiijd  
. . . Et ludentibus xvs iiijd . . . Et  
Janitori Sancte Trinitatis pro pagina  
hospitanda iiijd . . . Et pro clavis ferri  
ad emendacionem pagine vd . . . Et  
Roberto Paton pro factura pagine in  
opere Carpentario per duos dies xijd  
Et pro pictura pagine ijs . . .<sup>12</sup>  
(. . . For painting four cloths for the  
pageant, 4s. . . . And to eight porters  
for leading and moving the pageant,  
5s. 4d. . . . And to the players, 15s. 4d.  
. . . . And to the Janitor of Holy Trinity  
for housing the pageant, 4d . . . . And  
for iron nails for mending the pageant,  
5d. . . . And to Robert Paton for two  
days' carpentry work done on the  
pageant, 12d. And for painting the  
pageant, 2s.)

As Richard II was in the city at the time of the festival this year, elaborate preparations were made. Both Davies and Smith seem to assume that the King witnessed a performance of the Corpus Christi play.<sup>13</sup> That a performance of the play took place in 1397 is suggested by an entry in the Chamberlains' accounts for this year:

Et pro ij pellibus pergameni tempore  
billarum corporis cristi vjd. <sup>14</sup>  
(And for two skins of parchment at  
the time of the billets of Corpus  
Christ, 6d.)

"Billets" were documents issued to the guilds ordering them to make arrangements for the presentation of their Corpus Christi pageants. There is no evidence in the York records to connect "billets" with preparations for royal entries, or with any dramatic performance other than the Corpus Christi play.<sup>15</sup> However, since the pageant financed by the governing body of the city is not named in the Chamberlains' roll for 1397, we cannot be sure that it was one of the normal Corpus Christi pageants. Chambers suggests that it could have been specially written "for some allegorical performance of

welcome, distinct from the play itself."<sup>16</sup> If so, perhaps it was similar to the speeches written to welcome Henry VII to York in 1486.<sup>17</sup> But it seems equally possible that, in 1397, the mayor and his brethren were responsible for a specially created scene incorporated into the Corpus Christi play, or for one of the pageants—perhaps the Coronation pageant—regularly performed at the festival.

In the roll dated 1442, it is recorded that the governing body of the city paid from municipal funds for a pageant on Corpus Christi day. The following item occurs in the official expenses:

Et pro ludo de vyne yerde hoc anno xxd.<sup>18</sup>  
(And for the play<sup>19</sup> of the vineyard this  
year, 20d.)

It is difficult to identify the "ludus de vyne yerde," as it does not seem to correspond to any of the individual pageants in the extant cycle. It may refer to a dramatization of the parable of the vineyard, but there is no evidence of such a practice in England.<sup>20</sup> But whatever the actual identity of the "play of the vineyard," the mention of it is evidence of a continuing tradition of official responsibility for a pageant at the Corpus Christi festival.

The first reference to the pageant of the Coronation of the Virgin in the Chamberlains' rolls appears in the list of official expenses at the feast of Corpus Christi in 1433-34:

Et ludentibus in pagina coronacionis  
beate marie in festo corporis cristi  
xxs et pro ministrallis eodem die ex  
consuetudine xxs et pro emendacione  
pagine predictae xixs jd.<sup>21</sup>

(And to the players in the pageant of the Coronation of  
the blessed Mary at the feast of  
Corpus Christi, 20s. And for the  
minstrels on the same day as is  
customary, 20s. And for the repair of  
the said pageant, 19s. 1d.)

Other entries in the same list of expenses are 6s. 8d. for renting the room from which the mayor and his brethren watched the play, and £3 os. 14d. for "presents" of bread, wine and fruits. It is clear, then, that the governing body of the city accepted financial responsibility in this year for the Coronation pageant and that it paid for the maintenance of the wagon and the presentation of the play from city funds. The pageant, like the official banquet, was part of the mayor's contribution to the festivities.

In the Chamberlains' book for 1449-50, the Coronation pageant is mentioned under a general heading of "payments and wages":

Et Roberto clerk pro ludo  
Coronacionis beate marie virginis  
ex parte maioris viijs.<sup>22</sup>  
(And to Robert Clerk/Robert the  
clerk<sup>23</sup> for the play of the  
Coronation of the blessed virgin  
Mary, on behalf of the mayor, 8s.)

The words *ex parte maioris*, "on behalf of the mayor," are evidence of the mayor's responsibility for the play.

There are two other instances in the accounts where a payment for this pageant is made to a named individual. In each case, the individual can be identified from the Freeman's Roll as a clerk. In 1454-55, there is a reference to the pageant amongst the expenses of the mayor and his brethren on Corpus Christi day:

Et in expensas maioris et  
aldermannorum civitatis predicte  
in festo corporis cristi necnon in  
diversis presentationibus in pane  
dominico fructo et vino datis  
diversis venerabilibus personis in  
civitate Eborum presentatis eodem  
die xlix xjd Et Willelmo  
Dernwater<sup>24</sup> pro lusione ludi  
coronacionis beate virginis eodem  
die xs.<sup>25</sup>

(And towards the expenses of the mayor and aldermen of the said city at the feast of Corpus Christi, in various presents of demain bread,<sup>26</sup> fruit and wine given to various noble people, who were in the city of York on the same day, 49s. 11d. And to William Derwentwater for presenting the play of the Coronation of the blessed Virgin on the same day, 10s.)

Again, in 1462-63, the following entry appears amongst payments made by the Chamberlains:

Et soluti Roberto leche pro lusione  
pagine coronacionis beate marie  
virginis hoc anno ijs.<sup>27</sup>

(And paid to Robert Leche<sup>28</sup> for presenting the pageant of the Coronation of the blessed virgin Mary this year, 2s.)

In two, if not all three, of the instances referred to above, the Coronation pageant is presented by an individual not belonging to the craft organizations, employed specifically for that purpose by the governing body of the city. It may also be conjectured that professional players took part in 1449 and 1454, when the payments made were of 8s. and 10s. respectively.<sup>29</sup> The Coronation pageant in the register of the York cycle requires only two main speakers, Jesus and Mary.<sup>30</sup> Perhaps the clerks engaged professionals to play these roles, and assigned the lesser ones to amateurs.

From 1468-69 onwards, the Chamberlains' accounts frequently name the Innholders in connexion with the Coronation pageant. With the exception of the entry for 1559,<sup>31</sup> all references to this play record a civic subsidy paid

towards the expenses of presentation. The subsidy is mentioned under the heading of "various payments" or "necessary expenses."

1468-69

Et scrutatoribus ostillariorum  
civitatis ad conductionem  
pagine coronacionis beate  
marie virginis in festo  
corporis cristi ijs.<sup>32</sup>  
(And to the searchers<sup>33</sup> of the  
Innholders of the city towards the  
costs of bringing out the pageant  
of the Coronation of the blessed  
virgin Mary at the feast of Corpus  
Christi, 2s.)

1475-76

Et soluti Custodes pagendae  
coronacionis beate marie virginis  
de lez hostilers huius civitatis  
ad sustentacionem et auxilium  
expensarum suarum in hac  
parte facti ex consuetudine ijs.<sup>34</sup>  
(And paid to the Keepers<sup>35</sup> of the  
pageant of the Coronation of the  
blessed virgin Mary of the  
Innholders of this city, as  
support and assistance towards  
their expenses in that behalf,  
given as is customary, 2s.)

1478-79

Et soluti magistris pagine  
ostillariorum pro quadam annua  
firma ad sustentacionem pagine  
coronacionis beate marie virginis  
in civitate predicta ut in  
compotis precedentibus ijs.<sup>36</sup>  
(And paid to the pageant  
masters<sup>37</sup> of the Innholders as  
the fixed annual subsidy  
towards the support of the  
pageant of the Coronation of  
the blessed virgin Mary in the  
said city, as in previous accounts, 2s.)

1486-87

Idem computantes computant ut  
in denarijs resolutis annuatim per  
ipsos magistro pagine coronacionis  
beate marie virginis ad maiorem

sustentacionem eiusdem pagine ut  
in compotis precedentibus ijs.<sup>38</sup>  
(Also the Chamberlains reckon as in money  
paid by them annually to the  
pageant master of the Coronation of  
the blessed virgin Mary towards the  
better support of the same pageant,  
as in previous accounts, 2s.)<sup>39</sup>

(?) 1499-1500

Ut in denariis solutis magistris  
pagine coronacionis beate marie  
virginis ad sustentacionem eiusdem  
pagine ut in compotis precedentibus ijs.<sup>40</sup>  
(As in money paid to the pageant  
masters of the Coronation of the  
blessed virgin Mary towards the  
support of the same pageant, as  
in previous accounts, 2s.)

1501-02

Unde dicti computantes petunt  
allocationem ut in denariis solutis  
magistro pagine coronacionis beate  
marie virginis ad sustentacionem  
eiusdem pagine ut in compotis  
precedentibus ijs.<sup>41</sup>  
(Wherefore the said Chamberlains sought  
allocation as in money paid to the  
pageant master of the Coronation  
of the blessed virgin Mary  
towards the support of the same  
pageant, as in previous accounts, 2s.)

1506-07

Item soluti ad sustentacionem  
pagine coronacionis beate marie  
virginis ut in precedentibus ijs.<sup>42</sup>  
(Paid towards the support of the  
pageant of the Coronation of the  
blessed virgin Mary, as in previous  
accounts, 2s.)

1508-09

Et in denariis solutis ad  
sustentacionem pagine coronacionis  
beate marie ut in precedentibus ijs.<sup>43</sup>  
(And in money paid towards the  
support of the pageant of the  
Coronation of the blessed Mary, as in  
previous accounts, 2s.)

1516-17

Et in denariis solutis ad  
sustentacionem pagine coronacionis  
beate marie virginis ut in precedentibus ijs.<sup>44</sup>  
(And in money paid towards the  
support of the pageant of the  
Coronation of the blessed virgin Mary,  
as in previous accounts, 2s.)

1518-19

Et in denariis solutis ad  
sustentacionem pagine beate marie  
virginis ut in precedentibus ijs.<sup>45</sup>  
(And in money paid towards the support  
of the pageant of the blessed virgin  
Mary, as in previous accounts, 2s.)

1520-21

(As above, 1516-17);  
(As above, 1506-07).<sup>46</sup>

1521-22

(As above, 1506-07).<sup>47</sup>

1522-23

Item soluti ad sustentacionem  
pagine coronacionis beate marie  
virginis ijs.<sup>48</sup>  
(Paid towards the support of the  
pageant of the Coronation of the  
blessed virgin Mary, 2s.)

1523-24

(As above, 1522-23).<sup>49</sup>

1524-25

(As above, 1506-07).<sup>50</sup>

1525-26

(As above, 1522-23).<sup>51</sup>

1538-39

Item payd to the Sersours of  
the Inholders towards the charges  
of ther paygant ijs.<sup>52</sup>

(?) 1539-40

In primis payd to the Sersours of  
the Inholders towards the charges  
of there paygent ijs.<sup>53</sup>

1542

In primis payd to the serchours  
of the Inholders towards the  
charges of the bringyng owte of  
the paiaunt accustomed to be  
payd ijs.<sup>54</sup>



1554-55

Item payd to the Serchers of  
the Inholders towards the  
reparacions of ther paygant  
accustomyd ijs.<sup>55</sup>

There is another reference to the 2s. subsidy to the Innholders in the *House Book* for 1483.<sup>56</sup> The entry, a contract for the presentation of the Coronation pageant, has the heading "John Strynger Robert Shyrley and Andrew Blyth pat haith taykyn the charge of bryngyng furth of the pagient of the Inholders" and reads:

Memorandum þat the xxvijth day of  
the moneth of Aprill in the furst yere  
of the reing of Kyng Richerd the thyrd  
John Strynger<sup>57</sup> Inholder Robert  
Shirley Glasier and Inholder and Andrew  
Blyth Weuer<sup>58</sup> come a fore Thomas Wrangwysh  
then beyng Mair of thys Cite of York and  
by the assent of all the Inholders of  
thys said Cite tuke upon them to bryng  
furth yerly duryng the term of viij yere  
then next ffilluyng the pagent of the  
Coronacion of our lady pertenyng to the  
said Inholders and also to reparell the  
said paghant . . . and þat also the said  
John Strynger<sup>59</sup> Robert Shyrley and  
Andrew Blyth have yerely of the Chambyr  
of thys Cite duryng the said viij yere  
for bryng furth of the said pagiant  
acordyng to the ordinaunce þerof maid  
þat is to say yerly ijs.<sup>60</sup>

The memorandum indicates that a special ordinance had been made about the subsidy to the Innholders. This ordinance must have come into effect at the latest in 1468-69, the date of the earliest reference to the subsidy in the Chamberlains' accounts. Unfortunately, the first of the extant *House Book* records are entries for 1475-76, seven years after the latest possible date for the making of the ordinance. The memorandum quoted above is the only reference in the *House Books* to the subsidy and the ordinance concerning it.<sup>61</sup>

It appears, then, that from 1468 onwards, the Chamberlains' accounts record that the Innholders were given a fixed subsidy of 2s. from city funds to assist them in presenting their pageant. None of the other organizations responsible for pageants in the Corpus Christi play is so favoured. Dr Mill noted this subsidy and its uniqueness, but did not question its implications or seek its cause. In the light of the evidence concerning the Coronation pageant before 1468, the reason for the subsidy becomes clear. Originally, the responsibility for the pageant was sustained by the mayor and his brethren. They paid for the maintenance of the wagon and the production of the play from city funds. It seems that by 1468, at the latest, the mayor delegated his responsibility to the Innholders. The reasons for the mayor's relinquishing his pageant can only be conjectured. Perhaps the cost and organization

became a burden. At all events, the mayor kept up his traditional association with the play by giving the new producers a token subsidy of 2s.

The Chamberlains' accounts are our only source of detailed information about the special relationship of the mayor of York with the Coronation pageant. But incomplete as it may be, the evidence indicates that at one time, as stated in the second *A/Y* pageant list of c. 1420, the mayor and his brethren were the sole sponsors of the pageant of the Coronation of the Virgin.<sup>62</sup>

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> *A/Y* f. 252v-254v (new foliation). See L. T. Smith, *York Plays* (Oxford, 1885), xix-xxvii. Material already published is noted, but all quotations from original documents are from my own transcription of MSS held in York City Library.
- <sup>2</sup> *A/Y*, f. 254r. See also Smith, xxvii.
- <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, xxvii, note 2.
- <sup>4</sup> *A/Y*, f. 255r. The list has been dated c. 1420 by M. G. Frampton, "The Date of the Wakefield Master: Bibliographical Evidence," *PMLA*, LIII (1938), 103, note 79.
- <sup>5</sup> R. Davies, *Extracts from the Municipal Records of the City of York* (London, 1843), 233-36.
- <sup>6</sup> A. Raine, in Frampton, *op. cit.*, 102-03, note 79.
- <sup>7</sup> Davies, *op. cit.*, 236.
- <sup>8</sup> Frampton, *op. cit.*, 103.
- <sup>9</sup> This phenomenon was explained to me by Mr. D. Willis, Manuscript Repairer at the Borthwick Institute for Historical Research, York.
- <sup>10</sup> "Maior etc." refers to the mayor, the "twelve" (aldermen) and possibly also the "twenty-four" (councillors). In the second list, the "Taverners" are connected with another pageant, "Nupcie in Chana Galilee;" see Frampton, *op. cit.*, 103. Raine may have suggested "Taverners" as an alternative name for "Hostlers" on the analogy of entries in the *Ordo*, where the later addition of a more familiar name for a craft is not uncommon, e.g. *A/Y*, f. 252v, "Glovers" written above "Gaunters;" "Fyshmongers" written above "Pessoners." See also Smith, *op. cit.*, xx, notes 1 and 2.
- <sup>11</sup> Details of the city finances for each year were recorded both in a book and on a roll. A rough account was kept in the book. The roll was a more formal document, and was audited and signed by the Chamberlains. The earliest extant roll is dated 1397, and the earliest book, 1445-46. There are many gaps in the series. Extracts have been published in Davies, *op. cit.*; Anna J. Mill, "The York Plays of the Dying, Assumption, and Coronation of Our Lady," *PMLA*, LXV (1950), 866-76; and Mill, "The Stations of the York Corpus Christi Play," *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, XXXVII (1951), 492-502.
- <sup>12</sup> Roll C1:1, membrane 1. See also Davies, *op. cit.*, 230-31, and note. Davies has rearranged the order of the items, omitted "Et pro clavis ferri ad emendacionem pagine vd" and "Et Roberto Paton pro factura pagine in opere Carpentario per duos dies xijd" (see Davies, 240, note) and added "Et ministris camere in albo panno et rubeo pro adventu Regis, lvijis. xd," which appears on the same membrane under the heading "official clothing."
- <sup>13</sup> Davies, *op. cit.*, 230-31; Smith, *op. cit.*, xxxii.
- <sup>14</sup> Roll C1:1, m. 1.
- <sup>15</sup> J. S. Purvis, *From Minster to Market Place* (York, 1969), 46, suggests the use of "billets" in connexion with the Creed and Pater Noster plays.
- <sup>16</sup> E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage* (Oxford, 1903), II, 402.
- <sup>17</sup> See A. H. Smith, "A York Pageant, 1486," *London Mediaeval Studies*, I (1939), 382-98. In particular, the address of Our Lady to the King (*ibid.*, 394-95) might harmonize with a performance of the Corpus Christi play.
- <sup>18</sup> Roll C1:3, m. 2.
- <sup>19</sup> In the entries cited, the words "ludus" (play) and "pagina" (pageant) are both used to refer to the constituent pageants of the whole Corpus Christi play.
- <sup>20</sup> There were continental plays on this theme in the early 16th century; see D. Van Abbé, *Drama in Renaissance Germany and Switzerland* (Melbourne, 1961), 40.
- <sup>21</sup> Roll C1:2, m. 1. See also Mill, "The York Plays of the Dying, Assumption, and Coronation of Our Lady," *PMLA*, LXV (1950), 871-72. Dr Mill was unable to decipher "xxs et pro ministrallis eodem die ex," and assumed that the payment which was made "ex consuetudine" was a subsidy for the presentation of the Coronation pageant.

- <sup>22</sup> Book C1A, f. 28r. See also Mill, *op. cit.*, 872.
- <sup>23</sup> It is difficult to be certain whether "clerk" is Robert's surname or his profession. The Freemen's Roll, ed. F. Collins, *Register of the Freemen of the City of York*, 1, Surtees Soc. XCVI (1897), 148, 157, names two Robert Clerks who could correspond to this Robert, a scrivener, enrolled 1433-34, and a baker, enrolled 1439-40. While it is possible to interpret "pro ludo" to mean "for presenting the play," it could also be interpreted as meaning that Robert Clerk, scrivener, wrote out a copy of the play.
- <sup>24</sup> Probably William Derwentwater, clerk, enrolled as a freeman 1451-52; Collins, *op. cit.*, 171.
- <sup>25</sup> Roll C3:2, m. 3 dorse.
- <sup>26</sup> Bread of fine quality.
- <sup>27</sup> Roll C3:3, m. 2. See also Mill, *op. cit.*, 872.
- <sup>28</sup> A Robert Leche, clerk, was enrolled as a freeman 1448-49; Collins, *op. cit.*, 169.
- <sup>29</sup> The players who received 20s. in 1433 (see above p. 37) may well have been professionals.
- <sup>30</sup> Smith, *op. cit.*, 491-96.
- <sup>31</sup> In 1559, an order was given for the original to be recorded in the register of the cycle:
- Maister Thomas Glason promysed  
before my Lord Maior to bryng in  
the regynall of the Inholders paygant  
that it may be regestred before  
mydsomar next;
- written in the left-hand margin is:
- he apperyd the xx of July and  
haith forther day geve to the  
xxvij of June.
- Book C5, f. 97v. See also Mill, *op. cit.*, 875-76. Dr Mill gives the name as "Elason." Thomas Glasyn, innholder, was enrolled as a freeman 1543-44; Collins, *op. cit.*, 264.
- <sup>32</sup> Roll C3:4, m. 2. See also Mill, *op. cit.*, 872.
- <sup>33</sup> The position of "searcher" was the highest of the guild offices. Members chose the searchers, usually two in number, to see that the ordinances were obeyed, to guard against sub-standard workmanship and to represent the organization in any official matters. See Maud Sellers, *York Memorandum Book*, I (1376-1419), Surtees Soc. CXX (1911), 263 and *OED* s.v. Searcher, 2. a.
- <sup>34</sup> Roll C3:6, m. 3.
- <sup>35</sup> The "pageant keepers," often called "pageant masters," of a guild attended to all matters relating to the Corpus Christi pageant. They collected pageant money, saw to the costumes and properties, had the wagon housed and repaired, and produced the play. See Purvis, *From Minster to Market Place*, 42-4 and G. Wickham, *Early English Stages 1300-1660*, I (London, 1959), 297-98.
- <sup>36</sup> Roll C3:7, m. 1. See also Mill, *op. cit.*, 872.
- <sup>37</sup> See above, note 35.
- <sup>38</sup> Roll C4:1, m. 3. See also Mill, *op. cit.*, 873.
- <sup>39</sup> It will be seen that for the years 1486-87 to 1525-26, the surviving accounts do not name the Innholders as being responsible for the Coronation pageant. But it can be inferred that this continued to be the case. In 1483 a contract was made for the pageant of the Innholders, the Coronation, to be produced for the following eight years (*House Book* 5, f. 24r; see above, p. 42). From 1538 onwards, the Chamberlains once again name the Innholders in connexion with this pageant.
- <sup>40</sup> Roll C4:3 (one membrane only).
- <sup>41</sup> Roll C5:1, m. 3. See also Mill, *op. cit.*, 873. Dr Mill gives the payment as iijs.
- <sup>42</sup> Roll C5:2, m. 3. See also Mill, *op. cit.*, 873. Dr Mill gives the date as 1505.
- <sup>43</sup> Roll C5:3, m. 3. See also Mill, *op. cit.*, 873.
- <sup>44</sup> Roll C6:1, m. 2. See also Mill, *op. cit.*, 873.
- <sup>45</sup> Roll C6:3 (one membrane only). See also Mill, *op. cit.*, 874. Dr Mill gives the date as 1536.
- <sup>46</sup> Roll C6:4 (one membrane only); Book C2, f. 25r. See also Mill, *op. cit.*, 873.
- <sup>47</sup> Book C2, f. 62r.
- <sup>48</sup> Book C2, f. 104r.
- <sup>49</sup> Book C2, f. 151r.
- <sup>50</sup> Book C2, f. 194r.
- <sup>51</sup> Book C2, f. 236r. The entries 1520-21 to 1525-26 are noted by Mill, *op. cit.*, 873.
- <sup>52</sup> Book C3(3), f. 26r. See also Mill, *op. cit.*, 874.
- <sup>53</sup> Roll C6:10 (one membrane only).
- <sup>54</sup> Book C4, f. 69r. Mentioned by Mill, *op. cit.*, 874.

- <sup>55</sup> Book C4, f. 104r. See also Mill, *op. cit.*, 875.
- <sup>56</sup> The *House Books* record the main points discussed at meetings of the governing body of the city. Large selections from the first thirty volumes have been published by A. Raine, *York Civic Records*, Yorkshire Archaeological Soc., Record Series, XCVIII (1938), CIII (1940), CVI (1942), CVIII (1943), CX (1944), CXII (1946), CXV (1949), CXIX (1952). The selections range in date from 1475/76 to 1588.
- <sup>57</sup> "John Strynger" has been cancelled and "William Robynson" written above.
- <sup>58</sup> "and Adam Siggeswik Barbour" has been inserted with a caret mark after "Andrew Blyth Weuer" in the same hand as "William Robynson."
- <sup>59</sup> "John Strynger" has been cancelled and "William Robynson" written above, but not in the same hand as the other alterations; see notes 57 and 58.
- <sup>60</sup> *House Book 5*, f. 24r. See also Raine, *York Civic Records*, I, 92, and Smith, *op. cit.*, xlii. Smith states that the contract involved "four men." Raine omits the heading and gives the names as "Robynson," "Shyrley," "Blyth" and "Siggeswik" without indicating that those recorded when the contract was made were "Strynger," "Shyrley" and "Blyth."
- <sup>61</sup> The *A/Y* and *B/Y* Memoranda Books of the city have been consulted but offer no information on this matter.
- <sup>62</sup> I would like to thank Professor A. C. Cawley of the University of Leeds and Professor Martin Stevens of the State University of New York at Stony Brook for their help in the preparation of this article.